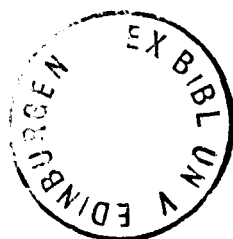


LITERARY AND HISTORICAL GARDENS  
IN SELECTED RENAISSANCE POETRY

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## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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### Literary and Historical Gardens in Selected Renaissance Poetry

The Renaissance integration of garden and villa into one unit led also to the integration of the garden into the intellectual and cultural life of the time. Garden design became as much a creative and self-conscious exercise as any cartoon by Raphael. Within the garden walls nature was freely moulded according to the principles of ut pictura poesis. The garden was designed to give pleasure, intellectual stimulation, and moral instruction in accordance with particular programmes. It incorporated the ideal of the philosopher's garden of the ancients with the Renaissance delight in the visual icon.

The study of garden imagery in selected poetry of the period against this background of actual gardens gives the student another approach to the complex field of Renaissance iconography. It provides additional data in a field whose usefulness depends on precise definition, and it has the further interest of providing an insight into the difficult relationship between art and nature. In the controlled space of the enclosed garden, art and nature met directly and not at one remove.

The iconographical garden in its purest sense appears in Chapman's Ovids Banquet of Sence, while its rejection in Milton's Paradise Lost is in itself a statement with important implications. The study of individual features such as the garden labyrinth shows the vitality of the icon and the inter-relationship of a variety of mediums and sources. Spenser in Faerie Queene I.i. uses these parameters of the labyrinth to direct his reader's expectations. The plants of the garden in a period of rapid expansion of species nevertheless preserved much of their symbolism. The popularity of the flower catalogue attests to the utility of this symbolism and also warns against its use as a short-cut to understanding. Coronal symbolism is often used in conjunction with other schemes creating a new and more precise significance, perhaps for the work as a whole, as in Herbert's "The Rose" and Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale.

The growing attention to realistic details and the interest in perspective led in England in the mid-century to a different attitude to nature and a profound change in garden design. This gradual process can be examined in the entertainments held in gardens and in the masques of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones. The problems of this transitional period lie behind some of the difficulties of Marvell's "Upon Appleton House."

The iconography of the Renaissance garden provides the contemporary reader with a valuable tool for understanding the poetry of the period and a number of insights into the strategies of such poetic imagery.

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## INTRODUCTION

The garden as a theme has become important in seventeenth-century literary studies as recent publications make clear. To cite but a few works, Stanley Stewart has traced the history of the hortus conclusus in The Enclosed Garden: Tradition and Imagery in Seventeenth-Century Poetry (1966), adding to the foundations already laid by Ruth Wallerstein in Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic (1950). The paradise tradition has received a great deal of attention, most recently in J.E. Duncan's Milton's Heavenly Paradise (1972) and A.B. Giamatti's The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic (1966). M.-S. Røstvig has shown how the debate between the virtues of country life and city life flared in the years between 1600 and 1660, before assuming a different emphasis in Epicurian sentiment (The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal, Vol. I [1954]). Although the image of the garden is not central to Miss Røstvig's thesis, since it is an urbane and self-conscious creation which is neither city nor country, her book nevertheless presents valuable background material.

These studies and others trace the development of ideas and images relating to the garden from religious, philosophical, and literary sources. The paradise garden is a literary topos described in the bible and amplified by patristic literature, classical analogues, and scholarly commentary. Stanley Stewart makes passing reference to seventeenth-century gardening practice, but essentially his study derives from literary sources such as the work of St. Bonaventure, while that of Giamatti, for the most part, concentrates on classical sources. Røstvig's essay begins with an analysis of the classical

ideal of the 'beatus ille'. She finds much relevant biographical material in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but she does not record changes in gardening practice made to harmonize with man's changing ideas of happiness.

But the importance of garden imagery in sixteenth and seventeenth century literature reflects the emergence of the garden in those years as an area of serious scientific and aesthetic interest. In 1587, when William Harrison revised The Description of England (1577), one of his largest additions was a chapter on gardening. Much neglected from the time of Henry IV to the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII, gardens, Harrison writes, have now been so much improved that "in comparison of this present the ancient gardens were but dunghills and laystows to such as did possess them."<sup>1</sup> From the reign of Elizabeth I through that of Charles II, knowledge of gardening techniques, garden design, botany, and the pharmacology of plants expanded rapidly. New plants poured in from the Middle East, Russia, and the Americas. Collectors were numerous, and nobles and commons alike competed for possession of the latest outlandish plants. Harrison, in describing his own plot of only 300 feet, says it contains such a variety of simples,

very near three hundred of one sort and other contained therein, no one of them being common or usually to be had. If therefore my little plot, void of all cost in keeping, be so well furnished, what shall we think of those of Hampton Court, Nonsuch, Theobalds, Cobham Garden, and sundry others appertaining to divers citizens of London...<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>William Harrison, The Description of England, ed. Georges Edelen (N.Y., 1968), 265. A laystow is a place where refuse and dung is laid -- OED.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 270-1.



The adventures of John Tradescant, Sr., though more numerous than the exploits of his fellow collectors, indicate the energy employed in the pursuit of rare plants.<sup>1</sup> His first expedition was to the continent to collect plants for Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury and Lord Treasurer. After Cecil's death Tradescant became gardener to Lord Wotton. In this position he invested his own money in an expedition to Virginia. He accompanied Sir Dudley Digges to Russia on an embassy for James I, fought against the Algerian corsairs, and survived the disastrous campaign at La Rochelle. From each expedition he returned with plants new to England. When he could not go himself to collect plants he advised others. At his instigation the Duke of Buckingham wrote to the Secretary of the Admiralty seeking rare plants, birds, and stones. Tradescant's 'Ark', the first English museum, was opened in 1628 at Lambeth, where Tradescant had become gardener. It was surrounded by a garden of rare trees, flowers, and herbs, and inside was housed a collection of stones and curiosities which eventually became part of the foundation of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Stimulated by the acquisition of so many new species, attempts were made to describe and name every plant. William Turner's description of British plants, The Names of Herbes, appeared in English in 1548 succeeding the Latin version of 1538.<sup>2</sup> John Gerard

<sup>1</sup>For the history of the Tradescant family see Mea Allen, The Tradescants: Their Plants, Gardens and Museum 1570-1662 (1964).

<sup>2</sup>An earlier, but less accessible list of British plants existed in the medieval Ion Gardener's 'The Feate of Gardening'. The list is reprinted in the Hon. Alicia Amherst, A History of Gardening in England (2nd. edn., 1896), pp. 72-4.

translated Rembert Dodoen's Stirpium historiae pemptades sex of 1583 and published it as his own work The Herbal, 1597. Thomas Johnson, a friend of Gerard's, revised it in 1633 and enlarged it to over 2700 plants. He also acknowledged the original source in his preface and corrected many errors.<sup>1</sup> John Parkinson's Paradisi in Sole is an important work for its careful descriptions, its combination of botanical and gardening interests and its appreciation of plants for their beauty apart from their utility. John Goodyer (1592-1664) attempted to identify every plant in Dioscorides's vast De materia medica of around 60 A.D. His manuscript translation fills six volumes.

This pursuit of plants was matched by an equal interest in garden design. We may think of gardening as among the most conservative of occupations but during the Renaissance it was an area for fashionable competition, reflecting new ideas as they arose. The pleasure garden was viewed as an area suitable for personal expression, privacy, and holiday spirits, encouraging a freedom of invention not permitted in the hall or other apartments. In addition, the scale and price of developments in the garden allowed for an extravagance not possible in the fabric even of a Hardwick or a Richmond Palace. The garden pavilion was an early candidate for this artistic licence, and the permanent summer houses which followed that at Nonsuch offered a similar invitation to fantasy. Grotesque work, inscriptions, and other paintwork filled and surrounded the garden, while topiary,

<sup>1</sup>One of Gerard's sins was the purchase of a job lot of woodcuts of flowers and herbs which he inserted in his book incorrectly labeled. See Agnes Arber, Herbals: Their Origin and Evolution, 1470-1670 (Cambridge, 1912; rev., 1938), 130.

statue, grotto, knot, and grove illustrated various themes. The paintwork required considerable maintenance, while the elaborate knots of the period were subject to frequent revision to keep the plants from becoming straggly. Hedges and arbours were similarly changeable hastened by the decay of the carpenter work which supported them.

Because the Renaissance took the garden seriously as an artform, gardening practice, however whimsical in detail, yet reveals a continuity in general principles of design from the emblems of Wolsey's Hampton Court under Henry VIII until the vistas of St. James's Palace under Charles II pulled down the medieval walls of the enclosed garden. While gardens of more than one kind existed contemporaneously in England and any one garden might be a mixture of styles or of old and new motifs, the gardens of royalty and the nobility, particularly of those most aware of the aesthetic movements of Europe, were the product of a conscious aesthetic.

The present paper is a study of poetic imagery within the context of actual gardens. The bridge between the two is often of necessity other literary sources. But concentration on the actual gardens of the time is not simply entrance into the circle of argument at a different point. Poetic imagery which draws on the Renaissance garden does so within the context of the new ideal of garden design, an ideal which shared aspects of its theoretical basis with architecture, poetry, and painting and consequently shared with them many of the same themes, images, and sources. Study of the Renaissance garden brings together a variety of disciplines, reveals a number of surprising connections, and casts familiar ideas in a different perspective. In particular, it allows us to examine from a

different perspective various kinds of pictorial imagery, especially the emblem and its related topos. Art and nature met in direct and open relationships in the garden, and skirmishes there are a sensitive guide to the iconography of landscape. Finally, changes in gardening practice, particularly during the middle years of the seventeenth century, illustrate a gradually changing attitude to nature and alert us to corresponding changes in literature. I have not tried to define yet again those elusive terms 'art' and 'nature' directly,<sup>1</sup> but rather to assess their operable limits as revealed in actual gardens and in selected poetry.

Chapter I is an essay in the definition of the Renaissance ideal of the garden through an examination of actual gardens of the time, and it is an introduction to the range of its use in poetry. The garden is explored in the historical context of the revival of the ancient philosopher's garden and in the theoretical context of those doctrines which regarded all the imaginative arts as sisters, particularly poetry and painting. The paragone has been traced to the comparisons of poetry and painting by Plato and Aristotle, Plutarch's quotation of Simonides's statement that painting is mute poetry and poetry a speaking picture, and to Horace's phrase 'ut pictura poesis'.<sup>2</sup> Although encouraged by these authorities, by the paucity of

<sup>1</sup>Two studies of these terms of particular relevance for Renaissance students are Ruth Wallerstein, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic (Madison, Wis., 1950), and Edward Taylor, Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature (N.Y., 1964). Wallerstein traces 'art' and 'nature' through the commentaries of St. Augustine, St. Bonaventure, Plotinus, Tertullian, and others. Taylor covers much the same ground with a greater emphasis on the contributions of Seneca and his followers.

<sup>2</sup>Plato, The Republic, X.596ff; Aristotle, Poetics, VI.14ff., XXV.2ff; Plutarch, Moralia, 346ff; Horace, Ars Poetica, 1-9, 361ff. See Rensselaer W. Lee, Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting (1940; rpt., N.Y., 1967) and Jean Hagstrum, The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray (Chicago, 1958).

a critical vocabulary for painting which rhetoric supplied, and by the vogue for ecphrasis, philosophically the doctrine rested on teleological definitions. The end of poetry and painting, it was argued, was to instruct and delight by their powers of representation of history and fable. Because they have the same end, poetry and painting do not differ essentially. In a comparison which can be extended here, Lomazzo writes that there is only a material difference between carving and painting, and that this is "not a special difference in an art or science."<sup>1</sup>

The Renaissance garden with its paintwork, statues, inscriptions, and topiary reflected these concepts more directly than has usually been recognized. In a sense the implications of the doctrines of ut pictura poesis were carried to extremes in the garden, where the complete interchangeability of a variety of materials, the multiple opportunities for synesthesia, and the juxtaposition of the ideal emblem or allegory with the latest illusions of trompe l'oeil combined to illustrate specific poems or the recondite themes of history and myth. The Renaissance garden was designed as an artform to be read and as an ideal venue for discussion and debate. I have called this re-interpretation of the ancient philosopher's garden, the garden of nurture. Chapter I concludes with an examination of three poems which use it. Their different uses suggest the range of expression poets found in the garden of nurture. Henry More's Psychozoia uses the

<sup>1</sup>Paolo Giovanni Lomazzo, A Tracte containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge, 1598, tr. Richard Haydocke, The English Experience, 171 (1969), 6. Lomazzo enthusiastically supported the identification of poetry and painting; perhaps in a moment of excess he describes writing as "but a picture of white and black" (p. 2).

ideal of the philosopher's garden in a narrow and limited sense as a literary formula; Milton's Paradise Lost evokes its convivial atmosphere while <sup>partly</sup> rejecting emblematic interpretation in Eden. The garden of nurture at its most expressive appears in Chapman's Ovids Banquet of Sence.

Chapter II explores the emblem garden, not in the design of the whole as a particular type of garden, but by analyzing a particular feature of the garden, in this case, the labyrinth. Study of its traditions and the variety of its interpretations suggests something of the vitality of the associations it made available for poetry, and especially for Spenser in The Faerie Queene, Book I and Milton in Comus. It also reveals some of the problems for poets such iconic density might present. It would be possible to extend this kind of study to other garden features. The fountain and the mount immediately come to mind.<sup>1</sup> But the analysis of the labyrinth shows the kind of functions such emblematic garden features might have in poetry.

Chapter III is devoted to the coronary garden. Unlike the other studies in form, it is a consideration of plant materials and what their selection contributes to the iconography of the garden and to the meaning of poetry. Again, the primary concern is not to provide an analysis of the symbolism of every herb and flower, but to suggest the nature of that symbolism and the techniques by which it was incorporated into poetry. The essay on coronary symbolism shows

<sup>1</sup>Marjorie Nicolson's Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite (Ithaca, N.Y., 1959) provides a convenient starting place for discussion of the iconography of the mount, while Jean Danielou's From Shadows to Reality, tr. Dom. W. Hibberd (1960), contains useful material on the typology of water in the Renaissance.

clearly how dependent the interpretation of traditional emblems is on poetic context, and how different schemes may intersect with one another.

The first half of Chapter IV analyzes the garden and park as open air theatres in which entertainments were staged for the courts of Elizabeth I and James I. The description of the entertainments and the uses made of the garden for these functions shows an emblematic use of nature for the most part independent of actual features of landscape, although the setting dictated genre, character, and certain stylistic devices. The last part of Chapter IV examines the struggle between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones as a struggle between two separate modes of perception. Each is visible in the poet's and the architect's different treatment of landscape in the masque. In Jonson's masques the emblematic setting analyzed in garden entertainments was carried to its logical conclusion. The meaning of his later settings was often completely independent of Jones's stage. On the other hand, Jones's settings increasingly reflected continental developments in gardening and particularly the interest in perspective.

The garden of the late 1630's was gradually becoming a laboratory for the study of natural phenomena and for the application of principles of optics. To isolate from these interests only the role of perspective in man's changing perception of his world, as I have done, is, of course, crude. But it proved a fruitful and manageable simplification, and one at least partially justified by the importance of the development of the vista in the garden. Given the availability of such concrete evidence, my conclusions may be incomplete, but they do not seem to me to be false or misleading. The vista garden appeared

in England first in the Stuart masque. Its actual manifestations in the country were few, their development interrupted by the civil war. The landscape settings of Inigo Jones help to interpret the tentative developments of the English garden, and they reveal the strong resemblance between the new garden and the theatre as platforms of display. The change from the thematically organized emblem garden to the spatially organized garden as theatre is a profound one. Isolated and static, emblems were gradually replaced by forms which were dramatically animated and spatially related to one another. The imposed interpretation with its iconographic programme and intellectual traditions yielded to associationism and emotional catharsis.

The final chapter is an attempt to elucidate some of the problems of Marvell's "Upon Appleton House" by consideration of it as transitional verse, that is, verse which reflects the struggle between these two separate modes of perception. While part of the chapter is devoted to the new spatial techniques Marvell employs, the major portion is an analysis of the military garden at Nun Appleton. The emblematic garden dominates the interpretation of the poem as a whole and acts as centre of Marvell's spatially organized poem. This division is appropriate in that the garden's position in the poem recalls the dominance of the emblem garden throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries even as it was gradually surrounded by a mode of perception which marked its imminent extinction.

Those familiar with the English garden of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will look in vain for separate chapters on the garden of paradise, the hortus conclusus, or the garden of love, though internal reference to them is frequent. These variations of



the emblem garden are among the most important motifs of the Renaissance and have deservedly received book length attention in the work of Stewart, Giamatti, Duncan, and others. Refinements of thought are possible in these areas of study, but the main outlines are clear. My search was for underlying principles of design whatever the particular manifestation. This search led to an unexpected unity of argument which I have formulated in terms of the philosopher's garden and to an equally unexpected concentration on the works of the Spenserians.

Although it is necessary to avoid rigid boundaries in tracing the history of individual garden features, I have limited the corpus of poetry to the period between Spenser's publication of the first instalment of The Faerie Queene in 1590 and the Restoration of 1660. Milton's Paradise Lost was not published until 1667, but it was begun fifteen years earlier and is very much a part of the earlier sensibility. In such a large corpus no attempt has been made to treat individually or by survey every garden poem. Rather those poems which illustrate a particular image or technique or demonstrate a revealing competence have been featured.

Since my interest has been in the garden only insofar as it contributes to poetry, my definition of the garden differs from that of the period. Harrison defined the garden as "all such grounds as are wrought with the spade by man's hand."<sup>1</sup> I have reserved this definition further. I am concerned only with those green planted spaces enclosed for pleasure. The pleasure grounds include always

<sup>1</sup>Harrison, 264.

the pleasure garden as opposed to the kitchen garden, but also the adjoining park and orchard on those occasions when they were treated as extensions of the garden for delight rather than provision.

Finally, I have tried to keep in mind one caveat that haunts all researchers of the English garden. The European garden is so much better documented than the English garden that it is a temptation to use these materials freely without allowing for the considerable time lag which occurred before features crossed the Channel or for the possibility that they did not arrive at all. There are no pictures of the English garden before the time of Henry VIII. Pictures from Flemish editions of the Roman de la Rose are often reprinted without warning to fill this gap. Early plant lists such as that by Alexander Neckham are frequently translations from continental sources without adjustment to climate or soil.<sup>1</sup> As late as Thomas Hill's The Arte of Gardening, 1608, with its reliance on crocodile skins for the prevention of plant diseases one sees the dangers of such interpolations. Since Lionel Puppi is able to distinguish convincingly among the Renaissance gardens of Rome, Tuscany, and the Veneto,<sup>2</sup> essays on the garden which fail to differentiate the data of even larger geographical areas may be very misleading. I have tried to form no general hypothesis from foreign evidence, but have used it only to supplement existing English documents. Where

<sup>1</sup>See Miles Hadfield, A History of British Gardening (1960; rev., 1969), 29-30, for an extended discussion of the problems of source material on the English garden.

<sup>2</sup>L. Puppi, "The Villa Garden of the Veneto," The Italian Garden: First Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, ed. David R. Coffin (Washington, D.C., 1972).

lacunae exist in our knowledge of the English garden I have tried not to evade that fact, but to call attention to it in the hope that these omissions can be filled some day.

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For reasons of accessibility I have used both the Loeb Library series and Renaissance translations of classical works, but quotations are from the Renaissance text wherever the translation is informative. The critical importance of Philemon Holland's translation of Pliny's Natural History in the study of coronal plants is discussed in Chapter III. Other references are to the ten volume Loeb edition translated by H. Rackham, W.H.S. Jones, and D.E. Eichholz (Cambridge, Mass., 1938-63). James Leoni's third edition of 1755 remains the most readable edition of Alberti's Ten Books on Architecture, as does Morris H. Morgan's translation of Vitruvius's Ten Books on Architecture (1914). References to Evelyn's Diary are to the six volume edition of E.S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955), unless otherwise indicated. Citations to Migne are to Patrologiae cursus completus... Series Latina, 221 vols., ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1844-1865). Where

more than one edition of a particular work has been consulted dates are clearly given. A list of periodical abbreviations may be found at the beginning of the selected bibliography. I have adopted the usual silent emendation of i/j and u/v.

## CHAPTER I THE GARDEN OF NURTURE

The integration of the garden with the Renaissance villa in the early years of the sixteenth century in the Veneto region of north-east Italy through Alberti's formulation of the loggia and his encouragement of naturalistic decorative motifs revolutionized the concept of the garden.<sup>1</sup> Whereas the medieval garden of the castle had been the preserve of women and on occasion of romantic youth, the Renaissance garden as an extension of the villa served the central preoccupations of the age. Cultured conversation for instruction and delight in a shady outdoor setting became central to the idea of the garden. It was a locus for social intercourse, which at its best was formally structured, dialectic, witty, and addressed to serious religious, philosophical, and political questions.

Just as the villa had its roots in Alberti's interpretation of the classical architecture of Vitruvius, so the garden had its classical precedent in the philosopher's garden of antiquity. So important was this concept of the philosopher's garden that in combination with a dominant neoplatonic aesthetics it helped to generate the basic Renaissance theory of the garden as a speaking picture. Within the walls of the garden plants, water, paintwork, and architecture were impressed to illustrate the hidden ideas and moral import of various natural, mythological, and historical themes. The philosopher's plane tree of antiquity became the Renaissance garden of nurture, a highly

<sup>1</sup>Alberti's interest in the portico is pervasive and comments on it are scattered through the ten books. See particularly V.viii for the relation of the portico to the Greek palaestra and its importance for philosophical studies; V.xvii for its importance in the life of the villa; IX.iv for particular reference to gardens. Citations are to Leone Battista Alberti, Ten Books on Architecture, tr. James Leoni (3rd. edn., 1755; rpt., 1955).

sophisticated synthesis of art and nature and an ideal setting and stimulus for human society.

Although the philosopher's garden as a type was most important in the sixteenth century, the principles of design developed in its service and the attitude it engendered toward the garden as an intellectual experience contributed fundamentally to other types of garden for years to come. Likewise it is almost true to say that all garden poetry of the Renaissance has such an attitude of nurture supporting its iconography whatever its more immediate sources. However, in the sixteenth century, as one might expect from its dialectical character, the philosopher's garden as such appears primarily in proseworks. In the seventeenth century it appears unexpectedly in some of the major poetry reminding us of the Renaissance garden's early formulation and the importance attached to it.

### I. The Philosopher's Garden

The garden as a setting for philosophical discussion has a well defined history in literature and fact. In early Greek practice the philosopher's garden was one of the facilities of the gymnasium with the athletic arenas and sacred groves. Together they formed one ground for education and pleasure. The sacred groves of myrtle, bay, laurel, olive, and later fruit trees<sup>1</sup> surrounded statues of the deities and included burial grounds. The circuses were planted with planes, poplars, and elms in regular order for shade while the xystos

<sup>1</sup>Marie Luise Gothein, A History of Garden Art, 2 vols., ed. W.P. Wright, tr. Mrs. Archer-Hind (1928), I, 63.

was a colonnade for shelter with open paths beside it for walking and conversation. In Rome these became plantations of plane trees between two porticoes.<sup>1</sup> The philosopher's school was very much part of the activities of the commonwealth and it shared a ground at once public, sacred, and aesthetically ordered.

In time the philosopher and his garden became inseparable. Aristotle's garden of the Lyceum included a sanctuary of the Muses, a statue of the philosopher and a hall of maps.<sup>2</sup> After Aristotle's death Theophrastus added the adjoining grounds of the Lyceum to his school and, in turn, willed these enlarged gardens with a caretaker to his friends that they might continue the study of philosophy after his death.<sup>3</sup> Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Epicurus, and the Stoics were associated with gardens. So necessary a motif had the garden become for the philosopher that Lucian awarded Socrates one in the Isles of the Blest.<sup>4</sup>

In literature Plato's Phaedrus provided one of the most influential descriptions of a natural setting for philosophical discussion. The dialogue begins with Socrates walking with Phaedrus outside the city walls along the banks of the river Illisus until they come to a grove. Socrates describes the grove as,

A delightful resting-place with this tall,  
spreading plane, and a lovely shade from the

<sup>1</sup>Gothein, I, 66.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 71.

<sup>3</sup>The relevant part of Theophrastus's will is reprinted in A.F. Sieveking, The Praise of Gardens (1899), 7-8.

<sup>4</sup>Gothein, I, 71.

high branches of the agnus:<sup>1</sup> now that it's in full flower, it will make the place ever so fragrant. And what a lovely stream under the plane-tree, and how cool to the feet! Judging by the statuettes and images I should say it's consecrated to Achelous and some of the Nymphs. And then too, isn't the freshness of the air most welcome and pleasant: and the shrill summery music of the cicada-choir! And as crowning delight the grass, thick enough on a gentle slope to rest your head most comfortably.<sup>2</sup>

The plane tree, valued so highly in the gymnasium for its genial shade, became the particular leitmotif of philosophical discussion.<sup>3</sup> Water, soft grass, and a comfortable seat appear repeatedly. The sense of a quiet retreat from the bustle of the city was much imitated too, although it is a retreat, not into the country as such, but into a civilized and controlled landscape. Although the Phaedrus is not set within the confines of the gymnasium proper, the carefully nurtured grove with its statues is a recognizable derivative of it.

The Romans imitated the gymnasium on their estates and used it as a setting for dialogues. At Arpinum Cicero imitated the features described in the Phaedrus and used the estate in turn for the setting

<sup>1</sup>Agnus castus, Vitex L. It has a light blue flower with a sweet scent. Known as the chaste tree, Pliny, Nat. Hist., XXIV.38, records that matrons put its leaves under their beds to promote chastity.

<sup>2</sup>Plato, Phaedrus, tr. and ed. R. Hackforth (Cambridge, 1952), 25.

<sup>3</sup>The Renaissance lore of the plane is summarised in L. Lemnius, An Herbal for the Bible, tr. Thomas Newton (1587), 249. He describes it as a strange, foreign tree which no venomous thing will come near. He records the honour paid to the plane by Xerxes and Hortensius and its reputation as a sign of wisdom.



of his own dialogue De legibus.<sup>1</sup> The speakers begin their discussion beneath the 'Marian Oak', move along the banks of the Liris to settle on an island in the middle of a second river, the Fibrenus. On this small island Cicero had made a palaestra, to which he was in the habit of withdrawing for meditation, writing, and reading. The debt to the Phaedrus is acknowledged when he claims the water is as cool and inviting as that of the earlier dialogue. Cicero uses a similar setting in De oratore, a dialogue which allegedly took place at the Tusculan country seat of Lucius Crassus. While walking, Scaevola asks his friends why they should not imitate Socrates in the Phaedrus since there before them is a spreading plane and inviting grass. Crassus as host agrees and sends for cushions to place under the tree.<sup>2</sup>

Like Cicero, Pliny the Younger was also consciously influenced by the Greek philosopher's garden. In his letters he describes the gardens he developed at his Laurentum villa and at Tuscany. The Laurentum villa was a retreat only seventeen miles from Rome. The garden was surrounded by an outer alley hedged with box and rosemary and an inner arched arbour of vines. Within the garden Pliny located his favourite building completely separate from the house and devoted to study, composition, and seclusion.<sup>3</sup> At Tuscany to one

<sup>1</sup>Cicero, De re publica, De legibus, tr. C.W. Keyes, Loeb (1928). The 'Marian' oak was a tree celebrated in a poem by Cicero. See De legibus, 1.i.2.

<sup>2</sup>Cicero, De oratore, 2 vols., tr. E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, Loeb (1942), I.vii.

<sup>3</sup>"To Gallus," II.xvii. Citations are to Pliny's Letters, 2 vols., tr. William Melmoth, rev. W.M.L. Hutchinson, Loeb (1915; rpt., Cambridge, Mass., 1940).

side of the main house Pliny had a similar suite designed round a courtyard with four plane trees and a central fountain. As well as other offices, the suite contained a dining room for familiar friends and a garden room overshadowed by the nearest plane tree.

The villa and gardens at Tuscany one hundred and fifty miles from Rome were devoted to study and physical exercise as were the Greek gymnasiums, but a different atmosphere prevailed. The retreat which Plato began from the popular parks of democratic Greece when he moved the academy to an adjoining site to lessen the noise narrowed in Pliny's gardens to a circle of familiar friends. At Laurentum it occasionally reached its logical conclusion. Pliny used this villa as an escape from a busy day in the city:

In that peaceful retreat, I neither hear nor speak anything of which I have occasion to repent. I suffer none to repeat to me the whispers of malice; nor do I censure any man, unless myself, when I am undisturbed by rumour, and free from the anxious sollicitudes of hope or fear, conversing only with myself and my books....Snatch then, my friend as I have, the first occasion of leaving the noisy town with all its very empty pursuits, and devote your days to study, or even resign them to sloth...<sup>1</sup>

This ideal of occasional solitude was developed in the hermitage gardens of early Renaissance Europe. The impulse appears in English letters of this period in the writings of Sir Thomas More and Dean Colet as well as in those of their Dutch visitor Erasmus.<sup>2</sup> In a letter to Dean Colet, More, like Pliny, attacks the city:

<sup>1</sup>"To Minicius Fundanus," I.ix.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Erasmus, "Letter to Colet," Mar. 5, 1518 in E.E. Reynolds, Thomas More and Erasmus (1965), 138; Colet, "Letter to Erasmus," Oct. 20, 1514 in J.H. Lupton, A Life of John Colet, D.D. (2nd edn., 1909), 215. In this letter Colet discusses his proposed retirement to the Carthusian settlement at Shene. Colet built there an apartment for his retirement complete with frescoes. Wolsey used it as a retreat toward the end of his life.

City life helps no one to be good, but rather, when a man is straining every nerve to climb the difficult path of virtue, it tempts him with every kind of allure-ment and drags him down to its own level with its manifold deceits. Wherever you turn, what do you see around you? Pretended friends, and the sweet poison of smooth flatterers, fierce hatreds, quarrels, rivalries and contentions. Look again and you will see butchers, confectioners, fishmongers, carriers, cooks and pantry-men, all occupied in serving sensuality, the world and the world's lord, the devil. Houses block out from us a large measure of the light, and our view is bounded not by the round horizon but by the lofty roofs. I really cannot blame you if you are not yet tired of the country where you live among simple people, unversed in the deceits of the towns. Wherever you cast your eyes, the smiling face of the earth greets you, the sweet fresh air invigorates you, the sight of the heavens charms you. You see nothing but the generous gifts of nature and the hallowed traces of innocence.<sup>1</sup>

It is important to remember that this ideal of solitude among natural surroundings was in the early Renaissance an occasional minor note which in Sir Thomas More's case and Colet's had its origin in religious longings for a long lost, once pure monasticism. The idea of retreat into the philosopher's garden has nothing of solitude about it. It is retreat for the purpose of conversation with selected friends. The wiseman, according to Palingenius, will withdraw from common company to that of two or three good and learned men.<sup>2</sup> And unlike the enforced retirement of so many Englishmen during the civil war this philosophical retirement is momentary. The sojourner in the garden does not turn his back on the world, but seeks through its dialectics and study an education for the world. Sir Thomas More affirmed this healthy role of the

<sup>1</sup>"Letter to Colet" in Reynolds, 38. Reynolds suggests Colet was probably at the country living of Dennington, Suffolk.

<sup>2</sup>Marcellus Palingenius, The Zodiacke of Life, 1576, tr. Barnabee Googe, Scholars Facs. and Rpts., (N.Y., 1947), 192.

philosopher's garden in the commonweal by including it in his *Utopia* for "music, or else...honest and wholesome communication."<sup>1</sup> More's *Utopia* is, of course, cast in the form of a dialogue by speakers seated "in my garden, upon a bench covered in green turves."<sup>2</sup>

To the Greek ideal, then, Pliny and Cicero too added a sense of privacy rather than solitude, but, more important for the sixteenth-century English garden, Pliny enhanced the artistic nature of the scene. The grove of the *Phaedrus* had its statues as did the actual philosopher's garden of the gymnasium.<sup>3</sup> It was even common for the walls of the wrestling arena to be painted with portraits of accomplished athletes, and artfully placed and selected greenery abounded, but, on the information available, the general impression is of simplicity and openness. By contrast Pliny's gardens were very dense artistic achievements. Although Pliny was adverse to statuary, his gardens particularly at Tuscany abounded in topiary work. An avenue of box cut in animal shapes led down the slope from the terrace to the lawn. Near the hippodrome, box was cut into a 'thousand different forms,'<sup>4</sup> even into the names of Pliny and his gardener. Obelisks, benches, arbours, and fountains were plentiful. Although the gardens were enclosed, at both estates Pliny contrived the most splendid views possible into the surrounding countryside or

<sup>1</sup>More's *Utopia*, *Everyman* (rev., 1951; rpt., 1970), 65. 1551, tr. Ralph Robinson,

<sup>2</sup>*Utopia*, 16.

<sup>3</sup>Todd K. Bender, "The Platan Tree in Donne, Horace and Theocritus," *TLS* (12 Aug. 1965), 704, identifies the grove in the *Phaedrus* with the cult of Helen and argues that it is particularly well suited for the discussion of love which occurs within its shade.

<sup>4</sup>"To Domitius Apollinaris," V.vi.

toward the sea, and he employed a particular kind of folding window in the main rooms for this purpose.<sup>1</sup> At Tuscany he planted ranks of evergreen trees graduated by height to hide the enclosing wall and lead the eye out into the surrounding meadows. Moreover, the walls of the garden room at Tuscany were faced with marble and,

On the frieze above a foliage is painted, with birds perched among branches, which has an effect altogether as agreeable as that of marble. In this room is placed a little fountain, that, playing through several small pipes into a vase, produces a most pleasing murmur.<sup>2</sup>

Pliny's frescoes were a modest version of those of Livia's garden room at Prima Porta or those of nearby Pompeii.<sup>3</sup> In Pliny's adaptations, the philosopher's garden achieved a form which appealed to the Renaissance nobleman's aesthetic sense and his turn for edification. It also afforded room for the display so obligatory to the expression of noble magnanimity.

## II. The Philosopher's Garden and the Renaissance Academies

The Greek philosopher's garden, made practical and palatable by Pliny and familiar particularly through Cicero's dialogues, became the ideal setting for cultured conversation of all kinds, and particularly for moral and religious debate. It appears in dialogue literature in The Antibarbari and several colloquies of Erasmus, Palengenius's The Zodiake of Life, Lipsius's Two Bookes of Constance,

<sup>1</sup>Derek Pearsall and Elizabeth Salter, Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World (1973), 14, identify this type of window as that named after the city of Cyzicus.

<sup>2</sup>"To Domitius Apollinaris," V.vi.

<sup>3</sup>See Mabel M. Gabriel, Livia's Garden Room at Prima Porta (N.Y., 1955); Pliny, Nat. Hist., XXXV.116 and Vitruvius, The Ten Books on Architecture, tr. Morris H. Morgan (1914; rpt. N.Y., 1960), VII.v.2.

Conrad Heresbach's Four Bookes of Husbandry, and Sir Thomas More's Utopia.<sup>1</sup> It acts as a framework in Boccaccio's Decameron, II and VI, Rabelais's Thélème and the Idyll of Careggi to name but a few.<sup>2</sup>

The Renaissance first tried to realize this cultural ideal in practice within the grounds of the villas of the Veneto with their connecting loggias and colonnades. Here discussion groups met which later became formalized into academies. These academies, like the schools of the Greek philosophers, were associated with gardens. The earliest of them, beginning in the mid-fifteenth century, was Ficino's Platonic Academy which met in the gardens of the Medici villas at Careggi or Fiesole or, after Lorenzo's death, in the gardens of the Rucellai in Florence.<sup>3</sup> The giardino segreto at Fiesole with its central fountain, stone seats, trees, and balustraded view over Florence still survives. (See Plate 1). The garden at Careggi featured a spacious loggia of arches carried on pillars, and gave a panoramic view of Tuscany. The character of some of the congenial discussions held at the Court of Urbino between 1504 and 1508 is well known from Castiglione's The Courtier. The gardens were designed by Laurana and were 'epoch making' in their integrated geometric patterns of circle and square.<sup>4</sup> The Villa Imperiale at Pesaro, seat of the Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew and

<sup>1</sup>See Erasmus's "The Poetic Feast" and "The Godly Feast."

<sup>2</sup>Cited in Preserved Smith, A Key to the Colloquies of Erasmus, Harvard Theological Studies, 13 (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 8.

<sup>3</sup>Gothein, I, 215; Georgina Masson, Italian Gardens (1961), 75.

<sup>4</sup>Masson, 59-60, 76.

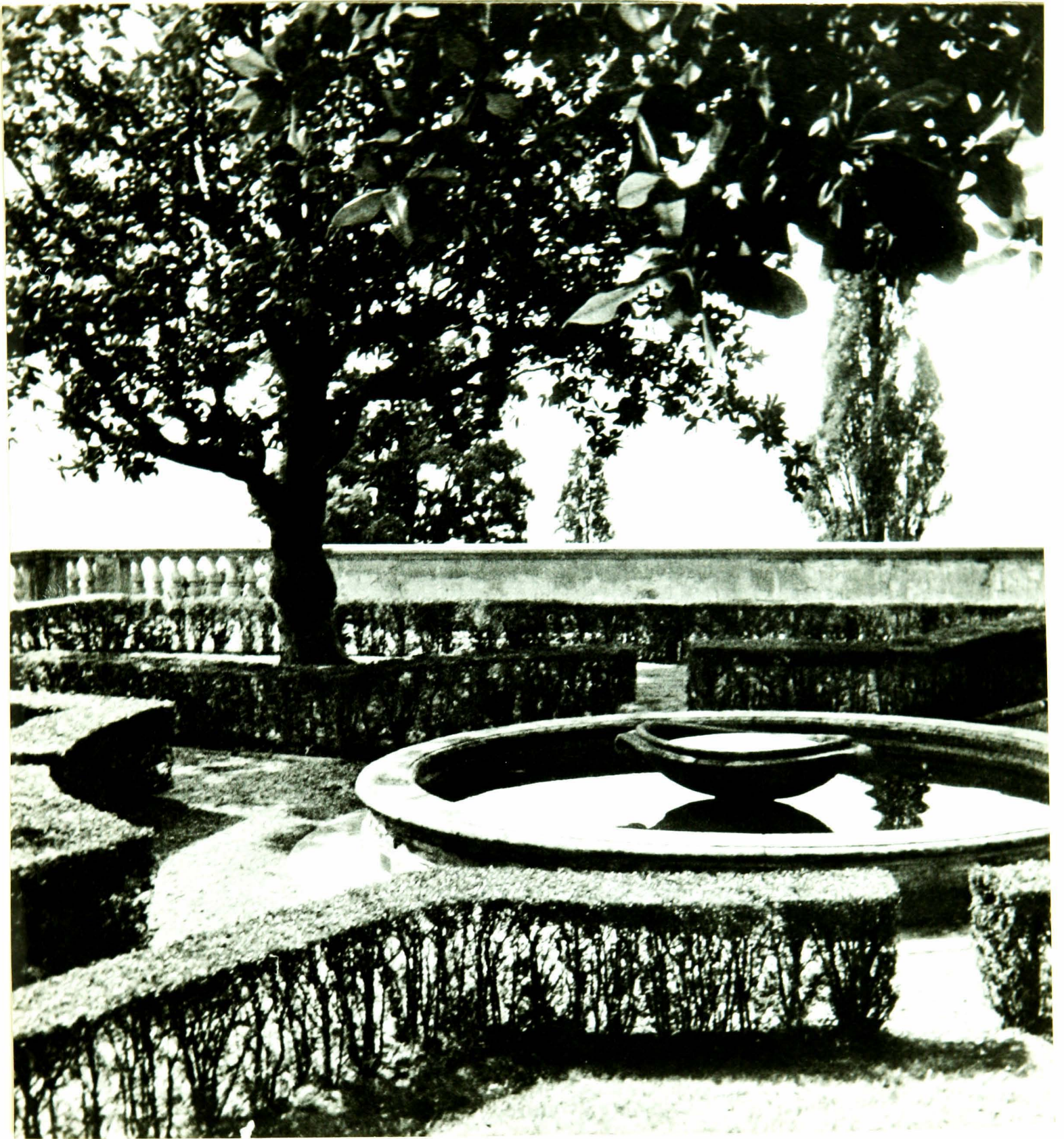


Plate 1. The giardino segreto of the Villa Medici at Fiesole.

heir to the Duke of Urbino, was converted around 1522 to the new taste. Built around a central courtyard with pillared loggia and fountain, the surrounding rooms were painted with frescoes of the Duke's military campaigns and were arranged so that they seemed part of the garden. The villa and garden were a centre for Bembo, Titian, Alberti and the home for years of Tasso's father.<sup>1</sup> Titian kept a garden near the lagoon and often dined with friends there.<sup>2</sup> Bembo's garden was at Santa Marie de Non on the Brenta.<sup>3</sup> The society and grounds of the Villa San Vigilio on Lake Garda were described in 1552 by Silvano Cattaneo, one student among the many entertained there.<sup>4</sup> Built for Agostino Brenzoni around 1540, the villa had a garden loggia, possibly adorned with frescoes,<sup>5</sup> which was surrounded by separate gardens, or sacred groves, dedicated to Venus, Apollo, and Adonis. All the statuary including a bust of Catullus carried inspirational inscriptions. To add but a few more examples of such societies, at Venice the Fillelleni group gathered at the house of Aldo Manuzio, the printer, attracting many Greek scholars; in Rome Pomponius Laetus, a professor at the University, entertained an unofficial academy in his garden on the Esquiline hill, while in Florence another group met in the Oricellari gardens.

The charm of these early academies is conveyed in a letter by Cardinal Sadoleto written in 1529 shortly after the sack of Rome.

<sup>1</sup>Gothein, I, 236-7.

<sup>2</sup>Masson, 202.

<sup>3</sup>Masson, 203.

<sup>4</sup>Gothein, I, 243.

<sup>5</sup>Gothein, I, 241.



Oh if I think again of times past, when so many of us used to gather together....How many times those meetings and suppers that we held so often return to my mind. When in your gardens outside the walls, or in mine on the Quirinal, or at the Circus Maximus, or on the banks of the Tiber in the Temple of Hercules, or elsewhere, we held those reunions of gifted and respected men...where after our homely banquets, flavoured more with wit than gluttony, we recited poetry and declaimed orations, among our friends Fera, Beroaldo, Porzio, Capello, Donato and Coricio; now as I write all dead.<sup>1</sup>

Sadoletto need not have despaired. The academy movement continued to spread throughout the peninsula. So vital was the idea of the philosopher's garden that at the end of the century Montaigne was able to record a popular version of it. The gardens of Cardinal d' Este's estate at Monte Cavallo and the gardens of the Farnese, Ursino, Sforza, and Medici families and those of Cardinal Riario at Cesio were open to the public at all times. Although disreputable women of the town frequented them, Montaigne observed with pleasure the continual theological discussions and the sermons held in the gardens.<sup>2</sup>

The academy movement reached France nearly a century after the beginning of the Platonic Academy in the gatherings of the poets of the Pléiade and later in Bâïf's more formal Académie de poésie et de musique. The movement was encouraged by Catherine d'Medici<sup>3</sup> and retained its association with the philosopher's garden. Bâïf's house and gardens adjoined the Collège de Boncourt to one side and

<sup>1</sup>In Masson, 131.

<sup>2</sup>The Diary of Montaigne's Journey to Italy in 1580 and 1581, tr. E.J. Trenchman (1929), 161.

<sup>3</sup>Frances A. Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century (1947), 20.

abutting on these outside the city walls was a house belonging to Ronsard. The king gave permission for a door to be cut in the city walls thus joining the grounds. The college gardens contained a lodge decorated with grotesque work which Ronsard also used. The The Pléiade and Bâif's Academy circulated within the three houses and their extended gardens.<sup>1</sup>

The academy movement was not institutionalized in England as it was in France and Italy, but its influence was felt in the informal groups which gathered around Sir Thomas More at Chelsea and Sir Philip Sidney and his sister at Wilton House in the sixteenth century and around Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, at Great Tew and to a lesser extent Lucy, Countess of Bedford, at Twickenham Park.<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas More's well known group included Fisher and Linacre as well as Colet, who had instituted frugal meals accompanied by the scholarly disputation of a selected text at St. Paul's. Colet through his correspondence with Ficino maintained a direct link with the Platonic Academy at Florence, but in his group as well as in More's there is always a strong monastic influence as well. Erasmus was also a well known visitor in More's circle. Although not a record of their discussions, More's Utopia may suggest something of their nature. Sidney, his sister Mary, Fulke Greville, and Edward Dyer with other friends addressed themselves to the study of

<sup>1</sup>Yates, 16-19.

<sup>2</sup>I have not included Raleigh's 'School of Night' because it seems to have been more a fashionable coterie than an academy and its association with the gardens of Sherborne in Dorset accidental. For a comprehensive, but still insufficient account of the group see M.C. Bradbrook, The School of Night (1936; rpt. N.Y., 1965).

quantitative metre as did Băif's Academy.<sup>1</sup> Spenser, though not an intimate member of the group, described it in a letter to Harvey as an Areopagus.<sup>2</sup> At Great Tew the leaders of the liberal clergy gathered as well as others, while the group at Twickenham included Donne and Drayton. Lucy, Countess of Bedford, was related both to the Sidneys and to Lucius Cary's wife.

As on the continent, the English groups were associated with gardens. More's garden at Chelsea is of particular interest because of the relationship he developed between the garden and the library, gallery, and chapel which recalls Pliny's private suites at Tuscany and Laurentum.<sup>3</sup> Some time after 1524 More added the New Building to his garden.

<sup>1</sup>It is known that Sidney was familiar with the quantitative experiments of Băif's Academy, but it is not certain whether he met Băif in Paris in 1572. For a discussion of his Parisian sojourn see John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance (1954; 2nd edn., 1964), 44-55. Critics such as John Buxton, p. 102, deny that Sidney and his sister created an academy at Wilton House, arguing that such a formal interpretation misunderstands the spirit of the meetings and the nature of English poetry. Part of that nature Buxton compares to the grace and ease of manner on which Castiglione insists in The Courtier, a book we know came out of the early academy atmosphere. The Sidneys did not have an academy in the formal French sense, but they did share in that infectious movement of the informal Italian academy which joined men of similar interests in a clubbable atmosphere for friendly, competitive, and informed debate.

<sup>2</sup>The Works of Edmund Spenser, 10 vols., ed. Edwin Greenlaw et al., A Variorum Edition (Baltimore, Md., 1932-49), X, 6.

<sup>3</sup>Cowley's poetical description of the ancient college at Naioth in Davideis I.661-731, is a surprisingly late survivor of the ideals of the philosopher's garden as interpreted by More and Colet. Published in 1656, it includes the grouping of library, hall, and synagogue around choice gardens, the adornment of the walls with maps, stories, texts, and Egyptian hieroglyphs, and the praise of frugality. (The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Abraham Cowley, 2 vols., ed. A.B. Grosart [1881; rpt. N.Y., 1967], II, 51.)

A good distance from his mansion-house, builded he a place called the New Building, wherein there was a chapel, a library, and a gallery, in which as his use was on other days to occupy himself in prayer and study there together, so on the Fridays used he continually to be there from morning till evening, spending his time only in devout prayers and spiritual exercises.<sup>1</sup>

More's New Building antedates the development of the casino in Italy which began with the Villa Pia built by Pirro Ligorio for Pope Pius IV in 1560, and which was soon followed by Vignola's casino garden at Caprarola and then a wave of others.<sup>2</sup> The Villa Pia contained only one bedroom and was used as a retreat by the Pope alone or with a small circle of friends. One suspects More's building owes more to medieval monastic and ascetic impulses than does the Villa Pia. Although Erasmus did not visit the house at Chelsea as he had More's first home at Bucklersbury near Wallbrook, he was familiar with its layout possibly through Holbein's description. In a letter to John Faber which P.S. Allen dates toward the end of 1532, Erasmus describes the activities of More's large family which took place in these surroundings.

Dicas apud illum esse alteram Platonis Academiam. Sed contumeliam facio domui illius quum eam Platonis Academiae confero, in qua disputabatur de numeris ac figuris geometricis, interdum de virtutibus moralibus: hanc domum rectius dixeris scholam ac gymnasium Christiane religionis.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>William Roper, The Mirrour of Vertue in Worldly Greatnes or the Life of Sr Thomas More Knight (1903), 27.

<sup>2</sup>Masson, 128-9; see also Gothein, I, 261-5.

<sup>3</sup>"Letter 2750," X, 139, Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, 12 vols., ed. P.S. Allen (Oxford, 1906-58).

Erasmus was particularly impressed by the accomplishments of Margaret Roper, More's daughter. His jocularly about More's 'little school' does not obscure either his approval or the seriousness of the enterprise at the New Building.

Francis Bacon was to establish another casino on English soil later in the century, but this one was closer in design to the Marine Theatre of Hadrian's Villa than to Pliny's retreats. In the valley below Gorhambury,<sup>1</sup> Bacon laid out a water garden of some four acres. A series of islands were devoted to individual gardens. Only the middle and largest island could be reached by a bridge. Here Bacon built a house with an upper gallery, a terrace and supper room.<sup>2</sup>

Francis Bacon's name is also associated with the gardens of Twickenham Park. It was leased by the Bacon family by 1574. In a letter to Thomas Bushell Francis Bacon wrote,

Let Twitnam which I sold in my younger days, be purchased, if possible, for a residence for such deserving persons to study in, since I experimentally found the situation of that place much convenient for the trial of my philosophical conclusions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Gorhambury, the seat of Francis Bacon's father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, passed first to the elder son Anthony and on his death in 1601 to Francis Bacon. Francis Bacon built Verulam House near the ponds which supplied the old residence. See The Victoria History of the County of Hertfordshire, II, ed. William Page (1908), and "Francis Bacon," Aubrey's Brief Lives, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (1949), 13-15.

<sup>2</sup>B.L. Add. MS. 27278 described in Ian Dunlop, Palaces and Progresses of Elizabeth I (1962), 189 f., and Roy Strong, The Renaissance Garden in England (1979), 127.

<sup>3</sup>Quoted in Christopher Hussey, "Twickenham I," CL, 96 (8 Sept. 44), 420

Unfortunately, while a complete description exists of the gardens as developed by Pope,<sup>1</sup> little is known of them as they were during Lucy, Countess of Bedford's residence from 1608 to 1618. Sir William Temple's full description of Moor Park, her home from 1618 to 1627, in his essay "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus," does not help to establish her tastes either since Temple knew the garden only as redesigned by William, Lord Pembroke after her death.<sup>2</sup> From Donne's "Twicknam garden" the reader garners a sparse physical description of trees and possibly a stone fountain. Nevertheless the surroundings were adequate to inspire poetry, to create a setting for its circulation,<sup>3</sup> and to mold with its mistress one of the formative milieu of the poet.

Madame,  
 You have refin'd mee, and to worthyest things  
 (Vertue, Art, Beauty, Fortune,) now I see  
 Rarenesse, or use, not nature value brings;  
 And such, as they are circumstanc'd, they bee.  
 Two illls can ne're perplexe us, sinne to'excuse;  
 But of two good things, we may leave and chuse.

. . . .

<sup>1</sup>Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City: Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Pope 1731-1743 (1969).

<sup>2</sup>Miles Hadfield, A History of British Gardening (1960; rev., 1969), 102-3, discusses the ownership of Moor Park and Sir William Temple's visit there in 1655. Roy Strong, 143-4, questions whether Temple admired the garden as laid out by the Countess of Bedford or by William, Earl of Pembroke. Given the late date of Temple's visit the question seems to me unrewarding. Temple thought he was admiring the Countess's garden and no doubt aspects of it survived. Further than that we are unable to go.

<sup>3</sup>"I have yet adventured so near as to make a petition for verse, it is for those your Ladyship did me the honour to see in Twicknam garden." Letter to Countess of Bedford in The Life and Letters of John Donne, 2 vols., ed. Edmund Gosse (1899; rpt. Gloucester, Mass., 1959), I, 217. Gosse dates the letter 1609.

So in the country'is beauty; to this place  
 You are the season (Madame) you the day,  
 'Tis but a grave of spices, till your face  
 Exhale them, and a thick close bud display.  
 Widow'd and reclus'd else, her sweets she'enshrines;  
 As China, when the Sunne at Brasill dines.

Out from your chariot, morning breaks at night,  
 And falsifies both computations so;  
 Since a new world doth rise here from your light,  
 We your new creatures, by new recknings goe.  
 This shoves that you from nature lothly stray,  
 That suffer not an artificiall day.

In this you've made the Court the'Antipodes,  
 And will'd your Delegate, the vulgar Sunne,  
 To doe profane autumnall offices,  
 Whilst here to you, wee sacrificers runne;  
 And whether Priests, or Organs, you wee'obey,  
 We sound your influence, and your Dictates say.

So in this pilgrimage I would behold  
 You as you'are vertues temple, not as shee,  
 What walls of tender christall her enfold,  
 What eyes, hands, bosome, her pure Altars bee;  
 And after this survay, oppose to all  
 Bablers of Chappels, you th'Escuriall.

Leaving then busie praise, and all appeale  
 To higher Courts, senses decree is true,  
 The Mine, the Magazine, the Commonweale,  
 The story'of beauty, 'in Twicknam is, and you.  
 Who hath seene one, would both; As, who had bin  
 In Paradise, would seeke the Cherubin.<sup>1</sup>

Of the physical character of the other two important 'academy'  
 gardens, at Wilton House<sup>2</sup> and Great Tew, even less is known. Lucius  
 Cary's home was sixteen miles from Oxford. Clarendon writes that  
 Falkland "contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite

<sup>1</sup>"To the Countesse of Bedford" in John Donne: The Satires, Epigrams  
 and Verse Letters, ed. W. Millgate (Oxford, 1967).

<sup>2</sup>For a summary of Tudor Wilton see Christopher Hussey, "Wilton  
 House, Wiltshire I," CL, 133 (9 May 63). Jacobean Wilton is dis-  
 cussed below, pp. 418-21.

and accurate men of that university, who found such an immenseness of wit and such solidity of judgement in him...that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in purer air; so that his house was a university bound in a lesser volume, whither they came not so much for repose as study, and to examine and refine those grosser propositions which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation."<sup>1</sup> Among the accurate men such as Chillingworth and Hales were the literary figures Suckling, Davenant, and Townsend, and the jurist and antiquarian John Selden. Unlike the Countess of Bedford's opulent reign at Twickenham Park, Cary's estate was financially less secure. The grounds, however, included great walled gardens to the southwest of the house with shady walks accessible through gates similar to those of the nearby Oxford Physic Garden and possibly also by Nicholas Stone.<sup>2</sup>

Mary Sidney's reign as a patroness of the arts precedes that of the Countess of Bedford by some forty years. She married Henry, second Earl of Pembroke, in 1577. The land, a former abbey, was granted to the first earl by Henry VIII in 1544 and the design of the original house was attributed to Holbein by Aubrey.<sup>3</sup> A drawing of 1566 of the east front shows a Tudor fantasy of turrets, arches and pinnacles,<sup>4</sup> while the so-called Holbein porch, probably completed

<sup>1</sup>Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, 6 vols., ed. W. Dunn Macray (Oxford, 1888), III, 180.

<sup>2</sup>Christopher Hussey, "Great Tew, Oxfordshire, I-II," CL, 106 (22 July 49), 257.

<sup>3</sup>John Aubrey, The Natural History of Wiltshire, ed. J. Britton, Wiltshire Topographical Society, (1847), 83.

<sup>4</sup>Printed in Hussey, "Wilton House," 1046.



by 1548,<sup>1</sup> includes heraldic panels, Renaissance medallions, and traces of paintwork. The influence of Nonsuch has been traced in some of the leadwork at Wilton,<sup>2</sup> and the second earl is said to have added further heraldic and Renaissance decoration to the house.<sup>3</sup>

The lack of evidence pertaining directly to the gardens which accompanied this mixture of architectural motifs is particularly tantalizing in light of Sidney's rewriting of the Arcadia. Begun in 1577, the bulk of the romance is thought to have been written during his stay at Wilton from March to August of 1580.<sup>4</sup> In the revised version the abundant pastoral element of the old Arcadia is substantially replaced by a new interest in the formal garden and villa. Lengthy descriptions of Kalendar's house (I.ii.15)<sup>5</sup> and the garden with its fountain of Venus (I.iii.17) are added, while the picture of Philoclea and her family is moved from the gallery to a summer house in the garden (I.iii.18), which also houses pictures of classical mythology. In the later version the star-shaped garden of Philoclea's lodge (I.xiii.91) is fully described as well as the artificial birds and turning table of the banquet house (I.xiv.92).

<sup>1</sup>Hussey, "Wilton House," 1048.

<sup>2</sup>Hussey, "Wilton House," 1047.

<sup>3</sup>Aubrey, 86.

<sup>4</sup>Sir Philip Sidney, "The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia" (The Old Arcadia), ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford, 1973), xv-xvi. Robertson's edition is of the Arcadia up to 1582. The new Arcadia is usually dated 1581-84.

<sup>5</sup>Citations to the new Arcadia are to The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney, 4 vols., ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1912; rpt., 1963). Volume I follows the Quarto of 1590; volume II, the edition of 1593.

The description of the theatre of trees near the lodge is expanded too and beds of roses are added to enhance its deceptive blend of natural and artificial beauty (I.xiv.119). The effect of these changes is complex and warrants a more lengthy investigation than is possible here. One senses the operation of a new ideal in the revised Arcadia and the exposure of its author to a different kind of garden and villa. Sidney's appreciation of this ideal as an exciting and expressive artform is obvious.

### III. The Metamorphosis of the Philosopher's Garden

There is satisfaction in tracing gardens in Europe and England known to be associated with intellectual discussion but so strong was the taste for the ideal of the philosopher's garden that it influenced the design of the Renaissance garden even where neither academy nor informal society flourished. For present purposes it is more important now to trace the effect this ideal had on general principles of garden design than to annotate further individual examples.

The particular form of the philosopher's garden which appeared in the early sixteenth century remained very much the enclosed garden of the Middle Ages with a central fountain but admitted an increasing emphasis on the sophisticated materials of art. Inscriptions and texts began to appear everywhere, as at the Villa San Vigilio. Grotesque work adorned garden walls and summerhouses as frescoes did the adjoining loggias and galleries. Under the impulse of the philosopher's garden the design of the garden as a speaking picture gradually evolved, its iconography carefully organized as a programme to direct the mind to the contemplation of a specific idea. Garden

iconography became an active participant in man's intellectual life. Erasmus's "The Godly Feast" contains a description of such an iconographical garden. It is an imaginary town garden set in the north of Europe possibly near Basle. It is a very early version of the philosopher's garden, one not yet fully subjected to Italian influence, nor fully organized into a programme. Erasmus's description gives a very good sense of such a transitional garden and of the significance of its features, and it is a remarkable evocation of the integration of the garden into intellectual discourse. In addition the description may have been drawn in part directly from the gardens of Sir Thomas More.<sup>1</sup>

Erasmus describes the setting of his colloquy "The Godly Feast," 1522, in detail.<sup>2</sup> It is a garden divided into five sections, a flower garden to the front, a herb garden in the courtyard, and beyond a combined kitchen and medicinal garden, a grassy meadow enclosed by a quickset hedge for strolling, and an orchard. The dining room has a triple view of these gardens through sliding windows and is adjoined by a library with a balcony overlooking the garden, a small study, and chapel. The greatest attention is paid to the flower and herb gardens. The open gate of the flower garden is guarded by a painted image of St. Peter. A small chapel to the right

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Craig R. Thompson's introduction to "The Godly Feast," The Colloquies of Erasmus, tr. Craig R. Thompson (Chicago, 1965), 46-7, in which he lists as possible models the publisher Johann Froben's house in Basle, Johannes von Botzheim's house at Constance and Sir Thomas More's garden at Chelsea. However, More's garden at Chelsea is ruled out if More did not buy the land until 1523 as E.E. Reynolds, Margaret Roper, (1960), 46, states, but this does not rule out the influence of More's other garden at Bucklersbury which Erasmus had seen. We know that More valued his gardens for intellectual activity as did Erasmus whose letters record his habitual use of Froben's garden for study, exercise, and conversation after the manner of Eusebius. Cf. Opus Epistolarum, "Letter 1756," VI. 418; "Letter 2141," VIII. 126; "Letter 2147," VIII. 135-6.

<sup>2</sup>Citations are to Thompson's edition. The description of the flower garden appears on pp. 49-51; the herb garden, pp. 51-5.

contains the figure of Christ. Biblical inscriptions in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew accompany each of these figures.<sup>1</sup> St. Peter warns those who would enter into life to keep the commandments, repent and live by faith. Christ is the way, the truth and the life, the alpha and omega, and teaches the fear of the Lord. Eusebius, who acts as host, tells his visitors that the fountain of the flower garden symbolizes the heavenly stream for which the soul pants.<sup>1</sup> The symbolism of flowers is discussed in Chapter III.

The herb garden which fills the square courtyard is enclosed on the east, south, and west by galleries with pillars of painted marble. It is divided in four by channels of painted marble running from a central fountain. These sections are further divided into separate beds for each kind of herb. The walls of the galleries are painted with nature frescoes. One wall is decorated with a grove of various trees in whose branches representatives of rare or renowned species of birds appear. Under the trees are other birds and some animals including a piping monkey, a dancing camel, and a chameleon. The fresco of the second gallery is devoted to famous plants, particularly poisonous ones, every kind of serpent, the scorpion, basilisk, and armies of ants. The third gallery is given to lakes, rivers, and seas, their fish, amphibians, and the creatures of their shores.

Eusebius repeatedly draws his guest's attention to the accuracy of the frescoes. Each tree and plant represents its species and is

<sup>1</sup>Thompson, 51.

accurately depicted. Every variety of hellebore is distinguished. The poisonous plants are so realistic one wonders that they may be touched. An attempt, however crude, is made to place each species of creature in its natural environment -- the crocodile in the Nile, the beaver on the bank, ground birds beneath the trees. Eusebius's frescoes are contemporary with the rise of botanical studies in northern Europe, and something of this spirit may appear in Eusebius's concern for accuracy of identification and habitat, but the main impulse behind his garden is quite different.<sup>1</sup>

Everywhere in Eusebius's herb garden nature and the accuracy of artwork pass into studies in illusion. The herbs are reflected in the water of the channels as in mirrors. The paving stones of the galleries are painted green with sprinklings of small flowers, a trick similar to the green hedges of the garden which are also artificial. The 'marble' of the pillars, fountain, and channels is only painted. Timothy is deceived, but delighted by the deception. Eusebius assures him that

We are twice pleased when we see a painted flower competing with a real one. In one we admire the cleverness of Nature, in the other the inventiveness of the painter; in each the goodness of God, who gives all these things for our use and is equally wonderful and kind in everything.<sup>2</sup>

With reference to illusionistic landscapes such as those of Mantegna in the Gonzaga Palace at Mantua, Elizabeth Salter and Derek Pearsall conclude that they represent a fashionable vogue rather than a new mode of vision supported by a change in the

<sup>1</sup>Marie Luise Gothein, II.4, analyses the garden of "The Godly Feast" entirely as an early scientific garden.

<sup>2</sup>Thompson, 52.

concept of reality.<sup>1</sup> The same observation can be made with regard to the art of Eusebius's garden. New aspects of reality are welcomed not for increased vision into the nature of the material world but as a further contribution to symbolic statement. Nature and art do not conflict in Eusebius's garden, but they unite to present the viewer with homilies of God's universe. The herb beds in the centre of the garden are accompanied by 'scientific' labels giving their name and special virtue and also by banners with mottoes on them. That of the marjoram says, "Keep off, sow; I don't smell for you."<sup>2</sup> Eusebius points out that swine hate what is a pleasant scent for man, but he does not need to draw the further moral of the familiar Circe myth. In Plutarch's Moralia, 986-992, Gryllis, a man metamorphosed into a pig, refuses Ulysses's offer of restoration to human form. As a popular and very old proverb Eusebius's motto appears in Gellius's preface to Noctes Atticae of the second century, A.D., Lucretius's De rerum natura, VI, 973-5, and Erasmus's own Adagia, I.335.<sup>3</sup> The boar and marjoram appear as an emblem on the frontispiece of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, 1593, and in the 1611 and 1617 editions of Spenser's The Faerie Queene.<sup>4</sup> In

<sup>1</sup>Pearsall and Salter, 191.

<sup>2</sup>Thompson, 51.

<sup>3</sup>For a more detailed history see R.L. Eagle, "The Arcadia (1593), Title-page Border," The Library, 5th ser., 4 (1949) and Robertson, xlviiii-xlix.

<sup>4</sup>Eagle, 70.

Camerarius's Symbolorum emblematum, the boar is a symbol of depravity and it flees from the Christian doctrine so salubrious to man.<sup>1</sup> One of the decorative panels formerly at Hawsted House, the home of Sir Robert and Lady Drury, shows a boar trampling plants identified as roses. The panel is inscribed "Odi profanum vulgus."<sup>2</sup>

In Eusebius's garden the homilies of art and nature are expressed everywhere in such texts. On the frescoes an Attic owl warns in Greek, "Be prudent: I don't fly for everyone."<sup>3</sup> Eusebius interprets this text as advising man to act advisedly and not rashly. Beside the owl an eagle rends a hare, while a beetle watches protesting. Beside the beetle stands a wren, the supposed enemy of the eagle. She acts as a final silent warning in the chain of activity. On another fresco a dying scorpion, lying on wolfsbane, struggles to reach a leaf of hellebore. Behind his struggles lie the theories of Paracelsian medicine, poison drives out poison, but his fate is sealed by his text which reads, "God hath found out the guilty."<sup>4</sup> Such groupings within a given habitat, the owl and his company, the scorpion and poisonous plants, are frequent in the frescoes and are

<sup>1</sup>Joachim Camerarius (Jr.), Symbolorum emblematum ex re herbaria desumtorum centuria una collecta [1593], Emblem 93, fol. 103. See also Guillaume de la Perrière, Le Théâtre des Bons Engins, 1593, ed. John Horden, Continental Emblem Books, 17 (1973). In Horapollo's De sacris Aegyptiorum notis, Aegyptiace expressis (Paris, 1574), fol. 60v, the hog represents all man's most destructive and pernicious instincts.

<sup>2</sup>Arthur Oswald, "Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich III," CL, (26 Aug. 54); Sir John Cullum, The History and Antiquities of Hawsted (1784), 134-8. I am grateful to Dr. Jonquil Bevan, University of Edinburgh, for drawing my attention to these panels.

<sup>3</sup>Thompson, 53.

<sup>4</sup>Thompson, 54.

obviously dictated by moral statement and not by the observed definitions of natural relationships.<sup>1</sup> That all the scenes are purposeful is indicated by the armies of ants. No motto appears on them, no activities are described. But Eusebius need only mention Horace and the Hebrew sage for his guests to recall their familiar use as an example of good government.<sup>2</sup> The fresco of the grove recalls medieval tapestries or descriptions of nature such as that in Chaucer's Parliament of Foules, ll. 172-96.

The details of the three frescoes draw their materials from bestiaries, herbals, Paracelsian theory, and the newer delineation of leaf and stem such as began to appear in the work of Otto Brunfels, Herbarum vivae eicones (1530) or Leonard Fuchs, De historia stirpium (1542). Scientific observations had not yet accumulated sufficiently to alter man's perception of reality. Eusebius's frescoes and his garden show the continued absorption of such observations within the older symbolic framework. The beds of living herbs are selected and arranged by art, while in the frescoes the techniques of paint and line are directed to the accuracy of natural illusion. The movements of nature toward art and art toward nature blur ontological distinctions in an attempt to break through the illusions of this world to higher, immutable realities.

<sup>1</sup>In 1606 Henry Peacham, The Art of Drawing, p. 41, urged that an emblem of an animal should include a 'landskip' of the country natural to it. But his example is no more precise zoologically than those of Eusebius's frescoes. He recommends that the crocodile should always be drawn on low ground with pyramids in the background because it comes from Egypt.

<sup>2</sup>Prov. 6.6; Horace, Sat. I.i.32-4.



Eusebius's initial remarks to his guests tell them that "Nature is not silent but speaks to us everywhere" proclaiming that "God the Creator's wisdom is equal to his goodness."<sup>1</sup> He tells them that he uses the herb garden for study or conversation with himself or some close friend.<sup>2</sup> The upper galleries which are adorned with frescoes of the life of Christ and the prophecies of the Old Testament, overlook the gardens. There Eusebius alone or with his wife or a friend meditates on the inexpressible purposes of God.<sup>3</sup> The library with its attendant chapel also has a balcony overlooking the garden. The philosopher's garden has reappeared in its Renaissance guise of artwork and inscription.

The setting of "The Godly Feast" is a fictional garden and an early one, but the response to artwork it describes is primary throughout the Renaissance period. Garden design was to become richer and wittier in character, and the overt religious references of Erasmus's garden were to be frequently submerged under a preference for classical mythology, but the educational nature of the garden features and the specificity of their iconography continued. The philosopher's garden had become a garden of active nurture, a speaking picture. In Lipsius's words, "The same is the house of my Muses, my nursery and schoole of wisdom."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Thompson, 48.

<sup>2</sup>Thompson, 52

<sup>3</sup>Thompson, 77.

<sup>4</sup>Justus Lipsius, Two Bookes of Constancie, tr. Sir John Stradling, ed. Rudolf Kirk (New Brunswick, N.J., 1939), 136.

#### IV. The Garden of Nurture in Britain

Because so little has survived of the Renaissance painter's craft in gardens there is a natural inclination to omit this aspect from reconstructions of the gardens of the time. Architectural features survive and are also more readily described and documented. We know that the courtyard and loggia so important to the Italian philosopher's garden also appeared at an early date in England. The gallery at Thornbury is described in the survey of 1521,<sup>1</sup> the long loggia and gallery at Gorhambury were built in honour of Queen Elizabeth's visit in 1577.<sup>2</sup> The one at Linlithgow survives as a nearby reminder of the Renaissance pattern of al fresco pleasures. But what of the grotesques and frescoes so important in Eusebius's garden?

The frescoes of the galleries surrounding Eusebius's imaginary garden have a close analogue and perhaps an origin in the house of Johann von Botzheim, Canon of Constance. Erasmus described his visit of September, 1522, in a letter to Marcus Laurinus:

Domum habet quae Musarum domicilium videri possit: nusquam non prae se ferens aliquid nitoris et elegantiae, nusquam muta, sed undique loquacibus picturis aliciens ac remorans oculos hominum. In aula aestiva, quam, ut ait, mihi paraverat, proxime mensam stabat Paulus docens populum. In altero pariete sedebat Christus in monte, docens suos discipulos: tum Apostoli per juga proficiscentes ad Evangelii praedicationem. Secundum fumarium consistebant sacerdotes, scribae et Pharisaei, cum senioribus conspirantes adversus Evangelium jam subolescens. Alibi canebant novem sorores Apollinis, alibi Charites nudaae, simplicis benevolentiae et amicitiae non fucatae symbolum.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>John Gage, "A Letter from John Gage, Esq., Director, to Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.F.R.S.Sec.," Archaeologia, 25 (1834), 312. Gage reprints from the survey of 1521.

<sup>2</sup>John Rogers, "Old Gorhambury," St. Albans and Hertsfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Soc. Trans. (1936), 31.

<sup>3</sup>"Letter 1342," V.212, Opus Epistolarum. Johannes von Botzheim's house in Constance is the most likely of Thompson's models (see p. 23, n.1), but Erasmus visited there in September, 1522. "The Godly Feast" was originally published by Froben in March, 1522. The much enlarged version appeared later in 1522, probably in August. Thompson discusses this difficulty in his introduction to the colloquy.

The parallels between the frescoes of Botzheim's summer courtyard and those of "The Godly Feast" are impressive, but such frescoes were not unique to Constance, Basle, or northern Europe. They appeared throughout Europe and in England as well.

For obvious reasons of deterioration by weather and changing tastes in so ephemeral an area, no examples of wall paintings in English gardens survive, though references to them do. Tudor domestic wall paintings have been well researched. As part of this larger pattern it is possible to sketch the appearance of garden paintings. Domestic wall paintings were popular in England throughout the sixteenth century. They became as general in the middle of the century as wallpapers are now, though they were less preferred than tapestries or painted leather or cloth.<sup>1</sup> They were used in minor rooms and in gardens. Painted cloths were out of use by 1589, according to Stow, but wall paintings continued in vogue through the first quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The main subjects of wall paintings were figure subjects, arcaded facades, geometrical motifs combined later with strapwork, and imitation panelling frequently with cartouche patterns. Figure subjects were historical, classical, or biblical. There is some evidence that

<sup>1</sup>Francis W. Reader, "Tudor Mural Paintings in the Lesser Houses in Bucks," Archaeological Journal, 89 (1932), 121-2. In The Works of Sir Thomas More (1557), More is credited with designing a painted cloth: "Mayster Thomas More in hys youth devysed in hys father's house in London a goodly hangyng of fyne paynted clothe, with nine pageauntes and verses over every of those pageants: which verses expressed and declared what the ymages in those pageaunts represented..." Quoted in Francis W. Reader, "Tudor Domestic Wall-paintings, I," Archaeological Journal, 92 (1935), 247.

<sup>2</sup>In Reader (1935), 249.

those biblical stories were preferred which featured in drama.<sup>1</sup> Friezes were given to landscape, heraldry, grotesques, and texts. But not all of these subjects are relevant to gardens. Henry Wotton in The Elements of Architecture, 1624, as Vitruvius and Alberti did before him,<sup>2</sup> makes a distinction between the artwork of the gallery and that of the garden proper; Cheerful paintings should be hung in "Feasting and Banqueting Roomes; Graver Stories in Galleries, Landships, and Boscage [woodland scenes], such wilde workes in open tarraces, or in Summer houses (as we call them) and the like."<sup>3</sup>

Wotton's "wilde workes" would include the grotesque or antique work which was in fact the most frequent subject of wall painting inside the house and out. It was carried out in white on black and later black on white with touches of colour, and was derived from Italian grotesque work. Henry Peacham in The Art of Drawing, 1606 describes it:

<sup>1</sup>Reader (1932), 120.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Alberti, The Ten Books of Architecture, IX,iv; IX.ii: VII.x; Vitruvius, On Architecture, VII.v.2. "It is certain, the brave and memorable Actions of one's Countrymen, and their Effigies, are Ornaments extremely suitable both to Porticoes and Halls....Or rather, I am for having Pictures of such Fictions of the Poets, as tend to the Promotion of good Manners; such as that of Daedalus, who painted the Gates of Cumae with the Representation of Icarus flying. And as the Subjects both of Poetry and Painting are various, some expressing the memorable Actions of great Men; others Representing the Manners of private Persons; others describing the Life of Rusticks: The former, as the most majestick, should be applied to publick Works, and the Buildings of Princes; and the latter, as the more chearful, should be set apart for Pleasure-houses and Gardens. Our Minds are delighted in a particular Manner with the Pictures of pleasant landskips, of Havens, of Fishing, Hunting, Swimming, Country Sports, of flowery Fields and thick Groves" (Alberti, IX.iv.192).

<sup>3</sup>Henry Wotton, The Elements of Architecture, 1624, The English Experience, 272 (1970), 110.

The forme of it is a generall, and (as I maye say) an unnaturall or unorderedly composition for delight sake, of mē, beasts, birds, fishes, flowers &c without (as wee say) Rime or reason, for the greater variety you shew in your invention, the more you please, but remembring to observe a method or continuation of one and the same thing throughout your whole work without change or altering.

You may, if you list, draw naked boyes riding and playing with their paper-mills or bubble=shells uppon Goates, Eagles, Dolphins &c: the bones of a Rammes head hung with strings of beads and Ribands, Satyres, Tritons, apes, Cornu-copia's, Dogges yoackt &c drawing cowūmers, cherries & any kind of wild trail or vinet after your owne invention, with a thousand more such idle toyes, so that heerein you cannot bee too fantastical.<sup>1</sup>

Mentioned in Pliny's Natural History, XXXV.10 and Vitruvius's On Architecture, VII.v.3-4, grotesque work was revived in the Renaissance and established by Raphael's circle by its use on the loggia of the Vatican. G. Pippi Romano painted the loggia in the garden of the Palazzo del Té at Mantua with grotesque work and used it again in the gardens of the Villa Madama near Rome in 1520. The loggia in the garden of the Palazzo de Paolo Vitelli at Città di Castello was decorated in a similar style by Doceno in 1540.<sup>2</sup>

Raphael's circle included a Fleming whose skill in the depiction of fruit, foliage, and flowers recaptured the northern accuracy<sup>3</sup> so admired by Eusebius and his friends. Giovanni Udino had a similar skill and added a love of birds. Northern taste was further incorporated into the technique in the grotesque work at Fontainebleau.<sup>4</sup> Chastel in his brief history of the art form observes,

<sup>1</sup>Peacham, 36.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. 'Grottesque', Illustrations to the Dictionary of Architecture, 4 vols., Architectural Publication Society [1853-92], II, and 'Loggia,' Illustrations, III.

<sup>3</sup>André Chastel, "La Renaissance fantaisiste", L'Oeil, 21 (1956), 36.

<sup>4</sup>Chastel, 41.

On voit se rejoindre les deux modes graphiques du Nord et du Midi également préoccupés de fondre l'imaginaire et le réel, en un système d'ornement propre à véhiculer tous les degrés de la symbolique et tous les besoins de l'illustration.<sup>1</sup>

Chastel's observation and the fact that grotesque work was often accompanied by texts suggest that it may not always have been the toy Peacham finds it.<sup>2</sup> Cybele, the goddess of nature's powers and fertility, is a frequent figure in grotesque work,<sup>3</sup> combining with the form to suggest infinite fecundity and nature's incessant metamorphoses. Few themes fascinated the Renaissance more than metamorphosis. Its suitability to a garden with its myriad varieties of plants, stages of growth, and seasonal changes is obvious and the associations with nature of the mythical metamorphoses of Daphne, Narcissus, Galatea, and others would not be less present to the Renaissance mind. Into this web of life's mysteries, medallions, figures, and texts were easily incorporated to suggest other specific references.

<sup>1</sup>Chastel, 38.

<sup>2</sup>A similar ambiguity is present in Montaigne's comparison of his essays to grotesque work. He is as one who places a picture and "all void places about it he filleth up with antike Boscage or Crotlesko works; which are fantastical pictures, having no grace, but in the variety and strangeness of them. And what are these my compositions in truth, other than antike workes, and monstrous bodies, patched and hudled up together of divers members, without any certain or well ordered figure, having neither order, dependencie, or proportion, but casual and framed by chance?" Montaigne decries his essays, but is also well aware of the newness of the form he is attempting. And we are aware of the significance of that attempt. The citation is to The Essays of Montaigne, 3 vols., tr. John Florio, ed. W.E. Henley, The Tudor Translations (1892-3), I. xxvii, 196. We might remember too that Peacham's book is entirely a practical manual and it would be wrong to expect symbolic statement there.

<sup>3</sup>Chastel, 36.

The grotesque work and frescoes of English gardens to which there are references in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries follow the dictates recorded by Wotton. Grotesque work was used on the garden walls and graver stories appeared in the adjoining galleries. The records of Whitehall Palace contain several references to grotesque or antique work.<sup>1</sup> Leonard Fryer charged the crown £33.16.4 in 1597-8 for 'flourishing' the antique work of the walls of the garden of Whitehall. He charged for thirty square yards of antique work in the privy garden in 1602-3. William Heron was paid for forty yards of it on the outside of the gallery towards the garden and park in 1575, and George Tower painted antique work on the outside walls of the gallery and the walls of the terrace in 1583-4. Sir William Sanderson could still write in 1658 that,

As for Grottesco or (as we say) Antique-worke; It takes my fancy, though in forms of different Natures, or Sexes, Sirenes, Centaures, and such like, as the outward walls of White-hall, observes this kind; as running-trale-worke [foliations], and not ill mastered: But when all is done (now a dayes) it looks like an Ale-house; Citizen painting, being too common; and usually elsewhere, were very ill wrought.<sup>2</sup>

Glimpses of the frescoes which were painted in galleries also appear in various records, but our interest is only in those of galleries opening into gardens. Since 'gallery' was applied to a variety of structures, it is not always clear whether a particular description is relevant or not. Galleries might be open or closed, carried on pillars or arches, made of wood, stone, or living plants.

<sup>1</sup>The following items are taken from the extracts reprinted in Edward Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837, 2 vols. (1962-70), I, 179, 181, 182, 180.

<sup>2</sup>Sir William Sanderson, Graphice (1658) in Croft-Murray, I, 27.

A gallery might be an arbour, a sheltered walkway enclosing a garden square, or a second storey hall integral with the house. But in those galleries specifically related to the garden records show their frescoes reflect Wotton's preference for cheerful scenes. In 1583-4 William Heron repaired the nether gallery by the orchard at Whitehall Palace, which was painted with "King Henries coronation, and his goinge to Bulleyne."<sup>1</sup> The seven arched loggia leading into the garden at Theobalds was painted with the kings and queens of England or a genealogy of the Earls of Salisbury or both with many subscriptions.<sup>2</sup> The green gallery above it was painted with fifty-two trees containing the coat of arms and names of the noblemen and the towns, mountains, and rivers of the kingdom.<sup>3</sup> At Gorhambury, the seat of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the walls of the gallery of the inner courtyard were painted by Van Koeppen with the adventures of Ulysses.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Croft-Murray, 180.

<sup>2</sup>There is considerable confusion as to the fresco in the garden loggia perhaps arising from a failure to distinguish it clearly from the green gallery. Justus Zinzerling, Itinerarium Galliae (Lyons, 1616) in W.B. Rye, England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First (1865), 135, describes the genealogy of the Earls of Salisbury. Zinzerling's journey took place around 1610. The Hon. Alicia Amherst, A History of Gardening in England (2nd edn., 1896), 131, quotes Hentzner to the effect that the genealogy was of the Kings of England. John Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, 3 vols. (1823), III, 242-3, n. 2, says Gough made a sketch of the remains of the gallery in 1765. It was a pedigree of the family and Nichols concludes Hentzner was mistaken. Sir John Summerson, "The Building of Theobalds," Archaeologia, 97 (1959), 120, cites the Parliamentary Survey of 1650 to the effect that the gallery was painted with the kings and queens of England and the pedigree of the family.

<sup>3</sup>Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, in Rye, 45. He traveled in England in 1592. See also Summerson, 117.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas Pennant, The Journey from Chester to London (1782), 225. Croft-Murray, 33, says this is the only record of Van Koeppen.



There is no record to date of Wotton's 'landschips'<sup>1</sup> or 'boscaige' in the early gardens that I know of but examples of nature scenes survive in domestic murals. These hover between landscape and grotesque work and suggest Wotton's dictates may have been carried out to the full. Of the nature scenes which survive among domestic wall paintings only one shows the clear influence of tapestry; rather they seem to develop separately from bestiaries and manuscript illumination.<sup>2</sup> The early work shows naturalistic animals in slightly conventionalized foliage. The mural preserved at the Old Flushing Inn at Rye is a transitional piece dating from between 1537 and 1553.<sup>3</sup> It consists of twining branches of foliage and flowers, particularly the Tudor rose, with many beasts and birds in the thicket. A doe,

<sup>1</sup>Henry Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden, English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1955), document the sparsity of genuine landscape art in England before 1650 from the inventories of the collections of the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Arundel, and Charles I. But whether such inventories would include frescoes from a minor genre displayed in summer houses and gardens may be questionable. The authors, p. 61, argue that what landscape did exist was to be found mainly in engravings and prints.

<sup>2</sup>Hill Hall, Epping. Cf. Francis W. Reader, "A Classification of Tudor Domestic Wall-Paintings, I," Archaeological Journal, 98 (1941), 188.

<sup>3</sup>Philip M. Johnston, "Wall Painting in a House at Rye Formerly known as 'The Old Flushing Inn'," Sussex Archaeological Collections, 50 (1907), 119-20, on the basis of heraldry argues for the year 1547 when Jane Seymour's son Edward VI was crowned. 1537 is the year of Jane Seymour's death in childbed. The escutcheon is rimmed in black.

stork, dog, elephant and castle, lion, spotted deer, ostrich, and possibly a peacock, swan, and rabbit have been identified.<sup>1</sup> The picture is divided into four by three bands with the motto "deo honor et...." The frieze above contains in cartouches the Magnificat from Tyndale's Bible of 1525.<sup>2</sup> The woodland scene at Bosworth House, Buckinghamshire shows a pheasant, owl, an unidentified bird in flight, a fallow deer and doe in a scroll of leaves and flowers. It dates from the latter part of the sixteenth century and is conventionalized.<sup>3</sup> Shelly Hall, Ongar dates from 1587 and contains a room decorated with the remnants of large flowers in black outline on white. Highly conventionalized fleur-de-lys and probably thistles appear with what seems to be a large farmyard cock. The work is Renaissance in character.

A wall mural of interest in tracing the development from the Gothic to Renaissance style is the façade of the Hertenstein House in Lucerne painted by Hans Holbein in 1516-18.<sup>4</sup> The façade is covered by historical representations of the vices and virtues in an older manner, while the lower part is done in the architectural motifs, statues, and friezes of putti of the early Renaissance. It includes a triumphal procession based on an etching by Mantegna.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Johnston, 122-4.

<sup>2</sup>Johnston, 119.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Francis W. Reader, "Wall-paintings of the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Century recently discovered in Bosworth House, Wendover, Bucks," Archaeological Journal, 87 (1930).

<sup>4</sup>For a description and plates see Paul Ganz, The Paintings of Hans Holbein (1950; rev., 1956), 6, 262-6.

<sup>5</sup>Ganz, 262.

The 'House of the Dance' in Basle, also by Holbein, shows a similar mixture. The lower storey features antique pillars, medallions, and statues while above the frieze of dancing peasants, a man chases a dog. Above this balcony scene the house is painted as if of unfinished brickwork complete with discarded tools and glimpses of the sky (see Plate 2).<sup>1</sup>

Inside the Hertenstein House scenes from the owner's life are painted in a Gothic style, but the impulse to record personal moments is a Renaissance one. We have already mentioned the portraits of the military victories of the Duke Francesco della Rovere in his garden galleries, the depiction of the wedding of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn in the orchard gallery at Whitehall Palace, and Sidney's inclusion of portraits of Basilius, Gynecia, and their daughter Philoclea as well as the myths of Diana and Actaeon and Atalanta in the summer house of Kalendar's estate in the revised Arcadia. In each case Alberti's distinction between majestic public works and the paintings of cheerful private activities reserved for the private apartments and gardens is preserved.<sup>2</sup>

Holbein is an important artistic link between the circle of Erasmus and the court of Henry VIII. Holbein was trained in Basle and illustrated Erasmus's work for Froben. He journeyed to England in 1526 with a letter of introduction to Sir Thomas More from Erasmus, and was settled permanently in this country by 1532. His known wall paintings here are limited to those in the Guildhall of the Steelyard in London, since destroyed, and the sketch of More's family which may have been intended for a fresco. However, it has

<sup>1</sup>Ganz, 266-71.

<sup>2</sup>Alberti, IX.iv.192, quoted in full above p. 32, n. 2.

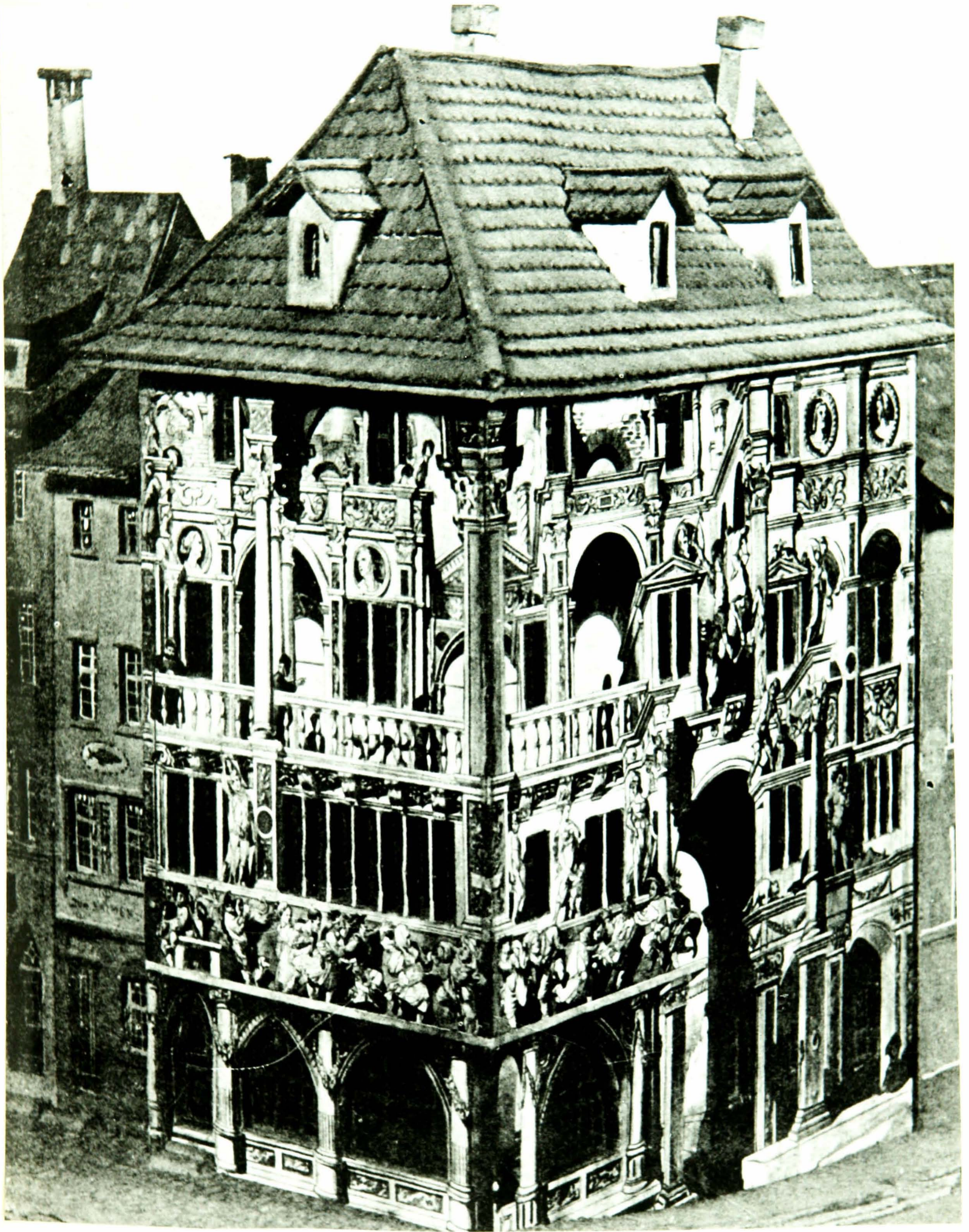


Plate 2. Reconstruction of Holbein's 'House of Dance' in Basle.

been argued that Holbein sold engravings of ornamental designs for wall paintings.<sup>1</sup> His role as one of the main sources of Renaissance influence in England is undisputed.

Elaborate grotesque work with its myriad figures and possibly an early form of landscape painting with their texts filled the gardens of Renaissance England while personal mythologies, the happier stories of history and classical myth decorated the summer houses and surrounding galleries. To these decorations were added carved reliefs, wooden figures, and later free standing statues. The painted figure of St. Peter on the gate and the figure of Christ with their inscriptions in Eusebius's garden have their counterparts in English gardens. Although as with frescoes and grotesque work none of the original painted and perishable wooden figures survive, the painted wooden beasts and vanes of Hampton Court remain familiar today through reproductions. Edmund More was paid £159 in 1530 for carving and painting 159 of the original beasts.<sup>2</sup> The privy garden at Whitehall still contained painted columns topped with carved wooden animals carrying pennants of the Queen's escutcheon when Herr Leopold von Wedel visited it in 1585.<sup>3</sup> Later this impulse continued in stone statues such as that of Orpheus at Gorhambury which stood against the gate to the orchard and carried a lengthy inscription.

<sup>1</sup>Francis W. Reader, "Tudor Domestic Wall-paintings, II," Archaeological Journal, 93 (1936), 227.

<sup>2</sup>Amherst, 93.

<sup>3</sup>In Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners, ed. Victor Von Klarwill (1928), 319.

The central fountain with inscriptions of the Middle Ages continued to appear in gardens but with increasing elaborations. The fountains in the courtyards at Dundas Castle and the Palace of Linlithgow, the Venus fountain opposite the central bay of Theobalds are examples as is the fountain of lions, dragons, and beasts in the inner quadrangle at Richmond and the fountain of Diana at Nonsuch. Influenced by Pope Julius II's collection of ancient statuary at the Belvedere, this elaboration sought further expression in free standing objects. Although the fashion for the display of statuary swept Italy in the first half of the sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> the first garden collection as such did not appear in England until 1615 when the Earl of Arundel created a museum garden at Arundel House.<sup>2</sup> Such collections were part of a changed attitude to the garden, but individual statues played their part in earlier garden designs in England in the late sixteenth century.

Plutarch's statement from Simonides that painting is mute poetry, poetry a speaking picture appealed to the Renaissance love of synaesthesia and edification, and the attitude it engendered to constructional materials flourished in the garden as nowhere else. Paint, stone, water, plants, and texts<sup>3</sup> were used interchangeably.

<sup>1</sup>See Georgina Masson, 62, 78, 124-7, 133-4, for a description of the influence of Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (1499), the role of the Belvedere, and the gardens of Poggio Bracciolini and the Medici family. Bramante's innovations at the Belvedere included the architectural use of statuary, the elaboration of the niche, and the development of terracing and steps as a means of integration.

<sup>2</sup>Strong, 19.

<sup>3</sup>In the context of synaesthesia, John Sparrow's definition of the Renaissance inscription as words which lose part of their meaning if heard and not seen should be kept in mind. See John Sparrow, Visible Words, A Study of Inscriptions in and as Books and Works of Art (Cambridge, 1969), 2.

In a gardening manual of the time translated by Barnabe Googe for use in England Eusebius's lesson to Timothy is repeated:

Howe excellently have you garnished this paradise of yours with all kinde of pleasures: your Parlors, & your banquetting houses both within and without, as all bedecked with pictures of beautifull Flowres and Trees, that you may not onely feede your eyes with the beholding of the true and lively Flowre, but also delight your selfe with the counterfaite in the middst of Winter, seeing in the one, the painted flowre to contende in beautie with the very flowre; in the other, the wonderfull worke of nature, and in both, the passing goodnesse of GOD.<sup>1</sup>

The similar, but more profound and extensive statement of Daniello Bartoli is well known. With reference to mosaics he says,

Is not the source of wonder, and therefore of delight in such works, the fact that one sees one thing used to express another?....The same happens when we use anything taken from history, from fables, from nature and art, to represent something in the moral order which it is not: in such a way that there should be so much appropriateness and correspondence of reciprocal proportion between truth and its likeness that the whole, so to speak, should not seem to be an artifice of the brain but the philosophy of nature, as if nature had written, almost in cipher, her precepts everywhere.<sup>2</sup>

English gardens manifest most of the features dealt with at such length in Erasmus's "The Godly Feast," and they display these features in significant groups like the group of the owl, eagle, hare, and wren in Eusebius's fresco in order to represent something in the moral order.

In these early Renaissance gardens there is no sense of spatial integration in the modern sense. Rather they consist of a number of separate gardens, groves, or features -- in fact a series of lectures

<sup>1</sup>Conrad Heresbach, Four Bookes of Husbandry, 1577, tr. Barnabe Googe, The English Experience, 323, (1971), fols. 48-9, sig. F<sup>v</sup> - G<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>In Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, 2 vols. (2nd. edn., Rome, 1964), I, 19. The italics are part of the text.

or symbolic exercises, each integrated by theme. There is every reason to believe that these themes and their expression in Renaissance gardens came to be as carefully orchestrated to a written program as Botticelli's "Primavera" seems to have been by the discussions of the Medici set and by the letter of Ficino to Lorenzo.<sup>1</sup> While no programmes of gardens as such have as yet been found, the mass of corollary evidence at least for European gardens is overwhelming. Vasari describes in detail the iconography of the garden of the Medici villa at Castello as a unified programme.<sup>2</sup> The grotto there is said to illustrate the legend of the unicorn as told in the Greek Physiologus and in no other source.<sup>3</sup> Tesauro explains the arrangement of statues at Racconigi as intended to promote contemplation of celestial astronomy.<sup>4</sup> At the Chateau d'Anet built for Diane de Poitiers, Tyard provided the programme for a set of pictures, one of which incorporates the chateau as a Temple of Isis and a fountain from the gardens, probably the Diana fountain.<sup>5</sup> A similar iconographic continuity has been noted between Tiepolo's frescoes and the arrangement of the garden at the Villa Valmarana at Vicenza.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. E.H. Gombrich, "Botticelli's Mythologies: A Study in the Neoplatonic Symbolism of his Circle," JWCI, 8 (1945).

<sup>2</sup>Giorgio Vasari, The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, 4 vols., ed. William Gaunt, tr. Temple Classics, Everyman (1927; rpt., 1963), III, 169-75.

<sup>3</sup>Liliane Châtelet-Lange, "The Grotto of the Unicorn and the Garden of the Villa di Castello," Art Bull., 50 (1968). The author, p. 57, describes Tribolo's work at Castello from 1538 as the first coherent garden programme.

<sup>4</sup>In Elisabeth MacDougall, "Ars Hortulorum: Sixteenth-Century Iconography and Literary Theory in Italy," The Italian Garden; First Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, ed David R. Coffin (Washington, D.C., 1972), 39. The collection is cited hereafter as The Italian Garden.

<sup>5</sup>Yates, 135.

<sup>6</sup>L. Puppi, "The Villa Garden of the Veneto," The Italian Garden, 114.



Elaborate programmes have also been convincingly put forward using contemporary documentation for the Villa d'Este and Aldobrandini's villa.<sup>1</sup> At the Villa d'Este in the 1560's the architect designed the gardens around the legends of Hippolytus and Hercules to honour the owner Ippolito II. Hercules was the patron deity of Tivoli and reputedly an ancestor of the Este family. In the original plan the central alley led from the fountain of the Hesperian dragon to divide at the feet of a towering statue of Hercules. At one end of the divided alley, representing the Choice of Hercules, stood a Grotto of Venus as Voluptas, while the other led to a Grotto of Diana as Chastity. Other themes such as those embodied in the legends of Pandora, Achilles, the unicorn, and the rivers of Italy were evoked in the side alleys, groves, and minor gardens to contribute further meaning to the dominant legends. The result is not always now intelligible, but clearly the effect sought is not that of a single unified statement but a complex intellectual programme for repeated analysis and appreciation.

Unfortunately the evidence which survives for the application of programmes to British gardens with one exception is too fragmentary to allow reconstruction of any one complete programme. Evidence of the significant grouping of individual features, however, in the context of our European knowledge suggests that similar iconographical preoccupations guided the design of gardens here. For example, the statue of Orpheus at Gorhambury stood against the gate to the orchard which was flanked on one side by a garden and on the other by a wilderness. The statue was inscribed,

<sup>1</sup>See David Coffin, The Villa d'Este at Tivoli (Princeton, N.J., 1960), and K. Schwager, "Aldobrandini's Villa," Romisches Jahrbuch fur Kunstgeschichte, 9-10 (1961-2). The following account of the Villa d'Este is based on Coffin, 78-97.

Horrida nuper eram aspectu latebraeque ferarum,  
 Ruricolis tantum numinibusque locus.  
 Edomitor faustò huc dum forte supervenit Orpheus  
 Ulterius qui me non sinit esse rudem;  
 Convocat, avulsis virgulta virentia truncis,  
 Et sedem quae vel Diis placuisse potest.  
 Sicque mei cultor, sic est mihi cultus et Orpheus:  
 Floreat O noster cultus amorque diu!<sup>1</sup>

Within the orchard was a summerhouse with representations of the seven liberal arts on its walls as well as the heads of "Cicero, Aristotle & other illustrious antients."<sup>2</sup> The whole area expresses a clear thematic unity, but what its role was as a component in the programme of the garden as a whole cannot be determined.

Records of the development of the palace and gardens at Nonsuch from 1538 to the Parliamentary Survey of 1650 afford tantalizing glimpses of several such components. The façade of the inner court was covered with a number of plaster panels arranged in three bands. These were carved with figures in relief of the classical gods, the labours of Hercules, the liberal arts and virtues, floral panels and insignia, while the highest order included thirty-one emperors perhaps in terracotta.<sup>3</sup> The centre piece was a likeness of Henry VIII enthroned with his foot on a lion. That the series of panels was intended to be read as a unit is indicated by Anthony Watson: "Can harm befall the body politic when its most sagacious king, wielding the sceptre, is protected, on the right, by the arts and virtues and avenging goddesses, on the left by the feats of Hercules and the tender care of the gods; that he may act always in affairs

<sup>1</sup>In Nichols, Elizabeth, II, 58; see also Pennant, 225.

<sup>2</sup>Pennant, 226.

<sup>3</sup>John Dent, The Quest for Nonsuch (1962), 92-6. See also Martin Biddle, "Nonsuch Palace," History Today, 11 (1961); Martin Biddle, "The Vanished Gardens of Nonsuch," CL, 130 (26 Oct. 61); and Strong, 39, 53-9.

without danger, in leisure with dignity?"<sup>1</sup>

Similar panels adorned the outer walls of the inner court facing the privy garden. (See Plate 3.) When Evelyn saw these figures some of which seemed to him as big a life, on January 7, 1666, he recognized the "work of some excellent Italian." Bills to Nicholas Modena, who worked at Fontainebleau, exist for the slate carvings<sup>2</sup> of which Evelyn writes,

Timber punchions, entretices &c were all so covered with Scales of Slate, that it seemed carved in the Wood, & painted, the Slat<sup>3</sup> fastned on the timber in pretty figures.

It is a pity that by 1666 Evelyn should take so little interest in the iconography for it is possible these panels presented the main themes circumscribing the layout of all the gardens at Nonsuch throughout its history and yet no description of their subject matter is known.

The heraldic obelisk and marble columns bearing the family popinjays in front of the decorated façade seen in the engraving from Speed (c. 1611), were added by Lord Lumley in the 1580's along with the central fountain dedicated either to Venus or Diana.<sup>4</sup> To the northwest was a maze, a wilderness, and a Grove of Diana. In

<sup>1</sup>In Dent, 96, 98. Anthony Watson was Rector of Cheam and later Bishop of Chichester. His Latin poem on Nonsuch dates from the 1580's and constitutes a major source of information about the palace and grounds. Dent, pp. 57-60, reprints a substantial portion of the MS, and quotes extensively from it.

<sup>2</sup>Biddle, "Nonsuch Palace," 209.

<sup>3</sup>The Diary of John Evelyn, 6 vols., ed. E.S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955), III, 427.

<sup>4</sup>Strong, 65.

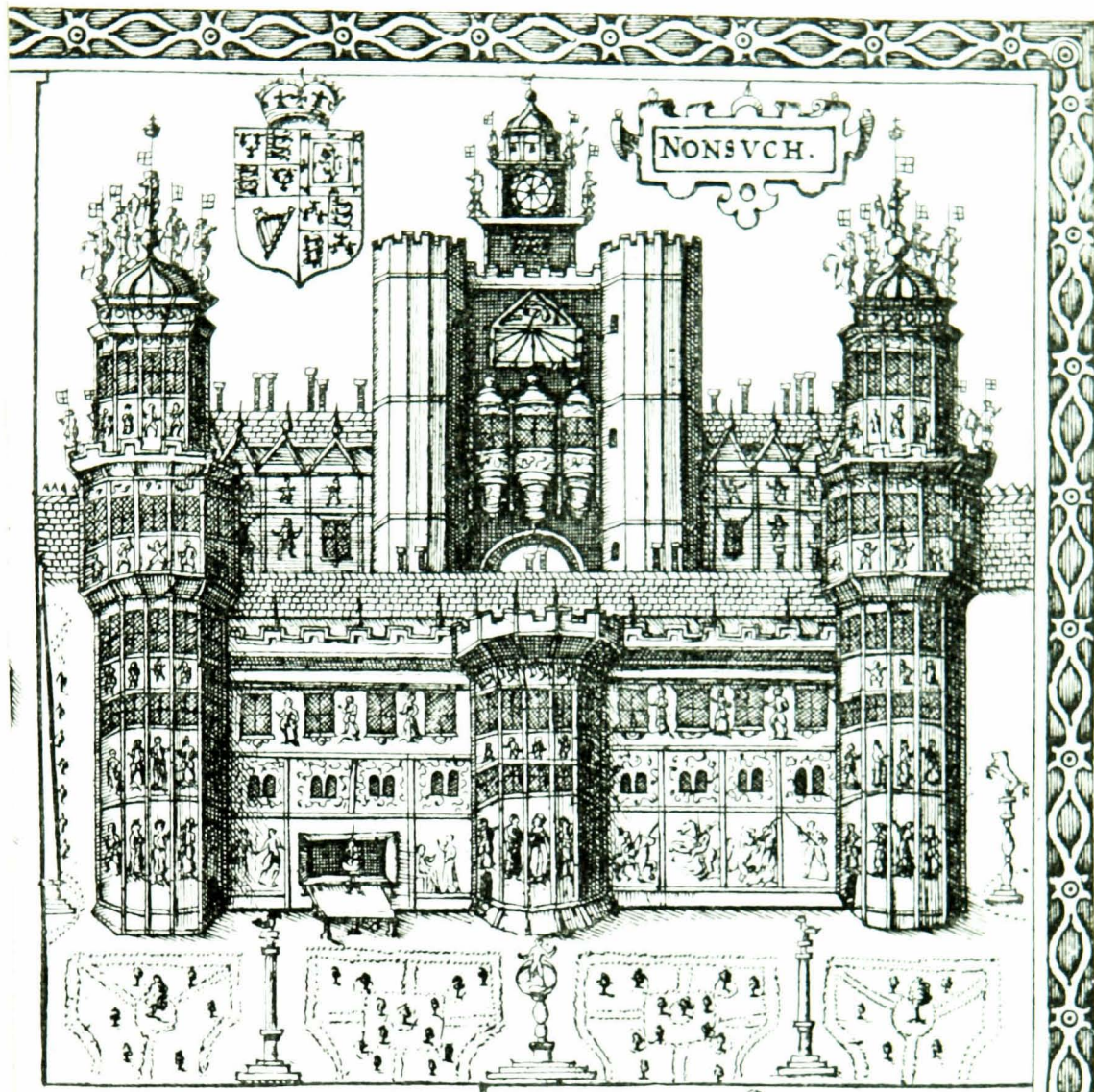


Plate 3. Inset from Jodocus Hondius's Map of Surrey in John Speed's The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine, 1611.

the centre of the grove was a rock fountain fed by natural water springs. The rock fountain was a popular feature of Renaissance gardens with examples in England at Hatfield House and at Enstone, the home of Thomas Bushell.<sup>1</sup> There were two traditions of interpretation of rock fountains. In that of the followers of St. John the rock is the symbol of baptism, while the Pauline school regarded it as the rock of living water of Exodus 10.6 and an emblem of the pierced side of Christ and thus of the Eucharist.<sup>2</sup> Visitors to Nonsuch would recognize the rock fountain there as an emblem of purity in conjunction with the legend of Diana and Actaeon which was enacted by the statues and figures carved and painted round the basin. To one side stood a small temple carved with three sets of verses suitable to the goddess of chastity:

Nil impudicum pudicitate Dea  
 Nil turpe suadet sederis vindicta  
 Sed mala mens malus animus.

Impuri fontis  
 Inclari rivuli  
 Ingratae mentis  
 Impuri oculi.

Aestuanti umbra  
 Languanti sedes  
 Noli in umbra umbratilis esse  
 Nec sint sedenti serpentis oculi.<sup>3</sup>

The overall effect was that of a grotto. Like the fountain of Diana at the Palazzo Pitti which depicted the legend of Diana and Acteon in conjunction with a nearby cave,<sup>4</sup> the reference of the fable is

<sup>1</sup>The walls of the rooms above Bushell's grotto were covered with frescoes depicting biblical stories about water. See Strong, 130-3, for description and plates.

<sup>2</sup>Jean Danielou, S.J., From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers, tr. Dom. W. Hibberd (1960), 193-210.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Platter's Travels in England, ed. and tr. Clare Williams (1937), 196.

<sup>4</sup>Eugenio Battisti, "Natural Artificiosa to Natura Artificialis," The Italian Garden, 23.

directly to Ovid's Metamorphoses, III.155, but with a possible Christian overlay. Lacking evidence of the programme of the garden as a whole it is not possible to be more specific.<sup>1</sup>

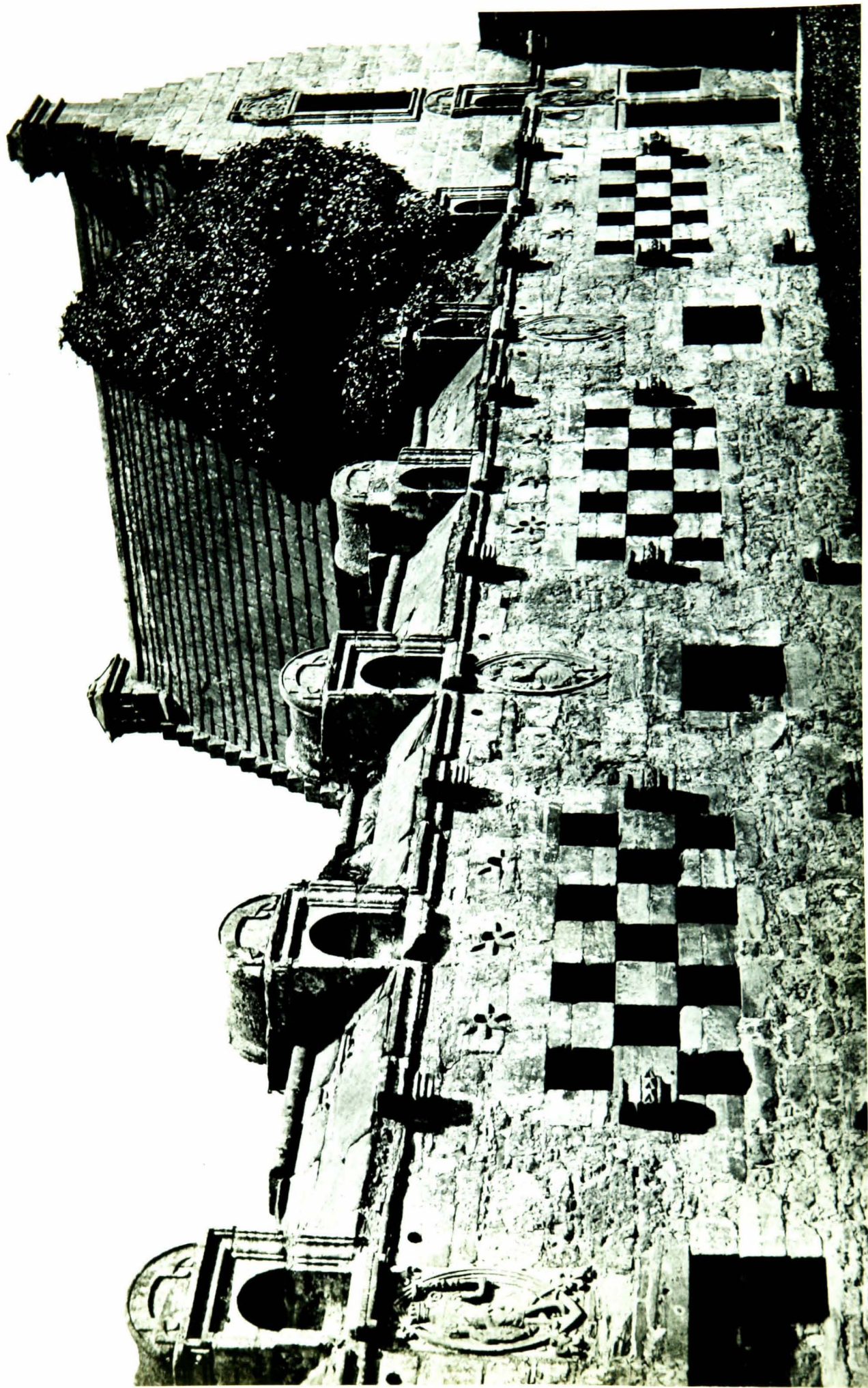
The reliefs of Edzell Castle, Angus, date from 1604 and form the only surviving iconographical group in Britain which integrates an entire garden. They are later than those of Nonsuch which were almost finished by the death of Henry VIII in 1547,<sup>2</sup> and their inspiration is partly German rather than French and Italian, but the moral intention is similar. The garden walls display a series of sculptured panels. To the east are the planetary deities with the appropriate signs of the Zodiac. (See Plate 4.) They are based on a series of engravings made in 1528-9 by Master I.B. of Nuremberg, who may be Georg Pencz, a pupil of Durer.<sup>3</sup> To the south are represented the liberal arts and to the west the cardinal virtues. The panels on all three walls alternate with the heraldic devices of the Lindsay family created through a relief of stars and three rows of stones recessed alternately to create a chequered effect. It is thought the recesses were planted with flowers of the appropriate heraldic

<sup>1</sup>Roy Strong, pp. 65-9, argues that Lumley created a coherent programme in honour of Queen Elizabeth in the gardens at Nonsuch and particularly in the Grove of Diana. He also suggests detailed programmes for the labyrinth at Theobalds, p. 56, Twickenham Park of 1609, pp. 120, 122, Danver's House, pp. 179-80, and Wilton House of 1632-5, pp. 158-9. Unfortunately, despite the suitability of the proposed programmes, the evidence in most cases does not seem to me to warrant such conclusions, and they remain only attractive speculations.

<sup>2</sup>Biddle, "Nonsuch Palace, " 207.

<sup>3</sup>W. Douglas Simpson, Edzell Castle, Official Guide (Edinburgh, 1952), 9. For a description of the garden see also A.G.L. Hellyer, "Scotland's Renaissance Gardens," CL, 148 (13 Aug. 70).

Plate 4.  
East side of  
the garden wall,  
Edzell Castle,  
Angus.



colour while the prominent stones were painted blue. Niches presumably for busts are provided above the heraldic signs and the figure panels except on the west wall.

The organization of the decorations at Edzell retains its significance today. Reading clockwise from the house<sup>1</sup> and, as the sun of man's day and life progresses, from east to west, the visitor considers the heavens, their influence at birth and thenceforth, then the cardinal virtues which must be the foundation of man's earthly life, and finally signs of the education necessary to perfect those virtues. The heraldry of the Lindsay family on the walls and over the gate to the garden is a continuation of the theme. The heraldry is a celebration of the nobility founded on the exercise of the philosophy depicted on the three walls. No doubt a similar message could be read in the façade of Nonsuch with its mixture of kings, Herculean legend, and the virtues, if sufficient knowledge of the plasters were available.

The appeal of these programmes is that of the witty conceit. Thomas Whateley's strongly voiced objection to the remnants of the iconographical garden over a hundred years later expresses so exactly the character of this appeal to Renaissance taste that it is worth quoting in full. (The italics except for the first one are mine.)

Character is very reconcileable with beauty; and, even when independent of it, has attracted so much regard, as to occasion several frivolous attempts to produce it; statues, inscriptions, and even paintings, history and mythology, and a variety of devices, have been introduced for this purpose. The heathen deities and heroes have

<sup>1</sup>Simpson, pp. 9-10, gives a broadly similar reading of the scheme but is mistaken in beginning with the cardinal virtues of the west wall.



therefore had their several places assigned to them in the woods and the lawns of a garden; natural cascades have been disfigured with river gods, and columns erected only to receive quotations; the compartments of a summer-house have been filled with pictures of gambols and revels, as significant of gaiety; the cypress because it was once used in funerals, has been thought peculiarly adapted to melancholy; and the decorations, the furniture, and the environs of a building, have been crowded with puerilities, under the pretence of propriety. All these devices are rather emblematical than expressive; they may be ingenious contrivances, and recall absent ideas to the recollection, but they make no immediate impression, for they must be examined, compared, perhaps explained, before the whole design of them is well understood; and though an allusion to a favourite or well-known subject of history, or poetry, or of tradition, may now and then animate or dignify a scene, yet as the subject does not naturally belong to a garden, the allusion should not be principal; it should seem to have been suggested by the scene; a transitory image, which irresistibly [sic] occurred; not sought for, not laboured; and have the force of a metaphor, free from the detail of an allegory!

Emblem, allegory, ingenuity, and intellectual mystery, it is exactly these aspects that the Renaissance delighted in to such an extent that the painter's garden finally became too popular and hence debased in design and execution. In 1659/60 in a letter to Sir Thomas Browne John Evelyn voiced his

abhorrancie of those painted and formal projections of our Cockney Gardens and plotts, which appeare like Gardens of past board and March pane and smell more of paynt then of flowers and verdure: our drift is a noble, princely, and universall Elysium, capable of all the amoenities that can naturally be introduced into Gardens of pleasure.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Whately, Observations, in John Dixon Hunt, The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting, and Gardening during the Eighteenth Century (1976), 189-90.

<sup>2</sup>The Works of Sir Thomas Browne, 4 vols., ed. Geoffrey Keynes (1928; rpt. Oxford, 1964), IV, 174-5. The letter is dated 28 Jan 1659/60 by Keynes.

Evelyn's ideal looked forward to a different kind of awareness and to a different attitude to nature, an attitude which finally broke completely with medieval concepts. The garden of nurture designed as a speaking picture to stimulate the intellectual apprehension of a higher reality behind the material world was gradually replaced by a garden designed to stimulate feelings and psychological moods as an end in themselves. Nature was no longer to be dominated and overcome, but was accorded a reality of its own to be appreciated and respected in the garden as elsewhere. Whateley's praise is reserved for gardens which are expressive, make an immediate impression, and seem natural. His distinction between the associative force of metaphor and the analytical detail of allegory is not lightly made. It sums up some of the problems to be explored in the pages to come.

Part of the frontispiece to Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy seems to summarize pictorially the character of the garden of nurture as I have described it. Plate 5 shows Democritus seated under a plane tree beside a garden of plants individually and carefully delineated in their separate beds. The walls are hung or painted with strange animals. Within the text Burton explains the immediate source of the frontispiece as a story about Democritus's search for the seat of melancholy in the anatomy of animals.<sup>1</sup> The scientific attitude is more prominent in the garden of 1628 than in that of Eusebius and the idea of solitude is stronger.<sup>2</sup> However,

<sup>1</sup>Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy, 3 vols., Everyman (1932; rpt., 1949), I, 48-52.

<sup>2</sup>See Strong, 215-19, for a brief discussion of Burton's frontispiece and the theme of melancholy in gardens.

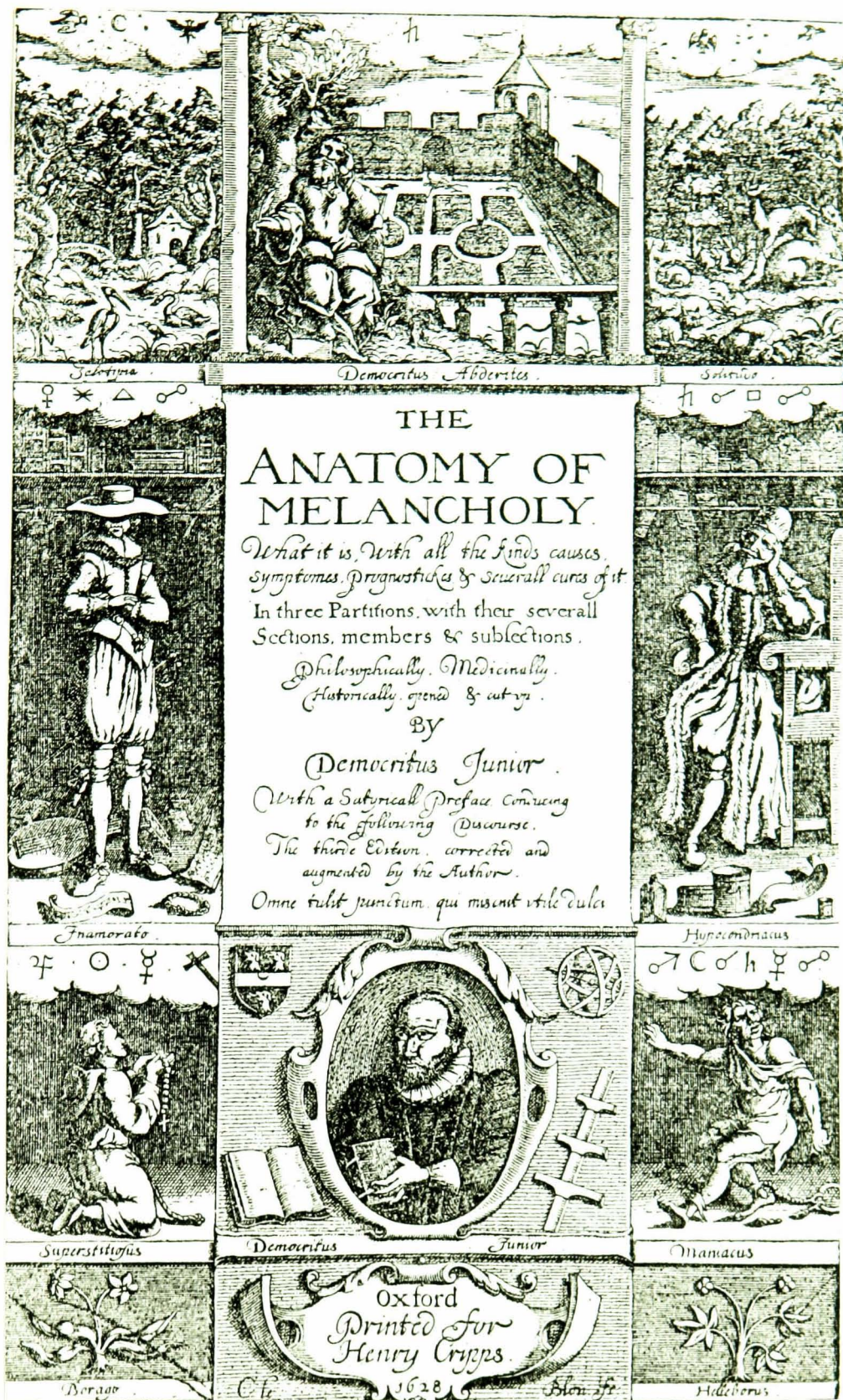


Plate 5. Frontispiece to Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, first published 1628. The identification of the plane tree is tentative.

when Burton writes an endorsement of Democritus's retreat to the garden in the suburbs of Adjura and of one treatment for melancholy, he recalls the entire lineage of the philosopher's garden.

I may not deny but that there is some profitable meditation, contemplation, and kind of solitariness to be embraced, which the Fathers so highly recommended, Hierome, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Austen, in whole tracts, which Petrarch, Erasmus, Stella, and others so much magnify in their books; a paradise, a heaven on earth, if it be used aright, good for the body, and better for the soul: as many of those old monks used it, to divine contemplations....Or to the bettering of their knowledge, as Democritus, Cleanthes, and those excellent philosophers have ever done, to sequester themselves from the tumultuous world, or as in Pliny's Villa Laurentana, Tully's Tusculan, Jovius' study, that they might better vacare studiis et Deo, serve God and follow their studies.<sup>1</sup>

#### V. The Image of the Philosopher's Garden in Selected Poetry

The preceding pages have been devoted to the description of the transformation of the philosopher's garden into the garden of nurture with its highly sophisticated artforms as if the development were continuous. Continuous it was in that the movement began in the Renaissance in ideas like those expressed in Erasmus's "The Godly Feast" and the geometric garden designed by Laurana for the Ducal Palace at Urbino and reached its greatest intensity of expression in what Gothein calls the 'garden museum series' represented by the Villas Medici and Mattei in Florence and the Villas Albani and Borghese in Rome,<sup>2</sup> or Rubens's house and garden in Antwerp. (See Plate 6.) Insofar as the latter were designed for display more than for intellectual stimulation the decline of the ideal of the philosopher's garden had already begun. Of course, the development of this kind of garden design was never exclusive; older forms

<sup>1</sup>Burton, I, 247.

<sup>2</sup>Gothein, I, 350.

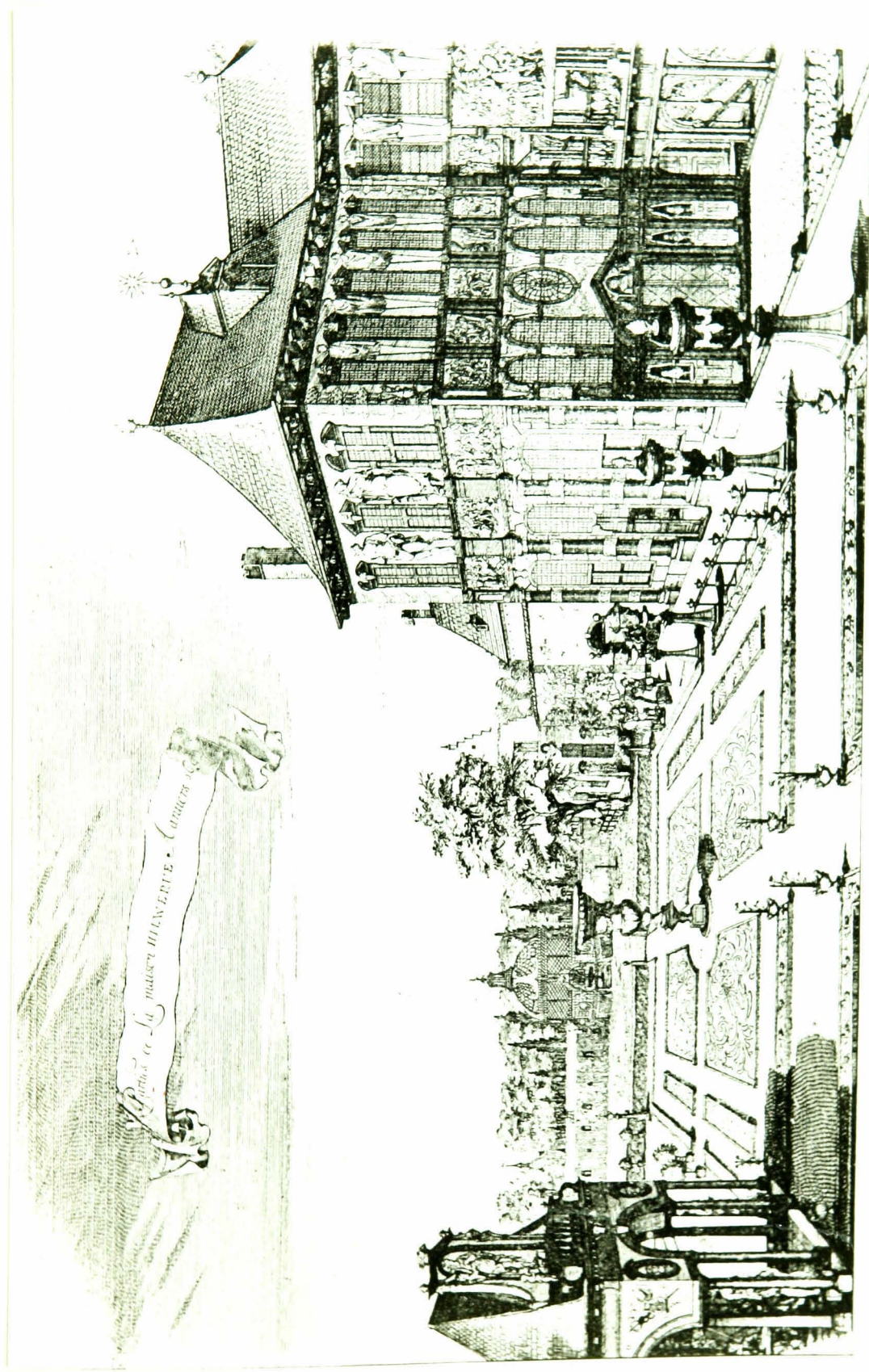


Plate 6. Rubens's house and garden at Antwerp.

of the garden persisted as did mixtures of medieval and Renaissance design. In the poetry which incorporated the ideal of the philosopher's garden, however, there is anything but a continuous pattern of development in its portrayal of that ideal. The ideal in Henry More's Psychozoia is that of the literary motif in the Phaedrus, Milton's garden in Paradise Lost, V-VIII, owes much to the early philosopher's garden of the sixteenth-century academies, and Chapman's garden in Ovids Banquet of Sence is the later garden of nurture with overtones of decadence in his portrayal of it.

Henry More's Divine Dialogues, 1668, in their setting perpetuate the ideal of the philosopher's garden into the last half of the seventeenth century. They were reprinted in 1713 and 1714. In this use of the setting the prose Dialogues join the dialectical company of works such as Erasmus's The Antibarbari and Lipsius's Two Bookes of Constancie. The setting is a literary formula to announce the philosophical nature of the material and to establish a genial atmosphere.<sup>1</sup> But it is More's use of the setting in his poem Psychozoia, 1642, which concerns us here. The description is bare.

But now new Stories I 'gin to relate,  
Which aged Mnemon unto us did tell,  
Whiles we on grassie bed did lie prostrate  
Under a shady Beach, which did repell  
The fiery scorching shafts which Ariel  
From Southern quarter darted with strong hand.  
No other help we had; for Gabriel  
His wholesome cooling blasts then quite restrain'd.  
The Lions flaming breath with heat parch'd all the land.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>As Fr. Euistor in his epistle to a friend remarks, the form allows him to record "the Humours and Passions of men as well as their Reasonings" (Henry More, Divine Dialogues [1668], n. pag.).

<sup>2</sup>Canto III, St. 1, p. 81. Citations are to Philosophical Poems of Henry More, ed. Geoffrey Bullough (Manchester, 1931), which contains a helpful introduction to the complexities and vagaries of More's thought.

More's description owes nothing to actual scenery, and it noticeably alters the literary motif as established by Plato's Phaedrus. The refreshing stream is absent as are the cooling breezes. More uses the literary formula of tree and grassy bank for one purpose and the alterations in the setting for another.

More uses the setting to announce a stage in the spiritual journey of the poem. Mnemon in Canto II passes through Beirah, the land of this earth's temptations and errors. The canto analyzes the nature of material existence and culminates in the satire of birds and Mnemon's discussions with Psittaco, Graculo, and Corvino of religious positions in the church. The beginning of Canto III finds Mnemon past the wall of Self-Conceit about to start his journey through Dizoie, the land of the mind. The philosopher's setting of shady tree and grassy bank at the beginning of the canto is an arbitrary signal to the reader of a change in the level and nature of the poem. From the world and its activities Mnemon has turned to the contemplation of the individual soul. The poem moves into the realm of the spirit and truth.

This use of the setting to announce philosophical subject matter is not unusual. We have already noted a similar and very striking use of the same idea in part of the frontispiece to Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, though the selection of Democritus, the leading natural philosopher of the ancients, defines Burton's subject more narrowly than usual. Curtius notes that the ancients wrote poetry, prose, and philosophy under the plane tree to such an extent that one can speak

of the motif of 'arbore sub quadam.'<sup>1</sup> He describes this motif, however, as developing into the sociological framework of pastoral. Its essentials are shade, a spring, and a bank or grotto for a seat. But while the poetry of pastoral can evoke poplar, elm, willow, or Virgilian beech, as we have seen and despite More's beech tree, philosophy in the Renaissance came to be particularly associated with the plane.

More also uses the setting of the third canto to make a symbolic contribution to his dialectics. Mnemon's sojourn in Dizoie is a pilgrimage of purification. He passes through a storm in which he experiences the sweat of spiritual agony, but the final moment of illumination is prepared for in the scorching heat of the valley of Ain. Autaparnes and Hypomone, or Self-denial and Patience, are left behind. As all selfhood has been burned away they are no longer necessary. More's alteration of the philosopher's setting in omitting the refreshment of water and adding the fiery shafts foreshadows the trials to come and at once establishes the tormented atmosphere of the canto. In the figures of Ariel and Gabriel More opposes the Christian and pagan worlds. Gabriel is the messenger of the annunciation, Luke 1.26 in the New Testament, and the messenger to Daniel on the nature of sacrifice, Daniel 8.16 in the Old Testament. To end his poem More refers again to the philosopher's setting, but now the peace normally associated with it is granted:

This story under the cool shadowing Beach  
Old Mnemon told of famous Dizoie.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages. tr. W. R. Trask (1953), 186-8.

<sup>2</sup>Canto III, st. 70, p. 104.



The ideal of the philosopher's garden is at the heart of Milton's Paradise Lost, V-VIII, but, unlike More's evocation which is both traditional and imaginative and yet remains within the realm of the classical literary motif, Milton's ideal seems to go beyond literary models to evoke the philosopher's garden as realized in the sixteenth-century academy. Raphael and Adam attended by Eve converse in the garden for educational purposes. The genial, social atmosphere of their conversation is insisted on by Milton. God commissions Raphael:

Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend  
 Converse with Adam, in what bower or shade  
 Thou find'st him from the heat of noon retired,  
 To respite his day-labour with repast,  
 Or with repose; and such discourse bring on,  
 As may advise him of his happy state.<sup>1</sup>

V.229-34.

Although Raphael is an angel instructed by God with a message for Adam, Milton insists on dialogue not lecture. Raphael describes the war in heaven, the creation, celestial order and the scale of nature stressing free will, the role of reason and the limitations of knowledge, while Adam describes his discovery of Paradise, the creation of Eve, and the turmoil Eve's attractions create in him. Adam's contribution is not gratuitous, it repairs Raphael's admitted ignorance.

To whom thus Raphael answered heavenly meek,  
 Nor are thy lips ungraceful, sire of men,  
 Nor tongue ineloquent; for God on thee  
 Abundantly his gifts hath also poured  
 Inward and outward both, his image fair:  
 Speaking or mute all comeliness and grace  
 Attends thee, and each word, each motion forms.  
 Nor less think we in heaven of thee on earth  
 Than of our fellow servant, and inquire

<sup>1</sup>Citations are to John Milton 'Paradise Lost', ed. Alastair Fowler, (1968, rpt., 1976).

Gladly into the ways of God with man:  
 For God we see hath honoured thee, and set  
 On man his equal love: say therefore on;  
 For I that day was absent...

VIII.217-29.

Adam and Raphael alike have their titles and converse as two noblemen, not forgetting or over-attentive to the difference in their ranks, but united in their service to the same king. This unity of purpose is cemented in the meal they share which argues in the materiality of the angel the continuity between Adam and Raphael.<sup>1</sup> Although Milton had authority for the visit of Raphael in the visitation of Abraham in the plains of Mamre in Gen. 18.1-2 and in the angel's instruction of Tobias in Tob. 12.15,<sup>2</sup> the particular conviviality of the shared repast<sup>3</sup> and easy exchange of ideas owes much to the informal academies of the sixteenth century.

Milton's description also shares with these academies a surprising similarity of subject matter. The fascination with language, its kinds and correlation to object, occupied many of the Italian academies such as the Orti Oricellari which experimented with the vulgar tongue. This fascination appears in Paradise Lost in Adam's naming

<sup>1</sup>J.B. Broadbent in Some Graver Subject: An Essay on 'Paradise Lost' (1960), 212, complains that it is not clear how the angels are superior to Adam. But Broadbent persists in seeing in Paradise Lost a "dogged dualism" (p. 216) and it is this which prevents him from recognizing a difference in degree not kind.

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of the biblical passages, especially Milton's insistence on the actuality of the meal contrary to Tob. 12.19, see James H. Sims, The Bible in Milton's Epic (Gainesville, Florida, 1962), 27-32, 201-5.

<sup>3</sup>Harold Fisch, "Hebraic Style and Motifs in Paradise Lost" in Language and Style in Milton, ed. R.D. Emma and John T. Shawcross (N.Y., 1967), 53-6, discusses Milton's use of the Jewish Bible of Buxtorf. He traces the 'Biedermeier' quality of Milton's narrative to the angels's meals with Abraham and Lot in Gen. 18:1-2 and Gen. 19:3, but these passages do not to my mind account for the particular blend of the ceremonial with the familiar in Milton's scene.

of the animals.<sup>1</sup> The role of beauty and love is a theme shared with the academies as in Bembo's discourse in Book IV of The Courtier.<sup>2</sup> Cosmology is another shared theme. Bäif's academy studied the theories of Copernicus and the mechanics of Galileo.<sup>3</sup> Even the war in heaven becomes a shared theme if seen as part of the many discussions of the role of the courtier, his conduct and duty to the prince.

To see the war in heaven only in the context of the classical epic blinds the reader to Milton's preoccupation with character rather than action. The knightly ideal which so attracted Milton that he once thought to write an *Arthuriad* is revived in the first day of the war in heaven when armoured angels meet in individual battle. Christ's soldiers have the edge in this battle and Abdiel's faith in virtue's power against the unaided strength of evil is justified. Abdiel is much closer in character to Chaucer's 'very perfect gentil Knight' than to Aeneas. This knightly ideal is overwhelmed only on the second day with the invention of gunpowder, as indeed it had been in Europe.<sup>4</sup> Gunpowder was to the knightly ideal what hypocrisy was to Uriel. The virtuous man of courage, like the angel, is insufficient to stand alone against the strategies of evil historically and spiritually. The war in heaven is a lesson in the necessity of

<sup>1</sup>For further discussion see pp. 82-3.

<sup>2</sup>Baldassare Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, tr. Sir Thomas Hoby, ed. W.E. Henley, The Tudor Trans., 23 (N.Y., 1967).

<sup>3</sup>Yates, 100.

<sup>4</sup>The French levelled one fortification after another in Italy in 1494 with the use of gunpowder, but the attempt to design a castle to meet the new force was not abandoned in England until the reign of Elizabeth I.

grace, but it is also a lesson in the courtier's unremitting fealty to his prince. Fish has pointed out that the war in heaven is a test of obedience. God leaves the angels nothing except their wills and yet, in an impossible situation, for the war can have no end, they stand fast.<sup>1</sup> One of the questions raised of the duties of the courtier was how far he was bound by his fealty and under what conditions he was justified in refusing to serve.<sup>2</sup>

That Milton used an ideal of the philosopher's garden similar to that of the informal sixteenth-century academies is further emphasized by the almost point by point contrast with the meeting of Adam and Michael in Books XI-XIII. Adam and Michael withdraw from the comforts of the garden to the highest hill of paradise, whose steep path requires a safe guide (XI.371-2). Milton compares the hill to that wilderness mountain Ezekiel ascended and the reader supplies another analogue in the ascent of Moses to receive the tablets. It is difficult not to recall also Satan's temptation of Christ. The effect is to impart a very different tone to the meeting from the start. Different too is the character of the angel. Michael is a soldier with a cohort of troops in attendance, not a friend, and whatever consolation his visions may bring, his final order is to drive Adam and Eve from Paradise. The poet warns that

No more of talk where God or angel guest  
With man, as with his friend, familiar used  
To sit indulgent, and with him partake  
Rural repast, permitting him the while  
Venial discourse unblamed...

IX.1-5.

<sup>1</sup>Stanley Eugene Fish, Surprised by Sin: The Reader in 'Paradise Lost' (1967), 180-92.

<sup>2</sup>See, for example, The Courtier, II.

When Adam sees Michael approaching from afar he recognizes the change.

such majesty  
 Invests him coming; yet not terrible,  
 That I should fear, nor sociably mild,  
 As Raphael, that I should much confide,  
 But solemn and sublime, whom not to offend,  
 With reverence I must meet, and thou retire.

XI.232-7.

While Eve is absent for part of Raphael's visit, Milton is at pains to assure the reader that her absence is by choice. Women played a large role in the informal Renaissance academies often acting as the cynosure of the group, determining its membership and atmosphere as did Sidney's sister, or directing the discussion as did Lady Vittoria Colonna and the Duchess of Urbino. Michael deliberately excludes Eve by putting her to sleep (XI.367-9). Finally the character of the intercourse between Adam and Michael radically differs from that between Adam and Raphael. The one is marked by congenial, if unequal, participation by both. Raphael's instruction is received with immediate understanding and pleasure, Michael's with confusion, disbelief, and finally submission to harsh inevitabilities. Adam's response is limited to emotional display. Even his questions for the most part are only expressions of emotion as in the horror and repugnance expressed in, "But have I now seen death?" (XI.462). After the crucifixion, Adam is closer to the exhaustion of pity and terror with its accompaniment of wonder than to the confident repose of enlightenment Raphael induces and which imitates the atmosphere of the academies.

We have seen how Milton's depiction of the scene in the garden in Paradise Lost, V-VIII, is similar to the sixteenth-century academy and how this similarity contributes to the congenial atmosphere and how our perception of this similarity alters our understanding of

some of Milton's themes such as the war in heaven. But the ideal of the philosopher's garden has a more important contribution to make. Milton centres his depiction of this ideal physically and intellectually around the banquet which was so often part of that ideal. Eusebius in Erasmus's "The Godly Feast," while generously urging his friends to eat their fill, uses the repast of salads and fruit to discourse on temperance, good husbandry, and self-sufficiency. A frugal meal also has a role in Erasmus's "The Poetic Feast" and Henry More's Divine Dialogues. Part of Bishop Sadoletto's lament quoted earlier<sup>1</sup> was for "homely banquets, flavoured more with wit than gluttony." The Oxford English Dictionary records one definition of 'banquet' as "a course of sweetmeats, fruit, and wine, served either as a separate entertainment, or as a continuation of the principal meal, but...usually in a different room." Shallow served pippins and caraways in the orchard; Cuphophon, fruit and wine among the scents of eglantine and honeysuckle in the arbour.<sup>2</sup> Eve serves an abundance of fruit and sweetmeats. Anthony Low reminds us that in an age prior to the use of glasshouses, this variety of fresh fruit would be the more appreciated. It emphasizes the innocence of Adam's golden world and its distance from the seventeenth-century reader.<sup>3</sup> In Eden, as in the tradition of the philosopher's

<sup>1</sup>See above p.13. Lucretius, De rerum natura, II.61, writes, "Nature does not miss these luxuries when men recline on the soft grass by a running stream under the branches of a tall tree and refresh their bodies pleasurably at small expense" (On the Nature of the Universe, tr. R.E. Latham [1951], 61).

<sup>2</sup>II Henry IV, v.iii.1-3; Henry More, Divine Dialogues (1668), 10.

<sup>3</sup>Anthony Low, "Angels and Food in Paradise Lost," Milton Studies, I (1969), 137-9.

garden, the garden and the banquet are sensual analogues in that each properly managed affords innocent sensual pleasure and a lesson in temperance.

Frank Kermode has identified the 'Banquet of Sense' as a little noticed topos of Renaissance literature, deriving from Paul's statement on the Eucharist in I Cor. 10, Christ's temptation in the wilderness, Luke 4.13, and Plato's Symposium.<sup>1</sup> It is frequently associated with the theme of the choice of Hercules, Circe's cup and Ovidian licentiousness. Kermode analyzes its appearance in Jonson's The Poetaster and The New Inn, Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis" and Timon of Athens, Marvell's "Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure" and Chapman's Ovids Banquet of Sence,<sup>2</sup> and concludes that the topos was regarded in the Renaissance as a bad thing and a form of trial.<sup>3</sup> But the licentious 'banquet of sense' is only the obverse form of the collation so often found as part of the ideal of the philosopher's garden.

The banquet in Paradise Lost is not so much a trial as a demonstration of the right use of nature. Eve's generosity expresses her appreciation of the goodness of God's gifts, of the fact that, according to I Cor. 10.26, the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. Although Milton does not emphasize a particular order of the senses in the abundant repast Eve provides in Paradise, all the senses except hearing are represented. Sight is nourished by the

<sup>1</sup>J.F. Kermode, "The Banquet of Sense," Bull. of the John Rylands Lib., 44 (1961).

<sup>2</sup>Kermode, 83.

<sup>3</sup>Kermode, 83.

beauty of Eve (V.379-85, 445-50), the splendour of Raphael (V.276-86), and dignity of Adam (V.350-7), the flower decked arbour (V.377-80), and the lavish display of food. Eve from every bough,

Each plant and juiciest gourd will pluck such choice  
To entertain our angel guest, as he  
Beholding shall confess that here on earth  
God hath dispensed his bounties as in heaven.

V.327-30.

She strews the ground of the arbour with fragrant roses and scented shrubs (V.349). Touch is evoked by the rough or smooth rind fruit, the bearded husk or shell and the mossy seats around the turf table, as well as by the cool juices of the repast in the shady recess. Appropriate to the context, taste receives the most attention.

She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent  
What choice to choose for delicacy best,  
What order, so contrived as not to mix  
Tastes, not well joined, inelegant, but bring  
Taste after taste upheld with kindest change,  
Bestirs her then, and from each tender stalk  
Whatever Earth all-bearing mother yields  
In India east or west, or middle shore  
In Pontus or the Punic coast, or where  
Alcinous reigned, fruit of all kinds, in coat,  
Rough, or smooth rind, or bearded husk, or shell  
She gathers, tribute large, and on the board  
Heaps with unsparing hand...

V.332-44.

Although in these lines Milton may well have enjoyed the poetic contest with Virgil's description of Dido's banquet, his purpose is different.<sup>1</sup> In Areopagitica Milton writes, "wherefore did he [God] creat passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertu?"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See among other studies, T.J.B. Spencer, "Paradise Lost: The Anti-Epic," in Approaches to Paradise Lost, ed. C.A. Patrides (Toronto, 1968), 90.

<sup>2</sup>The Complete Prose Works of John Milton, 6 vols., ed. Douglas Bush, et al. (New Haven Conn., 1953-73), II, 527.



His banquet of sense demonstrates this right use of nature. Eve prepared the cornucopia of Paradise with a due order and choice opposed to indiscriminate gluttony.<sup>1</sup> Milton assures the reader each ate only sufficient for his needs (V.451-2). That Adam understands the hierarchy of his appetites is made clear when Milton remedies his omission of the sense of hearing. The omission shows the importance Milton attached to this sense. No sound of running water or singing birds distracts the reader or Adam from the ear's primary occupation:

For while I sit with thee, I seem in heaven,  
And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear  
Than fruits of palm-tree pleasantest to thirst  
And hunger both, from labour, at the hour  
Of sweet repast; they satiate, and soon fill,  
Though pleasant, but thy words with grace divine  
Imbued, bring to their sweetness no satiety.

VIII.210-6.

But given two candidates for a demonstration of the proper use of the senses and nature, the philosopher's repast and the garden itself, why does Milton choose the repast? The garden was well established as a positive example of innocent pleasures. Sir William Temple's familiar declaration that "God almighty esteemed the life of a man in a garden the happiest he could give him, or else he would not have placed Adam in that of Eden" continues that "it was a state of innocence and pleasure."<sup>2</sup> Most gardening manuals of the Renaissance note Adam and Eve's presence in a garden before cataloguing the kings and noblemen like King Cyrus and Cincinnatus who delighted

<sup>1</sup>Alastair Fowler in his notes to V.393 points out that the square shape of Eve's table is emblematic of virtue and particularly of temperance.

<sup>2</sup>Sir William Temple, "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, or, of Gardening, in the year 1685," The Works of Sir William Temple, 4 vols. (1814), III, 214.

in gardens. Several, like Thomas Hill, salute the individual sensual appeals of the garden. Hill urges the reader to walk in the alleys of the garden for

The delight and comfort of the wearied mind, which he may by himself or fellowship of his friends conceive, in the delectable sights, and fragrant smels of the flowres, by walking up and downe, and about the garden in them, which for the pleasant sights & refreshing of of the dul spirits, with the sharpening of memory...<sup>1</sup>

In his Treatise of Fruit-Trees, Ralph Austen presents the common rationale for the innocence of these pleasures. He says that pleasure, as from the garden is

The salt that seasons all things to us. In all that a man has pleasure in it, is that which makes it acceptable, Pleasure (as one saies) is the Good of of every thing, and a patterne of Heaven?<sup>2</sup>

Austen catalogues each sense and item by item describes the satisfactions each derives from the garden. His appreciation sometimes becomes lyrical as when he imagines standing on a mount and beholding a

multitude of severall sorts of Fruit-trees, full of beautifull Blossomes, different in their shapes and colours, ravishing the sence with their sweet Odors, and within a while, turned into faire and goodly fruits of divers Colours and Kinds, the fruit-trees gorgeously array'd with green leaves, and various colour'd fruits, and with so many pretious Jewels, and Pearles?<sup>3</sup>

Austen justifies the pleasure he finds in the garden through numerous biblical quotations including Deut. 26.11, "And thou shalt rejoice in every good thing which the Lord thy God hath given unto thee, and unto thine house, thou, and the Levite, and the stranger that is among you." But he concludes this part of his treatise with a

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Hill, The Gardeners Labyrinth (1608), I, 24.

<sup>2</sup>Ralph Austen, A Treatise of Fruit-trees [Oxford, 1653], 35.

<sup>3</sup>Austen, 29.

warning lest the sensual pleasures of the garden turn man into an idolator for "God onely is to be enjoyed, and the good things of this life onely to be used as helps and furtherances unto God."<sup>1</sup>

For Richard Brathwait, who in his Essayes Upon the Five Senses grounds their proper earthly use in a mean between the Epicure who puts money in his belly and the Pythagorist who abstains from that which is ordained for his use,<sup>2</sup> union with God is envisaged as a rapture of the senses in Paradise.

The Gardens of the Hesperides warded and guarded by those daughters of Atlas, were pleasant; the Garden of Lucullus fragrant; the Grove of Ida eminent; yet not comparable to those exquisite pleasures, which the divine pastures comprehend; there is that hedged Garden, that Sealed Well, that Bethesda, that Eden, that Syloe; heere may the delight of every Sence be renewed; the thirstie satisfied, the hungry filled, the sick cured, the labourer cheered; and the exquisite mirroure of all perfection, torrent of ever-flowing bounties, Iessaes branch, Aarons rod, and that flowrie garden of Engaddi represented. There is mel in ore, melos in aure, jubilus in corde; honey to the taste, melody to the eare, and harmony to the heart....This it is to be joyned to an heavenly Spouse, sending from Paradise Pomgranats, with the fruits of Apples; Cypresse, Nard, Nard and Saffron, Fistula, and Cinnamon....what excellent delights hee here proposed?...it is sufficient for me to admire them in this pilgrimage enjoying them by contemplation, which after many pilgrim dayes I shall possess in fruition.<sup>3</sup>

Brathwait's rhapsody is a legitimate response to Paradise. The physical delights of the garden celebrated by custom have their counterpart in the heavenly Paradise. Even Milton's angels repose on flowers in heaven, beside streams and in pavilions (V636, 652-5). In Brathwait's passage the physical garden coalesces with the language of the bible to create metaphorical images which look both

<sup>1</sup>Austen, 42.

<sup>2</sup>Richard Brathwait, Essayes Upon the Five Senses (2nd. edn., 1635),58-9.

<sup>3</sup>Brathwait, 75-6.

ways. The rationale of the innocent garden, then was available and its literary possibilities demonstrated, but Milton chose to emphasize the garden's sensual analogue, the philosopher's banquet with its spiritual counterpart in the Eucharist. As we shall see, Milton's choice is justified dramatically and intellectually, and it is the necessary result of the unusual nature of his Paradise 'wild above rule of art' (V.297).

Milton's Paradise is all that it should be, but we are most aware of responses to its delights in Satan's chagrin on his first visit (IV.166-71, 285-6, 358), Eve's sympathy with her environment, as in her hymn to Adam (IV.641-56), her adornment of the bower (IV.708-10), and her withdrawal during Raphael's visit to tend the nursery of her flowers (VIII.44-7), and in the offerings to God of an animate nature described in the morning hymn of praise (V.153-208). Although Adam is aware of the beauty of the garden -- the morning hymn is evidence of his analysis of it -- he is not shown responding to its sensual appeals. He tells us that he does so (VIII.522-8), but all demonstration of his sensual appetites in the garden is focused on Eve. By selecting the banquet rather than the garden for his discussion of the senses, Milton preserves the relationship between Adam and Eve as the central dramatic focus, and he preserves the delicate balance of their relationship. At no time is Eve treated as a wanton Venus or Circe figure or reduced to the level of nature around her so that Adam's excessive temptation originates within the ambit of his mind. Milton's choice of the banquet also allows him to concentrate his lesson on temperance effectively within a few passages, confident that because the banquet is presented as part of the ideal of the philosopher's garden, the reader will easily

admit its several applications in the discussion to come.

Milton's banquet of sense teaches that angel and man contain

Within them every lower faculty  
Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,  
Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,  
And corporeal to incorporeal turn.

V.410-13.

As in the Symposium appetite leads to a discussion of divine love, so Raphael uses the banquet in the philosopher's garden of Paradise Lost, V, as a primitive and indisputable example of the translation of corporeal into incorporeal substance to initiate his discussion of the ascent of the scale of nature. It is not by accident that the description of Eve's fall is also a banquet of sense. Each sense is enumerated:

Fixed on the fruit she gazed, which to behold  
Might tempt alone, and in her ears the sound  
Yet rung of his persuasive words, impregn'd  
With reason, to her seeming, and with truth;  
Mean while the hour of noon drew on, and waked  
An eager appetite, raised by the smell  
So savoury of that fruit, which with desire,  
Inclinable now grown to touch or taste,  
Solicited her longing eye...

IX.735-43.

Milton's repeated use of the topos even to the hour of noon but in its obverse form reinforces the cosmic implications of Eve's simple act. Yet the apple like the banquet remains indisputable material fact.

The garden itself, however, except for Raphael's example of the consummate flower (V.479-82), does not supply material for Raphael's intellectual discussion. Milton's refusal to allow art to operate freely within the prelapsarian garden rules out the sophisticated garden of nurture with its active participation in intellectual debate. Milton's profusion of flowers spread not 'in beds and

curious knots' (IV.242) rejects the garden most familiar to his contemporary readers.<sup>1</sup> The bower which is sometimes cited as an example of art in the garden is not one in the ordinary sense. Like the rest of Paradise it was planted by God. To call its form and beauty the art of God is an attractive metaphor so long as it does not distract us from the fact that the plants which weave the verduous wall and embroider the ground do so according to their natural inclinations. For a twining plant to twine is to serve God, and all Paradise is animate with that purpose. The same argument applies to the alleys and groves through which our first parents wandered. Milton's materialism is at the heart of his conception of the garden. In its extreme expression, the dichotomy between art and nature implies two separate modes of being, one incomplete and material, the other polished and reformed by the infusion of intellect or spirit. In Milton's garden man's artwork is limited to Eve's adornment of the nuptial bower and the garland Adam weaves during their separation, and their moderate labours in tending

<sup>1</sup>The hunt for the sources of Milton's wild garden is a recognized minor literary industry. Among the latest labourers are John Izod, "The Garden in English Poetry 1590-1690" (Diss. Leeds 1971), 302, who offers Samuel Purchas's Microcosmus or the Historie of Man, 1619, with its description of Paradise as a theatre, Hackluyt's Principall Navigation, 1600, and Heylyn's Microcosmos, 1621. John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, eds., The Genius of the Place: the English Landscape Garden 1620-1820 (1975), 79ff., discuss the influence of Milton's Italian journey, Ariosto's Orlando Furioso and paintings such as Brueghel's "Adam and Eve in Paradise," (c. 1620), but think the primary source was Milton's belief that man had to resort to art only after the fall. Hannah D. Demaray adds the irregular landscape of the Naples valley, Virgil's burial place, and Tintoretto's "Adam and Eve," Titian's "Original Sin," and, after D.C. Allen's suggestions, Rubens's "The Garden of Eden" and Domenichino's "The Original Sin." See her unpublished dissertation, "Disorderly Order' in the Garden Literature of Browne, Marvell, and Milton," (Univ. of So. Calif., 1968), Alastair Fowler, notes, p. 197, writes that it "may be misleading to cite particular sources for the details of Milton's Paradise; for it really assimilates and refines upon the whole European tradition of paradises, gardens, pleasancess, fortunate isles, and lands of the blessed as subjects for conventional description."

the garden. In each case the 'art' is more in the nature of an offering of God's abundance similar to Eve's preparation of the banquet. It is an extension provided by the resources of nature herself and in no way opposes a perception alien to the natural world. John Knott has argued attractively that Adam and Eve's harmony with the landscape in Eden is a pastoral motif.<sup>1</sup> The simple art of Arcadia has never incurred the censure accorded to the artificial products of more sophisticated societies.

The absence of man-made art in the garden is accompanied by directness and concreteness of language in the dialogue between Adam and Raphael in the garden and especially in those lines in which Milton demonstrates in action Adam's perception of his world. Anne Ferry distinguishes between Raphael's simpler similes with referents taken from areas within Adam's range of experience in Books V-VIII, and the narrator's extended similes which convey a contrast with the fallen world and a preoccupation with time and names elsewhere in the poem.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. MacCaffrey goes further and argues that Milton's subject throughout the poem cannot be described by metaphor because "as the source rather than the product of history and nature, the myth is not to be illuminated by analogies with historical and natural objects."<sup>3</sup> Again, "the 'objects' that inhabit the landscape of myth are unlike those distinguished by our habitual ways of thinking, which may be

<sup>1</sup>John R. Knott, Jr., Milton's Pastoral Vision: An Approach to 'Paradise Lost' (1971), 7-9. Knott's discussion of the nature of harmonious repose in an Arcadian Paradise is particularly intriguing (pp. 46-51) and should be compared with A.B. Giamatti's treatment of Paradise as dangerously soporific in The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic (Princeton, N.J., 1966), 303-5.

<sup>2</sup>Anne Davidson Ferry, Milton's Epic Voice (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 69-76.

<sup>3</sup>Isabel MacCaffrey, 'Paradise Lost' as 'Myth' (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 38.

loosely called logical or analytical. They are both concrete and universal rather than concrete or universal, creatures permeated with 'meanings' that in later ages became conceptualized and abstracted... the images are the reality."<sup>1</sup> The wholeness of Adam's environment generates a language demonstrative of this unity. Milton's studied avoidance of interpretive descriptions of Eden's plants and animals complements the absence of man-made art in the garden.

The Book of Nature, a metaphor for the idea that the world and its creatures are divine hieroglyphs in which man may read aspects of God, was current as early as St. Bonaventure and the Victorines.<sup>2</sup> The divine hieroglyph was called upon to support interpretations of nature as diverse as the doctrine of signatures or the mathematical formulas of astronomy. Although rooted in the contemptus mundi attitude of the Middle Ages and drawing its content mainly from literary sources such as the Physiologus, it encouraged the new Renaissance fascination with the details of the real world.

Though the mere multitude of created things is itself wonderful and a proof of the multiform perfection of the one God, still more wonderful is the variety which appears in that multiplication, and it leads us more easily to the knowledge of God; for it is not difficult for one seal to make many impressions exactly alike, but to vary shapes almost infinitely, which is what God has done in creation, this is in truth a divine work, and most worthy of admiration.<sup>3</sup>

Only later did this attitude seem incompatible with the objective perception the study of these realistic details came to demand. The Book of Nature with its dependence on finding significance in natural forms is one of the earliest movements leading out of the garden.

Perhaps spurred by the scientific interest of the early seventeenth century, the Book of Nature received renewed interest in England

<sup>1</sup>MacCaffrey, 39. William G. Madsen's rebuttal of Mrs. MacCaffrey's thesis in From Shadowy Types to Truth: Studies in Milton's Symbolism (1968), 54-84, is not helpful to us here since it is an argument on the general nature of seventeenth-century metaphor, whereas Mrs. MacCaffrey's thesis is applied to an analysis of Milton's originality in the use of language applied to a unique subject.

<sup>2</sup>See Curtius, 319-26, for the literary history of the Book of Nature in the works of Alain de Lille, Raymond de Sebounde, Nicholas of Cusa, and others. For the philosophical background see Ruth Wallerstein, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic (Madison, Wis., 1950), 196-216, and the brief summary in Madsen, 124-44.

<sup>3</sup>Cardinal Bellarmino, quoted in Arthur O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being (1936; rpt. N.Y., 1960), 91.



beginning in the 1630's and continuing into the mid-century in the works of poets like Henry Vaughan, Rowland Watkyns, Mildmay Fane, and Francis Quarles and in the hermetical writings of men like Thomas Vaughan and Robert Fludd. Milton refers several times to the divine hieroglyph in Paradise Lost (III.47-50, V.153-9, 508-112;; VIII.66-9), but his interpretation is mainly scientific and the instruction afforded carefully circumscribed.

The idea of the hieroglyph is evoked by Raphael as a preface to his discussion of cosmology.

To ask or search I blame thee not, for heaven  
Is as the book of God before thee set,  
Wherein to read his wondrous works, and learn  
His seasons, hours, or days, or months, or years.

VIII.66-9.

The discussion which follows is well known for its problems, caught as Milton was between the Copernican and Ptolemaic systems. Milton uses the astronomical uncertainties to show the limitations of man's knowledge, and also to show the limited knowledge of God conveyed by the Book of Nature. It is possible to abstract principles of order in time and space, but as in Psalm 19.1 the order inherent in His handiwork shows the glory of God, but little more. Milton's attitude to the divine hieroglyph is clear:

These are thy glorious works, parent of good,  
Almighty, thine this universal frame,  
This wondrous fair; thy self how wondrous then!  
Unspeakable, who sit'st above these heavens  
To us invisible or dimly seen  
In these thy lowest works, yet these declare  
Thy goodness beyond thought, and power divine.

V.153-9.

Given Milton's scientific interpretation of the Book of Nature and his distrust of its dim revelations it is not surprising that the poem remains largely empty of those set images of moral instruction which filled the emblem books and dictionaries of the period. There is no

need or room for such images in a prelapsarian world. For Adam moral instruction comes direct from God. From nature he learns only the lesson of the dynamism of all creation as in Raphael's consummate flower or his own morning hymn. Adam's appreciation of Raphael's early instruction in Book V.508-12 comes down really to a recognition that 'in contemplation of created things' he may be reminded of the right orientation of all activity. One could argue that the hierarchical strata of flora and fauna which the scale of nature comprehends is a 'scientific' perception of earth's order comparable to the order discovered in astronomy.

Some moral emblems, however, appear in Paradise Lost for the reader's instruction in the narrator's descriptions and in Raphael's description of the creation. The narrator, for example, uses the training of the vine to the elm as an example of Adam and Eve's labour in the garden (V.215-19), knowing the significance of the familiar emblem of marriage<sup>1</sup> would add to the reader's understanding of the relationship which ought to exist between Adam and Eve. Again, he uses coronal flowers to help distinguish between prelapsarian sexuality and carnality.<sup>2</sup> When Eve first sees Adam he is standing under a 'platan' tree (IV.477-8). The usual form of the word suggests the special importance the scene had for Milton. Commentators have seen in it an emblem of Christ<sup>3</sup> and an erotic symbol.<sup>4</sup> Recently Marc

<sup>1</sup>See Fowler's discussion of classical sources in his notes to V.215-19. See also Geoffrey Whitney A Choice of Emblems (1586), 62 and 133 where the emblem symbolizes friendship in old age and prudence; Cesare Ripa, Nova Iconologia (Padua, 1618) 16-19, where it symbolizes friendship; Jacques Callot, Emblesmes sur la vie de la mere de Dieu (Paris, c. 1646), V.vi, where it symbolizes the law of connubiality.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter III, pp. 263-8.

<sup>3</sup>In Fowler's notes, IV.478.

<sup>4</sup>Bender, 704.

Arnold has taken it for a reference to Plato's Phaedrus and he cites themes of love and deception common to the essay and the poem.<sup>1</sup>

However, as in the other moral emblems, the emblem of the plane is common property. It is meant to mediate between the reader and the poem; it does not instruct Adam. The reader sees Adam under the plane tree as a type of the philosophical man. He may also regard Adam typologically as a symbol of Christ, but the simple equation is first and basic. Eve concludes her description of her first meeting with Adam,

I yielded, and from that time see  
How beauty is excelled by manly grace  
And wisdom, which alone is truly fair.

IV.489-91.

The moral emblems in Raphael's description of creation are more difficult to analyse. It is not always clear which beasts or plants are emblematical. Professor Fowler in his notes to VII.423-30 points out that the seven birds Milton selected for his catalogue all symbolized virtues. But with one exception Milton does not specify these virtues. If the eagle, the symbol of St. John, could symbolize "divine grace, or human generosity, majesty, or elevation of thought -- even spiritual illumination,"<sup>2</sup> then for Adam's instruction it is necessary for Milton to qualify the particular character of his eagle, as he does the character of the 'prudent crane' (VII.430). For the reader, however, the overt reference to the very common emblem of the

<sup>1</sup>Marc H. Arnold, "The Platan Tree in Paradise Lost," Papers on Language and Literature, 11 (1975).

<sup>2</sup>In Fowler's notes, VII.423-30.

crane and the silent pattern of those particular seven birds<sup>1</sup> speaks volumes.

Milton's problem is to maintain the decorum of his prelapsarian setting in which nature has no need of allegory to reveal truth and yet to make his argument clear to the less happily situated contemporary reader. Part of Milton's difficulty is hinted at in his treatment of the emblematic ant.

The parsimonious emmet, provident  
Of future, in small room large heart enclosed  
Pattern of just equality perhaps  
Hereafter...

VII.485-8.

The extent of Raphael's knowledge is never made very clear.<sup>2</sup> He learns at second hand the details of man's creation from Adam. The extent of his foreknowledge is never specified. Raphael's perspective is larger than Adam's, but is it 'historically' as large as the reader's? Furthermore, many natural emblems would be irrelevant in the perfection of the prelapsarian world; others could not be evoked because they depend on the changed character of plant or animal after the fall. For example, the lion is not yet carnivorous, nor the thorn a weed. This distinction is at the heart of our difficulties in reading descriptions of a serpent which is not yet poisonous. In the context of the beauty of insects and worms that fly 'In all

<sup>1</sup>Fowler, VII.423-30, also points out that the catalogue of birds begins with their king the eagle, as the first animal mentioned is the lion. There is in addition to this hierarchy of command, a spatial organization which moves through sky, woods, water, and ground in a manner very similar to Eusebius's frescoes.

<sup>2</sup>Robert H. West, Milton and the Angels (Athens, Ga., 1955), 124, points out that orthodox angelology denied the angels' knowledge of the future and God's secrets.

the liveries decked of summer's pride / With spots of gold and purple, azure and green' (VII.478-9), Milton succeeds in describing objectively how 'some of serpent kind / Wondrous in length and corpulence involved / Their snaky folds, and added wings...' (VII. 482-4). Given this earlier success in objectivity, the nearby description of the actual serpent stands out as a deliberate attempt to evoke both states of existence in one image.

The serpent subtlest beast of all the field,  
Of huge extent sometimes, with brazen eyes  
And hairy mane terrific, though to thee  
Not noxious, but obedient at thy call.

VII.495-8.

The negative formula 'not noxious' and its emphatic position in the verse deny the literal statement. Adam has no need of reassurance, the warning is to the reader.

Madsen has described Book VII as having more metaphors than any other book in Paradise Lost,<sup>1</sup> but on examining Milton's treatment of the plants and animals of creation, I find there are very few descriptions which develop clearly as emblematic statements. For certain I can count only the crane, the ants and bees, and probably the 'solemn nightingale' (VII.435) among the animals. The eagle, stork, serpent, crested cock and "ambiguous" crocodile and hippopotamus remain tantalizing. Some eighteen species (how should the fish or crustaceans be counted or the insects?) remain objectively, if beautifully described. In considering Raphael's description of the creation of the plants and beasts one becomes aware of the number of opportunities for emblematic expression Milton refused, and yet the undeniable existence of a pattern of such opportunities generates

<sup>1</sup>Madsen, 59.

expectations in the reader which are not met. The gap between these expectations and the concreteness of the descriptions calls attention to the 'artlessness' of perception in Paradise and to the integrity of its inhabitants, while at the same time the reader is impelled beyond these literalisms to postlapsarian realities. Raphael's consummate flower is not metaphor but material fact in a garden and state of being we have forever lost. Milton while subscribing only to a very limited acceptance of the Book of Nature yet uses it as a form of meaningful shorthand he shares with his audience to measure this loss.

Stanley Fish in discussing the discrepancy that Milton so often contrived between denotation and connotation, or between the root meaning of a word and its currently accepted meaning, as in the often repeated word 'error', devotes several pages to a discussion of the interest of the seventeenth century in the original language of man.<sup>1</sup> As an ideal language it was thought to embody a direct relationship between word and object. Thus, for Milton, "Adam who had the wisdom giv'n him to know all creatures, and to name them according to their properties, no doubt had the gift to discern perfectly."<sup>2</sup> Because Milton presents Adam dramatically in his unfallen state, his language must embody this direct relationship. And because Adam knows directly the objects of his environment he cannot turn to plant or beast for instruction. Adam is above the animal kingdoms and needs no emblem,

<sup>1</sup>Fish, 107-30. See also Arnold Williams, The Common Expositor: An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis 1527-1633 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948), 80-4.

<sup>2</sup>"Tetrachordan," Complete Prose Works, II, 602.

animal fable, or Ovidian metamorphosis from the garden of nurture to mediate for him.

Milton uses the ideal of the philosopher's garden of the sixteenth-century academies to create the friendly atmosphere of the meeting between Adam and Raphael with an attendant Eve and as a resonant background for many of the themes of Raphael's discussions. He develops the philosopher's collation as a temperate banquet of sense. But perhaps the most important function of the ideal is the support it gives to Milton's probing of the nature of knowledge during the dialogue between Adam and Raphael. In those books which enact this ideal there is an analysis of the faculties of knowledge in Raphael's distinction between the intuitive knowledge of angels and the discursive powers of Adam (V.488-90), an exploration of the weaknesses of man's sources of knowledge, such as the Book of Nature, and repeated statements of the limitations of human reasoning and of the boundaries within which it ought to operate. Finally there is a questioning of the nature of language, the primary tool of inquiry in the dichotomy between Adam's direct perceptions and the reader's analysis. As Fish points out, by demonstrating his mastery of the word-object relationship in correctly naming the animals, Adam proves his readiness to God to participate in dialectics with Raphael.<sup>1</sup> He is the first philosopher king and rightly stands under the original plane tree. He learns by ear, not by eye. Milton rejects the sophisticated language of art found in the garden of nurture in favour of

<sup>1</sup>My discussion in this paragraph and the preceding one is indebted to Stanley Fish, particularly to his development of the idea of Adam's readiness with reference to Plato's *Cratylus* (pp. 109-11). The relevant biblical passage is Gen. 2.19: "And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them...."

a garden 'wild above rule or art' and for its description he seeks a 'philosophic' language formed according to and expressive of a universe of one material throughout.

Milton uses the ideal of the philosopher's garden, so important in the Renaissance, but rejects its sophisticated and artful form, the garden of nurture, to such an extent that the Paradise of his poem is distinguished by its remoteness from contemporary seventeenth-century gardens. While its alleys and groves and particularly the bower which included jasmine and roses were found everywhere he specifically rejects the overall regulation of knot and rule. Even the concept of the enclosed garden so important in contemporary gardens and in the Catholic image of the hortus conclusus is overlaid by the sense that Paradise is only one corner of Eden and that her waters and abundance of plant and animal life overflow into this outer world just as from the start Adam is given a prospect from the wall over Eden. The action of Paradise Lost always leads outward and onward from the garden in space and time.

The garden of Chapman's Ovids Banquet of Sence, though it too evokes the ideal of the philosopher's garden, does so in the form of the garden of nurture. It is presented as the real garden of Augustus Caesar, but its description is that of a contemporary, programmatic garden of the Renaissance,<sup>1</sup> a garden of fountain and statue, of geometric patterns of circle and triangle, of stone, ivory, marble,

<sup>1</sup>A remarkably close analogue of Chapman's literary garden existed in the Renaissance gardens of the Villa Medici, Rome. Here an obelisk full of hieroglyphics stood near life-sized statues of Niobe and her fourteen children. These famous statues were described by Pliny, Nat. Hist., XXXVI.28, and examined by Evelyn in May, 1645. There is no record of a journey by Chapman to Italy, but it is probable that he knew Pliny's description and possibly also knew of the group from contemporary travellers.



and gold, of inscriptions and costumed inhabitants. The garden through its display of art and nature is an active participant in the dialectics of the poem. Milton's garden is a stage in the poet's ontological continuum between matter and spirit; Chapman's garden expresses a dualistic universe bridged only by the intellect and imagination. The action in Milton's garden moves outward, in Chapman's it moves inward to an intensity of iconographic vision.

Ovid's Banquet of Sence seems to endorse sensual experience in contradiction to the author's position in every other poem of his canon. It is logically organized as a banquet of the five senses in the order hearing, smell, sight, taste, and touch. The satisfaction of each sense is accompanied by a psychological and physiological explanation of its effect on the inner faculties of mind and spirit. The dramatic development of the poem and consequently its moral statement, however, follow quite a different pattern. The drama unfolds in three movements. Stanzas 1 to 40 establish the identity of the garden as an educational agency, the correspondence between the microcosm and the macrocosm as rooted in the garden imagery, and within this correspondence the correct role of the senses in the furor divines using sound and smell as extended examples. Stanzas 41 to 72 are the turning point of the poem. Through the sense of sight Chapman develops the several antitheses of the poem, that between divine and carnal love, immortality and death, ignorance and knowledge. Within these antitheses the significance of the garden imagery is further elaborated and its lessons completed. The third movement, Stanzas 73 to 117, constitutes the examination of Ovid's and the reader's mastery of these lessons. Once his eyes have rested on Corynna Ovid is committed to the flesh's gauntlet. He must demonstrate the correct use of this earthly Elysium

in order to obtain the divine garden. The third movement is not as complicated in subject matter as the physiological and psychological processes of the first movement, but it is the most ambiguous part of the poem. It presents Ovid's seduction of Corynna in a scene of brilliantly realized courtly dalliance. Ovid's fervent participation in the pleasures of the flesh seems to be in direct contradiction to the rest of the poem. He seems to fail the test with Chapman's endorsement.

Since in his epistle to Matthew Royden Chapman addresses the secret of his poem only to those "searching spirits, whom learning hath made noble," we are fortunate in having the stimulation provided by several recent studies, especially those of Millar MacLure, Rhoda Ribner, and Louise Vinge, as an aid in approaching this seeming contradiction.<sup>1</sup> MacLure develops Kermode's position, that Ovid is a counter-Plato in an ironic poem by finding a paradox of image and sentence throughout the poem. Chapman insists on spiritualizing sense experience, yet prurience enters in.<sup>2</sup> Ribner analyses Chapman's use of emblematic techniques to create a tripartite equation of beauty, love, and poetry, in which each sense is

<sup>1</sup>Other studies of particular note are Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry (1932; rev. N.Y., 1963); Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry (Cambridge, Mass., 1952); M.C. Bradbrook, Shakespeare and Elizabethan Poetry (1965); Ennis Rees, The Tragedies of George Chapman (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); R.B. Waddington, The Mind's Empire: Myth and Form in George Chapman's Narrative Poems (Baltimore, Md., 1974). Franck Schoell's Études sur L'humanisme continental en Angleterre à la fin de la Renaissance (Paris, 1926) remains the best study of Chapman's sources. Jean Jacquot's George Chapman: sa vie, sa poesie, son théâtre, sa pensée (Paris, 1951) is a useful, comprehensive study modelled on Legouis's study of Marvell.

<sup>2</sup>Kermode, 84-97; Millar MacLure, George Chapman: A Critical Study (Toronto, 1966), 52-9.

associated with art and the vitalizing power of imagery.<sup>1</sup> Vinge extends this argument by analysing Chapman's sources. She traces the effect of the senses on the faculties of the soul in the imagery of fire and music and finds in the physiological passages an argument for aesthetic distance between the poet and his object. She concludes that the poem is an attempt to establish a complicated aesthetics founded on physiology, psychology, and metaphysics which is not derived from Ficino, but seeks to develop Renaissance Platonism by resolving the dualism between divine and carnal love through artistic creation.<sup>2</sup> My own reading of the poem incorporates many insights from these studies but within what I take to be the controlling motif of the garden of nurture.

Chapman develops the details of his garden of nurture carefully. The fountain of Niobe with its round basin surrounded by her fourteen children, the geometric patterns the sun's rays make between the obelisks and the figures, the carefully itemized minerals and metals which support the alchemical imagery of the garden, the iconography of grove, flower, and water, all these present the lessons of the garden and actively contribute to the dialectics of the poem. Presented in the opening section they constitute the lessons the reader and Ovid must master before they embark on the dangerous courtship of Corynna. They establish a touchstone of images which the second movement of the poem elaborates into a complex web of philosophy and moral doctrine.

<sup>1</sup> Rhoda M. Ribner, "'The Compass of This Curious Frame:' Chapman's 'Ovids Banquet of Sence' and the Emblematic Tradition," St. in the Renaiss., 17 (1970).

<sup>2</sup> Louise Vinge, "Chapman's 'Ovids Banquet of Sence:' Its Sources and Theme," JWCI, 38 (1975).

The description of Niobe occupies Stanzas 1 to 6.<sup>1</sup> It follows the opening stanza with its theory of generation and immediately precedes Corynna's entrance. The description is accompanied by emphatic indications of its contemporary relevance -- 'that her story might be still observed' (4.2),<sup>2</sup> 'that statue tis, still weepes for former thought' (3.4). Niobe's children are 'so lively doone' (5.8) and their fate so cleverly re-enacted by the daily play of sunlight filtered through a purple glass on their breasts that though dead they seem caught in that moment of dying when most startled by the essence of life(6.9).

Stone Niobe, whose statue to this Fountaine,  
 In great Augustus Caesars grace was brought  
 From Sypilus, the steepe Mygdonian Mountaine:  
 That statue tis, still weepes for former thought,  
 Into thys spring Corynnas bathing place;  
 So cunningly to optick reason wrought,  
 That a farre of, it shewd a womans face,  
 Heavie, and weeping; but more neerely viewed,  
 Nor weeping, heavy, nor a woman shewed.

In Sommer onely wrought her exstasie;  
 And that her story might be still observed,  
Octavius caus'd in curious imagrie,  
 Her fourteene children should at large be carved,  
 Theyr fourteene brests, with fourteene arrowes gored  
 And set by her, that for her seede so starved  
 To a stone Sepulcher herselfe deplored,  
 In Ivory were they cut; and on each brest,  
 In golden Elements theyr names imprest.

....

Behind theyr Mother two Pyramides  
 Of freckled Marble, through the Arbor viewed,  
 On whose sharp brows, Sol, and Tytanides  
 In purple and transparent glasse were hewed,

<sup>1</sup>Chapman's description in Stanzas 3 and 5 is taken from Conti's Mythologia VI.13. Cf. Schoell, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Citations are to The Poems of George Chapman, ed. Phyllis B. Bartlett (1941). Variants in the edition given by Elizabeth S. Donno, ed., Elizabethan Minor Epics (1963), have also been consulted.

Through which the Sun-beames on the statues staying,  
 Made theyr pale bosoms seeme with blood imbrewed,  
 Those two sterne Plannets rigors still bewraying  
 To these dead forms, came living beauties essence  
 Able to make them startle with her presence.

Sts. 3,4,6.

According to Conti, Niobe bragged of her fourteen children until Leto's two children Apollo and Artemis slew them in revenge for Niobe's 'temeritas' and 'superbia.' Niobe then wept until she turned into a column of stone on Mt. Sipylus, and yet she continued to weep every summer. The anamorphous statue of Niobe surrounded by her fourteen children in Corynna's garden is a symbol of creativity betrayed and of that incomplete mastery of the fusion of art and nature which is death. In "The Tears of Peace" Chapman compares an unfinished statue with the soul which

(Being substance of Gods Image, sent from heaven)  
 It is not his true Image, till it take  
 Into the Substance, those fit forms that make  
 His perfect Image; which are then imprest  
 By Learning and impulsion; that invest  
 Man with Gods forme in living Holinesse,  
 By cutting from his Body the excesse  
 Of Humors, perturbations and Affects;  
 Which Nature (without Art) no more ejects,  
 Then without tooles, a naked Artizan  
 Can, in rude stone, cut th' Image of a man.

11. 374-84.

Niobe, because of her excessive and misdirected passion, becomes her own sepulchre. Although Vinge<sup>1</sup> and others point out that the statue's optical deception is a warning against the sense of sight, more important is the warning she gives against the abuse of passion, whatever the sense, and thus the miscarriage of the creative gift.

<sup>1</sup>Vinge, 235. Story, p.13. n.1, suggests that the anamorphous statue is a symbol of what 'searching wits' apprehend compared to what the mob see from afar. Waddington's study of the anamorphous statue, pp. 116-26, in the context of the doctrine of the speaking picture and the Elizabethan vogue for perspective devices, is a valuable analogue to the present essay on Chapman's use of the garden of nurture which embodies the same doctrine. Waddington, however, p. 114, accepts Kermode's conclusion that Ovid succumbs to lust.

That earthly perfection results from the proper fusion of art and nature is Chapman's central theme, where nature is interpreted as man's inner and outer senses and their raw, uninstructed responses to the world around him. When art properly regulates man's natural perceptions and the passions they engender, the world ceases to be an object and becomes an agency or means to higher perception. The statue of Niobe is a perfect demonstration of the results of the failure of the fusion of art and nature, while the momentary successful fusion accounts for the divine rapture of Corynna's song, which is as appropriate to the pleasures of a Renaissance garden as any birdsong. The content of Corynna's song is not improper as Kermode suggests.<sup>1</sup> It blends notes of nature with art (St. 28) and it tells the truth of man's experience in his state of ignorance. It is up to the hearer to make the proper response to it.

But heere are Art and Nature both confinde,  
 Art casting Nature in so deepe a trance  
 That both seeme deade, because they be dividde,  
 Buried is Heaven in earthly ignorance,  
 Why breake not men then strumpet Follies bounds,  
 To learne at this pure virgine utterance?  
 No; none but Ovids eares can sound these sounds,  
 Where sing the harts of Love and Poesie,  
 Which make my Muse so strong she works too hye.

St. 29.

Art and nature are divided on earth now through ignorance. Only Ovid who joins love, the passion of natural man, with poetry can hear the truth of Corynna's song.

It is not surprising that the equation of art and nature should also express itself in the physical garden in geometric patterns of

<sup>1</sup>Kermode, 89-90.

circle and triangle.<sup>1</sup> It is an equation at the heart of any garden of nurture allowing the gardener to use flora, form, or pigment with equal freedom. Corynna's bower of natural foliage forms an incomplete circle, a 'C', until the poet Ovid steps into the opening. The author's digression in the central section elaborates the message of the physical garden:

Contentment is our heaven, and all our deedes  
 Bend in that circle, seld or never closde,  
 More then the letter in the word preceedes,  
 And to conduce that compasse is reposde.  
 More force and art in beautie joyned with love,  
 Then thrones with wisdome, joyes of them composde  
 Are armes more prooffe gainst any griefe we prove,  
 Then all their vertue-scorning miserie  
 Or judgments graven in Stoick gravitie.

St. 54.

Corynna's bower is an open question. Like her song, it is nature's offering to be completed by Ovid in his role as poet. Within the garden only the round silver basin of water is a complete circle with its surrounding bank of flowers. The basin as the eye of the bower (St. 2) and the receptacle of the spring is, as we shall come to see,<sup>2</sup> a symbol of the fusion of matter and spirit in poetic inspiration, while the symbolism of the flowers points both to the physical regeneration of springtime and the creativity of the poetic trance.<sup>3</sup> As we shall also see later the movement of Corynna's song is a circle too as is all genuine poetic activity.

<sup>1</sup>Ribner's excellent discussion of these patterns, pp. 251-7, informs and complements my study which is limited to a treatment of these patterns as aspects of the garden imagery.

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of the multiple meanings of the word 'spring' see pp. 96-9.

<sup>3</sup>The symbolism of Chapman's flowers is discussed, Chapter III, pp. 268-74.

This circle of perfection which joins art and beauty through a properly directed love is echoed in the process of human vision which Chapman describes in the figure of a triangle.<sup>1</sup> Vision occupies the central position in Chapman's hierarchy of the senses because it is the most dangerous. The triangle can be broken, and the pattern itself separated from the macrocosmic pattern of the circle.

Betwixt mine Eye and object, certayne lynes,  
 Move in the figure of a Pyramis,  
 Whose chapter in mine eyes gray apple shines,  
 The base within my sacred object is:  
     On this will I inscribe in golden verse  
 The mervailles raining in my sovereigns blisse,  
     The arcks of sight, and how her arrowes pierse:  
 This in the Region of the ayre shall stand  
 In Fames brasse Court, and all her Trumps commaund.

St. 64.

Again, in Stanza 64, the central movement of the poem provides a text to the emblems of the garden.<sup>2</sup> The reference here to the obelisks of Sol and Tytanides and Niobe's children with their names inscribed in gold is unmistakable. The rays of the sun pass through the glass of the obelisks to rest on the children, whose looks are directed toward Niobe. She, however, breaks the triangular pattern. She is downcast and weeps, her tears dropping to the ground. Although the eye of the fountain looks to heaven, she is earthbound and the pattern incomplete.<sup>3</sup> When Ovid peeps through the arbour at

<sup>1</sup>See Vinge's essay for a detailed study of Chapman's debt to Aristotle's *De sensu*. Schoell, p. 224, locates a similar figure in Xylander's *Symposiacon*, I.625E.

<sup>2</sup>Ribner, pp. 235-6, argues that Chapman correctly uses the three-fold method of the emblem book, device, motto and text, in his presentation of Corynna's jewels and that his Thames digression (St. 44-5) also depends on this method. Her suggestion that the method is fundamental to Chapman's art receives support in the partial application of it also to the iconography of the garden, where, as we know from Eusebius's garden, such emblematic treatment would be perfectly appropriate.

<sup>3</sup>Because of this conflict between the eye of the fountain and Niobe, MacLure, p. 53, sees the statue as primarily a symbol of the conflict between the earthly and the divine and secondly as a figure of presumption.



Corynna, he enacts the role of the obelisks (St. 49), but, unlike Niobe, having received back the reflected ray of the physiological process, he does not fail then to turn his gaze heavenward with poetic inspiration. Ovid incorporates the qualities of the obelisks, the poetic gift of Apollo and the purity of Artemis. Suitably the obelisks which were common features of the Renaissance garden symbolize immortality and fame, both attributes of poetry.

The materials of the artifacts repeat the lessons of their form and configuration. Niobe in her excessive earthly passion is turned to stone. Her children, so beautifully formed but betrayed, are cut in ivory but with their names picked out in elements of gold. The god and his sister are made of lasting marble in keeping with their nobility and immortality. The glass of their brows, transparent and purple is a symbol of the division between spirit and matter, the glass through which we see darkly.

The hierarchy of stone, ivory, glass, marble, and gold in the garden is part of Chapman's alchemical imagery, which forms an extensive pattern in the poem, too extensive unfortunately to discuss fully here.<sup>1</sup> But what must be noticed, however, is that Chapman's alchemy, which supplies metaphors for the distillation of matter into

<sup>1</sup>To my knowledge there is still no comprehensive treatment of Chapman's use of alchemical imagery in his poetry. Vinge ably discusses Chapman's imagery of fire and flight, but from the point of view of Aristotle's *De sensu*. MacLure, p. 51, describes the setting of *Ovids Banquet of Sence* as an alchemical garden but he does not elaborate. I am indebted in this paragraph to Waddington's more ample but still brief discussion, pp. 137-41, although we come to opposite conclusions. Waddington argues that Ovid wrongly identifies Corynna as sun and elixir, forsakes his necessary distance, and succumbs to sterile lust; he analyses Corynna as person rather than agency.

spirit, is used in combination with the myth of the Golden Age.<sup>1</sup> In Renaissance alchemy, the marriage of gold and silver, or the sun and the moon, was necessary to create the philosopher's stone. In Ovids Banquet of Sence it creates poetry which is a revelation of truth. Corynna is an agent of the sun, her beauty a reflection of it, and in Stanza 104 her touch is identified with the alchemist's elixir. When 'Cupids Furnace' (22.6) so blazes that Ovid's soul is wrought to 'furie' (22.7) by the sound of Corynna's song, he is

as a silver Bell, with violent blowe  
Of Steele or Iron, when his soundes most deepe,  
Doe from his sides and ayres soft bosome flowe...

St. 30.2-4.

Art is silver, the silver basin of the harbour or the silver bell of the above image. In his relationship with Corynna the iron and steel of nature's passions in Ovid strike the silver metal of art to contribute to those vibrations which alone can bridge Chapman's dualistic universe and momentarily recapture the perfect harmony of a Golden Age.

The furor divines is a vibration of the soul wherein art and nature fuse. We are given to understand that Corynna's song is potentially such a moment<sup>2</sup> and its effects are described in a circle of movement. Her song, like Orpheus's lyrics, moves the trees,

<sup>1</sup>The most important sources for the myth of the Golden Age are Ovid, Met. I, and Hesiod, Works and Days, 110-20. See Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity (1935; rpt. N.Y., 1965), 23-102, for a history of the development of the myth.

<sup>2</sup>Obviously the fullest powers of Corynna's song must remain potential only since it would never do for her art to rival that of Ovid.

flowers, stones, and water of the garden (St. 19). It should move, 'through earths dull vaines; that shee like heaven might move, / In ceaseles Musick, and be fill'd with love' (St. 20). Even heaven is delighted with her harmony (St. 21), and it returns to the garden to Ovid to set up a similar vibration in his soul whereby, 'My life that in my flesh a Chaos is / Should to a Golden worlde be thus dygested' (25.3-4). Chapman captures the role of the poet in this correspondence between the microcosm and the macrocosm and their momentary, rapturous harmony:

O that as man is cald a little world  
 The world might shrink into a little man,  
 To heare the notes about this Garden hurld,  
 That skill disperst in tunes so Orphean  
 Might not be lost in smiting stocks and trees  
 That have no eares; but growne as it began  
 Spred theyr renownes, as far as Phoebus sees  
 Through earths dull vaines; that shee like heaven might move,  
 In ceaseles Musick, and be fill'd with love.

St. 20.

Corynna and her jewels as described in the second movement of the poem in a sense complete the iconography of the garden. She is Elysium, her hair a grove, her limbs the rivers of paradise. Her fingers move through painted bowers in attiring her (St. 60). When the other ladies join Corynna, their arrival too 'the garden painted' (116.2). Like any other artifact of the garden of nurture she is to be studied and interpreted. Vinge's argument that the statue of the presumptuous Niobe is aimed at Corynna is untenable.<sup>1</sup> She is never more than a focus for Ovid's moral debate. She is beautiful, vain and saucy, but she is not a real character in the sense that the reader cares for her virtue or punishment. She is any beautiful

<sup>1</sup>Vinge, 238.

woman of the court. She is not even called Corynna except when she disrobes and sings at the beginning of the poem and at the end of the conversation (St. 93) when she is on the verge of yielding. She is identified as Corynna in the margin of Stanza 89 when the slippery slope is in sight. In those central sections of the poem in which Ovid demonstrates the theory of the conversion of sensual into spiritual experience she is Julia or Goddess, mistress, Queen or simply 'she'. Jacquot is precise when he describes her as representing both the celestial Venus and the terrestrial Venus. The poem celebrates the universal energy<sup>1</sup> and she is its symbol.

Chapman's Renaissance garden of nurture with its instructional artwork, then, is set against an older mythic pattern which unobtrusively pervades and unifies the first movement of the poem. Chapman's first stanza describes the generation of plants in the spring from earth's dry and moist parts through the agency of sun and air.

The Earth, from heavenly light conceived heat,  
Which mixed all her moyst parts with her dry,  
When with right beames the Sun her bosome beat,  
And with fit foode her Plants did nutritie;  
    They (which to Earth, as to theyr Mother cling  
In forked rootes) now sprinckled plenteously  
    With her warme breath; did hasten to the spring,  
Gather their proper forces, and extrude  
All powre but that, with which they stood indude.

In Stanzas 9 and 10 the catalogue of spring flowers gives a lush reality to the theme of generation. Pansies, violets, hyacinths and other flowers of Chloris surround the fountain and Corynna. The section closes with a description of the pure air and blest clime of the garden (St. 39). Springtime and regeneration, water, flowers,

<sup>1</sup>Jacquot, 227.

and mild climate are the traditional attributes of an earthly paradise. Corynna seems to preside over a garden of procreative love. But the reverberations these attributes set up Chapman subtly deflects toward a different kind of creativity through the water imagery.

When Ovid hears Corynna's song, his reactions are described first in water imagery.

And having drencht his anckles in those seas,  
 He needes would swimme, and car'd not if he drounde:  
 Loves feete are in his eyes;<sup>1</sup> for if he please  
 The depth of beauties gulfye floode to sounde,  
 He goes upon his eyes, and up to them,  
 At the first steap he is; no shader grounde  
 Could Ovid finde; but in loves holy streame  
 Was past his eyes, and now did wett his eares,  
 For his high Soveraignes silver voice he heares.

St. 14.

The imagery of this stanza is confusing unless it is envisaged literally. The eyes are wet first and then the ears when Ovid puts his face into the water ready to dive under its surface. His feet are where his eyes were and the world seems topsy-turvey, though his movement is really a withdrawal into self and toward the clarity of poetic inspiration:

A thousand Muses come to bid you warrs,  
 Dive to your Spring, and hide you from the stroke,  
 All Poets furies will her tunes invoke.

St. 16.7-9.

'Spring' is the season of the generation of physical life, the silver spring of Corynna's fountain, and the inner source of poetic inspi-

<sup>1</sup>Phyllis Bartlett's note to Stanza 14, line 3, after Miss Holmes's comment in Aspects of Elizabethan Imagery, that Chapman's conceit is only a wilful way of saying love is fed with gazing is helpful but too brief.

ration.<sup>1</sup> Coming at the end of this section, the unicorn as a symbol of the power of chastity<sup>2</sup> as revealed in the myth of his purification of water is the final rejection of the identification of the garden with an erotic garden of love.

Rejoyce blest Clime, thy ayre is so refinde  
 That while shee lives no hungry pestilence  
 Can feede her poysoned stomack with thy kynde;  
 But as the Unicorns pregredeience  
 To venomd Pooles, doth purdge them with his horne,  
 And after him the desarts Residence  
 May safely drinke, so in the holesome morne  
 After her walke, who there attends her eye,  
 Is sure that day to tast no maladye.<sup>3</sup>  
 St. 39.

In the second section of the poem Chapman names his myth. The garden is not a garden of erotic love but the divine paradise Elysium. In Homer, Odyssey IV. 563, the Elysian Fields are the home of heroes, hence the serious nature of some of Chapman's martial imagery. In Virgil, Aeneid, VI. 637f., as Chapman's marginalia to Stanza 57 points out, Elysium is a land of regeneration and perfection in an eternal spring. In Natale Conti's Mythologia, a major

<sup>1</sup>In the central section in which the antitheses and dangers of Ovid's encounter are presented the water imagery changes to that of ocean and river. Ovid's indecision whether to use the sense of sight is described in the figure of the tidal Thames hesitant to reach the ocean's roar wherein she may drown (St. 44-6). Corynna's limbs are compared to the four rivers of paradise (St. 59); later the real rivers, which had long represented the cardinal virtues, cannot quench his ardour (St. 72). The classical Elysium has taken on overtones of the Christian paradise.

<sup>2</sup>Vinge, p. 244, traces Chapman's myth of the unicorn to Natale Conti's poem "De venatione" printed with the Mythologia. See also Châtelet-Lange.

<sup>3</sup>The success of Chapman's seemingly mixed imagery depends on recognizing the underlying metaphor 'a pool of air'. Alberti, I.iv, describes air as 'a Puddle, or Bog of Air.' The metaphor appears again in Marvell's "The Mower against Gardens," and Henry Wotton's The Elements of Architecture, 3. Corynna's 'eye' (39.8) is both her presence and the fountain as presented in Stanza 2.

source for Chapman,<sup>1</sup> the reader is reminded in Book III. 19 that other writers placed the poets Arion, Stesichorus, Anacreon and company there. Chapman alludes to Orpheus and Amphion in describing the effects of Corynna's song (St. 19), thus bringing the classical poets into her garden. In the blazon of Stanzas 57 to 62, Corynna is identified with the fields of Elysium. Later she is the centre of the poet's world, his 'Cynthian Delphos' (83.7); her fountain is thus the Castalian spring sacred to Apollo and the Muses. Largely through the multiple interpretations of the word 'spring', then, Chapman deflects the theme of fertility to that of poetic creativity, and it is within this poetic Elysium that all the iconography of the garden of nurture operates.

Although Corynna is subject to conflicting interpretation and use as is all nature, her jewels are not. Worn in the heart-shaped dressing of her hair, the jewels concentrate and summarize all the lessons of the garden's iconography. There are three jewels. The first is engraved with a setting sun and a man's lengthening shadow. It is inscribed with the motto decescente nobilitate, crescunt obscuri (70.9). Vinge sees in the emblem a reference to Corynna's higher social position which she would jeopardize in an affair with Ovid and to Ovid's elevation through poetry.<sup>2</sup> But consistent with the rest of the poem, none of the moral statements are directed seriously at Corynna. Rather the jewel is a reference to the state of the world in which art and nature are divided and the light of heaven is buried in the increasing shadows of ignorance. The sun

<sup>1</sup>Schoell, 21-42, 179-97. In "The Tears of Peace" (l. 75), Homer is 'that spirit Elysian'.

<sup>2</sup>Vinge, 237.

is reflected through the glass of the obelisks only to be lost in Niobe's downcast glance. The second jewel shows an eye set in a sapphire with a laurel spray across it, and the motto medio caret (St. 71). The sapphire is a transparent stone of varying shades of blue which recalls the transparent purple glass of the obelisks. It is also the stone of virtue and hope in commentators such as Gregory the Great.<sup>1</sup> The laurel, of course, is a symbol of poetry. Chapman's marginalia point out that sight is one of the three senses which employs a medium between the sense and the object. He continues to the effect that if the medium is wanting, the sense cannot operate properly. As Vinge explains clearly, the jewel refers to the aesthetic distance necessary between the poet and his object,<sup>2</sup> or, in terms closer to the experience of the poem, to that necessary control of the senses and their passions by the attitude of the poet in such a way that they lead inward to spiritual perception. The final jewel is a dial enclosing the world while Apollo with his team encircles both. Its motto is teipsum et orbem (St. 71). The jewel symbolizes the dualism of Chapman's universe, the microcosm and macrocosm, and the subjection to time which can momentarily be halted and the dualism bridged by the furor divines.

The jewels operate together in a progressive sequence to make one statement. All refer to poetry. The first describes the state of the world now lost in ignorance, the second the proper relationship of art to nature, and the third the resulting harmony of worlds

<sup>1</sup>Homiliae in Evangelia, XXXIV.7, in Joan Evans, Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance particularly in England (Oxford, 1922), p. 76-9.

<sup>2</sup>Vinge, 237.



and time when Apollo reigns as god of the Muses.

It is against this setting of the poetic Elysium with its garden iconography summarized and just completed by Corynna's jewels that the third movement, the seduction scene, begins. This third movement of the poem seems ambiguous because Chapman elected to treat the scene as a parody of courtly dalliance.

In his attempt to persuade Corynna to grant his senses further pleasures, Ovid argues that she is of a rare and mature wit above ordinary morality, that beauty is given to be seen, and, having satisfied three of his senses, she cannot deny the rest. Only he is harmed while she receives free service and after~~all~~ he cannot help himself. Initially Ovid's argument earns the label it deserves, for Corynna calls it a common gloss (77.1), and ably counters his persuasions. Their conversation becomes open comedy in the first four lines of Stanza 105 when Corynna admits the 'game'.

Heere-with, even glad his arguments to heare,  
 Worthily willing to have lawfull grounds  
 To make the wondrous power of Heaven appeare,  
 In nothing more then her perfections found,  
 Close to her navill shee her Mantle wrests,  
 Slacking it upwards, and the foulds unwound,  
 Showing Latonas Twinns, her plenteous brests  
 The Sunne and Cynthia in theyr tryumph-ropes  
 Of Lady-skin; more rich then both theyr Globes.

St. 105.

Corynna's majestic surrender is followed by the absurdity of Ovid's further posing:

Whereto shee bad, blest Ovid put his hand:  
 Hee, well acknowledging it much too base  
 For such an action, did a little stand,  
 Enobling it with tytles full of grace...

St. 106. 1-4.

The titles with which he enobles his five fingers run the gamut of mock-heroic from 'kinde acquaintance maker' and 'wealth of the laborer' to 'figure of that power the world did guise' (St. 107). These absurd touches combine with Ovid's kneeling position, straddling the only exit from the bower, to render the normally acceptable posture of the knight proffering service to his lady ridiculous. The weight of military imagery seriously meant elsewhere is seen in this section to harbour comic potential. Ovid is not a heroic figure storming the citadel of love with the artillery of his affections (St. 76), but a busy, loquacious little man caught in a slightly absurd relationship with his world. The colours of his portrait here are similar to those which limn Chaucer's narrator in The Canterbury Tales or in The Parliament of Foules. And, as in Chaucer, a sense of the comic does not eliminate the real pain underlying the human condition. Ovid's cry that 'a fleshlie engine must unfold / A spirituall notion' (111. 5-6) expresses a genuine sense of outrage.

By ridiculing the genre of the erotic epyllon, which had been made fashionable by Lodge's "Glaucus and Scylla" (1589), Marlowe's "Hero and Leander" (1593), and Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis" (1593), in order to discredit the form Chapman plays a dangerous game.<sup>1</sup> Although after Corynna's kiss and touch Ovid wins through to a correct translation of sensual into spiritual experience and renewed dignity, it is the rhetorical brightness of the dalliance which retains the greater emotional impact and robs Ovid's professed

<sup>1</sup>For a history of the genre, see Paul W. Miller, "The Elizabethan Minor Epic," SP, 55 (1958).

dedication to Corynna as the patroness of poetry of the conviction of victory.

That this dedication is nevertheless serious and continuous with the poem's theme as a whole is clear from our analysis of the role of the garden of nurture as set out in the first movement and confirmed in the second movement of the poem. When we are told that Corynna's kiss fills Ovid with 'this furious influence' (97.9), we know Chapman refers to the divine madness of poetry and the full weight of the poem lies behind Ovid's evocation of the Golden Age at this point in the seduction scene:

The motion of the Heavens that did beget  
 The golden age, and by whose harmonie  
 Heaven is preservd, in mee on worke is set,  
 All instruments of deepest melodie  
 Set sweet in my desires to my loves liking  
 With this sweet kisse in mee theyr tunes apply,  
 As if the best Musitians hands were striking:  
 This kisse in mee hath endlesse Musicke closed,  
 Like Phoebus Lute, on Nisus Towrs imposed.  
 And as a Pible cast into a Spring,  
 Wee see a sort of trembling cirkles rise,  
 One forming other in theyr issuing  
 Till over all the Fount they circulize,  
 So this perpetuall-motion-making kisse,  
 Is propagate through all my faculties,  
 And makes my breast an endless Fount of blisse,  
 Of which, if Gods could drink, theyr matchlesse fare  
 Would make them much more blessed then they are.

Sts. 98-99.

The images of the fount and circle, the striking of an instrument to set up those vibrations which imitate in the microcosm of the poet's soul the harmony of the heavens, that highest propagation of the natural and spiritual faculties, all these we have met before. Indeed Chapman's central images seem to coalesce in the trembling circles over all the fountain. The third movement is of a piece with the rest of the poem. It offers no contradiction to Chapman's Platonism. The same dualistic universe supports his philosophy

here as in the first and second movements or in The Shadow of Night. Coryna, as an aspect of nature, is an agency, not an object. Chapman retains his abhorrence of the flesh, but the presence or absence of moral value remains within the discretion of the interpreting mind. But in Ovids Banquet of Sence Chapman recognizes that the gap between man's two distinct worlds can momentarily be bridged by the rapture of poetry.

In the details of the garden of nurture of the first movement and in the second movement with the author's central digression, so much of which supplies the text for these details, Ovids Banquet of Sence is clear in statement and cogent in argument. The garden of nurture with its fusion of art and nature offers the perfect symbol for a Golden Age which can be recaptured only through such a fusion. The lively action of the third movement which takes place within the symbolic garden does not contradict its philosophical basis, but it does destroy the coherence of the poem on a different level. It is a great pity that Chapman succumbed to the temptation to parody that fashionable erotic verse so distasteful to him. By so doing he ruptures the serious and inspired tone of his poem, undermines the authority of his central character and threatens the emotional alignment of his poem. Chapman sacrificed a great theme to a petty and momentary satisfaction.

The ideal of the philosopher's garden as revived in the Renaissance contributed to the literature of the period in a variety of ways. It offered a physical analogue to the literary motif of 'arbore sub quadam' used by More and helped to keep alive the literary lineage of that ideal. In the academies of the sixteenth

century it helped to create a social milieu for intellectual discussion unknown in the Middle Ages. This setting when incorporated into the prose treatises of the time gave them urbanity and charm and that breath of interest which includes the "Humours and Passions of men as well as their reasonings." It is this setting which helped to give to Milton's Paradise Lost, caught between the character of drama and the action of the epic, the legitimate middle ground of dialectical poetry.

But the contribution of the philosopher's garden in the form of the Renaissance garden of nurture to literature can be more profound. The garden of nurture is itself the material of Chapman's poem. Because it is by definition a speaking picture, Chapman's use of it announces at once the way in which the poem should be read. Every feature is emblematical, even Corynna, who becomes an extension of the garden's iconography, Ovid's Elysium. In a similar way Milton's rejection of the garden of nurture in his conception of Paradise is a statement whose significance pervades the whole poem. The Renaissance garden of nurture confronts the modern reader with a particular attitude to nature, an attitude in which nature becomes a plastic material to be moulded by iconographical traditions. A single garden feature, such as the labyrinth, can contribute substantially, not only to the themes and atmosphere of a poem, but it can circumscribe the limits of poetic experience.

CHAPTER II THE LABYRINTH IN THE FAERIE QUEENE AND COMUS

The labyrinth is an ancient and continuously occurring symbol in human history, but of the three periods in which it was more important, the Renaissance witnessed its most prominent and widespread use.<sup>1</sup> The labyrinth appears in paintings such as that attributed to Tintoretto at Hampton Court Palace, in tapestry such as that at the Merchant Taylors Hall, London,<sup>2</sup> and on clothing such as the jacket in the "Portrait of a Gentleman" by Bartolomeo Veneto at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It appeared in emblem books, and it survived in the mosaics of medieval churches. Everywhere it carried the authority of the Aeneid, VII.168ff., and Metamorphoses, VII.152-76, made current by the revival of interest in the classics. But its richest iconographical expression was found in the gardens of the period.<sup>3</sup> Some of these survive in topiary form and labyrinths are described frequently in garden manuals and estate records.

The labyrinth has evoked such perennial interest that books devoted to its every manifestation such as W.H. Matthews's Mazes and Labyrinths their History and Development and Paolo Santarcangeli's Il libro dei laberinti find the variety of its

<sup>1</sup>Paoli Santarcangeli, Il libro dei laberinti (Florence, 1967), 245, defines the three periods as that of the ancient world of Crete, Egypt, and the Roman Empire, the medieval period, especially 1100-1300, and the Renaissance, 1500-1600.

<sup>2</sup>The tapestry dates from the last half of the sixteenth century and may be from the Barcheston works in Warwickshire. See Sir Frederick Fry, "A Tapestry at the Merchant Taylors' Hall," Burl. Mag., 51 (1927), 156-62.

<sup>3</sup>Santarcangeli, p. 271, makes a similar statement though his attention is directed more to Baroque distortions of the garden maze later in the period.

designs and materials forbids comprehensive definition of the figure. Likewise the multiple meanings associated with the figure defy a single solution except in the language of archetype and myth. And yet in any given period universal and primary ideas, in this case the perilous journey, must find expression through particular formulated traditions at once definite, expressive, and limited. The study of the sources and traditions of the labyrinth in the Renaissance before 1650 suggests something of the variety of conscious interpretations which might gather about the figure in the garden or elsewhere, and such a study illustrates particularly well the kind of vitality such features of the emblem garden might have for writers.

In the following pages, several brief examples of Renaissance poetry are examined because they provide evidence of the range of the symbolism of the labyrinth, but the longer studies of Spenser's The Faerie Queen I.i and Milton's Comus call attention to the figure, not as documentary evidence of its currency, but as part of the strategy of the imaginative experience. These poets use the labyrinth as a garden figure to contribute significantly to the reader's understanding of the poems. Because they are good poets, who are technically self-conscious and make the most of their materials, their poems illustrate the literary usefulness of the labyrinth figure and some of the limitations of such garden emblems. They tell us something about the skills necessary to control successfully figures of such iconographical density so that they function precisely within the evolved meaning of the work and do not draw the reader into abstruse speculations beyond the poetic statement.

## I. The Garden Maze in the Early Renaissance

The popularity of the topiary maze in the Renaissance garden is not in question. In garden manual after garden manual knots and labyrinths share in the same chapter, and diagrams for them appear grouped together. In this sense the labyrinth is treated as a particular form of the knot. The knot began to appear in English gardens around 1500, replacing the small straight ruled plots of the medieval garden. The earliest surviving illustration of a knot dates from 1467.<sup>1</sup> By 1520 Cavendish writes that Hampton Court is 'so enknotted it cannot be expressed.'<sup>2</sup> These records do not specify that topiary mazes were included among the knots or when the first garden labyrinth appeared in England. Amelia Amherst in A History of Gardening in England writes that they were not uncommon in the medieval period, but the examples she cites are turf mazes.<sup>3</sup>

Whenever the garden labyrinth appeared in England there is ample evidence that it was a familiar sight in Spenser's day. Henry VIII had a water maze with paths of tiles constructed at Greenwich for Anne Boleyn's arrival.<sup>4</sup> Princess Elizabeth was entertained by Queen Mary in a pavilion in the shape of a castle in the labyrinth at Richmond Palace in 1557.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Platter mentions a maze of high

<sup>1</sup>Sir Frank Crisp, Medieval Gardens, I (1924), 59. The illustration appears in Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (1499) written by Fra Francesco Colonna in 1467.

<sup>2</sup>In the Hon. Alicia Amherst, A History of Gardening in England (2nd edn., 1896), 87.

<sup>3</sup>Amherst, 25.

<sup>4</sup>Ian Dunlop, Palaces and Progresses of Elizabeth I (1962), 45.

<sup>5</sup>John Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, 3 vols. (1823), I, 18.



shrubbery at Nonsuch and he describes the maze at Hampton Court as one

decorated with plants and flowering trees, and two marble fountains, so that time shall not drag in such a place; for should one miss one's way, not only are taste, vision and smell delighted, but the gladsome birdsongs and plashing fountains please the ear, indeed it is like an earthly paradise.<sup>1</sup>

Platter's material is difficult to date precisely. His journey ended in 1600, but according to his editor, Clare Williams, he continued to revise his notes from books and other sources for a further six years.<sup>2</sup> His description, however, is of a fully mature and highly sophisticated garden labyrinth near the turn of the century. An equally sophisticated maze was that at Theobalds which is examined in detail later.<sup>3</sup>

The garden labyrinth on the continent is more fully documented than its English counterpart. One of the earliest examples was the Maison de Dédale planted by Charles V (1364-80) in the gardens of the Hôtel Saint Paul at Paris. It was one of the many mazes which appeared in the gardens of Germany, Italy, France, and Spain before 1600. Some of the labyrinths English travellers may have seen in the sixteenth century include the labyrinth with a dragon in its centre at the Villa Mattei which was probably completed before

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Platter's Travels in England, ed. and tr. Clare Williams (1937), 200-1.

<sup>2</sup>Platter, 136.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 134.

1582,<sup>1</sup> the two labyrinths at the Villa D'Este, dating from the 1570's,<sup>2</sup> and the circular labyrinth of the Villa Castello, dating from the 1540's.<sup>3</sup> Catherine de Medici had a labyrinth of cherry trees with fountains and grotto by Bernard Palissy at the Tuileries.<sup>4</sup> At the Pratoline a round labyrinth like that at Castello stretched behind the colossus of Apennino and fascinated Montaigne and later Evelyn.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to actual mazes books which contained designs for garden mazes such as De Vries's Hortorum viridariorumque formae (1583) and Serlio's Libri cinque d'architettura (1537) were in circulation in the sixteenth century. The work of both men was known in England before 1600, but De Vries's work seems to have had a restricted circulation among craftsmen. Details from his Variae architecturae formae (1563) were used at Wollaton, constructed in the 1580's.<sup>6</sup> Serlio's name was known outside professional circles

<sup>1</sup>Marie Luise Gothein, A History of Garden Art, 2 vols., ed. W.P. Wright, tr. Mrs. Archer-Hind (1928), I, 308.

<sup>2</sup>David Coffin, The Villa d'Este at Tivoli (Princeton, N.J., 1960), 17.

<sup>3</sup>Gothein, I, 247.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 413. A.F. Sieveking, The Praise of Gardens (1899), 50-1, reprints the account of the Swiss Ambassador who visited the Tuileries May 11, 1555, from the Archives of the History of Switzerland (Zurich, 1864).

<sup>5</sup>Gothein, I, 281, 284. See Evelyn's Diary, May, 1645.

<sup>6</sup>Mark Girouard, Robert Smythson and the Architecture of the Elizabethan Era (1966), 28. Girouard's first chapter includes a survey of architectural and design books available in England during the Elizabethan period. In the early seventeenth century Serlio's influence was disseminated further by Inigo Jones. I have been unable to examine a copy of De Vries's Hortorum viridariorumque formae.

for William Harrison could exclaim to his reader in The Description of England (1587) that English workmen were now comparable in skill with old "Vitruvius, Leon Battista, and Serlio."<sup>1</sup> Fireplaces derived from Serlio's designs were used at Wollaton, Hardwick, and Burghley House.<sup>2</sup> By 1579 designs for garden labyrinths were available to the general public through Thomas Hill's The Arte of Gardening, which was reprinted five times by 1608.<sup>3</sup> The designs were repeated in his enlarged version The Gardeners Labyrinth (1577), which was reprinted in 1578, 1586, 1594, 1608, and 1651. Though the garden labyrinth was to become still more popular it was amply represented in England before 1600.

Although in a sense the labyrinth is a particular form of the knot, the latter was a decorative feature in a way that the labyrinth was not. Designs for knots might take the form of dragons, or birds, or heraldic devices, but more commonly were geometrical patterns frequently built up from triangles, circles, and later ellipses. They were planted under the windows of the best rooms of the house, their patterns harmonizing with the architectural ornament, the colours of their gillyflowers, acanthus, daffodils, cornflowers or earths acting as a foil to the stone, and the fragrance of their herbs adding to the pleasure they gave.

Although many mazes were of low growing herbs or dwarf box their impact was not only visual. Some were set with flowers, but most

<sup>1</sup>William Harrison, The Description of England, 1587, ed. Georges Edelen (N.Y., 1968), 199.

<sup>2</sup>Girouard, 28.

<sup>3</sup>S.T.C. gives publication dates for The profitable Arte of Gardening as 1572, 1574, 1579, 1586, 1593, and 1608. W.H. Matthews, Mazes and Labyrinths: their History and Development (1922; rpt., N.Y., 1970) uses the 1579 edition. I have used the 1608 edition of The Arte of Gardening and The Gardeners Labyrinth. In the examples and illustrations common to Matthews's text and mine there are no differences.

were kept free to be traced on foot. They were not placed next to the house but further away. For Thomas Hill the "delectable Labyrinth [was] to bee made in the Garden (if room will so serve)."<sup>1</sup> For William Lawson, A New Orchard and Garden (1660), it was to be planted in "that void place of the Garden that may best be spared."<sup>2</sup> Furthermore the maze Lawson describes in 1623 is five or six feet high -- "well framed a mans height."<sup>3</sup> By the time of The Retir'd Gard'ner (1706), London and Wise were recommending labyrinths formed of palisades ten, twelve or fifteen feet in height. Whatever its form, the pattern or key of Lawson's maze, like those of London and Wise, would have been difficult to view except from the roof tiles.

Because the garden knot was a decorative feature patterns for it abounded, but the labyrinth in England, if less so on the continent,<sup>4</sup> retained a certain restriction of form. The anonymous pamphlet Excellent and New Invented Knots and Mazes (1623) contains nine designs for knots one of which is asymmetrical and one maze. The

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Hill, The Gardeners Labyrinth (1608), I, 30.

<sup>2</sup>William Lawson, A New Orchard and Garden (1660), 10. Matthews gives the same quotation from the 1623 edition.

<sup>3</sup>Lawson (1660), 55. Also in the 1623 edition.

<sup>4</sup>Androuet du Cerceau, Le Premier Volume des plus excellents Bastiments de France, 1576 with Le Second Volume des plus excellents Bastiments de France, 1607, Farnborough Facs. (1972), prints a number of maze designs which show slight variations within the standard symmetrical patterns. G.A. Boeckler, Architectura Curiosa, IV, published an assortment of unusual maze designs as early as 1664, but they do not cross the channel in extravagant form until much later. The reference to Boeckler is from Matthews who reprints a number of his designs, pp. 122-6.

eight regular patterns are among the sixteen knots reproduced on a larger and more accomplished scale in the anonymous The Expert Gardener (1640), where the maze reappears too but reversed.<sup>1</sup> These sixteen figures in turn are identical with the sixteen knots in Richard Surflet's translation of Charles Estienne's and Jean Liebault's Maison Rustique (1606) and in the edition of 1616 which was edited and augmented by Markham. The only maze Surflet prints is familiar too, but now upside down.<sup>2</sup> In these popular gardening manuals, including that of Hill, seventeen separate designs for knots appear compared to three for mazes. John Parkinson's Paradisi in Sole (1629), perhaps the most important gardening book of the seventeenth century, gives a further six knot designs but no mazes at all although he recommends "a maze or wilderness" to the reader in his opening epistle.<sup>3</sup> Surely the following caveat applies only to knots:

We will speake of the manner of bestowing of them [herbs and flowers] in proportions of divers fashions, and in labyrinthes or mazes. But in this course I cannot set thee downe an universall, and as it were inviolable prescript and ordinance, seeing the fashions of proportions doe depend partly upon the spirit and invention of the Gardiner, and partly upon the pleasure of the master and Lord unto whom the ground and garden appertaineth: the one whereof is lead by the hops and skips, turnings and windings of his braine; the other by the pleasing of his eye according to his best fantasie.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Expert Gardener, a collection of material gathered from European sources, was published anonymously in 1640. It reappeared as Book III of The Countryman's Recreation, 1640. The usual attribution of The Countryman's Recreation to Markham is disputed by F.N.L. Poynter, A Bibliography of Gervase Markham 1568?-1637, Oxford Bibliographical Soc. MS., II (Oxford, 1962), 28.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Estienne and Jean Liebault, Maison Rustique, or The Countrey Farme, tr. Richard Surflet (1606) and ed. and aug. Gervase Markham (1616). I have not seen the first edition (1600) of Surflet's translation.

<sup>3</sup>John Parkinson, Paradisi in Sole, 1629, The English Experience, 758 (1975), 5.

<sup>4</sup>Maison Rustique (1616), 267.

It is the 'proportions of divers fashions ' which vary so much and not the design of labyrinths.

This limitation of labyrinth design in English gardening manuals in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries may be due partly to family resemblance occasioned by the dominating presence of Markham as author and editor and partly to the difficulty of getting plates engraved in this country at that time. Rosemary Freeman has shown how problems of engraving affected the production of English emblem books.<sup>1</sup> No doubt the same problems affected garden diagrams too. Nevertheless one must note the consistency with which resources were used to give variety to the knot rather than to the maze. Whatever the cause, the early garden maze retained a singularity of form in England up to the mid-century. Although mathematical expression of the labyrinth pattern with its possibilities for numerological analysis is beyond the scope of this paper,<sup>2</sup> observation shows a precise geometrical figure, usually a square or circle, the meander symmetrical in appearance and usually unicursal and having a single beginning and end. This form is similar to the classical labyrinth design on the coins of Knossos dating from 500

<sup>1</sup>Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (1948), 54.

<sup>2</sup>Santarcangeli, p. 248, has noted a preference in medieval manuscripts for labyrinths of seven turnings with a pattern of movement from the outside inward of 3 rounds, then 2,1,4,7,6,5. The number seven is of established magical and religious significance. The pattern is very close to that on the coins of Knossos. The complexity of numerological expression possible in addition to the permutations of the labyrinth itself may be illustrated by the octagonal baptismal fount in the Cathedral of Lewannick which is inscribed with the figure of a labyrinth in union with a pentagram (Santarcangeli, p. 168).

B.C. to 67 B.C.<sup>1</sup> and to labyrinth patterns appearing in cultures as different from England's as those of South India and the Malay Archipelago. While the labyrinth retained this limited and ancient figuration in the Renaissance it was also restricted in meaning. Once maze designs were created by the turnings and twistings of individual brains outwith the traditional patterns the inherent symbolism of the labyrinth was dissipated.

## II. Some Interpretations of the Labyrinth

Renaissance craftsmen sometimes depended for their designs on emblem books as well as architectural pattern books.<sup>2</sup> The design of garden mazes in some instances is likewise indebted to these sources and to the mosaic labyrinths of continental churches. Evidence of these associations appears very early. One of Serlio's two square maze designs, probably for ceilings,<sup>3</sup> appears in Thomas

<sup>1</sup>The historical relationship between the decorative motif and the architectural labyrinth has not been established. Signs meaning both 'palace' and 'tomb' from the early old kingdom period in Egypt show simple meander patterns, and buildings constructed to these patterns have been excavated. The more complicated hieroglyph known as 'the meander', which became the Greek key pattern, probably represents the double kingdom of Egypt. But whether the motif was the organizational principle of the building is not clear. The two designs may be analogous but separate. See C.N. Deedes, "The Labyrinth" in The Labyrinth: Further Studies in the Relation Between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World, ed. S.H. Hooke (1935), 4-7.

<sup>2</sup>The "Address to the Reader" in Alciati's Emblematum flumen abundans (Lyons, 1551) suggests that from the borders of the emblems the reader can derive "what he may be able to impress on the walls of houses, on windows of glass, on tapestry, on hangings, on tablets, vases, ensigns, seals, garments, the table, the couch, the arms, the sword, and lastly furniture of every kind." Holbein Society Facs., 6, ed. Henry Green (1871). The first edition of Alciati's emblems printed in Lyons is dated 1550.

<sup>3</sup>Sebastian Serlio, Tutte L'Opere D'Architettura et Prospective, IV, Farnborough Facs. (1964), fol. 199.

Hill's The profitable Arte of Gardening (1579) and is repeated in William Lawson's A New Orchard and Garden (1623), which was later rebound with Gervase Markham's A Way to Get Wealth (1631). The medieval maze in Chartres Cathedral, the Cretan Labyrinth engraved in the fifteenth century and attributed to Baccio Baldini and the circular maze design in Thomas Hill's The Arte of Gardening (1608) are similar in pattern except that the number of circles varies from ten in the engraving to seventeen in Hill's maze. In all three the path leads deep into the maze before looking back. In each quadrant it approaches the centre teasingly only to run toward the extremity again. The similarity of Hill's version (See Plate 7 ) to that in La Perrière's Le Théâtre des Bons Engins is striking. The pattern is identical, but the man in the centre holds a spade and of the four elements depicted at the corners in La Perrière's book fire and air are replaced by plants in The Arte of Gardening. Given the limited variation of labyrinth design in the Renaissance, it is, of course, not possible to insist on specific attributions. Nevertheless it is associations of this kind which, with the restricted design, suggest the traditions of the labyrinth may also form a close knit family of interpretations shared regardless of medium.

The maze in mosaic form in continental churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is a beautiful and sophisticated use of material and design and yet the interpretation which has survived is general rather than precise. The medieval church as a microcosm of the universe displayed starry vaults to represent the heavens and pavements inlaid with labyrinths to represent the earth and underworld. A narrower definition of the meaning than this has not



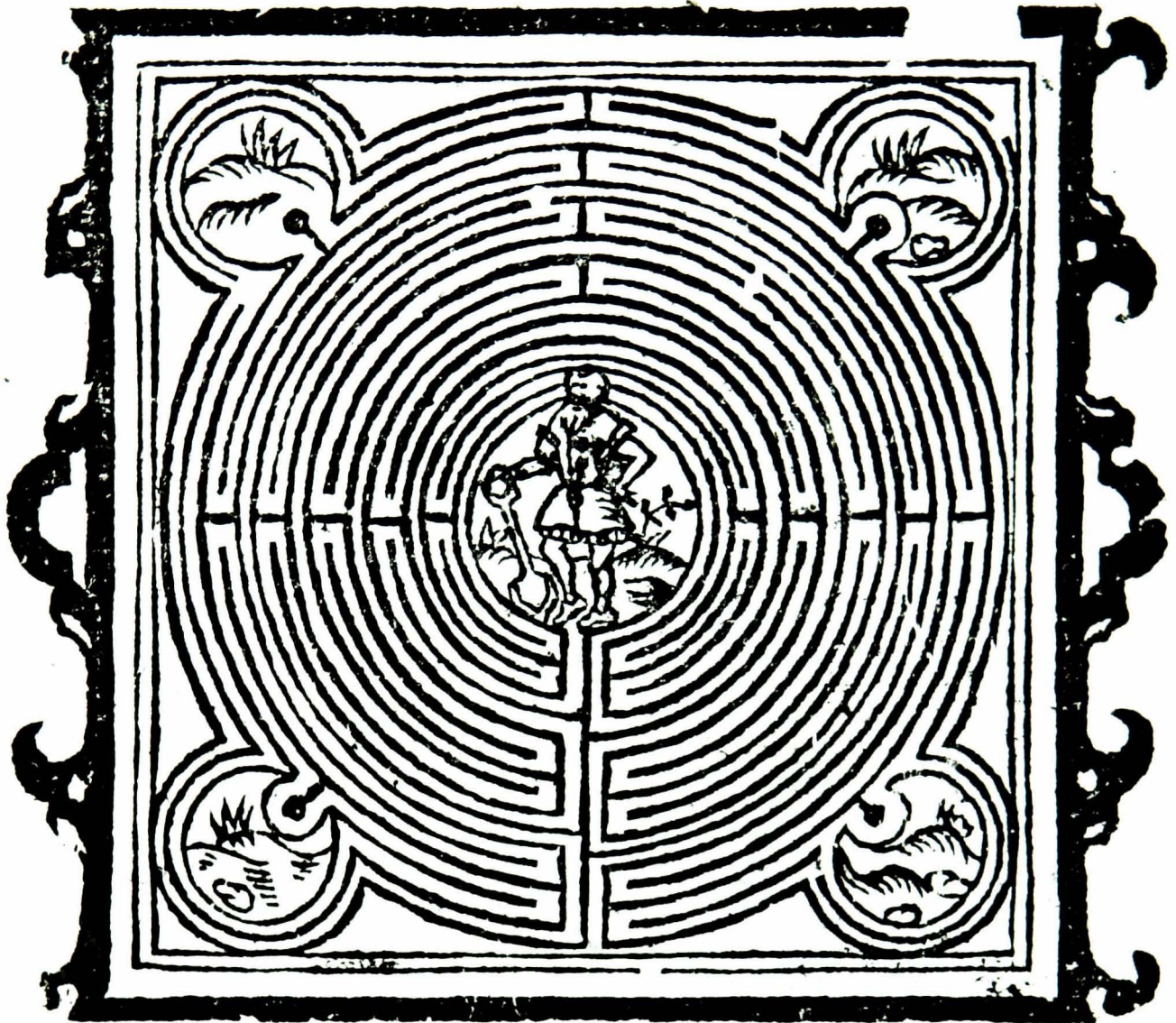


Plate 7. Circular maze from Thomas Hill's The Arte of Gardening, 1608.

been determined with certainty.<sup>1</sup> They may show the entangling nature of sin or plot the path to Calvary. In France they are often called 'Chemin de Jerusalem' or 'Ciel de Jerusalem.' No one as yet has found any explanation of these mazes in ecclesiastical records.<sup>2</sup> Only one church labyrinth has been described with its legend intact. The labyrinth of San Savino at Piacenza was accompanied by the signs of the zodiac and the following verses cut in stone:

HUNC MUNDUM TIPICE LABERINTHUS DENOTAT ISTE:  
 INTRANTI LARGUS, REDEUNTI SET NIMIS ARTUS  
 SIC MUNDO CAPTUS, VICIORUM MOLLE GRAVATUS  
 VIX VALET AD VITE DOCTRINAM QUISQUE REDIRE.<sup>3</sup>

This particular labyrinth and its zodiac taught that this world is a snare and that man passes through his time on earth to true life only with difficulty. Perhaps the most one can say of the mosaic labyrinth of the middle ages is that it has become a Christian symbol. Its convoluted, but usually unicursal path takes man from birth to death and represents the hardships and delusions of the physical world of time in opposition to the spiritual world of eternity.

One would expect the emblem books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to provide a more complex interpretation of the labyrinth than the general one extant for the church mosaics. Since the emblem tradition surrounds its figures with a variety of mottoes, essays,

<sup>1</sup>Any physical application for the mosaic is likewise in doubt. Popular tradition holds that when traced on the knees, the labyrinth served as a substitute for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem or as a penance. Matthews, p. 67, traces this tradition to J.B.F. Geruzes's Description of the City of Rheims (1817).

<sup>2</sup>Matthews, 69; Santarcangeli, 255.

<sup>3</sup>P.M. Campi, Ecclesiastical History of Piacenza (1651) in Matthews, 57.

epigrams, and poems, the possibilities for a vivid analysis of the labyrinth are many. Herman Hugo meets these expectations with an elaborate apparatus in Pia Desideria (Antwerp, 1624). He places a hedge maze in the central section on illumination. (See Plate 8.) In the picture an angel in a lighthouse, the set figure for the city of Jerusalem, throws a rope or thread to the soul, Anima, in the centre of the maze. In the poem that follows Anima makes her plaint, with echoes from Ovid and Virgil, as she struggles to find her way through the dark and devious paths of the world. She is guided by God, her Pharus, just as the Israelites were guided by the burning pillar. The chiaroscuric imagery of the poem is vivid and effective as are the sounds in the dark, but the specific hazards of the labyrinthine world remain vague.

In the lengthy essay that follows the poem Hugo does not clarify these hazards, so much as envelop them further in the emotional intensity to be expected from a poet who influenced Crashaw. He takes his text from Psalm 119 'utinam dirigantur viae meae ad custodiendas iustificationes tuas,' in which the 'iustificationes' are the statutes of the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> Instead of defining these statutes Hugo repeats jeremiads of biblical authority -- Jeremiah (10.23) warned that man does not have his path within him but depends on the direction of God, while John the Baptist (Matt. 3.3) warned humanity to prepare the way of the Lord and make straight his paths.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Psalm 119 in the Authorized Version, Psalm 118 in the Vulgate.

<sup>2</sup>Hugo's marginalia cite patristic commentaries on Psalms 36, 38, 139, and Job 6. Psalm 139 is remarkable for its imagery of light and dark.



*Viam dirigantur via mea ad custodiendas  
iustificationes tuas! Psal. 118.*

17.

Plate 8. Anima in the labyrinth from  
Herman Hugo's Pia Desideria, 1624.

For Hugo man sits blinded by the shadow of death, subjugated by necessity and desire, unless like the Israelites he follows the fiery pillar of God's will. The labyrinthine paths are the limitations of postlapsarian flesh revealed in quotidian uncertainties and in distortions of mental activity as well.

Hugo's development of the labyrinth is true to his primary source. Psalm 119 is a complaint which over and over asks God's help in keeping to the paths of righteousness defined by the laws of God. Its one hundred and seventy-six verses are written to an acrostic principle. Each verse is an application of one of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet and each paragraph addresses God, but nowhere does this lengthy psalm analyse the laws or ritual of the Old Testament or even list them. Typical is the opening passage from which the motto of the emblem is taken:

ALEPH

Blessed are the undefiled in the way,  
 Who walk in the law of the Lord  
 Blessed are they that keep his testimonies,  
 And that seek him with the whole heart.  
 They also do no iniquity:  
 They walk in his ways...  
 O that my ways were directed  
 To keep thy statutes!...  
 O forsake me not utterly.

A.V.

The psalm itself is a labyrinth for it contains no specificities, no as yet discernible pattern of hidden allusion, and no appreciable development of thought. According to a recent commentary, logical analysis is quite impossible.<sup>1</sup> Hugo's essay is not written in acrostics, but the Baroque nature of its unfolding is very similar

<sup>1</sup>The Interpreter's Bible, IV (N.Y., 1955), 623.

to the convoluted movement of Psalm 119. It captures this quality far more successfully than Thomas Carew's paraphrase of the psalm does.

Another poem which one suspects owes its impulse to meditation on this psalm is "The Labyrinth" written by Henry King, Bishop of Chichester. King probably began work on his metrical version of the psalms, published as The Psalmes of David, 1651, some time after his expulsion from the bishopric in 1642.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the date of composition of "The Labyrinth" is uncertain though it is associated in manuscripts with the occasional poems of 1636-8.<sup>2</sup> The movement of the poem which eddies round its emotional centre without particular object, the metaphoric use of blindness and darkness, the echo from the Aleph stanza of the line "O guide my Faith" suggest the influence of Psalm 119 though the poem may not be the direct offshoot of King's metrical version of the psalms.

Life is a crooked Labyrinth, and wee  
 Are dayly lost in that Obliquity.  
 'Tis a perplexed Circle, in whose round  
 Nothing but Sorrowes and new Sins abound.  
 How is the faint Impression of each good  
 Drown'd in the vitious Channell of our blood?  
 Whose Ebbes and Tides by their vicissitude  
 Both our Great Maker and our selves dilude.  
 O wherfore is the most discerning Ey  
 Unapt to make its owne discovery?  
 Why is the clearest and best judging Mind  
 In her owne Ill's prevention dark and blind?

....

My Blessed Saviour! unto Thee I fly  
 For help against this home-bred tyranny.  
 Thou canst true Sorrowes in my Soule imprint,  
 And draw Contrition from a breast of flint.

<sup>1</sup>Margaret Crum, ed., The Poems of Henry King, Bishop of Chichester (Oxford, 1965), 19. Citations are to this text.

<sup>2</sup>Crum, 237.

Thou canst reverse this Labyrinth of Sinne  
 My wild Affects and Actions wander in.  
 O guide my Faith! and by thy Grace's Clew  
 Teach mee to hunt that Kingdome at the view  
 Where true Joyes reigne; which,  
 Like their Day, shall last;  
 Those never clouded, nor That Overcast.

Whatever the immediate source of King's poem there is little doubt that it shares many of the same traditions of the labyrinth noted in Hugo's work. King's prayer to Christ, however, rather than to the Old Testament God of the fiery pillar, adds a dimension of compassion not often found in the emblem books. The labyrinth there is a symbol of castigation and sorrow, of obligation and justice, and it is by contrast with King's poem that the omission of a larger dimension is thrown into relief. The labyrinth of the emblem books retains an Old Testament rigour.

Francis Quarles writes within this central tradition of the emblem book. Quarles reprinted the plate of Hugo's labyrinth together with the quotation from Psalm 119 in Emblemes (1635). He also used many of Hugo's images in his poem, images of light and dark, a guiding star, the Israelite's pillar. His poem is a plaint but its tone is somehow private and querulous, lacking in the power and public intensity of Hugo's efforts.

Thus I, the object of the world's disdain,  
 With pilgrim face surround the weary earth;  
 I only relish what the world counts vain;  
 Her mirth's my grief; her sullen grief, my mirth;  
 Her light my darkness; and her truth my error;  
 Her freedom is my gaol; and her delight my terror.

Fond earth! proportion not my seeming love  
 To my long stay; let not my thoughts deceive thee;  
 Thou art my prison, and my home's above;  
 My life's a preparation but to leave thee;  
 Like one that seeks a door, I walk about thee;  
 With thee I cannot live; I cannot live without thee.

The world's a lab'rinth, whose anfractuons ways  
 Are all composed of rubs and crook'd meanders:  
 No resting here; he's hurried back that stays  
 A thought; and he that goes unguided, wanders:  
 Her way is dark, her path untrod, unev'n;  
 So hard's the way from earth; so hard's the way to heav'n.

An unrequested star did gently slide  
 Before the wise men to a greater light;  
 Backsliding Isr'el found a double guide, --  
 A pillar and a cloud, -- by day, by night:  
 Yet in my desp'rate dangers, which be far  
 More great than theirs, I have no pillar, cloud, nor star...<sup>1</sup>

The prayer that follows Quarles's poem -- it is also found in Hugo's work -- is from St. Augustine, Solioquies, Cap. IV, but, like the poem and the psalm, it is not specific in content, nor is the awkward epigram that concludes the section:

Pilgrim, trudge on: what makes thy soul complain,  
 Crowns thy complaint; the way to rest is pain:  
 The road to resolution lies by doubt:  
 The next way home's the farthest way about.

Quarles's treatment of the labyrinth as an emblem in fact differs little from the interpretations of the church mosaic labyrinth. It differs from Hugo's work in poetic quality rather than in statement. The same broad and central interpretation of both writers appears again in Claude Paradin's Devises Heroique (Lyons, 1557). The legend of this line maze urges the Christian to hold fast to "le filet de ses saints commandemens" for the correct path to eternal life. It does not comment on these commandments.

Emblem mazes that are more specific are not so in a doctrinaire way. The line maze in Guillaume de la Perrière's Le Théâtre des Bons Engins (Paris, 1539) is accompanied by a legend similar to that found in the church of San Savino in that it contrasts the

<sup>1</sup>The text is from The Poetical Works of Richard Crashaw, and Quarles Emblems, ed. C.C. Clarke [1881].



easy entrance to vice with the narrow exit to virtue.

En volupté facilement on entre,  
 Mais on en sort à grand difficulté:  
 Qui trop desire obeir à son ventre,  
 Il en est pire en toute faculté.  
 Ce beau propos auons pour résultat,  
 Du Labyrinthe auquel facilement  
 L'on peult entrer, mais si profondement  
 On est dedans, l'issue est difficile:  
 En vain plaisir aussi semblablement  
 L'on entre tost, mais sortir n'est facile.<sup>1</sup>

In the phrase "obeir à son ventre" a new element enters the discussion. La Perrière's emblems often satirized the vices of the French court. Satire is present here in the reference to gluttony and in the possible sexual overtones of the passage. Particular vices are also mentioned in the essay which follows the wall maze in Sebastian de Covarrabias Orozco's Emblemas Morales (Madrid, 1610). For this world's 'vain plaisir' he cites ambition, vanity, and idleness.

From this brief survey, it is possible to establish a central tradition of interpretation for the labyrinth of the emblem books and to suggest certain stylistic features which cluster round the figure. Like the labyrinth of church mosaics, the figure symbolizes the world in time and man's culpability in general within a Christian framework. Specific applications frequently evoke one or more of the seven deadly sins and these find resolution in God's statutes or His grace. La Perrière's references to gluttony and Orozco's to ambition and vanity are not inconsistent with the psalmist of Ps. 119 who, while not reciting the laws, nevertheless castigates the proud, the deceitful, liars, and lovers of gold. The labyrinth of the emblem books is a moral symbol of man's carnal

<sup>1</sup>Guillaume de la Perrière, Le Théâtre des Bons Engins, ed. John Horden, Continental Emblem Books, 17 (1973).

obloquy, of his ensnarement in postlapsarian experience. In this respect the emblem books continue the theme established by moral treatises in medieval manuscripts whose margins were often illuminated with precisely drawn labyrinths beside those passages describing the temptations of human nature.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, the tradition of the emblem books is securely rooted in Ovid's Metamorphoses VIII.152-76, Aeneid VI.168ff., and Psalms 119 and possibly 139. From these it derives its chiaroscuroic imagery and the plaintive tone with its pervasive consciousness of man's guilt in which the compassion and mercy of the New Testament's assurance play little part. The emotional didacticism of Hugo's essay rests easily within this tradition of interpretation and is readily explained also by the purpose of Pia Desideria.

No discussion of the traditions of the labyrinth can be complete without some discussion of the image of the wandering wood. A very close analogue of the labyrinth with which it shares a large semantic field, it is nevertheless a separate entity. William Nelson has analysed the literary history of the wandering wood in Dante, Virgil, and Tasso while J.E. Hankins has extended the discussion to parallels in the Vulgate.<sup>2</sup> We need only summarize their work here briefly.

<sup>1</sup>Santarcangeli, pp. 248-50, describes several such MSS including a German translation of Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy.

<sup>2</sup>William Nelson, The Poetry of Edmund Spenser (1963; rpt., 1965), 158-64; J.E. Hankins, Source and Meaning in Spenser's Allegory (Oxford, 1971), 60-73. Hankins points out that the description of the world before Creation in Gen. 1.2 of the Vulgate is described in the same words as the forest of the Aeneid, VI.269. The void also was 'inanis et vacua' (p. 71).

Latin 'silva' was early equated in Servius's commentaries on the Aeneid, and thereafter by others such as Alain de Lille, with the Greek word 'hyle' which could mean either 'forest' or 'primordial matter'. By the Renaissance the sense in which these two were merged is illustrated by Henry Peacham's description of "The Grove" as

A Shadie Wood, pourtraicted to the Sight  
With uncouth pathes, and hidden waies unknowne:  
Resembling CHAOS, or the hideous night,  
Or those sad Groves, by banke of ACHERON  
With banefull Ewe, and Ebon overgrowne:  
Whose thickest boughes, and inmost entries are  
Not peirceable, to power of any starre.<sup>1</sup>

'Hyle', according to Nelson, is that level of "material stuff upon which divine ideas are impressed, the activities of this world, the passions of the body, the earthly or fleshly aspect of human life."<sup>2</sup>

None of these associations is at odds with the symbolism of the labyrinth, but when the latter is imposed on the idea of the wandering wood, the matrix of interpretation is altered. The labyrinth suggests a precisely planned figure of confusion; the wandering wood, an organic but amorphous mass. The labyrinth has a beginning and end or centre, however elusive, and this pattern reinforces the idea of a passage through time; the wandering wood suggests a stasis of time and place, a morass. In a curious way although the labyrinth is more obviously a contrivance -- the Cretan labyrinth was clearly stamped 'Daedalus fecit' -- it is the wandering wood which is unnatural. It is a freak of the magic of romance and often its dangers yield only to further magic. The challenges of the labyrinth

<sup>1</sup>Henry Peacham, Minerva Britanna, 1612, ed. John Horden, The English Emblem Book, 5 (1973), 182.

<sup>2</sup>Nelson, 159.

remain within quotidian experience however monstrous the apparitions it contains; the Lady unaided defeats Comus before Sabrina and the brothers arrive bearing moly. The labyrinth always holds out hope of a thread or key; the wandering wood does not.

The labyrinth as a symbol of false reason is also associated with the image of the wandering wood and indeed John Steadman, who has analysed this strand of meaning, makes no distinction between the two.<sup>1</sup> With its neoplatonic analyses of the human condition, this interpretation seems to derive from scholastic sources and is also associated with rhetorical studies. The labyrinthine wood represents worldly wisdom or secular erudition. In Rhodiginus's words it is the "variam multiformemque mentis vim, aut longiorem, &...multiplicibus implicitam spiris arte."<sup>2</sup> John Florio's A Worlde of Wordes, (1598) gives the following gloss:

Labirinto, Labirintho...place full of intricate windings and turnings, made in such wise that whosoever came into it coulde not get out againe without a perfect guide, or without a thred directing him...wee call it a maze. It is also taken for an oration, or any other thing very intricate, difficult, and entangled.<sup>3</sup>

The Oxford English Dictionary records 'labyrinth' as "a tortuous, entangled or inextricable condition of things, events, ideas" as early as 1548 in Edward Hall's Chronicle and again in Thomas Digges's Pantometria, 1571. 'Maze' as a verb meaning to confuse or perplex appears a century earlier in Caxton's 1482 edition of Ralph Higden's Polychronicon.

<sup>1</sup>John M. Steadman, "Spenser's Errour," Neuphil. Mitt., 62(1961).

<sup>2</sup>Ludovicus C. Rhodiginus, Lectionum Antiquarum Libri XXX (Basle, 1566) 478, in Steadman, 25. Rhodiginus's statement describes Hesiod's Echidna; Steadman applies it to the labyrinth as well.

<sup>3</sup>John Florio, A Worlde of Wordes, or Most copious, and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English (1598), 196.

The scholastic tradition of the labyrinth of false reason lies behind Donne's "Second Anniversary." The imagery of watch tower, or guide, blindness, and labyrinth which Hugo joins with such intensity appears here with equal intensity to spend itself on the futility of human knowledge. Donne inverts the traditions of the labyrinth using its associations to search the complexities of the new knowledge won by experiment and observation. By implication the reader is aware of the absence of the medieval synthesis of formal reasoning beneath the shock that attends Donne's despair that the results of the new procedures are also inadequate.

Why grasse is greene, or why our blood is red,  
 Are mysteries which none have reach'd unto.  
 In this low forme, poore soule what wilt thou doe?  
 When wilt thou shake off this Pedantry,  
 Of being taught by sense, and Fantasy?  
 Thou look'st through spectacles;  
     small things seeme great,  
 Below; but up unto the watch-towre get,  
 And see all things despoild of fallacies:  
 Thou shalt not peepe through lattices of eies,  
 Nor heare through Laberinth of eares,<sup>1</sup> nor learne  
 By circuit, or collections to discern.  
 In Heaven thou straight know'st all, concerning it,  
 And what concernes it not, shall straight forget.<sup>2</sup>

11. 288-300.

<sup>1</sup>'Labyrinth' as an anatomical term for part of the inner ear appears according to the OED, in 1696, but it was used loosely much earlier as in Donne's poem, Sir John Davies's Nosce Teipsum and "The Description" attributed to Robert Herrick by J. Max Patrick, The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick (N.Y., 1963), 551-2. Helkiah Crooke, A Description of the Body of Man, 1615, writes of "a mazy laberynth of small veines and arteries" (OED). See the discussion of the labyrinth as womb, pp. 142-3.

<sup>2</sup>Citations are to John Donne: The Anniversaries, ed. Frank Manley (Baltimore, Md., 1963).

The usual gloss of Donne's 'watch-towre' as symbolizing the mind is accurate but inadequate. Although as an image the watch-tower of the mind has a history at least as old as the Timaeus,<sup>1</sup> the term in the "Second Anniversary" is coloured by biblical usage and drawn from the image patterns of the labyrinth. Donne's image is a watch-tower of the soul, and the visions which occur therein are infusions of light which approach the revelations of ecstasy.<sup>2</sup> Like Hugo's *Anima*, Donne seeks the New Jerusalem, which he experiences as a knowing above the senses of the eye and ear, tortuous reasonings, fantasy, accumulations, or memory.

Francis Bacon expresses a frustration similar to that of Donne but, in this case at least, without the resolution of heavenly aid.

But the universe to the eye of the human understanding is framed like a labyrinth, presenting as it does on every side so many ambiguities of way, such deceitful resemblances of objects and signs, natures so irregular in their lines and so knotted and entangled. And then the way is still to be made by the uncertain light of the sense, sometimes shining out, sometimes clouded over, through the woods of experience and particulars, while those who offer themselves for guides are (as was said) themselves also puzzled, and increase the number of errors and wanderers.

<sup>1</sup>D.C. Allen, The Harmonious Vision (Baltimore, Md., 1954; rev., 1970), 17-8, traces the image in Plato's Timaeus (70a) and the Republic (560b), Pliny's Nat. His., XI.134, Cicero's De Nat. Deo., II.140, and Isaiah 21.5,8. His discussion of the image in the context of Milton's "Il Penseroso" shows that a continual alertness matched by contemplation and the memory of experience may be rewarded by the prophetic strain.

<sup>2</sup>Manley, 21-38, identifies Donne's 'shee' with the Celestial Venus, the female figure of Wisdom, or the Logos which contains all Ideas. He describes her perception ultimately as ecstasy.

In circumstances so difficult neither the natural force of man's judgment nor even any accidental felicity offers any chance of success.<sup>1</sup>

Although the labyrinth of the emblem books is a moral symbol directed toward the operation of man's will in his daily fallen existence, it is not opposed to the labyrinth as a symbol of false reason despite the latter's derivation from a separate scholastic tradition. Lipsius writes that "whoso obeyeth her [right reason] is lord of all lusts & rebellious affections: whoso hath this thred of Thesius may passe without straying through all the laborinths of this life."<sup>2</sup> The images Donne and Hugo share are part of the common properties of the age for expressing the depressing limitations of the human condition. The labyrinth is the dominant stock figure, retaining an emotional aura of sorrow and disillusionment, but through its multiple traditions open to specific application within that aura. The emblem book applied the labyrinth to man's will and desires, the ingredients of his moral world; others, like Donne, applied it to problems of epistemology.

<sup>1</sup>Preface to Magna Instauration in Francis Bacon Essays, Advancement of Learning, New Atlantis, and Other Pieces, ed. R.F. Jones (N.Y., 1937), 248. The reader may also wish to consider George Herbert's serene acceptance of the ways of learning, honour, and pleasure in "The Pearl, Matt. 13.45" for "through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit, / But thy silk twist let down from heav'n to me, / Did both conduct and teach me, how by it / To climbe to thee." The Poems of George Herbert, ed. F.E. Hutchinson with intro. by Helen Gardner, The World's Classic (1961), 80.

<sup>2</sup>Justus Lipsius, Two Bookes of Constancie, tr. Sir John Stradling, ed. Rudolf Kirk (New Brunswick, N.J., 1939), 81-2.

The interpretations and traditions of the labyrinth discussed above were available directly in the Renaissance, as we have seen, from a variety of sources;<sup>1</sup> they were also available indirectly in the Renaissance garden possibly carried there through the medium of design. It is not possible to determine exactly how much of these interpretations were so transferred, but there are several suggestive records of Renaissance garden mazes available. William Lawson writes in A New Orchard and Garden that mazes are "for the onely purpose to sport them in at times"<sup>2</sup> and that they may "make your friend wander...till he cannot recover himself without your help."<sup>3</sup> Lawson's treatment of the maze as a playful occasion of simple error and confusion is very typical. Mazes shared the popularity accorded to jeux d'esprit such as the squirting willow tree at Chatsworth or the grotto at Wilton which regularly drenched the inquisitive. And yet other aspects of the labyrinth appear even in Lawson's description. The friend who wanders is offered a guide at last. Further he wanders, Lawson tells us, while gathering berries.<sup>4</sup> The very walls of this labyrinth are a deceptive appeal to appetite.

<sup>1</sup>Pia Desideria was reprinted over forty-two times between 1624 and 1757. Le Théâtre des Bons Engins was translated into English in 1593 by Thomas Combe as The Theatre of Fine Devices. An English translation of Paradin appeared in 1591. In addition Geoffrey Whitney's A Choice of Emblems (1586) was based largely on Paradin, La Perrière and Alciati (See Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, 2 vols. [2nd edn., Rome, 1964]). Spenser's close friend Gabriel Harvey complained in an undated letter that students at Cambridge were reading "Jouios and Rasselis Emblemes in Italian, Pardines in French" -- from E.N.S. Thompson, "Emblem Books," Literary Bypaths of the Renaissance (1924) quoted in the introductory note by C.N. Smith to Claude Paradin, Devises Heroiques, 1557, Continental Emblem Books, 16 (1971).

<sup>2</sup>William Lawson, A New Orchard and Garden (1660), 10.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 55.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.



This sensual appeal of the labyrinth stands out in the practical guide to maze construction which Thomas Hill gives in The Arte of Gardening. He recommends four different fruit trees to be planted in each corner while the centre is to be occupied by "a proper herber decked with Roses, or else some tree of Rosemarie, or other fruite at the discretion of the Gardener."<sup>1</sup> Hill's proper herber is an arbour framed on willow or juniper poles bound with osiers to form a three-sided enclosure complete with roof. It afforded shelter from the sun and privacy, though some arbours might have windows fashioned in them from which to view the garden.<sup>2</sup> The bench within might be planted with camomile or other scented herb, and the roses, he names as threaded through the framework, are the fragrant musk rose or damask rose. Jasmine, cucumber, melon, honeysuckle and privet are also recommended as covering plants.<sup>3</sup> Hill's second maze design should be planted in scented hyssop, thyme, winter savory, lavender cotton, spike, or marjoram.<sup>4</sup> Hill plans his garden "for the delight and comfort of the wearied mind, which he [the owner] may by himself or fellowship of friends conceive, in the delectable sights, and fragrant smells of the flowers."<sup>5</sup> The labyrinth was a concentrated expression of the sensuous delights of the pleasure garden.

<sup>1</sup>Hill (1608), 10.

<sup>2</sup>The Gardeners Labyrinth (1608), I, 24.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 22-3.

<sup>4</sup>The Arte of Gardening (1608), 10.

<sup>5</sup>The Gardeners Labyrinth (1608), I, 24.

These delights in some mazes were erotically interpreted, for they were openly dedicated to Venus. That this type of garden maze was meant as a warning against the snares of carnality is highly unlikely since it provided an almost unrivalled setting for its pursuit. It seems to evoke the pleasure garden at its most licensed. Perhaps the most famous of these mazes existed contemporaneously with Hill's description and with the preparation of The Faerie Queene. It was planted at Theobalds, Lord Burghley's prodigy house, probably in the 1560's. (See Plate 9.) It was a large topiary maze with a small mount in the centre crowned by a fountain. The mount was called the Mount of Venus. The associations of the garden mount with the mons veneris have been traced by several writers with reference to the myth of Spenser's Garden of Adonis with its mount of myrtle thickets.<sup>1</sup> Myrtle, according to Valeriano, represents the female pudendum.<sup>2</sup> Spenser's voluptuous description of the garden together with the figures of Genius and the naked babes, and the legend of Venus and Adonis support such an interpretation of the mount. Unfortunately, few details are known of the mount at Theobalds, not even of its foliage, and no programme of the garden as a whole has been discovered. Because of this lack of evidence a recent suggestion that the Mount of Venus was intended as a tribute to Elizabeth I as the Goddess of Love remains fanciful.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Robert Ellrodt, Neoplatonism in the Poetry of Spenser (Geneva, 1960), 88; reviewed by C.S. Lewis, Études Anglaises, 14 (1961), 112; Alastair Fowler, Spenser and the Numbers of Time (1964), 135-7.

<sup>2</sup>Valeriano, Hieroglyphica (Basle, 1567), Bk. L, fol. 373<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup>Strong, The Renaissance Garden in England (1979), 56.

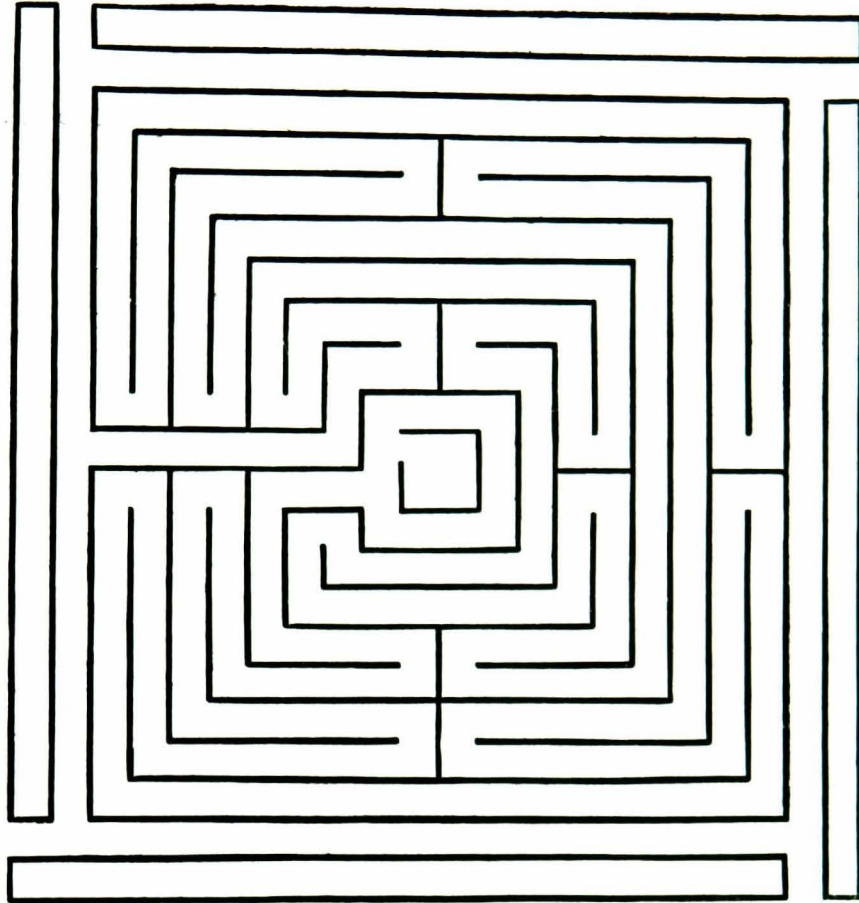


Fig. 12. MAZE AT THEOBALDS, HERTFORDSHIRE.

Plate 9. Plan of the maze at Theobalds from the Rev. Edward Trollope, "Notices of Ancient and Medieval Labyrinths," Archaeological Journal, 15(1858). No source is given.

On the continent labyrinths appear as integral parts of the garden programmes developed at the Villa Castello and at the Villa d'Este, but their interpretations within those programmes are sketchy. At the Villa Castello the labyrinth, originally part of the older garden, was incorporated into the new gardens developed by Tribolo in the early sixteenth century. It occupied the centre of the main garden and inclosed a fountain topped by a statue of a nymph as Fiorenza. A fountain of Hercules was placed in front of the labyrinth and the grotto of the unicorn beyond it. Water channels leading down from statues of Monte della Falterone and Monte Asinaio on the right and left of the grotto into the labyrinth were planned as part of an allegory celebrating the city of Florence. Statues of Justizia, Pietà, Valore, Nobilità, Sapienza, and Liberalità next to Fiorenza were to be balanced by figures in praise of the civic virtues of leggi, pace, arme, scienze, lingue, and arti. Above the virtues were to be placed busts of the Medici family.<sup>1</sup> Although clearly central to the interpretation of the garden no explanation of the labyrinth has been offered. Perhaps it was limited to a general representation of the entanglements and limitations of the temporal world. The water from the unicorn grotto with its specific iconography, however, carries the theme of a paradisaal purity. That this water was to flow under the circular labyrinth to emerge in the fountain of Fiorenza suggests a resurrection, in Châtelet-Lange's explanation, a return of the Golden Age under the Medicis,<sup>2</sup> the depravities of the labyrinth having been successfully circumvented.

<sup>1</sup>The description is based on Liliane Châtelet-Lange, "The Grotto of the Unicorn and the Garden of the Villa di Castello," Art Bull., 50 (1968), 57. She notes, p. 57, that the plan was never fully executed.

<sup>2</sup>Châtelet-Lange, 58.

The role of the labyrinths at the Villa d'Este is completely uncertain. Four labyrinths were planned, two on either side of the cross pergola which straddled the main axis of the garden at its entrance, though only the two on the southwest were planted. David Coffin, the main interpreter of the gardens, thinks they were without iconographical significance.<sup>1</sup> But this seems unlikely since they were planned during the lifetime of the Cardinal as were the rest of the gardens which were dedicated to Hercules and Hippolytus.<sup>2</sup> Hippolytus was the son of Theseus, the famed conqueror of the minotaur and the labyrinth. It seems unlikely that such an iconographical opportunity could have been ignored in gardens which everywhere else exhibit a dense symbolism. That the entrance to the gardens was marked by both cruciform and labyrinth is suggestive, but cannot responsibly be taken further at present.

Another maze in England famous in Spenser's day was Rosamond's Bower. It was created by Henry II (1133-1189) to conceal his mistress from Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine. The legend of Rosamond was recorded by Leland and poeticized by Drayton and Daniel. Daniel's Complaint of Rosamond (1592) makes little use of the symbolism of the labyrinth; it is a structure in which to hide her shame. But Drayton in 1597 was to give an account of the story in England's Heroical Epistles in which the labyrinth and the deformity at its heart become an

<sup>1</sup>Coffin, 91, n. 31. Coffin's suggestion that the labyrinths were horticultural exercises only is untenable as anyone who has tried to preserve the closely packed plants of a maze could testify.

<sup>2</sup>Dup rac's engraving of 1573 which gives an aerial view of the gardens including the projected four labyrinths was based on a drawing sent to the Emperor Maximilian II in 1571 by Ippolito II d'Este (Coffin, 15, n. 3).

allegory of Rosamond's spiritual journey.

Well knew'st thou what a Monster I would be,  
 When thou didst build this Labyrinth for me,  
 Whose strange Meanders turning ev'ry way,  
 Be like the course wherein my Youth did stray;  
 Onely a Clue doth guide me out and in,<sup>1</sup>  
 But yet still walke I circular in sinne.<sup>1</sup>

Rosamond's Bower was not, however, properly speaking a garden maze. Early writers such as John Brompton, Abbot of Jervaulx, described it as an architectural labyrinth concealed in the hunting park at Woodstock.<sup>2</sup> Drayton writes,

Rosamonds Labyrinth, whose Ruines, together with her Well, being paved with square Stone in the bottome, and also her Tower, from which the Labyrinth did runne (are yet remaining)<sup>3</sup> was altogether under ground, being Vaults arched and walled with Bricke and Stone, almost inextricably wound one within another; by which, if at any time her Lodging were laid about by the Queene, shee might easily avoid Perill eminent, and if neede be, by secret Issues take the Ayre abroad, many Furlongs, round about Woodstocke in Oxfordshire, wherein it was situated.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, confusion still exists as to whether it was an architectural maze or a hedge maze, popular tradition seeming to prefer the setting of a leafy bower.<sup>5</sup> Visitors to Blenheim Palace are shown Rosamond's Well and the garden surrounding the pool.

The maze at Theobalds dedicated to the goddess Venus, like that at the Villa Castello and even Drayton's interpretation of Rosamond's Bower, is the expression of a highly sophisticated society. But

<sup>1</sup>The Works of Michael Drayton, II, ed. J.W. Hebel (1932; rev., Oxford, 1961), II. 87-92, p. 135. Hebel's text is based on the edition of 1619.

<sup>2</sup>In Matthews, 165.

<sup>3</sup>Platter, p. 122, says he saw subterranean passages leading to the old ruined palace at Woodstock from the woods two miles away.

<sup>4</sup>Drayton, II, 139.

<sup>5</sup>Matthews, 165.

garden mazes of this type were created in a climate of ideas which included those ideas associated with the turf mazes outside the garden. Indeed the turf maze on the green at Hilton, Huntingdonshire, was turned into a formal garden feature by the addition of an obelisk in its centre. The obelisk is a sundial and a funereal monument to William Sparrow, 1641-1729, and it is engraved "Sic transit gloria mundi."<sup>1</sup> The mixture of labyrinth and sundial recalls the labyrinth and zodiac in the church of San Savino. The world under the aspect of time is clearly intended. It is one more example of the way the traditions and interpretations of the labyrinth were shared despite the change of medium.

The unadorned turf maze shares some of these interpretations too and it adds to the story. The turf maze is more common to Britain than to Europe since their counterparts in Scandinavia and on the continent more often take the form of stone structures such as those at Wisby, Gothland, and Wier Island, in the Gulf of Finland. In Britain the mazes were cut into the side of a hill to a depth of several inches, the grass path varying from nine inches to three feet in width.<sup>2</sup> Although turf mazes are thought to date from the megalithic period, they were still in active use in England in the seventeenth century. In 1636 in recognition of his revival of the sports day and fair at Whitsuntide, a curious volume of encomiastic poems Annalia Dubrensis was presented to Captain Dover. Among the

<sup>1</sup>Matthews, 86.

<sup>2</sup>Matthews, 71-91. Matthews describes turf mazes as 'unique' to Britain, but Janet Bord, Mazes and Labyrinths of the World (1976) includes photographs of turf mazes in Germany.

'olympick' games the poems celebrate is that of rustics who 'himblie run the windings of the Maze."<sup>1</sup> (See Plate 10.) Drayton, who wrote so movingly of Rosamond's plight, was an annual visitor to Dover's games.<sup>2</sup> The sport was familiar to Shakespeare earlier for he could regret that because of flooding,

The nine-men's morris is fill'd up with mud;  
And the quaint<sup>3</sup> mazes in the wanton green,  
For lack of tread, are indistinguishable.

Midsummer Night's Dream, II.i.98-100.

At the end of the century John Aubrey could still record that the Pimperne turf maze near Blandford was much used in "Holy-daies and by ye School-boies."<sup>4</sup>

Although the original purpose of the turf maze is not precisely known, its continuous use as part of May-day and June week celebrations suggests its association with themes of rebirth and fertility. Some archaeologists consider that the ceremonies of turf mazes, like the cult of the bull at Knossos, may derive from the ancient labyrinth rituals of Egypt. The annual celebrations of the ritual death and rebirth of the king and particularly the winding dance at the Egyptian labyrinth are said to have been fertility rites intended to give vitality to the king and through him to the

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Randall, "An Eclogue on the Palilia" in Annalia Dubrensia, 1636, Scolar Press Facs. (1973), C<sub>3</sub><sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>Dover's Hill was only a few miles from Clifford Chambers, the home of Lady Rainsford (Anne Goodyere). Drayton spent several months with her every summer. See the introduction to Poems of Michael Drayton, 2 vols., ed. John Buxton (1953), I, xxii.

<sup>3</sup>The OED glosses 'quaint' as marked by ingenuity, cleverness or cunning.

<sup>4</sup>John Aubrey, Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme (1686-7), ed. James Britten, Folklore Soc. (1881), 71.



## COTSWOLD GAMES.

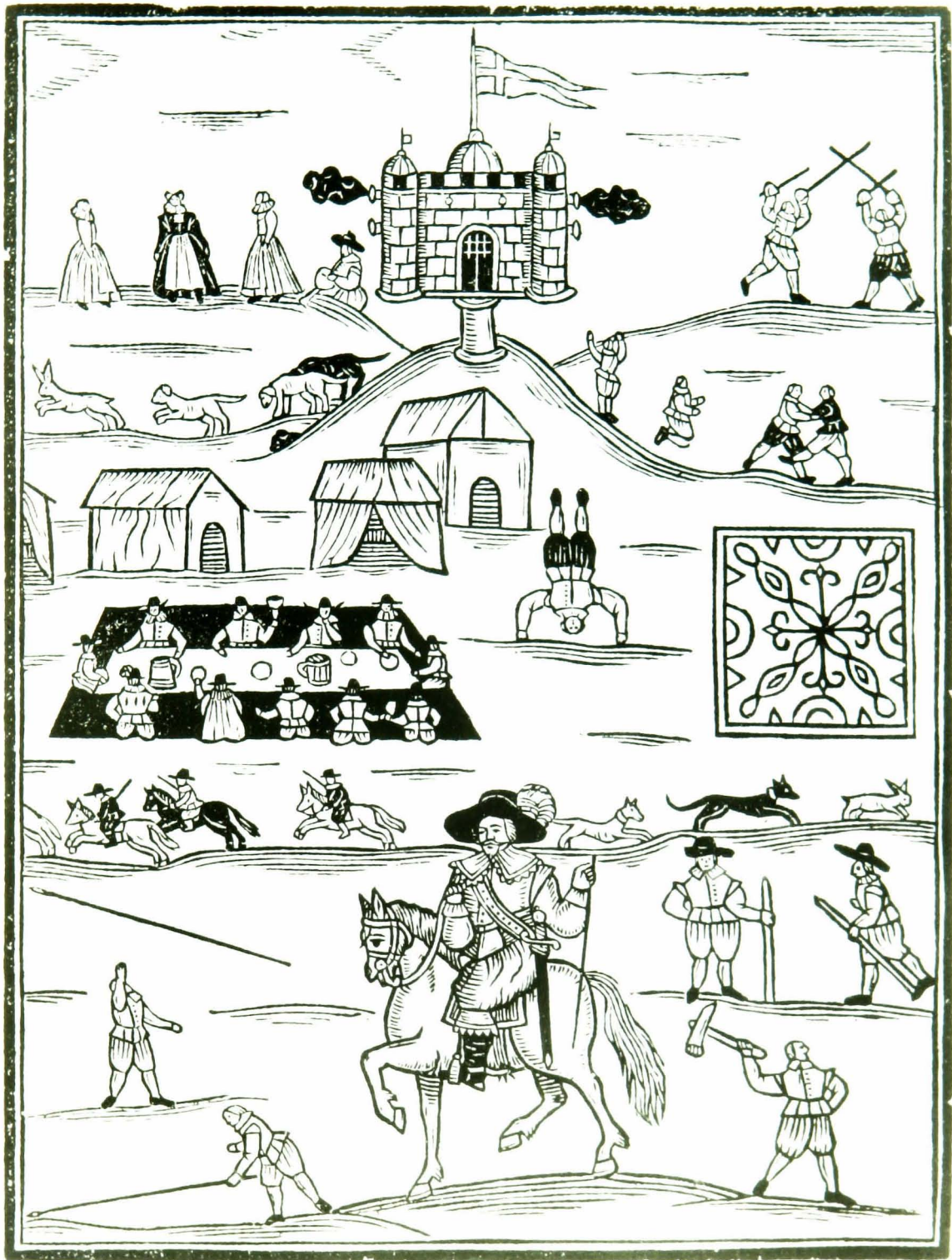


Plate 10. Frontispiece to *Annalia Dubrensis*, 1636, in which a printer's device is used to represent a maze.

people, crops, and herds.<sup>1</sup> The designs of the turf mazes are remarkably similar to one another and to the designs on the coins of Knossos discussed earlier with reference to the restriction of early garden maze designs.<sup>2</sup> E. Hommel has argued that the shape of the labyrinth originally derives from human physiology. The burial mounds of ancient people were dug out of the earth in the shape of wombs to imitate the first stage in the journey to new life.<sup>3</sup> These earth mounds, many of which survive in northern Europe, may have arisen completely independently of the Egyptian-Cretan cultures, but that debate is beyond the province of the present paper. The concern here is to notice the theme of rebirth common to both.

The identification of the turf maze with the womb was known in seventeenth-century poetry. Robert Herrick uses the imagery of the maze in "A Nuptiall Song, or Epithalamie, on Sir Clipsey Crew and his Lady."<sup>4</sup>

The bed is ready, and the maze of Love  
 Lookes for the treaders; every where is wove  
 Wit and new misterie; read, and  
 Put in practise, to understand  
 And know each wile,  
 Each hieroglyphick of a kisse or smile;  
 And do it to the full; reach  
 High in your own conceipt, and some way teach  
 Nature and Art, one more  
 Play, then they ever knew before.

St. 13.

<sup>1</sup>Deedes, 24-5.

<sup>2</sup>The Rev. Edward Trollope, "Notices of Ancient and Medieval Labyrinths," The Archaeological Journal, 15 (1858) compares a number of these mazes. See p114 above and note 1, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup>E. Hommel, Orientalische Literaturzeitung, 26, (1919) from the summary by W.F.J. Knight, "Maze Symbolism and the Trojan Game," Antiquity, 6 (1932).

<sup>4</sup>The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick, ed. L.C. Martin (Oxford, 1956), 115.

The word 'maze' may refer to the location of the marriage act the bed and certainly does refer to the journey of married life the couple are beginning, but the coarser physical reference is primary. 'Treaders' glances into the barnyard, before it recalls the contests run on turf mazes at country fairs. Then the poem moves on to the wit and mystery of the arts of human love. In their contest of the sexes the couple will solve the riddle of the maze and serve as an example to others.

A similar identification lies behind Rowland Watkyns's "The Harlot" --

The harlot is the broad way unto hell,  
 A laborinth, a ditch, a poisnous well;  
 She is a nightly glow-worm: Canker'd brasse:  
 A common Inne, a sink, a broken glasse.  
 Her love is lust, her lover is a slave,  
 Her arms are fetters, and her bed a grave.  
 She doth perfume her wanton lips, and hair,  
 When her corrupted breath infects the air:  
 Some fool will venture for a wonton kisse,  
 As Eve did for an apple, heavens blisse.  
 Thus children for a nut will part with gold,  
 Thus Esau for some broth his birth right sold.  
 Use thy own fountain; stollen waters please  
 Lascivious minds, and breed the souls disease.<sup>1</sup>

The imagery of Watkyns's poem moves between the fountain or well of life and the sink of sin and between paradise and the postlapsarian labyrinth. The latter image gains much of its resonance from its physiological references.

Perhaps it is wise to insert a reminder here that the labyrinth could also contribute to the imagery of love as romantic, mysterious, disarming in a delightful way, and also elevating. In Sonnet 211,

<sup>1</sup>Rowland Watkyns, Flammo Sive Fumo, 1662, ed. Paul C. Davies (Cardiff, 1968), 62.

Petrarch describes falling in love with Laura with the lines,

Vertute, onor, bellezza, atto gentile,  
Dolci parole a i be' rami m'han giunto  
Ove soavemente il cor s'invesca.

Mille trecento ventisette, a punto  
su l'ora prima, il dì sesto d'aprile  
nel laberinto intrai; né veggio ond'è sca.<sup>1</sup>

It is this tradition of the labyrinth of love which softens Herrick's use of its coarser aspects in his epithalamium.

The turf maze is also thought to have been a repository for apotropaic interpretations of the meander patterns. To run the windings of the maze endowed the runner with magical protection. The efficacy of the pattern depended on its 'indeterminability'.<sup>2</sup> Amulets of sand or rice defeat witches because they cannot count the grains before dawn comes again. The cross-stitch on clothing and braids of rope, hair, or material repeat this theme. Robert Herrick describes an apotropaic use of the meander in "An Epithalmie to Sir Thomas Southwell and his Ladie."

You, you that be of her neerest kin,  
Now o're the threshold force her in.  
But to avert the worst;  
Let her, her fillets first  
Knit to the posts: this point  
Remembring, to anoint  
The sides: for 'tis a charme  
Strong against future harme:  
And the evil deads, the which<sup>3</sup>  
There was hidden by the Witch.

St. 9.

<sup>1</sup>Petrarch Sonnets and Songs, tr. Anna Maria Arni, intro. by Theodor E. Mommsen (N.Y., 1946), 310.

<sup>2</sup>W.L. Hildbrugh, "Indeterminability and Confusion as Apotropaic Elements in Italy and Spain," Folklore 55 (1944).

<sup>3</sup>Martin, 55.

The ribbons are braided about the doorposts to guard the future by protecting the fertility rites enacted within. Although the apotropaic qualities of the meander pattern were clearly known in the seventeenth century there is no evidence that they were part of the garden maze.<sup>1</sup> But since such qualities are inherent in the pattern itself and, since the design of garden mazes and turf mazes varied within the same narrow mould before the middle of the seventeenth century in England, perhaps it would not do to exclude the possibility of such associations entirely.

Within the walls of the garden, however, the labyrinth offered a physical emblem whose known iconographical traditions contrasted with the idea of paradise which the pleasance itself sought to embody. The labyrinth was a symbol of the fallen world of temporal existence and of the limits now operable on unaided human efforts. Through the manipulation of statue, ornament, inscription, and foliage the garden labyrinth could symbolize the nature of these limitations in several areas of human experience, and it could express any of the interpretations of the labyrinth found in the church mosaics and emblem books of the period. It might represent man's pilgrimage

<sup>1</sup>As yet there is no established connection between the apotropaic qualities of the meander pattern and the tradition of the labyrinth as a symbol of God's mysterious harmonies. This tradition is the obverse of the ones traced in this paper, but the interested reader will be familiar with Milton's Paradise Lost, V.619-27, which describes the choresis of the planets as "mazes intricate, / Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular / Than most, when most irregular they seem..." Other examples are Sir John Davies's "Orchestra," the labyrinth of Henry Hawkins's Parthenia Sacra (1633), 12; and the anonymous "The Gardener's Speech" at Theobalds, 1591. Ben Jonson's Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue tries to subsume the labyrinth of sensuous pleasure under the "subtlest maze of all," a love that "doth in sacred harmony comprise His precepts."

through time as in the unicursal path leading to the funereal monument on the green at Hilton. Lawson's maze of berries and the scented arbours of Thomas Hill's labyrinths were concentrated expressions of the garden's sensuous delights, but at least in Lawson's case the appeal to human appetite was a snare, an exercise in the tradition of the Bower of Bliss although in a minor way. The labyrinth's combination of deception, delight, and mockery was often irresistible, a suitable representation of the idea of sin. The theme of love with its multiple complexities was present in the Mount of Venus at Theobalds and in the mysterious structure of Rosamond's Bower which writers like Drayton treated iconographically. Behind these sophisticated labyrinths lay the much older and more primitive sexual symbolism of the turf maze.

Furthermore, the garden maze, like the turf maze, offered something no other embodiment of the maze could, actual experience of physical disorientation. Although the maze is simple in concept and execution, once within its blinding walls, the traveller, like Lawson's friend, might well need a guide to get out again. Whether undertaken as a jeu d'esprit or a rural sport, to move through the maze was to become an incarnation of metaphor. The participant became 'mazed'; that is, he was, according to the Oxford English Dictionary in 1568, 'stupidified' or had 'lost his wits'. The labyrinth was a challenge to the intellect as well as to the senses.

Finally, the garden maze was capable of expressing several meanings of the labyrinth at once. Always a taunt to man's limited faculties, the garden labyrinth could easily include moral, temporal, and religious themes as well. It is this composite capability of the garden

labyrinth that Spenser uses so effectively in Faerie Queene, I.1.

### III. Spenser's Labyrinth and the Figure of Errour

In the preceding section I have tried to establish the traditions and interpretations of the Renaissance garden labyrinth prior to 1600 as part of the frame of reference Spenser had available to him when he wrote The Faerie Queene. A.C. Hamilton has argued that the battle with Errour in the labyrinth in Faerie Queene I.1 is a brief allegory of what is to come in the rest of the poem.<sup>1</sup> It announces the primary quest of the good man whose aspects are explored separately in other books and provides the framework of holiness which is both the goal and the ever present standard of judgment of all subsequent activities. As Kathleen Williams puts it, "Spenser begins at the centre of his universe, in the proper conduct of man in relation to God, and the link which still exists between the world of mortality and the realm of eternal truth."<sup>2</sup> I would argue that, more than is usually realized, it is the labyrinth setting of the Red Cross Knight's duel which makes such a projection possible by defining the themes of the encounter in terms of established moral and religious

<sup>1</sup>A.C. Hamilton, The Structure of Allegory in "The Faery Queene" (Oxford, 1961), 31. Hamilton's comparison of Dante's wandering wood with that of Spenser is illuminating. He sees the episode as an exercise in how to read Spenser's poem. Errour is not one vice but all that stands between the Knight and salvation (p. 39).

<sup>2</sup>Kathleen Williams, "'Eterne in Mutabilitie': The Unified World of The Faerie Queene," in That Soueraine Light; Essays in Honor of Edmund Spenser 1552-1952, ed. W.R. Mueller and D.C. Allen (N.Y., 1952), 35.

traditions, thereby enabling the reader to understand the formulation of action into meaningful experience in the form of universal themes of a specific character. It is the symbolism of the labyrinth which ensures the projection of the Red Cross Knight's lesson into the rest of the poem.

The most detailed studies of Spenser's setting in Faerie Queene I.1 have already been touched on, those by John Steadman, William Nelson, and J.E. Hankins.<sup>1</sup> Nelson describes Spenser's labyrinth as

<sup>1</sup>See p.126 above. John Arthos's study of Spenser's setting in On the Poetry of Spenser and the Form of Romances (N.Y., 1956) must be mentioned here. Arthos argues that for Spenser the greatest evils are of one's own making and the woods, accordingly, are the "nameless world of the imagination itself," many of whose details are uninterpretable (p. 74). For discussion of Rosemary Freeman's extensive study in The Faerie Queene! A Companion for Readers (Berkeley, Calif., 1970), see p.152,n.1. Miss Freeman equates the woods with mental confusion (pp. 64-5). Other studies of Faerie Queene I.1 tend to be studies of the canto as a whole. These include the standard historical interpretation of F.M. Padelford, The Political and Ecclesiastical Allegory of the First Book of 'The Faerie Queen' (1911), who sees the episode as an allegory in which Red Cross and Una are driven by the tempest of the Reformation into the Wood of Theological Errour (p. 17). Frank Kermode, Shakespeare, Spenser, Donne (1971), 43, resuscitating the validity of historical interpretation of Spenser's work, regards the battle as a reenactment of Christ's victory over sin in the wilderness and a victory over heresies such as Manichaeism and Arianism. Virgil Whitaker, "The Theological Structure of The Faerie Queene, Book I" in That Soueraine Light, op. cit., 73-6, finds the sequential order of the book in Protestant doctrinal writings such as Calvin's Institutes. The first episode is a contest with original sin; the small serpents are the lusts of the flesh still to be overcome. Paul J. Alpers, The Poetry of "The Faerie Queene" (Princeton, N.J., 1967), 339, reads the battle with Errour as an examination of the idea of the hero, but concludes that Spenser does not redefine the concept as Milton does.



a wandering wood signifying chaos and human passions within which lives false belief as the dragon Errour.<sup>1</sup> Hankins subscribes to Nelson's interpretation of the wandering woods, but sees the woods of Book I as an example of illusions attacking intellect, while in the rest of the poem the woods harbour monsters to attack the physical senses.<sup>2</sup> If the wandering woods of Nelson and Hankins had a physical counterpart in the England of the time one would expect it to be the great forests such as Epping and Sherwood, which covered much of the land up to the Civil War, or possibly the large parks such as the Royal Park of Marleybone, enclosed for stag and boar hunting,<sup>3</sup> rather than the labyrinths of the Renaissance garden.

John Steadman's wandering wood is that of the rhetoricians and philosophers. He combines interpretations of the labyrinth from Aristotle, Boethius, Bocchius, Riga, and Calvin with those of Ovid, Horace, St. Augustine, Reusner, and Paradin. From these studies he interprets the labyrinthine wood in Spenser as a symbol of worldly wisdom and more narrowly as a symbol of secular erudition.<sup>4</sup> He relegates the interpretation of the labyrinth as an erotic setting

<sup>1</sup>Nelson, 165.

<sup>2</sup>Hankins, 63-4.

<sup>3</sup>William Harrison in The Description of England, 1587, op. cit., 255-6, complained that these enclosures might form a circuit of four or five miles and that through them fully a twentieth of the realm had been depopulated for sport.

<sup>4</sup>Steadman, 37.

to a footnote listing continental sources of this tradition such as Boccaccio's II corbaccio o il laberinto d'amore.

Spenser's familiarity with most of the literary sources of the labyrinth cited by Nelson, Hankins, and Steadman is not in doubt. These sources include Virgil, Tasso, and Ariosto. But the topiary maze of the Renaissance garden offers too rich a background for the labyrinth figure to be neglected. It combines most of the historical themes of the labyrinth in a medium daily present to the eye, and, more importantly, it contributes to the religious and moral aspects of Spenser's story of man's culpability in a way that the classical motif of the wandering wood as analysed by Steadman did not. Finally, while it is not possible to trace any direct debt by Spenser to garden mazes, nor do I make any claims to indirect influence in any sense comparable to Spenser's debt to earlier literature which is demonstrable and dominant for many meanings of the labyrinth; nevertheless, not only were the interpretations of garden mazes available as part of the cultural milieu of the period, but I believe that Spenser takes some trouble to direct the reader's attention to the garden and its traditions. Aspects of the garden participate in the ambiguity of the grove, they distort the Red Cross Knight's vision, and they invite interpretations based on garden features. Spenser's insistence on the ambience of the garden invokes the composite traditions of the labyrinth and subordinates the symbolism of the wandering wood to the labyrinth topos.

Una and the Red Cross Knight enter Errour's labyrinth by way of a pleasant grove. Spenser describes the grove by using a catalogue

of trees, a traditional device of classical origin. Douglas Bush has collected a formidable list of examples which includes contributions in the Renaissance from Sidney, Drayton, Browne of Tavistock, and Du Bartas as well as Spenser,<sup>1</sup> while Rosemary Freeman has commented on the corresponding popularity of collections of tree emblems in later editions of Alciati's work and E.M.'s Ashrea.<sup>2</sup> Individual emblems may be found in most emblem books. Spenser's catalogue of trees, however, is not simply an exercise in poetic

<sup>1</sup>Ennius, Annales, VI; Virgil, Culex, 123; Georg. II. 12, 65, 442; Aen. VI. 179; Ovid, Met. X.86; Seneca, Oed. 532; Lucan, Phars. III. 440; Statius, Theb. VI.90; Claudian, De Raptu Proserp. II.107; Joseph of Exeter, Bell. Tro. 1.505; Roman de la Rose, 1338; Boccaccio, Tes. XI.22.4; Chaucer, Parl. Foules, 176, The Knight's Tale, A 2920-24; Tasso, G.L. III.75; Sidney, Arcadia (Orig. Vers.), ed. Feuillerat (1926), pp. 83-4; Robert Chester, Loves Martyr, ed. Grosart, pp. 95-6; DuBartas, His Divine Weekes and Workes, tr. J. Sylvester, Week I, Day 3; Hugh Holland, Pancharis; William Browne, Britannia's Pastorals, I.ii.353, I.iv.664; Patrick Hannay, The Nightingale; W. Basse, Ecl. IX; Drayton, Endymion and Phoebe, 23-35, adapted from Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry (1932; rev. N.Y., 1963), 162, n. 17. One may also add Virgil's Ecl. VII, Matthew Royden's "Elegy on Sidney," William Dyer's Grongar Hill, (1761), 58-62; Bernard Sylvester's De Mundi Universitate, I, 265-314; Henry Peacham, Minerva Britanna, pp. 208-9; Barnabee Barnes, Parthenophil and Parthenophe, Son. XXIX, Od. 9; Abraham Cowley, "A Dream of Elysium," in Poetical Blossomes, 35-9, Sex Libri plantarum, "Sylva," 280-610, 718-27; Michael Drayton, The Muses Elizium, "The The Fift Nimphall," 53-84, Pastorals, Ec. iii. 96-102; George Gascoigne, The Princely Pleasures, "Sylvanus's Speech;" John Lydgate, Complaint of the Black Knight, 64-74; "A bunche of herbes and flowers" in The Paradise of Dainty Devises; Edmund Spenser, "Virgils Gnat," 189-224, "An Elegie, or friends passion, for his Astrophill," 13-24, The Faerie Queene, I.i.8-9.

<sup>2</sup>Freeman, 43-4.

pyrotechnics. It is carefully constructed as a significant contribution to the meaning of the canto.<sup>1</sup>

And foorth they passe, with pleasure forward led,  
 Ioying to heare the birdes sweete harmony,  
 Which therein shrouded from the tempest dred,  
 Seemd in their song to scorne the cruell sky.  
 Much can they prayse the trees so straight and hy,  
 The sayling Pine, the Cedar proud and tall,  
 The vine-prop Elme, the Poplar never dry,  
 The builder Oake, sole king of forrests all,  
 The Aspine good for staves, the Cypresse funerall.

The Laurell, meed of mightie Conquerours  
 And Poets sage, the Firre that weepeth still,  
 The Willow worne of forlorne Paramours,  
 The Eugh obedient to the benders will,  
 The Birch for shaftes, the Sallow for the mill,  
 The Mirrhe sweete bleeding in the bitter wound,  
 The warlike Beech, the Ash for nothing ill,  
 The fruitful Olive, and the Platane round,  
 The carver Holme, the Maple seeldom inward sound.<sup>2</sup>

I.i.8-9.

It has been argued that Spenser took his tree list from Chaucer's Parliament of Foules. The phrase "builder Oak" originates with Chaucer. Chaucer, in turn, seems to have taken his list mainly from Joseph of Exeter and partly from Boccaccio and Claudian.<sup>3</sup> Spenser's

<sup>1</sup>Rosemary Freeman, 'The Faerie Queene': A Companion for Readers, 64-5, rehearses the history of critical response to Spenser's grove of trees and its presentation as a catalogue in an effort to justify its presence in the poem. She concludes that while the description does not evoke beauty, but rather suggests a timber merchant's inventory, the grove's presence is sufficiently justified by the fact that Una and Red Cross like it well enough to be led into Errour's den. Miss Freeman notes that the unsound maple anticipates the scene with Fradubio, but does not analyze the other trees. The whole catalogue is in fact an exercise in such anticipations.

<sup>2</sup>Citations are to The Works of Edmund Spenser, 10 vols. ed. Edwin Greenlaw, et al., A Variorum Edition (Baltimore, Md., 1932-49).

<sup>3</sup>See F.N. Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), 793-4; R.K. Root, "Chaucer's Dares," MP, 15 (1917); R.A. Pratt "Chaucer's Claudian," Spec., 22 (1947).

other immediate source, however, was Ovid's Metamorphoses X, 90-104. Thirteen of Spenser's twenty trees are also in Ovid including the maple and the plane. These two trees do not appear in the other sources.<sup>1</sup> But Spenser did not simply repeat his sources. He used none of Ovid's epithets, he completely altered the order of the lists and he omitted those trees which did not serve his purpose and added those that did. The care Spenser exercised in his choice of trees extended to the deliberate inclusion of the plane. And given its special history in his period he would not have failed to consider its restriction to the pleasure garden. William Turner, The Names of Herbes, wrote in 1548 that he never saw but two plane trees in England, and Henry Lyte noted only one or two in his translation of Dodoen's work, A niewe Herball. Most important, John Gerard, The Herball or General Historie of Plantes, 1597, described the plane as "strange in Italy, it is nowhere seen in Germane, nor in the low countries...it groweth in many places of Greece, and is found planted in some gardens of Italy, for pleasure rather than for profite."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it is because of its rarity that Anthony Watson spends so many verses on the single plane in the wilderness garden at Nonsuch.<sup>3</sup> Like the tender myrrh and olive, long nurtured by man, the plane is a signal to the reader that aspects of the garden are involved in

<sup>1</sup>Claudian, De raptu Proserpinae II, 107-11; Lucan, Phars. III, 440-3; Ovid, Met. X, 90-104; Seneca, Oed. 566-75; Statius, Theb. VI, 98-106.

<sup>2</sup>John Gerard, The Herball or General Historie of Plantes, 1597, 2 vols., The English Experience, 660 A/B (1974), II, 1304.

<sup>3</sup>In John Dent, The Quest for Nonsuch (1962), 60.

Spenser's setting. And, of course, in a forest they ought not to be. That is the point. And it invites the reader to look very closely indeed at the grove and its trees.

The grove was one of the noblest features of the Renaissance pleasure garden with classical antecedents in the sacred groves of the muses, the descriptions of Pliny, and Academe. It provided shelter for plants and people, a much needed vertical accent in an often artificially leveled plot, and skilfully planted it contributed to effects of shadow and light and, as the century wore on, to studies in perspective. Spenser surrounds his wood with such a grove and makes the characters and the reader approach the wandering wood through this grove. As it if were indeed part of a garden of pleasure Spenser makes it as attractive as possible. The reader with Una and the Red Cross Knight is 'led with delight' by the singing of birds and the sight of the straight, majestic trees.

Una and the Red Cross Knight are lulled by this atmosphere of a garden refuge, but the grove is wrong, and the attentive reader is by now very wary. Aspects of pleasure merge almost imperceptively into a grotesque landscape of the mind which seems animate with evil. This metamorphosis begins when the grove's branches are described as spread so broad neither heaven's light nor the power of any star could pierce its canopy. Normally the grove, like the orchard, at this period was planted in the shape of a quincunx and freely admitted light but not the direct rays of the sun. The top branches might even be artificially woven to create shade but not to the extent of shutting out all heaven's light. The grove was in fact an early

exercise in the creation of vistas.

The metamorphosis continues in the order Spenser devised for his tree list. The catalogue begins favourably, only to sound an increasing note of warning. The first six trees are all trees used in building. The noble pine was used for ship's masts, the elm was second only to the oak in popularity as a material, the 'poplar never dry' was used upstairs because it resisted fire.<sup>1</sup> And yet the aspen was not a major material and it stands out when preceded by the oak. When it is followed by the funereal cypress the reader is further disturbed. In fact, the aspen was among the most cursed of trees throughout Europe. In Russia it is the tree of Judas, and it is one of the candidates for the cross. Legend has it that the aspen refused to bow its head as the procession to Calvary passed. It has trembled ever since.<sup>2</sup>

Among these six trees the cedar also stands out because it is one of the trees Spenser adds to his sources, the cedar, willow, myrrh, poplar, and birch. The poplar and birch are common English trees which also appear in Chaucer's tree list in The Knight's Tale though not in The Parliament of Foules. The willow or goat willow was also a common tree, but its special province, like that of myrrh, was a religious one. It supplied the 'palms' for palm Sunday in Elizabeth's day. Cedar is also of religious significance since it was the building material of Solomon's temple and of its altar.

<sup>1</sup>Geoffrey Grigson, The Englishman's Flora (1955), 254.

<sup>2</sup>Grigson, 255.

Spenser seems to be asking the reader to take a look at the metaphor of building itself perhaps to ask what the Red Cross Knight is 'building'. The first tree in the list the pine may ask this very question. In emblem books it is repeatedly the symbol of momentary felicity, and especially of pride overthrown. Geoffrey Whitney A Choice of Emblemes (1586), gives this motto to the pine, 'Nimum rebus ne fide secundis.' In the poem under the emblem he writes that the loftiest pine may be overthrown by wind. The poplar is also an ambiguous choice. The white poplar was a late import from Holland.<sup>1</sup> As the tree of Hercules it is associated with the defense of virtue; but its leaves, dark on one side and light on the other, symbolized night and day.<sup>2</sup> This symbolism seems significant given the prominence of Spenser's light imagery in the canto.

The second group of trees begins with the laurel of conquerors and poets and ends with the warlike beech. These trees focus on warfare, but as in the first group they do so with an unexpected twist. This twist becomes clearer if the trees in his sources which Spenser omitted are considered. The strategy behind his own list becomes clearer. Most of the omissions from Ovid are not significant, they are exotic plants such as the tamerish or water lotus. Two trees in Ovid and Chaucer, but omitted by Spenser, are more suggestive, the 'victor palm' and the 'pipere boxtre,' Ovid's 'virens buxus.' As the favourite plant of tonsured gardens the box may have seemed to

<sup>1</sup>Grigson, 254.

<sup>2</sup>Andreas Alciati, Emblematum Libellus, Venice, 1546, fol. 23, in Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor, ed. Henry Green, Holbein Soc. Facs., No. 4 (1870), gives as the motto of the poplar, "Herculeos crines bicolor quòd populus ornet, Temporis alternat noxq; diesq; vices."



Spenser a symbol of order and out of place as an introduction to his wandering wood. The 'victoris praemia' needed careful handling lest its presence prejudge the issue of the Red Cross Knight's trial. Spenser places the laurel next to the funereal cypress, as if he were suggesting the Knight's alternate fates. Spenser's use of one symbol of victory is perhaps explained by economy, his preference for the laurel over the palm by his deliberate and original addition of the willow tree. Unlike the victor's palm of classical literature the willow of palm Sunday was never for military victories in a worldly sense. That the reader might not overlook the religious significance of the willow, Spenser follows it with the unmistakable symbol of the myrrh tree. The Red Cross Knight is going into battle, but his battle is for his soul. The laurel as the reward of poets and learned men, the reward of spiritual battles, is particularly appropriate.

The epithet Spenser joins to the willow is more difficult to explain. 'Willow for the mill' does not seem to make any sense at all. There is an emblem in Hugo's Pia Desideria that suggests one possibility that suits the context Spenser has so carefully erected. Emblem IV shows Anima driven between the shafts of an enormous grinding wheel by an angel brandishing a whip. The motto, 'Vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum, et dimitte universa delicta mea,' is from Psalm 25. Humility is exactly the quality that the Red Cross Knight must acquire. Quarles in his version of Hugo's emblem writes,

Taxe not thy God: Thine own defaults did urge  
 This two fold punishment; the Mill, the Scourge:  
 Thy sin's the Author of thy selfe-tormenting:  
 Thou grind'st for sinning; scourg'd for not repenting.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Text from A Selection of Emblems, The Augustan Rpt. Soc. No. 155-6 (Los Angeles, Calif., 1972).

This interpretation was also current earlier in Francis Thynne's unpublished collection of emblems and epigrams presented to Sir Thomas Egerton in 1600.

What doth the waightie millstone meane,  
not turned by the wynde?  
Of heavenly god it signifies  
the nature and the kynde.

. . . .

With slowe and stealinge pace, the wrath  
of god doth on us fall,  
As one w[hi]ch gentlie doth expect  
that wee for mercye call.

But when continued patience  
doth breake his former bande,  
His anger is to furie turnd,  
he strikes with heavie hande;

. . . .

fforas millstone, once forct to turne  
by rage of boystrous winde,  
without regard, eche subject thinge  
doth into powder grynde, --

Soe clemencie of god, once broke  
by our continuall sinne,  
Doth us torment with greater yre,  
our sowles therbye to winne.<sup>1</sup>

Although this religious significance of the mill is not found in Spenser's other use of the image to describe Alcyon's unremitting despair at the loss of Daphne,<sup>2</sup> it seems justified in reading Faerie

<sup>1</sup>Francis Thynne, Emblemes and Epigrames, ed. F.J. Furnivall, EETS, No. 64 (1876), 31.

<sup>2</sup>"So all the world, and all in it I hate, / Because it changeth ever too and fro, / And never standeth in one certaine state, / But still unstedfast round about doth goe, / Like a Mill wheele, in midst of miserie, / Driven with streames of wretchednesse and woe, / That dying lives, and living still does dye." Daphnaida, ll. 428-35. The lover's pain in Maurice Scève's Délie, 1544, St. 322, is illustrated by a blindfolded donkey turning a millstone and the motto, "fuyant peine travail me suyt."

Queene I.i by the currency of the interpretation, the context of religious significance Spenser establishes in this part of the tree catalogue and the association of the willow of Palm Sunday with the mill. The practical use of willow for making baskets for domestic use or for barrel hoops does not conflict with this religious interpretation. That willow was also used in the treatment of eye problems adds to the density of meaning in Spenser's tree catalogue.<sup>1</sup>

The last trees on Spenser's list form a curious group. He emphasises the magical qualities of the ash tree by describing it as 'ash nothing ill.' In folklore the ash tree was reputed to be so powerful against evil that even the serpent avoided it.<sup>2</sup> The fruitful olive is the customary tree of peace and mercy, it is the promise of the dove, it abates the scourge. The 'platane round' recalls Ovid's 'platanus genialis.' It is known for its shade. In commentaries on the "Song of Solomon" the shade of a tree shields the Christian from the sun of God's justice.<sup>3</sup> The plane is also the philosopher's tree, but Spenser's plane is not sufficiently defined in signification for certain interpretation. Here the plane does remind the reader of the shade of a pleasure garden. Perhaps it is only the contrast of this healthy shade with the dangerous darkness of the grove that is intended. Whether the plane appears in Spenser as an ill or good omen, he follows the encouragement offered by the olive and ash with

<sup>1</sup>Gerard, II, 1206.

<sup>2</sup>Grigson, 272.

<sup>3</sup>See Stanley Stewart, The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and the Image in Seventeenth-Century Poetry (1966).

a definite warning. Ovid's variegated maple becomes the 'Maple seeldom inward sound.' It is the last tree in the list and its place there cannot be accidental. The wandering wood lies at the heart of the pleasant grove.

The reader now knows that the grove is not what its appearance suggests, and he has even had a preview of the events to come in the labyrinth and the rest of the book. Throughout Book I the iconography of plant and tree appears at crucial points. A few plants are cited which are not found in the catalogue of trees. The ivy of incontinence crowns the lustful projection of Una in the Knight's dream (I.i.48) and with the vine ornaments Gluttony in the pageant of the seven vices (I.iv.22). Old Sylvanus is also girded with ivy and leans on a cypress staff, but the satyrs crown Una with olive (I.vi.13). It is as if they are encircled by the bounty of the natural world whose end, however, is death, and yet they recognize and pay homage to Una's higher destiny with the plant of the Mt. of Olives. Arthur's plumes are compared to the almond of precocious youth and his spear is of ebony (I.vii.37). The trees of the catalogue are reserved for those episodes of greatest importance in the Red Cross Knight's spiritual journey and they are recorded to emphasize his progress. When Duessa is finally disrobed before him, the ugliness revealed is stressed and her skin is compared to the bark of the maple (I.viii.47). Faced with Despair, the Knight's hand trembles like an aspen (I.ix.51). When Red Cross climbs the Mt. of Contemplation Spenser recalls Mt. Sinai, Parnassus, and the Mt. of Olives (I.x.54). In the final canto he is crowned with the laurel of victory (I.xii.5-6). The oak which Spenser places early

in his list is given to Orgoglio (I.vii.10), for Red Cross's victory is that of a man who has learned earthly strength is not enough. The figure of Contemplation is like an oak half dead for his mind is full of spiritual repasts (I.x.48).

The reader has had a preview of events in Spenser's catalogue of trees, but the Red Cross Knight does not. He ignores the significance of the trees just as he ignores the warnings of the dwarf and Una. Led by the birds and the lovely trees, many of which belong in a garden, the Knight has failed to see the inappropriateness of these features or the danger behind them. The labyrinth makes Una and the Red Cross Knight doubt "their wits be not their owne" (I.i.10). And yet he trusts his own wits and person. Oblivious to the ambiguities of the setting the Knight trusts the strength of his right arm, the perfection of his virtue as blazoned on his shield, and ironically his knowledge of his surroundings. He hands the spear to the dwarf still under the impression he has merely lost his way in a civilized and pleasant grove of trees. He is a literalist; the grove is only a grove, darkness is only darkness, and his shield is a shield. As Isabel MacCaffrey notes, the progress of Book I is a movement from epistemological dilemmas to their ruinous consequences.<sup>1</sup> The Knight tries to silence Una by claiming, "Virtue gives her selfe light, through darknesse for to wade" (I.i.12), not allowing for his own pride of self-sufficiency. As if expecting the secure arbour of the garden maze he looks confidently into Errour's den. The Red Cross Knight must learn the lessons of Spenser's tree catalogue by passing through the labyrinth.

<sup>1</sup> Isabel G. MacCaffrey, Spenser's Allegory (Princeton, N.J., 1976), 158ff.

The figure of Errour belongs to a tradition separate from that of the labyrinth and is of interest here only insofar as the monster is in harmony with her setting. In fact, while Spenser uses her historical associations with deceit and rhetorical guile, he also develops through the monster themes of the labyrinth previously untouched. Errour and the labyrinth figure are not identical in significance as John Steadman argues,<sup>1</sup> but rather complement each other. The interpretation of the garden labyrinth as an erotic setting and its association through the turf maze with fertility themes were explored earlier.<sup>2</sup> These themes appear inverted in Errour's excessive fertility -- error breeds error -- and in the unnaturalness of her offspring. This unnatural sexuality also embraces the theme of the harlot or whore. It is the sight of the unnaturalness at the centre of the labyrinth which climaxes the Knight's process of bewilderment.

That detestable sight him much amazde,  
To see th' unkindly Impes of heaven accurst,  
Devoure their dam...

I.i.26.

That earthly dimensions can reach to such mutations helps to undermine the Knight's confidence in his own earthly form. The Errour who spews forth volumes of books and papers as well as blind toads presents a theme which is a further complement to the meaning of the labyrinth. Her action is in keeping with Errour's historical significance, but the reference to the interpretation of the labyrinth as sophisticated argument is also unmistakable. Orgoglio and Archimago are equally condemned.

<sup>1</sup>Steadman, 22.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 140 above.

Spenser's emphasis on the labyrinth setting through the evocation of aspects from the Renaissance garden gradually develops the Red Cross Knight's sin into a much larger crime than any interpretation of Error alone gives. He uses minor touches of garden imagery to deceive and lure the Knight into the wandering wood. By calling attention to the ambiguity of his setting he encourages the reader to analyse closely the signatures of his list of trees. If the Knight did not carry the shield of faith or was not accompanied by Una, the reader would still be prepared by the description of cedar, willow, and myrrh for the labyrinth to have a religious significance. Behind the Knight's confrontation with Error lies the interpretation of the emblem books of the setting as a Christian symbol of the moral fragility of man, his vices and the blindness they occasion. There is no distortion of the logical processes within the mind as one would expect with a philosophical labyrinth, that theme is left to Error, but out of Red Cross's literalism, a form of epistemological blindness, arises a new perception of man's relationship with God. No one escapes the labyrinth of this world without help. Whether it be in the form of Lawson's friend, "le filet de ses saints commandemens" of Paradis, or the rope the angel throws to Anima in Hugo's Pia Desideria. The Red Cross Knight, despite his capacity for perfection, is saved only by the grace of God through the agency of Una. She provides the spiritual clue. Holiness occupies a spiritual realm of greater dimensions than earthly perfection alone is capable of knowing. As part of this ontological enlargement, Red Cross learns also a sharper definition of nature. His physical strength is not a match for Error, and her spawn have shown him that nature has possibilities beyond anticipation. Only the ambience of the

garden allows the meaning of Spenser's labyrinth to develop into so composite a figure.

The complexity of the Red Cross Knight's adventure suggests an experience to be apprehended rather than analysed. The reader is constantly tempted to respond to it as archetypal myth rather than as constructed metaphor. Indeed, Angus Fletcher organizes his illuminating reading of The Faerie Queene around the archetypes of the labyrinth and the temple.<sup>1</sup> In myth, the temple is sacred space, enclosed, ordered, artful, while the labyrinth is the profane trackless wastes outside its walls. For Spenser, according to Fletcher, the temple is found inside the labyrinth, capturing the nature of the latter's ambivalence. It is the rite of passage and thus benign or the place of terror and loss. Were Fletcher's essay concerned with the interpretations of the labyrinth studied in this paper, since they operate as specific variations of the theme of man's journey through life, there would be no contradiction. In this reading, Hugo's watchtower becomes another projection of the temple. But his analysis shifts the mode of Spenser's work from self-conscious allegory to the experiential realm of symbolism. The symbolism of Fletcher's figure, which is really that of the wandering wood, is available to Spenser as it is a close analogue of the labyrinth, but Spenser insists that it operate within the confines of the traditions of the labyrinth. Aspects of the garden allow the growth of Spenser's composite figure but insist on its identity with the topos of the labyrinth, a possible garden feature.

<sup>1</sup>Angus Fletcher, The Prophetic Moment (Chicago, 1971), esp. pp. 14-31, 61-3, 216.



Spenser's labyrinth is not myth, though it subsumes that dimension, but a metaphor for man's spiritual journey through temporal existence. It expresses relationships of logical causality between sin and punishment, obedience and mercy, love and grace, and it requires analysis to achieve its didactic function. The ambience of the garden allows Spenser's figure to develop richly and yet precisely as a figure carefully balanced between spiritual and earthly realities.

#### IV. The Influence of Spenser's 'Faerie Queene' I.i. on Milton's 'Comus'

Spenser composed The Faerie Queene in the 1580's and 90's when various interpretations of the maze from emblem books, church mosaics, and classical literature were current and the popularity of the early form of the garden maze was at its height. Milton wrote Comus for performance in 1634 and revised it for publication in 1637 and again in 1645. At this period the symbolism of the maze retained its attraction and power, but the garden maze had begun to develop in a different direction. Milton made use of both the traditional symbolism and, I think, the new development in gardening. Further, I believe he found the initial impulse for both in his reading of Spenser's Faerie Queene I.i, and that this episode was more influential than Guyon's temptation in the Bower of Bliss.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Jean Larsen Klein, "Some Spenserian Influences on Milton's Comus," Annuaire mediaevale, 5 (1964), 39, also sees Spenser's Wood of Error as Milton's primary source for his setting but she finds Spenser's symbol more narrow and Milton's more general than does the present study.

J.H. Hanford has helpfully placed the composition of Comus in the context of Milton's youthful adventures and his elaborate reading programme.<sup>1</sup> Part of that programme at Horton included the reading or re-reading of The Faerie Queene. Hanford notes the influence on Comus of the rescue of Amoret by a surprise attack and yet her continued enthrallment in Faerie Queene III, the martial conception of Britomart in the same book found in Comus 440 ff., Proteus's rescue of Florimel with heaven's aid and the scenes in the Garden of Adonis. Most importantly, he points out Spenser's association of the Circe myth with the Christian ideal of sexual purity and Milton's responsiveness to this association. A.S.P. Woodhouse's article "The Argument of Comus" builds on Hanford's work to give a critical interpretation of Comus which remains the point of departure for most later criticism of the masque. Critics follow him in finding Acrasia's temptation of Guyon in the Bower of Bliss "the real centre of Spenserian influence on Comus"<sup>2</sup> although, like Woodhouse, they may not accept Hanford's other points of indebtedness.

<sup>1</sup>J.H. Hanford, "The Youth of Milton: An Interpretation of his Early Literary Development," Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne, Univ. of Mich. Dept. of English (N.Y., 1925).

<sup>2</sup>A.S.P. Woodhouse, "The Argument of Milton's Comus," UTQ 11 (1941), 23, rpt. in A Maske at Ludlow, ed. John S. Diekhoff (Cleveland, Ohio, 1968). See also Douglas Bush and A.S.P. Woodhouse, The Minor Poems: A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton, Vol. II, ed. Merritt Hughes (N.Y., 1972), 762-5; E.M.W. Tillyard, "The Action of Comus," Studies in Milton (1951); A. Kent Heatt, "Milton's Comus and Spenser's False Genius," UTQ 38 (1969); Ernest Sirluck, "Milton Revises The Faerie Queene," MP 48 (1950); E. Greenlaw, "A Better Teacher than Aquinas," SP 14 (1917); Joan Larsen Klein, op. cit.

Woodhouse sees the Epilogue through the figures in the Garden of Adonis as the key to the whole poem.<sup>1</sup> The equation behind his argument would seem to be that just as Spenser opposes the Garden of Adonis to the Bower of Bliss, so Milton opposes the Garden of Adonis, with the addition of a higher sphere for the celibate, to Comus's dark wood and palace. Virtue is identified as the Christian doctrine of liberty, that is, voluntary obedience to God. Woodhouse sees the superior form of this obedience as symbolized for Milton in 1637 by the "sage / And serious doctrine of Virginitie" with its authority in Rev. 14.1-4.<sup>2</sup>

A lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with  
him an hundred forty and four thousand,  
having his Father's name written in their  
foreheads....Those are they which were not  
defiled with women; for they are virgins.  
These are they which follow the Lamb whither-  
so ever he goeth.

A.V.

For Hanford, "The intensity with which he [Milton] seized upon this virtue as the center and test of his ethical idealism is explained by the strength of his own romantic passion, a passion which is still the chief motive force of his imaginative life."<sup>3</sup>

If the focus is on the preservation of physical purity as the outward sign of spiritual purity, why then, one wonders, are Comus's dark wood and palace such poor sensuous equivalents for Spenser's

<sup>1</sup>Woodhouse, 42.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 31. Citations are to Milton Poetical Works, ed. Douglas Bush (1966).

<sup>3</sup>Hanford, 143.

Bower of Bliss?<sup>1</sup> The Lady is not present at Comus's colourful entrance and later, apart from the orient cup and the allowance one must make for the brief stage description of 'all manner of deliciousness: soft music, tables spread with all dainties,' Milton deliberately excludes all sensuous importunities. It is not merely that the Lady is indifferent to them, Comus never offers them. Woodhouse's analysis of the shift of focus from Spenser's married love to Milton's youthful idealism of virginity does not explain this lack of sensual focus. Instead of an equivalent of the Bower of Bliss, Milton turns to a totally different central image, the labyrinth. It is the tradition of the labyrinth that controls the nature of the Lady's trial. Whatever impact the Bower of Bliss episode in Faerie Queene II may have had on Milton, the battle between the Red Cross Knight and Errour in the midst of a labyrinth in Faerie Queene I.i is of far greater importance for the study of Comus.

Superficial similarities between Faerie Queene I.i and Comus are easily listed. The labyrinths of each are composed of the necessary 'perplexed paths' and blind mazes of 'tangled wood.' The boughs are so thick they create an unnatural shade, in Milton a 'double night of darkness and of shades' (335) and provide the basis for the light and dark symbolism which we have seen has parallels in the work of

<sup>1</sup>Woodhouse tacitly acknowledges the problem presented by Milton's setting in a second article "Comus Once More," UTQ, 19 (1950). He mentions three settings, the wild wood, Comus's palace and Ludlow town and castle before turning to his main interest the role of Sabrina.

Virgil and Hugo.<sup>1</sup> Spenser's labyrinth is particularized by his catalogue of trees which begins with the pine, includes the funereal cypress and ends in the false health of the maple. The pine is also the first tree in the forest Milton mentions, then the elm and finally the cypress which shrouds Comus's palace. The evidence of resemblance here must seem very slight and inconsequential until one realizes that the poets are using these trees to establish similar patterns. The Lady, like Una and the Red Cross Knight, sought shelter among pleasant and noble trees. In Milton the Lady rests "under the spreading favor of these pines." (184). Spenser's pair are led deeper into the woods by the songs of birds and unrolling tapestry of stately trees. The brothers wander in searching for berries or 'such cooling fruit / As the kind hospitable woods provide' (186-7). The Lady, seeking her brothers, is led further by Comus's unharmonious music. All the principals enter by chance and are taken unawares. John Arthos attributes the lack of clear boundaries of Milton's forest to the influence of folklore such as George Peele's The Old Wives' Tale.<sup>2</sup> But, in fact, deception is the essence of the labyrinth figure. The elm is suitably the tree the brothers mention

<sup>1</sup>For Spenser the symbolism is that of a consistent neoplatonic dichotomy. Light is from Heaven, and little can pierce the innumerable boughs of the labyrinth. The light glancing from the Knight's sword alone is feeble and insufficient. Milton's use of light imagery is much more complex, as Rosamond Tuve has shown in "Image, Form, and Theme in 'A Mask'," Images and Themes in Five Poems by Milton (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), rpt. in Diekhoff, 152-8. Darkness is associated with the evils of the forest and virtue is represented as the "Sun-clad power of Chastity," but yet Comus's mother is a daughter of the sun.

<sup>2</sup>John Arthos, On 'A Mask Presented at Ludlow-Castle', Univ. of Mich. Contrib. in Mod. Phil., 20 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1954), 30.

when they first voice their fears for their sister (354). The elm was a common place of the Renaissance emblem tradition symbolizing both a pillar of support for weaker plants and nobility brought low by a strangling overgrowth of wild vine.<sup>1</sup> In the centre of the labyrinth the Red Cross Knight finds Errour, for the labyrinth, like the maple, is unhealthy within. The Lady finds Comus's palace and the transformed beasts framed by cypress boughs, symbolizing the death of the soul.

Milton's debt to Faerie Queene I.i is greater than these surface comparisons reveal. He is indebted to Spenser for the ideas provoked when Spenser combined the figure of Errour, whose history goes back through Echidna and the Chimaera, with the labyrinth setting and made of the whole a specifically Christian struggle with wider implications than perverted erudition. Spenser's Red Cross Knight admonishes Una to the effect that 'Virtue gives her selfe light, through darknesse for to wade' (12). The elder Brother in Comus likewise advises that 'Virtue could see to do what Virtue would / By her own radiant light, though sun and moon / Were in the flat sea sunk' (373-5). Both statements are true and yet incomplete. Both poets are fascinated by the 'weakness' of the virtuous man. Spenser explores the peculiar inversions of pride in goodness itself. The Knight trusts his moral perfection, his own interpretation of his surroundings, and hazards his shield of faith. His sin is that avoided by Christ when he refused to jump headlong onto the rocks to prove his faith. Milton studies the perfect Lady whose virginity is the symbol of her wholeness with

<sup>1</sup>See among others Geoffrey Whitney, A Choice of Emblems (1586); Guillaume de la Perrière, Le Théâtre des Bons Engins (Paris, 1539).

respect to all virtues and in the face of the multiple temptations of the labyrinth. Milton stresses the Lady's humility, the clarity of her vision of her surroundings and her temperate relationship to various aspects of nature but yet gives her moments of blindness. Comus's magical dust allows him to approach her and she remains bound to the chair when he has fled. The Lady does all that earthly virtue can do, but, like Spenser's Knight, she too requires the aid of heavenly grace.

#### V. Developments in the Garden Maze as Background for "Comus"

Spenser perfected his virtuous man within the romance form. The labyrinth of Faerie Queene I.i. ensnares a medieval knight on a quest. Milton developed his study of the virtuous man within the pastoral idiom, but he adapted Spenser's figure of the labyrinth in place of the traditional pleasant grove of the pastoral world. As we have seen, the labyrinth as an image has a quite distinctive figuration and a wholly separate history from this grove. What Milton does, in fact, is to conflate the two traditions of pastoral and labyrinth without once blurring their distinctive provenance.

John Arthos has discussed Milton's debt to the pastoral elements in Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess, and the possible influence of George Peele's The Old Wives's Tale.<sup>1</sup> But Milton's decision to place the alien figure of the labyrinth within a pastoral landscape is not accounted for so readily. The conjunction of the impact on Milton of Faerie Queene I and III ultimately seems to inform this decision. But there was also a movement in gardening during Milton's

<sup>1</sup>Arthos, 5-18.

life time which parallels such an inclusion. Earlier in this chapter we traced the establishment of topiary mazes within the Renaissance garden from the 1520's on. Later in the century these labyrinths were moved closer and closer to that most mysterious of all garden features, the formal wilderness. This wilderness had nothing in common with our ideas of virgin timberland or even with the carefully tended hunting parks of the day. Rather, they seem to have been an Elizabethan attempt to create a rustic or pastoral setting within the garden, a formalization of the medieval flowery mead. Wild flowers taken from the field and woods were encouraged to grow in a mixed environment of grassy paths and shrubbery carefully sited. Francis Bacon, writing of an ideal garden, describes the third part of it as such a 'natural wildness.'<sup>1</sup> He would ban all trees, but include thickets of sweet-briar, honeysuckle, the wild vine or ivy. The ground was to be set with violets, primroses, and strawberries<sup>2</sup> 'not in any order.' There were also to be heaps of earth masquerading as mole hills but set with wild thyme, pinks, lily of the valley, sweet williams, daisies, red roses, germander, periwinkle, or bear's foot. Some of these mounds would be topped with a standard of rose,

<sup>1</sup>Francis Bacon, "Of Gardens," The Essays of Francis Bacon, ed. Ernest Rhys (1906; rpt. 1916).

<sup>2</sup>Strawberries, though grown in gardens, were still considered wild plants. The Hampton Court records in the Tudor period record payments for gathering strawberry roots from the woods (Amherst, 96). Thomas Tusser, Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie, ed. W. Payne and Sidney J. Herrtage, The Eng. Dial. Soc. (1878), writes "Wife, into thy garden, and set me a plot, / with strawberry rootes, of the best to be got: / Such growing abroade, among thornes in the wood, / wel chosen and picked proove excellent good" (p. 41).



juniper, holly, gooseberries or other soft fruit, and these were to be kept clipped. Historical precedent for Bacon's wilderness can be found in Pliny's description of the garden of his Tuscan villa which included an imitation of rural nature with a knot of dwarf plane trees at the centre.<sup>1</sup>

The wilderness at Nonsuch, as described by Anthony Watkins<sup>2</sup> is very similar to that of Bacon's garden. He assures the reader it is neither wild nor deserted, but a naturally hilly area planted mainly in apple trees, strawberries, blackberries, juniper, box honeysuckle, dog roses, periwinkle, and some large trees including a circular plane. The wilderness housed an aviary and probably statues of Pan, his fauns and a selection of wild animals. The whole area was crossed by three carefully tended alleys, two of which were turfed.

Another description of the formal wilderness occurs in Sir William Temple's "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus," an essay written in 1685 of a garden he had seen some thirty years previously, Moor Park, Hertfordshire. He describes the lower garden as a shady wilderness arranged in quarters with turf paths and fruit trees. He admits the idea of 'wilderness' is much qualified. Our idea of beauty, he writes, compared to the Chinese rests "in some certain proportions, symmetries, or uniformities; our walks and our trees ranged so as to answer one another, and at exact distances."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"To Domitius Apollinaris," V.vi, in Pliny's Letters, 2 vols., tr. William Melmoth, rev. W.M.L. Hutchinson, Loeb (1915; rpt., Cambridge, Mass., 1940).

<sup>2</sup>In Dent, 59-60, 121.

<sup>3</sup>Sir William Temple, "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus," The Works of Sir William Temple Bart., 4 vols. (1814), III, 237.

Robert Burton is also on record in The Anatomy of Melancholy, 1621, as subject to the charms of the formal wilderness. He recommends walks among "orchards, gardens, bowers, mounts, and arbours, artificial wildernesses, green thickets, arches, groves, lawns, rivulets, fountains, and such-like pleasant places."<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, he does not describe this garden feature or any of the others.

The early wilderness remains, in fact, a nebulous area of gardening history. From the descriptions of Pliny, Bacon, Watson, and Temple it seems to have been an area of grassy paths, low shrubs or dwarf trees -- the proper orchard occupied a separate enclosure -- arranged with some slight relaxation of the rigid rules of order and symmetry. It was an early attempt to create an idealized rural scene, a pastoral landscape within the garden wall. So far as is known in the Renaissance, it was a distinctly English development. The wilderness areas of contemporary Italian gardens were near the villa but outside the main garden and had much more in common with a more intensely landscaped hunting park.<sup>2</sup> The wilderness of the French garden reached its height of popularity at mid-century as a series of cabinets of verdure which lavishly exploited the possibilities of the art of the palisade.

The relationship between the French wilderness imported into England in the last half of the seventeenth century and the native

<sup>1</sup>Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy, 3 vols., Everyman (1932; rpt., 1949), II, 74.

<sup>2</sup>See the discussion of the Italian wilderness by Elisabeth MacDougall, "Ars Hortulorum: Sixteenth-Century Iconography and Literary Theory in Italy," The Italian Garden; First Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, ed. David R. Coffin (Washington, D.C., 1972).

product is not clear. But when the wilderness appears in the Parliamentary Survey of Wimbledon in 1650 two interesting developments are described. Trees have become prominent after the French fashion and the wilderness is placed side by side with the garden maze from which it is separated only by a broad gravelled alley. The wilderness consists of "young trees, woods, and sprays of good growth and height, cut and formed into several ovals, squares, and angles, very well ordered...." The maze consists of "young trees, wood[s], and sprays of a good growth and height, cut out into several meanders, circles, semicircles, windings, and intricate turnings."<sup>1</sup> The distinctive characteristics of the two features are beginning to blur. The labyrinth has its intricate turnings, the wilderness its geometrical cabinets; the paths of one are turfed, those of the other gravelled, but that is all. The labyrinth which had once been regarded as a special development of the knot to be placed wherever there was room in the garden, was now seen as a large mass of foliage to be balanced and interpreted aesthetically with the wilderness.<sup>2</sup> Shortly after 1650, J. Hardouin-Mansart created the famous labyrinth at Versailles (see Plate 11). It contained thirty-nine waterworks whose statues illustrated Aesop's fables. Although it was possible to take wrong turnings, there was no risk of real confusion. The path moved from scene to scene not ultimately seeking the centre but rather the end of the tour diagonally opposite the entrance. The

<sup>1</sup>"Parliamentary Survey of Wimbledon," rpt. in Amherst, 322.

<sup>2</sup>The psychological implications, of course, are enormous. The geometric knot is a symbol of order and of an attitude which defines man's place in relation to but not in union with nature. The wilderness, on the other hand, must be entered into and merged with rather than, as with the labyrinth, apprehended at last as a set pattern.

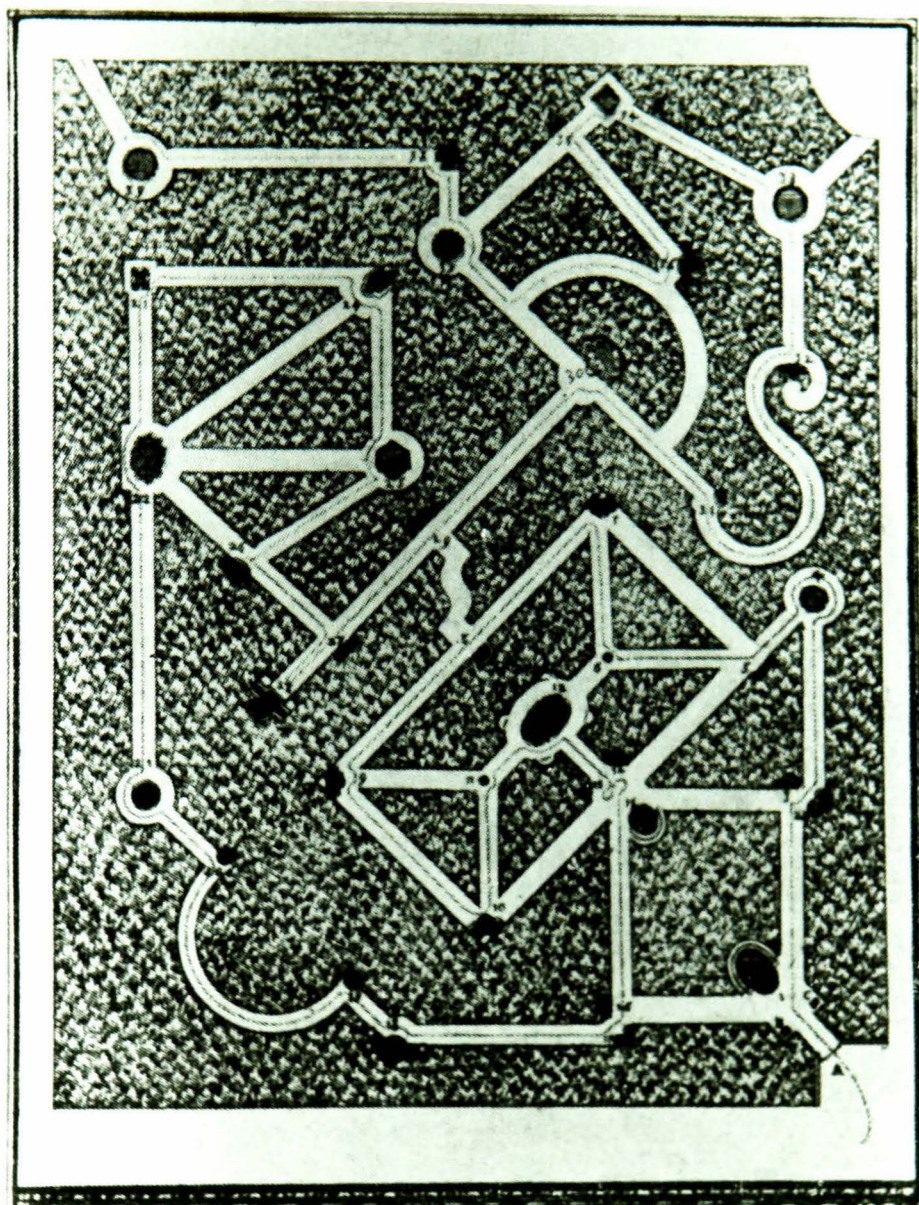


Plate 11. Plan of the asymmetrical labyrinth at Versailles.

conventional labyrinth designs were completely forgotten in a loosely winding path. The wilderness, with its cabinets of fountain or statue, and the labyrinth had almost completely merged. By 1699 Dr. W. Harris, in his book The King's Palace and Gardens at Loo, uses the words interchangeably.<sup>1</sup> The rich heritage of philosophical, religious, and erotic themes intrinsically a part of the ancient labyrinth figuration was gone, entirely superseded rather than complemented by interpretations imposed by statue or other artifact. The intense experience of being 'mazed' or 'stupefied' degenerated into 'surprise'.

The Parliamentary Survey of Wimbledon was taken in 1650, but the wilderness and maze containing trees of a good height were clearly planted some years before. It is not known when the pastoral wilderness began to approach the topiary maze in location and development, but such movements in gardening do not happen overnight. It is known that distortions of labyrinth design began earlier on the continent than they did in England.

It is too much to say that Milton was directly influenced by the early currents of this development in gardening but it is perhaps not too much to suggest they may have formed part of the background against which he developed the setting of Comus. The English wilderness had begun as a pastoral environment and slowly evolved into a formal adjunct to the modified labyrinth figure. At a time when the disparate meanings of the two traditions were

<sup>1</sup>In Matthews, 127. Santarcangeli, p. 304, draws attention to the revealing fact that in Stephen Switzer's Ichnographia Rustica (2nd edn., 1742), in five of the six labyrinth designs the path does not communicate with the centre.

very much alive in England, Milton placed his own labyrinth within a pastoral context in Comus. How important the consequences of this siting are for its meaning, a reading of the masque makes clear.

#### VI. The Function of the Labyrinth and Pastoral in 'Comus'

Robert Curtius has described the specialized Tempe motif of the locus amoenus sited within the heart of the wild wood that derives in literature from Theocritus's poetry and in nature, perhaps, from the fertile Grecian valley of the Peneus river, which is surrounded by steep rocky gorges.<sup>1</sup> Milton deliberately reverses this topos. His labyrinth lies within the locus amoenus of a pastoral world. The pastoral world with its golden perfection and harmonies lives in Comus in the bank of honeysuckle and ivy where Thyrsis pipes to his sheep beside the woods and in the shepherds's festivals honouring Sabrina with garlands of pansies, pinks, and daffodils. It acts as a compliment to the Earl of Bridgewater as a description of the surroundings of Ludlow, his realm, and as a foil to the labyrinth. The labyrinth can never be part of this pastoral scene since its primary function is to symbolize imperfection and the harsh realities of man's spiritual struggle against the forces of evil. The labyrinth tradition admits the possibility of the triumph of evil, an iconoclastic suggestion impossible in pastoral. The wandering wood of the romance tradition always rises from a desolate plain as in Spenser's The Faerie Queene as if in recognition of the incompatibility of the realm of pastoral and the labyrinth figure.

<sup>1</sup>Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. W.R. Trask (1953), 198-9; 201-2.

Milton is able to develop credibly two such opposite world-views within the same poetic framework by insisting on the discontinuity between the two,<sup>1</sup> which he does by developing the theme of the false pastoral, and by developing the Christian aspects of each which had evolved separately. Frank Kermode has traced the accretion of Christian symbolism in the pastoral from Virgil's messianic Eclogue IV through Petrarch.<sup>2</sup> For Milton, the parable of the lost lamb bridges the pastoral world of perfect souls and the labyrinth tradition of souls in peril, explored earlier in this chapter. When Thyrsis appears dressed as a shepherd he is the shepherd of the Ludlow estates, the children's tutor Henry Lawes, and the true shepherd sent by Jove. It is no accident that he spends some ten lines with the brothers denying that he is looking for anything so trivial as ram, kid, wether, or ewe (497ff). In case the reader has missed the religious allusion Milton brings in the 'stealth / Of pilfering wolf' with its biblical resonance and the 'pent flock' recalls the early description in Comus of the earth as a pinfold.

Milton uses the labyrinth as a Christian symbol of the world as an arena of multiple temptations. Not only does he surround his labyrinth with a pastoral landscape pregnant with the religious allusions cited above, but he also associates the Lady's temptation in the labyrinth with Christ's temptation in the wilderness. Two

<sup>1</sup>D.C. Allen, The Harmonious Vision, 35, criticizes Comus as a failure of higher compromise between the pagan world of Geoffrey of Monmouth's legend and Milton's reconstruction of Sabrina as a Christian saint. He sees the references to Christianity in Comus as scattered and unconvincing; the virtues the masque celebrates are Christian only by adoption, p. 38. In my reading, as will appear, the Christian dimension is integral to the masque through the symbolism of the setting.

<sup>2</sup>Frank Kermode, English Pastoral Poetry (1952), 18-27.

characters provide the evidence. On separate occasions the Lady speaks of 'desert wildernesses' (209) and the Second Brother of "this wild surrounding waste" (403). An echo begins in the reader's mind which finds its theme when the Second Brother also speaks of private meditation in desert cells (385ff). The Platonic analysis of critics such as John Arthos and Douglas Bush, however illuminating, is incomplete because it omits this Christian dimension.<sup>1</sup>

The theme of the false pastoral is developed by Comus, who appears in the disguise of a shepherd. Thyrsis's garments are true on different levels of existence, Comus's are true on none. Thyrsis becomes the shepherd, while Comus merely manipulates pastoral imagery. Rosamond Tuve has pointed out the pastoral flourishes<sup>2</sup> with which Comus describes the labyrinthine forest. Classical commonplaces such as telling time by 'labored ox' (291) and 'swinked hedger' (293) tumble from his lips. Carried to rhetorical excess, he describes the boys as 'plucking ripe clusters' (296) from the vine. Comus's dust deceives the Lady as to his appearance, she addresses him as gentle shepherd or good shepherd, but it does not deceive her as to the nature of the labyrinth. The journey through it to the boys is not like "the path to heaven" Comus claims (303); the 'low / But loyal cottage' (319-20) is not a pastoral haven, but Comus's palace, and the grapes remain berries to the Lady.

These disparate views of their surroundings are most pronounced in the scene just discussed, but because the disparity is essential

<sup>1</sup>Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (Oxford, 1945), 363; Arthos, 71, n. 38.

<sup>2</sup>Tuve, 139.



to the masque, there are other examples throughout the text voiced by the children and other characters too. Comus's initial description of the sands and shelves of elves and fairies by 'dimpled brook and fountain brim' (117-20) is deliberately echoed in the Lady's soliloquy as the thousand fantasies of shapes and shadows 'On sands and shores and desert wildernesses' (209). The fantasies she must control are those of shapes and shadows which through rising panic attack her faith in the 'supreme good' (217), not her correct reading of her perilous surroundings. The brothers contribute to the separation of the pastoral world and the labyrinth by noting the absence of all habitation, of 'rush candle' or 'star of Arcady' (341) in a darkness like Chaos, and the absence of all sounds of flock, pastoral reed, or village cock. There is humour in the school-boy relish with which the younger brother rushes from burrs and thistles to savage hunger or savage heat, when the Lady has been missing at most an hour or two. But then Thyrsis tells them

What the sage poets taught by th' heav'nly Muse,  
 Storied of old in high immortal verse  
 Of dire Chimeras and enchanted isles,  
 And rifted rocks whose entrance leads to hell;  
 For such there be, but unbelief is blind.<sup>1</sup>

ll. 515-9.

John Arthos argues that nature in Comus is innocent and that 'however rank the forest, it is evil only because untended.'<sup>2</sup> The pastoral world is innocent but Milton's labyrinthine forest is different in kind and derives from a different tradition. Comus, as a Lord of Misrule, symbolizes an active principle to be kept in check, not a mere vacuum.

<sup>1</sup> Since Spenser places a Chimera figure in a cave in Faerie Queene I.i, one wonders if this is another reference to Spenser as well as to classical literature.

<sup>2</sup> Arthos, 17.

Comus, though in the masque genre, is also an occasional poem in the sense that it was written especially for the installation of the Earl of Bridgewater as Lord President of Wales. The content of the masque specifically responds to this occasion. The masque begins and ends with speeches addressed directly to the Earl in his new capacity. He is to rule with 'tempered awe' and his children are nursed in the same 'Princely lore.'<sup>1</sup> But the expansion of these compliments to the Earl in the rest of the masque depends on the recognition of the discontinuity between the traditions of the pastoral world and the labyrinthine forest. Milton's labyrinth lies within the pastoral realm perhaps as the unsubduable wild woods of Wales lay within the political embrace of a more civilized England. But primarily Milton uses the two traditions to move freely between the corporate body and the individual. The pastoral world is social, the labyrinthine world, individual. The Ludlow estates and Wales owe their pastoral perfection to the government of the Earl, but the labyrinth exists just beyond the pale, looming up whenever darkness falls. In the religious tradition of the labyrinth it represents all those errors of body and mind every individual must traverse clinging to the Ariadne rope of faith. The Psyche sweetly held by Cupid 'after her wand'ring labors long' in the Epilogue is the Anima of Hugo's labyrinth.

Woodhouse's analysis of the virtues of continence, temperance, chastity, and virginity holds true except in his identification of

<sup>1</sup>Jean Larsen Klein's discussion of Una's influence on Milton's concept of virtue as the power to know and achieve good, p. 41, can be extended to reveal a further parallel. Una's mission is undertaken on behalf of her parents; the Bridgewater children are surrogates for the Earl's perfection of moral responsibility.

virginity with the state described in Rev. 14.4. Such virginity as a superior state of human existence would be tactless in a compliment to the Earl featuring three of his children. As a desirable permanent state applied to the Lady Alice, it is as unsuitable as the staging of a confrontation with lust in a Bower of Bliss would be for her. It is instead, that active force, the neoplatonic intellectual and spiritual love of God, which has never lapsed and which makes all other virtues operable. It is aptly named virginity as the "inviolable 'fidelity to God'."<sup>1</sup> Such fidelity does not deny human companionship or nature's joys in their proper degree. It enables man to organize his faculties in God's image and, in turn, govern his realm as an earthly paradise. Comus is among Milton's earliest political statements and explores that familiar Renaissance theme, the education of princes. Its compliment is to the Earl of Bridgewater as the ruling Prince in the form of a description of the qualities of government Wales can happily anticipate.

Spenser used features of the garden in Faerie Queene I.i to alert his reader to the dangers of the Knight's quest in Canto i and the rest of the poem and to insist on the definition of the action of the poem as provided by the topos of the labyrinth rather than the wandering wood. The Red Cross Knight's adventure, like a tableau of pageantry, is an allegory of scene as well as ritual action. Spenser evokes the garden labyrinth as a composite figure of multiple interpretations. If the dragon points to man's sophisticated and ecclesiastical errors in the sixteenth century, she does

<sup>1</sup>The phrase is from Tuve, p. 145.

so as the culmination of a forest of possible sins. Red Cross's pride is a pride of the body as well as of the mind. The distortions of the forest, like the distortions of 'kynde' in Errour's spawn, signify the frailty of man's total nature. The topos of the labyrinth defines the axis of the Knight's quest on earth as an eschatological journey. The archetypal experience of the race as symbolized by the wandering wood is subsumed under that didactic lesson to Spenser's contemporary society.

Spenser's use of garden features to introduce his labyrinth along with the curious history of the formal wilderness in England may perhaps have encouraged Milton in his conjunction of the labyrinth and pastoral worlds in Comus. The conjunction of these two worlds allowed Milton to move easily between the individual and the corporate body, to enlarge the Christian concept of Virginité, giving it value in a political context, and thus to turn a particularly neat compliment to the Earl of Bridgewater. The temptations offered to Virginité in the labyrinth are deliberately turned from a narrow sexual theme to more important issues. The traditional snares of the labyrinth, pride, vanity, gluttony, the gamut of sensuous pleasures familiar to his age, are intellectualized by Milton into more comprehensive themes of excess, disorder, and the abuse of function, themes capable of extension into concepts of government. For both Spenser and Milton, the appeal of the labyrinth is that of the traditional icon whose contemporary interpretations were sufficiently defined and common so that as a setting it delimits the significant space of poetic action.

### CHAPTER III CORONARY GARDENS AND THE RENAISSANCE SYMBOLISM OF FLOWERS

In the preceding chapters discussion has been directed to the philosophy underlying the design of the Renaissance garden as a speaking picture and to the kinds of contributions this garden made to the poetry of the time. That the materials as well as the artificial forms of the garden contributed to this symbolism is already clear from the analysis of the trees leading into Spenser's labyrinth in Faerie Queene I.i. The importance of this symbolism of plants is attested by the continuing presence in England until the latter part of the seventeenth century of the coronary garden. Coronary gardens were gardens set aside specifically for the cultivation of ceremonial flowers. It is the coronary garden and the ceremonial practices it supported which provided the everyday analogue to the popularity of flower imagery in English poetry of the Renaissance.

Although the popularity of this imagery is intimately bound up with the vogue of the literary catalogue, the widespread use of individual species suggests that poets found in flowers an energy of expression which goes beyond their adaptability to

one literary fashion.<sup>1</sup> Certain plants appear repeatedly in sixteenth and seventeenth-century poetry in selected contexts and carry a definite, if not always crisp burden of meaning, and one wonders to what extent poets were writing within a specific framework of such meanings. If there was such a framework was it sufficiently stable and complete, in fact, systematic enough to be called a symbolic language? If it were possible to trace the derivation of such a language even in part, then it would be possible to enrich the analysis of poems which used it.

<sup>1</sup>The following list testifies to the popularity of the flower catalogue, although it is far from complete: William Browne of Tavistocke, Britannia's Pastorals, I. Song ii.679ff; II. Song iii. 351-84, 398ff; Barnabee Barnes, Parthenophil and Parthenophe, Mad. iv, Sons. lviii, xcvi, El. i, Ods. ii, v. ix, x, xi, Can. iii.1-50; I. Bowle, "Singultientes Iusus," St. 1, in Sorrowes Joy; Thomas Campion, "Entertainment at Cawsome;" Abraham Cowley, Dauides, II 730-41, "A dream of Elysium," 27-34 in Poetical Blossomes, Sex libri plantarum, III, 131-40; George Chapman, Ovids Banquet of Sence, St. 9-10; Gavin Douglas, tr., Aeneid, Prol. Bk. XII.97-132; Michael Drayton, Idea The Shepherds Garland, Ecs. iii.79-84, iv.132-7, Endimion and Phoebe, 61-6, The Muses Elizium, "The Description of Elizium," 21-44, "The Second Nimphall," 199-222, "The Fift Nimphall," 109-52, "The Eight Nimphall," 119-26, Pastorals, Eqs. iii.79-84, ix, 17-24, 88-96; William Drummond of Hawthornden, "Teares on the Death of Moeliades," 121-30, Song i, 55-62, in Poems, Pt. 1; Giles Fletcher, Christ's Victorie and Triumph, II. St. 41-4, IV, St. 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, "A Description of Encolpius," 16-24; Phineas Fletcher, The Purple Island, Can. V. St. 71, Can. VI. St. 68-9; Stephen Hawes, Pastime of Pleasure, 2510-13; Robert Herrick, "A Nuptiall Song, or Epithalamie, on Sir Clipseby Crew and his Lady," 91-100; Ben Jonson, Pan's Anniversary; 12-45; John Milton, Lycidas, 142-51, P.L. IV. 692-703, IX.1039-41; George Peele, The Araygnement of Paris, I.iii. 86-93; "A Nosegaie alwaies" in Clement Robinson et al., A Handful of Pleasant Delights; William Shakespeare, Midsummer Night's Dream II.ii.249-52, Hamlet, IV.v.174-85, The Winter's Tale, IV.iv.74-103, 116-29; Edmund Spenser, The Shenherd's Calendar, "April," 59-63, 136-44, "May," 6-14, Amoretti XXVI, LXIV, Prothalamion 30-4, Musiopotamus, 187-200, "Virgils Gnat," 665-80, The Faerie Queene, II.vii.52ff; "A vertuous Gentle woman in the praise of hir Love," and "A bunche of herbes and flowers" in The Paradise of Dainty Devises; N. Hookes, "To Amanda Walking in the Garden;" Robert Heath, "On Clarastella, Walking in the Garden."

Although the search for this symbolic language necessarily depends largely on textual traditions, the impetus for the interpretation of flowers resides in the Renaissance love of flowers and the cultivation of the coronary garden. It is against this background that the possibility of the existence of a Renaissance language of flowers takes on substance for it is this background which kept many of the symbolic accretions of centuries contemporary, fresh, and productive.

### I. Coronary Gardens and their Flowers

The Elizabethans' love of flowers is a commonplace of history, but it is not always understood that they shared this interest with the earlier Tudors or that it continued well into the middle of the seventeenth century. Nor is it always fully appreciated how varied in display or how ubiquitous in English daily life the presence of flowers was. Contemporary descriptions of its manifestations are many and attractive. They reflect enthusiasm and justify quotation in themselves. Levinus Lemnius, a Dutch physician wrote in 1560, of England,

The neate cleanlines, the exquisite finenesse, the pleasaunte and delightfull furniture in every poynt for household, wonderfully rejoysed mee; their chambers and parlours strawed over with sweete herbes refreshed mee; their nose-gayes finely entermingled with sundry sortes of fragraunte floures in their bedchambers and privy roomes, with comfortable smell cheered mee up and entirelye delyghted all my sences. And this do I thinck to be the cause that Englishmen, lyving by such holesome and exquisite meate, and in so holesome and healthfull ayre be so freshe and cleane coloured....<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In W.B. Rye, England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First (1865), 78-9.

Rushes had been strewn on floors in England since the middle ages. Records of purchases dated 1516 show that Henry VIII added flowers and scented herbs, a practice Elizabeth continued and institutionalized by appointing a Lady-in-Waiting at a fixed salary to supply the flowers.<sup>1</sup> By 1577 Thomas Tusser, Five hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie, was able to list twenty-one strewing herbs and flowers and forty flowers and herbs for window and pots.<sup>2</sup>

Queen Elizabeth's summer progresses brought out the best, not only in her architects, but also in the country's florists. Norwich, a centre for floral festivals especially after the arrival of the Huguenot refugees in the 1540's, greeted Elizabeth's party in 1578 with streets hung with garlands and coronets.<sup>3</sup> Among the gods contributing to her successful visit at Kenilworth Castle, according to Laneham, was Flora who

<sup>1</sup>The Hon. Alicia Amherst, A History of Gardening (2nd. edn., 1896), 161-2.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Tusser, Five hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie, ed. W. Payne and Sidney J. Herrtage, Eng. Dial. Soc. (1878), 95-6.

<sup>3</sup>Ian Dunlop, Palaces and Progresses of Elizabeth I (1962), 136.



Abrode & within the hoous ministred of flourz  
 so great a quantitēe: of such swēet savooour,  
 so beautifully hued, so large and fayr of pro-  
 porcion, and of so straunge kindez & shapez,  
 that it was great pleasure too sēe: & so mooch  
 the more, az thear waz great store yet counterfet  
 & foormed of featherz by art, lyke glorioous too  
 the sheaw az wear the naturall.<sup>1</sup>

These artificial flowers and fruits were very common. The  
 arbour and garden in Cheapside created for King James I's procession  
 through London in 1603/4 were hung with pompions and grapes, and  
 with other "fruits and flowers most artificially molded to the  
 life."<sup>2</sup> In 1557 when Princess Elizabeth travelled from Somerset  
 Place to Richmond to visit Queen Mary, her barge was hung with  
 garlands of artificial flowers.<sup>3</sup> The masque at court provided  
 another arena for artificial display.<sup>4</sup> Feathers, metal, silk, gum,  
 dyed horn, and paper were used in flower production. Since buckram,  
 velvet, damask, and cloth of gold were used in the preparation of  
 ceremonial banners, heraldic devices and staves,<sup>5</sup> it is likely  
 that these materials were also considered for making flowers.

<sup>1</sup>Robert Laneham's Letter: Describing a Part of the Entertainment  
 unto Queen Elizabeth at the Castle of Kenelworth in 1575, ed. F.J.  
 Furnivall (1907), 45-6.

<sup>2</sup>John Nichols, ed., The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent  
 Festivities of King James I, 4 vols. (1828), I, 363.

<sup>3</sup>Dunlop, 74.

<sup>4</sup>See Allardyce Nicoll, Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage  
 (N.Y., 1938; rpt., 1963), esp. the description of the proscenium  
 arch, 44-53, and costumes, pp. 159, 164-5, 174, 188, 202-3.

<sup>5</sup>The Diary of Henry Machyn, ed., John G. Nichols, Camden Soc.  
 42 (1848), 291.

Banqueting houses in the gardens of the time were enormously popular, and as temporary structures and permanent ones artificial and real flowers played a large part in their decoration. A particularly full description of a banqueting house in Greenwich Park in 1559 is given by Henry Machyn.

[The x day of July was set up in Greenwich park a goodly] bankett [ing-house made with fir] powlles, and decked with byrche and all manner [of flowers] of the feld and gardenes, as roses, gelevors, [lavender, marygolds,] and all maner of strowhyn erbes and flowrs.<sup>1</sup>

Holinshed describes a banqueting house forty feet high constructed of canvas in March, 1581.<sup>2</sup> The canvas outside was painted as if made of stone. Inside the walls were decorated with holly and ivy and strange flowers set with spangles of gold. How much of the interior was also paintwork is unclear. It survived until replaced by a brick and stone building in 1607, which was in turn replaced by the permanent building designed by Inigo Jones.

Flowers also played a large role in the celebrations of the common people, especially on May day. Stow writes that of the citizens of London "on May-day in the morning, every man, except impediment, would walk into the sweet meadows and green woods, there to rejoice their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweet

<sup>1</sup>Machyn, 203. Brackets indicate material added by Nichols from Strypes's transcription which was made before the diary was damaged by fire along with other texts in the Cotton collection.

<sup>2</sup>Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland, 6 vols., (1807-8; rpt., N.Y., 1965), IV, 434.

flowers, and with the harmony of birds, praising God in their kind."<sup>1</sup> Phillip Stubbes in his Anatomie of Abuses, 1583, complains in detail of this custom as practised on other occasions.

Against May, Whitsonday or other time, all the yung men and maides, olde men and wives run gadding over night to the woods, groves, hils & mountains, where they spend all the night in plesant pastimes, & in the morning they return bringing w<sup>c</sup> them birch & branches of trees, to deck their assemblies withall... But the cheifest jewel they bring from thence is their May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus. They have twentie or fortie yoke of Oxen, every Oxe having a sweet nose-gay of floures placed on the tip of his hornes, and these Oxen, drawe home this May-pole (this stinking Idol rather) which is covered all over with floures and hearbs bound round about with strings from the top to the bottome, and sometime painted with variable colours....<sup>2</sup>

Stubbes also attacks flowers used for personal ornament.

And in the Sommer-time whilst floures be greene and fragrant, yee shall not have any Gentlewoman almost, no nor yet any droye or pussle<sup>3</sup> in the Cuntrey; but they will carye in their hands, nosegayes and posies of floures to smell at, and which is more, two or three Nosegayes sticked in their brests before, for what cause I cannot tel, except it be to allure their Paramours to catch at them....<sup>4</sup>

Roger Ascham in The Scholemaster, 1570, supports Stubbes's conclusion. "Wearing colours, floures, and herbes" was to "bréede occasion of offer méeting of hem and her" to make love but not

<sup>1</sup>John Stow, The Survey of London, ed. Ernest Rhys, Everyman (n.d.), . 90.

<sup>2</sup>Phillip Stubbes, The Anatomie of Abuses, 1583, The English Experience, 489 (1972), M<sup>3v</sup> - M<sup>4r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup>The OED glosses droye as drudge; pussle as slut.

<sup>4</sup>Stubbes, F<sup>8v</sup>.

marriage. "These knackes," he continues, "were brought first unto England by them, that learned thē before in Italie in Circes Court."<sup>1</sup>

Like the activities of the court and commons, nearly all the celebrations of the church were accompanied by flowers, herbs, or foliage. The church warden accounts which survive record the occasion and prices paid for plants but they seldom distinguish individual flowers. The records of St. Margaret's, Westminster show the prices paid over several years of Mary's reign for flowers for Corpus Christi Day.<sup>2</sup> Palm Sunday at St. Mary at Hill, London, was graced with flowers as well as the expected willow, box or yew in lieu of palm.<sup>3</sup> Trinity Sunday at Lambeth was celebrated with an unspecified variety of garland, and St. Barnabas Day with rose garlands and woodruff.<sup>4</sup> Stow describes the celebrations of the Eves of St. John, and St. Peter and St. Paul, which included a torch-lit procession through the sanctuary.

Every man's door being shadowed with green<sup>5</sup> birch, long fennel, St. John's wort, orpin, white lilies and such like, garnished upon with garlands of beautiful flowers, had also lamps of glass, with oil burning in them all the night....<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, 1570, Scolar, 20 (1967), K1' - K2'

<sup>2</sup>Machyn, 400.

<sup>3</sup>In John Brand, Observations on Popular Antiquities, 2 vols., rev. Henry Ellis (1813), I, 233.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Orpine is a pink succulent common in woodlands.

<sup>6</sup>Stow, 93.

As well as their use for the public offices of the ecclesiastical year, flowers had long been used at funerals and marriages. St. Ambrose and St. Jerome refer to the practice of strewing graves. St. Jerome writes that husbands scattered their wives's graves with violets, roses, lilies, and purple flowers.<sup>1</sup> Although Dekker obviously relishes his comparison of London during the plague to a charnel-house, the flowers selected are no doubt accurate in their association with death. It was a London,

Where all the pavement should instead of green  
rushes be strewed with blasted rosemary, withered  
hyacinths, fatal cypress and yew, thickly mingled  
with heaps of dead men's bones....<sup>2</sup>

William Coles writes in The Art of Simpling, 1656, that

Cypresse Garlands are of great account at  
Funeralls amongst the gentiler sort, but  
Rosemary and Bayes are used by the Commons  
both at Funeralls and Weddings.<sup>3</sup>

Rosemary is particularly apt for both occasions. Sir Thomas More let rosemary "runne all over my garden walls, not onlie because my bees love it, but because it is the herb sacred to remembrance and to friendship, whence a sprig of it hath a dumb language."<sup>4</sup> With just such symbolic encouragement the three daughters of Master Atkyson, the scrivener, were married, "all iij on after a-nodur with iij goodly cupes garnysshes with lases gilt and goodly flowrs and rose-mare."<sup>5</sup> The goodly flowers are not specified here, but those which

<sup>1</sup>In Brand, II, 208.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Dekker, The Wonderful Year, 1603 in Thomas Dekker, Stratford-Upon-Avon Library, 4, ed. E.D. Pendry (1967), 43.

<sup>3</sup>In Brand, II, 161 n.f.

<sup>4</sup>In E.S. Rohde, Rosemary for Remembrance [1921].

<sup>5</sup>Machyn, 240.

appear most frequently in the epithalamiums of the poets include roses, lilies, and violets, though these selections no doubt show the bias of the wealthier classes.

After the reformation with its destruction of the monasteries and their gardens, the use of coronary plants in church services decreased but did not stop. Stow describes seeing with his own eyes how on the feast day of the saint,

The dean and chapter [of St. Pauls] being apparelled in copes and vestments, with garlands of roses on their heads,...sent the body of the buck to baking, and had the head fixed on a pole, borne before the cross in their procession.<sup>1</sup>

The parish accounts for St. Margaret's, Westminster in 1650 include bills of 3s. 10d. and 2s. 6d. paid for herbs strewn on two days of humiliation and on a day of thanksgiving. On 24th October a bill of 8s. appears for herbs and laurel strewn on a 'day of Thanksgiving for the Victorie over the Scotts at Worcester.'<sup>2</sup> In 1656, William Coles could write that the practice of placing garlands in the church had only just been left off.<sup>3</sup>

Such lavish use of flowers by all levels of Renaissance society and by church and court called for reliable sources of supply. The church established its own coronary gardens as did royalty and the larger private estates. Those in the church were known as paradise gardens after the Roman portico gardens of the Byzantine period.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Stow, 299.

<sup>2</sup>In Brand, I, 476.

<sup>3</sup>In Amherst, 19.

<sup>4</sup>Marie Luise Gothein, A History of Garden Art, 2 vols., ed. W.P. Wright, tr. Mrs. Archer-Hind (1928), I, 172. For a detailed discussion of the derivation of 'Paradise' from the Persian word for a hunting park see A.B. Giamatti, The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic (Princeton, N.J., 1966), 11-5.

Under the sacristan they were cultivated for the decoration of the church and also to provide quiet areas for meditation. Separate gardens were set aside as well for the prior, canon, and infirmarian in addition to the great garden, kitchen garden, and orchard. A coronary garden is recorded at Winchester Cathedral as early as the ninth century and the practice was generally followed in English monasteries.<sup>1</sup> Gardening accounts are preserved at Abingdon Abbey, beginning in 1369, and at Norwich Priory, covering the years 1340-1529.<sup>2</sup> These accounts include notice of rents paid by the sacristan for his garden. Something of the importance attached to these coronary gardens is indicated by a bequest in Henry IV's will in which he left ground to Eton College to grow flowers and trees for the decoration of the chapel.<sup>3</sup>

As mentioned earlier most of these monastic gardens were destroyed at the time of the Reformation. Some were incorporated into the estates of noblemen whose houses rose from the rubble. A few continued to render their old service but under Protestant clergy. As a part of the immediate past in the period which most concerns us, they are described here with some care because they furnish a well documented historical precedent from which to approach the coronary gardens of private estates.

<sup>1</sup>Gothein, I, 176.

<sup>2</sup>Amherst (pp. 11-14) prints selections from the Norwich manuscripts; for the Abingdon accounts see R.E.G. Kirk, Accounts of the Obedientiars of Abingdon Abbey, The Camden Soc. (1892).

<sup>3</sup>E.S. Rohde, Garden-Craft in the Bible and other Essays (1927), 99.

Private coronary gardens are described in the gardening manuals of the seventeenth century. Maison Rustique, or the Countrey Farme by Charles Estienne and Jean Liebault was translated into English by Richard Surflet in 1600. A large volume of some 900 pages it devotes Book II, Chapter 47 to flower gardens. Encompassed by arbours of jasmine, rosemary, juniper, and other decorative shrubs, these flower gardens are divided into two equal parts, one for herbs and flowers such as March violets, gillyflowers, daisies, marigolds, lilies, anemones, mugworts, cornflowers, etc., for nosegays and garlands; the other part for sweet smelling herbs, holm, mint, southernwood, savory, rue, etc.<sup>1</sup> Erasmus describes the garden of "The Godly Feast," which was discussed in detail in Chapter I above, as divided into four parts. The description may be based on the actual garden of the publisher Froben at Basle or that of a country house at Anderlecht near Brussels where Erasmus lived from May to November, 1521. The editor of the colloquies, Craig Thompson has suggested there may also be hints of Colet's house at Shene and Thomas More's home at Chelsea.<sup>2</sup> Whatever the original inspiration, the first part of Erasmus's garden is a flower garden maintained so that guest or passerby might pick the blossoms. The second garden within the courtyard is restricted to scented herbs. When Dr Laurentius Scholz of Breslau around 1585 planted a garden according to Erasmus's description, he kept the coronary garden

<sup>1</sup>Charles Estienne and Jean Liebault, Maison Rustique, or The Countrey Farme, tr. Richard Surflet, ed. Gervase Markham (1616), 235.

<sup>2</sup>See The Colloquies of Erasmus, tr. Craig R. Thompson (Chicago 1965), 46, and the discussion above, p. 23, n. 1.



prominent. The first of his four sections was also devoted to plants for use in wreaths and nosegays.<sup>1</sup>

English books on gardening are not always so precise in the terminology of their divisions. Thomas Hill in The Arte of Gardening, recommends gardens near towns and cities, not only for the profit accruing from "such hearbs as are fit for the helth & preservations of mans body, as also al mañer of pleasant floures & delectable herbs as are daily sought for and required of the common people...."<sup>2</sup> In The Gardeners Labyrinth, 1608, Hill describes the separate beds maintained for physic herbs, and for winter pot-herbs and flowers to beautify and refresh the house.<sup>3</sup>

The popularity of the coronary garden continued as late as the mid-seventeenth century, for Evelyn planned as part of his unwritten magnum opus on hortulan subjects two chapters on the coronary garden and its plants. Among Evelyn's manuscripts are parts of two volumes entitled "Elysium Britannicum." In the table of contents of the proposed work Book II, Chapter 16, appears as "Of Coronary Gardens, Flowers, and rare Plants, how they are to be propagated, governed, and improved...." Book III, Chapter 2 is entitled "Of Chaplets, Festoons, Flower-pots, Nosegays, and Poesies."<sup>4</sup> In

<sup>1</sup>Gothein, II, 6.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Hill, "Dedication to Sir Henry Seamer, Knight," The Arte of Gardening (1608).

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Hill, The Gardeners Labyrinth (1608), I, 28, 30.

<sup>4</sup>For a discussion of the project see Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, ed. William Bray (n.d.), Appendix V, 915, 916. The title appears in a letter to Dr. Beale dated 11 July, 1679.

response to Evelyn's letter of January 28, 1659/60 describing this project, Sir Thomas Browne forwarded extensive notes for inclusion in the coronary chapter.<sup>1</sup> He describes the various types of garlands and ancient coronal practices on 'convivial, festival, sacrificial, nuptial, honorary, funebrial' occasions. He concludes that modern garlands may be more beautiful because of a larger selection of flowers and appends a list of some forty-four coronal plants which Englishmen can grow in their gardens.

At mid-century we also find Charles Hoole's translation of J.A. Comenius's Orbis sensualium pictus, 1659. Although a school text for Latin instruction and not a gardening manual, it is interesting to note that lesson 15 devoted to flowers is organized around coronary classifications. Spring flowers, the violet, crow-tree [wild-hyacinth], daffodil, lily, rose, and clove gillyflower, he tells us, are made into garlands and nosegays tied round with twigs. To these garlands are added sweet herbs 'as, Marjoram, Flower-gentle, Rue, Lavender, Rosemary, Hysop, Spike, Basil, Sage, Mints, &c.'<sup>2</sup>

For those who lacked their own coronary garden, there were professional gardeners to turn to. In the third year of James I, gardeners became a company of the City of London by Royal Charter. A second charter followed in 1616 which provided for the apprenticeship and licensing of those permitted to sell garden products in

<sup>1</sup>For the relevant correspondence see The Works of Sir Thomas Browne, 4 vols., (1928; rpt. Oxford, 1964), ed Geoffrey Keynes, IV, 283-8; 279. The letters are dated by Keynes. Browne's notes are reprinted as "Of Garlands and Coronary or Garland-Plants," III, 49-52.

<sup>2</sup>Jan Amos Comenius, Orbis sensualium pictus, tr. Charles Hoole, Scholar, 222 (1970), 33.

the city. By giving the right of seizure and burning of produce to any four of its members, the company imposed a rough and ready form of quality control. It oversaw 'all manner of plants, stocks, setts, trees, seedes, slippes, roots, flowers, hearbes and other things that shall be sould or sett to sale.'<sup>1</sup> According to Alice Coats, the early florists specialized in perfecting the carnation, tulip, auricula, anemone, hyacinth, ranunculus and polyanthus.<sup>2</sup> Ranunculus is presumably the crowfoot, while the auricula may be Polyanthus auricula or Polyanthus vulgaris, the common European primrose. Thomas Dekker writes that during the plague,

Only herb-wives and gardeners, that never prayed before unless it were for rain or fair weather, were now day and night upon their marrowbones that God would bless the labours of these molecatchers [sextons responsible for allotting graves], because they suck sweetness by this: for the price of flowers, herbs and garlands rose wonderfully, insomuch that rosemary, which had wont to be sold for twelvecence an armful, went now for six shillings a handful.<sup>3</sup>

## II. Textual Sources of Coronary Flowers

The preceding section illustrates the variety and ubiquity of flowers in public and private life in Renaissance England and the continuing importance of the coronary garden. This popularity gave floral imagery an unusual prominence in English poetry of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries particularly when combined

<sup>1</sup>Amherst, 137-8.

<sup>2</sup>Alice Coats, The Book of Flowers (1973), 13.

<sup>3</sup>Dekker, 48. The note is by Pendry.

with the contemporary fashion of the literary catalogue which was partly inspired by French poetry and to a lesser extent by Italian poetry.

In France a somewhat more direct treatment of nature is noticeable in the early sixteenth century in the poetry of Jean Le Maire de Belges, who described the burial of a parrot in a rich landscape in "Epistre de l'Amant vert:"

en quelque lien joly

Bien tapissee de diverses fleurettes,  
 Oū pastoureaux devisent d'amourettes,  
 Oū les oiseaux jargonnet et flageollent  
 Et papillons bien coulourez y vollent,  
 Près d'un ruisseau ayant l'on de argentine  
 Autour duquel les arbres font courtine  
 De feuilles verd, de jolis englentiers  
 Et d'aubespines flairans par les sentiers.<sup>1</sup>

This sympathetic interest in nature's variety appears also in the work of Marot. Marot's interest in the flower catalogue, perhaps influenced by Sannazaro,<sup>2</sup> generates substantial lists in "Tempe de Cupidon," 1515, and "Complaincte IV, De ma Dame Loyse de Savoye," 1531. More closely observed natural scenes and phenomena continued to be popular after 1550 in the poetry of the Pléiade, especially in that of Ronsard. But the remarkable popularity of

<sup>1</sup>In N.H. Clement, "Nature and the Country in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century French Poetry," PMLA 44 (1929), 1018. See Clement for a concise survey of new movements in French Renaissance nature poetry. More recently, I.D. McFarlane, Renaissance France 1470-1589 (1974), 41-2, supports Clement's conclusions with reference to the same poem.

<sup>2</sup>C. Ruutz-Rees, "Flower Garlands and the Poets Milton, Shakespeare, Spenser, Marot, Sannazaro," Mélanges offerts à M. Abel Lefranc (Paris, 1936), 83-5, suggests Marot was indebted to Sannazaro's Arcadia, Prose X, and De Partu Virginis.

Du Bartas's La Sepmaine, où Creation,<sup>1</sup> 1578, and its relationship with the hexameral tradition make it of particular interest.

Although the debt to classical sources like the epic catalogues of Iliad II. 494 and Aeneid VI. 179, VII. 647 is large in establishing the authority and challenge of the catalogue as a rhetorical device, the hexameral tradition encouraged its use in other genres. Arnold Williams has surveyed the numerous commentaries on Genesis published between 1527 and 1633 which bear witness to the Renaissance revival of the hexameral material.<sup>2</sup> Frédéric Morelle, the printer of Du Bartas's work, also brought out a one volume anthology of the religious epic poetry of Dracontius, Hilary, Marius Victor, Avitus, and Cyprian in 1560,<sup>3</sup> and from other presses editions of St. Ambrose's Hexameron appeared in 1490 and 1527, and St. Basil's Hexameron, prefaced enthusiastically by Erasmus, in 1532. In a more popular sphere hexameral influence is perhaps also partly responsible for the retention of the "Benedicite omnia opera Domini" in the 1559 edition of the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>4</sup> It is no accident that these texts preceded La Sepmaine. In the catalogues of natural

<sup>1</sup>La Sepmaine appeared in thirty editions within six years. It was translated into English by Joshua Sylvester during the 1590's and published in collected form in 1605. For a summary of the publication history of La Sepmaine see Arnold Williams, The Common Expositor An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis 1527-1633 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948), 17-8.

<sup>2</sup>The Common Expositor.

<sup>3</sup>Watson Kirkconnell, The Celestial Cycle (Toronto, 1952), I.xix.

<sup>4</sup>The "Benedicite" was originally an apocryphal addition to the Book of Daniel between 3.23 and 3.24.

phenomena which cover so many of Du Bartas's pages a hexameral enthusiasm for the plenitude of God's universe animates the self-conscious imitation of the classical rhetorical device.

Pardon me (Reader) if thy ravisht Eyes  
 Have seene To-Day too great varieties  
 Of Trees, of Flowers, of Fruites, of Hearbs, of Graines,  
 In these my Groves, Meads, Orchards, Gardens, Plaines,

. . . .

And God (I thinke) to Crowne our life with joyes,  
 The Earth, with plenty, and his name with praise,  
 Had done enough; if he had made no more  
 But this one Plant, so full of wondrous store:  
 Save that the World (where One thing breeds satietie)  
 Could not be faire without so great Varietie.<sup>1</sup>

Week I, Day 3, ll. 837-40, 859-64.

In Du Bartas's catalogues of plants one hundred and thirty-two lines are devoted to medicinal herbs, ten lines to flowers. These ten lines contain little symbolism, but in Sylvester's translation they exemplify beautifully the rhetorical possibilities of the catalogue form. Stylistically the catalogue was a challenge to poets to achieve variety and beauty within very tight limits. Sylvester varies epithets, carefully balances phrase against phrase, skilfully controls the caesura and the swelling syllables of lines three and four in preparation for the neat turn of "But that in them, the Painter I admire." The smooth sweep of the concluding six lines are set against the opening four lines of epithets as if the catalogue were a miniature of the precision of the Italian sonnet.

<sup>1</sup>Du Bartas, The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur Du Bartas, 2 vols., ed. Susan Snyder (Oxford, 1979). All citations are to this text. The wondrous plant is the coconut tree.

Never mine eyes in pleasant Spring behold  
 The azure Flaxe, the guilden Marigold,  
 The Violets purple, the sweet Roses stammell,  
 The Lillies snow, and Panseys various ammell:  
 But that in them, the Painter I admire,  
 Who in more Colours doth the Fields attire,  
 Then fresh Aurora's rosie cheekes display,  
 When in the East she ushers a faire Day:  
 Or Iris Bowe, which bended in the Skie  
 Boades fruitfull deawes when as the Fields be drie.

Week I, Day 3, ll. 599-608.

The poetic possibilities of the flower catalogue can be readily appreciated in the above example. But neither the history of the rhetorical device, the influence of Du Bartas on Milton and other Spenserian poets, Sidney's interest in the Pléaïde, nor the influence of Marot on Spenser's work -- all very large studies indeed -- are the main interest of the present chapter. Rather immediate concern is with the sources of floral symbolism which nourished the imagery of both French and English literature and gave content to the floral catalogue.

The areas of research for the possible meanings of Renaissance flowers are multiple. The texts within each area are also numerous, the references scattered, and the symbolic systems within which the individual flower operates are complex. Rosamond Tuve once wrote that it was impossible to be exhaustive with centuries of singing birds;<sup>1</sup> it is equally impossible with centuries of daisies. Furthermore such an enterprise would be misguided. To trace the semantic history of an individual flower does not determine the larger question of whether there was a Renaissance language of flowers. Were it possible in terms of time and energy to compile a dictionary

<sup>1</sup>Rosamond Tuve, Seasons and Months (Paris, 1933), 36.

of such histories the question would still remain open unless the system within which the discrete items of the dictionary functioned could also be determined.

With this caveat in mind I have selected a limited number of texts central to the various areas of research in an attempt to isolate the principles behind the use of flowers symbolically. The texts are offered as illustrations and do not pretend to reach the scope of a survey. Some texts permit discussion of the contribution of classical literature to flower imagery in the Renaissance. The analysis of the ancient coronary treatises helps to define the limitations of such imagery in Greek and Latin poetry. The discussion of the hexameral form is included because of its promotion of the literary catalogue, as a context for Du Bartas's influential work, and as a necessary prelude to the discussion of Marian symbolism and the symbolism of the paradise garden. Finally, I have considered briefly the Renaissance dictionaries and emblem books which re-interpret so much of this earlier literature.

- A. In antiquity, coronary plants were described by Mnesitheus, Callimachus,<sup>1</sup> Theophrastus, Pollux, Pliny, Cato, and Athenaeus. Although Sir Thomas Browne apparently knew Pollux's and Athenaeus's works,<sup>2</sup> Pliny's extended discussion in his Natural History, Books 15, 16, 21, and 22, was the most widely known classical treatment of the subject. These books formed part of Philemon Holland's

<sup>1</sup>Coronary monographs by Mnesitheus and Callimachus are cited by Pliny, Natural History, tr. W.H.S. Jones, Loeb, VI (1951), XXI.viii. 11., p. 171.

<sup>2</sup>Cited in Browne's "Of Garlands and Coronary or Garland Plants," Works, III, 51.



translation of the Natural History published in 1601.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Pliny's explanations of various military and public wreaths such as the 'corona murale', 'corona navale', and the 'corona civica' appear in brief in John Florio's A Worlde of Wordes, or most copious, and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English, 1598, and again in his Queen Anna's New World of Words or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues, 1611. Six of Pliny's wreaths are pictured in Claude Paradin's Devises Herioques, 1557. In Michael Drayton's "The Fift Nimphall" of The Muses Elizium, 1630, the wreaths are versified.

Not only were Pliny's coronal chapters known in the period and provide possible definitions of particular practices, such as the weaving of festoons, but the chapters also provide background information helpful in understanding the limitations of the contribution of classical poetry to coronal symbolism. In the midst of

<sup>1</sup>The Historie of the World, Commonly called, the Natural Historie of C. Plinius Secundus, 2 vols. in 1, tr. Philemon Holland (1601). In this chapter citations are to this edition unless otherwise indicated. Holland's translations of the Latin plant names into Renaissance English are helpful as are his marginalia. For example, he identifies the amaranthus as the purple flower-gentle (p. 89), and whereas W.H.S. Jones does not translate 'bellio' (p. 197, n.b.), Holland unhesitatingly renders it as 'daisy' (p. 89). Holland informs us in the margin that Pliny's violet "reacheth to our Stocke-gillofres, walflours, & other flours, as to the purple March Violet" (p. 85). Jones's hesitation, like the hesitation of so many modern biblical scholars when confronted with the lily of the fields, arises from the precision of modern botanical classification, a precision which did not hamper Renaissance writers. Sir Thomas Browne, however, recognizes the large ground for confusion in his "Observations upon Several Plants Mentioned in Scripture," as does Thomas Newton in his translation of L. Lemnius's An Herbal for the Bible, 1587.

descriptions of how to weave festoons or the rules for the wearing of chaplets at the games, Pliny traces the history of coronal flowers beginning with the word 'corona'. The 'corona' was once restricted to sacrifices or military honours, but it was coming into more general use with the fashion for floral chaplets in Pliny's day. The use of flowers in wreaths began some time after 380-376 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Formerly wreaths were made from the foliage of trees, especially the oak, laurel, bay, myrtle, and olive. Specific trees, not flowers, were dedicated to the gods. The worship of trees was ancient and continuous --

And verily, we our selves adore not with more reverence and devotion the stately images of the gods within our temples, (made though they be of glittering gold, and beautiful yvory) than the very groves and tufts trees, wherein we worship the same gods in all religious silence.<sup>2</sup>

Coronal trees were plentiful, usually evergreen, and further sanctioned by their contributions to building, fuel, warfare, or food. Flowers are seasonal, wither, and were limited in variety in the ancient world. Pliny laments that his countrymen have so few flowers for chaplets, practically violets only and roses.<sup>3</sup> He goes on to describe the lily, gillyflower, amaranthus, anemone, chrysanthemum, hyacinth, asphodel, and cyclamen, as well as a number of scented herbs but the list is brief. Although the Romans had hothouses, their use was limited and they had few hybrids capable of successive flowerings. Flowers were imported but the difficulties are obvious.

<sup>1</sup>W.H.S. Jones, 164, n.a.

<sup>2</sup>Holland, I.xii.1, p. 357.

<sup>3</sup>Holland, II.xxi.3, p. 82.

The transient nature of these coronal flowers is reflected in Pliny's remarks on their symbolism. The flowers are organized loosely around season and colour rather than species. Pliny writes that yellow is the colour for brides; red, blue, and violet are suitable for both men and women, while gold is especially valued by the gods.<sup>1</sup> Scent plays an important role too. The result seems fragmentary and tentative in contrast with his discussion of the older arboreal wreaths whose symbolism is codified and precise.

The Greeks were in a similar position. Like Pliny's essay, Theophrastus's discussion of coronal flowers in his Enquiry into Plants, VI, vi-viii, is organized according to season, rather than ceremonial value, although particular attention is paid to the various scents. The choice of flowers was limited as in Italy. Theophrastus lists as coronary flowers the rose, gillyflower, carnation, lily, violet, crocus, narcissus, spike lavender, wallflower, dropwort,<sup>2</sup> iris, cornflag, love-in-absence, and the rose campion. Flower wreaths appeared in Greece only with the sixth century and the advent of the cult of Aphrodite.<sup>3</sup>

This historical material helps to explain the limitations on the appearance of ceremonial flowers in the poetry of antiquity. The floral wreath was unknown in Homer's time and does not appear in the Iliad or the Odyssey. The Aeneid, although written when floral

<sup>1</sup>Jones, XXI, xxii. 45-6. Jones translates the colours as red, amethyst, and the purple of murex.

<sup>2</sup>Theophrastus, Enquiry into Plants, 2 vols., tr. Sir Arthur Hort (1916), VI.vi.2-10. Hort identifies the dropwort as Spireae filipendula.

<sup>3</sup>Gothein, I, 56.

wreaths were popular follows the earlier restriction. In heroic poetry the tree holds prime place. The locus amoenus which develops as a topos in part from the heroic poetry of Homer and Virgil, is visualized primarily as a landscape of grove, meadow, and spring. The influential description of the gardens of Alcinous, Od. VII.112, offers an abundance of pomegranates, apples, figs, pears, olives, and grapes, but not flowers. In the locus amoenus, flowers, unlike trees are optional. They appear more frequently in the locus amoenus of pastoral poetry.

In pastoral poetry, shepherds sit under trees of beech, elm, oak, or olive by meadow and spring. Since their theme is often love, flowers play a larger role than they did in epic poetry. In the early pastorals of Theocritus, however, although the love theme is pervasive, flowers are still restricted in appearance. In Idyll X. 28-30<sup>1</sup> the dark violet and lettered hyacinth are compared to Bucus's 'gypsy' love, while Daphnis's sorrow in Idyll I.132-5 is reflected in an inversion of nature in which briars bear violets and the juniper, the daffodil. Windflower and rose take part in the contest between Lacon and Comatas in Idyll V.92-3. More striking in Theocritus's poetry than his use of flowers, however, is the sense of immediate scene he achieves from brief mention of wild herbs and grasses as in Idyll XIII.40-2, where the pool of Hylas's adventure is surrounded by swallow-wort, maidenhair, parsley, and deergrass. Theocritus's scenes are creations of texture and shadow rather than colour.

<sup>1</sup>Citations for Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus are to The Greek Bucolic Poets, tr. J.M. Edmonds, Loeb (1912; rev. 1928).

In Virgil's Eclogue II a new world is recorded in the possession of later poets. The passionate shepherd Corydon woos Alexis with baskets full of lilies, pale irises, and poppy heads, narcissus and anise bound with cassia, and a basket of blueberries set off by flaming marigolds. In Moschus's Idyll II, Europa and her maids are gathering narcissus, thyme, hyacinth, violets, sweet and yellow crocuses, and roses, when Zeus in the form of a bull carries her away. The flowers in these love poems bloom in spring or early summer. The preponderance of yellows and blues may be accidental but the stress on brilliance and profusion is not.

Bion's "Lament for Adonis" introduces another floral theme, that of death. He tells the legend of the anemone which grew from Cypris's tears and the roses that sprang from Adonis's blood. The "Lament for Bion" often attributed to Moschus, uses the rose and anemone and then adds the hyacinth to the theme of death.<sup>1</sup> The veins of the hyacinth were thought to form the letters "AI" as a sign of lasting sorrow. This idea was a perennial favourite with Renaissance poets as in Sidney's "Lament for Amphialus" in the Arcadia, 'Lilly in mourning blacke thy whitenes die: / O Hiacinthe let Ai be on thee still,' or the more familiar line from Milton's Lycidas, 106, 'that sanguine flower inscribed with woe.'<sup>2</sup> The funeral pyres in the Aeneid are of

<sup>1</sup>The lettered hyacinth in Theocritus's Idyll X has no association with death but rather its tall slender stem and dark colour are compared to the woman's lean, tanned figure.

<sup>2</sup>The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney, 4 vols., ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1912, rpt. 1963), I, 499; The Poems of John Milton, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (1968).

oak, cypress, ash, rowan, and holm, but Virgil compares the dead Pallas to

qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem  
 seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,  
 cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit  
 non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat.<sup>1</sup>

XI. 68-71.

Funeral flowers were chosen less for their species except where specific legends played a part as in the hyacinth and anemone than for their easily demonstrable fragility and for their dark colour. The violet like the hyacinth is a deep, rich purple, while the anemone or windflower seldom survives the first strong breeze.

The theme of spring because of the seasonal nature of flowers in antiquity is often an unavoidable accompaniment of flower imagery in classical poetry. Pearsall and Salter have argued that seasonal landscapes were developed through three rhetorical channels: as one of the attributes of action (place, time, occasion, manner, and facilities) in support of the propositions of forensic oratory; as an aspect of epideixis, the oratory of panegyric and invective; and as a figure of thought, a descriptio or demonstratio.<sup>2</sup> These channels carried the stylized landscape of spring with its soft turf, tree and shade, water, birdsong, and gentle breeze into the medieval period where it is familiar to most readers in the garden of the Roman de la Rose. Like most medieval landscapes, the attributes of the

<sup>1</sup>Virgil, 2 vols., tr. H. Rushton Fairclough (1918; rev., 1934; rpt., 1960), II, 238. C. Day Lewis, The Aeneid of Virgil (1954), 238, translates the passage -- "A gentle violet, perhaps, or a fainting hyacinth-- / Whose sheen and shape are not yet lost, not yet departed. / Though mother earth no longer can give it sap or strength."

<sup>2</sup>Derek Pearsall and Elizabeth Salter, Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World (1973), 46-8. See R.A. Aubin, Topographical Poetry in Eighteenth-Century England (N.Y., 1936), 5, 20-1, for the use of the catalogue in descriptive poetry from Ausonius's Mosella to Drayton's Poly-Olbion.

garden of the Roman are little individualized. Although there are catalogues of birds there are no catalogues of flowers<sup>1</sup> even in a poem which turns on the symbolism of a rose. The individualized flowers of the spring landscape are an addition of the Renaissance, where they derive mainly from classical poetry particularly Ovid's description of Flora's progeny in Fasti V.223-228, 271-2, 336.<sup>2</sup> Hyacinth, narcissus, crocus, violets, anemone, and a few lines later thyme and roses populate the festival of Flora. Although Rosemond Tuve emphasizes the importance of Lucretius's De rerum natura and Boethius's De consolazione philosophiae for the treatment of the motif of spring in English literature as a paeon to generative processes,<sup>3</sup> these texts do not add to the number of spring flowers.

In the classical poems discussed in this section flowers are used as symbols of individual themes, such as love or death, but floral themes do not always appear in isolation or in association with the theme of spring by chance. Several themes are often used together to create a sophisticated interplay of mood and reference. Homer's "Hymn to Demeter" with its roses, violets, irises, crocuses, hyacinths, and narcissi joins the theme of love's pleasures with that of fertility. Claudian's De raptu Proserpinae with its mastery

<sup>1</sup>Salter and Pearsall, p. 50, note that when flowers are named in medieval landscapes they are almost always limited to the rose or lily.

<sup>2</sup>D.C. Allen, Image and Meaning: Metaphoric Traditions in Renaissance Poetry (Baltimore, Md., 1960; 2nd edn., 1968), 116-21, traces the myth of spring to Lucretius, De rerum natura, Bion's "Myrson" [in the Loeb text Fragment III "From a Shepherd-Mime"], Virgil's Ecl. IX.40-1, Georgics 1.43; Horace, Od. 1.4, Od. IV.7 as well as Ovid's Fasti. These other sources do not, however, contribute to the floral imagery of the landscape.

<sup>3</sup>Tuve, 17-26, also emphasizes the importance of Alain de Lille.

of these two themes against a background of erotic violence and early death particularly captured the imagination of the Renaissance. Leonard Digges's translation in 1617, possibly from Scaliger's edition of 1603,<sup>1</sup> emphasizes this complex interplay. Proserpina walks into the flowery meadow attended by Venus, Diana, and Pallas,

So they made havocke of the flow'rs, and spoile  
 Of all their glory, in a moments toyle.  
 The Lilly to the darker Violet  
 One weaves; another in her brest doth set  
 The soft-sweet Marioram; a third must goe  
 Starre-deckt with Roses; this in diff'ring showe  
 Prankes up her selfe with Privet white, and thee  
 They gather, and thy weeping Tragedie  
 (Poore Hyacinth) renew; nor doe they spare  
 Narcissus (both of you now branches rare  
 Of the fresh spring, and in your lives, the ioyes  
 Of Nature, two most excellent sweet boyes)  
 Thee the tiles errour strooke, but thee, thine owne:  
 When in the fountaine that self-love was knowne:  
 Apollo, with sad brow thy losse laments;  
 At thine Cephissus broken reed relents:  
 Proserpina, more greedy then the rest  
 (Most hot upon the spoile) culs out the best,  
 And stuffes her Osier baskets full; that smile  
 To see their Mistris the poore fields beguile  
 Of their rich habit; she with garlands crownes  
 Her timpls (ignorant of fate) that frownes  
 Upon the wreath she weares (propheticall  
 Swiftly fore-running the blacke Nuptiall)...

Bk. II.241-64.

'Havocke', 'spoile / Of all their glory', 'darker Violet' in their violence contrast vividly with the pure white lily, 'rare', 'fresh', and 'sweet boyes'. The legends of Narcissus and Hyacinth are expanded in a lament, not only for early death, but also for the mystery and dangers of different types of love and the vagaries of Fortune. Violence returns in Proserpina's greedy culling of the flowers with her attendants 'most hot upon the spoile'. Her rape

<sup>1</sup>Claudian, The Rape of Proserpine, tr. Leonard Digges, ed. H.H. Huxley (Liverpool, 1959). See Huxley's note, p. 78, and Digges's "To the Reader."



of the field obviously foretells her own 'blacke Nuptiall.' The concluding phrase of the passage is suitably an oxymoron encompassing the warring themes of the poem.

The flowers of death and love examined so far are few in number. Most prominent are the rose, hyacinth, anemone, and violet, followed by the narcissus and lily. But "The Culex," attributed to Virgil during the Renaissance, scattered flowers with a slightly more liberal hand. In Spenser's translation the gnat's tomb was planted over with,

The Rose engrained in pure scarlet die,  
The Lilly fresh, and Violet belowe,  
The Marigolde, and cherefull Rosemarie,  
The Spartan Mirtle, whence sweet gumb does flowe,  
The purple Hyacinthe, and fresh Costmarie,  
And Saffron sought for in Cilician soyle,  
And Lawrell th' ornament of Phoebus toyle.

Fresh Rododaphne, and the Sabine flowre  
Matching the wealth of th'auncient Frankincence,  
And pallid Yuie building his owne bowre,  
And Box yet mindfull of his olde offence,  
Red Amaranthus, lucklesse Paramour,  
Oxeye still greene, and bitter Patience;  
Ne wants there pale Narcisse, that in a well  
seeing his beautie, in loue with it fell:

And whatsoever other flowre of worth,  
And whatso other hearb of lovely hew  
The joyous Spring out of the ground brings forth...<sup>1</sup>

ll. 666-83.

When Spenser's translation is compared with the Latin text,<sup>2</sup> the changes he makes are twofold and systematic.<sup>3</sup> He removes the grapes

<sup>1</sup>The Works of Edmund Spenser, 10 vols., ed. Edwin Greenlaw, et al., A Variorum Edition (Baltimore, Md., 1932-1949), VIII, 100.

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix.

<sup>3</sup>See Ruutz-Rees, pp. 87-9, for a discussion of "The Culex" as a source for Milton, Sannazaro, Marot and Spenser. He argues that although Spenser probably translated "The Culex" before 1588, Marot remains a more important source for the flower catalogues of the Prothalamion, The Shepherd's Calendar, and "Amoretti 64," while Milton's debt in Lycidas is greater to Spenser's work than to Marot or Virgil. Agnes Arbes, "Edmund Spenser and Lyte's Niewe Herball," N & Q, 160 (1931), argues for Spenser's acquaintance with Lyte's scientific work, but suggests with reference to the April Eclogue that Spenser had little personal knowledge of plants.

and the acanthus, plants foreign to most English gardens, and the berries of the ivy, which rarely fruits in this country. He translates 'picris' or ox-tongue as the more familiar ox-eye, and adds patience, keeping the common names. Secondly, he heightens the theme of spring in counterpoint to death. Spenser reorganizes the list so that the brightest flowers, the marigold and cheerful rosemary, appear in the opening section. Thrice he uses the word 'fresh'. "Fresh Costmarie", also added by Spenser, is another spring flower and like patience, a universal physic herb. The laurel of Phoebus's toil brings the stanza to a comic but also poignant close if the biographical allusions to Leicester and Spenser are accepted. The laurel is the symbol of the conqueror, but it is also the reward of the poet. It is given to an insignificant, but serviceable gnat too late.

The second stanza opens with a longer, more sombre rhythm. The flowers now are pallid, pale, luckless, and bitter. One reads with surprise that an ox-eye is still green. While the legend of the hyacinth was ignored in the earlier stanza that of the narcissus now gets full play and perhaps more. The pathos of the rhyme of 'well' / 'fell' cuts straight across the solemnity of the verse. The allusions suggested by the dignity of 'the wealth of th'auncient Frankincence' are deliberately spilled. Inflated concepts of sacrifice are at once whittled and limited.

Spenser's development of the floral symbolism of "The Culex" is complex. It acts as a counterpoint to the memorial theme, allowing the emotional expectations of the reader to form several separate patterns, sometimes conflicting, which nevertheless build to a

catharsis which is not the less effective because of the sophisticated irony which encompasses the movement of the whole poem.

Although poets like Bion, Moschus, Claudian, and the pastoral Virgil were influential in the establishment of floral themes, of greater importance in the symbolism of flowers was Ovid's Metamorphoses. The medieval tradition of the Ovide moralisé continued unbroken as late as George Sandys's reissue of his translation of 1626 with commentaries in 1632. It was printed again in 1640. Although Sandys's translation is poetically a world apart from Golding's translation of 1565, the moralizations are decidedly out of the same stable. Both men sought scriptural parallels in Ovid's fables<sup>1</sup> and hidden moral counsel in every Ovidian metamorphosis of bird, plant, or stone:

That in no one of all his bookes the which he wrate  
 doo lurke  
 Mo darke and secret misteries, mo counselles wyse and sage,  
 Mo good ensamples, mo reprooves of vyce in youth and age,  
 Mo fyne inventions to delight, mo matters clerkly knit,  
 No, nor more straunge varietie to shew a lerned wit.  
 The high, the lowe: the riche, the poore: the mayster,  
 and the slave:  
 The mayd, the wife: the man, the chyld: the simple  
 and the brave:  
 The yong, the old: the good, the bad: the warriour  
 strong and stout:  
 The wyse, the foole: the cuntrye cloyne: the lerned  
 and the lout:  
 And every other living wight shall in this mirrour see  
 His whole estate, thoughtes, woordes and deedes expressly  
 shewd to bee....

<sup>1</sup>"Introduction," Ovid's Metamorphoses the Arthur Golding Translation 1567, ed., John F. Nims (N.Y., 1965); George Sandys, "To the Reader," Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd and Represented in Figures (1640).

Moreover thou mayst fynd herein descriptions of the tymes:  
 With contellacions of the starres and planettes in  
 theyr clymes:

The Sites of Countries, Cities, hilles, seas forestes,  
 playnes and floods:

The natures both of fowles, beastes, wormes, herbes,  
 mettals, stones and woods,

And finally what ever thing is straunge and delectable,  
 The same conveyed shall you fynd most featly in some fable.<sup>1</sup>

11. 186-96, 199-204.

In a different context Pearsall and Salter have compared the objectivity of Virgil's landscape with the incipient allegory of the landscape of Claudian's "Epithalamium de Nuptiis Honorii Augusti."<sup>2</sup> The possibilities of this kind of incipient allegory were elaborately realized in the medieval and Renaissance translations of Ovid. Ovid's fables of the narcissus, hyacinth, anemone, lotus, smilax, and other plants participated in this allegorical tradition and effected a fundamental re-orientation; they generated an awareness of the larger metaphoric possibilities in floral imagery.

A more comprehensive study of classical poetry would add little to a definition of the role of flowers in that poetry which these texts do not reveal. The scientific treatises and the poetry of antiquity give to Renaissance flower imagery the concept of garland and wreath, an abbreviated colour symbolism, specific themes of love, youth, fertility, marriage, and death, a stylized spring landscape, and a limited number of flowers. While the themes are distinct, the flowers are not. With so few flowers to choose from the same flower may illustrate more than one theme. Furthermore, several individual themes may be evoked within the same context particularly where the

<sup>1</sup>Golding, 428.

<sup>2</sup>Pearsall and Salter, 21-2.

subject, such as early death or youth, is realized within a spring landscape. This interplay of themes enables the poet to create a richer atmosphere and to engage the reader more fully in the emotional resonances of his poem. Finally the fables of Ovid's Metamorphoses as allegorized in the medieval and Renaissance periods provided material for intellectual and philosophical development in floral symbolism as in other areas. The content of the floral allegories, however, was directed initially by the Church.

- B. While the churchwarden accounts and records of the coronary gardens cited earlier testify to the importance of ceremonial flowers and their continued use in church services into the middle of the seventeenth century, they do not help to identify the meaning of individual flowers. They record the occasion and the price of strewing herbs and flowers, but seldom anything more specific. But the Church affords numerous sources which are more forthcoming than these administrative records. Although it is unnecessary and in many cases possibly fruitless to look for original sources or to establish a chronology of interpretative passages, because the meanings of individual flowers were rapidly established and became common lore, to examine the kinds of materials which nourished this symbolism helps to define the roots and therefore the nature of this area of ecclesiastical imagery.

Hexamerall literature may be said to begin with Philo's exegesis of Genesis around 40 A.D., but it achieved distinctive form in the fourth century in the Hexameron of St. Basil and that of his follower

St. Ambrose.<sup>1</sup> The fifth century added the work of Avitus, Marius Victor, and others to the corpus which continued to be enlarged until the publication of Milton's Paradise Lost in 1667. St. Basil's Hexameron, which generated the early enthusiasm for hexamera, is a series of nine homilies on Genesis which were probably delivered to an audience of working men. Intended as an explication of the six days of creation according to Genesis, Homily V is devoted to the third day. In it St. Basil describes by name many plants familiar to his audience. He talks with enthusiasm of the reed, couch-grass, mint, crocus, garlic, and flowering rush. At the close of his treatment of plants he must apologize to his audience, "But I perceive that an insatiable curiosity is drawing out my discourse beyond its limits."<sup>2</sup>

Such direct observation of plants is not found in Book III of St. Ambrose's Hexameron. Rather St. Ambrose spends more time on the theme of Isaiah 40.6-8 that all flesh is grass and the theme that unlike man nothing in nature is vacant or useless. Although he develops the symbolism of the cedar, cypress, palm, poplar, willow, box, and rose without thorn,<sup>3</sup> the expected herbal does not appear.

<sup>1</sup>In addition to Arnold Williams's book, surveys of hexameral literature include F.E. Robbins, The Hexaemeral Literature (Chicago, 1912); Watson Kirkconnell, The Celestial Cycle, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1952); Grant McColley, Paradise Lost (Chicago, 1940), and Sister M.I. Corcoran, Milton's Paradise with Reference to the Hexameral Background (Chicago, 1945).

<sup>2</sup>St. Basil: Letters and Select Works, ed. Henry Wace and Philip Schaff, tr. the Rev. Blomfield Jackson, A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 7 (Oxford, 1895), 81.

<sup>3</sup>St. Ambrose, Hexameron, III.xi-xvii. (Migne, XIV, cols. 188-200).

In fact herbals are rare in the medieval hexamera and in the Renaissance commentaries on Genesis.<sup>1</sup> But with respect to other phenomena of creation St. Basil and St. Ambrose after him initiated a hexamera of concrete detail in opposition to the later Augustinian abstract and allegorical tradition. It was the Basilian tradition with its enthusiasm and wonder at God's providence which was later to animate Du Bartas's account of creation and to encourage the development of the catalogue.<sup>2</sup> But the medieval hexamera as a whole contribute very little to a systematic flower symbolism.

Although hexameral literature continued to appear until the middle of the seventeenth century, its production was somewhat abated in the later part of the Middle Ages because of the continuing development of the encyclopedia.<sup>3</sup> Its themes were easily assimilated into the larger, more eclectic form. Medieval encyclopedias, such as Bartholomaeus Anglicus's De proprietatibus rerum and Vincent of Beauvais's Speculum maius describe the hierarchies of being, the six days of creation and the nature of time, its seasons and the zodiac. They analyze the universe into the familiar four part division of earth, air, fire, and water; their pages include lapidaries, herbals, and bestiaries as well as the history and philosophy of the Church.

<sup>1</sup>According to Williams, p. 58, only the commentary by Zanchius includes a herbal.

<sup>2</sup>Robbins, p. 57-8, describes the hexamera of the Byzantine poet Pisides as the main source of Du Bartas's La Sepmaine. Pisides's work, like that of St. Ambrose, relies heavily on the Physiologus.

<sup>3</sup>According to The New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967) the earliest encyclopedia was Cassiodorus's Institutiones, 551 A.D. Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae was completed in 623 A.D.

Such a pattern seems to promise ample material for the symbolism of flowers in the herbals, descriptions of the third day of creation, and the season motif of spring.

While flowers do appear in these sections the emphasis of the encyclopedists was such that there is little offered by way of symbolism. The encyclopedists were fascinated by the nature of the divine cause, and by logical extension by the mechanics of germination in sensible phenomena.<sup>1</sup> The material devoted to the season motif describes flowers and green herbs as harbingers of spring but details are reserved for the operations of heat, air, and moisture in the processes of life. Very few flowers are enumerated. The sun, 'swich licour', and Zephyrus's 'sweet breeth' in the opening lines of Chaucer's Prologue to The Canterbury Tales offer a familiar parallel to items in the encyclopedists's descriptions. Descriptions of the creation of vegetation on the third day are seen as opportunities to explore these germinal processes more extensively.

The herbals present a somewhat different case. They too are scientific in that they preserve the medical knowledge of the time. But among the pharmacological material a variety of folklore and legend was indiscriminately preserved. Although Albertus Magnus's encyclopedia, for example, is devoted to Aristotelian exposition, his herbal, De vegetabilibus libri septem, includes much eclectic

<sup>1</sup>This paragraph and the Chaucerian example are indebted to Rosemond Tuve's Seasons and Months, IV.ii.B, pp. 127-43. Another example is the spring landscape of John Lydgate's Troy-Book, I.3907-17.



information,<sup>1</sup> although the popular Book of Secrets attributed to him is almost entirely apocryphal.<sup>2</sup> As the encyclopedias continued to be read in the Renaissance this material was also available. An elaborate four volume folio edition of Vincent of Beauvais's Speculum Maius was printed at Douai in 1624, Bede's works at Basle in 1529. In England most students are familiar with Batman Uppon Bartholome, His Booke De proprietatiis rerum, 1582, a work which includes among its sources, not only Bartholomaeus Anglicus, but also Aristotle, Augustine, Anselm, and even John Stow. Book 19 of Rabanus Maurus's De universo libri XXII is one of the most substantial of the encyclopedia herbals. It includes farming instructions and lengthy symbolic interpretations of many trees, the rose, lily, crocus, violet, ivy, mandrake, parsley, rue, hyssop, nard, and other plants and a discussion of the meaning of the hortus conclusus. Unfortunately, however, Maurus's text must be used with caution in Renaissance studies for it is seldom cited as an authority by Renaissance writers. As a whole it depends heavily on Isidore of Seville's more popular Etymologiarum libri XX. Both contain substantial classical material. Jean Seznec describes the Monte Cassino MS of Maurus's De universo of 1023 which includes classical illustrations of the gods, but he states that it had no posterity and was not circulated again until around 1430.<sup>3</sup> Certainly the burgeoning crop of Renaissance herbals

<sup>1</sup>The Physica of St. Hildegarde, the Abbess of Rupertsburg, is a more extreme example of a herbal which combines scientific information with mystical and symbolic insights. However, it is not a part of an encyclopedia.

<sup>2</sup>See the editors's note to The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, ed. Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman (Oxford, 1973). The first English translation appeared in 1550.

<sup>3</sup>Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods, tr. Barbara F. Sessions (Princeton, N.J., 1953), 166-7.

used those encyclopedias which were available as a quarry for information. The grete herball, an influential book which was translated from the French in 1526, shows its medieval debt quite clearly, beginning as it does with a discussion of the four elements and God as creator.<sup>1</sup> It also includes references to classical legends and it is this mixture of fact, superstition and myth, though in varying proportions, which marks most of the English Renaissance herbals even as late as Abraham Cowley's poetical Sex libri plantarum, 1668.<sup>2</sup>

For the most part also conceived in a scientific spirit, the description of the third day of creation in the encyclopedias becomes something quite exceptional in Bernard Silvester's De mundi universitate.<sup>3</sup> Silvester describes the six days of creation in the form of a celestial journey of Nous, Natura, Physis, and Urania. He alternates prose and poetry. Scientific analysis fills the prose sections, but the poetry unfolds the creation of physical phenomena in elaborate catalogues of rivers, mountains, beasts, trees, flowers, herbs, fish, and birds which draw heavily on classical sources. According to Curtius, Silvester provides an important link between late Paganism and the Renaissance of the twelfth century -- he

<sup>1</sup>See Agnes Arber's discussion of The grete herball in Herbals: Their Origin and Evolution 1470-1670 (Cambridge, 1912; rev., 1938), 44-51, particularly her quotation from the introduction to the herball.

<sup>2</sup>Cowley describes the different sections of his work as imitations of the styles of Ovid, Tibullus, Catallus, Horace, and Virgil, and the whole as a celebration of the wonderful works of Providence, almost a sacred poem. See The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Abraham Cowley, 2 vols., ed. A.B. Grosart (1881; rpt. N.Y., 1967), 241, 239.

<sup>3</sup>Bernard Silvester, De mundi universitate, eds. Carl S. Baruch and Johann Wrobel, Bibliotheca Philosophorum Mediae Aetatis (Innsbruck, 1876).

"represents a pagan Humanism which eliminates everything Christian except for a few ultimate essentials. Its geography, its history, its botany are determined by Roman poetry. Its *Natura* is Claudian's."<sup>1</sup> Influenced by Silvester's work, Alain de Lille's The Complaint of Nature reflects a similar tone and draws upon classical sources. Although perhaps not a direct source, Alain's description of the spring landscape decorating Nature's shoes includes all the flowers of Ovid's *Flora* adding only the lily and columbine:

There the form of the rose, faithfully painted,  
 and erring very little from true appearance,  
 matched the color of purple with its own blush,  
 and had tinged the ground with its blood. There  
 playing with the companion blossoms, was the lovely,  
 fragrant flower of Adonis. The tall lily's silver  
 proclaimed the fields and the valley-depths. The  
 thyme, contentious with unequal lip, and jealous of  
 the other blooms, vied with its companion flower,  
 narcissus, and the merry rivers laughed with quiet  
 murmurs. The light of all shone the columbine, of  
 luxuriant aspect. The tiny bloom of the violet,  
 speaking of the ease of the spring-tide, starred the  
 arbutus trees, its face full of the beauty of art.  
 Here she had ordered a variety of flower to live,  
 which was a writing-surface of royal name, though  
 yet ignorant of the thumb of the writer. These are  
 the riches of the spring and its mantles, the beauty  
 of the earth and its stars, which the art of the  
 pictures showed, representing the blossoms with  
 deceiving skill. With these blooming garments of  
 flowers does the graciousness of the spendthrift  
 spring ennoble the meadows, some showing pure white,  
 others purple, being woven by the skilful right hand  
 of Favonius.<sup>2</sup>

#### Metre II

<sup>1</sup>Ernst R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. W.R. Trask (1953), 112.

<sup>2</sup>Alain de Lille, The Complaint of Nature, tr. Douglas M. Moffat, Yale St. in Eng., 36 (N.Y., 1908), 18.

While the dependence on classical sources is obvious in the work of Silvester and Alain, their spirit of enthusiastic praise seems close to that of the Hexameron of St. Basil.

The hexameral treatises are collateral forms of the Genesis descriptions of the encyclopedias. It would be a mistake to suggest a large distinction between them. Several of their preoccupations are similar and material transferred easily from one to the other. St. Ambrose writes this sentence in his Hexameron and it appears almost verbatim in Vincent of Beauvais's Speculum naturale.<sup>1</sup>

Quid igitur describam pupurascentes violas,  
candida lilia, rutilantes rosas, depicta rura  
nunc aureis, nunc variis, nunc luteis floribus,  
in quibus nescias utrum species amplius florum  
an vis odora delectet?

The difference rests in the hexameralist's concentration on a single subject. While subscribing to the same scientific theories he is not under quite the same necessity to carry the argument forward in every aspect of creation or to shape his details toward a picture of a unified world. He has room to include other kinds of detail and latitude to develop a more personal tone. The encyclopedists praise God sincerely through careful intellectual analysis, the hexameralists praise God through wonder and delight at His abundance and providence. It is this hexameral tradition whether in encyclopedia or treatise which stimulated the imagination of the Renaissance.

<sup>1</sup>Ambrose, III.viii (Migne, XIV. Col. 183); Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum quadruplex 1624, Academic Press Facs. (Graz, 1964), IX.x.559.

The encyclopedias through their hexameral material encouraged the rhetorical figure of the catalogue, and their herbals preserved scattered bits of folklore and legend and some interpretation of plants, particularly trees, but they contributed less than expected to the symbolism of flowers per se. This lack is not surprising since they offer a day-by-day account of the creation according to Genesis. There are no flowers in the description of the garden in Genesis. Eden is conceived as a <sup>middle-</sup>Eastern garden; its prominent features are those of water and shade.<sup>1</sup> Despite its extensive use of plant imagery the bible as a whole names only three flowers preferring such hyperonymous expressions as 'flower of the field'. The Song of Songs which is the foundation of Marian symbolism and the symbolism of the hortus conclusus records the lily, lily of the valley, and the rose of Sharon.<sup>2</sup> The apocryphal Book of Esdras, II.18-19, however, describes roses and lilies and twelve kinds of fruit trees in paradise. The paradise motif became popular in the literature of the Church and additional flowers were soon attributed to it.

In commentaries the earthly paradise is almost always scented with the costly Eastern spices of the Song of Solomon, myrrh, camphire, spikenard, cinnamon, frankincense.<sup>3</sup> In Tertullian's

<sup>1</sup>For an extended discussion of the problems of cultivation in the biblical period in the Middle East see E.S. Rohde, Garden-Craft in the Bible and other Essays.

<sup>2</sup>Authorized Version: Lily, Ho. 14-5, Mt. 6.28; lily of the valley, Cant. 2.1; rose, Is. 35.1; rose of Sharon, Cant. 2.1; flower of the field, Ps. 103.15.

<sup>3</sup>For a more comprehensive survey of the sources and other aspects of the earthly paradise see Giamatti.

description, De judico Domine, VIII, the lilies and roses of Canticles and the Book of Esdras also bloom there, while Avitus's description, De mundi initio I, Poem 1, adds violets. Sidonius Apollinaris writes,

Halant rura roses, indescriptosque per agros  
 Flagrat odor: violam, cytisum, serpillam, ligustrum,  
 Lilia, narcissos, casiam, colocasia, calthas,  
 Costum, malobathrum, myrrhas, opobalsama, thura.  
 Parturiunt campi: necnon pulsante senecta,  
 Hinc rediviva petit vicinus cinnama phoenix.<sup>1</sup>

Of the twenty influential descriptions of the earthly paradise conveniently reprinted by Arturo Graf, of those most readily available, except for the extract from Virgil, only Tertullian, Avitus, Apollinaris and Silvester actually describe the flowers of paradise by name. It is significant that these ecclesiastics were very much aware of classical texts,<sup>2</sup> if, as in Tertullian's case, in a troubled sense. Flower symbolism is a growth of the early Renaissance and it goes hand in hand with the renewal of classical learning.

Through descriptions such as these the Church planted in Eden the rose, lily, violet, strawberry, and pink or carnation. Interpretations of these flowers quickly developed. The rose in particular attracted a cluster of meanings. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, although prominent in the development of Marian symbolism, associated

<sup>1</sup>Panegirico ad Antemio, Carm. II, in Arturo Graf, Miti, Leggende E Superstizione del Medio Evo, 2 vols. (Turin, 1892-3), I, 206. Cytisum, clover; serpillam, thyme; ligustrum, privet; casiam, wild cinnamon; colocasia, marsh lily; calthas, marsh marigold; the remaining plants are oriental spices.

<sup>2</sup>Giamatti, p. 67-78, discusses the descriptions collected by Graf with reference to classical influence. His comments on the flowers of paradise, pp. 75-6, however, are too brief to do more than support the thesis of the importance of classical influence. See also Elizabeth Haig, Floral Symbolism of the Great Masters (1913), 14.

it with the passion of the Lord; Walafrid Strabo, with the blood of all martyrs, since Christ by his death gave the rose its red colour.<sup>1</sup> The rose was a symbol of the divine love which occasioned the Incarnation, and therefore also a symbol of the joy of Mary and the life of every Christian despite life's thorns, sins, and oppressions.<sup>2</sup> Dante's use of the rose in "Paradiso" xxx illustrates perfectly one of the themes of The Divine Comedy. The flower of the earthly Venus once rejected by the early Church had become the symbol of divine love through the inspiration of Beatrice.<sup>3</sup> The lily whose beauty is singled out in the Sermon on the Mount is a symbol of purity because of its luminous white petals, and of chastity because, according to Strabo, if touched, the lily loses its fragrance and becomes foul.<sup>4</sup> The diminutive violet growing near the ground, symbolizes humility, and the strawberry with its trefoil leaf and succulent berries symbolizes perfect righteousness and its fruits.

The columbine was an early and obvious addition to the original five flowers because of the etymology of its name. 'Columba' is Latin for 'dove'. Its dove-shaped blossoms became a symbol of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, although the flower has only five

<sup>1</sup>St. Bernard of Clairvaux in Rohde, 114. Walafrid Strabo, Hortulus, tr. Raef Payne (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1966), 63.

<sup>2</sup>St. Ambrose, III.xi (Migne, XIV. Col. 188.).

<sup>3</sup>For a history of the rose's troubled career see Giamatti, pp. 68-9, and R.W. Kennedy, The Renaissance Painter's Garden (1948), 17. The rose and lily were flowers of Venus in classical literature and their adoption as symbols of Mary was opposed by Tertullian and St. Basil. The rose remained common to both, but the lily was successfully reserved for Mary.

<sup>4</sup>Strabo, 63.

petals.<sup>1</sup> Devout painters often rectified nature's careless arithmetic by adding two more.

To these flowers, the Church later added the daisy, pansy, jasmine, and iris. Daisies became a symbol of innocence especially in association with the Christ child as in Fra Filippo Lippi's "Nativity," or Signorelli's "Adoration of the Holy Child." Jasmine was a symbol of hope, while in England, a common name for the pansy was "Herb Trinity." The iris, which was an early substitute for the lily, gradually developed a distinctive symbolism. Through its stately beauty rivalling that of the lily and its sword-shaped leaves it became associated with the sorrows of Mary, while at other times through its purple colour and frequent confusion with the French fleur-de-lys it became a symbol of royalty, of Christ or of Mary in her role as Queen of Heaven.

Although the Church was very slow to add to this limited stock of flowers, painters in the Renaissance such as Pisanello, Jacopo Bellini, and Ghirlandaio greatly increased the variety of flowers in their pictures as they began to study nature at first hand. Piero Di Cosimo made sketches of dandelions and seed pods; Botticelli considered over fifty flowers worth recording.<sup>2</sup> The Church was able to accommodate this expansion of interest through a variety of devices without, in fact, officially extending her ceremonial repertoire. Attention has already been directed to the etymology and number symbolism used to annex the columbine. In her chapter on Marian

<sup>1</sup>Rohde, 117. The columbine may have seven blooms on one stalk.

<sup>2</sup>Kennedy, 24-8.



symbolism in early German and Flemish painting,<sup>1</sup> Lottlisa Behling discusses the contribution of the poetry of Bruder Hansen and Godfried von Strassburg, and particularly the "Goldene Schmiede" of Conrad von Wurzburg. The rose, lily, and violet and all the spices and trees of the Canticles receive ample treatment in their poems. But in two Netherlandish poems<sup>2</sup> the dandelion also appears perhaps as an interpretation of "flower of the field."<sup>3</sup>

By the beginning of the fifteenth century recognizable physic herbs were added to religious subjects. The Physica of St. Hildegarde and De vegetabilibus of Albertus Magnus, noted earlier, provided a description of plants and their physic virtues intermingled with interpretive comments. Poet and painter alike were free to use the virtues of the plant world since they were another manifestation of God's providence. Konrad von Megenberg's Buch der Natur, one of the earliest herbals concerned with accurate illustration,<sup>4</sup> had no trouble in continuing to include the older symbolism.<sup>5</sup> Although we are accustomed to regard the rise of the scientific herbal of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with its vastly improved botanical illustrations as a movement which promoted the direct observation of

<sup>1</sup>Lottlisa Behling, Die Pflanze in der Mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei (2nd edn., Cologne, 1967), 20-43. Behling singles out the work of Albertus Magnus and St. Hildegarde as does Haig. Behling's book covers plant symbolism between 1300 and 1550.

<sup>2</sup>Behling, 34, 36. The poems are the anonymous fourteenth-century "Rosary" and Bruder Hans's Marien Glanz. The identification in the "Rosary" seems to me very tenuous.

<sup>3</sup>Behling, 34.

<sup>4</sup>Arber, 157.

<sup>5</sup>Behling, 25.

nature and an increasing graphic realism in art and attitude, according to Behling, the reconciliation of the new studies with medieval themes led to the inclusion of medical virtues in a plant symbolism deployed even by painters like da Vinci, Cranach the Elder, and Durer.<sup>1</sup> Added to religious symbolism, at least temporarily, are plants like the bitter dandelion which blooms beside Mary in the crucifixion by Master Francke or the lesser celandine which heals wounds and is a coagulant in the "Adoration of the Lamb" of Van Eyck's Ghent Altar.<sup>2</sup> For the most part, however, the physic herbals authorized the inclusion of herbs and greenery such as lungwort or ground ivy, rather than flowers.

Flowers were also admitted temporarily through the equations of colour symbolism. The liturgical colours were precisely defined though there was variation in the occasions they decorated; white for innocence, joy and glory; red for martyrdom, and ardent charity; green for hope; and black or violet for sadness and mortification.<sup>3</sup> It was this set of identities which allowed Strabo to substitute the

<sup>1</sup>In support of her contention Behling offers studies of da Vinci's "The Madonna of the Rocks," p. 106, Cranach's "Rest on the Flight into Egypt," p. 120-1, and several of Durer's paintings including "The Great Clump of Turf," pp. 111-8.

<sup>2</sup>Behling, 33-6; 49.

<sup>3</sup>Guilelmus Durandus, Rationale divinatorum officiorum (Lyons, 1592), especially III.xviii-xix. "Ad hos quatuor colores caseteri referuntur, scilicet ad rubeum colorem coccineus, ad nigrum violaceus, qui aliter coccus vocatur, ad album byssinus, ad viridem croceus. quamquam nonnulli rosas ad martyres, crocum ad confessores, & liliū ad virgines referāt" III.xviii.155. Book I has been translated by the Rev. John M. Neale and Benjamin Webbe as The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments (Leeds, 1843). Book III has been translated by the Rev. T.H. Passmore as The Sacred Vestments, The Third Book of the Rationale Divinatorum Officiorum of Durandus, Bishop of Mende (1899). See also Rabanus Maurus (Migne CXI. cols. 563, 579). Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages 1300-1560, 2 vols. (1959), I, 107-8, 45-9, discusses the role of colour symbolism in heraldry and public entertainments and includes a chart of the main colour equations.

iris or hyacinth for the violet and allowed the carnation to substitute for the rose. Although modern the following statement helps us to understand this principle at work.

The ideal would be to have the flowers correspond in color with the liturgical season, or the liturgical color of the day. Thus, during the Easter season, white flowers are most appropriate for altar decorations.... The feasts of the Mother of God are best symbolized by white flowers, for Mary is the pure and chaste Virgin.... Her humility can be portrayed by blue flowers, such as the iris or violets, while red roses would be most apt to indicate her title of Queen of Martyrs on the two feasts of the Seven Dolors.<sup>1</sup>

Exactly this principle of colour symbolism animates Signorelli's choice of flowers in "The Enthroned Madonna."<sup>2</sup> The child holds white Madonna lilies, white violets, and white convolvulus.

In fact, flower symbolism was used by early Renaissance painters with a complexity which belies initially simple codifications such as the rose of charity or the violet of humility. The flowers of Hugo van der Goes's "Adoration of the Shepherds," commissioned by Tommaso Portinari for the Medici in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, have been the subject of much analysis and provide an illustration of this complexity.<sup>3</sup> (See Plate 12.) The nativity scene shows the Christ child lying on the floor of the stable in front of a kneeling Mary while separate groups of angels, shepherds, the three kings, and an ass and an ox provide the framework and

<sup>1</sup>The Rev. Martin J. Tooker, C.P., "The Role of Flowers in the Liturgy," Liturgical Arts, 13 (1944), 16.

<sup>2</sup>I owe this example to Rohde, 113.

<sup>3</sup>The following discussion is based on the analyses of Haig, 281-2; Behling, 64-6; Robert Koch, "Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altar," The Art Bull., 46 (1964), and Erwin Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, 2 vols. (Camb., Mass., 1953), I, 333-4. Koch's discussion is particularly detailed.



Plate 12. Hugo van der Goes's "Adoration of the Shepherds."

gesture toward the child. Aggressively placed in the centre foreground as if on the altar table itself are a sheaf of wheat and two vases of flowers. In the clear vase stand a spray of blue columbine with seven blooms and three red carnations. In the faience vase with its decoration of acacia and vine leaves are two orange-red lilies, two white irises and one blue and purple iris. Around the vases are scattered twenty violets, seventeen blue and three white ones.

The clear vase as a symbol of Mary and the immaculate conception holds the columbine, symbol of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit enumerated in Isaiah 11.1-2. The three red carnations symbolize the divine love encompassed by the Trinity and the passion of Christ to come. The carnation was also called the naegelbloem with reference to the three nails of the cross.<sup>1</sup> Appropriately, the carnation and columbine were also physic flowers; the columbine was used to promote fertility and in the treatment of female disorders, while the carnation was thought to encourage healing.

The decorations of the faience vase, which Koch identified as a Spanish drug jar,<sup>2</sup> may represent Christ as the vine of eternal life or head of the church and the wine of the Eucharist. The symbolism of the flowers in it pertains mainly to the Christ child. The orange-red lilies, rather than the more usual white lilium candidum of Mary, are the royal lilies of Christ, while the three irises represent the Trinity, the two white ones being the Father and Holy Ghost, while the blue and purple iris represents God Incarnate, the two buds and

<sup>1</sup>Koch, 74.

<sup>2</sup>Koch, 76.

one flower forming on the single stalk a Trinity in itself. The buds indicate the promise the nativity begins to fulfil. The iris or sword lily is, of course, also a reference to the crucifixion.

The violets scattered on the ground are the violets of humility. The three white violets echo the three royal irises of the Trinity and reveal another of its aspects. To the left of the stable, Behling identifies the physic herbs Birdseye Speedwell, Herb Robert, and black nightshade. Speedwell was used as a physic for the eyes, while Herb Robert is a herb of melancholy, and black nightshade, a magical plant for pain of the heart.<sup>1</sup>

Number symbolism is obviously an important part of van der Goes's statement and in the fullest exposition of it I have seen,<sup>2</sup> in addition to the symbolism of the Trinity already mentioned, Koch relates the number seven to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the seven sorrows of Mary, and the discussion of the number seven as the perfect number in St. Augustine's City of God, XI.31; XVII.4. The fifteen blossoms in the vases suggest the fifteen steps to the temple and the fifteen suitors of Mary. There are twenty violets on the ground and twenty people in the picture.

In his depiction of the plants of the Portinari altarpiece Hugo van der Goes employs the basic codifications of church symbolism within a complex overlapping of the separate systems of colour, number, and medical symbolism and he forces the viewer's attention to this sophisticated visual statement by the composition of his

<sup>1</sup>Behling, 64-5

<sup>2</sup>Koch, 74-5. Augustine, XVII.4 also relates the number seven to the whole Church.

picture. The vases of flowers are placed at eye level and so far forward that the 'picture plane' is viewed through their foliage and petals. In the discussion to come of flower symbolism in Renaissance poetry it is this kind of sophisticated, multiple statement which is the norm among the better poets.

- C. The sources of flower symbolism discussed in the preceding two sections continued in most cases to be available in the Renaissance. Spenser's translation of "The Culex,"<sup>1</sup> Digges's translation of Claudian's De raptu, and Golding's and Sandys's translations of Ovid's Metamorphoses have already been mentioned as has the popularity of hexameral literature and the printing of the medieval encyclopedias. The Aldine edition of Theocritus, 1495, included Bion's "Lament for Adonis" and Moschus's "Lament for Bion," and these were also included in the Juntine edition of 1515.<sup>2</sup> The editions and translations of Virgil's Eclogues and the Georgics are too numerous to need citation here.<sup>3</sup>

To further the transmission of older material the Renaissance also developed its own forms. The period 1525 to 1630 witnessed the height of the development of the herbal, and as already noted, these disseminated a mixture of classical and medieval material. In England the

<sup>1</sup>See O.F. Emerson, "Spenser's Virgil's Gnat," JEGP, 17 (1918), 95, for a survey of other editions of Virgil's poem including Bembo's Dialogue on the Culex and Terence, 1530, and Scaliger's edition of 1573.

<sup>2</sup>See the bibliographic note to the Loeb edition of The Greek Bucolic Poets, tr. J.M. Edmonds (1912; rpt., 1950). The complete corpus of Bion and Moschus appeared in 1565, 1566, and again in 1568 from separate printers.

<sup>3</sup>For a brief survey of the translation and editions of Virgil's poetry in Renaissance England see Maren-Sofie Røstvig, The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal 1600-1700 (1954; 2nd edn., N.Y., 1962), I, 72.

works of Banckes, Turner, Lyte, Gerard, and Coles are obvious and valuable sources of floral symbolism.<sup>1</sup> In addition the Renaissance developed allegorical dictionaries which are redactions of medieval and classical sources.<sup>2</sup> Giralaldi's De deis gentium syntagmata (Basle, 1548), was followed by Cartari's Le Imagini de i dei de gli antichi (Venice, 1556), Conti's Mythologia (Venice, 1551), and Ripa's Iconologia (Rome, 1593, enlarged 1603). Although intended primarily as handbooks of codified symbolism for the plastic arts, their equations entered the repertoire of poetry. For obvious reasons their symbolism is more prominent or perhaps more traceable in the hybrid art of the masque, and Ben Jonson's debt to the dictionaries has been the subject of much discussion. Studies of this influence on the poetry of Chapman, Spenser, and Shakespeare and others have

<sup>1</sup>Richard Banckes, Herball, 1525; William Turner, The Names of Herbes, 1548; Henry Lyte, A newe Herball, or Historie of Plantes, 1578; John Gerard, The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes, 1597; John Parkinson, Paradisi in Sole, 1629; and William Coles's Adam in Eden, 1657, and The Art of Simpling, 1656, are all useful sources. Turner does his best to weed out superstitious information. Lyte's text is mainly a translation of Dodoen's Cruydeboeck of 1554. Gerard's text before William Johnson's thorough revision in 1633 is often inaccurate but delightfully full of classical reference and quotation. Parkinson's Paradisi in Sole is limited to pleasure flowers and entries are disappointingly brief, while Coles's work is full of astrological and Paracelsian information.

<sup>2</sup>Seznac, pp. 234-5, argues that the dictionaries depend more heavily on material by Macrobius, Boethius, Fulgentius, the medieval encyclopedias, the church fathers, and other medieval sources than on direct knowledge of classical texts despite authorial claims to the contrary.



also appeared.<sup>1</sup>

Although the dictionaries offer simple, precise equations for the symbolism of plants they reflect the distribution of material found in their sources. The coronal trees of ancient Rome and Greece and the Holy Lands are prominent while flower symbolism is less so. Repeated appearances are made by the laurel, myrtle, palm, pomegranate, and olive. Furthermore, the dictionaries concentrate on personifications of abstractions, such as Amicitia, Impudicitia, Tempus and Poesis, or myths, and they draw upon the pagan gods. Plants appear as stage properties and in costume to illustrate specific aspects of the figure rather than in their own right. But there are scattered references to flowers. In Ripa's Iconologia, Ignoranza is crowned with a wreath of poppies, Venus appears with roses, myrtle, and a seashell, while Tempo wears a wreath of the four seasons composed of roses, grain, fruit, and dried branches.<sup>2</sup> In Cartari's Le Imagini, Aurora sprinkles roses, gillyflowers, and lilies, while Juno and Ceres are both accompanied by poppies as a sign of fertility. The narcissus is recalled as the flower of untimely death, Bacchus is

<sup>1</sup>For a general survey of the use of the mythological dictionaries in England see Seznec, pp. 312 ff; 319. Specific studies include Allardyce Nicoll, Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage (1938; rpt., N.Y., 1968), 154-91; Franck L. Schoell, Études sur L'Humanisme Continental en Angleterre à la fin de la Renaissance (Paris, 1926); and D.J. Gordon's important iconological studies collected and edited by Stephen Orgel, The Renaissance Imagination (1975), especially "Ripa's Fate" and "The Imagery of Ben Jonson's Masques of Blacknesse and Beautie." D.T. Starnes and Ernest W. Talbert have surveyed the language dictionaries with mythological sections in relation to the work of Jonson, Milton, Shakespeare, Spenser, and several others in Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1955). See also D.T. Starnes, "The Hesperian Gardens in Milton," The U. of Texas Studies in English, 31 (1952).

<sup>2</sup>Cesare Ripa, Iconologia, 1603, intro. Erna Mandowsky, facs. (N.Y., 1970), 221, 51, 482-3.

celebrated as the inventor of garlands, while Venus is celebrated with roses whose thorns recall the pangs of unbridled carnality and whose beauty like that of women fades so rapidly.<sup>1</sup> In Conti's Mythologiae the Atlantic Isles are redolent with the perfume of roses, violets, hyacinths, lilies, and narcissi, the classical flowers of the spring landscape.<sup>2</sup>

Valeriano's Hieroglyphica (Basle, 1556), more an emblem book than a mythological dictionary, must be set apart from the above texts in the study of floral symbolism, for while the main text follows the pattern of scattered references to flowers described in them, Books L-LVIII constitute a substantial, separate section devoted almost entirely to plants. While coronal trees dominate, there is considerable flower symbolism. Valeriano describes the poppy of citizenship, the iris of eloquence, the hyacinth of prudence, the narcissus of physical beauty, and several other flowers,<sup>3</sup> spices, and herbs.

Marian symbolism in the Renaissance had its own channel of dissemination in those emblem books written for the newly instituted sodalities of the Virgin as aids to meditation.<sup>4</sup> Louis Martz has discussed the books written for these groups in the form of meditations on the rosary, particularly the kind known as the 'Corona of our Lady'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Vincenzo Cartari, The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction, 1599, tr. Richard Linche, The English Experience, 577 (1973), Gr<sub>4</sub>-Gv<sub>4</sub>, Mr<sub>2</sub>, Nr<sub>2</sub>, Py<sub>2</sub>, Yr<sub>4</sub>, 2Cy<sub>3</sub>,

<sup>2</sup>Natale Conti, Mythologiae (Frankfort, 1588), III. xix. 275.

<sup>3</sup>Among these are the lotus, rose, amaranthus, lupin, heliotrope, and fleabane.

<sup>4</sup>Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (1948), 180.

<sup>5</sup>Louis Martz, The Poetry of Meditation (2nd. edn., New Haven, Conn., 1962), 101-7. My debt to Martz is evident throughout this discussion.

A second type of meditative practice in the sodalities employed flowers. Books like R.P.M. Sandeaus's Maria flos mysticus (Mainz, 1629) established a minor branch of floral symbolism. Henry Hawkins's Partheneia Sacra (Rouen, 1633) includes passages translated from Sandeaus and The Mariale de laudibus dei parae Virginis of Jacobus de Voragine.<sup>1</sup> Hawkins's The Devout Heart (Rouen, 1634) is a translation of Etienne Luzvic's Cor deo devotum (Paris, 1626).<sup>2</sup>

Partheneia Sacra is remarkable for the success with which it blends formal meditational discipline with the usual features of an emblem book. It is also another example of the way in which multiple and separate symbolic systems may converge with flower symbolism to create a complex, satisfying statement. It is possible to chart Hawkins's nine steps of meditation but the reader should remember such an analysis completely violates the particular attraction of Hawkins's presentation which is a sense of inevitable progression and unity. The chart is excusable only because it reveals the blend of emblem book and meditation and because it indicates the complexity of symbolic structure which could be erected on the basis of a single flower. The titles are Hawkins's titles.

<sup>1</sup>Wolfgang Lottes, Henry Hawkins Leben und Werk (Erlangen, 1974), 66-8. According to Lottes, p. 66, Voragine's thirteenth-century text was Hawkins's most important source for eighteen of the emblems. Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain a copy of Sandeaus's text for comparison.

<sup>2</sup>See the introductory note by Karl Joseph Holtgen to Henry Hawkins, The Devout Heart, 1634, English Emblem Books, 11 (1975).

TITLE	DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS
1. Symbol Devise	Picture of violet encircled by wreath 'Humi serpens extollor honore'
2. Character	Physical description: colour, habitat, season, enriched by legend of Juno and the peacock
3. Moral	Explains devise -- Humility of [Incarnation Handmaiden
4. Essay	Elaborate analysis of physical colours, forms, and medicinal virtues of the violet
5. Discourse	Violet as a symbol of Mary: a. Season -- Spring of grace b. Habitat -- In the woods approachable by all; on hill and valley, exalted and humble c. Characteristic -- As the violet is more odorous among leeks, so Mary among the sins of Judaea
6. Emblem	Picture of violet in enclosed garden under rays of eye of God. Scrolls: "Oculus Dei respexitillam' [sic] and 'Effuent odorem divinam excelso Principi Eccli.'
7. Poesie	Twelve line poem explaining emblem
8. Theories or Contemplation	Interpretation of the Essay and Character as biblical history, universal history, and as a morality a. Mary as 'curative' violet for body, eyes, and throat. Witness: St. John -- original sin The tears of Elizabeth -- the barrenness of the synagogue of Judaea Zacarius's dumbness. b. As the seed of the violet destroys the scorpion, so Jesus destroys the serpent in Eden. c. The purple, violet and gold of chastity, humility and charity.
9. Apostrophe	Prayer for humility

The symbol, essay, and character correspond to Ignatius's composition of place, whereas the emblem with its poesie and the discourse contribute to that analysis of points employed to move the understanding, will, and affections. The emblem is too

allegorical in conception to contribute to the composition of place (See Plate 13).

Hawkins himself calls the eighth step a contemplation, but contemplation is a concept or activity subject to a variety of interpretations.<sup>1</sup> For Hawkins it seems to mean a recapitulation of various aspects of the meditation but now loosely on three different levels. To give a further example, under the figure of the lily, he considers the historical selection of Mary from all other women, Christ as the lily who redeems mankind, and Mary as the embodiment of divine grace. Hawkins's method suggests the tropological, anagogical, and allegorical exegesis familiar to scholastic treatises, but I hesitate to use these terms. Hawkins commits himself only to the "further discoverie of the hidden mysterie, contained in the Symbol itself,"<sup>2</sup> He does not find it necessary to go further than St. Francois de Sales does:

After we have moved a great many different pious affections by the multitude of considerations of which meditation is composed, we doe in the end gather together the vertue of all these affections, from which...doth spring a certaine quintessence of affection...called a contemplative affection.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Martz, pp. 13-20, for a discussion of the term in the Renaissance.

<sup>2</sup>Hawkins, 4. Edward Dawson divides his meditation into two levels, spiritual and historical. See Edward Dawson, The Practical Methode of Meditation (1614), in The Meditative Poem: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Verse, ed. Louis L. Martz (N.Y., 1963), 5. Other citations to Martz are to The Poetry of Meditation.

<sup>3</sup>Treatise on the Love of God, in Martz, 17-18.

## THE EMBLEME.

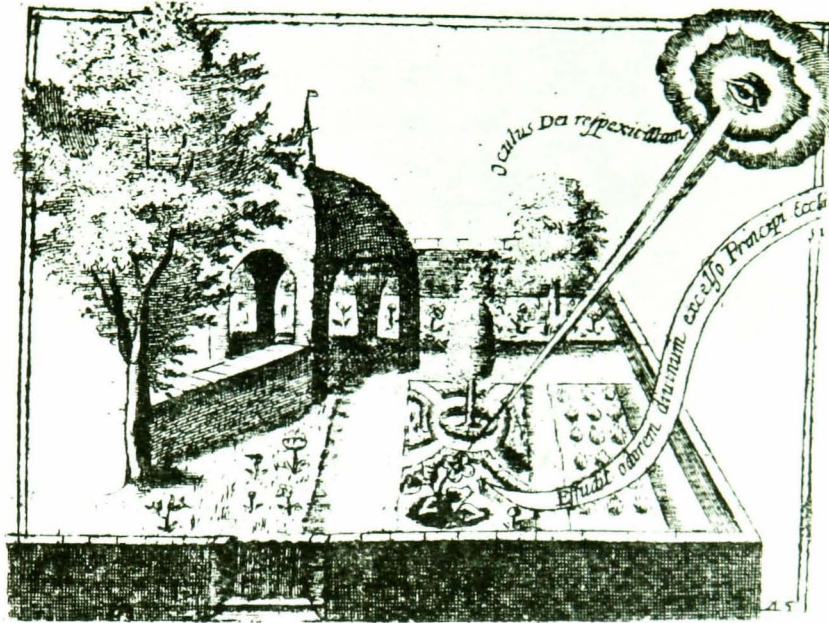


Plate 13. Emblem of the violet from Henry Hawkins's Partheneia Sacra, 1633.

The principal flowers Hawkins features as emblems in Partheneia Sacra are those long established in the Marian symbolism of the medieval church, the rose, violet, and lily and the more general symbol of faith, the heliotrope. The heliotrope appears in the Etymologiarum of St. Isidore and was reported as the sun's spouse in Batman uppon Bartholome.<sup>1</sup> The symbolism of the lily is so much a literary tradition that Hawkins's lily is a non-existent flower, a combination of the lilium candidum and the lilium striatum.<sup>2</sup> In his preface to Meditations on the Life of Christ, St. Bonaventure urged that every detail should be dramatized, and for this purpose made a clear distinction between fact and spiritual truth.

Whatever the facts may have been....We are allowed to meditate on the Sacred Scripture ...as long as we write nothing contrary to truth, justice, and sound doctrine, or against faith or morals.<sup>3</sup>

It was with a similar justification that occasionally painters gave the columbine seven petals rather than its natural five.

In addition to these traditional flowers, wherever possible Hawkins increases the number of species. His additions are peculiarly of the Renaissance in that they come from classical poetry or are new additions to contemporary gardens. In Emblem I, "The Garden," the flowers of virtue are the familiar lily of chastity, rose of shamefastness, violet of humility, the gillyflower of patience, and the sunflower of contemplation. Then follows the pagan hyacinth

<sup>1</sup>Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarum libri XX, XVII. ix. 37 (Migne, LXXXII, col. 628); Stephen Batman, Batman uppon Bartholome, His Book De proprietatibus rerum (1582), fol. 290<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>Freeman, 189.n.1.

<sup>3</sup>In Martz, 74.

as an emblem of hope, the marigold of chastity, and the tulip.<sup>1</sup> The marigold was early included in religious pictures by German and Flemish artists. The tulip, introduced to European gardens by Councillor Johann Heinrich Herward of Augsburg in 1559,<sup>2</sup> concludes the flowers of virtue as an emblem of beauty for God is admirable in his works.<sup>3</sup> In the last chapter the sleep-enchancing poppy of classical poetry represents the ecstasies of heavenly contemplation.<sup>4</sup>

In Herman Hugo's Pia Desideria (Antwerp, 1624), Emblem 32, an even more eclectic harvest can be found. Pia Desideria is an emblem book in the tradition of the religious Cupid. Emblem 32 illustrates Canticles 2.5 "Fulcite me floribus, stipate me malis, qua amore languo."<sup>5</sup> The emblem is accompanied by a poem of incredibly baroque richness. In it Hugo rejects the flowers and fruit of the classical myths for the roses and apples Dorothea brought from the celestial paradise.

<sup>1</sup>Hawkins, 11.

<sup>2</sup>Gothein, II, 6.

<sup>3</sup>Hawkins, 10.

<sup>4</sup>Hawkins, 258.

<sup>5</sup>Rabanus Maurus, De universo, XIX.viii (Migne, CXI. col. 529), discusses the same passage. He sees Cant. 2.12, "The flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land" as a figure of the church. The fields are the church or sacred scriptures while the flowers are the virtues by which the church grows. Cant. 2.5 is a plea for the consolation of these inspiring examples while on the weary pilgrimage of life for the Christian languishes with love of celestial visions. See also St. Bonaventure, Illuminations Ecclesiae in Hexaemeron, Sermon 18.



Nolo tuàs Cytheraea rosas, tua mala, Cydippe,  
 Nescia perfidiae mala rosasque volo.  
 Quales Dorotheae superis tulit ales ab hortis,  
 Quasque suas stupuit vivere bruma rosas.<sup>1</sup>

Yet when Hugo gathers the heavenly plants for his couch, the abundance is such that scarcely any coronal flower or herb, classical or medieval, is missing. Among the thirty-seven plants appear the amaranthus, crocus, the anemone of Cyane, the rosemary from Nymphaeum, and the costly garlands of Paestum.<sup>2</sup> Though the content of the catalogues is not identical, the profligality and the elevation of style through geographical allusions seem to recall "The Culex." The Jesuit Hugo, like his brother Jesuit Henry Hawkins, is prepared to use any flower provided he can rehabilitate it for Christian service. He plunders the flowers of classical literature with a fine abandon.

The last chapter of Partheneia Sacra is a discussion of how to meditate in a garden. Hawkins advises his reader while walking up and down the garden alone to enter into himself

gathering the fruits and flowers, at least  
 of good desires from the objects themselves.  
 Nor be a whit dismayd, though they put thee  
 to the blush, to be taught thy dutie so,  
 from irrational and insensible things; but  
 yeald and submit thy hart, to learne of each  
 creature, how to serve the common Creatour of  
 us al. And as thou walkest up and downe,  
 taking a view of those curious knots of ever-  
 flourishing and green hearbs, say this unto  
 thy self: When shal I order and compose my  
 greener and inordinat affections, in so faire  
 and goodlie a decorum, and so sweet proportion?

<sup>1</sup>Herman Hugo, Pia Desideria, 1624, Continental Emblem Books, 11 (1971), 278.

<sup>2</sup>Paestum was famous for its twice blooming roses; Nymphaeum was a promontory and seaport in Illyra. Cyane was a town in Lycia and the nymph who opposed Pluto's flight into the earth with Proserpina.

Walking in the Allyes, say: Lord, conduct me  
by the streight and readie way; and shew me  
thy kingdome. Noting the neatnes of those  
walkes, how trim and smooth they are, say:  
When shal it be, I be so curious, to purge  
and rake away the impurities from my hart?<sup>1</sup>

Hawkins directs the reader on through the garden now reviewing the flowers under the codifications of the violet of humility, the lily of chastity, etc. The attractive simplicity of Hawkins's conclusion belies the density of his achievement in Partheneia Sacra. The contemplative affection which is its goal is engendered primarily through floral equations amplified by the resources of colour symbolism, medicine, physical analysis, biblical exegesis, and historiography as well as meditative disciplines. Classical myth and literature play an important role. The whole is a powerful reaffirmation and extension of medieval symbolism.

Helen White has examined the continued circulation of recusant literature in England in the early seventeenth century despite the Lord Chamberlain's censorship.<sup>2</sup> She discusses the role travellers such as Nicholas Ferrar may have played, the hidden presses,<sup>3</sup> and the legal influx of Catholic works translated and expurgated by Protestant writers. There is evidence that Partheneia Sacra may have been written for a secret sodality under the direction of Lady Anne Arundell perhaps during the twenty-five years Hawkins worked in

<sup>1</sup>Hawkins, 257.

<sup>2</sup>Helen C. White, English Devotional Literature [Prose] 1600-1640, Univ. of Wis. St. in Lang. and Lit., 29 (Madison, Wis., 1931), especially Ch. 5 and 6. See also Martz, 5-13.

<sup>3</sup>For printing history see A.C. Southern, Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582 (1950).

England.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever the distribution of a particular text, the flower symbolism of the Catholic writers provoked the creation of a Protestant counterpart. When Protestant authors wished to treat a collection of coronal plants individually in a religious context, they were faced with the pre-emption of so many flowers by the Catholic cult of Mary. If the reader looks for Protestant poems which use individual flowers to direct the meditative process, few candidates appear. Far more common is the use of an unidentified flower which readily avoids the thick rind of inherited symbolism, especially Catholic symbolism. Marvell's "The Coronet," Vaughan's "I walkt the other day," Herbert's "Life" ("I made a posie, while the day ran by"), "Employment (1)," or "The Flower" immediately come to mind. "A Contemplation Uppon Flowers" attributed to Henry King<sup>2</sup> is also non-specific, but it is really neither religious nor, despite its title, truly meditative. For those who faced the problem more directly various strategies presented themselves. Some used invented names or metaphors for which they offered no physical plant, others turned to the herbs of grace, which, though part of patristic analysis, had not been appropriated by individual figures, or they turned from flowers as symbols of the spiritual mysteries dominated by the figures of Mary and the Incarnate Christ to the moral allegory also prominent in other areas of the Protestant movement.

<sup>1</sup>Lottes, pp. 17-9, discusses Hawkins's dedications to the Lady Anne Wordell and his final years in a foundation at Ghent under her patronage. He reprints textual evidence for Hawkins's twenty-five years in Britain, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>In The Poems of Henry King, ed. Margaret Crum (Oxford, 1965), 57, Crum argues that the poem is not by King.

Richard Baxter, the minister for Kidderminster and later chaplain to Col. Whalley's Parliamentary army and a chaplain to Charles II, was a leading apologist for adapting Catholic practices of meditation. He urged that by comparing objects of sense with objects of faith men might realize the transcendent worth of glory. As objects of sense he offers music, curious pictures, sumptuous buildings, walks, and prospects.<sup>1</sup> Or consider, he writes, "what rare workmanship is in the body of a man?... what excellency in every plant we see? in the beauty of Flowers? in the nature, diversity and use of Herbs? in Fruits, in Roots, in Minerals, and what not?"<sup>2</sup>

William Prynne distinguishes natural objects of sense as a medium of meditation and prayer from the Catholic use of artificial images.

What neede of Popish Pictures then to bring  
 Christ to our Eyes, minds, thoughts? sith every thing,  
 Plant, Herbe that in our Gardens sprouts, lives,  
 His life, Death, rising, farre more clearely shewes?  
Away then with these Cursed Idolls; we  
Christ no where else will ever seeke, view, see  
But in his Word, Workes, Sacraments, wherein  
We onely can behold him, without sinne;  
 And when we long him, or his Acts to Eye,  
 If Bibles faile, each Garden will descry  
 Them to us, in more sweete and lively wise,  
 Than all the Pictures Papists can devise.<sup>3</sup>

William Prynne's Mount-Orgueil is a book of meditations on the garden as a cultivated enclosure and does not mention specific flowers. Rather Prynne treats the garden as a unit developing from it a series of parallels in descending rank: God, Christ, Eden, the

<sup>1</sup>Richard Baxter, The Saints Everlasting Rest (11th edn., 1677) 754. See also Part IV.v.6 and IV.xi.3,4, and 7.

<sup>2</sup>Baxter, 756.

<sup>3</sup>William Prynne, Mount-Orgueil (1641), 126.

Bible, the Church. Once the method is understood the equations have a certain predictability. The perfume of the garden is as the perfume of prayer; arbours shade us from the sun as Christ protects us from the burning wrath of the Father; weeds in the garden are as the sins of man. The method is similar to that found in Hawkins's concluding chapter with all plant references omitted.

A similar strategy can be found in the works of a small circle of clergymen educated at Cambridge where intense religious debate resulted in The Directory, a statement of Puritan doctrine organized at St. John's in 1589. George Webb, chaplain to the Prince of Wales in 1624 and appointed Bishop of Limerick in 1634, in his Poesie of Spiritual Flowers, 1610, urged that "the whole world is a table, wherein is portraited foorth unto us infinit wonders in the severall natures of all the creatures, not for us to view alone, but with a fruitfull use to meditate upon."<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the flowers Webb analyses, apart from Heartsease which is sometimes a name for the pansy and in Webb's book is the joy of Christian service, are only metaphorical -- True Delight, World's Wonder, Time's Complaint, Sinner's Doom, and Anchor of the Soule. The Garden of Spiritual Flowers, 1612, by Richard Rogers, with contributions by George Webb

<sup>1</sup>George Webb, educated at New College and Corpus Christi, Oxford, stands somewhat outside the circle though sympathetic to it. He is better known as the author of The Practiçe of Quietnes than as a contributor to The Garden of Spiritual Flowers.

and others,<sup>1</sup> though it recommends meditation to achieve true sorrow of heart contains no plants metaphorical or otherwise. A chapter entitled "A Grove of Graces" in Abraham Fleming's The Diamond of Devotion, 1602, is also entirely abstract.<sup>2</sup>

Obviously the titles of the works examined above have behind them the secular fashion which entitled poetic miscellanies Hundred Sundry Flowers, The Shepherd's Garland, or Brittons Bower of Delights, or, more closely influenced by the classical precedent of Statius and others, "The Forrest," or "Under-wood."<sup>3</sup> In addition there is the hyperonymous character of much biblical metaphor which, for example,

<sup>1</sup>The other contributors are Richard Greenham, William Perkins, and an unidentified "M.M." Richard Rogers, William Perkins, and Richard Greenham were Cambridge men and supported The Directory. Joseph Hall, who went up to Cambridge in 1589, the year of the Directory, advocated the use of natural objects for meditation in his "The Art of Divine Meditation" but few appear in his Centuries and those that do, like the salamander, elephant, pismire, and vine, carry the weight of the emblem book or bible rather than observation of nature. He uses no flower symbolism in the Centuries. See The Works of the Right Rev. Joseph Hall, 10 vols., ed. Philip Wynter (Oxford, 1868), VI, 48-50; VII, 452, 463, 501, 512.

<sup>2</sup>Abraham Fleming was also a Cambridge man. Although presented to the rectory of St. Pancras, 1593, by Whitgift, he is more noted for his poetical interests than for his clerical ones.

<sup>3</sup>George Gascoigne, Hundred Sundry Flowers, 1573, Nicholas Breton, Small Handful of Fragrant Flowers, 1575, and Bower of Delights, 1591; Michael Drayton, Idea, The Shepherds Garland, 1593, Ben Jonson, "The Forrest," 1616, and "Under-wood," 1640.

allowed Rabanus Maurus to discuss virtue as the 'flowers of the field'. It is not possible to say whether the Protestant authors discussed above were influenced by these traditions only or whether the content of their work with its absence of flowers also reflects the need to avoid possible confusion with Catholic symbolism. The latter seems particularly likely in the work of Webb and Prynne. Certainly, in books which acknowledge the role of meditation with its concrete composition of place, the consistent avoidance of specific flowers is noticeable.

Thomas Adams, who held the preachingship of St. Gregory at St. Paul's, takes a different tack in A Divine Herball, or, A Garden of Graces. He explicates Hebrews 6.7-8 line by line:

For the earth which drinketh in the rain  
that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth  
forth herbs meet for them by whom it is  
dressed, receiveth blessing from God: but  
that which beareth thorns and briers is  
rejected, and is nigh unto cursing; whose  
end is to be burned.

In his explication Adams grapples with the place of good works within the doctrine of grace. Then in a chapter entitled "A Contemplation of the Herbes" he attributes symbolic meaning to some nineteen herbs. Rue is the herb of grace, for affliction is a "sharpe and short medium."<sup>1</sup> Hyssop, one of the biblical herbs of purification, represents humility of spirit; sage, honest policy; parsley, frugality; the colewort, moderate abstinence. Parsley appears in Theocritus's Idylls 3 and 7, and in Homer's grotto of Calypso, Od. V.54ff, but it is also common in the literature of the church.<sup>2</sup> As a whole, however, Adams's selection reflects local gardens rather than the bible.

The nard and cinnamon of Canticles yield place to St. John's wort,

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Adams, A Divine Herball, or, Garden of Graces in The Works of Tho: Adams (1629).

<sup>2</sup>Rabanus Maurus, XIX.ix (Migne, CXI. col. 532); Isidore, XVII.xi (Migne, LXXXII. col. 638); Silvester, I. 398.

pennyroyal, camomile, and barley water. Adams avoids established Catholic symbolism by turning to the less rigidly codified herbs,<sup>1</sup> but more importantly, he also makes of his herbs an infusion of practical moral instruction. It is this shift of emphasis which is found in the Protestant emblem books.

The emblem books of Geoffrey Whitney, George Wither, and Joachim Camerarius include plants and are good examples of this new Protestant interpretation. Camerarius's Symbolorum et emblematum ex re herbaria [1593], a collection of forty-five emblems of flowers and cereals, opens with an emblem of a hill covered with a variety of trees and flowers with the sun shining down on them. (See Plate 14.) Naught, the reader is told, flourishes without God's light. This religious orientation animates the collection and is repeated in Emblem 55, the mid-point of the presentation. Emblem 55 pictures rain clouds above languishing spring flowers illustrating Deut. 32.2: "My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass." One is reminded of the importance Adams attributed to

<sup>1</sup>Perspective is provided by the unidentified Ro. Ba.'s "Dedicatory Epistle" in his Life of Syr Thomas More. A Catholic writer, in eulogizing More he also sidesteps Marian symbolism by using herbs primarily: "an epitome of Celestiall vertues...springing in the paradize of delightes, the life of Sir Thomas More -- the walkes whereof are paved with Camimile of humilitie; the borders are set with patience, enamiled with pinckes and violetes of rich povertie; the knotes are all of tyme, intermingled with germander ever the same, and here and there hysope of mortification; the rowes and hedges musk-roses and Rosmary of sweet conversation; the vacant plotes are spangled with flowres, the golden marygold of obedience, hartsease of a settled conscience, flowers of Hierusalem of his desire to be in heaven, white lilies puritie of his intentions, red roses the glorie of his death." The Marian flowers, the rose, lily, and violet are carefully redirected. The citation is to Ro: Ba: The Lyfe of Syr Thomas More, ed. E.V. Hitchcock et al., E.E.T.S., 222 (1950), 4.



I.  
 SI SERENVS  
 ILLVXERIT.



*Mons omni hoc, nisi Sol foueat, viduatur honore.  
 Quicquid ages, cassum disperit, absque DEO.*

D 3

Collis

Plate 14. Emblem I from Joachim Camerarius's  
Symbolorum et emblematum ex re herbaria [1593].

Heb. 6.7-8, and indeed Camerarius interprets his plants in a similar spirit of concern for the character and behaviour of the good man. In Emblem 86, the odor of camomile speaks of the generous spirit and is the device of the Duke of Mantua, Vincent Gonzaga; Emblem 88 of the tulip without the sun signifies that man without the light of his Prince and the light of God remains without flower; Emblem 77 pictures betony whose roots cause vomiting, thus instructing princes to discipline themselves to meditate and consider and hide their wrath.<sup>1</sup>

God's dew as interpreted in Heb. 6.7-8, Deut. 32.2 and Jer. 51.16<sup>2</sup> seems to have been a particular preoccupation of Protestant writers. Henry Vaughan's "The Sap," a short, seemingly obvious poem, takes on depth when read within this context,<sup>3</sup> although Vaughan was as anti-puritan as he was anti-Catholic. "The Sap" concentrates on one plant,

<sup>1</sup>Joachim Camerarius (Jr.), Symbolorum emblematum ex re herbarias desumtorum centuria una collecta [1593], fols. 65, 96, 98, 87. Camerarius was a good friend of Charles de L'Écluse (see fol. 81) and also a trained botanist in his own right. He was the author of Hortus medicus et philosophicus (1588) and editor of Mattioli's De plantis epitome (1586).

<sup>2</sup>"When he uttereth his voice, there is a multitude of waters in the heavens; and he causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth: he maketh lightnings with rain, and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures."

<sup>3</sup>

The image of heavenly dew provides an important cluster of images in Vaughan's poetry. See especially R.A. Durr, On the Mystical Poetry of Henry Vaughan (Camb., Mass., 1962), 48-51, who examines patristic commentary on the image. Durr, pp. 36-7, reads "The Sap" as an exploration of the traces of divinity in man which yet must be nourished from above. Ross Garner, Henry Vaughan: Experience and the Tradition (Chicago, 1959), 40, sees the poem as a study of man's duality since the fall, while Elizabeth Holmes, Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy (N.Y., 1932), 35, discusses the cleansing spirit of the Redemption.

but at first deliberately withholds any clue to its identity. The ambiguity of its nature or rather the possibilities of its identity support the central mystery of Adam's redemption by Christ. The sapless blossom in its indefiniteness is any sensible object, all of which owe their being to God, including man himself. The first movement describes any wilting plant, whose roots lacking moisture are embedded in dust. Flower symbolism is not engaged here except in the weakest sense at the level of general simile. The development to come is hinted in the biblical echo of 'creep' (Gen. 1.35), 'first birth', 'dew', and 'heaven'.

Come sapless Blossom, creep not stil on Earth  
 Forgetting thy first birth;  
 'Tis not from dust, or if so, why dost thou  
 Thus cal and thirst for dew?  
 It tends not thither, if it doth, why then  
 This growth and stretch for heav'n?  
 Thy root sucks but diseases, worms there seat  
 And claim it for their meat.<sup>1</sup>

11. 1-8.

The second movement contrasts the blossom with the celestial hill of oliferous myrrh on which Christ sits. The blossom is any blossom, but it is also earthly myrrh. Vaughan does not say so but the identification seems to me inescapable. Vaughan establishes a context of decay and death and significantly employs the imagery of vessels for holy oil. Earthly myrrh, sanctified in biblical imagery and church services, is a preservative, yet ironically sapless when compared to the celestial herb. The sap of the celestial myrrh is the blood of Christ shed to redeem the fall from the hill of paradise. The reader

<sup>1</sup>Citations are to The Works of Henry Vaughan, ed. L.C. Martin (Oxford, 1914; 2nd edn., 1957).

realizes how profoundly 'sapless' in these terms the blossom is.

There is beyond the Stars an hil of myrrh  
 From which some drops fal here,  
 On it the Prince of Salem sits, who deals  
 To thee thy secret meals,  
 There is thy Country, and he is the way  
 And hath withal the key.  
 Yet liv'd he here sometimes, and bore for thee  
 A world of miserie,  
 For thee, who in the first mans loyns didst fal  
 From that hil to this vale...

11. 11-20.

He gave his sacred bloud  
 By wil our sap, and Cordial; now in this  
 Lies such a heav'n of bliss...

11. 26-8.

Get then this sap, and get  
 Good store of it, but let  
 The vessel where you put it be for sure  
 To all your pow'r most pure;  
 There is at all times (though shut up) in you  
 A powerful, rare dew,  
 Which only grief and love extract; with this  
 Be sure, and never miss,  
 To wash your vessel wel: Then humbly take  
 This balm for souls that ake....

11. 35-44.

The scriptural passages behind Vaughan's plant symbolism form a dense company. The hill of myrrh appears in Cant. 4.6 and the beloved, or Christ, as myrrh in Cant. 1.3. Christ was greeted by the wise men with myrrh, frankincense, and gold, and buried with myrrh and aloes (Jo. 19.39-40). The holy oil with which Aaron, the tabernacle, ark, and altar were annointed was olive oil blended with myrrh, cinnamon, and calamus (Ex. 30.23-5).

I have already noted the passages which lie behind the dew of heaven which opens Vaughan's poem. Adams's use of Heb. 6:7-8 in his A Divine Herbal is explicit; Vaughan's use of it and other texts,

implicit. Adams cultivates herbs of active virtue within a context of grace. Vaughan uses one herb, myrrh, to illuminate the spiritual history of man culminating in the possibility of grace through Christ. Myrrh, with its symbolism rooted in the Old and New Testaments allows Vaughan's poem to operate as history and doctrine. By the briefest of references Vaughan is able to evoke whole complexes of meaning more inclusive than his brief narrative could convey without such symbolic systems. Through this symbolism the miracle of Christ's sacrifice stands forth in stark confrontation with the ritual dispensations of Old Testament law.

Geoffrey Whitney in A Choice of Emblemes (1586) is eclectic in his selection of images, but his interpretation of them accords with the new Protestant emphasis I have been tracing. Among the plants most are ancient coronal trees, but the strawberry, gourd, and prickly rose also appear. The strawberry, once a symbol of perfect righteousness in Paradise, now with a serpent around its roots is the emblem of the man who flourishes despite the company of flatterers.<sup>1</sup> Whitney's interpretation does not conflict with the older one, but the shift to a moral and temporal plane is unmistakable. A similar relocation occurs with the gourd of salvation, now an emblem of climbing pride,<sup>2</sup> and the prickly rose which now signifies pleasure after pain.<sup>3</sup> For the marigold as a general emblem of faith no such change was necessary. George Wither's well known poem from A Collection of Emblemes (1635) freshens the established theme.'

<sup>1</sup>Geoffrey Whitney, A Choice of Emblems, 1586, English Emblem Books, 3 (1973), 24.

<sup>2</sup>Whitney, 34.

<sup>3</sup>Whitney, 165.

When, with a serious musing, I behold  
 The gratefull, and obsequious Marigold,  
 How duely, ev'ry morning, she displayes  
 Her open brest, when Titan spreads his Rayes;  
 How she observes him in his daily walke,  
 Still bending towards him, her tender stalke;  
 How, when he downe declines, she droopes and mournes,  
 Bedew'd (as 'twere) with teares, till he returnes;  
 And, how she vailes her Flow'rs, when he is gone,  
 As if she scorned to be Looked on  
 By an inferiour Eye; or, did contemne  
 To wayt upon a meaner Light, then Him.  
 When this I meditate, me thinkes, the Flowers  
 Have spirits, farre more generous, then ours;  
 And, give us faire Examples, to despise  
 The servile Fawnings, and Idolatries,  
 Wherewith, we court these earthly things below,  
 Which merit not the service we bestow.

But, oh my God! though groveling I appeare  
 Upon the Ground, (and have a rooting here,  
 Which hailes me downward) yet in my desire,  
 To that, which is above mee, I aspire:  
 And, all my best Affections I professe  
 To Him, that is the Sunne of Righteousnesse.  
 Oh! keepe the Morning of his Incarnation,  
 The burning Noone-tide of his bitter Passion,  
 The Night of his Descending, and the Height  
 Of his Ascension, ever in my sight:  
 That imitating him, in what I may,  
 I never follow an inferiour Way.<sup>1</sup>

Wither's poem is a remarkably graceful achievement. Its meditative structure from composition of place, analysis of points, to the closing petition is unobtrusive, carrying the argument of the poem smoothly forward, while the imagery of the marigold binds the whole at literal and metaphorical levels. The quotidian cycle of the plant becomes the history of the Passion while its roots and organic limitations also faithfully record the earth-bound, but aspiring poet.

One further, rather curious collection of Renaissance flower symbolism remains to be considered before turning to more detailed analyses of the use of that symbolism in Renaissance poetry. Bound

<sup>1</sup>George Wither, A Collection of Emblems, 1635, English Emblem Books, 12 (1968), Bk. IV, Emb. 51, 209.

with Jacques Bellot's The Englishe Scholemaister, is a text entitled "The Posye or Nosegay of Love" by I.B. It is written in the form of a list of flowers in two columns, one in French the other in English. The 'messages' of the flowers are quite different from anything yet encountered. The strawberry with its leaves signals, "I am altogether yours;" ivy, "your love destroyeth me," the primrose, "I beginne to love you."<sup>1</sup> Whether "The Posye" was intended for linguistic instruction or merely recreation is not clear. The messages do not contradict the main body of Renaissance symbolism, but then neither do they always derive from it. They seem to be a foretaste of the so-called oriental 'language of flowers' introduced to England by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu following her husband's ambassadorship to Constantinople, 1716-18. On the continent the 'language' was disseminated by Mme. Brulart de Genlis, the Marchioness de Sillery, and by Charlotte de la Tour.<sup>2</sup> The messages of their flowers are remarkably similar to the limited messages of Bellot. The earlier work of Bellot and the perennially popular practice of sending bouquets accompanied by short poems<sup>3</sup> perhaps explain why Lady Mary found such a ready audience for her 'oriental' discovery.

<sup>1</sup>Jacques Bellot, The Englishe Scholemaister, 1580, ed. R.C. Alston, Eng. Ling., 51 (1967), ff 6 - 65.

<sup>2</sup>See Alice M. Coats, The Treasury of Flowers (1975), 14-5. De la Tour's book Langage des Fleurs was translated into English in 1820 and was followed by books such as Mrs. Hey's Moral of Flowers (1834) and Arthur Freeling's Flowers, Their Use and Beauty, Language and Sentiment (?1840). An elaborate card game using the meanings of flowers also developed. I have not seen either Mrs. Hey's book or Freeling's.

<sup>3</sup>For example, this anonymous poem from Tottel's Miscellany, 1557, entitled "Of a Rosemary braunche sente:" "Such grene to me as you have sent, / Such grene to you I sende agayn: / A flowring hart that wyl not feint, / For drede of hope or losse of gaine: / A stedfast thought all wholy bent, / So that he maye your grace obtain: / As you by prooffe have alwaies sene, / To live your owne and alwaies grene"-- Miscellany, 1557-1587, 2 vols., ed. H.E. Rollins (1928-29; rev. Cambridge, Mass., 1965), I, 179.

In summary, it would appear that the sources of floral symbolism in the Renaissance were numerous indeed and that there were forces at work which encouraged their use. The continued development of the coronal garden, the accessibility of flowers for ceremonial and decorative purposes, and the exciting influx of new species combined with textual influences. The Basilian tradition of hexameral literature provided little flower symbolism, but its emphasis on the plenitude of creation encouraged the further development of the literary catalogue. Although a rhetorical device familiar in classical epic poetry, the influence of Du Bartas's La Sepmaine was significant in promoting its use in other genres. The rediscovery of classical poetry, particularly Virgil's "Eclogue II" and "The Culex," Claudian's De raptu Proserpinae and Ovid's Fasti, provided a basic list of flowers and themes in addition to the medieval physic herbs. The allegorization of Ovid's Metamorphoses further enlarged the symbolic matrix of flower imagery. The coronal works of Pliny, Theophrastus, and others stimulated an already existing interest in coronal ceremony. The medieval texts, especially the herbals of the encyclopedias and the commentaries on the Canticles contributed to the imagery of the hortus conclusus and Marian symbolism which the meditational books of the sodalities disseminated. The church also set an example in the employment of multiple symbolic systems of number, colour, medicine, and biblical exegesis which the early Renaissance painters adapted to their art. The Renaissance witnessed the burgeoning of the herbal and the development of the iconographical dictionaries and emblem books all of which used both medieval and classical sources. To many of these redactions the Reformation



dictated a shift from the spiritual realm to come to the moral world of struggling man.

### III. Flower Symbolism: Varieties of Usage in Poetry

In this final section I want to examine, not the appearance of individual flowers as symbols of poetry, but rather some of the principles which guide the poet in his selection of flowers as symbols, and the ways in which that symbolism is exploited. I have looked closely at Milton's Paradise Lost IV. 689-705, Chapman's Ovids Banquet of Sence St. 9-10, Herbert's "The Rose" and Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale, IV.iv. 113-132, because they are particularly revealing both as to the problems and possibilities of flower symbolism. Milton's catalogue is a tour de force in the allusiveness of the classical catalogue, while Chapman's Banquet of Sence acclimatizes the Greek coronal flowers with native species for his own ends. Herbert's poem addresses the difficulty of using flowers at all in Protestant religious poetry in the face of Catholicism's prior, well-established claim. The flowers of the shepherds's festival in The Winter's Tale are selected for study because they indicate to what rich schemes flower imagery may lead. From the simple equations of Shakespeare's source, "A Nosegaie alwaies,"<sup>1</sup> to the complexities of Ophelia's flower catalogue in Hamlet IV.v. 174-185 is a very long journey and one which I hope to show was commonly taken by the better poets to significant ends in their treatments of flower imagery, and one which the modern reader ignores to his great loss.

Milton's description of Adam and Eve's bower in paradise employs a catalogue of classical flowers in an unusual way:

<sup>1</sup>In Clement Robinson, et al., A Handful of Pleasant Delights, ed. H.E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1924).

Thus talking hand in hand alone they passed  
 On to their blissful bower; it was a place  
 Chosen by the sovereign planter, when he framed  
 All things to man's delightful use; the roof  
 Of thickest covert was inwoven shade  
 Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew  
 Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either side  
 Acanthus, and each odorous bushy shrub  
 Fenced up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,  
 Iris all hues, roses, and jessamine  
 Reared high their flourished heads between, and wrought  
 Mosaic; underfoot the violet,  
 Crocus, and hyacinth with rich inlay  
 Broidered the ground, more coloured than with stone  
 Of costliest emblem: other creature here  
 Beast, bird, insect, or worm durst enter none;  
 Such was their awe of man.<sup>1</sup>

PL. IV. 689-705.

Milton's catalogue is restrained to the point of severity. The flowers stand unqualified by adjectives, there is no direct appeal to the senses other than the odorous bushy shrubs where the operative word is embedded in the middle of the line. Sight, is, of course, involved throughout but it is not courted by colour or shape. The degree of Milton's formality here becomes clear if compared to his very different catalogue in Lycidas:

Throw hither all your quaint enamelled eyes,  
 That on the green turf suck the honied showers,  
 And purple all the ground with vernal flowers.  
 Bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies,  
 The tufted crow-toe, and pale jessamine,  
 The white pink, and the pansy freaked with jet,  
 The glowing violet  
 The musk-rose, and the well-attired woodbine,  
 With cowslips wan that hang the pensive head,  
 And every flower that sad embroidery wears:  
 Bid amaranthus all his beauty shed,  
 The daffadillies fill their cups with tears,<sup>2</sup>  
 To strew the laureate hearse where Lycid lies.<sup>2</sup>

11. 139-151.

<sup>1</sup>Citations to Paradise Lost are to Milton: 'Paradise Lost', ed. Alastair Fowler (1971).

<sup>2</sup>The Poems of John Milton, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (1968).

Milton's debt to Shakespeare's flower catalogue in The Winter's Tale, IV.iv.113-132, is not an issue here.<sup>1</sup> Whatever sources he used Milton deliberately developed the flower catalogue in Lycidas in one way and that in Paradise Lost in another. In the latter there are no native crow-toes, cowslips, or daffadillies, no anthropomorphic woodbine or primrose, no daffodils with cups or cowslips with pensive heads. The glowing colours are absent, as is the overall tone of lushness.

Not only does the catalogue in Paradise Lost avoid the more common English wildflowers and colloquial names, but it also avoids the distinctive flowers of the medieval paradise. There is no strawberry, columbine, or lily. Although sources have been suggested for Milton's catalogue,<sup>2</sup> it is not necessary to go further than recognition of the strong influence of classical poetry. It is this sense which leads the reader to the import of the bower, for Milton's catalogue continues the characterization of Eve within the matrix of the classical goddess, employs the emblematic nature of the ancient coronal flowers, and with the aid of the architectural motif creates a symbol of the hierarchical structure of the universe and the place of man and human love in it.

<sup>1</sup>W. Lawrence Thompson, "The Source of the Flower Passage in Lycidas," N & Q, 197 (1 Mar 52), seems alone in suggesting Jonson's Pan's Anniversary as the primary source instead of The Winter's Tale. The best study of Milton's flower passage in Lycidas is Wayne Shumaker's "Flowerets and Sounding Seas: A Study of the Affective Structure of Lycidas," PMLA 66 (1951). See also Henry H. Adams, "The Development of the Flower Passage in Lycidas," MLN 65 (1950) and J.H. Sims, "Perdita's Flowers o' the Spring" and 'Vernal Flowers' in Lycidas," Sh. Q., 22 (1971).

<sup>2</sup>Fowler, Notes, IV. 697-701, suggests that the flowers of Conti's description of the Atlantic Isles may be combined with the crocus and hyacinth of Iliad, XIV. 347-9.

Milton begins with the uncompromisingly classical plants laurel and myrtle, as if to point his reader in the right direction for the passage which follows. Laurel was sacred to Apollo as the plant symbolizing victory and honour, and its codification was so clear and generally acknowledged that it is almost inseparable from the plant. Myrtle, with the rose, is only a little less well established as a coronal plant of Venus. Together they symbolize love and modesty. That the reader is justified in reading Milton's catalogue emblematically is supported by the initial presence of the laurel and by the fact that the myrtle and rose act as a leitmotif throughout the poem. Myrtle and the rose without a thorn are part of the initial description of paradise, where, coupled with the water as a mirror, they clearly point to Venus (IV. 256, 262).<sup>1</sup> Eve is encircled by roses as she binds up the blooms with myrtle bands when Satan begins his fatal attack (IX. 425ff). Earlier (IX. 214-9) when she suggested that she work alone that morning, she told Adam that she would be among the roses and myrtle, while he, equally significantly, wound the woodbine or clasping ivy -- the previously established symbols of the mutual support in marriage which Eve is rejecting.<sup>2</sup> When Eve returns after eating the apple, Adam greets her with a garland of roses, which for the first time wither and drop to the ground (IX. 892-3). Death has entered paradise. The fatal tree is beyond a row of myrtles by a fountain near balm and myrrh, preservative

<sup>1</sup>Fowler, Notes, IV. 262.

<sup>2</sup>See the discussion of the elm and vine as a marriage emblem in PL. V. 215-9 on p. 78.

plants associated with the crucifixion which will soon be necessary.<sup>1</sup>

The symbolism of the other flowers in the catalogue is less stable but admits interpretation within the context. The violet is the emblem of humility, but it was also, because of its purple colour, a funeral flower. The crocus and hyacinth lined the couch of Zeus and Hera (Il. XIV. 347-9). The hyacinth is another funeral flower, but it is also a symbol of prudence.<sup>2</sup> Jasmine, like the iris, is a late addition to the religious iconography of the church. It is the flower of hope and amiability, while the iris is the flower of royalty. In the overall context of the catalogue it is easy to determine which meaning of the violet and hyacinth Milton wished to evoke in the bower of Eden.

It is significant that after the fall the intercourse of Adam and Eve is cushioned only by the violet and hyacinth from the earlier catalogue, their alternate symbolism well to the fore, while the asphodel and pansy are added to the later scene.

So said he, and forbore not glance or toy  
Of amorous intent, well understood  
Of Eve, whose eye darted contagious fire.  
Her hand he seized, and to a shady bank,  
Thick overhead with verdant roof embowered  
He led her nothing loth; flowers were the couch,  
Pansies, and violets, and asphodel,  
And hyacinth, earth's freshest softest lap.

IX. 1034-41.

<sup>1</sup>One cannot help noticing the parallels to the Roman de la Rose in Eve's encirclement by the roses -- the flower in the Roman was guarded so -- and in the description of the fountain as a setting for temptation. The plants are different but each is a private, almost hidden fountain and to the meaning of each the narcissus myth contributes. In P.L. IV. 453f. Eve on first awakening is attracted by her reflection in the pool; in the Roman, the pool is called Narcissus's Well.

<sup>2</sup>Piero Valeriano, Hieroglyphica (Lyons, [1595]), 587.

The presence of death and lust mar their union as the hyacinth and violet now reveal. The violet in a sexual context may suggest the "little death" of sexual exhaustion. The pansy, according to Gerard and Parkinson, was used in the preparation of a standard treatment for syphilis.<sup>1</sup> One of the common names for the pansy was Love-in-Idleness. The hyacinth and the asphodel are both pagan flowers.

The effect of the flower catalogue of the bower scene is to place Eve against a classical backdrop rather than within the context of the medieval paradise with its very close association with Mary, although Milton acknowledges Mary as 'second Eve' (V. 387). In its classical allusions the catalogue continues a pattern of characterization with respect to Eve already established in the poem. It is almost as if Eve is in a sense an extension of the fertile paradisaical landscape which is more significant in its implications than the charm generated by the sympathy of nature and animals for her. Much of Eve's character is sketched by what Patch calls the negative formula developed to convey the ineffable bliss of the paradise landscape.<sup>2</sup> In the literature of paradise the formulation, there is no age, no disease, no cold, etc., is common. In Milton's own poem we read that not the fair field of Enna, nor the grove Daphne nor the Nyseian Isle, nor Mt. Amara could compare with the garden of Eden (IV. 268-85). In much the same way Eve is constantly opposed to the figures of classical myth. Eve is distinguished from Pandora, (IV. 714), Diana (IX. 386f.), and Circe (IX. 522) and compared with

<sup>1</sup>John Gerard, The Herball, 1597, 2 vols., The English Experience, 660 A-B (1974), I. 705; John Parkinson, Paradisi in Sole, 1629, The English Experience, 758 (1975), 283.

<sup>2</sup>Howard Rollin Patch, The Other World (Camb., Mass., 1950), 211.

qualifications to Pales, Pomona, and Ceres. The latter are respectively the goddesses of pasture, fruit, and corn. She is also compared to the matron Juno (IV. 500). Eve's most consistent title is that of mother -- Raphael greets her as "Hail mother of mankind" (V. 388), God's voice calls the newly created woman, "Mother of human race" (IV. 475) and the author describes her as "our general mother" (IV. 492).<sup>1</sup> Behind Eve always lurks the image of Venus Genetrix, there is indeed no place for the lily of virginity in her bower. After her night with Adam she is showered with roses, the flower of Venus. Of course, Eve as Venus Genetrix is not a sufficient explanation of her character, but it is important to recognize the allusion as the initial orientation of Milton's study of Eve. The catalogue of flowers is elevated, severe, and formal; Eve's role in an unfallen paradise is regal, almost ritualistic.

The flower catalogue is shaped by an architectural motif. The roof of laurel and myrtle<sup>2</sup> is supported by walls which form a mosaic of iris, roses, and jasmine, while the doorway is framed by shrubs or 'columns' with an appropriate acanthus decoration. The floor is inlaid with violet, crocus, and hyacinth. The bower is a temple of love for which the ceremonial "Hail wedded love" is perfectly

<sup>1</sup>Satan's initial attack is to alter her title. He greets her as sovereign mistress (IX. 532) and "Empress of this fair world" (IX. 568). After the fall she is compared to Delilah.

<sup>2</sup>Fowler, Notes, IV. 694, suggests that the laurel and myrtle symbolize the complementary male-female roles of reason and virtue. The complementary roles of the sexes are certainly there, but I would argue that laurel remains the symbol of honour rather than reason, for Milton's primary concern at this point in his narrative is to insist on the honourable nature of married sexuality.

appropriate. The contrast between the proportioned and carefully decorated temple and the covert, animal den of the couple's later impetuous passion could not be sharper. Into the temple the descending orders of beasts, bird, insect and worm dared not enter; on the bank of earth, the false worm was already there.

Milton's catalogue is restricted to classical flowers in order to provide a suitable background for Eve as Venus Genetrix. The severity of the description and the carefully promoted emblematic statements of the individual coronal flowers create a temple of love whose materials are the virtues necessary to Christian marriage, honour, modesty, love, prudence, humility, and amiability. Sexual desire is there too, non-prurient and regal and within the context of the blessed fertility of Eve and her garden.

Chapman's flower catalogue in Ovids Banquet of Sence invites attention as a study in miniature of the complexities and ambiguities of the poem as a whole. Like Niobe's statue and the rest of the garden, the bank of flowers is intended as both a temptation and a warning to Ovid and the reader. It is an emblematic statement which requires correct interpretation. Corynna walks toward the fountain of Niobe, past the obelisks of the vengeful Apollo and Artemis to bathe in the silver basin. She casts off her robe, "As lightning breakes out of a laboring cloude; / Or as the Morning heaven casts off the Night, / Or as that heaven cast off it selfe and showde / Heavens upper light."<sup>1</sup> As if unable to continue his hyperbole, Chapman turns to a description of the flowers which surround the basin:

<sup>1</sup>Citations are to The Poems of George Chapman, ed. Phyllis B. Bartlett (1941).



A soft enflowered banck embrac'd the founte;  
 Of Chloris ensignes, an abstracted field;  
 Where grew Melanthy, great in Bees account,  
 Amareus, that precious Balme dooth yeeld,  
     Enameld Pansies, us'd at Nuptials still,  
Dianas arrow, Cupids crimson shielde,  
     Ope-morne, night-shade, and Venus navill,  
 Solemne Violets, hanging head as shamed,  
 And verdant Calamint, for odor famed.

Sacred Nepenthe, purgative of care,  
 And soveraine Rumex that doth rancor kill,  
 Sya, and Hyacinth, that Furies weare,  
 White and red Iessamines, Merry, Melliphill:  
     Fayre Crowne-imperiall, Emperor of Flowers,  
 Immortall Amaranth, white Aphrodill,  
     And cup-like Twillpants, stroude in Bacchus Bowres,  
 These cling about this Natures naked Iem,  
 To taste her sweetes, as Bees doe swarme on them.

St. 9-10.

The overt purpose of the catalogue is to build up to and justify the closing line. However attractive the bank of flowers even they acknowledge Corynna's superior beauty. The beauty of the scene is generated primarily in the ninth stanza through appeals to the senses of touch, smell, and sight. The bank is soft and embraces the fountain. Melanthy, or nigella, attracts bees as would the odor of the amareus, or marjoram, and the calamint. The odors of these plants are almost overpowering, sticky and cloying, and were used in ointments and scent bags. Taste may also be part of the appeal of marjoram and it may be suggested by the bees's presence, although Chapman does not overtly develop this sense. Sight is courted throughout, but particularly in the enameled pansies and the crimson shield of Cupid. The opening of the catalogue presents a scene of deceptive innocence and charm. Chloris, the goddess of spring and new life, rules over the precious, enameled bank.

But the individual flowers contain a warning. Part of the charm of the passage rests in the names of Chapman's plants. He uses the Greek names rather than the harsher sounding 'nigella' and 'marjoram' and even softens Dioscorides's 'melanthium' to 'melanthy'. This less formal note continues in colloquial names such as 'Dianas arrow' and 'ope-morne' and especially in the impertinent 'Twillpants' of stanza 10. But few readers in a passage which so fully endorsed colloquialisms would have failed to supply alternate names for the pansy and nigella too. Nigella damascene was also known as 'love-in-a-mist' and the pansy, as 'love-in-idleness'. Furthermore the familiar violet is the flower of humility, not of shame.

Chapman's evocation of the deities also poses certain problems. The motif of love which the pansy as the nuptial flower introduces is followed by references to Diana, Cupid, and Venus, but the references are not the expected ones. The flower Dianas arrow has not been identified with certainty, but it may be a reference to artemesia or wormwood, a plant sacred to Diana. It was carried by travellers and would have importance here for Ovid's safe journey through the garden. It was also commonly known as motherwort and used in the treatment of female complaints. In the context of the poem it is also certainly a reference to the obelisk of the warrior Diana and the complex symbolism of the Niobe fountain.<sup>1</sup> Cupid, whom one would expect to hold an arrow, instead hides behind a crimson shield. Cupid's dart is catananche caerulea, but Cupid's shield remains an unidentified plant.<sup>2</sup> Chapman joins ope-morne,

<sup>1</sup>See p. 92 above.

<sup>2</sup>Elizabeth Storey Donno, Elizabethan Minor Epics (1963), 210, identifies Cupid's shield as love-in-idleness, a name normally reserved for the pansy. She does not cite her source.

nightshade, and Venus navel in a single line which may deliberately mix metaphors of time and space. Ope-morne and nightshade suggest the beginning and end of a day, perhaps a day of sexual dalliance which ends in the shame of the violet of the next line, but noon does not appear. Instead, Chapman gives the Venus navel, the centre of the human body and possibly a reference to appetites of the belly. Venus navel is a name for the wall pennywort which was used to treat tumours and inflammations. Nightshade, of course, is a well-known deadly poison. Ope-morne has not been identified with certainty because there are too many candidates. Perhaps Chapman has in mind the fragility of the morning glory or even the daisy. All of the flowers of this type, however, close at night, or on cloudy days, and so act as a kind of rural sundial and a reminder of transience. None of Chapman's deities support the romantic idyll quite as they should.

The whole of the catalogue is introduced with the military imagery of Chloris's ensigns. The ensigns, or flowers, however, form an abstracted field; they are removed from their military duties. The confusion of space and time implied in line 7 and the overpowering odors of the scene with its appeal to the lower senses explain this abstraction.

Stanza 10 turns from the appeals of the senses to a deepening of this mood of languor and neglect of duty. It begins with three common physic herbs, nepta or catmint, rumex, or dock, and sya, or

chives.<sup>1</sup> Nepeta was used to treat painful bruises and as a bath oil to promote fertility in women. Garden dock, also known as patience or Monk's rhubarb, was used for many ailments including the sting of serpent or nettle. Chives were also thought to be effective against poison. Chapman draws the reader's attention to the medical virtues of catmint and dock, but he emphasizes only one aspect of them, their slightly narcotic quality. They insulate the ensigns further from their duty. Sya, though in a prominent position at the start of a verse is unqualified. As a physic herb it is linked with catmint and dock but poetically it is grouped with the hyacinth. The funeral hyacinth of the Furies is surprising and intrusive. It is counter to the mood engendered above for Chapman's reading of the herbs guards against such awareness. The reader is invited to rethink their virtues. Dock and chives were used against the bite of serpents, while catmint was used for internal pain. The image of the serpent in the garden of paradise with its full panoply of deception and spiritual death cannot be kept out. The final line of the quatrain returns to the lighter note, but the warning is not yet completely stilled. Jasmine has the distinction of being a plant which requires support but unlike other creepers puts out no tendrils to help itself. It is also the religious emblem of hope. Merry, or the black cherry, is a tree of Venus, while the red cherry

<sup>1</sup>The identification of sya with chives on the basis of the more usual form 'syue' is also made by Donno. The other possible contender is syr or senecio, a variety of groundsel. Its latin name refers to the fact that its yellow flowers wither rapidly. Senecio as a warning against old age also fits in with the other warnings of the catalogue but chives seems more likely when grouped with dock and catmint.

was a popular plant in paintings of the Virgin and paradise. It appears in several panels of the unicorn tapestries. Melliphill or balm was a cure for melancholy. Though a different plant the name balm always carries religious overtones. Following the funeral hyacinth all of the plants have a double purpose. They lead further into the Venesian garden or they point to a spiritual vision.

The argument of Chapman's catalogue develops clearly in three movements. Initially it establishes the attractiveness of the garden and its appeal to the senses of touch, smell, and sight. The central quatrains, the last four lines of Stanza 9 and the opening four lines of Stanza 10, while continuing to enhance the features of the garden, also contain a warning in the altered presentation of the deities with the clear reference to the statues of the Niobe group, the common names of the flowers, and the image of the serpent in the garden suggested by the physic herbs. Even if *sya* is read as *senecio* rather than *chives* the warning stands, for old age precedes the funeral hyacinth and still asks that the earlier physic herbs be read anew.

The final quatrain of the flower catalogue after the density of meaning of the rest surprises the reader by its apparently reduced symbolism. The Crown Imperial was a relatively new flower in England. No medical virtues were attributed to it and it was valued only for its appearance. Chapman's epithet "Emperor of Flowers" is perfectly in keeping with the value placed on its elegance, but in the context certainly tinged with irony. Juxtaposed to the immortal amaranth which Milton with ample precedent placed in paradise, Paradise Lost

III. 353, the suggestion of the hollowness of beauty alone is sharpened. But amaranth was also known as floramour and the catalogue concludes on this theme. The white asphodel was also a fairly recent import.<sup>1</sup> Although its roots could be used as a purge its medical value was slight. It is among the most pagan of flowers. Twillpants has not been identified but in Bacchus's bower it is probably a vine of some sort, honeysuckle perhaps or convolvulus or bryony. The comical name does much to disarm the unwary reader despite the earlier warnings. He may not even notice that taste, one of the lowest senses, closes the catalogue as the reader's attention is directed back to Corynna. The flowers and the physical herbs seem to warn that all things in nature have a proper and an improper use, and Corynna as the fairest flower of all does not escape this warning. The bank of flowers, like the statues and all the features of the garden of nurture, requires an interpreter. Ovid must once again metamorphosize the flowers of the senses into spiritual truths.

The starting point of any serious study of the flower imagery of Herbert's "The Rose" must be D.C. Allen's detailed survey of the sources of rose symbolism,<sup>2</sup> many of which were touched on in the preceding section. Allen identifies Herbert's poem as a revision of Ausonius's "College Rosas" to which three separate strands of symbolism contributed. The classical rose of Venus, a symbol of erotic brevity found in Anacreon, Ovid, Ausonius, and others,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>William Turner, The Names of Herbes 1548, ed. James Britten, et al. (1881; rpt., 1965), 10. Turner writes they grow only in Antwerp, but John Parkinson, Paradisi in Sole, 146, is familiar with them.

<sup>2</sup>Allen, Image and Meaning, 102-14.

<sup>3</sup>Allen cites Anacreon XLIV; Philostratus, Epistolae LV. 34; Horace, Odes II.3.13-14; Ovid, Ars. II.113-16.

the rose without a thorn of paradise from the fathers beginning with St. Ambrose, and the white rose of Mary which was associated with modesty, and the red rose of tragic death in Bion and in Christianity of martyrs like St. Dorothea and, according to Strabo, of Christ. It is against this surfeit of interpretations that Herbert's "The Rose" must be viewed for, like Vaughan in "The Sap", Herbert generates the statement of his poem, not by omitting the conflicting symbolism, but by including it within the poem as Vaughan does with the idea of Old Testament ritual. The various strands of symbolism are advanced by stages of the poem, tested, and then, not rejected, but incorporated into a further level of meaning which transcends and transforms the earlier vision. At the end of the poem nothing has been lost, but all converted into a statement which constitutes the rose's answer, a summary of centuries of interpretation shaped to one end.

The rose was one of the most powerful flower symbols of Catholicism but as Allen's study shows it has built in ambiguities. Herbert could not have manipulated the lily so radically. Even so, as often happened in the Protestant tradition, he is careful not to give his rose body or substance. So insubstantial is the flower that without the title, the metaphorical language of the poem has no key until the fourth stanza, when the reader realizes that roses are pressed, sugared for the table, and of a strict, compact size. Like Vaughan, Herbert establishes a framework with man at the centre -- not a saint or the Virgin Mary -- before he identifies his plant.

Presse me not to take more pleasure  
     In this world of sugred lies,  
 And to use a larger measure  
     Then my strict, yet welcome size.

First, there is no pleasure here:  
     Colour'd griefs indeed there are,  
 Blushing woes, that look as cleare  
     As if they could beautie spare.

Or if such deceits there be,  
     Such delights I meant to say;  
 There are no such things to me,  
     Who have pass'd my right away.

But I will not much oppose  
     Unto what you now advise:  
 Onely take this gentle rose,<sup>1</sup>  
     And therein my answer lies.<sup>1</sup>

By not naming the rose, the poet promotes the transference of symbolic identities between the rose and the speaker who may be a child,<sup>2</sup> the rose itself, or the poet, and the rose and the world. These opening stanzas operate as a unit to establish the rose at once as a symbol of earthly vanity and of the modesty appropriate to God's creatures. 'Sugred', 'colour'd', 'blushing', 'beautie' and the play on 'deceits' / 'delights' belong to the description of worldly vanities and to the classical symbolism of the rose. Herbert avoids a dress parade of the erotic imagery available to him through the flower of Venus and yet he creates an emblem such that "all that worldlings prize / Be contracted to a rose."

But 'press' refers to the speaker as does 'strict, yet welcome size'. The play on 'delights' / 'deceits' refers to the world, but the clumsiness and naivety of expression further characterize the

<sup>1</sup>Citations are to the Poems of George Herbert, text F.E. Hutchinson with intro. by Helen Gardner, The World's Classics (1972).

<sup>2</sup>Allen, 104-5.



speaker. The speaker's relinquishment of his rights, his withdrawal from the world, and his refusal to debate the issue combine with the childlike tone of the first four stanzas to give an impression of innocence and humility. From the multiple symbolism of the rose, the speaker annexes that cluster normally associated with the Christ child.

As the stanza closes it is the rose of humility which occupies the pivotal place in the poem: "Onely take this gentle rose, / And therein my answer lies." The rose which is for the first time here named as a real rose is simultaneously transcended by the rose as the emblem of sacrifice. As the emblem of sacrifice it leads forward into the rest of the poem, but it also leads back to the first four stanzas and focuses their symbolic content. The full implication of "there is no pleasure here" announces itself in the realization that the rose of paradise has throughout been the sounding board of the first half of Herbert's poem. The pagan rose is not so much opposed to the rose of paradise -- the speaker will not argue -- as superseded by it. The suggestion of an opposition between the symbolism of the white rose of Mary and the red rose of Venus, which might well have led into overt Marian symbolism is circumvented at the crucial moment of sacrifice. Whatever impetus the cluster of erotic imagery normally associated with the rose of Venus might have given to the reader's awareness of its opposite in Marian symbolism, Herbert, as already noted, avoided almost entirely.

In the second half of his poem, Herbert turns to the physical virtues of the rose.

What is fairer then a rose?  
 What is sweeter? yet it purgeth.  
 Purgings enmitie disclose,  
 Enmitie forbearance urgeth.

If then all that worldlings prize  
 Be contracted to a rose;  
 Sweetly there indeed it lies,  
 But it biteth in the close.

So this flower doth judge and sentence  
 Worldly joyes to be a scourge:  
 For they all produce repentance,  
 And repentance is a purge.

But I health, not physick choose:  
 Onely though I you oppose,  
 Say that fairly I refuse,  
 For my answer is a rose.

In these stanzas the rose is the pagan rose of worldly prizes which must be purged and the rose of Christ as sacrifice and judge. The stages of the Christian lesson occupy the last half of the poem -- sacrifice, repentance, judgment.

Herbert's poem creates an environment in which the separate, traditional systems of the rose, with that of Mary carefully controlled, coalesce in a vision of the beauty and fragility of temporal life enveloped and transformed by the Christian miracle which leads to paradise. In the speaker's silence there is an allusion to the rose as symbol of secrecy.<sup>1</sup> The expression "to speak under the rose" becomes a conceit underlying a poem whose answer is the rose itself. The rose is the answer for in its dumb symbolism it subsumes the divergent potentialities of man, man as earthling and man as Christ.

The shepherds's festival with its gifts of flowers in The Winter's Tale, IV.iv. 113ff., has long been recognized as an important

<sup>1</sup>For a contemporary description of the rose as a sign of secrecy see Sir Thomas Browne, Pseudoxia Epidemica, in Works, II, 385-6.

Shakespearian contribution to the nature versus art debate.<sup>1</sup> Perdita's rejection of streaked gillyflowers as nature's bastards is an ironic commentary on the proposed marriage between Prince Florizel and the supposed country girl, while the nature-nurture theme finds a comic twist in the costume changes of Autolycus, the Clown, and Shepherd. Polixenes sees the creation of the streaked gillyflower as an extension of the processes of nature, while the discussion of the statue of Hermione continues the theme of art as an imitation of nature.

But what is important here is not how closely art can imitate nature or her processes, but the teleology of mimesis and the role of art in man's spiritual progress. The Winter's Tale is primarily an exploration of the organizing power of art applied to the natural continuum between the grotesques of Autolycus's ballads on the one hand and the miracles of resurrection whether spiritual (Leontes) or 'physical' (Hermione) on the other. The one evokes comic laughter or horror, and the other our deepest feelings of wonder and love. Between these extremes rests the normal miracle of seasonal renewal as expressed in the pastoral scene, the birth of Perdita, and the promise of continuity through her marriage to Florizel. In this continuum art as the accurate imitation of fact is irrelevant.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See particularly Harold S. Wilson, "Nature and Art in The Winter's Tale," Sh. Assoc. Bull., 18 (1943).

<sup>2</sup>Rosalie Colie, Shakespeare's Living Art (Princeton, N.J., 1974), 281, in her discussion of The Winter's Tale as an exploration of the pastoral mode and tragicomic form also concludes that Shakespeare was making fun of the whole doctrine of mimesis.

The play itself is only an old winter's tale, Guilo Romano's work is marvelous, but in fact the statue is not his work. Shakespeare even denies to his audience the normal expectations of formal tragedy, comedy, and pastoral. Rather art is man's conscious, rational promotion of order in accordance with the forms and rhythms of nature under the aspect of time. When Perdita gives Polixenes and Camillo the flowers of winter and rue and rosemary as suitable to their time of life, she reminds the audience of these rhythms and she then recapitulates the emblematic scheme of universal history, the ages of man, which underlies the whole play.<sup>1</sup> It is this scheme which translates the action of the play to the plane of symbolism beyond the restrictions of ordinary realism and even of romance, and provides the continuity of mode and value seemingly disrupted by Shakespeare's surface sport with dramatic forms.

In the previous section I tried to show how flowers entered the encyclopedias and hexameral treatises through the motif of spring in the cycle of the seasons and in the descriptions of the third day of creation. The four seasons were matched with the four ages of man as early as the Pythagoreans.<sup>2</sup> In the encyclopedias sections

<sup>1</sup>The ages of man scheme in The Winter's Tale is touched on by W.O. Scott, "Seasons and Flowers in The Winter's Tale," Sh. Q., 14 (1963). More important is F.W. Bateson's "How Old Was Leontes," E & S, n.s., 31 (1978) which links the scheme of the four ages with Shakespeare's forty-fifth birthday in April, 1609. Alastair Fowler, "Leontes' Contrition and the Repair of Nature," E & S, n.s., 31 (1978), comments on the number symbolism of the play and touches on the ages of man in passing. Inga-Stina Ewbank, "The Triumph of Time," REL, 5 (1964) provides an interesting discussion of the theme "temporis filia veritas."

<sup>2</sup>Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, Saturn and Melancholy (1964), 10.

on the four seasons are accompanied by sections describing the four or seven ages of man's history. St. Augustine was the first to match the seven ages of man with the seven days of creation. He was followed by Isidore, Bede, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, Abelard, and others.<sup>1</sup> In Bede's De temporibus liber,<sup>2</sup> the first age, infancy, corresponds to the period of time from Adam to Noah; the second age, childhood, from the flood to Abraham. It is marked by the development of language. The third age from Abraham to David is adolescence, a time of procreation with Abraham as the patriarchal figure. The fourth age from David till the captivity in Babylon corresponds to the time of kings, Solomon, David, and Romulus among others. The fifth age senectus witnesses the advent of Christ and the decline of the Hebrews. The sixth age aetas decrepita is the approach to death -- "Reliquum sextae aetatis Deo soli patet."<sup>3</sup>

The four seasons and the four or seven ages of history were linked to the microcosm of men through the four qualities of the elements. Already the basis of medical practice in Galen's time, in the middle ages these qualities were also used to evolve a theory of human psychology. Bede summarizes the various systems in De temporum ratione:

<sup>1</sup>Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity (1935; rpt., N.Y., 1965), 180.

<sup>2</sup>Bede, De temporibus liber in Scientific Tracts and Appendix, The Complete Works of the Venerable Bede, VI, ed. The Rev. J.A. Giles (1843), 132.

<sup>3</sup>Bede, 138.

Terra namque sicca et frigida: aqua frigida et humida: aer humidus et calidus, ignis est calidus et siccus: ideoque haec autumno, illa hyemi: iste veri, ille comparatur aestati. Sed et homo ipse, qui a sapientibus microcosmos, id est, minor mundus appellatur, iisdem per omnia qualitibus habet temperatum corpus, imitantibus nimirum singulis iis, quibus constant humoribus, modum temporum quibus maxime pollet. Sanguis siquidem qui vere crescit, humidus et calidus. Cholera rubea, quae aestate, calida et sicca. Cholera nigra, quae autumno, sicca et frigida. Phlegmata, quae hyeme, frigida sunt et humida. Et quidem sanguis in infantibus maxime viget, in adolescentibus cholera rubea, melancholia in transgressoribus, id est, fel cum faece nigri sanguinis admixtum, phlegmata dominantur in senibus. Item sanguis eos, in quibus maxime pollet, facit hilares, laetos, misericordes, multum ridentes et loquentes. Cholera vero rubea, facit macilentos, multum tamen comedentes, veloces, audaces, iracundos, agiles. Nigra bilis, stabiles, graves compositos moribus, dolososque facit. Phlegmata, tardos, somnolentos, obliviosos generant.<sup>1</sup>

Bede's redaction is standard, but the psychological system having appeared late continued to develop. In the twelfth century writers like Hugo St. Victor gave to the temperaments a moralistic interpretation which easily aligned them with the virtues and vices.<sup>2</sup> By the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries equations were sufficiently standard to be disseminated in mnemonic and vernacular verses<sup>3</sup> and in the fifteenth century led to the development of

<sup>1</sup>Bede, 218.

<sup>2</sup>Klibansky, 106-9; 300-303. Another line of development is found in the work of St. Ambrose. Ptolemy had early matched the seven ages with the seven planets. St. Ambrose further related the planets to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and others added the seven Beatitudes. See Klibansky, 163-7. Franz Boll, *Die Lebensalter* (Leipzig, 1913), 30-2, traces the equation of the seven planets and seven ages through Ptolemy, Proclus, Hermes's translation of the Greek text of Abû Ma'şar, Hesiod, Aristotle, and Horaz.

<sup>3</sup>Klibansky, 114-6.

standard illustrations. The illustrations of the humours as single figures, which developed from pictures of the seasons and occupations,<sup>1</sup> joined psychological type, occupation, season, and age and often included the elements as well.

While flowers did not attain the status accorded other features of the equations, they nevertheless were not unknown in the schemes. The association of flowers with the equations was possible because of the seasonal motif, the use of colour symbolism in humoral descriptions as in Bede, and because individual plants had early been assigned the qualities of hot, cold, moist, or dry in medical treatises and constituted the bulk of early pharmacopeia. The qualities of the plants contributed to the determination of prescriptions for diseases ascribed to the imbalance of the humours. Durer's "Melancholia I" depicts a seated figure with a wreath of water parsley and watercress around her head. Both were antidotes for melancholy.<sup>2</sup> The frontispiece of Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy included labeled pictures of borage and hellebore in the bottom corners. John Ferne's The Blazon of Gentry, 1586, incorporates flowers in a series of charts whose material is familiar from the medievalists. Since his concern is heraldry he begins with colour instead of temperament, but the equations are all there.

<sup>1</sup> Klibansky, 293.

<sup>2</sup> Klibansky, 325.

The l. cullor is yellow, & signifieth in	1	Planets.	The Sunne.
	2	Precious stones.	Topazion & Chrysolith.
	3	Vertues.	Faith & Constancy.
	4	Celestiall signes.	The Lion.
	5	Months.	July
	6	Days of the week.	Sunday
	7	Ages of Man.	Yong age of adolescentia. <u>From 14. till 20. yeeres.</u>
	8	Flowres.	The Marygold.
	9	Elements.	Ayre.
	10	Sesons of the yeer	Spring time.
	11	Complexions	Sanguine.
	12	Numbers.	1.2.3.
	13	Mettailles.	Gold. <sup>1</sup>

Flowers appear in each of the charts Ferne gives for seven colours, inseparably associated with the seasons, planets, temperaments, and ages of man. The equation of flower, season, and the ages of man appears as late as William Prynne's Mount-Orgueil, 1641:

Each garden in the yeares foure seasons paints  
Forth to our eyes, and us full well acquaints  
With mans foure ages, which does comprehend  
The whole race of his life, untill it end.  
In spring time they depaint our infancie,  
And younger yeares: in summer they descry  
Our youthfull flowring age. In Autumne they  
Our riper yeares, and drooping age display;  
In winter when they shriveled, naked are,  
And all amort, decayd: they then declare <sup>2</sup>  
Our old decrepid, withered, dying yeares...

The above has been an attempt to sketch briefly the extension of the scheme of the ages of man into the areas of astrology, medicine, colour, and flower symbolism. I have not tried to distinguish among the several separate schemes of the ages of man, Ptolemaic, Hippocratic, and Talmudic, based on the number seven, and others again

<sup>1</sup>John Ferne, The Blazon of Gentry, 1586, *The English Experience*, 513 (1973), 169. I owe the reference to Ferne to The Winter's Tale, A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, ed. H.H. Furness (Philadelphia, Pa., 1898), XI. 195. n. 126. Furness notes the flower is related to the items on Ferne's chart, but does not explain further.

<sup>2</sup>Prynne, 143.



based on the number four or ten, all of which had their dedicated supporters. The distinctions among them are precise, but complex, and would require both more knowledge than I have and more space than I can justify in the present context.<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare used the Ptolemaic system in As You Like It,<sup>2</sup> and the use of 23 and 14<sup>3</sup> and the many references to planetary influence<sup>4</sup> suggest it may be the underlying system of The Winter's Tale too. Nor have I tried to locate a specific source for aspects of the scheme in The Winter's Tale.<sup>5</sup> For the moment it suffices to recognize that schemes of the ages of man were current and common lore and that Shakespeare's association of flower symbolism with such a scheme at the pivotal moment of his play was not arbitrary.

In The Winter's Tale Shakespeare goes to exceptional lengths from the first to ensure that his audience is aware that a scheme of the ages of man underlies the action. He opens the play with a discussion between Archidamus and Camillo about Leontes -- the very name is significant -- and Polixenes. Within a few short lines Shakespeare compresses references to the seasons of winter and summer, the ages of man, childhood and maturity, and the duties of kingship appropriate

<sup>1</sup>The interested reader is referred to the studies already mentioned by Klibansky, Boas, and Boll.

<sup>2</sup>Jacques's speech, II.vii. 143.66. See Boll, 43-7, Klibansky, 194.n.74.

<sup>3</sup>I.ii.155, II.iii.199, III.iii.59-60, and II.i.147.

<sup>4</sup>I.ii.427, I.ii.201, I.ii.363, II.i.105-7, III.iii.5, IV.iii.25, IV.iv.443-5.

<sup>5</sup>Samuel C. Chew, The Pilgrimage of Life (New Haven, Conn., 1962), 144-73, describes several of the literary and pictorial treatments of various schemes of the ages of man in the Renaissance. His descriptions include the treatment in Ovid's Metamorphoses as translated by Golding and Sandys and schemes in the work of Thomas Tusser, Sir Thomas More, Sir Walter Raleigh, Francis Quarles, Stephen Bateman, William Vaughan, and La Perrière. His most important omission is the Hieroglyphica of Valeriano. Specific sources for Jacques's speech are suggested in Josephine W. Bennett, "Jacques' Seven Ages," *Sh. Assoc. Bull.*, 18 (1943) and A.H. Gilbert, "Jacques' 'Seven Ages' and Censorinus," MLN, 55 (1940).

to the latter. Lest he miss any chance the scene closes with the stock figure of old age leaning on a crutch:

Cam. I very well agree with you in the hopes of him:  
It is a gallant child; one that, indeed, physics the  
subject, makes old hearts fresh: they that went on  
crutches ere he was born desire yet their life to see  
him a man.<sup>1</sup>

I.i.37-40.

Act I.ii continues the preoccupation with time and its occupations. The mature Polixenes would go home to attend to his kingdom. His discussion with Hermione of the innocence of his boyhood is followed by that of the erotic temptations of early manhood. Childhood, youth, and manhood, each age has its proper activities. Polixenes sees his son in the roles of parasite, soldier, and statesman (I.ii.168).

By the end of Act II Shakespeare is so confident that his audience has recognized the scheme of the ages of man as the intellectual basis of his play that he can use it for comedy. Shakespeare wittily inverts the standard group representation of choler when Paulina 'beats' her husband Antigonus in her impassioned interview with Leontes (II.iii.90-1).

The equations associated with the ages of man permeate The Winter's Tale in the ever prevalent imagery of humoral disease with its related psychology, in the references to the planets and seasons, in recollections of the standard illustrations, in precise numerical statements, and in the representation of each of the separate ages except the seventh by a leading character. The seventh age is provided for in the imagery of Camillo quoted above and the outraged speech of Polixenes at the shepherds's festival:

<sup>1</sup>Citations are to The Winter's Tale, ed. J.H.P. Pafford, The Arden Edition (1963).

Methinks a father  
 Is at the nuptial of his son a guest  
 That best becomes the table. Pray you once more,  
 Is not your father grown incapable  
 Of reasonable affairs? is he not stupid  
 With age and alt'ring rheums. can he speak? hear?  
 Know man from man? dispute his own estate?  
 Lies he not bed-rid? and again does nothing  
 But what he did being childish?

IV.iv.395-403.

So thoroughly does the scheme of the ages of man underlie The Winter's Tale that it is possible to chart the various equations (see p. 288).

The character of Florizel, the youthful hunter with falcon of the spring landscape, is almost too purely an illustration of type. He is the lover who would "apprehend / Nothing but jollity" (IV.iv.25-6) and be "red with mirth" (IV.iv.54), whose partner is Flora, and who would pair like the turtledove of Venus (IV.iv.154). The shepherd's rude complaint about adolescentia is a welcome caustic:

I would there were no age between ten and three-  
 and-twenty, or that youth would sleep out the rest;  
 for there is nothing in the between but getting  
 wenches with child, wronging the ancientry,  
 stealing, fighting...

III.iii.59-63.

PLANET	AGES	DESCRIPTION	AGE <sup>1</sup>	CHARACTER	SEASON	COLOUR	HUMOUR	ILLUSTRATION
1 Luna	1-4	<u>Infantia</u>		Perdita				Child with top (II.i.103)
2 Mercury	5-14	<u>Pueritia</u>	5	Mamillius				
3 Venus	15-22	<u>Adolescentia</u>	21	Florizel	Spring (V.i.151) (IV.iv. 116ff)	Red (IV.iv. 54)	Blood (IV.iii. 1-4)	Hunter with falcon (IV.iv.15) Dove(IV.iv.154)
4 Sol	23-41	<u>Juventus</u>						Man with open purse (Reversed - Autolycus's activities)
5 Mars	42-56	<u>Virilis aetas</u>	28	Leo./Pol. (I-III)	Summer	Yellow (II.iii. 106; I. ii.325)	Yellow Bile	Man beating wife (Reversed - II.iii.91)
6 (Jupiter) <sup>2</sup> Saturn	57-68	<u>Senilis aetas</u>	44	Leo./Pol. (IV-V) Camillo, (Antigonus) Shepherd	Autumn	Black	Black Bile	
7 Saturn	69-	<u>Senectu et decrepita</u>			Winter	White (IV.iii. 1-4; IV. iv.403)	Phlegm	Old man on crutch (I.i.40,44-5)

HUMOUR	TEMPERAMENT	CHARACTERISTICS ACCORDING TO BEDE <sup>3</sup>
Blood	Sanguine	<u>Hilares, laetos, misericordes, ridentes loquentes</u>
Yellow Bile	Choleric	<u>Macilentos, comedentes, veloces, audaces, iracundos</u>
Black Bile	Melancholic	<u>Stabiles, graves, compositos moribus, dolososque</u>
Phlegm	Phlegmatic	<u>Taros, somnolentos, obliviosos</u>

<sup>1</sup>Leontes and Polixenes were as "twinn'd lambs" (I.ii.67). When Leontes wishes he could be 21 again to pair with Florizel as he did with his father (V.i.125), the implication is that Florizel is 21. This age accords with Florizel's intention to marry soon and enter the first period of maturity, 23-41. Leontes says he is twenty-three years older than Mamillius (I.ii.155), who is the same age as Florizel (V.i.117). Sixteen years pass between Act III and Act IV. If one objects that this reading of 'twinn'd' is too literal, the two ages of Leontes's life still fall between 28-37 and 44-53, calculated from the period of pueritia, 5-14, and remain clearly within the Ptolemaic periods.

<sup>2</sup>The usual planet of the sixth age is Jupiter whose temperament is sanguine. Shakespeare does not directly identify a planetary influence in Act V, but the psychology of Leontes seems to accord with that of the melancholic. See the discussion below p. 295.

<sup>3</sup>Bede, De temporum rationale, quoted above p. 282.

Shakespeare's study of Leontes is a study in diseased psychology as interpreted by humoral medicine. When Paulina offers the baby Perdita to Leontes as the print and copy of her father, she asks,

And thou, good goddess Nature, which hast made it  
So like to him that got it, if thou hast  
The ordering of the mind too, 'mongst all colours  
No yellow in 't, lest she suspect, as he does,  
Her children not her husband's!

II.iii.103-7

Yellow is the colour of jealousy and in the order of the mind yellow bile is the humour associated with cholera, summer, and the irascible temper of the suspicious man. Leontes, whose period of life is juventus, should be under the influence of Sol, but as in Jacques's speech in As You Like It, Shakespeare omits the usual equation of the fourth age with the sun. In one of the major ironies of the play Leontes appeals to Apollo, the sun god, but then refuses to be influenced by the oracle. As he should at this period of his life he turns to law, but the court trial of Hermione is a parody of justice. His justice has become violence (II.i.127-8); his government, jealous tyranny (II.iii.119, III.ii.31, III.ii.133, III.ii.5), for all men are liars (II.iii.145). The justice and moderation attendant on kingship and maturity are overcome by Leontes's "diseased opinion" (I.ii.297). He admits to tremor cordis (I.ii.110) and Hermione understands that,

There's some ill planet reigns:  
I must be patient till the heavens look  
With an aspect more favorable.

II.ii.105-7.

Leontes is under the choleric influence of Mars in Acts I, II, and III.

The flowers presented during the shepherds's festival are given extended treatment by Shakespeare because they summarize the equations of the ages of man scheme at the climax of the play and suggest that fault on Leontes's part which puts him out of phase with those equations. The summary is helpful too in preceeding the episode of Polixenes's anger with Florizel, an episode which offers a parallel to the earlier injustices.

Perdita offers Camillo and Polixenes rosemary and rue for these keep "seeming and savour all the winter long: / Grace and remembrance be to you both" (IV.iv.74-6). Grace is appropriate to both men while rosemary as the flower of remembrance and friendship is a particularly poignant offering. But in so far as they are flowers of winter they are really only applicable to Camillo, whom Polixenes has long regarded with the respect due a father. Both men are in disguise and it is not clear whether Polixenes's white beard (IV.iv.405) is part of that disguise. When Polixenes congratulates her for suiting their age with flowers of winter Perdita explains apologetically that she cannot give the carnations and streaked gillyflowers of summer for they are nature's bastards. In an effort to please Polixenes she turns to the herbs of late summer suitable to middle age. She hesitates because lavender, mints, savory, marjoram, and the pot marigold are hot in quality. By giving them to Polixenes, Shakespeare reminds his audience of Leontes's choler and its issue and foreshadows the distemper of Polixenes with his son Florizel. When Camillo says he could live by gazing at her beauty, Perdita asserts her recognition of his greater age. He would then, she says, be lean and blown by the

blasts of January, a reference to Boreas and the winter and to Camillo's near approach to the seventh age.

When Polixenes explains that the streaked gillyflowers are created by art using the processes of nature, Perdita agrees that 'the art itself is nature' (97), but she still refuses to plant streaked flowers. Perdita's objection is not to art, but to that art which forces nature. She herself uses art in her costume as Flora and in the selection and arrangement of flowers for her guests. Her concern always is with suitability or decorum. The equations of the scheme of the ages of man which underlie this scene and the play as a whole are treated prescriptively rather than descriptively.

The last flowers Perdita would offer, if they were available, are the flowers of spring to Florizel, Mopsa, and the other girls. They are suitable to their youth, gaiety, and virginity.

O Proserpina,  
 For the flowers now that, frightened, thou let'st fall  
 From Dis's wagon! daffodils,  
 That come before the swallow dares, and take  
 The winds of March with beauty; violets, dim  
 But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes  
 Or Cytherea's breath; pale primroses,  
 That die unmarried, ere they can behold  
 Bright Phoebus in his strength (a malady  
 Most incident to maids); bold oxlips and  
 The crown imperial; lilies of all kinds,  
 The flower-de-luce being one.

IV.iv.116-27.

Shakespeare organizes his catalogue to illuminate the several themes of his play in a counterpoint to the legend of Proserpina.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>E.A.J. Honigmann, "Secondary Sources of The Winter's Tale," PQ, 34 (1955), 37-8, suggests Shakespeare changed the pastoral country to reinforce the references to the Proserpina myth. Ceres (Hermione) was Queen of Sicily.

Daffodils, violets, and primroses, spring flowers normally used to supply the theme of youth, love, and the fragility of beauty, do so here, but within a time scheme which is forced on the reader's attention. The daffodils come breathtakingly early, the primroses die too soon. Impatience is a characteristic of spring flowers, youth, and maids. 'Bright Phoebus' is an astrological reference here and brings the catalogue into focus with the scheme of the ages of man. The young summer of Sol is the only age Shakespeare omits in The Winter's Tale. The stock illustration of Sol was a picture of a man with an open purse symbolizing generosity. Instead Shakespeare gives his audience the cut purse Autolycus who was littered under Mercury, the thief (IV.iii.25), and who thrives as commoner and disguised courtier. The sun is the centre of the universe and its absence from Leontes's kingdom is a serious one. In the flower catalogue the allusion to Sol is followed by the flowers of summer, oxlips, crown imperial, lilies, and the flower-de-luce.<sup>1</sup> The crown imperial and the flower-de-luce as the emblem of France, whether correctly identified as a species of the iris or as a lily, introduce the occupation of kingship, one of the activities sometimes associated with Sol.

The classical theme of seasonal renewal normally included the theme of death as it does here in the primroses, but Shakespeare also isolates the theme in the next lines and, despite Florizel's frivolity, it shocks.

<sup>1</sup>Francis A. Yates, Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (1975), 216-8, associates the roses, pansies, honeysuckle, and cowslips of Queen Elizabeth's gown in the Rainbow Portrait with the eternal spring of the Golden Age and Astraea's reign on earth as justice. While not the equation of Shakespeare's play, the example is a reminder that such associations were made.



O, these I lack,  
 To make you garlands of; and my sweet friend,  
 To strew him o'er and o'er!

Flo. What, like a corpse?

Per. No, like a bank, for love to lie and play on:  
 Not like a corpse; or if -- not to be buried,  
 But quick, and in mine arms.

IV.iv.127-32.

The Proserpina myth of spring finds its counterpart in death and winter, Ceres's revenge, just as Perdita's happiness has its counterpart in the sufferings of Hermione 'frozen' into marble, while seasonal renewal finds expression in the children of Leontes and Polixenes as well as in the flowers of spring. But the Proserpina theme operates within the larger scheme of the ages of man and their occupations. The art of living in harmony with nature, the fulfilment of each season's function, is the lesson to which the flowers of the shepherds' festival point.

This lesson of decorum at the heart of the nature-nurture debate is developed in the theme of grace which runs through the play and with which the flower scene began. Rue as the herb of grace is appropriate to her guests for grace is the crowning virtue of decorum and maturity. In Act I.ii we begin to understand in what way this is true. When Polixenes completes the outline of the ages and their occupations begun by Camillo and Archidamus, Hermione follows with a triple play on the word 'grace'. To Hermione's sally about the erotic misdemeanors of his and Leontes's youth, Polixenes's complimentary reply wittily turns the jest back to the two wives. Hermione's 'Grace to boot' (80) recognizes the aptness of his language. Having learned that she has persuaded Polixenes to stay, Leontes says she spoke to the purpose once before. Hermione hopes that occasion is a

sister to the present good deed, 'O would her name were Grace' (99), that is, an action equally becoming and praiseworthy. Leontes refers to her acceptance of his marriage proposal which to Hermione 'Tis Grace indeed' (105). It is with irony that in Act II.i.122, Hermione goes to prison for her 'better grace.' When she 'returns' to life her first speech is to ask the gods to pour graces on her daughter's head (V.iii.122-3). Grace is used in jest and earnest, but in each case it is marked by the quality of suitability and it brings honour. A similar sense of suitability or measure animates Elyot's definition of maturity in The Govenor, 1531. Maturity, he writes, is translated to the acts of man when "they be done with such moderation that nothing in the doing may be seen superfluous or indigent.... As he [Octavius Augustus] should have said, do neither too much, nor too little, too soon nor too late, too swiftly nor slowly, but in due time and measure."<sup>1</sup> Such maturity with its accompanying mark of grace should characterize Leontes's time of life and his kingship. Instead, he is choleric and the equations of the ages of man are askew because Leontes spurns the heart of the universe, the sun.

In Act V the meaning of 'grace' is enlarged by Leontes's progression through repentance, suffering, and forgiveness. Although, as Northrop Frye points out, Hermione's grace is only a secular analogy of theological grace,<sup>2</sup> there is no mistaking the religious

<sup>1</sup>Sir Thomas Elyot, The Book named the Govenor 1531, ed. S.E. Lehmborg (1962), 80-1.

<sup>2</sup>Northrop Frye, Fables of Identity (1963), 110. See also the discussion of grace in Fowler, op. cit.; S.L. Bethel, The Winter's Tale: A Study (n.d.), remains the standard interpretation of the Christian content of the play. M.M. Mahood reads it as a morality play in "The Winter's Tale," rpt. in Shakespeare The Winter's Tale A Casebook, ed. Kenneth Muir (1968).

connotations of Leontes's acts which Cloemenes calls a 'saint-like sorrow' (V.i.2) for which the heavens have forgiven his trespass. Love is again operable in Leontes's kingdom. Although he is now past the stage of juventus, there is hope in the character of Florizel who approaches that phase. The iconographical purity of Florizel's presentation is justified in a play which begins with the promise of a prince and ends with its approaching fulfilment, but which never allows its realization on the stage.<sup>1</sup> The beauty and perfection of the spring, Florizel, anticipates the weightier splendor of the reign of Sol he will usher in.

Leontes in Act V achieves a condition of grace which Shakespeare harmonizes with humoral psychology. Shakespeare does not identify a planetary influence in Act V, but the qualities displayed by Leontes seem to be the better aspects of melancholy, particularly those aspects the Renaissance associated with the contemplative, holy life. Although Leontes's retreat is limited by his kingship, the desire for power associated with Jupiter, the usual planet of the sixth age, is absent. The active agent in Act V is Paulina. It is possible, however, that Leontes displays the combined characteristics of Saturn and Jupiter rather than those of Saturn alone.<sup>2</sup> Leontes is sad, grave, and constant. He refuses a new wife and in response to Florizel's appeal promises to act according to the dictates of justice and honour.

<sup>1</sup>Florizel's disguise as the "golden Apollo" (IV.iv.30) is a witty and prophetic statement.

<sup>2</sup>See Klibansky, 271-2, 278, for Jupiter as a corrective influence to that of Saturn. Klibansky and Panofsky's book gives the most complete portrait of Saturn's binary nature, while descriptions of Jupiter can be found in Boll, 34, and Lynn Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science (N.Y., 1923), II, 834.

Reflection and measure equally direct his course.

Leontes has learned the lesson of art as exemplified by the strange events of an old winter's tale and the emblematic scheme of the ages of man. For Shakespeare art is larger than the issues of paragone debated by Polixenes and Perdita. All men are artists in so far as they consciously shape their own spiritual progress in accordance with the natural order. Art is an essential decorum and the resulting harmony of art and nature is abiding grace. While deliberately tilting at the expected forms of surface imitation in The Winter's Tale, Shakespeare still achieves the miracle of art, the convincing revelation of a truth of human experience.

I have no doubt that a longer examination and one more knowledgeable in the schemes of the ages of man would record additional illuminating data of the scheme in The Winter's Tale and particularly further evidence of comedy and wit. References to the visual tradition of this scheme -- Camillo's description of the old man on crutches, Paulina's marital assault, Florizel as youth with falcon, Autolycus and his purse, Father Time himself -- insist on the symbolic mode of the play and justify further interpretations. For example, the influence of the watery planet Luna, a planet sometimes assigned to the last age as well as to the first, clearly plays a role in the play and suggests additional reflections about Leontes's diseased character. Antigonus's bear as an emblem of rage is very probably part of the scheme as is the lion of 'Leontes' and the calf of Mamillius. But enough has been said to support the thesis of the present chapter that flower symbolism is important in Renaissance

poetry and that it can provide an unexpectedly valuable tool, one which may lead to other complexities of thought.

Flower symbolism, encouraged by coronary gardens, the ubiquitous presence of flowers in public and private life, and the dissemination of coronary material in classical and medieval texts, provided a viable resource for writers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although a comparatively minor item among the intellectual resources of the age, its deployment in the four works examined above illustrates its development in the hands of the better poets into a tool of the imagination which possesses unexpected scope and cogency. Milton uses the classical flowers of the bower in paradise to characterize Eve as a Christian Venus Genetrix. He uses coronal symbolism to enumerate the virtues of marriage and with the architectural motif constructs a temple which at once celebrates human love and insists on man's place in the hierarchy of creation. Chapman turns to colloquialisms and medical lore to create in the bank of flowers surrounding Corynna's basin a two-sided emblem of paradise and the profane garden. It is up to Ovid to translate the material of the senses into truth through the furor divinès or to succumb to their narcotic effect on the soul. In Herbert's poem the separate and conflicting interpretations of the rose are played off one against the other to describe the human condition and its resolution in the events of the New Testament. Finally, Shakespeare uses flower symbolism to remind his reader of a related system, the ages of man, and to locate the nature-nurture debate within that scheme at a pivotal moment in The Winter's Tale. Although simple equations of flower symbolism may be found in the ballads and in certain religious

contexts, the better poets use it creatively to embody complex ideas and experiences.

To identify the system of flower imagery operating in a poem is not to achieve a reading of that poem. The discrete items of flower imagery may operate within a system of interpretation such as the flowers of paradise or the classical spring catalogue but that system is in turn subordinated, amplified, or qualified by other systems. The flower imagery of the better poets always incorporates multiple references whether to number or colour symbolism, medicine, religious exegesis, classical poetry, or unexpected schemes such as the ages of man. It is revealing that one of the major sources of flower symbolism, the iconographical handbooks, like Giraldi's De deis gentium syntagmata or Ripa's Iconologia, are indexed for ease of reference by deity, quality, virtue, or even place, but very seldom by the supporting flower symbol.

There was no language of flowers in the Renaissance if that phrase is used at all precisely, but there were systems of flower symbolism available to poets in classical, medieval, and contemporary sources. These systems were stable in the sense that they contained a certain number of primary flowers with a clear range of symbolism. In some cases, such as the Marian cult or the ancient coronal trees, this symbolism was fairly well codified. But the systems were open in the sense that other flowers could be introduced provided they did not violate the range of associations established by the previous equations of the system. English wild flowers were readily incorporated into spring catalogues, and the tulip joined Marian symbolism in Partheneia Sacra.

The multiple accretions of flower symbolism offered the poet a specialized vocabulary shared with his reader, but the poem itself supplies the defining grammar. Familiarity with the various sources of flower symbolism prepares the reader by giving him a glimpse of one of the tools the poet used and by increasing his awareness of possibilities and limitations in one area of poetic statement. Although in the notes which Sir Thomas Browne prepared for John Evelyn in 1659/60, he writes that coronary garlands are not now framed according to mystical or symbolical considerations but for decoration only,<sup>1</sup> in The Garden of Cyrus, 1658, he could explore the number symbolism of plants to ingenious lengths. Flower symbolism was not often a viable vehicle for the imaginative embodiment of ideas after 1650, but to ignore this tool in the earlier period is to limit the reader's responsiveness to the poems which use it.

<sup>1</sup>Browne, Works, III, 50.

## CHAPTER IV: THE GARDEN AS THEATRE

The Teatro Mediceo at the Uffizi in Florence was built by Bernardo Buontalenti in 1585. A contemporary describes it as a large hall lighted by twenty-four pyramids, painted to resemble stone and bronze and topped by vases of painted marble holding torches. A row of pilasters of painted marble encircled the whole theatre as a balcony. Among these pilasters were ten fountains of painted marble and gold each supporting a figure of a child. From the pilasters rose flowering myrtles and above these a variety of fruit trees, some in flower and some in fruit. Among the plants, rabbits, hares, and birds were depicted so that they seemed to move. "Nature, in the opinion of the onlookers, had been bettered by Art...this whole balustrade represented a garden lovelier and more charming than anyone had ever seen or imagined."<sup>1</sup> The garden design of the Teatro Mediceo is unusual only in the quality of its accomplishment. History recorded the garden as the locus of classical theatre, and Vitruvius, V.ix.5, supported this propinquity when he urged that the space between the colonnades of the theatre be open to the sky and planted with green things since these conditions were particularly healthy to the eye.<sup>2</sup>

The Renaissance recognized the relationship between the theatre and the garden in a variety of ways. It used garden motifs freely

<sup>1</sup>Bastiano de Rossi, Descrizione del magnificentiss. apparato e de' maravigliosi intermedi fatti per la comedia (Florence, 1585) in Allardyce Nicoll, Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage (N.Y., 1938), 32.

<sup>2</sup>Citations are to Vitruvius, The Ten Books on Architecture, tr. Morris H. Morgan (1914; rpt. N.Y., 1960).



in the ornament of theatrical structures, kept an out-of-doors scene, whether garden, champaign, wood, or threshold, as the most frequent setting of play and masque,<sup>1</sup> and developed a particular type of amphitheatre for private gardens. Furthermore, the Renaissance increasingly staged its entertainments al fresco wherever possible. And, in turn, it borrowed uninhibitedly from the techniques of the rapidly advancing stagecraft of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to improve the whole garden.

In England it was this piecemeal borrowing in the seventeenth century which had the greatest impact on the garden and in time revealed a profound change in man's attitude to nature. Iconography gave way to topography, and illusion was devoted, not to circumventing the material world to reveal eternal verities, but to elaborating a new perception of the elegant surfaces of natural phenomena. This attitude is manifest in poetry by the mid-century, but its early reflections are often so elliptical as to escape notice or so carefully balanced within the older framework as to provoke the exclusion of one aesthetic response or the other. Denham's Coopers Hill, 1642, is a case in point. Dr. Johnson initiated the long standing critical appraisal of it as a forerunner of eighteenth-century topographical verse,<sup>2</sup> but recent critics have argued with justification that the poem has little concern with the visual or

<sup>1</sup>E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1923), III, 50-2, tabulates the types of setting used in the Elizabethan play.

<sup>2</sup>Lives of the English Poets, 3 vols., ed. George Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1905; rpt. N.Y., 1967), I. 77.

topographical and even the depiction of St. Paul's, for example, is emblematic.<sup>1</sup>

All transitional verse sets particular problems of definition for the critic. In this case the intercourse of theatre and garden affords a unique opportunity to observe the gradually increasing distinctions between two modes of perception. The theatre as part of the developing architectural garden, the Elizabethan and Jacobean entertainments staged in garden and park, and finally the history of the garden setting in the masque as shaped by Ben Jonson and then by Inigo Jones provide the background necessary to perceive these modes at work in poetry.

#### 1. Open Air Theatres in the Garden /

Ancient Greek theatres were regularly built into the hillside adjacent to the temple and its gardens. The theatre of Dionysius at Athens and those at Delphi and Olympia are familiar examples of this siting. The Roman amphitheatre was a much larger freestanding structure of civic splendour rather than of any religious significance. It remained an open air enclosure, but the addition of a surrounding colonnade at the top of the seating tiers effectively separated the interior from its surroundings. Although revived early in the Renaissance on the continent, in England <sup>the amphitheatre</sup> is of no

<sup>1</sup>John Dixon Hunt, The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting, and Gardening during the Eighteenth Century (1976), 13, 225-6; Brendan O'Hehir, Expans'd Hieroglyphicks: A Critical Edition of Sir John Denham's Coopers Hill (Berkeley, Calif., 1969), 20, 178-9, 213-17, 230-2.

importance in the history of the garden or its poetry.<sup>1</sup>

The Greek tradition of the theatre in intimate relationship with its surroundings, however, was introduced into ancient Rome in the grounds of private villas. The semicircle of raised seats of the Piazza D'Oro at Hadrian's gardens remains today and may have been one of the sights Raphael pointed out to Castiglione, Bembo, and others on the tour of the grounds he led in April of 1516. The stage of this theatre had for its backdrop the entire length of the gardens seen through columns.<sup>2</sup> More widely known was the amphitheatre of Pliny's Tuscan villa, which is so attractively described in his letters. Beyond the semicircular curve of his hippodrome Pliny located a wilderness with a central grove of dwarf plane trees, assorted clumps of smooth and twining acanthus, and topiary cut in box.

At the upper end is a semi-circular bench of white marble, shaded with a vine which is trained upon four small pillars of Carystian marble. Water gushing through several little pipes from under this bench, as if it were pressed out by the weight of the persons who repose themselves upon it, falls into a stone cistern underneath, from whence it is received into a fine polished marble basin, so artfully contrived that it is always full without ever overflowing. When I sup here, the tray of whets and larger dishes are placed round the margin, while the smaller ones swim about in the form of little ships and water-fowl. Opposite this is a fountain which is incessantly emptying and filling: for the water,

<sup>1</sup>Pope Nicholas V planned such an amphitheatre in 1495 and Julius II executed an enormous stone ellipse at the foot of the Vatican steps for papal ceremonies (Georgina Masson, *Italian Gardens* [1961], 122, 124). See Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages*, 2 vols. in 3 (1959-1972), II.i.163-9; ii.90-3, for the possible influence of the Roman amphitheatre on the Elizabethan playhouse.

<sup>2</sup>Masson, 22-4.

which it throws up a great height, falling back again into it, is by means of connected openings returned as fast as it is received.<sup>1</sup>

Pliny's device is both a bower and a screen or frame for the various waterworks. As an architectural accent it adds the grace of a natural seeming semicircle to seal the vista and to secure a sense of privacy.

The Renaissance delighted in Pliny's amphitheatre and reinterpreted it in aggressively architectural and theatrical terms, usually sacrificing the delicate balance of stone and greenery of the model. To my knowledge only the recommendation in The Countrey Farme that the physic garden be planted on a rising bank "in the manner of a goodly, large, and well trimmed Theatre" interpreted the amphitheatre entirely in plants.<sup>2</sup> At the villa Mandragone at Frascati, built in 1567 for Cardinal Marco d'Attempo, a large semicircular stone arcade rose from a terrace in the flower garden. Topped by a balustrade, the niches of the screen are deeply cut for perspective and to display statues. The stone 'theatre' dramatically frames spectacular fountains.<sup>3</sup> The nearby Villa Aldobrandini also had a semicircular theatre with niches. Again there are no seats. The private garden Palladio designed for Daniello Barbaro was enclosed by a semicircle

<sup>1</sup>"To Domitius Apollinaris," V.vi, in Pliny's Letters, 2 vols., tr. William Melmoth, rev. W.M.L. Hutchinson, Loeb (1915, rpt. Cambridge, Mass., 1940), I, 391. 'Whets' are hors d'oeuvres.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Estienne and Jean Liebault, Maison Rustique, or The Countrey Farme, tr. Richard Surflet, rev. and aug. Gervase Markham (1616), 235.

<sup>3</sup>Masson, Plate 120.

cut into the hillside. This theatre, too, framed a fountain with stucchi and painted ornaments.<sup>1</sup>

I can find few records of large stone screens executed in the English garden except as part of a necessary wall or courtyard until the Temple of British Worthies built by Lord Cobham at Stowe during the eighteenth-century vogue for free-standing structures of all kinds in the garden. The relievo wall at Edzell is a kind of screen as was the garden façade at Nonsuch and Wilton. Inigo Jones used the courtyard of Theobalds to create an architectural screen for the reception of the King of Denmark. Complete with statues and inscriptions, it performed its dramatic purpose amply but only temporarily. The sculpture gallery Jones designed in the orchard at St. James's Palace, though in conception a screen of inter-columniated grilles, had a cantilevered roof in order to double as a covered riding area. A screen ornamented with the busts of philosophers was built at Nonsuch, but it was also an inner structural wall of the summer house. A proper amphitheatre, however, cut out of the hillside and reminiscent of the one at the Boboli Gardens, was projected for the gardens at Wilton House when they were redesigned in the 1630's. Although never executed, a drawing of the amphitheatre appears in Isaac de Caus's Le Jardin de Wilton.<sup>2</sup>

Examples of the amphitheatre used as an architectural screen are numerous in Europe as are the sources which may have suggested such

<sup>1</sup>Masson, 206-7.

<sup>2</sup>The drawing is reprinted and discussed in Roy Strong, The Renaissance Garden in England (1979), 156, plate 103.

a reinterpretation of Pliny's garden feature. The Greek theatre had used the side of the tiring house or 'skene' as an architectural screen. Palladio, in his interpretation of Vitruvius, revived the solid architectural screen in the flat arcade of the Teatro Olimpico (1565-1584). Palladio introduced five perspectives in the arches of his screen and ornamented it with relief and noble statues in niches. Much earlier Bramante used the architectural screen with niches for statues to accent and unify the great staircase and terraces in the gardens of the Belvedere. Finally, George Kernodle writes that, while the arcade appears in the woodcuts of the important edition of Terence printed by Trechsel (Lyons, 1493), which may have contributed to Palladio's design for the Teatro Olimpico, the form was already well established as the arcade of honour in street pageants and as a background in fifteenth-century religious paintings.<sup>1</sup> The amphitheatre as separate from the screen appeared as a new device in the tableaux vivants of Lyons in 1533, but it was used conventionally as a site for a mock battle. In the Antwerp pageants of 1594 and 1600 it had become a screen; it was used to display rows of beautiful women holding shields.<sup>2</sup>

It is important to note that none of the garden screens, with the exception of the temporary one at Theobalds, was intended for any performance more dramatic than water play. Despite the increasing seventeenth-century vogue for al fresco performance there were few permanent open air stages. The first permanent garden theatre for

<sup>1</sup>George R. Kernodle, From Art to Theatre: Form and Convention in the Renaissance (1944; rpt., 1970), 7, 162-3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 76.

plays was built by Marcus Sittich, Bishop of Salzburg, at Mirabellschloss by 1617, and Philip IV of Spain explored some of the possibilities in a theatre whose back wall opened to reveal the gardens of Buen Retiro.<sup>1</sup> The history of the Boboli amphitheatre is clearly a response to this movement. Begun in 1549 for Eleanor de Medici by Buontalenti and Il Tribolo, the principal apartments of the palace overlooked a natural hollow in the hillside which was artificially enlarged as a semicircular amphitheatre. It was planted thickly with symmetrical rows of trees with a lawn and fountain in the centre. In the early seventeenth century the trees were felled and the amphitheatre lined with an enormous stone wall and six tiers of stone benches. Above the amphitheatre rises a laurel hedge on ground which then slopes to form the upper garden. This new Boboli amphitheatre was the setting of the festivities for the marriages of Cosimo II in 1608, Fernando II in 1637, and Cosimo III in 1661.<sup>2</sup> But the Boboli amphitheatre in its grandeur owes as much to the Roman civic amphitheatre as it does to the garden theatre. The models offered by Philip IV and Marcus Sittich had no close, immediate progeny. The plays of writers such as Molière and Ariosto presented at the opening of Versailles in 1664 were staged in the inner courtyard or in bosquets temporarily transformed into halls by the addition of tapestries, chandeliers, vases, and sculpture. At mid-century Evelyn could still group the amphitheatre in a chapter on garden toys

<sup>1</sup>Marie Luise Gothein, A History of Garden Art, 2 vols., ed. W.P. Wright, tr. Mrs. Archer-Hind (1928), I, 373.

<sup>2</sup>See Masson, 79-80. Plates 40 and 42 of her book show the amphitheatre before and after conversion.

he proposed for his "Elysium Britannicum" -- "Of gazon-theatres, amphitheatres, artificial echoes, automata, and hydraulic music."<sup>1</sup>

This failure in the seventeenth century to develop more permanent open air theatres despite the fashion for al fresco performance is remarkable. It is due in part to the scale of the productions and to the roots of many of the presentations in pageantry, but it is also due to a change in attitude which began to see the whole garden as a theatre and to alter the natural features of the garden accordingly. An avenue of pines planted by Le Nôtre could direct the eye effectively to the 'theatre' and any bosquet of carefully sculptured greenery could house a stage. In the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century the relationship between the theatre and garden was fluid and catered to a different concept of scenery. The limits of this relationship between the garden and theatre as established in England can be defined by looking at the use made of the garden during the entertainments prepared for Elizabeth I and James I.

## II. Elizabethan and Jacobean Entertainments in Garden and Park

Dramatic shows performed al fresco were a popular part of the entertainment of the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts on visits to the country houses of England. Festivities during Queen Elizabeth's summer progresses often occupied several days. These festivities became less popular under James I, who detested crowds, but they

<sup>1</sup>John Evelyn, Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, ed. William Bray (n.d.), 917. The OED glosses 'gazon' as pieces of turf.



were not abandoned.<sup>1</sup> They might include a welcome by allegorical figures in the park, dances, banquets, tournaments, water battles, hunts, and brief plays in the grounds. Tournaments enacted to a dramatic theme with suitable costume bulk large in the records of the time, but their setting usually in permanent tiltyards or at improvised barriers on the champaign place them beyond the direct interest of this study. Civic pageantry is also beyond its scope, while discussion of the formal masques held in the great hall is reserved for later. The welcome in the park, however, which temporarily formed part of the pleasure grounds for the purposes of the entertainment, and the dramatic essays enacted in the garden illustrate the iconographical basis of these entertainments and the contributions of the actual locus to their form and imagery.

Although many hosts sent an escort to accompany the sovereign on the last half of his or her journey, the formal welcome was usually delayed until the party reached the home park. Here was enacted the threshold scene so familiar in public and court drama. E.K. Chambers writes, "I do not think that it has been fully realized how large a proportion of the action of Elizabethan plays passes at the doors of houses; and as a result the problem of staging, difficult enough

<sup>1</sup>Gilbert Dugdale writes, "And, contrymen, let me tell you this, if you hard what I heare as concerning that you would stake your feete to the Earth at such a time, ere you would runne so regardles up and downe, say it his Highnes pleasure to be private...will you then be publique, and proclaime that which love and duty cryes silence too? this shewes his love to you, but your open ignorance to him; you will say perchance it is your love, will you in love prease uppon your Soveraigne thereby to offend him? your Soveraigne perchance may mistake your love, and punnish it as an offense; but heare -- when hereafter he comes by you, doe as they doe in Scotland, stand still, see all, and use silence,... but I feare my counsell is but water turn'd into the Thames, it helps not." Quoted in John Nichols, The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, 4 vols. (1828), I, 414. Hereafter cited as Nichols, James.

anyhow, has been rendered unnecessarily difficult....The playwrights... followed the neo-classic Italian tradition, and for them action at a house was most naturally action before the door of that house."<sup>1</sup> Obviously courtesy, not Italian tradition, required a formal welcome of the monarch to a strange house, but just as obviously this welcome was theatrically staged. The Queen was not hurried inside, even if it was raining, but welcomed in the open air and invited at great length while her train of some two or three hundred people grouped themselves as an audience behind her. She was often welcomed several times. She was met at the gate to the park and sometimes at an intervening grove or two. She was welcomed again at the entrance to the castle or manor. At Kenilworth she was stopped at each succeeding courtyard.

These threshold scenes have little dramatic interest because their purpose is so narrowly defined. The host must express his joy at the sight of Majesty, offer his largess as already her own deriving from her bounty as his ruler, and extol her virtues gracefully if possible, but lavishly for certain. The cult of the virgin queen provided the material for this encomium and authors wrote of her beauty, wisdom, and chastity under as many allegorical disguises as possible. Her position was seldom presented as a display of power but through her role as the wise ruler and chaste lover of her people, the sole object of her royal affections.

The ingenuity with which many writers attempt to enliven this rigid formula is admirable though the results do not always evoke as

<sup>1</sup>Chambers, III, 59-60.

much interest as do the evidences of the struggle.<sup>1</sup> Any number of wild men leaped from bushes and groves in the parks of England to be instantly civilized by the sight of the Queen's beauty. At Bisham in Berkshire, the home of Lady Elizabeth Russell, in 1592 such a wild man, after the expected speeches of submission and dumbfounded admiration, escorted Elizabeth across the park to a scene staged by Pan and two shepherdesses who were sewing samplers.<sup>2</sup> One sampler showed the follies of the gods who became beasts through following their ignoble affections; the other showed virgins who became goddesses as a reward for their chastity. One sampler was edged with men's tongues done in double stitch and 'not one true,' the other by roses, eglantine and heartsease done in Queen's stitch. Pan broke his pipe in submission to Elizabeth and escorted her to the manor where Ceres on a cart met the party with a jewel for the Queen.

The same year at Sudeley, Lord Chandos's home in the Cotswolds, the wild man was replaced by a shepherd who welcomed Queen Elizabeth, while at Cawsome in 1613 Robin Hood's men provided an escort for

<sup>1</sup>All the entertainments discussed are reprinted with abundant if not always accurate commentary in Nichols, James, or in John Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, 3 vols. (1823), cited as Nichols, Elizabeth. Wherever possible, however, citations are to more recent editions.

<sup>2</sup>"Speeches at Bisham," The Complete Works of John Lyly, 3 vols., ed. R.W. Bond (Oxford, 1902), I, 471-7. Hereafter cited as Lyly. Bond, I, 404-5, attributes to Lyly speeches at Theobalds, Cowdray, and Elvetham in 1591, Quarrendon [Ditchley], Bisham, Sudeley, and Rycote in 1592; and at Harefield in 1602. Leslie Hotson in his edition of Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Mitcham (New Haven, Conn., 1953), 33-4, adds to Lyly's work the entertainment at Mitcham in 1598 and at Chiswick in 1602. Lyly was also involved in speeches at the tiltyard. G.K. Hunter, John Lyly: The Humanist as Courtier (1962), 84, accepts none of the entertainments as Lyly's work. Bond and Hotson cite primarily internal evidence.

Queen Anne.<sup>1</sup> At Harefield Place in 1602 Elizabeth was greeted at a dairy or farmhouse on the edge of the estate by two people costumed as a bailiff and a dairymaid.<sup>2</sup> They led the Queen down an avenue of elms to the house where she was entertained with a dialogue between Time and Place. Place was dressed in a parti-coloured robe to represent the brick of the house. Time carried an hourglass but in the presence of the Queen it stood still. At Elvetham, the seat of the Earl of Hertford, Elizabeth was welcomed by a vates in 1591.<sup>3</sup> While he spoke her praises the three Graces and three Hours removed blocks from the Queen's path placed there by Envy. They carried baskets of sweet herbs and flowers and strewed the cleared path for Elizabeth's approach.

The pastoral form dominated the Renaissance open air entertainment. Although poets used a variety of figures as their speakers, these figures were always in harmony with the surroundings, whether as classical gods of the woods, fountains, and flocks, or the woodmen of English folklore. When the three Graces danced their charming circle at Elvetham on a path strewn with flowers, theirs was the mille fleur setting still familiar to us from the Renaissance paintings. The figures suited their pastoral setting and, in turn, it allowed the speakers a recognized license. Serlio's satyric scene composed

<sup>1</sup>"Speeches at Sudeley, " Lyly, I, 477-84; "A Relation of the late Royall Entertainment given by The Right Honorable The Lord Knowles," The Works of Thomas Campion, ed. W.R. Davis (N.Y., 1967), 231-84, cited as Campion.

<sup>2</sup>"Entertainment at Harefield," Lyly, I, 491-504.

<sup>3</sup>"The Honorable Entertainement given to the Queenes Majestie in Progresse, at Elvetham in Hampshire," Lyly, I, 431-52.

of "trees, rocks, hills, mountains, herbs, flowers, and fountains, -- together with some rustic huts..."<sup>1</sup> was aimed at those who live licentiously, for only the rustic are allowed the privilege of open criticism. The satiric mode was readily incorporated into pastoral. Though its teeth were drawn in the entertainments presented in praise of royalty this license permitted a certain familiarity and roguery not otherwise tolerated. Sidney took advantage of it for the bombast which fills "The Queen of May" presented in the garden at Wanstead in 1578 with its satiric portrait of the schoolmaster and rhetorician Rombus. Rude speech is a source of fun in the gardener's speeches in Thomas Campion's entertainment of Queen Anne at Cawsome in 1613. Most of the entertainments contain simple characters of one description or another who approach the Queen closely and stare boldly with wonder. Again, in keeping with the pastoral mode, many of the entertainments take the form of a dialogue or debate. Sidney uses a singing contest and asks judgment of the Queen. In Thomas Churchyard's "Manhode and Desart," Manhode, Good Favour, and Desart press their claims to Beautie in turn.

Although it is not now always possible to be certain whether an entertainment was staged in the park or garden, where this knowledge is available it seems clear that the Renaissance made a definite distinction between the two types of settings, though keeping both within the confines of pastoral. The figures of the park may appear in the garden but the subject matter staged in the garden is different in theme and amenable to more complete allegorization. It is less

<sup>1</sup>Serlio, Architettura, II (Paris, 1545), rpt. in The Renaissance Stage: Documents of Serlio, Sabbattini and Furtttenbach, ed. Barnard Hewitt, tr. Allardyce Nicoll, John H. McDowell, George R. Kernodle (Coral Gables, Fla., 1958), 32.

ribald in tone, though still open to light-hearted jesting. Of the entertainments examined here, four of those definitely set in gardens use the garden as a symbol of the state; two located in the garden by internal evidence also use this topos. Two garden entertainments use the topos of 'the maiden walking in the garden'. Other important themes are the myth of Astraea, the banquet of sense, the garden of love, and the theme of retirement put forward through the figure of a hermit. Of six entertainments which use the hermit, each, as far as it is possible to tell, seems to restrict the hermit to the park or tiltyard.

At Cowdray, the home of Lord and Lady Montecute, in 1591 the party went to view 'my Lorde's Walkes'<sup>1</sup> after dinner. A pilgrim met them and led the Queen to a tree on which were hung the escutcheons of the Queen and nobles of the shire of Sussex. A wild man stepped out and spoke,

The whole world is drawn in a mape: the heavens in a Globe: and this Shire shrunke in a Tree: that what your Majestie hath often heard off with some comfort, you may now beholde with full content. This Oke, from whose bodie so many armes doe spread: and out of whose armes so many fingers spring: resembles in parte your strength & happinesse. Strength, in the number and the honour: happinesse, in the trueth and consent. All heartes of Oke, then which nothing surer: nothing sounder. All woven in one roote, then which nothing more constant, nothing more naturall. The wall of this Shire is the sea, strong, but rampired with true hearts, invincible: where every private mans eie is a Beacon to discover: everie noble mans power a Bulwarke to defende. Here they are all differing somewhat in degrees, not in duetie: the greatnes of branches, not the greenesse. Your majesty they account the Oke, the tree of Jupiter, whose root is so deeplie fastened, that treacherie, though shee undermine to the centre, cannot finde the windings; and whose toppe is so highlie reared, that envie, though she shoote on copheigh, cannot reach her, under whose armes they have both shade and shelter. Well wot they

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, Elizabeth, III, 92.

that your enemies lightnings are but flashes, and their thunder, which fillles the whole world with a noise of conquest, shall ende with a softe shower of Retreate.<sup>1</sup>

The oak in the emblem books of the time was the emblem of majesty, unassailable by envy, ambition, or pride, usually depicted as climbing ivy or a vine. As the tree of Jupiter it was thought to be impervious to lightning. Standing in the nearby field and ornamented with the escutchions of her knights, it was a suitable emblem for the Queen of the Armada. *The presence of the wild man forced the entertainment just beyond the garden wall and extended its symbolism.*

The garden at Rycote was the setting in 1592 for gifts to the Queen from the sons of the family absent on the Queen's service in Ireland, Flanders, and France.<sup>2</sup> Each is offered with a letter of fealty and praise appropriately conveyed by speakers costumed as an Irish lacquey, a Flemish skipper, and a French page. The entertainment was directed by a speaker costumed as a retired soldier. Elizabeth accepts the homage of her liegemen in a garden.

In an imaginative extension of this same role at Elvetham in 1591 the Queen accepted tributes from the Fairy Queen and her maids, who travelled from under the earth, and from the gods of the woods and waters. The Fairy Queen and her attendants danced in the privy garden beneath the Queen's gallery window and presented her with a garland in the shape of an imperial crown. Near a crescent pool dug for the occasion the others presented their respects. For three days the Queen was encompassed by myth. She was hailed as Queen of a second Troy, showered with flowers, and presented with tablets inscribed by

<sup>1</sup>"The Honorable Entertainment given to her Majestie in Progresse at Cowdray in Sussex by the Lord Montecute Anno. 1591," Lyly, I, 425.

<sup>2</sup>"Speeches at Rycote," Lyly I, 485-90.

Apollo in the Golden Age. In the middle of the pool three artificial islands were designed as Neptune's fort, a snail mount, and a ship. The myth was enlarged to include a contemporary reference to Spain. On the second day the topiary snail "nowe resembleth a monster, having hornes full of wild-fire continually burning."<sup>1</sup> But Nereus assures the Queen,

Yon ugly monster creeping from the South,  
To spoyle these blessed fields of Albion,  
By selfe same beames [Elizabeth's] is chang'd into a Snaile,  
Whose bulrush hornes are not of force to hurt.<sup>2</sup>

A mock water battle between Sylvanus and the water gods followed but the Queen's presence easily restored order.

The policies of Elvetham occupied only two miles. The Fairy Queen danced under the gallery window in the privy garden and the crescent pool was also near the gallery window,<sup>3</sup> but it is unlikely to have been in the garden. On a hill above the pool a banqueting hall was built and after dinner from a canopy placed nearer the water the Queen watched the entertainment of Nereus and Sylvanus. On the third night she watched a firework display on the islands from the low gallery in the garden. For the purposes of the Queen's progress, the park at Elvetham was closely incorporated into the garden and the whole was treated as an emblem of her harmonious reign.

At Elvetham Elizabeth, as the conqueror of the Armada, has her role defined in Britain's cycle of Trojan history, and she restores the Golden Age of harmony in woods and water and earth. The myth of

<sup>1</sup>Lyly, I, 442.

<sup>2</sup>Lyly, I, 443.

<sup>3</sup>Lyly, I, 440.



the Golden Age with its eternal spring was often accompanied by the identification of Elizabeth with the return of Astraea, the virgin goddess of Justice, whose flight from man in the Iron Age is described in Ovid's Metamorphoses I. This identification was particularly prominent in royal imagery after the defeat of the Armada.<sup>1</sup> The verses hint at various aspects of these several themes, but no sufficiently coherent development of them articulates the separate entertainments provided at Elvetham. Only the emblem of state in the amalgamated garden and park loosely encompasses the whole. The work remains pleasing and fanciful, but creates no lasting impression.

Ben Jonson's "Entertainment at Highgate" in 1604 is more coherent in its symbolism than the production at Elvetham.<sup>2</sup> Through the speeches of Mercury, Jonson transforms the existing garden of Sir William Cornwallis's house into an English Arcadia of fertility and peace. Mercury describes Maia sitting under a purslane tree.<sup>3</sup> Mercury was the son of Jupiter and Maia and was brought up by the seasons. At Maia's feet Aurora bedews the herbs touched by Favonius while Flora scatters the generated flowers in an enactment of the myth of spring and a celebration of May day. The King and Queen listened while the nymphs of the mighty Thames offered homage. Tree,

<sup>1</sup>Frances A. Yates, Astraea, the Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (1975), 29-87, traces the cult of Elizabeth as Astraea with particular reference to Spenser's Faerie Queene, V, and Sir John Davies's Hymnes to Astraea (1600), but notes that such imagery began to appear early in her reign.

<sup>2</sup>Citations are to Ben Jonson, 11 vols., ed. C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford, 1925-52), VII, 133-44.

<sup>3</sup>The purslane tree is the wild arbutus or strawberry tree. It fruits and flowers at the same time.

stream, flowers, soft wind, and light, all the motifs of Arcadia are accounted for. But the garden at Highgate also offered a splendid view, and Mercury calls attention to it. John Norden describes Highgate House as "a verie faire house from which he may with great delight beholde the stately citie of London, Westminster, Greenwich, the famous river of Thamyse, and the countrey towards the south verie farre."<sup>1</sup> The garden under Jonson's shaping hand is a place of beauty and fertility, and an enclosure which reconciles city and country in an emblem of the peaceful kingdom. The penates had welcomed James I as monarch of this isle, "Englands wish, and Scotlands blisse, / Both France, and Irelands terror" (11. 14-5). The small landscape of Arcadia swells to encompass all the Fortunate Isles (11. 51-2). After dinner the company return to the garden where a fountain of Bacchus flows with wine. Pan, son of Mercury, offers the guests wine and salutes each with comical familiarity. His jests are tolerated by the pastoral form, the customs of May day, and the security of the garden kingdom.

Sir Philip Sidney's "The Lady of May" was written for Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and presented to the Queen in the garden at Wanstead in 1578.<sup>2</sup> In it the topos of the garden as the ideal state is subordinated to the Queen's role as Justice in the kingdom.

<sup>1</sup>Speculum Britanniae: the first parte. An historicall... discription of Middlesex (1593), 22.

<sup>2</sup>Citations are to The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney, 4 vols., ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1912; rpt., 1963), II, 208-17; a variant MS with an alternate ending is printed in Robert Kimbrough and Philip Murphy, "The Helmingham Hall Manuscript of Sidney's 'The Lady of May': A Commentary and Transcription," Renaiss. Drama, n.s. 1 (1968).

The Queen was walking in the garden when a countrywoman ran out from a grove. Falling at the Queen's feet, she begged judgment for her daughter the May Lady. Six shepherds and six foresters appeared, each group pulling the girl in a different direction. In the Queen's presence they became quiet. An elderly shepherd narrated the situation while Rombus, the schoolmaster, pompously analyzed the folly of love with many Latin tags. A song contest then ensued between the suitors Espilus and Therion. Dorcas, a shepherd, and Rixus, a forester, discussed the performance with partisan vigour while Rombus wanted to analyze it into parts. The discussion continues, turning to the relative merits of the contemplative versus the active life. Espilus is rich, but he offers the May Lady few services. He lives a life of quiet and simple innocence. Therion is poor and has many faults, but he offers many services, healthy activity, and the freedom of the woods. At the conclusion the Queen on appeal judged in favour of Espilus, the shepherd.

The entertainment is comical, dominated by Rombus's cacophonous prose and Lalus's bombastic speeches, and graced with regrettably few of Sidney's songs. But, although the issue too is frivolous, Elizabeth is characterized throughout as a formidable judge. The initial supplication describes her as one,

whose state is raised over all,  
 Whose face doth oft the bravest sort enchant,  
 Whose mind is such, as wisest minds appall,  
 Who in one selfe these diverse gifts can plant;  
 How dare I wretch seeke there my woes to rest,  
 Where eares be burnt, eyes dazled, harts opprest?

Your state is great, your greatnesse is our shield,  
 Your face hurts oft, but still it doth delight,  
 Your mind is wise, your wisdom makes you mild,  
 Such planted gifts enrich even beggers sight:  
 So dare I wretch, my bashfull feare subdue,  
 And feede mine eares, mine eyes, my hart in you.<sup>1</sup>

When Rixus later reminds Dorcas that she is "such a one as even with her eye only can give the cruell punishment,"<sup>2</sup> his meaning is larger than that of the conventional Petrarchean conceit. The activities in the garden at Wanstead, however light-hearted, never compromise the seriousness of Elizabeth's role as the source of justice for all the people of her kingdom. Surprisingly, no features of the garden are stressed to evoke the microcosm of the kingdom, nor does the garden as a whole participate actively in the presentation of this theme. As at Elvetham the associations of spring with Elizabeth as the divine virgin of Justice recall the myth of Astraea, but there are no overt references to it, and the month of May is itself largely uncelebrated.

Kimbrough and Murphy describe Sidney's form as a commedia rusticale deriving from the Italian contrasto, a domestic debate, and maggio, a play of spring, but they go on to deny that "The Lady of May" is a pastoral on the grounds that the audience is not invited into its world.<sup>3</sup> I confess I do not understand their reasoning and so cannot reply to it directly. The form may be a variation of the comedia rusticale, as so many of the entertainments were, but it is in the pastoral mode. Sidney adds the singing contest of impeccable

<sup>1</sup>Prose Works, II, 209.

<sup>2</sup>Prose Works, II, 214.

<sup>3</sup>Kimbrough and Murphy, 104.

pastoral origin, a philosophical debate which emphasizes pastoral values, and exploits the satiric license of pastoral. The Queen remains necessarily distant from her subjects, especially in her role as the embodiment of justice.

Jonson's "Love's Welcome to Bolsover" was presented at the house of the Earl of Newcastle in 1634. It begins with a song of welcome given at a banquet for the royal couple. The manuscript records that the king and queen then "retir'd into a Garden,"<sup>1</sup> where in the course of the rest of the entertainment Eros and Anteros descended from a cloud bringing a second banquet. It seems likely that Jonson used 'banquet' in the strict seventeenth-century sense, meaning a brief course of sweetmeats or fruit frequently served in a banqueting house, arbour, or gallery in the garden. His main theme is a banquet of the senses. Given these several circumstances, the description of the setting in the manuscript must carry substantial weight, although the phrase is omitted in the Folio of 1640.

The entertainment celebrates the love of King Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria as a pattern for the metamorphosis of the banquet of the senses into pure spirit:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Harley MS 4955 quoted in Herford and Simpson, VII, 806. Citations are to their edition.

<sup>2</sup>Jonson used the topos of the banquet of sense in The New Inn and The Poetaster. For a discussion of the topos see p. 67. D.J. Gordon, "Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones," JWCI, 12 (1949), rpt. in The Renaissance Imagination, ed. Stephen OrgeT (1975), discusses the neoplatonic doctrine behind the entertainment, pp. 96-101. Citations to Gordon's work are to the collected edition.

- Chorus. If Love be call'd a lifting of the Sense  
To knowledge of that pure intelligence,  
Wherein the Soule hath rest, and residence:
1. Ten. When were the Senses in such order plac'd?  
2. Ten. The Sight, the Hearing, Smelling, Touching, Taste,  
All at one Banquet? Bas. 'Would it ever last!
1. Wee wish the same: who set it forth thus? Bas. Love!  
2. But to what end, or to what object? Bas. Love!
1. Doth Love then feast it selfe? Bas. Love will feast  
Love!
2. You make of Love, a riddle, or a chaine,  
A circle, a mere knott, untie't againe.
- Bas. Love is a Circle, both the first, and last  
Of all our Actions, and his knott's too fast.
1. A true-love Knot, will hardly be unti'd,  
And if it could, who would this Payre divide?

11. 1-17.

The five senses in Ficino's order of sight, sound, smell, touch, and taste, and the imagery of the garden are then cleverly joined.

1. Could we put on the beautie of all Creatures,  
2. Sing in the Aire, and notes of Nightingales,  
1. Exhale the sweets of Earth, and all her features,  
2. And tell you, softer then in Silke, these tales,  
Bas. Welcome should season all for Taste.

11. 26-30.

The pure love of the royal couple is equated with universal harmony as in so many of Jonson's masques, and the entertainment concludes with a prayer for the harmony and peace of the kingdom. The garden at Bolsover through the topos of the banquet of sense unifies the garden of love and the garden of state.

The love theme enters into several of the entertainments which used the figure of the hermit. But it is love as a medieval quest or debate rather than as a celebration. Because these entertainments were part of a royal progress the identity of the hermit with the theme of retirement to the purer pastimes of the country in reaction to the vices of the city or court was inappropriate. When it was used, it was suitably qualified or ridiculed. Alternatively, although

aspects of epicurean or stoic sentiment and of the debate between the active and contemplative life might remain, the hermit usually owed his immediate posture to a different line of descent from that of the main Horatian 'beatus ille' theme.<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that the hermit as advisor to youthful knights may have been popularized by Caxton's translation of the Book of the Order of Chyvalry by Ramon Lull, published between 1483 and 1485.<sup>2</sup> Whatever the interpretation of the hermit, he seems to have been restricted to the park or tilt-yard rather than to the garden. This movement into the larger, more informal space, at least in the few texts available, seems to generate a correspondingly looser metamorphosis of place.

Sir Henry Lee's productions for Queen Elizabeth in 1575, 1590, and 1592 employ the hermit as an advisor to chivalrous youth. The entertainment at Woodstock in 1575, where Lee was the Ranger, began with a fight between the knights Loricus and Contarenius, the Queen watching from a bower of ivy and scented herbs.<sup>3</sup> The hermit then

<sup>1</sup>The first volume of Maren-Sofie Røstvig's The Happy Man Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal (1954; 2nd edn., N.Y., 1962) is the most comprehensive study of the 'beatus ille' theme in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She explores its debts to epicurian and stoical philosophies, the emergence of the theme of solitude, and the role of mystical ecstasy in the presence of the hieroglyphs of nature. The figure of the hermit participates to an extent in all these movements. See also M.C. Bradbrook, "Marvell and the Poetry of Rural Solitude," RES, 17 (1941).

<sup>2</sup>Yates, Astraea, 106.

<sup>3</sup>The author of the entertainment is unknown. George Gascoigne translated "The Tale of Hemetes" on which it was based into Latin, Italian, and French as a New Years Gift for the Queen in 1576, but denied his authorship of the entertainment. A.W. Pollard still thinks Gascoigne's authorship probable, but the latest editor John Cunliffe rejects this and suggests Henry Ferrers instead. The entertainment was privately printed in Oxford in 1910 as The Queen's Majesty's Entertainment at Woodstock 1575 with an introduction by A.W. Pollard. Citations are to the more accessible text reprinted in J.W. Cunliffe, "The Queenes Majesties Entertainment at Woodstocke," PMLA, 26 (1911). Cunliffe's text is based on Pollard's edition.

stood before her and told an involved tale of three couples, of separated lovers, irate parents, and unrequited love complete with prophecies by an enchantress, Apollo, and the Sibyl. The hermit then led the way to an elaborate banqueting house encompassed by the bending branches of a giant oak on the top of a forty-foot mount. The gate to the mount was covered in ivy and spangles of gold plate. The house was hung with allegorical pictures with mottoes and furnished with a crescent-shaped table on which stood a banquet for the Queen.<sup>1</sup> To follow Hemetes on foot the Queen refused her horse. The presence of her horse and the fight between the knights suggests the performance was in the park.

The pastoral romance, "The Tale of Hemetes," though introducing various questions of loyalty and love has really only one purpose, the aggrandizement of the Queen. She, as the Lady "in whom inhabiteth the most vertue, Learning, and beauty, that ever yet was in creature,"<sup>2</sup> fulfils all the prophecies by her presence. She brings comfort to Loricus, restores Contarenius and Caudina to one another, and even makes the blind Hemetes to see. The landscape is that of the romance with its rambling quest, and it plays no more specific allegorical role despite general statements that this is "a place, where men were most strong, women most fayre, the countrey most fertile, the people

<sup>1</sup>John Cunliffe in his edition of The Complete Works of George Gascoigne, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1910), II, 485, 494, 502, has published three emblems from the unique MS of "The Tale of Hemetes" (BL Royal MS 18 A xlviij), but their relationship to the entertainment is not specified. B.M. Ward, "George Gascoigne and His Circle," RES, 2 (1926), 39-40, believes they were drawn by Gascoigne himself as does C.T. Prouty, George Gascoigne, Elizabethan Courtier, Soldier and Poet (N.Y., 1942), 90.

<sup>2</sup>"Entertainment at Woodstocke," 96.



most wealthy, the government most just, and the Princes most worthy,"<sup>1</sup>  
 The important topical issue of the Queen's possible marriage to the  
 Duc d'Alençon or the Earl of Leicester is not really explored until  
 the comedy presented in the hall on another day. In that comedy  
 Contarenius and Caudina renounce their love for each other in acknow-  
 ledgement of duty to parents, the inadvisability of marriage to a  
 man of lower degree, and above all because of the supremacy of duty  
 to the state. Only now are the implications of the Fairy Queen's  
 closing speech in the earlier entertainment clarified:

as all to me is knowen,  
 your face, your grace, your goverment of state,  
 your passing sprite whereby your fame is blowen:  
 doe knowe by certein skill you have no mate:  
 and that no man throughout the worlde hath seene  
 a prince that may compare with th' English Queene.<sup>2</sup>

The entertainment of 1592 was probably presented at Ditchley, Sir  
 Henry Lee's home near Woodstock.<sup>3</sup> The author is uncertain, but may  
 have been Richard Edes, a royal chaplain, assisted by Lee.<sup>4</sup> It is  
 remarkable for its allusions to the entertainment of 1575 and the  
 ceremonies for Lee's retirement as the Queen's Champion held at the  
 Accession Day Tilt of 1590. The first day's entertainment recalls

<sup>1</sup>"Entertainment at Woodstocke," 99.

<sup>2</sup>"Entertainment at Woodstocke," 99.

<sup>3</sup>E.K. Chambers, Sir Henry Lee: An Elizabethan Portrait (Oxford, 1936),  
 145-9, reviews the evidence for placing the entertainment at Ditchley  
 rather than at Quarrendon, Lee's home near Aylesbury, as Nichols had  
 done earlier (Elizabeth, III, 106-7). Citations are to Chambers's  
 text, pp. 276-97.

<sup>4</sup>Chambers, Lee, 145, 277, uses evidence in the Ditchley MS to support  
 his attribution of the work to Edes. R.W. Bond, in his edition of Lyly's  
 works, op. cit., I, 379, 404-6, considers the work to be Lyly's largely  
 on stylistic grounds. J.W. Bennett, "Churchyard's Description of the  
 Queen's Entertainment at Woodstock in 1592," MLN, 55 (1940) adds further  
 evidence in support of Chamber's conclusions about location and author.

the pastoral romance of 1575. The Queen is led through a grove in which are imprisoned faithful but unrewarded knights and their fickle ladies. Each in turn sings his plight to the Queen. At the far side of the grove she is led to a rustic hall hung with allegorical pictures preserved from the earlier entertainment at the direction of the Fairy Queen. The knight who guards them failed in his constancy and lies imprisoned in sleep as the lovers are imprisoned in the grove until Elizabeth deciphers the tablets. Awakened, he gives the Queen a gift and they adjourn to dinner and a debate between Constancy and Inconstancy. The latter is converted only by sight of the Queen. In the closing song the Queen is celebrated as the source of wisdom and virtue.

The second day's entertainment was held at a coppice near the cell of Loricus. At the tilt of 1590, Lee, who had grown too old to be Elizabeth's knight, had promised to be her beadsman. Standing before a temple of the vestal virgins fronted with a crowned pillar entwined with eglantine, he had ceremoniously surrendered his arms and donned the robes of a hermit. The pillar now stands before his cell which is called the Crowne Oratory. The entertainment begins when Loricus's chaplain explains that Loricus, while retired from active service as a knight, yet keeps the court in his bosom. The better to cherish this memory, "Amongst manie other exercises...he founde it noe small furtheraunce of divine speculation to walke thorow by-pathes & uncoth passages, under the coole shaddowes of greene trees."<sup>1</sup> Throughout the entertainment service to the Queen and service to God are deliberately merged as one and the same. When Loricus and the chaplain

<sup>1</sup>Chambers, Lee, 291.

first met, Loricus had asked directions to the highway,

Marry here gentell Knight (sayde I) looking on my booke with mine eyes, & poyntyng up to heaven with my finger; it is the very Kinges hie-waye. You saye true in deede (quoth he) the verie Queenes hie-waye, which my harte inquired after though my tonque asked for another. And so, as it is the use with fellowe humors when they fortunately meete, we light bothe upon one argument, the universall fame of that miraculous government, which by truthe & peace, the harbengers of heaven, directeth us the verie waye to eternall blessedness.<sup>1</sup>

There is no evidence to determine whether the entertainment was held in garden or park. The use of the grove and coppice, the reference to by-paths and uncouth passages, as well as the absence of any allusion to flowers or other specifically garden features suggests a setting in the park. Certainly the concluding legacy of Loricus encompasses all the policies of the estate.

I bequethe (to your Highnes) THE WHOLE MANNER OF LOVE, & the appurtenaunces thereunto belonging:  
 (Viz.) Woodes of hie attemptes,  
     Groves of humble service,  
     Meddowes of greene thoughtes,  
     Pastures of feeding fancies,  
     Arrable Lande of large promisses,  
     Rivers of ebbing & flowing favors,  
     Gardens hedged about with private, for succorie, &  
     bordered with tyme: of greene nothing but hartesease,  
     drawen in the perfect forme of a true lovers knott.  
 Orchards stored with the best fruit:  
     Queene Apples, Pome Royalls, &  
     Soveraigne Peares.  
 Fishing....<sup>2</sup>

Loricus's Manor of Love is not conceived as a garden in the Roman de la Rose tradition nor is there any use of the topos of the maiden walking in the garden. Rather, Elizabeth is celebrated as the embodiment of wisdom, virtue, and learning to which the whole estate

<sup>1</sup>Chambers, Lee, 291-2.

<sup>2</sup>Chambers, Lee, 296.

and its owner are bound in idealized service. As the anointed monarch, she makes such service divine.

Although all these entertainments are associated with Sir Henry Lee, other entertainments which use the figure of the hermit show a similar pattern. The hermit's welcome of the Queen to Theobalds in 1591 was also staged in the park,<sup>1</sup> while the debate of the hermit, soldier, secretary, and squire about the merits of their occupations in the entertainment presented to the Queen on Accession Day 1595 was staged in a tiltyard.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, in each case the hermit enjoys a semi-religious role as the Queen's beadsman, emphasizing virtue, constancy, and learning in her service. As might be expected in dealing with one who has partly retired from the world, the hermit's natural surroundings participate little in these themes except for the symbolic simplicity of his cell and grove. To my knowledge, his surroundings are seldom mythologized beyond the general landscape of romance, which is usually assumed.

One final hermit needs to be mentioned. The hermit of Thomas Campion's entertainment at Cawsome in 1613, although initially of a cast different from those above, is also restricted to the park. Costumed in leaves and skins, he is addressed as a cynic who despises love, beauty, music, and mirth. He represents the more disagreeable extremes of stoicism. He stops Queen Anne and her party before the park gate,

<sup>1</sup>Rpt. in The Works of George Peele, 2 vols., ed. A.H. Bullen (1888), II, 303-9, but not in The Life and Works of George Peele, 3 vols., ed. Charles T. Prouty (New Haven, Conn., 1952-70).

<sup>2</sup>"Speeches of the Philosopher, The Captain, The Councillor, and the Squire," The Works of Francis Bacon, 14 vols., ed. James Spedding et al. (1858-74; rpt. Stuttgart-Bad, 1963), VIII, 376-86.

Cities and Courts fit tumultuous multitudes: this  
 is a place of silence; heere a kingdome I enjoy  
 without people; my selfe commands, my selfe obeyes;  
 Host, Cooke, and Guest my selfe...this Bower my  
 house, the earth my bed, herbes my food, water my  
 drinke.... If this be happinesse, I have it....  
 Will you be happy? be private; turn Pallaces to  
 Hermitages, noies to silence, outward felicitie  
 to inward content.<sup>1</sup>

A horseman moves out from the Quèen's followers and casts off his  
 cloak to reveal the chequered Italian suit of a "fantastick Traveller."  
 He reminds the cynic he owes his birth and speech to society and that  
 even the stars move in company -- "Action is the end of life, vertue  
 the crowne of action, society the subject of vertue, friendship the  
 band of societie, solitarinesse the breach."<sup>2</sup> The cynic is converted  
 and the court vindicated. But when the Queen and her party move  
 forward into the garden, the hermit is left outside the walls.

Within the garden at Cawsome a different world surrounds the party  
 and different literary motifs are engaged. The gardener and his boy  
 apologize for the scene with the cynic and present the Queen with  
 rosemary, roses, and heartsease, flowers earlier associated with  
 Queen Elizabeth and in Catholic iconography with the Virgin Mary.  
 They offer the perfume of the garden and soft music from an arbor.  
 Moving to the upper garden, the party listen to concealed voices.  
 It is as if the garden itself were actively paying homage to the lady  
 walking in its greenness. The earlier theme is forgotten as the main  
 encomium to Queen Anne is developed. She has come alone as the consort  
 of the King. The garden is not a garden of state, but an emblem of

<sup>1</sup>Campion, 235-6.

<sup>2</sup>Campion, 237.

her own perfections. The garden's 'emptiness' becomes a paradise through her presence.

Welcome to this flowrie place,  
 Faire Goddess and sole Queene of grace:  
 All eyes triumph in your sight,  
 Which through all this emptie space  
 Casts such glorious beames of light.

Paradise were meeter farre  
 To entertaine so bright a Starre:  
 But why erres my folly so?  
 Paradise is where you are:  
 Heav'n above, and heav'n below.<sup>1</sup>

After supper a short masque was held in the great hall. The traveller, gardener, and cynic meet again and their speeches resolve the separate entertainments of the day into one statement. The gardener speaks,

I can neither bragge of my Travels, nor yet am ashamed  
 of my profession; I make sweet walkes for faire Ladies;  
 Flowers I prepare to adorne them; close Arbours I build  
 wherein their Loves unseene may court them; and who can  
 doe Ladies better service, or more acceptable? When I  
 was a Child and lay in my Cradle (a very pretie Child)  
 I remember well that Lady Venus appeared unto me, and  
 setting a Silver Spade and Rake by my Pillow, bad me  
 prove a Gardiner...<sup>2</sup>

The cynic and traveller are equally startled by this speech and both are confirmed as figures of fun. The sophisticated traveller only now realizes he is in the presence of a deity, Queen Anne; the cynic at last can tell wine from water. The garden of the earlier entertainment is fully recognized as a garden of love. It is only weakly a garden of state in that it fosters those qualities of society the traveller cited and ideally the inward content of the hermit. The

<sup>1</sup>Campion, 241.

<sup>2</sup>Campion, 243.

Queen's role is that of beauty walking in the garden and the cynosure of the ideal state.

Pastoral hyperbole<sup>1</sup> or more narrowly the topos of the maiden walking in the garden is the exaggerated animation of natural phenomena in voluntary tribute to the lady. Grass, flowers, trees, and streams may pay tribute to her beauty or virtue or order themselves in sympathy with the harmony and grace of her presence. Maria Fairfax makes the woods straight in Marvell's "Upon Appleton House" and snow melts with grief to find the breasts of Venus so white in Lucretius's opening invocation in De rerum natura. A very old topos, it was popular in late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century lyric poetry, but it appears surprisingly seldom in the country-house entertainments. It is the central theme of the Cawsome entertainment and of Churchyard's "Manhode and Desart,"<sup>2</sup> and it plays a minor role in the welcome of Elizabeth to Elvetham. Whether its association with the lighter romantic lyric was too strong to allow its use freely in praise of royalty or whether its excesses were difficult to control in a dramatic form is not clear. Certainly as description the method has obvious dangers. It allows the maiden to be allegorized until she

<sup>1</sup>The phrase 'pastoral hyperbole' is from J.B. Leishman's The Art of Marvell's Poetry (1966; 2nd edn., 1968). He traces the history of pastoral hyperbole, pp. 225-37, from Hesiod's Theogony, 194-5, and surveys its use in seventeenth-century poetry. See also John Izod, "The Garden in English Poetry 1590-1690," (Diss. Leeds 1971), 172ff., who explores the topos of the maiden walking in the garden and the related areas of blazon poetry and the Orphic theme. A.B. Giamatti, The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic (Princeton, N.J., 1966), 48 n. 49, briefly traces the topos of the maiden as flower.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Churchyard's entertainment was written for performance in a garden, though in the event rehearsed for performance in a field as part of the Queen's reception by the city of Norwich and cancelled by rain. See Nichols, Elizabeth, II, 201, for details and a reprint of the text.

becomes a symbol like Jean de Meun's rose, or her own person may be exalted until, still recognizable, she takes on the aura of a paragon. Either interpretation may dissolve in absurdity or obscurity depending on the technical skill and wit with which features of the garden are exploited.

We cannot pass from the dominant themes of open air performances without noting that beneath these themes topical references abound. It is not possible to recover these references for all the pieces, but it is possible sufficiently often to suggest they are present in varying degrees in all and that their conveyance was one of the functions of these entertainments. This personal element is not surprising in a garden. Lionello Puppi points out that while Palladio developed the façade of the villa in objective and scientific terms, in the interior he allowed personal display and this interior display might be continued in the iconography of the garden.<sup>1</sup> At the Villa Barbaro at Maser the nymphaeum completes the iconography of the main building. Again there was warrant for this license in Vitruvius's association of landscape with satire and its endorsement by Serlio. Eugenio Battisti argues that in the Renaissance the axial alignment of outer courtyard, palace, and garden imitated Vitruvius's three scenes. An early plan for a Medici palace in the Piazza Navona, Rome, had an urban theatre, a ceremonial courtyard, and the rustic area of the

<sup>1</sup>L. Puppi, "The Villa Garden of the Veneto," The Italian Garden; First Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, ed. David R. Coffin (Washington, D.C., 1972), 101-2. The example of the Villa Barbaro is his. Hans Holbein follows the same principle in his ornament of the House of the Dance in Basle. The façade develops themes such as that of the Vices and Virtues, while the interior frescoes depict the history of the owner and his family.



garden in continuous succession.<sup>1</sup> The movement from the public to the private or personal world follows this succession.

In the material I have been considering some topical references such as those at Woodstock and Ditchley to the career of Sir Henry Lee in the activities of Loricus and possibly to Queen Elizabeth's matrimonial plans have been mentioned in passing.<sup>2</sup> The hermit's speech at Theobalds in 1591 and the entertainment there in 1594 turned on private references to Sir William Cecil's petition for retirement.<sup>3</sup> Jonson's "Entertainment at Althorpe," 1603, beneath the encomium to the Queen and Prince Henry, seeks to justify Sir Robert Spenser's withdrawal from the court of Queen Elizabeth and to open the possibility of preferment under the new regime. His "Love's Welcome to Bolsover" continues the quarrel with Inigo Jones.<sup>4</sup>

Although in every entertainment the presence of topical references is almost a certainty, the difficulties of elucidating them are daunting. The preface to the entertainment at Woodstock in 1575 warns that

<sup>1</sup>Eugenio Battisti, "Natural Artificiosa to Natura Artificialis" in The Italian Garden, 14.

<sup>2</sup>See Charles Read Baskerville, "The Genesis of Spenser's Queen of Faerie," MP, 18 (1920), for a discussion of the allusions to Elizabeth and the possible relationship of the Woodstock entertainment of 1575 to that at Kenilworth.

<sup>3</sup>For further discussion see Bullen's edition of The Works of George Peele, II, 304, and Nichols, Elizabeth, II, 399-400. Nichols, Elizabeth, III, 75, reprints the letter from Strypes, Annals, IV, which Elizabeth had addressed "To the disconsolate and retired spryte, the Heremite of Tybole."

<sup>4</sup>See the discussion in Gordon, "Poet and Architect," 99-101.

if you marke the woords with this present world, or were acquainted with the state of the devises, you shoulde finde no lesse hidden then uttered, and no lesse uttered then shoulde deserve a double reading over, even of those...that have disposed their houres to the study of great matters.<sup>1</sup>

After the entertainment the reader is told with evident satisfaction that Elizabeth ordered a copy of the whole and addressed to it "besides her owne skill, the helpe of the devisors."<sup>2</sup> If Elizabeth with her intimate knowledge of the court yet needed aid to unravel an entertainment written especially for her then modern scholars must indeed beware. What some of the problems are can perhaps best be illustrated by a quick look at Sidney's "Lady of May." Its topical allusions have been much explored.

Two versions of the entertainment exist and show that the ending could be varied according to the Queen's choice of Espilus or Therion. Kimbrough and Murphy argue convincingly that Therion was intended to represent Leicester, who hoped for encouragement of his suit, but the Queen saw through his plan and decided for Espilus against the weight and intention of Sidney's poetry.<sup>3</sup> Had she chosen Therion, Rombus was provided with a strong speech making Leicester's plea still clearer. Leicester had made a similar use of his entertainment of Elizabeth at Kenilworth in 1575. Sylvanus accompanied the departing company through the park, transforming each tree with George Gascoigne's help into an argument for Leicester's suit. The oak as

<sup>1</sup>"Entertainment at Woodstocke," 93.

<sup>2</sup>"Entertainment at Woodstocke," 102.

<sup>3</sup>Kimbrough and Murphy, 106-7. David Kalstone, Sidney's Poetry (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 46, argues the Queen was simply not paying attention.

Constance, the poplar as Inconstance, the ash as Vainglory, the bramble as Contention, and ivy as Ambition appear in order. Finally they arrived at the laurel of Dewe desert and the holly of Deepe desire. Musicians hidden in an arbour sang a final plea to the Queen to stay.

In a different reading of "The Lady of May" Stephen Orgel ignores the intrusion of topical issues.<sup>1</sup> He attributes Elizabeth's unexpected selection of Espilus the shepherd to her familiarity with the pastoral convention and the disparity of that decision with the tenor of the entertainment to Sidney's attempt to satirize the same convention. Certainly there is no figure, not even the May Lady, who is not ridiculed. Aspects of Sidney's "The Lady of May" remain a puzzle even given establishment of the text, an intimate knowledge of the minutiae of history, and critical familiarity with literary forms. Unless independent documentation appears the problems of Sidney's entertainment may never be conclusively solved.

So far I have considered the pastoral character of the open air entertainment, its figures, the themes proper to garden and park, and the presence of private allusions. It remains to consider the use made of actual features of the garden and park. In considering these features as theatrical elements it is helpful to distinguish between those features which act as framing devices and those which primarily embody part of the meaning of the action. As far as the evidence goes, framing devices in the entertainments of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century are very few indeed. The entertainment

<sup>1</sup>Stephen Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 45-56. For political issues other than matrimonial ones see The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. William A. Ringler (Oxford, 1962), 362.

at Althorpe appears to have used the entrance to the garden as such a device.<sup>1</sup> The garden formed a backdrop for the speakers and for the action when a deer was driven in for Sir Robert Spenser's son to kill. It is quite possible that the needs of the huntsman guided the choice of site rather than dramatic requirements. Presented on 25 June, 1603, the entertainment antedates Jonson's first masque at court, The Masque of Blackness, by two years. It is not known who sited the entertainment.

Jonson's entertainment for the King of Denmark and King James I at Theobalds in 1606 used the inner courtyard as a screen, but already the poet was partnered by Inigo Jones, who received a larger remuneration for the entertainment than did Jonson.<sup>2</sup> Above the porch the three Hours signifying Law, Justice, and Peace, sat on clouds. Below, the walls were ornamented with Latin inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> The screen was more important for its symbolism than for its effect as a framing device, a use which seems almost incidental. The form is that of the medieval tableau and it recalls the close relationship between the entertainment and the pageant. The inscriptions are aimed at the two kings who are themselves the focus of the action.

A similar sense of purpose seems to guide the use of the antique gate erected at Ashby in 1607 for the reception of Alice, the Countess

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, James, I, 175. Herford and Simpson, X, 394-7, in their commentary on the Althorpe entertainment do not include this information.

<sup>2</sup>Scott McMillin, "Jonson's Early Entertainments: New Information from Hatfield House," Renaiss. Drama, n.s. 1 (1968), 155.

<sup>3</sup>The inscriptions and entertainment are reprinted in Herford and Simpson, VII, 145-50.

Dowager of Derby. The entertainment was by John Marston. The Countess entered the garden to be stopped at an antique gate.

Upon the Gate did hange a many silver  
 Scroles with this worde in them: Tantum Uni  
 Upon the battlements over the gate stooode  
 three gilte sheildes in Diamond figure impaled  
 on the topp wth three Coronets purfled with Goulde  
 & severally inscribed wth silver wordes in the  
 first sheelde: Venisti tandem  
 In the seconde Nostra sera, in the Thirde  
Et sola voluptas: over these oppon a  
 halfe spheare stooode an imbossed antiq; figure  
 gilte: the slighte Towers to this gate which  
 were only raised for shewe were sett out wth  
 battlements sheildes & Coronetts sutable to  
 the reste.<sup>1</sup>

An enchantress by the gate tried to turn the Countess away. She said that all within were melancholy because 'she' failed to come, though long expected. The Countess is soon recognized as 'she' and joy reigns. The gate encloses the action, but its silent messages dominate the scene. The gate at Ashby, though in its antique form part of the new wave of classical imitation encouraged by the triumphal arches of James I's entrance into the city of London in 1603/4,<sup>2</sup> still owes as much to emblems such as the oak tree decorated with shields at Cowdray in 1591.

The shrubbery of the garden, an obvious candidate for a framing device, is mainly exploited for the elements of surprise or mystery. As noted earlier, wild men and country maids frequently tumbled under

<sup>1</sup>"The honorable: Lord and Lady of Huntingdons Entertainement of their right Noble Mother Alice: Countesse Dowager of Darby," The Poems of John Marston, ed. Arnold Davenport (Liverpool, 1961), 192-3. 'Purfled' is glossed as 'bordered' in the OED.

<sup>2</sup>Sir John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830 (3rd. edn., 1958), 85-6.n. 1, credits Inigo Jones with design of the gates at Arundel House, Beaufort House, Chelsea, and the park gate at Greenwich in 1623-4. Each gate is an exercise on the theme of the triumphal arch based on designs by Serlio, Vignola, and Michelangelo.

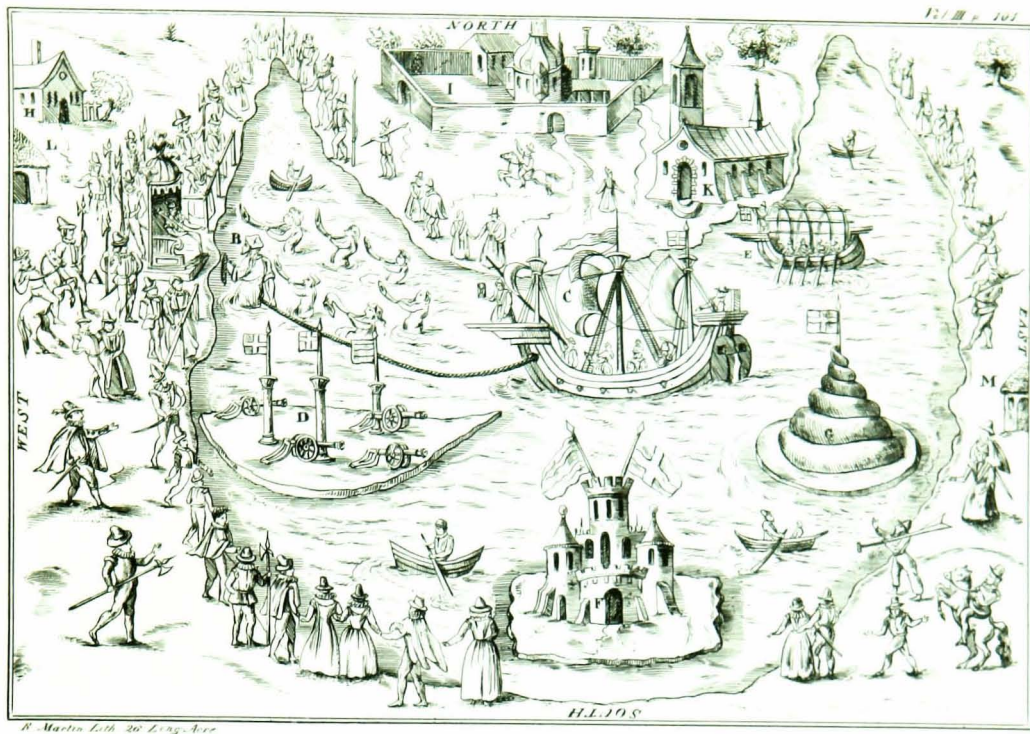
Elizabeth's feet from grove or thicket. Thomas Churchyard, discovering the Queen's route at Norwich, made use of a thicket to conceal seven boys disguised as water nymphs -- "Their attire, and coming so strangely out, I know, made the Queene's Highnesse smile and laugh withall."<sup>1</sup> At Cawsome the musicians were concealed in groves in both the upper and lower gardens that their airs might seem part of the magic of the garden itself. Arbours were frequently used too as a gallery for the musicians, but strangely were apparently not used for the actors.

The Queen's entertainment at Elvetham in 1591 was perhaps the most lavishly staged of all those studied here. (See Plate 15.) The crescent pond was dug to order, its shape a compliment to the Queen as a chaste Diana. The three islands in the pool were developed for the occasion as garden features and shaped into recognizable figures. One was a mount covered in coils of privet to resemble a snail which could be converted into a dragon. The second carried a small fort overgrown with willows. The third island was shaped like a ship, its masts were living trees. The verse identifies the fort as Neptune's raised in Elizabeth's defense, the snail as the defeated dragon of Catholic Spain and the ship as a treasure ship from India.<sup>2</sup> The islands served as excellent platforms for fireworks and as entrances for the actors, but their value is primarily iconographical.

The features of the garden and park were freely altered on a lavish scale at Elvetham to embody the meaning of an entertainment.

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, Elizabeth, II, 211.

<sup>2</sup>Lyly, 442-3.



·Plate 15. "The Entertainment at Elvetham," 1591.

"The Princely Pleasures" at Kenilworth made use of the existing features of the castle where possible, though rivaling Elvetham in artifice where it was not.<sup>1</sup> A welcoming speech was given to Elizabeth at the park gate, the keys of the castle were surrendered at the gate to the tiltyard. As she crossed the bridge, the seven posts on either side of it carried gifts from seven gods, grains from Ceres, wine from Bacchus, fish from Neptune, etc. A poem over the inner gate with the Queen's arms explained the gifts as the submission of the whole estate:

Ad Majestatem Regiam

Jupiter huc certos cernens TE tendere gressus,  
 Coelicolas PRINCEPS actutum convocat omnes:  
 Obsequium praestare jubet TIBI queuque benignum.  
 Unde suas Sylvanus aves, Pomonaque fructus,  
 Alma Ceres fruges, hilarantia vina Liaeus,  
 Neptunus Pisces, tela & tutantia Mavors,  
 Suave melos Phoebus, solidam longamque salutem.  
 Dij TIBI REGINA haec (cum SIS DIGNISSIMA) prebent:  
 Baec TIBI cum Domino dedit se & werda Kenelmi.<sup>2</sup>

The bridge, some seventy feet long, formed a gallery for the Queen during the several aquatic performances of the week's visit. The Lady of the Lake told the history of Kenilworth from a movable island. Later at Triton's request the Queen from the bridge heard of the defeat of 'Sir Bruse sans pittie', and a figure costumed as Arion serenaded the Queen from the back of a dolphin whose inner machinery

<sup>1</sup>See the description in F.J. Furnivall, Robert Laneham's Letter: Describing a Part of the Entertainment unto Queen Elizabeth at the Castle of Kenilworth in 1575 (1907), and Muriel Bradbrook, "Drama as Offering: The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth," Rice Institute Pamphlet, 46 (1960). Citations are to Cunliffe's edition of The Complete Works of George Gascoigne, II, 91-131, cited hereafter as Gascoigne. Known contributors to the entertainment include Gascoigne, Henry Goldingham, Edward Ferrers, Lord of Misrule to Edward VI, William Hunneys, the Master of the Chapel, Richard Mulcaster, Master of the Merchant Taylor's School, and a Master Badger, a beadle at Oxford.

<sup>2</sup>Furnivall, 10. The inscription is not given in Gascoigne.



included supporting musicians. Elaborately fashioned, these aquatic figures echoed a fountain at Kenilworth which was carved with emblems of Neptune, Thetis and the dolphin, Triton, Proteus and Doris, one of the neriads. Arthurian and classical legend paid equal homage to the Queen.

In contrast to the week's entertainments, Leicester's farewell to the Queen, already discussed for its topical allusions, may have used only natural features. From trees of the English park Gascoigne evoked the commonplaces of the emblem book, turning each tree into a symbol, the oak of constancy, the ivy of ambition, the laurel of victory. The text indicates that the speaker Sylvanus pointed to the oak as he passed it.<sup>1</sup> Although it is not certain that each tree grew in the park, all are common and abundant native species. The oak at Cowdray seems to have been a real tree, but whether the one used at the entertainment of two kings at Theobalds was real is not known. Leaves of green silk imprinted with 'welcome' in gold letters showered from it as the party passed. It was suspiciously near the gate. The grove at Ditchley seems to have been a natural feature. It was wittily used. The knights rooted in faithful service were imprisoned in the tree trunks, while their fickle ladies, like leaves subject to every wind, were perched among the branches.

Jonson's method in the "Entertainment at Highgate" stands out from that used in the other entertainments. Jonson uses the natural features of the garden as they are and by literary reference generates a symbolism for each. The topos of the locus amoenus with its tree,

<sup>1</sup>Gascoigne, II, 125.

stream, meadow, and flowers becomes Arcadia through the speeches of Mercury and the costumed figures scattered throughout the garden. Sir William Cornwallis's garden mount, his flowers, purslane tree, the river Thames, and even the distant view of London and her environs take their place within the myth Jonson elaborated from Ovid's Metamorphoses I, 689ff. The significance of this preference for the literary symbol will be explored in the pages to come.

From these examples it is clear that little use was made of existing garden features by writers apart from Jonson and occasionally Gascoigne. Attempts to frame the scene so important in later production on the evidence available are limited and uncertain. The use of thickets for surprise and mystery is effective but crude compared with the achievements of the green theatres of the eighteenth century which were complete stages of turf with numerous wings of hornbeam, yew, privet, and cypress. Sidney's garden in "The Lady of May" is typical in that the garden itself as a setting, like the park behind the wild man, identifies the particular mode of poetry, but Sidney made no further use of individual features. When such features are called for they are created as at Elvetham and Ashby in such a way that their iconographical significance predominates. When the Lord Chamberlain at Norwich told Thomas Churchyard where Elizabeth was to ride in the afternoon he rushed off to dig a hole near her path some sixty feet square.<sup>1</sup> It was to be covered with canvas as a cave for nymphs and musicians. Even natural features might be created as convenience dictated.

<sup>1</sup>Nichols, Elizabeth, II, 199.

The conclusions drawn in these pages must, unfortunately, be at last somewhat tentative. Out of hundreds of Renaissance entertainments held at English country houses only a few have been printed, and for the most part only those which celebrate royalty. On these selected texts very little research or textual work has been done. The difficulties are further complicated by multiple or anonymous authorship, sometimes uncertain locations, and the distorting effects of private allusions. More important the visual element, even where clear printed texts have survived, has seldom come down to us. But if I cannot offer certain conclusions perhaps at least these pages go some way toward defining the areas of inquiry, and to placing those inquiries within the controlling context of the garden.

The relationship between the garden and theatre in the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth century is primarily an iconographical one. The materials of the garden may be exploited or freely replaced by artificial ones. For purposes of symbolism art and nature are interchangeable. But the garden itself embodies certain inviolable symbolic parameters. These parameters are such that they dictate the employment of the pastoral genre and within that genre entertainments suitable to garden or park can be distinguished. The garden invites personal and even intimate references, and it permits the normal license of pastoral. In the period considered, the topos of the garden as a symbol of civic order and the state is particularly strong, as is the theme of chivalric service in the park. The fact that most of the entertainments studied are in honour of royalty may account for the prominence of these motifs, although the topos of the garden as state is an ancient one. Nothing I have found contradicts the earlier analysis of the emblem garden in Chapter I as a garden of nurture.

### III Natural Settings and the Garden in the Jonsonian Masque

The garden setting in the Stuart masque fulfils two separate functions. In the early masque and particularly the Jonsonian masque the iconographical interpretation of the garden continues. In the later masque in which Inigo Jones's dominance was unquestioned, the garden setting is more fully developed as an Italian perspective garden whose sightlines act as a framing device for the action of the masque. The garden's symbolic possibilities are less important. The difference in these two modes of perception is sharply defined because the history of the Jonsonian-Jonesian masque is the history of the perfection of each artist's method in counterpoint to the other. At no point of execution<sup>1</sup> did they share a similar stance but rather each tested, altered, and extended his creative repertoire within the limits of his own particular posture. Jonson's symbolism achieves an increasing fulness of meaning combined with an almost total abstraction from the material landscape. While in Jones's work, what in the middle ages had been a crude attempt to isolate static symbols spatially became in the convergence of the sightlines in the eyes of the spectator, a radically different mode of perception which made a statement about process and relationships, not about eternal verities. When the eyes were those of the king the statement became a witty conceit attesting his power, position, and creativity. Only his vision

<sup>1</sup>D.J. Gordon, "Poet and Architect." op. cit., has argued convincingly that for both men inventio, the idea or soul of artistic endeavour, rested in the mind, while the words of the poet and the scenery, costume, and staging of the designer supplied the body. Nevertheless, Jones's practical starting point was the mathematics of the stage.

was 'true'; and the truth of the masque existed only through his participation.

Jonson's perfection of the iconological method was struggled for over many years. It was guided by a coherent theory of the masque form which was in harmony with Jonson's aesthetic position as a whole in so far as that position can be known. It affected all aspects of the masque, but for present purposes can be illustrated from the single viewpoint of his natural settings. Jonson's use of the garden proper as a setting is limited to two masques Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue and Love's Triumph through Callipolis. A bower of nature appears in Mercury Vindicated and Spring is the primary motif in The Vision of Delight and Chloridia. Jonson also uses a number of pastoral motifs. Other natural settings appear in The Haddington Masque and in Oberon.

The fulness of description which accompanies Jonson's early masques and their settings is often noted in contrast with the sparser descriptions of later years. This difference has usually been attributed to the growing strain in the relationship between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones. By this interpretation Jonson minimizes his partner's contributions wherever possible.<sup>1</sup> An opposing argument recently advanced is that Jonson records the stage devices in the early plays where their movement is part of the action of the play. He ceases to do so later as he, with the cooperation of Jones, works towards a more

<sup>1</sup>Allardyce Nicoll, p. 82, writes that Jonson became 'stingy' with his stage descriptions around 1615. The evidence for the quarrel is summarized by Herford and Percy, I. 60-3, 97-8; X. 689-92; and Gordon, "Poet and Architect," 294.n.1.

unified form of the masque.<sup>1</sup> The method which can be seen operating in Jonson's natural settings would seem to support this latter argument.<sup>2</sup> The creation of a unified masque is achieved in part through a change in strategy in the selection of these settings.

Jonson came to rely increasingly on those natural settings whose allegorical significance was traditional and part of the education of his Stuart audience. He acknowledged the burden placed on them in The Masque of Queenes:

A Writer should alwayes trust somewhat to the capacity of the Spectator, especially at these Spectacles; Where Men, beside inquiring eyes, are understood to bring quick eares, and not those sluggish ones of Porters, and Mechanicks, that must be bor'd through, at every act, wth Narrations.<sup>3</sup>

11. 105-110.

Jonson increased the burden on his spectators over the years. It is no accident that recent research has traced much of Jonson's scholarship, whatever its ultimate source, to the common mythological handbooks which had served as textbooks for his audience during their school years.<sup>4</sup> Those settings which derive directly from literary

<sup>1</sup>Stephen Orgel, ed., Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques (1969), 21-2; and more particularly his article "To Make Boards to Speak: Inigo Jones's Stage and the Jonsonian Masque," Renaiss. Drama, n.s.1 (1968), in which he traces Jones's development between 1610 and 1618 of the stage of illusion rather than spectacle, a stage which no longer required explanation.

<sup>2</sup>This does not deny the reality of the argument between Jonson and Jones or the nature of its basis as discussed by D.J. Gordon, op. cit., but it does not have the significance for the internal text of Jonson's masque previously claimed for it. Whatever influence it may have had on the title pages and addenda of the masque it did not affect its form.

<sup>3</sup>Masque citations are to Herford and Simpson, VII. All emendations to Jonson's texts are theirs.

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, Chapter VI "Ben Jonson and the Dictionaries" in D.T. Starnes and E.W. Talbert, Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1955), D.J. Gordon's "The Imagery of Ben Jonson's Masques of Blacknesse and Beautie," JWCI, 6 (1943) and "Jonson's Haddington Masque," Modern Language Review, 42 (1947). Both articles are reprinted in The Renaissance Imagination.

topoi of well known significance are accompanied by sparse stage directions and allusions to them in the text bring out their allegorical significance rather than their physical nature. Where Jonson has to create the symbolism of his setting his stage directions are ample. These settings appear mainly in the earlier masques. This difference in method may be illustrated by comparing The Haddington Masque and particularly The Masque of Beauty with The Fortunate Isles, while the various strengths and problems of Jonson's developing techniques may be examined in chronological stages in his other natural settings.

In the preface to The Haddington Masque Jonson tells the reader that the high red cliff of the opening scene represents the source of the bride's name. He describes fully its height, greatness, and antiquity, and the pilasters of Venus and Cupid with their devices flanking the cliff. Overhead were the figures of Victory and Triumph, who completed the arch, while the chariot bearing Venus moved forward. Jonson does not bother to describe the costumes of Venus or the attendant Graces for they were "attyr'd according to their antique figures" (l. 48) and can be assumed. In the text of the masque Hymen's speech insures that the audience understands the significance of the cliff:

She is a noble virgin, styl'd the maid  
 Of the Red-cliffe, and hath her dowrie waigh'd;  
 No less in vertue, bloud, and forme, then gold.  
 Thence, where my Pillar's rear'd, you may behold,  
 (Fill'd with Loves Trophaees) doth she take her name.  
 ll. 244-8.

In the later masques Jonson learned to control the content of his text so that information did not need to be duplicated or extended by means of a preface but this masque is an early one, 1608, and it uses a

setting invented by Jonson from an etymological suggestion by Camden.<sup>1</sup>

The Masque of Beauty, 1608, provides an extreme example of this kind of invented scene. The final setting is an island bearing the throne of Beauty. It has no literary or historical antecedents as a whole though Jonson is careful to cite authorities in his notes for various aspects of it.<sup>2</sup>

I devised...a <n> Island floting on a calme water. In the middest thereof was a seate of state, call'd the throne of beautie, erected: divided into eight squares, and distinguish'd by so many Ionick pilasters. In these Squares the sixteene Masquers were plac'd by couples: behind them, in the center of the Throne was a tralucent Pillar, shining with severall-colour'd lights, that reflected on their backes. From the top of which Pillar went severall arches to the Pilasters, that sustained the roofe of the Throne, which was likewise adorn'd with lights, and gyrlonds; And betweene the Pilasters, in front, little Cupids in flying posture, waving of wreathes, and lights, bore up the Coronice: over which were placed eight Figures representing the Elements of Beauty; which advanced upon the Ionick, and being females, had the Corinthian order...

11. 164-78.

Jonson then gives a full description of the costume and devices of the eight figures, Splendor, Serenitas, Germinatio, Laetitia, Temperies, Venustas, Dignitas, Perfectio, and Harmonia before he continues with the description of the island.

<sup>1</sup>Jonson's gloss; see also the correction by Herford and Simpson, X, 487.

<sup>2</sup>D.J. Gordon's article, *op. cit.*, remains the most thorough analysis of the meaning of The Masque of Beauty. He treats the throne of beauty as the visual expression of that meaning, and discusses the nature and sources of Jonson's Cupids, the eight female figures, and the movements of the throne in the context of Florentine theories of love and beauty. The designer is unknown.



This was the Ornament of the Throne. The ascent to which, consisting of six steps, was covered with a multitude of Cupids...that were the Torch-bearers; and all armed, with Bowes, Quivers, Wings, and other Ensignes of Love. On the sides of the Throne, were curious, and elegant Arbors appointed: and behinde, in the backe part of the Ile, a Grove, of growne trees laden with golden fruit, which other little Cupids plucked, and threw each at other, whilst on the ground Leverets<sup>1</sup> pick'd up the bruised apples, and left them halfe eaten. The ground-plat of the whole was a subtle indented Maze: And, in the formost angles, were two Fountaines, that ran continually, the one Hebe's, the other Hedone's: In the Arbors, were plac'd the Musicians, who represented the Shades of the olde Poets, and were attir'd in a Priest-like habit of Crimson, and Purple, with Laurell gyrlonds.

11. 231-47.

The throne of beauty also had a three-part movement which Jonson describes for the reader. The island moved forward while the throne rotated from east to west or clockwise in imitation of the motion of the world while the steps with their burden of Cupids rotated counter clockwise in imitation of the motion of the planets (11. 256-65). The text, through the speech of Vulturinus, adds that the arbours are of myrtle and gold (l. 141), the mazes set with flowers (l. 143), and the fountains are called "Of Lasting Youth, the other chast Delight."

Vulturinus's speech precedes the appearance of the island and Jonson's prose description of it, preparing the audience in advance for the significance they were to find there. Vulturinus deftly ties the motions of the island and throne to the themes of beauty and love.

<sup>1</sup>Jonson glosses 'leverets' or hares as notes of Loveliness sacred to Venus.

There, their Queene  
 Hath raised them [the nymphs] a Throne, that still is seene  
 To turne unto the motion of the World;  
 Wherein they sit, and are, like Heaven, whirl'd  
 About the Earth; whil'st, to them contrarie,  
 (Following those nobler torches of the Skie)  
 A world of little Loves, and chaste Desires,  
 Doe light their beauties, with still moving fires.  
 And who to Heavens consent can better move,  
 Then those that are so like it, Beautie and Love?

11. 127-36.

It is only after establishing the significance of his invented setting that Jonson compares it to the established topos of Elysium. The comparison allows Jonson to justify the presence of ancient poets who celebrated love and beauty.

Hither, as to their new Elysium,  
 The spirits of the antique Greekes are come,  
Poets and Singe<r>s, Linus, Orpheus, all  
 That have excell'd in knowledge musicall...

11. 137-40.

As a modern singer of these themes Jonson, of course, associates himself with this illustrious company. But the new Elysium he acclaims in the closing song of the masque is not identical with the Elysian fields of Virgil's Aeneid VI. 637-94 or Homer's Odyssey IV. 561-8, XXIV. 13-14. It is a Renaissance Elysium sufficiently romanticized by the influence of the oriental paradise to furnish themes for blazon poetry such as Carew's "The Rapture" or Chapman's Ovids Banquet of Sence or even Jonson's idealized love in The Masque of Beauty. Though Jonson touches on the established topos he works towards it rather than, as later, gradually generating contemporary significance from it.

The topos, as a writer's tool, is more than a passive collection of coherent items accompanied by set stylistic features, and transmitted by literary tradition. R.S. Crane describes topoi as what we

think with, not about, but he goes on to discuss their generative quality. Their traditional content is known to writer and audience alike, but their ultimate significance is relative to their role as part of a dialectical whole.<sup>1</sup> In the hands of a capable writer the topos is capable of subsuming its traditional content and creating extensions of the original definition. Jonson recognized this capability and in his hands the topos became a powerful tool in his struggle to bring the diffuseness of masque spectacle into line with his aesthetic theory as a whole.

Jonson's development of his particular anti-Ciceronean style, which has been the subject of much recent and excellent analysis,<sup>2</sup> involved a commitment to precision, economy of expression, and density of thought. The individual word in Jonson is a highly weighted vehicle to such an extent that Dryden complained he wove language too closely and laboriously<sup>3</sup> and a more recent critic has described him as a philologist who could also write poetry.<sup>4</sup> A necessary concomitant of Jonson's attitude to language was its reflection in

<sup>1</sup>R.S. Crane, "Literature, Philosophy, and the History of Ideas," MP, 52 (1954), 75-8.

<sup>2</sup>See especially Jonas A. Barish, Ben Jonson and the Language of Prose Comedy (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) and Wesley Trimpi, Ben Jonson's Poems (Stanford, Calif., 1962).

<sup>3</sup>"An Essay of Dramatick Poesie," The Works of John Dryden, 20 vols. ed. E.N. Hooker et al. (Berkeley, Calif., 1956-), XVII, 58.

<sup>4</sup>Edward B. Partridge, The Broken Compass: A Study of the Major Comedies of Ben Jonson (1958), 217.

other areas of his artistic endeavours. Those comedy scenes where verbosity is itself the statement and joke are a major exception. In the masque, it led to Jonson's theory of unified form<sup>1</sup> and his constant struggle to subdue and incorporate the antimasque into the whole and helped fuel his quarrel with Jones's proliferation of thematically unengaged spectacle. In the Discoveries written in Jonson's later years with the hindsight of much practical experience, he states uncompromisingly that

Fable is call'd the Imitation of one intire, and perfect Action; whose parts are so joyned, and knitt together, as nothing in the structure can be chang'd, or taken away, without impairing, or troubling the whole; of which there is a proportionable magnitude in the members

. . . .

<sup>1</sup>Dolores Cunningham's "The Jonsonian Masque as a Literary Form," ELH 22 (1955) is the most cogent and complete analysis of Jonson's theory of unity in the masque and is particularly helpful in distinguishing between Jonson's hierarchical unity of parts and a more usual organic unity. The distinction is important because it enables us to formulate a limited, working hypothesis about the notoriously difficult area of the relationship between the word and the image. Cunningham's starting point is Jonson's commentary on the Fenchurch arch, which, strictly, applies only to the unity of the visual device together with its printed texts and not to the unity of the device with the speeches by Genius. The extension, however, seems justified by the word 'complementall'. The importance of the statement is enhanced by its early date preceding all of Jonson's masques -- "Thus farre the complementall part of the first; wherein was not onely labored the expression of state and magnificence...but the very site, fabricke, strength, policie, dignitie, and affections of the Citie were all laid downe to life: The nature and propertie of these Devices being, to present alwaies some one entire bodie, or figure, consisting of distinct members, and each of those expressing it selfe, in the owne active spheare, yet all, with that generall harmonie so connected and disposed, as no one little part can be missing to the illustration of the whole..." ll. 243-53. See also Per Palme, "Ut Architectura Poesis," Figura, n.s.1 (Stockholm, 1959).

[The Fable] should be one, and intire. One is considerable two waies: either, as it is only separate, and by it self: or as being compos'd of many parts, it beginnes to be one, as those parts grow, or are wrought together....compos'd of parts, which laid together in themselves, with an equall and fitting proportion, tend to the same end.

. . . .

If it be such a part, as being present or absent, nothing concernes the whole, it cannot be call'd a part of the whole.<sup>1</sup>

The dominating imagery of any masque is in intimate relationship with the fable and falls under the same strictures. In seeking a central image which was proportionable, fitting, and entirely concerned with the whole, Jonson gradually came to rely on a literary topos of place or time. In the topos he achieved a palimpsest of setting, image, and theme. It provided economy of expression and density of thought, and a given body of data shared with his Stuart audience from which his exploration of contemporary relevances could radiate.

The setting of The Fortunate Isles, 1625, is an example of this strategy. The stage directions for the main scene of the masque are very brief:

Here the Scene opens, and the Masquers are discover'd sitting in their severall sieges. The aire opens above, and A P O L L O with Harmony and the spirits of Musique sing, the while the Iland moves forward, Proteus sitting below, and hearkning.

11. 453-7.

The description of the Fortunate Isles in mythology is a compound of attributes drawn from blessed places. As the home of the dead souls of the blessed, they share qualities of the Elysian fields described by Virgil and Homer and the isles described by Hesiod, Works, 169-71,

<sup>1</sup>Herford and Simpson, VIII, 645, 647, 648.

and Pindar, Olympian, II. 67-74.<sup>1</sup> The topos of the Fortunate Isles is summarized by Natale Conti:

Hi duas esse parvas insulas referebant mari inter se  
divisas, atque ventos ibi plurimum saeves et odoriferos  
leniter spirare, tanquam per incredibilem florum varietatem  
et amoenitatem transeuntes. Nam qualis odor est multis  
rosis, violis, hyacinthis, liliis, narcissis, myrtetis,  
lauris, cyparissis, talis aspirantium ventorum est sauitas.<sup>2</sup>

Conti goes on to describe the temperate air, eternal spring, absence of old age, ambition, and wealth. It is this topos we recognize when Jonson begins the song of Apollo, Harmony, and the spirits of music.

The windes are sweet, and gently blow,  
But Zephyrus, no breath they know,  
The Father of the flowers:  
By him the virgin violets live,  
And every plant doth odours give,  
As new, as are the howers.

11. 465-70.

This song is followed shortly by Proteus's song.

There is no sicknes, nor no old age knowne  
To man, nor any greife that he dares owne.  
There is no hunger there, nor envy of state.  
Nor least ambition in the Magistrate.  
But all are even-harted, open, free,  
And what one is, another strives to be.

11. 508-13.

Neither of these songs contributes much to the visual realization of the setting -- presumably there were many flowers -- but each identifies the literary figure and Proteus's lyric moves toward the identification of the Fortunate Isles with Britain and the Stuart court. Jonson uses the traditional topos with its equally traditional negative formulation and dispenses with lengthy description, while his

<sup>1</sup>See Charles Francis Wheeler, Classical Mythology of the Plays, Masques, and Poems of Ben Jonson (Princeton, 1938). Wheeler's book is limited to classical sources.

<sup>2</sup>Natale Conti, Mythologiae (Frankfort, 1588), III.10.

references to the magistrate, envy, and ambition, update and politicize the vision of harmony. The lyric poets Arion, Anacreon, Stesichorus, Linus, Orpheus, and Amphion, introduced in the lines which follow Proteus's song, though part of the tradition of the isles of the blessed, are emphasized by Jonson to balance the Rosicrucian visions of Henry Scogan. Again there is a compliment to Jonson by association.

The Fortunate Isles is not Jonson's finest masque, but it does demonstrate his preoccupation with the classical topos as the central device of the form, and the ability of the poet to communicate a complete action independently of Jones's stage. Jonson's other natural settings demonstrate a similar preoccupation. Studied chronologically, they reveal his growing preference for classical mythology and his increasing control of the generative capacity of the topos to embrace the concerns of the Stuart court. They also occasionally reveal the dangers latent in the use of the traditional topos with its inherent content and imagery.

Jonson's early experiments with the topos in the masque sprang from his interest in the pastoral form. Oberon, 1611, is not a pastoral, although Silenus with his satyrs acknowledges Pan (l. 66). The setting is not the traditional land of shepherds, but the untamed groves and woods surrounding the pastoral landscape after dark. It derives from the dark wood of romance here metamorphosed into the fairyland of English fable. Although familiar from the poetry of Shakespeare and Drayton, it is not as well defined as a topos of classical literature,<sup>1</sup> and it does not immediately project a positive

<sup>1</sup>Herford and Simpson, II, 286, describe the English fairyland as still "plastic" in 1610/11.

or negative image. Consequently, Jonson finds description necessary.

The first face of the Scene appeared all obscure,  
& nothing perceived but a darke Rocke, with trees  
beyond it; and all wildnesse, that could be pre-  
sented: Till, at one corner of the cliffe, above  
the Horizon, the Moone began to shew, and rising,  
a Satyre was seene (by her light) to put forth  
his head, and call.

11. 7-10.

"All wildnesse, that could be presented" -- Jonson does not describe how this presentation takes place; it is the effect or the symbolism always that concerns him and not the mechanics. The wildness and the lighting emphasize the mysteriousness, the remoteness of the scene, and the sense of expectation which pervades it. Oberon's bright palace of transparent gates and walls (l. 138f.) in the centre of the dark stage leads deeper into the woods as does the distant perspective (l. 291) revealed when the palace opens. Oberon really needs a chariot pulled by two white bears to come and pay homage to James I. Part of the compliment is in the praise of James I by all kingdoms even fairyland and by the sense of remoteness overcome to do so. Jonson notes those aspects of scenery which support this compliment.

Oberon is an early masque (1611) and in method for Jonson rests somewhere between the created landscape of The Haddington Masque and the traditional topos of The Fortunate Isles (1625). A similar distinction might be applied to Jones's work. Although he had used a proscenium stage and perspective in the single setting of his first masque, The Masque of Blackness (1605), he did not consistently integrate the whole stage. There remained a sense of the flat picture plane of the tableau vivant with iconographical items placed in symbolic diagram to right, left, or above in the early masque,



particularly in Hymenaei and The Masque of Beauty. But the setting of Oberon was unified in such a way that each change of scene moved deeper and deeper into the original setting -- from the wilderness to the transparent palace in its centre and thence into the middle chamber of the palace with yet a further perspective of landscape behind.<sup>1</sup> Jonson's movement toward the literary topos as opposed to the constructed visual icon was accompanied by Jones's development of a verisimilitude which required no interpretive text.

Jonson's pastoral settings differ essentially from the type of setting represented by The Fortunate Isles, but his method is constant. A unique location accompanied by an unchanging and narrowly defined set of attributes is changed to scenery whose specific location varies and whose qualities are more loosely conceived and economic in origin. Pastoral settings in the tradition established by Theocritus, Horace, Virgil, and Ovid<sup>2</sup> are of hills, a stream, and shady tree, but the setting is flexible in that the hills may be any hills, the tree beech, oak, or other species, and the stream as well as flowers may be present or not. Rain is possible and even snow as in Spenser's "February Eclogue." What remains constant in contrast to the fairyland of Oberon is the supposed simple life supported by a rural economy and

<sup>1</sup>Orgel gives a particularly clear description of this movement in "To Make Boards to Speak," 131-5. Orgel's description, like that of Nicoll, p. 72, is based on the use of a kind of scena ductilis. In the more recent Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court, 2 vols. (1973), I, 210, Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong present evidence for the use of a machina versatilis too. With either method the effect of increasing depth would be preserved. The Theatre of the Stuart Court is cited hereafter as Orgel and Strong.

<sup>2</sup>The most familiar texts besides those of Theocritus are Virgil's Ecl. II, IV; Idyll VII; Horace, Ep. II and Ovid, Met. I.

the equation of this life with virtue. Pastoral is in fact the real antithesis to the formal garden rather than the virgin wilderness. The latter is capable of improvement, the other is already shaped by man's consciousness to a different end. Nevertheless, as we have seen, pastoral entertainments appeared in both park and garden in a somewhat restricted form.

Pan's Anniversary, 1620, is a pastoral masque in celebration of King James I's birthday.<sup>1</sup> The setting is precisely located in Arcadia at the foot of Mt. Lycaeum, the most classical and traditional of pastoral venues. No further description is necessary for a topos so familiar to the Stuart audience and Jonson does not supply any.<sup>2</sup> Instead his stage directions note the fountain of light which he adds to the established setting. At the centre of the stage surrounded by the priests of Pan the light symbolizes the identification of Pan with King James. Pan illumines all Arcadia as James does Britain, and in their service the masquers reflect a radiant perfection. In the text Jonson stresses the economic integration of the pastoral community under the benevolence of its ruler.

<sup>1</sup>The date of performance of Pan's Anniversary has been a subject of debate. It is generally accepted that it was written in honour of the King's birthday on June 19th; Herford and Simpson summarize the evidence for the year in II, 324, with amendments VII, 604.

<sup>2</sup>Wheeler, op. cit., traces the rites of Pan to Fasti, II. 267-81. Orgel and Strong, I, 321, have tentatively identified Design 386 (O. & S. 109), with this setting. Design numbers throughout are those of Percy Simpson and C.F. Bell, Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court, Walpole Soc., 12 (Oxford, 1924), for ease of reference to the body of masque literature. The designs of Orgel and Strong are cross-referenced to Simpson and Bell under the rubric O. & S.

Pan is our All, by him we breath, wee live,  
 Wee move, we are; 'Tis he our lambes doth reare,  
 Our flocks doth blesse, and from the store doth give  
 The warme and finer fleeces that we weare.  
 He keepes away all heates, and colds,  
 Drives all diseases from our folds:  
 Makes every where the spring to dwell,  
 The ewes to feed, their udders swell;  
 But if he frowne, the sheepe (alas)  
 The Shepheards wither, and the grasse.  
 Strive, strive, to please him then by still increasing thus  
 The rites are due to him, who doth all right for us.

ll. 192-203.

This description of total dependence on King James as Pan may grate on modern nerves, but it is a perfectly appropriate extension of the pastoral topos within which Jonson conceived his masque.

The parkland of Time Vindicated to Himself and to His Honors offers an unusual analogue to the normal pastoral setting. The 1623 Quarto is marked by a complete lack of description although Sir John Astley's eyewitness account notes three scenes, a perspective of Whitehall and the banquet house, an obscuring cloud, and a wood.<sup>1</sup> The Folio of 1640 adds:

DIANA descends to HIPPOLITUS, the whole Scene  
 being chang'd to a Wood, out of which he comes.

ll. 446-8.

We cannot be sure the addition is by Jonson, but it is suggestive that only the allegorical setting of the wood is mentioned, the text remaining silent about the other scenes. The wood is the grove of Diana and as an attribute of the goddess it carries the same significance as her bow and arrows. There is a certain uneasiness about her presence in the masque as the figure who completes the work of Venus and Time in the education of James's noble masquers. Diana is

<sup>1</sup>Rpt. in Herford and Simpson, X, 649.

repeatedly questioned as 'she' and the addition of the grove contributes to her identification as the patroness of hunters. Her wood is not a wilderness like that of Oberon but a hunting park and a nursery of virtue. Her speech elevates the king's passionate interest in hunting.

I call'd these Youths forth, in their bloud, and prime  
 (Out of the honour, that I bore their Parts)  
 To make them fitter so to serve the Time  
 By labour, riding, and those ancient arts,  
 That first enabled men unto the warres,  
 And furnish'd Heaven with so many Starres.

11. 493-8.

If the further development of Diana's youths as Christian hunters of vice fails to be a convincing conclusion to the masque, the fault lies not in Jonson's legitimate extension of the values of a traditional natural setting, but in the incongruity of the Christian ending with the personal and private nature of the antimasque it is meant to answer. Jonson's satire of George Wither as Chronomastix enlarges the issues of their quarrel to the level of the safety of the state. Loose talk whether by individuals or the parliament is dangerous. But his satire does not make those issues universal in scope. The traditional mythology of Diana and the complexity of the legend of Hippolitus are too significant.<sup>1</sup> Chronomastix and his crew of the curious are simply too minor a quarry to warrant the majesty of Diana's noble Christian hunters.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For the complex possibilities of the legend of Hippolitus see the discussion of the programme of the Villa d'Este by David R. Coffin, The Villa d'Este at Tivoli (Princeton, N.J., 1960), 78-97.

<sup>2</sup>For an opposing point of view see W. Todd Furniss, "Ben Jonson's Masques," Three Studies in the Renaissance (New Haven, Conn., 1958), 113-6.

The pastoral setting is a type of landscape more than a locality. Spring as a setting is both a type of landscape with fixed physical details and a motif of time. But it may appropriate for its locality the garden or bower or the pastoral landscape itself. Jonson uses the topos of spring in The Vision of Delight, 1617, and Chloridia, 1631. Although some thirteen years separate the two masques, Jonson's preoccupations are similar in each.

Spring, the season of rebirth, is traditionally celebrated in classical literature for its beauty and the poignancy of its brevity. This beauty is frequently erotic as in Claudian's De Raptu Proserpinae or Ovid's work. In the medieval encyclopedias and hexameral literature spring became the setting for the mysterious and divine process which from the materials of earth, moisture, heat, and air fuses spirit and form in the birth of all phenomena. It is this process, particularly the concern with form, which made the topos of spring a favourite setting for the widest issues of the debate between art and nature. Although Jonson uses the classical motif, particularly as developed by Claudian, it is to philosophical questions of form and being that Jonson addresses The Vision of Delight.

The masque opens as the figure of Delight asks Phant'sie for visions which are to be pleasures of the spring suitable to a courtly audience. Phant'sie is troubled to know what dreams would please such an audience and in a difficult speech addressed to this question (ll. 57-114), he establishes the philosophical basis of the masque. He discourses on the different natures of inanimate objects, animals, and man, and the necessity to respect these differences. The man who does not is represented as a 'politique pudding' (l. 75),

that is, a man so shapeless he adjusts himself to every opportunity. The bellows and bagpipe, despite similarities, do not confuse their separate natures, nor do the onion and mustard, each brings tears in a different way. Other comparisons are given till Phant'sie adds as if still doubtful he has been understood,

Yet all this while, no proportion is boasted  
'Twixt an egge, and an Oxe, though both have been  
rosted.

ll. 91-2.

Phant'sie concludes that without these distinctions of nature the world would run 'a-wheeles'.

Orgel's notes to Phant'sie's speech point out its obscene overtones and the continual references to gluttony.<sup>1</sup> The double entendre of the speech leads to the final example of perverted nature in man,

a belly, and no face  
With the bill of a Shoveler, may here come in place;  
The haunches of a Drum, with the feet of a pot,  
And the tayle of a Kentishman to it; why not?

ll. 107-10.

Man perverts his nature in lechery and gluttony and the result is a hideous deformity, all belly and no face.

The bower of Zephyrus answers the question raised by Phant'sie. It is the suitable vision he was looking for and it "will more truly content" (l. 120) a courtly audience than the 'fantastical' figures of the antimasques, since the image of the perfection of nature in spring which it offers mirrors the courtiers's own perfection.

Knowing his audience will recognize the topos of spring, Jonson limits his stage directions.

<sup>1</sup>Orgel, The Complete Masques, 247-50; 486-8.

Here one of the Houres descending, the whole Scene  
 changed to the Bower of Zephyrus, whilst Peace sung...

11. 126-7.

In the text he briefly cites the standard attributes of spring, youth, heat and moisture, soft breezes and the resultant fertility of new life (11. 133-9). Then follows an elaborate passage whose primary message is a description of the artfulness of perfect nature. Jonson's passage is based on Claudian's De raptu, II. 71-100,<sup>1</sup> rather than on Jones's setting. He reorganizes the passage to exploit the comparison between art and nature, a comparison in which the role of art is ambiguous. Wonder is moved to search for comparisons to describe the scene before her. She groups the natural images, the peacock, pheasant, and rainbow together to enlarge further the appreciation of Nature's skills. The lengthy description of the

<sup>1</sup>Wheeler, 29, quotes Gifford's citation of Claudian: "'Gracious father of the spring, thou who ever rulest over my meads with errant breeze and bringest rain upon the summer lands with thine unceasing breath, behold...Grant that now all the trees be thick with newly-grown fruit, that fertile Hybla may be jealous and admit her paradise surpassed. All the sweet airs of Panchaea's encense-bearing woods, all the honied odours of Hydaspes' distant stream, all the spices which from furthest fields the long-lived Phoenix gathers, seeking new birth from wished for death...with generous breath refresh my country....'"

So spake she, and Zephyrus shook his wings adrip with fresh nectar and drenches the ground with their life-giving dew. Where-soe'er he flies spring's brilliance follows...He paints the bright roses red, the hyacinths blue and the sweet violets purple. What girdles of Babylon, meet cincture of a royal breast, are adorned with such varied jewels? What fleece so dyed in the rich juice of the murex where stand the brazen towers of Tyre? Not the wings of Juno's own bird display such colouring. Not thus do the many changing hues of the rainbow span young winter's sky when in curved arch its rainy path glows green amid the parting clouds."

bower which concludes this part of Wonder's speech stresses the independent activity of Nature in bindwood, honeysuckle, bryony, and jessamine.

W O N D E R must speake, or breake; what is this? Growes  
The wealth of Nature here, or Art? It showes  
As if Favonius, father of the Spring,  
Who, in the verdant Meads, doth reigne sole king,  
Had rowsd him here, and shooke his feathers, wet  
With purple-swelling Nectar? and had let  
The sweet and fruitfull dew fall on the ground  
To force out all the flowers that might be found?

Or a Minerva with her needle had  
Th' enamour'd earth with all her riches clad,  
And made the downie Zephire as he flew  
Still to be follow'd with the Springs best hue.

The gaudie Peacocke boasts not in his traine,  
So many lights and shadowes, nor the raine-  
Resolving Iris, when the Sun doth court her,  
Nor purple Pheasant while his Aunt doth sport her  
To heare him crow; and with a pearched pride  
Wave his dis-coloured necke, and purple side.

I have not seene the place could more surprize,  
It looks (me thinkes) like one of natures eyes,  
Or her whole bodie set in art? Behold!  
How the blew Binde-weed doth it selfe infold  
With Honey-suckle, and both these intwine  
Themselves with Bryonie, and Jessamine,  
To cast a kinde and odoriferous shade!

11. 141-65.

But when Wonder asks, "Growes / The wealth of Nature here, or Art;" the answer is twofold. Within the theme of the masque the answer is nature alone. But in the banquet hall, the effect is to call attention to Inigo Jones's skill as set designer, skill so consummate it rivals nature herself. The suggestion of nature's achievement as a worthy rival to the art of Minerva is again a very high compliment to Jones. Phant'sie's aside at the conclusion of the speech is a superb check to this praise.

How better then they are, are all things made by  
W O N D E R !

11.167-8.



Whatever allusion may possibly lurk here to Aristotle's theory of wonder as a necessary precursor to knowledge and understanding, the audience is also immediately aware that Wonder's speech is by Jonson.

On the surface art is introduced as a foil to illuminate the wondrous beauty of nature per se. But an alert reader cannot but be aware that at another level Jonson suggests that the artist, especially the poet, can shape and render nature to her advantage -- an idea additional to the content of the masque to this point and not operable within its further development. In the original passage, Claudian cites various artifacts created for royalty in a variation on the theme of 'Solomon in all his glory'. Jonson, because of the forthcoming attribution of causality to James I, substitutes for royalty a comparison with Minerva, and he further reduces the formality of the scene by using bindweed and bryony rather than rose, hyacinth, and violet. The crowing pheasant with his aunt<sup>1</sup> is a further move in this direction. Jonson's bower is at once wilder than Claudian's landscape and of a native hue, but the important role of nature's enemy is given to false appetites. The friendly rivalry between art and nature is irrelevant and one suspects either that unnecessary ideas from Jonson's source or the long history of the topos which lies behind it have been retained, or private allusions have intruded in Wonder's speech as they do in Time Vindicated.

The rest of the masque is devoted to extending the topos of spring to create a compliment to King James. Air, earth, and

<sup>1</sup>Herford and Simpson, X.572, gloss 'aunt' as 'mistress'.

moisture are part of Wonder's description of spring but the traditionally dominant generative force, the sun, is absent. King James is now cast in this role, for his "beams, have got proud earth with child" (l. 176). The bower opens to reveal the masquers, the perfect youth of his court, as the glories, or progeny, of the spring.

'Tis he, tis he, and no power els,  
 That makes all this what Phant'sie tels;  
     The founts, the flowers, the birds, the bees,  
 The heards, the flocks, the grasse, the trees,  
 Do all confesse him...

11. 206-10.

In the final examination The Vision of Delight does not cohere. The bower of Zephyrus in accord with the precepts of Phant'sie's speech, is set up as the perfection of aspects of nature according to their inherent forms. They realize their forms so completely, so correctly that they rival the most consummate art of Minerva herself. James is brought in as the complementary perfection of nature in man, but Jonson introduces him under the figure of the sun. Rather than analogy Jonson tries to achieve a metaphor whereby the Stuart court is the bower of Zephyrus. The courtiers become illustrations of inherent forms encouraged to perfection by the benign influence of a king who took his divine rights seriously. But the compliment to James is forced, and it is also questioned by the issues raised, perhaps inadvertently, of the role of art, for all the while Wonder's statement is qualified by the lurking figures of architect and poet. Jonson fails to control and define the topos of spring with its complex intellectual history sufficiently for the unequivocal compliment required by the masque genre.

In Mercury Vindicated, 1616, the bower of Nature is opposed to the alchemist's laboratory, and the figure of Vulcan is answered by Prometheus. This clear opposition gives the masque a balance and a predictability not found in The Vision of Delight. Although scattered details of the laboratory are given, there is almost no description of the bower of Nature. It was, Jonson writes, "a glorious bowre, wherein Nature was placed with Prometheus at her feete." Instead, just as the alchemist's activities were presented as a series of experiments culminating in the antimasques of the deformed beings, so Nature is "motions mother," and the dialogue is directed to a description of the dances of the masquers as representations of the motions of the planets and the perfect numbers. The whole masque is tightly orchestrated around this neoplatonic doctrine, the dances for Jonson supplying the most important visual element.

Chloridia, 1631, Jonson's last masque, on the surface seems to contradict the method analyzed in the other natural settings. Rather than an exhibition of his technique at the moment of greatest maturity Chloridia reverts to the elaborate stage descriptions of the early masques and Jonson's carefully wrought coherence of structure seems threatened by multiple changes of setting. He describes the proscenium of foliage, flowers, and putti and the opening scene.

The Curtaine being drawne up, the Scene is discover'd, consisting of pleasant hills, planted with young trees, and all the lower bankes adorned with flowers. And from some hollow parts of those hills, Fountaynes come gliding downe, which, in the farre-of Land-shape, seem'd all to be converted to a river.

Over all, a serene skie, with transparent cloudes, giving a great lustre to the whole worke, which did imitate the pleasant Spring.

11. 19-27.

His description of the bower of Chloris is equally careful and full.

The Scene is changed into a delicious place, figuring the bowre of Chloris: wherein, an arbour fayn'd of Gold-smiths worke, the ornament of which was borne up with Termes of Satyres, beautify'd with Festones, garlands, and all sorts of fragrant flowers. Beyond all this, in the skie a-farre of appear'd a Rainebow....

11. 196-210

Around the bower songs of praise are sung and the goddess who has wrought the victory is sought. A distant prospect opens revealing Juno and Iris in the heavens who tell of the return of Cupid and the flight of the antimasque of spite. The harmony of earth and the heavens has been furthered by Chloris and the final scene assures her of fame for her virtuous action.

Here, out of the Earth, ariseth a Hill, and on the top of it, a globe, on which Fame is seene standing, with her trumpet in her hand; and on the Hill, are seated four Persons, presenting Poesie, History, Architecture, and Sculpture...

11. 275-8.

The elaborate ending of Chloridia, the ascent of Fame, has been much criticized<sup>1</sup> and in its reversion to the invented visual icon, whatever the traditional history of its parts, seems with the elaborate descriptions to contradict the method of Jonson's most successful and unified masques. But the pattern which emerges from a general overview, necessarily brief, of Jonson's complete masque

<sup>1</sup>See, for example, Herford and Simpson, X. 682, who find the ending 'puzzling' and too weighty for a light masque of spring and flowers, and Furniss, 141, who argues there is no link between the pastoral simplicity of the beginning and the grandeur of the ascent of Fame.

production over the years helps to show that this contradiction, for the most part, is not as complete as it seems.

Jonson's masques may be divided into five chronological groups. The Masque of Blackness, The Masque of Beauty, and The Haddington Masque are accompanied by a full description of setting, costume, and dance -- there are fewer notes on the costumes in The Haddington Masque -- as well as extensive notes and critical prefaces. Hymenaei and The Masque of Queenes, published in the Quarto of 1609, also include much apparatus but the extended description has been separated from the text and placed at the end of each masque. As Jonson's first masques (1605-1609), they are distinguished by his efforts to elevate the masque genre and define its function. The Masques of Blackness and Beauty were seen as a pair. Their preface argues the elevation of these spectacles to a lasting royal monument through the printed word. The preface to The Haddington Masque argues that the nobility of the entertainment must match the dignity of the persons participating. The preface to Hymenaei is Jonson's most important statement about the relationship between the body and the soul of the masque, while that to The Masque of Queenes contains his remarks on the antimasque. Whether Jonson's preoccupation with the definition of the masque as a serious artistic medium for the aggrandizement and counsel of princes was directly stimulated by Samuel Daniel's preface to The Vision of Twelve Goddesses, 1604 or by the critique accompanying Balthasar de Beaujoyeulx's Balet Comique de la Reine, 1581, has not been firmly established.<sup>1</sup> But in these

<sup>1</sup>For the fullest discussion of the possible influence of these works see John C. Meagher, Method and Meaning in Jonson's Masques (Notre Dame, Ind., 1966), 11-22.

early years Jonson built up a comprehensive theory of the masque, its audience, function, occasion, decorum, and unity of form and structure. Whatever other influences were operable -- the notes to the Masque of Queenes as to Oberon were direct responses to requests by Prince Henry and Jonson attests to the Queen's personal influence in The Masques of Blackness and Beauty and The Masque of Queenes<sup>1</sup>-- only Jonson's own professional integrity dictated such an elaborate and considered response.

Those masques published for the first time in the Folio of 1616 show a marked departure from the two earlier groups. Jonson's theoretical statement was complete and the movement which separated the description from the masque and placed it at the end progresses a step further. In Oberon, Love Freed, Love Restored, The Irish Masque, Mercury Vindicated and The Golden Age there is little and sometimes no description of scenery, dance, or costume. There is no reference to Jones, Thomas Giles, Alphonso Ferrabosco, or any other contributor or performer. This absence of stage detail I have suggested was one consequence of Jonson's development of a more unified form of the masque, an effort to which the literary topos contributed substantially. Jonson's experimentation with the topos as the central device begins tentatively in Oberon and is fully established by 1615 in The Golden Age. From this period also date his use of prose in Love Restored, 1612, the absence of dance in the antimasque of this one masque, and the use of the court itself as a

<sup>1</sup>Orgel stresses the importance of royal tastes and personalities in The Jonsonian Masque, 69-76.

setting in the same masque. Realistic and contemporary settings for the antimasque hereafter become frequent.<sup>1</sup> These settings, like the literary topos, require little explanation. It was during this period that Jones took his formative Italian journey, 1613-14. Unfortunately, apart from the drawings for Oberon only one design has been attributed to this period,<sup>2</sup> and the exact nature of Jones's experiments at this time with the illusionary stage techniques which complemented Jonson's own experiments with an altered literary method have not been fully determined.

The fourth group of masques, written between 1617 and 1623, though Jonson continues to experiment as in The Gypsies Metamorphosed, 1621, and News from the New World of the same year, is marked by the poet's increased mastery of the classical literary topos and his preference for it. The globes, altars, medieval hells, and sphinxes of the earlier masques have given way to the River Lethe of Lovers Made Men, 1617, the topos of spring in the Vision of Delight, 1617, the Hesperides of Pleasure Reconciled, 1618, the pastoral setting of Pan's Anniversary, 1620, and Diana's woods of Time Vindicated, 1623. Jonson's mastery is demonstrated by his ability to incorporate more smoothly than ever before all necessary description as a thematic part of the text. The most extreme example of this is Daedalus's

<sup>1</sup>Christmas his Masque, 1616, The Masque of Augurs, 1622, Time Vindicated, 1623, and Neptune's Triumph, 1624, open within the precincts of Whitehall, while Mercury Vindicated, 1616, uses an alchemist's laboratory, News from the New World, 1621, a printer's shop, and the Vision of Delight, 1617, a contemporary street scene. Orgel in "To Make Boards to Speak," 137, doubts that Jones designed the setting for Love Restored.

<sup>2</sup>Design No. 17 (O. & S. 74). See Simpson and Bell, 2.

songs describing the dances of the masquers in Pleasure Reconciled.

The pattern of Jonson's movement from initial theoretical engagement to practical experiment and the accompanying movement from the visual icon to the classical literary topos and an integrated masque independent of the stage and its description is revealed in logical stages from 1605 to 1623. Jonson's last four masques, Neptune's Triumph, 1624, The Fortunate Isles, 1625, Love's Triumph Through Callipolis, 1631, and Chloridia, 1631, though widely separated in time, form a distinct group, all of which seem to contradict this pattern. Each is provided with five or more different scenes and the texts of the last two are accompanied by lengthy descriptions reminiscent of the earliest masques. But, unlike the other masques, these four also have in common that they were written for a mature Charles as Prince or King, and I would argue that they reflect his taste rather than a change on Jonson's part or Jones's emerging dominance.<sup>1</sup> The essential nature of Jonson's method, the use of the topos as the central device with its concomitant gains in unity of structure, was also applied in these final masques, though not as strictly in the last two when Charles was king. Indeed, The Fortunate Isles provided the model for the initial discussion of Jonson's method. Chloridia, however, presents additional problems.

<sup>1</sup>Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue was the first masque in which Prince Charles performed. He danced thereafter in others, such as Pan's Anniversary, but these masques were firmly controlled by James I as their central figure. Neptune's Triumph, however, which was not performed, was written to celebrate the Prince's intended betrothal to the Spanish princess. The Fortunate Isles celebrated his safe return home from Spain. The mature Prince's power, supported by Buckingham, increased with the King's failing health from 1623 on.





of art which seemed intrusive in the bower of Zephyrus as described by Wonder is here an integral part of the scene and of the action of the masque, but it is not part of Jonson's dialogue.

Jonson's "Expostulation" has often been cited as evidence that the architect exerted equal control with the poet in Chloridia and to imply that the final scene was staged only through Jones's insistence.

And I have mett w<sup>th</sup> those  
That doe cry up ye Machine, & ye Showes!  
The majesty of Juno in ye Cloudes,  
And peering forth of Iris in ye Shrowdes!  
Th' ascent of Lady Fame which none could spy  
Not they that sided her, Dame Poetry,  
Dame History, Dame Architecture too,  
And Goody Sculpture, brought w<sup>th</sup> much adoe  
To hold her up.<sup>1</sup>

The reply to this charge lies in the masque. The final scene is a logical step in the development of the scenery from the simple pastoral landscape of the opening to the sophisticated partnership of art and nature in the bower of Chloris and then to her elevation through Poesy, History, Architecture, and Sculpture. The final harmony Chloris brings about is a harmony of nature with the arts of man as well as a harmony of the heavens and the earth.

Jonson's anger is directed at the clumsiness of the machinery and its consequent intrusion but not at the conception of the scene. The magnificence of Fame's staging is wonderful and the ideas behind the scene were prepared for throughout the masque. If the ending is unsatisfactory, it is because the role of Chloris is too weak a vehicle for this spectacle. Her activities do not meet Fame's high standards as described by Jonson:

<sup>1</sup>Herford and Simpson, VIII, 403. 11.31-9.

Fame. Rise, golden Fame, and give thy name a birth,  
 Chorus. From great and generous actions, done on Earth.  
 Fame. The life of Fame is action.  
 Chorus. Understood

That action must be vertuous, great, and good!

11. 283-90.

Chloridia fails as a coherent masque in the final scene because the particular myth of spring Jonson chose is not adequate to the burden of significance in the masque. Jonson does not elaborate poetically the theme of art latent in the decoration of the earth with flowers. Consequently, when the final scene consummates the visual impetus of the masque it generates its own content and threatens the ability of the central device to control the masque. In Chloridia Jonson works from the classical topos as before but he reverts to the created icon of his earlier masques in the bower of Chloris. He gives an over-elaborate description of it, perhaps at the instigation of King Charles, and then fails to extend the topos enough to encompass its implications.

From the study of these natural settings it is now possible to turn to the garden proper in Jonson's masques and to consider them in relation to the gardens of the period in the light of Jonson's established method. Jonson offers only two gardens and it is not surprising to find that they are restricted to those with established literary credentials. In consequence of their familiarity, their descriptions are expectedly, but disappointingly, meagre. In Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue the opening setting is described.

The Scene the Mountaine Atlas. His top ending in ye  
 figure of an Old Man, his head & beard all hoary &  
 frost: as if his sholders were coverd w<sup>th</sup> snow, ye  
 rest wood & rock: a Grove of Ivy at his feet: out  
 of w<sup>ch</sup>, to a wild Musique of Cimbals Flutes & Tabers,  
 is brought forth Comus...

11. 1-5.

Additional details from Orazio Busino's account of the performance are that Atlas rolled his eyes and moved himself cleverly.<sup>1</sup> But even without this account the setting rises clearly in the imagination from Jonson's description. Atlas is drawn from classical mythology<sup>2</sup> and Jonson emphasizes his personification as a brooding presence throughout the masque. The garden scene does not receive such extensive treatment, partly because the brooding, laborious mountain controls and directs the interpretation of the topos of the garden.

When Comus, "first father of Sauce" and his antimasque of bottles and a cask are routed, the lower scene of the mountain changes, but Jonson gives few details of it.

After this, the whole Grove vanisheth, and the whole Musique is discovered, sitting at ye foote of ye Mountaine, wth Pleasure & Virtue seated above yem.

11. 115-8.

After the pigmies dance, according to the text, Virtue sends the twelve masquers, including Prince Charles in his first dancing role, into the gardens of the Hesperides. It is in this garden that the three maze dances of the masque are performed and the allegory of the whole developed. And yet the only identification of the setting, apart from its position on the slopes of Mt. Atlas, occurs in the speech of Mercury:

Theis [the masquers] now she trusts wth Pleasure,  
& to theis  
she give<s> an entraunce to the Hesperides,  
faire Beuties garden[s]...

11. 208-10

<sup>1</sup>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs (Venice), XV, ed. A.B. Hinds (1909), 112.

<sup>2</sup>Wheeler cites Diodorus, IV, 26, 27, as Jonson's most likely source.

The stage directions are limited to "Here ye whole Quire of Musique call ye .12. Masquers forth from ye Lap of ye Mountaine" (11. 214-5).

Busino's account of the performance helps enormously. He writes that when the mountain opened "from behind the hills of a distant landscape the day was seen to dawn, some gilt columns being placed along either side of the scene, so as to aid the perspective and make the distance seem greater."<sup>1</sup> Mercury's speech earlier to Hercules, in the light of Busino's details can be seen to be a preparatory statement of the allegorical significance of particular details of the scene.

ye time's ariv'd, yt Atlas told thee of: How  
 b<y> 'un-alter'd law, & working of the stars,  
 there should be a cessation of all jars  
 'twixt Vertue, & hir noted opposite,  
 Pleasure: yt both shold meet here in ye sight  
 of Hesperus, ye glory of ye West,  
 the brightest star, yt from his burning Crest  
 lights all on this side ye Atlantick seas  
 as far as to thy Pillars Hercules.  
 Se where He shines: Justice, & Wisdom plac'd  
 about his Throne & those w<sup>th</sup> Honor grac'd  
Beautie & Love...

11. 187-98.

'He', of course, is James as Hesperus enthroned on his chair of state in the banquet hall at Whitehall. The conjunction of light and pillars here is described by Busino as the dawn against gilt columns. That Jones meant this light as a dawn effect is unlikely, but as the evening or the morning star, the identification of the light with Hesperus / James is credible in the context.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cal. of State Papers, 113.

<sup>2</sup>Jones was fascinated by lighting effects and skilled in their use. In The Vision of Delight, 1617, a year earlier than Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue, the moon rose at the beginning of the masque and descended when Aurora appeared at the end. In Tempe Restored and Luminalia a gradual dawn was one of the effects. See Nicoll, 129-37; Simpson and Bell, 12-15; Wickham, II.i.271-3, and Meagher, 107-24.

Despite the above efforts, details of Jonson's garden of the Hesperides in Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue are meagre. The setting is identified by name in the text. It is on the slopes of Mt. Atlas as tradition decreed, and it is still under the authority of Hercules. The defeated dragon is understandably absent. The garden is overlooked by the figures of Pleasure and Virtue seated above the musicians. Gilt columns, interpreted as the pillars of Hercules, frame a perspective of distant hills. The whole is bathed in carefully controlled lighting effects.

In the masque the garden of the Hesperides is reduced to its central significance; it is a garden of beauty and pleasure. Jonson controls the myth of the garden so that Prince Charles may dance in a world of pleasure guided by Virtue, guarded by Hercules as Virtue's champion, and watched by his father as Hesperus, the brother of Atlas.<sup>1</sup> Comus, with his celebration of the flesh, has first been vanquished as a species of false pleasure, for "Can this be pleasure,

<sup>1</sup>The important qualification of the garden of pleasure continues in For the Honor of Wales, the antimasque written to replace that of Comus and his crew for the second performance of Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue. Mt. Atlas was changed to Craig Eryri or Mt. Snowdon and Driffendore or the Golden Grove is given as an alternative to the Hesperian Gardens (ll. 362-6). But these changes are discussed in a broad comic scene (ll. 40-80), which turns on the inability of Griffith, Jenkin, or the learned Welsh attorney Evan to comprehend the mythical importance of Mt. Atlas. Their claim for the Welsh substitute is that it is as high, has as much snow as Mt. Atlas, and the change won't cost the king anything (l. 149). Their ignorance highlights the audience's knowledge and keeps the importance of the original setting to the fore. The garden is then more seriously treated by Jenkin as the birthplace of Merlin. Wales, he adds, has ever been "a very garden and seed-plot of honest mindes and men" (l. 392-3).

to extinguish man?" (l. 107). The tree of golden apples is unmentioned and unlikely to have been present on the stage. Jonson, through Mercury, suggests that Atlas may have presented Hercules with the best sheep of his fold rather than the apples of immortality (ll. 174-6). For Jonson the true path to immortality lies up Virtue's mountain, and at the end of the performance the masquers return to the "hill of knowledge" (l. 204). Prince Charles is instructed to aspire to the crown of virtue and the crown of England which in the world of Jonson's masque would be indivisible.

Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue turns on a classical myth and it is knowledge of that myth rather than the physical staging of the masque which must guide the audience and the reader in their interpretation of it. Even the pillars and lighting effects are incorporated into Jonson's text. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to draw too much attention to the constant presence of Mt. Atlas and the impact such a gigantic figure must have had on the imagination. Although its interpretation depends on Jonson's text, the setting provides continuous reinforcement of the operable qualification of the garden myth. It has been suggested that Jones's set derives from the colossal sculpture of the Apennine giant in the gardens of Pratolino (see Plate 16).<sup>1</sup> But its interpretation is drawn entirely from literary sources.

<sup>1</sup>Attributed to C.F. Bell in Herford and Simpson, X, 585. A similar, even larger figure, designed by Salomon de Caus or Constantino dei Servi, was started in the gardens of Richmond Palace in 1611-12. See The Renaissance Garden in England, 98. In Aeneid IV. 247-51, man and mountain are also blended.

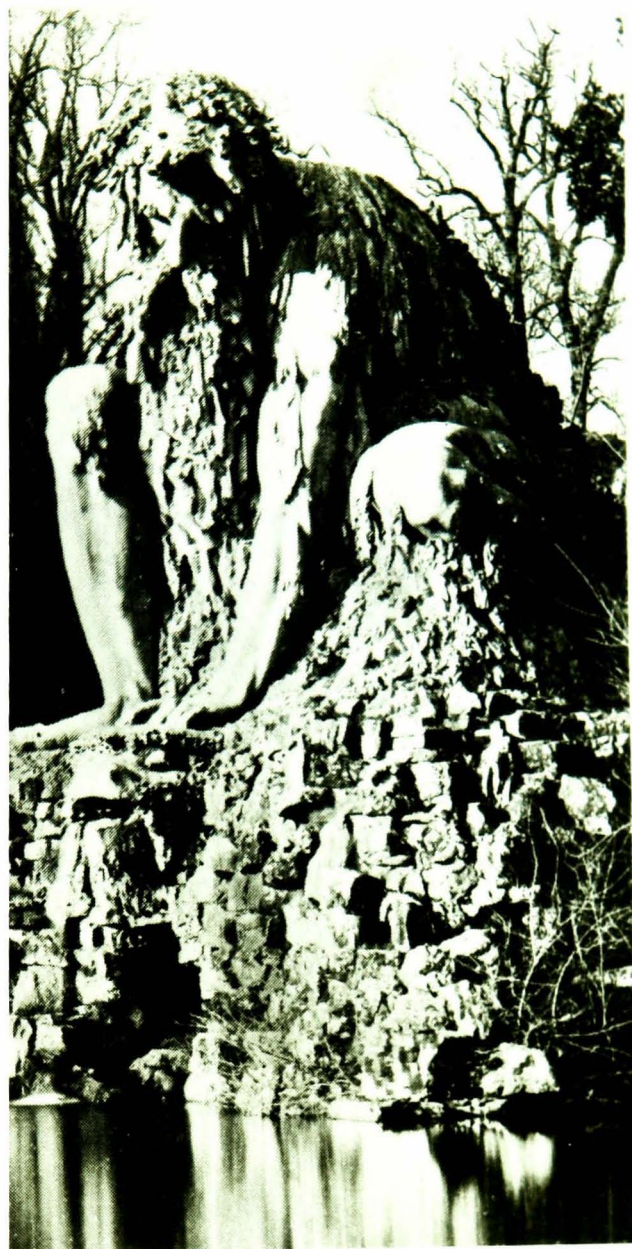


Plate 16. The Apennine Giant at  
Pratolino near Florence.



The garden in Love's Triumph through Callipolis, 1631, is also an allegorical garden and it is central to the main idea of the masque. There is no description of the garden:

The Scene changeth to a Garden, and the heavens opening, there appeare foure new persons, in forme of a Constellation, sitting, or a new Asterisme...

11. 175-8.

That this is indeed a garden of Venus is established in several ways, two of which contribute to the unity of the masque with the garden as its controlling allegory. The temporal sequence from Euphemus's rout of the false lovers, including a forward jealous lover, a glorious boasting lover, and a bribing corrupt lover from the suburbs of Callipolis, and the appearance of the perfect lovers, to the final tableau of palm, rose, and lily is obvious and less important symbolically than the underlying movement of time. This symbolic sequence moves from the sea as the birthplace of Venus to the garden of the mature Venus and finally to the new growth it fosters at the Stuart court. That Jones's perspective of the sea has this significance as a starting point for the myth of Venus a few lines in the text make clear.

And Neptune too,  
Shewes what his waves can doe:  
To call the Muses all to play,  
And sing the birth of Venus day.

11. 167-70.

A further change of scene reveals the garden. It is identified as Venus's garden when she descends on a cloud which vanishes to reveal her throne in the garden. The symbolic unity of the masque begins to reveal itself in the figure of Venus which unites the two settings. But the garden of Venus has two separate interpretations. Jonson is aware of the necessity to distinguish the garden of Love's

Triumph from the profane garden of Venus.<sup>1</sup> First of all, the garden in the masque is offered as a contrast to the antimasque of false lovers. When these leave the garden appears and is filled with the masquers costumed as perfect lovers led by King Charles I as the Heroical Lover. When the four new persons, Jupiter, Juno, Hymen, and Genius appear, the audience is already primed to supply their significance within the appropriate definition of Venus. Hymen is the goddess of marriage; Juno, the patroness of women especially during childbirth; Genius, the generative and inward spirit of man who presides over the marriage bed. Jupiter, the lord of the gods, is the guardian of the law and protector of justice and virtue, and he can foresee the future. Which of these aspects Jonson particularly had in mind is not determined, but lines from Francis Beaumont's Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, 1613, suggest that Jupiter's presence may be necessary to indicate the larger issues of state involved in royal marriages:

<sup>1</sup>E.H. Gombrich, "Botticelli's Mythologies; A Study in the Neoplatonic Symbolism of his Circle," JWCI, 8 (1945), discusses the difficulties of making this distinction at some length with reference to the programme for Botticelli's "Primavera." He describes the two Venuses of Plato, her generative power in Lucretius, and her appearance in carnival songs of Bacchus and Priapus. He quotes a letter from Ficino to Lorenzo contemporary with the painting in which the soul and mind of Venus express love and charity, her eyes dignity and magnanimity, her hands liberality and magnificence and her feet comeliness and modesty. She is the sum of Humanitas, Cicero's urbanity and culture, and a gateway to the divine.

Iris. But What hath he [Jove] to do with nuptial rites?  
 Let him keep state upon his starry throne,  
 And fright poor mortals with his thunderbolts,  
 Leaving to us the mutual darts of eyes.

Mercury. Alas, when ever offer'd he t' abridge  
 Your lady's power, but only now in these,  
 Whose match concerns his general government?<sup>1</sup>

The final development of the setting takes place within the garden of Venus with its symbolism now fully established, though we still know little of its actual appearance. The garden of Venus offered in Jonson's masque is not the profane and erotic one, but a definition of true love in its proper context of marriage and procreation. The tableau of palm, rose, and lily which appears in the centre of this garden at the end of the masque seeks to identify the values of the Stuart court with the symbolism of the garden.

The tableau is a created setting like the scenery of The Masque of Beauty. It is developed from assorted iconographical details, in this case, details from heraldry. The quantity of description necessary increases:

The throane disappeares: in place of which, there  
 shooteth up a Palme tree with an imperiall crowne  
 on the top, from the foote whereof, Lillies and  
 Roses, twining together, and imbracing the stem,  
 flourish through the crowne...

11. 205-8.

Unlike the visual icon of the ascent of Fame in Chloridia the emblematic statement of this tableau remains within the control of the central device of the masque, the garden of Venus.

The king had asked Jonson for a Masque celebrating his love for the Queen. Jonson's reply was to furnish the allegorical garden of

<sup>1</sup>Ed. Philip Edwards, in A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll, eds., T.J.B. Spencer and S.W. Wells (Cambridge, 1967), 135.

Venus as a definition of true love out of which the relationship of the royal couple grows -- the heraldic tableau actually replaced the throne of Venus -- and from which it nourishes the state. Herford and Simpson write:

The skeleton of a complete Masque is there; its articulations are even exceptionally intricate and minute; but the poet has thrown the task of making them live for the senses and imagination mainly upon his coadjutor Inigo Jones, furnishing himself little more than bald inventories and lists of names.<sup>1</sup>

Though Jonson's poetic muse is not at its most vigorous in The Triumph of Love, this judgment seems too harsh. Jonson has succeeded in doing exactly what he set out to do. He has not thrown up the task but pursued consistently his method of exploiting economically an established topos. All unnecessary physical description has been avoided. In Chloridia the visual icon of Fame was too strong for the central topos, here the tableau of palm, rose, and lily presented as heir to the garden of Venus is too weak. It lacks the richness of the antique topos.

From the natural settings examined including the gardens, a consistent method can be seen developing in Jonson's masques. Jonson uses his natural settings entirely for their symbolism and therefore in the later masques has learned economically to choose those most pregnant with meanings recognized by his audience. Arcadia, the gardens of the Hesperides, the garden of Venus, the topos of spring, these are common motifs. Where necessary, as with Mt. Atlas which may be less familiar or where there may be confusion as with the two

<sup>1</sup>Herford and Simpson, II, 330-1.

aspects of Venus, Jonson adds the relevant details. His changes from the established literary topoi of his natural settings are slight, necessitated by the unity of his masque form, the need to isolate a particular strand of meaning in a complex tradition, or the infusion of contemporary significance into traditional material. But Jonson's final fusion of the topos with the world of the Stuart court is not always successful. Significantly the method of Jonson's maturity seems to fail most obviously when he tries to achieve this fusion, not through the generative capacity of the central topos, but by reverting to the visual icon of his early years as in the closing scene of Chloridia.

The tools of the Jonsonian masque, the literary topos and the visual icon, often merged in the Renaissance and they can operate comfortably within the same epistemological system. Though Jonson constantly improved his technique thereby dispensing with Jones's stage sets as necessary vehicles of meaning, there is no indication of an alteration in his philosophical stance nor any need for one.

Jonson's use of the garden setting recalls the iconographical gardens of an earlier period. It reminds us of Eusebius's reading to his friends the significant decorations of his estate, and it recalls the garden iconography of entertainments such as those at Elvetham, Cowdray, and, of course, Highgate. The stock setting of temple and grove<sup>1</sup> as in the throne of beauty or Pan's pillar of light

<sup>1</sup>Kernodle, 32-3, describes the dominant convention of the theatre as the centre pavilion. He identifies five types of pavilion: the individual arch, the tower, open ciborum, tomb, and temple. My interest is greatest in the ciborum, the open dome on columns, as the dominant garden structure whether as temple, bower, or throne.

whether designed by Jones or others dominates the nature scenes of Jonson's early masques and serves to focus the eye on the symbolic statement. However much elaborated by the Renaissance motifs of pilaster and term, these settings still reveal their ancestry among the most ancient of theatrical and garden scenes. The sacred grove of Greece and Rome as depicted in the wall painting of a garden in Pompeii already illustrates the harmonious composition of clean structural lines against dark, fleecy foliage. (See Plate 17.) 'Scenes' such as this were deliberately created in the garden. At Hadrian's villa the temple of Venus was set on the edge of the Vale of Tempe to create just such a theatrical scene.<sup>1</sup> At Theobald's the Mount of Venus was set in the midst of a labyrinth. Anyone emerging from the twisting path saw the mount against the labyrinth's tonsured sides. Such a scene as this in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, though more common in Italy, was artfully contrived to concentrate attention on the isolated iconographical message.<sup>2</sup> Other individual features of the garden, such as the knot garden or the alley found little employment in these masques.<sup>3</sup> For the most part

<sup>1</sup>Masson, 24. Vitruvius, I.vii.1, places the temples of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva on the heights, those of Mars, Venus, and Vulcan outside the walls.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter II, p.134, for a discussion of the iconography of the Mount of Venus at Theobalds.

<sup>3</sup>Jonson's Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue makes use of maze dances in the garden. I do not know to what extent the stage was marked as a guide for the masquers and audience but since three different dances were performed in the same area such markings would have been slight. The anonymous Masque of Flowers uses a knot garden. Several of Jones's later settings make use of an alley to aid the perspective.



Plate 17. Temple and foliage from a wall painting at Pompeii.

Jonson evoked the symbolic identity of the garden or natural setting as a whole in his masques making even less use of separate features in them than he does in the entertainments. His work does not in any way alter or contribute to garden design in the period.

But while Jonson's use of such settings shows the continuity of the iconological attitude to the garden, in the later masques he in fact carries it to its logical extremity. Because of his preference for the common classical topoi, because his sources are increasingly literary, Jonson can dispense with much of the physical description of Jones's scenery to concentrate on reminding his audience of those symbolic aspects which function in the action of the masque. The interchangeability of art and nature observed in the iconological garden has become pure art.

#### IV. Garden Iconography in the Masques of Inigo Jones

The natural settings in Jonson's masques have been examined at such length because Jonson's work dominates the Stuart masque. From the volume of his work it is possible to deduce a use of setting largely consistent in practice and theory. While this method can be taken as a norm only for the Jonsonian masque, it nevertheless gives a much needed reference point for the discussion of other court masques and Jones's later work. This reference point enables us to see how the gardens of later masques differ from those of Jonson and from this difference to note how divergent in conception the later masque became and how the changed nature of the garden supported this divergence.



The definition of the relationship of text to stage in the masque as that of presenter to visual icon which was established as early as Lydgate's entertainments in 1427-30<sup>1</sup> and continued relatively unchanged even in Daniel's The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, 1604, was transformed by the partnership of Jonson and Jones. As Jonson's masques became more coherent expositions of literary topoi Jones's natural scenery turned increasingly to a different theatrical statement. His sets developed in ever greater freedom from the author's text, and with other writers in later years this development led to a diminution of the poet's contribution. In the main Jones's later natural settings served two purposes: they offered a spectacle devoted to surprise and a display of cleverness in the manipulation of appearances, and a self-contained exercise in verisimilitude; and they treated the stage as a space unified in three dimensions with the visual field of the audience precisely controlled. Although Jones continued to regard his stage sets allegorically, they seldom added to the action of the masque in the Jonsonian sense. This older iconography Jones relegated increasingly to the proscenium arch.<sup>2</sup>

Jones's new settings were different in kind from the iconography of the earlier masques and entertainments and they called for a correspondingly radical philosophical alteration, but I know of no documents which indicate Jones was aware of any incompatibility. Although as a practicing stage designer his mathematics were devoted

<sup>1</sup>Herford and Simpson, II, 154.

<sup>2</sup>See discussions of Jones's prosceniums by Per Palme, The Triumph of Peace: A Study of The Whitehall Banqueting House (Stockholm, 1956), 153; D.J. Gordon, "Roles and Mysteries" in The Renaissance Imagination, 3-10; Allardyce Nicoll, 44-53; Orgel and Strong, I, 73, et passim.

to the deception of the eye, he continued to subscribe to those Pythagorean and Platonic number ratios designed to reveal the universal verities in the few theoretical remarks he made.

Jones as an architect analyzed the works of Serlio, Palladio, and others, and designed his own structures according to modular principles in the belief that the images of all things are latent in number.<sup>1</sup> Modular architecture depends on proportions, the relationship of one part to another and of each part to the whole. The result is an exercise in the definition of harmony. Jones's annotations to passages on harmony and music in Plato, Plutarch, and Alberti<sup>2</sup> indicate the interest he took in the Renaissance belief that harmonious music helps to organize human passions, thus promoting morality. For Jones the correct proportions and harmonious relations of classical architecture furnished a visual analogue to the moral efficacy of music. "Corporeall Beauty," he wrote, "consisting in simetry, colour, and certaine unexpressable Graces...may draw us to the contemplation of the Beauty of the soule, unto which it hath Analogy."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Rudolf Wittkower, "Inigo Jones, Architect and Man of Letters," Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 3rd ser., 60 (1953). See also Gordon, "Poet and Architect."

<sup>2</sup>Wittkower, 87. See also Per Palme, The Triumph of Peace, 93-6; and Gordon Toplis, "The Sources of Jones's Mind and Imagination" in Orgel and Strong, I, 61-3. Rudolf Wittkower, Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism (1949; 3rd. edn., 1962), 101-54, analyzes the relationship between architecture and music; Meagher, 57-80, provides a recent discussion of the relationship between music and morality.

<sup>3</sup>Tempe Restored in Aurelian Townshend's Poems and Masks, ed. E.K. Chambers (Oxford, 1912), 99, hereafter cited as Townshend's Poems and Masques. Jones's immediate context is the person of the Queen. In the same passage he includes the effect of the beauty of Circe's palace.

In the first masque Jones designed after his rupture with Ben Jonson the king's apotheosis is rendered through a progressive history of the perfection of architectural forms.<sup>1</sup> Successive sets of an atrium, forum, amphitheatre, and classical temple finally give way to a view of Whitehall Palace. But the symbolic statement architecture can make is a limited one. In the service of the court it can express order, harmony, and grandeur, and it can project a sense of stability. It cannot express the complex mysteries of the emblem or direct the viewer's attention to fertile topics such as Aristotle's *Nicomachean ethics* as did the symbolism of Hercules's choice in Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue. Although Jones's later masques continue to employ figures of myth such as Circe and Juno, these have lost their formative power. They are reduced almost to the level of costume and their significance resides, not in inherent symbolism, but in the lengthy general statements which now accompany all the masques. Only in a masque like Coelum Britannicum, where the theme of generalized honour and virtue<sup>2</sup> was matched by a setting which had only grandeur and magnificence to offer, does something like the coherence of the Jonsonian masque reappear. Architectural statement unaided could go no further.

The distinction between the iconography of Jonson's work and the allegorical statements of Jones's classical architecture involves

<sup>1</sup>John Harris, Stephen Orgel, Roy Strong, The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court (1973), 170.

<sup>2</sup>As Orgel and Strong, I, 67, point out the antimasque actually consists of the banishment of classical mythology. Such mythology was, of course, the very source of Jonson's definitions. Virtue and honour in Coelum Britannicum are enrolled in the lists of the Order of the Garter, but as concepts in the masque they lack content.

more than content. Jones's theory at heart rests on affective principles, rather than on intellectual principles of imitation. His masques are celebrations of the Stuart court and his sets are designed to mirror that court in order to move assent rather than to examine and instruct. To this end ingenuity, illusion, and surprise -- all the tools necessary to incite wonder -- rank high. Wonder has rightly been seen as crucial to the masque and a proper effect of the masque's spectacle.<sup>1</sup> In Platonic philosophy wonder is a necessary step in the path to knowledge and in Aristotle its role is enlarged.<sup>2</sup> Jonson accepted the role of wonder as an initial stimulus to understanding.<sup>3</sup> However, in the later masques which Jones controlled, wonder became the central experience creating a catharsis of emotion rather than drawing the viewer on to intellectual understanding. Such concentration on the affective capacity of the masque combined with scientific techniques of illusion, especially those of perspective, brought the world of the late masque very close to the subjective, psychological preoccupations of the end of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. Not surprisingly, given the cult of the vista and the picturesque of that period, these tendencies are more easily recognized in Jones's natural settings than in his architectural ones.

Of necessity, of course, any discussion of the stages of the development and nature of this new theatrical statement imposes a

<sup>1</sup>Stephen Orgel, "The Poetics of Spectacle," New Literary History, 2 (1971), and Dolora Cunningham, 118-22.

<sup>2</sup>For a history of wonder as a rhetorical and a philosophical term see J.V. Cunningham, Woe or Wonder; Tradition and Poetic Structure (Denver, Col., 1951).

<sup>3</sup>Orgel and Strong, I, 10, present a contrary view in which Jonson fails to appreciate the importance of wonder.

coherence and obviousness which was certainly not there for Jones, his colleagues, or his audience. The development was more eclectic, more complex, and the issues involved more disturbing and more problematical than later analysis reveals. To begin by looking at the anonymous Masque of Flowers, however, is one way of suggesting something of the muddle of elements out of which a new conception of natural setting came. The study of the introduction of the periaktoi and the proscenium arch, the use of angled houses and finally of flat scenes belongs to the stage historian.<sup>1</sup> These devices made possible the elaboration of spectacle in the court masque, but present interest is restricted to the natural setting as visualized within this movement to greater and greater elaboration.

The garden setting of the Masque of Flowers presented on Twelfth Night in the year 1614 is an early transitional example of a use of the garden different from Jonson's. It was written as part of the celebrations for the marriage of the Earl of Somerset and Lady Frances Howard, divorced wife of the Earl of Essex. The designer, like the author, is unknown but it could not have been Jones since he was in Italy. The masque derives its importance from the extensive and careful description of the setting, which reveals some knowledge of advances in theatre techniques and suggests an acquaintance with changes in continental garden design, and from its sponsor, Sir Francis Bacon, one of the leading figures of the new science and a

<sup>1</sup>Particular studies of Jones's contributions to these stage techniques as well as those by Wickham, Orgel, Strong, and Nicoll already mentioned include Lily B. Campbell, Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance (Cambridge, 1923, rpt. N.Y., 1960), 161-94; and Richard Southern, Changeable Scenery (1952), pt. I.

man who had penned an important statement on the art of garden design and a wry essay on the masque genre. Unfortunately, apart from financial support the nature of Bacon's contributions is unknown.<sup>1</sup>

The occasion of the masque presented its own problems. The marriage was generally unpopular though supported by the king and queen. The lavishness of the celebrations were directed at forcing public acceptance. Although one of the main figures of the Masque of Flowers is Primavera, the usual associations with fertility were suppressed. It is unlikely that this was in response to the divorce of the Countess from the Earl of Essex on the grounds of his alleged impotence, but certainly the masque consistently refuses to engage any of the usual Renaissance symbolism of marriage and dynasty. Instead Gallus, the sun's messenger, commissions Invierno and Primavera to provide sports for the company's entertainment. Invierno must contribute as an antimasque a debate between Kawasha and Silenus on the comparative virtues of tobacco and wine, while Spring is to release certain young men formerly turned into flowers. Again the mind which races for Ovidian or other significances is abruptly checked:

Give place, you ancient powers,  
That turned men to flowers;  
For never writer's pen  
Yet told of flowers re-turn'd to men.<sup>2</sup>

ll. 314-7.

<sup>1</sup>For a synopsis of the evidence of Bacon's involvement, see the introduction by E.A.J. Honigmann to his edition of The Masque of Flowers in A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll, 151-4.

<sup>2</sup>Citations are to Honigmann's text, op. cit. He suggests, p. 155, that the metamorphosis of flowers to men may derive from Campion's Lord Hay's Masque, 1607, in which trees were changed to men.

The Masque of Flowers is conceived as a sport and it will not allow itself to be taken further. As a result it has the lasting gaiety and charm of a clever toy.

Bacon in his essays regarded the masque as "but toys to come amongst such serious observations; but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy than daubed with cost."<sup>1</sup> Certainly the garden setting of this masque is elegant and in harmony with the light atmosphere of the text. It is completely without symbolism other than heraldry but lends itself perfectly as a backdrop to spectacle. It is a garden which is firmly Elizabethan but looks toward the latest gardening fashions soon to be developed at Wilton.

The traverse being drawn, was seen a garden of a glorious and strange beauty, cast into four quarters, with a cross-walk, and alleys compassing each quarter. In the middle of the cross-walk stood a goodly fountain raised on four columns of silver; on the tops whereof stood four statues of silver, which supported a bowl, in circuit containing four and twenty foot, and was raised from the ground nine foot in height; in the middle whereof, upon scrolls of silver and gold, was placed a globe garnished with four golden mask-heads, out of which issued water into the bowl; above stood a golden Neptune, in height three foot, holding in his hand a trident, and riding on a dolphin so cunningly framed that a river seemed to stream out of his mouth.

The garden-walls were of brick artificially painted in perspective, all along which were placed fruit trees with artificial leaves and fruit. The garden within the wall was railed about with rails of three foot high, adorned with balusters of silver, between which were placed pedestals beautified with transparent lights of variable colours; upon the pedestals stood silver columns, upon the tops whereof were personages of gold, lions of gold and unicorns of silver; every personage and beast did hold a torchet burning that gave light and lustre to the whole fabric.

<sup>1</sup>"Of Masques and Triumphs," The Essays of Francis Bacon, ed. Ernest Rhys (1906; rpt., 1907), 115.

Every quarter of the garden was finely hedged about with a low hedge of cypress and juniper; the knots within set with artificial green herbs, embellished with all sorts of artificial flowers. In the two first quarters were two pyramids garnished with gold and silver, and glistering with transparent lights, resembling carbuncles, sapphires and rubies. In every corner of each quarter were great pots of gilly-flowers, which shadowed certain lights placed behind them and made a resplendent and admirable lustre.

The two farther quarters were beautified with tulippas of diverse colours, and in the middle and in the corners of the said quarters were set great tufts of several kinds of flowers, receiving lustre from secret lights placed behind them.

At the farther end of the garden was a mount raised by degrees, resembling banks of earth covered with grass; on the top of the mount stood a goodly arbour substantially made, and covered with artificial trees and with arbour-flowers, as eglantine, honeysuckles and the like.

The arbour was in length three and thirty foot, in height one and twenty, supported with terms of gold and silver; it was divided into six double arches, and three doors answerable to the three walks of the garden. In the middle part of the arbour rose a goodly large turret, and at either end a smaller.

Upon the top of the mount on the front thereof was a bank of flowers curiously painted, behind which, within the arches, the Masquers sat unseen. Behind the garden, over the top of the arbour, were set artificial trees appearing like an orchard joining to the garden, and over all was drawn in perspective a firmament like the skies in a clear night.

Upon a grassy seat under the arbour sat the Garden-gods, in number twelve, apparelled in long ropes of green rich taffeta, caps on their heads and chaplets of flowers. In the midst of them sat Primavera....

11. 260-309.

Older features dominate the garden. The four quarters with a central fountain are medieval. The rails and knots are familiar from Henry VIII's garden at Hampton Court as are the heraldic lions and unicorns. The mount is a medieval feature, but it continued to be used in England until the middle of the seventeenth century. The bank of flowers planted against it like a mille fleur tapestry is also



very old as are the grassy seats. The bank of flowers, spouting fountain, and square plot are part of Bacon's ideal design in his essay "Of Gardens," as is a mount, side alleys, low hedges and pyramids. All these features were widely used. The free standing pyramids are of Renaissance origin, but similar pyramids were described by Laneham at Kenilworth in 1575.<sup>1</sup> Certainly there is little here which conflicts with Bacon's ideals of 1625. The arched greenery with turrets which appears in both Bacon's essay and the masque is more suggestive of an individual taste, but, unfortunately, there is no documentation to warrant more than notice of similarity. The battlemented style in itself was a wide-spread fashion.

And yet the description promises a garden both glorious and strange. Potted plants are not unusual but the great pots of gillyflowers are used here as architectural accents similar to their contemporary use in Italy and foreshadowing the lead urns and vases of Penshurst, Hampton Court, Melbourne, and Wrest later in the century.<sup>2</sup> Cypress, always important in Italian gardens became more so as the architectural garden developed. It was valued as a dark contrast to increasing stonework in the garden. It also made an ideal vertical accent. It is not so used here, but its presence contributes to the sense of a Mediterranean influence and an awareness of recent fashions. Accounts at Hatfield House show some two hundred cypress

<sup>1</sup>Furnival, 147.

<sup>2</sup>Reginal Blomfield, The Formal Garden in England (3rd edn., 1901), 218-20.

plants were imported from Paris in 1611.<sup>1</sup> Tulips, of course, were the sine qua non of the new garden of display. The architectural quality of the garden is continued in the arbour with its terms of gold and silver. Although the arbour is a medieval feature, the six double arches framing the twelve garden gods and the terms suggest its reinterpretation as an architectural screen of the Renaissance.

Still more intriguing and part of the incipient architectural quality of the garden is the spatial organization of the whole. The side alleys are framed against brick walls painted in perspective, an effect which emphasizes their character as forthrights. The perspective is perhaps further emphasized by the descending ground of the whole garden.<sup>2</sup> The vista, suggested by the side alleys and central walk, directs the eye to the three doors of the arbour, then to the tree tops of the orchard behind it to terminate in the perspective of the firmament. It is not clear that the fruit trees were espaliered along these brick walls, a novel practice which Sir Hugh Platt noted with surprised approval in 1600, but equally it is not clear they were not.<sup>3</sup> If they were so placed their parallel branches would add to the linear depth of the whole.

The multiple lighting effects described at the end of each paragraph are of theatrical rather than gardening provenance, though one remembers the carbuncles, sapphires, and rubies of medieval paradise descriptions and the gold spangles to reflect the sunlight

<sup>1</sup>Miles Hadfield, Topiary and Ornamental Hedges (1971), 14.

<sup>2</sup>H.A. Evans, English Masques (1897), 102.

<sup>3</sup>Amherst, 147.

in Bacon's essay on gardening. Certainly the designer of the Masque of Flowers shared Jones's considerable enthusiasm for lighting effects.

In its consciousness of chiaroscuric effects, plants, architectural features, and tentative movement toward the controlled sightlines of the vista, the garden of The Masque of Flowers points toward a different idea of the stage set and toward a different conception of the garden. It acts as an elegant setting enhanced by a quality of strangeness, and it contributes to the acting platform by providing discrete seating for the masquers and a convenient entrance for them in its three alleys. The alleys, brick walls, and prospect of the sky to some extent organize the scene. The setting supports the theme that flowers are returned to men under James's influence, but it contributes no message of its own.

William Browne of Tavistock's The Inner Temple Masque presented in 1614<sup>1</sup> offers another transitional garden. The designer is again unknown. The masque was prepared for a private performance presumably with a limited budget. The staging was simple with all the scenes simultaneously present though hidden. The action moved from Circe's cliff on one side of the stage to reveal the hill and crescent woods where Ulysses lay and then toward the centre rear of the stage where doors opened on a glade and arbour. The arbour in turn opened to free the masquers. There was a wood in perspective behind them.<sup>2</sup> Despite the simplicity of the machinery involved, the natural settings

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of the date see R.F. Hill's introduction to his edition of the masque in A Book of Masques, 181. Citations are to this edition.

<sup>2</sup>For a description of the machinery and stage, see A. Nicoll, 81-2, and Hill, 183.

depicted are advanced in technique and self-conscious. The stage directions give the following:

At these words Yon stands a hill etc. a traverse was drawn at the Lower end of the hall, and gave way for the discovery of an artificial wood so near imitating nature that I think had there been a grove like it in the open plain birds would have been faster drawn to that than to Zeuxis' grapes. The trees stood at the climbing of an hill and left at their feet a little plain which they circled like a crescent; and this space upon hillocks were seen eight musicians...

11. 132-8.

'Zeuxis' grapes' is a reference to a trompe l'oeil described by Pliny in his Natural History, XXXV. xxxvi. 65. There is a very conscious attempt at verisimilitude in this scene. Circe's description of the same scene emphasizes its lavish beauty and also brings out the tentative hints of spatial arrangement.

Yon stands a hill crown'd with high waving trees  
Whose gallant tops each neighb'ring country sees,  
Under whose shade an hundred silvans play  
With gaudy nymphs far fairer than the day;  
Where everlasting spring with silver showers  
Sweet roses doth increase to grace our bowers;  
Where lavish Flora, prodigal in pride,  
Spends what might well enrich all earth beside;  
And to adorn this place she loves so dear  
Stays in some climates scarcely half the year,  
When would she to the world indifferent be  
They should continual April have as we.  
Midway the wood and from the levell'd lands  
A spacious yet a curious arbour stands,  
Wherein should Phoebus once to pry begin  
I would benight him ere he get his inn,  
Or turn his steeds awry, so draw him on  
To burn all lands but this like Phaeton.

11. 105-22.

The stage directions make it clear that the scene is in fact arranged as a garden amphitheatre, a design which, as discussed earlier, was once more very much a part of the Italian garden. It has found its way into the Stuart masque. It appears again in

Shirley's Triumph of Peace, 1634, in which it complements the Roman processional motif.<sup>1</sup> The masque was preceded by a triumphal march from Hatton and Ely Houses to Whitehall. On the stage its masquers were seated in a pyramid formation "on the ascent of an hill cut out like the degrees of a theatre, and over them a delicious arbour with terms of young men."<sup>2</sup> From the amphitheatre the masquers descended to praise the victorious king and queen.

The amphitheatre in Browne's masque has no such processional connotations. It opens to reveal a garden glade and its presence as wings must have enhanced the formality of the garden and given the scene a greatly increased sense of depth. When Ulysses strikes the trees with Circe's wand,

Suddenly two great gates flew open making as it were a large glade through the wood, and along the glade a fair walk, two seeming brick walls on either side over which the trees wantonly hung; a great light, as the sun's sudden unmasking, being seen upon this discovery. At the further end was descried an arbour, very curiously done, having one entrance under an architrave borne up by two pillars with their chapters and bases gilt, the top of the entrance beautified with postures of satyrs, wood nymphs and other antic work, as also the sides and corners; the covering archwise interwove with boughs, the back of it girt round with a vine and artificially done up in knots towards the top; beyond it was a wood seen in perspective.

11. 402-12.

In this scene the perspective walk is again applied to a garden setting, the vista pausing at an architectural arbour before taking

<sup>1</sup>Jones used the full architectural splendors of the Roman amphitheatre in Townsend's Albion's Triumph, 1632. See Simpson and Bell, Design No. 121 (O. & S. 192).

<sup>2</sup>The Triumph of Peace, 11. 603-5, ed. Clifford Leech in A Book of Masques.

101  
 that next step toward a vanishing point in the far distance. The eye is checked at last by a wood rather than Le Nōtre's infinite horizons of the mid-seventeenth century, but it has nevertheless a larger and more carefully controlled view than that normally associated with gardens in England at the time. In the text Circe testifies to an awareness of optical discussions such as in part lie behind the effectiveness of the masque's natural settings:

What though the bow  
 Which Iris bends appeareth to each sight  
 In various hues and colours infinite?  
 The learned know that in itself is free  
 And light and shade make that variety.  
 Things far off seen seem not the same they are...

ll. 310-15.

In a curious way the imagery of Browne's text works against the action leading into the garden. Although Browne makes a parade of his sources -- Circe's island is white with bones according to Virgil's Aeneid V, the sirens appear as Hygenus and Servius described them, Triton as in Apollonius's Argonautic IV -- which is reminiscent of Jonson, he in fact completely alters the import of the traditional images. The opening setting with its cliffs white with bones, the sirens's sensual and ruthless song, the awkward dance of the distorted forms, the banishment of the sun's light from Circe's arbour contribute to the image of Circe as an evil and dangerous temptress. The dance of Circe's nymphs to soft music is deceptively attractive yet keeps "a most curious measure." (l. 379). The masquers, Ulysses's men dance a "well-timed measure" (l. 430) and are urged "on and imitate the sun" (l. 438). They dance before the orderly garden in bright light. Browne's imagery prepares us for the usual contest between reason and sensuality, light and dark, measure and disorder, but the

struggle never occurs. Circe is unfailingly polite, even hesitant. She offers her wand to Ulysses unmasked. She denies responsibility for the monsters of the first antimasque. It is not her fault if in their greed men eat what they find on her island. The garden glade of the masquers can be surrounded by Circe's woods without any sense of threat or incongruity, because by the time the glade is discovered Circe's character has been remodeled. Circe and the garden alike are 'unmasked'. The garden, despite the references to Flora and the spring, wood nymphs and satyrs, has no inherent symbolism beyond its orderliness.

Inigo Jones's explanation of the allegory of Circe in Tempe Restored seems equally relevant to Browne's masque.

Circe here signifies desire in generall, the which hath power on all living Creatures, and beeing mixt of the Divine and Sensible, hath diverse effects, Leading some to Vertue, and others to Vice. Shee is described as a Queene, having in her service, and subjection, the Nymphs, which participate of Divinity, figuring the Vertues, and the brute Beasts, denoting the Vices.<sup>1</sup>

If Circe is desire in general then the garden simply as an image of beauty is a suitable setting and the use of perspective and the latest in gardening techniques justified by their enhancement of appearances. When The Inner Temple Masque ends the only declared enemy is Time which shortens such delights.

The transitional gardens of The Masque of Flowers and The Inner Temple Masque reveal the decreasing importance of garden iconography and a growing sophistication in the use of perspective in natural settings. Inigo Jones used perspective as early as the presentation

<sup>1</sup>Townshend's Poems and Masks, 98.

of The Masque of Blackness in 1605.<sup>1</sup> It became a regular feature of the Stuart masque. Depth was achieved in the throne scene of The Masque of Beauty, 1608, through the two fountains in the foreground, the arbours on either side of the throne, and the woods with its playful leverets in the background. But compared to the perspective achieved in the two transitional gardens this arrangement, as far as I can tell from the written descriptions, seems clumsy. Perspective in these gardens is achieved by the grouping of garden features and masses in a unified but unobtrusive line and the use of a painted backdrop. The gardens appear less obviously theatrically arranged. Depth is achieved in The Inner Temple Masque through wings formed by the amphitheatre of trees and the brick walls of the glade. The wood of the backdrop seen in perspective behind the arbour completes the scene but is not responsible for it. The articulation of the scene is almost fluid and continuous, and it depends on a newly fashionable garden feature. In The Masque of Flowers the brick walls and particularly the use of the three alleys shape the illusionistic stage which culminates in the architectural screen of the arbour with the firmament behind. Neither of these settings, however, presents a fully unified stage. The set of The Masque of Flowers operates almost entirely as a backdrop with the action of the masque well

<sup>1</sup>The history of the development of perspective in the theatre is a much told story. See, for example, Chambers, III, Ch. 1. For the theoreticians see Campbell, 28-58, 145-60, Kernodle, 45-50. Barnard Hewitt as editor of The Renaissance Stage, 20, points out that Robert Peake's inaccurate translation of Serlio's Architettura, II, 1611, was the only account of perspective in English for fifty years. Of immediate interest are Roy Strong's remarks on perspective in the garden and masque, The Renaissance Garden in England, 203, and Orgel and Strong, I, 11-14, on perspective as a political weapon.



forward, while the staging of The Inner Temple Masque still relies on simultaneous settings though cleverly co-ordinated. Complete control of the unified stage and the completely fluid movement of greenery in perspective awaited Jones's perfection of the natural setting. The vista envisioned between leafy and overarching trees, which appeared in the opening scene of Chloridia (Design 83, O. & S. 164) and was originally handled as architecturally as the rocks of Oberon's wilderness, gradually became the vista scenes of Florimene, 1635 (Designs 243, 244; O. & S. 326, 327), and especially of Luminalia, 1638 (Designs 308, 309; O. & S. 383, 384). In these designs for Florimene Jones carried the possibilities for depth and verisimilitude as far as mathematics and optical science could go. In the designs for Luminalia the atmospheric quality of so much late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century landscape painting is already suggested.

The continent early delighted in these illusionary possibilities of the garden and particularly in the painted perspective. In this preference they were influenced by the trompe l'oeil painting described by Pliny and Vitruvius<sup>1</sup> and since uncovered in the gardens of Pompeii, as well as by the theatrical experiments of the period. Claude Mollet in his Théâtre des Plans et Jardinages, written some years before its posthumous publication in 1652, recommends "at the extremes of these allées fine perspectives painted on canvas should be placed, that can be removed to shelter from injury in time of bad weather."<sup>2</sup> John Evelyn, in his diary entry for February 27, 1644, marvelled at the arch of Constantine painted in lifesize in oil on

<sup>1</sup>Pliny, XXXVI.116; Vitruvius, VII.v.2.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in Masson, 275.

the garden wall at Rueil. The sky and birds beneath the arch were done with remarkable realism. Evelyn's description of Count de Liancourt's Palace, March 1, 1644, describes how the small narrow garden was enlarged by a perspective of a stream. The real stream disappeared under the wall, but appeared to continue for many miles in the perspective painted on the wall. At the end of this garden stood a small theatre with changeable scenes and cut-outs of men and women in costume. Joseph Furtttenbach, who sojourned in Florence as a contemporary of Inigo Jones, printed four painted front curtains in his book on recreational architecture in 1640. One depicted a street perspective, one the Piazza di Siena, and two were of gardens, one with a fountain, the other with a colonnade and summer house. "Above all," he writes, "they may be used with the greatest delight on a wall of a pleasure garden."<sup>1</sup>

In the English garden these painted outdoor perspectives were less popular, partly because of the weather, partly because it was a late fashion interrupted by the civil war, but more, I suspect, because such disingenuous optical experiments found a more congenial expression in the grotto. Trompe l'oeil might have been included in Sir Henry Wotton's censure of artificial devices of great expense and little dignity while crypteria, deep concaves which show the stars at noon, were regarded as "learned pleasure."<sup>2</sup> Grottoes inspired by Bernard Palissy experimented with realistically modelled animals particularly amphibian and reptilian forms and shell work. Later

<sup>1</sup>In Hewitt, 190.

<sup>2</sup>Henry Wotton, The Elements of Architecture, 1624, The English Experience, 272 (1970), 113.

grottoes like that of Wotton's description or Pope's grotto at Twickenham developed the illusions available through reflecting surfaces. Nevertheless we know that Inigo Jones planned a trompe l'oeil landscape for the garden at Oatlands, in 1637.<sup>1</sup> A study of the decorative cartouches survives in the Ashmolean Collection. The Public Record Office records payment to George Portman in 1638-9 for painting eight views of the Queen's houses in the privy garden at Oatlands.<sup>2</sup> At Knowsley House sham prospects filled the summerhouse windows.<sup>3</sup> A very different kind of pictorial depth was achieved by Sir Henry Fanshawe in the flower gardens at Ware Park.

Hee did so precisely examine the tinctures, and seasons of his flowers, that in their setting, the inwardst of those which were to come up at the same time, should be alwayes a little darker then the outmost, and so serve them for a kinde of gentle shadow, like a piece not of Nature, but Arte.<sup>4</sup>

The limited vista found a greater response in the English garden than did the painted perspective. The increasing use of evergreens which Evelyn did so much to promote, the development of the pleached alleys of lime, elm, or hornbeam and the cabinets of verdure with their

<sup>1</sup>The King's Arcadia, 158. The discussion includes a reprint of the design, no. 296.

<sup>2</sup>The Renaissance Garden in England, 191, 232.n. 68.

<sup>3</sup>B. Sprague Allen, Tides in English Taste 1619-1800: A Background for the Study of Literature, 2 vols. (1937; rpt. N.Y., 1958), I, 153.

<sup>4</sup>Wotton, 110.

palisaded corridors such as the formal wilderness at Wimbledon<sup>1</sup> were directed to the discipline of space and eye, as was the increasing importance of the central alley. The lime avenue, though unusual, was a feature at Buxted by the 1630's.<sup>2</sup> But the grouping of garden features as masses to delineate a view by the end of the seventeenth century in England had only reached the stage of the clair-voyée such as that at Westbury Court in Gloucestershire. As in Italy and in Jones's settings, vistas were terminated by an arbour, a statue, or other feature. The limitless horizons of the French garden were not suggested in England until the grand canal in St. James Park was developed under Charles II, and the discovery of the ha-ha was left to the early eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

How large a role the civil war played in the repression of the vista garden in England is perhaps best left to the garden historian to assess, but consideration of two of Jones's later masques can suggest something of the mixed intellectual atmosphere facing the adoption of a garden whose design told only of ingenuity, surprise, and grandeur. The older iconography continued to be invoked without any longer providing a formative influence. In those late masques in which a garden setting is prominent coherence is achieved in only one, Carew's Coelum Britannicum, 1633.

<sup>1</sup>Parliamentary Survey of Wimbledon, Surrey, No. 72, 1649, rpt. in Amherst, 315-27.

<sup>2</sup>Miles Hadfield, A History of British Gardening (1960; rev., 1969), 83-4. Smythson's plan of Wimbledon, 1609, shows the use of lime trees with cherry trees for a cross-axis avenue. The trees are used for shade and not to form a vista. Smythson's plan is printed in The Renaissance Garden in England, 61.

<sup>3</sup>George Clark, "Military Gardening at Stowe," CL, 151 (18 May 72).

The statement the garden of Coelum Britannicum makes is so important that it is necessary to prepare the ground for consideration of it. It is best understood if compared with Aurelian Townsend's Tempe Restored presented the year before. The designer is again Jones and he turned, as he so frequently did, to the work of Parigi. Il Giudizio di Paride was presented in Florence in 1608 and influenced both Jones and Furttentbach. The garden of Calypso furnished ideas for Jones's arbours in Tempe Restored. Plates of Jones's design and Parigi's are published side by side in Allardyce Nicoll's Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage.<sup>1</sup>

The opening setting of the masque is the Vale of Tempe adorned with Jones's adapted arbours:

A Curtaine being drawne up, the Lightsome Scene appear'd showing a delicious place by nature and art; where in a Valley inviron'd with Hills a farre off was seated, a prospect of curious Arbours of various formes. The first order of marble pillasters. Betweene which were neeces of rocke worke and Statues: some spurting water received into vazes beneath them, and others standing on Pedestals. On the returnes of these Pillasters run slender Cornishments. From which was raised a second order of gracious termes with womens faces which beare up the ornaments. Under this to a leaning height was a Ballestrata inricht. All this second story seem'd of silver worke mixt with fresh Verdures which on the tops of these arbours covered some of the returnes, in the forme of tipes with tender branches dangling downe: others were cover'd flatt, and had flower pots of gold for finishing. Behind these appear'd the tops of slender trees, whose leaves seem'de to move with a gentle breath comming from the farre off Hills.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Nicoll, 92-3.

<sup>2</sup>Townshend's Poems and Masks, 84.

The Vale of Tempe in this interpretation is hardly the pastoral valley of Thessaly familiar from Greek poetry or the wilderness the Renaissance knew under that title among the ruins of Hadrian's villa. The stone niches with statues inset as fountains recall the Belvedere of Julius II which set the style for this motif.<sup>1</sup> The terms and balustrade are becoming familiar features of Renaissance gardens. From the designs it is clear the arbours are arranged to promote the line of perspective to the distant hills. When the further part of the scene opens to reveal Circe's palace it is in perfect harmony with the design of the foreground.

Then the further part of the Sceane opening, there appears seated on the side of a fruitfull hill, a sumptuous Palace, with an open Tarras before it, and a great staire of returne, descending into the lower grounds; the upper part environ'd with walles of Marble, amongst which were planted, Cypresse trees.<sup>2</sup>

The palace is the latest in Italian villa design complete with terrace and upper and lower gardens architecturally integrated by stairs. Balustrades, terraces, and stairs can be found in Elizabethan gardens, but the integration of the whole with the house was not completely accomplished until Philip, the fourth Earl of Pembroke redesigned Wilton to plans by Isaac de Caus in 1632-3. The cypress trees, though appropriate plants for Circe, are here dominated by their aesthetic purpose. They provide a vertical accent and a contrast of tone and texture with the marble.

Neither the palace nor its grounds carry any allegorical meaning beyond the spectacle of their own beauty. In Tempe Restored, Circe has usurped the muses's valley and consequently the usual imagery of her surroundings is not present. But the topos of the Vale of Tempe is not evoked either. One assumes the valley of the opening set is

<sup>1</sup>Masson, 126-7.

<sup>2</sup>Townshend's Poems and Masks, 86.

the vale from the masque's title which was printed on the proscenium arch but is not named in the text until halfway through the masque. No attempt is made to profit from the metamorphosis of Daphne in the Vale of Tempe nor are pastoral motifs employed. Instead it is only the type of the delicious place. The significant imagery is supplied by an abrupt translation to the heavens. Against a background of sea, rocks, and citadel and an enormous oriental sky, clouds bearing stars and spheres are lowered as if on a chain. Above them is the golden chariot of divine Beauty, the Queen. In the last scene above a shady wood another yet different heaven appears in the midst of which Jove sits on an eagle while Cupid flies about the stage. Overwhelmed by such air superiority, no wonder Circe surrenders with a bad grace to the earthly representatives of the gods, the king and queen.

In the allegory Jones supplies for the masque, having described Circe as desire in general, he writes that the "inchaunted palace, glistening with gold, and Precious Ornaments [signifies] that desire cannot be moved without apparance of Beauty, either true or false."<sup>1</sup> And Queen Henrietta Maria as Divine Beauty shows us that "Corporeall Beauty, consisting in simetry, colour, and certaine unexpressable Graces, shining in the Queenes Maiestie, may draw us to the contemplation of the Beauty of the soule, unto which it hath Analogy."<sup>2</sup> Since the Queen draws us to contemplate the soul it is entirely appropriate that she should appear against a backdrop of the heavens, but it leaves the masque curiously disjointed. Apparently

<sup>1</sup>Townshend's Poems and Masks, 97. The preceding description of Circe I have already quoted above, p. 403.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 99.

the Vale of Tempe has been restored, but visually it is almost absent. Jones tells us that the palace and grounds represent beauty and in the symmetry, colour, and grace of their new design they meet his theoretical prescriptions, but since their beauty is morally neutral and unassisted by the resources of the Vale of Tempe topos, it is swamped by the Platonic allegory of Jones's heavenly vision. The design of the integrated villa and garden is accomplished and revolutionary, but it has not yet been fully integrated into the idea of the masque.

The scenic progression of Coelum Britannicum reverses that of Tempe Restored. It begins with the heavens and moves to the princely villa and gardens. From a ruined city of the ancients Mercury and Momus report that the pagan gods inspired by Charles I and his wife have decided to set their house in order. In a comical antimasque which is heavily indebted to Giordano Bruno's Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante, 1584,<sup>1</sup> Jove stops philandering and in the second scene the heavens are emptied of all those stars immortalizing illicit lovers and vices, misshapen forms like the Hydra, and those of distorted motion like the crab. Plutus, Poema, Fortune, and Hedone then ask for the vacant positions but, of course, only members of the Stuart court need apply.

The main masque is a competent attempt to justify this stardom. It begins with the history of the ancient Britains, opening with a dance by Picts, the ancient Scots, and Irish. Mt. Atlas rises

<sup>1</sup>For an analysis of this debt see Rhodes Dunlap, ed., The Poems of Thomas Carew with his Masque Coelum Britannicum (Oxford, 1949) 273-83. Citations are to this text.



and fills the stage. In the middle level of the mountain are seated the three kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland. Above them Genius presides with a full cornucopia. They sing the praises of the Queen whose eyes, more sparkling than the stars, shed a nobler influence. A chorus of Druids and Rivers from the craggy lower part of the mountain identify the scene as the Hesperian bowers. Atlas then opens to free the masquers costumed as British heroes led by the British Hercules King Charles I.

After the main dance the Kingdoms and Genius declare these masquers fit to become heaven's stars, but the masque does not end here as one would expect in a Jonsonian masque. Indeed its creators seek a second and narrower 'myth'.<sup>1</sup> The kingdoms are reluctant to let the masquers go, so Genius promises that "their Fame shall fly / From hence alone, and in the Spheare / Kindle new Starres, whilst they rest here " (ll. 993-5).

Kingdomes.        But shall not wee, now thou art gone  
                          Who wert our Nature, wither,  
                          Or breake that Triple Union  
                          which thy soule held together?

Genius.            In Concords pure immortall spring  
                          I will my force renew,  
                          And a more active Vertue bring  
                          At my returne. Adieu.

ll. 1002-9.

It is to house this 'more active Vertue' in the form of King Charles now metamorphosed into a new Arthur or St. George that the next scene opens to reveal the princely villa and its gardens. It is Honour's Temple and it is firmly planted on British soil:

<sup>1</sup>See Orgel and Strong, I, 49-75, for an analysis of the political content of the Caroline masque. Their discussion of Coelum Britannicum, I, 66-70, is particularly helpful.

The Scaene againe is varied into a new and pleasant prospect, cleane differing from all the other, the nearest part shewing a delicious garden with severall walkes and perterra's set round with low trees, and on the sides against these walkes, were fountaines and grots, and in the further part a Palace, from whence went high walkes upon Arches, and above them open Tarraces planted with Cypresse trees, and all this together was composed of such Ornaments as might expresse a Princely Villa.<sup>1</sup>  
ll. 1012-20.

The terraces, fountains, grottoes, walks, and cypresses are familiar as is the use of different levels mastered by the Italian garden and emphasized here by the high walks on arches. The effect of such walks and the terraces is to contribute to the most important feature of the princely villa and its garden which is their architectural integration. (See Plates 18 and 19.) Under Alberti the garden had been joined to the house through the loggia. Now the axis was carried, not only to the garden terrace, which was unknown to Alberti, but through the garden in the vista of the prominent central alley. Like the setting in Tempe Restored the house and gardens make one comprehensive statement of magnificence and order. Only in the theatre or in a painting where the sightlines of the whole can be precisely controlled could this statement be made so completely and overpoweringly.

A few tentative essays in such integration were to be found in the gardens of England in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup>

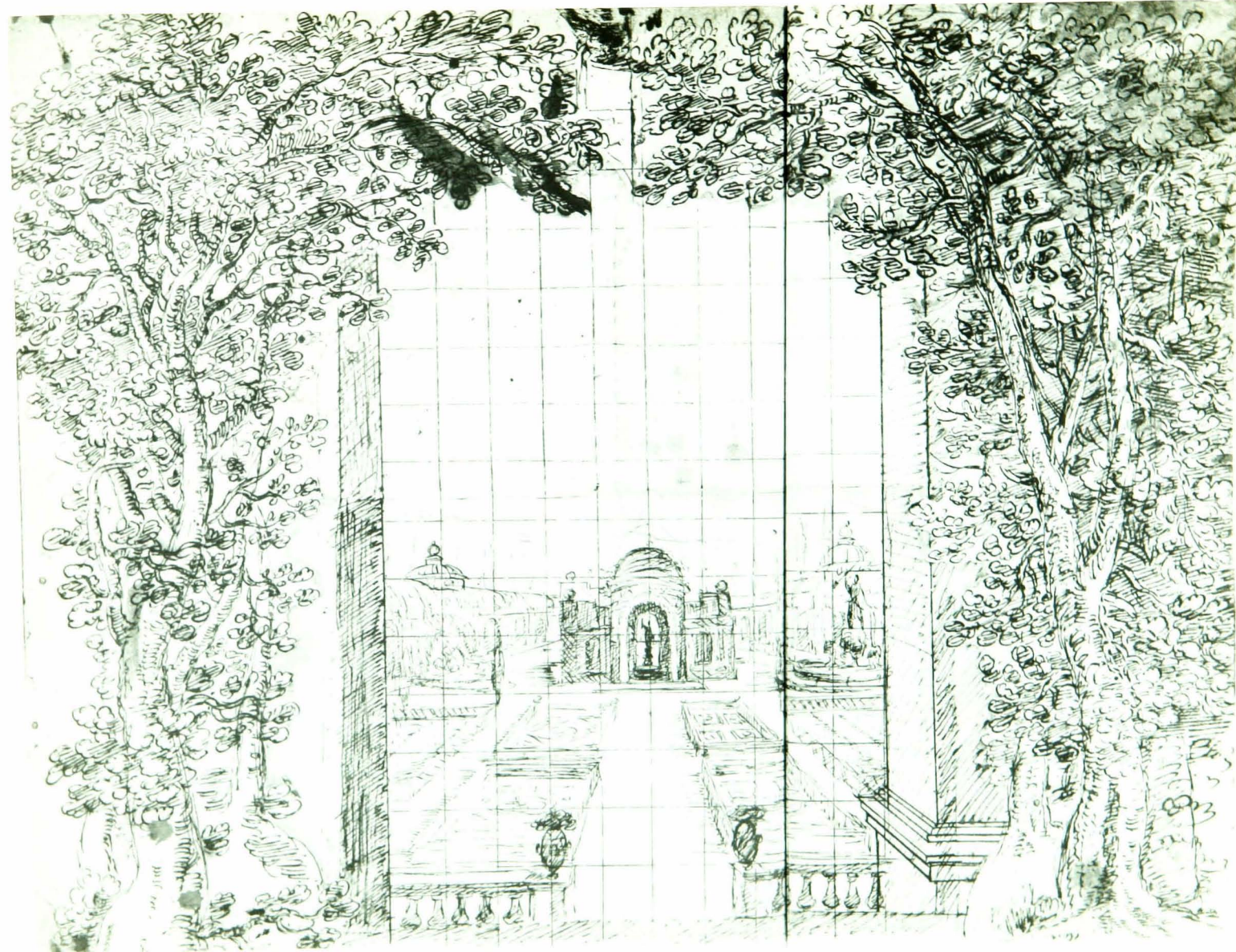
<sup>1</sup>Simpson and Bell assign Design 208 (O.&S. 252), to this scene, while Orgel and Strong assign to it Design 247 (O. & S. 281). The argument by Orgel and Strong, II, 588, rests on the number of fountains in Design 208 and seems insufficient to me. However, the present discussion does not depend on a particular attribution since both designs are of architecturally integrated gardens.

<sup>2</sup>In the sixteenth century only Wollaton Hall, designed by Robert Smythson in the late 1580's, is known to have a completely integrated house and garden, but Wollaton is noted as the eccentric expression of its owner Sir Francis Willoughby.

Plate 18. Garden scene by Inigo Jones, assigned by Simpson and Bell as Design 208 to Coelum Britannicum, 1634, and by Orgel and Strong as No. 252 to The Shepherd's Paradise, 1633.



Plate 19. Garden and villa scene by Inigo Jones, assigned by Simpson and Bell as Design 247 to the Spring interlude of Florimene, 1635, and by Orgel and Strong as No. 281 to Coelum Britannicum, 1634.



A combination of stairs and alleys similar to Jones's setting was part of Sir William Temple's recollection of the garden at Moor Park laid out between 1626 and 1631 which he visited in 1655.<sup>1</sup> Still earlier, Sir John Danver's house at Chelsea,<sup>2</sup> begun in 1622-3, was planned from the start round a central axis joining the main hall and garden with the vista terminating in a raised terrace with central grotto at the bottom of the garden. The garden was divided into the usual three areas and made use of free standing statuary which suggests a unified iconographical programme was intended. The alleys were arranged in geometric patterns with forthrights to either side

<sup>1</sup>Hadfield, 102-3. Sir William Temple's recollections of Moor Park occur in his essay "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; or, Of Gardening, in the year 1685."

<sup>2</sup>On Danver's House see Hadfield, 74-5, A.W. Clapham and W.H. Godfrey, Some Famous Buildings and Their Story (1913), 92-103 and The Renaissance Garden in England, 176-80. Roy Strong's interpretation of Danver's house relies heavily on Aubrey's account of 1691 and stresses the psychological stimulus Aubrey found there and the delight he took in hidden areas of the garden. But Aubrey's response was conditioned by the radically altered sensibility of his period and by some seventy years growth of the original plantings of shrubbery, fruit trees, and evergreens as well as by whatever now unknown changes had been made in the garden. (John Aubrey, The Natural History of Wiltshire, ed. John Britton, Wiltshire Topographical Soc., [1847], 93.) Strong also argues for an early axial garden at Rycote, 184-6, but the evidence seems to me insufficient. Downsby Hall was designed as a unit, while at Ham House, built in 1610, the orchard was aligned with the house in Smythson's plan (The Renaissance Garden in England, 117, 119).

and a central oval walk. Vistas were also directed down the forthrights to groups of statuary. The plan of the whole describes a more symmetrical and more unified architectural garden than was usual in England at the time. Danvers had travelled widely in Italy and France. Cornelius Johnson's well known portrait of the Capel family (c. 1639) reveals a similarly Italianate garden of statues and terraces closely integrated with the house, but the garden at Wilton, redesigned in the year of Jones's masque, as it appears in Hoefnagel's engraving illustrates this type of architectural unity particularly clearly.

The garden in the engraving (see Plate 20) is framed by wings created by groves of trees on either side. Costumed figures in the foreground look down from a balustraded height on the garden below, giving a sense of scale and depth to the scene. The figures and wings act as an inverted proscenium arch defining the picture plane within which the great garden has become one enormous theatrical set.

The garden itself is an enclosed rectangle the width of the house. The central alley is the width of the portico<sup>1</sup> and with the smaller forthrights runs the length of the garden from the terrace beneath the house. In theory at least the terrace should be equal to the height of the house from the ground line to the eaves.<sup>2</sup> Until the mid-century the vistas organized by the central alley and the smaller forthrights terminated in the garden wall or an architectural feature.

<sup>1</sup>Christopher Hussey, "Gardens of Wilton House, Wiltshire I," CL, 134 (25 J1 63), 206.

<sup>2</sup>Blomfield, 103.

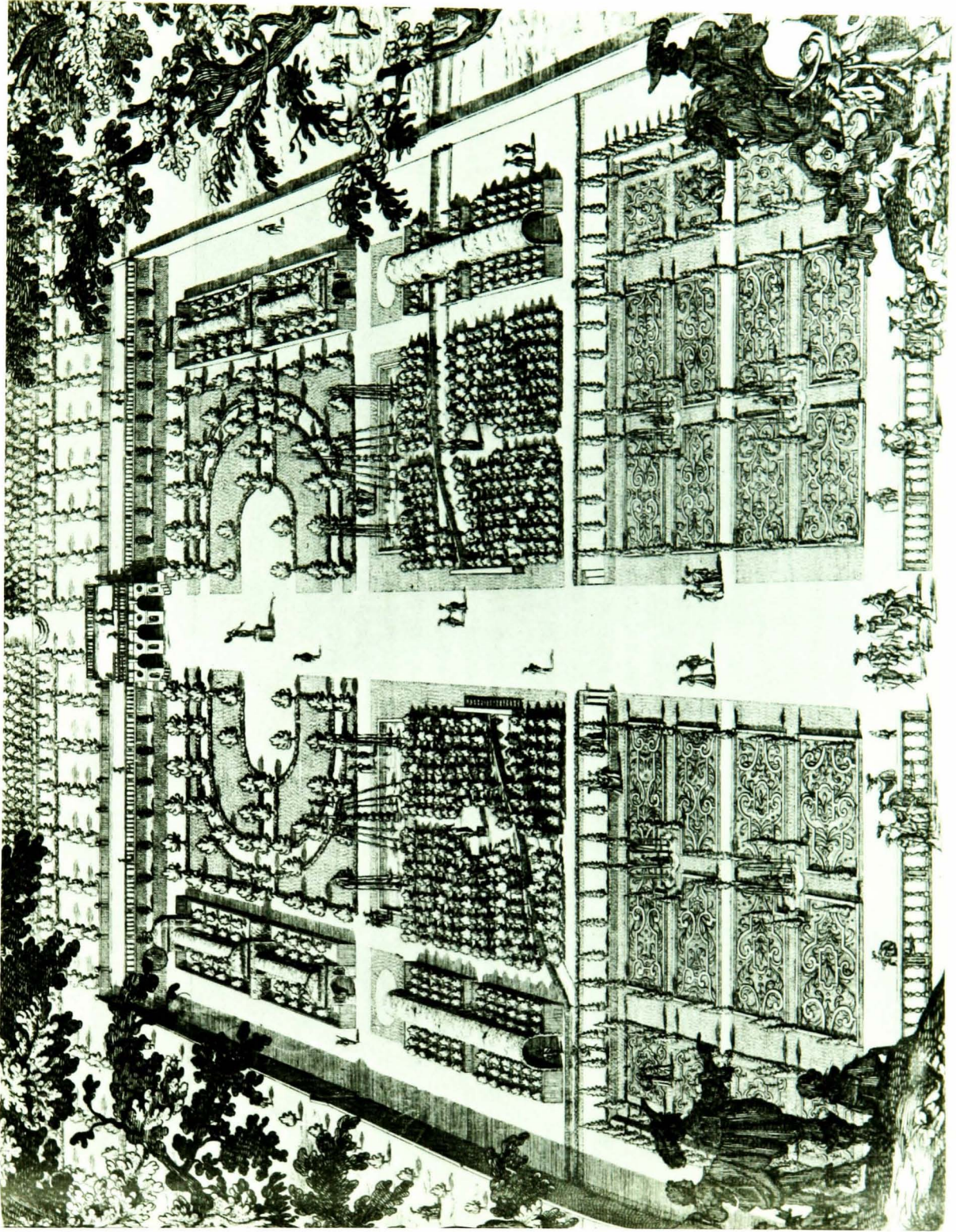


Plate 20.  
Hoefnagel's  
engraving of the  
garden of Wilton  
House, c. 1645.

At Wilton they lead to stairs to the end terrace, the central stairs dividing to pass either side of the grotto.<sup>1</sup> These formal vistas make no concessions to topography; the River Nadder, winding through the middle of the garden, disappears under the alleys. Its serpentine line, prized by later designers, disappears in the architectural formality of the garden.

Our modern inclinations encourage us to view this end terrace as an opportunity to look beyond the walls of the garden. We share the enthusiasm expressed in The Theory and Practice of Gardening, 1712:

For my own part, I esteem nothing more diverting and agreeable in a Garden, than a fine View, and the Prospect of a noble Country. The Pleasure of seeing, from the End of a Walk, or off a Terrass, for four or five Leagues round, a vast Number of Villages, Woods, Rivers, Hills, and Meadows, with a thousand other Varieties that make a beautiful Landskip, exceeds all that I can possibly say of it; a Sight of these Things being the only Means to form a just Idea of their Beauty.<sup>2</sup>

But this enthusiasm is in fact an acquired taste which was uncommon before the end of the seventeenth century in England. The end terrace at Wilton is primarily to enable the spectator to view the garden itself. It is the architectural realization of Hoefnagel's balustraded picture plane. At Wilton, as at Hampton Court, Packwood House, and Ven House in Somerset a second terrace crossed the centre of the garden.<sup>3</sup> From this terrace there could be no question of an outward view. Rather the terraces and strict sightlines of the alleys control the entire garden making of it an architecturally integrated space, a platform on which every visitor became a

<sup>1</sup>Jones designed a grotto for the House of Oceanus in Neptune's Triumph, 1624, in imitation of de Caus's grotto in the basement of the banquet house. See the discussion in The King's Arcadia, 135.

<sup>2</sup>[Dézaillier D'Argenville], The Theory and Practice of Gardening, tr. John James (1712; rpt., 1969), 13.

<sup>3</sup>Blomfield, 111.



performer. Its backdrop was the magnificent south front of Wilton House, which was probably influenced by Inigo Jones.<sup>1</sup> When it became customary later in the century to move the gatehouse to the end of the approach avenue it was an attempt to further improve the theatrical display of the building. The radiating avenues of the patie d'or which Charles II introduced from France into the Fountain Garden at Hampton Court present five separate optical corridors. Their function is to guide the eye to discreet 'pictures' of the palace and not away from it. At Vaux-le-Vicomte the transverse axes of water with their consequent refraction of light were mathematically organized to foreshorten the perspective. As one moved down the central avenue, the house never seemed further away.<sup>2</sup> The mathematics of this illusion defeat me, but the theatricality of it is obvious.

<sup>1</sup> Designs were prepared for the south front of Wilton house in the 1630's and again after the fire of 1647-8. In both cases there is evidence of Inigo Jones's interest, though existing designs are by Webb or de Caus. See Summerson, 90; James Lees-Milne, The Age of Inigo Jones (1953), 96-103; Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, English Country Houses; Caroline 1625-85 (1966), 75-8; H.M. Colvin, "The South Front of Wilton House," Archaeological Journal, 111 (1954); A.A. Tait, "Isaac de Caus and the South Front of Wilton House," Burl. Mag., 106 (1964). On the garden in addition to Hussey see The Renaissance Garden in England, 147-65, and Gothein, I, 453-6.

<sup>2</sup> Helen M. Fox, André Le Nôtre: Garden Architect to Kings [1962], 67.

Jones's setting for Coelum Britannicum, the princely villa and its gardens, is an architecturally integrated unit like Wilton House and its gardens,<sup>1</sup> and it is also an integral part of the masque in a way that the similar setting of Tempe Restored was not. It matters little for present purposes whether Jones's garden design is based on an engraving by Antonio Tempesta (Design 247) or by Callot (Design 208).<sup>2</sup> The integration of the Italian villa and garden is fully visualized on an English stage before an English audience. More than that it has been completely integrated into the action of the masque and therefore understood and 'normalized' for that audience.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup>In The Renaissance Garden in England, Roy Strong examines the political content of Coelum Britannicum and also suggests, 161-4, that Wilton House would have been a suitable setting for the masque.

<sup>2</sup>Orgel and Strong, II, 519, 588. See n. 1, p. 414 above.

<sup>3</sup>How much credit for this understanding goes to Carew and how much to Jones is uncertain. Each was by education and experience capable of contributing to it. Carew spent considerable time in Italy as secretary to his kinsman Sir Dudley Carleton, the English Ambassador to Venice, and later in Paris in the train of Sir Edward Herbert, later Lord Herbert of Cherbury. As secretary to Carleton, one of Carew's duties was to help with the visit of the Earl of Arundel in 1613. Although not present at the main reception in Venice, Carew met the Earl in October in Florence. Jones was a member of Arundel's party, but whether he met Carew or not is unknown. For detailed information see Rhodes Dunlap, op. cit. His tentative dates for Carew's Italian visit are from the autumn, 1613 till his dismissal in August, 1616 (xviii-xxii). Herbert was in Paris from 1619 till 1624, though temporarily recalled in 1621, but Carew may not have been continuously present (xxxii-xxxiii).

vision of the ruined city of the ancients has been restored in this classical villa in Britain and through the mythology created for it, it has become a fit home for an English king.

The setting acts as a platform for theatrical display,

It remains devoid,

of the earlier, more precise symbolism, although in its order, regularity, and magnificence it perfectly supports the generic ideals of honour and virtue enacted before it. Stage set and text merge in a coherent masque because the final message of each is grandeur and the celebration of grandeur and not the exposition of a particular value or the extension of a traditionally defined topos as in the Jonsonian masque. When in the final scene the troop of stellified British heroes appears in the heavens above a prospect of Windsor Castle, the seat of the Order of the Garter, the palimpsest of a turreted Windsor and a classical princely villa is acceptable. Charles I had only recently revived the Order of the Garter and added the star to the regalia. The masque is overtly directed to the celebration of this almost personal iconography.<sup>1</sup>

Jonson's concept of the masque grows out of the emblematic tradition in which each physical feature was part of the message and the boundary between word and image was blurred. Mediums of expression were proportionate one to another and to the whole, and they were subsumed hierarchically under the ruling inventio, or idea.

<sup>1</sup>'Personal iconography' is a phrase of Orgel and Strong and their discussion, 69-70, remains the best one of this aspect of Jones's masque.

The appeal of the tradition of ut pictura poesis was to the understanding. Although Jonson turned more and more to the literary topos which fulfilled its didactic purpose independently of visual representation, his fundamental concept of the masque as an intellectually demanding and instructive spectacle did not change. The literary topos allowed Jonson to define the moral content of his masque more precisely and the weight of his learning gave the topos sufficient complexity to direct and control the masque as a whole. The Jonsonian masque achieved a remarkable coherence of form through the generative capacity of the literary topos, a coherence which intellectually subsumed stage design, music, and dance as well into the text. We have lost irrecoverably the experience of the masque in performance, but the Jonsonian text between 1611 and 1625, at least in the poet's terms, is intellectually complete and aesthetically satisfying on that level.

In his natural scenery, particularly after the cessation of his partnership with Jonson, Jones develops a setting which took advantage of all the skills of trompe l'oeil painting, the continental techniques of perspective, and the latest advances in gardening design. The gardens which appear in the Stuart masque in these later years are advanced compared to the majority of gardens in England at the time. While it is not possible to point to a direct relationship between a particular masque and a particular garden in England, it seems likely that Jones's interpretation of the Italian garden in the masque was a source of transmission for these ideas and is at least as worthy of study as the books of architecture and

design of the period and reports of travellers.<sup>1</sup> English visitors to the gardens of the continent brought home new ideas, but the masque embodied these ideas in visual representations on stage before the very audience whose wealth created the pleasure gardens of the nation. Furthermore the developments in perspective and illusion in the theatre were applied to garden features more academically, more thoroughly, and more obviously on stage than they could be in a garden. Part of the delight of Inigo Jones's settings must have been wonder at how they were achieved, and this wonder applied to optical manipulations as well as the machinery of hoists and engines. Miles Hadfield has suggested that the masque may have influenced specifically the design of garden buildings, the use of evergreens, and the taste for vistas,<sup>2</sup> such as those developed in the French gardens of Althorp, Wrest, Melbourne Hall, Hampton Court, and Badminton. More importantly, the masque helped to create a new attitude to nature as space and mass to be manipulated according to scientific and mathematical principles.

Although Jones continued to view his stage designs as allegorical statements deriving from the Platonic and Pythagorean number symbolism of the Renaissance, his natural settings in particular reveal how far he had moved toward a different kind of epistemology. But the demonstrable effects of his designs, their emphasis on surface realities, their dependence on affective

<sup>1</sup>To my knowledge there has been no study devoted to the influence of the masque on the garden. For passing remarks see Miles Hadfield, A History of British Gardening, 84; John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, eds., The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820 (1975), 36-7; and Roy Strong, The Renaissance Garden in England, 91, 103, 161-4, 180, 200-3.

<sup>2</sup>Hadfield, History, 84.

principles, and their tacit recognition of subjectivity -- the alteration of appearances through the focus of the sightlines in the eyes of the king -- had to wait till the turn of the century for theoretical expression.

## CHAPTER V GARDEN AND VISTA IN MARVELL'S "UPON APPLETON HOUSE"

Of all Marvell's canon next to "The Garden," his poem "Upon Appleton House" has perhaps provoked the largest critical response. It has been subjected to a variety of interpretations, sometimes complementary to one another, and sometimes seemingly drawn from quite different poems. To mention but a few studies, Maren-Sofie Røstvig has interpreted it anagogically as an hermetic poem, the poet's walk taking him through the universal history of mankind in stages: Eden, the Fall, the race of giants, the flood, the exodus from Egypt, the crossing of the Red Sea, the crucifixion and the baptism of man.<sup>1</sup> Rosalie Colie reads the poem as a study in the context of retirement of "the problematical nature of moral choice and of epistemological certainty."<sup>2</sup> D.C. Allen's important chapter in Image and Meaning places "Upon Appleton House" in relation to classical poetry, while J.B. Leishman's The Art of Marvell's Poetry discusses analogues to it in other seventeenth-century verse.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>M.-S. Røstvig, "'Upon Appleton House' and the Universal History of Man," English Studies, 42 (1961), 349.

<sup>2</sup>Rosalie Colie, 'My Ecchoing Song': Andrew Marvell's Poetry of Criticism (Princeton, N.J., 1970), 270.

<sup>3</sup>D.C. Allen, Image and Meaning: Metaphoric Traditions in Renaissance Poetry (Baltimore, Md., 2nd. edn., 1968); J.B. Leishman, The Art of Marvell's Poetry, ed. Geoffrey Tillotson and John Butt (1966, 2nd. edn., 1968).

All of these studies and more<sup>1</sup> have contributed to a better appreciation of Marvell's achievement. But there still remain unsolved problems in the looseness of the poem's structure and, in the midst of such varied responses, the problem of thematic emphasis. I believe our difficulty with the poem after all these years is not only lack of familiarity with the allusions of the poem whether hermetical, classical or other, but also the fact that Marvell is partly working through a new technique.

In the course of his study of Marvell's techniques, J.B. Leishman writes,

What distinguishes even such a comparative trifle as the Bilborough poem from anything at all like it in seventeenth-century poetry is the balance, the equivalence, between the literal and the metaphorical, the factual and the hyperbolic, the pictorial and the conceptual.<sup>2</sup>

But in "Upon Appleton House" it is exactly this balance that Rosalie Colie finds precarious:

<sup>1</sup>See especially Kitty W. Scoular, Natural Magic: Studies in the Presentation of Nature in English Poetry from Spenser to Marvell (Oxford, 1965); Edward W. Taylor, Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature (1964); Harold E. Toliver, Marvell's Ironic Vision (1965); John Dixon Hunt, Andrew Marvell: His Life and Writings (1978); Donald M. Friedman, Marvell's Pastoral Art (1970); M.J.K. O'Loughlin, "This Sober Frame: A Reading of 'Upon Appleton House'," Andrew Marvell, ed. George deF. Lord, Twentieth Century Views (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), 120-42; Annabel M. Patterson, Marvell and the Civic Crown (Princeton, N.J., 1978); John M. Wallace, Destiny his Choice: The Loyalty of Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, 1968); Ann E. Berthoff, The Resolved Soul: A Study of Marvell's Major Poems (Princeton, N.J., 1970).

<sup>2</sup>Leishman, 250.



It is as if the poet did not care to distinguish actual from poetic truth in this poem, actuality from imagination, fact from figure, but permitted now the one, now the other to dominate, without particular consistency.<sup>1</sup>

I would suggest that what has happened is that Marvell's method of inquiry has become itself the object of study. His playful rupture of the boundaries between the factual and the hyperbolic is in fact a serious search through the consciousness of the narrator for that balance between the real and the conceptual which allows men to act and in particular gives Fairfax a continuing role in England's affairs. Through what Rosalie Colie calls the problematical nature of epistemological certainty, Marvell approaches the problematical nature of moral choice. Each movement of the poem seems to originate from a preoccupation with a literal feature of Fairfax's estate. Marvell uses new spatial techniques of vista and perspective to explore through these features the deceptive nature of perception, and to raise questions about the relationship between nature and art, the five senses and the soul, public and private duty, and the value of retirement.

"Upon Appleton House" is a country-house poem but within the limits of this genre Marvell includes elements of topographical poetry. The country-house poem can be defined loosely as a poem of compliment couched in descriptions taken from life on a country estate. These descriptions are thematically organized.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup>Colie, 270.

<sup>2</sup>Set themes of the country-house poem include the tour of the estate through groves, meadows, gardens, and streams, the history of the family, its continuity in its offspring, the harmony of man and nature, and nature's willing bounty, and descriptions of the day's activities from morning until evening. For further discussion see G.R. Hibbard, "The Country-House Poem of the Seventeenth Century," *JWCI*, 19 (1956); A. Fowler, "The 'Better Marks' of Jonson's 'To Penshurst'," *RES*, n.s., 24 (1973); Charles Molesworth, "Property and Virtue: The Genre of the Country-House Poem in the Seventeenth Century," *Genre*, 1 (1968).

eighteenth-century genre of the topographical poem uses description of place organized spatially in three dimensions.<sup>1</sup> In poems like Denham's Coopers Hill this topographical survey creates a locus for moral and political commentary. In "Upon Appleton House" Marvell uses these spatial techniques too, but he creates the topographical foundations of the poem only to dissolve them in metaphors of spiritual reality. The spatial orientation of the poem, which invites a certain kind of perception, slips continuously into a symbolism whose roots are medieval. In Coopers Hill, Denham creates the symbolic value of a visible St. Pauls or Windsor Castle, the river and woods. In "Upon Appleton House," despite the apparent actuality of the scene, any given image may in fact derive ultimately from a textual tradition. Marvell's forays into new areas of the spatial imagination are curiously truncated, because he continues to find his resolutions within the older perimeters of hieroglyphic imagery.

### I. Optical Experiments in "Upon Appleton House"

At the simplest level, the spatial perimeters of the poem are given by the narrator's walk through the grounds of Nun Appleton.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For debate concerning the definition of topographical poetry see Robert A. Aubin, Topographical Poetry in Eighteenth-Century England (N.Y., 1936); John Chalker, The English Georgic (1969); Brendan O'Hehir, Expans'd Hieroglyphicks: A Critical Edition of Sir John Denham's Coopers Hill (Berkeley, Calif., 1969); J.W. Foster, "A Redefinition of Topographical Poetry," JEGP, 69 (1970); and Earl R. Wasserman, The Subtler Language (Baltimore, Md., 1959).

<sup>2</sup>For antecedents of the estate tour in the classical locus amoenus see E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. W.R. Trask (1953); David Evert, "'Paradice's only Map': The Topos of the Locus Amoenus and the Structure of Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House'," PMLA, 85 (1970); Allen, 195.

Each stage is clearly announced, so much so that Robin Grove comments on this organization as "an external, almost mechanical progression."<sup>1</sup> Certainly Marvell's description of these stages is deliberate and unhurried. We meet the narrator after viewing the house and as he is about to pass into the "fragrant Gardens, shady Woods, / Deep Meadows, and transparent Floods" (ll. 79-80).<sup>2</sup> He addresses the reader,

While with slow Eyes we these survey,  
And on each pleasant footstep stay,  
We opportunly may relate  
The Progress of this Houses Fate.

St. XI. 81-4.

From the garden the narrator moves to the water meadows, "And now to the Abbyss I pass / Of that unfathomable Grass" (ll. 369-70), and then to the woods, "But I, retiring from the Flood, / Take sanctuary in the Wood" (ll. 481-2). From the woods he moves to the river to fish and finally back to the house, "Lets in: for the dark Hemisphere / Does now like one of them appear" (ll. 775-6).

In addition to these directions it is clear the narrator is pointing out the sights as he and the reader move through the grounds. The poem opens with just such a curatorial address -- who is the subject of 'expect'?

Within this sober Frame expect  
Work of no Forrain Architect

St. I. 1-2.

The narator begins his history of the family by pointing out the ruins

<sup>1</sup>Robin Grove, "Marvell," Melbourne Crit. Rev. 6 (1963), rpt. in Marvell, ed. John Carey, Penguin Critical Anthology (1969).

<sup>2</sup>Citations are to The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, 2 vols., ed. H.M. Margoliouth, rev. Pierre Legouis and E.E. Duncan-Jones (1927; 3rd edn., Oxford, 1971).

of the Cistercian nunnery to the southeast of the house, "And all that Neighbour-Ruine shows / The Quarries whence this dwelling rose" (ll. 87-8). He brings the history down to the present by pointing to "these Gardens [laid] out in sport" (l. 285) by Sir Guy Fairfax. He draws attention to the woods, "When first the Eye this Forrest sees / It seems indeed as Wood not Trees" (ll. 497-8) and to the river, "See in what wanton harmless folds / It ev'ry where the Meadow holds" (ll. 633-4).

This topographical survey of the estate is accompanied by interpolations of landscape which are theatrically staged. Although Marvell's preoccupation with the theatre appears in the vocabulary of the poem as a whole, it centres primarily on the water meadows. These are treated as a huge platform on which are enacted the labours of the changing seasons at Appleton House. The narrator's physical position with regard to this platform is carefully established. He overlooks the meadows from the garden and then moves down into the grass to watch the harvest. As readers, we are beside him and are dominated by his line of vision. Men disappear from our sight as they bend in the tall grass and the grassy deeps divide before our very eyes. The narrator's control of our sightlines plays no small part in teaching us our role as audience and in so securing our willingness to accept the conventions of the theatre despite the very real landscape.

No Scene that turns with Engines strange  
 Does oftner then these Meadows change.  
 For when the Sun the Grass hath vext,  
 The tawny Mowers enter next;  
 Who seem like Israelites to be,  
 Walking on foot through a green Sea.  
 To them the Grassy Deeps divide,  
 And crowd a Lane to either Side.

St. XLIX.

Marvell's use of theatrical allusions and staging allows him to present the changing seasons of Nun Appleton in rapid succession and it allows him to clothe their labours in a wealth of historical and biblical allusions which unfold within yet another time sequence. The convention of a play within a play seems to permit these multiple levels which transport us even from the Israelites' passage through the Red Sea to the battles of Alexander and the Romans. Actions of the contemporary civil war are also echoed in these scenes. While their theatrical presentation opens the poem to them, Marvell's scenes in fact violate the limits of theatrical form. We pay heavily for the trust generated by the narrator in his role of friendly guide to the estate. The mechanical tour has unexpectedly given place to presentations beyond our expectations.

When the 'scene' changes further, Marvell changes the position of the narrator. With him, we as audience move to the river. Even today the water meadows at Appleton House are so flat, their proportions are enlarged to a seemingly endless sweep terminating only in the dark line of trees in the distance. These are so low as to seem on a level with the river. When Marvell writes of the haycocks, "We wondring in the River near / How Boats among them safely steer" (ll. 435-6), we can momentarily wonder too and our sightlines are fixed. From the level of the river the bare landscape

is a thin, endless plane; we accept the precision of Stanza LVI and the later appearance of the Universal Herd.

This Scene again withdrawing brings  
 A new and empty Face of things;  
 A levell'd space, as smooth and plain,  
 As Clothes for Lilly strecht to stain.  
 The World when first created sure  
 Was such a Table rase and pure.  
 Or rather such is the Toril  
 Ere the Bulls enter at Madril.

St. LVI.

The final scene, so designated by Marvell, is the appearance of Maria walking in the grounds. The narrator sees her from the river bank and compares her coming to the miraculous advent of the halcyon. But in the evening light simile becomes metaphor; Stanza LXXXV encompasses both bird and girl. Maria becomes a flying figure briefly etched as in glass:

The viscous Air, wheres'ere She fly,  
 Follows and sucks her Azure dy;  
 The gellying Stream compacts below,  
 If it might fix her shadow so;  
 The stupid Fishes hang, as plain  
 As Flies in Chrystal overt'ane;  
 And Men the silent Scene assist,  
 Charm'd with the Saphir-winged Mist.

St. LXXXV.

This momentary stasis is elaborated into a scene in which Maria's perfection overcomes the spatial and temporal turmoil of the poem. She brings straightness to the woods, and time stands still in her presence.

Into a deceptively routine sightseeing tour, Marvell interpolates a number of theatrical scenes. The theatrical scenes, staged on an actual landscape, invest the poet's similes with a momentary reality whose intensity is disturbing. The sightlines by which these scenes

are introduced are a simple device, but the effect is tyrannical, and initially similar to the effects achieved by the court stage. The stage of the Stuart court was developed from Serlio's interpretation of Vitruvius. Vitruvius organized the semicircle of the stage into intersecting triangles.<sup>1</sup> Serlio in his interpretation organized the theatre around a single point of vanishing perspective sited opposite the royal seat. So important was this seat in determining the sightlines of the stage that Sabbattini's handbook to Italian stage practice, Practica di Fabricar Scene e Machine ne' Teatri, 1638, devoted an entire chapter to the subject, "How to Place the Prince's Seat."<sup>2</sup> Marvell's viewpoint is that of the peripatetic narrator but for any given scene it is no less rigid and commanding. Spatial directions no longer function merely as a poetic framework but dictate the configuration of the 'stage' before us. Natural features recede in importance and attention is held by the kaleidoscopic changes of time and space which immerse them.

Two other theatrical moments in the poem need brief mention. A 'frontispiece' may be an ornamental title page of a book or the proscenium arch of a stage. In "Upon Appleton House" its application to architectural description also embraces its theatrical and literary uses. The stately frontispiece of poor which adorns the open door of the house (ll. 65-6) is the arch through which the reader approaches the grounds and the poem, warning him of the

<sup>1</sup>Vitruvius, The Ten Books on Architecture, tr. Morris H. Morgan (1914; rpt. N.Y., 1960), V.vi.1-9.

<sup>2</sup>Rpt. in The Renaissance Stage: Documents of Serlio, Sabbattini and Furttenbach, ed. Barnard Hewitt, tr. Allardyce Nicoll, John H. McDowell, George R. Kernodle (Coral Gables, Fla., 1958). Sabbattini's text was a handbook summarizing standard practice.

theatrical effects to come. And the house in its composition "Like Nature, orderly and near" (l. 26) sets the standard by which the rest of the poem is to be judged.

The narrator's sojourn in the woods is also couched in theatrical terms.

And see how Chance's better Wit  
 Could with a Mask my studies hit!  
 The Oak-Leaves me embroyder all,  
 Between which Caterpillars crawl:  
 And Ivy, with familiar trails,  
 Me licks, and clasps, and curles, and hales.  
 Under this antick Cope I move  
 Like some great Prelate of the Grove,

St. LXXIV.

'Masks' is here not the masque performance but costume, and the theatre-craft of the woods is very different from that applied to the water meadows. The narrator drops the social 'we' and leaves his audience behind. In the close woods there is neither opportunity nor need for the arranged vistas of the earlier passages. Instead the activity in the woods is organized like a medieval religious procession or early entertainment. For these entertainments individual sets were placed about the hall and remained throughout the performance, the actors moving to each as needed. In "Upon Appleton House" the woods has become a temple within which various birds enact tableaux vivants familiar from the emblem books of the day. Marvell's narrator moves from one tableau to the next, no longer as narrator, but as participant.

In addition to the vistas of the water meadows and the tableaux vivants of the woods, Marvell uses the narrator to present a number of optical puzzles. The poem opens with a mathematical teaser --



Humility alone designs  
 Those short but admirable Lines,  
 By which, ungirt and unconstrain'd,  
 Things greater are in less contain'd.  
 Let others vainly strive t'immure  
 The Circle in the Quadrature!  
 These holy Mathematicks can  
 In ev'ry Figure equal Man.

Yet thus the laden House does sweat,  
 And scarce indures the Master great:  
 But where he comes the swelling Hall  
 Stirs, and the Square grows Spherical;  
 More by his Magnitude distrest,  
 Then he is by its straitness prest:  
 And too officiously it slights  
 That in it self which him delights.

Sts. VI-VII.

Plato in Timaeus, 32C-34B, described the world as a sphere, a perfect figure in which all points of the circumference are equidistant from the centre. Vitruvius, III.i.1, described the well built man as one whose outstretched limbs exactly describe a perfect circle and a square. Man thus becomes the microcosmic expression of the divine universe, while the four-cornered square represents his earthly aspects. The 'holy Mathematicks' in which the square grows spherical describes the results of Christian stewardship. To grow spherical is to partake of divinity. The 'circle and square' is thus a symbol of man's contradictory nature and invites complex meditation.

'It is a very great marvel that contraries should be present together, and the circle is made up of contraries', motion and rest, the concave and the convex, the ability to move backwards and forwards at once. 'These are as much opposed to one another...as the great is to the small'.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Scoular, 26. The original quotation is from St. Augustine, The City of God, XXII. xxiv. Scoular's discussion is helpful as is that by Rudolf Wittkower, Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism (3rd. edn., 1962), 14-23; Røstvig, 345-6; and the contemporary discussion by George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie, ed. Gladys D. Willcock and Alice Walker (1936; rpt. Folcroft, Pa., 1969), II.xi [xii].

In Marvell's poem the house is a symbol of the harmony of discords and a pattern of the ideal man. The optical puzzles which follow in the poem despite their humorousness are serious attempts to analyze the limits of human perception in order to validate the poet's assessment of Fairfax's character as a reflection of this pattern. Like the other scenes they arise from a literal survey which seems comically mechanical and obtuse, only to lead to complex and ambiguous visions.

When the narrator moves to the bottom of the garden after his tour of the house and flower beds, he pauses for a moment before passing on into the water meadows.

The sight does from these Bastions ply,  
 Th' invisible Artillery;  
 And at proud Cawood Castle seems  
 To point the Battery of its Beams.  
 As if it quarrell'd in the Seat  
 Th' Ambition of its Prelate great.  
 But ore the Meads below it plays,  
 Or innocently seems to gaze.

And now to the Abbyss I pass  
 Of that unfathomable Grass,  
 Where Men like Grashoppers appear,  
 But Grashoppers are Gyants there:  
 They, in their squeaking Laugh, contemn  
 Us as we walk more low then them:  
 And, from the Precipices tall  
 Of the green spir's, to us do call.

Sts. XLVI-XLVII.

The giant grasshoppers have been explicated by reference to Numbers 13.33 and Nahum 3.17 as an allusion to the race of giants which peopled the earth before the Flood.<sup>1</sup> While this may well be their symbolism in the universal history which underlies this section of the poem, I think they are meant literally too. The two stanzas are to be read together. The sight which directs invisible

<sup>1</sup>Rostvig, 344.

artillery from the bastion of the garden may well be a telescope. Leonard Digges had a crude series of lenses mounted in a stick in the sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> and by 1610 the mechanics had been so perfected that Galileo was able to see the moons of Jupiter. Telescopes had ceased to be rare exotica by the mid-seventeenth century. Colonel Hutchinson at Owthorpe delighted in perspective glasses of all kinds,<sup>2</sup> though it was not until the eighteenth century that telescopes were regularly mounted in the garden to study the view. It is not unreasonable to assume that another retired campaigner like General Fairfax might also be familiar with various optical instruments and that Marvell may have joined him in these explorations. If the 'sight' is indeed a telescope it explains why its gaze only 'seems' innocent.<sup>3</sup> The telescope can make giants of grasshoppers and, if reversed, dwarfs of men. Depending on how one looks through the tube, one can see with greater accuracy or with increased distortion. However, given the 'truth' of biblical history, how do we know which view is the distorted one?

Lenses play an important role in another episode in the water meadows. Marvell compares the cattle on the polished grass to facial spots seen in a looking glass.

<sup>1</sup>The invention is described in A Geometrical Practise, named Pantometria, published by Leonard Digges's son Thomas in 1571.

<sup>2</sup>Lucy Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, ed. James Sutherland (1973), 4.

<sup>3</sup>Colie, pp. 205-11, also describes the effects of some of Marvell's poem as those of optical techniques, but she does not suggest the use of any actual device or strategy.

They seem within the polisht Grass  
 A Landskip drawn in Looking-Glass.  
 And shrunk in the huge Pasture show  
 As Spots, so shap'd on Faces do.  
 Such Fleas, ere they approach the Eye,  
 In Multiplying Glasses lye.  
 They feed so wide, so slowly move,  
 As Constellations do above.

St. LVIII.

'Lye', of course is the operable pun, but Marvell has prepared the setting so carefully that the appearance of the cattle as at once fleas and stars seen through lenses is literally if momentarily true. Quite intentionally, as with all Marvell's optical illusions in "Upon Appleton House," we are not quite sure where the lie is.

As noted earlier, the water meadows at Nun Appleton are so low as to seem on a level with the river, so that when Marvell writes of boats steering among the haycocks, we momentarily see them there too. We then congratulate ourselves for working out the basis of this optical illusion. But deception becomes reality when the meadows flood and boats may indeed sail over bridges. Nature presents her own inversions in the flood, in the prelate's cope, and in the grove which the narrator enters as a sanctuary.

When first the Eye this Forrest sees  
 It seems indeed as Wood not Trees:  
 As if their Neighbourhood so old  
 To one great Trunk them all did mold.  
 There the huge Bulk takes place, as ment  
 To thrust up a Fifth Element;  
 And stretches still so closely wedg'd  
 As if the Night within were hedg'd.

Dark all without it knits; within  
 It opens passable and thin;  
 And in as loose an order grows  
 As the Corinthean Porticoes.  
 The arching Boughs unite between  
 The Columnes of the Temple green;  
 And underneath the winged Quires  
 Echo about their tuned Fires.

Sts. LXIII-LXIV.

The illusion here seems a simple one, until we realize that the metamorphosis of the dark, impenetrable wood into a Corinthian temple which occurs in a physical sense as the narrator enters the wood -- the trees are spaced and their boughs meet overhead -- is denied in the symbolism of the poem.<sup>1</sup> Like Comus, the attractiveness of the Prelate of the Grove in his antic Cope of caterpillars and ivy has misled critics who ought to have known better.<sup>2</sup> Marvell plays fair. All the necessary signposts are there. The solutions the Prelate finds are given by 'Chance's better Wit' (l. 585) and not by Reason; he tramples on the strawberries of righteousness. If further warnings are needed there can be no doubt about the message conveyed in lines 563-8:

And little now to make me, wants  
Or of the Fowles, or of the Plants.  
Give me but Wings as they, and I  
Streight floting on the Air shall fly:  
Or turn me but, and you shall see  
I was but an inverted Tree.

The easy philosopher chooses to identify with the lower world of beasts and plants. Man was called an inverted tree because his mind or nerves, like roots, reached up to God. But to turn his head down

<sup>1</sup>Henry Wotton, The Elements of Architecture 1624, The English Experience, 272 (1970), 34, reports the tradition from Vitruvius that columns originated in tree trunks; Leone Battista Alberti, Ten Books on Architecture, tr. James Leoni (1755), IX.i, describes a contemporary fashion for columns in imitation of trees in gardens and porticoes.

<sup>2</sup>M.-S. Røstvig, p. 346, interprets the grove as "the sphere of Divinity, of pure Mind;" Rosalie Colie, p. 298, sees it as a demi-paradise giving extraordinary psychological freedom of creative inspiration." H.E. Toliver, pp. 123-5, describes the grove and the birds's activities as a paysage moralisé transcending history. Each of these discussions has its merit, but errs by omission. None is placed within the larger debate in the poem about reason and the senses. The limitations which Marvell places on the experiences in the grove are not described.

toward the earth like a tree is to turn from God. The speaker withdraws, not only from other men, but also from the manhood within his own breast. The sanctuary the speaker takes refuge in, despite its civilized Corinthian porticoes, is both pagan and primitive, in fact an optical illusion. Marvell later calls the wood a 'labyrinth' (l. 622), and place of confusion. For the poem its reality is the dark, impenetrable maze of its first appearance.

The 'Chrystal mirroure slick' of the river is another simple optical illusion which supports a complex interpretation. As in the passages about the grasshoppers two stanzas are interdependent.

See in what wanton harmless folds  
 It ev'ry where the Meadow holds;  
 And its yet muddy back doth lick,  
 Till as a Chrystal Mirroure slick;  
 Where all things gaze themselves, and doubt  
 If they be in it or without.  
 And for his shade which therein shines,  
Narcissus like, the Sun too pines.

Oh what a Pleasure 'tis to hedge  
 My Temples here with heavy sedge;  
 Abandoning my lazy Side,  
 Stretcht as a Bank unto the Tide;  
 Or to suspend my sliding Foot  
 On the Osiers undermined Root,  
 And in its Branches tough to hang,  
 While at my Lines the Fishes twang!

Sts. LXXX-LXXXI.

In hermetic and neoplatonic thought, when the world was new the image of God was reflected in the mind of man without distortion. According to Røstvig, when the narrator looks at his reflection God sees God.<sup>1</sup> In my own reading of these stanzas, this scene is similar to Paradise Lost, IV.456-91, in which Eve, newly created, is enamoured of her own reflection in the water until she is directed to the proper object of her affections Adam. The narrator in

<sup>1</sup>Røstvig, 349-50.

Marvell's poem, newborn after his experiences in the grove, is also falsely enamoured until he is directed to the figure of Maria. Just as the narrator surrendered his human identity to become one with the animals and plants as the Prelate of the Grove, so here he is tempted to submerge himself in the watery element. His temples are not bound with sedge, but hedged as a river is hedged with foliage. His side is a bank reaching out to the water and his 'sliding Foot' is held only by an undermined root. Marvell's jest is to take the deception of the river's reflection literally. The narrator is in danger of falling into the water in several senses.

Marvell uses optical techniques in "Upon Appleton House" to analyze the deceptive nature of experience. The validity of ordinary visual perception is continually assumed by the narrator during his tour of the estate, and it is just as continually deceived. The telescope, magnifying lenses, and watery reflections of the poem multiply the ways in which even simple perceptions may be distorted. The theatrical scenes in the water meadows, whose artificiality is granted from the start, violate even this liberal license to produce violent disjunctions of space and time. Throughout Marvell uses rigidly controlled sightlines emanating from the narrator to focus or distort his scene.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, recognized illusions, such as the

<sup>1</sup>John Dixon Hunt, The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting, and Gardening during the Eighteenth Century (1976), 17-22, defines this change in Marvell's perception of landscape as an application of the vocabulary of the new Italian gardens, whereby scenes such as that of the narrator inclined upon the river bank derive from a statue of a reclining river god such as that at Pratolino. Behind this vocabulary in both instances, however, lie advances in theatre and optical techniques and the altered psychology and epistemology which they finally imply. Marvell need not have been directly or solely dependent on his European experience.

haycocks in the calm sea of the meadows, have a disconcerting habit of becoming reality in the poem. But if grasshoppers once were giants and boats do sail over bridges, perhaps even the inverted and war-torn garden of England can be put right again.

## II. The Presence of The Hieroglyph

Marvell uses the latest optical experiments of his day to establish objective correlatives of the narrator's mental confusion and to suggest the difficulties which beset human understanding, but the content of these experiments he takes from an older tradition. The significant images come from emblem books, the bible, or from classical sources. A sufficient number of these images have been mentioned in passing to suggest the contradiction at the heart of Marvell's poem. The inverted tree, the circle and square, even the grasshoppers and halcyon are intellectual images first, and visual, natural objects only secondly. This contradiction is particularly clear in those images which come from the Book of Nature. Whereas Milton in his description of an unfallen Eden in Paradise Lost limited his use of the Book of Nature as inappropriate to a landscape at one with spiritual realities,<sup>1</sup> so Marvell's use of hieroglyphs reveals a material world which must be organized and read as a reflection of the spiritual world. DuBartas's description of the Book of Nature is a familiar one and may serve to recall earlier discussion.

<sup>1</sup>See the discussion of the Book of Nature in Chapter I and the references to scholarly literature, p. 76, n. 2.



The World's a Booke in Folio, printed all  
 With God's great Workes in Letters Capitall:  
 Each Creature, is a Page, and each effect,  
 A faire Character, void of all defect.<sup>1</sup>

Week I, Day 1, ll. 173-6.

Or again as applied to plants by Ralph Austen,

The World is a great Library, and Fruit-trees  
 are some of the Bookes, wherein we may read & see  
 plainly the Attributes of God...<sup>2</sup>

Although the Book of Nature helped lead man to direct contemplation of the world around him, this process was a very gradual one. The lessons Marvell finds there are still for the most part imposed. The tableaux observed in the woods of the Nun Appleton estate appear as natural discoveries of the narrator but each -- the strawberry of righteousness, the oak of majesty, the doves of faithful love, the nightingale among the thorns, the stork's sacrifice of its young -- has a recognizable literary heritage which critics have been prompt to cite.<sup>3</sup> The narrator does not really learn from undiluted nature, but from the constructs man makes of her features.

Because Marvell's poem is anchored in the topography of Fairfax's estate it is not surprising that his most important hieroglyph should take the form of physical landscape, but it is that landscape most informed by the spirit of man. The military garden is central to the poem structurally, spatially, and symbolically. It acts as a guide to the poem because it is the demonstrable pattern of the proper balance between art and nature and between the senses and

<sup>1</sup>The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur Du Bartas, 2 vols., ed. Susan Snyder (Oxford, 1979), I.

<sup>2</sup>Ralph Austen, "A Preface to the Reader," The Spiritual Use of an Orchard; or Garden of Fruit-trees [1653].

<sup>3</sup>In addition to the works particularly of Colie and Scouler already mentioned, the reader's attention is drawn to Rosalie Colie, Resources of Kind (Berkeley, Calif., 1973), 36-48. (Citations to Colie unless otherwise indicated are to My Ecchoing Song.)

right reason. It is a sanctuary and a bridge between the house and the land. In the course of the poem it comes to represent a viable relationship between public and private life.

"Upon Appleton House" is normally divided into six sections: Stanzas I-X, the description of the house; XI-XXXV, the history of the nunnery ruins; XXXVI-XLVI, the gardens of Nun Appleton and England; XLVII-LX, the water meadows; LXI-LXXXI, the woods and its issue in the river, and LXXXII-LXXXVII, Maria's evening walk.<sup>1</sup> Moving from section to section, the narrator traces a circle in time and space. His walk begins in the morning at the house and ends there as the sun goes down, darkening the larger hemisphere. The structure of the poem moves inward toward the centre. The house closes the first and final sections, the parallel portraits of Isabella Twaites and Maria fill the second and first part of the sixth sections, the enclosure of the garden parallels the sanctuary of the woods in the third and fifth sections, while the scenes of England's disorder within the context of universal history in the water meadows describe the uneasy heart of Marvell's poem.

Each section of the poem except the first one has its quota of military language, whether in the mock-heroics of the nunnery seige, the military garden itself, the Prelate of the Grove's encampment from the horsemen of the day, or Maria's courtship by trainbands of youth. Marvell's use of this vocabulary is precise and technical

<sup>1</sup>The divisions are those of M.C. Bradbrook and M.G. Lloyd Thomas, Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, 1940; rpt., 1961), 33, except for the last two sections which they divide as LXI-LXXVIII and LXXIX-XC, placing the river episode with Maria's evening walk and treating the last seven stanzas as a coda.

as dian (l. 292), bonne mine (l. 660), and patroul (l. 313), from patroville attest.<sup>1</sup> In addition, as James Turner has noted, the dominant metaphors of garden and war formally alternate as tenor and vehicle in the poem.<sup>2</sup> The activities of the garden are presented as military procedures, the warfare in England as a disordered garden, while the horticultural processes of the meadows are again presented in military terms.

The military garden informs the vocabulary and structure of the poem and it states its central problem. Stanza XLV concludes the garden section. It contains the only direct comment on Fairfax and with Stanza XLIV presents him as poised between the disordered garden of England and the disciplined garden of Nun Appleton.

And yet there walks one on the Sod  
 Who, had it pleased him and God,  
 Might once have made our Gardens spring  
 Fresh as his own and flourishing.  
 But he preferr'd to the Cinque Ports  
 These five imaginary Forts:  
 And, in those half-dry Trenches, spann'd  
 Pow'r which the Ocean might command.

For he did, with his utmost Skill,  
 Ambition weed, but Conscience till.  
Conscience, that Heaven-nursed Plant,  
 Which most our Earthly Gardens want.  
 A prickling leaf it bears, and such  
 As that which shrinks at ev'ry touch;  
 But Flowrs eternal, and divine,  
 That in the Crowns of Saints do shine.

Sts. XLIV-XLV.

<sup>1</sup>James Turner, "Marvell's Warlike Studies," Essays in Criticism, 28 (1978), 293-7, traces patroul and a number of other words through the soldiers' handbooks of the period.

<sup>2</sup>Turner, 297-8. Unlike the present study, Turner concludes, p. 299, that Marvell uses military language in order to undermine it and ultimately to discredit the warrior-mentality itself.

The military garden is placed side by side with the scenes of civil war. Fairfax's retreat is surrounded in the poem by what it walls out. Such juxtaposition can only have been deliberate. The reader's questions about the ways in which men organize their lives are inevitable, and Marvell's narrator moves from sanctuary to sanctuary testing with the reader in each episode separate methods of retirement and engagement. The answers provided by the military garden become clear only in the course of the poem. The military garden is able to bear such a heavy burden of significance because, like Marvell's other hieroglyphs, it had a considerable history both in literature and fact.

### III. The Military Motif in the Renaissance Garden

It may be that the garden at Appleton House was laid out in sport, but military themes in the garden as in pageantry and domestic architecture were not unusual. The tournaments inaugurated to celebrate the Accession Day of Henry VIII attracted the energy of men like Cumberland, Herbert, Arundel, Lee, Sidney, and Essex under Elizabeth, and continued into the reign of Charles I. Mock battlements, such as the island fortress at Kenilworth in 1575 or the Fortress of Perfect Beauty at the tilt in honour of the French ambassadors in 1581, had some more durable counterparts in architecture, particularly in the work of Robert Smythson. Bolsover Castle, built in 1612, Wollaton in 1582-8, and Barlborough in 1583-5, were all mock castles. Walton Castle, 1615-20, built for Lord Poulett near Bristol, was a perfect pageant fort in stone.<sup>1</sup> These

<sup>1</sup>Mark Girouard, Robert Smythson and the Architecture of the Elizabethan Era (1966), 159-74.

houses recall the theatrical settings of the tournaments, but the fortress elements even of such monumental buildings as Thornbury Castle and Richmond Palace of the early sixteenth century were already ornamental.

Military themes also appeared early in the garden. Stow complained that the common lands were "in worse case than ever, by means of enclosure for gardens, wherein are built many fair summer-houses; and, as in other places of the suburbs, some of them like Midsummer pageants, with towers, turrets, and chimney-tops..."<sup>1</sup> Such a banqueting house was built at Nonsuch Palace around 1538. It was a timber structure built four square and embattled in imitation of a fort. At Hazelbury Manor, originally a fortified house, the early seventeenth-century garden was enclosed by walls built with circular bastions at the angles of enclosure.<sup>2</sup> At Lismore Castle where some medieval towers had survived, others were added. The west wall of the garden was ranged between two circular bastions in 1626. The effect was completed by a sham gatehouse in 1631.<sup>3</sup>

Military topiary in the garden had the authority of Pliny, who wrote of the Roman attempt to image the Empire in each garden through the use of clipped box or cypress. Such schemes included hunting scenes and fleets of ships.<sup>4</sup> William Lawson in A New Orchard and

<sup>1</sup>John Stow, The Survey of London, ed. Ernest Rhys, Everyman (n.d.), 381-2.

<sup>2</sup>Girouard, 171. The date of the garden is not absolutely certain.

<sup>3</sup>Mark Girouard, "Lismore Castle, Co. Waterford I," CL, 136 (1964).

<sup>4</sup>Pliny, Nat. His., XVI.60.

Garden, first published in 1618, advises for ornament that

Your Gardner can frame your lesser wood to the shape of men armed in the field, ready to give battel: of swift running Greyhounds, or of well sented and true Running Hounds to chase the Deer, or hunt the Hare. This kind of hunting shall not waste your corn; nor much your coyn.<sup>1</sup>

In Parkinson's Paradisi in Sole, 1629, privet is recommended because "no other can be like unto it, to bee cut, lead, and drawne into what forme one will, either of beasts, birds, or men armed."<sup>2</sup> The authors of The Countrey Farme recommended "fine curious Hedges, made battlement-wise."<sup>3</sup> The south side of the garden at All Souls, Oxford, was elaborately cut to resemble battlements.<sup>4</sup>

John Chamberlain witnessed a more elaborate military foray during his visit to Ware Park, the home of Sir Henry Fanshawe. He was disturbed on October 15, 1606, by

such a quoile about gardening...in the midst of yt in steede of a knot he is making a fort, in perfect proportion, with his rampars, bulwarkes, counterscarpes and all other appurtenances, so that when yt is finished, yt is like to prove an invincible peece of worke.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>William Lawson, A New Orchard and Garden (1660), 12.

<sup>2</sup>John Parkinson, Paradisi in Sole 1629, *The English Experience*, 758 (1975), 445.

<sup>3</sup>Charles Estienne and Jean Liebault, Maison Rustique, or, The Countrey Farme, tr Richard Surflet, rev. and aug. Gervase Markham (1616), 277.

<sup>4</sup>Eleanor Sinclair Rohde, Oxford's College Gardens (1932), 62.

<sup>5</sup>The Letters of John Chamberlain, 2 vols., ed. N.E. McClure (1939), I, 235.

Recently discovered by aerial photography are the outlines of a military garden at Sir Thomas Tresham's New Bield near Lyveden. Dating from the 1590's, the middle garden was a square surrounded by moats on three sides with circular bastions stopping the wall to the south and square mounts at either end of the north wall.<sup>1</sup> In Europe Evelyn's diary entry for November 8, 1644, praises the mount planted with cypresses representing a fortress with a fountain in the middle at the Palazzo de Medici. A similar fort of cypress complete with battlements, walls, towers, and bulwarks could be found at the Villa San Vigilio on Lake Garda.<sup>2</sup> While at Viterbo, Caprarola, designed by Vignola in the late 1540's, incorporated the unfinished foundations of a fortress to create a striking military pentagon of villa and gardens.<sup>3</sup> (See Plate 21.)

This gardening tradition continued for several years. London and Wise constructed a fort of yew and variegated holly for William III around 1689 to hide a gravel pit near the entrance to Kensington Palace.<sup>4</sup> But the tour de force in embattled gardens was Vanburgh's creation in partnership with Wise at Blenheim. The house with its trophied coat of arms on the lower pediment, its cannons, tumble of drums and flags on the colonnades, its lions and chained slaves remains impressive today. When built it was matched by an enormous woodwork surrounded by six massive curtain walls supporting the

<sup>1</sup>Marcus Binney, "Northamptonshire's Lost Gardens Aerial Photography in Garden Archaeology," CL, 166 (1979), 2143.

<sup>2</sup>Marie Luise Gothein, A History of Garden Art, 2 vols., ed. W.P. Wright, tr. Mrs. Archer-Hind (1928), I, 241.

<sup>3</sup>Gothein, I, 277-9.

<sup>4</sup>David Green, Gardener to Queen Anne: Henry Wise<sup>1653-1738,</sup> and the Formal Garden (1956), 73.

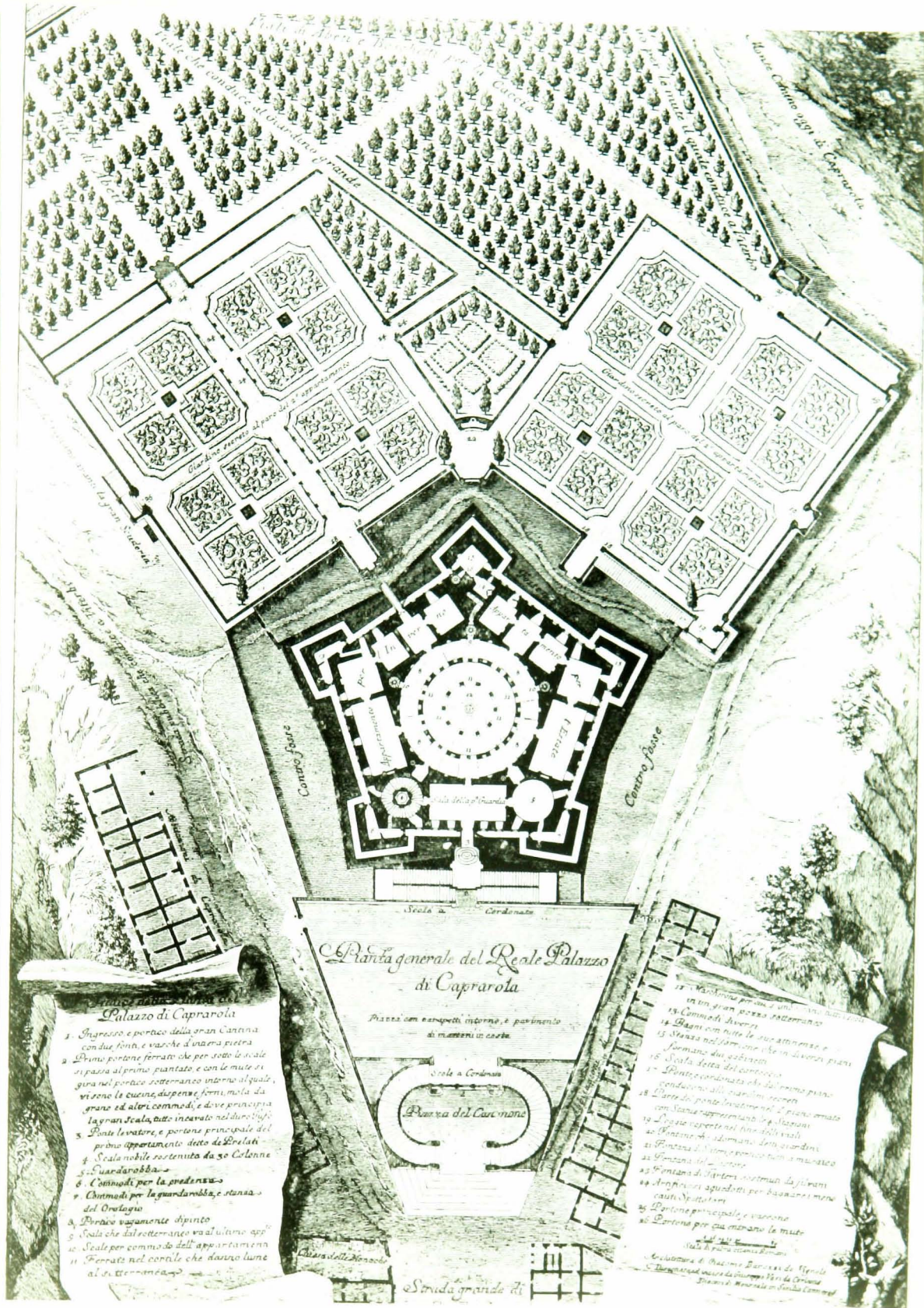


Plate 21. The military garden at Caprarola.



terrace and stretching between eight enormous bastions.<sup>1</sup> These walls no longer exist, but those of the kitchen garden in the same style<sup>do</sup><sub>1</sub> but on a reduced scale. The Great Avenue, however, has been replanted in an altered form. Originally it was 7400 feet in length with a central ellipse 850 by 1000 ft. This avenue was long held to have been planted to represent the troops drawn up for the battle of Blenheim.<sup>2</sup> Battle formation was also thought to be reflected in the regimented rows of trees that faced one another across the canal at Windsor. This part of the garden was begun in 1708 by London and Wise to counterfeit the seige at Maestricht.<sup>3</sup>

The tradition carried as far as Scotland, where the second Earl of Stair, John Dalrymple, having served under Marlborough, laid out the grounds at Castle Kennedy as a military garden. The tallest mount was planted with a grove of trees and known as Mount Marlborough. Another, a terraced mount, was called the Guardsman's Bonnet. His other home, Newliston, near Edinburgh, he furnished with a woods planted in the shape of a Union Jack to celebrate his

<sup>1</sup>Stephen Switzer, Ichnographia Rustica (1718) writes that this particular kind of embattled garden was original with Vanburgh, but Green, p. 99, finds an earlier example in the bastioned terrace built by Le Nôtre at Montjeu. Although it is not possible to determine the division of responsibility with certainty at Blenheim it is generally agreed that the unusual polygon shape of the woodwork and the curtain walls were Vanburgh's inspiration (Green, 99-102; Laurence Whistler, The Imagination of Vanburgh and his Fellow Artists [1954], 117). The Great Avenue may be his design too or the Duke's. If in fact it wasn't military in design at all, then it was London and Wise's usual interpretation of André Mollet's avenues (Green, 110).

<sup>2</sup>No contemporary documentation has been found either in Vanburgh's or Wise's correspondence or in the Marlborough papers which describes the Great Avenue as a military formation (Green, 110).

<sup>3</sup>The siege of Maestricht in 1673 inaugurated de Vauban's famous method of attack. Two or even three trenches were dug parallel to the fortress and joined by zig-zag supply trenches. From the protection of the parallel trenches, artillery could be positioned immediately under the walls.

own command at the Battle of Dettingen.<sup>1</sup> In more recent times embattled garden walls were revived by Sir Charles Barry at Harewood, and Elvaston Castle can show a Norman castle in topiary.

About all these exercises rests an air of fancy which accords well with Marvell's playful tone in "Upon Appleton House." But there is an important distinction between the early military garden and its later manifestations. The former embodied a moral and political ideal of conduct codified in specific concepts of honour, order, and fealty. Later uses of the military motif such as that at Blenheim were memorials in celebration of an event rather than emblems of an idea.

When the military garden appears in the Renaissance it seldom does so without bringing some of this iconographical content with it. Even the passing mention in Phineas Fletcher's The Purple Island, VI.68, evokes a brief picture of 'noble' courage when the timid violet in troops boldly spreads its purple banner.<sup>2</sup> The military plants in Waller's "At Penshurst," ll. 15-6, and in Cleveland's "Upon Phyllis Walking," ll. 5-8, express discipline, duty, and a splendid pomp, though hyperbole is a large part of their charm. In Partheneia Sacra, Henry Hawkins describes the hortus conclusus of his meditation in equally light terms:

<sup>1</sup>A.G.L. Hellyer, "A Garden with a Military Origin: Lochinch and Castle Kennedy," CL, 150 (1971); Castle Kennedy, Official Guide Book (n.d.).

<sup>2</sup>I am indebted to Scoular, p. 131.n.3, for the reference to The Purple Island. She also cites Elisa II, 34; and Partheneia Sacra.

Those Cros-bowes then (be not affrayed of them)  
 They are but Cros-bowes made of Bayes; and the  
 Harquebusiers, wrought in Rosmarie, shoot but  
 flowers, and dart forth musk. Those Beasts  
 likewise, horrible there and dreadful to see  
 to, are but in jeast; al that menace they make,  
 is but a shew only. Al those armed Men with  
 greenish weapons, and those Beasts al clad in skins  
 of green, are but of Prim, Isop, and Tyme, al hearbs  
very apt to historify withal....<sup>1</sup>

The italics are mine and point to the potential seriousness underlying the metaphor. Hawkins goes on to speak of Mary as a rose with its "Garrison of thornes, that serves for a Corps-de-guard to that Queene of flowers."<sup>2</sup> For Marvell, without any sacrifice of the delightful whimsy of his imagery, the details of Fairfax's military garden support a complex definition of political and social responsibility.

#### IV. The Military Garden in "Upon Appleton House"

It is not possible to say exactly what shape the military garden took at Appleton House. Markham in his *Life of Lord Fairfax* says tulips, pinks, and roses were set in separate beds cut into the shape of forts with five bastions.<sup>3</sup> He records his debt to Marvell for this information, but D.C. Allen says that Markham had a lithograph which has since disappeared.<sup>4</sup> The subject of the lithograph is not known. The evidence of the poem alone is subject to interpretation. Marvell writes that Fairfax laid

<sup>1</sup>Henry Hawkins, Partheneia Sacra, 1633, *The English Experience*, 10 (1971), 8.

<sup>2</sup>Hawkins, 9.

<sup>3</sup>C.R. Markham, A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax (1870), 365-6.

<sup>4</sup>Allen, 189.

these Gardens out in sport  
 In the just Figure of a Fort;  
 And with five Bastions it did fence,  
 As aiming one for ev'ry Sense.

St. XXXVI. 285-8.

Only one fort is described here. Later the narrator seems to stand on one of these bastions as if to aim artillery at Cawood Castle. (See Plate 22.) To me this suggests that the bastions were on the outer perimeter of the garden and afforded a vantage point from which to aim at a distant neighbour. The centre of the south boundary of the present garden has a stone abutment projecting into the water meadows with steps leading down to them. It provides a fifth 'point' to the garden enclosure, but unfortunately it is not dated.

Again, Marvell writes,

But he preferr'd to the Cinque Ports  
 These five imaginary Forts:  
 And, in those half-dry Trenches, spann'd  
 Pow'r which the Ocean might command.

St. XLIV. 349-52.

These lines may be taken to support Markham's interpretation that the garden contained five pentagonal flower beds, or the forts may be the five bastions again. If the garden plot itself at Appleton House was shaped like a pentagon, the popular star pattern of seventeenth-century fortresses, and enclosed by an earth bank and hedge with five bastions, the half-dry trenches might be explained



as the typical rural construction of hedge, ditch, and bank.<sup>1</sup> Evelyn in Sylva, 1664, recommends for the protection of woods a quickset hedge planted according to the method used in Holland and Flanders for the "counterscarps of their invincible Fortifications."<sup>2</sup> These speculations have their charm since the garden would then correspond to much of its present topography. (See Plate 23.) As the garden today, Marvell's garden would rest on a hill which, beyond the hedge and 'moat', drops steeply to the 'Abbyss' and the water meadows -- a fortress indeed. Finally, one of the most important ideas of castle imagery as of Marvell's poem is that of sanctuary. Sanctuary is possible in an enclosed garden plot; it is not possible in a flower bed.

Marvell's insistence on enclosure and on the five forts or bastions is crucial to the significance of his military garden. He links the five forts with the cinque ports which Fairfax once defended. 'Cinque ports' was a common description of the five senses in the period.<sup>3</sup> It is developed extensively in Purchas's

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Hill, The Gardeners Labyrinth (1608), I, 14-6, describes planting such a barrier and traces its history back to Roman times when it had a military as well as agricultural use. William Lawson, 12-3, describes its adaptation for gentlemen's orchards. The much admired military fence separating the southwest pasture from the home park at Stowe in 1719 was the full blown military version with hedge, scarp, counterscarp, and rows of sharp wooden stakes set at an angle. This fence has been suggested as a forerunner of the ha-ha (George Clarke, "Military Gardening at Stowe," CL, 151 [18 May 72], 1254).

<sup>2</sup>John Evelyn, Sylva, or A Discourse of Forest-trees, and the Propagation of Timber (1664), 47.

<sup>3</sup>Margoliouth, I. 285, cites the phrase also in Rogers (1633), Hubbard (1676), and in Browne, Garden of Cyrus (1658), Scot, Philomythie (1616), Purchas, Microcosmus (1619), and Quarles, A Feast for Worms (1630). Louise Vinge, The Five Senses; Studies in a Literary Tradition (Lund, 1975), 63ff., traces the metaphor of man as a citadel of the five senses in the works of Plato, Ambrose, Isidore, Hugh of St. Victor, Philo, Alain de Lille, Vincent of Beauvais, and Du Bartas.



Plate 23. The water meadows at Nun Appleton House.  
Contemporary photograph from John Dixon Hunt's  
Andrew Marvell: His Life and Writings, 1978.

Microcosmus or the Historie of Man, 1619. He likens man to a palace beginning with

the proportions of Architecture in this Towre and Capitoll, the Head. The Skull is as an impregnable Wall...the Common Sense is the Custom-house, the Phantasie the Mint, the Memorie the Treasurie and Armorie....

The outward Senses in their Sensories, are the Warders in their Watch-house without the Towre. These are in number five, Sight, Hearing, Sent, Taste, Touch; which may bee called the Cinque Ports of this Region, the Scouts, Factors, Purveyors, Intelligencers of the Soule...<sup>1</sup>

Sir Thomas Browne explores the quincunx as the structural principle of all nature's works, the five divisions of the convolvulus, the quincunx of seawrack and pine cones, and of patterns in the sky. At the end of his book he writes, "Tis time to close the five ports of knowledge," thus wittily extending the principle to nature's work Man.<sup>2</sup> In Bartolomeo Delbene's Civitas Veri, 1609, the palace of the soul has become the city of truth with five gates or senses and five roads leading to temples of the several virtues through valleys of the vices (see Plate 24).<sup>3</sup> Delbene's argument combines Aristotelian psychology and ethics,<sup>4</sup> and political extensions are readily available. Although it is not possible to annotate specific doctrines behind Marvell's use of the cinque ports, it is nevertheless clear that the garden offers a pattern of the soul and its proper relation to the senses.

<sup>1</sup>Samuel Purchas, Microcosmus or The Historie of Man, 1619, The English Experience, 146 (1969), 81, 83.

<sup>2</sup>Sir Thomas Browne, "The Garden of Cyrus" in The Works of Sir Thomas Browne, 4 vols., ed. Geoffrey Keynes (1928; rpt. Oxford, 1964), I.226.

<sup>3</sup>Cited in Vinge, 79-84.

<sup>4</sup>Vinge, 84.



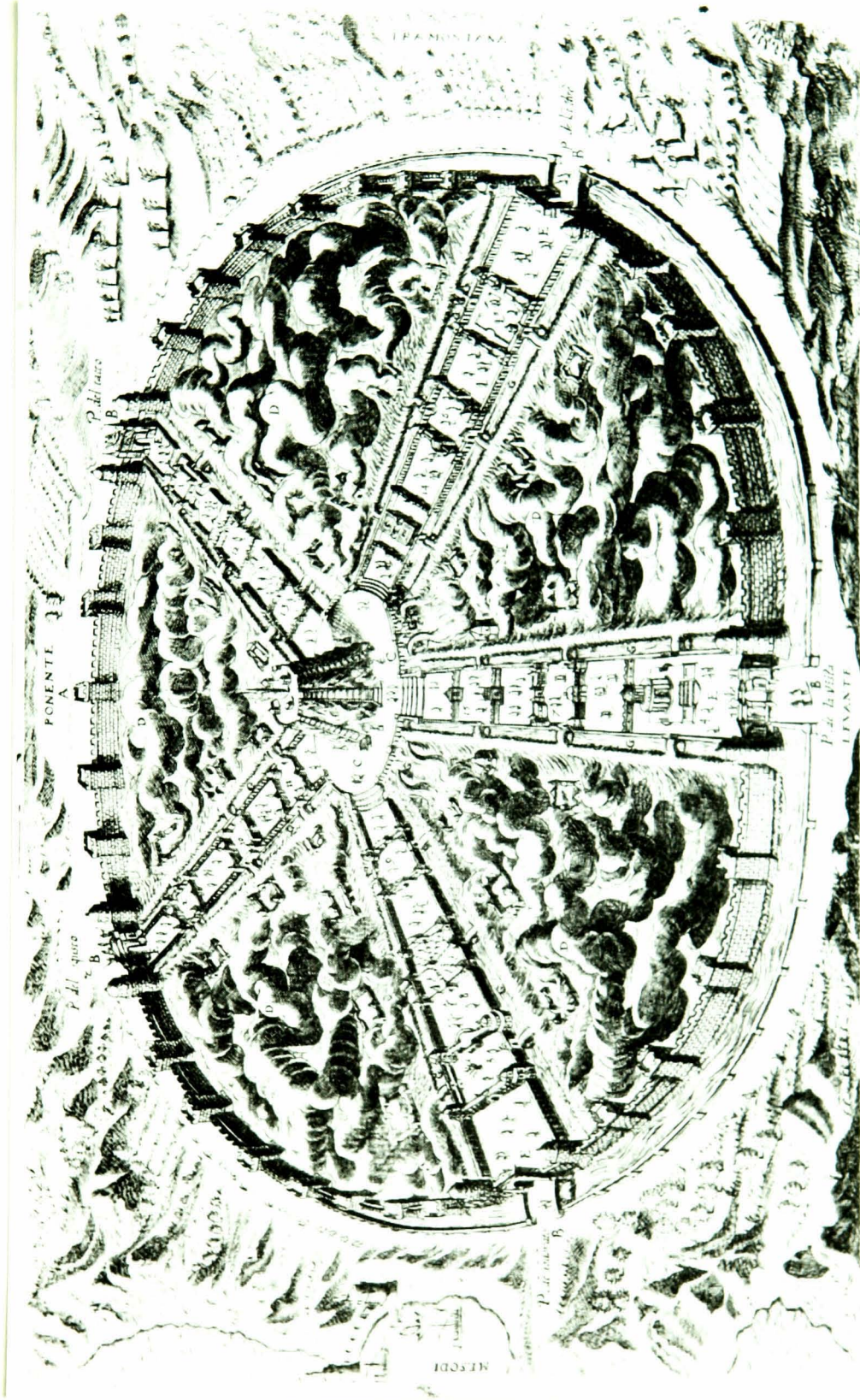


Plate 24. The city of truth from Bartolomeo Delbene's Civitas Veri, 1609.

The stanzas which follow the general description of the figure of the fort and its bastions in "Upon Appleton House" are arranged unobtrusively as a catalogue of the senses. Marvell's garden offers to the eye the colours of the day and silken ensigns of the flowers standing as at parade. To the ear it offers the bee's hum but no shrill reports. The nose is fêted with fragrant volleys and odors new. Touch is acknowledged in the dew upon the blossoms. Only taste is omitted, banished from Fairfax's paradise. Instead the description of England laid waste by civil war opens with a stanza about the fifth sense.<sup>1</sup> The senses then are not walled out of the garden but controlled.

In Fairfax's garden the senses and all natural forms are subjected to the discipline of the soldier. Marvell's concept of military art, however, is larger than that of simple discipline. Military art, the skill shown in laying out the garden and in directing its activities is primarily a controlling agent, but it is also a stimulating one. It limits, but it also gives form and purpose. The garden's occupants have their duties from the reveille of the bee to the vigilant patrol of the stars. It is significant that the activities begin under the direction of the bee.<sup>2</sup> The bee was frequently described in military terms and admired for its industry, the harmony and regularity of its government, its

<sup>1</sup>The sense of taste caused Renaissance thinkers many uneasy moments. Richard Brathwait is unable to discuss the possibility of its virtues until with tears he has bewailed its biblical history for many paragraphs. In the end he concludes the best taste is a distaste for sin (Essayes Upon the Five Senses [1635], 58).

<sup>2</sup>For a history of the bee in Virgil, Horace, Lucretius, and others see Allen, p. 200, and Colie, p. 174.

architectural powers, and its proper love of sweetness. So Marvell's military art within the context of the citadel of the soul has consequences for the political realm, man's creativity, and his spiritual welfare. The military garden demonstrates a dynamic balance between art and nature, the individual and the group, and the soul and five senses within the course of one day. But in what sense the enclosed military garden is relevant to Fairfax's particular concerns or to England's history only slowly emerges as Marvell tests the values of his 'just figure' (l. 286) in each section of the poem.

In section one, Stanzas I-X, as is proper to a country-house poem, the poet praises Fairfax through his dwelling. The proper use of nature is found in the house Fairfax built; no forests are hewed down, nor quarries dug. And since 'ev'rything does answer use,' the house's exemplary use is as an Inn, a place of temporary Christian stewardship. Art is present in the acknowledgement of correct proportions, a decorum of use which imitates nature herself:

The low roof'd Tortoises do dwell  
 In cases fit of Tortoise-shell:  
 No Creature loves an empty space;  
 Their Bodies measure out their Place.

St. II. 13-6.

But to the Renaissance mind the tortoise, like the bat and the phoenix, was one of nature's most grotesque mysteries. The tortoise belonged to the opposing worlds of air and water, and the mechanisms by which it achieved its transitions between them were not understood. To carry its house on its back added to the tortoise's marvelousness and to its pedagogic possibilities. Man was also placed between two worlds. Partaking of both angel and beast, man as the greatest

of 'bordering instances'<sup>1</sup> is continually under the necessity of choosing his world too. The opening of "Upon Appleton House" contains both tortoise and the holy mathematics of the circle and square, discussed earlier, to underline man's double nature and to suggest the choice he should make. In section one Marvell approves of the architecture of Appleton House as he must do in an encomiastic poem; the house as a sanctuary is a proper one. Only later does the reader realize the rightness of Fairfax's presence there is debatable.

Section two, Stanzas XI-XXXV, tells the history of the nunnery and its perversion of art, and it opens the debate about retirement. The Nun's honeyed rhetoric assures Isabella Twaites, 'The Rule itself to you shall bend' (l. 156) and tempts her ambition by promising her she can learn to perform miracles (l. 168). She offers 'baits for curious tastes,' admits 'sweet Sins,' and finally reaches the climax of the sensual disorder in the sterility of the bed scene (St. XXIV). Excessive art abuses nature. On this kind of sanctuary Marvell does not hesitate to pass judgement, for 'Though many a Nun there made her Vow, / 'Twas no Religious House till now' (ll. 279-80).

Section three, Stanzas XXXVI-XLVI, presents the military garden. It is the 'just Figure' analyzed above but seen now in the context of sections one and two the issue of sanctuary presses. Of what use is perfect moral balance in the individual if it has no public role?

<sup>1</sup>Frances Bacon, Novum Organum, II.xxviii.30, in Scoular, 34. I am much indebted to Scoular's discussion of the phrase and to Colie's discussion, Resources of Kind, 45-8, of the tortoise.

The hypothesis of section one that man must choose his world is particularized here to a choice between Nun Appleton and England. Fairfax's retirement disturbs Marvell and his uneasiness shows:

But he preferr'd to the Cinque Ports  
 These five imaginary Forts:  
 And, in those half-dry Trenches, spann'd  
 Pow'r which the Ocean might command.

St. XLIV. 349-52.

Are virtues imaginary if untested? Perhaps one might be more cautious and speak of the narrator's uneasiness rather than of Marvell's. Even so the poet has a serious problem for in a poem of compliment he is criticizing; more than that he is questioning fundamentally his patron's vision and action. What follows is a lesson the narrator must learn and, I would argue, the poet must do so as well.

The critical motif in section four, Stanzas LXI-LXXXI, is Time, whether in the universal history of man, England's contemporary history, or the history of the individual. Marvell chooses a harvest scene because it reveals nature at its most ruthlessly temporal. The mower comes to meadows, birds, and man. Furthermore Marvell refrains from any suggestion of a healing cycle. The harvest is without future, the 'naked equal Flat' remains. For the purposes of his poem he arrests nature at this moment and explores the result. The elements of water, air, and earth are confused, the creatures move in worlds alien to their kind, and 'Chance o'retakes what scapeth spight' (l. 412). Nature is disordered to the point of chaos. Except for antic dance art has fled the field. Man himself is reduced to a healthy rudeness. He eats his meat raw and bloody from the field and takes his women carelessly upon the hay.

At the apocalyptic heart of Marvell's poem nature's disorder reflects the disorder in the political kingdom. England is enmeshed in a moment in her history which makes man's moral obligations within time seem meaningless. In a seeming parallel to Fairfax's action, the narrator flees from Time, from the confusion in himself and in the scene before him. Alone, withdrawing from all mankind, the poet moves into the woods. The cleansing flood sweeps in.<sup>1</sup>

The woods offers the narrator the sanctuary of nature at her most felicitous. It is the obverse of the nunnery scene with its emphasis on art to the exclusion of nature, but the telling criticism is again offered by the military garden. The ecstasy the Prelate experiences in his grove is not one Marvell endorses for it ends with the Prelate supine among the ivy and caterpillars. Pastoral otium taken to its extreme reduces man to a vegetable and renders him unfit for duty when reveille sounds.

Nevertheless the narrator does learn something from Nature's Mystick book. The healing cycle of nature denied in the mowers's scene is given full value in the descriptions of the birds. The doves wear nuptial rings, the thrastle guards her nest, and the heron offers up its young. In his passage out of the grove the narrator is nailed with briars as in a crucifixion and then moves to the site of the flood and to the river. He has been washed clean and made whole through his reconciliation with a properly ordered and cyclical nature. But he is so in the way that a little child is at one with his surroundings. He has yet to accept man's moral responsibilities within time. Only then will he be able to accept Fairfax's actions and properly value the social uses of retirement.

<sup>1</sup>See Allen, p. 205, for the flood as a classical metaphor for civil war.

The final section of "Upon Appleton House" is devoted to a description of Maria, Fairfax's daughter. She is the Law of her sex, she does not violate 'kinds'. The Prelate's grove is now seen for what it is since 'loose Nature, in respect / To her, it self doth recollect' (ll. 657-8), as 'she streightness on the Woods bestows' (l. 691). Quite rightly she prefers Heaven's dialect to nature's tongue. The military garden stands justified by her presence. Fairfax's withdrawal from the world was not like the flight of the narrator. His engagement to England's future remains in the pledge of Maria who is his sacrifice to the world of man as the heron's young was to the world of nature. The military garden with its discipline severe is not a sanctuary from the world except in so far as it is a preparation for it, a nursery. 'Military garden' was common usage in the period to describe the training grounds of young soldiers. In the dedication to James Achesone's pamphlet entitled The Military Garden (Edinburgh, 1629), he asks for "some plot of ground allotted to bee a militarie Garden for the training up of therude youth." In an oration by Philemon Holland dedicating 'the Military Garden of the said well-governed City of Coventry' in 1617, the garden was praised as a sign of readiness.<sup>1</sup> Fairfax's military garden is a nursery of the soul, as the garden was in so many religious commentaries, but it is fully committed to this world as the sole preparation for the world to come.

<sup>1</sup>John Nichols, The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, 4 vols. (1828), III, 423-4. n. 3.

Whether the figure of Maria is strong enough to bear such a burden of significance for Marvell or the reader is doubtful. If she convinces, she does so momentarily through the weight of Marvell's hyperbole and partly through the humour of his presentation. The poet lets us laugh at the narrator hiding his toys from a twelve-year-old judge so that we do not laugh at Maria. Her success also depends on her presentation in the country-house genre. It establishes man's harmony with nature's perennial cycle with such resonance that we may come to believe that dynasties do defeat death. As Molesworth argues, the country house has an historical and mythical dimension; "preserved in time as it is, the country house is finally seen as the conqueror of time, a primordial structure as necessary and as comforting to man as Nature herself."<sup>1</sup> The narrator and Maria return to Appleton House neither as angels nor beasts, but calmly as 'rational Amphibii.' From the house they go out into the world.

"Upon Appleton House" remains an unsatisfactory poetic experience. Some of it remains private poetry, but much more of it is difficult because it is transitional verse and displays the beginnings of a radical change in sensibility. Although he accepts life on earth as a preparation for heaven, Marvell is endlessly fascinated by the details of man's subjection to time and space. Yet his intense search of the faces of reality reveals only the frailty of man's perceptions and the limitations of his understanding. In "Upon Appleton House" Marvell supplements this understanding through the hieroglyphic tradition of a previous generation, but he is unable

<sup>1</sup>Molesworth, 152.



to end his poem in a euphoric vision. Writing in mid-century, Marvell finds his neoplatonic background viable but insufficient. He participates in the movement of thought from God as the centre of rational order to man as that centre. His use of vistas, optical puzzles, lens, and possibly a telescope, not only describe the narrator's confusion, but also question the possibility of knowledge itself from such a centre. Harold Toliver has described the movement away from nature as the replacement of integrative analogues with a subject-object relationship.<sup>1</sup> In the coming years the idea of a 'paradise within thee happier far' was to carry its reconciliation with man's fate the logical step further making meaning and value predominately subjective and experiential, but Marvell is not yet ready for such a step. In spite of all his forays in that direction "Upon Appleton House" remains dominated by an older symbolism.

'Paradice's only Map' is the hieroglyph of the military garden, which in turn supports the older political philosophy of the organic state with its foundation in the patriarchal family. The marvel is that the ending of the poem achieves at least a temporary sense of resolution to an argument whose questions and answers belong to different realms.

<sup>1</sup>Toliver, 6.

## CONCLUSION

Paradise, and groves  
 Elysian, Fortunate Fields -- like those of old  
 Sought in the Atlantic Main -- why should they be  
 A history only of departed things,  
 Or a mere fiction of what never was?  
 For the discerning intellect of Man,  
 When wedded to this goodly universe  
 In love and holy passion, shall find these  
 A simple produce of the common day.

The Excursion, ll. 47-55.<sup>1</sup>

It should now be possible to assess what the history of departed gardens means for the study of Renaissance literature. Certainly Wordsworth's programme for the resurrection of the older ideals of nature does not seem viable for those of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The pleasancess of the Renaissance were neither simple nor common nor approachable through the emotions. Instead they were an artform subject to rules and analysis, a complex expression of man's intellect, imagination, and education.

The remarkable energy of the Renaissance which transformed so many areas of endeavour also transformed the ideal of the garden in substance, design, and purpose. While discoveries in the New World and the Middle East increased the variety of plants available, the garden in design and purpose was stimulated by classical research, the recovery of statues, medallions, coins and inscriptions, frescoes, and written descriptions. Above all, the new garden combined the ancient philosopher's garden with Pliny's interpretation of the garden as an artifact. In this new form it was integrated architecturally with the villa and the life of its inhabitants.

<sup>1</sup>The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, vol. 5, ed. E. de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire (1949; rpt. Oxford, 1959), 4.

The garden, perhaps even more than other artforms, developed as an expression of the doctrines of ut pictura poesis. The interchangeability of mediums and materials was often carried to extremes in an attempt to create a speaking picture addressed to the understanding and to moral edification. The only limits were those of technique, purse, and the principles of decorum which decreed that the garden was a place of privacy and delight whose symbolic parameters were a specialized motif of pastoral.

The interchangeability of mediums and materials linked the garden closely to painting, sculpture, and architecture, but the informing inventio of any particular garden was usually drawn from literature, especially from poetry. Ovidian stories of metamorphoses and grotesque work were frequent themes. Specific verses from classical poetry, especially the Aeneid, and from the bible were illustrated in fountains, statues, grottoes, and paintwork. Historical themes depicted in summer house and gallery complemented those of the garden. There is evidence that the elaborate programmes which organized Italian gardens into coherent hierarchical units had their counterparts in Britain, though individual programmes may have been realized in a more eclectic manner. The garden of nurture was an intellectual delight and often a witty challenge to interpretation.

Renaissance authors who used garden imagery in their work did not do so in isolation from this background. An early version of the garden of nurture is the setting for Erasmus's "The Godly Feast." Although set in a fictional garden, the colloquy shows the kinds of stimulation such a garden might provide. The content of its frescoes supply part of the content of the discussion, their manner provokes a lively

appreciation of the competition between art and nature, while the traditional garden banquet provides both the occasion of the meeting and further moral exempla.

This intimate relationship between the garden and the intellectual life of the period was formally recognized in the Italian and French academies. English 'academies', such as that of Mary Sidney at Wilton House or Lucius Cary's group at Great Tew, were much less formal, but yet reflected the clubbable atmosphere of the early continental gatherings and the ideal of the philosopher's garden. The charm of this atmosphere animates many treatises and poetic dialogues such as Sir Thomas More's Utopia or Henry More's Divine Dialogues and his Psychozoia. In Milton's Paradise Lost it provides a middle ground between drama and epic. The congenial, philosophical repast of Raphael, Adam, and Eve contrasts with the visions provided by the archangel Michael after the Fall. The banquet in Eden, like Eusebius's meal, is a lesson in temperance and the proper use of the five senses. In Paradise Lost it also affirms a continuum between man and angel. This continuum between matter and spirit is reflected in the directness of Adam's language, in Milton's limited use of the Book of Nature, and in the poet's conception of Eden as a garden above art. The wholeness of the created forms of Milton's prelapsarian Eden, the identity of the universal and the actual, limits the need for metaphor. Milton's avoidance of emblems particularly in the description of creation poignantly demonstrates the extent of man's loss.

The five senses in Paradise Lost are explored within the scope of the garden banquet, for Eve is never presented as a wanton Circe or Venus figure in an erotic garden. Because Eve is not provocative,

Adam's concupiscence remains within the orbit of his mind and his control. Ovid's five senses in Chapman's Banquet of Sence, however, are excited by the garden and by Corynna who is presented as an Elysium in miniature. Chapman's garden is completely artificial, every aspect of it planned for emblematic significance. The fountain, the statues of Niobe and her children, the obelisks, the bower, the bank of flowers, and the jewels in Corynna's hair, even Corynna herself, speak a symbolic language which Ovid must read in order to learn to transmute earthly passions into that poetic furor which alone can bridge the duality between the material and the spiritual world.

In Chapman's garden every aspect of it directs the reader toward the central theme, but each feature of the garden of nurture usually had its own history. The labyrinth as a significant form can be traced in the mosaics of medieval churches and in the marginalia of medieval manuscripts. It appears in classical literature, especially the Aeneid and the Metamorphoses and in Renaissance emblem books, treatises on architecture and design, and in gardening manuals. It could also be found preserved in turf mazes. Any of the meanings present in these sources could be expressed in the garden labyrinth through a combination of statue, inscription, and coronal plants. In the restricted design of the labyrinth before 1650, a particular interpretation was accompanied by the experience of physical confusion for those who ventured into its winding path.

Like Dante in The Divine Comedy or Poliphili in the Hypnerotomachia, Spenser's Red Cross Knight begins his journey in The Faerie Queene by traversing the labyrinth as an initiation into a new plane of experience. By calling attention to aspects of the garden, Spenser makes sure his

reader interprets the tree catalogue of his labyrinth as a key to the significance of that experience and as a rehearsal of the adventures to come. The dragon Errour has a history in rhetorical and scholastic writing as an emblem of man's intellectual limits separate from the history of the labyrinth. Within the labyrinth, as an emblem of the frailties of temporal, carnal man, the Red Cross Knight's battle with Errour defines the whole man's ideal relationship with God. Spenser's labyrinth helps to establish a relation of logical causality between sin and punishment, obedience and mercy, and man's ultimate dependence on God's grace. Aspects of this definition appear throughout The Faerie Queene as Spenser marks key episodes with various trees and plants from the catalogue of Book I.1.

A similar reckoning and one probably influenced by Faerie Queene I.1. is faced by the Lady in Milton's Comus. Within the labyrinth her goodness can protect her from harm, but it cannot free her from the seat of temptation. But Milton was writing some fifty years after Spenser, and he uses his labyrinth differently. The garden wilderness, early viewed as a pastoral landscape, was becoming an area of formal groves, shrubbery, and cabinets of verdure. In this more wooded form it was frequently used to balance the green mass of the labyrinth. By placing the labyrinth of the romance tradition within the social world of pastoral surroundings, Milton enlarges the adventure of the Bridgewater children into a political statement. Themes of self-government prominent in the Lady's debate with Comus become applicable to issues of state and to problems of excess, disorder, and the abuse of function. The wild lands of Wales, through the Earl's ministrations, may now look forward to something of the pastoral peace of an English Arcady.

The materials of the Renaissance garden were often as significant as its forms. The coronal gardens of the medieval church survived in the private estates of noblemen. The symbolism of flower and tree preserved in church practice till mid-seventeenth century drew on a rich heritage of hexameral and scholastic literature. Interest in the possibilities of plant symbolism was further stimulated by the recovery of classical documents such as the coronal treatise of Theophrastus, the descriptions of Pliny's Natural History, and the floral themes of Moschus, Bion, Virgil, and especially Claudian's De raptu Proserpinae. The plant metamorphoses of Ovid encouraged the metaphoric use of flowers and trees. Renaissance emblem books and mythological handbooks made this heritage more accessible. In England the floral catalogues of continental poets like Du Bartas presented a challenge of form as well as matter.

But despite the complex background of interpretation of individual plants, coronal symbolism did not constitute a language in any genuine sense, nor were plants rigidly codified with the possible exception of ancient coronal trees like the laurel and palm, the flowers of paradise, and the flowers of the Virgin Mary. Instead systems of coronal symbolism formed a specialized vocabulary shared by poet and reader. The varying strategies of poems as a whole supplied the necessary 'grammar' to enlarge and qualify traditional significance.

The familiarity of the flowers assigned to the Virgin Mary may have been one factor in encouraging Protestant writers, particularly the group associated with The Directory at Cambridge, in their use of herbal symbolism and hyperonymous metaphors. With plant imagery of multiple significances, one meaning might be set against another as in

Herbert's "The Rose." While carefully controlling the erotic rose of classical tradition, Herbert exploits the white rose of innocence and purity within the framework of the rose as the symbol of silence. By the end of his poem the flower's several meanings have coalesced in the rose as the symbol of martyrs and of Christ's crucifixion. The multiple significances of the rose genuinely allow it to be Herbert's silent but complete answer.

For the most part, however, the traditional meanings of plants intersected with other symbolic systems especially those of colour, number, humoral medicine, or biblical typology. Classical echoes might also be a factor. Milton makes use of a classical ambience to create a context for Eve as Venus Genetrix, the mother of mankind. The myrtle, laurel, acanthus, crocus, iris, hyacinth, and rose are among the flowers of Eve's bower in Paradise Lost IV. 689-705, while the lily of Mary is excluded. A reading of the significance of each plant which forms the marriage temple reveals a carefully structured list of the Christian virtues necessary for marital harmony. These contrast sharply with the messages contained in the bank of flowers of the couple's sexual experience after the Fall.

The bank of flowers in Chapman's Ovids Banquet of Sence is more enigmatic. Its interpretation depends on some knowledge of physic herbs, recognition of the distorted order of the evocation of the five senses, and awareness of Chapman's departures from the normal roles of various mythological figures in the colloquial names of some of the flowers. The effect of the whole is to create a paradise of beauty in which the serpent's presence is always a possibility.



The shepherds' festival in Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale IV.iv. 113-32 is the pivotal moment of the play. It looks back to Leontes's choleric actions and forward to the anger of Polixenes, which repeats the earlier sin though to a lesser degree. At the same time Perdita's ritual giving of flowers to Polixenes, Camillo, Florizel, and the young girls recalls the underlying symbolic structure by which the action is to be judged. Each flower is related to season, age, humour, or astrological sign and in presentation reminds the audience of the role of each character in the scheme of the ages of man. Perdita's concern that her gifts should be appropriate to the recipient makes a statement about order and decorum which transcends the usual paragone of art and nature. Her rejection of forced nature is not a rejection of art, but a rejection of the disruption of natural order. Her confusion in selecting flowers for her courtly visitors is a reflexion of the diseased Leontes's failure to act in harmony with his place in the scheme of things. The prominence of Florizel in the scene and his association with Apollo and the sun suggests the source of the disorder at court. The emblematic mode of The Winter's Tale, with its interweaving of the myth of Proserpina and its creative rhythms, affirms an art of an informing importance beyond the limits of the teleology of an art founded on surface imitation. Shakespeare's decorum implies a spiritual grace.

Influenced by classical practice, the association of the theatre with gardens continued in the Renaissance. Although before the middle of the seventeenth century there were no permanent open air theatres in gardens, al fresco performances were popular, and there was a marked preference for outdoor scenes in stage drama. The use made of these

settings affords an opportunity to examine changing attitudes to nature over a period of time. The entertainments performed for the summer progresses of the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts show a consistently emblematic use of the garden. There was little attempt to organize the scene spatially into a coherent whole with effectively controlled sightlines for the audience, and little attention was paid to natural features of landscape. Although shrubbery might conceal a wildman or group of musicians, most features were utilized only for their symbolic value. Where the appropriate emblem did not exist it was created whether oak leaves at Theobalds, a moon-shaped lake at Elvetham, or an antique gate at Ashby. The boundaries of the park were open to hermits, wildmen, and Robin Hood and his fellows, but the garden required a more restricted form of pastoral. The most common theme of the garden was that of the garden of state idealized as a paradise, the Hesperian gardens or an embodiment of the Golden Age. Various forms of pastoral hyperbole and the banquet of sense might also appear, while the park was a setting for themes of chivalric service or retirement. The list of themes might well be extended were there more entertainments available from sources beyond the immediate court and in reliable texts, but it is doubtful if the basic division between park and garden would be disturbed. Both encouraged the license of pastoral and private allusions. Sir Philip Sidney's The Lady of May is typical in its conformity to the principles of decorum, its pastoral theme and characters, use of satire, abundance of private references, and its failure to make use of the actual features of the garden at Wanstead. Only Ben Jonson's "Entertainment at Highgate" depends entirely on existing features incorporating fountain, tree, and even

the view from Sir William Cornwallis's garden into the iconography of the performance.

Jonson's iconographical interpretation of natural settings continues in the masques prepared for the Jacobean and Caroline courts. The Fortunate Isles, Pan's Anniversary, and Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue are among those which show his increasing dependence on established and familiar classical topoi of place and consequently the growing freedom of his text from Inigo Jones's settings. Jonson's theory of the fable as a hierarchical whole to which each part was essential encouraged his integration of setting as well as dance and costume into the text itself.

This freedom from iconological restraint allowed Jones to concentrate on a different kind of theatrical statement. He developed the stage as a unified space with precisely controlled sightlines. His gardens in Tempe Restored and Coelum Britannicum use the latest continental development of the vista and the axial placement which was helping to create villa and garden as one architectural unit. Although Jones seems to have continued to subscribe to a Pythagorean and Platonic symbolism of number and proportion, in fact his settings had very little iconographical content. Instead their effectiveness depended on perspective, verisimilitude of detail, and a growing repertoire of mechanical devices. His sets were not to be analyzed intellectually, but wondered at and applauded for their ingenuity. Their 'allegory' was supplied by written descriptions attached to the text.

Jones's garden scenes were much in advance of gardening practice in England with a few exceptions such as Wilton House or Sir John Danver's house at Chelsea, but they signal the end of the Renaissance ideal of

the garden as a speaking picture. Although the emblematic military garden at Appleton House dominates Marvell's poem on Fairfax's estate, the poem itself is influenced and even disturbed by the new mode of perception which Jones's later settings represent. "Upon Appleton House" is transitional verse and many of its problems of interpretation spring from the conjunction of an older epistemology with the emergence of a new one. From the perspective of the narrator's consciousness, Marvell applies the new spatial techniques of the vista and the controlling sightlines of the theatre to the natural topography of Appleton House. He also introduces a number of distorting optical devices and effects, the lens in the water meadows, the labyrinthine forest whose trees become Corinthian columns, the reflecting crystal of the river's surface, and possibly even the reversed focus of a telescope from the battlements of the garden. The narrator's confusion in the face of Fairfax's political retirement despite England's need finds a correlative in the distortion of all the faces of nature, spatial and temporal. The subjectivity of the narrator's vision questions the nature of perception and the validity of judgments based on it. However, this question is never resolved, for the narrator turns instead to the intellectual heritage of the hieroglyph. He reads the lessons of the grove in emblems of the strawberry, dove, stork, and inverted tree from the Book of Nature, but above all he reads the lesson of the garden of nurture in the form of Fairfax's military garden. The garden becomes a figure of Fairfax himself, an example of the proper use of the five senses, of order and good government, and the balance of art and nature. Against each aspect of this standard the nunnery and the grove are both lacking as an answer to the devastation of England's civil war. The military

garden is finally seen, not as a place of improper retirement like the nunnery and grove, but as the nursery of Maria and the continuing pledge of the house of Fairfax to England's future.

The principles which defined the new concept of the Renaissance garden, then, also animated the poetic imagery which derived from it. Garden imagery appears in lyric, or personal poetry, and in pastoral verse. Its flowers adorn ceremonial verse, whether epithalamium or elegy. But its formal uses were seldom merely ornamental. At its simplest garden imagery could be reduced to a literary formula to announce a pastoral context or a philosophical treatise. Henry More's deliberate departures from the formula of the plane tree in Psychozoia show some of the possible manipulations of even this simple level of imagery. While it might announce the genre of a poem, it often ensured the correct response of the reader in a more precise sense. Garden imagery might determine the mode of the poem as Spenser's garden labyrinth does in placing the encounters of Book I of The Faerie Queene firmly within an eschatological framework. It might indicate to the reader how a poem is to be read as it does in Ovids Banquet of Sense where the whole fabric of the poem is clearly as emblematic as its garden. It might organize the reader's expectations in a still more complex manner as it does in Milton's Paradise Lost, where the reader's expectation of emblematic statement is encouraged only to be rebuffed in a demonstration of how much man and nature have lost since Adam conversed with God in the original garden.

Furthermore, while garden imagery had its formal uses, it also contributed specifically to the content of poetry. Two problems stand out particularly, and they are common to the use of any symbolic

language. Garden imagery often brought with it a rich and unwieldy iconological heritage which the poet had to pare and control within the boundaries of his poem. Secondly, such garden imagery possessed a 'generative capacity' which might enter into the dialectic of the poem to create a larger, more comprehensive statement or, insufficiently engaged, might distort or overwhelm the original theme.

Poets solved these problems in a variety of ways. Poets like Herbert and Chapman delighted in revealing as many faces of their icon as possible. In Ovids Banquet of Sence the reader is confronted by a profane and a sacred garden in one Elysium, while the speaker in "The Rose" passes over one interpretation after another to rest at last in the rose of Christ's sacrifice and love. Milton's description of Eve's bower in Paradise Lost, like Spenser's labyrinth in The Faerie Queene, depends on the intersection of several different traditions for precision of meaning, while Shakespeare's flower catalogue in The Winter's Tale leads to the separate scheme of the ages of man underlying the play as a whole. This emblematic interpretation of the garden was carried as far as it could effectively be taken in Ben Jonson's later masques, where objective and visual nature disappears in its intellectual analogue.

Ironically, Ben Jonson perfected his method against the background of those very changes in perception which finally doomed the hieroglyphic approach to nature. Inigo Jones's delight in the spectacle of the object itself combined with the development of perspective clearly points the way to associative and eventually subjective theories of knowledge. The philosophic and intellectual heritage which Ben Jonson shared with his audience is no longer ours without

considerable effort. Study of the Renaissance garden is an education in the formal properties of garden imagery and an introduction to the iconographical density which may lie behind such imagery. To place garden poetry within the context of such a study gives the student an otherwise unobtainable insight into individual poems and a unique opportunity to investigate the techniques by which poets controlled and exploited this resource.

APPENDIX      VIRGIL'S GNAT

Quem circum lapidem levi de marmore formans  
 Conserit assiduae curae memor: hic & acanthus,  
 Et rosa purpureo crescit rubicunda colore,  
 Et violae omne genus: hic est & Spartica myrtus,  
 Atque hyacinthus, & hic Cilici crocus editus arvo.  
 Laurus item Phoebi surgens decus, hic rhododaphne,  
 Liliaque, & roris non avia cura marini,  
 Herbaque turis, opes priscis imitata Sabinis,  
 Chrysanthusque, ederaeque nitor pallente corymbo,  
 Et bochus Libyae Regis memor: hic amaranthus,  
 Bupthalmusque virens, & semper florida picris.  
 Non illinc narcissus abest, cui gloria formae  
 Igne Cupidinea proprios exarsit in artus,  
 Et quoscunque novant vernantia tempora flores,  
 His tumulus super inseritur: tum fronte locatur  
 Elogium, tacita format quod littera voce:  
     Parve Culex, pecudum custos tibi tale merenti  
     Funeris officium vitae pro munere reddit.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Virgil, Works (Antwerp, 1542) rpt. in The Works of Edmund Spenser, 10 vols., ed. Edwin Greenlaw, et al., A Variorum Edition (Baltimore, Md., 1932-1949) VIII, 557-8. See Henry G. Lotspeich, "Spenser's Virgil's Gnat and its Latin Original," ELH 2(1935), who argues that this Dutch text published by A. Dumaeus is the only one which meets every requirement of Spenser's translation. Lotspeich's article supersedes O.F. Emerson, "Spenser's Virgil's Gnat," JEGP 17 (1918) who compares Spenser's translation with Bembo's Dialogue on the Culex and Terence, 1530.



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The following abbreviations have been used:

<u>Art Bull.</u>	<u>Art Bulletin</u>
<u>CL</u>	<u>Country Life</u>
<u>EC</u>	<u>Essays in Criticism</u>
<u>ELH</u>	<u>English Literary History</u>
<u>JEGP</u>	<u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</u>
<u>JHI</u>	<u>Journal of the History of Ideas</u>
<u>JWCI</u>	<u>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute</u>
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
<u>MLQ</u>	<u>Modern Language Quarterly</u>
<u>MP</u>	<u>Modern Philology</u>
<u>N&amp;Q</u>	<u>Notes and Queries</u>
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association</u>
<u>PQ</u>	<u>Philological Quarterly</u>
<u>RES</u>	<u>Review of English Studies</u>
<u>SEL</u>	<u>Studies in English Literature</u>
<u>ShQ</u>	<u>Shakespeare Quarterly</u>
<u>SP</u>	<u>Studies in Philology</u>
<u>TLS</u>	<u>Times Literary Supplement</u>
<u>TSLL</u>	<u>Texas Studies in Language and Literature</u>
<u>UTQ</u>	<u>University of Toronto Quarterly</u>

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