

ANDREW MARVELL AND EUROPE

Université de Haute Alsace & Université de Strasbourg – 23-25 June 2016

KEYNOTE SPEECHES

Professor Nigel Smith (Princeton University), ‘**Transvernacular Poetry and Government: Andrew Marvell and the Rise of English Literature in Early Modern Europe**’

Professor Emeritus Jean-Paul Pittion (Université François-Rabelais & Centre d’Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Tours), “‘**If things of sight such heavens be/What heavens are those we cannot see**’”: sojourning in Protestant Saumur in the 1650s’

SPEAKERS’ ABSTRACTS

Stephanie Coster (University of Leicester), ‘**Andrew Marvell and tutoring in the restoration**’

Marvell’s career as a tutor before entering government service in 1657 is well documented; his engagement with a similar milieu in the 1670s is, however, altogether unknown. Drawing on unpublished correspondence, this paper will trace Marvell’s later, post-restoration, involvement with the education of the gentry and nobility. Increasingly, it can be shown, influential nonconformists rejected the Anglican orthodox pedagogy of the universities, seeking instead dissenting educational establishments and tutors to provide an alternative curriculum for their children, often incorporating European travel and schooling; this paper will consider Marvell’s association with, and contributions to, this highly specific academic and social nexus, mapping the network of new associates who drew upon Marvell’s established expertise as a facilitator in this area with particular focus on Marvell and France.

Martin Dzelzainis (University of Leicester), ‘**Marvell, Nicolas Chorier, and the earl of Rochester: state satire and pornography in the dissenting academies**’

Dissenting academies were first set up during the restoration to provide a godly alternative to the allegedly “debauched” universities. However, in the course of the debate over occasional conformity in the early eighteenth century, the nature and quality of the education offered by the academies themselves came into question. An exchange between Samuel Wesley – an Anglican convert who had formerly studied at academies in Stepney and Stoke Newington from 1678 to 1684 – and Samuel Palmer is especially revealing about what was actually being read by the dissenting students. According to Wesley, it included Marvell’s satires, the pornographic dialogues of the French lawyer, Nicolas Chorier (1612-92), and *Sodom*, a work often attributed to John Wilmot, earl of Rochester (though Wesley had information to the contrary). This paper assesses these claims and the light they shed on the circulation of Marvellian state satire *before* the Restoration

Alex Garganigo (Austin College), ‘**Marvell and the *Satyre Ménippée***’

An anonymous reader of the *Satyre Ménippée* (1593-4) quipped that the poem had been hardly less useful to Henri IV in gaining him the French throne than had the Battle of Ivry. All hyperbole aside, however, the *Satyre Ménippée* did prove useful to Andrew Marvell, arguably providing models for both the ekphrasis of the painter poems and the tolerationism of *The Rehearsal Transpros’d*.

Johanna Harris (University of Exeter), ‘**Marvell and the English Churches abroad**’

This paper proposes to investigate the English Churches in Europe which Marvell may have had cause to visit during his travels abroad. It will engage particularly with the Dutch context, including the churches in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leiden, and The Hague. Where recent investigations have tended to emphasise the rich intellectual culture of Holland (including its literary scene and art) that influenced Marvell’s poetry, and the royalist exiles he may have encountered, the paper will seek to shed light on the English churches he also undoubtedly came across, incorporating new archival research on their memberships and the religious politics of church leaders. It will consider both the separatist and the state-sanctioned English churches in Holland, to add detail to the emerging picture of Marvell’s travels in 1642/3, and his intriguing Dutch mission of 1662.

Edward Holberton (University of Bristol), ‘**Marvell’s Embassy to Muscovy, Sweden and Denmark**’

Marvell’s role as secretary to the Earl of Carlisle’s 1663 embassy to Muscovy, Sweden, and Denmark has been seen as a watershed in his life. It was the most prestigious appointment of a diplomatic career that Marvell had pursued for over a decade, but the embassy’s failure seems to have led to the end of that career. Modern accounts of the embassy suggest that the failure can be blamed partly on the haughtiness of the speeches and letters delivered by Marvell and Carlisle in Muscovy. My paper reflects on what might constitute success and failure in the wider context of European diplomacy at this time, and asks whether Marvell might not have been judged too harshly. Drawing on recent work in the cultural history of diplomacy, it explores the importance of self-assertion in this context, and the challenges presented by Muscovy’s position on the edge of European diplomatic culture, where the Tsar’s court shared some but not all of Europe’s diplomatic legal customs. I argue that these circumstances drew from Marvell and Carlisle rhetorical performances of considerable skill and resourcefulness. They reveal fresh insights into the connections between early modern poetry and diplomacy: affinities emerge between kinds of representation explored in early modern lyric and those performed by early modern ambassadors; they also show how the consolidation of European international law and relations was a process which was finely enmeshed with the practices of European literary culture, and how Marvell was working in the vanguard of this process.

Ineke Huysman (Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands), ‘**The best of three worlds ... twice: Andrew Marvell and Constantijn Huygens: secretary, diplomat, poet**’

From early on, the Dutchman Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) was well acquainted with envoys, high officials and court members. As a youth Huygens participated in embassies to Italy and England. He also became a prominent poet in Dutch, French and Latin. In 1625, at the age of 28, when he became secretary to Stadtholder Frederic Henry, Huygens found himself at the centre of political and cultural developments in the Dutch Republic, where he remained until his death in

1687. One secret of his success was his ability to play different roles as the occasion demanded: secretary, diplomat, courtier, poet, art connoisseur, collector, scholar, and musician.

The careers of Huygens and Marvell display some significant analogies. Both were of relatively humble origins, climbed high on the social ladder, and reached the status of secretary and diplomat. Both were proficient in many languages and engaged as poets. Their private and official networks will probably show quite a few overlaps. Marvell visited the Dutch Republic in the 1640's and 1660's, and Huygens for his part visited England seven times. Also, since some of their poems show similarities, one could assume that they might have had direct contact. This paper will compare these somewhat parallel lives, but it will also examine the differences and explore if there may actually have been encounters.

Nicholas McDowell (University of Exeter), **'How Marvell Heard his Rabelais'**

The references to Rabelais in Andrew Marvell's prose satires against religious intolerance, *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* (1672-3), offer insights into the reception of Rabelaisian satire in the universities and the coffeehouses as a specifically anticlerical form of wit. Rabelaisian satire emerges as an aspect of the coffeehouse conversation associated at the time and since with new modes of public discussion. But oddly the references to Rabelais in Marvell are either misattributed or incorrect. These errors and misattributions suggest that Marvell may never have actually read Rabelais but rather picked up Rabelaisian anecdotes when conversing with intellectuals and *libertin* thinkers in Saumur in the 1650s. This leads to more general reflection upon how critical focus on the history of reading and note-taking tends to neglect the inevitable role of private and sociable conversation in literary transmission, both within a nation and across national borders.

Sean H. McDowell (Seattle University), **'Marvell, Lipsius, and Epistolary Excellence'**

Much of the work citing the influence of the Belgian humanist Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) on Marvell has centered on Lipsius' religious writings and in particular possible connections between his *De Constantia* and Marvell's poetry of retirement. I propose to shift the examination of these two figures by scrutinizing Marvell's approach to letter writing in relation to Lipsius' *Epistolica Institutio* (1591). Lipsius' thoughts about the principles of writing letters enjoyed a popular vogue in England in the late 1590s and onward. Within the Inns of Court, they filtered into John Hoskyn's *Directions for Speech and Style* as well as Ben Jonson's *Timber, Or Discoveries*, and one also can see their influence in the letters of John Donne and others of his generation. My paper will determine whether a similar adherence to Lipsius' thoughts about the proper way to write a letter obtains in Marvell's correspondence as well. Did Marvell turn to a Continental scholar merely for his thoughts on constancy or the struggle between the active and contemplative lives, or was Marvell's engagement with Lipsius more encompassing than it might first appear?

Greg Miller (Millsaps College), **"'Upon Appleton House': Iconoclastic House of Memory'**

As Nigel Smith notes, Saumur, a center of Protestant learning, where Marvell stayed with his charge Dutton January-August 1656, was known as a city of "mutual toleration," and "does not conform to the picture of 'confessionalization,'" affording freedom of conscience and expression. Disparate strains in Marvell's thought—the influence of French libertine poets like Théophile de Viau, explored recently by Giulio Pertile in *Seventeenth-Century*, and the use of Protestant poets such as Saint-Amant and Du Bartas—work toward a common end in "Upon Appleton House," a newly constructed "house of memory," the *ars memorativa* of rhetoric attacked by Reformers from Melancton to Pierre de la Ramée. Marvell translated Brebeuf's translation of Lucan: "C'est de

luy que nous vient cet art ingenieux / De peindre la parole, et de parler aux yeux; / et, par les trait divers de figures tracées, / Donner de la couleur et du corps au pensées.” “From it [the quill] comes the ingenious art / Of painting words, and speaking to the eyes / and, by various traits of drawn figures / To give color and flesh to ideas.” Comparing Marvell’s translation with Lucan’s original, drawing from Miller-Blaise’s *Le Verbe Fait Image: Iconoclasmes, Ecriture Figurée et Théologie de l’Incarnation chez Les Poètes Métaphysiques* (Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle 2010), we’ll explore Marvell’s jubilantly iconoclastic poem, the fluidity between its functions of word and image, in a great house of memory consciously performing the functions of what it destroys, to new ends.

Ryan Netzley (Southern Illinois University, Carbondale), ‘**Marvell and the Futures Market: Exchange and the Creation of Value**’

How does Marvell conceive of exchange and trade, especially transnational trade, in his poetry? This is an especially pressing question for georgic poems like “The Mower against Gardens,” which condemns forbidden mixtures, but it’s an equally pressing question for the later satiric poems, especially *The Last Instructions to a Painter*, which condemns the excise tax as a restraint on trade. To put a very fine point on it, does Marvell imagine trade as a mutually beneficial exchange or as a deceptive expropriation?

This essay argues that Marvell’s verse conceives of exchange as simultaneously fictitious and creative. In the georgic and country-house poems, focused on labor, if one truly owns a thing or quality, one can never, strictly speaking, trade it. However, trade nonetheless happens, but only through a prospective invention of value that does not equate to the swapping or amassing of property. This speculative valuing is more prevalent in the later satiric poems, but appears in the early royalist elegies as well. In this respect, my argument responds to Michael Komorowski, who maintains that “An Horatian Ode” praises liberal state structures for the protection of property. I argue that, instead of issuing in an ownership that needs protection, exchange for Marvell is an invention of value where none existed before. As such, his poems become an important site for exploring both the conceptual contours of an emerging finance capital and the limitations of an understanding of money that assumes there’s a real economy beneath the financialized one.

Timothy Raylor (Carleton College), ‘**Andrew Marvell: Travelling Tutor**’

That Marvell worked as a tutor at several points in his career is well known. His service in the Fairfax household in Yorkshire in the early 1650s, and in that of John Oxenbridge at Eton in the middle of the decade, have been carefully and imaginatively explored as contexts for the poetry produced during these periods: the Yorkshire poems “Upon Appleton House,” and “Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough,” for example, and “Bermudas,” usually (if not certainly) associated with his tutoring in the Oxenbridge household. And yet such filtering of our attention by way of the poetry has left incomplete our understanding of this aspect of Marvell’s work by leaving largely untouched the period of Marvell’s employment as a travelling tutor during the 1640s, accompanying young gentlemen on the Grand Tour. None of the great poems are associated with this period, and we do not even know the identities of his charges. This paper aims to shed new light on this aspect of Marvell’s work. By way of contemporary evidence both theoretical and practical, it examines the peculiar qualities and responsibilities—both curricular and pastoral—of the traveling tutor. It finds traces in both his poetry and his prose writings of the curriculum taught on the tour. And by examining the careers of other young men fresh down from the universities who travelled as tutors it offers glimpses of alternative career paths: of Andrew Marvells who might have been.

Nicholas von Maltzahn (University of Ottawa), **'Marvell in Sweden'**

Marvell's Swedish career, insofar as he had one, followed from his eventually successful efforts to gain a position in English state service in the 1650s and -60s. His engagements with Anglo-Swedish relations fall into three phases, but all of them reflect his aspiration to and then performance of the secretarial role central to his public service. Key to that role was his skill as an accomplished Latinist. That skill Marvell deployed in his varied constructions of the English and more widely the Protestant interest inasmuch as those pertained to Swedish foreign policy. The earlier phases I have described in comparison with Milton's more apocalyptic views ("Liberalism or Apocalypse? John Milton and Andrew Marvell," in *English Now*, ed. Marianne Thormählen [Lund: Lund Studies in English, 2008], pp. 44-58). The present paper focuses on the third phase when Marvell in the Earl of Carlisle's embassy visits Stockholm in 1664.

In October 1664, the Earl of Carlisle's embassy was on its way back from Moscow, en route for Copenhagen and then home to London. The description of the embassy's experiences by one of its participants, Guy de Miège, has long supplied us with ample descriptions of the visit to Stockholm, and Marvell's biographers have gratefully reproduced Miège's account. But my aim with reference to some fresh documents is to describe more fully the diplomatic business on which the English embassy to Sweden was now engaged and Marvell's role within it. In some ways Carlisle's embassy had been superseded in its diplomacy by the length of time that had lapsed since its departure from England a year before; a second diplomatic visit from England to Sweden now more newly represented English concerns. Even so, the "new" documents in their context show Marvell engaged in diplomatic service and that in ways consistent with his longer career from Protectoral state service in the 1650s to his long work as a Restoration MP in the 1660s and -70s.

Steven Zwicker (Washington University, St Louis), **'What's the problem with the Dutch: Andrew Marvell, the trade wars, toleration, and the Dutch Republic'**

You could be excused for thinking that rather than an Englishman, Marvell might better have been born a Dutchman in the republic's golden age—an era of religious toleration and commercial ascendancy, of fiscal accountability and civic transparency, and of particular brilliance in the painterly arts of landscape and portraiture. For sure, there are moments when Marvell seems, for all his ambivalence about that "off-scouring of the British sand," rather in thrall of Dutch naval prowess, and a strong advocate of confederacy with The States General against the threat of popery and French monarchy, and admiring too of a religious toleration that characterized Dutch society—that "civility which is decent. . . to be used in speaking of the differences of Human Opinion about Divine Matters . . . were it either open Judaism, or plain Turkery, or honest Paganism." But this is not the whole story. There are striking contradictions in Marvell's attitude towards England's mercantile rival and religious confederate, and it is my purpose here to explore those contradictions. Marvell's encounter with the States General fostered, early on, in *The Character of Holland* (1653), a rather crude chauvinism and stereotyping, and a surprising disdain for Dutch toleration; and *The Character of Holland* was touched up for publication in 1665, likely with Marvell's collusion. But his encounter with the Dutch also allowed, in the *Last Instructions to a Painter* (1667) and in the *Account of the Growth of Popery* (1677), a seeming conversion to the Dutch cause. There are explanations for individual moves in this labile story, but I also want to ask if there are ways of seeing in its particulars a broader scheme of Marvellian ambivalence, and shadows too not simply of ambivalence but of what we might think of as political opportunism and ideological instability.