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MICHAEL R. G. SPILLER

The Country House Poem in Scotland:
Sir George Mackenzie's
Caelia's Country House and Closet

The Country-house poem as a genre is well established in the seventeenth century by the poems of Jonson, Carew, Marvell, and Waller. The purpose of this article is to introduce the first Scottish example, written in 1667, printed in 1716, but not subsequently edited or noticed by critics.

The two large folio volumes of the works of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh (1636–1691)¹ have little to interest the student of literature, for “Bluidy Mackenzie,” Lord Advocate of Scotland and persecutor of the Covenanters, produced mainly legal and historical essays, as befitted his career. But the first two items in the first volume, looking oddly out of place, are two poems: a short “Paraphrase of the CIV Psalm,” and the subject of this article, *Caelia's Country House and Closet*. The latter is a complimentary poem of 480 lines in heroic couplets, the first and only Scottish country-house poem of the century.²

¹ *Works*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1716–1722). There is a modern facsimile reprint, ed. Bernard Fabian (Hildesheim, 1973). The standard biography of Mackenzie is Andrew Lang, *Sir George Mackenzie, His Life and Times* (London, 1909), and there is a checklist of Mackenzie's writings in Frederic S. Ferguson, “A Bibliography of the Works of Sir George Mackenzie,” *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 1 (Edinburgh, 1935), 1–60.

² Admittedly a rare sub-species; I know of eight others: Samuel Boyse, “Loch Rian,” *Gentleman's Magazine*, xii (London, 1742), 269–70; Anon., “On a Place near Edinburgh called The Hermitage,” *London Chronicle*, 1 (1757), 28; J.S., “Lines written on visiting the Duchess of Buccleugh's Grotto, Dalkeith Park,” *Scots Magazine*, lxxi (Edinburgh, 1809), 607; Joseph Anderson, “An Address to a Beautiful Seat on the Banks of the Don,” *The Artless Muse* (Peterhead, 1818), 8; William Muir, “Woodhead House, Parish of Campsie,” *Poems on Various Subjects* (Glasgow, 1818), 200; “The Villa of Broomhill, near Kirkintilloch,” *ibid.*, 204–6; Thomas

The poem exists in four versions: the printed text of 1716, of which no MS. known to me survives; a printed text of 1709, which appears to have been taken from a slightly differing MS.; an edition undated, but probably about 1715; and a MS. with considerable variations from any of these, now in the National Library of Scotland.

(a) the text of 1716.

It is certain that the 1716 text is, or substantially represents, a poem composed late in 1667 or early in 1668. In the 1660s, the young Mackenzie was seeking literary fame, and attempted a novel, *Areina* (Edinburgh, 1660) and several modish essays. One of these, *A Moral Essay, Preferring Solitude to Public Employment*, published in the year in which Mackenzie was appointed Advocate to Dundee (1665), drew a reply from John Evelyn, *Publick Employment and an Active Life preferr'd to Solitude* (London, 1667). Thus having been noticed by the literary Establishment, Mackenzie wrote to Evelyn in 1668, enclosing a letter to be given to Sir William Davenant³ along with "a poem written by me, not out of love of poetry, or gallantry, but to essay if I might reveal my curiosity that way. . . ." The letter to Davenant is more particular: "I resolved to choose for my essay a theme which (like her for whom the poem was intended) would not look ill in any dress, and in which my duty might excuse my want of wit. . . ." The supposition that the "essay" was *Caelia's Country House* is strengthened by a reference in that poem to the *Works* of Cowley:

Cowley by him [*Tasso*], whose melting *Works* are new (1.457)

Cowley's *Works* were registered on August 19, 1667, and might then reasonably have been described as "new" in 1668. Further, the parenthesis above suggests that the "essay" was written with a real Caelia in mind, whom we may venture to identify: in spite of

Edgar, "Composed on Riding through the Estate of Closeburn," *Poems on Various Subjects* (Dumfries, 1822), 151-54; Roger Quinn, "Friar's Carse . . . in the Neighbourhood of Dumfries," *The Heather Lintie* (Dumfries, 1863), 9-17. Of these the first and fourth are so perfunctory in their notice of the estate they write about as scarcely to deserve mention.

³ John Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence*, ed. William Bray, (London, 1850-1857), III, 193, 202. Edmond S. de Beer has shown that the second letter is not to Evelyn but to Davenant (*N & Q*, CLXXII (June 5, 1937), 402-3.)

Mackenzie's disclaimer of "gallantry" to Evelyn, the poem proceeds in a strain of fulsome adoration, after initial protestations of mere friendship; now Mackenzie's first wife died before 1668, and in 1670 he married Margaret Haliburton of Pitcur, Forfarshire, Scotland. The tone of the poem is consistent with the beginning of a courtship. It is thus possible that *Caelia's Country House and Closet* as it appears in print in 1716 was written late in 1667 or early in 1668 with Mackenzie's future second wife in the role of Caelia. There is an alternative hypothesis, suggested by the occurrence of verbal parallels (beyond the scope of this article to set out in detail) between *Caelia's Country House and Closet* and Mackenzie's novel *Areolina*: Mackenzie may have written parts of the poem in the late 1650s, either for his first wife or as *galante* verse for his friends⁴, and merely updated it when it occurred to him to submit it to Evelyn and Davenant.

(b) the text of 1709.

When the Edinburgh printer James Watson undertook his beautifully printed edition of Mackenzie's works, he was able to obtain manuscripts from the Mackenzie family and from friends,⁵ and one would guess that among the MSS. was a copy of the poem that had not hitherto been available. For Watson had in fact printed the poem five years before, in Part II (1709) of his *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems* (Edinburgh, 1706, 1709, 1711); but he did not choose to reprint his own edition in 1716. A comparison of the two printed texts suggests that in 1709 Watson worked from a later, but markedly inferior, draft of the poem, which was in some places difficult to read;⁶ and that when in 1716 another

⁴ In the commonplace book of Sir John Wedderburn of Gosford (1599–1679), Scottish National Library MS. 6504, are two poems in Mackenzie's hand, "The Parallele" (fol. 51) and "Ane Apologie for Blacknesse" (fol. 52) which suggest that Mackenzie wrote light amatory verse for his friends. Sir John was Mackenzie's great-uncle, and "Blacknesse" is John Wedderburn of Blackness, a distant cousin, who was courting his future wife (whom he married in 1667) when these poems were written.

⁵ Ferguson, "Bibliography," 8.

⁶ E.g., the reference to Donne's works in the 1716 text, "And *Don*, into whose Mysteries Few pry" (462), becomes in 1709 "And down into whose Mysteries few pry" (490), suggesting that the printer read "donn" as "down."

copy came to his hands, he saw that it was superior, and substituted it. The 1709 text does, however, contain an attractive passage of twenty-two lines describing a glass-sided clock, which is omitted from the 1716 text.

That Watson's 1709 text came from a later MS. is suggested by a comparison of the lines describing Caelia's bookshelves, already referred to in my dating of the 1716 text:

But *Tasso's* Works soon drew from them my Eyes,
Whose lofty Lines I far above them prize.
Cowley by him, whose melting Works are New. . . .
(1716, 11.455-7)

appears in 1709 as

But *Dryden's* Works did turn from them my Eyes,
Whose lofty Lines I do above them prize:
Couly by him, whose Works are ever new. . . .
(1709, 11.483-5)

When the 1709 MS. was drafted, evidently Cowley's *Works* were no longer strictly "new," and Dryden had written sufficient (though no collected volumes of his work appeared till after Mackenzie's death) to supplant Tasso as the most important influence on contemporary English poetry.

(c) the 1715 edition.

CAELIA'S/Country-House/And/CLOSET./A/POEM./
Written by/Sir GEO. MACKENZIE./(rule)/
LONDON:/Printed and Sold by A. DODD, at the/
Peacock without *Temple-Bar*. Price 6d.

This independently printed edition, which Ferguson assigns to "possibly . . . as early as 1715"⁷ follows Watson's 1709 text very closely, and seems to have been taken from it, as it repeats a non-sensical error ("cold" for "bold" in 1.12) which an acquaintance with the 1716 text would have corrected. It also amends the corrupt line "And down into whose Mysteries few pry" (1709, 1.490) to "Into whose Mysteries but few do pry" (1716, 1.462), when again a sight of either the 1716 text or the surviving MS. would have

⁷ Ferguson, "Bibliography," 48.

given the correct reading. It seems likely that Dodd's edition is an intelligent pirating of Watson's of 1709, printed before 1716.

(d) the manuscript.

The manuscript offers immediate problems. The MS. itself (National Library of Scotland MS. 550) is a poor fair copy, not in Mackenzie's hand, though with corrections possibly by him; on the cover is written, in a third hand, "My Lady Carnegies Cabinet/ done by Sir George Mackenzie/Advocat upon ye house of ye Leuchars in ffyfe. ut intus / Apr. 20 96." Leuchars Castle in Fife was the home of Mary Carnegie, née Maitland, daughter of the third Earl of Lauderdale, and thus from a family with which Mackenzie had been closely associated. She married Charles, fourth Earl of Southesk, on 15 July 1691, and lived until her death in 1728 at Leuchars Castle. But as Mackenzie died in England on 9 May 1691 not only could he not have written a draft of the MS. in 1696, but he could not even have known Mary Maitland as Lady Carnegie of Leuchars. It is possible that the MS. is a copy by a third party of an early draft of the 1667/1716 text, which has somehow become connected with Lady Carnegie; but it is much more probable that Mackenzie reworked his youthful poem yet again when he knew of the approaching marriage of Mary Maitland, but died before he could finish the revision for her. Not only has the MS. incompletenesses suggestive of work in progress, but it excludes all references to sexual love that appear in the 1716 text, and, most importantly, the 1667 description of Caelia's gardens has been altered in a number of particulars, one of which changes seems to refer to an actual feature of Leuchars Castle. In 1667,

A *Palace* on a small Ascent does stand,
And views those Valleys which it does command.
Long Rows of stately Elms on either side,
The wond'ring Eye to that great *Palace* guide;
Betwixt which Rows, most pleasant Ponds they see,
Which with the Avenue in Length agree. (1716, 11.25-30)

But the MS. version shows a much more contracted garden:

A palace stands round which smooth ponds do meet,
As if they waited ther to washe its feet, (MS. p. 1)

which seems to be a gallant attempt to make decorative the narrow

moat which is known to have flowed right under the walls of Leuchars Castle.⁸

Apart from the excision of all references to sexual attraction, the MS. version omits a passage of ten lines in praise of country life, borrowed from Denham's *Cooper's Hill* (in the 1709 and 1716 texts), twelve lines describing a statute of Caelia's father (1709/16), eight lines in praise of the Marquis of Montrose (1709/16), and six lines describing an artificial garden mount (1709/16), which are replaced by four about a floral sundial. It inserts twenty-two lines describing a clock (1709) in place of thirty-four lines describing various paintings (1716), which are cut to thirty in the 1709 text. It also makes numerous small expansions in the description of Caelia's gardens, some of which the 1709 text also has.

The 1709 and 1716 texts are substantially the same poem, and the later 1709 text, including as it does the clock passage and some of the MS. version's expansions of the garden passages, would be the better text, were it not for continual clumsinesses of diction and syntax, which from the point of view of the critical appreciation of the poem in the following pages make the 1716 text, plausibly the earlier drafted, superior. This article will therefore discuss the 1716 text, conjecturally written in 1667/8, using the MS. version for occasional comparisons; and all line numbers following quotations will refer to the 1716 text, unless otherwise noted.

From this bibliographic foray, a critical point emerges: so much material is common to printed and MS. versions that Mackenzie clearly considered the description of the estate of his first Caelia to be appropriate to that of his second. The details of the estate and its contents cannot, therefore, be taken realistically, but must represent, with perhaps some glances at actuality, an idealisation of the country house and lady's closet. If this is so (and I shall offer critical evidence to support the bibliographic) then the poem is interesting as a record, not of what was at Pitcur or Leuchars, but of what a fashionable young Scot desiring literary fame thought would be a desirable estate and closet in the mid-1660s. Whatever its poetic merits, it is a document in the history of taste.

Structurally, the poem is based on two fashionable genres, one represented in literature, the other more fully in painting: as the

⁸ William Fraser, *History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk* (Edinburgh, 1867), I, lx.

title suggests, it is a poem in praise of an estate (country-house poem) and a review of a closet or curio cabinet (a gallery poem). The doubling is natural: from Caelia's gardens we move to her *Wunderkammer*, and see in both the image of her mind and moral qualities, as in Pope's sketch of Timon's villa.

The garden is conceived in the then fashionable French manner: approached by an avenue of elms⁹ flanked by long ponds, decorated with statuary, the house stands on a small eminence, where

A kind *Wood* warms or shades its either side,
In which the Trees advance with equal Pride, (61-62)

and behind the House

Spread to the East embroider'd Gardens ly (101)

in which there are labyrinths, more statuary and an artificial mound.¹⁰

Its delights are the ingenious concurrences of apparent opposites:

Neptune Majestic, on the Brink does stand,
Prouder there than his Ocean to command.
Glaucus his *Gallatea*¹¹ here admires;
Nor can the Waters cool his scorching Fires:
But whilst he angles in those pleasant Lakes,
He's more a Captive than the Prey he takes:
A *Cupid* covers with his Hands his Ears,
To shew he *Triton's* shelly Trumpet fears.
The Water-Nymphs, resting them here and there,
With various Jets, refresh the scorched Air.
Over these Ponds th'inclining Trees do look,
Making a Mirrour of the glassy Brook.
These fleecy Clouds, the Bottles of the Rain,
Beget their Likeness on the watry Plain.
The Darling Sun baths there his scorching Beams,
As if he washed his Spots in those pure Streams.
Here our *Antipodes* our Fancy sees,

⁹ "Long Rows of stately Elms on either side" (27) in the 1716 text becomes "Long Rows of Orange-trees upon each Side" (27) in 1709, which, if anything, suggests that the 1709 text comes from a later MS.; tubbed orange trees lining walks became increasingly fashionable as the century wore out.

¹⁰ Mackenzie seems to have modelled Caelia's garden on the garden in *Aretina* (Edinburgh, 1660), 344ff., in which Megistus and Aretina promenade.

¹¹ Mackenzie has misremembered his Ovid: the beloved of Glaucus was Scylla (*Metamorphoses* xiii).

And Fishes seem to nestle in the Trees;
 Whilst others of them swim upon the Sky,
 And Birds, at once, here and above do fly.
 Their Surface does as pav'd with Chrystal show,
 Whilst we see curious Landskips drawn below. (31-52)

The subdued classical eroticism of this scene is both Baroque and Ovidian: it is interesting that the conceit from the *Metamorphoses* of the world turned upside down, so long, up to Marvell's poetry, an emblem of moral confusion,¹² becomes in nascent Augustanism merely a delightful commerce of antitheses. For much of the strength and confidence that underlies the Caroline elegance of this rural scene Mackenzie is indebted to Waller, from whose panegyric on St. James's Park, the outstanding example of French garden improvement in England, he takes many ideas and even turns of phrase; but most importantly he accepts and uses Waller's conception of the park (or garden, or estate) as a decorative context for the display of certain refined emotions essential to civilised living.

The great emblematic country house poems of the first half of the century were concerned, as E. R. Hibbard says,¹³ with the social function and reciprocal interplay of man and nature; their strength lies in the wit which worked with perceived analogical correspondences between the structure of house, estate or landscape and the moral and social responsibilities of its owner. The complex uses of emblems which these correspondences required for their articulation climax in Marvell's "Upon Appleton House," and thereafter the tradition declines. Mackenzie's poem shows most clearly this decline, or, to be fair, the transition to a new kind of poem. The country house poem of the Augustan age (and Mackenzie's is the second) is one in which analogical correspondence of physical structure to moral or social qualities is replaced by aesthetic correspondence: the qualities of the owner are indicated by the aesthetic appropriateness of the structures in their context, as in *Mansfield Park*, and the house or estate changes from a complex emblem to an objet d'art bespeaking its owner's taste, or lack of it.

The change is fully observable in Mackenzie's poem. He is well aware of the literary tradition in which he writes, and in the lines

¹² Rosalie Colie, *"My Ecchoing Song"* (Princeton, 1970), 201-2.

¹³ "The Country House Poem in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 19 (1956), 159-74.

near the end of the poem describing Caelia's bookshelves he sets it out with all the precision an academic critic could desire:

Here Rocks of dazling Diamonds appear,
And we may see Clusters of Rubies here.
But *Tasso's* Works soon drew from them my eyes,
Whose lofty Lines I far above them prize.
Cowley by him, whose melting Works are New;
Denham whose Lines are sweet, whose Sense is true;
Waller the Just, whose least corrected Line
The best may own, and I could wish it Mine.
Here toiling *Johnson*, easy *Fletcher* ly,
And *Don*, into whose Mysteries few pry.
Religious Books she does obey, not shew,
And by her Life we may their Value know. (453-64)

To any young poet writing in the 1660s the masters were, as Mackenzie says, Cowley, Denham and Waller; Edward Fairfax's translations of Tasso, which mediated to Waller the smoothness of Spenser without the archaisms, made its impact;¹⁴ and finally, though Denham himself had praised both Fletcher and Jonson, Mackenzie has the critical perception to see that Waller and Denham had succeeded in reforming out of English numbers the toilsomeness of the "strong lines" of Jonson and Donne.¹⁵ He was heavily indebted to Waller, as has been said, and to Denham, but he inherits with the new sweetness an older legacy that he does not know how to spend. He brings into his poem objects which, one feels, he knows ought to be emblematic, but which he cannot really employ as such: for example, the garden has a maze, but its purpose is not to signify but to please:

Here Labyrinths so please, that we may doubt
If Art or Pleasure hinders getting out. (115-16)

¹⁴ Davenant had ranked Tasso as the first of the moderns: see "Preface" to *Gondibert*, ed. Douglas Gladish (Oxford, 1971), 5.

¹⁵ "Sir George Mackenzie . . . ask'd me why I did not imitate in my verses the turns of Mr. Waller and Sir John Denham, of which he repeated many to me. I had often read with pleasure, and with some profit, these two fathers of our English poetry, but had not seriously enough considered those beauties which give the last perfection to their works." John Dryden, "Discourse Concerning Satire," *Poems*, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford, 1958), II, 666.

There is a statue, surely finely suggestive in a poem addressed to a lady:

A Fountain-Nymph, here to the Life exprest,
Darts trembling Waters from her Marble-Breast. (117-18)

But the trembling waters are no more than a baroque gardening ingenuity, and

'Tis only here still the same Things can please,
And without Change, the Curious are at Ease. (119-20)

Yet the emblematic sense is there:

From this [the garden] then to her *Closet* I'll retire,
And what she loves, we justly may admire.
The *Room's* Quadrangle, and the Walls do rise
With nicest Justness in their Squares and Size.
She in her Floor does trample under Foot
A Globe, in rich Mosaic Marble cut,¹⁶
As her Thoughts treat the vast Original,
When it from Virtue them would tempt to fall.
From Heav'n, which the rich Roof does represent,
A Chrystal Candlestick seems to be sent. (159-68)

But a comparison with Marvell's treatment of the entrance hall of Appleton House suggests that one kind of sensibility is being lost, just as one may compare Waller's "Upon her Majesty's new buildings at Somerset House" with Marvell's "Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilborow," and see how earlier seventeenth-century wit gives way to later good taste. The house or garden is no longer a paradigm of man, but a place for the display of decorative objects and furnishings.

With the decay or disappearance of that sense of the estate as a community so noticeable in the poems of Jonson, Carew, and Marvell, Mackenzie sees the garden as an artifact designed to please. The pleasure of the well-designed garden comes, for Mackenzie as for his age, from the application of the aesthetic principle of variety

¹⁶ Inlays of coloured marble, or *pietre dure*, were an Italian luxury export throughout the seventeenth century, commonly as table tops for display furniture. A floor of *pietre dure* is an unlikely provincial extravagance: Mackenzie is giving Caelia's closet baroque cathedral or palace decoration, perhaps remembering "the Bibliothick, which was richly tapes-tred with Books . . . the floor paved with Marble, cut out in the shapes of Globes and Spheres" that he had imagined in *Aretina* (Edinburgh, 1660), 72.

and contrast. It was applied particularly to landscape painting, but remains in much Augustan landscape poetry as a descriptive rationale (cf. Pope, "Windsor Forest"), and was enunciated frequently in the seventeenth century:

As in a curious piece of Landskip there are orderly interspersed Clouds, and Trees, and Flowers, and Rivers, and Houses, and Arches, and Ships, and Fish playing, and Birds of several kinds, some flying, some swimming, some perching, yea, various Flies and Worms and Insects, and all contribute to the beauty and ornament and variety of the entire piece. . . . So in this great and glorious Frame of the Universe not only the Celestial Bodies, but all the Animals and Vegetables . . . contribute to the beauty, glory, ornament and variety of the whole; and make up one common demonstration of the admirable wisdom of the great God, that make it *valde bonum*.¹⁷

Of all that Sir Matthew Hale lists there, Mackenzie omits only "Ships" and what Pope in his own development of the principle, was to call "the green myriads in the peopled grass."¹⁸ Where there is no variety of objects, Mackenzie is careful to explain that it would be superfluous:

'Tis only here still the same Things can please,
And without Change, the Curious are at Ease.
This does with Eden in all Things agree,
Save that its Mistress will not tempted be. (119-22)

and

Upon a Plain, where nothing bounds the Eye,
But what could please without Variety,¹⁹
A Palace on a small Ascent does stand. . . . (23-25)

This is indeed the Augustan Eden, a place which communicates in the harmony of its teeming multiplicity a sense of the benevolence of God and the pleasure of civilised living—what H. S. Ogden has in another context called "diffused euphoria."²⁰

¹⁷ *The Primitive Origination of Mankind* (London, 1677), 358-59.

¹⁸ "An Essay on Man," i, 210.

¹⁹ Davenant had remarked that painters should "when they draw Landshaps entertaine not the Eye wholly with an even Prospect, and a continued Flatte; but (for variety) terminate the sight with lofty Hills." ("Preface" to *Gondibert*, ed. Gladish, 4.)

²⁰ See *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1955), chaps. vi and xiii.

In closing the first, garden section of the poem Mackenzie is again quintessentially of his age in fusing (or spot-welding) to this kind of landscape both Horatian philosophy and gallantry, drawing on Denham for his moralising:

O happy *Country-Life*, pure like its Air,
Free from the Rage of Pride, the Pangs of Care.
Here happy Souls ly bath'd in soft Content,
And are at once secure and innocent.
No Passion here but Love: Here is no Wound,
But that by which Lovers their Names confound
On Barks of Trees, whilst with a smiling Face,
They see those Letters as themselves embrace.
Here the kind Myrtles pleasant Branches spread,
And sure no Lawrel casts so sweet a Shade.²¹ (137-46)

The pleasure of retirement, to be sung in poem after poem throughout the Augustan Age, is here linked by Mackenzie to the kind of amatory compliment familiar in Restoration lyric, the two sets of commonplaces sitting together rather awkwardly, like Dorimant and Epicurus on the same park bench:

Yet all these Country-Pleasures, without Love,
Would but a dull and tedious Prison prove.
But, O what Woods, Parks, Meadows ly,
In the blest Circle of a Mistress Eye!
What a dull Thing, this lower World had been,
If Heavenly Beauties were not sometimes seen?
For when fair *Caelia* leaves this charming Place,
Her Absence all its Glories does deface. (147-56)

The poem then shifts to *Caelia's* closet, to review her paintings, medals, statues, books and curios. On such a topic, a poet who wished to be fashionable had little choice: there is one and only one "gallery poem" available to the young poet of 1667, Marino's *La Galeria*. Whether Mackenzie read Italian or not is not known, and no English translation of the sequence was available to him; but Marinism was a minor addiction of the English poets of the mid-century,²² and in some way Mackenzie must have familiarised him-

²¹ These lines tempt one to speculate that Mackenzie had seen a copy of Marvell's "The Garden"; but Virgil, *Eclogues*, x, is more probably the common source.

²² James Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvellous: Giambattista Marino* (New York, 1963), 243-64. Mirollo also provides a bibliography of critical writings on English Marinism, 311-12.

self with the contents of *La Galeria* at least. The idea of a poetic progress through a gallery might of course have occurred to him independently, for there were many paintings of gallery contents at the time, but the third of Caelia's pictures seems to prove his debt:

Sad *Magdalen*, does here more Pity move,
 Than formerly she did Delight, or Love:
 She washes now with constant Tears, those Eyes
 Which were unfortunate in Victories:
 And in those Streams, she nobly makes expire
 Her roving Humor, and her fatal Fire.
 But tho' these Tears have wash'd her clean again,
 The ugly Cicatrice shall still remain.
 God to Repentance thus denies this Cure,
 That like nice Virgins, we may keep us pure.
 The Floor now with those lovely Locks is swept,
 In which, as Chains, her Gallants once she kept.
Caelia from this most wisely does observe,
 That whilst we God, our Fame we likewise serve.
 For to this *Magdalen*, half *Europe* bows,
 And with Respect make and perform their Vows:
 Nor is there any can some Tears deny,
 Seeing so many fall from such an Eye. (193-210)

Marino's poem "La Maddalena di Tiziano" suggests that the *Magdalen* to which "half Europe bows" is indeed Titian's masterpiece, and its first two stanzas yield all Mackenzie's material, except the two moral reflections. Mackenzie has almost translated the most celebrated conceit of the poem, the hair as fetters:

E fanno inculte le cadenti chiome,
 Agl'ignudi alabastri aureo monile:
 Le chiome, ond'altrui gia, se stessa or lega,
 Gia col mondo, or col cielo. . . . (11. 13-16)

The Floor now with those lovely Locks is swept,
 In which, as Chains, her Gallants once she kept. (203-4)

The Augustan suspicion of "strong lines" is perhaps shown in Mackenzie's attempt, in the sixteen lines quoted above, to retain the Marinesque conceits without the Marinesque diction, producing, inevitably, a false extravagance. But more importantly, Mackenzie appears to have taken from Marino both the structure and the aesthetic of the second part of his poem. The collection of art objects in Caelia's closet is so miscellaneous that one is tempted to think

it real (it is not inconceivable that a copy of one of Titian's *Magdalens* might have hung in a provincial Scots house); but the layout of *La Galeria* provides the rationale. First come devotional subjects (*Istorie*); then worthies of philosophy and civil life, famous classical heroines, good and bad, and a scientist (Galileo), representing five of the sections in Marino's *Ritratti*; and at the end a mixed group of objects corresponding to Marino's *Capricci*. Mackenzie has simultaneously used Marino's other categorization by medium, showing portraits, busts, medals and objects of *vertu* (*Pitture, Statue, Medaglie, Capricci*).²³

Though the second part of Mackenzie's poem is naturally more heterogeneous than the first, it is noticeable that the Augustan appeal to the principle of variety and contrast (which one might have expected to be the stronger here) has been replaced by an insistence, very marked in Marino, upon the emotional impact of the artist's skill in counterfeiting or intensifying the life. This kind of sensuous appeal, when vested in religious subjects, produces a response one would expect, perhaps, from Crashaw, but hardly from a young Restoration Scotsman and professed Stoic:

Our *Saviour* there we so Alive do see,
 He *Calvin* could oblige to bow his Knee.
 The *Painter* cut so deep His bleeding Wounds,
 That Art and Grief, both pleases and confounds:
 Yet Lord, when I these Wounds thus bleeding see,
 My Conscience crys, It is at Sight of me!
 I in Thy Death outdo his cruel Part
 Who pierc'd Thy Side, my Sins do pierce Thy Heart.
 Upon His Head there stands a Crown of Thorns,
 Design'd to torture whom it now adorns.
 In those bless'd Fountains of His Tears, I see,
 The Image of what's due to Sin and me.
 The Pencil here, like *Aaron's* Rod cuts deep,
 Our rocky Hearts, and with Delight we weep.
 I fear those Tears, the *Painter* here hath spread,
 Are far more real than the Tears we shed. (169-84)

The lines

The *Painter* cut so deep His bleeding Wounds,
 That Art and Grief, both pleases and confounds

²³ Giambattista Marino, *Opere*, ed. A. A. Rosa (Milan, 1967), 377.

and

The Pencil here, like *Aaron's* Rod cuts deep
Our rocky Hearts, and with Delight we weep

touch an aesthetic principle of some subtlety and (in 1667) originality, which foreshadows the interest in the paradox of the sublime that was to develop later in the century; if Mackenzie had indeed read *La Galeria* he might have received a hint of this from Marino's neat couplet on Guido Reni's "Slaughter of the Innocents":

. . . *ancor tragico caso e caro oggetto,
e che spesso l'orror va con diletto.*²⁴

This Marinesque fascination with the *meraviglia*, the wonder of artistic creation, is shown by Mackenzie eight times in the second half of the poem, and is not significantly modified in the manuscript version.

The other devotional canvases are a Virgin and Child—"Art so deludes the Eye / That Men expect still when to hear Him cry"—and a figure of a hermit in the wilderness:

A Rev'rend *Hermit* shaded by an Oak,
Our Pity does and Piety provoke.
Besides his Tears he nothing has to sow,
Yet Herbs for Food by that bless'd Watering grow.
The Rocks, as melting with Compassion, weep;
In these cool Cellars, he his Drink does keep.
No bruised Grape bleeds for his Cup, no Knife
Stabs harmless Beasts to feed a guilty Life;
Which, in Revenge, Fevers and Gouts do raise,
Glad to assist each mutinous Disease.
All his own Flesh in Sacrifice is spent:
And when he feasts, 'tis on our hardest *Lent*.
He in the Bosom of a Grove does sit,
Which neither Sun's nor Envy's Rage can hit.
As Mysteries do Truth, so Groves do Light,
Not darken, but conceal from human Sight. (213-28)

The initial inspiration is possibly from Marino's lines on "San Girolamo di Luca Cangiasi"²⁵ but this develops quickly into a celebration of the simple life, a reflection of the growing popularity of

²⁴ Ibid., 390.

²⁵ Ibid. There is, however, a similar hermit in *Aretina* (Edinburgh, 1660), 42-43.

the Horatian *beatus vir*. But the Augustan rendering of the primitive asceticism of St. Jerome's wilderness turns the grove into an outdoor room, as in "Appleton House" and Waller's "Upon St. James's Park," where the civilised man can find "natural" relaxation to prepare him better for the duties of life. Like the garden, the study, the dining room, the grove is merely one of the apartments of the ideal House, in which trees are columns or tapestries or even (as in Waller) books, grass is carpeting, and birds are musicians:

Whence 'twas in Groves, the *Pagans* did of Old,
Their Sacred Rites and Mysteries unfold.
Here, in a Soul, vast like the stretch'd out Spheres,
He rowls Thoughts greater than what *Atlas* bears.
Nothing that's less than God, shares in his Wonder,
In whom the least Thing he admires is Thunder:
And whilst his Thoughts mount on Seraphick Wings,
He sees the World and Fame as little Things:
He courts not Sleep with soft melodious Airs,
Nor in benumbing Wine needs drown his Cares.
The rich pil'd Grass gives him a Velvet-Bed,
And Trees afford him Curtains in their Shade.
What Crown'd-Head rests in this so bless'd a State;
Or can confine his Wishes to his Fate? (229-42)

The political sophisticate's envy of the man who "*inexorabile fatum / Subjecit pedibus*"²⁶ by reining in his ambition appears again in a description of a portrait of Cincinnatus:

Here famous *Cincinnatus* holds his Plough
Whilst branchy Lawrels shade his sweating Brow:
He no Exchequer has, but those hard Toils,
And *Rome*, not he, grows rich by Foreign Spoils
Great Men are Servants when they Pay receive,
And Beggars when they Subsidies must crave.
Rich Robes, are but the Liv'ry of the State,
And Slav'ry is the Price of being Great. (395-402)

Here is the third avatar of the Restoration Epicurean: the farmer at his plough, neighbouring the hermit in his grove and the lover in his garden. Caelia's Country-house shelters an ideal of which all three are in various ways expressions:

²⁶ Virgil, *Georgics*, ii, 491-92. Mackenzie was himself one of the first to treat of this theme in the Restoration, in his *Moral Essay, Preferring Solitude to Public Employment* (Edinburgh, 1665).

... an innocent Life in Peace,
 Various Rich, in their large Farms at ease.
 Tempe's cool Shades, dark Caves, and purling Streams,
 Lowings of Cattel, under Trees soft Dreams.²⁷

The major art collections of the century and the cabinets of the virtuosi contained, often by the dozen, busts and medals of classical and modern worthies, and Caelia's is no exception. Before we move, however, from the devotional canvases to what Marino called "*uomini, principi, capitani ed eroi*" (among whom is Cincinnatus, already referred to), we pass a macabre curio:

Next to her Mirrour a Death's-Head takes Place;
 This shews what is, That, what shall be her Face:
 And sure it needs great Faith to make her think,
 The Face she bears, to that she sees, can shrink.

This reflection is ruined by elegant bathos:

We may conclude, that when fair *Caelia* dies,
 She better may, but not more lovely, rise. (243-48)

Since the rest of the poem is so unswervingly modelled on contemporary fashions and topics, it is likely that this apparently archaic emblem illustrates a modish practice of the day: there are at least two contemporary paintings of *Wunderkammern* which show a death's head among jewels and shells.²⁸

The collection of busts or medals—it is uncertain which—reflects, one supposes, Mackenzie's political allegiance and ideals rather than Caelia's: Charles I, Seneca, Caesar, Pompey, Cato, and Montrose are a rather formidable sextet for a lady's chamber, but show accurately if rather sententiously where the author's political respects lay. And following these political worthies come heroines of passion, two "*donne belle e caste*" and one from Marino's other

²⁷ *Georgics*, ii, 468-71, tr. John Ogilby (2nd edn., London, 1668), 86.

²⁸ A *Wunderkammer* by Johann Hintz, now in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, and *The Interior of a Picture Gallery*, by Jan van Kessel and Frans Francken, in a private collection. The latter picture, reproduced in *The Connoisseur*, 179 (April, 1972), 39, includes both erotic and landscape elements as well as pictures and curios. The death's head was also a prop for studies of the repentant Magdalen, and there is at least one picture which Mackenzie could have known in which a Magdalen, a mirror and a death's head all appear: Georges de la Tour's *Repentant Magdalen* of about 1639, now in the Fabius Collection, Paris.

category of "*belle impudiche, scelerate*": Cleopatra and Lucretia, and Aurelia the wife of Catiline. With Mary Magdalen, they were no doubt intended to display to Caelia femininity in all its variety.

One of the most interesting portraits in the closet, from the point of view of a historian of ideas, is a representation of Galileo, surely in 1667 a very advanced subject for a lady to contemplate:

Here *Galileo* makes the Stars draw near,
And at the End of his bright Tube appear:
In whose just Microscope such Things we see,
As in wild *Afric*, or bless'd *Indies* be.
Thus we may travel easily at Home,
And see new Wonders in his Glass's Womb. (411-16)

Since Mackenzie mentions Donne as one of the authors on Caelia's shelves, it is likely that the image of the astronomer summoning the stars to his earthly court is taken from *Ignatius His Conclave*: "Galileo, who of late hath summoned the other worlds, the Stars, to come neerer to him, and give him an account of themselves." The microscope, to whose development Galileo contributed, was currently in fashion following the publication in 1665 of Hooke's *Micrographia*, with its wonderful engravings of enlarged insects.²⁹ One may notice, again, how the scientific value of these discoveries is ignored in favour of a modish appreciation of the new and varied objects that can now be seen—an extension of the horizons of the Garden. Mackenzie is exhibiting the interest of the dilettante Virtuoso, much à propos in a poem designed to impress the London literary establishment; as Sir Nicholas Gimcrack might have said, "I travel most exquisitely at home."

After this, the poem becomes a scrapbook of fashionable graphics: we move rapidly past Lely, Raphael, Correggio, Giulio Romano, and Steenwick. The lines on Lely are curious, for Mackenzie has temporarily forgotten that he is supposed to be describing canvases, and they have no reference to a picture at all. They are nevertheless felicitous, showing his Augustan elegance at its most pleasing:

Lillie, who has no Rival, but his Glass,
Who stops our Youth, and Beauty, as they pass:
His Pencil, against Time and Fate secure,
Gives what we Want, makes what we Have endure. (417-20)

²⁹ Cf. Marvell, "Last Instructions to a Painter," 15-18.

No specific subjects are allotted to the others: only their particular excellencies are noted:

Here *Raph'el's* Pencil, makes all Bodies move;
 We with *Coreggio's* Beauties are in Love.
 Bold *Julio's*³⁰ Histories the Coldest warm;
 And *Stenwick* makes a loathsome Prison charm. (421-24)

"Stenwick" is probably the elder (1550-1604) who specialised in chiaroscuro paintings of gloomy interiors. The aesthetic paradox of the last line perhaps makes Mackenzie dilate upon the next "canvas," which might be a picture by Porcellis or de Vroom, the former like all Mackenzie's painters well known since before Mackenzie's birth, but still esteemed in the 1660s:

A *Painter* here, troubles the Ocean so,
 That it does foam with rage, and angry grow:
 Amidst those Dales and Hills, some Ships appear,
 They were Ships stout and tall, till they came there:
 But they and I stand trembling at the Sight,
 And Fear destroys, what Art meant for Delight.³¹ (425-32)

Perhaps by association of names Mackenzie then goes on to describe "in perspective, a real church": architectural perspectives were the forte of the younger Steenwick, who though not a novelty in the Restoration period continued to amaze and delight. Evelyn mentions him with approval, Pepys, rather more naively, records his delight in perspective effects, and even much later, Horace Walpole mentions among the pictures at Houghton "a fine picture of Architecture in perspective, by Steenwyck."³²

Mackenzie's Augustan wit struggles into satire as he exploits the contrast between the "truth" of *trompe l'oeil* and the falsity of real life:

In Perspective, a real *Church* we see,
 I wish all Churches did as well agree

³⁰ The text reads "Julia's."

³¹ Cf. Edward Norgate on Porcellis: [He] "describes the beauties and terrors of the Element in Calms and Tempests, soe lively exprest as would make you at once in love with, and forswear the Sea for ever." (Quoted in Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape*, 51)

³² Evelyn, *Diary*, Feb. 1, 1649; Pepys, *Diary*, Sept. 21, 1664 and April 11, 1669; Walpole is quoted by Frank Herrmann, *The English as Collectors* (London, 1972), 89.

With their Original, and that the true³³
 Were but esteem'd, as I this painted do. (433-36)

Interestingly, in the manuscript version all these canvases, from Galileo's portrait to this point, are omitted, and replaced as curios by a glass-sided clock, on which Mackenzie moralises in lines that seem to owe much to Milton's "On Time":

A curious clocke doth in her table stand
 where tym murderes it self with its own hand
 No wonder then it ruine us and ours
 Since it like fyre itself as prey devours
 bot mens revenge lyes in eternitie
 wher we sall live and tym forever die.³⁴

Penultimately, we are shown a Tradescantian collection of amber, corals and shells, where Mackenzie's emblematic sense flickers once more to life:

Here *Amber* lies shap'd in a Thousand Forms,
 And *Corals* bred (like Virtue) among Storms.
 Here sporting Nature, shews her curious *Shells*,
 Which, tho' most glorious, are but the Cells
 Which she profusely does for Worms provide,
 To check the Infidelity, or Pride,
 Of such as dare not upon it³⁵ rely,
 Or think by Art its Favour to outvy. (445-52)

After the review of Caelia's books, already quoted, the poem ends as it began in a strain of extravagant amatory compliment:

This is her Closet, and its Rar'ties these,
 Which though they ravish not like her, they please. . . . (465-66)

. . . Sure if great *Solomon* had liv'd this Day,
 He would the *Sheban* Visit, here repay;
 And justly wonder at her *Beauty* more,
 Than the Great Queen his Wisdom did adore:
 He had confin'd his Thousand-Loves in One,
 To place her Queen on an unrivall'd Throne. (475-80)

No great originality is claimed for this poem, except insofar as its gallery section represents an ingenious modification of the country

³³ The text reads "that they're true."

³⁴ National Library of Scotland MS. 550, p. 13.

³⁵ The sense seems to demand "her" (i.e., "Nature") and "hers."

house poem, familiar enough in painting, but not attempted before in English verse. Perhaps to class it as a country house poem is unfair: though Mackenzie's taste in paintings is a little old-fashioned, he is in other matters so agreeably and diversely fashionable that he might be given his own genre as the inventor of the Virtuoso Poem.

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