

THE POETIC IMITATION

1660 - 1800

A thesis submitted for
the degree of Ph.D.

By

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Abstract

Conceiving art in terms of 'imitation, neoclassical theory saw mimesis, or the imitation of 'Nature' as primary, and imitatio, or the imitation of art, as secondary. By 'the imitation' is meant not just one kind of secondary imitation, but something half-way between translation and original poem, a poetic sub-type based on the use of a technique applied to well-known classical poems. It is also a logical outcome of translation from the classics. The consecutive imitation is a kind of modern verse parallel of a Latin poem which roughly follows the sequence of the original, substituting modern places, names, customs, etc. Examples are Pope's Imitations of Horace and Johnson's London. In their rejection of literature, the 17th century verse translators, and particularly Denham, Sprat, Cowley and Dryden, all contributed to the appearance of 'imitations'. Travesty-writers and mock-imitators (burlesquers) such as Cotton, Scudamore and Crowne, are evidence of a new, 'modern' way of treating the classics.

The extent to which 18th century poetry is both governed and stimulated by classical models is seen in the pastoral, the epistle, the didactic poem and the satire. The Spenserian-Theocritan tradition vied with the Virgilian in pastoral, while the division between Horatian and Juvenalian satire is clearly seen in English satire. Rochester's An Allusion to Horace is one of the first consecutive

imitations, yet its appeal to Horace is countered by Scroop's In Defence of Satyr, which makes the case for true 'comic' satire. Juvenal appears to be more popular when he was seen to be relevant to such social phenomena as a decaying nobility. Analogies and parallels are constantly being made. In the later eighteenth century such poets as Greene composed modernized, consecutive imitations of Juvenal yet kept the lighter tone of 'comic' satire. Johnson used a surprisingly large battery of rhetorical and poetic devices in his two famous imitations of Juvenal, and created the unique tone appropriate for 'tragic' satire.

In his imitations of Horace, Pope relied much on previous examples. Some of his versions can be compared with those of George Ogle. Pope's true stature is revealed in such close comparisons, for he is able to stamp almost every line, even when it is a near-translation, with his own individual yet complex personality.

The imitations of Horace's Ars Poetica and Ovid's Ars Amatoria show how completely the Augustans wished to absorb the ancient into their own world and style of life, while modelling their culture and taste on classical precept. Yet it is interesting to note, for example, how Horace becomes the inventor of the word 'wit' when a deft imitator such as Oldham reads modern meanings into the Latin text.

Behind all, or nearly all, such imitations, is the analogy between

Rome and England. Analysis of the analogy through the eyes of the 17th and 18th centuries shows a very complex (often ironically viewed) relationship, and by no means a straightforward 'copying' or 'emulation' of the ancients. To the Augustans, Roman society and history and classical Latin literature were a living, ineluctable, and sometimes disturbing presence.



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Notes on editions and abbreviations

Quotations from Pope, where only the line reference is given, are taken from the Twickenham edition of the poems (General Editor, J. E. Butt). References to 'Spingarn' are to Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, ed. J. E. Spingarn (Oxford, 1957). Quotations from Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, Theocritus and Sappho are all taken from the Loeb Classical Library editions. Those from Horace, upon which Pope's imitations are based, are taken from Imitations of Horace ed. J. E. Butt (1953).

The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes:

Am. J. Phil.	American Journal of Philology
Class. Phil.	Classical Philology
E. in C.	Essays in Criticism
ELH	English Literary History
Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
Harv. Stud. Phil.	Harvard Studies in Philology
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
N. & Q.	Notes and Queries
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PQ	Philological Quarterly
RES	Review of English Studies
SP	Studies in Philology

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.

SUMMARY.

The scope and limits of the study defined. Within the broad concept of art as imitation, neo-classical theory saw mimesis, or the imitation of 'Nature', as primary, and imitatio, or the imitation of art, as secondary. Although secondary imitation could mean the imitation by one art of a different art (the false premisses of which Lessing tried to demonstrate), imitatio was basically a rhetorical term by which was understood specific literary borrowings and adaptations from the literary sources.

For us, 'the imitation' is not only one particular development of the theory and practice of imitatio. It is also the result of the continued verse translation of classical poetry, and can be defined as something half-way between a translation and an original poem, more precisely, as a poetic sub-type based on the conscious use of a special literary technique applicable to whole classical poems.

In order to define this kind of imitation more closely, four kinds of secondary imitation are distinguished, with the aim of showing how neo-classical writers worked along more or less consciously worked-out patterns, within which, however, considerable inventiveness and freedom were possible.

Selective imitation (the kind most often associated with the term imitatio) selects individual passages or particular 'beauties' and (according to the bee metaphor) converts them if possible into 'honey'. Generic imitation means following a particular classical form such as the Virgilian Georgic and adapting

that form, together with certain stylistic and other devices, to new subjects. Stylistic imitation of English poets such as Milton and Spenser, though well outside the scope of the study, could sometimes produce an effect comparable to 'the imitation' when combined with formal adaptation of particular poems such as Lycidas to new subjects.

The consecutive imitation, with which the study is primarily concerned, follows the sequence and therefore (except in the case of 'transferred' and mock-imitation) the subject of the original poem, without translating or simply paraphrasing. In verse satire, the places, names, customs, persons, etc. of the originals are changed so that the adaptations appear as 'original' poems, or as if an original author were writing in the present. In this way a consistent modern parallel can be achieved. Examples are Pope's Imitations of Horace, where the Latin and the modern English texts are placed side by side for comparison.

Various definitions, criticisms and defences of the practice of imitation are discussed, e.g. Hurd and Young. It is shown (for example, in Chapters 4 and 8) that the imitation could open up new possibilities, ^{and} lead to new interpretations and new poetic sub-types. The difference between derivative and creative imitation is clarified, and the imitation is placed in the context of eighteenth century aesthetics.

'Secondary' imitation can fuse with 'primary', and is consciously intended. Though often misconceived as supplying a deficiency in a writer due perhaps to lack of imagination or emotional apathy, it would spur on inventiveness and aid the expression of a general ethos (as opposed to individual pathos).

'The imitation' requires the operation of several disciplines and faculties at once: creative, scholarly, critical, perceptive, intellectual and linguistic. It can also be seen as an example of 'Wit' as defined by Locke and Addison.

Chapter I.Introduction.

The subject of this study is the poetic imitation 1660-1800.¹ In it I have tried to assess the theory and practice of a literary technique which became formally recognized in a special way during the neo-classical period in England. My concern has been not so much the application of a general theory of imitation as the way in which, during this period, individual classical poems were adapted, changed and re-created as English poems, and classical poetic types became English poetic types. This occurred under certain conditions when imitation was a norm in a sense that is not true of earlier or of later periods; - when it could act as a philosophical and humanist premiss, justify particular kinds of poetry, and work actively alongside the creative process, so that the conscious artist was able to employ his creative and critical faculties simultaneously. Imitation in this context grew out of verse translations of classical poets, (translation having become a separate art), criticism, a heightened social awareness, and a desire to lend an overall rational and moral purpose to artistic culture. Before discussing the poetic imitation itself, therefore, it is advisable first to distinguish the various meanings and extensions of the word 'imitation', both as we understand it, and as it presented itself to the writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

(1) Any chronological limit is arbitrary. 1680-1750 could have been alternative dates: imitations of Horace and Juvenal by Rochester and Oldham appeared from 1680, and Johnson's The Vanity of Human Wishes came in 1749. Sprat had adapted Horace in The Country Mouse (1662), however, and Brome's The Works of Horace (1666) contained several near-imitations. Englands Sin, and Shame, a modern imitation of Horace, appeared in 1673. Travesties, which we also discuss, began in England with Cotton in 1664, while many imitations of Horace, Virgil and Juvenal were written between 1750 and 1800.

The first distinction to be made is between mimesis, or imitation of life and nature, and imitatio, or imitation of art, itself imitation. In critical works of the eighteenth century the two kinds are sometimes referred to as 'primary' and 'secondary'. They are by no means mutually exclusive, for mimesis brings imitatio to its aid, and it became a critical commonplace to advocate, before 'creation' - (that is, 'original' working out of theme, style, form and subject-matter) - translation, then imitation, and afterwards emulation, of the best authors. I have found it convenient to divide 'secondary' imitation into the following kinds. First of all, there is imitation of one art by another art, which Lessing discusses with regard to painting and poetry in Laocoon.¹ Secondly, there is imitation within the same art. In the case of poetry, there are four main kinds, which I have called selective, generic, stylistic and consecutive. It is the last of these with which this study is mostly concerned, though it must be remembered that these divisions are artificial and that any one kind rarely, if ever, is found on its own.

Selective imitation, as propounded by Roger Ascham, Joachim Du Bellay and other writers during and after the Renaissance, means the use and adaptation of images, metaphors, descriptions, scenes or expressions found in famous (usually classical) works. Such individual borrowings must by no means be thought of as

(1) Ever since Dryden's essay on the 'parallel' arts of painting and poetry, the notion of the poet as painter - adding his own 'colours', 'composing' his descriptions as a painter would, and so forth - became generally accepted. Elizabeth W. Manwaring has shown how poets such as Thomson and Dyer used as their models the landscapes of Claude Lorraine, Salvator Rosa and the Poussins in her Italian landscape in eighteenth century England: a study chiefly of the influence of Claude Lorraine and Salvator Rosa on English taste (1700-1800). (New York, 1925). Other parallels were drawn between music and poetry in Thomas Twining's essay on Poetical and Musical Imitation (1789).

plagiarism, for the works from which they were made had become, in the eyes of the Renaissance humanists, common property. Homer, Virgil, Cicero, Euripides, Plautus and Seneca were there to be quarried, and whatever one took from them became one's own when the image, metaphor or expression naturally suggested itself to the writer and was re-shaped by him. Selective imitation gave the modern author a free rein to improve and refine his own work as best he could, but his choice, judgement, and ability to re-make a whole passage or an image were hardly dependent on or enhanced by the sheer extent of his reading.

Generic imitation means imitation of a poetic form in the specific sense, such as the classical epic, satire, georgic or pastoral.¹ None of the pastoral poems in Englands Helicon (1600) are really in the classical genre, whereas the author of Lycidas was following directly in the footsteps of Theocritus and Virgil. Similarly, Pope is writing in the genre of the Horatian sermo, or the epistolary satire, in his Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, whereas the epistles of Lodge or Waller, for example, are not generic imitations. Perhaps the most important generic imitations in the eighteenth century are the Georgics, which include poems by Phillips, Grainger, Dyer, Dodsley, Smart, Thomson, Mason and Somerville. As W.P. Mustard points out,² they carry over Virgil's idiom, tone, and style, and of course are distinguished by the subjects they treat, such as wool production, cider making, hop-picking and sugar-cane growing. (Hurd said that identity or close correspondence of subject-matter did not 'convict' an author of imitation,³ but the

- (1) For a consecutive imitation of one of Virgil's Georgics, see Appendix B.
 (2) In 'Virgil's Georgics and the British Poets', Am. J. Phil., xxix, (1908). See also M.L. Lilly, The Georgic. A Contribution to the Study of the Vergilian Type of Didactic Poetry (Baltimore, 1919), and D.L. Durling, Georgic Tradition in English Poetry, (New York, 1935).
 (3) See below, pp.11 ff.

desire to treat of the arts of husbandry in poetry led poets to adopt the Georgic form of Virgil, as well as the blank verse style of Milton). Drayton's Heroical Epistles are generic imitations, being modelled on Ovid's Elegies, and great English women are made to speak in the same noble style as Andromache or Helen, while Donne's Songs and Sonets contain some generic imitations of classical love poems, notably those of Ovid, and here the poet helped to suggest the classical type as part of a reaction against the petrarchan lyric. Poetic forms develop, however, and it is sometimes difficult to tell whether a poet is going directly to formal archetypes, or is only following in a derivative tradition.

There are two kinds of stylistic imitation. Either a poet writes in a certain style which is characteristic of no single author, or he consciously mimics or adapts the style of a particular author, such as Spenser or Milton.¹ Much of

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- (1) For imitations of Spenser & Milton in the eighteenth century, see R.D. Havens, The Influence of Milton on English Poetry (Cambridge, Mass., 1922), Earl R. Wasserman, Elizabethan Poetry in the Eighteenth Century (Urbana Ill., 1947), Louis I. Bredvold, 'Imitation of Milton and Spenser in the Eighteenth Century', in PQ, xiii (1934) and R.S. Crane, 'Imitation of Spenser and Milton in the Early Eighteenth Century. A New Document', in Stud. Phil. xv, (1918). Havens does not sufficiently stress conscious 'imitations', yet when Pope imitates Milton in The Rape of the Lock, and Thomson uses not only a Spenserian theme - conquest of indolence - but the Spenserian stanza, idiom, and the occasional Spenserian archaism in The Castle of Indolence, we are aware not so much of 'influence' as a precise and sophisticated method of control over expression and subject through the use of different stylistic and thematic models, namely, Paradise Lost and the 'Bowre of Blisse' in Bk ii of The Faerie Queene. Earl R. Wasserman goes too far in the other direction when he says that, "whereas the great resurgence of interest in the Elizabethans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries produced a desire to write in the manner of the Elizabethans, the neo-classicists remade the Elizabethans in their own image" (p.50). This is also the theme of Wasserman's article, 'Elizabethan poetry "improved"', MP, xxxvii, (1940), pp. 357-69. Admittedly, after the soul-searching discussions on epic and romance during the second half of the century, and the more 'organic' affinity which the Romantics felt for the Elizabethans, greater objective and subjective appreciation of the Elizabethans did come about. However, the two contrasted statements are not necessarily antithetical. One could just as well say that the romantics remade the Elizabethans in their own image or that the neo-classicists tried to write in the manner of the Elizabethans. Some 'neo-classical' imitations did attempt to capture the Elizabethan manner and spirit, such as Akenside's The Virtuoso, Thomson's The Castle of Indolence, William Thomson's The Nativity and Hymn to May, R.O. Cambridge's Archimage, and W.J. Mickle's Sir Martyn. Shenstone's

Swift's octosyllabic verse is in a low satiric style, like that which Butler employed in Hudibras. Butler, however, was not the sole originator of what is sometimes called the 'burlesque' style. Most of the travesty-writers worked in the same 'low' idiom. The mock-heroic style in England could be said to originate with Dryden's Mac Flecknoe, but it could be imitated, or rather developed, by other poets, without it being known as 'Drydenesque' - for Boileau had been doing the same sort of thing before Dryden. General stylistic imitation and personal stylistic imitation can be compared to other learning processes, from walking to public speaking: the child learns to walk partly by seeing other people walking, but it is also possible for someone who is completely adept at walking to imitate a certain type of walking, (such as the energetic, twisting motion of the racer, or the painful, stiff motion of the old), or to copy the movements of a particular individual who possesses definite traits, such as vigorous arm movements or perhaps a slouch. The same with public speaking: here again one could distinguish between that of the preacher and the politician and that of a particular minister, bishop, - Prime Minister or Member of Parliament. Stylistic imitation of the personal kind offered numerous possibilities for comic verse, which poets such as Pope, Phillips and Shenstone exploited in The Alley, The Splendid Shilling and The School-Mistress. Milton and Spenser were, however, indirectly

The School-Mistress (1737) may have begun as a light burlesque, but became a more serious imitation, "more grave than Pope's Alley," as Shenstone told Lady Luxborough in 1748, and in the 'Advertisement' he stated his intention of imitating Spenser's "manner of description, and a peculiar tenderness of sentiment remarkable throughout his works." Yet, unlike Keats in 'St. Agnes' Eve', the eighteenth century poet seemed incapable of really exploring a sensuous or dream-like experience. Thomson's Hymn to May explores nothing new in experience, but in his preface to the poem, the author felt that he was copying that Nature which Spenser had copied: "As Spenser is the most descriptive and florid of all our English writers, I attempted to imitate his manner, in the following vernal Poem ... His lines are most musically sweet; and his descriptions most delicately abundant, even to wantonness of painting: but still it is the music and painting of Nature" - an admission, surely, that 'Nature' too is "delicately abundant, even to wantonness." Notice also the analogy implied between the three arts.

responsible for some of the best serious poetry in the eighteenth century. Akenside's The Pleasures of Imagination is perhaps too thoroughly Miltonic in its conscious attempt to be always sublime, but it does reveal a remarkable empathy on the part of the imitator. Thomson's The Castle of Indolence uses the Spenserian stanza and some of Spenser's allegorical and linguistic devices, but at the same time contains a deep poetic truth for which Spenser could hardly have been fully responsible. The Seasons, too, is in Miltonic blank verse, but imitation of Milton is not the prime aim, as it is in the case of The Splendid Shilling, which took the most characteristic elements from Milton's verse and applied them to a trivial subject.

The fourth kind of imitation, I have called consecutive, that is, one in which the poet follows the sequence of a particular poem, without ever actually translating, but writing as it were a consistent parallel or allusion which at the same time is not merely a paraphrase. Each paragraph of the original has its modern equivalent, and the reader acquainted with the original can admire the skill with which the imitator finds modern parallels or makes the poem peculiarly his 'own' creation. The consecutive imitation does not really apply to imitations of indigenous poets, for the language is of course the same, and the lapse of time too short to justify any social and historical parallel, which was made in the case of Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal. The best examples of this type of imitation are Pope's Imitations of Horace, Johnson's two imitations of Juvenal, the satirical and epistolary imitations of Rochester, Oldham, Ogle, Swift, Greene and Prior, the mock-eclogues of Gay, Montagu and others, Henry Fielding's prose imitation of Ovid's Ars Amatoria, The Lovers Assistant, and the last of many imitations of Horace's Ars Poetica, Hints from Horace, by Byron. The consecutive imitation also contains two types. Some are genuine

attempts to write serious parallel or modern versions of, say, a Virgilian eclogue, Horatian ode or Juvenalian satire. Others are burlesque imitations - that is, mock-imitations, where the style has not been debased, as in the travesties of Virgil, Homer and Ovid, but where serious sentiments and expressions are given an ironical or ridiculous twist through incongruous application, either of the style and form of the poem as a whole, or of the sentiments and expressions themselves.

Johnson defined the consecutive imitation as

A method of translating looser than paraphrase, in which modern examples and illustrations are used for ancient, or domestick for foreign.

Dryden put Cowleian 'imitation' of Pindar (which we have called 'imaginative paraphrase') outside 'translation'.⁽²⁾ It is likely that he would have placed Pope's Imitations of Horace outside translation also. Johnson, however, accepts that the consecutive imitation is "looser than paraphrase". The imitator, in fact, is not so strictly bound to his original text that he cannot alter the original structure by expansion, addition and exclusion. In seventeenth and eighteenth century headings to various versions of classical poems, we find many different labels, such as 'imitation', 'paraphrase', 'allusion', 'free imitation', 'free translation', 'paraphractical imitation', 'burlesque imitation', 'travesty', 'modern essay', and 'parallel', as well as several longer definitions.⁽³⁾ All of these lie somewhere between literal translation and an original poem. The different names reflect the relative freedom which the poet has adopted, but the difference between translation and imitation is

(1)

(2) See Chapter 2 below, pp. 55 ff.

(3) See Chapter 2 below, p.76.

also a difference of total attitude on the part of the modern poet, and not simply a question of freedom. A translator can translate literally, or he can versify the original, (altering lexicon, sentence, structure), making it consistent with modern poetic style generally. He can go further, using thoughts, figures, phrases, images and perhaps one or two references of his own. The procedure in which the poet avoids at all costs literal translation in order to reproduce the spirit of the original, or at least to give it poetic life, is sometimes called 'imitation', and has been practised in this century by poets such as Ezra Pound and Robert Lowell. For our purposes, however, we must include the corresponding technique in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under paraphrase and translation. When a poet in the seventeenth or eighteenth century wrote an imitation of a poem by Horace, Juvenal, Virgil, Catullus, Theocritus or Ovid he was writing as if they themselves were alive and writing in the English present, not just giving their poems new life.

In the 'Life of Pope' Johnson gave a fuller description of the consecutive imitation:

This mode of imitation, in which the ancients are familiarized by adapting their sentiments to modern topics, by making Horace say of Shakespeare what he originally said of Ennius, and accommodating his satires on Pantolabus and Nomentanus to the flatterers and prodigals of our own time, was first practised in the reign of Charles II by Oldham and Rochester; at least I remember no instances more ancient. It is a kind of middle composition between translation and original design, which pleases when the thoughts are unexpectedly applicable, and the parallels lucky.

It seems to have been Pope's favourite amusement, (1) for he has carried it further than any other poet.

This is a restrictive interpretation and an under-valuation of what was, for Pope at least, more than an "amusement". Johnson refers only to the satirical and epistolary imitations of Horace and Juvenal, whereas imitations of Virgil, Ovid and Theocritus also come within our category. He puts great stress, too, (despite his own more universal approach to Juvenal), on the habit of 'naturalization', as Harold F. Brooks calls it (2) - that is, substitution of everything native to the country in whose language the imitator writes for that which, in the original poem, is limited to the ancient or foreign culture. In fact, there is much more to this type of imitation than Johnson would allow. The consecutive imitation compels the imitator to follow an argument or scheme, not just an isolated passage or conventional form. In fact, it can be much more of a poetic and intellectual discipline than the other types of imitation.

Speaking of another type of imitation, (Gilbert West's Imitations of Spenser), Johnson said:

... being engaged at once by the excellence of the sentiments, and the artifice of the copy, the mind has two amusements together. But such compositions are not to be reckoned among the great achievements of intellect, because their effect is local and temporary; they appeal not to reason or passion, but to memory, and pre-suppose an accidental or artificial state of mind... The noblest beauties of art are those of which the

(1) Lives of the English Poets ed. Birkbeck Hill, (Oxford, 1905), iii, p.176. (My italics.)

(2) In 'The "imitation" in English poetry, especially in formal satire, before the age of Pope', RES, XXV, (1949), pp. 124-40. Though Brooks points out the important general theories of Denham and Cowley, he restricts himself, as the title shows, to satire, and does not go much beyond 1700.

effect is co-extended with rational nature, or at least with the whole circle of polished life; what is less than this can be only pretty, the plaything of fashion, and the amusement of a day.

Mimicry of an author's style, such as Pope's early imitations of English poets, is one of the least developed forms of literary imitation. Significantly, however, Johnson uses the same word - "amusement" - to describe both this kind and that which the mature Pope adopted when he turned to Horace for a defence of his own satire. Yet another mode of imitation is discussed by Gottfried Lessing in his Laokoon (1766). What Lessing condemns is the subordination of one author's genius to that of another, and the wrong-headed subordination of one art's particular methods and potentialities to that of another, as in the case of poetry and painting, the analogy between which, says Lessing, is false. He condemns that type of imitation where truth, beauty, expression - in a word, mimesis - have been forfeited for the sake of mere copying:

... anstatt der Dinge selbst ahmet er i.e. the poet/ ihre Nachahmungen nach, und giebt uns Kalte Erinnerungen von Zügen eines fremden Genies, für ursprüngliche Züge seines eigenen.⁽²⁾

Let us for a moment contrast these statements with others made on the subject of poetic imitation, in order to highlight some of the complex issues

(1) *Op. cit.*, iii, pp. 332-3.

(2) Lessing's Laokoon, ed. A. Hamann (Oxford, 1901), p.64. "... instead of the thing itself he i.e. the poet/ imitates the imitation, and gives us cold memories of the traits of another genius for the original characteristics of his own."

involved. Edward Young, (whom Elizabeth Nitchie says could be taken as representative of the greatest neo-classicists¹) stood by a Longinian theory of imitation.

His ideal was expressed as follows:

Must we then, you say, not imitate antient authors? Imitate them, by all means; but imitate aright... imitate not the Composition, but the Man.²

Richard Hurd said that poetic imitation of the best kind required both judgment and invention. When one genius feels itself closely allied to another, the impulse towards imitation is quickened, so that

... it is perhaps juster to say, that a previous correspondency of character impelled to imitate, than that imitation itself produced that correspondency of character.³

Having analysed some of the techniques of the poetical imitator - which go far beyond Johnson's mechanical process of naturalization - Hurd adds:

But all this required not only the truest judgment, but the most delicate operation of inventive genius. And, where they both meet in a supreme degree, we sometimes find an admired original, not only excelled by his imitator, but almost discredited.⁴

- (1) In 'Longinus and the Theory of Poetic Imitation in 17th and 18th century England', PMLA, xxxiii, (1935), pp. 580-597.
- (2) Conjectures on Original Composition (1759), pp. 20-21.
- (3) 'A Discourse on Poetical Imitation', in Q. Horatii Flacci Epistolae ad Pisones, et Augustum (Dublin, 1768), p.162.
- (4) Ibid., p.168.

George Ogle, author of several imitations of Horace, wrote:

... it is impossible to converse long with Authors of Merit, and not conceive some little Tenderness or Affection for Them. But when translating them, We become one, as it were, by a Kind of Naturalization, and from Friends and Admirers grow Principles and Parties; what wonder if we throw down the Gauntlet, and declare Ourselves Champions in their Defence? There is no Passion, You know, so violent as Self-Interest or Self-Love.

Another imitator of Horace, William Hamilton, in the preface to one of his imitations, hoped that his own additions would "serve to exemplify or illustrate the original design", not because he was indulging in a trivial amusement, but because

[from the] internal pictures of another's mind, we are naturally set to delineate our own, and compare the corresponding features together; which produces that eminent virtue of self-consideration, the great support of all other virtues.⁽²⁾

To quote Hurd once more, when writers speak of themselves, "every such description ... (the great exemplar of moral imitation) will be as unavoidably similar to any description copied on the like occasion, by other poets".⁽³⁾ In other words, when

- (1) Introduction to Basia, or the Kisses of Joannes Secundus Nicolaius of the Hague (1731). Ogle also seems to speak for Pope, who wrote The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated in January 1732-3, and called it "An Answer from Horace" to "the Clamour raised on some of my Epistles" ('Advertisement'). As well as defending himself, Pope was defending the 'real' Horace.
- (2) Poetical Works (1805), ii, p.57.
- (3) Hurd, op. cit. p.93.

Young advocates imitation of the Man, and Ogle and Hamilton attempt to do this, the resultant imitation, far from having a local and temporary effect ^{ex} pre-supposing a reliance on memory and "an accidental or artificial state of mind",

... arises from that similarity of mind, if I may so speak, which, like that outward form and make, by the wise provision⁽¹⁾ of nature, runs through the whole species.

The best poetic imitations thus ought to distil from the alembic of time's changes a general nature and a common humanity. In theory at least, mimesis, or imitation of life, and imitatio, imitation of art, can fuse together through a union of poetic souls in a mutual perception of Truth and Nature, though separated by many hundreds of years. Behind the new empirical criticism, therefore, lay Plato and Aristotle, not governing poetic practice as the neo-Aristotelians did in France,⁽²⁾ but nevertheless perhaps acting as its final justification.

Imitation of Horace and Juvenal by Pope and Johnson must not be confused with imitation (in terms of French criticism) as the next step following translation. Instead, it ought to be thought of as emulation, in which is contained the possibility of superseding the original poet. At the same time, both stylistic and consecutive imitation are examples of rhetorical control. The consecutive imitator appears free while his hands are tied. He can adapt himself to the poetic mode, form, style and personality of a classical author, thus showing himself equal to the mechanics of his trade and

(1) Ibid., p.91.

(2) The best example of neo-Aristotelian rules governing poetic practice is of course in the drama. Corneille's preface to Le Cid apologized for the fact that the author had broken some of these 'rules'.

capable of 'getting inside' a classical author with a supra-historical, critical and psychological insight. Yet in the case of the epic and the pastoral, a crisis of imitation occurred. Mimesis does not necessarily mean consistent realism or verisimilitude, but both these had entered into the literary consciousness of the new rational age, which regarded heroic legend, myth and pastoral more objectively than the Elizabethans had done. Thus, with the decline of court culture, the writers of neo-classical epics in the eighteenth century merely showed how formal conventions, 'rules', and generic imitation, not to mention the heroic ideal, had become divorced from their proper soil in an age of economic individualism, experimentation, improved agriculture and colonial expansion. Imitation of life and imitation of art, as far as the classical epic went, were unable to fuse together harmoniously. Cotton's Virgile travestie (1664-7), Pope's The Rape of the Lock and The Dunciad, and Wilkie's Epigoniad (1757) are all expressions of this crisis of imitation in one way or another. The town eclogue is another expression of the same phenomenon: poets were able to imitate Virgil and Theocritus, but could not always imitate 'life' as Virgil and Theocritus had done. Myths too had lost much of their power to fascinate. The travesties and mock-imitations of Ovid's Metamorphoses make sure that the reader never leaves the 'real' world, but in doing this they also destroy much of the power of the ancient myth itself. The relation between imitatio, (which is at worst a mechanical artifice, a dead rhetoric), and mimesis, (which can sometimes operate supremely effectively through imitatio), becomes therefore complex, and it is this complex relation which we must now consider with regard to the subject of this study, for if the poetic imitation is

to be justified, it is through imitation of life, and not through rhetoric alone.

For the concept of art as an imitation of life we must return to Aristotle. The idea of mimesis has of course been variously interpreted. At one end of the scale, emphasis on objective truth is the justification for naturalism, realism and verisimilitude in art. Yet unless the artist interprets reality there is a danger of merely reproducing lifeless impressions - superficial 'slice-of-life' copies of reality. Emphasis on art as an ordering of life however has led to the theory of the aesthetic ^{autonomy} autonomy of the work of art and thus to a separation of art from life.

For Aristotle a work of art was not simply 'an imitation' or 'copy' of nature and life, but an imitating, something through which the artist actively interpreted life's processes. The mimetic process transforms and 'composes', or puts together, aspects of reality. Artistic creation is not so much the creation of something new (though the poet 'makes' his verses) as the discovery of a true relation which already exists somehow in the scheme of things. The poet, who must be educated in the school of life itself, makes that structure of events (events can also include changing thoughts and feelings) in which universals may come to expression.

According to the neo-classical critics, the Nature which Homer and the Ancients had imitated was, in Pope's words, "One clear, unchang'd, and universal light". In imitating this Nature, however, different artistic forms had emerged. Richard Hurd, after accounting for the similarity between ancient and modern poetry in the common stock of materials upon which the human mind operates - that is, similarity of subject-matter, not form - deals with an objection voiced by those who saw proof of plagiarism not in similar subject-matter, but in corresponding arrangement, design and style. He answers the objection by asking

... whether of the several forms, of which the artist's materials are susceptible, there be nothing in the nature of things, which determines the artist to prefer a particular one to all others. For it is possible, that general principles may as well account for a conformity in the manner, as we have seen them do for ⁽¹⁾an identity of matter, in works of imitation.

The Ancients had 'discovered' rather than 'invented' poetic forms. The conventions of epic were an active reflection of Nature's laws, which still operated in the eighteenth century as they had in the heroic age in Greece:

Those RULES of old discovered, not devis'd,
Are Nature still, but Nature methodiz'd;
Nature, like liberty, is but restrain'd
By the same laws which first herself ordain'd.⁽²⁾

The young poet was thus advised to study the classics:

Learn hence for ancient rules a just esteem;
To copy nature is to copy them.⁽³⁾

Nature and Homer were "the same" for Virgil, said Pope, and the practice of the Romans in following Greek models became a partial justification of modern imitation.

(1) Op. cit., p.127.

(2) Essay on Criticism, ll.88-91. (My italics.)

(3) Ibid., ll. 139-40. For an elaboration in detail of this thesis, see Anthony Blackwall, The Sacred Classics defended and Illustrated (1725). Blackwall also stresses the moral, ethical value of the classics.

It is ironical that Milton's acquaintance with Homer and Virgil and the 'rules' of epic were used as a superstructure from which a new, both non-classical and non-romantic type of heroism began to emerge in the figure of Adam. It is ironical too that Pope's close imitation of epic rules and conventions served its most brilliant effect in two poems, one of which concerned itself with a trivial incident among people of fashion, the other with Grub Street hacks. The impossibility of there ever being an English Homer was due, not to a lack of genius, but to the fact that, whatever sort of heroic human spirit there was to be captured by an eighteenth century writer, would certainly not be along the lines of the warlike Achilles, the wandering Odysseus or even the empire-building Aeneas. Rather would the struggle of the human spirit be expressed in the economic individualism of Robinson Crusoe or the Good Nature of Tom Jones. Poetry could not compete with prose fiction, and the only instance of a harmonious fusion of poetic mimesis and imitatio was to be found in satire. The satirical imitation in particular could reflect the vice and folly of modern humanity, adopt the form and follow the sequence of a classical satire, substituting parallel examples so that Sejanus and Hannibal could easily become Cardinal Wolsey and Charles XII, while Horace's urbane tone could seem completely right for the social and literary conditions of eighteenth-century England, and Juvenal's criticism of the decadent nobility right for Restoration and the late eighteenth century. Outside satire, close consecutive imitations produced less impressive results, but nonetheless intriguing ones. The aim of this study is to look at some of the ways in which the classics were 'made English' and how the title 'Augustan Age' appears when looked at from the point of view of conscious imitation and the social and historical analogy.

One result of the study has been to show that imitation, far from restricting the poet, often opened up new possibilities. Imitations of Horace's Ars Poetica, for example, led to different interpretations of the original text on the questions of poetry's role, the decadence of the moderns, foreign influences, and the meaning of 'rules' and 'invention', while other topics, such as preaching and politics, were substituted in some of the consecutive imitations. Imitation of Virgil's Eclogues and Theocritus' Idylls produced many different types of eclogue, until the form could become entirely separated from its original pastoral content. The personalities of different classical poets became anglicized: Horace was brought into the context of the 1730's in order to act as defence for Pope, who paid a very different kind of address to the English Augustus, George II, from the one Horace had paid to the Roman Emperor. Horace also became associated with the insinuating, but affable court opportunist on the one hand, and the retired English landed gentleman on the other. Juvenal, though harsh and obscure in 1600, and fiery in 1682, mellowed later on, until by the middle of the eighteenth century his indignation, with one exception, that of Wordsworth, was savage no more. Virgil, the lover of the countryside, became a sophisticated artist unmoved by the merely rustic, in the early Pope, but later developed a genuine love for a locality, a more genuine patriotism in poets like Fergusson and Ramsay. Ovid was, of course, 'luxurious', but translators, imitators and burlesquers made him more common-sensical and less romantic, though just as witty and civilized. Imitation and translation inevitably brought about changes of this nature, but what we must always remember is the remarkable degree of affinity which many English writers felt for classical writers.

Truth to life, and the desire to perfect language, expression, form and style, could always ensure that a living contact was maintained between 'Ancients' and 'Moderns'. Imitation to some extent depended on an intimate knowledge, (the result of a classical education), but even if writers tended to see Nature as already methodized, the best never fell into the trap of merely reproducing over and over again an already methodized Nature.¹ When they did, derivative copying had swamped true mimesis. As Hurd put it:

... the shapes and appearances of things are apprehended, only in the gross, by dull minds. They think they see, but it is as through a mist, where if they catch but a faint glimpse of the form before them, it is well... to give life and colour to the selected circumstance, and imprint it on the imagination with directness and vivacity, this is the proper office of true genius.²

The first part of this quotation is an all too accurate summary of much eighteenth century poetry. John Aikin, in An Essay on the Application of Natural History to Poetry (1777), an important work, argued that when poetry ceased to research into life and nature, but reflected them at second, third or fourth hand, it ceased to be true poetry. Science could help poetry because the scientist looked at the world empirically and thus gained an insight into things as they actually were.

- (1) Cf. William Mason to Bishop Porteus (Feb. 3rd, 1796): ... "elegant classical latinity is the best veil in the world for a scarcity of sense, and a weakness of argument". Burke's speeches are known less for their content than for their rhetorical, ordered style. Method could not always disguise a lack of content, however.
- (2) Op. cit., pp. 89-90.

Natural history could therefore prove invaluable for the descriptive poet. Such an assertion could be made to show that 'imagination' - in the case of Shelley, for instance - is helped, not hindered by 'reason' - that is, scientific knowledge and enquiry.¹ Because poetry for Aristotle had to seek out universal causes, and show us what could or should have happened, not, as in history, what happened, this does not mean to say that the poet can afford to be ignorant of actuality. He must be a man of the world. He does not always need to reflect actuality, but there is no excuse for the poet who, perhaps through servile imitation of other poets, tries the short cut towards methodized Nature without bothering to experience or look at life itself. Instead of looking at a storm, the sea, flowers, the rich and the poor, crowds, battles, the rising and setting of the sun; instead of experiencing anger, love, hate, fear or jealousy, the 'poet' simply makes a poem from his reading,² - or, if his time is limited and his knowledge of authors scant, consults the second volume of Charles Gildon's The Complete Art of Poetry under the appropriate heading, and learns how Homer, Blackmore, Shakespeare, Waller, Virgil and Spenser described such things. We must, however, on no account, lump this pseudo-imitation (nicely debunked in The Art of Sinking in Poetry) with true imitation.

- (1) The same is true of another very different figure, who if anything stood on the side of that 'Reason' which was fundamentally anti-empirical - Swift. In this context see Marjorie Nicolson, Science and Imagination (1956).
- (2) The fact that the Scottish poet Thomas Blacklock, who was blind from early infancy, was able to write competent poetry, with some remarkable descriptions, indicates the extent to which derivative imitation sustained the poet of the eighteenth century.

The true imitator has to be at one, to use Johnson's words, with "rational nature, or at least with the whole circle of polished life". If, like Milton, he can take a phrase from Dante, an image from Virgil, a simile or description from Homer, and convert it into a noble English verse, he has succeeded. Even if, like Pope, he can turn Virgil's

Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella,
et fugit ad salices, sed se cupit ante videri

into

The sprightly Sylvia trips along the Green,
She runs, but hopes she does not run unseen,
While a kind Glance at her Pursuer flies,¹
How much at variance are her Feet and Eyes!

- then imitation has sufficient justification. Let us quote Hurd once more as our advocate:

... by force of judging right, the copier shall almost lose his title, and become an inventor...
When we speak of an imitator, we do not speak, as the poet says, of

A barren-spirited fellow, one who feeds
On abject arts, and imitations -

but of one, who, in aiming to be like, contends also to be equal to his original. To attain to this equality, it is not enough that he selects

(cl) R. x. r.

(1) Pastorals, 'Spring. The First Pastoral, or DAMON', ll. 57-60. Pope may also have been inspired by some Italian Renaissance painting in this and other stylized descriptions. Once we accept the stylization, however, we can recognize the beauty of such lines.

the best of those stores which are ready prepared to his hand (for thus he would be rather a skilful borrower, than a successful imitator), but, in taking something from others, he must add much of his own: he must improve the expression, where it is defective or barely passable: he must improve the expression, where it is defective or barely passable: he must throw fresh lights of fancy on a common image: he must strike out new hints from a vulgar sentiment. Thus, he will complete his original, where he finds it imperfect: he will supply its omissions: he will emulate, or rather surpass, its highest beauties. Or, in despair of this last, we shall find him taking a different route; giving us an equivalent in a beauty of another kind, which yet he extracts from some latent imitation of his author; or, where his purpose requires the very same representation, giving it a new form, perhaps a nobler, by the turn of his application.

This is a description of the consecutive imitation and its methods as opposed to the selective imitation, and it would apply admirably in the case of Pope and Horace. Moreover, it serves as a contrast to the somewhat bald definition made by Johnson. Johnson, did, however, appreciate the pleasure experienced by the reader in having two amusements together. This is especially true of the consecutive imitation, where we see likeness in difference, and difference in likeness. Comparison with the original Latin text is part of the purpose, and not a weakness, of the consecutive imitation. One anonymous essay, on Milton's imitations of the ancients (1741), pointed out:

(1) Op. cit., p.167.

We must observe, that, in poetical Descriptions, Paintings, etc. the greater Likeness they bear to what we consider as their Original, our Pleasure is the more; and our Distaste in Proportion to their Variation: But here, 'tis different with those secondary Imitations we treat of in this Essay: For, frequently, in this Case, a considerable Alteration from the Original has a very agreeable Effect: For we have, in our Nature, a Principle to be delighted with what is NEW, to which, 'tis plain, this latter Kind of Imitations is not very conformable; upon which Account they ought to have, as well as Likeness, a due Variation, that, at one and the same Time, they may gratify our several Dispositions, of being pleased with what is imitated, and with what is new. And from this it appears, that, in these Imitations, there ought generally to be observed a Medium betwixt a literal translation and a distant Allusion; as the first destroys the Pleasure we have from what is new, and the latter encroaches on that we receive from Imitations. (p.5)

Imitations are, in a sense, 'variations upon an original theme'. Critical and aesthetic comparison is part of the pleasure.

Hurd, in his letters to Mason On the Marks of Imitation (1757), cites a number of examples of adaptation, borrowing, plagiarism, and paraphrase, all of which he calls 'imitation'. Our concept of imitation is based on that kind which is conscious and confessed by the poet himself, or so obvious to the reader that no confession is necessary. Hurd deals with the many evidences and proofs of 'imitation', from descriptions of "genial dews" and "fostering breezes", found in "English bards, who perhaps are shivering with the blasts of the northeast",¹

(1) Op. cit., p.186.

to learned allusions, perhaps philosophical or ritualistic, to individual images, expressions or ideas, such as Milton's "Flow'rs of all hues, and without thorn the rose" - which Hurd traces to Tasso - to unusual figures and phrases, uncommon attributes, additions, and so forth. Imitation in this sense is limited to 'that which is not the original creation of the poet', though Hurd is less suspicious of similar sentiments than he is of expressions. In this study, however, imitation is dealt with as a conscious art, and when authors proclaim their imitation,

"It is when they have a mind to shew their
dexterity in contending with a great original".¹

Numerous examples are unnecessary here, for much of this study examines exactly how certain authors and classical models were contended with by English poets. However, conscious imitation could also serve an ironic and mock-heroic purpose, as when Clarissa's speech in Canto V 'parodies',² in Pope's words, the speech of Sarpedon to Glaucus in the Iliad, or when, in The Dunciad, we read the lines

Mourn not, my SWIFT, at ought our Realm acquires,
Here pleas'd behold her mighty wings out-spread
To hatch a new Saturnian age of Lead,

(i, ll. 26-8),

and are made to reflect on Milton's Heavenly Spirit, which brought Order and Light

(1) Ibid., p.211.

(2) In Chapter 3 the distinctions are made between the parody, travesty and mock-imitation.

whereas Pope's Goddess, Dulness, brings Chaos and Darkness; and Virgil's Golden Age of Saturn, prophesied in the fourth eclogue and in the Aeneid, Bk. VI, reduced to the Leaden Age of the Moderns. Another part-parody, part deliberate mis-translation, and part allusion, is Dryden's exhortation to Corah (Titus Oates):

Erect thyself, thou monumental brass,
High as the serpent of thy metal made,¹

which uses Horace's famous line, "Exegi monumentum aere perennius", alludes to the serpent of brass made by Moses to protect the Israelites (who are, in Dryden, the English people), and achieves its effect through ironical comparison.

Some of the most striking improvements on an original are to be found in Pope's Imitations of Horace. The 'improvements' result not just from rhetorical technique - (though Pope himself had said

True Wit is Nature to Advantage drest,
What oft was Thought, but ne'er so well Express'd)⁽²⁾

- but from mastery of expression combined with observation of life, plus a careful study of the Latin text. One example can be quoted in which Pope throws "fresh lights of fancy on a common image". In Epistle I, i, Horace refers to embezzlers, inheritance-hunters and those who love to accumulate money, but his not very memorable line, "multis occulto crescit res faenore" becomes, in Pope's imitation:

(1) Absalom and Achitophel, ll. 633-4.

(2) An Essay on Criticism, ll. 297-8.

While with the silent growth of ten per Cent,
 In Dirt and darkness hundreds stink content.
 (ll. 132-3).

Horace has only one idea - the growth of interest unobserved. Pope contrasts the nastiness, poverty and meanness of the lives led by small-time moneylenders and back-alley capitalists with their parasitic dependence on the accumulation of unworked-for profit. Here, then, truth to life, not rhetoric alone, the poet's ability to renew an old idea in truly modern terms - in other words, the poet's eye rather than his pen - act as the best defence, poetically, of 'secondary' imitation. Without some renewal of the mimetic process, and a 're-methodizing' of Nature, imitations remain lifeless likenesses. The poet must involve himself in the original, regarding it not as a thing-in-itself, but as an active interpretation of life and nature - an 'imitating' - by a once thinking and feeling human being. If Nature, according to the theory, is constant, then the true imitator must copy that Nature copied by the first poet, so that, when caging modern content in the form of classical satire, the second poet only goes through a parallel mimetic process, the 'rules' of primary imitation such as 'comic' and 'tragic' satire having been 'there' already without needing to be invented. Truth to life, and the desirability of imitatio did, of course, bring interesting problems, especially in the epic and pastoral genres, and these problems are discussed in chapters 3 and 4 of this study.

It would be the worst mistake to believe that English poets of the eighteenth century imitated out of habit. . . Pope in particular felt the need to refine and civilize his treatment of any subject by allusion and imitation,

while the whole idea of imitation had its roots in Renaissance humanism.

Imitatio, in fact, had been rescued from the narrow context of medieval rhetoric by Roger Ascham, in the fifth section of the second book of The Scholemaster (1570), in which imitation of the classics is treated as an integral part of the humanist training. One must, says Ascham, follow the wisest and best examples, such as Cicero in oratory, Quintilian in grammar and Thucydides in history.

A pointer to the reasons for the eighteenth-century preference of Roman over Greek poets is contained in Ascham's discussion of Virgil's imitations of Homer, which, he says, show that they were all "precisely taken out of Homer as ever did Painter in London follow the picture of any faire personage".⁽¹⁾ If one were to compare every Virgilian passage with its Homeric equivalent, and come to grips with the reasons for Virgil's selections, one would learn "the right choice of examples for the best Imitation".⁽²⁾ Here, imitation and correctness go together. We must distinguish this, the selective kind of imitation, from Pope's early verbal parodies, and those indigenous stylistic imitations which do not modernize the language, for in Ascham's view classical imitation helps to perfect poetry and bring it out of 'rudeness' and 'barbarism'. Later theorists went further: English poets could emulate or even surpass the classics.⁽³⁾

As well as being linked to correctness and refinement, true imitation - strange as it may seem to post-romantics - implied freedom. "Nec desilies

(1) Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. G. Gregory Smith, (Oxford, 1950), i, p.15.

(2) Ibid.

(3) See Chapter 2 below, pp. 72 ff., and above, p.22.

imitator in artum", said Horace in the Ars Poetica. The true imitator does not "give us the cold memories of the traits of another genius". Longinian imitation, and the ideal of being faithful, whatever 'rules' were broken, to an original author's genius, meant not only imaginative re-creation on the imitator's part, where poets such as Pindar could never be followed closely, but also the preservation of certain characteristics, such as Ovid's luxuriance and wit. The difference between Horace and Longinus with regard to imitation can be gauged by the fact that the latter stressed the fire of genius, sublime sentiment and expression, whereas the former paid greater attention to form and structure, style and decorum.¹

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- (1) Horatian standards were naturally less common in the imitations of Milton and Spenser. Longinian imitation applied especially to Milton, who epitomised the 'sublime' in English. At the same time, Milton's poems could become models for imitation, almost as Greek and Roman poems could. Lycidas, for example, was imitated stylistically, generically and partly consecutively in William Mason's Musaeus: A Monody to the Memory of Mr. Pope (1744). Like wise the anonymous Monody/on/ Mr. Cholwell: in imitation of Lycidas (1774), and, to a lesser extent, Eclogue V, 'Colin's despair', in Moses Browne's Piscatory Eclogues (1729) consciously follow Milton's pastoral elegy. The octosyllabic metre, simple vocabulary, the moral, psychological and didactic argument of the 'mood' poems, L'Allegro and Il Penseroso, were also closely imitated. Eighteenth-century poets tried their hand at writing parallels, equivalents, and imitations, such as Mason's Il bellicoso and Il pacifico (1744), which remind one of the 'Rembrandts' by Van Megeren, so close is the copy of style, form, intention and language. Of the imitations of Horace and Juvenal it could be said that this is what they would have written had they been English poets writing in the 16- or 1700's. With Mason's Miltonic imitations one is presumably asked to believe that this is what Milton would have written had he chosen the subject of war and peace instead of mirth and melancholy. Though fascinating as an exercise, these poems have little poetic merit. Other 'imitations' include B. Fowler's To SOLITUDE: in imitation of Milton (1766), the Rev. Mr. P's L'amoroso; in imitation of Milton's L'Allegro (1748), William Cowper's Il penseroso (1767, w. 1745), and an Il moderato, which remade Milton in the Augustan image. Many odes to solitude, health, contemplation, etc., derive from Milton's two poems.

The neo-classical attitude, and in particular the Horatian attitude, began to become explicit with Jonson, for whom diligence, restraint and patience came before natural genius and spontaneity. Imitation he viewed from the standpoint of correctness, clarity, rationality and form. He rejected the blind idolatry of a single man in the case of oratory:

One, though hee be excellent and the chiefe, is
not to bee imitated along. For never no
Imitator, ever grew up to his Author; likenesse
is alwayes on this side Truth.⁽¹⁾

He did, however, advise the poet to convert the substance or riches of another poet to his own use, and perhaps contradicted himself by saying that a poet should "make choise of one excellent man above the rest, and so to follow him, till he grow very Hee: or, so like him, as the Copie may be mistaken for the Principall."⁽²⁾ To imitate did not mean swallowing whole, imperfections and all, but drawing forth out of "the best, and choisest flowers, with the Bee",⁽³⁾ turning all to honey. The difference between the pedantic, indiscriminating copier and the creative imitator resembles the difference between the spider and the bee which Swift was later to characterize in The Battle of the Books.

William Wotton, who answered Sir William Temple's essay On Ancient and Modern Learning (1690) in his much more convincing and interesting Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning (1694), confessed that he was nauseated by copying in poetry more than anything, though Temple had even called the Italian,

(1) Timber: or, Discoveries (1641), in Works, ed. Herford and Simpson (Oxford, 1947), viii, p. 590.

(2) Ibid., p. 638.

(3) Ibid., p. 639.

French and Spanish languages "imperfect Copies ... of so excellent an Original". The imitation we discuss in this study are to some extent compromises between the extreme Ancient and Modern positions, since they attempt to be 'ancient' and 'modern' at the same time. The argument about imitation later shifted to a new position, when organic, 'vegetable' growth, in Young's words, was preferred to mechanical artefacts.⁽²⁾ The compromise - both social and literary - later became untenable, and 'Horatian' imitation was attacked in a positive way, first by Longinian theorists, then by the Romantics themselves. In the same year that Young's Conjectures on Original Composition appeared, Goldsmith was attacking the decadence of English literature,⁽³⁾ and he hit upon much of the empty 'literizing' of the time when he said that "to praise Virgil, Horace and Ovid now is only to shew the conformity of our taste to theirs: it tends not to advance their reputation, but to promote our own", (Critical Review, January 1759).⁽⁴⁾

Imitations are consistent with an idealist world-view (which is inverted in burlesques), and though they express a general ethos rather than pathos, a good Augustan imitator is not necessarily emotionally apathetic, however much he may try to instil the apathy of "nil admirari" or 'plus ça change ...' in the mind of the reader. The Looker-on No 40 (Saturday, Feb. 9, 1793),

(1) Spingarn, iii, p.34.

(2) See Conjectures on Original Composition (1759), p. 47. Young also spoke of "the soft fetters of easy imitation" (p.19) and said that "illustrious Examples engross, prejudice, and intimidate" (p.17). (See below and Conclusion).

(3) Particularly in An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe.

(4) In Collected Works, ed. Arthur Friedman (Oxford, 1966), i, p.152.

called imitation a deception lacking in feeling,⁽¹⁾ however, and that pessimist and advocate of Universal Nature, Samuel Johnson, rejected literary imitation in favour of invention (which had always been associated with the Hellenic genius) - and imitation of life. Imlac notes that,

... as the province of poetry is to describe Nature and Passion, which are always the same, the first writers took possession of the most striking objects for description, and the most probable occurrences for fiction, and left nothing to those that followed them, but transcription of the same events, and new combinations of the same images. Whatever be the reason, it is commonly observed that the early writers are in possession of nature, and their followers of art: that the first excel in strength and invention [which Johnson thought basic English qualities], and the latter in elegance and refinement ... I soon found that no man was ever great by imitation.⁽²⁾ My desire of excellence impelled me to transfer my attention to nature and to life.⁽³⁾

For all Imlac's bullying generalizations, there is a hard logic in this which is founded on knowledge and experience. Nevertheless, it is an over-simplification, if a healthy one. Imitations required the operation of several disciplines at once - creative, scholarly, critical and linguistic - and the modern reader can still derive a great deal of enjoyment from neo-classical poetry by

(1) See The British Essayists, ed. A. Chalmers, (1823), xxxvi, p.72: " ... nothing is so contrary as the effects of imitation, which excite in the mind of the hearer or reader a disgusting idea of artifice, deception, and want of feeling in the author."

(2) Hurd states the case as follows: "...Imitations, when real and confessed, may still have their merit; nay, I presume to add, sometimes, a greater merit, than the very originals on which they are formed ... The first essays of genius, though ever so original, are overlooked; while the later productions of men, who had never risen to such distinction but by means of the very originals they disgrace, obtain the applause and admiration of all ages". (Op. cit., pp. 165-6).

(3) The History of Rasselas Prince of Abissinia, ed. R.W. Chapman (Oxford, 1927), pp. 47-8.

concentrating on the close imitations of classical authors.

These imitations are, in fact, models of eighteenth century Wit, as expounded by Locke in his Essay concerning Human Understanding (1690) and Addison in Spectator No. 62 (May 11, 1711). Knowledge itself for Locke is the perception of the connection and agreement, or the disagreement and repugnancy of several ideas, though ideas are, of course, the result of sensuous activity and the impingement of things on the mind as a result of such activity. True wit, as Addison calls it, consists in that resemblance of ideas which gives the reader delight and surprise:

Mr. Lock's Account of Wit ... comprehends most of the Species of Wit, as Metaphors, Similitudes, Allegories, Aenigmas, Mottos, Parables, Fables, Dreams, Visions, dramattick Writings, Burlesque, and all the Methods of Allusion.⁽¹⁾

The consecutive imitation, therefore, can be seen as a consistent allusion operating on several levels of analogy and similitude compounded with dissimilitude. It is a complex, and can in many cases be an exceedingly rich, species of eighteenth century Wit.

This study deals with the following categories of imitation:- satiric, lyric, pastoral, epistolary and didactic. It begins by discussing how translation led to free renderings, modernized versions and imitations, while an appendix deals with the important question of the Roman analogy. It is hoped that the study has cleared some of the prejudice with regard to neo-classicism which still lingers on, and that it has thrown some light on the discrepancies and contradictions characteristic of the period. Many imitations have been read, and naturally not all could be discussed. Of the worst it is

(1) The Spectator, ed. Gregory Smith (1958), i, p. 190.

true that they are trivial amusements, the playthings of fashion, or the idle exercises of gentlemen of leisure. One often discovers new insights into the aims and the sensibility of a period, however, by examining its minor poetry. But the major poetry is discussed, and I have tried to show how both Pope and Johnson, for example, could excel in a form and a technique that had been developed and consolidated by less well-known poets. I have also tried to compare and contrast the approach and achievement of different writers who chose to contend with the same "great original". As well as being a survey, therefore, this also attempts to be a critical study.

CHAPTER 2. TRANSLATION AND IMITATION.

SUMMARY.

(i) Early translation theorists and translators briefly discussed: Caxton, Skelton, Douglas, Grimald, Wyatt, Surrey, Ascham, Phaer, Du Bellay, Harington, Dolet, Becke, Golding. Comparison between Golding's and Addison's translation of Ovid. Marlowe, Donne, and the difference between literal and imaginative renderings.

Translations that were part of a reaction against literalism: Chapman's Homer, Harington's Orlando Furioso, Fairfax's Godfrey of Bulloigne.

Jonsen's translation of the Ars Poetica (1640) and his opposition to imaginative, periphrastic renderings. The new, more regular translators: Sandys, Waller and Denham. Fusion or compromise between the ideals of literalism and imaginative paraphrase expressed through the new translators. Freedom and discipline in translation.

The role of the couplet in verse translation: Hammond, Pope, Oldham, Dryden's translation of Virgil's Aeneid. Denham's important statement on translation (1648) signifies the emergence of a new theoretical approach founded on literary practice. The idea of the transfusion of one poetic soul into another, and a higher, ideal unity achieved in translation. Translations restore and improve an original, do not just reproduce it. The translator has to be a poet in his own right.

Cowley's Pindarique Odes (1656) and the important contributions made by Cowley and Sprat to the development of the theory and practice of the imitation. Sprat praises Cowley as the inventor of a new "way of leaving Verbal Translations".

'Naturalization' in satiric and other imitations begins in the late 1660's. Etherege's and Dryden's naturalized translations of Boileau, Sprat's and Cowley's versions of Horace. Rochester's An Allusion to Horace (1675). The consecutive imitation established.

(ii) Imitations are usually written side by side with translations. Emergence of distinct and classifiable types of rendering. Dryden on 'verbal version', 'paraphrase' and 'imitation': Preface concerning Ovid's Epistles (1680). Dryden and his fellow translators. His opposition to Cowleian 'imitation'.

Allusions and consecutive imitations. Why Absalom and Achitophel, though an extended allusion, is not a consecutive imitation. Dryden's criticism of burlesque translation a criticism not of mock-imitations but of travesties. His pragmatic approach to the practice of translation. Oldham and Rochester. Roscommon's An Essay on Translated Verse (1684). Neo-Platonic and neo-Aristotelian concepts relating to liberal translation and imitation.

The Preface to Sylvae (1685). The rejection of literalism now backed up by critical theory. Thomas Creech's translation of Horace. Dryden's retreat from his formerly held position and partial acceptance of both Cowleian imaginative paraphrase and the consecutive imitation. Illustrated from his own practice.

Illustrations and examples of 'modern' translation and the imitation, drawn from various sources. Prior's attack on 'modern' translation: A Satyr on the Modern Translators (1685).

Chapter 2.Translation and Imitation.

The consecutive imitation, generic imitation and burlesque imitation were largely the result of a long period in which Greek and Latin poets became familiar in English verse, both through translation and through selective imitation. After the Restoration clear lines of demarcation emerged between the different ways of making a classical author speak in English, yet the theory and practice of translation had begun in England some two hundred years before. In order therefore to see how imitation grew out of translation, we shall look at some of those translations written before neo-classicism became a dominant force.

i. Verse translation and the rejection of literalism.

In 1490, Caxton's motive in his prose translation of Virgil was partly to help unite his country linguistically. The original was a pivot for the vernacular, a point of reference, even though Caxton did not translate straight from the Latin. English humanists were struggling towards enrichment of their 'brutish', 'barbarous' and 'unpolished' language, as it was often called. The problem was to create a language of sufficient elegance, richness, intelligibility and flexibility that could meet the demands of a Virgil or an Ovid.

Translators were to play an important part in bringing to light the Roman world and the Roman sensibility, which was after all indispensable if the Roman analogy, upon which many of the imitations are based, was to be possible. In the preface to his Eneydos, Caxton says, by implication, that

a close acquaintance with Roman authors can enrich the vernacular, while Skelton (who is mentioned in the chapter of Juvenal) had translated epistles of Tully,

and diverse other werkes oute of latyn in-to englysshe, not in rude and olde language, but in polysshed and ornate terms craftely, as he hath redde vrygyle, ovyde, tullye, and all the other noble poetes and oratours to me unknowen. (1)

In other words, English is refined and enriched by digging, through translation, the mine of the older aurea lingua. F.M. Salter shows how in one work alone, the translation of Diodorus, Skelton imports nearly eight hundred words into English, the vast majority from Latin. (2)

The latinizing of English made translations from the classics easier in some respects and prepared the ground for classical imitation later on. It is through translation, says Roscommon, that the personality of the classical author and his methods of treating certain subjects eventually became thoroughly incorporated into the once 'barbarian' language, until both translator and imitator were no longer the original's "interpreter, but he". (3)

Two men made important translations and statements on translation in 1553. One was Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, the other, Nicholas Grimald.

Douglas condemned Caxton for "shamefully perverting" Virgil's story. (4)

(1) Preface to Eneydos (ed. 1890).

(2) John Skelton's Contribution to the English Language (Ottawa, 1945), pp.124-184.

(3) Earl of Roscommon, Essay on Translated Verse (1684).

(4) Preface to Eneados (1553). The translation was circulated 1539-40.

Though he kept fairly close to the text, Douglas realized that some exposition and additional colour ought to accompany the translation. He also felt a need for a greater vocabulary. For example, he was unable to distinguish between 'genus', 'sexus' and 'species'. In fact, as L.M. Watt says, Douglas, far from being a literalist, translated the effects rather than the actual words of the original - that is, thought by thought, picture by picture. (I) By Dryden's standards he would lie somewhere between paraphrase and imitation, though perhaps nearer imitation. To compensate for his inability to reproduce Virgil's sententious eloquence, he infuses the poem with his own Scottish vigour. The battles, the landscape descriptions, and many of the nature images have greater vividness, though less suggestiveness and decorum, than the polished, monumental Virgil. Virgil is infused with Douglas's own experience and observation of Scotland and Scottish life. His reverence for Virgil does not prevent him from changing 'Arcturus' into 'Arthur's Huysse' nor the Belt of Orion into 'the Elwand' for the benefit of his readers.

Nicholas Grimald translated Cicero's De Officiis in 1553. Douglas's concern had been for accuracy and meaning, yet he knew that his method, which was anything but literal, could not reveal the true nature of the original. Grimald turned literalism, an imperfect method for poetry, into a perfect method for prose. Brevity, concentration, a strict avoidance of aureate rhetoric, and a check on any tendency towards following one's own fancy, as imaginative imitators did, were the precepts for the translator of prose. Grimald advocated a

(I) Douglas's Aeneid (Cambridge, 1920), p. 70.

comparison between Latin and English, in order:

to weigh well properties of words, fashions of phrases,
and the ornaments of both. (I)

Translations in the sixteenth century are important as part of the humanist tradition. In the eyes of the humanists, classical translations helped to discipline manners and morals as well as enrich the native literature. This important concept, which gave Pope's satires their moral emphasis, cannot be stressed enough. Horatian - and, in the case of Johnson, Juvenalian - imitation partly continued the poetic, moral and cultural reformation that began with the Renaissance.

With Wyatt (whom we mention in connection with Horace) and Surrey, a dilettantist, gentlemanly approach towards translation appeared, which is, as far as the classics go, the counterpart to the 'bee-wandering' or selective type of imitation advocated by Aschan, Du Bellay, and others. Thomas Phaer emphasized the usefulness of the classics as objects of imitation in his preface to the translation of Virgil in 1558. Like Wyatt, whose satires are modelled on Horace, Phaer showed an acquaintance with Horatian canons (in this case, of classical imitation) through the influence of the Italians. In the conclusion to his translation he says:

By me firste this gate is sette open. If now the yong writers will vouchsafe to enter; they may finde in this language, both large and abundant Campos of varietie, wherein thay maie gather innumerable sortes of most beautifull flowres, figures and phrases, not onely to supplie the imperfection of me: but also to garnishe al kindes of their owne verses with a more cleare and compendious order of meter than heretofore commonly hath ben accustomed. (2)

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- (1) Marcus Tullius Ciceros three bookes of duties ... (1583), 'To the Reader'.
 (2) Preface to The thirteene bookes of Aeneidos (1583).

Here the emphasis is on borrowing and imitation as a means of perfecting style - which Dryden later developed in more specific ways, and more empirically, with regard to Virgil and Horace. Selective imitation, is, to use a favourite metaphor of the translators, the accumulation of foreign spices and delicacies, whereas the poetic imitation and the use of classical formal types is manufacture improved and developed through imports and 'trade'. An advocator of selective imitation was Joachim Du Bellay who, in his important Deffense et Illustration de La Langue Francoyse (1549), did not think translations sufficient to give perfection to the French language, and in fact considered translation of Greek and Roman poets almost a prophanation of sacred relics.

Celuy donques qui voudra faire oeuvre digne de prix en son vulgaire, Laisse ce labour de traduyre, principalement les Poëtes, à ceux, qui de chose laborieuse, et peu profitable, i'ose dire encor' inutile, voyre pernicieuse à l'Acroissement de leur Langue, emportent à bon droict plus de modestie, que de gloryre. (1)

Unlike those who later in England pointed to the use and perfection of Greek formal poetic types by the Romans, Du Bellay saw the process as an organic absorption of Hellenic beauty through imitation, not so much a refinement upon what had gone before:

Immitant les meilleurs Auteurs Grecz, se transformant en eux, les deuorant: et, apres les auoir bien digerez, les conuertissant en sang et nourriture ... (2)

Bellay thought that one could only 'transform' oneself into an ancient author

(1) La Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse ed. E. Person (Paris, 1892), pp. 68-9.

(2) Ibid., p. 69.

through this selective, or digestive kind of imitation; that it was impossible to equal the ancients in their languages, and therefore futile to translate them.

Phaer and Du Bellay thus proposed spoliative imitation. Unlike the formal imitations of the neo-classical period, this did not impose the kind of discipline required of translators, whose success depended on the combination of maximum invention and fluency together with maximum self-restriction and faithfulness to the sense and spirit of a classical poem. Phaer lacked this discipline: his colloquialism, his expansions and generalizations, were not enhanced by the monotonous fourteener. For Phaer Virgil was more of a garden of dainty delights. John Harington, however, who translated Cicero, understood that the greater the attention paid to an original, the greater sometimes could be the vital energies released.

Both Étienne Dolet and Edmond Becke (translator of Erasmus) asserted the uniqueness of each language. When we consider classical imitation and the Roman analogy we realize that language, as a social tool, operates within a given social and historical context, and that the mere act of translation must to some extent transfer the Roman context into a modern one. Douglas's Virgil is Scotticized, and Chapman's Homer is Elizabethanized no less than Pope's Homer is Augustanized.

Arthur Golding translated Ovid's Metamorphoses in 1567. Ovid is moralized (a tradition seen in the fourteenth century Ovide Moralisé) so that, for example, the Stygian underworld becomes 'something of a Christian Hell'.

Whereas for Dryden Ovid is clear and bright, almost at his own elbow, for Golding he is wonderful, dark and exotic. The vocabulary tends to present the material of the tales from the point of view of an Englishman in clumsy wonder, while Dryden's Ovid retains his Latinity and manages to speak with tenderness, wit, pseudo-pathos and civilized charm. The change in sensibility can be seen by comparing Golding's and Addison's translation of the Phaeton story. Phaeton is warned by his father in Golding as follows:

Sonne, spare the whip, and reyne them hard, they run so swi't away
 As that thou shalt have much adoe their fleeing course to stay.
 Directly through the Zones all five beware thou doe not ride,
 A brode byway cut out askew that bendeth on the side
 Contaynde within the bondes of three the midmost Zones doth lie:
 Which from the grisely Northren beare, and Southren Pole doth flie.
 Keepe on this way: my Charyot rakes thou plainely shalt espie
 And to thintent that heaven and earth may well the heate endure,
 Drive neyther over high nor yet too lowe. For be thou sure,
 And if thou mount above thy boundes, the starres thou burnest cleane,
 Againe beneath thou burnst the Earth: most safetie is the meane. (1)

The translation is very close here, and his small departures here significantly emphasize the astrological context and the dangers inherent in man's aspirations. (It would almost be possible to trace the changing versions of the Phaeton story alone, for it was one of the most popular. Andrew Marvell, for example, in Hodge's Vision from the Monument (1675), compared the absolute monarch to Phaeton as "a raving madman".) Here is Addison's translation of the same passage:

Take this at least, this last Advice, my Son,
 Keep a stiff Rein, and move but gently on;
 The Coursers of themselves will run too fast,
 Your Art must be to moderate their Haste.

(1) Ovid's Metamorphoses, ed. J.F. Nims (1965), pp. 35-6. For Ovid's substitution of English for Roman place-names, institutions, etc., and the Elizabethan setting and idiom to be found in Golding's translation, see Introduction, pp. xxi-xxxv.

(2) Cf. Gorbuduc, Act II Sc. i ll. 203 ff:
 Lo, such are they now in the royal throne
 As was rash Phaeton in Phoebus' car ...

Drive 'em not on Directly through the Skies,
 But where the Zodiac's winding Circle lies,
 Along the midmost Zone; but sally forth
 Nor to the distant South, nor stormy North.
 The Horses Hoofs a beaten Track will show,
 But neither mount too high nor sink too low.
 That no new Fires, or Heav'n, or Earth infest;
 Keep the mid Way, the middle Way is best. (1)

Here Roscommon's rules for translation have been applied. Addison, having rejected literalism, attempts to clarify the text and give it symmetry, but, because he is less interested in the Ovidian world for its own sake, and turns the passage into a typically urbane and Addisonian piece of advice on keeping to the middle way, much of the picturesque quality seen in Golding has gone. Ovid was also exploited for comic purpose, not only by Shakespeare, but in the travesties and mock-imitations which we discuss in the next chapter. The travesties and mock-imitations reveal an aspect of Ovid that is only latent in Garth's 1717 edition of the Metamorphoses. William Meston, for example, has the chariot's horses eating hay - which is not too far from Ovid's description of their hoof-marks left in the heavenly road. (2) Louis L. Richer, author of L'Ovide Bouffon (1650), said in his prefatory epistle that Ovid himself would have written his stories in the burlesque manner had he lived in modern Paris. The nihilism of the travesty-writers should not prevent us from seeing Ovid, at least partly, from their point of view. For Ovid is never completely serious, and the patterns he weaves around the old

(1) Ovid's Metamorphoses in Latin and English, translated by the Most Eminent Hands. (Amsterdam, 1732): p. 45.

(2) Phaeton: Or the First Fable of the Second Book of Ovid's Metamorphoses Burlesqu'd, (Edinburgh, 1720), p. 10.

stories do not show an awe-inspired humble respect for myth and traditional history. Thus 'imitation' can use hints in the original which literal translations and paraphrases often leave untapped. (1) Behind every deliberate and modern variation from the classical text there usually lies a novel appreciation of the difficulties involved in adapting not only a single author, but a whole culture, into another culture. In the case of Ovid, this special kind of transference was most successfully achieved in Henry Fielding's prose imitation of the Ars Amatoria, called The Lovers Assistant, or, New Art of Love (1747), which we discuss in a later chapter.

Successful imitation of another kind was also achieved by Donne. Marlowe's translation of the Amores (1590) was literal: running at Ovid's heels, he tried to catch the odd word and stuff it into his own lines or pick up the phrases strewn by Ovid and compress them, but Ovid had been too swift and luxuriant by far. The result was stiffness and obscurity, a lack of character and purpose. Only the words had been translated, while the poetry had evaporated. On the other hand, Donne's Elegies and Songs and Sonets, without actually translating, could come much closer to the spirit and intention of Ovid's Amores than such literal translations, or any close translation, could hope to do. Just as Juvenal through Hall, so Ovid through Donne became thoroughly Elizabethan. In parts he is naturalized in the manner of the imitations with which we are primarily concerned. The Sunne Rising, for example, is a near-imitation of Amores I, xiii. (2) Ovid's mythological version of

(1) It was often this desire to work on hints in the original, though without departing completely from it, that led to imitations.

(2) In a note on Donne's poem, Grierson wrote: "A comparison of Ovid's simple and natural images and reflexions with Donne's passionate but ingenious hyperboles will show exactly what Testi meant by his contrast of the homely imagery of classical and the metaphysical manner of Italian love poetry." The Poems of John Donne (Oxford, 1912), ii, p. 13.

the dawn, in his opening address,

Iam super oceanum venit a seniore marito
 flava pruinoso quae vehit axe diem.
 'Quo properas, Aurora? mane!'

and his personal challenge to the sun,

invida, quo properas, quod erat tibi filius afer,
 materni fuerat pectoris ille color,

are taken up in Donne, the sun itself is addressed through a direct, but almost abusive personification:

Busie old foole, unruly Sunne,
 Why dost thou thus,
 Through windowes, and through curtaines call on us?
 Must to thy motions lovers seasons run?
 Saucy pedantique wretch, goe chide
 Late schoole boyes, and sowre prentices ... (1)

Ovid's Aurora cheats boys of their sleep and yields them up to their master, she sends men to the court, and compels both the lawyer and the pleader to get up. Donne puts this in its Jacobean setting:

Goe tell Court-huntsmen, that the King will ride,
 Call countrey ants to harvest offices ... (2)

Donne imitates Ovid quite consciously, for his love poems are, like Ovid's, designed to surprise and shock us with their daring conceptions, their wit, their youthful and preposterous rationalizations and conceits. The rude challenge, the love of metaphor and ingenious reflection (drawn from Roman mythology in Ovid, from philosophy and science in Donne); the disingenuous

(1) Ibid., i, p. 11.

(2) Ibid.

heightening of the trivial (Donne's flea was borrowed from Ovid, but its disproportionate significance reminds us of Ovid's dead parrot in Amores II, vi); the technique of burdening a thought or a feeling with a vast superstructure of wit - all this is both Ovidian and 'Metaphysical'. While, however, Donne describes his situation and his feelings towards his mistress intellectually and figuratively, in Ovid the woman herself assumes a larger role in each poem, and the situation is more objectified.

It must be remembered that we are not talking of the 'influence' of Ovid on Donne, but of conscious adaptation. We are not simply looking for borrowings, but for a total appreciation of the sensibility, the aims and the methods of a Latin poet. This came about both in the Renaissance and in the Augustan modes of imitation.

Creative translations were in part a reaction against literalism, and were to be seen in Chapman's Homer (1598-1615), Harington's Orlando Furioso (1591) and Fairfax's Godfrey of Bulloigne (1600). Harington and Fairfax kept to the allegorical interpretation, the original being sometimes a 'fiction' or 'toy' with which it was possible to take liberties. Harington favoured imaginative translation and rejected literalism:

But yet I would not have any man expect, that I should observe his phrase so strictly as an interpreter, not the matter so carefully, as if it had bene a storie, in which to varie were as great a sinne, as it were simplicitie in this to go word for word. (1)

(1) 'An Apologie of Poetrie', Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse, by John Harington (1591).

It is typical of the Elizabethan idea of translation that Harington was not just the translator of Ariosto, but 'the English Ariosto'. Here, then, there seemed to be obvious advantages in the non-literal, imaginatively sympathetic approach to translation, and it bore its most famous fruit in Chapman's translation of Homer. Chapman conceived Odysseus through the idea of a spiritual journey towards the complete man, which in itself reflected the exploratory and individualistic character of the age. The bathing and oiling of Odysseus at Alcinoos' island, for example, became in Chapman a kind of spiritual renewal.

Ben Jonson, who made a literal translation of the Ars Poetica (published 1640), for didactic rather than poetic reasons, was opposed to the stand taken by Chapman on the use of imaginative periphrasis, and urged a neo-classical restraint. The new type of translation, based on the decasyllabic couplet, with its plainness of style, its well-turned antitheses, its smoothness, elegance and urbanity, was provided by Sandys, Waller and Denham. The distich assumed great importance in Sandys's Metamorphoses (1626). Sandys, whom Dryden thought a literal translator, nevertheless did not severely curb his own invention. Gradually, as the century wore on, a fusion between the ideals of literalism and imaginative paraphrase took place, and it was expressed through the ideals of the 'new translators'. These ideals combined freedom and discipline, and sought to avoid the crampedness of literalism and the anarchy of free paraphrase or 'imitation', in the sense used by Dryden. The rôle of the couplet was great. In the case of Augustan Latin verse, what was specially admired were the order, the compression and the studied elegance of the hexameter, with its ability to give metrical weight

to key words and its rhetorical delays between verb, subject and object.

We cannot here examine in any depth how far translation and imitations of Latin poets were responsible for the development of the heroic couplet, (1) but a study of Dryden's criticism will show that many of the features of the couplet, such as the 'turns,' the brevity, the plainness and the 'wit' - which Dryden inadequately defined as "a propriety of thoughts and words" (2) - were consciously drawn from the poetry of Ovid, Virgil and Horace. Dryden could not find a classical precedent for rhyme, and many a poet writing after Milton's famous rejection of rhyme must have wondered whether he was not further from his models when he wrote in rhyming couplets than when he attempted blank verse. However, we must continually bear in mind the fact that, when poets imitated the classics, they found in them those things which they wanted to find. The couplet tended to divide a poem into small, arbitrary units, and it is this arbitrariness which makes it so unattractive for many people. If too consciously applied, it could become an obstacle to the flow, for it usually expressed balance and paradox rather than conflict, and artificial resolutions rather than complex development; but for the eclogue, epistle, satire and elegy, it could be most effective. The sculptured details and the miniature dialogues in Virgil's Eclogues, the

(1) J.S.P. Tatlock, in 'The origin of the closed couplet in England' (Nation, XCVIII, (April 9, 1914), p.390) discusses the influence of Ovid upon Drayton and Heywood, while the sententious, antithetic and paralled style as imitated from Martial has been discussed by T.K. Whipple, 'Martial and the English epigram', University of California Publications in Modern Philology, x, (1925), pp. 400-403. For fuller treatments of the neo-classical couplet, and the theory and practice of the various figures found in the couplet, see George Williamson, 'The Rhetorical Pattern of Neo-classical Wit', MP., xxxiii (1935-1936), pp. 55-81. Williamson notes that the rhetorical wit based on the antithetic mode of patterned couplets, which involved in the seventeenth century through Jonson and Waller, became formal contradiction, or structural opposition in Dryden and Pope, even when antithesis itself was not intended.

(2) Dryden was, however, talking of the proper heroic style, for which the kind of 'wit' found in Virgil was correct and worthy of imitation.

conversational wit and the finely marked transitions in Horace's epistolary satires, the short, devastating satirical portraits in Juvenal, the quiet resignation of Tibullus and the emotional antitheses in Ovid could be reproduced or emulated with great effect in English by an intelligent and sensitive use of the couplet. Much of the artificiality of English verse was the product of imitation, however. Much of the mediocre verse of the eighteenth century may derive in no small part from Drydenesque translations of the classics, and of course verse translations did form part of the educational curriculum.

In spite of Milton's justification of blank verse, - and the very nature of Milton's verse contrasts with the compromise and stability of the couplet⁽¹⁾ - many English Augustans felt the latter to be closer to classical verse than the former. The alternating hexameters and pentameters of Ovid's Heroides, for example, were particularly adaptable to the heroic couplet as used by Dryden and Pope, and Dryden did manage to capture in his translations the rise and fall, the wavering passion of the heroine's voice. From the point of view of tone and sense structure alone, Hammond's Elegies (1743), some of the first to use the elegiac quatrain, are extremely close imitations of Tibullus. It is interesting to note, however, that Pope's Imitations of Horace display a masterly use of the couplet for which there is usually no direct parallel in the terse, subtle rhythms of Horace's Satires and Epistles. The opening of the Epistle to Augustus is, in terms of both versification and sense, a complete re-ordering of Horace. Yet much was deliberately sought in other classical poets that could somehow be

(1) Milton's prefatory note to Paradise Lost reads almost like a manifesto. It is evident that his own "English heroic verse without rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Vigil in Latin", is not only an expression of the struggle for poetic freedom, (as against the hindering, custom-ridden rhyming of the moderns who are constrained "to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse, than else they would have expressed them") but also a reflection of his struggle for political freedom.

imitated in the English couplet. The monumentality of the Aeneid consists in each human gesture and action being given maximum pathos and significance in order to convey a sense of tragedy, greatness, duty, courage or fear. There is perfection of detail, and yet amazingly, the poem retains its overall narrative speed. The monumentality is simplified quite effectively by Dryden, so that it becomes a kind of noble balance or poise.⁽¹⁾ John Oldham used a smooth versification for his imitations of Ovid's Epistles, but for Juvenal he evidently felt something much less polished was required.

There is no doubt that the couplet became in itself a useful tool in translation and imitation. One could, for example, take the following line from Ovid's tale of Pyramus and Thisbe - "Talia dicenti curarum maxima nutrix/
nox intervenit, tenebris audacia crevit" - and turn it into a rhyming couplet, keeping the emphasis on "nox": "These words spoken, that gentlest nurse of woes,
Night, descends; and daring's darkness grows". Part of the failure of literal translation lay in its cramped style. Sometimes little change from the original needs to be made. Horace's "Si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddit",⁽²⁾ for example, could be easily rendered, "If poetry, like wine, through age improves". However, even a cursory glance at Jonson's translation of the Ars Poetica, Holyday's translation of Juvenal, or Marlowe's

(1) For example, ll.314-17, Bk. II -

arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
praecipitant, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis

- are translated as follows:

With frenzy seiz'd, I run to meet th' Alarms,
Resolved on death, resolv'd to die in Arms.
But first to gather Friends, with them t' oppose,
If Fortune favour'd, and repel the Foes.
Spurr'd by my Courage, by my Country fir'd;
With sense of Honour, and Revenge inspir'd. (ll.423-28)

(The Poems ..., ed. Kinsley (Oxford, 1958), iii, p. 1103.)

(2) Epistle II, i, l. 34.

translation of Ovid, will show that balance, grace and clarity have nearly always been sacrificed for the sake of verbal accuracy.

One of the most significant statements on translation before Dryden was made by John Denham, in To Sir Richard Fanshawe, upon his translation of Pastor Fido (1648). It has significance for us in that it foreshadowed the theory and practice of the poetic imitation. Good translations, said Denham, had been few; only poets could translate:

Nor ought a Genius less than his that writ,
 Attempt translation; for transplanted wit,
 All defects of air and soil doth share,
 And colder brains like colder Climates are:
 In vain they toil, since nothing can beget
 A vital spirit but a vital heat.
 That servile path thou nobly dost decline
 Of tracing word by word, and line by line:
 Those are the labour'd births of slavish brains,
 Not the effects of Poetry, but pains;
 Cheap vulgar arts, whose narrowness affords
No flight for thoughts, but poorly sticks at words.
 A new and nobler way thou dost pursue
 To make Translations and Translators too.
 They but preserve the ashes, thou the flame (1)
 True to his sense, but truer to his flame.

Had Fanshawe substituted new names and a new setting for the play, says Denham, one would have thought it his own, while

Some Scenes, some persons alter'd, had out-fac'd
 The world, it were thy work. (2)

(1) The Poetical Works of John Denham, ed. T.H. Banks (New Haven, 1928) p. 143.

(2) Ibid., p. 144.

Likewise the modernity of the 'imitation' can sometimes deceive us into accepting its complete originality; yet Fanshawe has also restored Guarini, by making good those things either intrinsically lacking in him or worn away by the ravages of time. The idea of restoration is of course an important one, for the English Augustans, both in Charles II's and later reigns, compared their efforts to the great reforming, restoring and improving age which they saw in the reign of Augustus, who ruled ostensibly as a restorer of the true old Roman virtue. Denham's most important statement, however, has already been quoted. Translation means infusing the original with a new spirit. To give an author merely a modern dress is not in itself sufficient: he must also have a new soul; his soul speaks in his voice, while the words are those of a recognizable modern age. Much of the theory of translation and imitation has a submerged Platonic reference: the translator or imitator and the original are united by some spiritual bond of understanding, a bond which is tied in that Truth, or Nature, which is always the same. This idea is more clearly articulated by Roscommon and Pope. Denham makes the first clear statement on the 'new translation', which rejects literalism, advocates freedom, yet does not treat the original as some one living in the past. In the preface to The Destruction of Troy (1656) Denham repeats the idea that it is not the business of the poetical translator to turn

Language into Language, but Poesie into Poesie, and Poesie is of so subtile a spirit, that in pouring out of one Language into another, it will all evaporate; and if a new spirit be not added in the translation, there will remain nothing but a Caput mortuum ..." (1)

(1) Ibid., p. 159.

He would have Virgil "not only speak as a man of this Nation, but as a man of this age." (1) Where Denham adds and expands, he hopes to make such additions and expansions Virgilian, though in fact he more frequently omits and abbreviates.

Abraham Cowley's Pindarique Odes first appeared in 1656. In his 'Preface' Cowley stressed the fact that Pindar was almost unintelligible to many people, not only because of "the great difference of time betwixt his age and ours", but because his numbers were strange to English ears. Thus the task of restoration for Cowley was even greater than it had been for Fanshawe, Sandys and Denham. Exact imitation, he said, could produce nothing good or noble, and copies could never go beyond their original. Thus he had no choice but to infuse his own spirit into that of Pindar, as Denham had advised. Supported by the new aesthetic truth, Cowley could declare:

It does not at all trouble me that the Grammarians perhaps will not suffer this libertine way of rendring foreign Authors, to be called Translation; for I am not so much enamoured of the Name Translator as not to wish rather to be Something Better, though it want yet a Name. I speak not so much all this, in defence of my manner of Translating, or Imitating (or what other Title they please) the Two ensuing Odes of Pindar; for that would not deserve half these words, as by this occasion to rectifie the opinion of divers men upon this matter. (2)

(1) Ibid.

(2) Preface to Pindarique Odes, Written in Imitation of the Stile and Manner of the Odes of Pindar. By A. Cowley. (1677), in The Works of Mr. Abraham Cowley (1678).



Cowley says that he has taken left out and added what he pleased, in order to demonstrate Pindar's

way and manner of speaking; which has not been yet (that I know of) introduced into English, though it be the noblest and highest kind of writing in Verse ... (1)

He concludes his preface with the less ambitious kind of apology: "This Essay is but to try how it will look in an English Habit."⁽²⁾ Naturally, he has done much more. Cowley is not only sensible of the great difference between Pindar's age and his own: awareness of social difference, which we saw in Denham, is the result of travelling in different countries. Cowley is also aware of social change, and his purpose, as a royalist, in demonstrating what is "the noblest and highest kind of writing in Verse" should not be too difficult to guess. Although Cowley cannot transfer the age of Pindar into the modern age, he can eulogize Hobbes, Harvey and other great men, and write on lofty subjects in the way that Pindar had praised his heroes, and thus affirm true nobility when the nobility itself has suffered political and civil defeats.

In An Account of the Life of Mr. Abraham Cowley, Thomas Sprat wrote,

This way of leaving Verbal Translations, and chiefly regarding the Sense and Genius of the Author, was scarce heard of in England, before this present Age. I will not presume to say, that Mr. Cowley was the absolute Inventor of it. Nay, I know that others had the good luck to recommend it first in Print. Yet I appeal to you, Sir, ⁽³⁾ whether he did not conceive it, and discourse of it, and practise it as soon as any man. ⁽⁴⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) M. Clifford, to whom Sprat's Account is dedicated.

(4) An Account, etc. In the Works of Cowley (1678),^{sig} b3. Sprat said that "this imitating of Pindar ... may perhaps be thought a new sort of writing, than a restoring of an Ancient," (Ibid., b2).

This was written before 1678, and thus preceded by a few years the publication of imitations by Oldham (who wrote early 'Pindarique Odes'), Rochester, Duke, Yalden, Prior and others. The habit of naturalisation was well under way before 1680, as we learn from a letter from Dryden to the Earl of Rochester, written around May 1673:

... This has been lately the case of Etherege, who translating a Satyre of Boileau's, and changing the French names for English, read it so often that it came to their eares who were concernd; and forc'd him to leave off the design e're it was half finish'd. Some of the verse I remember

I call a Spade a Spade; Eaton a Bully
Frampton a pimp, and Brother John a Cully.

But one of his friends, imagind those names not heroique enough for the dignity of a Satyre, and changd them thus.

I call a Spade a Spade, Dunbar a Bully
Brounckard a pimp, and Aubrey Vere a Cully. (1)

In the same year that this letter was written, there appeared Englands sin, and Shame, an imitation of Horace, Odes III, vi which was occasioned by the consequences of the Declaration of Indulgence, and drew a parallel between the degenerate state of Rome and that of England after both their civil wars, making the appropriate modern substitutions.⁽²⁾ This, together with Sprat's modernized version of part of Sat II, vi by Horace, the Countrey-Mouse (1666)⁽³⁾, was "a new sort of writing",⁽⁴⁾ as Sprat said of Cowley's Pindarique Odes.⁽⁵⁾ Dryden disapproved

(1) The translation is from Boileau, Satire I, ll. 51-4. The quotation is from The Letters of John Dryden, ed. Charles E. Ward, (1942), p. 10.

(2) See Appendix B.

(3) In A. Brome's edition of The Poems of Horace (1666), p. 68. It also appears in the 1678 edition of Cowley's Works (p.109).

(4) See above, p.51, n.4.

(5) Sprat also mentions two instances of "Horace's Speeches" by Cowley: "that part of an Epistle to Mr. Creswel ... and that Copy which is written to your self [both from Ep. I, x]." Works (1678),^{sib} p. 3.

of imitation as practised by Cowley and Denham, and likewise must have disapproved of modern imitations of Horace. Yet he jokingly approved of Etherege's way of rendering Boileau (this was one of the first translations made) and later did the same thing himself when he substituted English for French names in Soames' translation of *L'Art Poétique*, published in 1683. However, in the spring of 1675, two years after this letter was written, the friendship between Dryden and Rochester having come to an end, Rochester wrote An Allusion to Horace The 10th Satyr of the 1st Book, in which he cleverly altered the names in Horace's satire. Dryden was substituted for Lucilius, and was also satirized, for Rochester also altered the sense of his original. It is likely, considering the habit of passing round manuscripts, that Dryden saw this poem, or at least knew of its existence, before it was printed in 1680 in Poems on Several Occasions. By the Right Honourable, the Earl of Rochester. Dryden probably also knew Sir Car Scroop's reply, called In Defence of Satyr. A Poem in Imitation of Horace lib. 1. sat. 4, which was not however published until 1731. In any case, after Sprat's statement that Cowley was one of the first to practise imitation - suggesting that it was becoming established - and the imitations of Horace, Dryden had enough evidence of a new literary technique to bring his own arguments against it in his Preface concerning Ovid's Epistles, published in 1680.

We have reached a point where the rejection of literalism, at least for Dryden, had to be considered carefully. There appeared to be no middle way between literalism and subjective, imaginative translations which did not carefully consider the aims, the style and the context of the original poem - that is, apart from one translation, which Dryden chose as his model. This was

Waller's translation of Book IV of the Aeneid, called The Passion of Dido, which appeared two years after Cowley's Pindarique Odes, in 1658. Yet Waller, no less than Denham, could only paraphrase the concentrated, suggestive power of Virgil: much of his translation is in fact a running commentary, while the heroic couplet performs a Procrustean service. So many of Virgil's effects are lost: as in Denham's translation, where ponderousness and the march of fate disappear in the smooth, flowing verse, so in Waller poetic effects are sacrificed in the attempt to cultivate a clear style and a smooth versification, while combining, as far as possible, a faithfulness to the original words and sense, with an exposition of the text for readers who cannot be expected to digest all of Virgil whole. Nevertheless, Dryden saw that Waller had a legitimate aim: to make the classics speak as poets in the modern age, to harness them to the couplet, and to make them sound agreeable to a reading public which lay outside the court and the learned elite.

ii. Imitations and the Modern Translators

The theory of the formal imitation evolved out of the aesthetic theory which had been clearly announced by Denham, Cowley, and Sprat, but by 1680 the meanings of 'imitation' had become quite complex. First of all, there was selective imitation, according to Renaissance theory and practice, which chose the best pieces from the best (that is, classical) authors, in order to perfect language and style, obtain decorum, and guide each practitioner along the various paths of poetry and rhetoric. Secondly, there was the genre theory, which meant writing according to classical formal models. Hall, Wyatt and Donne used classical

forms and at times imitated so closely that they naturalized their originals and adapted them to the Elizabethan scene. In this, however, they were far from consistent, and they did not ask of the reader that he make a comparison between the original and the imitation. The selective theory and the genre theory often came together, so that, in the case of Jonson's epistles, and in the satires and epistles of Boileau, both specific forms and specific parts of poems were used and adapted. Pope, in his Pastorals, was working on this principle. Thirdly, there was the type of imitation which grew out of translation. This is the type we are examining and we have tried to show that, in one sense, it was a late development, but in another, came as a natural result of the earliest attempts at translation, as we saw in Gavin Douglas. It implies that the translator deviated from his text in order to make it read like poetry, and that he adapted it to his own age. Denham developed this principle of imitation by stating that it was impossible to translate poetry into poetry without pouring a new spirit into the old one. This could mean giving the original 'a new dress', making the author speak as a living person, restoring both what had been lost by time and what was 'low' in the author concerned. The translator was free to add his own thoughts, and could vary his original where he thought fit. Cowley introduced imitation in the lyrical sphere. He was imitating, as he thought, Pindar's manner, but was not making any regular, geographic or chronological adaptation. Cowley's Pindarism relied on hyperbole, or Metaphysical imagery, and was in Dryden's opinion unsuitable for what he called "any regular intelligible authors." (1) The satirical imitation began to grow during that period

(1) Preface concerning Ovid's Epistles (1680), in John Dryden: Of Dramatic Poesy and Other Critical Essays, ed. George Watson (1962), i, p.272.

when Dryden became a satirist and a translator. Imaginative paraphrase, or Cowleian imitation, did in fact spread into authors other than Pindar. The Wish (1675) used the technique on Juvenal's tenth satire, one of Ovid's epistles in Dryden's edition was "in Mr. Cowley's way of imitation" (1) while Oldham himself began by imitating one of Horace's odes (III, ix) in Cowleian Pindaric.

A distinction has to be made between Cowley's practice, and that of the formal satirists and more regular imitators who came after him. The difference was not only between lyrical and satirical imitation: it involved different mental processes, for the lyricist, if he was adapting Horace in the Cowleian manner, could strike many new thoughts and images and weave new patterns into his original quite freely without having to bother about the modern setting. The satirist and the epistolary writer, however, had to keep the social and cultural analogy in their mind when they followed an original. Thus the third kind of imitation which grew out of translation was that which consistently 'naturalized' its original, changing customs, places, persons and allusions according to modern requirements.

Dryden disapproved of the imitation, but from the point of view of a translator. As a translator, he felt himself bound to his original in several ways, to which imitators paid little, or less regard. In his Preface concerning Ovid's Epistles, Dryden gave out certain precepts based on his own chosen method of translation. Although he is rejecting both literalism and imitation, there are contradictions or at least discrepancies in his arguments which he to a certain

(1) Ibid., p. 273.

extent foresees by modifying and making reservations. Indeed, in 1681, the year after this preface, Oldham used the same arguments to justify an imitation of Horace's Ars Poetica which Dryden had used to support straightforward translation. Dryden admits that imitation can be successful poetically; what he is outlining, however, is a theory of translation which can be generally applied. It is not surprising that he had his eye on practitioners other than himself, for he helped to father translations by various other hands, some of which were headed 'imitations', such as Temple's rendering of Virgil's tenth eclogue,⁽¹⁾ Chetwood's rendering of Horace, Odes II, xv,⁽²⁾ and Bowles's imitation of the fourteenth idyll of Theocritus.⁽³⁾ Twelve years later, Dryden had to admit that in the translations of Juvenal,

The common way which we have taken is not a literal translation, but a kind of paraphrase; or somewhat, which is yet more loose, betwixt a paraphrase and imitation. It was not possible for us, or any men, to have made it pleasant any other way.⁽⁴⁾

Dryden tried to avoid dogmatism, and he continually veered towards compromise with methods he had formally disowned in the 1680 preface. This is because translation for Dryden was a practical art achieved not for the sake of the translator alone, but for a reading public, and with the help of other translators. His theories were the result of a working acquaintance with classical authors, which contrasted sharply with that of many scholars

(1) See The Works of Virgil, Translated (1697), pp. 28-30.

(2) See Sylvae: or the Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies (1685), P. 150.

(3) See Miscellany Poems (1727), i, pp. 333 ff., and below, Ch.4, pp. 128-9.

(4) Watson, ii, p. 152.

who had come before him.

We must, however, consider Dryden's attitude to imitation as he expounded it in 1680. The particular author in question is Ovid, and what Dryden stresses is his author's individual personality. It is interesting to note that even the verse dedication, addressed in the following to the ladies, has the Ovidian touch, with its imagery, its wit, and its insight into human nature that surprises and delights:

The fire we boast, with force uncertain burns,
And breaks but out, as Appetite returns:
But Yours, like Incense, mounts by soft degrees,
And in a fragrant flame consumes to please. (1)

The latent yet tender sexuality and the adjective "soft" reveal a poet who is indeed conforming to the genius of his author. What Dryden tries to capture is the essence of the Ovidian heroic epistle, which is a kind of gyroscopic balance. The epistles are written by forsaken women or by women who have been separated from husbands and lovers, whose minds are in a whirl, yet who somehow maintain a tragic dignity. This noble passion, the centrifugal desire, love, recrimination and hate, and the centripetal stability of the abandoned, lonely figure, Dryden attempts to render in his heroic couplets. All this brings him up against the imitators. He cannot, like Cowley, set his author as a pattern only. He has to bear in mind Ovid's special qualities:

(1) Dedication to Translation from Ovid's Epistles (1680).

The sense of an author, generally speaking,⁽¹⁾ is to be sacred and inviolable. If the fancy of Ovid be luxuriant, 'tis his character to be so; and if I retrench it, he is no longer Ovid. It will be replied that he receives advantage by this lopping of his superfluous branches, but I rejoin that a translator has no such right: when a painter copies from the life, I suppose he has no privilege to alter features and lineaments, under pretence that his picture will look better; perhaps the face which he has drawn would be more exact, if the eyes or nose were altered, but 'tis his business to make it resemble the original.⁽²⁾

Here Dryden knocks down an important prop for Denham's theory. Denham felt it legitimate to 'dress up' the original, restore it, give it a "varied posture" or "a flattering dress". Flattery, says Dryden in effect, does not behove the translator, who must tell the truth.

Thus the first principle is to remain true to the sense, whereas Cowley and Denham felt they could introduce their own thoughts. We have seen above how Dryden conformed himself to his author's particular mode of expression. He makes, therefore, a second principle, based on expression itself:

No man is capable of translating poetry who, besides a genius to that art, is not a master both of his author's language and of his own. Nor must we understand the language only of the poet, but his particular turn of thoughts and of expression, which are the characters that distinguish and, as it were, individuate him from all other writers. When we are come thus far, 'tis time to look into ourselves, to conform our genius to his, to give his thought either the same turn, if our

(1) Dryden makes two exceptions, "that is, if the thought be notoriously trivial, or dishonest."

(2) Watson, i, p.272.

tongue will bear it, or, if not, to vary
but the dress, not to alter or destroy the substance. (1)

Imitators, implies Dryden, cannot conform their genius to that of their author, do not retain his individual style, and tend to alter or destroy his substance. Yet Oldham a year later said that he was trying, though in an imitation, to hit the easy and familiar way of writing, at which Horace was a master, and which distinguished him from other poets.⁽²⁾ He also said that he was retaining the substance of his original. In fact, of course, Oldham did not merely 'modernize' Horace. He read into Horace the critical standards prevalent in the late seventeenth century, he adapted Horace's sense in a particular way to the seventeenth century situation, and he invented concepts and attitudes which Horace did not have. (Dryden himself, however, was also a neo-classicist in the sense that he gave classical authority to modern phenomena. A good example of this is his definition of his own satire, which he called Varronian. It is highly unlikely that he had Shaftesbury, and what little of Varro's satires remained, both in his mind at the same time.) Difficulties emerge in Dryden's attitude to an author's expression, for he appears to give this a high priority, but then qualifies it by allowing variation in the 'dress' - which is little different from the expression - and a little later on he admits that some of the expression cannot be retained and the translation still be good as poetry, so that translators may on occasion have to "choose out some expression which does not vitiate the sense"⁽³⁾ He allows this latitude, but says that when thoughts are innovated, the translation is no longer faithful. This is a retreat from the opening sentence

(1) Ibid., pp. 271-2.

(2) See the 'Advertisement' to Some New Pieces Never before Publish'd (1684).

(3) Watson, i, p.272.

quoted above. Yet Dryden has to retreat even further in introducing the other translations:

that of Oenone to Paris by Aphra Behn is in Mr. Cowley's way of imitation only. I was desired to say that the author who is of the fair sex, understood not Latin. But if she does not, I am afraid she has given us occasion to be ashamed who do.⁽¹⁾

By this nice compliment, he has unsaid all he has said above, and he concludes by saying that he himself has transgressed his rules, and that he has taken more liberty than a just translation will allow.

Dryden defines imitation in two ways. First, he says it is a version in which the author not only varies from the words and sense, but can forsake both as he sees occasion. He takes "some general hints from the original, to run division on the ground-work, as he pleases."⁽²⁾ It is thus a kind of variation upon a theme. Second, it is a version in which the poet writes "as he supposes that author would have done, had he lived in our age, and in our country."⁽³⁾ Here he is referring to the habit of naturalization as practiced in Brome's Horace, and by Sprat, Rochester, Sir Car Scroop and the anonymous imitator of Horace, Odes III, vi, who wrote Englands Sin, and Shame (1672). Cowley, says Dryden, did not reach this definition, "for in the Pindaric Odes the customs and ceremonies of ancient Greece are still preserved."⁽⁴⁾ But to apply both the Cowleian and the naturalizing method to Virgil or Ovid would make the result "almost the creation of another hand."⁽⁵⁾ In themselves

(1) Watson, i. p.273.

(2) Ibid., p. 270.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid., p. 271.

imitations are a legitimate literary technique. Dryden, however, disapproves of them as translations. He would not have disapproved of the first two methods of imitation we described above, that is, selection of the best parts of the best authors, and adaptation of specific forms, even at times of specific poems. These Renaissance types of imitation can come extremely close to the new Restoration and Augustan type, but they start from different positions. Dryden finds himself so uncertain at times because he is writing as a translator. Had they been very loose translations and not original poems, Dryden would have had to condemn all previous imitations of classical poets as bad reproductions, from Hall to Milton. The new formal imitation grew out of translation, but quickly separated itself from it, and could be justified on poetic grounds.

As for naturalization, or making an author speak consistently in the present, Dryden himself showed he was leaning towards it. Apart from his substitutions in Boileau, he gave a thoroughly Restoration air to Juvenal and to Ovid's Ars Amatoria and at times made modern parallels. He entered so much into the spirit of the twenty-seventh idyll of Theocritus that he wrote a modern rustic comic sketch; his translation of Virgil's fourth eclogue has been seen to allude, originally, to the marriage between Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark, their future son presumably being substituted for that of Pollio as the bringer of the new Golden Age;⁽¹⁾ while there are covert references to the Popish Plot and the House of Orange in his translation

(1) See Earl Miner, 'Dryden's Messianic Eclogue,' RES, XI. (1960), pp.299-302.

of the Aeneid. And we find, too, in the translation of Eido to Aeneas the couplet:

What People is so void of common sense,
To Vote Succession from a Native Prince? (1)

- an allusion to the Exclusion Bill of Shaftesbury. (2) Hundreds more changes could be pointed out, all of which prove that Dryden is not entirely averse to making his author speak as one who lived in Dryden's age and country. Yet he is not motivated by the desire to show his own excellence and skill, which is characteristic of the imitators. Philemon Holland's prose versions of Pliny, Livy and Suetonius contained many modernizations. In his Livy "cum singulis vestimentis" was translated "in their single doublet and hose", "Patres et plebs" became "Lords and commons", "Praetor" became "Lord Chief Justice" and Praefectus "Provost Marshall". There was no disingenuous wit here, but merely the attempt of a translator to make his text more intelligible to the modern reader unfamiliar with Roman dress and Roman administration. Motteux, Scudamore and Phillips, the Restoration burlesquers and translators, indulged in deliberate anachronisms: they did not attempt to conform themselves to their authors strictly in the way Dryden advocated. The basic difference between Dryden's occasional modernized renderings and the technique of the satirical imitator lies partly in the desire of the imitator to address his audience as one who is forever looking over his shoulder, as he writes, at the political, literary and social scene of his own day. He points to his own ingenuity, disguises himself in another's voice, making two voices speak at once; he

(1) The Poems of John Dryden, ed. J. Kinsley (Oxford, 1958), iv, p.1536.

(2) See J. McG. Bottkol, 'Dryden's Latin Scholarship; MP, XL (1943), pp. 252-253.

shifts his position from translator to a master of the witty and ironical allusion. The satirical imitation became an extended allusion. (Though not of course an imitation in the sense which we have defined, Absalom and Achitophel is also a kind of extended allusion.)

Allusions by their very nature place something between the new work and the old which keeps them together yet which also keeps them apart. Imitation and allusion, instead of faithfully copying the original, create a double image: One image is superimposed on the other. For Dryden this meant that the imitation created a distortion. Yet no sooner is this said than a whole series of qualifications is required. Even though the imitation is a wilful 'distortion' of the original, it may be a happy one poetically. Furthermore, when one is writing for example an 'imitation' of one of Ovid's epistles, as Oldham and others did, the liberties taken may be quite close to (and avowedly consistent with) the style, thought and expression of the original author. In this way the writer has conformed himself to his author's genius in the very act of departing from the original poem. Dryden, in fact, as we saw above, had few arguments against Cowleian imitation as poetry, and he was also compelled to admire a Cowleian imitation of Ovid by one who knew no Latin. In the following century, Allan Ramsay was to write imitations of Horace with only a partial understanding of the original.⁽¹⁾ In 1696

Dryden wrote:

The qualification of a translator worth reading must be a mastery of the language he translates out of, and that he translates into; but if a deficiency be to be allowed in either, it is in the original, since if he be but a master enough of the tongue of his author as to be master of his sense, it is possible for him to express that sense with eloquence in his own, if he have a thorough command of that. But without the latter he can never arrive at the

(1) See Chapter 5 below, pp. 195-6.

useful and the delightful, without which reading is a penance and fatigue.⁽¹⁾

Dryden's last position here is not the same as his first. The rejection of literalism had never implied inaccurate translation. The criterion became that of poetry itself, or, in the case of prose, an elegant English style. The translator was subject to some of the pressures of an original writer. Translation was becoming an art, and the status of the translator had been considerably raised. The above statement of Dryden as it were lets in the imitation through the back door: a mastery of the English tongue, an appreciation of the genius of a classical author and a critical acquaintance with his subject matter can compensate for poor Latin, a moderate grasp of an author's particular expressions (those that "individuate" him), and therefore a more general - but, we may assume, a more vital - knowledge of the original text.

Cowleian imitation, in fact, became subdued, and was merely a rather freer type of Drydenesque translation. Seventeenth and eighteenth century 'imitations' that do not modernize are usually of this type.

Seven years before Dryden's translations of Ovid appeared, however, a travesty of five of the epistles was published, called Ovidius Exulans; or, Ovid travestie. A mock-poem ... In English burlesque ... by Naso Scarron-nomimus (1673). Using Cotton's technique of anachronism and debasement, the author had distorted Ovid in every way. This kind of 'allusion' may have

(1) The Life of Lucian, Watson, ii, p. 214.

influenced Dryden's dismissal of naturalization. For Dryden knew that contemporary women were not, on the whole, the chaste, heroic beauties Ovid described. With this thought in his mind, perhaps, he criticized Ovid himself:

Yet where the characters were lower, as in Oenone and Hero, he has kept close to nature, in drawing his images after a country life, though, perhaps, he has Romanized his Grecian dames too much, and made them speak sometimes as if they had been born in the City of Rome, and under the Empire of Augustus.⁽¹⁾

For Dryden, too close an imitation of modern life could lower the tone of a poem such as an Ovidian epistle. One senses that Dryden is fighting against the despair of those writers who did not think fine poetry possible except on a small, lyrical, scale. Dryden's emphasis was on refinement and improvement. He refused to lower his original as Cotton and Phillips had, or alter it for more subversive ends, like Rochester. Because he took up this position, he was attacked: The Wits Paraphras'd ... In a burlesque on the several late translations of Ovid's Epistles (1680) was an obvious way of deriding the new translations through burlesque imitation, although, Alexander Radcliffe, who in the same year published his Ovid Travestie, a burlesque upon several of Ovid's Epistles, had no intention of satirizing Dryden, and wished to dissociate his effort from The Wits Paraphras'd.⁽²⁾ Mock-imitations are comparatively rare in the seventeenth century. The mock-odes, mock-epistles and mock-eclogues by

(1) Watson, i, p.267.

(2) See 'Advertisement' to Ovid Travestie ... (1680), sig A2.

Swift, Walsh, Gray, Bramston, Miller, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and many others, all appeared after Dryden's death.⁽¹⁾ The burlesque imitations that Dryden knew were therefore travesties, which were really closer to burlesque translations, and he came down hard on those who debated their original. In The Life of Lucian he said:

I would not be understood that the translator should be at liberty to give such a turn as Mr. Spence has in some of his, where for the fine raillery and Attic salt of Lucian, we find the gross expressions of Billingsgate, or Moorfields and Bartholemew Fair. For I write not to such translators, but to men capacious of the soul and genius of their authors, without which all their labour will be of no use but to disgrace themselves, and injure the author that falls into their slaughter-house.⁽²⁾

Yet Dryden certainly used some "gross expressions" for his Juvenal, and his Theocritus was hardly written in the refined language of the court. Yet here the important doctrine of decorum operated, as far as the translation of particular authors was concerned. Some authors required more faithful and more elegant renderings than others. Dryden was a pragmatist: one type of translation would work for Ovid, but another unsuitable for Ovid could be applied to Juvenal.

The seventeenth century thought that Horace himself had given a rule for translation, and they found it in the three lines from the Ars Poetica:

nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus
 interpres, nec desilies imitator in artum,
 unde pedem proferre pudor vetet aut operis lex. (ll.133-5)

The lines come in a discussion on drama, and are not referring to the rules of translation as such. Nevertheless, even Du Bellay over a century before

(1) See Appendix B, and Chapters 8 and 4 respectively.

(2) Watson, ii, p.215.

had read the lines in this way,⁽¹⁾ and Roscommon's translation of The Art of Poetry (1680) was used by Dryden as an argument against literalism in his 1680 preface, in order to make Horace an apologist for the modern translators. Roscommon had translated Horace as follows:

Nor Word for Word too faithfully translate,
Nor (as some servile Imitators do)
Prescribe at first such strict uneasy Rules,
As they must ever slavishly observe ... (p. 7).

Oldham carried the practice of 'reading into' Horace much further by his own imitation. He also published, in the same year, imitations of Ovid's elegies, (Rochester in 1680 had published a highly Rochesterian version of Amores II, ix⁽²⁾), Ovid's epistles, Byblis (from Book IX of the Metamorphoses), as well as imitations of Horace's odes. In June, 1681 he wrote his imitation of Horace's ninth satire of the first book, a naturalized version that was not the direct result of a literary or political squabble, and therefore intended both as an imitation and as a satire in the manner of Horace. In April, 1682 he imitated the thirteenth, and in May the third satire of Juvenal. Boileau's eighth satire followed in October, and all were published the following year. During these same months, Dryden was making Boileau English by substituting English for French names in L'Art Poétique.

(1) "Horace baille les preceptes de bien traduire." Op, cit., p.66.

(2) Ovid's comparison of the retiring gladiator, (similar to that in Horace, Epistles I, i), "tutaque deposito positur ense radis", became in Rochester:- "The harrast whore, who liv'd a Wretch to please; / Has leave to be a Bawd, and take her ease." Poems, ed. V. de S. Pinto (1946), p.47.

In 1684, one of the most well-known and most frequently quoted apologies for modern verse translation appeared with the Earl of Roscommon's An Essay on Translated Verse. There are many echoes of this poem in Pope's Essay on Criticism, written twenty-five years later, which indicates that Roscommon had almost written the Ars Poetica for the new Augustan age in England. (The same might be said for the Earl of Mulgrave's Essay on Poetry, though its influence seems to have been smaller.) Roscommon's poem was accompanied by a tribute from Dryden, who saw it as a modern English equivalent of Horace's Ars Poetica: "Horace, if living, by exchange of fate, / Wou'd give no Laws, but only yours translate".⁽¹⁾ Dryden mentioned too Roscommon's "own Horace" and "his own Virgil", the former of whom Roscommon had equalled, if not excelled - praise indeed, when Roscommon himself had written such a naively magnified invocation to his poet-god:

Approach his Altars with religious Fear,
 No petty Deity inhabits there:
 Heavy'n shakes not more at Jove's imperial Nod,
 Then Poets shou'd before their Mantuan God.
 Hail mighty MARO: may that Sacred Name
 Kindle my Breast with thy celestial Flame;
 Sublime Ideas, and apt Words infuse;
 The Muse instruct my Voice, and Thou inspire the Muse!⁽²⁾

This kind of praise was the product of a movement that was seeking to imitate and emulate certain classical poets. Roscommon mentions only four - Horace, Virgil, Theocritus and Homer - in a 409-line poem. Thomas Francklin's Translation: a Poem (1733) surveyed the question from a more general viewpoint,

(1) 'To the Earl of Roscommon, on his Excellent POEM'. (A2)

(2) An Essay on Translated Verse (1684), pp. 11-12.

and even in retrospect assigned certain translation projects to various authors, such as Terence to Congreve, Tibullus to Hammond, Lucian to Swift, Cicero to Conyers Middleton, Livy to Bolingbroke and Plato to Melmoth or Boyle. J. Amherst, who wrote a prefatory tribute to Roscommon's poem was, like Roscommon, considering translation (in this case, of Virgil) as a question of one aspect of the art of writing verse:

Unfit to reach the heights that he has flown,
We wisely to our level bring him down,
Himself had writ less sweet, and less sublime
In any other tongue or other clime.⁽¹⁾

The combination of circumstances which produced the age of Augustus, implies Amherst, can never recur. Yet others 'wish-fulfilled' themselves into believing the cyclic view of history. The gesture of Dryden became a conventional one:

The French pursu'd their [i.e. Dante's and Petrarch's]
steps; and Britain, last
In Manly sweetness all the rest surpass'd.
The Wit of Greece, the Gravity of Rome,
Appear exalted in the Brittish Loome;
The Muses Empire is restor'd agen,
In Charles his reign, and by Roscommon's Pen.⁽²⁾

Here we have some of the main ideas embodying the new Augustan age: restoration, the combination of Greek Wit and Roman Gravity, analogically seen in the difference between France and England, England having improved on what went before, as Rome had done. The crisis of literary consciousness was also the problem of shaking off a subservient dependence on France, and Roscommon, significantly, used the economic metaphor with "The weighty Bullion of One Sterling Line, / Drawn to French Wire, would through whole Pages shine"(p.4)-

(1) 'To the Earl of Roscommon, on his Excellent Essay on Translated Verse'.(a2)

(2) 'To the Earl of Roscommon, on his Excellent POEM'. (A2)

with a simulative technique (which Pope used several times in his Essay) in the contrast between the lines themselves. Noble fruits were being "transplanted in our isle" (p.2) while judgment would labour more than invention. (Horace had applied the word 'ingenium' - which Oldham translated both as 'wit' and as 'rapture' - to the Greeks).

Roscommon's whole emphasis is on emulating, and if possible equalling the Ancients in poetry. This could only be achieved by developing the whole social culture, through economic, political, as well as literary means. Patronage must also flourish, and poets did look for new Maecenases. Roscommon's poem was about a great deal more than translation. Its title is Translated Verse, not Translation, and it called on native genius and judgment to naturalize the Ancients:

Theocritus do's now to Us belong;
And Albion's Rocks repeat his Rural Song.(p.2)

And again:

But hear, oh hear, in what exalted strains
Sicilian Muses through these happy Plains,
Proclaim Saturnian Times, our own Apollo Reigns. (p.3)

Dryden had hoped that the English might engage ancient 'Wit' on equal terms, so that Homer and Virgil, "without stooping", might pass the English gate.

Horace, said Roscommon, could not be rendered successfully or meaningfully in prose: "Prose shows the Stuff but not the workman's Skill" (p4). It can be seen here that theoretically Roscommon makes considerable advances from previous rejections of literalism. Poets, as workmen (the image is Horatian), used specific techniques. It was not only the spirit or soul of a

classical poet that had to be copied: it was his craftsmanship. The poet-translator had, however, to choose an author as he chose a friend: Virgil and Horace were living men, and the Platonic idea of friendship which we saw in Denham's apology for imitation reappears:

United by this Sympathetick Bond,
You grow Familiar, Intimate and Fond;
Your Thoughts, your Words, your Stiles, your Souls agree,
No longer his Interpreter, but He. (p.7)

This idea recurs fairly frequently. Having read, re-read and translated a classical author, the English poet would find his soul 'agreeing' with that of his original. He would perhaps compare other translations, and then write imitations. Imitations were ideally not the result of casual acquaintance. Roscommon had served Horace for twenty years, and Pope did not attempt to publicly imitate him until he had been writing for over twenty-five years - and then he not only used the English translations and imitations written before, but also used four different Latin texts of his poet. Beside all this, we must remember that Horace was taught in schools. Pope, perhaps, had the advantage of reading Horace from the first as a poet, rather than as a school text.⁽¹⁾

(1) As Dryden put it:

There are many who understand Greek and Latin, and yet are ignorant of their mother-tongue. The properties and delicacies of the English are known to few; 'tis impossible even for a good wit to understand and practice them, without the help of a liberal education, long reading, and digesting of those few good authors we have amongst us, the knowledge of men and manners, the freedom of habitudes and conversation with the best company of both sexes; and, in short, without wearing off the rust which he contracted while he was laying in a stock of learning. (Watson, ii, p.20)

Although Roscommon does not deal with imitations as such - he is against "excursions"⁽¹⁾ - it is important to remember that he was writing when the prevalent atmosphere favoured imitation, both of the Cowleian type, which came closer to Dryden's paraphrase, and the naturalized type, which made an author write as a citizen of the modern country. We remarked above that imitation and translation raised the question of social differences. Here a delicate issue is also raised. By making Horace and Juvenal satirize English follies and vices, does the change of time and place become merely an accidental effect or does it automatically produce "the creation of another hand"? Naturalized imitations could and did bring about several philosophical and literary problems. They repeated the same 'fundamental' truths, yet also changed the whole social and ideological setting. Roscommon's Aristotelianism emphasized the universal ideal:

Truth still is One; Truth is Divinely bright,
No cloudy Doubts obscure her Native Light. (p.13)

Pope's Essay on Criticism echoed this:

Unerring Nature, still divinely bright,
One clear, unchang'd, and Universal Light. (ll. 69-70).

Pope wrote this when his Pastorals had just been published, but the idealized pastoral itself, which was an Aristotelian imitation of Virgil's 'Nature,'⁽²⁾ had

(1) "Excursions are inexpiably Bad, / For 'tis much safer to leave out, than Add." (p.14)

(2) This we have called 'conventional' imitation. See Chapter 4 below, pp.146 ff.

less success than the non-Aristotelian imitation. Neither Roscommon nor Pope had a consistent philosophy: their Aristotelianism was part of their eclectic view of the world. If Homer and 'Nature' were the same, if to follow Virgil correctly one had to follow rules derived from them, this implied writing generalized imitations - (that is, like, but not of). To copy the idea rather than the substance meant that craftsmanship, style and form had, in the end, to be servants of a "Universal Light", and not of an individual impulse. By the time Hurd wrote his Letters on Chivalry and Romance (1762) a more modern sociological and evolutionary view of literature was growing. For Hurd, Homer and 'Nature' were not the same: the heroic age in Greece, which Hurd saw as analogous to feudal society in Europe, was the social soil in which Homer flourished. Such a social and historical basis for writing epics and romances had long disappeared. (1)

However much the classics were seen as idealizers of nature, the new empirical outlook always kept breaking through; the Platonic and Aristotelian connections that were made between Ancients and Moderns assumed a subtle and less obvious importance in some of the naturalized imitations, where the difference-in-sameness, both as regards the society and the cultural milieu and the two poetic voices, provided a great deal of the reader's interest and pleasure, while in the mock-imitations the tension was almost that of breaking-point. Nevertheless, the 'soul' and 'spirit' theory of translation, so amenable

(1) Later, however, this kind of basis could be imaginatively re-created (which was achieved to a remarkable degree in the historical novel of Walter Scott).

to imitation, is what distinguishes the whole period. Dryden, when writing on translation, rarely discussed grammar, accuracy, syntax and style in themselves. Sir Thomas Pope Blount later quoted James Howell's statement that "Translations are but as turn-coat Things at best,"⁽¹⁾ but Dryden, as we can infer from the Preface to Sylvae (1685), still agreed basically with Denham's reasons for avoiding literal translation, or 'metaphrase':

'Tis one thing to draw the outlines true, the features like,
the proportions exact, the colouring itself perhaps tolerable;
and another thing to make all these graceful, but the posture,
the shadowings, and chiefly by the spirit which animates the whole.⁽²⁾

The Preface to Sylvae contains what could be called poetic character-descriptions of Virgil, Lucretius, Theocritus and Horace. The miscellany itself, which followed the first, of 1684, probably appeared at the end of that year. In it were Dryden's translations of parts of the Aeneid, De Rerum Natura, three idylls of Theocritus, and three odes and one epode of Horace. Both Creech and Harington had translated Horace's Odes and Epodes in 1684. Creech had also translated Theocritus, for which he earned Roscommon's praise. Dryden tried, in translating Theocritus, to retain "the inimitable tenderness of his passions",⁽³⁾ and his rustic simplicity, and avoided the affectation he found in Virgil and Guarini. Indeed, Dryden is at one with Creech and Roscommon in trying to make "Albion's Rocks repeat his Rural Song". Of the four classical poets, Theocritus is the most naturalized,⁽⁴⁾

(1) De Re Poetica (1694), p.106.

(2) Watson, ii, pp. 10-20.

(3) Ibid., p.30.

(4) Dryden reveals his line of thinking when he makes the following parallel:

Even his Doric dialect has an incomparable sweetness in its clownishness, like a fair shepherdess in her country russet, talking in a Yorkshire tone. (Watson, ii, p.30.)

but considerable freedom is also taken with Horace.

While Dryden kept to translation, other poets, who appeared in the same miscellanies, wrote imitations. Dryden's first two miscellanies, in fact, together with his Examen Poeticum (1693) and Jacob Tonson's edition of Odes and Satyrs of Horace By the most Eminent Hands (1715), made the relation and the difference between translation and imitation much clearer. The whole range of translation techniques, from the closest literal version to the freest imitation, is contained in the last collection. Versions are variously headed throughout the work;- 'Rendered almost Word for Word,⁽¹⁾ 'translated,⁽²⁾ 'Englished,⁽³⁾ 'Apply'd to the Duke of Marlborough,⁽⁴⁾ 'paraphrased,⁽⁵⁾ 'imitated in paraphrase,⁽⁶⁾ 'paraphrased in Pindarique verse,⁽⁷⁾ and 'paraphrastically imitated.⁽⁸⁾ The rejection of literalism, we must again point out, is no longer an instinctive, accidental or fanciful procedure: it has a whole new body of critical theory behind it. Thomas Creech's translation of Horace's Odes, Epodes, Epistles and Satires was the

(1) Odes and Satyrs of Horace ... (1715), p.19.

(2) Ibid., p.33.

(3) Ibid., pp. 50, 55, 102, 104.

(4) Ibid., p. 14.

(5) Ibid., pp. 106, 162.

(6) Ibid., p.76.

(7) Ibid., p.111.

(8) Ibid., p.120. 'Imitations' are to be found on pp. 11, 20, 25, 27, 29, 34, 49, 65.

most popular before Dunster's prose version of the Satires and Epistles of 1712.⁽¹⁾ For many it must have been a substitute Horace. Readers from the new reading public probably laid by their Horace and enjoyed Creech instead. Creech's style is rapid, and he unties the syntactical complexity of the Latin, so that we do not have the knotted, perfect quality of Horace that Milton strove to reproduce in his literal translation of the Ode to Pyrrha. Purists may condemn "His heart was Brass"⁽²⁾ for "illi robus et aes triplex / circa pectus erat" in the Ode to Virgil, but it reads well. Odes I, ix reveals the ever-present tendency towards naturalization. When Creech heard a familiar note, he chimed in with something from his own experience and his own age:

Nunc et campus et areae
lenesque sub noctem susurri
composita repetantur hora

e/

is reduced to the unromantic

... The Court, the Mall, the Park, the Stage,
With eager thoughts of Love pursue, (3)

while the final stanza, with its wonderful suggestion of the flickering smile "ab angulo" and the finger that loosely holds the ring, is reduced to the banal

Go dally with thy wanton Miss,
And from the Willing seeming Coy,
Or force a ring, or steal a kiss;
For Age will come, and then farewell Joy. (4)

(1) It saw three editions by 1701.

(2) Ibid., p.6

(3) Ibid., p.16.

(4) Ibid.

In the first satire, Creech adapts Horace to a readily understood idiom, which was why his translation was so popular. Phrases such as "You fear to touch as if you robb'd a Saint",⁽¹⁾ "Kate's that Female Bully of the Town",⁽²⁾ and "marry'd city dame",⁽³⁾ tend to shake off their Latin origin. In the third satire, Creech slips into the modern age almost without thinking, so that his poem is neither Roman nor English:

Caesar, that cou'd Command, did beg a Song:
 'Twas all in vain, he might have held his Tongue.
 Yet take him [i.e. Tigellius] in the Vein, and he would Sing
 From Morn till Night, a Health to Charles our King. (4)

In the Preface to Sylvae, Dryden again verged close to imitation, but always excused himself for being so bold in making

... such expositions of my authors, as no Dutch commentator will forgive me. Perhaps, in such particular passages, I have thought that I discovered some beauty yet undiscovered by those pedants, which none but a poet could have found. (5)

He almost makes the standard defence of imitation in the following (notice again how Dryden retreats from the ideal to a more humble defence of his actual practice):

(1) Ibid., p.209.

(2) Ibid., p.210.

(3) Ibid., p.211.

(4) Ibid., pp. 219-220.

(5) Watson, ii, p.19.

Where I have taken away some of their expressions, and cut them shorter, it may possibly be on this consideration, that what was beautiful in the Greek or Latin would not appear so shining in the English: and where I have enlarged them, I desire the false critics would always think that those thoughts are wholly mine, but that either they are secretly in the poet, or may be fairly reduced from him; or at least, if both those considerations should fail, that my own is of a piece with his, and that if he were living, and an Englishman, they are such as he would probably have written.⁽¹⁾

Examples of this can be found in Dryden's translations of the odes. Odes III, xxix is in 'Pindarics'. Dryden has a careful eye on the gracefulness of his rendering. For example, "balanus capillis" - "balsam for your hair" - is 'translated':

And artful hands prepare
The fragrant Syrian Oyl, that shall perfume thy hair.⁽²⁾

In Horace's "Sole dies referente siccos" - "the sun bringing back dry days" - is in Dryden "with his sultry Breath infects the Sky." Sometimes Dryden retains words of the same Latin root:

Sometimes 'tis grateful to the Rich to try
A short vicissitude, a Fit of Poverty,⁽³⁾

where the Latinate diction adds that slightly sardonic tone required.

Dryden changes the phrases, pads out, but unlike Cowley's witty digressions and elaborations, the personification of the sun in the above quotation is not a complete re-moulding of Horace. (We may compare Cowley's treatment of the Ode to

(1) Watson, ii, p.19.

(2) 'Horat. Ode 29. Book 3 Paraphras'd in Pindarique Verse; and inscrib'd to the Right Honourable Lawrence Earl of Rochester', in Poems, ed. Kinsley (Oxford, 1958), i, p.434.

(3) Ibid., p.435.

Pyrrha.) Dryden's new figures, images and other alterations of expression are kept within limits. Notice how, for example, he subtly extends Juvenal's comment on orators in the tenth satire, "...torrens dicendi copia multis / et sua mortifera est facundia" (ll.9-10) into the couplet,

Some who the depths of Eloquence have found,
In that unnavigable Stream were Drown'd. (1)

Paraphrase means variation inside the original by interpolating, explaining, clarifying, expanding, simplifying, but not transgressing certain limits. Imitation frees itself from these limits. However, when Dryden modernizes, there can be a considerable loss of dignity, as when Horace's

tu, civitatem quis deceat status,
curas et Urbi sollicitus times,
quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent Tanaisque discors

becomes

Thou, what befits the new Lord May'r,
And what the City Faction dare,
And what the Gallique arms will do,
And what the Quiverbearing Foe, (2)
Art anxiously inquisitive to know,

while Horace's cheerful but dignified dismissal of fickle Fortune -

laude manentem; si celeres quatit
pennas, resigno quae dedit et mea
virtute me involvo probamque
pauperiem sine dote quero

(1) Ibid., p.721.

(2) Odes III, xxxi.

(3) Op. cit., p.435.

- is paraphrased by Dryden in a manner that Horace certainly would not have approved:

I can enjoy her while she's kind;
 But when she dances in the wind,
 And shakes the wings, and will not stay,
 I puff the Prostitute away:
 The little or the much she gave is quietly resign'd:
 Content with poverty, my Soul, I am;
 And Vertue, tho' in rags, will keep me warm. (1)

However some of Dryden's "excursions" are "inexpiably" good:

And trunks of Trees come rowling down,
 Sheep and their Folds together drown:
 Both House and Homsted into Seas are borne;
 And Rocks are from their old foundations torn,
 And woods made thin with winds, their scatter'd honours mourn. (2)

"Their scatter'd honours" is a fine phrase, and the line suggests both natural catastrophe and human tragedy.

Dryden further encouraged vigorous liberal translation in his dedication to Lord Radcliffe, prefixed to Examen poeticum: Being the Third Part of Miscellany Poems (1693). The collection contained several imitations. One, called Invitation into the Country. In Imitation of the 34th Epig. of Catullus, 'naturalized' Greek and Roman pleasure:

See the Lawrel, and the Vine,
 Round about that Arbour twine,
 So we Wit, and Pleasure joyn;
 So Horace, and Anacreon meet
 The Jolly God, within that Seat. (3)

(1) Ibid., pp. 436-7.

(2) Ibid., p.436.

(3) Examen poeticum, (1693), p.154.

The same author had perhaps travelled to Italy, for he wrote a piece Out of the Italian of Fulvio Testi. To Count Montecuccoli... Against Pride upon sudden Advancement. Testi's poems had been published in Milan in 1676. The translation contains a good example of how 'foreign fruits' were being transplanted. Testi alluded to the placid calm of the Po and its ability to bear on its back great vessels:

Placido in seno à Teti
 Gran Rè de' Fiumi il Po discioglie il corso,
 Mà di velati abeti
 Macchine eccelse ognor sostien su il dorso,
 Ne per arsura estiva
 In piu breue confin stringe sua riva.⁽¹⁾

This became in the translation:

The Thames, great King of Floods! the Thames
 With peaceful Course hastes gently to the Main;
 Yet He Upon his silent Streams
 The tallest Vessel does with ease sustain.⁽²⁾

The miscellany also contained Congreve's imitations of Horace's odes, Henry Cromwell's translations of Ovid's Love-Elegies, three imitations of Anacreon, and an imitation of Horace by Yalden, To his Friend Captain Chamberline: In Love with a Lady he had taken in an Algerine Prize at Sea. In Allusion to the 4th Ode of Horace, Lib. the 2nd, in which the plausible Restoration comment was made:

Yes, yes, my Friend, with Royal Blood she's great,
 Sprung from some Monarch's bed...⁽³⁾

(1) Poesie (Milano, 1676), p.266.

(2) Examen poeticum, p.154.

(3) Ibid, p.399.

An attack on the whole movement of liberal translation came from Matthew Prior, who wrote A Satyr on the Modern Translators in 1685, after Dryden's Preface to Sylvae. Two years later, he wrote an imitation of Juvenal, with his Satyr on the Poets, a year after Henry Higden's Modern Essay on Juvenal's thirteenth, praised by Dryden,⁽¹⁾ (Prior later disowned both of these attacks.) In a letter to Dr. Humphrey Gower, Master of St. John's, Prior wrote,

...Let our translators know that Rome and Athens are our territories; that our Laureate might in good manners have left the version of Latin authors to those who had the happiness to understand them; that we accuse not others, but defend ourselves, and would only show that these corruptions of our tongue proceed from him and his tribe, which he unjustly casts upon the clergy.⁽²⁾

Prior condemned Dryden, Tate, Behn and Rymer for making Ovid look ridiculous in barbarous, rhyming English; they could only "Burlesque what Nobler Muses better write".⁽³⁾ They were not only defamers of classic nobility, but also dishonest:

Thus while they for their Causes only seem
To change the Channel, they corrupt the Stream.
So breaking Vintners to increase their Wine,
With nauseous Drugs debauch the generous Vine:
So barren Gypsies for recruit are said
With Strangers Issue to maintain the Trade;
But lest the fair Bantling should be known,
A daubing Walnut makes him all their own.⁽⁴⁾

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- (1) Prior in fact borrowed from Oldham's A Satyr. The Person of Spencer is brought in (1681) Both follow Juvenal's seventh satire.
- (2) Quoted in Literary Works, ed. Wright and Spears (Oxford, 1959), II, p.823.
- (3) A Satyr on the Modern Translators, in Poems on Affairs of State, (1703), I, p.194.
- (4) Ibid.

Prior appeals throughout to indigenous creativity, or even plunder from Shakespeare, rather than this 'foreign trade'. He is decidedly unimpressed by Dryden's 'middle way' of paraphrase, and he wishes Creech had never ventured 'abroad' by translating Lucretius and Horace. "Of Virgil labour'd not to be translated", asks Prior, quoting from the Preface to Sylvae, "Why suffers he the only thing he hated"?⁽¹⁾ He uses political and economic analogies indicative of extreme protectionism as an argument against naturalization:

But when we bind the Lyric up to Rhyme,
 And lose the Sense to make the Poem chime:
 When from their Flocks we force Sicilian Swains,
 To ravish Milk-maids in our English Plains;
 And wandring Authors, e'er they touch our Shore,
 Must like our Locust Hugonots, be poor;
 I'd bid th' importing Club their pains forbear,
 And traffick in our own the homely Ware,
 Whilst from themselves the honest Vermin spin,
 I'd like the Texture, tho the Web be thin;
 Nay, take Crown's Plays, because his own, for⁽²⁾ Wit;
 And praise what Durfey, not translating, writ.

By the end of the century the theory and practice of translation had been pulled together. Imitations were a separate poetic activity. However, the motivation behind the satirical imitations of Horace and Juvenal was not just one of bringing the Roman satirists up to date, as translators professed, but of finding the ancient enemies still present in modern society. The imitation made the analogy clear, but it also had two other sides: the idealistic one that accepted the political and social myth of the Augustan Age and the Golden Age in

(1) Ibid., p.198.

(2) Ibid.

England, and the other, more 'realistic' one that produced burlesque forms out of the comparison between what was ancient and what was modern, between the heroic and the base or trivial, between the ideal and the 'real'. Prior expressed a distaste for the habit of modern translation in the piece quoted above because in his opinion, injury was being done to the classics. The crisis of imitation lay in this nagging despair, which continually haunted English writers, that the Ancients could never be equalled, let alone surpassed. The progress from translation to creation involved imitation and emulation, not only for each poet, but for the whole age. The language had to, and was being, improved, corrected, standardized and refined. In the opinion of many it had become capable of rivalling, in some respects, Augustan Latin.⁽¹⁾ Sensibility too had to be refined: this was a more difficult process. There had to be patronage, and there had to be native genius capable of emulating Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, Cicero, Homer and the rest. In the next chapter we shall consider the crisis of imitation in terms of travesties and mock-imitations, for both, in different ways, express the impossibility (the case we consider is that of the heroic mode) of true imitation.

(1) See discussion on the rules of classical verse in English in Chapter 7, pp. 204-8.

CHAPTER 3. TRAVESTY AND MOCK-IMITATION : VIRGIL'S AENEID, HOMER,
AND OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.

SUMMARY.

Distinction made between travesty and mock-imitation of classical originals. Both are a species of burlesque, both rely on discrepancy and disproportion for ironic, satiric or purely comic purposes, though mock-imitations can be satiric without being comic.

(i) Burlesque of epic and mock-epic can be seen as part of a literary crisis, in turn the reflection of an ideological and social crisis following the Civil War: Mottoux, Scudamore, Phillips, Cotton, Boileau, Dryden, Garth and Pope.

Scarron's Le Virgile travesty (1651), Cotton's Virgile travestie (1664).

Other travesties of parts of the Aeneid: Maronides (1672) by Phillips, Cataplus (1672), The Irish Hudibras (1689) by Farewell. A mock-imitation of the Aeneid: The History of the Famous and Passionate Love...in Imitation of Virgil's Dido and Aeneas (1692) by Crowne.

(ii) Travesties of Homer. Homerides (1715): relation between travesty, modern translating practice, and imitation. The 'Ancients' and 'Moderns' controversy and its relevance to translations and imitations.

(iii) L'Ovide Bouffon (1650): incongruous rendering which highlights change in critical approach. Mock-imitation of Baucis and Philemon story: Prior's The Ladle (1703). King's travesty Orpheus and Euridice (1704) and Swift's mock-imitation Baucis and Philemon (1709) discussed. Further travesties: Breval's Ovid in Masquerade (1720), Forbe's Ajax his Speech (1742), Meston's Phaeton (1720) and The Story of Cinyras and Myrrha (1720).

Chapter 3.Travesty and Mock-imitation: Virgil's Aeneid, Homer, and Ovid's Metamorphoses.

Since we are dealing with particular adaptations of and diversions from classical texts, we must discuss both travesties and mock-imitations. Travesties to a greater or lesser extent debase the original's form, language and style, presenting the characters, scenes and incidents in 'low' modern terms. Mock-imitations retain most of the original form, language and style and apply these to new, often 'low' subjects. In both cases there is a disproportion between form and content, style and subject-matter.

Mock-imitations have a greater satirical intention than the travesties, which contain many purely comic elements. As satires, mock-imitations do not need to rely on the purely comic,⁽¹⁾ but can simply harness urban and political subjects to non-urban and non-political poems as in the mock-odes and mock-eclogues. Aspects of modern life lie waiting to be captured satirically in the classical form of the already written poem.

It is legitimate to discuss the travesties and mock-imitations of the Aeneid, the Metamorphoses, the Iliad and Odyssey in a study of imitations, not only because some of the writers used this term, but because

(1) R. P. Bond says of John Crowne's History of the Famous and Passionate Love ... (1692): "There are elements parodic of Virgil, but the poem is too serious for real burlesque" - and is thus unsuccessful. (English Burlesque Poetry (Harvard, 1932), pp.155-6). Crowne says that his poem, which we discuss below, is 'in Imitation of Virgil's Dido and Aeneas'. R. P. Bond has concentrated too much on the need for mock-imitations to amuse.

travesties are closely connected with the other burlesque imitations, whether odes, epistles or eclogues, which are dealt with below. Furthermore, they illuminate the relation between translation and imitation, as well as marking in a small but significant way the contradictions of neo-classicism. The English equivalent continually refers us back to the Greek or Latin original through divergences and distortions. In the case of Cotton, Scudamore and Phillips one could say that there is a rebellion against, strangely combined with an acceptance of, neo-classical codes and restraints.

The epic is a genre which, in Aristotle's sense, is an imitation of men that represents them as better than they really are. While mock-heroic and the mock-imitations show us men more or less as they really are, but create a disproportion through secondary, that is, literary imitation, the travesties re-write epic as comedy, often low comedy, thus turning Aristotle upside down. Yet the scaling down of Aeneas and Achilles in accordance with modern social conditions also presupposes the unsurpassable greatness of Virgil, Homer and classical epic, and the chronic incapacity of the moderns to produce anything of comparable stature.⁽¹⁾ This ridiculing of the ancients is thus a ridiculing of the moderns as well. In the imitations of Horace modern society appears analogous to that of Rome under Augustus - Nero and Domitian in the case of Juvenal. In the travesties of Virgil, Homer and Ovid, however, the mythological (and by implication, the religions, or more specifically, the

(1) Such a conviction found a living reputation in Milton's great Puritan epic, but this poem is organically different from the neo-classical type.

Christian) world has usually been destroyed by the world of vulgar rationalism and non-myth; the age of heroes is contrasted with the 'reality' of low-life, decayed gentry, irreligion, tradesmen and political pragmatists.⁽¹⁾

With men like Motteux, Scudamore and Phillips, says Charles Whibley, we enter "a strange underworld of letters, an inferno inhabited by lettered vagabonds, who matched, in scholarship and scurrility, the heroes of Petronius."⁽²⁾ This is largely true, yet such a dismissal precludes other lines of approach. Charles Cotton, whose Scarronides ran to eight editions by 1709, and continued to be popular throughout the century, was by no means a "lettered vagabond." The mock-epic is usually seen to begin with Boileau's Le Lutrin and is traced through Dryden's Mac Flecknoe and Garth's Dispensary to Pope's Rape of the Lock. Yet both this and Whibley's dismissal obscure the connection between travesties and the more respectable mock poems, to be found in the nature of what John Crowne called "this Age so barren of great Men."⁽³⁾ With an age

(1) It would be a mistake to regard the travesties of Virgil and Homer as mere jeux d'esprit, though they are also that. In 1661 Alexander Brome wrote, in To C.C. Esq; (Cotton's Poems (1958), ed. Buxton, p.xli) -

"Alas! Sir London is no place for verse,
Ingenious harmlesse thoughts, polite and terse,
Our Age admits not, we are wrapp'd in smoke,
And Sin, and business, which the Muses choke."

If "business" is choking the Muses, then only burlesque imitation is possible. Compare this statement with Scarron's written just after the death of Richelieu:

"Les beaux vers et la belle prose
Valent aujourd'hui peu de chose." (A Monseigneur Rosteau.)

(2) 'Writers of Burlesque and Translators', The Cambridge History of English Literature (1912), IX, p. 255.

(3) Dedicatory epistle to The History of the Famous and Passionate Love, (1692).

first of defeat and then compromise for the nobility, mock-heroic became the only method by which the crisis of one type of neo-classical imitation could, poetically at least, be seen to be resolved.

All except one of the burlesques with which we have to deal are written in the jaunty, irreverent octosyllabic couplet, put to most famous use by Butler and Swift. There is the comical rhyming that makes much use of polysyllables and broken, or double rhyme, there is the continual bathos, slangy speech, bawdy pun or description and use of ridiculous alliteration. Aside, however, from their being, except in one case, completely dependent on the sequence of a classical original, travesties rarely attain the heights of a Butler.

The burlesque poem originated and flourished in Italy, the word burla meaning 'ridicule, mockery.' Burlesque verse came to mean the octosyllabic couplet described above, although burlesque poems need not be written in 'English Burlesque,' or burlesque verse. For what we are mostly concerned with are 'travesties', again derived from the Italian, travestire meaning 'to disguise.' (1) The travesty is a specific type of burlesque, the others being the mock poem, the parody, and the Hudibrastic. Mock poems are conceived in the heroic manner, or dignified style, yet describe un-heroic or simply non-heroic things, actions and people. Parodies copy a particular author's style, yet describe incongruous subjects. Hudibrastic describes quasi-heroic matter in the undignified medium of doggered verse.

(1) Thus the Virgilio deguisat, o l'Eneido burlesco, by Sr. de Vales, de Muntech, (Venice, 1648).

Of these four types, only travesties, and mock poems when they are mock-imitations, conform to our definition of the poetic imitation in that they depend on particular poems as models and follow their sequence while adapting the material to the modern age.

i. The Aeneid.

Italian culture, (including travesty and the mock-heroic - La Secctria Rapita by Tassoni appeared in Paris in 1622 - pursued Italian financiers, such as Gondi and d'Emery, to the French court. It was encouraged and promoted by Mazarin, himself Italian. Le Virgile travesty by Paul Scarron appeared in 1651, the year when thousands were starving in Paris, when a huge mob invaded the Parlement and shot or stabbed several of its members, when the Hôtel de Ville was set aflame and the Court kept shifting from place to place. Scarron's poem is a close and ingenious imitation of the Aeneid, making considerable use of modern substitution and anachronism, witty parallel and diminution. Yet its sophistication does not conceal but rather serves to highlight the moral and social crisis of feudal monarchy at the end of the Thirty Years' War, a crisis which in France ushered in absolutism, for France did not have its Cromwell, its Parlement ultimately remaining the instrument of the monarchy. What in England became a successful struggle for Liberty, in France degenerated into an unprincipled fight between ambitious princes, self-seeking nobles and politicians divorced from the interests of the people. At a time when powerful nobles had no community of interest as a class, except through cynical alliances, who saw nation in terms of families, and who often worked through powerful women, as Condé worked through Mme de Longueville, there could be no epic heroes, no

no Aeneases striving for national unity, only mock-Aeneases, and overbearing, dominant Didos. As G.S. Gordon puts it: "The Fronde effected nothing of what it intended, and the disgrace of its actors had no triumph in it; it brought forth not a single great principle, and not a single great man. Liberty showed her face only for a moment, and then obscurely; France, like Horace's bad painter, gave her a salamander's ending." (1)

Thus it could be said that the events themselves have a mock-serious content, as Gordon himself points out. There was something mock-serious about the second Fronde, because the women had as much influence as the men. They served to give the movement its atmosphere of insincerity - while the highest aspirations of Fronde statesmanship consisted in cardinals' hats and matrimonial alliances. When the fighting was all over, when Louis was firmly entrenched and patronage was to some extent restored, the taste for travesties declined sharply in France, but held on for much longer in England, where it grew up soon after the Restoration.

Though inspired by the example of Scarron, Charles Cotton's Virgile travestie, which first appeared in 1664, lacked the sophisticated wit of its model and relied to a far greater extent on debasement and coarseness. P.E. Leavitt considers Cotton inferior to Scarron, lacking in appreciation of the latter's elements of surprise and pungency, and aptness of anachronism. (2) Moreover, Cotton was only able to burlesque two books of his original, and

(1) The Fronde, (London and Oxford, 1905). p.64.

(2) 'Paul Scarron and English Travesty,' Studies in Philology, xvi, (1919), p. 108.

it was not until the later eighteenth century that a complete classical epic, the Homer Travestie (1762) by Thomas Bridges, was rendered this way in English. Until Dryden's translation of the Aeneid in 1697, there had been no complete version that was valid as poetry and as a translation. Indeed, few had attempted the task of translating the whole of the Aeneid. Instead, there were the gentleman translators - 'holiday translators,' as Dryden called them - who produced versions of one or two books at most. Dido and Aeneas, the Destruction of Troy, the Descent into Hell: these were the episodes that attracted the pen of Stapylton, Denham,⁽¹⁾ Godolphin, Fanshawe, Harrington, Waller and Fletcher. So it is no surprise that burlesque imitators of the poem selected well-trodden ground and relied on their readers' familiarity with the substance of favourite episodes that had already been done into English verse. Before Le Bossu, Dryden, Addison and others had striven for the concept of the epic as a complete whole, a unity in which no part, however small, was superfluous, a poetic form that synthesized men's greatest aspirations and achievements, there had prevailed what D.M. Low calls a 'piecemeal' reading of the Aeneid, which he says still exists today.⁽²⁾ The inability to grasp the whole, and the complete disbelief in man's noble qualities, as exemplified in our burlesquers, betrays a moral and spiritual collapse that is a Restoration phenomenon. The satirical temper, the detachment, wit and 'correctness' of the Augustans opposed and superseded it.

(1) In the brief essay accompanying his part translation of Book II in 1656 Denham said that ... "If Virgil must needs speak English, it were fit he should speak not only as a man of this Nation, but as a man of this Age." (p.2)

(2) Virgil and the English Augustans, paper read to the Virgil Society, 5th February, 1952, p.iii.

Cotton travestied the first and fourth books of the Aeneid. The first appeared in 1664, both together in 1667.⁽¹⁾ He retains all the proper names in Virgil, but the characters and places are debased and belong to a half-invented, half-observed sordid reality that Cotton sees in 17th century England. Aeneas is totally unconscious of a great mission. He is an opportunist, a coward, a vulgar materialist, lives for the present, puts his stomach and personal comfort before everything else, and his solutions are never based on piety or posterity but are pragmatic and selfish. Luck saved him from the Greek swords and the flames, luck brought him to the Carthaginian shore:

Here lads, have at ye, and be merry,
 W'are got at last, safe o're the Ferry;
 And though w'ave had but angry wark, yet
 Let's make the best of a bad market.⁽²⁾

He is not conscious of the world of the gods or of Providence. Yet gods exist: Juno is a spiteful old shrew, Neptune is senile and emerges from the water spluttering and shaking salt out of his ears, while Mercury is a thieving young servant in sweaty pumps. Dido combines rural and courtly degeneracy. At her feast she sups two quarts straight off that she had saved for sheep-shearing. Her old flames and attendants are yeomen and moorlanders, while her palace in Carthage is a farmhouse in an English

(1) The full title was as follows: Scarronides: or, Virgile Travestie. A Mock-Poem, On the First and Fourth Books of Virgil's Aeneis in English; Burlesque. (London, 1667).

(2) Scarronides, (1667), p.20.

village which she hoped one day would become a thriving market town. Afterwards, her guests depart to Bedfordshire, and sleep on pillows like organists of "fam'd Hogs — Norton." Mercury's magic wand is a bat used to fell apples with, the Greeks are 'Cavaliers' - which would make Aeneas a Roundhead - Venus is a whore and rushes to an assignation in 'Ram-Alley' after seeing her son, while Dido's bitter accusation of Aeneas is modelled on the Mistress Quickly - Falstaff scenes in Henry IV.

All this adds up to a picture of England that, to the economically declining and politically defeated gentry as well as to the tavern-poets of Restoration London, is a travesty of the heroic age. Cotton has made the Aeneid 'English' by mocking it both as a poem and as a source of worthwhile values.

Scarronides, like Hudibras, is very amusing, and this made it popular. Atlas is so high that Pen-men-maure is a cherry stone compared with it: one cannot get a knife between it and heaven. "Arrows loos'd from Grub-street Bow" are slow compared with Mercury.⁽¹⁾ Although after reading Cotton

(1) Byron's burlesque of Miltonic and epic devices in The Vision of Judgement is similar to Restorian travesty and burlesque. Just as Mercury is faster than arrows loosed from "Grub-street Bow" so in Byron the signal sent from heaven to hell is much faster than the sun's rays, that take up to a second to penetrate the fogs of London. Notice also the irreverent style, and the rhymes in:

I say that I can tell - 'twas half a minute;
 I know the solar beams take up more time
 Ere, pack'd up for their journey, they begin it;
 But then their telegraph is less sublime
 And if they ran a race, they would not win it

'Gainst Satan's couriers bound for their own clime." (LVI)
 The Vision travesties Milton in the way that Cotton travesties Virgil.

Virgil remains intact for us, for the burlesque imitators, though not for Dryden, the Virgilian theme has collapsed, together with language, motivation, morality, the epic tradition, and religion. During the Restoration Cotton was a revenue commissioner, a magistrate, and held a captain's commission in his cousin's regiment. With a moderately large estate, such a position would have been enviable in pre-revolutionary days. Yet Cotton laboured under poverty and creditors' demands, and because of his father's expenditures the estate was impoverished. The travesty of Virgil betrays that jovial and cynical despair born out of the gentleman's fall to the condition of his 'inferiors' that is exhibited in the poetry of Alexander Brome, who wrote in 'The Commoners' (1645):

Shall we lose our estates
By plunder and rates
To bedeck those proud upstarts that swagger,
Kather fight for your meat,
Which these Locusts do eat,
Now every man's a beggar." (1)

Cotton had several followers. One was John Phillips, Milton's nephew, (1631-1706), a monarchist like Cotton. He made several translations from French and Latin as well as burlesquing Virgil. In 1672 appeared his Maronides or Virgil Travestie: Being a new Paraphrase Upon the Fifth Book of Virgils Aenedis in Burlesque Verse. This he claimed as a "Serious Satyr" rather than a jocular story. However, it is neither. Later mock-heroic versions of epic contests, such as the Gymnasiad, or the card game in The Rape of the Lock, are ingenious and often satirical, but the boat race,

(1) Songs and other Poems (1668) p.52.

wrestling match and archery contest of Virgil are unsuccessfully and humourlessly burlesqued in Phillip's travesty. In 1673 he burlesqued the sixth book. In Hell's new provinces 'Monsieur Aeneas', who is 'neuter-like,' sees Hastlerigg, Pym, Hugh Peters, Vane, Harrison, Scot and Bradshaw. Prometheus, whose liver the eagle devours, turns out to be "that Devil of a Devil" himself, who "murdered Jove in his own house" - Cromwell. Also among the suffering spirits of the Tartarean shades of the Aeneid is John Lilburne, with his "bawling Eloquence."

Another burlesque imitation, or travesty of the sixth book appeared in 1672, by one 'M.A.'. It is entitled Cataplus: or, Aeneas his Descent into Hell. A Mock Poem, in imitation of the Sixth Book of Virgil's Aeneis, in English Burlesque. The infernal shades of this book are largely comprised of the English country landscape with its villages, mires, beggars, travellers, wenches, farms, fields and muddy roads. There is a disgusting excretion by the Sibyl, as well as the dung, filth and noise that must have been characteristic of London streets.

One example of the way in which the author has imitated his original through burlesque substitution and addition can be offered. Aeneas sees a towering castle, guarded by Tisiphone, and from which can be heard groans:

hinc exaudire gemitus, et saeva sonere
verbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae. (1)

'M.A.' elaborates and modernizes:

(1) Aeneid, VI, ll. 557-8.

They listen'd and heard from within
 Strange noises like a Newgate din,
 Clinking of shackels tyed to shanks
 Of Malefactours, and whip-clanks,
 Which were imagin'd to be smarter
 Than those of Coachmen or fierce Carter.
 Those exercis'd on bums and breeches
 Made 'em break out in cries and screeches,
 Louder by far than School-boy howles
 In Eaton, Westminster, or Powls.(1)

Oldham and Rochester were not the first to learn the trick of parallel, substitution and 'Anglicization' while following an original classical model, but they were the first to adapt the technique to a more lasting poetic form.

Further travesties appeared from time to time. In 1689 James Farewell praised King William with The Irish Hudibras, or Fingallian Prince, Taken from the Sixth Book of Virgil's Aeneids, and Adapted to the Present Times. The title is similar to those heading imitations of Horace and Juvenal, thus showing that the same process of 'naturalisation' at work.

In 1774 appeared The Story of Aeneas and Dido burlesqued, written in Charleston, South Carolina, no doubt to amuse the English colonists and their wives. It uses all the tricks of rhyme, anachronism, and deflation found in previous attempts. The humour is thoroughly feeble and silly - a degeneration, if that is possible, of an already degenerate form.

Travesty, which attempts to caricature and deflate the epic itself by its use of doggerel and by its retention of the original subject matter, was seen as a poisonous danger to English letters. Sir William Temple attacked it,(2) and in 1734 a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine wrote:

(1) Cataplus ... (1672), pp.36-7.

(2) "But let the Execution be what it will, the Design, the Custom, and Example are very pernicious to Poetry, and indeed to all Virtue and Good Qualities among Men". 'Of Poetry' (1690), in Sir William Temple's Essays ... ed. J. E. Spingarn (Oxford, 1909), p.72.

When wags pervert, what others serious writ,
'Tis the low exercise of frothy wit. (1)

If is, he says, "poetry's grotesque," and though we laugh, the original cannot really be debased.

Although Phillips derides the epic conventions and is blind to anything noble, in the Aeneid or elsewhere, many of the techniques of travesty remained a part of English poetry: the anachronism, the bathos, the modern diminutive parallel, the sheer consistency with which the writers have one eye on the classical model and another on the contemporary scene. Yet travesty did indicate a sickness in the author as well as in his society. The mock-heroic poem provided a means of detaching the author from what he surveyed, by using an elevated style, (usually the heroic couplet) and employing conventional epic devices, such as invocations, gods, extended similes, warning deities and the like, while describing debased, trivial, or contemporary and therefore non-classical subjects.

Mock-heroic poems as we know them do not follow complete parts of a classical epic, but only use epic devices and allusions. One poem, however, by John Crowne, is possibly unique in the fact that it is both a mock-heroic poem and a mock-imitation of Book I, Book IV and part of Book VI of the Aeneid. Its full title is as follows: The History of the Famous and Passionate Love, between a Fair Noble Parisian Lady and a Beautiful Young Singing-Man; a Chanter in the Quire of Nôtre-Dame in PÆris and a Singer in Operas. An Heroic Poem in Two Cantos. Being in Imitation of Virgil's Dido and Aeneas.

(1) Gentleman's Magazine, iv(1734)p.700, 'On Burlesque'.

This poem can be seen not only as an interesting mock-heroic piece between Mac Flecknoe of 1682 and The Dispensary of 1699 - it was completed by January 6th 1692 - but also as an introduction to Boileau's Le Lutrin and a contribution to the development of the imitation.

Crowne had already imitated Le Lutrin in English in his Daeneids (1692)⁽¹⁾ and had intended these two cantos as an episode within the larger work. However, this made the poem "too large for this Age, which seems to have lost its taste of Poetry; and must be dealt with, as sick People are, have a little at a time given 'em, of what we won'd have 'em swallow."⁽²⁾ This made two poems. "Both of 'em are a kind of Burlesque, directly contrary to that of Virgil Travestie, for that makes a Hero and Heroine talk like Higlers or Costardmongers, and this represents Priests, Chanters and Vergers, like Gods and Heroes. I have in some places burlesqu'd some parts of Virgil, in others endeavour'd to imitate him, and elsewhere to translate him."⁽³⁾

The poem opens with a short description of Paris, the modern Carthage where women enslave the men. One lady, "the lasting Summer of the town," is desired by thousands, and "thousands she desir'd."⁽⁴⁾ Dido had been formally married to Sychaeus, a rich Phoenician, who was killed by her tyrannical brother, Pygnalion. Dido is thus "aegram ... amantem" and until she meets Aeneas she has not known love. This is "burlesqu'd" by Crowne, who adapts

(1) This poem, which was re-printed in Dryden's Miscellany Poems, Part III, (1716), as The Church Scuffle, is a more seriously anti-Catholic and less witty poem than its famous original.

(2) 'Dedicatory epistle.'

(3) Ibid.

(4) The History of the Famous and Passionate Love, (1692), p.2.

Virgil to modern times. The lady thinks her beauty undeserved by any man; pride preserves her honour. She marries a lord, but the conjugal rights are not fulfilled. He "turned the Torrent of his lust" to strumpets; to avenge herself, she seeks some gallant "worthy of her thought," though scorning men:

"Her self sh' ador'd, and all things else disdain'd,
Her lawless Pride o'er all her Vices reign'd." (p.6)

For the lady, then, her husband is as good as dead. What is well 'imitated' from Virgil is Dido's insatiable desire and its precipitous, tragic nature as it breaks down the barriers of pride and shame.

Dido's attention to elaborate religious ritual and her sumptuous feasting are matched by the mock-heroic activity of the Parisian lady, who frequents both the church and the plays as a woman seeking a lover, yet scorning all comers as Dido scorns her wooers. The Lady sees her "Young Singing-Man" (p.8) in the church choir (though she could just as well have seen him in an opera). The pious and angelic appearance of the chorister alludes to the appearance of Aeneas when the cloud parts: "restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit, / os umerosque deo similis."⁽¹⁾ Venus sends Cupid to Dido in order to torment her with love pangs. The chanter's image follows the lady everywhere; she cannot rid herself of the divine apparition. It followed her even to bed, "And kiss'd and forc'd her spite of all her Pride." (p.11)

At the beginning of book four of the Aeneid, Dido tells of her love to Anna, her woman, and Anna plays the important rôle of encouraging Dido to

(1) Aeneid, I, ll. 588-9.

follow her passion. The lady's woman gives the same advice, and tells her to woo Minnum in secret. The lady takes singing lessons from Minnum; tyrant modesty can hold sway no longer, and they are joined together by mutual lust.

Canto II opens with a loose translation of the passage on Rumour, (Aeneid, IV, l. 173). 'Iuppiter omnipotens' is warned of Aeneas' danger, and his messenger Mercury is sent down to assail the future architect of Italy and the Roman people, at which Aeneas is aghast: "arrectaegue horrore comae et voc faucibus haesit".⁽¹⁾ All this is cleverly imitated in burlesque by Crowne. Juppiter is the great Dean, "Ecclesiastick Jove"; who sends his Church Mercury, the Verger, to warn Minnum that he is destined "to reign o'er all the Chanters" and that his illicit affair has become known. The Verger then, unaccountably, "vanish'd into thin, and spacious Air". (p.14)

With Horror stiff upstart'd Minnum's Hair:
Bore from his Head the Wig which hedg'd it round,
In his cold freezing Jaws his Voice was drown'd. (p.14)

Aeneas is caught in a quandary, but at once recognizes the divine commandment and wonders how he might tell Dido. Minnum's divine counsellor is the very earthbound Dean; his sacred duty is, not to defile the church, nor to put the Dean in an embarrassing position. Minnum is torn between his lady and Heaven. He fears Hell and loss of Heaven, the Dean more so, and more than that, loss of his employment. But most of all he fears the lady's husband, and so resolves to "preserve his Soul, his Office and his Skin". (p.16)

Queen Dido is immediately suspicious; Minnum is unable to see his lady

(1) Aeneid, IV, l. 280

and in spite of billets-doux she sees the falsehood, is enraged, and sends for him. Dido's outburst emphasizes the fact that she lost her fame and honour for Aeneas, and she muses also "si quis mihi parvulus aula / luderet Aeneas".⁽²⁾ The lady however has had to step well beneath her station for Minnum. The "mene fugis?" of Dido has the correct tone of a proud lady slighted in the mock poem:

False Slave (said she) have I my self abus'd
To please thy Love, and dar'st thou fly from me?
What! from a Beauty of my Quality? (p.19)

Minnum, unlike Aeneas, can make no honourable reply, for he had fully indulged himself in the lady's pleasure. He ponders, like any cowardly, faint-hearted young man, the idea of his child in her womb. This, together with the Dean's wrath, fear for his social status, such as it is, and her husband, are barely concealed by the pious-sounding reply which he offers. He asks her to loathe "the sin", while he shall live a clean life. Otherwise the Dean will threaten him with everlasting fire, but worse still, "of me quickly to cleanse the Quire". (pp.19-20)

Dido is as unconvinced by Aeneas's performance as the lady is by Minnum's, and the lines beginning "Talia dicentem ..." (ll. 362 ff.) are excellently paraphrased:

Whilst thus he spoke, her Eyes around him walk'd,
T'examine what provoking Monster talk'd.
Wonder, Aversion held her silent long;
At length a Hand of Rage thus forc'd her Tongue. (p.20)

Instead of committing suicide, however, the lady writes in her own blood that

(1) Ibid., ll. 328-9.

she will never sink to lewdness again, and she returns to her lord, this time as a real wife.

The last part of the canto is adapted from the scene in book six where Aeneas meets the ghost of Dido. Minnum meets the lady in a thick wood near her home. He pleads with her now, saying he will abandon Heaven to be with her again. She fiercely turns away and goes back to her waiting husband.

There is no doubt that the story of Dido and Aeneas made a deep impression on the Restoration consciousness. Aeneas suffers most from mock-heroic diminution. (1) In the travesties his 'mission' is unconvincing. He is simply pusillanimous. Crowne's poem is not only ingenious as an imitation of Virgil but also combines the best in the drama: exposure of weakness and vice through a situation where decisions have to be made.

In 1742 there appeared a part-imitation, part-dramatization of the Dido and Aeneas episode in Love and Honour. A Dramatick Poem: taken from Virgil. There are additional characters, and the work is in seven 'cantos'. Aeneas is not the skulking coward of the Restoration but he is a cardboard hero. The central figure is Dido, and in the conflict between love and honour it is not only Aeneas's honour that is endangered by the liaison, but Dido's too. In spite of the dramatization and expansion much of the play is closely based on Virgil's poem.

(1) One need hardly mention Purcell's opera: the nature of its emphasis is not basically dissimilar from that found in the burlesque imitations, in which Aeneas has nothing heroic about him.

ii. Homer.

The same techniques were applied to Homer as they were to Virgil. One of the first travesties was by H. de Picon, who produced L'Odyssee d'Homere, ou les aventures d'Illyse en vers burlesques (Paris, 1650). Another travesty, in stanza form, and furnished with burlesque illustrations, was L'Iliade Giocosa (Venice, 1654), by G.F. Loredano. James Lord Scudamore followed Cotton with amazing rapidity with his Homer à la mode. A mock poem upon the first and second books of Homers Iliads (Oxford, 1664). Here again the political anachronisms not only deflate Homer, but also show the poet's anti-Puritan bias. In 1681 there followed two more burlesques of Homer: Homer alamode, the Second Part, in English Burlesque: or, a mock-poem upon the ninth book of the Iliads, and Deuteripideuteron: the second part of the second part of Homer alamode. Or, a mock-poem on the ninth book of the Odyssees. The author of Homer in a Nut-Shell: or, the Iliad of Homer in Immortal Doggrel (1715) prefixed his mock-translation with the mock-boast that he had excelled Chapman, Hobbes, Ogilby, Dryden and Pope. Such a boast strikes a familiar note when we think of what liberal translations and imitations imply, and in Homerides: or, a Letter to Mr. Pope, Occasion'd by his intended Translation of Homer (1715). 'Sir Iliad Doggrel' (Thomas Burnet or George Duckett) wrote:

Now I would not have Mr. Pope imitate Dryden, nor
Ogilby, nor any of those Translators, that pin
themselves down to the Sense of their Author ... (1)

This is the conventional opening for any piece of advice on modern translating techniques, but one word has changed. Whereas Denham, Waller, Roscommon and

(1) Homerides. (1715), p.8.

Dryden would have said 'words' this author has "Sense." 'Sir Iliad' is thus being ironically accommodating to the new translators and to the modern habit of imitation. Instead of copying the sense, therefore, one must

"... follow the glorious Example of Mr. Cotton, who in his Heroi-Comical Translation of Virgil has never baulk'd a Jest, because it was not in the Original. And your Task, in this case, will be exceedingly easy; for any Translation must of it self be a Burlesque of Homer (1) (p. 8.)

The author approves of Pope's use of Homer in The Rape of the Lock, hopes he will continue on burlesque lines in his new translation, and substitutes members of the House of Commons for the Greeks in the second book as an example of what can be done.

We remarked in Chapter 2 that modern translators and imitators encountered some opposition from those who did not think the Ancients could be rivalled in any way by the Moderns. As we shall see in a later chapter, Thomas Shadwell opposed everything except the dullest literal translation of Juvenal - that is, the one he made himself. Prior, in A Satyr on the modern Translators (1685) ridiculed, as we saw before, those who only burlesqued when they meant to translate "what nobler muses better write." He thought Virgil untranslatable, and preferred "our own the homely Ware", spun by "Honest Vermin." The web may be thin, but the texture is genuine. Most of the travesty-writers, like 'Sir Iliad Doggrel', assumed a pose which rejected refinement and improvement based on what Denham had called "transplanted wit": the native language was incapable of enriching itself

(1) Ibid.

when it 'imported' Greek and Latin poets, gave them a modern dress, and made them speak English, however chaste and elegant the English might seem. Similarly, the moderns were all the more contemptible for trying to emulate the noble qualities found in the heroes and heroines of classical heroic poetry. The followers of Scarron and Cotton thus throw Virgil and Homer back at Dryden and Pope, as if to say, "We moderns are still 'barbarians,' as in feudal times, but we are also cynically materialistic, incapable of feeling the nobler passions, or of taking gods, old heroes, fables and battles seriously. Society today is remote from the world of the ancients. We cannot therefore translate them. All we can do is burlesque them." Thus the "Honest Vermin," to prove their point, spun their 'thin-webbed' but usually coarse texture on to the durable fibres of classical epic.

No travesty-writer is redundant of scholarship, and we are often surprised, as we are when reading some of the mock-imitations of Virgil and Horace, when the free flights from the original do sometimes give us new insights; but the deviations are usually self-consciously mischievous and the language becomes tediously coarse. L'Iliade Gioiosa and Le Virgile Travesty both bubble with a light, frothy and cynical wit, and are by no means inelegant in spite of the many slang words and solecisms used by Scarron, who has a more intellectual wit than Loredano. What distinguishes many of the English travesties is their consistent modernity, earthiness and use of deliberately offensive language - with which they cock a snook at Roscommon as well as Dryden:

Immodest words (whatever the Pretence)
Always want Decency, and often, Sense.
 What mod'rate Fop wou'd rake the Park, or Stews,
 Who among Troops of faultless Nymphs may chuse?(1)

The followers of Cotton preferred, like those 'lettered vagabonds' to whom Cotton stooped, to "rake the park or stews".

iii. Ovid's Metamorphoses.

The author of L'Ovide Bouffon, ou les Metamorphoses Travesties en Vers Burlesques (Paris, 1650), Richer, was not apologetic for treating

un sujet qui n'a rien de serieux que dans l'esprit de nos Mythologistes, qui mettent toute leur etude a chercher un sens moral dans les pensees les plus chimeriques de cet Auteurs; & ie tiens qu'il auroit employe ce mesme stile pour debiter ses agreables reveries, si le Burlesque eust eu le mesme credit a Rome (2) de sons temps, qu'il a maintenant a Paris.

Incongruous imitations therefore highlight the change in the critical attitude towards Ovid. We remarked in our discussion of translations that Golding moralized his original, whom he obviously thought conducive to allegorical interpretation. Richer brings the myths down to earth, but also takes pleasure in the sheer fantasy and the humour inherent in them. Like many of the imitators, he justifies his burlesque with the common argument that he is only writing as he supposes his author would have done, had he lived in his - Richer's - age and country. There are not a great many anachronistic substitutions, however, although the burlesque has many

(1) An Essay on Translated Verse, (1684), p.8.

(2) 'L'Ovide Bouffon ... (Paris, 1650), p.i, 'Epistre'.

amusing interpretations of the text, In the fable of Apollo and Daphne, we are told:-

Vous scaurez que nostre Apollon,
Quoy qu'il fut d'humeur tres-volage
Avoit encore son pucelage. (p.98).

The phallic symbolism of Cupid's arrow is made explicit, while Apollo, his purpose blunted by Daphne's transformation, still keeps his virginity. The palace of Phoebus is described as an "hostel", and its proprietor sits in his "bureau". The story of Phaeton is mock-moralized, for Phaeton is tempted by the Devil, "qui garde l'autre coin celeste" - (we are reminded once more of Byron's The Vision of Judgment) - and has to make something very much like a Catholic confession for his transgression. On the whole, Richer relies more on solecisms, slang, bawdy puns and humorous re-interpretation than a consistent modernizing of his text.

Chaucer's Ghost (1672) contained twelve fables by Ovid, all written in an archaic style, which shows, in spite of Ovid's contemporaneity with Virgil and Horace, that he could be regarded as 'romantic', and perfect material for incongruous imitation.

Prior's The Ladle, written in 1703, is a mock-adaptation of the Baucis and Philemon story from Book VIII of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Sceptics, says the poet, no longer believe in gods coming down to earth, but for the purpose of his story, he refuses to speculate upon the matter. Jove and Mercury, as in Ovid, are looking for somewhere to stay for the night. They come across a country farm, which is well provided for - "Where all was snug,

and clean, and warm" - and where the farmer and his wife live a contented life - as opposed to the life of relative poverty described in Ovid. However, whereas Ovid's Baucis and Philemon are amicable and hospitable, Prior's couple are often quarrelling. The two gods are given a modest meal consisting of beer and meat, and they then reveal their identity. Jupiter grants the hosts three wishes. Without hesitation, the woman asks for a ladle. The husband cries out,

What should be Great, You turn to Farce:
I wish the Ladle in your A---. (1)

His wish is granted. With pain the ladle is eased out again, and the moral of the tale, instead of, as in Ovid, pointing to the reward for hospitality and selflessness, in Prior shows that

Against our Peace We arm our Will:
Amidst our Plenty, Something still
For Horses, Houses, Pictures, Planting,
To Thee, to Me, to Him is wanting.
That cruel Something unpossess'd
Corrodes, and leuens all the rest. (2)

William King's Orpheus and Euridice. A Poem, which appeared in Some Remarks on the Tale of a Tub ... (1704), is a much-expanded travesty and elaboration of Ovid's story, and does not, like Prior's story, keep to the original ending, for Orpheus seems to forget all about Euridice when he is being fed and hospitably treated in Hell by Oberon and Bocal. Like the Middle English Sir Orfeo, King's version of the myth is also imaginative and poetic. Instead of being bitten by the serpent, 'Dicé' dies for no apparent reason. Orpheus runs to Limus, who cheerfully tells the grief-

(1) Poems on Several Occasions (1725), p. 119.

(2) Ibid., p120.

stricken husband to be glad that he can enjoy life in peace and plenty. Wounded further by this, Orpheus goes to Uraganda for his wife, but is told that his wife is in Hell. Nothing pleases Orpheus more than this news and, instead of descending through the gate of Taenarus to the Styx, he

... went down a narrow hole,
That was as dark as any coal.

He sees, not thin ghosts, wraiths of the dead, but

Ten thousand little fairy elves,
Who there were solacing themselves. (1)

They pester him, but Oberon makes him comfortable, and asks him to sing for pence, or rather supper, which turns out to comprise a ludicrous fairy assortment of insects cooked and prepared in many different ways. Making a mock-contrast with the sadness of the original, Orpheus is given a bed for the night. He cannot sleep, however, and two underworld inhabitants, Prim and Bocai, invite him to stay, and tell him about the many fraudulent medieval versions of Hell, which helped the Church oppress the people. An allegorical passage follows, in which Orpheus is given the seeds of all the worst human passions to scatter on earth when he returns. The poem, incomplete, ends with a song of lament by Orpheus. The travesty is characterized by a 'Gothic' shapelessness and an odd mixture of lamentation, serious morality, pure comedy and mock-romance.

Two years after King's imitation, Swift wrote Baucis and Philemon. Imitated, From the Eighth Book of Ovid, which appeared in a revised form

(1) Some Remarks on the Tale of a Tub (1704), p. 42.

at Addison's suggestion in 1709.⁽¹⁾ It was reprinted many times, but the 1706 version, which, as Harold Williams says,⁽²⁾ is more homely and vigorous than the later version, was unknown until John Forster discovered the manuscript in the Fountaine papers at Narford. It is not, as R.P. Bond says,⁽³⁾ a travesty, but a mock-imitation, for the scenes and characters (even the Christian saints who replace the two gods) are all made thoroughly English. Swift's original version typically expands the beginning of Ovid's tale, and the two saints, rain-soaked, find not only no hospitality, but snarls from some of the villagers. Swift does not describe in such wonderful detail the preparation of the meal: Ovid is writing a charming idyll which is rounded off by a miracle, but of which the main interest lies in the homely details of the dinner given to the gods, the ashes raked out of yesterday's fire, the table that has to be propped up, and the goose that runs away. There is a hint of satire here on the excesses of Roman luxury. The amusement of Swift's imitation lies in the description of the metamorphoses. Ovid's gods reward Baucis and Philemon by changing the cottage into a beautiful temple: columns replace the forked props, the thatch becomes yellow, the roof is gilded, the doors are embossed in metal and the ground is covered in marble. In Swift, however, the poor cottager becomes a poor parson, and his frock is in no better condition than his previous coat. The kettle rises up to the chimney, now the belfry, and turns into a bell, the chair turns into a groaning pulpit, the wife's mortar into a font, and the ballads stuck on the walls become holy pictures. One of the most ingeniously conceived

(1) In Tonson's Poetical Miscellanies.

(2) In The Poems of Jonathan Swift (Oxford, 1958), i, p.92.

(3) English Burlesque Poetry, P. 155.

metamorphoses is that of "A bedstead in the antique mode" which turns into pews,

Which yet their former Virtue keep,
By lodging Folks dispos'd to sleep. (1)

This is one of those bogus Ovidian 'explanations', based, however, on the Lucretian philosophy which said that certain innate qualities in things were the result of definite material changes. Ovid's story ends with the change of Baucis and Philemon into two trees. Swift's couple turn into yews. One parson cuts Baucis down,

At which, 'tis hard to be believ'd,
How much the other Tree was griev'd,
Grew Scrubby, dy'd a-top, was stunted;
So, the next Parson stub'd and burnt it." (2)

John Durant Breval ('Joseph Gay') returned to the old style of travesty with Ovid in Masquerade. Being, A Burlesque upon the xiiith Book of His Metamorphoses, containing the Celebrated Speeches of Ajax and Ulysses (1720), in which the stature of the old heroes is reduced to that of modern anti-heroes, and their speech suitably coarsened, but with little humorous effect. Robert Forbes translated the same episode out of Ovid into the Buchan, Aberdeenshire, dialect, with Ajax his Speech to the Grecian Knabbs (1742). The description of Ajax and the growling quality of his voice is proof of a somewhat higher level of travesty than the more deliberately coarse attempts. Another Scottish poet, and inhabitant of Aberdeen, William Meston, travestied the Phaeton story. His Phaeton: Or the First Fable Of the Second Book of Ovid's Metamorphoses

(1) The Poems of Jonathan Swift, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford, 1958), i, p.95.

(2) Ibid., p. 117.

Burlesqu'd appeared in Edinburgh in 1720. It begins:

SOL's Mannor was a pretty good House,
 But meaner far than Halie-rood-house;
 The Walls rear'd up of Lath and Plaister;
 'Tis good Gear that contents the Master. (1)

(The point of this modern version of the story will be further relished for anyone who looks at the wonderful illustrations to the 1732 edition of Garth's Metamorphoses, in which the palace of Phoebus is in the eighteenth century classic style.) The Sun's house contains numerous optical and astronomical instruments. Phaeton, a spoilt adolescent, comes to prove that he is Phoebus's son, and asks to drive the chariot. Phoebus shakes his head three times in Ovid; in Meston,

At this old Phoebus shook his Head,
 And clawing where there was no need;
 He spat, and fidging twice or thrice, etc. (p.5.)

The familiarity of the classics with the readers of travesties and mock-imitations provided much of the amusement, but some of the better versions almost stand on their own. Phoebus suspects that Phaeton is foolishly thinking of inns and taverns on the journey, whereas in fact there are only constellations. The 'busie old foole', however, assents at last, brings out "the plebeian powers" called hours, and puts oil (as in Ovid - Ovid, one feels, is sometimes not far from burlesque) - on Phaeton's head to protect him from the heat. Meston adds a powdered perewig to make Phaeton "trigg." Riotously anachronistic and incongruous passages follow in the same vein, and the travesty is very readable.

(1) Phaeton ... (1720), p. 3.

No moral is attached, (all the Travesties and mock-imitations are a rebellion against the Ovide moralisé tradition), and the reason for Phaeton's bad driving lies in Phoebus's omission to place bags of sand in the chariot, lighter without the weight of Phoebus himself: but "the best of Wits will sometimes blunder." The story ends, and Neston pronounces in mock-moralistic fashion: "Judge ye if Phoebus was not sorry."

An anonymous travesty of the Cinyras - Myrrha story in Book X also appeared in 1720.⁽¹⁾ An unintelligent burlesque, it merely makes Ovid's famous and tragically human story into what R.P. Bond rightly calls "a disgusting, unconvincing narrative."⁽²⁾ Most of the burlesque tricks are employed, including the ridiculous suicide attempt, found both in Cotton's Scarronides and in Gay's The Shepherdes Week. Ovid's story here is essentially human, whereas the Phaeton story combined myth with a situation normally found in Roman society in a way that invited comic interpretation. The anonymous travesty makes Myrrha a harlot - and this only leaves the reader cold.

(1) The Story of Cinyras and Myrrha, in Burlesque, in A New Miscellany of Original Poems, Translations and Imitations (1720), pp. 39-54.

(2) Op. cit., p. 306.

CHAPTER 4. IMITATIONS OF CLASSICAL PASTORAL: VIRGIL'S ECGLOGUES AND THEOCRITUS' IDYLLS.

SUMMARY.

As in satire, the two classical models for pastoral produced two traditions of formal pastoral: one is dramatic and realistic, bringing out tender sentiments through description and characterization, and has more rusticity; the other is more patterned, technically polished and formalized, more idealistic and courtly, and is if anything anti-rustic.

The first consecutive imitation of classical pastoral appeared in Dryden's 1684 Miscellany Poems. The eclogue form made it possible for there to be close imitations of Virgil where the pastoral content was dispensed for something new, such as political or social satire.

(ii) Imitations and mock-imitations of the Pollio' eclogue are compared and discussed in relation to concepts of a 'new' Golden Age.

(iii) Pope's Pastorals are the final brilliant flourish of one line of development in pastoral which had grown out of the 'courtly-conventional' tradition. Ridicule of the 'native', Spenserian-Theocritan pastorals of Philips produced new developments in Gay and Montagu. Mock-imitations appear which are also 'town-eclogues'.

(iv) This section deals entirely with mock-imitations, mostly of Virgil's eclogues, from 1733 up until 1814. It attempts to show how the technique of consecutive imitation could produce many intricate, varied and delightfully comic effects as well as new insights into the relation between form and content in poetry. Close analyses are made of the imitations mentioned.

Chapter 4.Imitations of Classical Pastoral : Virgil's Eclogues and Theocritus' Idylls.

Our main emphasis here, as in other chapters, will be on specific imitations, although several questions concerning formal pastoral and the nature of pastoral must arise. Some questions have too often been glossed over; and they are not only interesting in themselves, but should be seriously considered by anyone attempting to unravel the many strands that make up what is called neo-classicism. R.A. Brower says, in his book on Pope:

In writing the Pastorals Pope had in mind not only Virgil and Theocritus, but a long succession of poets from Spenser to Milton, Dryden, Waller, and his own contemporaries. He owed much also to the example and criticism of his friend William Walsh, who introduced him to the theories of Rapin and Fontenelle, and his prefatory essay, A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, is greatly influenced by Walsh and the two French critics. Pope's theory, like that of his masters, shows his debt to Virgil and the Virgilian pastoral tradition in three important features: in the stress on the Golden Age and 'tranquility', in the emphasis on the 'best' side of the shepherd's life, and in the fondness for 'a designed scene' or 'prospect.' (1)

Brower does not place Pope in the context of a changing and evolving literature, but sketches in his 'heritage', the poetic and theoretical 'background'. It is even possible, after reading Brower's sensitive and closely argued discussion of Pope's Pastorals, to believe that all the elements of classical and neo-classical pastoral somehow attained formal perfection in the young poet of Queen Anne's reign. We cannot, however, accept the myth in which Pope carefully wrapped his poetic undertakings as he went along (though his later imitatio Horatii necessitated a

(1) Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion, (Oxford, 1963), pp. 21-22.

partial repudiation of his earlier imitatio Vergilii) and which tended to falsify the true course of literature as well as the nature of the society out which it grew.

Brower's summary could in fact obscure a number of distinctions. For fairly important reasons arising out of his conception of pastoral, Dryden preferred Theocritus, as he did Homer, to Virgil, and in a letter to Elizabeth Thomas (November 1699?) he warned against imitation of Virgil (on grounds which Pope five years later found favourable to his own aims):

In the mean time, I would advise you not to trust too much to Virgil's Pastorals; for, as excellent as they are, yet Theocritus is far before him, both in softness of thought and simplicity of expression ... If you have any considerable faults, they consist chiefly in the choice of words and the placing them so as to make the verse run smoothly ... (1)

Unfortunately, Dryden did not have leisure "to descend to particulars", but he seems to be warning against an attention to style for its own sake, against the artificiality that attempts to compensate for a lack of feeling. The Spenser-Theocritan tradition Dryden favoured was carried on by poets such as Ambrose Philips, Thomas Purney, and others in the eighteenth century. These two came under attack from those who looked to Virgil as their model. The Golden Age concept in neo-classical is not that of Virgil, and it is important to make a distinction between Virgil himself and "the Virgilian pastoral tradition". Brower is right in saying that the Virgilian pastoral emphasized the best side of the shepherd's life, but Virgil did not place his shepherds in the same Golden Age as that of neo-classical doctrine. The first and ninth eclogues, for example,

(1) Watson, ii, p. 268.

refer to the heartless expropriation of the Italian farmers by soldiers rewarded for and enriched by their 'services'. Indeed, the ninth eclogue states quite clearly that Virgil's plea, made in the first eclogue, for a new social harmony, was only the plea of a poet and was not fully heard. Brower mislead us when he brings in Daphnis, the ideal shepherd of Theocritan pastoral, and attempts to show how this was the norm for writers such as Pope. Pope was not merely writing allusive poetry: he was partly perfecting Virgil, as he thought Virgil had begun to perfect Theocritus. This process of further idealization and re-ordering, of deliberate refinement for aesthetic ends, was in neo-classical terms a continuation of Virgil's aims. Dryden warned against imitations of Virgil because he knew that it would take the poet still further from Theocritus, which meant further from the delightfully varied, human and involved quality of the Greek poet. In Theocritus there is boasting, knock-about humour, a seduction, gossiping women, a cry against the wealthy and complaints about poverty (though pastoral characters must accept poverty as the natural order of things). Virgil did omit many of the purely rustic elements in Theocritus, and he also fashioned a more deliberate formal structure with the eclogue. Yet he did not take his idealizations and his formalism as far as the French neo-classical pastoralists, or Pope, thought fit. He toned down the comic and coarse elements of his original and avoided repetition, rambling and over-naturalistic dialogue - so much so, that Dryden considered that,

being so very sparing of his words, and leaving so much to be imagined by the reader, [he] can never be translated as he ought in any modern tongue ... he seems to have studied not to be translated. (1)

(Dryden was thinking here of the Aeneid, but the statement applies equally well

(1) Preface to Sylvae, Watson ii, p.23.

to the Eclogues.)

Characterization is fairly well-defined in both Theocritus and Virgil. Though it is true to say that Pope showed his fondness for what Brower calls the choreographic, pictured effects, we must not confuse his effects with those in classical models. 'Eclogue' means 'a select piece', 'a choosing' or 'a dialogue', and involves speakers, not voices. We are not aware of the speakers in Pope, because he is not interested in portraying the rural character, yet in later imitations, including mock-imitations, of Virgil, 'who says what' became as important as the 'idyll', the 'designed scene' or 'prospect'. Pope designed his scenes in the manner of a gardener or a painter, while Virgil, without methodizing nature quite in this manner, selected both real and imagined components for a landscape and put them together in a complex unity. The result was recognizable as nature, even a locality, not a garden or an over-painted, artificial scene. These points will be further treated later in this chapter.

i. Classical pastoral and imitation before Walsh and Pope.

The formal pastoral had long been English without being classical, for it could fuse with the courtly lyric and was in fact very much a part of it, as is evident in Sidney and in the pastoral collection Englands Helicon (1600). Translations helped poets to see the classical form more clearly: Thomas Phaer translated the Eclogues in 1558, Abraham Fleming likewise in 1575, while Richard Stanihurst translated the first two in 1586 and Christopher Marlowe the whole of the Eclogues in 1591. Theocritus was first translated in the anonymous Six Idillia (1588), but it was not until Creech's translation of 1684 that a complete version appeared.

The first pastorals in English to appear with their classical name were

Alexander Barclay's Eclogues (1514), but they were made a vehicle for moral criticism and were hardly Virgilian, except derivatively. Abraham Fleming made in 1575 the important distinction between form and content, between 'pastoral' and 'eclogue'. (This distinction concerns us, because in the fourth section of this chapter we shall deal with eclogues that are not pastorals.) The bucolic, said Fleming, since it derives from the word meaning 'keeper', is more or less synonymous with carmina pastoralia.⁽¹⁾ Eclogues, however, mean "a choosing, a dividing, a separating, and a declaring", or "a talking together", where the eclogarii are the interlocutors or the single speakers.⁽²⁾ These distinctions were preserved by John Leech, who divided his eclogues (1620) into 'Bucolicae', 'Piscatoriae', 'Nauticae', 'Ampelicae' and 'Vinitoriae'.⁽³⁾ Here the poems are classified according to the occupation of the speakers. Leech had before him the shepherds, neatherds, goatherds, hirelings, reapers, vine-dressers and fishermen of Theocritus, as well as the fishermen of Sannazaro, whose Latin eclogues also followed Virgil's formal structure. The town-eclogues of the eighteenth century would not have been possible had the distinction between eclogue and pastoral, and the role of speakers as eclogarii, definite characters in a particular environment (from which their images and comparisons were drawn) not been understood.

(1) The Bucolikes of Publius Virgilinus Maro ... Drawne into plaine and familiar Englishe, verse for verse (1575), A2.

(2) Ibid., A2.

(3) 'Eclogae', in Musae Priores, sive Poematum Pars Prior (1620), A3^F and A3^V.

There were, then, several component parts to the pastoral eclogue. First of all, it was a set piece, a dramatic monologue or dialogue, with one or two shepherds or goatherds as the talkers, in whom were sometimes contained actual personages: Virgil as Tityrus in the first eclogue and Menalcas in the ninth, and Julius Caesar as Daphnis in the fifth. Spenser made great use of personal and contemporary allusion, and when Milton speaks as a swain in *Lycidas* he was following Virgil, who spoke as the poet and as an idealized shepherd in the fourth eclogue. Each set piece had to take place in a recognizable rural setting, often with opening and closing descriptions marking the time and the place, and constant references by the speakers to their flocks, the flowers, crags, streams, the sunset, and so forth. What the Augustans often failed to see in Virgil was the vitality of this rural setting, though idealized, together with the bond between man and nature. No imitator of Virgil except perhaps Milton in *Paradise Lost*, ever reproduced the sonority, the detail, and the philosophical depth of the following:

hinc tibi, quae semper, vicino ab limite saepes
 Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti (1)
 saepi levi somnum suadebit inire susurro,

where the organic interdependence of nature is emphasized syntactically by the fact that it is the hedge which soothes the swain to sleep, for its flowers harbour the bees. Nature in Virgil and Theocritus is active. The neo-classical pastoralist all too often made it a passive background, rather than something with which men continually interact: the virtue, piety and innocence of the neo-classical shepherd was not always the result of a spiritual communion with nature. Virgil's shepherds, though they often speak with the voice of an educated and literary man, are not so

(1) Eclogue I, ll. 53-5.

artificial that we cannot willingly suspend our disbelief in them. Moreover, their innocence is not the innocence of neo-classical doctrine: we can hear the indignant, impudent tone in Corydon's voice, the malevolence of Damoetas and Menalcas, and the sense of real injustice in the complaints of Moeris and Lycidas. Though love is a constant theme, it never becomes hackneyed, and such is the concentration of the language, that every line opens our eyes and ears to something new.⁽¹⁾ Virgil was not the kind of perfectionist (perfectionist though he was) nor the Golden Age pastoralist that some later poets would have liked him to be. Using him for their own purposes, they extracted nobility of sentiment, purity of thought and expression and perfection of form, while avoiding much of the characterization, naturalism and contemporaneity, the lapses into dialect,⁽²⁾ the archaisms, and the humble style borrowed from Theocritus.

Dryden saw Theocritus as the original pastoral poet, and justified his use of the Doric dialect. He also saw Spenser as the first real imitator of Virgil and Theocritus in England, and raised the controversial question of Spenser's own use of dialect:

... Spenser, being master of our northern dialect, and skilled in Chaucer's English, has so exactly imitated the Doric of Theocritus that his love is a perfect image of that passion which God infused into both sexes before it was corrupted with the knowledge of arts, and the ceremonies of what we call good manners. ⁽³⁾

(1) His use of adjectives - which he may have added when polishing his first drafts - is sometimes excessive.

(2) (E.g. "cuium pecus" in Eclogue III.)

(3) To The Right Honourable Hugh, Lord Clifford, prefixed to the Pastorals in The Works of Virgil, Translated into English Verse (1697), Watson, ii, p. 221.

Spenser followed the best authors according to the Elizabethan conception of imitatio. 'E.K.' saw the eclogue as the poet's testing piece : for Spenser, as for Milton and Pope, it was a preparation for greater things. In the 'General Argument' to The Shepherdes Calendar we are told: "There is more ground of auctoritee in Theocritus than in Virgile". Dryden agreed, but Gay mocked this learned preamble in his Shepherd's Week, and both Pope and Gay made fun of Philips, who had sided with the humble style of Spenser and Theocritus. Spenser however introduced not only the eclogue, but Virgil himself, as a living force in English poetry. The marking of real personages, the amoebaeic in 'August', which is based on Virgil's third eclogue; the imitations of particular beauties, such as Colin's plight reflected "in the barren ground",⁽¹⁾ or Willie's mazer wrought of maple;⁽²⁾ the use of a pastoral setting within which the poet can also rise to grander themes, such as a eulogy of Elizabeth or a discourse on the corrupt state of the contemporary episcopacy in 'July' (just as Theocritus attacked the devastation brought by the Carthaginian war, Virgil the evictions, and Milton the Laudian bishops); - all this helped to give the formal pastoral a much firmer footing in England. It also prepared the way for the most consciously classical eclogue of all in Lycidas, a poem that not only contains over forty lines of echoes and borrowings from Theocritus and Virgil,⁽³⁾ but which, as a pastoral

(1) Virgil, Eclogue II, ll. 25-7.

(2) Eclogue III, ll. 35-9.

(3) Compare ll.1-2 with Virgil, Ecl. II, l.54; l.11 with Ecl. II, l.4; l.33 with Ecl. I, l.2; l.40 with Ecl. III, l.39 and Ecl. VII, ll.37-8; l.64 with Ecl. II, ll.28-9; l.66 with Ecl. I, l.2; ll.67-9 with Ecl. II, ll.14-16; l.68 with Ecl. I, l.5; l.77 with Ecl. VI, ll.3-4; l.105 with Ecl. III, l.40; l.106 with Ecl. III, l.106; ll.119-121 with Ecl. III, ll.3-6; ll.123-4 with Ecl. III, l.27; l.127 with Ecl. I, l.50; ll.142-151 with Ecl. II, ll.46-50; l.190 with Ecl. I, l.83; ll.50ff. with Theocritus, Idyll. I, ll.66ff.

elegy, derived from Theocritus' first idyll and Virgil's fifth eclogue, put the poem in the mouth of a shepherd-poet as in Virgil's fourth eclogue, and whose other theme came close to the Virgil—Gallus theme of the tenth eclogue.

Apart from Milton, who is more consciously classical, there were several followers of Spenser during the seventeenth century. The eclogues of a Drayton, or a William Barse, (whose Puritanism effected a change in his pastorals), are two or three times the length of a normal Virgil eclogue. Walsh and Pope reacted against overtly Spenserian pastoral and stood at the opposite pole from Drayton, who thought that the language

... ought to be poor, silly, and of the coarsest
woof in appearance, though the noblest matters
in the world

could be treated of in the poems themselves.⁽¹⁾ The reaction against rusticity, however, was in danger of becoming a reaction against the living qualities of classical pastoral. After Lycidas, the pastoral elegies of the Restoration period are pale reflections of their classical models. The Damons, Strephons, Sylvias and Phyllises, the love darts, the 'charming swains', the tender passions and amorous strains, the sadness of nature with the death of some lady, all became part of the conventional eclogue. One finds in Dryden's Miscellany Poems, for example, that the amoebaeian dialogue, the elegy and the song of the shepherd to his haughty mistress, dilute Virgil and cut out real character, rusticity and naturalistic description with monotonous regularity. Pastoral writing became too easy, and the poet did not need to exercise his mind in order to arrive at smoothness and elegance. Pope did at least emulate Virgil's

(1) Introduction to Eclogs (1606),^{sig} A2^r.

studied brevity.

The succinctness, gravity, the weighing of every thought, word and syllable and the great variety of numbers which Dryden noticed in his Preface to Sylvae (1685) were something which underpinned the whole theory of 'correctness'. As Elizabeth Nitchie says, "At no previous time had the appreciation of Virgil rested so largely upon an admiration of his style".⁽¹⁾ This is important to remember when considering the growth of innumerable conventional eclogues in England. Emphasis was placed on regular, smooth versification, a clear style and a self-imposed restriction within a common stock of images and vocabulary. In Virgil both are exceptionally rich. Naturally, because of the nature of the subject, several words became common, such as umbra, 'shade', arbutus, 'grove', herba 'grass', agri, 'fields', (usually 'plains', to rhyme with 'swains'), pecus 'flock' or 'herd', pascere 'to graze', cantare, 'to sing' and so on. Yet hardly any description is repeated, and though Virgil is rich in epithets, the same combination hardly ever appears more than once. Virgil's excellence lay in his ability to vary constantly, to make nature active through the use of particular verbs (something Milton understood), and always to avoid the trite statement, so that instead of saying "Pasiphae" was mad" he says "quae te dementia cepit!" - what madness seized thee!" Something of this Walsh and Pope attempted to reproduce by making Virgil speak by Windsor's plains and the banks of the Thames; yet so much of the original is not allowed to pass through a mental grid that rejected all far-fetched, strained images and that sought smoothness at the expense of vigour.

(1) Vergil and the English Poets (New York, 1919), p.148.

Dryden translated four of Theocritus' idylls, and one of his fellow-translators, William Bowles, wrote the first naturalized imitation of a classical pastoral, in 1684. In the preface to the translations, published the following year, Dryden wrote:

That which distinguishes Theocritus from all other poets, both Greek and Latin, and which raises him even above Virgil in his Eclogues, is the inimitable tenderness of his passions, and the natural expression of them in words so becoming of a pastoral. A simplicity shines through all he writes: he shows his art and learning by disguising both. His shepherds never rise above their country education in their complaints of love. (1)

The translations, however, betray the 'simplicity' not only of the country, but of Restoration London. In the third Idyll, (upon which is based Virgil's second Eclogue), a goatherd complains of his love for Amaryllis. Agreoo confirms that his love is in vain, and Dryden parenthesizes, making her a contemporary figure:

My last recourse I had to Sieve and Sheers;
And told the Witch Agreoo my disease,
(Agreoo that in Harvest us'd to lease;
But Harvest done, to Chare-work did aspire;
Meat, Drink, and two Pence was her daily hire;)
To work she went, her Charms she mutter'd o'er,
And yet the resty Sieve wagg'd ne'er the more ... (2)

Bowles's translation of the second Idyll conveys well the dramatic monologue and the story of betrayed love, but a new balance, between rustic innocence and superstition and the expressions of sexual desire typical of Restoration

(1) Preface to Sylvae, Watson, ii, p. 30.

(2) Miscellany Poems, (1727), i, p. 79.

drama, is created. The Cyclops in Duke's version of Idyll XI still has the wonderful quality, which makes him so attractive, of a huge, ugly creature with the most sensitive and affectionate feelings, but the final rationalization becomes:

Me many Virgins, as I pass, invite
 To waste with them in Love's soft Sports the Night,
 And if I but incline my listening ear,
 New Joys, new Smiles in all their Looks appear. (1)

The girls in Theocritus are sportive, and we feel that, unbeknown to Cyclops, they too are making fun of him. Bowles's "Virgins", however, are far from innocent, and their coquettishness seems urban. In most of these translations, however, the couplet adds a new dimension: it makes its way through polite society more readily and more easily than the Greek original, while lines such as "Betwixt two Sheets thou shalt enjoy her bare" (2) in Dryden's version of the eighteenth Idyll are again typical of the Restoration. It is in fact significant, in spite of Dryden's own critical statements, that he chose two idylls which are of dubious authenticity and which are not representative of Theocritus. Idyll XXIII, for example, has an actual suicide and a revenge upon the heartless lady by the god of Love, whose "injur'd Image" crushes her in her bath, so that "Her gushing Blood the Pavement all besmear'd" (3) - in the original, only the water was stained. The translation of Idyll XXVII is nearer imitation than paraphrase. In it, Daphnis, the artful seducer, wins Chloe (who is simply

(1) Miscellany Poems (1727), i, p. 90.

(2) Ibid., p. 296.

(3) Ibid., p. 301.

a 'Maiden' in the original), by promises of marriage and faithfulness. Chloe makes verbal protests only, and Daphnis gains his immediate end. The pair in Dryden remind us of Shakespeare's rustics and clowns, and every line is given added point. Chloe swears to keep her maidenhead, "And die as pure as Queen Elizabeth." (1) Daphnis rebuffs all her arguments with brilliant comedy:

Chloe: The matrimonial Yoke is hard to bear;
 And Marriage is a woful word to hear.

Daphnis: A Scare-crow, set to frighten fools away;
 Marriage has Joys; and you shall have a Say.(2)

The sauciness of the seducer, the brisk exchanges, and the actual seduction, during which Chloe is concerned with comfort and safety more than with her honour, are admirably reproduced. Dryden is very free with his original, and certainly pours something new into it, which makes it "almost the creation of another hand." (3)

Cynisca: Or, the Fourteenth Idyllum of Theocritus imitated, by William Bowles, is dated May 23, 1684. The original is dramatic in form, and in it Aeschines tells Thyonichus the story of his quarrel with his mistress Cynisca. He considers foreign service, and Thyonichus recommends Ptolemy. The idyll is thus a compliment to Ptolemy. Bowles changes the scene and the characters to that of two gentlemen in modern London. Thyonichus in Theocritus notes his friend's love-lorn appearance, and compares him with a Pythagorean he saw recently, barefoot and pale. In Bowles the comparison is with a "Rosie-Crucian",

(1) Ibid., ii, p.67.

(2) Ibid., pp.67-8.

(3) Preface concerning Ovid's Epistles (1680), Watson, i, p.271.

probably 'some new Enthusiast'.⁽¹⁾ Much of the detail of the original is omitted, such as the food eaten at the feast, and Thyonictus' physical and verbal reaction when it is discovered that Cynisca has another lover. Bowles describes looks, gestures and feelings. The social milieu in which the fatal revelation occurs prevents him from retaining all but the swallow image. Instead of Egypt, the rejected lover is advised to fight on the Continent, either in Flanders or Austria.

In these versions by Dryden, Bowles and Duke we can see the introduction of a contemporary urban flavour and setting to the pastoral. The techniques of Swift's Town Eclogue (1710) and of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Town Eclogues (1716) had thus been applied many years before it became standard practice. Yet 'urbanization' of the pastoral need not conflict with rusticity: an important aspect of the pastoral was kept alive by Swift, Gay and Montagu which Fontenelle, Watson and Pope all rendered effete: the identification of particular social types (country rustics in Gray, beaux and Belles in Montagu) with a particular natural and social environment. The golden-age pastoral and the conventional eclogue were formed on the theory that piety, love, innocence, tranquility and harmony were suitable for pastoral, whereas rusticity and naturalism were not.

A considerable amount has been said concerning the theory of pastoral in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.⁽²⁾ What concerns us, however, is the close imitation of classical pastoral, and how this, together with a questioning of

(1) Op.cit. p.333.

(2) See J.E. Congleton, Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England 1648-1798 (Gainesville, Fla., 1952).

theories themselves, led to new forms, such as the town-eclogue, the native eclogue and the political eclogue. Imitations and translations show, by the changes made, how certain aspects of classical pastoral became abstracted from the rest, such as golden age innocence, rusticity, drama, urban and urbane qualities, political allusion, and so forth. The pastoral could be either conventional, courtly and anti-rustic, native - that is, set in an existing, though idealized locality as in Philips, Ramsay, Browne and Fergusson, (classical shepherds having been naturalized by their singing on English or Scottish plains), - it could be comic and rustic, as in Dryden and Gay, or exotic, as in Collins. The Virgilian eclogue itself provided the formal structure for most naturalized and consistent imitations. Theocritus often provided realism and character. Since it was seen that 'eclogue' meant formal structure, not the content, an endless variety of speakers, from politicians to ghosts, could take the place of shepherds. We thus encounter a phenomenon that is not directly paralleled in the adoption of other classical forms: the formal structure survived, though its original pastures and shepherds disappeared. Through travesty and mock-heroic we can see a whole epic tradition crumbling in a scientific, mercantile age. The mock-eclogues of the eighteenth century, although they became, as R.F. Jones has tried to show, new authentic types, and were not travesties of a conventional form,⁽¹⁾ were nevertheless the product of that same dilemma between idealism and rationalism which gave the English Augustans so many masks.

An important aspect of the neo-classical pastoral is its political and social ideology, and poets, even painters, if one considers Thornhill's painting of the new Golden Age at Greenwich, found their source in Virgil:

(1) 'Eclogue Types in English Poetry', JEGP, xxiv, 1925, pp.33-60.

The poet's native, lush plains with slowly winding rivers often formed the background, and the political scene was purely Roman. Taken as a group, the *Bucolics* reveal a mind of mixed hope and sadness, where lament for the unrest and the harsh military domination of life after the death of Caesar was mingled with an innate optimism that peace might yet return. The messianic portrayal in the Fourth *Bucolic* of the happy world to come contrasts strongly, and perhaps intentionally, with the contemporary product of the gloomy Horace, who was at this very time urging true Romans to flee their doomed land for the Isles of the Blest. (1)

Thus, unlike the author of Englands Sin, and Shame (1672), that gloomy imitation of Horace, others sought a new Golden Age, and made the historical analogy between the change in Rome to Principate and Empire, and the change in England to constitutional monarchy and empire. The English cherished liberty more than loyalty to one leader, and it was in this spirit that they also welcomed the new compromise. Nevertheless, the dilemma, the love of liberty and the compromise produced conflicting results, so that different Golden Ages appeared, some being the ideal vision, others a reflection of political and social realities. The choice was often between truth and propaganda, but it was also between different kinds of propaganda. The vision seen by Virgil was a delicate synthesis which could rarely, if ever, be achieved again.

ii. The New Golden Age.

Two passages in Virgil had an almost biblical significance for later writers. One was the messianic prophecy in the fourth *Eclogue*:

iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;
iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.

(1) Chester G. Starr, Civilization and the Caesars (Ithaca, New York, 1954) pp. 172-3.

tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
desinet ac tato surget gens aurea mundo,
casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo. (ll. 6-10). o/

The other was from Book VI of the Aeneid, in which Anchises pointed out to Aeneas the future of the Latin race:

hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
Saturno quondam, super et Garmantas et Indos
proferet imperium ... (ll. 792-95).

The English Augustans partly lived by this social and historical myth.

Political restoration, or the ascendancy of a particular power group, could always be dressed up in similar terms, but on the whole, the myth went deeper. It was also greatly extended, as can be seen in such poems as Oldmixon's A Pastoral Poem on the Victories ... (1704) and Thomas Tickel's On the Prospect of Peace, a Poem (1714). Pope, in Windsor-Forest, described the long process from feudal barbarism to the new civilization. Now,

... Ceres' Gifts in waving Prospect stand,
And nodding tempt the joyful Reaper's Hand,
Rich Industry sits smiling on the Plains,
And Peace and Plenty tell, a STUART reigns. (ll.39-42)

'Caesar' has, in effect, been replaced by 'STUART', while

A dreadful Series of Intestine Wars,
Inglorious Triumphs, and dishonest Scars, (ll.325-6)

reminds us of Roman as much as it does English history. Anne's historical role is not quite the same as that of Charles II, who was cast as internal peace-maker;

(*) Pope, ed. Bate, p. 196.

(*) Ibid., p. 206.

but Pope welcomed the Tories and Utrecht in Augustan terms:

At length great ANNA said - Let Discord cease!
She said, the World obey'd, and all was Peace! (11.327-8)

Again, "the World" reminds us of the sense in which a poet of the Roman Empire would have used it.⁽¹⁾ Much later, the awful Goddess, Dulness, was to "hatch a new Saturnian age of Lead",⁽²⁾ but in Windsor-Forest, which owes much to Virgil's Pastorals and Georgics, Albion's sons no longer bleed from civil wounds, and one of them, a lord who goes partridge-shooting with his spaniel, appears early on in the poem, in happy possession of his native woods and fields.⁽³⁾ Young men could now live in peace on estates that had been sequestered under Puritanism and restored under Charles, and could take part in social and political life without the constant fear that radical or revolutionary changes in the economic structure or in the constitution would ever again be attempted - at least in their and their sons' lifetime. Through pastoral this sense of ease could be passed on to fictitious shepherds, the real English peasants gaining little or nothing by changes at the top.

Virgil's fourth, or Messianic Eclogue, has to be seen as part of his fundamental aim in writing pastoral poetry, and it became for the English Augustans an important model for the heralding of the new Golden Age - though it also led to mock-imitations. Virgil, throughout his Eclogues, tries to combine naturalism and idealization, rustic simplicity and educated urbanity. As Zeph Stewart points out, he has a "tendency to combine features from more than one source into a single figure or unity."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Particularly, of course, Virgil or Horace.

(2) The Dunciad: Book I (1743), l. 28.

(3) Pope's lord is more privileged than the freeholders of under a hundred pounds a year who were excluded from killing game, even on their own lands.

(4) 'The Song of Silenus', Harv. Stud. Class. Phil., lxiv, 1959, p. 159.

In the Eclogues this has a definite purpose, part of the grander purpose in the Aeneid of uniting the Italian race: in real terms, impossible, yet Virgil attempts, by religious allusion, by his antiquarian emphases, and by political message, to seek a common bond between all Romans - peasant and senator, slave and consul - following the civil upheavals.

The 'Pollio' eclogue is unique in that it makes use of Jewish apocalyptic material.⁽¹⁾ Jews were very active during the civil war period, for they exploited the disunity within the Roman ruling class towards their own liberation. The result was that men such as Cicero, for example, thought of Judaism as a barbarious superstition at variance with the splendour of the empire. The sibylline oracles, however, once their fangs were removed, became incorporated by the senate into official priestcraft. The 'Pollio', therefore, combines several aims, which, when transferred into social and political terms, were illusory. First of all, the eclogue voices, indirectly, the centuries-old hopes of the uprooted peasants and the urban masses who looked to an age of abundance where trade-buying and selling for profit - was unnecessary, and where exploitation did not exist.⁽²⁾ Secondly, it makes use of the Jewish hopes of messianic deliverance, which were themselves threefold: the Messiah was heaven-sent, he would be the Son of Man, (the

(1) Though Pope used the 'Pollio' eclogue to indicate a Christian meaning, the orthodox interpretation - that the child Virgil referred to is Pollio's son - was held both by Abraham Fleming (see The Bucolikes of Publius Virgilius Maro ...(1575), note, p.74) and John Ogilby (see The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro (1668), note, p.16).

(2) See lines 37-45.

descendant of David), and, for the Essenes, a particular leader. Virgil preserves the combined features of his source so that the Messiah is a real child about to be born, (line 8), a divinity, (line 15), is Jupiter's descendant, (line 49), and has a human father, (line 17). Thirdly, Virgil makes the eclogue a commendation of Pollio, in whose consulship it was written. Yet for those to whom Jewish apocalyptic had a real significance - the fight against Roman imperialism and its agents such as Herod⁽¹⁾ - Pollio would have seemed a part of that "ferrea ... gens" or "iron brood" which had to be crushed by God's wrath before the new "gens aurea" or "golden race" could inherit the earth and all its goods. Fourthly, and perhaps most important of all, Virgil is voicing his own religious feelings, his love for Italy, its natural beauties, and its people.

Virgil does not reproduce the messianism seriously except in so far as it is adapted to his poetic purpose. By directing his words towards Pollio, he reveals, through his pastoral muse, only the impossible and confused hopes of the oppressed. Assyrian spice in every land, brambles hung with grapes, oaks bearing honey, and sheep whose fleeces are ready dyed are in effect the utopian vision of a world without labour and commerce.⁽²⁾ These help to create an overall aesthetic unity, and the pastoral

(1) Herod was made client-king over Judea by the victorious Octavian in 31 B.C.

(2) We must not forget the continual riots of the Roman proletariat towards the end of the Republic, nor the unprecedented scale of the Spartacus slave revolt in southern Italy.

unity Virgil strives towards is expressed in line 3: "si carissimas silvas, silvae sint consule dignae" - "if we sing of woods, let them be worthy of a consul".

It has been plausibly suggested that Dryden's translation of this eclogue was originally intended to celebrate the birth of a child to Princess (later, Queen) Anne after her marriage with Prince George of Denmark, but that when the child was stillborn, the allusion was removed in its published form in Miscellany Poems (1684).⁽¹⁾ In this period of plots and executions, such messianism is understandable. Richard Duke's poem On the marriage of George Prince of Denmark, and the Lady Anne is also reminiscent of the fourth eclogue:

Heaven of its bounties now shall lavish grow,
And in full tides unenvy'd blessings flow!
The shaken throne more surely fix'd shall stand,
And curs'd Rebellion fly the happy land!
At your blest union civil discords cease,
Confusion turns to order, rage to peace! (2)

However, it was not for another eighteen years that Anne herself came to the throne. The year following her accession and the general election, in which the Tories were in the majority, saw the publication of three political imitations of the fourth eclogue. They appeared in the second volume of Poems on Affairs of State (1703).

The first imitation is by William Walsh, and it is headed: The Golden Age Restor'd. A Poem in Imitation of the fourth Pastoral of Virgil; suppos'd to have been taken from a Sibylline Prophecy.⁽³⁾

(1) See Earl Miner, 'Dryden's Messianic Eclogue,' RES, xi. (1960), pp. 299-302.

(2) Chalmers, Works of the English Poets, ix, pp. 220-1.

(3) Poems on Affairs of State (1703), ii, pp. 422-425.

Typically, the prophetic interpretation of the eclogue is suggested in the title, but the imitation turns Virgil's other-worldliness into something very much of this world: the success of the Tories, and their future policies for Church and State. This is the first example of the political eclogue, and it is a mock-imitation. Virgil's gods, goddesses and heroes became politicians and churchman. Walsh calls on the Sicilian Muse to "Make your Shades fit for able Statesmens View". The Golden Age is presented as follows:

The time is come, by Ancient Bards foretold,
Restoring the Saturnian Age of Gold:
The Vile, Degenerate, Whiggish Offspring ends,
A High-Church Progeny from Heaven descends. (p.422)

Walsh (who supported the Revolution) has also parodied his friend Dryden (who did not). Dryden's couplet ran: "The base degenerate Iron-Off-spring ends; / A Golden Progeny from Heav'n descends"⁽¹⁾ The imitation refers to many political and ecclesiastical figures, and although the names are not completed, identification is not too difficult. Virgil's "nova progenies" becomes "the Glorious Breed" engendered by the High-Church Bromley, Member for "Learned Oxford". Lucina becomes Sacheverell, "Darling of this Land", whose "mighty Genius no strict Rules can bind". The reformation forseen under Pollio's consulship is paralleled by the instruction of the youth in the theories of passive resistance and Divine Right. With Tory rule, all faction shall cease. Virgil's lines "ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae/ ubera, nec magnos metuent armenta leones", are paralleled thus:

(1) The Poems of John Dryden, ed. J. Kinsley (Oxford, 1958), ii, p.887.

The Lambs shall with the Lions walk unhurt,
And H - x and H - y⁽¹⁾ meet civilly at Court.

Walsh sees Jacobitism coming with the Tories, which he ironically welcomes.

Some few traces of ancient sin shall remain, says the Roman poet. Walsh

brings this up to date:

Yet still some Whigs among the Peers are found,
Like Brambles Flourishing in Barren Ground. (p.423)

Instead of the sins of commerce, towns and agriculture, we have Somers, who maliciously tries to make the Lords share the legislature, and bishops who oppose persecuting bills. When Virgil's youth becomes a man, there will be abundance : commerce and agriculture will not be necessary. The political and economic solutions in Virgil's eclogue are paralleled by passive doctrines, the flight of "hated Moderation", the death of "Antichristian Toleration", the retirement of Godolphin and the just reward meted out to Marlborough "for ancient Crimes". On all these counts, however, Walsh's predictions were confirmed either by the subsequent aims of the Tories, by what actually occurred, or by both. If the social programme envisaged by Virgil's pastoral muse is delightfully improbable - and in real historical terms, one that Virgil would oppose - the political programme of the Tories is, for Walsh, injustice disguised as the justice of the Golden Age. What he fears most is the growth of Jacobitism.

Virgil concludes with an extravagant claim:

non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus ...
Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,
Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum. (ll.55-59)

(1) Halifax and Harley.

The poet assumes the persona of a slightly pompous, but by no means unlikable, shepherd, such as we see in Damoetas in the third Eclogue. At the same time, by speaking through this persona, he is demonstrating his capacity to be the singer of the new age. His boast is ironically and closely imitated by Walsh:

O would kind Heaven so long my Life maintain,
 Inspiring Raptures worthy such a Reign!
 Not Thracian St. J[oh]ns should with me contend,
 Nor my sweet Lays harmonious Ha[mmo]nd mend:
 Not tho' young Davenant St. J[oh]ns should protect,
 Or the shrewd Doctor H[ammo]nd's Lines correct. (p.425)

The "parve puer", whether or not Virgil was referring to a specific child, becomes in Walsh the Old Pretender, 'lawful heir' to the throne:

Prepare, Auspicious Youth, thy Friends to meet;
 Sir G[⁽¹⁾eorge] already had prepar'd the Fleet. (p.425)

An anonymous Whig allusion to Eclogue IV appeared in the same miscellany as the above imitation. (2) Called The Golden Age Revers'd, the author does not seem to know his Virgil very well, for a Sicilian Goddess, not a Muse, is involved, who disdains "The present vile degenerate Age." The Whigs will rouse the drooping land, "Unnerv'd and weaken'd by a Female Hand." Following Walsh, the imitator quotes another long list of Whig politicians, and then the poem departs from Virgil.

A Tory imitation, called The Golden Age, from the Fourth Eclog of Virgil, (3) welcomed the new era, in which "Saturn's Days return with St-art's Race." Pollio becomes Dashwood:

(1) Admiral Sir George Byng.

(2) pp. 438-441.

(3) Ibid., pp. 441-445.

Under thy Consulship, Lo! Vice gives way,
And Whigs for ever cease to come again in Play. (p.441)

Lucina, under whom the iron race ("ferrea gens") shall cease, becomes, not inappropriately, Anne:

Hail Sacred Queen! Thy very Enemies own
Thy Lawful Claim, and recognize thy Throne ... (p.441)

Golden Age unity is envisaged in which:

Church men and Dissenters shall combine
To pay the Tribute due to Stuart's Line. (p.443)

"Yet shall some Footsteps of old Fraud remain ...", and there follows an attack on various Whigs, Marlborough included, greatly expanding on Virgil. Virgil's traders are by no means a guilty legacy:

Fearless of Loss, and confident of Gain,
The Merchant shall in Safety plough the Main,
The lab'ring Hind shall cleave the Country Soil,
And Plenty, rise and court the Farmer's Toil.
As every Subject sees his Wrongs redress'd,
Views Faction quell'd, and Anarchy suppress'd,
And Prince and People mutually bless'd. (p.443)

In the equivalent passage in Virgil, labour and trade has ceased. Faced with the absurdity of abundance resulting from a discontinuation of these two human activities, the imitator changes his original to the opposite sense. Imitation means freedom to alter, interpret, even invert the meaning of a text, which in itself shows of that, so far from merely copying the ancients, English poets used them for their own purposes.

Virgil's eclogue attempted a complex unity. Pope's Messiah, a Sacred Eclogue, in Imitation of Virgil's Pollio, (1712), attempts a unity of

another kind - that is, between Virgil and Isaiah. In a footnote, Pope says:

The thoughts of Isaiah, which compose the latter part of the Poem, are wonderfully elevated, and much above those general exclamations of Virgil which makes the loftiest parts of his Pollio.⁽¹⁾

In the 'Advertisement', he says that the poem

was written with this particular view, that the reader by comparing the several thoughts might see how far the images and descriptions of the Prophet are superior to those of the Poet.⁽²⁾

Pope's interpretation of Virgil's use of the Sibylline texts is a purely aesthetic one. He

selected such Ideas as best agreed with the nature of pastoral poetry, and disposed them in that manner which serv'd most to beautify his piece.⁽³⁾

The aim is not simply to Christianize or make Biblical Virgil's poem - Pope would never be so naive in his methods - but to select some more of those "Ideas" from the prophet, which Virgil "disposed ... to beautify his piece".

It is the aesthetic quality of the arrangement that attracts Pope. Lines 4-7 in Virgil are thus interwoven with Isaiah, Ch. 7. v. 14:

Rapt into future Times, the Bard begun;

A Virgin shall conceive, a Virgin bear a Son!
From Jesse's Root behold a Branch arise,
Whose sacred Flow'r with Fragrance fills the Skies.
The' Aethereal Spirit o'er its Leaves shall move,
And on its Top descends the Mystic Dove. (11.7-12)

Naturally, even Isaiah's "wonderfully elevated" thoughts are given the exegesis based on Christian, allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament.

In describing the Golden Age Pope produces something that is neither Isaiah nor Virgil:

(1) Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, ed. E. Audra and Aubrey Williams, (1961), p.120.

(2) Ibid., p.111.

(3) Ibid.

The Sick and Weak the healing Plant shall aid;
 From Storms a Shelter, and from Heat a Shade.
 All crimes shall cease, and ancient Fraud shall fail,
 Returning Justice lift aloft her Scale;
 Peace o'er the World her Olive-Wand extend,
 And white-roab'd Innocence from Heav'n descend. (ll. 15-20)

However, by further 'Virgilianizing' Isaiah the revolutionary, realistic yet intensely spiritual essence of the prophet is even further suppressed.

Pope could not adapt all of the following, from Chapter 11, verse 4:

But with righteousness shall he judge the poor,
 and reprove the equity for the meek of the earth:
 and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth,
 and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.

Isaiah had scant mercy in his heart for the evil oppressors of his race and nation, the Babylonians:

Every one that is found shall be thrust through:
 and every one that is joined unto them shall fall
 by the sword. (Ch. 4 v. 16)

Out of Isaiah's cruel and destructive, merciful and creative prophecy, which is an angry yet hopeful cry of a man who was once a Babylonian slave, Pope forms an aesthetically controlled, yet far more restricted vision. Of all the levels of allusion (including the modern - Messiah is a product of the reign of Queen Anne, like Windsor-Forest), one is absent - Isaiah's conception of a violent change ^{towards} social justice. Pope's Christ is a protective, gentle, loyal-to-the-constitution figure, remote from the suffering avenger of Isaiah's prophecy.

The slightly pompous tone, which we can detect in the voice of Virgil's poet-shepherd, takes on a new dimension in Pope's remarkable imitation:

Rise, crown'd with Light, Imperial Salem rise!
 Exalt thy Tow'ry Head, and lift thy Eyes!
 See, a long Race thy spacious Courts adorn;
 See future Sons, and daughters yet unborn
 In crowding Ranks on ev'ry Side arise,
 Demanding Life, impatient for the Skies!
 See Barb'rous Nations at thy Gates attend,
 Walk in thy Light, and in thy Temple bend.
 See thy bright Altars throng'd with prostrate King,
 And heap'd with Products of Sabaean Springs! (ll. 85-94.)

This is the secular pomp and splendour of a baroque age, grafted on to a Roman splendour (thus "barb'rous Nations"), and is a travesty of the voice of one who suffered under the Babylonians, and whose race suffered equally under other empires, including the Roman. Pope's "Palaces" and "spacious Courts" hardly suggest that his agrarian reform, (called for in Isaiah and alluded to in Virgil), amounted to anything:

Their Vines a Shadow to their Race shall yield;
 And the Same Hand that sow'd, shall reap the Field. (ll. 65-6)

R. A. Brower says that Pope's imitation of Virgil portrays a pompous Roman variety of Christianity.⁽¹⁾ Before we say that Pope has put a religious interpretation on Virgil's poem, we must also admit that Virgil's own religious feeling, though not Christian, is lacking in Pope. Pope did not have a Miltonic or Wordsworthian love of his country and his fellow-countrymen, and it only this kind of profound patriotism, that is not simply political or ostentatious, which could alone match that of Virgil.

It is interesting to note that, despite his obvious approval of Fontenelle, Pope should introduce the picture of courts and palaces into a pastoral. For Fontenelle, in his Discours sur l'eglogue, attacked the use of themes greater than love and lamentation in pastoral, and thus disapproved of the fourth Eclogue, also as a pastoral, while he admitted that he could not understand

(1) Alexander Pope; The Poetry of Allusion (Oxford, 1959), p.38.

the sixth Eclogue at all.⁽¹⁾

Conventional imitations of Eclogue IV also include one by Daniel Baker, published in 1697, and an anonymous paraphrase of Pope, On the Holy Nativity. An Eclogue (1731).⁽²⁾ John Gay's The Birth of the Squire, an Eclogue in Imitation of the 'Pollio' of Virgil, first appeared in his Poems on Several Occasions (1720). It is an allusion to lines 11-45 of Virgil, and describes the birth and coming of age of the typical squire who, born on the estate that he inherits, spends his happy hours hunting, wenching and tippling. Though he breaks a collar bone riding,

He shall survive: and in late years, be sent
To snore away debates in Parliament,⁽³⁾

- an ironical imitation of lines 37 ff. in Virgil, while instead of Pan, Gay calls on Bacchus and "ye drunken Powers" to sing of the squire's "friendship and his midnight hours".⁽⁴⁾ Such is the prophecy of the modern messiah, who brings nothing but pain, devastation, and mutual contempt into the Golden Age of the eighteenth century estate, and corruption and insincerity into political life.

(1) "The Pictures which are drawn of a Pastoral Life, have always something so very smiling in them, and indulge our Fancies more than the Pompous Descriptions of a Splendid Court and of all the Magnificence that can shine there." "The Moderns have been often guilty of handling high Subjects in their Eclogues." "When Virgil desir'd to give a pompous Description of the imaginary Return of the Golden Age ... he should not have excited the Pastoral Muses to leave their natural Strain, and raise their Voices to a pitch which they can never reach." Of the sixth eclogue, Fontenelle wrote: "I must needs own that I cannot in the least tell what to make of this Piece." 'Of Pastorals' [trans. by P. Motteux], in Monsieur Bossn's Treatise of the Epick Poem, etc., (1695), p.283, p.287, pp. 285-6, and p.286, respectively.

(2) Gentleman's Magazine, i (1731), pp. 536-7.

(3) Poems of John Gay, ed. John Underhill (London, 1843), i, p. 231.

(4) Ibid., p. 232.

iii. Conventional imitations, mock-eclogues and mock-imitations.

Many eighteenth century pastoralists would have agreed with Pope that,

among the moderns, their success has been greatest
who have most endeavour'd to make these ancients
[i.e. Virgil and Theocritus] their pattern. (1)

In his discourse on pastoral, Pope gives various rules for writing pastoral and endows them with classical authority: it is, he says, "from the practice of Theocritus and Virgil, (the only undisputed authors of Pastoral) that the Criticks have drawn the foregoing notions concerning it" (2) Pope, in fact, wrote according to what we have called the conventional pastoral tradition, which grew up in England in the late seventeenth century and whose critical bases were Rapin's Reflexions sur l'Art Poetique d' Aristote and Fontenelle's Discours sur l'eglogue.

Fontenelle outlined his own idea of a commonly recognized contradiction: shepherds in the earliest, or Golden, age of primitive communism were innocent, but unrefined. When "those who liv'd in the Country became Slaves to those who dwelt in the Cities"⁽³⁾ shepherds were no longer simple, happy, or innocent, for their condition worsened. Refinement grew in the towns, not in the countryside: pastoral poetry therefore seeks its temper

(1) A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, in Pastoral Poetry, ed. E. Audra and A. Williams (1961), p.30.

(2) Ibid., p.29.

(3) 'Of Pastorals', [trans. by P. Motteux], in Monsieur Bossu's Treatise of the Epick Poem, etc. (1695), p.277 [T3] .

and quality neither in the modern courts (which have refinement but not innocence) nor in the modern countryside (which has neither), but must imaginatively recreate a fictitious Golden Age. What pleases is the Idea of innocence and tranquillity, yet:

Shou'd the Scene of this quiet Life, with no other
business but Love, be plac'd anywhere but in the
Country, so that no Goats nor Sheep shou'd be
brought in, I fansie it would be never worse;
for, the Goats and Sheep add nothing to its Felicity. (1)

This is anything but a classical concept of pastoral. Virgil and Theocritus did not shun the actual countryside. Theocritus is not afraid to mention the smell of goats and goatherds, while the goats and sheep of Meliboeus and Tityrus in Virgil's first eclogue form an indispensable part of the drama, with its mixture of hope and suffering. Fontenelle's generalized, Aristotelian concept is - and this is important for imitation - rejection of genuine Theocritan or Virgilian pastoral. One does not have to look far for the causes. The "felicity" of the French peasants, (whose toils provided the court with its splendour, and the State, the Church and aristocracy with most of their income), was in no wise enhanced by feudal dues, titles, direct and indirect taxation, the injustice and oppression of the tax-collectors, the meagre, often starvation diet, the tiny mud or thatched houses, or the primitive farming methods, which involved brutish, unceasing labour. Thus the 'pastoral' innocence and tranquillity of Fontenelle reflects

(1) Ibid., p.283.

one kind of mental escape by the exploiting class from a recognition of its true role in society, which meant shunning the reality of those "certains animaux farouches, des males & des femelles, repandus par la campagne" of whom Bruyère spoke.⁽¹⁾

Knightley Chetwood, one of Dryden's fellow-translators, replied to Fontenelle's attack on the classical pastoral tradition in a Preface to the Pastorals, with a Short Defence of Virgil against some of the Reflections of Monsieur Fontenelle, published with the 1697 Virgil. This later appeared as the product of Walsh's pen in The Works of the most celebrated Minor Poets (1749), ii, p.131, under the title, An Essay on Pastoral Poetry. With a Short Defence of Virgil, Against some of the Reflections of Monsieur Fontenelle.

The case for Walsh's authorship is slender, considering Walsh's own pastorals, the author's advocacy of more life-like shepherds and "some peculiar relish of the antient fashion of writing" (p.145), the defence of the "Saturnia regna pastoral" (p.139), of which Walsh wrote a mock-imitation, and the disaffection with Fontenelle's insistence on the theme of love. Fontenelle's knowledge of husbandry, we are told, is negligible:

... the persons brought in by Mr. Fontenelle are shepherds in masquerade, and handle their sheep-hook as awkwardly, as they do their oaten reed. (p. 145)

However, the essay emphasizes the Golden Age concept, and there are several passages that remind us of Pope's Discourse, such as the need for rules in the representation of ancient piety, innocence and plainness, the

(1) Les Caractères, ou Les Moeurs de ce Siècle, (Bruxelles, 1692), p.286. "Ils épargnent aux autres hommes la peine de semer, de labourer & de recueillir pour vivre, & méritent ainsi de ne pas manquer de ce pain qu' ils ont semé" (p.287).

invention of "some ordonnance, design, or little plot, which may deserve the title of a pastoral scene," the charm of variety, and the admiration of Virgil, who "surpasses Theocritus ... when judgment and contrivance have the principal part." (pp. 142-3.) Dryden commented on Chetwood in order to justify, "though in patronizing terms",⁽¹⁾ the Theocritan tradition.

The idea of the Golden Age as a world where gentle passions reigned, where the pure flame of the Vestal fire was kindled in the human breast, and where a supreme delicacy of man's intellectual faculties reigned, was expressed in Essays upon Pastoral (3rd edition, 1730), prefaced to anonymous eclogues. Their interest, however, lies in the detailed description of the imagined antediluvian earth, for it is further evidence that conventional pastoral did not attempt to imitate the classical poets in their portrayal of an idealized, but definitely post-lapsarian natural world. If anything, the Golden Age was more exotic than native, and this also lay behind Pope's attack on the native pastorals of Philips.

Pope's Discourse on Pastoral Poetry stressed the simplicity of the pastoral in thought, form and expression.⁽²⁾ Pastoral simplicity was not, however, the same as rusticity. Within simplicity was contained variety,

(1) Watson, ii, p.216.

(2) "The Simple Manner, which being the strictest Imitation of Nature, shou'd of right be the compleatest, in the Distribution of its Parts, and Symmetry of its whole, is yet so far from making any ostentation of Method, that it conceals the Artifice as much as possible: endeavouring only to express the effect of Art, under the appearance of the greatest Ease and Negligence". Shaftesbury, Advice to an Author, Part II section ii, in Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, (1711), i, p.257.

and this was achieved through the different scenes, times and subjects, as the poetic variety was achieved through the different comparisons and descriptions. Pope omitted an important aspect of pastoral, that is, the different characters of the speakers. Of Theocritus, he says that :

... he is not so exact in his persons, having introduced Reapers and fishermen as well as shepherds ... In the manners he seems a little defective, for his swains are sometimes abusive and immodest, and perhaps too much inclining to rusticity; for instance, in his fourth and fifth Idyllia. (1)

Yet, one may answer, this is surely part of the delightful humour and the naturalism of Theocritus: many of his figures are memorable as individuals. Pope, however, judges Theocritus by pseudo-classical rules, and one is amused by the youthful seriousness with which he insists that the Discourse was written, together with the Pastorals, at the age of sixteen, and that they were passed through the hands of eight eminent persons, who presumably confirmed their classical status. In spite of Dryden's warning to Elizabeth Thomas, it became the principal aim of writers such as Pope to labour towards correct versification. "As for the numbers themselves ... they should be the smoothest, the most easy and flowing imaginable"⁽²⁾ Pope modelled himself on the many conventional pastorals that had already been written in England, of which Walsh's were for him, the most important. Yet the particular path taken by Pope was in fact a cul-de-sac. "Virgil," he says, "who copies Theocritus, refines upon his original: and in all points where Judgment is principally

(1) Pastoral Poetry ... ed. Andra and Williams, p.29.

(2) Ibid., pp. 28-9.

concerned, he is much superior to his master." (1) We may assume that even Virgil could be refined. Coming three centuries after "his master", the theory, according to Fontenelle, would be that urban refinement had been joined to the rural innocence of Theocritus and had purged or drained off his imperfections (though he was nearer the 'Golden Age' in time than Virgil). This theory of imitation, bound up with the notion of cultural advance and the improvement of language and manners, allowed poets to improve the Ancients themselves, for the moderns were to be more skilful in judgment than in invention, according to Roscommon. The process of refinement would thus continue, but soon the deficiency of invention and novelty would be felt, and a new direction taken. This is exactly what occurred, and the result of the Pope-Philips controversy was that imitations of classical pastorals took new and surprising paths. Pope's Pastorals were the final flourish of one line of development, which had grown out of the courtly pastoral tradition, and of which it was a less allegorical, more restrained, more generalized kind. The fault with this line was that it was too courtly and too much under French influence.

Walsh's Pastorals were a vehicle for tender, lyrical sentiments expressed in simple and 'chaste' diction. His second pastoral is a conventional imitation of Virgil's second - that is, he models his piece on Virgil as he no doubt thought Virgil had modelled himself on his master. Virgil's Worydon is described in a naturalistic setting. It is noon, the cattle are cooling themselves, lizards hide, reapers are resting. Yet the woods under

(1) Ibid., p.30.

the burning sun ring with the shrill voices of cicadas, and this it is that Corydon compares to his own ardour for Alexis, (whom imitators invariably changed to a lady). Spenser, avoiding this Virgilian circumstantial 'truth', deprived nature of its objectivity by linking the sun's heat and the Spring with the idea of love, instead of showing how, as in Virgil, the lover's ardour defies the customary midday resting-time. Walsh also uses the non-circumstantial contrast:

How small's the Heat? how easy is the Pain
I feel Without, to that I feel within? (1)

Pope similarly employed this 'turn' in his 'Summer':

The bleating Sheep with my Complaints agree,
They parch'd with Heat, and I inflam'd by thee.
The sultry Sirius burns the thirsty Plains,
While in thy Heart Eternal Winter reigns. (2)

Virgil does not forget the utilitarian nature of rural activities. Walsh's Thyrsis plays down his 'shepherd-ness', and asks the fair lady to chase the hares with him. In the third eclogue, which is part translation, part paraphrase of the first song in Virgil's eighth, a change is made for the sake of decorum: Nysa is younger, not older, than Damon.

Pope's Pastorals appeared at the end of Tonson's Miscellanies (the sixth part of Dryden's Miscellany Poems) in 1709. If Pope's Donne is Horace's Lucilius, then Pope's Spenser is Virgil's Theocritus. Pope

(1) 'Eclogue II. Galatea', in The Works of the most celebrated Minor Poets, ii (1749), p.116.

(2) Op. cit., p.73. Compare also the epigrammatic, "This harmless Grove no lurking Viper hides, / But in my Breast the Serpent Love abides" with the lizard in Virgil.

attempted to blend all the sweetness and smoothness of English verse with the noble 'thoughts' of Virgil's shepherds (as opposed to the humble 'thoughts' of Spenser's). The Spenserian arrangement of months is more correctly made into seasons, and the form of the Virgilian eclogue - the love complaint, the amoebaeic, and the elegy - is kept artificial and 'ordered.'

'Spring' is a conventional imitation of Eclogue III, while some details are taken from Eclogue VII. In the burlesque imitations of these eclogues, the song contest or the squabble served to illuminate the character of the participants and the nature of their environment. This came closer to Theocritus, whose two shepherds are boastful, while reason for a singing contest - not merely an antiphonous exchange, as in Pope. Pope's Strephon and Daphnis are hardly shepherds at all. He omits the opening banter of the original, so that Daphnis and Strephon are like disembodied voices. In Virgil Damoetas, as a matter of principle, defends his singing voice and stakes a cow. Menalcas, who is the more brazen, stakes a priceless cup. Strephon stakes "yon' Lamb that near the Fountain plays"⁽¹⁾ - (the word "stake" - "depono" - has a more dramatic emphasis in Virgil) - while Daphnis stakes his bowl, quite calmly. Virgil is 'Augustanized': Croydon, in Eclogue VII, describing how nature depends on the presence of Alex, says:

stant et iuniperi et castaneae hirsutae;
strata iacent passim sua quaeque sub arbore poma;
omnia nunc rident. (ll. 53-5).

Pope has:

(1) Ibid., p.63.

All Nature laughs, the Groves are fresh and fair,
The Sun's mild lustre warms the vital Air; (1)

where junipers and shaggy chestnuts are reduced to "Groves", whose attributes are as much human as natural. The epithets in Pope's pastorals are in fact equally human attributes: "mild", "drooping", "rosie", "vital" could be applied to women. Nature in early Pope has a drawing-room femininity, the product of a young man's idealization of the female sex. Menalcas in Virgil posed the riddle of the flowers bearing royal names (hyacinths).⁽²⁾ Pope's 'imitation' of this 'particular beauty' has (possibly, unconscious) sexual undertones:

Nay tell me first, in what more happy Fields
The Thistle springs, to which the Lilly yields? (3)

In 'Summer' Pope masks as Alexis. Virgil's Corydon had told Alexis with defensive pertness:

nec sum adeo informis: nuper me in litore vidi,
cum placidum ventis staret mare; non ego Daphnim
iudice te metuum, si nunquam fallit imago. (ll. 25-7).

The Theocritan goatherd's rustic innocence is now a shepherd's less forthright, but still characterized complaint, made more beautiful in its flow and cadence. Spenser's Colin was far humbler: his plight was reflected in the barren ground. Pope 'refines' on Virgil, and we look forward to The Rape of the Lock in the urbanity of the following:

(1) Ibid., p.68.

(2) This, incidentally, inspired Milton's "flow'rs inscrib'd with woe" ("inscripti ... flores").

(3) Ibid., p.69.

As in the Crystal Spring I view my Face,
 Fresh rising Blushes paint the watry Glass;
 But since those Graces please thy Eyes no more,
 I shun the Fountains which I sought before. (1)

'Autumn' extracts from Virgil's eighth Eclogue the artifice of repetition, balance, and a self-contained structure, and demonstrates a sensuous enjoyment in the sounds and textures of words themselves. Again, however, Pope is only 'classical' in a limited sense: Virgil retained the use of magical charms from Theocritus, and it is important to note that Gray approximated to Theocritus by his use of modern rural superstitions. The elegy on Mrs. Tempest in 'Winter' is in the conventional tradition: several examples of Virgil's basic pattern used for notable contemporaries could be cited. Nature is even more of an ornament, an adjunct that beautifies persons and sentiments. Pope achieves a succinctness and a symmetry which few before him had attempted. He is aware above all of patterned effects, of graceful figures and of due proportions. What, however, is art in Virgil, is artifice in Pope: Virgil's poetic techniques are not the regularized forms of the English Augustans, who find themselves unable to achieve the delicate synthesis of so many different elements which we find in Virgil.

Ambrose Philips's Pastorals appeared at the beginning of the same miscellany that contained those of Pope. ⁽²⁾ His different approach is evident in his 'Preface':

(1) Ibid., p. 174.

... as in Painting, so I believe, in Poetry, the Country affords the most entertaining Scenes, and most delightful Prospects ... To see a stately, well built Palace, strikes us, indeed, with Admiration, and swells the Soul, as it were, with Notions of Grandeur. But when I view a little Country Dwelling, advantageously situated amidst a beautiful Variety of Fields, Woods and Rivers; I feel an unspeakable kind of Satisfaction, and cannot forbear wishing, that my good Fortune would place me in so sweet Retirement. (1)

Compare this with Pope:

I expect much, toward the Civilizing of you in your Critical capacity, from the Innocent Air and Tranquillity of our Forest, when you do me the favor to visit it: In the meantime, it would do well by way of preparative, if you wou'd duly & constantly ev'ry Morning, read over a Pastoral of Theocritus or Virgill. (2)

This is more consciously literary. Whereas Philips's satisfaction is "unspeakable", Pope remains a member of a self-conscious milieu which is literate, civilized and articulate. He did not feel the romantic urge to pull away from or step outside that milieu in order to 'feel' Nature. Pope sees Nature in the way that Shaftesbury did - as something to be contemplated, as a divine work of art, which has a civilizing, tranquilizing effect.

Philips is more truly pastoral however in the sense that he sentimentalizes and idealizes the native and inhabited country scene. This was his way of interpreting a return of the Golden Age. Lanquet, one of his 'British' shepherds, says:

(1) The Sixth Part of Miscellany Poems (1727), p.2.

(2) Letter to Henry Cromwell, 10 May 1711, in The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. G. Sherburn (Oxford, 1956), i, p.116.

Thrice happy Shepherds now: For Dorset loves
 The Country Muse, and our delightful Groves;
 While Anna reigns. O ever may she reign!
 And bring on Earth a Golden Age again.⁽¹⁾

Philips thus wrote native pastorals, and was opening up a new path as far as pastoral was concerned - though he saw himself (as of course did Pope) as Spenser's heir. His shepherds have country names and a Spenserian naivete which incurred, however, the ridicule of the sophisticated Pope. Superior in many ways as Pope's own pastorals are, he nevertheless lost the battle in his defence of the more artificial, conventional type.

William Blake made etchings for Philips's second pastoral, which is a modern adaption of Virgil's first. The support which Menalcaas gives to Colinet contains a pastoral tribute to Addison, who supported Philips. Thenot (who shows knowledge of witchcraft) asks why Colinet is so sad. We discover that, instead of being driven off his land, he merely had the urge to wander from his home, driving his sheep as he went. Thenot's final intimation to Colinet is a pleasant adaptation of the original. In Virgil, Tityrus tells Meliboeus that he has ripe apples, mealy chestnuts and plenty of pressed cheeses. In Philips this becomes:

Sweet Milk and Clotted Cream, soft Cheese and Curd,
 With some remaining Fruit of last Year's Hoard,
 Shall be our Ev'ning Fare: and for the Night,
 Sweet Herbs and Moss, that gentle Sleep invite. (2)

(1) The Sixth Part of Miscellany Poems (1727), p.21.

(2) Ibid., p. 9.

The fourth pastoral is based on Virgil's fifth, and in it Mico laments the death of Stella. The opening description of king-cups, daisies, endives, goldfinch and thrush conveys a sense of nature's richness and variety without overloading or producing banality. He does not follow Virgil very strictly, but the form is undoubtedly Virgil's while the emphasis on the humble state derive from Spenser and Theocritus. The following concluding picture by Mico adds to Virgil's "et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant / maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae" (Eclogue I, ll. 82-3):

But see; the Hills increasing Shadows cast:
The Sun, I ween, is leaving us in haste:
His weakly Rays but glimmer thro' the Wood,
And bluish Mists arise from yonder Flood.⁽¹⁾

The sixth pastoral, a free imitation of Virgil's third, makes new comparisons and descriptions, bringing in locusts, ravens, snakes and even "the spungy Teat" of the cow. It was this kind of 'modern rusticity' which incurred ridicule because it 'lowered' the dignity of Virgilian pastoral.⁽²⁾ Nevertheless, with Pope and Philips the classical eclogue form and structure became an integral part of English pastoral.

Allan Ramsay's pastoral poems are in the native tradition, yet he kept fairly close to Virgil's structure and used Virgilian devices such as the cumulative comparison. Robert Fergusson's pastorals, which appeared on his Poems on Various Subjects (1773), were uniquely successful in combining the native tradition and the conventional type. 'Morning', the first pastoral,

(1) Ibid., p.16.

(2) See the discussion of Gay's The Shepherd's Week (1714), below, pp.160-164.

an amoebaeic, follows Pope closely, but the "peebly channels" and "Edina lofty turrets"⁽¹⁾ place the setting in Scotland, while in 'Noon', the second pastoral, Corydon's Delia has gone to England, "where civil discord and sedition reign".⁽²⁾ Fergusson's shepherds have no more identity that they do in Pope, but in 'Night', the third pastoral, winter's snows are preparing "the cumb'rous soil"⁽³⁾ and Philips's owls, bats and snakes are present when the theme is piety and the song is in praise of the Creator. The native eclogue gained ground: Moses Browne's Piscatory Eclogues (1729)⁽⁴⁾ had English rivers and streams, while the love of the native countryside was responsible for such productions as A Scarborough Eclogue (1735) and Snaith Marsh. A Yorkshire Pastoral (1754). When poets came closer to the real landscape they intended to move away from classical form, but not always so.

Pope's indignation at the popularity of Philips led to a well-known literary battle. Yet Pope's ironical essay in Guardian No. 40, following Addison's writings on the pastoral (which, said Pope, discounted Virgil

(1) The Poems of Robert Fergusson, ed. M.P. McDiarmid (S.T.S., Edinburgh, 1956), ii. p.5.

(2) Ibid., p.9.

(3) Ibid., p.15.

(4) We cannot deal here with William Diaper's Nereides, or Sea-Eclogues (1713), which earned Swift's praise, and, though they could not follow Virgil or Theocritus very closely, are beautiful and subtle adaptations of the eclogue form.

as a pastoralist), and the appearance of the Miscellany Poems, proved how regularized the eclogue form had become, for Pope could compare several passages very closely. When Gay, at Pope's behest, had produced his Shepherd's Week (1714), new types of eclogues began to emerge: within the mock-eclogue there were two kinds of town-eclogue, the burlesque native eclogue, (exemplified in Gay), and the political eclogue; native eclogues adhered to a specific locale, and this, paradoxically, led to exotic eclogues, set in the Orient or even Africa.

In the mock-eclogue, as in the mock-heroic, there is a deliberate disproportion between form and content. When Phillis, in Swift's Town Eclogue (1710), regales Corydon's treachery for having left her pregnant with no means of providing for the baby, and does so outside the Royal Exchange, we are meant to contrast the scene in Virgil, where Corydon, among thick beaches and shaded summits, complains that he is unworthy of Alexis. The hyperbole "When I forget the favour you bestow'd, / Red herrings shall be spawn'd in Tyburn Road ..." clashes in our mind with the one we know by Tityrus in Virgil's first eclogue.⁽¹⁾ Gay's Araminta. A Town Eclogue (1713) was an upper-class version of Swift's poem, in which Delia, betrayed by Daphnis, complains, "Was it for this I sparkled at the Play, / And loiter'd in the Ring whole Hours away?" which reminds us deliberately of Virgil's Corydon.

blancs /

(1)

Ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi,
 et freta destituent nudos in litore piscis,
 ante pererratis amborum finibus exsul
 aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim,
 quam nostro illius labatur pectore voltus. (ll.59-63).

The Shepherd's Week was intended as a burlesque of Philips, and though Philips, Spenser. The names - Lubberkin, Cloddipole, Grubbinol, Bumkinet - and the division into the seven days of the week, together with the 'Proeme to the Courteous Reader', are all tilts at Spenserian pastoral. The humble state of the swineherds and shepherds accords with their entirely un-courtly thoughts and sentiments. How would A. Philips or R. Blackmore have expressed this? asked Martinus Scriblerus. Gay demonstrates:

Ah! woful day! ah woful noon and moon!
 When first by thee my younglings white were shorn,
 Then first, I ween, I cast a lover's eye,
 My sheep were silly, but more silly I.
 Beneath the shears they felt no lasting smart,
 They lost but fleeces, while I lost my heart. (2)

This is a skit on Philips's tendency to whine, and the comparisons which, like some of Wordsworth's passages, have been ridiculed because they are deliberately simple. Pope saw in the native eclogue a break of 'classical' decorum, and the quotation above uses Scriblerian techniques, such as 'the infantile', 'low mechanical expression', and 'the vulgar'. The conventional pastoral simply could not accommodate shepherds sweating over wheat-sheaves, or planting real seeds in real furrows.

'Monday or The Squabble' keeps Virgil's third Eclogue in view but its content reminds us of the frank rusticity of Comatas and Lacon in the fifth Idyll of Theocritus. In Virgil the apples, dogs, wood-pigeons and the boar-hunt are designed to enhance our idea of pastoral love. In Gay we meet real "haycocks" that smell, breathing cows, potatoes and roast beef,

(1) 'Tuesday, of The Ditty,' ll. 25-30. In Poems, ed. Underhill, i, p. 82.

and instead of the bear-hunt the modern pastimes become playing on a swing (revealing Blouzelinda's "taper leg and scarlet hose") or on a see-saw. However, in Theocritus Lacon tells Comatas that his goat-skins stink worse than he does, and remembers when he "flogged him through and through". Gay's intention, however, is to prick the bubble of sentimentalism, and the lines in Virgil's seventh eclogue, by Corydon,

populus Alcidae gratissima, vitis laccho,
 formosae myrtus Veneri, sua laurea Phoebus;
 Phyllis amat corylos; illas dum Phyllis amabit,
 nec myrtus vincet corylos nec laurea Phoebi, (ll. 61-4)

are imitated in burlesque through consistent modern substitution, and the bathos, - the price we must pay for trying to write truly 'native' pastoral: (1)

Leek to the Welsh, to Dutchmen butter's dear,
 Of Irish swains potato is the cheer;
 Oats for their feasts the Scottish shepherds grind,
 Sweet turnips are the food of Blouzelind.
 While she loves turnips, butter I'll despise,
 Nor leeks, nor oatmeal, nor potato, prize. (2)

In 'Tuesday or The Ditty' Marian bewails the fact that Colin Clout has left her. Though based on Virgil's second eclogue it is closer to Spenser's first, and lack of acquaintance with the models still allows one to enjoy the naturalistic details, such as Marian's burning her hands to warm Colin's broth in haste. Those who approached Gay unconscious of his largely Scriblerian purpose saw in him a confirmation of the native eclogue tradition.

(1) This begins in the seventeenth century with 'Scotch Songs' and 'Northern Ditties'.

(2) Ibid., p.78.

'Wednesday' and 'Thursday' are 'paraphrastic' imitations, in burlesque, of Virgil's eighth eclogue, but the characterization, the charms and other details come from Theocritus' second Idyll. In the first, Bumkinet has fled Sparabella who tries to win **him** back as Damon sang for his lost Mysa. Here Gay's bathos descends to new profundities: each complaint imports as many un-pastoral effects as possible, from bats, to pigs, to insects and screech-owls; Damon's complaint is caricatured. He threatened to plunge headlong into the waves. Sparabella's last lines remind us of Dido's ridiculous suicide in Cotton:

Farewell, ye woods, ye meads, ye streams, that flow;
A sudden death shall rid me of my woe.
This pen-knife keen my windpipe shall divide.
What, shall I fall as squeaking pigs have died! (1)

Yet one may note the not less ridiculous death in Dryden's translation of Theocritus' eighteenth Idyll, where the wretched swain, spurned by the nymph, hangs himself from a beam with the help of a huge rock. The nymph, bursting into the room, "saw him beat his quivering feet in Air", but does not weep his fate, not takes him down,"but brushed regardless by"⁽²⁾

The remarkably detailed knowledge of country beliefs and practices displayed in 'Thursday or, The Spell', a paraphrastic imitation of the song of Alpheus, gives it an intrinsic interest. Bathetic images and comparisons and the ludicrous situations, such as the theft of the tree-sleeping Lubberkin's dangling garter, evince however the basic intention

(1) Ibid., p. 90.

(2) Miscellany Poems (1727), i, p. 300.

of mock-pastorals and a mock-imitation.

'Friday or, The Dirge', takes its form from Eclogue V. Nothing in Gay rises above the actual rural world - either in description, character, or theme. There is much social realism here, and it serves to show us how the conflict between realism and classicism arose. In Virgil the animals themselves lamented the death of Daphnis. In Spenser, nature is an allegorical reflection of human thoughts, passions and qualities. Gay's beetles, pigs, lambkins, daisies and fields do exist, and because of this all balance, all decorum, is intentionally lost. The following lament by Bumkinet is very close to Philips, and Gay succeeds in creating a comic situation by pushing it over the edge into 'realism':

Whilome I've seen her skim the clotted cream,
And press from spongy curds the milky stream,
But now, alas! these ears shall hear no more
The whining swine surround the dairy door,
No more her care shall fill the hollow tray,
To fat the guzzling hogs with floods of whey.
Lament, ye swine, in grunting spend your grief,
For you, like me, have lost your sole relief. (1)

'Saturday or, The Flights' is an adaptation of Eclogue VI, and Silenus is replaced by Bowzybeus, the village drunkard.

In March 1716 appeared the anonymous volume of Court Poems, containing town-eclogues, by Gay and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Of these eclogues, which are again numbered by the days of the week, 'Tuesday. St. James's

(1) Ibid., p. 100.

'Coffee-House' is an imitation of Eclogues III, and VII, as is 'Thursday. The Bassette-Table', while others imitate in burlesque the occasional Virgilian device.

Gay substituted the real countryside for an imaginary 'Golden' one. Lady Mary substitutes the cynicism, lust and hypocrisy of the beau monde for the innocence, pure passion and sincerity of conventional pastoral. Her aim in copying the Virgilian device and using the Virgilian form is to contrast this moral change. Silliander and Patch are corrupt versions of Virgil's Menalcas and Damoetas and Pope's Daphnis and Strephon. The Galatea of Damoetas is 'lusciva', or 'wanton', but innocently so. Lydia, in Strephon's beautiful cameo, is an idealized vision. Patch's countess is hardly either when she refuses him her snuff-box:

She laugh's and fled, and as I sought to seize,
With affectation cramm'd it down her stays:
Yet hop'd she did not place it there unseen,
I press'd her breasts, and pull'd it from between. (1)

In 'Thursday' there is a humorous modernization of Virgil when a hint is taken from Palaemon's last words, "sat prata biberunt" - "the fields have drunk enough". Loveit winds up the contest:

Attend, and yield to what I now decide;
The equipage shall grace Smilinda's side;
The snuff-box to Cardelia I degree;
So leave complaining, and begin your tea. (2) c/

(1) A Collection of Poems (1757), iii, p. 279. Montagu, like Gay, is ridiculing Philips in her Six Town Eclogues. One of Philips's shepherds covers the limbs of his sweetheart with the dress the wind has disturbed while she slept, and asks if he did amiss. Silliander and Patch exchange tit-bits concerning their female interests in a more cynical and salacious manner.

(2) Ibid., p. 290.

In August of 1716 Swift wrote to Pope:

I believe ... the [Pastoral] Ridicule is not exhausted; and a porter, foot-man, or chairman's pastoral might do well. Or what think you of a Newgate pastoral, among the whores and thieves there? (1)

This demand was satisfied, of course, by Gay's The Beggar's Opera, but also by the Town-eclogues, some of which are mock-imitations of Virgil. It is interesting that Thomas Purney, whose Pastorals, After the Simple Manner of Theocritus appeared in 1717, became chaplain at Newgate in 1719 and sold the Ordinary's Accounts, the supposedly last words of executed criminals, for extra money. Purney shows little sense of formal structure, and his language is archaic, but, like Philips, he was attempting something new, perhaps because the pastoral itself, with the Virgil-Theocritus and the Pope - Philips - Gay controversies, was splitting into different types. Thomas Brereton said of Purney:

We are not such Cockneys in Town, as to believe that grown Men and Maids talk like Babys in the Country: We make some Distinction between Simplicity and Impotence; though He seems to think light of the Matter. (2)

(1) The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford, 1963), ii, p.215.

(2) The Critick, No. xx, May 19, 1718. Quoted in The Works of Thomas Purney, ed. H.O. White (Oxford, 1933), Introduction, p.xiii.

iv. Mock-imitations: town-eclogues and political eclogues.

We have seen how imitations of Virgil and Theocritus produced contradictory results. The Theocritan tradition produced Dryden's skilful comedy, Philips's native pastorals, Diaper's exquisite sea-idylls, Gay's 'low' realism, Purney's wandering, archaic style, and the freer development of the native pastoral. The conventional tradition, on the other hand, produced the courtly pastoral, Walsh's politis eclogues, Pope's golden artifices, and the formal mock-eclogue in Montagu. The political and formal emphasis derived from Virgilian imitation, while the attention to humble character and 'low' environment - which does not preclude a certain sympathy for it - found support in Theocritus. In the mock-imitations of Virgil which we are going to discuss, the eclogue structure is taken from Virgil, but the awareness of character and dramatic scene owes more to the influence of Theocritus, so that the Virgilian form and the 'Theocritan' content often clash.

The Contest. A London Eclogue, in Imitation of the seventh Pastoral of Virgil (1733)⁽¹⁾ was the first example of a special type of burlesque imitation of Virgil, and it appeared seven months after Pope's first 'Imitation of Horace'. Pope was certainly responsible for many imitations during the 1730's, and this type of literary production, based primarily on Pope's successful practice, inspired likewise imitations of Virgil, for satirical purposes.⁽²⁾

Town-eclogues can be classified into two types. The first is

(1) In *The Gentleman's Magazine*, iii (1733) p.486.

(2) Yet Andrew Erskine's Town Eclogues (1765) were, according to the author, suggested by Swift's letter to Pope. Erskine said in his preface that he had written eclogues which ^{were} in accordance with what Swift meant by 'Newgate Pastoral'. (See above, p.165.)

concerned with beaux and belles, coffee-house wits and pamphleteers, clergymen, lawyers and the like; in other words, though they preserve the form of the Virgilian eclogue, from the descriptions to the amoebaic convention and the cumulative comparisons, their characters and subject-matter reflect the cynical or ambitious, hypocritical or contentious world of the middle- and upper-class. The second type derives from Swift's Town Eclogue of 1710. Here the modern Arcadia is not the coffee house, the lady's boudoir, or the scenes frequented by the rich and the intelligentsia, but the pavement, the market-place and the tavern scenes frequented by the London poor. The gifts offered by Virgil's shepherds are cows, beautifully carved cups, bowls of milk, wreathed flowers, cream and other samples of Arcadian produce. In the first type of town-eclogue, the gifts are rings, buckles, snuff-boxes, an equipage, the adornments and accessories of the beau monde. In the second type, we come closer to Virgil. Beads, handkerchiefs, shirts, half-a-crown for which a Sunday gown was pawned, hot-pot, broth, and sheep's-head are the meagre goods that are acquired by work - but work for which money-wages are paid.⁽¹⁾ Thus in the imitations a further contrast emerges between the 'natural economy' or pre-class society, and the 'corrupt economy' of the market, ~~when~~. As Fontenelle said, those who lived in the country became slaves to those in the cities,⁽²⁾ but later slaves grew up in the cities as well.

The Contest, then, is a Swiftian town-eclogue. Following Virgil, the contest itself takes place through the reported speech of a first person, who is unnamed. Corydon and Thyrsis are seated beneath an ilex tree. Chauntclear

(1) They may also be acquired by theft, but in this case the price paid may be hanging. (See Mother Gin, an imitation of Eclogue V. below p.176)

(2) See above, p.144.

and Raucus (the names already tell us who shall be the winner of the singing-match) sit beneath a tun. The umpire, Tom Piper, invites the narrator to join in the singing. Virgil's Meliboeus is apprehensive for his sheep, with no Alcippe or Phyllis to guard them. For our modern Meliboeus, there is no Sue or Phillis to guard his pockets, yet, if his counterpart put the sport before his work, he will "risk [his] Safety for a Joke." (1)

The humour and the meaning of the imitation lie in the difference between the singing of the contestants. Virgil makes a contrast between the inspiration of Corydon's and Thyrsis' exchanges; in The Contest Raucus sings verses more according to the burlesque, Chaunclear, ones belong to the conventional eclogue, thus deliberately contrasting for us the two types of eclogue and the associations they have. In Spenser, participants in amoebaeian eclogues represent a dualism of some kind, such as Youth and Age, Protestant and Catholic. Art and Nature is the dualism in Philips' fifth pastoral. The Contest resembles the Philips eclogue in that the dualism is a literary one - between the golden-age pastoral and the town-pastoral. It is a Scriblerian piece, where the 'sublime' and the 'profound' are contrasted. Corydon invokes the Nymphs of Libethra, Thyrsis the shepherds of Arcady. Chaunclear invokes Aegidian nymphs, Raucus Hockcleian youths. (The nymphs of St. Giles are far superior to the swains of Hockley-in-the-Hole.) The town/pastoral contrast is made clear in the following interchange:

O fair Hoppoea, with thy tripping Feet,
Neat as a Milkmaid, as a Milkmaid sweet;
Come with thy charming Mein, and graceful Art,

(1) The Gentleman's Magazine, iii (1733), p.486. See Eclogue VII, ll.37-44.

Come to thy Chaunteclear, and rejoice his Heart;
 Come when fatigu'd, coroding Cares abound,
 And make my midnight Hours with jollity go round.

O Cynderaxa, may I seem to you
 Loathsome and hateful as a Toupee Beau,
 Who with short quick-fetch'd Steps trips fast along,
 And as he paces murmurs out a Song.
 Such may I be, if that when you're not near,
 An Hour seems not a Day, a Day a Year. (1)

The unequal rhythm, matching the ugly walk of the beau, is a Scriblerian exercise (our tongue can manipulate the milkmaid's feet but trips up over the beau's).

A translation of Virgil can, however, be worse than a Scriblerian burlesque. The lines of *Thyrsis* beginning "Hic focus et taedae pingues" ... (2) were translated by Adams in Dryden's Miscellany thus:

Here on my Hearth a constant flame does play
 And the fat Vapour paints the Roof each day;
 Here we as much regard the cold North-wind
 As Streams their banks, or Wolves do number mind. (3)

In The Contest there is satire, human interest and ingenious parallel to raise the mediocrity of the verse:

When tir'd with Dirt, and wet with Rain and Mire,
 This Hospitable Shop affords a Fire:
 Me Wind nor Weather can no more affright
 Than Divers (4) fear the Dusk, or Thieves the Night. (5)

(1) Ibid. See Virgil, *Eclogue VII*, ll.37-44.

(2) *Eclogue VII*, ll.49-52.

(3) Miscellany Poems (1684), p.376.

(4) Pickpockets.

(5) *Op. cit. loc. cit.*

In The Tryal of Skill between 'Squire Walsingham and Mother Osborne.

An Eclogue, in Imitation of Virgil's Palaemon (1734), the place of Menalcas is taken by Francis Walsingham (William Arnall), who brought out the well-known political journal The Free Briton from 1729 until 1735. The satirical point of the mock-imitation is that the trial of skill^{is} between rivals in the art of political propaganda.⁽¹⁾ Few opportunities are missed for modern, either literary, political, or personal parallels. Menalcas' opening taunt becomes a literary gibe by Osborne:

Of Sense and Grammer you defraud the Town,
And twice an Hour make tortur'd Presses groan. (p.1)

Walsingham, as Damoetas, defends himself and accuses his opponent of tearing the Craftsman "out of envious Spite" (substituted for Daphnis' bows and arrows). Osborne ridicules the idea of Walsingham as a rhymist:

Prose-fool at best, who scarce can entertain
The lowest Rabble with thy wretched Strain. (p.2)

Forfeits are made: a coach and two horses by Walsingham, and a parchment by Osborne. The umpire, 'Eugenius',⁽²⁾ matches Palaemon's description of budding

(1) Paul Whitehead, in The State Dunces. Inscrub'd to Mr. Pope (1733) includes Walsingham and Osborne as political dunces. The following characterization could be compared with that in the imitation:

Here Walsingham's soft lulling Opiates spread,
There gloomy Osburn's Quintessence of Lead. (p.12)

Osborne was Walpole's political darling.

(2) Eugenius is the moderate, sensible Lord Buckhurst in Dryden's Essay of Dramatic Poesy, to whom the revised version was dedicated in 1684. Here the name 'Eugenius' appropriately matches the moderating function of the speaker.

trees with the observation:

Now Pamphlets blow, now Grub-street Garrets bear
The beauteous Offspring of the teeming Year. (p.3)

Pope imitated the passage from Virgil thus:

Then sing by turns, by turns the Muses sing,
Now Hawthorns blossom, now the Daisies spring,
Now Leaves the Trees, and Flow'rs adorn the Ground;
Begin, the Vales shall ev'ry Note rebound.(1)

Yet Pope too could burlesque Virgil much as our imitator has done:

our modern Bards put forth in the Spring
time sonnets and epigrams in as great
abundance as Trees do Blossoms.(2)

In another early letter, to Wycherley, Pope had compared scribblers to gnats in a summer evening.⁽³⁾ The mock-pastoral comparison was thus a commonplace habit of thought before town-eclogues appeared.

The imitator here strains, not unsuccessfully, after a consistent modernity. Damoetas' praise of Jove becomes a justification, by Walsingham, of true monarchy:

Of Kings I'll sing: For Monarch's thus I deem,
Subjects were made for Kings, not Kings for them. (p.4)

(1) 'Spring' ll.41-4, in Pastoral Poetry, ed. Audra and Williams, pp.64-5.

(2) Letter to Henry Cromwell, May 7, 1709, in The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. G. Sherburn (Oxford, 1956), i, p.

(3) December 26, 1704, in The Correspondence ...i, p.2.

Menalcas' reply becomes a riposte in praise of Walpole. Walsingham's favourite love is 'Skerness',⁽¹⁾ Osborne looks up to Lord Hervey, and Virgil's lines,

At mihi sese offert ultro, meus ignis, Amyntas,
notior ut iam sit canibus non Delia nostris. (2)

are made topical:

On me Lord Fanny casts his sweet Regards;
Nor Ralph is better known to all our Bards. (p.5)

The contest continues; the wolf is baneful to Damoetas' sheep, and the Craftsman's pen weekly devours The Free Briton's page. For the next four exchanges, the imitator can find no parallels, and so he translates. However, he redeems himself on Damoetas' knowing and rustic warning:

Qui legitis flores et humi nascentia fraga,
frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba, (3)

with a similar warning to young Englishmen interested in politics:

Ye vent'rous Youths, who in you jetty Bowers
Collect of Politicks the tempting Flowers,
Avoid the wily Dangers of the Place,
For Snakes and Patriots skulk beneath the Grass. (p.7)

Osborne cannot successfully 'cap' this, but to Walsingham's complaint that, just as Damoetas' herd pines away, so his journals are seldom read, Osborne

(1) Waller's 'Saccharissa.'

(2) Eclogue III, ll. 66-67.

(3) Ibid. ll. 92-3.

manages to find a worthy rejoinder:

Not Party-writings claim my Sheets alone;
 With Wit and Humour they've address'd the Town:
 And yet, bewitch'd by some malicious Eye;
 With thine (a common Mass) they now neglected lie. (p.8) (1)

Under these circumstances, apart from relative performances of the contestants in the eclogue itself, it is fitting that Eugenius should conclude,

So small Distinction in your Talents lies,
 To both, or neither, I must doom the Prize. (p.9)

The Billingsgate Contest. A Piscatory London Eclogue. In Imitation of the Third Eclogue of Virgil, appeared in 1734.⁽²⁾ The anonymous author of this imitation has shifted the scene from the pastures of Arcadia to the fish market of Billingsgate. Menalcas, Damoctas and Palaemon are transmogrified into three strong-lunged fishwives, Oysteria, Welfleta and Maccarella.

The consciousness in the eighteenth century of formal poetic types is expressed in the title itself. The poem is first of all a burlesque type, in this case a mock-eclogue. Yet even within the latter definition of its species, this poem, though superficially straightforward, can be defined in three other ways. It is an imitation, it is a town-eclogue, and it is a piscatory eclogue. The piscatory eclogue, initiated by Jacopo Sannazaro in 1526, but probably suggested by three idylls of Theocritus (XXI, VI, and XI) was known in England mainly through two works, the Piscatory Eclogues of Phineas Fletcher (1633) and the Piscatory Eclogues of Moses Browne (1729).

(1) See Eclôgue III, ll.102-3.

(2) In The Gentleman's Magazine, iv, (1734), p.270

As the name implies, fishermen take the place of shepherds, fish the place of sheep and goats, the sea and waves the place of woods, hills and dales. This eclogue could therefore also be describes as 'mock-piscatory', for it descends from those gentle fishers and sea-nymphs of Sannazaro, Fletcher and Browne to very un-gentle sellers of fish.

R.P. Bond dismisses this poem as "an entirely unamusing use of the pastoral contest in song".⁽¹⁾ We do not propose to judge it as a burlesque, but as an imitation. Neither is the word 'pastoral' helpful or accurate here. As Tytler said,

The word Pastoral implies that the characters are shepherds: Eclogue signifies, a select poem of any kind ... thus we have seen Town-eclogues as well as Pastoral Eclogues, to both of which it would be ridiculous to apply the same standards of simplicity, etc.: each have their different merits, and are capable of their peculiar beauties ... One rule is certain in all these oppositions: Examine the characters, and according as they conform to nature, let the performance be judged. (2)

The characters in this poem do have vigour and interest, for the author is not completely ignorant of London life. Menalcas accuses Damoetas of gross negligence of the flock put in his charge. Oysteria, seeing Welfleta's dry-looking fish that Polly Merton gave her to cry, accuses her of incompetence and dishonesty in the selling trade. Damoetas hinted that Menalcas was misbehaving in the shrine. Welfleta remarks on the time when "some laughing maids" discovered Oysteria in the bottom of a boat with Billy, thus making Virgil explicit. Similar accusations of theft and debauchery follow, until, following the original closely, we reach the point where Damoetas declares that he beat Damon in a singing match. "Cantando tu illum?" is Menalcas' scornful

(1) English Burlesque Poetry, p. 373.

(2) Phineas Fletcher, Piscatory Eclogues, (Edinburgh, 1771): A.F. Tytler's Introduction, p. v.

interrogation. Here the imitator switches rôles, so that it is Oysteria, not Welfleta, who sets up the first forfeit: in this case, nothing so fine as the cup of Menalcas, skilfully wrought, with pliant vine, clusters of ivy, and figures embossed on the surface, but

These golden beads with which myself I deck,
Which in 3 rounds hang pendant on my neck:
Do you stake aught of equal value down, (1)
The Necklace win, and wear it as your own.

Comparison with the superb Virgilian gift does lend the bathos^{that} a non-imitation would lack. The pledges on both sides are gifts from sailors. Palaemon's description, "nunc frondent silvae, nunc formosissimus annus," puts us in a harmonious relationship with nature. Maccarella, the modern umpire, notes that the market is closing (references to time and locality are a constant in all the eclogues), and that the coast is clear. In Virgil Damoetas praises Jove, Menalcas Phoebus. A debased Lucretian, Welfleta addresses Cupid; Oysteria is inspired by her Tommy.

Town-eclogues give ample scope for women, who appear in Theocritus, but not in Virgil. Consistency turns a complication to good effect. Pope's imitation of Damoetas' delightful description of Galatea,

The sprightly Sylvia trips along the Green,
She runs, but hopes she does not run unseen. (2)

is 'sunk':

My Johnny taps my neck in wanton play, (3)
Then wishing to be seen, he trips away.

(1) The Gentleman's Magazine iv (1734), p.270.

(2) 'Spring' ll.57-8, in Pastoral Poetry, ed. Audra and Williams, p.66.

(3) *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

Oysteria's man is "inconstant," yet none but her "can keep the rover's heart."⁽¹⁾

In this burlesque, unlike the conventional eclogues, real characters and scenes emerge, yet because of the poetic devices, from the names to the gifts to the formal amoebaic itself, within which they are held and from which they cannot escape, their reality is kept at a convenient distance. However, this imitation is more successful than The Tryal of Skill because of its subject. Fishwives with their fish seem closer to shepherds with their flocks than do writers with their pamphlets and journals. The town eclogue, makes more use of description and characterization than the political eclogue, and these are integral to the Virgilian eclogue.

Mother Gin, a Tragi-Comical Eclogue: being a paraphrastical imitation of the Daphnis of Virgil, appeared in 1737. In the advertisement 'To the Courteous Reader' the anonymous author tells us that he was inspired to imitate Virgil by Pope's example in his Imitations of Horace. Unfortunately, he seems to have grasped only the most mechanical aspect of imitation:

In this Essay, both the literal sense, and the spirit and turn of the Latin, have been kept in view; and the Imitator flatters himself, that Connoisseurs will perceive throughout the whole, either the one or the other. [The Latin is printed opposite the imitation.] He begs young Gentlemen of wit and parts, to whom there may possibly occur some difficulties in the Original, to endeavour to surmount them, before they pass judgement upon the Imitation; the beauties or blemishes of which, he assures them, they cannot otherwise thoroughly discover.⁽²⁾

He thus openly acknowledges a complete dependence on comparison with his original for effect. Few imitations can stand on their own feet. Most of them gain

(1) Ibid.

(2) Mother Gin ... (1737), A1.

something by comparison with the original. In Pope this is an extra pleasure: for those who are poor poets, it is the only one.

Instead of Manalcas and Mopsus among the elms lamenting the death of Daphnis, we have Malden and Morgan, two escaped prisoners,⁽¹⁾ sitting in a gin-shop "'midst casks now useless", lamenting the death of Mother Gin (following the ban on gin by Walpole's government).

Manalcas commands Mopsus to begin the dirge: "incipe; pascentis servabit Tityrus haedos" - Tityrus will tend the grazing kids. Malden urges Morgan:

Begin: the feeding kids, that wipers bite,
COCKY shall watch, and save 'em in their flight, (p.2)

"Kids" is a pun; to "bite wipers" is Cockney for stealing handkerchiefs.

(Cocky Wager, the modern Tityrus, had just been executed in 1737.)

Pope's 'Daphne' died: "No more the Streams their Mummings shall forbear",⁽²⁾

"No rich Perfumes refresh the fruitful Field, / Nor fragrant Herbs their native Incense yield."⁽³⁾ The mock-imitation reads:

In those sad days, their brats with scraps half fed,
To cold-tea streams, O GIN, no Bunters led;
No crutch'd-up Quadrupede in greatest need,
Tasted one dram, nor touch'd Virginian weed (p.2)

- the fragrant herbs' native incense becomes the smell of Virginian tobacco.

Daphnis had taught the Bacchanalian dance. So had gin, which graced the town with its alcoholics, down-and-outs, and its brawls.

(1) A footnote (p.4) tells us they were "two malefactors executed since Michaelmas."

(2) 'Winter' line 57, in Pastoral Poetry, ed. Audra and Williams, p.93.

(3) 'Winter', ll.47-8, in Pastoral Poetry ... ed. Aundra and Williams, p.92.

Menalcas begins the apotheosis of Daphnis:

"Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi
sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis." (ll.56-7)

Pope imitated these lines as follows:

But see! where Daphne wondering mounts on high,
Above the Clouds, above the Starry Sky. (1)

Gin too has its apotheosis. Retaining more of Virgil's actual words, Malden shows gin translated into the world of the upper classes, as high above the poor as heaven is above Menalcas or Thyrsis:

The happy Dame, the candid Modern Gin,
Admires th' unusual, bright abode she's in:
Sees Ladies, wrapt in clouds, dram-glasses plie,
Whilst at her feet, like fallen star, some lie.

"Deus, deus ille!" For those who wish to drown their sorrows, gin is a god.

Though in parts this imitation becomes wearisome, the idea is clever, and the original emphasizes the form / content disproportion which is the basis of the mock poem. This disproportion is not apparent in the political eclogue to such an extent, although Walsh's use of Eclogue IV served an ironical purpose. The other type of town-eclogue, which is concerned with belles and beaux, clergymen and poets, does not have the kind of precise modern relationship to Virgil that these Newgate-pastorals and Billingsgate-pastorals have. Pastoral - and Fontenelle, Walsh, Addison, Pope, Gay and Swift all recognized this - was not only concerned with a Golden Age but with a social class. Transferring Virgil

(1) 'Winter,' ll. 69-70, in Pastoral Poetry, ed. Audra and Williams, pp. 93-4.

to eighteenth century London and the home counties, it is not a great step from the unreal shepherds of an innocent age to the very real agricultural labourers, fishwives, scavengers, chimney-sweepers, fruitsellers, ballad-singers, thieves, convicts, prostitutes and vagabonds of the modern age.

The Dean and the Country Parson. An Imitation of Virgil, Eclogue I,⁽¹⁾

by Edward Loneran, was published two years after Mother Gin. In this imitation, the country parson (presumably Loneran) has been forced to abandon his living because of lack of income, and in his desperate straits admires the success of Swift who, as a Dean, is not only comfortable, but can give free range to his genius. The technique of consistently modern parallel is Popian.

The modern Mantuans are the poor clergy, driven from their pulpits. Swift's Octavian is Hartley:

"A PATRIOT, tho' a minister of state!
A patriot plac'd ME in this calm retreat."⁽²⁾

Such things are rare in Whig England. This is nicely imitated from Virgil, for the protest of Meliboeus against the evictions by the unpatriotic "barbarus" is heard in his opening speech:

nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva:
nos patriam fugimus ... (ll.3-4)

where the repetition expresses the sense our country, of which we are being dispossessed.

The pathetic lines of Meliboeus

hic inter densas corylos modo namque gemellos,
spem gregis, a! silice in nuda conixa reliquit, (ll.14-15)

(1) In The Gentleman's Magazine, ix, p. 157.

(2) Ibid.

where the loss of the she-goat's twins is a personal one for the herdsman, are reproduced accurately, and truthfully, when the deprivations suffered by the parson's 'flock' are his own loss too:

... on grounds unfit to till,
 Best part were ravag'd by the herbage-bill;
 Our corn the surly Schismatics refuse,
 Taught by that bench, which grumbles at our dues. (1)

Tityrus became a free man by going to Rome. Rome towers above other cities like a cypress among the undergrowth. Lonergan imitates this passage for the purpose of driving home contemporary realities, thus sacrificing rural images:

... London o'er all the other towns prevails,
 As English prelates, o'er a priest in Wales. (2)

Virgil can preserve a delicate balance between harsh contemporary events, rural naturalism, and the Golden Age. Unlike the eighteenth century imitators, Virgil never allows one to dominate the others. Gray is all rural naturalism, Pope the Golden Age, while the burlesques concentrate on contemporary events, issues and conditions. The component parts of the Virgilian eclogue are broken up in the creation of new types.

We know that Galatea, the country girl, is a personification of Mantua, while Amaryllis represents Rome, in Virgil's first eclogue. In Lonergan, Swift's Galatea was Dublin, his Amaryllis, London. "Clos'd in a corner of the rugged north" he was compelled "to seek preferment in a nobler scene; / At court caress 'd, the country was forgot." (3)

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

The ending is satirical. 'Swift' proclaims:

Bishops shall reckon sacrilege a sin,
 And with church-livings cease to glut their kin;
 The native Irish shall thro' Scotland roam, (1)
 The Chinese wander, Scotchmen stay at home,
 Ere HARLEY in my breast shall cease to glow ...

In Virgil there is tension between order and disorder which is finally resolved into order. In the non-pastoral mock-imitation, disorder - wandering Scotsmen and un-Christian bishops - are the modern 'order' of things.

The conventional pastoral declined, and one writer in 1762 gave the recipe for the native eclogue: "Could any writer combine the propriety of Virgil with that irresistible charm found in the Doric dialect of Theocritus, he would then produce a perfect pastoral".⁽²⁾ Robert Fergusson and Allan Ramsay attempted this combination of Virgilian propriety, Theocritan charm and Scots dialect in their pastoral poems. The Theocritan, less formalized tradition and the town eclogue were now dominant. Andrew Erskine's Town Eclogues (1765) make only occasional use of Virgilian devices, such as the cumulative comparison and amoebaeic. Richard Jago's realistic imitation, The Scavengers. A Town Eclogue (1770) contains a Virgilian echo or two, but Charles Jenner's Town Eclogues (1772) owe nothing to any one Virgilian eclogue, though perhaps more to Theocritus.

The Chimney-Sweepers, a Town Eclogue (1773) is an imitation of Virgil's third eclogue, and is quite accomplished. Again, in spite of the burlesque, the author takes a real, if largely comic, interest in his characters. The opening follows the introduction to the seventh eclogue. Saint Martin's has struck one o'clock in the morning, and the scene opens on "three sable youths" sitting round the dim remnants of a bonfire.

Grim takes the part of Palaemon; he hears that Dingy has no rival in

(1) Ibid.

(2) The Critical Review, July, 1762, xiv, pp. 21-2.

song. Dingy, as Menalcas, agrees:

Well have you heard, my equal is not found
From Holborn Corner down to Nibbs's Pond:
And as to Sooty-dun - believe me, Grim,
Some says I sings more betterer nor him. (p.3)

Sooty-dun, as Damoetas, retorts by saying that he caught him the night before with Moll Come-dusty. Dingy replies:

You knows as well as I, it was n't Jack
That hid the Gemman's Tatler in the sack. (p.3)

A singing-match is decided upon. There is no exchange of forfeits, and Dingy begins with the cumulative comparison: the dear relish of a buttered roll is sweet to him, and sweet are the scrapings of the treacle-tub, but sweeter far is his Moll Come-dusty's love. Soot is soft, says Sooty-dun, and so is the sack, but softer far his Bess O'Elear-eye seems! (p.7)

One standard of pastoral 'realism' is that only comparisons drawn from the life and experience of the shepherds is possible. In this mock-imitation, the images, comparisons and anecdotes are all drawn from the lives and experiences of chimney-sweepers, and the nature of their occupation thus provides some of the amusement as far as the author is concerned.

Dingy continues to praise Moll, Sooty-dun Bess. Both testify to the mutual affection between their sweethearts and themselves with proofs drawn from the world of chimneys, dust-carts, cinder-heaps, public houses, beer, and London streets. We return to the first exchange between Menalcas:

and Damoctas in the original Dinky says that, when passing through the market, he heard Moll laughing. Sooty-dun, basing his words on Damoctas, has a better proof than this:

Last night I stroll'd by Privy-Garden wall,
Where old Peg Meazle keeps the apple-stall;
And as I whistling saunter'd careless by,
A rotten apple hit me in the eye.
I star'd, but who had thrown it cou'd not guess,
'Till her own voice convinc'd me it was Bess. (P.13)

The riddles follow at this point, and Grim winds up the contest:

The Heroes rose, and each resum'd his sack,
And hung his brush and shovel at his back:
Ambition fir'd each dauntless breast to soar
Through paths untry'd, new regions to explore,
And boldly mount to heights unknown before.
'The world was all before them where to chuse';
So on they shuffled in their slip-shod shoes. (P.15)

A thoroughly humourless and repetitive eclogue is An Elegy, in a Riding House. In Imitation of Virgil's First Pastoral. Written in the year 1776. (London, 1778). One of the late political eclogues, The Patriots (1796), is a mock-imitation of Virgil's first eclogue.⁽¹⁾ Damoctas and Tityrus become two politicians, 'Teddy' and 'Windy', the former of whom has lost his seat. Teddy asks Windy how he came to enjoy such security, and why he changed sides. Money, replies Windy:

"A competence; which came (though somewhat late)
To clear th' untimely baldness of my pate." (P.4);

a comic alteration of Tityrus's allusion to Octavian and to his white

(1) R.F. Jones put forward Soame Jenyns's The Squire and the Parson (1748) as the first political eclogue. We have suggested Walsh's The Golden Age Restor'd (1703) and The Tryal of Skill (1734) as two early political eclogues which are also close imitations of Virgil. William Mason's The Dean and the Squire (1782) and Jenyns's poem derive from Virgil's first eclogue, but are not imitations.

hair.

Apart from his three pastorals (mentioned above, p.15) Robert Fergusson wrote The Complaint. A Pastoral⁽¹⁾ and four eclogues: An Eclogue, To the Memory of Dr William Wilkie, late Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews,⁽²⁾ An Eclogue,⁽³⁾ A Drink Eclogue⁽⁴⁾ and The Ghaists: A Kirk-Yard Eclogue.⁽⁵⁾ The first is a tender and colourful dialogue between the lamenting Geordie and his fellow shepherd Davie. The formal structure allows Fergusson both to make a conventional piece and at the same time freely use the Scots dialect and seek perhaps that "inimitable tenderness of the passions" typical of Theocritus. This eclogue, as a native pastoral, is in fact Theocritan, likewise the second, which is a dialogue between Sandie and Willie. The humour - carefully tempered - in this eclogue, in which Sandie bemoans the consequences of having married a "flyting fury of a woman"⁽⁶⁾ is definitely closer to the Theocritan than to the Virgilian traditions. A Drink Eclogue has as its eclogarii a Landlady, Brandy and Whisky, and is a rather Burnsian mixture of whimsy and social satire. The Ghaists: A Kirk-Yard Eclogue is a nostalgic dialogue between the ghosts of Watson and Herriot, who lament the passing of golden days before "rich chieftains",⁽⁷⁾ men with no conscience or patriotic feeling (for Scotland), rose to positions of economic and political power. This eclogue expresses in itself, in fact, the passing of the Golden Age pastoral, of which Pope had been the early master.

In 1814 George Daniel produced his Virgil in London; or, Town Eclogues. The first, 'The Retired Citizen to his Friend in Town'⁽⁸⁾ is a

(1) The Poems of Robert Fergusson, ed. M.P. McDiarmid, ii, pp.17-18.
 (2) Ibid., pp.82-5. (3) Ibid., pp.85-9. (4) Ibid., pp.210-14. (5) Ibid., pp.141-5. (6) Ibid., p.86. (7) Ibid., p.143. (8) Virgil in London ... (1814), p.1.

part-imitation of Eclogue I. 'Alexis',⁽¹⁾ a lawyer in love, is an imitation of Eclogue II. 'The Discarded Minister',⁽²⁾ is something like Loneran's The Dean and The Country Parson, and is evidence of an eclogue sub-type, in which shepherds become pastors in the ecclesiastical sense. 'Crambo',⁽³⁾ is perhaps the best of Daniel's imitations. Crambo, a vagabond is discovered sleeping, (like Silenus in Virgil's sixth eclogue), by two bailiffs. They forcibly waken him and make him recite the glories of the constitution, the education system, and the royal genalogy. 'The Trial',⁽⁴⁾ Daniel's seventh eclogue, is an amoebaeic and is part-imitation of Virgil's third and seventh eclogues.

It can be seen from this study of imitations of classical pastoral that within the broad concept of the literary imitation there could exist an expanding variety of poetic types, considerable experimentation and a fruitful tension between form and content. The two main classical bucolic poets provided complimentary and contrasting examples of the pastoral form, and out of this there grew conventional pastorals, native eclogues, mock-eclogues, political eclogues, and town-eclogues. It is perhaps odd that, whereas 'idyll' implied the 'designed scene' or 'prospect' and 'eclogue' the 'talking together', it was in fact Virgil who exemplified the more formal and static, and Theocritus the more dramatic and realistic, qualities. The two classical examples gave the primary impulse to a tradition in English poetry that is in many ways extremely rich.

(1) Ibid., p.6. (2) Ibid., p.10. (3) Ibid., p.28. (4) Ibid., p.33.

CHAPTER 5. THE LYRIC IMITATION.

SUMMARY

The neo-classic lyric. Selective and generic imitation of classical odes: Milton and Marvell. Cowley's 'imitation' of Pindar is imaginative paraphrase (see Chapter 1), but imitations of Horace's odes could be written in so-called 'Pindarics'. Few worthwhile imitations of Horace's odes. Among the best are those by Congreve, Fane, Ramsay and Pope. Appendix B contains a register of imitations under the following headings: political and patriotic exhortation, panegyric and invective; burlesque, travesty and satire; polite addresses.

Chapter 5.The Lyrical Imitation.

The Augustan period in England is not distinguished by its lyrical poetry.⁽¹⁾ There was, however, a consuming interest in the lyric form, and the eighteenth century did produce in Gray and Collins two major exponents of the ode. What we are concerned with are specific imitations of classical lyrics, of which some will be briefly treated here.⁽²⁾ The critical interpretation of the form, and of the originals, either through serious or burlesque imitation, will also occupy our attention. Unlike the satiric imitations, imitations of classical lyric rely less on naturalization (except where the intention is a modern eulogy or burlesque). As we saw in Chapter 2, naturalization was not possible in the case of Pindar as it was for Juvenal or Horace.⁽³⁾

One of the most characteristic features of the neo-classic lyric is its concern with the relation between public and private life,⁽⁴⁾ rather than merely subjective feelings. The love lyric is, for example, a private (i.e. non-public) form, rather than one in which subjective feelings are expressed. This distinction is important, because it is bound up with the whole notion of decorum and convention (against which romanticism was in part a revolt). The Horatian ode came into favour in the seventeenth

(1) The reader is here referred to two studies which make justifiable claims for the lyric in this period. The more popular study is O. Doughty's English Lyric in the Age of Reason (1922). The more scholarly investigation, into four main lyric types, is by Catherine Peltz, 'The Neo-Classic Lyric 1660-1725' ELH xi (1944), pp. 92-116.

(2) A register of other imitations, mostly of Horace's odes, will be found in Appendix B.

(3) See Chapter 2, pp. 50-51.

(4) Of Horace's Odes, James Michie has said: "Even when they appear to deal with public affairs, they often succeed only in suggesting the importance of private life". The Odes of Horace (Penguin, 1967), p.14.

century because through it could be expressed and felt the ideal of the gentleman. W. Lee Ustick has pointed out that Peacham's The Compleat Gentleman realized living as a fine art in itself.⁽¹⁾ Civilized retirement and recreation, which are not to be separated from the moral and educational life of the gentleman, were probably associated by the less indulgent, more practical Richard Brathwait with the kind celebrated in Horace's Odes.⁽²⁾ These two things were to take on a more reflective character in Gray, whose odes contain occasional borrowings from those of Horace.⁽³⁾ Poetry which sought to give expression to "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling" was by no means disallowed by the rationalists, yet such feelings had to have suitable stylistic expression and suitable 'objective correlatives',⁽⁴⁾ while imitation - both imitatio and mimesis - could prevent such a "spontaneous overflow" upsetting what was consciously intended and artistically controlled.⁽⁵⁾

Milton in some of his sonnets emulated the Horatian lyric. Both Milton

(1) 'Changing Ideals of Aristocratic Character and Conduct in 17th Century England', MP xxx (1932-3), pp. 153-4.

(2) "Horace the most delicate of all the Roman Lyricks, was importuned by many Letters of great instance, to bee Secretary of State to Augustus the Emperour; which hee nevertheless refused for his unhealthfulnesse sake; and being a quiet man, and nothing ambitious of glory, retired himselfe from publike deportsments". The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman (1641), p.107.

(3) See the annotated edition of the Poetical Works by the Rev. J. Mitford (1866).

(4) See discussion on 'the sublime' below, pp. 190-2.

(5) "It is the natural effect of any passion by which the mind is agitated, to break out into short and abrupt sallies which are expressive of its impetuosity, and of an imagination heated, and starting in the tumult of thought from one object to another. To follow therefore the workings of the mind in such a situation and to paint them happily, is in other words to copy Nature." John Ogilvie, 'An Essay on the Lyric Poetry of the Ancients', prefixed to Poems on Several Subjects (1762), p. xxxiii.

and Horace, says J. H. Finley, saw the poet's function as sacerdotal: through his civic, religious and political duty to the state the poet conferred everlasting fame on others.⁽¹⁾ Imitation, says Finley (and by this he means selective imitation), "is inevitable on the classic theory that poetry has a moral and social function in conveying the wisdom of the past".⁽²⁾ This social function, combined with a power and dignity of thought and expression, is what informs Andrew Marvell's An Horatian Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland (1650). The opening lines are a free adaptation of the first stanza of Horace, Odes III, ii, which calls upon the young Roman to learn hardship in order to become the scourge of the Pathians. Marvell's Horatian Ode bears a similar relation to the English Revolution as Alexander Blok's poem The Twelve (1918) does to the Russian Revolution. Marvell, like Blok, accepts the violent historical necessity, yet his poem contains a profound ambivalence. There is a suggestion that Republican force is overriding law, while the double comparison concerning Cromwell,

A Caesar he ere long to Gaul,
To Italy an Hannibal,

implies a kind of unchecked militarism responsible to no one which is very far removed from Horace's praise of Augustus' military conquests.

Marvell's To His Coy Mistress has the concentrated imagery and rhetorical splendour of Horace, Odes I, xi. The lines,

(1) 'Milton and Horace. A Study of Milton's Sonnets.', Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil., xlviii (1937), p.32.

(2) Ibid., p. 33.

But at my back I alwaies hear
Times winged Charriot hurrying near:
And yonder all before us lye
Desarts of vast Eternity,

though a hyperbolic expansion, return ultimately to the famous model:

... dum loquimur, fugerit invida
aetas : carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.
(11.7 - 8)

Dryden, concerned above all with refinement of the language, found Horace worthy of imitation in the way he used

... all the tropes, and particular metaphors, with that grace which is observable in his Odes, where the beauty of expression is often greater than that of thought; as, in that one example, amongst an infinite number of others, Et vultum nimium lubricus aspicit.⁽¹⁾

Here 'lubricus' ('slippery, smooth'), suggests the dangers of falling in love on seeing Glyceria's face. Dryden is looking for something in the lyric that is more 'graceful' than the wit of the Metaphysicals, and he finds it in Horace:

There is nothing so delicately - [Brathwait's term] - turned in all the Roman language. There appears in every part of his diction, or (to speak English) in all his expressions, a kind of noble and bold purity.⁽²⁾

Of Cowley Dryden said that "somewhat of a finer turn and more lyrical verse is yet wanting",⁽³⁾ and he evidently preferred the light, recreational,

(1) Defence of the Epilogue; or, An Essay on the Dramatic Poetry of the Last Age (1672), Watson **i**, p.177. The quotation is from Odes I, xix, l. 8.

(2) Preface to Sylvae (1685), Watson **ii**, p.31.

(3) Ibid., p.32.

charming side of Horace's own lyrical verse. ⁽¹⁾

Rapin, however, in his severe neo-Aristotelianism, relegated many odes, along with sonnets, elegies and epigrams, to the "mere productions of Imagination, a superficial wit, with a little Conversation of the World". ⁽²⁾ Indeed, "certain Odes of Pindar, Anacreon, and Horace ... have no other Rule but Enthusiasm". ⁽³⁾ What Basil Kennet, the translator, calls "the Correct Odes of Horace" take the palm, however. Sir Thomas Pope Blount said of the ode that "it should have as much nobleness, elevation and transport as the eclogue has of simplicity and modesty". ⁽⁴⁾ 'Grace', 'delicacy', 'elevation' and 'nobility' appear, then, to be the general criteria, and the different qualities were often associated with the various classical lyrists:

Horace found Art to joyn all the Force
and high Flights of Pindar, to all the
Sweetness and Delicacy of Anacreon, to
make himself a new Character by uniting
the Perfections of the other two. For
besides that he had a Wit naturally Pleasant,
it was also Great, Solid, and Sublime; he had
Nobleness in his Conceits, and Delicacy in
his Thoughts and Sentiments. ⁽⁵⁾

"The true Character of the Ode", according to Rapin, "is the Greatness and Majesty of Discourse." ⁽⁶⁾ This is similar to the way the Earl of Mulgrave saw

(1) "The most distinguishing part of all his character seems to me to be his briskness, his jollity, and his good humour." *Ibid.*, p. 31.

(2) The Whole Critical Works of Monsieur Rapin (1706), ii, p.137.

(3) Ibid., p.153.

(4) De Re Poetica : or, Remarks upon Poetry (1694), p.65.

(5) The Whole Critical Works ... ii, pp. 232-3.

(6) Ibid., p.234.

the ode:

A higher flight, and of a happier Force
 Are Odes, the Muses most unruly Horse;
 That bounds so fierce, the Rider has no rest,
 But foams at Mouth, and moves like one possest. (1)

In Odes IV, ii, Horace compared Pindar to a rushing river bursting its banks, while Odes IV, iv and IV, xiv are other examples of conscious imitation of Pindar. (2)

The sublimity of the Pindaric ode and thus its Longinian associations are a bridge between certain neo-classic and romantic conceptions. The kind of 'sublimity' implied is one which can only be hinted at metaphorically or in similes, or through example. It is like something bursting into flame; Horace's rushing torrent and Mulgrave's unruly horse also symbolize that rebellious freedom of which Shelley's Ode to the West Wind is an extended metaphor. To attain to the sublime meant to snatch at something 'beyond the reach of art' in a sense, yet all great themes (such as the fall of man), great events (such as a famous victory), great men, or impressive natural phenomena (for Wordsworth later on it could be the sight of a precipice or a mountain) came under the general heading of 'the sublime'. (3) The

(1) Essay on Poetry (1682).

(2) Of English imitations of Pindar, Congreve said: "Instead of being true Pictures of Pindar, they have ... been only Caricatures of him, Resemblances that for the most part have been either Horrid or Ridiculous." A Discourse on the Pindarique Ode (1692), in Complete Works, ed. M. Summers (1923), iv, p.7. Congreve first laid down the rules for strophe, antistrophe and epode.

(3) For a study of the meanings and associations of 'the sublime' in this period see S. H. Monk, The Sublime. A Study of Critical Theories in XVIIIth Century England (New York, 1935).

sublime lyric was usually exhortatory, public eulogistic and oracular, in fact a heroic song.

John Ogilvie saw in the Horatian ode elements of previous lyricists. We have quoted Rapin's mention of Pindar's "high flights" and Anacreon's "Sweetness and Delicacy". Ogilvie felt that 'Fancy' claimed "an higher share of merit in the composition of the Ode than in any other species of Poetry"⁽¹⁾ and as an illustration of this he praised Horace's "soft melancholy"⁽²⁾, which is a Sapphic quality. The theme, also found in Horace, of the (warrior's) laborious life lightened by wine, love and civilized enjoyments, is Alcaic.⁽³⁾ Unfortunately, only fragments of the work of Sappho and Alcaeus remain, but even in those fragments, especially those by Sappho, is found an immediacy of feeling and a lyrical beauty which make Horace's own "correct" and "faultless"⁽⁴⁾ productions seem contrived.⁽⁵⁾ Whereas Romantics such as Keats sought to revive an intense, Greek poetic fire, the Augustans looked to a more tempered flame in Horace's often consciously imitative,

(1) Op. cit., p. li.

(2) Ibid.

(3) For example, Odes I, xxxii : "Lesbio primum modulate civi," etc.

(4) Ogilvie, op. cit. loc. cit.

(5) There is nothing in Horace, for example, like the following fragment from one of Sappho's love lyrics:

... αλλα τις ουκ εμμε παλικος
 βρυαν, αλλ αβακην των φρεν εχω...

("yet I am not resentful in spirit, but have the heart of a little child").

superbly controlled artifice. Thus it is that imitations of odes by Horace occupy in this chapter nearly all our attention.

In Appendix B will be found a register of such imitations under the following headings: political and patriotic exhortation, panegyric and invective; burlesque, travesty and satire; polite addresses. As well as there being more imitations, there are more translations of Horace's Odes than of any other Latin poetry in the period with which we are concerned.⁽¹⁾

Milton and Marvell wrote for a smaller, more classically learned and Latinate reading public than that which enjoyed liberal translations and imitations in the eighteenth century. Milton's translation of Horace, Odes I, v ('To Pyrrha'), which was added to the 1673 edition of the Poems, tried to reproduce the golden Latin in English. A literal rendering, as Milton admitted, "without Rhyme according to the Latin measure, as near as the Language will permit", no other translation could approach the original so closely, bending and wrenching syntax and vocabulary, yet remain readable as poetry. Yet Milton's translation is based on a false foundation. Unlike Dryden, he is trying not to make Horace English, but to turn the English into Horatian Latin. The Latin metre cannot be copied in English.⁽²⁾ The new kind of translation sought to clarify, order and make modern what appeared obscure, difficult and archaic in the original. Thus, in Dryden's

(1) Alexander Brome translated odes of Horace in 1666. Both Harington and Creech translated the Odes in 1684. Translations followed by Oldisworth (1714), Coxwell (1718), Welsted (1726), Hanway (1730), Hare (1740), Watson (1742), Towers (1743), Francis (1743), Smart (1756), Duncombe (1767), Greene (1768), Green (1777), Boscawen (1793) and Wakefield (1795).

(2) Cowper tried to translate Odes I, xxviii into 'English Sapphics', but confessed: "in our language we have no certain rules by which to determine the quantity". Poetical Works (1879), p.495.

translation of Odes I, iii, 'Inscrib'd to the Earl of Roscommon, on his

Intended Voyage to IRELAND; explanatory notes are skilfully incorporated into the translation itself, syntax and phrasing are simplified, proper names are cut down to a minimum, while the ship, which originally contained Virgil, carries in the translation the sacred person of the Earl of Roscommon. The metre is, of course, the familiar octosyllabic.

Most imitations of Horace's odes are fettered by their attachment to a particular person, occasion, political struggle or historical situation. Only in a very few does the imitator strive to enter into the spirit of the original poem and recreate something like the original experience in new terms, a new idiom, and under modern conditions.

Congreve's imitation of Odes I, iv is an example of what Addison called

"mixt wit".⁽¹⁾ For example, mountain-tops are "As if with Fur of Ermine crown'd",⁽²⁾ while the rivers,

... chain'd up, flow with the same speed,
As Criminals move to'ards the Psalm they can't Read.⁽³⁾

Ch. text

The exquisite detail with which Horace ends, where the ring is coaxed off the girl's finger, becomes: "Get a Ring from the Nymph, or something that's

better".⁽⁴⁾ The imitation of Odes II, xiv is also full of lively imagery and hyperbole, and the typical Restoration mixture of sparkle and coarseness.

Johnson translated this ode: it no doubt appealed to his own peculiar pessimism and sensibility. Congreve's imitation is not so perfect. It

(1) Spectator No. 62.

(2) The Odes and Satires of Horace (1715), p. 20.

(3) Ibid., p. 21.

(4) Ibid.

is like a series of sudden, half-inebriated insights:

Ah! No, 'tis all in vain, believe me 'tis,
 This Pious Artifice.
 Not all these Pray'rs and Alms can buy
 One Moment tow'rd Eternity.⁽¹⁾

The ending of the ode, with its resigned acknowledgement that a man is only the brief lord, "breve dominum", of his house, contains in Congreve a savage contrast between opulence and the corruption of death through the use of

Thy House, whose stately Structure so much cost,
 Shall not afford
 Room for the stinking Carkass of its Lord.⁽²⁾

Allan Ramsay imitated six of Horace's odes.⁽³⁾ He does not keep close to the original, and is not concerned with 'correctness', but with enlivening Horace with the Scottish dialect and with his own forthright, cheerful idiom. The odes are 'naturalized' in the most 'natural' manner, yet mere travesty is by no means the intention. Apollo rubs shoulders with "Gowrie's fertile field",⁽⁴⁾ Daedalus must "syne upward streek, / And in at Jove's high winnocks keek",⁽⁵⁾ and "Pluto's gousty dome"⁽⁶⁾ seems to lie under the Pentlands themselves. Burns Martin says that the fine sentiment of the Daedalus passage in Odes I, iii is "turned into buffoonery" by Ramsay, showing both a poor understanding of the original and a lack of taste.⁽⁷⁾ Ramsay,

(1) Ibid., p. 65.

(2) Ibid.

(3) These are: I, i, iii, iv, ix, xviii and xxi. All are dated 1721.

(4) 'The Poet's Wish', Poems (1800) ii, p. 84.

(5) Imitation of I, iii (cf. Horace, ll. 34-5). Ibid., p.201.

(6) 'An Ode to Mr. F ---', an imitation of I, iv (cf. Horace, l.17) Ibid., p.204.

(7) Allan Ramsay, A Study of his Life and Works (Cambridge, 1931), p. 61.

however, had his own poetic sights levelled clearly:

Such pedants [he wrote] as confine learning
to the critical understanding of the dead
languages, while they are ignorant of the
beauties of their mother-tongue, do not view
me with a friendly eye : but I'm even
with them, when I tell them of their
faces, without blushing, that I understand
Horace but faintly in the original, and yet
can feast on his beautiful thoughts dress'd
in British; - and do not see any great
occasion for every man's being made capable
to translate the Classicks, when they are so
elegantly done to his hand.⁽¹⁾

Of his own imitations, Ramsay wrote:

I have only snatched at his thought and
method in gross, and dress'd them up in
Scots, without confining myself to no more
or no less; so that there are only to be
reckoned a following of his manner.⁽²⁾

In other words, Ramsay is saying that he has produced creative paraphrases
'dressed up in Scots'. Horace is also naturalized, however. In the true
spirit of imitation, Ramsay says that he is

Setting great Horace in my view,
He to Maecenas, I to you:
But that my muse may sing with ease,
I'll keep or drap him as I please.⁽³⁾

Horace's first ode is monumental. Ramsay's version is picturesque,
amusing, and full of joy. Significant alterations in the thought itself
are made. Horace distinguishes himself from the mass:

(1) Preface to Poems (1761), p. iv.

(2) Ibid., p. vi.

(3) 'To the Earl of Dalhousie', an imitation of Odes I, i, in Poems
(1800) ii, p. 367.

nympharumque leves cum Sætyris chori
secernunt populo ... (ll. 31 - 2).

In Ramsay the poet is, on the contrary,

... well pleas'd to sing
Beneath a tree, or by a spring,
While lads and lasses on the mead
Attend my Caledonian reed
And with the sweetest notes rehearse (1)
My thoughts, and roose me for my verse.

This has an entirely different flavour from that in Horace. Ramsay's acceptance of the impossibility of reproducing the precise meanings, nuances and sentiments of his original became his starting-point towards successful imitation.

Horace's description of spring (Odes I, iv) is not easy to follow. It passes from one instance to another like a bee from flower to flower. Ramsay simplifies a great deal, yet the ode's structure is retained : the poet's thoughts touch on death and the transitory joys of life.⁽²⁾ When the question is asked : Such a theme is surely universal, why imitate Horace in particular? the answer must be: Because Horace has given us these thoughts in their most subtle, delicate and perfect arrangement. 'An Ode to the Ph ——',⁽³⁾ an imitation of Odes I, ix, serves as a striking contrast to the imitation by Congreve dealt with above. Congreve brought in excessive luxury, coarseness and decay to Horace's idea of the civilized love of pleasure balanced by transitoriness and human weakness. Ramsay, on the other hand, breathes a fresh, homely joy. Cheerfulness would best describe the imitation. In

(1) Ibid., p. 369.

(2) 'An Ode to Mr. F ——'. Ibid., pp. 203-4.

(3) Ibid., pp. 205-7.

'The Poet's Wish'⁽¹⁾, an imitation of Odes I, xxi, the basic structure is again retained. Four stanzas tell what the poet does not wish, that is, property, land, wealth and money, while the last contains the wish for good health and a sound mind. Ramsay places the original in an indelibly Scottish setting, so that even the thoughts themselves appear home-bred. It is not simply that 'local colour' is added. The original is infused with a new spirit. Ramsay certainly catches and makes good use of the chuckling good-humour in Horace's

... me pascunt olivae
me cichorea levesque malvae (ll. 15-16)

with:

For me, I can be well content
To eat my bannock⁽²⁾ on the bent,⁽³⁾
And kitchen 't wi' fresh air;
Of lang-kail I can make a feast,
And cantily had up my crest,⁽⁴⁾
And laugh at dishes rare.

Horace uses the word "pascunt", which Virgil used of sheep and goats in the Elogues. Arcadians were primitive eaters of acorns. Horace, with typically jocular deference towards tradition, maintains that he would be satisfied with olives, endives and mallows. Ramsay's use of the word "crest" gives exactly the right tone, which in this case is close to what Horace intended.

Pope's The First Ode of the Fourth Book of Horace (1737) is far closer to the Latin than Ramsay, but less inventive and less rich. Ramsay's verse

(1) Ibid., pp. 83-4.

(2) Thick bread.

(3) Open field.

(4) Ibid., p. 84.

moves with more freedom. Pope, the technician, judges transitions, sound patterns and rhythm more carefully. His version begins:

Again? new Tumults in my Breast?
 Ah spare me, Venus! let me, let me rest!
 I am not now, alas! the man
 As in the gentle Reign of My Queen Anne. (1)

The alternating decasyllabics and octosyllabics are meant to approximate to Horace's Asclepiad metre, while the second line echoes Horace's repetition "parce precor, precor". In attempting to suppress his rising passions, and in the very precious ending, where the poet, as if dreaming, fails to capture the female vision that shoots swiftly along the Mall ("Martii/Campi") or glides softly by the Canal, "on rolling waters snatch'd away" (2) ("per aquas, dure, volubiles"), Pope follows Horace in affecting, or 'copying' a passion, treating it in a detached, urbane manner. Pope also wrote a thoroughly modernized version of Part of the Ninth Ode of the Fourth Book. (3)

William Hamilton wrote ten imitations of Horace's odes. 'To the Earl of Stair' (Odes I, vii) 'Augustanizes' the Scottish scene:

There are who paint with all their might
 The fields where Fortha's streams delight;
 That winding through Stirlina's plain,
 Rolls beauteous to the distant main. (4)

The ode moves on to a patriotic call to Scots to follow in the steps of Fergus (Teucer in Horace). Hamilton shows little inspiration and there are some unintentional yet quite comic lapses.

(1) Imitations of Horace, ed. Butt (1953), p. 151.

(2) Ibid., p. 153.

(3) Ibid., p. 159.

(4) Poetical Works (1805), p. 35.

Compared with Ramsay, Hamilton is stiff and inhibited.

Horace's odes were popular objects of imitation largely because of their structural perfection. The thought-patterns, transitions and turns in the thought were held fast in the mind. While some imitations are little more than attempts to bring Horace 'up to date', it was inevitable that a particular ode should seem ready-made for a particular moment or situation, and suit exactly what the modern poet wished to say. (In the case of burlesque, lampoon and topical satire, the original expressed perhaps the exact opposite of what the imitation said.) In such cases, paraphrases and imitations were felt to be quite acceptable and rewarding as one kind of poetic activity - albeit a fairly minor kind.

CHAPTER 6. THE SATIRIC IMITATION : (i) HORACE.

SUMMARY.

(i) Criticism of 'comic' satire : Dryden, Mulgrave, Young. The intrinsic differences between Horace and Juvenal.

(ii) The growth of formal verse satire and the early imitation of classical models: Wyatt, Donne, Regnier. How consecutive imitation grew out of freer, more 'modern' translations: Brome's The Poems of Horace (1666). Comparison of various consecutive imitations of Sat. I, ix show that much character satire of this period was based on a universal typology. Thus 'the bore' - a Roman archetype from Horace - could be ridiculed in changing contexts: Donne, Regnier, Cambridge, Oldham, Swinney, Cowper, Clubbe, Geddes and several others.

Discussion and comparison of satiric imitations of Horace by Swift, Pope, Ogle, Miller and Smart. Imitations of satires that are concerned with satire itself, what satire should be, and the personality of the satirist: I, iv, I, x and II, i. Scroop's In Defence of Satyr a reply to Rochester's An Allusion to Horace (1680) and a defence of Horatian, 'comic' satire which began to dominate and come into its own towards the end of the Restoration period. The best of these satires in defence of satire is Pope's The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated (1733). Close critical analysis of the satiric method and the method of consecutive imitation displayed in it, and why it sets Pope far above any of the other imitators of the same satire.

Chapter 6.The Satiric Imitation: (1) Horace.i. 'Comic' Satire.

Shaftesbury, in his Advice to an Author (1710), pt II section ii, wrote:

The only Manner left, in which Criticism can have its just Force amongst us, is the antient COMICK; of which kind were the first Roman Miscellanys, or Satyrick Pieces ... And if our home-Wits wou'd refine upon this Pattern, they might perhaps meet with considerable Success. (1)

The ancient form of the satura to which Shaftesbury here specifically refers had as its two most famous exponents Lucilius and Horace. It allowed for autobiography, discursive, witty criticism of vice and folly, light philosophical and moral commentary, and a considerable amount of story-telling and anecdotal exposition. 'Comic satire' implied that of Horace, 'tragic satire' that of Juvenal, and the English neo-classical critics made a distinction between these two basically different types. (2) The verse satirist of the 1700's was faced with a choice or compromise between the two, but it must be said straight away that the division exists in a sense wherever satire is to be found. 'Comic' satire is distinguished by its concern with the folly, indiscretion, hypocrisy, self-delusion and affectation, rather than with the incurable viciousness and depravity of mankind. Relying on the oblique method of attack and the sharp

(1) Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times (1711), i, pp.258-9.

(2) They are also dealt with by Ian Jack in Augustan Satire (Oxford, 1952). See in particular pp. 97-114 and pp.135-145.

jab, rather than the direct onslaught or the large-scale demolition, it is gay and witty, genial yet incisive, and extremely varied in tone. Instead of undermining the emotional and mental stability of the reader, it reconciles him to a rational, sensible Order, and temporarily resolves the conflict between moral awareness and the real social world by humour, rather than leaving both the conflict unresolved and the reader in a state of restlessness, bitterness and indignation. 'Comic' satire laughs away follies; 'tragic' satire declaims with passionate vehemence against the sad condition in which man finds himself.⁽¹⁾

Dryden's Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire (1693) was the first major attempt in England to pull together the facts concerning the ancient origins of satire, and compared the relative merits of Juvenal and Horace as verse satirists. Dryden owed most of his basic material to the researches of Casaubon and Dacier, though he took issue with Dacier on several questions. He subscribed to the belief that satire originated with abuse, invective and recrimination and that, as an art, and no longer in its natural state, it became less "barbarous" and more "polished". (Though Lucilius was, in Horace's words, "comis et urbanus"⁽²⁾ and more polished than the older poets, and though he marked an advance in the tradition which brought together the Fescennine and Saturnian verses and the Old Comedy⁽³⁾, nevertheless Horace criticized him for his uneven style, lack

(1) We shall discuss the validity of the classification 'tragic satire' in the next chapter.

(2) Sat. I, x, l.65.

(3) Horace pays a kind of homage to the historical roots of his satire when in Sat. II, vii his slave Davus, free to speak during the Saturnalia, takes on the satirist's role. Our enjoyment is enriched by the fact that 'Horace' reduces himself to the role of adversarius. The satire also resembles a scene in a comedy, for the dialogue form is kept throughout.

of restraint and indecorous mixing of Greek and Latin. Horace became for the English Augustans an example of refinement, one who, with that Pope called his "graceful Negligence",⁽¹⁾ made satire a respectable poetic activity, and the couplet, so adaptable to the witty, epigrammatic style, became also particularly suitable for the conversational type of 'comic' satire.

Dryden's criticism of Horace and Juvenal betrays a haste and lack of consistency, a combination of intelligent insight and self-contradiction that are the result of a desire to be terse; dogmatic and 'final', and at the same time true to subjective feelings, which Dryden is at pains to make known, having himself been engaged upon a translation of Juvenal, and having consequently become a partisan. Horace, says Dryden, gives us more instruction, Juvenal more pleasure. Horace provides only a "languishing" pleasure, for, as Dryden puts it:

I am too stupid and insensible to be tickled.... His urbanity, that is, his good manners, are to be commended, but his wit is faint; and his salt, if I may dare to say so, almost insipid. (2)

Horace "ambles", Juvenal "gallops", while the "low style of Horace is according to his subject, that is, generally grovelling".⁽³⁾ Dryden takes an extreme position here - (Horace wrote in a 'middle' style) - perhaps because of his closeness to Juvenal at this time. At one point Dryden mounts an attack on Horace, in which moderation and meditation are thrown to the winds. Speaking of Juvenal, he says:

(1) Essay on Criticism, l. 653. Pastoral Poetry .. ed. Andra and Williams, p.313.

(2) Watson, ii, p.130.

(3) Ibid. "And for my own part, though I willingly admire his felicity in his Lyricks, yet certainly I believe he injuriously untun'd himself in his fall from the Ode to the Satyre": Barten Holyday, 'The Preface to the Reader', Decimus Junius Juvenalis ... Translated (Oxford, 1673), a².

His thoughts are sharper; his indignation against vice is more vehement; his spirit has more of the commonwealth genius; he treats tyranny, and all the vices attending it, as they deserve, with the utmost rigour: and consequently, a noble soul is better pleased with a zealous vindicator of Roman liberty, than with a temporizing poet, a well-mannered Court-slave, and a man who is often afraid of laughing in the right place; who is ever decent, because he is naturally servile.

Dryden, here as elsewhere, did not go along with the prevailing current, for vehement indignation became far less fashionable in the age of William, Anne and Walpole, when "temporizing" poets and "well-mannered Court-slaves" were the rule. Horace was the perfect vade mecum for the insinuating courtier who attempted praise without flattery, criticism without insult, and humour without ribaldry. Juvenal, on the other hand, was hardly the polite patron's choice, and such were the changes within English society, that taste either favoured Horace, or tempered - one could say gelded - Juvenal.

The Earl of Mulgrave's Essay on Satire (1679) favoured 'laughing' - that is, 'comic' - satire. Mulgrave had his finger on the pulse of literary taste when, in An Essay upon Poetry (1682), he advocated refinement:

Of well-chose words some take not care enough,
And think they may be, as the Subject, rough.
This great work [i.e. satire] must be more exactly made,
And sharpest thoughts in smoothest words convey'd.²

(1) Ibid., pp.131-2.

(2) Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, ed. J.E. Spingarn (Oxford, 1957), ii, p.290.

Addison condemned libels because they were a sign of ill nature. True satire in the civilized context should never therefore be open to the charge of malice and spite, but should help unite men through humour, like the joking referee who makes two over-zealous contestants shake hands after a bitter struggle. The Civil War's effects would reverberate for a long time. Horace's playfulness, combined with seriousness, could counteract further upheaval and help nurture the political and class compromise.¹ Mulgrave thus advised the modern satirist:

Rage you must hide, and prejudice lay down;
A Satyr's Smile is sharper than his Frown.²

Edward Young took the opposite standpoint from that of Dryden, and considered 'laughing satire' the "fairest for success":

The world is too proud to be fond of a serious tutor; and when an author is in a passion, the laugh, generally, as in conversation, turns against him. This kind of satire only has any delicacy in it. Of this delicacy Horace is the best master: he appears in good humour while he censures; and therefore his censure has the more weight, as supposed to proceed from judgment, not from passion. Juvenal is ever in a passion: he has little valuable but his eloquence and morality; the last of which I have had in my eye, but rather for emulation than imitation, through my whole work.³

'Delicacy' is essential in conversation, and Young says of Rabelais that "you want the gentleman to converse with in him".⁴ Conversation within a particular social

(1) See Appendix A, p. x.

(2) Spingarn, loc. cit.

(3) Preface to Love of Fame, The Universal Passion, in The Complete Works (1854), p.345. (My emphasis.)

(4) Ibid., p.346.

milieu has become a criterion of verse satire of the Horatian type, for Horace's sermones or 'chats' are not in some ways very far removed from the literary and philosophical chit-chat and table talk of the eighteenth century. (This aspect of Horace will be further discussed in Chapter 8.) Young said of Horace:

... what author shall we find
Discreetly daring, and severely kind,
The courtly Roman's shining path to tread,
And sharply smile prevailing Folly dead?⁽¹⁾

On the other hand,

How terrible it were to common-sense,
To write a Satire which gave none offence!⁽²⁾

This is not the place to discuss the many critical comments made concerning Horace in the period when Horace was almost a cultural hero, and the reader is here referred to Caroline Goad's extensive survey.⁽³⁾ Dryden, however, missed one very significant difference between the two satirists, which is perhaps a key to their basic view of the satirist's function. Horace, following in the footsteps of Lucilius, intimates in Sat. II, i, that he is laying his life open to view, as if it were portrayed on the "votiva... tabella", or votive tablet.⁽⁴⁾ Satire for Horace thus means, as much as anything else, an exposition of oneself, an enunciation of one's virtue, honesty and good nature, opposition to ignorance, slander, and cynical resentment, and constant disapprobation of those rampant human drives,

(1) The Universal Passion, Satire I, (ll.43-6), Complete Works, p.348.

(2) Satire III, (ll.247-8), p.368.

(3) The Place of Horace in the Eighteenth Century (New Haven, 1918).

(4) See ll. 32-4.

avarice and luxury.⁽¹⁾ Juvenal, however, strikes another attitude in his first satire when he asks:

Nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces
quadrivio...? (ll.63-4)

- "would you not like to fill up whole notebooks at the street crossings...?" - that is, at the sight of forgers, lordly dames, seduced mercenary daughters-in-law, and the wretched mob scrambling for its dole. Juvenal's satiric persona is presented more through even compulsory exposition ("difficile est saturam non scribere") - of objective facts. Most of Horace's own life is well known, from his relationship with his father, with his friends, and with Maecenas, to his everyday activities on his Sabine farm. Yet of Juvenal's life very little can be determined, for he rarely mentions himself in his satires. Young speaks for Juvenal when he says:

... historians themselves may be considered as satirists, and satirists most severe; since much are most human actions, that to relate is to expose them.⁽²⁾

If Horace comes closer to the genial commentator and the autobiographer, Juvenal comes closer to the sociologist and the historian. The purpose of this chapter, however, is to examine Horatian, 'comic' satire through the prism of the poetic imitation. The imitation was the logical result of refining upon the pattern of "the first Roman Miscellany, or Satirick Pieces", and of reproducing an ancient poetic tradition in terms of modern social and literary needs.

(1) It also means the presentation of oneself in relation to others, frequently with irony.

(2) Op. cit., pp.344-5.

ii. Imitation of Horace's Satires

Early formal verse satire in England and France inevitably owed much to Roman models. Thomas Wyatt's third Satire, containing ironical advice to 'Brian' on legacy-hunting, is fairly close in tone and structure - the dialogue form is retained - to Horace's fifth satire, book two, in which Tiresias, the blind prophet, tells the newly returned travel-weary Ulysses how to get rich by duping rich widows and wealthy old dotards. Donne's fourth satire, 'versified' (and modernised) by Pope, is an adaptation of Horace's ninth satire, book one, Horace's bore is made into a possible government spy - a more sinister nuisance. This element is retained by Pope. Mathurin Regnier's Satyres (1613) are also consciously classical. Explaining his vocation, Regnier said

Voilà ce qui m' a fait et Poete et Satirique,
Reglant la mesdisance a la facon antique. (1)

'Satyre III' is partly imitative of Juvenal's third, the subject being avoidance of the court by one who cannot perform its tricks and stratagems - who is too virtuous and 'natural' to fall into its vicious clutches. 'Why write poetry?', the subject of Juvenal's seventh satire, is also that of 'Satyre IV'. Regnier's main model, however is Horace.

Regnier is the Horatian rather than the Juvenalian satirist in the sense which we have indicated above - that is, he talks much about himself, or rather talks in the first person, for he assumes a number of familiar Horatian personae such as

(1) 'Satyre II', in Oeuvres de Regnier, ed. L. Lacour, (Paris, 1867), p. 23.

the good man, the simple man, the lover of peace, the pleader for sound ethical values and the wise man, who in 'Satyre XVI' says, "Il est temps, Forquevaus, que je devienne sage"¹ - having in this case given up the battle of love. He favours, then, if anything, 'comic' satire. His moralistic fourteenth satire is explicit:

Suivant les pas d'Horace entrant en la carriere,
Je trouve des humeurs de diverse maniere,
Qui me pourroient donner subject de me mocquer.²

The fifth satire is an interesting example of the generic imitation. The subject that no man is content with his lot - and the tone, come close to that of Horace, Sat. I, i. The tone rises to a sort of pained lyricism with "O gentille vertu...", thence to nostalgic lyricism when the poet remembers the old simple virtue, "Sans fard, sans fiction... / Austere en ses façons, severe en ses propos",³ but he soon assumes the "poisoned rage" of Juvenal when thinking of a charlatan with high-flown speech, adulterers, and the fact that merit is ousted by caprice. But the mood subsides, and the poet ends by addressing his friend: "Mon goust sera, Bertault, de n'en faire que rire".⁴ This variation in tone, essential to the satira form⁵, could be developed and considerably enriched by modern poets, having as they did both Horace's and Juvenal's satires for their models.

Regnier's eighth satire uses Horace's ninth, book one, for its model. The bore this time is "un jeune fris , relev  de moustache",⁶ sickening, as Donne's

(1) Ibid., p.153.

(2) Ibid., p.141.

(3) Ibid., pp.49-50.

(4) Ibid., p.51.

(5) See also the discussion of Pope's Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, below p. 371.

(6) Ibid., p.69.

court sycophant is, with his foppish flattery. Regnier also uses Horace's description of himself -

Demitto auriculas, ut iniquae mentis asellus
cum gravius dorso subit onus (ll.20-1)

- for the couplet:

Je chauvy de l'oreille, et, demeurant pensif,
L'eschine j'alongeois comme un asne retif.⁽¹⁾

Regnier certainly has Horace's brevitas and conversational style. Snap judgments - not necessarily those of the author - contained in well-turned verse, make the idiom - which Pope shared - unmistakable:

Des-Portes n'est pas net, du Bellay trop facile;⁽²⁾
Belleau ne parle pas comme on parle a la ville.

Horace's brilliant description of the affected gourmet's dinner-party (Sat II, viii) provided the model for Regnier's tenth and eleventh satires.

Regnier, like Wyatt, Hall, Marston and Donne, did not go much beyond selective and generic imitation⁽³⁾, but this imitation can nevertheless encompass individual poems, style, treatment of subject, philosophical attitudes and satiric poses. Boileau followed Regnier by combining the models of the two ancient satirists, and we shall deal further with his generic imitations in the following chapter. Without anticipating too much, let it suffice to say that Boileau, like

(1) Ibid., p.72.

(2) Ibid., p.79.

(3) Regnier also wrote an 'Imitation d'Ovide', called Impuissance.

Regnier, was basically a 'comic' satirist. He could fill Juvenal's 'bottles' with Horatian 'wine', as in the case of his own fourth and eighth satires. Juvenal provided greater thematic unity in terms of a single poem, but Horace provided more of the satiric persona.

The consecutive imitation in England evolved as a result of freer, more 'modern' translations. In the 'Epistle Dedicatory' to The Poems of Horace Translated into English by Several Persons (1666), the editor, Alexander Brome, wrote:

...as this Book consists of several mens endeavors, so those several men went several wayes; but all studied to shun a nice Pedantical Translation, which Horace could not abide. By reading all which you are certain of two Pleasures, Liberty of censuring, and variety of matter.

Rhetorical "flowers... are grown quite out of fashion." This is confirmed by Horace's own example, which most of the translators have emulated. The edition consists of paraphrases, some of which approach consecutive imitations. The setting for Satire II, v, for example, is London, not Rome, and the references to "Chief Ministers of State", "Westminster", "Lord Chancellor", and "Monsieurs" who "brisk about the Court"⁽¹⁾ become more than occasional modernisms: through 'naturalization' a complete analogy between Rome and London is being made. Satire I, ix is also naturalized. Called 'A description of an impertinent prating Fool', the translation emphasizes Horace's contemporaneity:

What? don't you know me, man? (said he) I too
A Virtuoso am as well as you.⁽²⁾

(1) The Poems of Horace... (1666), p.346.

(2) Ibid., p.228.

Modern idiom sometimes clashes amusingly with Horace's words.

"In silvam non ligna feras insanius ac si magnas
Graecorum malis implere catervas"

(Sat. I, x, ll.34-5)

has an obvious English equivalent, but 'Greek' does not become 'French':

If I attempt t' encrease that tedious store
Of the Greek Poets, too too large before,
As if I should Coals to New-castle send;
This to my Grecian versing put an end.⁽¹⁾

The question

an tua demens
vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?

(Ibid., ll.74-5)

becomes:

Art thou so mad thy Poems to expose ⁽²⁾
To Ballad-singers, and to Puppet-shows?

Satire II, iv is completely modernized, and with considerable resourcefulness, for equivalent modern dishes and food items, from "Wall-fleet Oyster" to "Westphalia Ham", are substituted for those in Horace. The famous Damasippus of Satire II, iii becomes an English figure:

Since my Estates consum'd I go no more
To the Exchange, as I did heretofore,
But having now no business of my own,
To other men I am a Broker grown,⁽³⁾

(1) Ibid., p.233.

(2) Ibid., p.235.

(3) Ibid., p.249.

which 'translates' Horace's

Postquam omnis res mea iamum
ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo,
(ll.18-19).

The techniques employed in Brome's Horace foreshadow those later used by Pope, which J. W. Tupper has enumerated.⁽¹⁾ What does not emerge, however, is a consecutive imitator who can also take on Horace's poetic personality in an all-round way as Pope was to do.

Human nature remaining the same, it is no wonder that the types ridiculed or praised by Roman satirists existed in modern England, such as the bore seeking preferment, the miser, the 'new man', the good man whose virtue is not recognized, the cynic, the recluse, the hack poet, the sincere and open critic, the enlightened patron, the malicious slanderer, the parasite, and so forth. The poetic imitation made clear this universal typology, which Johnson indicated in his two satires simply by prefixing the definite article. One way of seeing how satirists dealt with a particular type is to compare the different versions of Horace's ninth satire, book one. Apart from Donne (and Pope's version of Donne), Regnier, and the versions in Brome's Horace and Creech's Horace (1684), the following could be consulted: John Oldham's An Imitation of Horace (1681); an anonymous imitation, A Dialogue between A Secretary of State and A Connaught Squier; or, A SATYR In Imitation of Horace Iban forte via &c... (Dublin, 1714); R. O. Cambridge's imitation, The Intruder (1754); S. Swinney's The ninth Satire of

(1) 'Pope's Imitations of Horace', PMLA, xv (1900), pp.181-215.

Horace, book the first imitated (1767); William Cowper's The Description of an Impertinent; William Clubbe's imitation in his Six Satires of Horace, in a style between free imitation and literal version (Ipswich, 1795), and that of Alexander Geddes in his Select Satires of Horace (1799).

Horace's satire is a delightfully humorous dramatic sketch. The bore represents everything Horace despises, yet the latter - " ' o te, Bolane, cerebri/felicem! ' " - is too well-mannered to tell him bluntly to go away. The poet is cruelly victimized; much of the comedy lies in Horace's fatalistic vision of himself as one whose life has been destined to end with the insufferable chatter of this leech-like opportunist. The bore is finally dragged off to a lawsuit. The dramatic dialogue is racy and suggestive, and the way in which Horace's own feelings clash with the boorish ignorance - "muneribus servos corrumpam" - of the impertinent follower, is remarkably well handled and surprisingly 'modern'.

Oldham's imitation changes the scene to London, so that the Via Sacra becomes "the Mall", Hermogenes the singer becomes "Humphreys", and so forth. Oldham has relished the humour of the satire, but he overdoes it : he lacks Horace's sparing but effective use of hyperbole. The poet also seems more resilient than the poor victim in Horace's poem. The "familiar fop" in Oldham has much to say, and at once we see the kind of freedom allowed the consecutive imitator when Horace's description

... cum quilibet ille
garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret, (ll.12-13),

is expanded:

He all the while baits me with tedious chat,
Speaks much about the drought, and how the rate
Of Hay is rais'd, and what it now goes at:
Tells me of a new Comet at the Hague,
Portending God knows what, a Dearth, or Plague;
Names every Wench, that passes through the Park,⁽¹⁾
How much she is allow'd, and who the Spark ...

(1) Some Pieces Newly Publish'd (1684), p.46.

Unlike Donne or Regnier, Oldham follows Horace paragraph by paragraph, finding new parallels, expanding and concentrating, substituting modern places and customs for old, and thus produces a consistent allusion. The poem is thus a Lockean example of Wit, which, as Addison pointed out, comprehended "all the Methods of Allusion".⁽²⁾

A Dialogue between A Secretary of State and A Connaught Squier ...

(Dublin 1714) transfers the setting to Dublin. The Via Sacra becomes "Stephens Green", the bore a squire with a coarse face who seizes the Secretary's hand and insists on their taking a pint of sack. The poet refuses; the imposter continues to rant, even more volubly than Oldham's fop. The squire "Crys at every Period, mark me Jack", but the poet is "Mute as a Fish". Horace's bore compared himself favourably with Viscus and Varius, Oldham's with Rochester, while the Connaught squire declares:

You'l undervalue all your Steeles and Swifts
When you have Fathom'd me, and weigh'd my Gifts!

The squire exaggerates with that facility the Irish possess: he is prepared to go to any lengths to get himself into favour with the poet's rich friend:

If I'm kickt out, again I will return,
And a third beating shall not serve my turn.

The comic resolution suits the squire's character: a lady in a coach passes by, "the monster" stands dumb at her beauty, and this gives the poet his chance to slip away.

Cowper's version is much closer to Horace than those above. In Swiftian octosyllabics, it takes advantage of the light conversational comedy, but does not expand the original as Oldham and the anonymous imitator have done.

(2) Spectator No. 62.

Horace's lines,

Cum adsectaretur, 'num quid vis' occupo. at ille / 'noris nos,'
inquit; 'docti sumus.' hic ego, 'pluris / hoc,' inquam, 'mihi
eris,' (11.6-8),

show how deftly he can metrically fit in dialogue which Cowper also handles well:

Finding he still pursued me close,
'Sir, you have business, I suppose.' -
'My business, sir, is quickly done,
'Tis but to make my merit known.
Sir, I have read' - 'O learned sir,
You and your learning I revere.' (1)

All of these imitations affirm in the modern context the type of the polite and impolite man, represented by Horace and the bore respectively. Comparison of the different versions also reveals how much room there was for 'originality' and ingenuity. The pleasure of seeing Horace's archetypal bore in different settings and with different characters can be considerable. Horace's original situation attains in our minds a sort of stasis; on the other hand, it is ever being renewed in contemporary terms. According to eighteenth century theory, the mind could be stimulated and endlessly amused by this kind of variation.

Since the imitations of Horace's satires in our period are fairly numerous, some kind of selection and grouping has had to be made. One obvious group is satires that deal with poetry and the defence of satire. This includes Rochester's An Allusion to Horace The 10th Satyr of the 1st Book (1675? publ. 1680); Sir Car Scroop's reply In Defence of Satyr. A Poem in Imitation of Horace lib. I. sat. 4. (p. 1731); Swift's Dialogue between an eminent Lawyer and Dr. Jonathan Swift, D.S.P.D. In allusion to Horace, Book ii, Sat i, (1730); Pope's imitation of the same satire, To Mr. Fortescue (1733);

(1) The Poetical Works of William Cowper, ed. Bentham (1870), p. 18.

an anonymous defence by one of Pope's followers called The Satirist : In Imitation of The Fourth Satire of The First Book of HORACE (1733), and a close parody of Pope's imitation, The First Satire of the second Book of Horace, Imitated, in a Dialogue between Alexander Pope, a Poet, and the Ordinary of Newgate, a Parson, (1733?). These imitations, and poems such as Paul Whithead's Advice : A Satire (1746), (which is also largely based on Sat II, 1), and A Dialogue on One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-eight (1738), all show a concern for the precise role of the satirist, the nature of satire, the character of the satirist in modern English society, and how all three may be modelled on Roman example.

Other imitations can be dealt with chronologically. We shall select some of the following: Swift's Imitation of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book of Horace. (1714 pubd.1727), added to by Pope and printed as a poem of 221 lines in 1738; Pope's imitation of Sat. I, ii, Sober Advice from Horace, to the Young Gentlemen about Town (1734), and of Sat. II, ii, 'To Mr. Bethel' (1734); The Miser's Feast. The Eighth Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated. A Dialogue between the Author and the Poet Laureate (1737), and Of Legacy-Hunting. The Fifth Satire of the Second Book of Horace imitated. A Dialogue between Sir Walter Raleigh and Merlin the Prophet (1737) by George Ogle; The Sixth Satire of the First Book of Horace Imitated (1738), by one 'E.W.', one of the rare attempts to get inside Horace's personality; an imitation of Sat. I, iii by Christopher Smart, written in 1750; A Dialogue between a Member of Parliament and his Servant (1752) by R. O. Cambridge (an imitation of Sat. II, vii); Horace, book 2. Satire vii., imitated; or, a dialogue between a man of fashion and his valet. 'Inscribed to R. O. Cambridge' (1752), by 'Sir Nicholas Nemo, Knt.', and two imitations of Horace's

first satire, one published anonymously in 1755, the other, Horace's first Satire modernized (1762) by George Canning, which is in a 'low' style and uses dactyls. We shall also mention Seasonable Reproof, a Satire In the Manner of Horace (1735), by James Miller, author of two imitations of Horace's Ars Poetica, (discussed in Chapter 9).⁽¹⁾

Horace's sixth satire, book two, is a lyrical song of praise for his Sabine farm, whose peace and sufficiency is set against the opulence and irksome bustle of Rome, with its envious ruffians, importunates, officious and news-hungry triflers. The introductory words, "Hoc erat in votis" and "bene est" set the tone of contented thanksgiving, and the poem ends with the amusing fable of the town mouse and country mouse. Swift imitated as far as line 62 of Horace, Pope completing the rest. Harold Williams considers ll. 9-28 of the final version to be the work of Swift,⁽²⁾ but John Butt has said that Williams' evidence, based on Bathurst's letter to Swift (Oct. 5, 1737), which was endorsed by the latter, is "too ambiguous for certain ascription."⁽³⁾ The 'Advertisement' to the 1738 version states:

The world may be assured, this Publication is no way meant to interfere with the Imitations of Horace by Mr. Pope : His Manner, and that of Dr. Swift are so entirely different, that they can admit of no Invidious Comparison. The Design of the one being to sharpen the Satire, and open the Sense of the Poet ; of the other to render his native Ease and Familiarity yet more easy and familiar.⁽⁴⁾

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- (1) This list is itself a selection. Other imitators of Horace's satires (some of whom are dealt with in later chapters) include John Duncombe, Thomas Nevile, Edward Burnaby Greene and Alexander Geddes.
- (2) See The Poems of Jonathan Swift (Oxford, 1958), 1, pp. 197-8.
- (3) Imitations of Horace (1953), p. 248.
- (4) Ibid., p. 249.

This clear distinction, if not entirely valid, yet nevertheless made, ought to help us ascertain the authority of 11.9-28. In fact these lines bear the mark of Pope, not Swift: the following, with its hint at poetic ambition and its ethical reflection, could in fact equally apply to Pope's own situation at Twickenham:

Preserve, Almighty Providence!
 Just what you gave me, Competence:
 And let me in these Shades compose
 Something in Verse as true as Prose; (1)
 Remov'd from all th' ambitious Scene, (2)
 Nor puff'd by Pride, nor sunk by Spleen.

The octosyllabics are less galloping here than elsewhere in this imitation, while the tone and mood have also changed. The alliteration and balance⁽³⁾ in the last line and the phrase "nor sunk by Spleen" seem more typical of the poet who "composed" his verse far more deliberately than Swift. The nineteen lines do not have the kind of down-to-earth autobiography which fills the rest. On the whole, therefore, we should follow Courthope and Griffith, in ascribing these lines to Pope. In the imitation Swift applies Horace's situation to his own, making the appropriate changes, and his relationship with Harley is delightfully pictured in their attempts to read country signs, while

.... all that passes, inter nos, (4)
 Might be proclaim'd at Charing Cross.

(1) This line may be a Popian tribute to Horace's 'prosaic Muse', with the emphasis on "true" rather than "Prose".

(2) Imitations of Horace, p. 251.

(3) Cf. also: If I ne'er got, or lost a groat,
 By any Trick, or any Fault (11.13-14).

(4) Op.cit., p. 257.

Pope's imitation of the fable is a felicitous handling of Horace, - witty, comic, vigorous and colourful, with chatty insertions that give it verve. The gourmandizing of the mice is nicely woven into Horace's text.

Pope's Sober Advice from Horace (1734), revised in 1738, was declared to be imitated 'in the Manner of Mr. Pope' and 'restored by the Revd. R. BENTLEY'. (Pope used in this case Bentley's edition of Horace. In fact he made use of at least four editions on which to base his imitations.⁽¹⁾) Horace's satire is one of his least typical. There is a great deal of personal attack and cynical exposure of vice - cynical because the satirist shows no moral antagonism to debauchery and adultery, but merely tells us what methods of satisfying lust are inadvisable. The satire concludes with Horace's own advice : "parabilem amo Venerem facilemque" - he does not endanger himself by seducing other men's wives, but selects some one cheap, obedient, fair and willing. Pope levels his attacks against the female sex, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in particular. Horace's very funny allusion to the different smells of two immortalized Romans,

Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum.
Nil medium est. (ll. 27-8),

is coarsened by Pope:

Women and Fools are always in Extreme.
Rufa's at either end a Common-Shear,
Sweet Moll and Jack are Civet-Cat and Boar. (ll. 28-30)

Pope makes few new excursions, but his ability to turn anything into a modern joke is evinced by his imitation of the passage in Horace (ll. 30-35) where

(1) V. Lillian Bloom, 'Pope as Textual Critic' : Essential Articles for the study of Alexander Pope, ed. M. Mack (1964), pp.495-506.

Cato is quoted as saying that brothels keep men from other men's wives.

In Pope, "My Lord of L[ondo]n", seeing a "noted Dean much busy'd in the Park", cried "Proceed", for simple fornication would keep him from boys, or "others Spouses, like my Lord of York ." ⁽¹⁾ When Horace states his preference for pliable girls, Pope takes on the satiric persona of the easy-going pragmatist:

I'm a plain Man, whose Maxim is profest,
"The Thing at hand is of all Things the best".
(ll. 153-4).

The imitation loses much, however, through its undisciplined form, its moral attitude, its sensationalism and libellous nature.

The Second Satire of the Second Book of Horace Paraphrased (1734) is very different in tone. Light comic banter is sustained throughout. Pope, following Horace's text and satirical method, criticizes the extravagant eating habits of his contemporaries, ridicules miserliness, and advocates a mean between the two. Ofellus becomes Bethel, who is "wise without the rules", ⁽²⁾ and of whom Pope says:

His equal mind I copy what I can, ⁽³⁾
And as I love, I imitate the Man.

He represents the type of the open, frugal, hospitable man whom we should all try to follow. From Horace's Epicurean world we are taken into the cheerful, talkative, homely, comfortable atmosphere of the English gentleman's dinner-table, with its mutton, grapes, walnuts, figs and gudgeons. The very sound of the named items of food sets the tone and character of the imitation.

(1) ll. 39-44.

(2) l. 10.

(3) ll. 131-2.

George Ogle's imitation of Sat. II, viii demonstrates a very close acquaintance with the original (unlike some who, as Ogle says in the 'Advertisement', only know Horace in Dunster's translation) and reveals a liking for the theatrical - Ogle is interested in gestures, features and situations.⁽¹⁾ In Horace's satire Nasidienus the host is out to impress his guests by dilating authoritatively on each outlandish dish as it arrives, piping hot or swimming in sauce. The occasion proves inauspicious: in the middle of his discourse the hangings fall, making a greater dust than the North-wind in all Campania. Ogle's imitation, called The Miser's Feast (1737) exploits Horace's humour but is more intent on exposing the avarice of the host, the Priest of Trent. The falling hangings incident becomes rather heavy-handed farce: Sam, the "coachman-butler" mistakes the wall for the door; he secures the mutton with one hand and, as he holds onto Sir William Sutton with the other, the table collapses. All is entangled in the fallen tapestry, whose subject is revealed as Susanna bathing naked. The imitation belongs rather to coterie poetry than to general satire, and has less attraction for the modern reader. Of Legacy-Hunting (1737), an imitation of Sat. II, v, turns Horace's dialogue between Olysses and Tiresias into one between Sir Walter Raleigh and Merlin. Merlin's materialistic cynicism is that of Ogle's own day. In Horace, the legacy-hunter must never show that he continually awaits his rich friend's death:

Obsequio grassare; mone, si increbuit aura,
cautus uti velet carum caput, (ll. 93-4).

(1) Ogle's detailed comments on the satire show an imaginative participation in Horace's satirical intentions that is entirely typical of the eighteenth century.

Ogle cannot match Horace's Olympian detachment, but he makes the idea consistent with modern conditions:

If chance, for Air o'er Hampstead-heath you pass,
Warn him to use his Hat, and lift the Glass.
These very Words, 'Dear Sir, the Wind's at East,'
To a good Vic'rage raised a worthless Priest.⁽¹⁾

When the old man dies, one must show grief: Ogle has the Popian knack of making passing hits:

Then, broad awake, his hapless Death deplore,
And cry, with Budget, 'Is he then no more?'

James Miller's Seasonable Reproof (1735) and Christopher Smart's The Horatian Canons of Friendship (1750)⁽²⁾ are both imitations of Horace's third satire, book one. In his preface, Miller declares his intention to strip vice bare, expose lewdness and malice, but applauds Horace's "merry Mood". He tries, he says, to imitate Horace in the way of

... particulars that promise nothing either serious or important; till having thus craftily engaged the Curiosity of his Reader, and quickened his Attention by applying to his Fancy, he insensibly slides to higher Subjects, and insinuates the noblest Maxims and Morals.⁽³⁾

Defending imitators, who are very different from translators, and who need not be indebted "for a single Sentence, or even Sentiment from the Author they follow", Miller affirms:

... 'tis very possible to erect a Building in the Taste of Inigo Jones, without pulling down the Banqueting-House for Materials.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Of Legacy-Hunting (1737), p.8.

(2) See Collected Poems, ed. N. Callan (1949), i, pp.162-8.

(3) Preface, addressed to the Duke of Argyle (1735), p. iii.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. iv.

Miller and Smart re-create in modern terms the type of the changeable, inconsistent and unpredictable man introduced by Horace as Tigellius, the singer. Miller turns him into Faroli, an Italian opera singer, who is made a pretext for attacking decadent foreign influences, then 'Fogg' who,

Plac'd in the Senate, with a Peer-like Pride,
Stares round, takes snuff, and cries - P - x, let's
divide.⁽¹⁾

Smart makes Tigellius 'Minum', the singer, who "every day possess'd a different self".⁽²⁾ An adversarius challenges Horace for criticizing others. Horace replies that self-knowledge and spiritual goodness override all superficial appearances. Miller expands this passage considerably, makes a parry at the hypocrites, and evidently takes lines 29-34 of Horace's satire as a picture by Horace of himself. This is amusingly modernized:

What tho' sage Horace can't be call'd a Beau;
What tho' his Shoes no Diamond Buckles show;
Tho' coated in a Taste uncouth, and breech'd
With Trousers often calling to be hitch'd;
Shall he, for this, on Satire's Wheel be broke;⁽³⁾
Or made the Courtier's Gibe and Coxcomb's Joke?

Smart defends this type of the good man, careless of his appearance, as 'Philander' who, though his cap is awry, his gown ragged, his stockings down, has

... a soul ingenuous as his face,
To you a friend, and all the human race.⁽⁴⁾

This is the kind of man with whom the Horatian satirist liked to identify.

(1) Seasonable Reproof (1735), p.3.

(2) Collected Poems, i, p. 163.

(3) Seasonable Reproof (1735), p.6.

(4) Collected Poems, i, p. 164.

In a jocular vein, Horace asks us to be like lovers, blind to each others' faults, to represent, where possible, faults as virtues, not virtues as faults. Be indulgent, says Horace. He condemns those who castigate faults and vices with equal severity, and reminds us that man has now become civilized. The satire ends with a hit at the Stoics. Their idea of the wise man is not Horace's. He sees himself ironically as "stultus", though in fact, far happier than they can ever be. Miller exploits Horace's provocative wit, Smart his more serious ethical side. (Pope was one of the few who could combine both with marked success.) Miller also takes an opportunity to defend his own conception of satire's role - "Not at the Man, but at the Vice I strike"⁽¹⁾ - and asks us to emulate great men. Smart closely follows Horace, pleading for the "honest and ingenuous soul",⁽²⁾ but his satirical bite is absent, while both refrain from coming out into the open at the end of the satire as Horace does. Miller and Smart can use Horace's techniques as if they were their own. The intrusion of the adversarius, the shift in satirical stance, the ironical aside, the digression, the 'crafty engagement' of the reader's curiosity, the change in tone from light to grave to gay - these have been so much absorbed into the English tradition of verse satire ~~as to be almost peculiarly English.~~

Satires I, iv, I, x and II, i contain most of Horace's statements on satire itself, what satire should be, whether the satirist is really a jaundiced, malicious and spiteful individual, or whether he is in fact friendly, cheerful and open. Horace tells us what he considers the faults

(1) Seasonable Reproof, p.23.

(2) Collected Poems, i, p.166.

and virtues of Lucilius to be, while making many judgments on other poets as well. (1)

The Earl of Rochester wrote An Allusion to Horace probably in the spring of 1675. Lucilius becomes Dryden, but Rochester, though using Horace as a vehicle for his attacks, is most un-Horatian in tone throughout. Where Horace is critical, and dismissive in a way that appeals to our good sense, Rochester is contemptuous; - he feels more conscious of his own wit which, even when lowering itself to the level of sarcasm, will always distinguish him from the ignorant, bungling and unsophisticated mass. It became customary to use Horace in this way as a kind of status symbol. Rochester reveals his purpose in the very first lines:

Well Sir, 'tis granted, I said Dryden's Rhimes,
Were stoln, unequal, nay, dull many times;
What foolish Patron, is there found of his,
So blindly partial, to deny me this? (2)

Horace merely said that the verses of Lucilius were uneven: "incomposito ... pede currere versus/Lucili". Rochester, moreover, turns into a "foolish Patron", "blindly partial", Horace's "unyielding partisan", "fautor inepte".

Horace says, in his reasonable manner, that "it is not enough to make the listener grin and laugh; - and yet even in this there is however some merit". He bends over backwards to be fair and impartial, unlike the "fautor inepte". Rochester turns Horace's two lines into the following:

- (1) Satire I, x alludes to around thirty authors in the space of 92 lines. Rochester's imitation mentions twenty-one different authors in 124 lines.
- (2) Poems, ed. Vivian De Sola Pinto (1964), p. 95.

'Tis therefore not enough, when your false sense,
 Hits the false Judgment of an Audience:
 Of clapping Fools, assembled a vast Crowd,
 Till the throng'd Play-house, crack with the dull load;
 Though ev'n that Talent, merits in some sort,⁽¹⁾
 That can divert the Rabble, and the Court ...

Each successive phrase builds up into an entirely different kind of statement from the one Horace makes, though the basic pattern of thought is retained. Rochester does not try to appear impartial. Whereas Horace is saying that Lucilius was uneven, somewhat rough-edged and undisciplined and too impetuous - though he pays tribute to him as being "comis et urbanus" and having created a new style - Rochester castigates Dryden for writing popular rubbish, for being, in short, an arrogant hack who is liked by "the Rabble", "Fools, and Women", "the Ladies", "the vile Rout", and again "Fops and Ladies", who are distinguished by their "unthinking Laughter".

If you wish to write something lasting and valuable, says Horace, you must take pains in the composition and be content with a few readers instead of catching the wonder of the crowd. Rochester takes up a more extreme position, and the geniality is absent:

Compare each Phrase, examine ev'ry Line,
 Weigh ev'ry Word and ev'ry Thought refine;
 Scorn all applause the vile Rout can bestow,⁽²⁾
 And be content to please those few who know.

Rochester himself has hardly obeyed his own artistic advice : he is rather putting up a defensive screen against "the vile Rout." In the last 15 lines, Horace lists in a roll-call, with an almost ritualistic classical dignity, (though preceded and followed by satiric hits), those poets and men of taste, his friends, whom he considers will have everlasting fame. Rochester is

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p. 98.

far less dignified. He loathes the rabble, he says, and simply names eight poets and patrons in two lines who, he affirms, "Approve my sense".

Rochester's imitation was popular, perhaps because it demonstrated the new kind of wit based on consistent allusion and 'naturalisation', as well as having a definite satiric brilliance despite the fact that it is not really 'Horatian' in tone. As an example of satiric brevitas and resourcefulness it is notable. Rochester's imitation is, however, an example more of courtly than of urbane wit. His poem On the suppos'd Author of a late Poem in defence of Satyr is an even more self-conscious defence from within that exclusive circle in which he moved, a circle which loved 'cleverness' and disguise (an essential ingredient of burlesque and satire), toyed with 'forbidden' cults and philosophies, including materialism, still used old scholastic wit, 'metaphysical' allusion and shock-tactics, and despised the 'mob'. Rochester was a court poet. Dryden, though a conservative, had compromised with the new bourgeois gentry which now wanted stability. In social-historical terms, Dryden is probably closer to Horace than Rochester. Horace himself would not have come down so harshly either on the author of MacFlecknoe and Absalom and Achitophel as to condemn his "gross faults", "lumpish fancy" and "his loose slattern Muse" - though he would not have let Dryden get away with his sleekness and hurriedness.

Pinto has suggested that In Defence of Satyr, traditionally assigned to Sir Car Scroop (or 'Scroope'), is probably by Rochester himself. The reference to the street brawl, says Pinto, may not be to the Epsom affair, in which Captain Downes, a friend of Rochester's, was killed. Yet the false "Friend" who leaves his companion to be murdered (so unlike the type of

satirist Horace and the modern author are defending) is not just anyone.

He is himself a definite type, and is well-known:

This, this is he, you shou'd beware of all,
Yet him a pleasant, witty Man, you call
To whet your dull Debaucher up, and down,
You seek him as top Fidler of the Town.⁽¹⁾

Pinto does not suggest who this might be. The point is important, because against this type is presented the satirist who is a true, open and cheerful friend, who is "comis et urbanus". This type, who is expert at raillery and whose refinement extends to manners, not just to wit, is the opposite of the court rake, who cannot enjoy life without indulging in a 'dull debauch'. "It seems strange", says Pinto, "that Scroope, when satirized by Rochester, should have replied by writing a 'Defence' of Satire."⁽²⁾ The question is, however, what kind of satire? We do not usually associate Rochester with the genial 'comic' satire typified by Horace. Indeed, Rochester does not pretend to make any defence of 'comic' satire. It may be that "the Pur-blind Knight" attacked in An Allusion to Horace, is answering back both in defence of himself and of the 'real' Horace. (Pinto does not mention the fact that In Defence of Satyr is an imitation of Horace, Sat. I, iv.).

In Defence of Satyr, then, is a defence of 'comic', or Horatian satire:

Nothing helps more than Satyr, to amend
Ill Manners, or is trulier Virtues Friend.⁽³⁾

In the Latin original, Horace tells us how his father instructed him in virtue

(1) Ibid., p. 139.

(2) Ibid., p. 225.

(3) Ibid., p. 137.

by precept and example, so that the satirist learned how to avoid vice and attend to his self-interest. The imitator emphasizes the teaching function of satire:

For as a passing Bell, frights from his Meat,
The greedy Sick man that too much wou'd Eat;
So, when a Vice, ridiculous is made,
Our Neighbors shame, keeps us from growing Bad. (1)

Some one accuses Horace of taking pleasure in hurting people. (This same charge is answered by Pope, for example in the Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot. (2)) Horace refutes this, and points to those who are really malicious. It is here that the imitator refers to the false friend who leaves his companion to die. The context is important, and if, as we may suppose, the allusion is to Rochester, the imitator is deliberately excluding Rochester from the band of true, comic, satirists.

The imitation concludes with a number of personal hits, mainly directed at affectations and vanities. Comparison with the original shows that Horace can skilfully round off a satire by telling us about himself, taking us into his confidence, pulling us onto his side of the fence. The imitator is quite unable to do this. Personal intervention - or rather, the intervention of literary personae which are projections of the real man - is demonstrated with greatest success by Pope.

Pope's The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated (1753) was the first imitation of the published series written. The circumstances surrounding its composition are too well known to go into here. (3) The

(1) Ibid., p. 138.

(2) See ll. 83-108.

(3) See Imitations of Horace, ed. John Butt (1953), p. xiii.

'Advertisement', however, is redolent with moral seriousness of purpose. "An Answer from Horace", says Pope, "was both more full, and of more Dignity, than any I cou'd have made in my own person". Imitation will enable Pope to rise above the narrow, undignified world in which he finds himself, and with which at the same time he is unceasingly forced to contend. The implication is that any dignity he himself appears to wear is borrowed from Horace. Unlike Juvenal, however, he wishes to be considered acceptable to the greatest men, while refusing to stifle genuine indignation at vice and folly. He concludes:

... whereas to a true Satyrist nothing is so odious as a Libeller, for the same reason as to a man truly Virtuous nothing is so hateful as a Hypocrite.

For all this emphatically moral and extra-personal covering, Pope, as G. K. Hunter perceived,⁽¹⁾ writes his satire from a subjective centre, and is also less concerned with showing himself a natural lover of peace, as Horace does, than pointing out the direction and distinctive quality of his satiric aims.

Nevertheless, Pope's defence of his personal mission is aided by the authority of a tradition, which is in turn sanctioned by eternal moral laws.⁽²⁾ The tradition is that of true comic satire. As Thomas E. Maresca says,

In the ideal world where God's creation and man's actions are equally rational and concordant, real satire is greeted, not with scorn or fear, but with appreciative laughter.

(1) In 'The "Romanticism" of Pope's Horace', Essays in Criticism, x (1960), pp. 390-414.

(2) For a discussion on the relation between 'imitation' and eternal laws, see Introduction, pp.15-16.

It is the reality and validity of this world
that Fortescue - and Pope's poem - affirms. (1)

- Yet this, one could reply, does not explain the imitation's poetic success. To invert Pope's own emphasis, the success derives not simply from imitatio (and the affirmation of an ideal world), but from a renewed, parallel mimetic process.⁽²⁾ The satiric imitation in Pope's hands is 'mimetic' in the best sense.

The satire, as a dialogue, with a central monologue (once interrupted) certainly requires a high degree of real satiric skill on the part of the imitator. Its whole structure is built upon an irony. Pope, like Horace, is appealing for help from one versed in no higher morality than the law, on what is in fact a fundamentally moral, social question - the right to satirize. Pope enlarges upon this basic scheme to the extent of cleverly ridiculing the legalistic, Lockean, liberal assumptions of emergent bourgeois English society. His relationship to that society cannot be separated from the satiric brilliance with which he partakes in those assumptions while at the same time laughing at them. The shifts between such opposing moods and attitudes as timidity and courageous independence, friendliness and anger, pretence and honesty, the perpetual foxing of uninitiated (and morally delinquent) readers, so typical of Swift and Pope, are what gives this imitation its vibrant intellectual and satiric energy.

At the very outset Pope sharpens the irony of the original, putting more of himself into it. The first line contains an insertion, "(I scarce can think it, but am told)", expressing the naive surprise of one disturbed out

(1) 'Pope's Defence of Satire : The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated', *ELH* xxxi (1964), p. 394. Fortescue is of course the person to whom Pope addresses himself. See below, p.236.

(2) See Introduction, p. 25.

of peaceful retirement by cries of complaint. A second insertion shows us Pope ironically disguised as "Tim'rous by Nature, of the Rich in awe" as he sues for advice from his lawyer friend, though of course later on the 'real' Pope throws off all previous disguises, somewhat melodramatically, and declaims:

Yes, while I live, no rich or noble knave
Shall walk the world, in credit, to his grave.
(ll. 119-20).

Horace, justifying his practice, tells how Lucilius dared to expose the foulness lying behind the appearances of public men:

... detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
cederet, introrsum turpis ... (ll. 64-5),

and how those great ones who had nothing to fear approved his wit. Pope does not justify by similar previous example, however, and the centre of our interest is less the exposure of objective truth than self-revelation, laying open to public view, as on a votive tablet, the satirist's inner soul.⁽¹⁾

Trebatius tells Horace to take a rest and cease writing. Horace replies that he cannot sleep. At this point the lawyer turns physician. Swimming the Tiber, or getting drunk, is put on a level with writing epics as a cure for disturbed minds. Pope makes writing a kind of illness in itself:

I nod in Company, I wake at Night,
Fools rush into my Head, and so I write.
(ll. 13-14).

(What Pope is really saying, however, is that the 'disease' of writing, like some inoculation, is necessary to 'cure' a diseased society. Sleeping during the day-time is the natural result of being bored by fools. At night these same fools 'rush into his head', and so he writes.)

Horace confesses his weakness and inadequacy for such tasks as painting ranks full of spears: "vires deficient". Pope is less humble. What, he cries, write like Blackmore or Budgell? Whereas Horace pleads lack of skill,

(1) Cf. Horace, ll. 32-4 : "... quo fit, ut omnis / votiva pateat veluti
descripta tabella / vita senis".

Pope makes several literary hits.

Trebatius tells Horace that many - even those 'untouched' by Horace's satire - hate him because of his attacks. At this point Pope switches the emphasis of the original. "Quid faciam?" asks Horace. "What should ail 'em?" asks Pope; now it is they who have the ailment (as if he had just been awakened to the fact).

Every man is different, with different tastes, says Horace. The satirist, in particular, is not exceptional in this respect. He merely tells all - about himself. With typical obliqueness, Horace proceeds to tell about himself. His pugnacity is explained by his border origins. Thus he is a lover of peace unless assailed by robbers, in which case he must draw his "stilus" (both dagger and pen) to protect what his settler forefathers won. When on the attack, he uses the weapon instinct and nature gave him - the pen. The explanation is therefore natural (and in this lies the irony, degrading as it does the satirist's function).

Pope cannot of course use the 'natural' explanation, but like Horace keeps our attention by shifts in his attitude. First of all, he appeals to reasonableness, to a liberal sympathy which is consistent with the openness and frankness of the honnête homme:

I love to pour out all myself, as plain
As downright Shippen, or as old Montagne ...
... In me what Spots (for Spots I have) appear,
Will prove at least the Medium must be clear.
(ll 52-6)

We know, however, that the volatile Pope is not simply 'plain' and 'downright'. With tongue in cheek, he asks why this kind of honesty should be so much feared; even "My Foes shall wish my Life a Longer date". Pope

plays the ironical role of a man among other men, not wishing to be extreme in anything,

Like good Erasmus in an honest Mean,
In Moderation placing all my Glory,
While Tories call me Whig, and Whigs a Tory.⁽¹⁾
(ll. 66-8).

That is, his own kind of 'border' nature - one between various extremes - lends him the character of a plain, downright, good man who speaks his mind freely and is not prejudicial. Pope is posing as the typically moderate, compromising, 'honest' man - in an (again ironical) attempt to bridge the unfortunate gap created by his over-bold satire and now brought to his notice by a worldly, reasonable lawyer - his satiric 'adversary'.

While others slander, poison and cheat, he uses satire as a weapon. Again, the contrast is made between satiric and other forms of aggression, as in Horace's Satire I, x. A further note is sounded, however, which gives added interest to the imitation. Of satire, he says that it is a gentleman's protection, or something similar:

I only wear it in a Land of Hectors,
Thieves, Supercargoes, Sharpers, and Directors.
Save but our Army! and let Jove incrust
Swords, Pikes, and Guns, with everlasting Rust!
Peace is my dear Delight - not Fleury's more:
But touch me, and no Minister so sore.
(ll. 71-6).

To Horace's "infestis latronibus" are added supercargoes, and South-Sea Company directors, while the standing army is a further menace to peace. In other words, Pope is saying; While I, like everybody else, desire peace, I cannot go unarmed in a society in which trade, plunder and violence walk hand in hand. Beneath the surface of compromise, moderation and peace lies violent conflict. Satire must be written in such a society, (where

(1) Cf. Horace. l. 34. "Sequer hunc, Lucanus an Apulus, anceps".
("Here it is I follow, Lucanian or Apulian".)

men are unable to live in real harmony), just as swords must be worn. If Horace defends the small settler mentality, Pope defends those interests (by the 'violent' means of satire if necessary) which are endangered by "Plums, and Directors, Shylock and his Wife" - that is, the new monied class and its new morality. (1)

At this point, the social assumptions are laid bare. Any possibility of 'free' reasonable negotiation, legalistic barter and peaceable moderation has been dashed by the words of Fortescue himself (ll. 101-4). Fortescue is as much as saying to Pope: The people you offend hate you, but by - with the best of intentions, it seems - hitting on truths nobody normally talks about, you have just put your very life in danger.

Pope is now compelled to accept the irreconcilable antagonism, and we see him "arm'd for Virtue when I point the Pen". Yet, paradoxically, once engaged in conflict, he removes himself entirely from the undignified and mercenary world Fortescue inhabits in this, the most declamatory passage of the satire:

TO VIRTUE ONLY and HER FRIENDS, A FRIEND,
The World beside may murmur, or commend.
Know, all the distant Din that World can keep
Rolls o'er my Grotto, and but sooths my Sleep.
(ll. 121-4).

There is a remarkable movement in the whole of this passage, which takes greater liberties with the original text. Having taken up arms against "The World beside" in the cause of Virtue, he has found the 'cure' for loss of sleep and a disturbed mind. He lives "among the Great": that is, in part, his 'ideal world'. Only in this world is harmony at all possible, and with it, Virtue. The distant din of the real world rolls above his grotto (which was beneath the road), yet the satire is an expression, in Pope's terms,

(1) At the same time, ridicule and 'comic satire', not the violent railing of the social scourge, are what Pope is justifying. For the relation between comic satire and the political compromise see Appendix A, p. x.

of a higher world looking down at a lower.

Pope's defence suggests dual, ironically juxtaposed images. It ends:

This is my Plea, on this I rest my Cause -
 What saith my Council learned in the Laws?
 (ll. 141-2).

The idea here, of course, is that of the law-court. But the Court to which Pope makes his plea, having as it were taken the oath on the Bible (a stronger idea than that of Horace's "votiva ... tabella"), is that of Virtue. The irony is enriched by the reply of the lawyer: "Your Plea is good", and the warning concerning the statute-book. The judges laugh and the plaintiff is hissed, Fortescue says, when it is further realized that Pope writes not libels and satires at all, but grave epistles, "Such as Sir Robert would approve". Fortescue makes out that there has in fact been a huge misunderstanding. Naturally, there has not. Fortescue is blind to Pope's mission, still seeing him as a man among men - that is, as accepting the 'normal' assumptions of modern society. Had this been the case, Pope would hardly have felt the need to write moral satires at all.

The imitation gives the reader a sense of several layers of irony, of juxtaposed images and contrasts. Pope also gives Horace's satire a more clearly defined structure. It is not so much a real development as a sort of show, a series of revelations, as we move from introductory prelude, to climax and anti-climax. The lawyer's final "Indeed?/The Case is alter'd" is doubly comic. The case is not only not altered, but was never a 'case' in a legal sense anyway. Comic satire can only justify itself through comic satire. The comic world is, to a large extent, its own world. This - as well as the ideal world Maresca described - is what Pope's imitation affirms.