ALEXANDER POPE'S RHETORIC AND DICTION

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by

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I would have my own vision
The world's vision;
The beauty settled in my mind
A lamp in a busy street.

- H.Read "The Analysis of Love"

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PREFACE

This study of Pope's rhetoric and diction began as an examination of his "poetical diction". It soon became evident, however, that an examination of diction per se was not inclusive enough, and that anti-neo-classic quarrels with Pope's diction were merely symptoms of a process in aesthetic theory which has been taking place since the Renaissance. Therefore the subject was expanded to take this development into account. If it appears that the backdrop occasionally shadows almost entirely the dwarf of Twickenham, it must be granted that few poets have been so representative of their age as at the same time head and shoulders above it.

INTRODUCTION

Rhetoric and diction are the subjects of this study, but not merely considered either as a summation of devices in style and composition on the one hand, or on the other as a study of individual words building the structural mosaic, trimmed and chipped and coloured into pleasing formal arrangements. By the term "rhetoric" is meant the complete theory and practice of expression viewed as a dynamic factor of a continuous tradition in European, and specifically, English literature. As such, both the philosophy of rhetoric and the background "climate" conditioning its development concern us. Therefore this study of Pope's diction is not simply an examination of words in isolation but,more importantly, of the logical and syntactical patterns into which Pope saw fit to assemble them. Diction is, in fact, a topic of rhetoric; but since I wished to examine this aspect closely it has been spotlighted in the title.

The term "poetic diction", except where expressly stated, does not refer to the diction deplored by Wordsworth and Arnold under that title. It will comprise only one phase of the study; diction as a component of the figures of rhetoric and of images is another phase; and as an instrument variously employed in the heroic couplet to achieve the most striking

effects is a third. W.C.Brown, R.K.Root, I.Winters and others have examined the physical basis of the couplet so thoroughly that little can be added; therefore I have merely supplied a specific "textural" study of Pope's diction in chapter six.

The figures of rhetoric have also been examined in relation to the subject of diction. It is most difficult, for example, to distinguish "enallage" unless one is aware of the meaning of words during the lifetime of the writer under consideration. Does "air" mean "manner" in the eighteenth century? Is "thrice" archaic by 1730? The identification of "asindeton" requires knowledge of the syntactical employment of words during any period, and of the consequent distinction between figure of thought and figure of words. The recognition of "paronomasia" necessitates an examination of current idiom. Did Cardelia's desire "for the Knave" have a double meaning in Pope's day? "Rabbatting" depends on grammar; historical usages frequently affect the determining of this factor and of all the figures of alteration. "Eclipsis" and "sillepsis" are both dependent on contemporary grammar; "catachresis" no less than "noema" is qualified by usage. Inversions and the various kinds of "hyperbaton" are a matter of custom to some degree, and these figures in turn influence the choice of diction employed, as do "antitheton", "autonomasia", "agnomination", and "onomatapaeia".

Another point is equally perplexing - indeed, insoluble to some extent as the history of rhetorical practice has demonstrated clearly enough. When is a figure one of thought,

and when one of affection? An "antitheton" is often employed primarily for emotive rather than dialectical purposes (but even here there is a razor edge); and vice versa. It is impossible to deny that sometimes "asyndeton" is the direct result of affective writing; in fact, it must be admitted that several if not all of the auricular figures function at times as sensable[1] figures, although strictly speaking figures of thought are always pertinent to dialectical investigation. The Renaissance rhetoricians themselves disagreed as to category, and as we shall see, Ramus and Talon removed a large number of the rhetorical figures of thought to the realm of logic. Nor are the basic distinctions between schemes and tropes always easy to make. Not only are "metaphora", "metonymia", "synecdoche", distinguished as tropes often only with difficulty (and even more so as tropes of words or tropes of sentences), but frequently they cannot be distinguished from such figures of amplification as "noema". A final caution must be made regarding the use of the terms. The English language was undergoing continual transformation during the early and middle Renaissance periods (as were many European vernaculars) when most of the definition and enumeration of the figures was taking place. I have therefore found it advisable to append a list of the figures as I have interpreted them[2], to offset this confusion to some extent.

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1. The terms "auricular" and "sensable" are Puttenham's; vide Appendix B.
2. Vide Appendix B.

Another basic consideration in any study of diction is what Malinowski has referred to as the "context of situation"[3], or what semanticists otherwise name the "sign situation". Words are symbols that can only be interpreted with reference not merely to syntactical context considered as 'pure' grammatical study[4] but also to the "analysis of general conditions", psychological, sociological, philosophical, etc., under which the diction is spoken or written. In other words, the study of diction becomes an inclusive search for the symbolic references of the writer's medium of communication in the light of his psychological and social 'milieu'.

I have therefore considered Pope's diction predominantly from these points of view, and especially with reference to the tradition of rhetoric as it modified both grammatical syntax and the habits of men, and as it was modified by the life of the age. Such a study will not so much occupy itself with single words as with rhetorical 'agents' - myth-symbols, judgment, fancy, figures of thought and affection, tropes : in a word, all verbal variants as they reflect the total language "context of situation". These manipulations of diction and sign situation will also be examined in the extremely subtle and myriad variations occurring in the verse music of such a master as Pope.

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3. Malinowski, B., MAGIC, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION AND OTHER ESSAYS, ed Redfield, R., Boston, 1948, p 239.
4. Loc.cit.

Detailed study of much of the foregoing is beyond the scope of this paper, and I can merely hope to indicate certain avenues of investigation. Diction has too often been treated as a matter of lexical derivations and applications rather than as it mirrors the basic drives and most transcendental thinking of an age. In an effort to formulate the rhetoric of a given time one is driven from the study of rhetoric per se (there can actually be no such thing) to a consideration of moral and aesthetic values represented in the work of an author. The epic and heroic qualities of an age as well as its more materialistic commonplaces combine to form and inform its language. And since the poet is a leader in language, a tribal doctor of language who revitalizes our experiences for us, and since no man is an island - least of all the man of genius - then he stands not only pregnant of the full harvest of his time but gathers into himself all the forces, traditional and otherwise, which are active in forming his expression.

Pope was such a man, summing up in himself his age in its continuity with previous ages back through to the continental Renaissances and to classical Greece and Rome. Pope's rhetoric is a large summation of the general tendencies of historical rhetoric, even if underplaying certain specific and not unvital elements. We must go to the English and continental Renaissances for the roots of the English poetics which came down to Pope.

I have attempted to show, then, that Pope is directly in the tradition of English poetry, and to show this, moreover, with reference to his rhetoric alone. But there is much more to it than this. His classical conception of rhetoric derives from those ancients who saw the fundamental relationship between formal elements as an architectonic, and form as a persisting ethic. It is in this unity of aesthetic and ethic that Pope's rhetoric is most significant for us, and it is in the light of this unity that the following pages have been written.

CHAPTER I

THE RHETORICAL TRADITION

1.

Classical and Renaissance

The worth of Pope's contribution to the tradition of English poetry has rarely been a matter of agreement since his death in 1744. From Wordsworth through DeQuincey and Matthew Arnold he has been dismissed either as a didactic prose artist or as a second-rate poet lacking the kind of sensibility which generations of Romantic critics have posited as essential to an artist of the first rank. The critic's own bias of sensibility has rarely been called to account in any defence of Pope before the second quarter of our own century, nor has there been the necessary stress on differing historical contexts as conditioning different (although perhaps equally valid) sensibilities in different ages.

To do justice to any poet we must consider his distant and proximate background influences, and I have chosen the rhetorical tradition as an influence offering one of the most inclusive views of a poet so deeply indebted to classical and Renaissance rhetoric. Various periods will be glanced at briefly in an attempt to assess his obligations to each of them, how the influences were in turn modified or altered, and how adapted

finally to those credoes more specifically of his own time.

It is unnecessary to look in detail at Greek theory when we are certain that Pope was not sufficiently at ease in Greek to read it when he might find the same material in Latin authors or translations; the Greek criticism that he did read was that which had obtained wide currency. We also know that he obtained his ideas on the subject of rhetoric chiefly from the Romans, especially from Cicero and Quintilian - both of whom he quoted continually in "An Essay on Criticism" and in the multitudes of notes he affixed to his poems. Aristotle's "Rhetoric" and "Poetics", the more important fragments of Theophrastus, Demetrius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Longinus' "On the Sublime", and Philodemus were his most important Greek sources in this respect. Aristotle's "Rhetoric" had been briefed by Hobbes and was well known by the educated of the eighteenth century; his "Poetics" is often quoted in Pope's footnotes, although the poetics of Horace, Vida, and Boileau are even more frequently quoted or paraphrased. Aristotle's doctrine of the "mean" and his theory of "decorum"[1] underlay the whole of Roman rhetoric, and were developed and copiously illustrated by successive ages together with his ideas on propriety,[2] excess,[3] metaphor,[4] employment of the figures and euphon-

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1. Aristotle, TREATISE ON RHETORIC AND THE POETIC, trans. Buckley, T., London, 1857. Book II throughout, (the "Rhetoric").
2. Ibid, Book III throughout.
3. Ibid, Ch 3.
4. Ibid, Ch 2. Also THE POETIC, Ch 21.

ius style[5], and the function or ornatus[6], clearness[7], and correctness.

Theophrastus, accepting the three oratorical styles - the Plain, the Middle, The Grand (Demetrius added a fourth, the Forcible[8]) - nevertheless insisted upon the four Stoic virtues of clearness, correctness, ornateness, and appropriateness[9], and his expanded echoing of Aristotle reverberated down through the major Roman critics, attracting Cicero especially. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in refining the eight general Theophrastian categories of style, emphasized "decorum" as the most important of all stylistic virtues.[10] This became a central concept in classical theory. One can merely intimate the wealth, breadth, and power of the concept of decorum, but it was a principle which demanded true relation of style and subject matter, form and content.

> "The concept of Decorum was primarily an aesthetic one, rooted in man's sense of the order and harmony that constitute the beauty of the visible universe." [11]

Decorum, however, was an aesthetic concept only in so far as aesthetics is integrated with ethics; propriety is ultimately

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5. Aristotle, TREATISE ON RHETORIC, Bk III.
6. Ibid, Ch 2.
7. THE POETIC, Ch 22.
8. D'Alton, J.F., ROMAN LITERARY THEORY AND CRITICISM, London, 1931, p 76.
9. Cicero, M.T., DE ORATORE (2 vols), trans. Sutton, E.W., London, 1942, Bk III, sec 37, vol II, p 31. This Stoic modification of rhetorical appeal to the emotions is notable in Pope. The Stoics had added a fifth virtue of "brevity", also congenial to Pope. (Vide D'Alton, J.F., op.cit. p 77.)
10. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, "De Lysia", in Bonner, S.F., DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, Cambridge, 1939, pp 43-8.
11. D'Alton, J.F., Ibid, p 115.

a matter of right living, of maintaining true relations between things, and between man and nature. The concept of Decorum appears early in the history of thought as a major reflection of health both physical and spiritual. It was naturally associated with that Greek "Paideia" which referred to the whole fabric and texture of human life and to its total conduct, art in turn a mirror of that. To see life steadily and to see it whole implies an act of faith in an objective universe of "decorous" relationships,[12] maintained not simply as structural or formal manifestations but reflecting a spiritual "sanity" for which, ultimately, Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty. As Plato's priest and Quintilian's rhetorician, Castiglione's courtier and Pope's Man of Ross, are all virtuous and wise men whose actions are directed towards beauty of conduct, so the concept of decorum (as well as those of perspicuity, proportion, etc.) is intelligible only if we comprehend the inclusive ethics, aesthetics, and metaphysics underlying the classical definitions. In so far, then, as the interpretation of decorum altered in Renaissance and Augustan times, it reflected a basic change in the whole art and critique of literature. Dionysius applied the foregoing elements in his analysis of Demosthenes' oratory, as well as to the writings of Plato, Herodo-

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12. Vide supra, for example, D'Alton's words.

tus, and others. He was an outstanding pioneer in his treatise "Literary Composition", examining the subject of language nuances as well as the more commonly discussed matter of speech purity. Pope was without doubt acquainted with the Dionysian commonplace which held that any rhetorical embellishment can be employed when the chief aim is to please; this view can be discovered even in the "anti-embellishment" Anti-Ciceronians and Royal Society group of the seventeenth century.

The chief Roman critics to exercise a decided influence on Pope were Cicero, Quintilian, Lucilius, the Scipionic Circle, and Horace. It is of course impossible to ferret out the source in every case of critical ideas in Pope; he could have taken them directly from almost any classicist or neoclassicist. In addition to the classical authors, Vida, Bembo, and other continental European writers of the Renaissance, possible sources could be found in any of the Elizabethan and seventeenth and eighteenth century recapitulations as in Le Bossu, Rapin, Boileau, Dennis, Gildon, Dacier, Puttenham, Sidney, Jonson, Milton, Dryden.[14]

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13. Dionysius' name appears in Pope's "An Essay on Criticism", 665, and note. It is also highly probable that among other things Pope had in mind the attacks of Lucilius and Dionysius on the Gorgianic figures when he was writing "The Art of Sinking in Poetry" (vide infra Ch IV, sec 3). Although I am unaware of any direct reference to Lucilius in Pope's writings, Boileau had mentioned him in "L'art poétique", Canto II, 147-8 (Cook, A.S., THE ART OF POETRY : THE POETICAL TREATISES OF HORACE, VIDA, AND BOILEAU, Boston, 1892.)
14. Vide Warren, A., ALEXANDER POPE AS CRITIC AND HUMANIST, Princeton, 1929. Also Johnson's essay on Pope in his LIVES OF

The Scipionic Circle, although not producing much in the way of written criticism, was widely reflected in Cicero.[15] The Stoic ideal of "humanitas" alone had great influence in such matters of style as "correctness of language, clearness, conciseness, aptness, and ornament that rose above the level of vulgar speech";[16] and the "Plain style" was generally commended by this group. In such a quarrel as that between the "Analogists" and the "Anomalists", Lucilius vigorously supported a golden mean,[17] just as Dryden and Pope in their time:

> "When an ancient word, for its sound and significancy, deserves to be revived, I have that reasonable veneration for antiquity to restore it."[18]

THE ENGLISH POETS (2 vols, London, 1906, esp. vol II, pp 234-7) where he suggests as much. Also Ward, A.W., in his introduction to "An Essay on Criticism", POPE'S POETICAL WORKS, London, 1901, pp 47-9. But Pope's notes for "An Essay on Criticism" are indication enough.

15. Cicero, M.T., DE RE PUBLICA, trans. Keyes, C.W., London, 1928. Scipio Minor's views bulk large throughout.
16. D'Alton, J.F., op.cit. p 36.
17. Lucilius, "Fragments", REMAINS OF OLD LATIN, ed Warmington, E.H., London, 1935-40, vol III, Bk IX.
18. Dryden, J., "Preface to the Fables", ESSAYS, ed Ker, W.P. (2 vols), Oxford, 1900-26, vol II, pp 266-7. The same problem confronted Renaissance critics, Minturno, for example:
"Hence, as Horace teaches, it has always been permissable, and always will be, to find words, so long as they are of that stamp as is in use in our own age..."
"... where something meets us so new that no word, Tuscan or foreign, is found to speak of it, it will be right to form a new word to signify it." ("L'Arte Poetica", p 446, in Renwick, EDMUND SPENSER, London, 1925, p 79.)
Pope's decision was rather to refine and stabilize the language by means of ejection, so emphatic had been the impression made on him by the Elizabethan "overindulgence" and the Metaphysical conceit. Indeed, Pope's

Quintilian had based proper speech on reason, antiquity, authority,[19] and usage, and it was such a "means test" as his and Dryden's that Pope applied:

> "In words, as fashions, the same rule will hold;
> Alike fantastic, if too new, or old:
> Be not the first by whom the new are try'd,
> Nor yet the last to lay the old aside." [20]

Lucilius, too, must have attracted Pope by his discussions of euphony, the effects of certain letters as sound, and in his rejection of affected and artificial style, which he decorously compared to a tesselated mosaic of too intricate a pattern.[21] Cicero was greatly interested in these matters, finding certain letters (x,f,m) cacophonous, and exercising great care with "s".[22] His standard was "urbanitas", and remarkably similar to Pope's "Town" criterion for excellence. Pope dismissed obsolete archaisms[23] with as little qualification as

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eagerness to be correct tended to carry him too far, so that he occasionally erred in too lightly accepting a traditional poetic diction when he should have been "revitalizing" the language. This is as evident in his correspondence as in the poetry. Almost never do we find a new word. But his pastoral diction was traditional enough to come under du Bellay's defence:

> "Doubt not but the moderate usage of such words gives great majesty to verse as to prose, as do the relics of the saints to the crosses." (LA DEFFENCE ET ILLUSTRATION DE LA LANGUE FRANÇOYSE, ed Chamard, H., Paris, 1904, p 129.)

19. Quintilian, F., INSTITUTES OF ORATORY (2 vols), trans. Watson, J.S., London, 1856, Bk I, Ch 6, sec i.
20. An Essay on Criticism, 333-6. These lines are a paraphrase from Quintilian (op.cit., Bk I, Ch 6, sec xli).
21. In Cicero, M.T., DE ORATORE, Bk III, sec 171.
22. Ibid, sec. 149-154.
23. In "An Essay on Criticism", for example (324-30):

Cicero, who, however, had considerably enlarged his own language.[24] Cicero's concept of "ornatus", united with "decorum", reflected its three-fold Theophrastian amplification into "choice of words, composition, and the employment of figures."[25] As a rhetorician-stylist Cicero was considerably more learned than Pope, and as a prose author wrote much on the subject, whereas we have only Pope's "Scriblerus Papers" and the rare letters which dealt with these matters.[26] Cicero, for example, saw "ornatus" as a matter of charm and grandeur,[27] with which Pope would have agreed, as with Cicero's comment on the "verba propria"[28] as "the peculiar light of thought." With regard to the figures, Pope (as we shall see) used them with great decorum, agreeing that the metaphor (for instance) should be neither too obvious nor too far-fetched, the first affording no pleasure, the latter offending in the violence with which disproportionate heterogeneities are yoked together.[29]

Quintilian provided a continent of law and refer-

"Some by old words to fame have made pretence,
Ancients in phrase, mere moderns in their sense;
Such labour'd nothings, in so strange a style,
Amaze th' unlearn'd, and make the learned smile.
Unlucky, as Fungoso in the play,
These sparks with awkward vanity display
What the fine gentlemen wore yesterday."

Pope much more gently chides Spenser for his "inferior pastoral dialect, in "A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry", THE POETICAL WORKS, ed Ward, A.W., p 12.

24. DE ORATORE, loc.cit.
25. D'Alton, J.F., op.cit. pp 85-6.
26. For example, letters to Cromwell, Walsh, and Wycherley, WORKS, ed Courthope, W.J. and Elwin, W. (10 vols), London, 1871-9 (hereafter referred to as WORKS ed Courthope and Elwin), vol VI. Unless otherwise referred to, all quotations from Pope's poetry are from this edition.
27. DE ORATORE, Bk III, sec 96ff.
28. Ibid, sec 150; also vide D'Alton, J.F., op.cit. p 88.
29. Johnson, S., LIVES OF THE ENGLISH POETS, vol I, p 14.

erence for Pope, as well as summarizing almost all that was best in Roman rhetorical theory, from such simple matters as the unpleasantness of the hiatus,[30] the emotional values of various rhythms,[31] and the long-syllabled word for masculine rhyme,[32] to more complex problems such as the proper employment of the figures.[33] Both he and Pope tended to discount the complicated systems of figures, and would have agreed with D'Alton's statement:

> "The number of genuine Figures could in reality be reduced to a comparatively small compass, but the rhetoricians would thereby be deprived of an exercise ground for their ingenuity..." [34]

Horace was one of the major influences on the neoclassic ages not only in Renaissance Italy but in England, France, and Spain as well. Perhaps no classical poet was so often referred to in the later poetics with the possible exception of Virgil, Homer, Quintilian, and Plato (surely the latter two were poets!). Dryden referred to Horace fourteen times in "An Essay of Dramatic Poesy" alone. Of Pope's imitations of Horace, a few quotations will suffice:

Horace : "Short fits of slumber creep on Homer's pen." [35]

Pope : "Nor is it Homer nods, but we that dream." [36]

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30. Op.cit., Bk IX, Ch 4, sec xxxvii et seq.
31. Ibid, sec cxxxvi, cxli.
32. Ibid, sec cvi.
33. Ibid, Ch 3, sec ii et seq.
34. D'Alton, J.F., op.cit. p 108. Vide infra, Ch IV, sec 3.
35. Horace, Q., "Ars poetica", 359; in Cook, A.S., op.cit.
36. An Essay on Criticism, 180. Pope is not saying the same thing as Horace, yet is indebted to him in his expression.

Horace : "For poems are like pictures : some appear
Best in the distance, others standing near." 37

Pope : "Some figures monstrous or misshap'd appear,
Consider'd singly, or beheld too near." 38

Horace : "If then a poem charm me in the main,
Slight faults I'll not too rigidly arraign." 39

Pope : "Whoever thinks a faultless piece to see,
Thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er shall be." 40

With this last we can compare another favourite of the age [41] and especially of Pope - Longinus:

> "But supposing now that we assume the existence of a really unblemished and irreproachable writer. Is it not worth while to raise the whole question whether in poetry and prose we should prefer sublimity accompanied by some faults, or a style which, never rising above moderate eloquence, never stumbles and never requires correction?" 42

On the score of revision Horace was insistent, in lines themselves highly studied:

> "Praise you no piece, my noble friends, but what
> Has been through many an hour and many a blot
> Corrected, ten times poised in judgment's scale,
> And smoothed like sculpture to the critic nail!" 43

Boileau, between whom and Horace it is frequently impossible to

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37. Horace, op.cit. 361-2. Vide infra, Ch V, sec 4.
38. An Essay on Criticism, 171-2.
39. Horace, Ibid, 351-2.
40. An Essay on Criticism, 253-4.
41. Vide infra, Ch IV, sec 3.
42. Longinus, ON THE SUBLIME, trans. Roberts, W.R., Cambridge, 1907, sec 33.
43. Ibid, 291-4.

ascertain Pope's source, echoed Horace:

"Polissez-le sans cesse et le repolissez." 44

Johnson tells us in his "Life of Dryden" that Boileau required eleven months to write "Équivoque", a poem of three hundred and forty-six lines, and three years for its revision. Pope likewise emphasized limits and labour:

"But you who seek to give and merit fame...
Be sure yourself and your own reach to know,
How far your genius, taste, and learning go;
Launch not beyond your depths, but be discreet..." 45

It is folly to be "Pleas'd with a work where nothing's just, or fit", where decorum is violated:

"True Wit is Nature to advantage dress'd,
What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd." 46

As the Romans learned their literary art from the Greeks, so the English neo-classicists of the eighteenth century learned theirs from the Romans. It was unfortunate that in both cases the "art" was too often absorbed merely as "rules", but it would be a Romantic confusion to damn as mere skeletonic framework the classical and neo-classical proportion, unity, artist's discipline, verse mechanics, restraint, discretion (good taste reduced to principles), fidelity to nature (nature seen primarily as a civic or

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44. Boileau, N., "L'art poétique", Canto I, 173; in Cook, A.S., op.cit.
45. An Essay on Criticism, 56, 58-60.
46. Ibid, 291, 297-8.

social concept, not denying cosmic nature but simply focussing humanistically on man), and "le mot juste". From the Renaissance revival of interest in Roman Augustan literature, up through the early sixteenth century adaptation of Quintilian and of the practices of Virgil by Vida, into the France of Malherbe and later of Boileau and LeBossu, and on into the England of Addison and Dennis, we have a more or less continuous sentiment exploring the matronly Empire conventions. Horace had summarized in oracular sententiousness the fixed maxims of creative and critical procedure, although never to the point of shackling the artist to dead rules; Pope in his early "Essay" followed him in rhetoric and idea. Horace, no more than Pope a systematic reasoner, provided epigrammatic precepts not too well interconnected but of great impact in themselves, and the terse, succinct, and remarkably euphonius diction must have greatly appealed to Pope.

From Horace and his "Ars poetica" we follow directly on to Vida and Boileau. The Gothic middle ages were anathema to Pope,[47] overrun by superstition and enslaved by monks, and he had consciously derived nothing from them. The Italian Renaissance, however, was a period when exulting explorations and ex-

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47. An Essay on Criticism, 687-92. This is a typical humanistic pronouncement, but provided with even greater justification by the "new philosophy" of the seventeenth century. But Pope had, of course, derived a great deal from the middle ages through the Renaissance period itself; since it is now understood that the clear break between Renaissance and medieval life posited by historians of the Renaissance such as Burckhardt, simply did not occur.

citing discoveries and redefinitions of classical ideas and ideals laid the groundwork for a new humanism, and Vida's writings as well as the rediscovery of Quintilian, Cicero, and many others, prepared in turn for the humanism of Pope.

Vida was a famous sixteenth century Latinist preceptor whom Pope thought fit to eulogise as:

"Immortal Vida, on whose honoured brow
The Poet's bays and critic's ivy grow..." 48

Virgil was his chief authority, although he was equally influenced by Quintilian's precepts, and Vida's educated taste opened up vistas of humanistic learning avidly explored by the whole of scholastic Europe in his time.[49] Vida's "Scacchiae Ludus", a poem dealing with a chess game, provided Pope with an example for his own card games in "The Rape of the Lock" and "The Basset-Table". Vida frequently employed Virgil's language as it stood, so great was his respect for that poet; Pope, then, would find justification for his close imitating of Horace, Virgil, Milton, Spenser, Dryden, and Vida himself. Of the latter two instances will suffice:

Vida : "See how the Nine the panting youth invite,
With one loud voice to reach Parnassus' height!" 50

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48. An Essay on Criticism, 705-6.
49. It is just to confess that his taste was over-refined, and that this "had resulted in restricting students to one or two models, whom they had followed with servility." (Symonds, A., "The Renaissance in Italy", in Cook, A.S., op.cit. Introd. p 35.) Since one of the major facets of this study of Pope is his diction, Vida's third book is of great interest, dealing with diction as it does:
"What style, what language, suits the poet's lays,
To claim Apollo's and the Muses' praise,
I now unfold."
- "De arte poetica", Canto III, 1-3; in Cook, A.S., Ibid,)
50. Ibid, Canto III, 6-7.

Pope : "High on Parnassus top her sons she show'd..." 51

Vida : "See how they hold aloft the immortal crown,
To urge the course, and call the victor on!" 52

Pope : "Held from afar, aloft, th' immortal prize,
And urg'd the rest by equal steps to rise." 53

Vida is often prolix and repetitious and even florid at times, but his theme deals with the usual elements : careful selection of the "just expression"; avoidance of obscurity; use of new words, of metaphor ("borrowed charms") and allusion; veneration of the ancients; borrowing and imitation; unity of the whole; synchronization of sound and sense; assiduity in revision.

Apart from Vida during the Renaissance period, Cicero and Quintilian were major influences as style theorists (and exemplars), and invocation of these authors was characteristic of the time. Much of the literary activity of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was taken up with copying - i.e. imitation - of classical style and thought. The Aristotelian concept of "mimesis" as a penetration to universal significances[54] shared favour with the more practical aim of reproducing as closely as possible the work of certain ancients. Aristotle's idea was still a force - the idea of grasping the representative and the

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51. An Essay on Criticism, 94.
52. De arte poetica, Canto III, 8-9.
53. An Essay on Criticism, 96-7.
54. Aristotle, THE POETIC, Ch I.

general as revelations of reality; yet practical considerations as to genre, metre, degree of didacticism, social utility, proportion in architectonic as valuable in itself, the three unities, the definition of catharsis, the precise application of the figures according to rule : these and many more deviations led away from that implicit and inherent decorum of underlying purpose which had provided the classical works with their possessive unity at the same time that it had mirrored forth universal values for private reference. It was still there in the neo-classics, but often less integral.

Castelvetro, for example, had rigidly enforced the three unities in 1570.[55] By 1576 the French Academy of the day had accepted his dogma, and until Hugo's "Hernani Ruy Blas" it exercised a tremendous influence on French literature and through it on English, and especially Augustan, literature. Again, the stress on formal characteristics per se led to a serious form-content dichotomy which had repercussions through to Pope's time and later. Likewise the neo-classic emphasis on the finality and finish of genre by the ancients, tended to exercise a pernicious effect :[56] for they failed to comprehend that the Aristotelian en - telechy implied taking into account the ethos of the historical

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55. "The Poetics of Aristotle Translated and Annotated" (Ch VIII), in Gilbert, A.H., LITERARY CRITICISM : PLATO TO DRYDEN, New York, 1940, p 318.

56. Thus Pope satirizes the unoriginal critic:

> "Some drily plain, without invention's aid,
> Write dull receipts how poems may be made."
> - An Essay on Criticism, 114-5.

period as vitally involved in the perfection of an art-form; that such a form cannot be hypostatized; and that each age must evolve its own perfections. Pope recognized this in his rejections of the Daciers and Rapins in his "Scriblerus Papers" and letters. The emphasis on rhyme, however, Pope took from the Renaissance;[57] and he inherited his concern (despite occasional fashionable negations) for the social utility of his poetry from such a typical Renaissance critic as Trissino, who had written in 1529:

> "I judge those ancients poets should be greatly praised who considering delight and general usefulness have mingled with fables and stories of battle the most excellent instructions on human life, and in that way have made them pleasing to the people, whereas if these teachings had been unadorned they would perhaps have pleased little. Since then the poets are those who mingle with delight precepts designed to make the lives of men perfect, poetry should of right be thought by everyone a most excellent thing."[58]

The rejection of pictorial realism as an end in itself was another tenet of Renaissance criticism which was of great importance to the Augustan poet most directly deriving from Spenser:

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57. G.Cinthio wrote: "Rhyme is also suitable ... for sentences composed for persuasion ... that they may the more easily be received into the mind of him who listens." ["On the Composition of Romances" (1549), in Gilbert, A.H., op. cit. p 265.] Pope himself gave this reason in the prefatory "Design" to "An Essay on Man" (THE POETICAL WORKS, ed Ward, A.W., p 192).
58. Trissino, "Poetica" (1529), in Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, p 213.

> "... it is a matter of art that the figures and bodies should keep the appearance of truth [pictorial realism], but it is a matter of virtue that the decorous arrangement of the lines should give an imitation of truth [Platonic realism]." [59]

The juxtaposition of "art" and "virtue" here suggests still another issue which Pope and others were interested to reconcile under the banner of a Platonic decorum whose "justice" both formal and ethical must be seen as unity.

A major influence on Pope in all these matters, as has already been noted, was Boileau-Despreaux, the leader of the French critical movement stemming from Malherbe;[60] the reviver and translater of Longinus; the poet-critic who although himself lacking the "furor poeticus" yet saw with Longinus that soul and form are one in a sublime work of art. Coming as he did after half a century of consolidation of the "rules" as derived from intensive study of ancient masterpieces, Boileau was able to inaugurate a period of "common-sense" application of these rules while at the same time setting out to prove them consistent with "Nature" and "Right Reason". Furètière in his "Nouvelle Allégorique ou Histoire des derniers troubles arrivez au Royaume d'Éloquence"[61] (1658) had anticipated Boileau in pictur-

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59. Mazzoni, "On the Defence of the Comedy" (1587), in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit. p 386.
60. Thus in "L'art poétique" (in Cook, A.S., op.cit.):
    "Tout reconnut ses lois; et ce guide fidèle
    Aux auteurs de ce temps sert encore de modèle;
    Marchez donc sur ses pas..." (Canto I, 139-41.
61. Bisson, L. A SHORT HISTORY OF FRENCH LITERATURE, Harmondsworth, 1945, p 83.

ing the threat to rhetoric and common-sense contained in the various baroque and "Metaphysical" techniques. Boileau had allowed for the invention of "nameless graces" by a master hand[62] and for the extension of the rules to include new works of genius.[63] Voltaire referred to him as "the lawgiver of the French Parnassus", and the critic Brunetière later wrote of him:

> "If there has been, from the Renaissance to the French Revolution, a classical ideal common to all Europe, to him [Boileau] belongs the honour of having conceived, defined, and fixed it more clearly than anyone else."[64]

This may appear to be extreme praise, but Brunetière proceeded to attack Boileau and neo-classicism with a Romantic bias[65] that provided excessive qualification. Similarly Saint-Beuve, acknowledged Boileau to be one of the major foreign contemporary influences on the English neo-classicists, although he "as personage and authority, is much more important than his work."[66] Boileau did, however, lack that vitality of spirit which he himself (following Longinus) demanded in the work of art.

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62. From Pope's "An Essay on Criticism", 144-5. Cf. Quintilian on Horace : "... for he soars occasionally and shows a most happy daring in certain figures and expressions." (Op.cit., Bk X, Ch 1, sec xcvi.)
63. An Essay on Criticism, 146-9.
64. "L'Esthétique de Boileau", in Cook, A.S., Op.cit., Introd. p 37.
65. A more fair-minded account than that of Brunetière.
66. "Causerie du lundi", in Cook, A.S., Ibid, Introd. p 35.

"Tous doit tendre au Bon Sens" he had cried,[67] and if he had adhered to it - but it has become a truism to say that there is nothing so uncommon as common-sense - we should respect him more.

Dryden later spoke out against undue servility to French classical canons:

> "I am of the opinion that neither their faults nor their virtues are considerable enough to place them above us."[68]

And although Pope cherished great respect for Dryden ("Had I been born earlier, I should have known and loved him"[69]) and often followed his opinions, yet his own mind was fixed in this matter:

> "But we, brave Britons, foreign laws despis'd..."[70]

and again:

> "But critic learning flourished most in France;
> The rules a nation born to serve obeys,
> And Boileau still in right of Horace sways..."[71]

This is at once a critical rejection and an acknowledgement of the positive value of French critical standards. Dryden had seemed even more severe:

> "... by their servile observations ... they have brought on themselves that dearth of plot and narrowness of imagination..."[72]

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67. L'art poétique, Canto I, 45, op.cit.
68. Dryden, J., "Essay on Dramatic Poesy", ESSAYS, vol I, pp 67-8.
69. Sitwell, E., ALEXANDER POPE, Harmondsworth, 1948, p 15.
70. An Essay on Criticism, 715.
71. Ibid, 712-4.
72. Dryden, J., Ibid, p 76.

Wotton managed to convey his contempt for this French nicety:

> "Isocrates himself could not be more nice in the Numbers of his periods than these Academicians have been in setling the Phraseology, in fixing the Standard of Words, and in making their sentences, as well as they could, numerous and flowing." [73]

Pope, however, more commends than criticizes Boileau, whom he faithfully follows in his rejection of Aristotelian formalism as severely applied by the earlier Renaissance neo-classicists as well as by certain critics of his own time,[74] and in his efforts to readapt the rules in accord with nature and reason[75] and to permit an even freer scope to the "master hand" than Boileau would have allowed.

It is difficult for us who since the eighteenth century have evaluated works of art in some historical-relativistic perspective, to conceive of the chaos in literary judgment prior to a Boileau or a Dryden - except for the very few individuals of superior judgment who were able to evaluate works of art correctly although working in almost total critical isolation. Chaucer was widely ignored, the Elizabethans decried, Scudéry admired above Corneille. Boileau and his French coterie

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73. Wotton, W., "Ancient and Modern Learning", in Spingarn, J.E., CRITICAL ESSAYS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (3 vols), Oxford, 1908-9, vol III, p 225.

74. Such was La Mancha's knight:
> "Concluding all were desperate sots and fools,
> Who durst depart from Aristotle's rules."
> -An Essay on Criticism, 271-2.

75. Thus Pope damns the Gildons and Dennises of his day:
> "Pains, reading, study, are their just pretence,
> And all they want is spirit, taste, and sense."
> -Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, 159-60.

Pope is indebted here to Boileau's "Ninth Satire" and to his "Addresse à Son Esprit" and the "Tenth Epistle".

reorganized literary evaluations almost infallibly, Boileau especially casting his opinions in such a felicitous form of succinct rationality and easy grace as to draw the admiration and imitation of the chief poets for half a century after him. It was for this aspect of the man that Pope had the highest praise:

> "... Boileau, the greatest poet and the most judicious critic of his age and country, admirable for his talents, and yet perhaps more admirable for his judgment in the proper application of them..." 76

Boileau might indeed establish:

> "... a rigid system of caste in the productions of genius, preach the nobility of language, and insist upon the etiquette of the hemstitch and the right divine of the caesura..." 77

but it was necessary in his day ; his sins are largely sins of omission. He covered the ground of Horace and of Vida, as the echoes indicate:

Boileau : "La nature, fertile en esprits, excellens,
Sait entre les auteurs partager les talens." 78

Pope : "Nature to all things fix'd the limits fit,
And wisely curb'd proud man's pretending wit." 79

Boileau : "Que toujours le bon sens s'accorde avec la rime." 80

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76. Wm. Cleland (Pope) in his "Letter to the Publisher" prefaced to "The Dunciad", WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol IV, p 46.
77. Demogeot, "Histoire de la littérature française", in Cook, A.S., op.cit., Introd. p 43.
78. Boileau, "L'art poétique", Canto I, 13-4, op.cit.
79. An Essay on Criticism, 52-3.
80. Boileau, Ibid, Canto I, 28.

Johnson on Denham:

> "His rhymes are such as seems found without difficulty by following the sense." 81

Boileau's words on Reason:

> "Empruntent d'elle seule et leur lustre et leur prix..." 82

Pope applied to Nature:

> "Unerring Nature...
> Life, force, and beauty must to all impart." 83

Boileau knew his Vida well; here is the latter:

> "To reason's standard be your thoughts confined,
> Let judgment calm the tempest of your mind..." 84

the former's famous dictum echoes this:

> "Aimez donc la raison..." 85

Boileau even exercised an influence over Pope's prose (as well as Dryden's). 86 The similarity in diction of the following passages is striking:

> "Telle, aimable en son air, mais humble dans son style, doit éclater sans pompe une élégante idylle. Son tour simple et naïf n'a rien de fastueux, et n'aime point l'orgueil d'un vers présomptueux; il faut que sa douceur flatte, chatouille, éveille, et jamais de grands mots n'épouvante d'oreille." 87

Almost the only thing Pope does not reproduce in the following passage is Boileau's reference to Pride (and Pope does

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81. Johnson, S., "Life of Denham", LIVES OF THE POETS, vol I, p 63.
82. Boileau, "L'art poétique, Canto I, 37-8, op.cit.
83. An Essay on Criticism, 70,72.
84. Vida, "De arte poetica", Bk II, 449-50, op.cit.
85. Boileau, Ibid, Canto I, 37.
86. Dryden, J., on Theocritus in "Preface to the Sylvae", ESSAYS, vol I, p 265.
87. Boileau, Ibid, Canto II, 5-10.

mention "humble" expression); but we are aware that Pride was the major sin in Pope's eyes, brought out many times in "An Essay on Man" and even in the early "An Essay on Criticism"[88]:

> "... the fable simple, the manners not too polite nor too rustic : the thoughts are plain, yet admit a little quickness and passion, but that short and flowing : the expression humble, yet as pure as the language will afford; neat, but not florid; easy, and yet lively; ... full of the greatest simplicity in nature." [89]

2.

ENGLISH

Late fifteenth and sixteenth century England, the England of the humanists, was a period of study and admiration of the classics on the one hand, and an acknowledgement on the other - increasingly vociferous as the era of Spenser and Shakespeare approached - of certain valuable native elements and literary works. The awakening of the lust for classic emulation and for translations of the classics which resulted in such a rejection of the vernacular for lasting literary

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88. 201-17. The famous line of this section, "A little learning is a dangerous thing", and its consequences in Pride, can be related to Plato's "Laws", sec 819a.
89. "A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry", POPE'S POETICAL WORKS, ed Ward, A.W., p 10.

purposes as that of Thomas More's, was accompanied by a violent defence of indigenous practices and qualities against what was believed by some to be an unbalanced adulation of classical works. Men such as Spenser, Ascham, E.K., and Mulcaster led in the protest. Yet the balance was well preservedby the more progressive scholars and men of learning, until the Renaissance intoxication at its height struck England with all its exuberance and rich prompting to self-exploration. It was at that period that such neo-classic concepts as decorum, propriety, and proportion were relegated to a tertiary position.

With the gradual dissolution of Elizabethan and early Jacobean literary activity as the seventeenth century progressed, a new age dawned although long since preparing. The elements of classical humanism were still present, but empirical investigation since Vesalius, Copernicus, Bruno, Gilbert, and Francis Bacon; the heavy attck sustained by a relatively static scholasticism; economic changes and their repercussions in the restratification of society; sectarian religious divisions; the fluctuations of Stoic and Neo-Platonic influence; the differences between Atomists and the increasing number of Deists; the melancholy recession following the burning wonder and fury of Elizabethan accomplishments in the total culture : these amongst many forces disturbed the equilibrium of former poetics as well as calling "all in doubt". Rebellions[90]

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90. Donne, J., "The first Anniversary", 205, THE POEMS OF JOHN DONNE, ed Grierson, H.J.C., London, 1945.

were in progress. In politics it was one of the rising bourgeoisie; in religion, one of conflicting Reformations; in philosophy, theoretical metaphysics versus pragmatic science; in the social and economic sphere, the have's versus the have-nots, social universalism versus assertive nationhood; in art, a rejection of the lush Elizabethan cornucopia, Petrarchan idealism, pictorial fluidity, over-decorative rhetorical patterns, Renaissance grand manner, medieval and other uncontemporaneous imagery. It was a "time grown bleak for pastorals" as the poet who headed the rebellion put it. The shift led to greater realism; material and scientific references; baroque tension and tenuousness; iconoclastic satire; a more nervous psychology; sharp. muscular, condensed, critical thought; deliberate catachresis; wrenched and broken metres; the "metaphysical" style.

These tendencies and events were the natural outcome of a radically altering world picture and outlook. Of special importance was the violent attack levelled by science against the traditional cosmology, philosophy, religion, education, and literature. Machiavellian and Calvanistic realism in combination with the shrewd Tudor despotism had thrown an unflattering but revealing light on outworn conventions in morality and ethics. In religion this schism showed a hundred ways : Arminians and Calvinists, Independents and Presbyterians, Rationalists and Misologists, Arians and Christian Platonists, Mystics and Theosophists, Latitudinarians and Limitarians - these

and more were all at one time or another violently antipathetic. The Cambridge Platonists were fully conscious that a revolution in philosophy was in progress, and were not backward in advancing their belief in the ideal coexistence of perfect faith with reason and free enquiry : the truly religious is the truly rational, and vice versa. They exalted rational truth, human reason, the soul's dominion over the body, the quest for divine knowledge, and participation in the divine life - although generally defying the mystic's uncertain inner light to be the candle of the Lord. These points had the contemporary backing respectively of Bacon, Descartes, Norris, Henry More, and later Berkeley. The significance of these beliefs for rhetoric and diction and imagery was direct and paramount. The emphasis on "rational truth" led to the discarding of the conceptist extravagances on the one hand, to social satire and didactic couplets on the other; the exaltation of "human reason" led through Locke to the reassertion of the neo-classical humanists' position - that the core of the poem is rational, and the sensual appurtenances are of illustrative value; the asseveration of the soul's dominion over the body led ultimately to Pope's qualification of the omniscience and omnipotence of Reason in man, and to a contemning of physical appetites and of Pride which echoed Stoic and Puritan, and thence to an insistence on the humanist "proportion" which found its expression in rhetorical decorum; the quest for divine knowledge appeared in such a

poem as Pope's "An Essay on Man", where the good man:

> "Slave to no sect, who takes no private road,
> But looks thro' Nature up to Nature's God;
> Pursues that Chain which links th' immense design,
> Joins heav'n and earth, and mortal and divine." 91

And rhetorical propriety, rightly enough in the last analysis, depended on the preservation of The Chain. The last point enunciated above, "participation in the divine life", was also illustrated in Pope's long moral address to contemporary mankind : Hope leads to Faith,

> "..... and unconfin'd,
> It pours the bliss that fills up all the mind..." 92

> "God loves from Whole to Parts : but human soul
> Must rise from individual to the Whole." 93

Hope leads to Faith, Faith to Bliss, Bliss to an optimistic identification of"Self-love and Social", and the resulting social 94 "order" leads to a"rage for order" 95 in literature which touches every nook and cranny. Bush has remarked that almost three-quarters of the books published in the first half of the seventeenth century were of a religious and moral content, 96 and this fact helps us to appreciate that the seventeenth century in England was a time

> "... in which man's every thought and act [were] of vital concern to God and to his own eternal state, a world interpenetrated by spiritual potencies." 97

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91. An Essay on Man, Epistle IV, 331-4.
92. Ibid, 343-4.
93. Ibid, 361-2.
94. Ibid, 396.
95. The phrase is A.Warren's title : RAGE FOR ORDER, Chicago, 1948, in which an essay on Pope appears.
96. Bush, D., ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, Oxford, 1945, p 37.
97. Loc.cit.

As a direct consequence of this, and of special interest with regard to Pope, "order" remained as the central concept in post-Civil War philosophy -

> "order in the individual soul, in society, and in the cosmos..." [98]

and underlay the whole fret and struggle of the seventeenth century. It was not strange that this passion for order should have been characteristic of late Restoration times and on into the years of Pope's maturity. Through Shakespeare and Hooker, Andrewes and Descartes, the emphasis was on order as the natural law of a cosmos "interpenetrated by spiritual potencies". [99] The two universally accepted concepts of "Right Reason" and "The Great Chain of Being" were the heaven-high pillars of this house of faith, and if there was an undermining of the bastion yet by Pope's time there had been a reconstruction of a hierarchic system of values fit for sound theory if not completely serviceable in daily living.

The split between faith and reason, religion and science, theology and atomistic philosophy, traditional and modern cosmology, ethics and aesthetics : these are acutely reflected in a poet like Donne, while in Pope the breach had been

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98. Bush, D., ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, p 35.
99. Loc.cit. Pope's lust for system was evident throughout his lifetime in everything from his metre to "An Essay on Man". This perfectionism may have been due in part to his Roman Catholic training, which through Aquinas taught that everything naturally aims at its own perfection, and that since man desires knowledge and is rational therefore knowledge contributes to the perfection of man. It follows that "the proper study of Mankind is Man" is good advice as far as it

temporarily healed although at the loss of acute and persistent "sensuous apprehension of thought"[100] as well as of a sustained Shakespearian nature sensibility. It will be well to recall at this point that the problem of rhetoric involves the principle of decorum, that one cannot talk of embellishment and the function of adornment - or even of aesthetics in general with regard to poetry - without considering at the same time the underlying philosophic approach to life and to art, and the "use" of decorum as a way of life and of art. Having said that, one can apply it to a poet such as Donne and find him very much concerned to preserve the due balance of decorum, as "The first Anniversary"[101]. But the extent to which his theoretical tenets

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goes, and accords with the Aristotelian definition of human felicity as the activity of man as it arises from the rational faculty of his soul. We must not be misled by Bolingbroke Deism to ignore the double reference of "An Essay on Man" - natural and moral philosophy on the one hand (with emphasis on the latter), and the identification of these with a faith, and a predominantly Christian one, which "rounded" human felicity. One could not insist that for Pope as for Plato "true virtue is assimilation to God" ("Theaetetus" 176 b, in Jaeger, W., HUMANISM AND THEOLOGY, Milwaukee, 1943, p 53), at least not in the intuitive sense; this was beyond Pope, although he well knew of the experience in Crashaw, to mention only his best-known mystical author. At any rate, such assimilation need not be a specifically Christian process. Yet Pope's acceptance of society as it stood, a society of traditional Christian organization, was a conscious acknowledgement of Christianity, as was his humanism, deriving through Renaissance humanism from the Christian base of western society.

100. The phrase is T.S.Eliot's, occurring in his essay "The Metaphysical Poets", SELECTED ESSAYS, London, 1946.

101. Donne, J., Op.cit., esp. the third and fourth sections, 239-372.

suffered betrayal at the hands of his poetic practice illustrates[102] one aspect of the epochal malaise which became increasingly conscious and which resulted in a considerable lack of balance between "form" regarded as structure or logical architectonic, and "form" in the Platonic sense (identification of aesthetic and ethical realities). We can observe this in the poetry of the other "Metaphysicals" and of the mystics as well as in Donne.

The latter had written in "The first Anniversary":

> "For the world's beauty is decai'd, or gone,
> Beauty, that's colour, and proportion." [103]

The poet suggests here not only the breaking of The Chain - Pope would later weld the links together again - as he finds his England, his world, one of apparent philosophic and religious anarchy; he also reveals that for him "beauty" comprises not only aesthetic but ethical properties ("colour" and "proportion"), and not these considered separately but as the essential "virtue" characterizing the object or feeling or concept under consideration.

But the quotation from Donne warrants further examination in the light it will throw on rhetorical problems that later affected Pope. Three points are of especial relevance : first, that Renaissance writers, in imitation of the classical tendency, habitually referred to such rhetorical embellishments as the figures under the term "colours of rhetoric". Secondly, with regard

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102. But least of all perhaps in the "Anniversaries", where the structural organization into five and seven sections respectively is rigidly adhered to.
103. 249-50.

to "proportion" and Donne's debt to the "new philosophy" of the post-Copernican period, we should observe that as early as Nicholas of Cusa it was thought by some that all knowledge is ultimately mathematical, and that "all things are bound together by proportion."[104] Thus the tradition of such a line of thought was active for a considerable period of time and by Pope's century had been able to infuse poetics and systems of rhetoric with its fundamental notions. For Kepler, Donne's contemporary, God had created the world in accordance with number principles; and it was argued from this that number relations - mathematical harmonies - underlay all things, were in fact their "Formal" essence. This conception has been called by Burtt "mathematico-aesthetic",[105] and we can accept the term if we allow that for Kepler God and the universe were **perfect** in number harmony, i.e. the aesthetic-ethical relation was insisted upon and maintained by the innovation of reference to empirical data. Pope inherited the implicit optimism and the rational subsumptions of this view once the seventeenth century melancholia had disappeared. The third point is that "beauty", for Donne, consisted in the decorous preservation of proportion between the unit links of The Chain, or in other words, of a hierarchy of values - "each joynt of th' universall frame."[106] He found this beauty quite wracked and "deprav'd":

> "'Tis all in pieces, all cohaerence gone;
> All just supply, and all relation."[107]

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104. Burtt, E.A., THE METAPHYSICAL FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN PHYSICAL SCIENCE, London, 1925, p 50.
105. Ibid, pp 50-1.
106. The first Anniversary, 198.
107. Ibid, 213-4.

These lines are a paraphrase of those first quoted above, and now we can see more clearly that Donne expressly refers to the violation of The Chain ("beauty is decai'd" ; "all cohaerence gone"), and that beauty consists in "just supply", i.e. the preservation of decorum. Elsewhere he once again describes beauty in terms of relation when he writes "beauties best, proportion".[108] But more, the world will be ugly[109]

> ".....but that if everything
> Be not done fitly 'and in proportion."[110]

This ugliness is a result of moral imperfection and cannot disappear until

> "For good, and well, must in our actions meet."[111]

Beauty's "second element, / Colour, and lustre now,"[112] or in other words, embellishment in general, is present in the idea of colour; the Renaissance fracture into teaching and delight is preserved, and we shall watch the modification of the fracture in Pope who in his emphasis on decorum prevented the final split into ethics and aesthetics as isolated categories.

The emphasis on decorum was rooted in the dominating medieval concept of The Chain for both Donne and Pope - a concept deriving from Aristotle, of the related gradations of all objects and creatures.[113] These relations permitted certain deviations from

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108. The first Anniversary, 306.
109. Ibid, 326.
110. Ibid, 332-3.
111. Ibid, 337.
112. Ibid, 339-40.
113. Vide Lovejoy, A.O., CHAIN OF BEING, Cambridge, Mass., 1936. Although much emphasis has been given to Renaissance indebtedness to Hermetic and Neo-Platonic versions of a mystical Chain, it cannot be denied that the Aristotelian version carried over powerfully from the middle ages and directly through the Renaissance thinkers into the time of Pope.

the norm or the place assigned to the individual (assigned irrevocably through certain combinations and capacities of faculties and powers), but to offend by straying beyond one's limits was to violate the whole system. And since The Chain was one not simply of quantitative but also of qualitative relations, the relations of its parts had both aesthetic and ethical significance. So that anyone holding this central concept was at the same time bound to acknowledge certain absolute proprieties.

This is exactly what we do find in Pope, as in Donne to a lesser extent. Donne had been more sceptical as far as rational acceptance of The Chain was concerned, although he had been able to accept it ultimately on faith. But since the structure of his poetry depended on rational organization, it was this structural aspect which suffered in his work. Whereas for Pope, who accepted The Chain once more as a matter of reason and less as a matter of faith, the order and decorous relationships observed in The Chain are paralleled in his poetry at the same time that he identifies the ethic of the whole Chain concept with the formal (aesthetic) relations observed there. It is for this reason that The Chain occupies a central position in "An Essay on Man".[114]

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114. For example, Epistle I, 29-34, 43-6; Epistle III, 7-26, 327-40. Of this identification of the aesthetic and ethical in a single concept of The Good, Plato is of course the most famous exponent - as in "The Republic" where he argues against attributing Protean physical characteristics to the Godhead; or in his main thesis that the particulars find their value in the Forms. The Renaissance Neo-Platonic idea of imitation is another example.

It had become part of the humanist position to insist on the moral qualities of the beautiful. Perhaps this came to Renaissance critics and to Pope most forcefully in Quintilian, whose definition of the orator had been "a good man skilled in speaking." (Book XII, Ch 1, sec i.)

In Donne the schism was not yet complete. In "The second Anniversary" he spoke of Elizabeth's "complexion" (the complex of the four humours) as

> "..... so even made
> That which of her ingredients should invade
> The other three, no Feare, no Art could guess:
> So far were all removed from more or lesse." [115]

In other words, the young woman's beauty was a matter of "just supply" and "proportion" of the basic elements; and words which applied directly to character were transferred to beauty of feature, which two qualities Donne succeeded in identifying as one. The echo [116] is here once more of the Greek Paideia, where the elements and humours must be mixed in due proportion for physical health, and where the physiological was never divorced from the psychic. [117] Decorum, proportion, propriety, just supply : these are parallel ideas which signify spiritual balance and health; in rhetoric they appear in the Aristotelian and Horatian dicta - propriety of thought, word, and action.

Donne exemplified the tendencies of his age, and although the aspects noted by no means illustrate all the general charac- [118] teristics of the seventeenth century, yet they will serve to substantiate in part the claim that the centuries of Donne and Pope are not so far apart as has often been thought; in fact, an orderly progression can be observed in development both away from and in revival of neo-classic tendencies. Before passing on to Pope to

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115. The second Anniversary, 123-6.
116. Jaeger, W., PAIDEIA, (3 vols), Oxford, 1939-44; a classic presentation of this central concept of Greek civilization.
117. Pope used the word "just" twenty times in this sense in "An Essay on Criticism".
118. Supra, pp

demonstrate this contrast and parallel, it is as well to note my premiss once more : that Pope carries on and qualifies the Renaissance humanist position with regard to rhetoric and diction, faithfully mirroring in his work the alterations effected since the fifteenth century. The special influences on Pope of direct classical reading of remarkable scope; of the lateness of the English Renaissance; of the native stress in literature due to insularity, outstanding commercial successes, etc.; of the peculiar qualifications of French criticism by Restoration and Augustan critics : these and other forces greatly tempered Pope's own theory and practice in rhetoric and diction. For example, the idea(1) of Form, the "Kinds", etc., entered England gradually during the sixteenth century through the writings of the humanists. Gabriel Harvey had admired Ramus, and the latter had illustrated his "Rhetoric" with quotations from Ronsard. This is especially significant since Ronsard was following Bembo in applying to the vernacular the humanist approach to the classics. Elizabethan exuberance and copiousness, and the general exploration of language possibilities, violated sixteenth century English humanist requirements for the decorous application of language expansions and for artistic decorum generally, as outlined through the ages by such critics as Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, Minturno, Castelvetro, Elyot, Sidney, Tasso, Cinthio, Jonson, Spenser, Guarini, not to mention seventeenth century French and Pope's contemporary English critics. As suggested above, the rees-

tablishment of humanist poetics was retarded during the seventeenth century until the later Restoration, when a movement got under way, slowly at first, to restore propriety, headed by Dryden. The insistence of this group, however, on straightforward diction and syntax; French influences; contempt for most pre-Elizabethan and much Elizabethan literature; and numerous other factors, prevented the complete reestablishment of the humanists' stylistic ideals. The beneficent influence of Elizabethan theatre and of such pulpit oratory as Tillotson's and Robert South's, and the growing "enlightened rationalism" and scientific methodology : these made it undesirable as well.

CHAPTER II

LOGIC, WIT, AND DECORUM

For the Elizabethan author of "Directions for Speech and Style"[1] as for Ramist rhetoricians, the five classical canons of rhetoric - (i) inventio : finding and gathering material, (ii) dispositio : arrangement, (iii) elocutio : style, phrasing, (iv) memoria : memorizing, and (v) pronuntatio : delivery - had been reduced to two (elocutio and pronuntatio), by Ramus in 1543, by Hoskins about 1599. The logical aspects of speech and writing, and a narrowing of the earlier Renaissance far-flung boundaries of ornamentation, were therefore thrown into sharp relief. Hoskins also broke down such restrictive delineations of the figures as those of Peacham and of the earlier Susenbrotus, and made a division "upon a functional basis"[2] and somewhat closer[3] to the method of Erasmus' "De copia". As Hoskins' editor remarks,[4] this practice leads away from an emphasis on figures as ends in themselves and stresses (as Puttenham had stressed)[5] an overall artistic unity which will minimize any tendency towards a decorative-logical dichotomy. Renwick has made the same point with regard to Hoskins' great poet-contemporary, Spenser:

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1. Hoskins, J., DIRECTIONS FOR SPEECH AND STYLE, ed Hudson, H.H., Princeton, 1935.
2. Ibid, Introd. p xix.
3. Erasmus, D., DE DUPLICI COPIA VERBORUM AC RERUM (1511), London, 1660.
4. Hoskins, J., Ibid, p xx.
5. Puttenham, G., THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, ed Willcock, G.D. and Walker, A., Cambridge, 1936.

> "It was the true appreciation of this artistic principle, the understanding that figures are not valuable in themselves, but only in their time and place, and that their purpose is not mere decoration, but the elucidation and impression of the mood and subject, that gave ... [him] greater success in the application of their rhetorical requirements, just as it was the rhetorical practice that gave ... [him] greater control over language than ... [his] elders, and greater facility and copiousness than their modern descendants." [6]

During the last thirty-five years of Hoskins' century, the same principles were to underlie the rejection of "metaphysical" conceits and the insistence on "judgment" as the major faculty of the poet.

In 1654 Thomas Blount's "Academie of Eloquence" was published and enjoyed great popularity.[7] It contained almost the whole of Hoskins' "Directions..." - for instance, the approximately twenty-five figures Blount treats are those found in Talaeus' "Rhetorica".[8] Blount's hero of reference was Sidney of the "Arcadia", and he contended that Sidney's use of figures was exemplary of the best contemporary principles of rhetoric, i.e. those set out in Hoskins. During Pope's time it was Sir William Temple who praised Sidney as "both the greatest Poet and the noblest Genius of any that have left Writings behind them..."[9]

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6. Renwick, W.L., EDMUND SPENSER, p 75.
7. Hoskins, J., op.cit. p xxx. Blount's work was republished in 1656, 1660, 1670, and 1684.
8. Talaeus, A., (Omar Talon) INSTITUTIONES ORATORIAE (1544). This work is discussed in Crane, W.G., op.cit., and in Tuve, R., ELIZABETHAN AND METAPHYSICAL IMAGERY, Chicago, 1947.
9. Temple, Sir W., "Of Poetry", in "Miscellanea", Part II, WORKS, (4 vols), vol III, London, 1814, p 241.

Jonson's "Timber", a book thoroughly read by Pope, contained a large part of Hoskins' directions for letter-writing and some of his prefatory epistle. From the following words of that preface a rhetorical tradition common to Hoskins, Jonson, and Pope becomes apparent:

> "Neither can his mind be thought in tune, whose words doe jarre : nor his reason in frame, whose sentence is preposterous; nor his fancie cleare and perfect, whose utterance breakes it selfe into fragments and uncertainties..." 10

Blount frequently referred to Pope's favourites : Longinus, Quintilian, Davenant, Hobbes - having read the prefaces by the two latter for "Gondibert". John Smith's "The Mysterie of Rhetorique Unvail'd", first published in 1657, was also based for the most part on Hoskins' "new" rhetoric. Smith's book was so popular that it appeared in 1709 in its ninth edition, and in an abridged form as late as 1739.

Not only, then, was Hoskins one of the most widely influential English representatives of Talaean rhetorical changes, but those authors he influenced were still being read during Pope's lifetime - and most importantly, their books were being used in the schools. Pope would have read Hoskins' introductory with great satisfaction:

> "The order of God's creatures in themselves is not only admirable and glorious, but eloquent; then he that could apprehend the consequence of things, in their truth, and utter his apprehensions as truly were a right orator." 11

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10. Hoskins, J., op.cit. p 2.
11. Loc.cit.

Pope himself was most eloquent (a Ramist eloquence with stress on a dialectical exposition of truth - as in "An Essay on Man") concerning this very matter : the order of God's creatures and The Chain of Being. The logical (or rational) order of the universe was manifested by means of a system of rhetoric formed for the express purpose of revealing that order. Again, Hoskins had written:

> "... disordered speech is not so much injury to the lips which give it forth or the thoughts which put it forth as to the right proportion and coherence of things in themselves..." 12

Such a statement is intimately related to a belief in a universe of order, with the extended psychological application. Decorum in art as in social manners and private living mirrors the universe with fidelity : without it there is distortion. Decorum therefore becomes of necessity a central concept in any substantial rhetoric, and as such was widely treated throughout the Renaissance. Cinthio had been typical:

> " The poet should ever have his eye on decorum ... which is nothing other than the grace and fitness of things..." 13

E.K. praised Spenser for its "dewe obseruing":

> " ... his dewe obseruing of Decorum euerye where, in personages, in seasons, in matter, in speach, and generally in al seemely simplycitie of handeling his matter, and framing his words..." 14

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12. Hoskins, J., op.cit. p 2.
13. Cinthio, "On the Composition of Romances", in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit. p 272.
14. E.K., "Epistle to Master G. Harvey", in THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR, ed Renwick, W.L., London, 1925, p 3.

Jonson complained at one time that Sidney had not kept decorum in "making everyone speak as well as himself."[15] Boileau had considered decorum in verse, in the theatre, and in character:

> "Il faut que chaque chose y soit mise en son lieu." [16]
>
> "Mais la scène demande une exacte raison
> L'étroite bienséance y veut être gardée." [17]
>
> "Qu'en tout avec soi-même il se montre d'accord,
> Et qu'il soit jusqu'au bout tel qu'on l'a vu d'abord." [18]

That decorum was a central principle for Pope is revealed in his vigilant care for arrangement, choice of vocabulary, matching sense with sound, rejections of inappropriate conceits:

> "A vile conceit in pompous words express'd
> Is like a clown in regal purple dress'd..." [19]

This was one with the unanimous protests of Horace, Vida, and others. Horace had described conceits as "shapes extravagant and vain":

> "..... a purple remnant found
> Tagged on to throw a tawdry glare around." [20]
>
> "Who courts variety, and fain would ring
> A thousand changes on the self-same string,
> Will paint, as 'twere in fancy's wildest mood,
> Boars in the wave and dolphins in the wood." [21]

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15. "Informations by Ben Jonson to William Drummond", POETRY OF THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE, ed Hebel, J.W. and Hudson, H.H., New York, 1929, p 898.
16. Boileau, N., op.cit., Canto I, 177.
17. Ibid, Canto III, 122-3.
18. Ibid, 125-6.
19. An Essay on Criticism, 320-1.
20. Ars poetica, op.cit. 14-5.
21. Ibid, 29-31.

Likewise Vida:

> "For some, we know, affect to shun the light,
> Lost in forced figures and involved in night." 22

> "A low conceit in disproportioned terms
> Looks like a boy dressed up in giant's arms." 23

The clamour against lack of propriety and restraint was frequently heard from English critics of the sixteenth century, and almost universally heard in England during the last forty years of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. Addison, the neo-classic Everyman, added his comment:

> "I know nothing which more shows the essential and inherent perfection of simplicity of thought, above that which I call the Gothic manner in writing, than this, that the first pleases all kinds of palates, and the latter such as have formed themselves a wrong artificial taste upon little fanciful authors..." 24

Addison allied decorum, especially in so far as it rejects the "fantastic", with the universally intelligible, and it was the universally intelligible that the eighteenth century neo-classicist poets attempted to convey in the practice of "mediocrity":

> "... a willingness to subordinate what is merely personal or private or a matter of 'self-expression' in favour of what is generally interesting and universally intelligible in polite society." 25

Granville's "Essay upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry" "forbids In-

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22. Ars poetica, op.cit. Bk III, 17-8.
23. Ibid, 156-7.
24. Addison, J., "Chevy Chase", THE SPECTATOR, May 21, 1711, ed Morley, A, London, 1891, vol I, p 26.
25. Sutherland, J., A PREFACE TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POETRY, Oxford, 1948, p 66.

temperance" merely:

> "..... no Figures I exclude,
> And but forbid Intemperance, not Food." 26

Dryden, whom Granville defended, had apologised for his early extravagance of figures (as in "Annus Mirabilis"), and asserted that "nothing is truly sublime, that is not just and proper." 27

This is a direct echo of Quintilian:

> "Let <u>division</u> ... be the distribution of things into its component parts; <u>partition</u>, the regular <u>distribution</u> of parts into their members, and a just disposition connecting those that follow with those that precede; and <u>arrangement</u> a due distribution of things and their parts in their proper places." 28

Thus we come full circle, from a consideration of decorum as preservation of the due relations between <u>figures as embellishment</u> and <u>figures as logical illustration</u>, through the concern that extravagance of figure should never violate propriety, and back to the "beginning in the end" with Quintilian's dictum aimed primarily at the preservation of the central core of logic, its parts "in their proper places."

Related to the preservation of decorum was the subject of wit and of judgment as poetic faculties. How, it was asked, could decorum be best preserved by due admixture of the two so that the work of art was neither a superficial brilliance of wit

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26. Spingarn, J.E., <u>CRITICAL ESSAYS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY</u>, vol III, p 293. The essay was published in 1701.
27. Dryden, J., "Epistle Dedicatory to the Spanish Friar", <u>ESSAYS</u>, vol I, p 246.
28. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk VII, Ch 1, sec i. Author's italics. The italicized words refer to the topics of rhetoric or logic discussed in this paper.

nor a dull exposition of judgment. Wit the sylph of ornament, and judgment the gnome of logic, jockeyed for proportion over two hundred years; but it is an endless course. Quintilian had been emphatic on the preeminence of judgment:

> "... let judgment be applied to our thoughts, and skill in arrangement to such of them as judgment sanctions." 29
> "... its influence is inseparable from even a single thought or word." 30
> "... judgment can do more without learning than learning without judgment." 31

It is Quintilian who was behind E.K.'s disdain of enthusiasm without judgment:

> "I scorne and spue out the rakehellye route of our ragged rymers which ... without reason rage and fome, as if some instinct of Poeticall spirite had newly ravished them aboue the meanenesse of commen capacitie." 32

For E.K., the "instinct of Poeticall spirite" - which may here be allied with "wit" - tends to seduce the true poet from that Aristotelian mean of excellence to which "reason" (judgment) would have him cleave.

But wit was rarely disparaged in full, since it was considered an essential component of the creative genius or power, and as necessary in its way to the capable orator as was judgment itself. William Crane in his detailed study of wit and rhet-

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29. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk XII, Ch 3, sec v.
30. Ibid, Bk VI, Ch 5, see i.
31. Ibid, sec ii.
32. E.K., "Epistle to Master G. Harvey", op.cit., pp 6-7.

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oric, contends that wit and rhetoric were inseparably related "from ancient times to the close of the seventeenth century and later". He continues:

> "The same association was made in both classical Greek and Latin literature. Cicero, to whom all the rhetoricians of the Renaissance deferred, insisted upon it several times in his writings, especially in 'De oratore', where wit (ingenium) is discussed in connection with his method of acquiring a full, ornate style by imitation of Demosthenes and other Greek masters." 34

And more specifically:

> "... it may be said that there is hardly any literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in which the application of the processes of rhetoric cannot be discerned. For that matter, the conscious use of the same devices is apparent in the works of Laurence Sterne ... and of Thomas DeQuincey ... among others." 35

This "wit" was a major ingredient of almost all rhetorical discussion, and rhetoric itself a prominent study into the eighteenth century. This has been noted before, but we should now remark the vacillation of the concept of wit between the two extremes of self-immolating slave to judgment, and isolated sprite of ingenious embellishment, and the happy mean of integration which is essential to "the good style".

In 1671 the great French critic Dominique Bouhours was pursuing the elusive demon "wit" in a definition that emphasized

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33. Crane, W., WIT AND RHETORIC IN THE RENAISSANCE, New York, 1937.
34. Ibid, p 3.
35. Ibid, p 205.

its creative integration:

> "True WIT, Ariste answered, is inseparable from the fine intellect; and it is a mistake to confuse it with a kind of liveliness that has nothing solid to it. The JUDGEMENT is like the foundation of wit's beauty : or rather, wit is of the nature of those precious stones which have no less substance than brilliance." 36

He proceeded to compare "wit" to a diamond:

> "As it is solid, so it has splendour. It is a substantial body that shines; it is a shining that has consistency and body. The union, the mixture, the combination of what has sparkle and body, makes its whole charm and value. Here is the symbol of true Wit, such as I imagine it. It has body and brilliance in an equal degree." 37

I have considered it worthwhile to quote this "striving" definition at some length because it so aptly represents for us the typical concern of the day over the proper conception of "wit", and the determination that it should share in the creative activity. Bouhours also brings out the traditional emphasis on "body" and on the integral quality of wit, unable as it is to exist apart from substance. Such a view smacks of the fundamental commonsense of Renaissance rhetoric, and this commonsense always underlay the discussions about wit and judgment. It was basic, for example, to Pope's statement on wit:

> "Wit in conversation is only a readiness of thought and a facility of expression..." 38

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36. Bouhours, D., "Les entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugene" (1671) quoted in Crane, W.G., op.cit., Appendix 2, p 209. My translation.
37. Loc.cit.
38. "Thoughts on Various Subjects", WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol X, p 556.

Pope's use of the word "wit" in "An Essay on Criticism" will be examined in this chapter. Wit was generally acknowledged to supply "the dress of thought":

> "How great, and how acceptable, a part of Wit that is, which has the advantage to be expressd by apt Similitudes ... A but plausible Argument, dressd up in fine Similitudes, shall be more prevalent among the generality of Men, than a Demonstration, propos'd in a naked Syllogism." 39

Boyle's testimony is of great interest, since he was a scientist and, one would expect, more nearly allied to Sprat and in favour of a "close, naked, natural way of speaking" than his statement shows. His definition of wit tends to ally it with the creative genius itself:

> "That nimble and acceptable Faculty of the Mind, whereby some Men have a readiness , and subtilty, in conceiving things, and a quickness, and neatness, in expressing them, all which the custom of speaking comprehends under the name of Wit..." 40

I referred above to the vacillation in meaning of the term "wit". Crane noted similar deviations:

> "At one extreme of the many senses in which the term 'wit' has been understood it has signified complete mental proficiency, including balance ... At the other extreme, "wit", ingenium ... connoted, at times, mere clev-

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39. Boyle, R., "Occasional Reflections" (1665), pp 39-40, in Crane, W.G., op.cit., Appendix II, p 210. Similarly John Norris in his "Preface to his Collection of Miscellanies", expected from poetry the products of both wit and judgment:
    > "Grave, Majestick, Solemn Strains, where deep Instructive Sense is sweetly convey'd in Charming Numbers, where equal Address is made to the Judgment and Imagination, and where Beauty and Strength go hand in hand..." (in Blount, Sir T.P., op.cit., p 13).

40. Loc.cit.

erness, ingenuity, or roguish cunning." [41]

This can be accepted as easily verifiable. From Lyly's "Anatomy of Wit" with its emphasis on mental acumen, to Hobbes' violent separation of fancy and judgment, and on to Pope's several interpretations of "wit" in "An Essay on Criticism" which in toto provide an inclusive reference for the term as a vital part of traditional rhetoric - through this expanse of time the term was undergoing redefinition. Hobbes at one point identified "Fancie and Judgment" as "comprehended under the name of Wit"[42]; but in "Leviathan" he employed "wit" as a synonym for "Fancie", its characteristic function to note similitudes not commonly observed in things. Judgment, conversely, was that which observed dissimilitudes,[43] and Hobbes praised it at the expense of Fancie. Typical was the tendency to stress the rational powers; but more importantly, and more tradtionally, there was also a stress on logic, on the logical structure of the work of art, and to "wit" was consigned the power of metaphor and of forming other figures of fancy. Hobbes, however, overstresses the role of judgment - or rather, understresses the role of fancy or wit. This bifurcation of judgment and fancy reflects the earlier Renaissance tendency to emphasize both delight and teaching in poetry, as well as its insistence that true enjoyment of poetry depends upon a well-

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41. Crane, W.G., Op.cit. p 10.
42. Hobbes, T., HUMANE NATURE, London, 1651, Ch X, sec 4, p 122.
43. Hobbes, T., LEVIATHAN, London, 1934, Ch VIII, p 33. Vide also Addison, J., SPECTATOR, Numbers 58, 61, 62, 63 (1711 : May 7, 10, 11, 12 respectively). No 62 quotes Locke's distinction between wit and judgment; it differs little from that of Hobbes'.

cultivated power of judgment which can distinguish the basic rational "clarté" and luminousness and universal aspect of the poet's vision. Pope understood this well enough, although in reaction from the dark figures of certain Elizabethans and the illogicalness of the "Metaphysicals" some of his individual statements unless tested against his total viewpoint seem extreme. Like Pope, earlier Renaissance poetics would never have permitted "wit" to force poetry into unintelligibility and obscurity; but there is no doubt of the former's allegiance to "wit" as the salvation of judgment:

> "It is invention that ;.. distinguishes all great geniuses... It furnishes art with all her materials, and without it judgment itself can at best but 'steal wisely' : for art is only like a prudent steward that lives on managing the riches of nature. Whatever praises may be given to the work of judgment, there is not even a single beauty in them to which the invention must not contribute." [44]

Not all the Augustans were as well-balanced as Pope, but on the whole "wit" was permitted its due place. As a result of the contra-concettist movement, it was perhaps natural that "wit" should be disparaged as that which detects fantastic resemblances in objects quite unrelated (it is this at which Hobbes is pointing), while "judgment" was praised as the observer of differences in objects apparently similar. A glance at Peacham's table of figures [45] shows that the figures of amplification (the third

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44. Preface to THE ILIAD OF HOMER.
45. Appendix A.

order) were intended to serve the logical amplification of subject according to the dictates of judgement. Logic, then, and the logical structure of the work of art was always stressed. It was, we recall, characteristic of the eighteenth century, to note resemblances rather than differences and deviations from the norm. Wit was disparaged when it attempted such identities where little or none existed for the commonsense mind, although it was accepted if the resemblances were noted in things not too incongruous. Because of its occupation with a task that often verged on or slipped over into a ridiculous extremity of assertion of resemblances, wit was regarded with some scepticism, and the breech widened unhealthily between wit and fancy on the one hand, and judgment on the other. Giants such as Dryden and Pope could see the danger and admitted wit into association with judgment once more, although assigning it an aesthetic role which never quite permitted identification with judgment in the creative process.[46] This explains why Pope's figures are predominantly those of thought, stemming from the processes of logic as isolated from rhetoric by Ramus.

It had been observed by Aristotle that wit was largely dependent on comparison.[47] This was the springboard from which Hobbes had leaped to plumb the depths of distinctions as perceived by both wit and judgment,[48] and it prevented a total schism. There was no observable decrease in the use of metaphor, which is what we

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46. Vide infra, Ch IV, sec 3.
47. Aristotle, THE RHETORIC, Bk III, Ch 10, sec v to Ch II, sec vi.
48. Supra, p 48.

would expect of an age that accepted the alliance of wit and comparison. There was, however, a disciplining of metaphor so that, for example, it did not as frequently extend over ten or twelve lines (this was also due to the restrictive tendencies of the couplet form), or suggest non-commonsense associations. Pope followed Davenant in allowing a larger field to wit than might be expected of the "rational" Augustans. Davenant (in 1650) had described wit as:

> "... the laborious and lucky resultances of thought, having towards its excellence; as we say of strokes of painting, as well a happiness as care." [49]

Pope, in the lines following his paraphrase of Davenant, [50] justified the occasional desertion of judgment by the poet desirous of snatching " a grace beyond the reach of art":

> "Which without passing thro' the judgment, gains
> The heart, and all its end at once attains." [51]

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49. Davenant, Sir W., "Discourse upon Gondibert", CRITICAL ESSAYS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, vol II, pp 20ff.

50. An Essay on Criticism, 142. Pope evidently knew this preface thoroughly. Earlier in "An Essay on Criticism" (17-8) he had dealt first with the opposition of wit (in poets) and judgment (in critics); this might very well have been occasioned by Hobbes' remarks on "Gondibert". The distinction was made again (80-4). Pope then echoed Davenant once more in considering the part memory plays in wit. Lines 52-63 can be compared with the following quotation from Davenant:

> "Wit is not only the luck and the labour, but also the dexterity of thought, rounding the world, like the sun, with unimaginable motion, and bringing swiftly home to the memory universall surveys." (Loc.cit.

Dryden's well-known spaniel image is also suggested.)

Also like Davenant, Pope remarked that wit was not a matter of conceits (289-90); many other echoes or paraphrases can be pointed out. It is, in fact, possible to consider "An Essay on Criticism" a discussion of the due application of wit and judgment.

51. Ibid, 154-5.

But the precautionary statement follows immediately : only "great wits" can "gloriously offend".

We have now arrived at the point where it will be useful to examine Pope's employment of the term "wit" in "An Essay on Criticism". Bain had observed seven basic applications of the term there,[52] but it seems that an even more discrete differentiation can be applied. Listed below, them, are the major groupings in meaning:

(i) "wit" as the power of comparison : 28, 421, 531, 590, 652, 657, 727.
(ii) "Wits" as those possessing mental acumen such as would be useful in the 'occasional' composition of aphorisms, epigrams, turns of phrases : 36, 38, 199, 539, 552.
(iii) "witlings" and "wits" as blockheads, mere pretenders to vivacity of intellect : 40, 45.
(iv) "wit" as mental capacity : 53, 209, 664.
(v) "wits" as men of thought, as opposed to those of manual occupation : 104.
(vi) "great wits" as men of genius : 159, 331.
(vii) "Wits" as creators, or "wit" as creative power : 17, 233, 238, 259, 396, 400, 406, 468, 494, 500, 508, 517, 717, 722.
(viii) "wit" as artistic creation, opposed to "nature" : 243.
(ix) "wit" as fancy, a creator of ill-proportioned conceits : 292.
(x) "wit" as fanciful invention modified to a nicety by judgment : 302, 303.
(xi) "wit" as cleverness : 429, 447.
(xii) "wit" as the power of superficial invention and comparison : 449, 456.

The emphasis is on the positive character of "wit" [in (i), (vi), (vii), and (x)], thereby stressing it as essential for the creative act. Dryden, it is well known, with his definition of "wit" as "propriety of thought and words",[53] was directly responsible for Pope's famous lines:

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52. Bain, "English Composition and Rhetoric", p 57, in POPE'S POETICAL WORKS, ed Ward, A.W., p 50, note 3.
53. Dryden, J., ESSAYS, vol I, pp 190, 270.

"True Wit is Nature to advantage dress'd,
What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd;
Something, whose truth convinc'd at sight we find,
That gives us back the image of our mind." [54]

The poet, with his heightened vision and his keener sensibility, embellishes Nature by means of wit in order to lead the reader to a perception of reality otherwise withheld from him. Wit was understood by Pope the humanist to comprise more than the Hobbesian "fancy"; indeed, he approached Quintilian here as well as in so many other things. Memory had been traditionally associated with wit as one of the five divisions of rhetoric. Quintilian had associated with with urbanity, gracefulness, and "salt" (i.e. "natural seasoning of the language"), with "facetum" (i.e. "grace and a certain polished excellence"), and with "dicacitas" (i.e. "gifted with the faculty of humorous raillery"). [55]

It was inevitable that a period of relative social stability and classical interests should occupy itself with the consolidation of language and the logical disciplining of letters. There was current both a general fear that English could never become a "classical" language, and the assurance in opposition that by exercising the greatest care the language might indeed come to a finished maturity. (This argument derived to some extent from the humanist's complaint as to the mutability of the vernacular, while he asserted the universal appeal and perpetuity of Augustan Latin.) Waller had feared for the language:

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54. An Essay on Criticism, 297-300.
55. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk VI, Ch 3, sec xvii-xxi.

> "Poets that lasting marble seek
> Must carve in Latin or in Greek." [56]

Milton in his "Introduction to the Second Book of The Reasons of Church Government"[57] had shown concern similar to that expressed by Pope in the 1716 "Preface" to his poems:

> "Tho if we took the same care as the Ancients in correcting, we should still lie under a farther misfortune : they writ in languages that became universal and everlasting, while ours are extremely limited both in extent and in duration. A mighty foundation for our pride! when the utmost we can hope, is but to be read in one Island, and to be thrown aside at the end of one Age." [58]

Yet Pope's cultivation of correctness was a sustained effort to forge a language which would not only teach and delight but would do it with some degree of permanency. His close friend Bolingbroke urged him in this matter:

> "Continue to write, and you will continue to fix it... A language which is designed to spread, must recommend itself by poetry, by eloquence, and by history. ... Eloquence and history are, God Knows, at the lowest ebb imaginable among us. The different styles are not fixed... In short, excellent original writings can alone recommend a language and contribute to the spreading of it." [59]

Pope had, of course, Dryden's fears behind him. Dryden had referred[60] to "rules of husbandry", to the cautious introduction of

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56. Waller, E., "Of English Verse", THE POETICAL WORKS, London, 1796.
57. MILTON'S PROSE, p 110.
58. THE POETICAL WORKS OF ALEXANDER POPE, ed Ward, A.W., p 3. Also in "An Essay on Criticism":
    "Our sons their fathers' failing language see,
    And such as Chaucer is, shall Dryden be." (482-3)
59. Letter d. Feb 18, 1724, in WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin.
60. Dryden, J., "To My Dear Friend Mr. Congreve", 8, POEMS, ed Sargeant, J., London, 1929.

new words, to excess Romanizing of diction,[61][62] to puns and catachresis, to correctness itself.[63][64] It was a time, in Dryden's words:

"..... when critics weigh
Each line, and ev'ry word, throughout a play .... " [65]

Discretion, wit, judgement, stabilixation of language, fame : these were all matters of almost equal importance to the humanist rhetorician. The English neo-classic emphasis fell more on language than on "imitation", and at least equally on judgement and wit as devices of logic and rhetoric as on the problem of style. But the poet's purpose remained the same nevertheless. Dryden's confidence that:

"Wit's now arrived to a more high degree
Our native language more refin'd and free..." [66]

was not merely occasional; it was based on the knowledge and care that he and numerous others had assumed in order to perfect the instrument of their genius.[67] These men had even partially offset the influence of Ramus (and to some extent of the Puritans) in his stress on logic at the expense of rhetoric; their conscious practice of rhetoric effected its rehabilitation as an at least equivalent power during the first half of the eighteenth century. So long as true wit employs rhetorical devices justly ("becomingly" was Quintilian's word for it),[68] neither the logical

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61. Dryden, J., "Essay on Dramatic Poesy", ESSAYS, vol I, p 35.
62. Ibid, vol I, p 82.
63. Ibid, vol I, pp 51-2, 31.
64. Ibid, vol I, p 35.
65. "Epilogue to the Conquest of Granada", POEMS, 13-4.
66. Ibid, 23-4.
67. Walsh had been one of the first to point out the ideal of correctness to Pope (Spence, J., ANECDOTES, OBSERVATIONS, AND CHARACTERS OF BOOKS AND MEN, ed Underhill, J., London, n.d., p 129). But the classical example was obvious - in Horace, for example (Epistle II, 1, 164ff; "De arte poetica", v.v. 289 ff; also Satires IV and X of Book I).
68. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk VIII, Introd., sec xx.

structure nor decorum as a whole will suffer, but on the contrary will delight with a "grace beyond the reach of Art".

The relation of these concepts of "wit" and "decorum" as of no less importance in the creative act than judgment and mimesis, can be effectively demonstrated by an examination of Pope's use of the word "just" in the poem which most completely represents his poetics - "An Essay on Criticism". "Just" and its derivatives are employed twenty times in the poem, occurring first in connection with the despoiling of "good sense" by "false learning", exactly as a "justly trac'd" sketch is spoiled by "ill-colouring" (23-5); the reference is plainly one to the destruction of artistic (i.e. organic) decorum through misapplied emphasis. This relation - which is fundamental for Pope - ultimately derives from the Platonic concept of "The Just" as an inclusive ideal and as a necessary inference from the world of particulars. Quintilian had the same thing in mind in the idea that nature bestows on man a modicum of beneficent ability which if employed for evil ends means the violation of nature. "Justly" (47) means "honourably and with due desert", with reference to the critic who must know and accept his limits. Here again is the idea of balance, this time noticeable Aristotelian as well in its emphasis on the limited function of the individual. Such a critic, Pope

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69. Enthusiastic portrayal of Pope as poet-rhetorician of organic universalism and "holism" is set forth in Knight, G.W., THE BURNING ORACLE, London, 1939, pp 131-96.

continues, should frame his judgment by nature's "just standard", "one clear, unchang'd, and universal light" (68-71), never violating due proprieties and rewards but recognizing that true Art "works without show" and "pomp" (74-5) when carefully heeding "Nature", the only authentic source for the "just supply" required by art. The critic, too, must refer to the authoritative "Rules" and "just precepts" of the ancients - for these are simply "Nature methodiz'd" (89-98) - if he would"guide ... the Muse's steed" (84) from licence and illiberality. He must "learn hence for ancient rules a just esteem" (139), and the warning is thrown into relief by a justification of "some beauties yet no Precepts can declare" (141) obtainable only by those who acknowledge the proper authority. "Still green with bays each ancient Altar stands" (181) despite and even because of those glorious offences of "great wits" (159); therefore every voice must join in "just" praise(187).

The next occurrence of the word "just" is in an extensive passage on decorum. This passage itself is in praise of justice in artistic composition where "no single parts unequally surprise" (249), an illustration of which is that "world's just wonder" (248), St. Peter's in Rome. If there be "trivial faults", "applause is due" nevertheless, providing decorum has been preserved - "if the means be just" (253-8). Once again illustration supports example in the satiric parody of Dennis' and Don Quixote's "just" discourse (269), "just" in this instance ironically referring to the

extremists who fail to maintain due decorum. Such critics, "of less judgment than caprice" (285) err "by a love to parts" (288), sometimes even praising work of excessive concettist ornamentation not organically related in the work of art, therefore "a work where nothing's just or fit" (291).[70] Such critics forget that:

> "True Wit is Nature to advantage dress'd,
> What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd."
> (297-8)

And it is because the English language is not stable, Pope continues, that the true critics should be quick to champion "true merit"; "no longer now that golden age appears" (487) of classical language and therefore of immortal geniuses. Although "the treacherous colours" [language] "the fair art betray" (492), yet "just shade and light" are very often well represented by the contemporary writer or artist, therefore "'tis but just" to befriend "modern rhymes" (476-7). There is only one occurrence of "just" where it is synonymous with the modern sense of "scarcely" (491), and even here the passage as a whole deals with that decorum in art which is essentially a "just" disposal of parts and functions. The classical concept of decorum as extending from art into the conduct of life is reflected in advice to the critic never to "betray your trust" through an unbalanced partiality, "nor be so civil as to prove unjust" (580-1). Competent critics, we are told,

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70. Quintilian had referred extensively to the concept of the "just" as the "decorous", op.cit., Bk I, Ch 8, sec xvii. Pope's "correctness" is intimately related to his concept of the "just" in the work of art, and it was this quality for which Voltaire praised him:
> "He [Pope] is in my opinion the most elegant, the most correct, and, what is still more difficult to find, the most harmonious poet that England has hitherto produced." (WORKS, New York, 1901, vol XXXIX, p 93.)

will possess their souls "exempt from pride" (641), the major factor leading to imbalance ceaselessly criticized by Pope. Such a critic as "grave Quintilian" in his "copious work" (669) exemplifies the "justest rules, and clearest method join'd" (670); this combination of authoritative rhetoric plus "clearest method" - for instance the rational and decorous application of such rhetorical studies as those of Cicero whom Quintilian continually quotes - results in competent art, where all is "rang'd in order, and dispos'd with grace" (672). Longinus also, in his fragmentary treatise, had shown and praised vitality - "warmth" - and "yet is always just" (678). In fact, during the classical ages "long succeeding Critics justly reign'd" (681) and effectively fostered the "great Sublime".

The complete Gothic extravagance which (in Pope's eyes)

had betrayed classical balance was spurned by Pope in true humanistic fashion, since through "tyranny" and "superstition" (687) it had enslaved the mind until the Renaissance and, later, the English Augustans, "durst assert the juster ancient laws" (721). Amongst the latter were to be found Buckingham and Roscommon, both

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71. This common complaint of Pope's can be discovered everywhere in Renaissance writing. Cf. Guillaume Budé writing in 1527:
"The best part, I think, we now have in our hands, saved from the deluge of more than a thousand years; for a deluge indeed, calamitous to life, had drained and absorbed literature itself and the kindred arts worthy of the name, and kept them so well dismantled and buried in barbarian mud that it was a wonder they could still exist." ("De studio literarum" (1527), Basel edtn 1533, in Baldwin, C.S., RENAISSANCE LITERARY THEORY AND PRACTICE, New York, 1939, p 4.)

of whom well knew that "Nature's chief Master-piece is writing well" (724), and the true critic and friend, Walsh, "who justly knew to blame or to commend" (730). Here, then, is convincing evidence that Pope was fully conscious of the classical and Renaissance emphasis and purpose with regard to ethical and aesthetic implications of the decorous. As a humanist he was bound to make the plea in his own time for a ripeness - only this balance could vouchsafe : an ethic pregnant of such implications of "the just" that the formal must become identified with the efficient, the moral spirit find its fullest expression in a justly proportioned architectonic; and likewise an aesthetic of just parts whose unity is comprehended in and manifested through a universal ethic.

CHAPTER III

MORALITY, NATURE, AND DICTION

1.

Morality and Rhetoric

In his essay on "Seneca in Elizabethan Translation" T.S.Eliot has written:

> "In the drama of Seneca there are no conflicts, except the conflict of passion, temper, or appetite with the external duties. The literary consequence, therefore, is the tendency which persists in modern Italy; the tendency to 'rhetoric'; and which, on such a large scale, may be attributed to a development of language exceeding the development of sensibility of the people." [1]

Eliot is remarking here that owing to the Roman's predominant sense of social responsibility, his idea of himself primarily as a social unit obliged above all to preserve the public virtues, the most striking conflicts for him were those which represented the clash between the individual will or passion and his concept of social responsibility. And the second observation is that such dramatic conflicts tended to find expression in a rhetoric of "poetical diction" which exceeded the sensibility of the people. This is later explained as due to what was, by Seneca's time, a natural stoi-

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1. Eliot, T.S., "Seneca in Elizabethan Translation", SELECTED ESSAYS, London, 1946, p 71.

cism in the life of a people who, unlike the Greeks whose morals were "hereditary and religious" :

> "... supplied the lack of moral habits
> by a system of moral attitudes and poses." [2]

The Romans felt that they should rhetorize during the heightened moments of what were to them life's tragic conflicts; but since their morals were not truly "woven through and through the texture of their tragic idea" as "matters of feeling" but were merely "matters of posture"[3], their poetical diction was to some extent a posture as well. Its gravest fault perhaps lay in its reduction of rhetoric to the task of expressing

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2. Eliot, T.S., "Seneca in Elizabethan Translation", p 72.
3. Loc.cit. I cannot altogether subscribe to Eliot's thesis with regard to the Senecan Romans, but this is not the place for such a discussion. At any rate, we might keep in mind the reservation that Pope's age cannot be glibly put down as an "age which supplied the lack of moral habits by a system of moral attitudes and poses." (Loc.cit.) I do not suggest, however, that the English Augustan age did not lack certain kinds of sensibility. It is apparent that each age has its own special sensibilities, and that these are to some extent reversed in the following epoch. Pope himself was lacking in certain sensibilities - that, for instance, which results in the "Romantic" description of nature; or that which leads to the "sensuous apprehension of thought" (in an analytical psychological sense). But the Romantic sensibility referred to above is still often considered to be the sole true poetic sensibility; and furthermore, the violent isolation of any particular sensibility for study is rarely compensated for adequately in the summing up of its virtues. We are too prone to allow that "the bigger, the better" holds as well for the matter of sensibility as for American canned goods. The tendency to psychologically dismember a poet and then to statistically evaluate his art according to the weight and number of the parts, seriously offends the classical conception of the artist's areté.

"sententious maxims" of a "conscious'system' of philosophy."[4] That is the argument, and it can be applied to Augustan neo-classicism.[5]

The matter can be settled with most profit by considering one of Pope's most "moral" documents, "An Essay on Man". If we discover there any such attitude towards society, any such moral system, as Eliot finds in Seneca and the Romans of his time, then we will be justified in attempting to apply the above statement on Roman rhetoric to Pope. The qualities noted in Seneca and in Renaissance writers most influenced by Seneca are three : the conflict of the individual will with the external duties, not dramatically presented although realistically set out as the true intellectual situation; the "rhetoric"; and the sententious maxims. And some would indeed contend that Eliot's final point might be transferred to Pope : that his poetical diction and rhetoric in general are the equivalent of a "development of language exceeding the development of sensibility of the people." But chiefly we are to keep in mind the idea of morals as merely "matters of posture".[6]

Pope, in the prefatory "Design" to "An Essay on

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4. Eliot, T.S., "Seneca in Elizabethan Translation", p 72.
5. I shall apply it only in part, and only to Pope.
6. For an interesting account of Pyrrhonism and its influence on Dryden, from which certain applications can be made to Pope, vide Bredvold, L.I., THE INTELLECTUAL MILIEU OF JOHN DRYDEN, Ann Arbor, 1934.

Man", proposed to :

> "... begin with considering Man in the abstract, his Nature and his State; since, to prove any moral duty, to enforce any moral precept, or to examine the perfection or imperfection of any creature whatsoever, it is necessary first to know what condition and relation it is placed in, and what is the proper end of its being." 7

The essay is to be about "Human Life and Manners", with a didactic purpose - "to prove [any] moral duty, and to enforce [any] moral precept"; but it will also comprise a study of creatures apart from explicit didacticism : "to examine the perfection or the imperfection of any creature whatsoever." Thus we are told at the outset of the ethical and representational aspects of the essay, and a paragraph later assured that as for the aesthetic aspect, decorum is above all to be preserved, even where "arguments and instructions" are involved:

> "I was unable to treat this part of my subject more <u>in detail</u>, without becoming dry and tedious; or more <u>poetically</u>, without sacrificing perspicuity to ornament..." 8

And although one feels that Pope was not at all dissatisfied with or unhappy in the writing of the essay, he adds that he is "here only opening the fountains"; the "Epistles" will be "less dry, and more susceptible of poetical ornament", and will therefore be " a task more agreeable." So that he is strongly

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7. <u>POPE'S POETICAL WORKS</u>, ed Ward, A.W., p 192.
8. Loc.cit. Pope's italics.

concerned over the aesthetic qualities of his most didactic work, as well as with the eternal problem of the poet, "to mingle with delight precepts designed to make the lives of men perfect,"[9] or as one of Pope's poetical fathers put it:

> "I applied myself to ... fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue ... [and] to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own Citizens throughout this Island in the mother dialect."[10]

And we see that not only the presence of delight and instruction[11] together, but their suitable mixture, "the grace and fitness of things"[12] preoccupies Pope. In fact, it was a habit of thought with him : he is never to be found protesting his adherence; it is a matter of underlacing throughout his work, in "An Essay on Man" no less than elsewhere, where he puts forward a system of right thinking and of good and beautiful living.

For the sake of clarifying Pope's much maligned "Deism" it is to the point to recall that Aquinas, in his blending of Aristotelianism with Christian thought, credited all creatures with a "formal" compulsion the fulfilment of which

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9. Trissino, "Poetica", in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit., p 213.
10. Milton, J., "The Reason of Church Government", Introd. to the Second Book; in MILTON'S PROSE, ed Wallace, M.W.,p 110.
11. W.Jaeger, in PAIDEIA (Oxford, 1939-44, 3 vols), has shown that this concept of the "suitable" was a classical one permeating Greek culture and identified with an aesthetic-ethical decorum of physical and psychic health.
12. Cinthio, "On the Composition of Romances" (1549), in Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, p 272.

was their "virtue". Only man, whose formal characteristic is reason, is free in will; and although it is his "virtue" to act reasonably, it is in his power (and a characteristic of reason itself) to deviate from his proper virtue. On the other hand, he can achieve supreme beatitude in the supernatural world, with the aid of supernatural grace.[13]

Reason is premised as a guide to Faith, is the Virgil endowed with virtue enough to lead to Beatrice. Right Reason, in fact, must lead to faith : this Stoic-Christian doctrine we find in Pope without alteration. The good man is he who:

> "But looks thro' Nature up to Nature's God...
> Learns from this union of the rising Whole,
> The first last purpose of the human soul." [14]

The Aristotelian "actualizing of the potential" is understood by the good man, who is well aware that his "virtue" is "Love of God, and Love of Man."[15] But more, the virtuous man follows "hope", and this is enunciated in a passage again echoing Aquinas:

> "'Till lengthen'd on to Faith, and unconfin'd,
> It pours the bliss that fills up all the mind.
> He sees why Nature plants in Man alone
> Hope of known bliss, and Faith in bliss unknown." [16]

From this point the good man expands from "self-love" in obed-

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13. Willey, B.(THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND, London, 1934, pp 14ff) has an extensive interpretation of this point along similar lines.
14. An Essay on Man, Epistle IV, 332, 336-7.
15. Ibid, 340.
16. Ibid, 343-6.

ience to the compulsions of right reason and proper virtue, "to assist the rest"[17]; he now sees that "true Self-love and Social are the same."[18]

It might be objected that the Thomist system literally depends on God as Final Cause, whereas for Pope virtue is simply a man-instigated drive (deriving by rational deduction from the fact of social concord) towards "the only point where human bliss stands still"[19] - a reasoned expediency to provide happy life at a utilitarian level. But the great medieval concept of The Chain of Being so frequently referred to by Pope is used here in a key passage which indicates that it is intended to have very much more than a merely formal or stylistic conceptual appeal. The good man, Pope tells us:

> "Slave to no sect, who takes no private road,
> But looks thro' Nature up to Nature's God;
> Pursues that Chain which links th' immense design,
> Joins heav'n and earth, and mortal and divine;
> Sees, that no Being any Bliss can know,
> But touches some above, and some below;
> Learns, from this union of the rising Whole,
> The first, last purpose of the human soul;
> And knows, where Faith, Law, Morals, all began,
> All end, in Love of God, and Love of Man," [20]

Three objections can be dealt with here : i) that Pope did not acutally believe in the essential communion of man and God; ii) that as a consequence of (i), Pope is merely paying lip service by means of a stylized device of Christian formulae; iii) that there is no evidence in such a passage of Christian as con-

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17. An Essay on Man, Epistle IV, 353.
18. Ibid, 396.
19. Ibid, 311.
20. Ibid, 331-40.

trasted with Deistic belief. These objections may all be disposed of at once by a close examination of the above lines. It is true that the Deists contemned both "slaves to Christian sects" and those who set up for themselves private sectarian rituals. But these were typical protests of almost all seventeenth and eighteenth century orthodox Christians against "enthusiasm" and the sect-schisms of the Church; it was logical that during the stable Augustan age Christians should decry "humours", individualism which defied the norm, and anarchic schism.

Pope is contending that as the proper study of mankind is man, so the proper study of the good man by other men will reveal a means of knowing and loving God. The good man, Pope argues, examines Nature and by an almost Plotinian ascent of thought contemplates the successive degrees of order and beauty until he finally apprehends the Creator of that Nature. The stress is on the looking up to a God who informs the whole, and in the identification with whom man learns at the same time the true significance of the brotherhood of man. It can hardly be suggested that Pope merely introduces the conventional Deistic reference to a supreme Mechanician who is posited as a stopgap for an otherwise machine-tight naturalistic (i.e. non-supernatural) system. The good man looks to God and "pursues" the total hierarchic system comprising a perfect "design". He sees not only that the system is structurally efficient, i.e.

its aesthetic value; he also sees that the Earth is directly joined to Heaven, man to God. Man can never know "bliss" as an isolated unit : he is integrally involved in the total scheme and finds his meaning in his inclusive relations with "some above, some below". The fact that Pope was neither a mystic or a Pantheist (a fact which has shaken not a few of his critics so much that they abruptly dismiss him as the next thing to an atheist) does not vitiate the express statement that God alone is the support of all the stages of The Chain, in the Thomist sense of Final Cause. And Pope's final point - an expressly Christian point - is that the "union of the rising Whole" must be comprehended by reason and through faith, and that all morals and law proceed from God's love. Love is the keynote of this passage, love as a vivid sense of dynamic interrelations without which the universe is without meaning.

At the risk of leaving a doubt as to a similar application of the remainder of "An Essay on Man", I must simply take it for granted that the point has been made - i.e., that Pope can be considered as a Christian moralist, and that he believed in a system of values which were by no means merely "matters of posture" but were "woven through and through the texture" of his life. Therefore Eliot's strictures on Seneca and Senecan rhetoric cannot be applied to Pope, although they might be applied to lesser poets of his age. Pope was faced, then, with a rhetoric which an age lacking certain kinds of sensibili-

ty supplied, and it is certain that but for the qualifications of that rhetoric by his unique genius he would have fallen into as insensitive an employment of it as did countless of his imitators.

2.

Nature and Rhetoric

Nature had a dual aspect for the eighteenth century : first, that it was not all-good in itself, and man as a rational creature can and must improve upon it; and second, that it was the "one, clear, unchang'd, and universal light"[21]. This had been the Nature which Boileau had recommended to the poet:

"Que la nature donc soit votre étude unique." [22]

The split was not intended, however, to reflect a fundamental dualism. Nature might very well be the universal light, but man by the due exercise of his (limited) reason could impose form on an infinite glory with which he as a fallible and finite creature could not identify himself nor deal with in toto by value judgments. Nicolas of Cusa's Neo-platonic infinitude was bound to be a bit too much for both the Hobbesian dialectic and those scorners of metaphysics, the Lockean empiricists.

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21. An Essay on Criticism, 71.
22. "L'art poétique", Canto III, 359, in Cook, A.S., op.cit.

Nature must be "restrained" even if it must be "By the same laws which first herself ordain'd."[23] And this in turn led to a circumscription of and a concern for Nature as limited by its possibilities of enhancement and improvement by rational device. The limitations of human reason and imagination imposed their definition of nature, be it a matter of the improvement imposed on barbaric human nature by social manners as exemplified by Jane Austen's Emma and Harriet, or the rationalization of nature in scientific laws. Pope could not have accepted the problem of light before Newton's "Optics", just as Emma refused to consider the socially unformed and barbaric realm of Harriet's nature as of value : these things were not important until stamped by the civilized rational "form". Nature might be infinite, but Newton's cosmos obeyed finite laws which the reason could apprehend; even nature herself "... to all things fix'd the limits fit."[24] Similarly nature could be mirrored in art - but not as God's infinity, for what could man make of that? Nature supplied the human reason and the material, and reason, employing judgments bequeathed since Homer which themselves had become an essential part of that nature which was to be imitated, must mould and form it:

"Art from that fund each just supply provides..."[25]

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23. An Essay on Criticism, 90-1.
24. Ibid, 52.
25. Ibid, 74.

The violent and vast aspects such as thrilled the Romantics were largely disregarded, then, by earlier eighteenth century poets, so that we are surprised to discover such a passage as the following in Pope:

> "In prospects thus, some objects please our eyes,
> Which out of nature's common order rise,
> The shapeless rock, or hanging precipice." [26]

Or rather we would be surprised if we failed to realize that Pope is showing us a deviation itself carefully planned - "a grace beyond the reach of art"[27] or "a brave disorder"[28] - just as he planned the slightly baroque effects in his Twickenham garden and grotto. Neither should we neglect the fact that Pope, being a genius of the second order(at least),contained within himself many seemingly untoward powers and capabilities not fully realized but nevertheless occasionally witnessing themselves.

Tillotson has remarked that eighteenth century poetic diction as a whole "represents the existing mind", while the new images of the Romantic poets "represent the freshness of response"[30] as they in all humility cast off traditional notions and attempt to approach nature as if the mind had been recreated

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26. An Essay on Criticism, 156-8.
27. Ibid, 153.
28. Ibid, 152.
29. Vide Pope's rules for landscaping in his "Moral Essays", Epistle IV, 47-126.
30. Tillotson, G., "Eighteenth Century Poetic Diction", ESSAYS AND STUDIES OF THE ENGLISH ASSOCIATION, vol XXV, 1939, p 67.

a tabula rasa before each poetic experience. Natural phenomena per se were not admired but repudiated in Pope's time except in so far as they partook of the man-nature concept - nature as order evident to social man. Even creation was a matter of "harmony ... heavenly harmony"[31] (although Neo-platonic Pythagoreans also held that this was so, yet they were utilized and championed by the mathematician scientists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), and man's preeminence in nature was attested by his reason, by which he held ascendancy over all other Creatures in The Chain - even, Pico had assured the Renaissance, potentially greater than the angels. As Emma was told by Mr. Elton:

> "She [Harriet] was a beautiful creature when she came to you; but in my opinion the attractions you have added are infinitely superior to what she received from nature."

One was either improved or unimproved, and blessed are the improved, for whom the unimproved sweat. Class strata were assured and simply demarcated; the greater the degree of social or civilized improvement upon brute being, the higher the social category and the greater the honour and prestige. Money counted only as a guarantor from birth of this superior training which would maintain one in the predestined (because hereditary) niche;

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31. Dryden, J., "A Song for St. Cecilia's Day", POEMS, ed Sargeant, J., London, 1929.

money was usually taken to be evidence of a fine nature, and that was the regarded aspect of it - there was little reflection on character from the manner of accumulation. Hence we find that when Pope wished to damn the wealthy,[32] he did not attack their methods of accumulation, nor even primarily their lack of taste. Instead he showed that lack of taste is the result of lack of "sense":

> "Something there is more needful than Expense,
> And something previous ev'n to Taste - 'tis Sense:
> Good Sense, which only is the gift of Heav'n..." [33]

And when Pope wishes to scorn the lack of taste of the wealthy, he points to their failures at landscaping,[34] and reminds them that Nature must be the criterion:

> "In all, let Nature never be forgot." [35]

The obvious implications of this close definition of nature for the diction of Pope's age are so important that a few further words are warranted. Occasionally a new fortune was made, and, the requisite improvement attending, the candidate was accepted at the proper level. If, however, the individual was not "naturally" endowed with the "wit" necessary to hold his newly won social rank, he settled into one of the "newly rich" stratifications, themselves stringently prescribed. Corres-

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32. Moral Essays, Epistle IV,
33. Ibid, 41-3.
34. Vide note 29 supra.
35. Moral Essays, Epistle IV, 50.

pondingly strict codes of behaviour according to one's social rank were developed and enforced, and these also worked to consolidate one's birthright.[36] Everyone zealously defended the priveleges of his category - it is characteristic that Pope addressed his poetry primarily to the educated upper strata - the more so since it had been lately observed that the everlasting and immutable Chain of Being was evidencing Aristotle's "potential" to an alarming degree, and there were rumblings from below. Thus we see the Augustan age in its major aspects : conventional, uninventive except within the form, change-resisting, precise, obsessed with clarity and rigid definition, correct, undeviating, unimaginative except within the accepted order(s) (thus the mock heroic), satirical of the new and eccentric and enthusiastic. Such an age would naturally look askance at the emotional, the mystical, the intuitive, at all irrational and ill-defined pursuits. A multiplicity of stanza

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36. An interesting light is cast at this point by Whitehead's comment (ADVENTURES IN IDEAS, Harmondsworth, 1948, p 21) that the ancient and classical civilizations assumed that a large slave population was a necessary subservitor of the civilized apex. This general idea no doubt thoroughly infiltrated into the thinking of the English Silver Age, and permitted a comparatively small but wealthy and politically positioned strata to hold their own course undisturbed by reflections on the "unimproved" state of their sustainers. The closest Pope approaches to humanitarianism is in the reflection that Providence no doubt has the poor in mind in "giving wealth to those who squander it", thus employing more hands. (Pope's footnote to "Moral Essays", Epistle IV, 169.) The equanimity of mind requisite for "mediocre" celebrations of the via media was thus made available, and found full recording in the countless verses on contentment and solitude characteristic of both the Roman and English Augustans.

forms might lead to violation of the property principle; a variety of prosodic rhythms might eventually undermine society itself. Clarity and definition were essential prescripts of the permissible. Decorum was insisted upon, and Pope never forgot it:

> "Expression is the dress of thought, and still
> Appears more decent, as more suitable." 37
>
> "Avoid Extremes; and shun the fault of such
> Who still are pleas'd too little or too much." 38
>
> "For fools admire, but men of sense approve." 39

His attacks on the critics for over-evaluation of certain qualities in literature - i.e. language,[40] conceit,[41] numbers -[42] are judgments on failures to observe decorum. The "Argument" to the "Fourth Epistle" describes one section as dealing with:

> "... a description of the false taste of Magnificence; the first grand error of which is to imagine that Greatness consists in the Size and Dimension, instead of the Proportion and Harmony of the whole..:" [43]

that is, decorum, propriety, proportion, balance and harmony, are of the essence of good taste. The violations against decorum

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37. An Essay on Criticism, 318-9. My italics.
38. Ibid, 384-5. My italics.
39. Ibid, 391. Cf. Plato : "... nor is anything human deserving of great eagerness..." THE REPUBLIC, 603c.
40. An Essay on Criticism, 305-36.
41. Ibid, 289-304.
42. Ibid, 337-84.
43. Moral Essays, Epistle IV, Argument. My italics.

by the Dunces are treated in the same manner.[44] We are to expect, then, that propriety of diction and of rhetorical devices generally will be carefully observed by the sincere admirer of Cicero and Quintilian, the latter of whom had written:

> "The whole art of speaking with propriety depends not merely on our choice of language, but has much also in common with invention of matter."[45]

It appears to follow from the social and economic facts stated above that the dominant outlook should have been Epicurean tinged with a rational Stoic sobriety, and this is , in fact, what we do find exemplified in the scientific and "enlightened" optimism of the upper classes of society, - to be, as Harriet put it, "always happy with pleasant companions." It might even seem pardonable if this bliss were conceived by the socially blest as permeating throughout society as a whole, or at least as universally obtainable. Here we may once more discover the classical propensity of an established social architecture, within which the figures on the architrave may figuratively gambol as much as wit can invent providing decorum is maintained, and the decorative elements do not offend artistic propriety.

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44. The Dunciad, Bk I, 55-78.
45. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk XI, Ch 1, sec vii.

3.

Diction

The problem of decorum involved for all neo-classicists a care both for due integration of decorative elements and for diction per se. Pope's remarks on injudicious use of the "conceit" in the following passage illustrate the overlapping of these elements in his own conception:

> "Some to conceit alone their taste confine,
> And glitt'ring thoughts struck out at ev'ry line;
> Pleas'd with a work where nothing's just or fit;
> One glaring chaos and wild heap of wit.
> Poets like painters, thus, unskill'd to trace
> The naked nature and the living grace,
> With gold and jewels cover ev'ry part,
> And hide with ornaments their want of art." 46

In other words, see things in proportion for both tasteful creative activity and for enjoyment of art. But he is saying more than that:

> "Some figures monstrous and misshap'd appear,
> Considered singly or beheld too near,
> Which, but proportion'd to their light, or place,
> Due distance reconciles to form and grace." 47

This implies nothing less than the complete adjustment of the personality to life itself. The eighteenth century concept of moderate, enjoyable living is promoted - without extreme, on an even keel of quiet pleasure enjoyed with due propriety - to which, and within the bounds of which, poetry will contribute:

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46. An Essay on Criticism, 289-96.
47. Ibid, 171-4.

"Content, if hence th' unlearn'd their wants may view,
The learn'd reflect on what before they knew." [48]

Passionate fulfilment, ppecocious inspiritedness, height and depth of humours - all must be strictly bound by decorum if immodesty is to be avoided; the categorical imperative was "duty" where "self-love and social" were the same.[49] Pope, only a few lines after his justification of occasional violation of the rules,[50] reminds the poet of his nemesis in the character of the damning critic who "proceeds without remorse,/ Seizes your fame, and puts his laws in force,"[51] if one has no precedent to plead. To rebel from the established order except with special justification was sacrilege to right reason and universal harmony; to betray even one's minutest function was to hinder the whole social machine, to burst the inviolable Chain, to violate cosmic law and order. The Imagination expands only to greater and more inclusive visions of - propriety. Excellence and perfection are synonyms for "mediocrity"; contentment implies stability unthreatened by change.

Within this social character, however, there was

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48. An Essay on Criticism, 739-40.
49. This view is not surprising in a world of mathematical quantity where man as an eccentric individual tends to be evaluated together with secondary qualities (since Galileo and through Locke) as less real than measurable quantities. The important aspect of man, then, is as a unit of the social organism which can be observed to conform to a "natural" social law. The emphasis is discoverable in the field of diction and rhetoric as well as in the general "rules" for poetry.
50. Ibid, 141-55.
51. Ibid, 167-8.

considerable variation, generally tending towards more thorough consolidation, as in the plans of Dryden, Sprat, and Swift to form an English Academy.[52] This group might be likened to a kind of Augustan Pléiade, but with only certain objects similar to those of the French group : that the English vernacular could equal the classical languages as a "classic" literary medium; that for this the study of the ancients was essential; that literature was to be justified, therefore, on aesthetic as well as on moral grounds; that the means of rhetorical embellishment are legitimate providing decorum is maintained; and that the classical "Kinds" are elemental categories. The English movement, although unsuccesful in setting up an Academy, exerted a decided influence on style, and particularly in the field of poetic diction. The positive mind of the time, conscious of the significance for rational thinking of scientific method, displaced both the "enthusiastic" and the mystical; Renaissance heroic grandeur and homocentrism in the "grand manner" were replaced by common sense reports on man as a social unit; Characters became more realistic, emerging from the homiletic generalities of an Overbury to the caustic analyses of conventional types and of unwelcome eccentrics (not all unwelcome,

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52. Also see Evelyn's Letter to Sir Peter Wyche (1665, in Spingar, J.E., CRITICAL ESSAYS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, vol II, p 310ff), and his letter to Samuel Pepys (1689, Ibid, pp 313-29). John Wilkins, the indefatigable propogandist for the "new philosophy", published his "An Essay towards a Real Character and Philosophical Language" in 1668 (Jones, R.F., ANCIENTS AND MODERNS, St. Louis, 1936, p 51).

as Addison's Sir Roger shows); the diction of the novel reached its plainest in Defoe, as it had forty years previously in Furetière of France. Sutherland had noted of this time:

> "Outside satire, the poet had less occasion for the startling or unconventional metaphor. His happiest effects, indeed, are often obtained by a sort of apotheosis of the usual." 53

Willey, in a delightful contrast of Locke and Glanvill, has illustrated the differences in their diction. Glanvill is writing of the union of soul and body:

> "How the purer spirit is united to this Clod, is a knot too hard for fallen humanity to unty... The freezing of the words in the air in the northern climes, is as conceivable as this strange union... And to hang weights on the wings of the wind seems far more intelligible." 54

An image such as "the freezing of the words" was unthinkable in the next century; even the cadences witness a heated "fantastickness" impossible to the author of the following passage on the same subject:

> "As the ideas of sensible secondary qualities which we have in our minds can by us be no way deduced from bodily causes, nor any correspondence or connexion be found between them and those primary qualities which ... produce them in us; so, on the other side, the operation of our minds upon our bodies is as inconceivable." 55

We might as well have contrasted the prose of Browne and Tillot-

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53. Sutherland, J., op.cit. p 17.
54. Willey, B., THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND, p 269 (from Glanvill's "Vanity of Dogmatizing", p 20).
55. Loc.cit.

son, Donne and Dryden, Milton and Newton; the "metaphysical shudder"[56] is gone, the hypomagnified "reality" of things in essence has been exchanged for the sane general. I intend to deal with abstract and generalized diction in detail, and here merely refer to certain statements of Sprat, the historiographer of The Royal Society - first, in a passage where he proposes that the Royal Society should function to destroy the errors of antiquity:

> "And to accomplish this, they have indeavor'd to separate the knowledge of Nature, from the colours of Rhetorick, the devices of Fancy, or the delightful deceit of Fables."[57]

Poetry, he continues, now does more harm than good; its "ornaments of speech" "are in open defiance against reason." The fictions of the poets, "those wild inhabitants of the false world", must be as completely banished as "specious Tropes and Figures ... which makes so great a noise in the world."[58]

Then follows the often quoted resolution of the Royal Society:

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56. The phrase is George Williamson's, used first in THE DONNE TRADITION (Cambridge, 1930), and repeated in his article "Mutability, Decay, and Seventeenth Century Melancholy", (ELH, Sept 1935, vol II).
57. Sprat, T., HISTORY OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY, London, 1702, p 62.
58. Ibid, p 340. It is of interest to compare DeQuincey's view of Sprat's movement in language reform. He saw a post-Restoration corruption of grammar and diction, due to a mass of new ideas, to an influx of foreign words to express the new ideas, and to the conversational instinct for rapidity - this last due chiefly to the French, especially in that familiarity of French manners which overcame the reserve and ceremony of the English. ("Alexander Pope", WORKS, vol VIII, p 16.)

> "They have exacted from all their members, a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions, clear senses; a native easiness; bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness, as they can : and preferring the language of Artisans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that, of Wits, or Scholars." [59]

It is not then, surprising to discover Rochester's esteem for Boileau and the later Cowley (who had written an ode to the Royal Society)[60] above all modern poets; or to hear of that lady of salons, the Duchess of Monmouth, that she was anxious for an opinion on Boileau; or to find Dryden praising him extravagantly:

> "whose expressions are noble, whose thoughts are just, whose language is pure, whose satire is pointed, and whose sense is close." [61].

But Sprat was no poet, amd the age did not summarily agree with him. Johnson, although after a further half century of industrial consolidation and of the language of "Artisans, Countrymen, and Merchants", emphatically disallowed "the harshness of terms appropriated to particular arts"; he praised Dryden for his choice of a "poetical diction, [a] system of words ... refined from the grossness of domestic use," and for "those happy combinations of words which distinguish poetry from prose."[62] Pope,

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59. Sprat, T., op.cit. p 340.
60. Clark, A.F.B., BOILEAU AND THE FRENCH CLASSICAL CRITICS IN ENGLAND, Paris, 1925, p 4.
61. Dryden, J., "On the Original and Progress of Satire", ESSAYS, vol II, p 26. Note the resemblance to certain parts of the quotation from Sprat directly above.
62. Johnson, S., "Dryden", LIVES OF THE POETS, vol I, p 104.

apparently stricter than Johnson in this respect, censured Dryden's use of sea-terms in his translation of Virgil, writing:

> "... no terms of art, or cant-words, suit with the majesty and dignity of style which Epic poetry requires." 63

Ever since Walsh had laid before Pope the ideal of correctness, he had worked to establish himself as the keeper of language propriety. The insistence on greater plainness of diction is at one with the inevitable trend of the times, and can be related to both the Puritan and Stoic forces in English life, active as they had been even on More's style and later in the quarrels between the Atticists and the Ciceronians. And especially since Ferrar's colony had been attacked for its voluptuous ritual and highly coloured worship, and despite the rich complexities of a Milton's syntax, rhythm, diction, and imagery, the "cleansing" of poetic language had been proceeding apace. Whitfield, in pointing out the influence of the Metaphysicals on the neo-classicists, aptly remarks:

> "Just as their conceits are ironed out in response to a corresponding 'dissociation of sensibility', so the pyrotechnics of the cavaliers are abandoned for a more serious, if less pretentious, medium." 64

And although I would qualify Eliot's phrase ("Dissociation of sensibility") in any specific application of it to Pope's poetry, this statement does illustrate what must have been a potent motive

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63. Pope, A., Letter to Cromwell, Oct 28, 1710, in WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin. Observe the evidence in this quotation of Pope's awareness of the specific demands of the "Kinds" on diction. Cf: "For diff'rent styles with diff-'rent subjects sort." - An Essay on Criticism, 322.
64. Whitfield, F., BEAST IN VIEW, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, p 17.

in Pope's qualified rejection of Crashaw and much of Donne. In a letter to Cromwell, Pope had given his opinion of Crashaw (whose influence was not negligible in such a poem as "Eloisa to Abelard"):

> "I take this poet to have writ like a gentleman, at leisure hours, and more to keep out of idleness than to establish a reputation, so that nothing regular or just can be expected from him... To express myself like a painter, their [the Metaphysicals] colouring entertains the sight, but the lines and life of the picture are not to be inspected too narrowly." [65]

He then proceeded to attack injudicious exaggeration and over-application of metaphor and of "glittering expressions".[66] Yet Pope never came close to a full acceptance of Sprat's opinions. The quotation on sea-terms above shows a developed sense for apt diction for each of the "Kinds" which Sprat did not possess. We have only to look almost anywhere in Pope to discover that his stress is always on propriety in the use of the figures, etc., and never on their elimination. There is always room for the "nameless graces"; those critics who are

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65. Pope, A., Letter to Cromwell, Dec 17, 1710.
66. He had Aristotle's injunction in mind, for example: "But the greatest thing is to employ metaphors well. For this alone cannot be acquired from another, but it is an indication of an excellent genius; since to employ metaphors well, is to discern similitude." (POETIC, Ch XXII, p 457.)

"drily plain, without invention's aid"[67] are castigated; prospects "out of nature's common order"[68] are pleasing; Nature must be "to advantage dress'd"[69]; it is true that "modest plainness sets off sprightly wit"[70], yet "true expression" "gilds all objects"[71] although altering none; and finally, "the sound must seem an Echo to the sense."[72] Pope's passage expressing regret that the English language as his day knows it may not last, that "such as Chaucer is, shall Dryden be"[73], contains evidence that "Mathematical plainness" was not the poet's ideal:

> "So when the faithful pencil has design'd
> Some bright idea of the master's mind,
> Where a new world leaps out at his command,
> And ready Nature waits upon his hand;
> When the ripe colours soften and unite,
> And sweetly melt into just shade and light;
> When mellowing years their full perfection give,
> And each bold figure just begins to live..."[74]

Similarly, his attacks on the poetasters in "The Dunciad"[75] are always directed against the <u>misuse</u> of rhetorical devices. He notes that Milton preserved decorum in this matter:

> "... it should have been observed of Milton that he is not lavish of his exotic words and phrases everywhere alike, but employs them more where the subject is marvellous, and vast, and strange."[76]

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67. An Essay on Criticism, 114.
68. Ibid, 157.
69. Ibid, 297.
70. Ibid, 302.
71. Ibid, 317.
72. Ibid, 365.
73. Ibid, 483
74. Ibid, 484-91.
75. The Dunciad, esp. Bk I, 55-84; Bk II, 221-34.
76. "The Odyssey of Homer", London, 1725, Postscript to Bk V, pp 278-9. Milton had written of decorum that it was "the grand masterpiece to observe." ("Of Education", <u>MILTON'S PROSE</u>, p 154.)

Pope is worth listening to on the subject of Milton, not only for the light thrown on Milton but as evidence of his (Pope's) sound poetics. Havens, the Milton scholar, had made a substantial case for his contention that Pope

> "appears to have been more widely acquainted with the complete body of Milton's poems than any other man of his time." [77]

Pope had observed that Milton's narrations employed "not an antiquated, affected, or uncouth word for some hundred lines together...", although he allowed that there was frequently obscuring "transposition and forced construction." [78]

Criticism of Pope's "plain style" seems to have stemmed from certain misconceptions already briefly noted. Such an error in taste is illustrated by Housman's statement that since "high and impassioned poetry did not come spontaneously" to eighteenth century poets, they "essayed a lofty strain" by attempting to write something as little like prose as possible. In fact, he continues:

> "... they devised for the purpose what was called a 'correct and splendid diction', ... and plastered it as ornament, with no thought of propriety, on whatever they desired to dignify..." [79]

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77. Havens, R.D., THE INFLUENCE OF MILTON ON ENGLISH POETRY, Cambridge, Mass., 1922, p 15. Warren fully substantiates this statement in his ALEXANDER POPE AS CRITIC AND HUMANIST, pp 240-5. But the evidence is there for the careful reader in Pope's poetry, where Milton's images abound.
78. Loc.cit. Addison noted in justification of Milton's language that he had "recourse to these foreign assistances" simply because "our language sunk under him, and was unequal to that greatness of soul which furnished him with such glorious conceptions." (THE SPECTATOR, No 297, Feb 9, 1712; vol II, p 320.)
79. Housman, A.E., THE NAME AND NATURE OF POETRY, Cambridge, 1933, pp 13-6.

This is the blindest misreading, partly based on an authoritarian application of Romantic reactionist precepts (as elaborated by only a few extremists), together with a failure to observe an objective historical approach. If Pope appeals to certain readers less than another poet of a different period, is it not possible that the sensibility of the readers is at least in part responsible? Are we not, in fact, obliged to approach Pope with the reservation that we must read his poetry as he read it, defining concepts as he did, making the same or similar associations for them, and not discounting the fact that certain aspects of sensibility might have been thoroughly offensive to him - such as the Romantic nature sensibility, for example; whereas his own nature descriptions might have meant for him a very real and striking and as completely moving an experience as his nature could endure without feeling the whole thing "out of joint" and in bad taste? As Pottle has written:

> "Poetry always expresses the basis of feeling (or sensibility) of the age in which it was written." 80

And that which expresses the sensibility of the age in poetry is what Eliot has called its "poetic idiom" - and there is no reason why later readers should not approach a work with enough humility to "suspend disbelief" with regard to the total validity of a poetic idiom. But Housman failed to admit that the

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80. Pottle, F.A., THE IDIOM OF POETRY, Ithaca, 1946, p 22.

"shift in sensibility" which had occurred since Pope's time might not have been altogether of positive and advancing value. Arnold made somewhat the same mistake as Housman : he saw the essential qualities of the age as regularity, precision, uniformity, and balance,[81] and proceeded to discard their work from the Arnoldian classics on the basis of a distinction between "moral and didactic poems" and "the noble and profound application of moral ideas to life... under the conditions fixed for us by the laws of poetic beauty and poetic truth."[82] Arnold arbitrarily (but according to his own rigid standards) interpreted "the laws of poetic beauty and poetic truth" so as to exclude poets whose diction he was unable to accept chiefly because his age had failed to make allowance - or sufficient allowance - for the "shift in sensibility". Wordsworth had been an earlier culprit. Pope's many statements quoted below in chapter four do not, however, substantially differ from Wordsworth's criticisms of the figures: that the poets

> "set themselves to a mechanical adoption of these figures of speech..."

and applied them to "feelings and thoughts with which they had no natural connection whatsoever."[83] What is this but substantially the same statement Pope had continually been making with reference to Decorum?

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81. Arnold, M., ESSAYS IN CRITICISM, London, 1919, vol II, p 48.
82. Ibid, p 142.
83. Wordsworth, W., "Preface to Lyrical Ballads", PROSE WORKS, (3 vols), ed Grosart, A.B., London, 1876, vol II, p 87.

> "Here one poor word an hundred clenches makes,
> And ductile Dulness new maeanders takes;
> There motley images her fancy strike,
> Figures ill-paired, and Similes unlike.
> She sees a mob of metaphors advance,
> Pleas'd with the madness of the mazy dance..." 84

Yet of that "poetic diction" of Pope's against which Wordsworth levelled his rhetoric of "the language that men really speak", he could write that it was:

> "... arbitrary and subject to the infinite caprices upon which no calculation whatever can be made... The reader is utterly at the mercy of the poet, respecting what imagery or diction he may choose to connect with the passion..." 85

DeQuincey remarked in this matter that

> "the school to which they [Dryden and Pope] belonged, was a school developed at a certain stage of progress in all nations alike by the human heart as modified by the human understanding; it is a school depending on the peculiar direction given to the sensibilities by the reflecting faculty, and by the new phases of society." 86

DeQuincey tells us nothing new here, yet we know from his denigration of the "understanding" as a basis for the creative act (in "On the Knocking at the Gate in Macbeth", for example) that he could extend such statements into a withering attack on the poetry of the neo-classicists. We can see that for DeQuincey the early nineteenth century represented a higher stage in the ever-progressive history of mankind, in which the "human heart" was much less restricted by the "human

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84. The Dunciad, Bk I, 63-8.
85. Wordsworth, W., op.cit., vol II, p 94.
86. DeQuincey, T., op.cit., p 13.

understanding". But it has occurred to more than one critic that a considerable part of the poetry of DeQuincey's time suffers from just that lack of modification "by the human understanding". Opinion had more than begun to swing about in such a statement as Ker's:

> "The eighteenth century, with all its limitations, was great and wholesome in its art, especially in the relation of its art, painting, music, architecture and poetry, to the life of the time." [87]

Wordsworth and his followers had of course rendered a great service in their freeing of poetry from artificial rhetoric at its worst:

> "... by scrutinizing with exact literalness not their own human nature but the external nature of landscape." [88]

The emphasis was laid on the emotions even if they were recollected in tranquility, and poetic diction and imagery became steadily less a thing of reason predominantly and more an "imitator" of non-rational experiences. The failure of much eighteenth century poetry, however, was due to a fact that Wordsworth and others of his time had completely overlooked, and that Winters has described as "intellectual deficiency".[89] It is not difficult to point out innumerable passages which in their shallowness or contradictions betray this characteristic. The often observed defects in this regard of Pope's

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87. Ker, W.P., FORM AND STYLE IN POETRY, London, 1928, p 112.
88. Winters, I., IN DEFENCE OF REASON, New York, 1947, p 452.
89. Ibid, p 451.

"An Essay on Man" are a case in point, the failing due not merely to Pope's comparative ineptitude for abstruse thinking, but to the intellectual climate of an age which could be satisfied with a limited conceptual range.[90] Each age has its weakness, however; a period which "emancipates" itself from conceptual stringency is liable to suffer from emotional confusion and vagueness as well as gain in suggestiveness. Eliot has written of Dryden that his

> "words are precise, they state immensely but their suggestiveness is almost nothing."[91]

Similarly, there is little or no intentional ambiguity in Pope's imagery; an image is intended to express a definite conception, nothing more:

> "True wit, I believe, may be defined a justness of thought, and a facility of expression; or, in the midwives' phrase, a perfect conception, with an easy delivery. However, this is far from a complete definition..."[92]

The reader is perhaps (and perhaps not, depending on the quality of intellectual affirmation behind the expression) moved by suggestive imagery into intense emotional support of the thematic doctrine of a specific poem; but the danger is in losing a dialectical persuasive force.

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90. Pope, however, was not interested in setting up a system of philosophy in "An Essay on Man", whether Bolingbroke's or Stoic-Christian or his own. He fashioned memorable words and phrases for concepts which seemed true to him, and that he fashioned them with passionate conviction in many parts of the poem is quite apparent. Pope's greatness, however, as with Shakespeare and Dante, was in mirroring his age with insight and fidelity, not in remoulding it.
91. Eliot, T.S., JOHN DRYDEN, THE POET, THE DRAMATIST, THE CRITIC, New York, 1932, p 22.
92. Pope, A., Letter to Wycherley, Dec 26, 1704, WORKS, vol

> "We may briefly notice that the particular form of this didactic tendency is a natural expression of the contemporary rationalism. The metaphysician of the time identifies emotions and passions with intellectual affirmations, and all action is a product of logic." 93

Sir Leslie Stephen's statement can only be received after some qualification, yet it sets the correct emphasis. The imagery and diction of Pope is denotative, not emotionally suggestive. Experience is interpreted directly and appropriately according to the poet's system of values in predominantly intellectual terms. The concrete imagery employed is intended for literal interpretation; general images are meant to suugest precisely that definite emotion which in a stable society such an image must evoke. We know, for example, that Pope could never have referred to the soul's incorporation "with bolts of bones" - not merely because Marvell's incongruous juxtaposition would have violated Pope's sense of propriety (had not Quintilian written : "But let us have recourse to our judgment, and revise the fruit of our facility"[94]?), but because the image is suggestive on at least three levels : concerning the shape and function of bones as they are, and the more figurative imprisoning function. Similarly Vaughan's image - "my striving eye" - would have been rejected by Pope, not only because

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93. Stephen, Sir L., ENGLISH LITERATURE AND SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, London, 1904, p 75.
94. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk XII, Ch 3, sec vii.

of the implicit tension and stress in the image, the dynamic foreign to the neo-classic excursive-static imagery, but also because there is present a potential of meaning due simply to the fact that the image refuses to present one picture only, or the same picture to more than one person let alone to a whole society. There are implications of torturing search, of muscular strain and pain, of an eye somehow extending out along its line of vision, of the eye as symbol of the haunted, hunting soul, of the eye itself the centre of the universe. When Pope wrote:

"Here earth and water seem to strive again" 95

he was careful to immediately qualify the tension by stating that they are not "chaos-like" but "harmoniously confused". The dynamic metaphysical imagery of the twentieth century presents much the same tokens as that of the seventeenth. A generalized vocabulary such as Pope's or Johnson's would not be adequate to describe a situation which individuals must interpret differently according to more or less private systems of values; or, even more fabulously, with no reference whatsoever to a system of values; or, finally, with reference to a system of values once generally accepted but now a mere skeleton in the ancestral cupboard employed as in some pathetic perennial rit-

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95. Windsor Forest, 12.

ual having lost all of its immediate significance.

Conversely, then, the non-suggestive imagery and diction of Pope is meaningful for a large cross-section of readers not vitally interested in potentially various interpretation which is rich in implication for different individuals. He was writing poetry for a society primarily interested in cohesion and unity at overt political and economic levels; therefore it was essential that the diction of their poetry should have been authoritatively prescribed for perspicuity and clarity. Pope, in commenting on Wycherley's remark that "sprightliness of wit despises method", noted that true wit emerges only when propriety is observed - propriety which includes clarity, order, and harmony:

> "This is true enough, if by wit you mean no more than fancy or conceit; but in the better notion of wit, considered as propriety, surely method is not only necessary for perspicuity and harmony of parts, but gives beauty even to the minute and particular thoughts, which reeeive an additional advantage from those which precede or follow in their due place..." 96

Hobbes had typified the attitude of a slightly earlier period which was preparing for that of Pope, in his "Brief" of Aristotle. He also emphasized clarity and order:

> "The vertues of a Word are two, the first that it be perspicuous; the second, that it be decent; that is, neither above, nor below the thing signified..." 97

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96. Pope, A., Letter to Wycherley, Nov 29, 1707, WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol VI, p 34.
97. Hobbes, T., "Brief of the Art of Rhetorick", Bk III, Ch 2, ARISTOTLE'S RHETORIC AND POETIC, Aristotle had written:

In defending Homer's running epithets Pope once more returned to the argument of propriety:

> "Those [the running epithets] of the gods depended upon the powers and offices then believed to belong to them; and had contracted a weight and veneration from the rites and solemn devotions in which they were used." 98

We should also observe here the implied defence of Pope's traditional diction. Quintilian, who echoes Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, had quoted from the latter to demonstrate how propriety ("to speak with aptitude") depends upon judgment, an identification also made by Hobbes. The passage was quoted from Cicero's "De oratore":

> "What sort of delivery can be better than that of speaking in pure Latin, with perspicuity, with gracefulness, and with aptitude, and congruity to the subject in question?" 100

Quintilian had proceeded to establish propriety as basic to decorum:

> "Of what avail will it be that our language is pure Latin, that it is expressive, elegant, adorned with figures, and harmoniously arranged, unless it be also adapted to establish the conclusions to which we wish the judge to be led, and to confirm him in them?" 101

"The virtue of diction, however, consists in being perspicuous, and not mean." (POETICS, Ch XXII, p 454.)

98. Pope, A., "Preface" to the Translation of Homer's Iliad.
99. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk XI, Ch 1, sec i.
100. Ibid, sec i.
101. Ibid, sec ii.

For "Latin" and "judge" substitute "English" and "reading public" and the statement becomes one that Pope could have made : propriety is essential for the clear understanding of what is written, and clarity of understanding is of paramount importance. For Pope as for Quintilian, the "parts" of rhetoric were a means to an end. In a sense, the end might be called "rhetoric", but the function of rhetoric was to establish true judgments.

Words are a "becoming and magnificent dress of thought"[102] for Quintilian, yet he had warned:

> "nothing is to be done for the sake of words, as words themselves were invented for the sake of things,[103] and as those words are the most to be commended which express our thoughts best..."[104]

Single words should be "Latin, intelligible, elegant, and appropriate to that which we wish to express"[105]; words in conjunction must be "correct, well arranged, and diversified occasionally with figures."[106] Propriety signifies "the exact term for a thing"[107], but Quintilian had qualified this by objecting to terms that are "obscene, or offensive, or mean."[108] It might be imagined

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102. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk VIII, Introd., Ch 20.
103. Compare with this view that of today's anthropologist semanticists, who contend that words in primitive societies are emotive acts.
104. Ibid, Bk VIII, Introd. Ch 32.
105. Ibid, Bk VIII, Ch 1, sec i.
106. Loc.cit.
107. Ibid, Ch.2, sec i.
108. Ibid, sec ii.

that Quintilian would have condemned Pope's general terms such as "finny tribe" and "smoking tube", since he ridicules the substitution of "Iberian shrub" for "Spanish broom".[109] But he proceeded to justify catachresis and the relative impropriety of metaphoric speech, and added:

> "... in that sort of propriety, which uses the exact word for everything, there is no merit."[110]

As the true rhetorician, then, was obliged to think and speak in terms of universals which present fundamental truths, so Pope concluded that the poet was similarly bound, and the end of all the weary labours over diction would serve the true end of poetry:

> "O sacred weapon! left for Truth's defence,
> Sole dread of Folly, Vice, and Insolence!
> To all but Heav'n-directed hands deny'd,
> The Muse may give thee, but the Gods must guide:
> Rev'rent I touch thee! but with honest zeal,
> To rouse the Watchmen of the public Weal..."[111]

Behind the seemingly trivial occupation with the problem of diction lies the universal aspect, and if for Pope it is written in terms of social reform and of individual identity with society instead of private emotional explorations, he is none the less a poet for it. His diction no less than his didacticism was dictated by the age in which he lived, and justified by an essentially humanistic poetics which stressed clarté, precision, clarity, universal terms, and decorum as the "Way"

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109. Quintilian, loc.cit.
110. Ibid, sec iii.
111. Epilogue to the Satires, 212-17.

to poetic life. That Pope succeeded in mirroring the age with sensitive fidelity and inclusiveness and passion in terms of that diction, is the criterion of his achievement.

CHAPTER IV

THE POETICS OF POPE

1.

Fancy, Judgment, and Embellishment

Pope's poetry was largely didactic because the age demanded that its common sense should comprise the material of the poet.[1] "What oft was thought" was the universal norm, and it was this which the poet should "teach" while embellishing it for "delight" in brilliant although not eccentric phrase. Universally accepted truths must comprise the subject - not primarily because of the veneration of the classics; not because the classics were identified with that Nature which must be copied; not at all because Pope's inventive faculties were withered; not because a new thought "for us who live in the latter ages of the world"[2] would be more ridiculous than sane; not because a blind reaction against seventeenth century "anarchy" led to an epigram-like couplet form as the popular model; but primarily because the intentions of the age were civic, rational, and optimistic, and because the "use" of poetry was traditionally conceived to be in its moral instruction and only much less in its entertainment value.

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1. An Essay on Criticism, 298.
2. Addison, J., THE SPECTATOR, Dec 20, 1711, No 253, vol II, p 164.

Under such a credo, "fancy" must subserve "judgment"; since

> "things divorced in nature are married
> in fancy as in a lawless place," [3]

it is not to be trusted as the major faculty of the artist.

> "Whilst the senses are bound, and reason
> in a manner asleep, fancy, like a sentinel,
> walks the round, ever working, never wear-
> ied;" [4]

therefore the artist must always "take part with thy judgment against thy fancy in anything wherein they shall dissent."[5] If the poet wishes to address to his audience what they already know, he must "polish and repolish" his verses until they will bear comparison with any other sententiae on the subject, glistening with "sprightly wit".[6] Originality is discredited as an end in itself, again not because the "rules" dictated it so much as that the poet's private expression and unique inventions were considered to be anti-social. They were anti-social because they were anti-nature - i.e. were not an imitation of the essential norm and therefore not truthful (for verisimilitude was never the object); the individual in nature was allied with deformity, as we shall see in more detail when we examine the generalized diction. It was an accepted social aim, for example, that all "individuals" be taken at the age of two and "civilized" into conformity. This educative duty followed from the exaltation of reason and of the rational society which exemplified rational law, and to

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3. Fuller, T., "The Holy State and The Profane State" (1642 edtn), SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PROSE AND POETRY, ed Coffin, R.P.T. and Witherspoon, A.M., New York, 1946, p 389.
4. Loc.cit.
5. Loc.cit.
6. An Essay on Criticism, 302.

which it was the poet's duty to refer for "content"[7]. Originality was relatively unimportant, since the reason (judgment) was considered unable to invent by itself; but above all because eternal truth never alters behind her mask of appearances, and exercises in ingenuity of expression both waste the vision and violate the undeviating "generality" of their subject without probing behind the masks.

Pope as a humanist was well aware that "classicism tempered"rationalism"; he knew that the classical humanist's approach acted as a modifier of rationalist excesses, and said as much time and again in "An Essay on Criticism". "Those Rules of old"[9] are a part of Nature; it is Nature that the poetic aspirant must follow - "First follow Nature, and your judgment frame / By her just standard."[10] Judgment is not sufficient alone, and those who fail to recognize this err through "pride" in their own judgments.[11] "Right reason" can dispel "that cloud", but true judgments are not a consequence of a"little learning" merely.[12] Right reason refers to much more than logical acts of judgment : ultimately it implies an inclusive identification of the whole man (microcosm) with the whole Nature (macrocosm). The great classical critics and authors were "tho' learn'd, well-bred",[13]

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7. Vide Chapter V infra, sec v.
8. Warren, A., op.cit. p 18. Warren wrote this of the seventeenth century.
9. An Essay on Criticism, 89-90.
10. Ibid, 68-9.
11. Ibid, 211.
12. Ibid, 215.
13. Ibid, 635.

and knew that stature was a matter of integral spiritual growth, not the degree of subservience to established rules. During the early Renaissance[14] just criticism and the arts revived, and spread finally to the "brave Britons"; but once more the point is that the Britons were wise enough to despise foreign laws not tested on their own pulses.[15] In other words, the decorous and wise critic or creative writer will not accept a restricted rationalism over a humanizing "Nature" and the "juster ancient cause."[16] Indeed, if Nature is that which "Life, force, and beauty must to all impart,"[17] it is a much broader concept than that "judgment" represented by the Hobbesians as deriving from perceived motions.

In pointing out the anti-rationalism of Schiller, Lee provides us with a touchstone for Pope's belief. In a letter to Körner, Schiller had written:

> "Hence your lamentations over infertility, because ye too early reject and too strictly select ..." [18]

This is later extended into a description of the rules by which the artist works:

> "The mind in the aesthetic condition certainly acts freely, and free in the highest degree from all compulsion, but by no means free from laws ... When the genius has by his products furnished the rule, science can collect these rules, compare them, and try whether they are to be brought under one more general and finally under a single principle." [19]

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14. An Essay on Criticism, 697-704.
15. Ibid, 715.
16. Ibid, 721.
17. Ibid, 72.
18. Schiller, "Letter to Körner", Dec 1, 1788, in Lee, H.B., "A Theory Concerning Free Creation in the Inventive Arts", PSYCHIATRY, vol III, No 2, May 1940, p 236.
19. Ibid, Letter Feb 3, 1794.

Here we have the rejection of a restricted reasoning power as sufficient "cause" for the artist, and at the same time an enunciation of belief in the necessity of rules. In his efforts to qualify the extravagant claims made for reason in his time, Pope noted how thin a partition separates Instinct from Reason:

> "'Twixt that, and Reason, what a nice barrier,
> For ever separate, yet for ever near!" [20]

Indeed, he adds,

> "What thin partitions Sense from Thought divide..."[21]

"Honest instinct" can in fact sometimes achieve that which "heavier Reason labours at in vain."[22] Nor is reason infallible; man is

> "Born but to die, and reas'ning but to err;
> Alike in ignorance, his reason such,
> Whether he thinks too little, or too much:
> Chaos of Thought and Passion all confused...
> Sole judge of Truth, in endless Error hurl'd." [23]

Reason is not enough - it is the compass, "but Passion is the gale"[24]; and when the "Ruling Passion", that demon of the Renaissance with which Pope was so much concerned, comes to take charge of man even Reason is helpless, and "but gives it edge and power."[25] Pope's praise of passion when it is not allowed to

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20. An Essay on Man, Epistle I, 223-4.
21. Ibid, 226.
22. Ibid, Epistle III, 92.
23. Ibid, Epistle II, 10-13, 17. This might have been directly derived from Montaigne's "Apology for Raymond Sebond."
24. Ibid, 108.
25. Ibid, 147.

unbalance the personality is also in line with the later Schiller. As for his support of the "rules", "An Essay on Criticism" is a just measure of their authority for Pope so long as the golden mean is not violated. The passage berating critics who "talk of principles, but notions prize"[26] is too well-known to quote, but, once more, is characteristic of Pope's humanistic balance and sense of proportion.[27]

The distinction between judgment and fancy already mentioned[28] refers perhaps most directly to Hobbes, since it was to a large extent from him that the poetics of the age shaped either in agreement or reaction. Even such a perspicuous critic as Willey has, it seems to me, misconceived the function of imagery during the early eighteenth century. He writes:

> "... and although poetry saved its dignity in the next century [the eighteenth] by becoming satirical and reflective, it remained essentially an embellishment upon a prose fabric..."[29]

I fail to see where the inclusive moral view of the universe that is represented in Pope's poetry with passion and delightful embellishment is essentially a decoration upon a prose fabric. Even to consider the embellishment alone - or to make the attempt to consider it alone - is to conclude that it is integrated with the poem as a whole. The identity of

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26. An Essay on Criticism, 265.
27. Ibid, 263-88.
28. Supra, pp 48, 101.
29. Willey, B., THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND, p 219.

sound and sense in the following passage, the exquisite music echoing each shade of thought, the "picture" epithets ("headlong mountains", "downward skies"), the delightful paradox of"wat'ry landscape" and"pendant woods", the sensitive verb "tremble" : these bespeak a rhetoric emerging from an original imaginative conception:

> "Oft in her glass the musing shepherd spies
> The headlong mountains and the downward skies,
> The wat'ry landscape of the pendant woods,
> And absent trees that tremble in the floods;
> In the clear azure green the flocks are seen,
> And floating forests paint the waves with green,
> Thro' the fair scene roll slow the lingering streams,
> Then foaming pour along, and rush into the Thames." 30

This is an example of "fanciful" embellishment appearing spontaneously within the poem; one cannot say that judgment somehow detaches itself during the creative process to direct fancy here and there. Hobbes, we know, in his "Answer to Davenant" (1650) set up "judgment" as the examining part of the poet's mind, whereas the "fancy",

> "when any work of Art is to be performed,
> findes her materials at hand and prepared
> for use, and needs no more than a swift
> motion over them, that what she wants, and
> is there to be had, may not lie too long
> unespied." 31

Hobbes here treats the fancy as if it were some autonomous faculty which can be put into motion at will - or rather, tends to be perpetually in motion, and is moreover able to exercise some kind

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30. Windsor Forest, 211-8.
31. Hobbes, T., "Answer to Davenant", CRITICAL ESSAYS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, ed Spingarn, J.E., vol II, p 59.

of selective discrimination. This latter aspect would seem to clash somewhat with Hobbes' general position that there is a strict dichotomy between reason (judgment) and fancy (imagination), and that these servants of the poet can be dispatched whenever necessary, the first for fable organization, the second for the "plastering-on" of ornament. This is the vicious end-result of the Renaissance aggravation of splitting the function of poetry into "teach" and "delight". The earlier Renaissance had, however, preserved at least a theoretical unity, but that tended to disappear when scrutinized by a materialistic psychology which tended to scorn the fancy. Apparently Dryden subscribed to the same point of view:

> "For imagination in a poet is a faculty so wild and lawless, that like a high-ranging spaniel, it must have clogs tied to it, lest it outrun the judgment." 32

It appears, then, that the earlier Renaissance conception of the poet as a truer mirror of reality than physical nature herself can be, had fallen under the attcks of the scientific rationalists; but this is not true of the major poets. We can see, for example, that Dryden's spaniel image is not merely the non-integrated decoration of a fanciful virtuoso bent on "amusing delightfully"; on the contrary, it obviously had its birth with the original conception, was implicit in it - was, in fact, the conception itself expressed in the dynamic terms of the creative

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32. Dryden, J., "Epistle Dedicatory of the Rival Ladies", ESSAYS, ed Ker, W.P., vol I, p 8.

imagination. And just as Dryden's image belies his theory, so it is possible to discover that the imagery of the best poets of any age upsets the neat cart of critical apples and we see they are too perfectly spherical and shining to delude more than one of our senses.

It is true enough that the fancy, as Hobbes conceived it, could betray the poetic integration of any poet who wrote according to theory alone. But to posit fancy and judgment as almost totally exclusive faculties was to deny that heightened sensibility which can receive from nature much more than the mere "natura naturata". Hobbes, however, half-confessed the unreality of the isolation even while he insisted upon it:

> "Fancy, without the help of judgment, is not commended as a virtue." 33

And Dryden, after all, emphasized the relatedness of the two:

> "The design of it [the heroic poem] is to form the mind to heroic virtue by example; 'tis conveyed in verse, that it may delight, while it instructs." 34

After the prettification of the post-Romantics (which was itself traceable to the materialistic bifurcation of Hobbes that we have been discussing), readers today are perhaps justly sceptical of ornament of any kind; yet a middle way must be maintained. A rereading of classical critics such as Quintilian

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33. Hobbes, T., LEVIATHAN, Book VIII, p 33.
34. Dryden, J., "Dedication of the Aeneis", ESSAYS, vol II, p 154.

will restore the balance, and enable us to see what kept the English neo-classicists directly in the tradition which had insisted on integration not disassociation:

> "But, in truth, a thing is most natural, when nature has allowed it to be brought into the best condition." 35

And again:

> "Why, then, should they think that strength is relaxed by attention to beauty, when nothing attains its full strength without art, and beauty always accompanies art?" 36

Yet Quintilian knew the dangers of false embellishment as well as any:

> "They indeed are greatly deceived, who imagine that a vicious and corrupt style of eloquence, which exults in a licentious kind of diction, wantons in puerile fancies, swells with inordinary tumour, expatiates on empty commonplaces, decks itself with flowers that will fall if they are in the slightest degree shaken, prefers extravagance to sublimity, or raves madly under the pretext of freedom, will be the most gratifying to the people, and most likely to gain applause." 37

Let us look at the earlier Renaissance once more. We have already observed that the Italian humanist's respect for the classics was passed on eventually to England, and that one of the results was a tendency towards a disastrous form-

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35. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk IX, Ch 4, sec v.
36. Ibid, sec vii.
37. Ibid, Bk XII, Ch 10, sec lxxiii.

content breach finally stated in the baldest terms by Hobbes and exemplified in the lesser Elizabethan and eighteenth century neo-classics poets. In the elevation of the classical style by the humanists - predominantly the styles of Homer, Virgil, and Cicero - there was frequently an emphasis on style regardless of the individuality of the author and with only a second glance vouchsafed to his matter. Truer appreciation revealed the error of this injudicious appraisal:

> "... revealed that the fashionable imitation reproduced only external accidents, while the true object of delight and source of satisfaction escaped its grasp, and common sense at last revealed to ambition that it was impossible to compete with men who had their Greek or their Latin familiarly, as their mother tongue." 38

Yet in 1543 Cardinal Bembo could defend the vernacular in terms that the earlier humanists had applied to Latin and Greek:

> "When it happens that the manner of speech of past times is better than that of the present, then we ought to write in the style of past times, and not in that of our own." 39

Likewise Joachim du Bellay a few years later in France, whose plea for the vernacular was largely related to the rising nationistic sentiment:

> "Whoso wishes to enrich his language, let him set himself to the imitation of the best Greek and Latin authors : and direct the point of his style to all their greatest virtues, as to a sure goal." 40

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38. Renwick, W.L., EDUMND SPENSER, AN ESSAY ON RENAISSANCE POETRY, London, 1925, p 10.
39. "Della Volgar Lingua", prose ed. 1547, fol 23, quoted in Renwick, W.L., Ibid, pp 18-9.
40. Bellay, J. du, LA DEFFENCE ET ILLUSTRATION DE LA LANGUE FRANÇOYSE, ed Chamard, H., Paris, 1904, p 71.

Pope could have made neither of these statements, although he derives from the tradition of such men in their high respect for the classics. He never emphasized style over subject matter as du Bellay had done, nor asserted with Bembo that the style of past times must be imitated in preference to a style inevitably rising out of the imaginative conception of the subject. On the first point Pope was dogmatic:

> "Next, o'er his Books his eyes began to roll,
> In pleasing memory of all he stole,
> How here he sipp'd, how there he plunder'd snug,
> And suck'd all o'er, like an industrious Bug." 41

And again:

> "Authors, like coins, grow dear as they grow old,
> It is the rust we value, not the gold." 42

There are many other qualifications of such a statement as du Bellay's, several in "An Essay on Criticism". Similarly, Bembo's assertions on the classical style met with stiff modification by Pope:

> "Some foreign writers, some our own despise;
> The Ancients only, or the Moderns prize..." 43

> "The vulgar thus through Imitation err..." 44

and lastly:

> "Others for language all their care express,
> And value books, as women men, for Dress:

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41. The Dunciad, Bk I, 127-30.
42. The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, 35-6.
43. An Essay on Criticism, 394-5.
44. Ibid, 424. And yet Ascham's statement proves the efficacy of the Pléiade tradition in England fifty years later. "But yet, because the providence of God left unto us no

> Their praise is still, - the Style is excellent:
> The Sense, they humbly take upon content." 45

It is apparent, them, that in Pope we find a deep consciousness of the humanist tradition, and a sound criticism of the prejudices of its overenthusiastic exponents. Pope had observed that the Renaissance hastened a disseveration of style and content, a kind of "pragmatic secularization" of form, where the classical unity had once persisted. The dualism had been recognized as far back as Dante:

> "Therefore I say at present that the goodness and the beauty of every composition are distinct and separate from each other. Its goodness is in its idea and its beauty in the adornment of its words; both of them are delightful..." 46

This representative medieval man shows us that the dualism of "teach" and "delight" could derive from the unity of the Thomist philosophical system, as well as from the failure to preserve the aesthetic-ethical unity of classical art. Renaissance poetics had self-consciously made an effort to reconcile the two elements. In du Bellay there is a strong insistence on keeping faith with the vernacular in spite of imported formal techniques, and the balance is redressed to some extent; be as painstaking as the ancients (he advised), study them night and day, but write in and for the vernacular always. Here began the shift

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other tonge, save onelie in the Greke and Latin tonge, the trew preceptes and perfite examples of eloquence, therefore we must seek in the Authors onelie of these two tonges the true Patterne of Eloquence." (THE SCHOLEMASTER, ed Arber, E., London, 1870, p 138.)

45. An Essay on Criticism, 305-8.
46. "Convivio" II, 11, in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit., p 200.

back towards creative unity, with a recognition that decorum entails an essential congruity of style and matter - represents, in fact, an indwelling "virtue" of the creative act which functions much like the Aristotelian Final Cause on the Formal Cause.

2.

Ramist Rhetoric

In 1672 John Milton transcribed a work which even then, over one hundred years after its composition, was exerting a remarkable influence on the rhetorical practices of the day.[47] It was not, however, to hold its eminence much longer as a detailed variant of the classical logic : the age of Sprat and Tillotson with its simplifications of rhetorical practices was to spell death to any such involved system, even though that system had been the breeder of the heresy that was to oust it. The then well-known but now almost completely forgotten author was Peter Ramus, and Milton's title for his transcription, "Artis logicae plenior institutio, as P.Ramus methodum concinnata."[48] A second well-known sixteenth century rhetorician and logician of the Ramist school was Omar Talon, and sometimes the logic of the school is referred to as Tal-

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47. Thus Tuve: "... Ramus' ideas gradually took the field in England during the first half of the seventeenth century." (op.cit. p 351.)
48. Milton, J., WORKS, New York, 1935, vol XI.

aean. But we shall deal here only with the founder of the system which was to influence the poetics of the following two centuries, and who was one of the first rhetoricians to divine trends towards naturalism and induction (Ramus practiced deduction, however), towards a more open-minded rationalism and pragmatic realism, which were to result in a discarding of many of the decorative appurtenances of the poet, and in an emphasis on logical content.

Pope's adaptations of rhetorical devices, and the degree to which he employed them, were directly qualified by Ramist influence. Since this is so, a brief recapitulation of rhetorical innovations as made by the Ramist school will enable us to see which were taken up by Pope and which discarded. The disciplines of Ramist and Talaean logic and rhetoric can all be related to a much tighter identification of rhetoric with dialectic. This central observation implies a tighter identification of poetry with dialectic, and this suggests in turn that Ramus was but remaking the traditional classic stress on dialectic in oratory as against the Renaissance emphasis on adornment, embellishment, picturing, all of which led the careless poet to violate an essential decorum based on the interrelatedness of aesthetic, ethic, and logic.[49]

Aristotelian rhetoric had been closely related to the underlying dialectical search for truth,[50] and it was

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49. Vide Tuve, R., op.cit. p 337.
50. Aristotle had placed rhetoric between moral and civil knowledge on the one hand, and logic on the other.

only later during the decadent stages of the Empire and again during the late Renaissance that rhetoric as embellishment had been valued above the central purpose of speech and writing. Consistent identification of rhetoric and poetics during the Renaissance was a consequence of the misrepresentation, and although a large number spoke out against over-embellishment few appeared to recognize the basic confusion. Mazzoni distinguished rhetoric from poetics by contending that the former attempts to make the credible persuasive, while poetry desires to make the credible marvellous.[51] Pope clearly distinguishes between the two, but he could never have accepted Mazzoni's statements since for the former poetry as well as rhetoric was intent on making the credible persuasive.

Tasso was more of Pope's opinion, and in line with Ramist ideas on the subject:

> "I cannot concede that ... the most excellent species of poetry is the phantastic... Without doubt poetry is to be classed under dialectic with rhetoric... Or I should say that poetry is not a subdivision of dialectic but rather of logic."[52]

Pope as a humanist would disagree with Tasso that poetry is a subdivision of logic - Ramus himself had never gone that far; Pope could agree, however, with the direction of the emphasis Tasso was making. After all, Pope was prepared to employ all

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51. "On the Defence of the Comedy of Dante" (1587), in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit. p 388.
52. "Discourses on the Heroic Poem" (1594), in Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, pp 473-4.

the logical and rhetorical devices at hand in order to "get his message across". In an age when rhetoric and logic were principle school studies it is not surprising that poets should have employed, both consciously and unconsciously, techniques utilizing these devices in order to make their point. And it is as well to remember that these were principle school studies because it was universally believed that the point was the thing - in other words, that there was a basic moral responsibility which the poet must never betray.

The Ramists took logic as the root of all the arts, and the process in dialectic from general to the particular as exemplified in the best poetry was considered a "natural" procedure. It was an essential function of the poet to be logical. We have then a deductive dialectic primarily employed by the poet in order to represent universals to the reader. Ramus allotted the poet's training in "Invention" and "Disposition" to his preliminary studies as a dialectician, thus featuring the part dialectic plays in the creative act; the poet was to work as a rhetorician only after the process of organization had been completed - not, after all, so far from Quintilian's outline of training for the orator. Thus was implied a stricter examination of the true nature of the poet's subject : since there is true order in nature, dialectic will reveal the truth. Even the figures themselves are

to serve as steps in the argument : in other words, they serve a functional didactic purpose.[53] In addition to the "Dialectae partitionis" of 1543 there was a second widely known treatise of the same nature : that by Agricola published first in 1515 and entitled "De inventione dialectica libri tres".[54] These were the two most popular books on logic during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they frequently appeared in abridgements or translations, amplified versions or adaptations, many times in England, by such authors as Thomas Wilson, Erasmus, Abraham Fraunce, Gabriel Harvey, together with many other educators.[55]

Agricola had declared that rheotorical investigation and dialectical investigation were for all practical purposes the same thing. Ramus later agreed with this as we have seen, and both authors reduced the processes of logical investigation and restricted rhetoric to tropes and figures. The figures of thought were included under logic, thus placing the onus of amplification and adornment on rational rather than aesthetic means, - and thus, incidentally, paving the way for an ultimate dualism of aesthetics and ethics. The tendency, then, for such a moral logician (and logical moralist) as Pope was to employ the figures of thought more and

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53. R.Tuve considers these aspects in some detail in Chapters XII and XIV, op.cit.
54. Published at Louvain, 1515.
55. Samuel Johnson observed that it was to Ramus that he first owed the awakening from his dogmatic slumbers as engendered by the Schoolmen. (LIVES OF THE POETS, vol I, p 148.)

more to the exclusion of the figures of emotion, and the latter rarely for anything but the applied adornment of reasoning. Proverbs, authority, and commonly accepted beliefs were also used illustratively in a manner suggestive of the "extrinsic" places or topics of traditional logic.

This application to Pope is obvious, but I am not suggesting the direct influence of Ramist theory and practice on him[56] other than as it came through Elizabethan and seventeenth century poetics, and in studies on rhetoric by such men as Hobbes. (I believe, in fact, that a considerable case could be made for Pope's indebtedness to the "Metaphysicals" in their "substitution of intellectual probing for rhetorical persuasion"[57] as in part a result of Ramist influence. I am aware that the Ramists deplored such extensive classifications of figures as found in Puttenham,[58] and the Ramist system must be considered an important cause of the deterioration and final neglect of such outlines. But they accepted the due function of the figures.)

Pope, then, reflects such a conception of the dialectic-didactic function of poetry, although it must be granted that for him the essential nature of things had its

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56. This would be easier to do if he had undergone a longer period of public schooling, for example.
57. Tuve, R., op.cit. p 343.
58. THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, ed Willcock, G.D. and Walker, A., Cambridge, 1936.

most important reference for mankind in social truths conveyed as sufficient revelation. Pope is one with the Ramist in stressing ordered argument in an unbroken reasonable pattern, and in employing imagery as logically functional. Even his correctness, as much as it may be due to other sources, also reflects the Ramist insistence on the vital force of every word; so also his indebtedness to their concept of universal order,[59] creation a pattern in the mind of God,[60] and his belief that the poet's function is to reveal the order of all things and thereby lead to certain knowledge of as much reality as a man of "common sense" can handle. It must be admitted that Pope, like Ramus himself, did not intuitively experience a mystique of universal relationships, but it existed for him as very much more than a cold intellectual conception, ethically if not metaphysically explicit - as in the following lines:

> "Vast Chain of Being! which from God began,
> Natures ethereal, human, angel, man,
> Beast, bird, fish, insect, what no eye can see,
> No glass can reach, from infinite to thee,
> From thee to Nothing..." [61]

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59. "Such is the World's great harmony, that springs
From Order, Union, full consent of things."
-An Essay on Man, 295-6, Epistle III.

60. "God in the nature of each being founds
Its proper bliss, and sets its proper bounds..."
-Ibid, 109-10.
These doctrines were orthodox, of course, and can be found well expressed in the writings of the great ecclesiastic of a century previous to that of Pope - Hooker.

61. Ibid, Epistle I, 237-41.

Or again:

> "All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
> Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;
> That, chang'd through all, and yet in all the same;
> Great in the earth, as in th' ethereal frame...
> Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent;
> Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,
> As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart..." [62]

Those are the words of a man who experienced an intellectual passion whenever he contemplated the inherent unity and order of creation. Pope is seldom more passionate than when writing about The Chain, and in "an Essay on Man" alone it is referred to over twenty times.[63]

Pope, too, employed axiomatic statement as the Ramist enjoined; and although lacking what might be called the ontological vivacity of the Metaphysicals yet there are in Pope deep-seated moral tremors which in their certain dialectic provide a parallel excitement. Again, figures of all kinds do have in Pope's work the logical applicability required by a Talon; and he employed tropes more often than schemes, which is to be expected from the Ramist rhetorician.

That Pope had himself studied logic and dialec-

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62. An Essay on Man, Epistle I, 267-70, 273-6.
63. Ibid, Epistle I : 17-34, 43-50, 120-30, 206-10, 228-32, 237-46, 267ff; Epistle III : 7-26, etc.

tical practice to the point of being thoroughly familiar with terms and their functions is evident from "The Memoirs of Martin Scriblerus".[64] In his "Preface to the Iliad" he refers to Homer's similes as "too exuberant and full of circumstances", to his invention as unable "to confine itself to that single circumstance upon which the comparison is grounded."[65] In the same context he employs the terms "embellishments", "proportion", "ornaments", and "images". The "Moral Essays" represent attempts to apply not only certain of the topics of logic such as definition, cause, effect, similitude, testimony from authority,[66] but also certain aspects of rhetorical investigation - i.e. as to whether the matter under discussion is just, lawful, profitable, honest, proper, consistent, etc. - in other words to make, imitate, and amplify themes. It could not be upheld that Pope strictly applied (let us say) Aphthonius' complete system of topics and figures one by one, or even consistently;[67] Pope scorned such ready-made systems. He frequently reflects, however, famil-

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64. "The Art of Sinking in Poetry", WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol X, pp 344-409, especially chapters 7 and 8. Warren has observed that one of Pope's indexes to his edition of Shakespeare lists speeches according to rhetorical classifications such as "exhortatory, vituperative, execrative, deliberative, narrative, pathetic, soliloquy." (ALEXANDER POPE AS CRITIC AND HUMANIST, p 134.)
65. My italics for the "topics".
66. This whole group of topics is frequently referred to as figures of thought; they function primarily in dialectical investigation. An examination of Pope's figures (vide sec. 3 of this chapter) shows that he employed this kind predominantly.
67. Aphthonius, PROGYMASMATA, trans. Rainolde, R. (1563) and

iarity with the whole tradition of logic and rhetoric as practised in this manner. It is not unrealistic to assume this tradition in Pope's own background; it was a strong tradition during the seventeenth century, and we remember that every worthwhile sermon set out from the three basic divisions of invention, disposition, and application, and proceeded to amplify these with all the orthodox rhetorical means available.

3.

The Figures

Pope's use of the traditional devices of rhetoric is evident in the prefaces he attached to each epistle of his "Moral Essays"[68] and to "An Essay on Criticism". These arguments are carefully numbered for the disposition of the subject and the orderly arrangement of the discussion. Ralph Johnson's "Scholar's Guide"[69] contained a representative set of rules for the making of an essay, and is typical of the countless Renaissance "recipes"[70] for each "Kind". Johnson's

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entitled "A Booke called the foundation of rhetorike", New York, 1945. It was to such a study that Erasmus and Peacham were indebted.

68. Of the second series of "Moral Essays" in five epistles, Epistles II and III are not prefaced by an argument, although Epistle II has the argument carefully set out in its footnotes.

69. Johnson, R., THE SCHOLARS GUIDE FROM THE ACCIDENCE TO THE UNIVERSITY, (1665), London, 1706. Vide Appendix C.

70. Reference to the genres has already been made. Sir T.

is much simpler than many such schemes, however, and I have selected it in order to illustrate Pope's indebtedness - or, to put it another way, his integral relation to a continuous tradition in English literature in this matter. Johnson was not speaking specifically of an essay in verse, but I apply it to a section of Pope's moral essay "Of the Use of Riches".

The third Epistle opens with a discussion of the nature of riches and their uses : i) mankind's struggles for them amuses the gods; ii) few men know their true use; iii) they serve to distinguish two sorts of men; iv) they are given indiscriminately to all sorts and conditions of men; and v) they serve where Nature fails to supply. Thus far (1-22) Johnson's rules have been complied with exactly. The several sorts or kinds of riches and their distinctions are treated next (23-34) : i) they are unequally bestowed; ii) some riches serve to sustain but others iii) "the dark Assassin hires", or iv) help trade and society, v) lure the greedy, vi) corrupt the good, vi) raise armies, or vii) bribe the government. A particular illustration is then provided for the last instance (35-8), employing the figures of Emphasis, (Old Cato), Onomatapeia (37), and Prosopopeia ("the dropping guinea

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Blount was a typical critic of Pope's time in his dealing chapter by chapter with the "kinds" - satire, tragedy, comedy, epic, elegy, ode, songs, madrigals, epigrams, etc. (op.cit.)

spoke"[71]). An Isocolon leads then to a Metaphor (39-40) extending the distinction last made. Paper-credit as a sort of riches is introduced and apostrophized (39-48) by means of various figures including Metaphor (41,47), Anaphora (43,45), Asindeton (41-42), Dialisis and enallage (41), Hiperbaton and Metonimia (47), and Paradoxon; "adjuncts and effects" are also dealt with in this passage. As for Johnson's fourth rule, Pope most certainly fulfils it to the letter, and in just over four hundred lines points out not only the greatest perversions in the use of riches but also the "due medium" and "true use of riches" (notwithstanding Samuel Johnson's discountenancing[72] of the "Man of Ross" episode).

The epistle continues (49-76) to suggest that if wealth were of necessity represented only by its bulk material goods and not by currency, its misapplication might be considerably less. Here once more Ralph Johnson's second rule finds fulfilment in a liberal sprinkling of figures including Prosopopeia (60), Emphasis, Antithesis, Antipophora (52), Insultatio (61), Metaphor (62), Interrogatio (66), Sinathrismus, and Irony (76). The following passage (77-106) further considers the effects of riches on the wealthy, the latter exemplifying

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71. I have not attempted to comment on all the figures employed in this passage, but merely those of a more striking illustrative quality. But see below, 217-236 of the Fourth Epistle.
72. LIVES OF THE POETS, vol II, p 292.

the failure of riches to endow happiness, and proving that they often multiply evil propensities. Neither do the poor benefit, since avariciousness justifies itself by contending that God cannot love those he created to starve. Some of the figures employed in this section are Zeugma (85-6), Parenthesis (91), Procatalepsis (99), Sinathrismus, Sillepsis and Synecdoche (88), Sarcasmus (105), Paradigma (103-4), Metalepsis (90), and Etiologia (85-6).[73]

Pope's strict application of formal rhetorical method should be apparent now. In addition to the identification made in the above example with Ralph Johnson, one could refer to Quintilian's advice for successful deliberative oratory,[74] which recommends following a similar plan. The remainder of the third Epistle is as carefully fashioned as the section already examined, but a second aspect of Pope's humanistic poetics can be better illustrated by a detailed examination of the figures occurring in lines 217-36 of the Fourth Epistle, including figures of thought, of syntax, and of emotion.[75]

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73. Such a logical analysis of the Epistle is by no means forcing the issue. Pope's letter to Wycherley (Nov. 20, 1707) sets forth a similarly detailed plan for the latter's poem on Dulness.
74. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk III, Ch 8, especially sections x to lxviii.
75. Vide Appendix A. The 1593 version of Henry Peacham's figure-system is reproduced in this appendix, followed by the excerpt from Pope placed there for convenient reference. It should be noted that Peacham failed to reproduce in this edition his 1577 labelling of "Grammatical schemes, orthographical and syntactical", but these are to some extent represented in the later system as given, although

A brief review of the various functions and classifications of figures might be helpful before proceeding to examine the passage from Pope. Figures were divided into two major categories by most rhetoricians : figures of words, under which we find both tropes and schemes listed; and figures of thought. A trope is a figure using words to mean something different from their ordinary, or proper, meaning - as in metaphor and metonymy.[76] A scheme, or as it is sometimes called, figure of arrangement, is an employment of words in their literal sense but arranged in an unusual or artificial way, as in alliteration or parison. A figure of thought involves giving the thought itself unusual treatment, as in dilemmas, examples, imaginary dialogues, etc; a figure of words may be contained under it. The figures which Puttenham names "Auricular", "Sensable", and "Sententious", are the same respectively as figures of syntax, affection, and thought. We might also observe here that the five orthodox means of rhetorical amplification are comparison, division, accumulation, intimation, and progression; Peacham based his system upon these categories.

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many are missing. Peacham's system closely followed the "Epitome" of Susenbrotus, one of the most popular of the sixteenth century textbooks on rhetoric.

76. Quintilian defined the trope as "the conversion of a word or phrase, from its proper signification to another, in order to increase its force." (Bk VIII, Ch 6, sec i.) Or, as he writes elsewhere, "for the purpose of adorning style." (Bk IX, Ch 1, sec iv.)

For the following passage, the identification of Pope's figures as falling under one or the other of the Peacham divisions has not been made individually but only statistically, since they can easily be found by reference to the chart reproduced in the appendix.[77] The figures employed by Pope in the Fourth Epistle of "An Essay on Man" (217-36) are as follows:

217 : zeugma, anachinosis, metaphora, erotema, ploche.
218 : interrogatio.
220 : agnomination, autonomasia, epitheton.
221 : eclipsis.
222 : hyperbole.
223 : contentio, asindeton.
224 : agnomination, synecdoche, hyperbole, insultatio.
225 : antistrophe (with verse 218), eclipsis, sinonimia.
226 : onomatapeia, agnomination, enallage.
228 : metanoia, eclipsis, distinctio.
229 : procatalepsis, asindeton, contentio.
231 : syneciosis, agnomination, eclipsis, meiosis, mezozeugma.
232 : hypozeuxis, ploche, parison, asindeton.
233 : ploche, eclipsis, anaphora.
234 : climax, metonimia.
235 : paradigma, catachresis.
236 : paradigma, anaphora (with verse 235)

Figures extending over more than one verse are:

climax : 217-32.
epanodis (prosopodosis) : 217-32 analyze greatness as the property of either the hero or the wise. The lines dealing with heroes (219-24), and those concerning the wise (225-8), are both resolved in the summarizing argument (229-32).
epithonema : 231-2.
irmus : 233-6.
orismus : the passage as a whole distinguishes between the falsely great (217-32) and the truly great (233-6).
similiter desinens (homoioteleuton) : the couplet rhymes.

Of the figures observed, the classification is as

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77. Vide Appendix A.

follows: sixteen figures of thought, five figures of affection, twenty-four figures of words, and eight tropes. This result is precisely what we would expect from a poet fully conscious of formal rhetorical practice as qualified by Ramist principles, yet fully trained as well in the rhetorics of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian. Such a passage of argumentative expatiation demands the maintenance of decorum (of subject and of Kinds) by a preponderance of figures of thought over those of affection and over tropes. The thirteen affective figures are indicative of the more intense currents of feeling (although tropes are not necessarily emotive). The largest group of figures of words is a constant in Pope,[78] and is consistent with his maintenance of the heroic couplet in its smoothness, stability, brilliance, point, and correctness. The demands of the placing of the caesura alone, largely unvarying from between the third and fifth syllables, require a remarkable degree of ingenuity in syntactical adjustment, especially when the poet

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78. Thus Henry Peacham : "... the figures of the first order have their speciall regard to the placing of words, and their proper grace in a musicall proportion, wherein the mind and wit of man even by a naturall instinct taketh pleasure and delight." THE GARDEN OF ELOQUENCE (1593 edtn.), in Crane, W.G., op.cit., p 240. We observe here too the delight in craft for its own sake, although as an integral part of the poet's duty, upon which Pope humanistically restored due emphasis.

is aware of contemporary demands for clarity and forthright syntax. Pope's excessive number of figures of words is, however, a betrayal of the decorum he otherwise so well preserved in the main. Yet we must recall that since the later Restoration period (but finding its beginnings in the scientific writings of men like Thomas Digges during the last half of the sixteenth century) the English language had been undergoing a classicizing consolidation by men fully conscious of the various contemporary forces shaping it, in which not only the academic influence of scientists but the ever-rising middle classes played their part. This sense of language was always present to Pope, and the many figures of words can be said to reflect his consciousness of forces making for revisions and shifts of emphases in language which inevitably accompany changes in attitudes and beliefs. It is a mistake(sometimes made) to consider Pope's technique as a mechanism existing somehow in and for itself rather than the outcome of facing the larger problems of his time. G.Wilson Knight warns against such an attitude:

> "But wherever we find a poet, or critic, laying too final an emphasis on verbal, or linear, poetry, or even on paragraph movements or whole short poems, as distinct from the marshalling and manipulation of imaginative substance, there is a corresponding danger : since often the very excellence, indeed the seemingly stiff integrity and organic cohesion of certain

> passages or of short poems, may be won through a willed rejection of those more far-reaching and romantic energies that constitute the poetic challenge of Pope and Byron."[79]

In a detailed analysis such as has just been made of a few lines of Pope this danger is ever-present.[80] Yet only such an examination can provide evidence not only of Pope's indebtedness to specific systems of rhetoric which were part of the tradition of English literature (as absorbed from continental sources and originating in Greece and Rome), but also of his sensitive response to modifications in those systems. An examination of "The Basset-Table" reveals seventy-three figures of thought, twenty-five of affection, eighty-six figures of words, and sixty-one tropes - and these in a poem of only one hundred and twelve lines! Confronted with such evidence it is impossible to make the mistake of thinking that the figures were largely discarded after the sixteenth century, simply because charts of rhetorical figures tended to disappear from the schoolbooks; or that because Pope was a didactic poet in a "rational" age he must have employed very few figures. We have seen that nothing could be farther from the truth. But it must also be emphasized once more that these figures of Pope's are not incongruously applied to the exterior of the poem as it were, in the manner of a Roman adorning his villa with Greek

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79. Knight, G.W., THE BURNING ORACLE, London, 1939, p 290.
80. At the risk of increasing that danger, an examination of the figures in "The Basset-Table" is added in Appendix D.

pediments and entablatures. Pope's figures are functional throughout. The statistics on "The Basset-Table" reveal that figures of words are again in the majority and for the same reason as suggested before. Figures of thought are the next most numerous, and we shoudd expect this in a witty mock-pastoral satire of manners. Figures of affection appear more frequently, in order to embellish the mock passions represented. The large number of tropes is also consistent in a poem of meanings "twisted" both to achieve irony and to represent the strong feelings of the two protagonists. Thus Pope has once again proven typical of the post-Renaissance trends in rhetoric.

After a survey of sixteenth and seventeenth century schoolbooks, Crane noted that

> "... in the hands of Renaissance teachers the Progymnasmata of Aphthonius amounted almost entirely to exercises in amplification." 81

Lord Clarendon of Pope's day wrote several essays in the manner of stock schoolboy developments of apophthegm into theme by means of traditional rhetorical principles. He often commenced as essay with definition, the first of the recognized processes of logical investigation. The same is true of many others,

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81. Crane, W.G., op.cit., p 62.

Abraham Cowley or Francis Osborne, for example. Pope himself, in the careful revision of his letters for publication, strenuously practices just such principles for letter-writing as traditionally set out by the rhetoricians. The third earl of Shaftesbury's "Miscellaneous Reflections" (1711) illustrate the decay of the formal rhetorical essay into loosely discursive ramblings, as he himself observed.[82]

Pope's use of the Theophrastian Character, altered as it was to reflect the increased personal interest of the realistic middle class, was in line with the work of journalists and novelists. He employs this character form for illustration in such portraits as The Man of Ross, Atticus, Chloe, Atossa, Sporus, and in a more general form in the detailing of the moral critic and of the poet-guardian of society. This was natural enough, since the Character had become closely associated with the Essay in rhetorical systems, functioning either as hypotyposis or enargia. And just as the technique of his contemporary, Richardson, was in direct descent from the highly rhetorical romances of Diego de San Pedro ("Carcel de amour") and the famous "Celestina" by Fernando de Rojas, so Pope's portraits derived from the traditional Character usage of Earle, Vaughan, Overbury, Hall, and other Englishmen, as well as from Theophrastus, La Bruyère, and the Renaissance Chroniclers.

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82. Shaftesbury, Third Earl of, CHARACTERISTICS, vol III, (no publisher listed), pp 5-6.

The term "invention" was often substituted for "amplification" in the various rhetorics, but it covered precisely the same groups as distinguished in Ramus' system. Pope derived much of his learning in this subject from Cicero's "De Oratore", "De Partitione Oratoriae", and the "De Inventione", as well as from the "Ad Herennium" then believed to be Cicero's work. One of Cicero's main points was the need for a copious style, and he set out the means of amplification as well as classically exemplifying them. Quintilian had marked out the four chief means of amplification - all studiously applied by Pope as we have seen (supra pp12ff, and Appendix C) - "by augmentation, by comparison, by reasoning, and by accumulation."[83] Pope echoed the opinions of the authorities when he noted the failures of certain authors to adorn their plain style by adequate amplification:

> "Some drily plain, without invention's aid,
> Write dull receipts ..." [84]

He praised Homer for his copiousness:

> "The great beauty of Homer's language, as I take it, consists in that noble simplicity which runs through all his works, and yet his diction, contrary to what one would imagine consistent with simplicity, is at the same time very copious." [85]

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83. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk VIII, Ch 4, sec iii. Cicero, M.T., DE ORATORE.
84. An Essay on Criticism, 114-5.
85. "Letter to Bridges" (1708), WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol VI, p 13.

Again, Pope wrote about amplification and related matters in his "Discourse on Pastoral Poetry", in a fashion directly suggestive of Cicero, Quintilian, Longinus, Sturm, Erasmus, and others:

[86]

> "This variety is obtained in a great degree by frequent comparisons...; by interrogations to things animate; by beautiful digressions, but those short; sometimes by insisting a little on circumstances; and lastly, by elegant turns on words..." [87]

Explicit reference is made here to several devices drawn ffom the fields of either rhetoric or logic : comparatio, interrogatio, digressions both of distributio and parenthesis, various circumstances introduced through paradigma and exempla, and figures of words, all but two of which are of those figures of thought denied to rhetoric and named parts of logic by Ramus.

Pope's differences from earlier humanistic rhetoricians lie chiefly in the Talaean stripping off of such expansive figures as orismus, merismus, exargasia, sinathrismus, and in his general neglect of such means of amplification as [88] proverbs, chria, and parables. Although he opens his imitation

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86. "Amplification ... was also known under the terms 'invention','variety of matter', and 'plenty of matter'." Crane, W.G., op.cit. p 90.
87. Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, POETICAL WORKS, ed Ward, A. W., p 11. My italics.
88. "Chria, this profitable exercise of Rhetorike, is for the profite of it so called ; it is a rehersall in few words, of any ones fact, or of the saying of any man, upon the whiche an oracion maie be made." (A BOOKE CALLED THE FOUNDACION OF RHETORIKE, trans. Rainolde, R., from Aphthonius "Progymasmata", New York, 1945, Fol xvj.)

of the "Sixth Epistle of the First Book of Horace" with a quotation from him, - the famous "nil admirari" lines which provided an authoritative example for neo-classicists in all countries - yet Pope's imitation is by no means a chria. Likewise, allegory is never used for inventio, although a poem such as "The Rape of the Lock" might be taken as an implicit allegory reflecting on man's more ridiculous pretensions. However, if we confine the term "allegory" to a consciously applied one-for-one consistent symbol relationship (at no matter how many levels), it can be said that Pope never wrote one.[89] Neither did he employ the comparatio of animals and humans, nor the strange natural history which delighted earlier amplifiers such as Lyly and Wilson. Similitudes extended for comparison are rarely employed by Pope, although unextended similitudes abound as similes, exempla, etc.

We have observed in this study of Pope's figures that not only does he employ them in great variety, but also so as to satisfy the demands of decorum in the due use of particular figures. He recognized that the figures of thought are basically expressions of a dialectic, for example. He was also aware of another major classical and Renaissance doctrine, sometimes identified by the phrase : "Natura, Usus,

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89. Thus Pope : "... When the mode of learning changed in the following ages, and science was delivered in a plainer manner, it then became as reasonable in the more modern poets to lay it [allegorical fable] aside, as it was in Homer to make use of it." (Preface to the Iliad.)

Doctrina". A capable poet and/or rhetorician needs natural gifts (i.e. wit or ingenium), practice, and study, the latter including knowledge, authority, discipline, etc. These three categorical imperatives for the classicist are mentioned time after time in "An Essay on Criticism". First, as to "Natura":

"In poets as true genius is but rare" 90

"Both must alike from Heav'n derive their light" 91

"Authors are partial to their wit, 'tis true" 92

"Be sure yourself and your own reach to know" 93

"Some, to whom Heav'n in wit has been profuse" 94

"Fierce for the liberties of wit, and bold" 95

"Usus" is so frequently referred to not only in "An Essay on Criticism" but also many times in the "Imitations from Horace", that it is almost unnecessary to quote:

"True ease in writing comes from Art, not chance,
As those move easiest who have learned to dance." 96

"Nature's chief masterpiece is writing well" 97

"Doctrina" is well propagandized by Pope:

"So by false learning is good sense defac'd" 98

"Those Rules of old discover'd, not devis'd,
Are Nature still, but Nature methodiz'd" 99

"Hear how learn'd Greece her useful rules indites" 100

"Know well each Ancient's proper character" 101

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90. An Essay on Criticism, 11.
91. Ibid, 13.
92. Ibid, 17.
93. Ibid, 48.
94. Ibid, 80.
95. Ibid, 717.
96. Ibid, 362-3.
97. Ibid, 724.
98. Ibid, 25.
99. Ibid, 88-9.
100. Ibid, 92.
101. Ibid, 119.

"Be Homer's works your study and delight,
Read them by day, and meditate by night" 102

"Learn hence for ancient rukes a just esteem,
To copy nature is to copy them" 103

"A little learnigg is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep..." 104

It will be seen that several of the above quotations refer to both "usus" and "doctrina". Pope twice refers to the complete triumvirate, if it can be allowed that by "taste" he means "discreet practice":

"Be sure yourself and your own reach to know,
How far your genius, taste, and learning go..." 105

"True Wit is Nature to advantage dress'd,
What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd;" 106

In the latter, he is saying that "ingenium" must be well "expressed" (i.e. applied well) and according to Nature; we know that "Nature" is inclusive of the authorities. The many reflections on undisciplined "wit" are similarly typical of Pope's authorities. The stress is always on decorum : an undue use of wit, of figures, of conceits, etc., violates proportion, good taste, propriety, the "via media", as well as tending to have serious repercussions in the moral sphere as an instance of Pride, the

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102. An Essay on Criticism, 124-5.
103. Ibid, 139-40.
104. Ibid, 215-6.
105. Ibid, 48-9.
106. Ibid, 297-8.

chief moral bugbear for Pope:

"Avoid extremes, and shun the fault of such,
Who still are pleas'd too little or too much." 107

"Who haunt Parnassus, but to please their ear
Not mend their minds ..." 108

"In wit, as nature, what affects our hearts
Is not exactness of peculiar parts;
'Tis not a lip, or eye, we beauty call,
But the joint force and full result of all." 109

"True wit is Nature to advantage dress'd,
What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd" 110

"False Eloquence, like the prismatic glass,
Its gaudy colours spreads on every place;
The face of Nature we no more survey,
All glares alike, without distinction gay :
But true expression, like th' unchanging Sun,
Clears and improves whate'er it shines upon,
It gilds all objects, but it alters none." 111
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There are many other examples, but these are sufficient to indicate that the emphasis is always the same : on a due or just sharing out of the various compositional factors, so that
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"The Whole at once is bold, and regular."

Before leaving this subject of the figures, two further important aspects of the matter must be mentioned :

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107. An Essay on Criticism, 384-5. Note the echo of "nil admirari".
108. Ibid, 341-2. Poetry must teach first, delight afterwards.
109. Ibid, 243-6.
110. Ibid, 297-8.
111. Ibid, 311-17.
112. Throughout the fourth Epistle of the "Moral Essays" runs a continuous commentary on the misapplication of ornament, thought, etc., due to uninstructed taste. As usual he advises : "In all, let Nature never be forgot" (50) and adds: (65-8)

"Still follow sense, of ev'ry Art the Soul,
Parts answ'ring parts shall slide into a whole,
Spontaneous beauties all around advance,
Start ev'n from Difficulty, strike from Chance."

113. An Essay on Criticism, 252. He was writing in the tra-

Pope's indebtedness to Longinus, and "The Art of Sinking in Poetry"[114]. Since the influence of Longinus is evident throughout the latter, it will be appropriate to deal first with that masterpiece of aesthetics and practical criti cism, the fragmentary third century essay "On the Sublime". It had been translated by Boileau in 1674, and from that date proceeded to exercise a remarkable influence on neo-classic poetics.[115]

The "rules" were considered to be an aid to the poet in his creative activity, but Longinus never countenanced their use as a replacement for inspiration controlled by an elevated sobriety. Several critics have discovered an upspringing of "Romantic" tendencies consequent on the popularity of this treatise which posited - not beauty as symmetry -but the sublime as an effort towards the ineffable. Boileau had insisted that soul and form must coexist, and that transport as a function of poetry cannot be denied. This

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dition of the neo-classics once more. The first explicit statement had appeared in Quintilian: "In one respect figures are of great service, by relieving the wearisomeness arising from ordinary and uniform language, and raising us above mere commonplace forms of expression." (Bk IX, Ch 3, sec iii.) The qualification follows : "... though they are ornaments to language when they are judiciously employed, they are extremely ridiculous when introduced in immoderate profusion." (Ibid, sec c.)

114. "The Art of Sinking in Poetry", WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol X, pp 344-409.

115. Roberts notes in his introduction to Longinus that Addison had recommended it to the public; that Burke mentioned it in his "Philosophical Enquiry into ... the Sublime"; that Joshua Reynolds paraphrased much of it in his "Discourses"; and that Bishop R. Lowth (1710-87) applied its principles throughout his lectures on Hebrew poetry given in 1741-50.

derived from Longinus, together with a stress on "Imagination" which partially offset the evils of the Hobbesian concept (Imagination as "decayed sense") and the Pascalian vision of imagination warring against reason:

> "In a general way the name of 'image' or 'imagination' is applied to every idea of the mind... But at the present day the word is predominantly used in cases where, carried away by enthusiasm and passion, you think you see what you describe, and place it before the ears of your hearers." 116

Pope's indebtedness to Longinus in his views on Nature, novelty, imitations, has already been touched on in footnote and incidental references, and it is more relevant at this point to consider the influence on Pope of Longinus' five sources of elevated language:

1. "the power of forming great conceptions"
2. "vehement and inspired passion"
3. "the due formation of figures", "those of thought" and "those of expression"
4. "Noble diction, which ... comprises choice of words, and use of metaphors, and elaboration of language."
5. "dignified and elevated composition" 117

It is chiefly with the third clause that we are concerned at this point. Longinus was insistent on the decorous use of figures:

> "A figure is at its best when the very fact that it is a figure escapes attention." 118

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116. Longinus, ON THE SUBLIME, transl. Roberts, W.R., Cambridge, 1907, p 89.
117. Ibid, p 57.
118. Ibid, p 95. Compare note 113 above.

Figures "bring support to the sublime", and on their part "derive support in turn from it."[119] Longinus mentions certain figures by name : asyndeton, anaphora, diatyposis, hyperbaton, polyptoton, and periphrasis. Pope gives him high praise in "An Essay on Criticism" where he is referred to as "Bold Longinus" in tribute to his vigour and warmth; he is "ardent" and "zealous", has "warmth" and "sublimity".[120]

"The Art of Sinking in Poetry"[121] is second only to the "Imitations of Horace" and "An Essay on Criticism" as a summary of Pope's poetics as well as an indication of the influence of Longinus. Pope shows a considerable knowledge of rhetoric in a detailed study of decorum, amplification, and the figures. For example, in Chapter eight, "circumstances", a major logical "topic", is satirically examined in the "sinking" author's use of it. Pope condemns indecorous and fanciful circumstances, yet never the necessary employment of it as integral to the logic of the poem.[122] He mocks the failure to choose and make apt distinctions (dis-

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119. Longinus, op.cit. p 95.
120. An Essay on Criticism, 675-80.
121. There is no longer any doubt about the authorship of "The Art of Sinking..." In a letter to Swift (Jan 1927-8) Pope wrote: "The third volume of the Miscellanies is coming out post now, in which I have inserted the treatise ["The Art of Sinking..."]" Pope later denied his authorship of "the Profound" to Broome (Letter May 2, 1730), but as Elwin shows (WORKS, vol VIII, p 159, note 2), this was because Pope had satirized Broome's verse in the piece.
122. In a letter to Broome (Nov. 29, 1714) Pope asks him to "translate such notes [of Eustathius on Homer] only as

tinctio), to employ overnice discriminations, to periphrase injudiciously, or to make any other indiscreet amplification.[123] He scorns crude or plagiarist imitation - that which debases the original.[124] On the true imitation he echoes Longinus almost exactly:

> "... another way leads to the sublime... It is the imitation and emulation of previous great poets and writers." "... this proceeding is not plagiarism; it is like taking an impression from beautiful forms and figures or other works of art."[125]

Quintilian's statement with its slightly different and cautionary stress was also well known to Pope:

> "... everything that is the resemblance of something else, must necessarily be inferior to that of which it is a copy...; for in the originals ... there is nature and real power, while every imitation, on the contrary, is something counterfeit..."[126]

Quintilian proceeded to warn against the substitution of imitation for invention, and later, against imitating characteristics with which the writer is not well equipped by nature to deal. He advised, finally, a continuous study and imitation of the masters, augmented by "excellences of his [the student's] own".[127] Pope, therefore, attacked one of his

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concern the beauties or art of the author... Leave out none of the art or contrivance of the poet..."

123. The Art of Sinking ..., pp 366-9.
124. Ibid, Ch IX, pp 370-3.
125. Longinus, op.cit. p 81.
126. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk X, Ch 2, sec xi.
127. Ibid, sec xxvii.

favourite enemies, "namby-pamby" Phillips, for his archaisms, misapplied imitations of Milton as they were.[128] Pope adheres stringently to Longinus' five principal sources of elevated language, as noted above.[129] Remarks on diction are sprinkled throughout "The Art of Sinking..."; chapters ten to twelve are occupied with the figures; chapter thirteen with elevated composition; passion in chapter nine. "Great conceptions" are treated in the first chapters of Pope's treatise.

He begins his analysis of "tropes and figures"[130] with their perverted use by the masters of sinking, who endeavour "to say nothing in the usual way, but (if possible) in the contrary way."[131] The idiosyncratic use of figures applied rather as reflections of the author's peculiarities than as decorous amplification is condemned. Pope occasionally illustrates this point from his own youthful poems, commenting on catachresis, metonymy, synecdoche, aposiopesis, metaphor, "mixture of figures" (probably "exargasia" is referred to), paranomaia (prosonomasia or paronomasia), antithesis, hyperbole, periphrasis, anticlimax, epitheton,

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128. Pope once again scorned Phillips' inept use of archaisms and compares his own pastorals in a Guardian article, Mon. Apr 27, 1713, WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol X, p 507. The Art of Sinking..., p 373. (At this point in Pope's treatise he decries those who employ the "pathetic epigrammatical" in treating of passion (p 373). I note this merely for its interest to those who consider "Eloisa to Abelard" a failure.)
129. Supra, p
130. The Art of Sinking..., Ch X, p 374.
131. Loc.cit.

and others.

From his treatment of the figures, Pope turns to "the several sorts of style", a mocking substitute for the three Ciceronian categories. He also refers to sillepsis, and to the vulgarizing of diction and of poetic idea. His discard of technical terms is made on the grounds that they "estrange your style from the great and general ideas of nature."[132] We shall consider this attitude more fully when discussing generalized diction. His zeal for common sense occasions an unjust discard of a few blameless conceits, and he unduly condemns words as vulgar which are not so; but the directive principle is sound, and such a passage as the following - a compound of the "Cumbrous" and the "Buskin" or "Stately" styles - is only one of the examples Pope discounts with remarkable restraint:

> "Apply thine engine to the spungy door,
> Set Bacchus from his glassy prison free,
> And strip white Ceres of her nut-brown coat."

As an attempt to describe "Uncorking the Bottle" and "chip-[ping] the Bread"[133] this warrants any degree of caustic. In chapter thirteen he once more heavily scores the violation of decorum, and amusingly recommends that the various tropes and

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132. The Art of Sinking..., Ch XII, p 389.
133. Ibid, p 394.

figures be individually assigned to special authors for development. Certain figures are again mentioned - hyperbole, proverb, periphrasis, apologue, ellipsis, aposiopesis, litotes, epithets, sqrcasmus, anadiplosis, ironia, epiphonema, apophthegmata. Pope does not merely list these figures; he applies them, as only one well versed in this aspect of the rhetorical tradition could do, each to function for its due purpose.[134]

His three categories of logical amplification are those of Cicero and Quintilian:

> "I therefore propose that there be contrived with all convenient dispatch at the publick expense, a rhetorical chest of drawers, consisting of three stories, the highest for the deliberative, the middle for the demonstrative, and the lowest for the judicial."[135]

His outline of method for the composition of epics and panegyrics reflects not only his contempt for those who provide "plain and certain recipes"[136], but is evidence once more of acquaintance with Renaissance rhetoricians who frequently provided such "recipes" as guides to exercises in copia.

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134. Pope praised Shakespeare for his propriety in these terms: "... his descriptions are still exact; all his metaphors appropriated, and remarkably drawn from the true nature and inherent qualities of each subject." (WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol X, p 540.)
135. The Art of Sinking..., Ch XIII, p 396. Quintilian's three species of oratory are the "panegyrical" (demonstrative or epideictic), "deliberative" (persuasive and dissuasive), and "Judicial". (Bk III, Ch 5, sec xii.)
136. Ibid, Ch XV, p 400.

Pope knowingly refers throughout his works to such critics as Mme. Dacier, de la Motte, J.Dennis, LeBossu, Voiture, Rapin, Scaliger, Gildon, Jonson, Sheffield, Walsh, Granville, Roscommon, Rymer, amongst many others. Scaliger alone could have been the source for "common receipts to make an epic poem"[137], although LeBossu, Rapin, and others had also provided such instructions. Either Quintilian or Cicero is the source for Pope's consideration of "topicks and epithets" and the various stages of amplification.[138] In his "Preface to the Works of Shakespeare" the traditionalist excuses the dramatist's defects as inevitable in an age when

> "not only the common audience had no notion of the rules of writing, but few even of the better sort..." [139]

In the same preface Pope acknowledges that he has read Jonson's "Discoveries", where he would have found a similar opinion scattered throughout as well as in the conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden.

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137. The Art of Sinking..., Ch XV, p 401. Cf. An Essay on Criticism, 115.
138. Loc.cit.
139. WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol X, pp 534-49.

CHAPTER V

POPE'S IMAGE

1.

Myth

The anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, in an essay entitled "Myth in Primitive Psychology", clarifies the general significance of myths as employed in Augustan literature. He writes:

> "... an intimate word connection exists between the word, the mythos, the sacred tales of the tribe, on the one hand, and their ritual acts, their moral deeds, their social organization, and even their practical activities, on the other." [1]

And again:

> "Myth, as a statement of primeval reality which still lives in present-day life and as a justification by precedent, supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, sociological order, and magical belief ... The function of the myth, briefly, is to strengthen tradition and endow it with a greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, more supernatural reality of initial events." [2]

In its earliest stages, then, myth is intimately connected with social acts; later, it assumes prestige as a traditional orderer of experience, and is appealed to for justification and example in matters of value. The emphasis

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1. Malinowski, B., "Meaning in Primitive Psychology", MAGIC, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION AND OTHER ESSAYS, ed Redfield, R., Boston, 1948, p 74.
2. Ibid, p 122.

one the social content of the myth enables us to realize that its utilization as literary symbol rather than as "Language ... essentially rooted in the reality of culture, the tribal life and customs of a people"[3], does not preclude the value of the myths for life and for truth in the poetry of an age remote from that of their origin. It will be our purpose to prove that what the semanticists call the "context of situation" or the "sign situation" provided classical myths with meaningful individual and social relations during the eighteenth century; by no means were they employed merely for prettification of diction or out of "respect" for classical usages. It is obvious that during the Augustan age poets were often inspired in their very application of classical mythology to write some of their best poetry; therefore it is just to contend that a generally accepted veneration of the classics as a body of authoritative literary expression[4] would excite genuine feelings with regard to classical subject matter - i.e. myth. And further, it must be admitted that such high respect for the myths themselves was engendered in part by a direct feeling of sympathy not merely for the literatures of the classical civilizations, but - more inclusively - for their traditions and ideals and customs.

Pope's use of mythical names for textural effects is

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3. Malinowski, B., "Meaning in the Primitive Languages", in op. cit. p 238.
4. A veneration by the educated strata, that is.

worth consideration before proceeding to discuss the logic of the myth; none but Marlowe and Milton in the language compare with him for his textural uses of mythology.[5] A few examples will suffice:

"Like bold Briareus, with a hundred hands" [6]

"As under seas Alpheus' secret sluice" [7]

"Lo, where Maeotis sleeps, and hardly flows
The freezing Tanais thro' a waste of snows." [8]

"All sudden, Gorgons hiss, and Dragons glare" [9]

"That drives the dead to dark Tartarean coasts" [10]

"And rising Cynthia sheds her silver light" [11]

Proper names occurring one after the other are employed to lend grandeur to invocation, and a sense of the awful. A skilful instance occurs at the conclusion of Statius' first book of The Thebais:

"Propitious hear our prayer, O Pow'r divine!
And on thy hospitable Argos shine,
Whether the style of Titan please thee more,
Whose purple rays th' Achaemenes adore;
Or great Osiris, who first taught the swain
In Parian fields to sow the golden grain;
Or Mitra, to whose beams the Persian bows,
And pays, in hollow rocks, his awful vows." [12]

And finally, an instance of magnificent music from Pope's

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5. The terms "structural" and "textural" are differentiated in Chapter VI infra.
6. The Dunciad, Bk IV, 66.
7. Ibid, Bk II, 341.
8. Ibid, Bk III, 87-8. Johnson's rejection of this couplet defies explanation. (Vide his LIVES, vol II, p 343.)
9. Ibid, 235.
10. Thebais of Statius, 435.
11. Ibid, 475.
12. Ibid, 855-62.

Homer:

> "As when o'er Erymanth Diana roves,
> Or wide Taygetus' resounding groves;
> A sylvan train the huntress queen surrounds,
> Her rattling quiver from her shoulders sounds..." [13]

Pope's words on Homer's numbers are applicable here:

> "He searched through its [Greece's] different dialects with this particular view, to beautify and perfect his numbers : he considered these as they had a greater mixture of vowels and consonants, and accordingly employed them as the verse required either a greater smoothness or strength." [14]

It would be difficult to find a more self-conscious poet with regard to texture than Pope; he is continually commenting in conversation or letters and prefaces on the harmony and music of other poets.[15] It largely accounts for his rejection of proselike diction. He commends Homer for avoiding it:

> "To throw his language more out of prose, Homer seems to have affected the compound epithets." [16]

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13. The Odyssey, Bk VI, 117-22. For an account of Pope's considerable indebtedness to Milton, vide R.D.Haven's THE INFLUENCE OF MILTON ON ENGLISH POETRY, Cambridge, Mass., 1922, Appendix I.
14. Preface to the Iliad. For his praise of Homer, Pope frequently follows Quintilian; for this instance, Bk X, Ch 1, secs. xlvi-li.
15. These things will be examined in detail later - his music, in Chapter VI; poetry as a speaking picture and style as a garment, and his revitalizations of the Renaissance theory of ornament, sections 3,4, and 5 of this chapter.
16. Preface to the Iliad. As Pope extends this statement it is similar to Aristotle's ideas on poetic diction, i.e. that rare words and metaphors (employed with tasteful restraint) give distinction to phrases, whereas one must avoid words staled by daily usage. If art

But to return to Pope's use of myth, we observe that these names were utilized to "throw his language more out of prose." A second reason may be found in their universality of appeal - not only the traditionally authorized but the popular acceptance apart from tradition. The pagan imagery was familiar to all the educated, and could be found every-

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is to provide a heightening in "significancy", it is natural to expect a "heightened" vocabulary. The eternal problem is of course just how far one may employ an already heightened vocabulary provided for one by previous poets; we know that Pope sometimes too easily or lightly accepted such a vocabulary instead of testing it first "on his pulses." One thinks of the unfortunate attempts at "pathetic" poetry.

A second point worth mentioning is that Aristotle had also advised employing different vocabularies for the different types of Greek poetry (Chapter 24 of The Poetics); his notes were enlarged by Renaissance theorists into hide-bound poetics. As for Pope's own compound epithets, it is not my plan to comment on them (vide Johnson's LIVES, vol II, pp 255-70, and Quayle's POETIC DICTION), but there is little doubt that he employed them as often as he did, and chiefly in the pastorals and mock-heroics where it was traditionally authorized, to avoid prose-like diction. Pastoral examples are : Windsor-shade, forest-shade, autumn-heats, scarlet-circled, well-breath'd. Their most frequent occurrence is in the Homeric translations where, as he tells us in the Preface, he strove to preserve all compounds which did not become ridiculous in translation. Examples from the Iliad are : blue-eyed, ill-fated, milk-white, all-knowing, new-born, life-consuming, far-beaming, long-descending. We must observe too, that after making the above statement, Pope can praise Homer's diction for its simplicity:

> "The great beauty of Homer's language, as I take it, consists in that noble simplicity, which runs through all his works; (and yet his diction, contrary to what one would imagine consistent with simplicity, is at the same time very copious)." (quoted in Johnson's LIVES, vol II, p 346.)

where in the books of the time. When rational exposition and logical delineation predominated, what could have been more to the purpose than the unobtrusive (because known) amplification by means of mythological reference? This applied to generalized diction as well. We must keep in mind that the better neo-classic imagery is intended, in accord with the principle of decorum, to reinforce the logical sequence, not obtrude to the point of obscuring the logical core of the poem. We do not protest Johnson's "verdant osiers"[17]; the grim didacticism of the poem is powerful, and reinforcing imagery if it were the least suggestive of ambiguity of reference would detract from the impressive logical weight. In a similar fashion the widely comprehended reference of the classical mythology with its unobtrusive breadth of idea and variety of colour was the most convenient and delightful means of amplification at hand. As Tuve has written:

> "The acceptance of conceptually definable aims for poetry meant stress on the ideational element even in sensuous images. This meant often the use of images with known signigicances, like those of myth." [18]

Such a practice is impossible, however, in an unstable society. Images that consistently represent a totally understood context are then lacking. The classical myth in

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17. "London", 45; POETICAL WORKS, London, 1811.
18. Tuve, R., op.cit. p 47.

Pope's stable age represented a "controlling pattern of belief"[19], before the Romantic fallacy sent the poet ecstatically scrambling after the demonstrable nature-fact as an isolated"occurrence" reconciled only with difficulty to the social life of man. Pope could promulgate his values with the aid of mythological references that evoked "strong feelings at the same time that they objectified insights."[20] He was able to do this for three main reasons : first, the employment of a myth identified with a classical culture which all educated persons revered as a culture, served to lend the sanction of that culture to whatever he was saying; secondly, for those same educated readers - he wrote largely for them, in his own time -[21] the myths were still vivid enough to induce imaginative excitement (not only in the poet as I have already indicated, but also in the reader) which enlightened as with a great light the non-mythological parts of the poem as well as often providing a parallel logical context for additional illumination at this level; and thirdly, the classical myth itself, the

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19. O'Connor, W.V., SENSE AND SENSIBILITY IN MODERN POETRY, Chicago, 1948, p 7.
20. Ibid, p 8. This is what Sprat failed to understand in making his complaint: "The Wit of the Fables and Religions of the Ancient Worls is well-nigh consumed : They have already served the poets long enough." (HISTORY OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY (1667), p 414.)
21. Thus Pope, in The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace:

    "The People are a many-headed Beast :
    Can they direct what measures to pursue,
    Who know themselves so little what to do?" (121-3).

whole myth organism, represented a unified and inclusive outlook to which the poet automatically intimated reference in his use of one or more of the parts of the myth stories. In fact for the Augustan age as for any time since the Renaissance at least, the much vaunted inclusiveness and unity of character of the classical civilizations were assumed to be much greater than was actually the case for those civilizations during their most stable periods.

It is frequently objected that neither Pope nor his readers believed in the myths. The later Greeks and Romans were largely unable to accept them as anything but fanciful allegories, yet this fact did not invalidate their power to symbolize a unity of experience and value which was often interpreted as a "Golden Age" reality. Similarly Pope, with his age - and more so in his own case as a humanist still capable of intense excitement on coming into contact with the classical beauties - was able to face the eighteenth century scene of applied science and growing industrialization with comparative equanimity. As a humanist accepting pagan riches as well as Christian Grace, Pope had a larger vision of man than the pagan-rejecting Thomas Sprat (for instance), to whom even the humanist Ronsard's conciliatory statement would scarcely have been acceptable:

> "The Muses, Apollo, Mercury, Pallas, and other such deities represent nothing to us other than the powers of God, to Whom the first men

gave several names for the divers effects of
his incomprehensible Majesty." 22

Pope understood that a myth is an archetype that will remain vividly in men's minds through those ages which make the effort to understand the truths contained in the myth. The poet-contemporaries of John Heywood, Thomas More's friend, understood this, and employed the myth humanistically for the most part:

"She may be well compared
Unto the phoenix kind ...
In life she is Diana chaste,
In truth Penelope ...
At Bacchus' feast none shall her meet,
Ne at no wanton play ... 23

Fifty-nine years later Drummond of Hawthornden in his lovely "Song" proves typical of Elizabethan and Stuart use of the myths:

"Phoebus, arise,
And paint the sable skies
With azure, white, and red;
Rouse Memnon's mother from her Tithon's bed ..." 24

Through the Cavalier poets (who, it must be confessed, frequently trifled with the myths), through the great mid-century humanist Milton and his contemporary Marvell, on into Dryden and Pope, the mythology derives from that of the classical cultures as inevitable, rich, correct, ethical, and in-

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22. Ronsard, P. de, "Art Poétique", quoted in EDMUND SPENSER, ed Renwick, W.L., p 143.
23. Heywood, J., "A praise of his lady", 17-8, 21-2, 33-4; in POETRY OF THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE, ed Hebel, J.W. and Hudson, H.H., New York, 1929, p 11.
24. Ibid, p 566, 1-4.

clusive. The classical myth was still the only inclusive image-referent outside of the Christian story, and the latter had been rejected by Boileau as unfit for fable.[25] For Pope it was a case of:

> "Still green with bays each ancient Altar stands,
> Above the reach of sacrilegious hands,
> Secure from Flames, from Envy's fiercer rage,
> Destructive War, and all-involving Age.
> See, from each clime the learn'd their incense bring!
> Hear, in all tongues consenting Paeans ring!" [26]

2.

Imitation and the Image

It is worth our while to consider in greater detail the subject of imitation and its influence on Pope's imagery. Although less emphasis was laid on a formal training in rhetoric as a basis for the poet's art in Pope's day, nevertheless it was commonly understood that the classical rhetoricians were required reading for anyone who wished to consider himself well educated. I have already referred to Pope's indebtedness on this score, especially through Vida to Quintilian (and of course, directly to Quintilian).[27] This rhetoric taught that the stuff of nature should be "imitated" - not representationally - in

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25. "L'art poétique", in Cook, A.S., op.cit.,lines 81-9, 193-236.
26. An Essay on Criticism, 181-6.
27. "He used to mention Quintilian too as well as Rapin and LeBossu as an old favourite author with him." Spence, J., ANECDOTES, OBSERVATIONS, AND CHARACTERS OF BOOKS AND MEN, ed. Underhill, J., London, n.d., p 120.

images of formal excellence, the formal quality to constitute the vital beauty as well as the truth of the work of art. The image will thus functionally refer to that reality which it is the duty of the artist to portray. Pope is doing this, for instance, when in "The Dying Christian to his Soul" he writes:

"..... my ears
With sounds seraphic ring!" 28

That the dying Christian's ears should ring with seraphic sounds was considered by Pope an integral part of the poem's logic: the image is decorative but primarily in a conceptual way. That is to say, the image springs inevitably out of the logical conception of the poem as a whole, and subsequently, in relation with that, out of the particular idea at a certain point in the poem, but always logically deriving from the central conception (not "perception"). This is a most important thing to see, because it distinguishes the poet-rhetorician as the Renaissance neo-classical humanist understood him to be, from the Romantic poet with his images which derive not primarily from the logical core of the poem but are as it were subjective representations at an intuitive level. The former uses images as in themselves implicit rational statements; the latter intends images to serve <u>through their passion</u> (in lieu of objective validity) as proofs of that which they declare. One provides proof or illustration

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28. 14-5.

at the rational level, the other at the intuitive and emotive levels.

It becomes obvious to anyone reading Johnson's "Lives", or Ruffhead's "Pope", or Pope's letters, or the best of neo-classical poetry, that the educated eighteenth century reader experienced great pleasure in poetry as craft. Even Johnson's severe strictures on Pope's epitaphs imply that he derived an immense satisfaction from poetry considered as craft.[29] Keats was able to criticise violently those who

> " . . . . . were closely wed
> To musty laws lined out with wretched rule
> And compass vile ..."[30]

while Wordsworth had asserted of the poet:

> " ... he will feel that there is no necessity to trick out or to elevate nature."[31]

Both these assertions are irreconcilable with neo-classical tenets, the first because of its disdain for rules and therefore for authority as conceived by a Pope, the second in its implication that nature can best be taken "in the raw". And both tend to delimit the extent of conscious craft permissable to the

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29. Johnson, S., LIVES, vol II, pp 347-61. Johnson considered himself a specialist in this field. "He [Johnson] was fond of composing in these languages [Greek and Latin], sometimes turning the Greek epigrams into Latin, and he was always ready to compose Latin epitaphs..." (Houston, P.H., op.cit. p 13).
30. Keats, J., "Sleep and Poetry", POEMS, London, 1936.
31. Wordsworth, W., "Preface to the Lyrical Ballads", PROSE WORKS, vol II, p 84.

poet. Johnson's remarks on a similar theme review the classical argument:

> "It is justly considered as the greatest excellency of art to imitate nature; but it is necessary to distinguish those parts of nature which are most proper for imitation." [32]

Craft is essential to the mimesis of nature, of those universals in nature that it is "proper" to imitate:

> "His easy Art may happy Nature seem." [33]

> "But what sort of things shall we say subsist? Are they the intelligible or the tangible? Certainly they are the tangible." [34]

Where the visual is subsumed under the formal, art is bound to derive from nature at the same time as impressing on it a copy of those universal forms which are present there in essence.

> "That which is most natural is that which nature permits to be done to the greatest perfection." [35]

Quintilian is insisting here that only by the most painstaking fidelity of craftmanship can justice be done in artistic imitation. Johnson's denigrations of the Metaphysicals in his essay on Cowley,[36] his attack on Milton's "Lycidas" imagery,[37]

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32. Johnson, S., "Romances and Morality", The Rambler, No 4, Mar 31, 1750, in WORKS, ed Murphy, A., London, 1816, vol IV, p 21.
33. Pope, A., "Epistle to Miss Blount, with the Works of Voiture", 3.
34. Tasso, "Discorsi", in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit., p 477.
35. Quintilian, op.cit. Bk IX, Ch 4, sec v. Cf. Minturno : "But all affirm that natural endowment without art is not able to make a perfect work." (in Gilbert, A.H., Ibid,p 285.)
36. LIVES, vol I, pp 13-7. 37. Ibid, pp 115-6.

his commendation of Dryden's "poetical diction"[38] and of the "minute and punctillious observation" and "indefatigable diligence"[39] of Pope : all betray a supreme attention to this matter. Johnson was one of the last great English critics to know Renaissance poetics in detail, and he reflects in this matter the conscious derivation from that poetics by the English Augustans. Sir T.P.Blount's "De re poetica"[40] may be taken as a typical product of the times. The volume is actually a summary of the leading critical opinions of the day, little else than an anthology showing the parallels and a few of the divergences of the critics. Dryden was one of Blount's favourites, and he frequently refers to Renaissance critics, especially to Castelvetro "who opposed all comers"[41] as a critic. Longinus, "who was undoubtedly, after Aristotle, the greatest critic among the Greeks"[42], was praised many times, along with Aristotle, Horace, Quintilian, Cicero, Tasso, Cinthio, Ariosto, Trissino, Machiavel, Piccolomini, Petrarch, Marino, Sidney, Rapin, Rymer, LeBossu, Jonson - all in all a representative gallery of humanist critics.[43]

The poetics of Pope was a compound of Greek, Roman, and Renaissance poetics, although deriving more from the Roman

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38. LIVES, vol I, p 306.
39. Ibid, vol II, p 322.
40. Blount, Sir T.P., DE RE POETICA, London, 1694.
41. Ibid, p 113.
42. Ibid, p 115.
43. For a portrait of Samuel Johnson as a humanist, vide R.H. Houston's study of him, op.cit.

than the Greek not only because of the "Augustan" sensibility of the eighteenth century but also because Renaissance poetics likewise derived more from the Roman. It is for this reason that we must make allowance for the English neo-classical deviation from the Greek ideas of proportion, decorum, etc., as expressions of lives integrated not only socially (it was here that the Augustans concentrated) but with the universe itself. The quattrocento emphasis on "fame" or on the poetic figures, for example, testifies to a loss of the Greek ideal of proportion in all things.[44] The Renaissance over-emphasis on certain formal elements was due to the recent rediscoveries of the classical beauties and especially to what was often excessive adulation of the immediately appreciable architectonic of the great masters.

Images which would have satisfied the Renaissance demand for "clarté" and grandeur, for "illustration" as an imparting of "lustre", abound in Pope:

"Eternal sunshine of the spotless mind" [45]

"For her white virgins Hymenaeals sing" [46]

"Dull sullen pris'ners in the body's cage" [47]

". . . . . the rival of his beams
Launched on the bosom of the silver Thames" [48]

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44. It appears obvious that Pope's incessant attacks on Pride as the great moral evil threatening the peace and fulfilment not only of individual man but of society, is a humanistic rejection of the weaker Renaissance tendency to stress fame as an end in itself.
45. Eloisa to Abelard, 209.
46. Ibid, 220.
47. Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady, 18.
48. Rape of the Lock, Canto II, 3-4.

"Thence Beauty, waking all her forms, supplies
An Angel's sweetness..." 49

"Beauty, frail flow'r that ev'ry season fears" 50

"And headlong streams hang list'ning in their fall" 51

"The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed today...
Pleased to the last, he crops the flow'ry food,
And licks the hand just rais'd to shed his Blood." 52

"Asleep and naked as an Indian lay" 53

These images all possess "clarté" - extensive illuminative power which imparts not merely a striking visual representation (recall Johnson's praise of Pope's "minute and punctillious observation", supra) but must catch the radiance of eternals and flash them upon the consciousness of the reader with a transforming impact. It is in this light that we must interpret the protests against obscurity (i.e. darkness):

"Obscuritie in affection of words, and indigested conceits, is pedanticall and childish." 54

The idea of clarté in poetics presupposes vision. But if a vision possesses "significancy" many other factors of craft and art are involved. The vision will, for example,

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49. Epistle to Mr. Jervas, 45-6.
50. Ibid, 57.
51. Summer, 84.
52. An Essay on Man, Epistle I, 81,83, 84.
53. Moral Essays, Epistle III, 361.
54. Chapman, prefatory letter to Ovid's "Banquet of Sence" (1595), quoted in Tuve, R., op.cit. p 49.

provide glimpses of an inclusive Order which must somehow be communicated; nor can there be an impropriety of image sequence or relationships. A universal logic calls for a corresponding architectonic in the poem. The particular genre must not be violated by the wrong kind of language or figures or images, as we have seen. And therefore any single image in a poem so thoroughly bound by principles of decorum will lose much of its importance as a thing in itself. This will lead a Pope not simply to employ an authenticated (traditional) type of imagery which places emphasis on the suitable concord of images rather than on the single "brilliant" image; not simply on sensuous fidelity of representation; but primarily, by considering the "end" of the poem and the poem as a "vehicle", to treat the images as functionally illuminative and intended to achieve a high and persisting level of eloquence. Fidelity of imagistic impression is not the end desired. Renaissance poets and those of their tradition

> "show themselves entirely willing to admit clarity in the logical structure of a work of art as an element in the aesthetic desideratum of clarté or luminousness." 55

Pope most certainly realized that poetic integrity depended, as far as imagery was concerned, primarily on the unity of rhetorical eloquence. Even in his most socially didactic poems we find a simple rhetorical design imposed to which each image

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55. Tuve, R., op.cit. Appendix, note D, p 415.

is related in a formal unity.

The fifth epistle of the "Moral Essays", addressed to Addison, illustrates this structural integrity. There are five subject divisions : (i) the failure of stone erections to withstand the ravages of time; (ii) the striking of coins for preservation of fame; (iii) the follies of coin antiquaries; (iv) the value of Addison's dialogue on medals; and (v) the unwisdom of Britain in failing to commemorate her heroes and famous events by means of coins. These are the five didactic-lyric units occasioned by Addison's project, and we find that there are five tight rhetorical units of eighteen, twelve, fourteen, seven, and twenty lines respectively. Images typical of the first unit are : "all-devouring years", "Rome her own sad sepulchre appears", "nodding arches", "broken temples spread", the groaning Martyr", "silent stroke of mould'ring age". All these images "fit" the design not only in mood and in logic but in their epithet-like application. And this is true of the poem throughout : the "Final Cause" of each unit is upheld by the imagery. The fourth unit observes Addison's "excellent learning", therefore we shall expect to find a more excited imagery, which is the case : "god-like Heroes rise", "Rome's glories shine", "faded garlands bloom anew", and the final delightful image paralleling Addison with "the Fathers of poetic rage." In accord with the happier theme the figures are more extended, one sustained throughout four verses. Yet they never intrude;

that is, they are decorative in the best manner of classical poetry.

3.

Generalized Diction

Pope was highly concerned that the poet should write with passion and fire. Indeed, his glowing tributes to specific poets as exemplars of the "furor poeticus" must be counted as striking evidence against those critics who have adduced his "prosiness" and his generalized diction as a sign of spiritual or emotional flaccidity. There is an element of prose in Pope's poetry, as there is in that of Homer and Dante. It is not a primary element, although it is fundamental in subserving as part of the logical structure, as an active agent of the "material form".

It must not be imagined that because the logical structure is clearly apparent, poetry of a passionate nature is lacking. Nothing less than passion of a kind could have conceived the structure of Pope's poetry. We are aware that certain Romantic poets (Shelley, for instance) seemed to lack a passion for dialectical progression, and there are critics who have argued from this fact that the only passion important for a poet is the affective, or what Pope's age called the "pathetic". But as Pottle has written:

> "... the element of prose is innocent and even salutary when it appears ... as a background on which the images are projected... In short, when it serves a <u>structural</u> purpose.

> Prose in a poem seems offensive to me when ... the prosaisms are sharp, obvious, individual, and ranked co-ordinately with the images." 56

We shall see that this matter is inherently related to the maintenance of logical structure by generalized diction, but before proceeding it would be well to confirm Pope's praise of passion in poets. A number of quotations should suffice:

> "Exact Racine, and Corneille's noble fire,
> Show'd us that France had something to admire." 57

Spence recorded a similar judgment by Pope :

> "Racine's character is justness and correctness; Corneille's passion and life : Corneille stumbles oftener, and has greater excellencies." 58

It is important to note, in the face of the consistent misinterpretation of Pope by certain critics, that the "apostle of correctness" has yet enough sense of the sublime to praise Corneille over Racine for his "passion". Homer is similarly praised:

> "Exact disposition, just thought, correct elecution, polished numbers, may have been found in a thousand; but this poetic fire, this 'vivida vis animi', in a very few ... where this appears, though attended with absurdities, it brightens all the rubbish about it, till we see nothing but its own splendour." 59

Dryden is celebrated for such a quality in one of Pope's infrequent trystyches ending with an Alexandrine:

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56. Pottle, F.A., op.cit. pp 106-7. Author's italics.
57. The First Epistle to the Second Book of Horace, 274-5.
58. Spence, J., op.cit. p 112.
59. The Preface to the Iliad.

"The varying verse, the full-resounding line,
The long majestic March, and Energy divine." [60]

George Lyttleton, who knew Pope well, and whom Pope praises in [61] one of his Horatian imitations, imagines Pope commending both himself and Boileau for "energy divine":

"We both of us carried the beauty of our diction and the harmony of our numbers to the highest perfection that our language would admit. Our poems were laboured and polished to the utmost degree of correctness, yet without losing their fire, or the pleasing appearance of freedom and ease." [62]

Pope is able to reconcile without difficulty the praise of correctness and rapture; a "perfect Judge" will:

"Survey the Whole, nor seek slight faults to find
Where Nature moves, and rapture warms the mind..." [63]
"But in such lays as neither ebb, nor flow,
Correctly cold, and regularly low,
That shunning faults, one quiet tenour keep;
We cannot blame indeed - but we may sleep." [64]

Indeed Pope's praise of the classical authors in "An Essay on Criticism" is centred in his insistence on the quality of "animus". "Restrain his fury" the poet must, but only because:

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60. The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, 268-9. Note the decorum of Pope's form here, since it is characteristic of Dryden himself.
61. The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, 29.
62. Lyttleton, G., "Dialogues of the Dead", WORKS, London, 1760, vol II, Dialogue 14, p 188. There is of course a - Longinian emphasis here. I cannot grant that Pope would have credited Boileau in this manner with a degree of fire equal to his own, no matter how extensively Boileau had spoken up for it - as he did, for example, in "L'art poétique" (in Cook, A.S., op.cit. Canto II, 45-6):
    Je hais ces vains auteurs, dont la muse forcée
    M'entretient de ses feux, toujours froide et glacée."
63. An Essay on Criticism, 235-6.
64. Ibid, 239-42.

Homer, once more, he commended for:

> "that rapture and fire, which carries you
> away with him, with that wonderful force,
> that no man who has a true poetical spirit
> is a master of himself, while he reads him..." [71]

The evidence all points to Pope's belief in the essentially passionate nature of man, his belief that the passions must be allowed a rich expression (with due guidance by reason) if man is to achieve his full stature. "Passions are the elements of life"[72] and add what William Temple called "spirit and strength" to the work of art, without which the "smoothness of Language and Stile" are but as the"Beauty of Colouring in a Picture."[73]

We are now prepared to face such a line of criticism of Pope's generalizations in diction as that of Spingarn, presenting his own variation on the Romantic approach to eighteenth century poetry:

> "To deal with abstract classifications instead
> of artistic reqlities - versification instead
> of poetry, grammar instead of language, tech-
> nique instead of painting - is to confuse form
> as concrete expression with form as ornament
> or dead husk." [74]

It should be clear by now that one of Pope's preoccupations as a Renaissance poet-rhetorician was to guard against form as "husk". Rather we should ask : how can we expect a poet to take

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71. "Letter to Mr. Bridges", in Johnson's LIVES, vol II, p 346. Such commentary can only be partially passed off as traditional neo-classic"lip-service".
72. An Essay on Man, Epistle I, 170.
73. Blount, Sir T.P., op.cit., quoting Sir W.Temple, p 86.
74. Spingarn, J.E., CREATIVE CRITICISM, New York, 1917, p 112.

"The winged courser, like a gen'rous horse,
Shows most true mettle when you check his course." [65]

The poet is expected to "snatch a grace beyond the reach of art"[66]; once again the warning is issued merely to those who do not know their limits. He warns himself that loss of fire is loss of poetry:

"Friend Pope! be prudent, let your Muse take breath,
And never gallop Pegasus to death;
Lest stiff, and stately, void of fire or force,
You limp, like Blackmore on a Lord Mayor's horse." [67]

The poet is aptly distinguished from the man of rhymes; of the former it can be said:

"'Tis he, who gives my breast a thousand pains,
Can make me feel each Passion that he feigns;
Enrage, compose, with more than magic art,
With Pity, and with Terror, Tear my heart;
And snatch me, o'er the earth, or thro' the air,
To Thebes, to Athens, when he will, and where." [68]

Of Bayle's "Dictionnaire Historique et Critique" he had remarked that it was "full of matter, secret history, wit and spirit."[69] His praise of Shakespeare included remarks on his "power over our passions"; it was

"never possess'd in a more eminent degree,
or displayed in so different instances." [70]

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65. An Essay on Criticism, 86-7.
66. Ibid, 153.
67. The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace, 13-6.
68. The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, 342-7.
69. WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol VIII, p 279.
70. "Preface to the Works of Shakespeare", WORKS, Ibid, vol X, p 535.

for granted the absolute opposition of Spingarn's "abstract classifications" and "artistic realities" when his poetic is based on such a vital juxtaposition and interrelationship of decorum and "spirit", of structural unity and essential realism, as Pope complimented Homer for in the following passage? The poet must, Pope tells us, follow Homer not in one but in many respects if he would succeed in his art:

> "... above all things, to keep alive that spirit and fire which makes his chief character ... To copy him in all the variations of his style, and the different modulations of his numbers; to preserve, in the more active or descriptive parts, a warmth and elevation; in the more sedate or narrative, a plainness and solemnity; in the sentences, a shortness and gravity ..." 75

It does not appear to have occurred to Spingarn that "abstract classifications" might have meant much more to Pope than they did to him, and that in the intervening period the significance of universals had changed for the world, and that possibly not altogether for the better. Pope can quite consistently claim That:

> "My humble Muse, in unambitious strains,
> Paints the green forests and the flow'ry plains..." 76

yet at the same time hypostatize Windsor Forest in a poetic treatment of certain realities which he wishes to represent. Can anyone justly contend that a poet of such acute sensibility

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75. Preface to the Iliad.
76. Windsor Forest, 427-8.

as Pope was unaware of the limitations, for sensuous representation alone, of such imagery and diction as he employed in this poem? He was simply not concerned to picture Windsor Forest realistically for the most part. He saw the Forest allegorically at three levels : ostensibly, his purpose was to provide a picture of natural variety and beauty; realistically, he was referring to political preparations for peace in progress at that time :

> "Hail, sacred peace! hail, long-expected days,
> That Thames's glory to the stars shall raise..." 77

idealistically, his theme was the universal order represented by the Forest, a microcosm as it were of the potency and balance and perfection of the macrocosm. To criticize the poem for a lack of "photographic" realism, for immature or erroneous political conceptions, for an impractical Anglomania, is to miss its real meaning. These less fundamental meanings might be figuratively likened to the rhetorical figures employed for the apt housing of the poet's universals. It is true that Pope does occasionally fail to integrate his images, to have them derive from the logical core of the poem, and this is the point at which he is to be criticized; but to damn him for the imperfections of his camera obscura is to ignore the whole classical tradition of imitation.

In keeping with the purpose he is always careful

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77. Windsor Forest, 355-6.

to select details which will serve to refer to the universal. The famous passage from "Windsor Forest" on "order in variety" is too well-known to require quotation, but the argument is continued immediately in even greater detail:

> "Here waving groves a chequered scene display,
> And part admit, and part exclude the day,
> As some coy nymph her lover's warm address
> Not quite indulges, nor can quite repress.
> There, interspers'd in lawns and op'ning glades,
> Thin trees arise that shun each other's shades.
> Here in full light the russet plains extend:
> There wrapt in clouds the blueish hills ascend." [78]

The universal here is order in variety - order not merely in arrangement, plastic or mathematical, but an order partaking of a profound aesthetic and ethical perfection. The universal is kept uppermost by the obvious device of its statement (15-6), and by its frequent illustrative repetition throughout not only [79] the quoted lines above but also directly through the first forty-two lines as well as indirectly throughout the poem.

For this purpose, the poetical diction that Wordsworth condemned is admirably suitable. The particular is not puffed up as to obscure the heavens, while it is not so lifeless as to be unable to suggest by means of its carefully decorous mitigation and by carefully effected contrasts the vitality inhering in it through its connection with an order at the same time inclusive of it and beyond it. The apple is not so lus-

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78. Windsor Forest, 17-24.
79. Lines 18-20 directly repeat the universal in illustrative terms, while the remainder of the lines suggest an opposition which achieves a harmony.

ciously portrayed that one is tempted from a vision of the garden in its proportion and value. If it be argued that the only way to the universal is through the particular ("everything that lives is holy"[80], Blake wrote; but he also wrote : "Art can never exist without Naked Beauty displayed"[81], i.e. beauty freed from mortal disguise), Pope would by all means agree, although with Blake's qualification - that the particular should never become the exclusive poetic object (subject matter). The Renaissance and humanist poets had interpretation as their object, and Pope was also concerned to interpret particulars in the light of certain universal objective correlatives which act (as it were) as Final Causes to direct the maker. To eulogise the "waving grove" in Romantic terms would have meant proceeding from a conception of "Nature" in which the poet must have intuitively invested himself. But such a procedure was impossible for one imbued with the classical concept of nature, in which the human individual was a functioning unit confronted with a necessary role that did not include a self-immolating violence to The Chain. To identify oneself as a solitary reaper of the universal harvest available only to those for whom exuberance is beauty[82], would have "shook degree" and "authentic place"[83] by which man maintained his dignity and propriety. "Chequered scene" is not merely an "abstract classification":

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80. Blake, W., "A Song of Liberty", POEMS AND PROPHECIES, London, 1939.
81. Ibid, Laocoon Plate.
82. I do not wish to imply that this was the consistent failing of the major Romantic poets, or of any one of them.
83. The quoted phrases are from Ulysses' "degree" speech, "Troilus and Cressida", I,3,lines 84-135.

it is an organic perceptual and conceptual apprehension of the object in a highly formalized setting of words which offer to the reader its "significancies" of abstract relations; and these are offered both within the poem, and between the poem and the larger framework of reference beyond the poem. The epithetal imagery, the rhyme, the ordered syntax, the antitheses : all aid this extensive reference. The "thin trees" which "shun each other's shades" are not unfeelingly observed; on the contrary, even according to Romantic standards this is a moving image. But more important, it offers the nature-object as seen in its formal and logical relationship to the universe of "order in variety"; for Pope the trees could not be seen otherwise. It is a kind of ritual, in fact, that presents the fitting, potently associative word or word-group for the occasion, in order to refer one beyond the sensible to the universal. When Alexis mourns the inattention of his mistress, the nymphs must inevitably dance and "their early fruit, and milk-white turtles bring."[84] It is called for as ritual and is highly effective; all actions and gestures are relegated to their due place and time, otherwise the failure to observe decorum might end in the distraction of the reader - and more importantly, would violate the artistic unity.

> "For you the swains the fairest flow'rs design,
> And in one garland all their beauties join."[85]

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84. Summer, 52.
85. Ibid, 55-6.

Even the swains have worked in unison on the garland, until it has summed "their beauties"; likewise the two verses echo the universal underlying the poem, the idea(l) of love as a mover of all things. It is for Love itself that:

> "Trees, where you sit, shall crowd into a shade;
> Where'er you tread, the blushing flowers shall rise,
> And all things flourish where you turn your eyes." 86

The subjective imagery of the twentieth century, imagery that bears within itself a psychological revelation of the poet's personality, is never found in Pope. A comparison can be usefully made:

> "And parti-colour'd troops, a shining train,
> Draw forth to combat on the velvet plain." 87

> "To isles of fragrance, lily-silver'd vales,
> Diffusing languor in the panting gales;;
> To lands of singing or of dancing slaves,
> Love-whisp'ring woods, and lute-resounding waves." 88

> "When, like a running grave, time tracks you down,
> Your calm and cuddled is a scythe of hairs,
> Love in her gear is slowly through the house,
> Up naked stairs ..." 89

> "After success, your little afternoon success,
> You watch jealous perplexity mould my head
> To the shape of a dark and taloned bird
> And fix claws in my lungs..." 90

> "What's Fame? a fancy'd life in others' breath,
> A thing beyond us, ev'n before our death." 91

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86. Summer, 74-6. These are among the loveliest lines in Pope.
87. The Rape of the Lock, Canto III, 43-4.
88. The Dunciad, Book IV, 303-6.
89. Thomas, D., "Poem 3", THE SELECTED WRITINGS OF DYLAN THOMAS, New York, 1946.
90. Spender, S., "After Success", NEW COUNTRY, London, 1933.
91. An Essay on Man, Epistle IV, 237-8.

"What tho' no weeping Loves thy ashes grace,
Nor polish'd marble emulate thy face?" 92

The"moderns"are not referring in their imagery to an underlying logical conception but to an intuitive and subjective one which no matter what immediate impression it might make upon the reader lacks the ultimate value beyond that of shock treatment and a certain tendency to refresh the language of poetry; one could almost say that the aim of the "moderns" is to bewilder rather than to confirm. Pope's imagery is quite objective, a ritualistic adornment although possessing functional quality; the images are successive steps in the illustration of a universal conception, steps which lead by rational and evenly-paced measure to a final conviction.

Pope's acceptance of Horace's "ut pictura poesis" 93 might appear to suggest that since poetry should be like painting then imagery should be illustrative at a naturalistic level only. This would be to interpret painting as erroneously as poetry, however, since many painters use naturalistic phenomena primarily to suggest underlying realities. Of the painter's art (but with poetry in mind as well) Pope wrote:

"But as the slightest sketch, if justly trac'd,
Is by ill-colouring but the more disgrac'd..." 94

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92. Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady, 59-60.
93. "Ars Poetica", 361, in Cook, A.S., op.cit.
94. An Essay on Criticism, 23-4. For the exposition of "ut pictura poesis" with regard to Pope, vide section 4 of this chapter.

He has carefully employed the word "just" to designate the true as opposed to a merely superficial imitation, and he would have the "colouring" (figures, etc.,in poetry) integrated as an aesthetic necessity.[95] Further on in the poem we are told that creative and critical effort must derive from "Nature":

> "First follow Nature, and your judgment frame
> By her just standard, which is still the same:
> Unerring Nature, still divinely bright,
> One clear, unchang'd, and universal light,
> Life, force, and beauty, must to all impart,
> At once the source, and end, and test of Art." [96]

"Vivida vis animi", strength, and beauty : all derive from the body of universals with which the artist must seek for identification of a kind in order to trace a "significant relation". He continues:

> "Art from that fund each just supply provides..." [97]

insisting again on the due supply, and on the formal-intelligible-illustrative balance. It is this "Nature" which sustains the body of the art-work just as "th' informing soul" sustains the human body:

> "With spirit feeds, with vigour fills the whole,
> Each motion guides..." [98]

The Renaissance and classical principle of restraint likewise acts to maintain decorum amongst representational and universal

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95. I do not believe that I am forcing the meaning of the word "just"; vide the conclusion of Chapter II supra for a more thorough treatment of this aspect.
96. An Essay on Criticism, 68-73. Author's italics.
97. Ibid, 74.
98. Ibid, 77-8.

elements:

> "'Tis more to guide, than spur the Muse's steed;
> Restrain his fury, than provoke his speed;" [99]

the poet shows truest "mettle" - just relation as well as poetic fire - when checked. In painting as in poetry decorum is in the eye of the artist-observer:

> "Some figures monstrous and mis-shap'd appear,
> Consider'd singly, or beheld too near,
> Which, but proportion'd to their light, or place,
> Due distance reconciles to form and grace." [100]

I have underlined the important words. The figures must not be permitted to stand out from the poem, but when "proportion'd" ("But with th' occasion and the place comply") [101] they maintain their "due" significance as facets of the universal "light"; and it is this light which is the source of significant form, the informing spirit of the figure-garment.

One of the questions Pope had to ask himself in considering revisions was : Is the logical structure clear, and must I replace this or that image because although "beautiful" or "exciting" it tends to decrease rather than point up the logic? or, must I omit certain images because they work against the formal aesthetic unity of the poem? His poems invariably support the logical conception above the sensuous perception, substance over representationalism. In fact, but for Pope's having instinctively clung to the humanistic rhetoric he might

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99. An Essay on Criticism, 84-5.
100. Ibid, 171-4. My italics.
101. Ibid, 177.

have lapsed into that betrayal of the logical unity which did occur in poetry later in his century. The "substance" of essential content was for Pope the material form out of which he fashioned his poetic form. A semantic quarrel with the term ("substance") contends that since "substance" can only be known through its predicates, then those predicates have a valid existence in themselves without reference to their origin. This idea was, as a matter of fact, implicit in the Lockian bifurcation into primary and secondary qualities, and the dubiousness with which, as a consequence, sense impressions were accepted. One could make out a case for a number of minor Augustan poets as indicative of the ill-fame into which sensual reports had fallen; for many of these poets, sceptical of any ultimate references for sense impressions, tended to "applique" their representational imagery and neglect its integral reference to the poem-as-a-whole. One cannot, however, allow that Pope more than very rarely relaxed his poetic, or that he ever considered "predicated" sense impressions as isolated from a substance without which they could have no objective reality.

We cannot hope to impose on a poet of his stature and integrity, judgments of diction and imagery based on a collapse of the metaphysics of rhetoric that recognized. It is a contention throughout this paper that Aristotelian metaphysic supplies the basis for Popean rhetoric; any rejections the poet made - for example, of the exceedingly complex systems of figures - were

simply such as to conform to the very much smaller demands which an explicitly socio-didactic poetry made upon them. It has been remarked that:

> "Renaissance theory does not see the contribution of sensuous vividness as a sufficient contribution for any image to make to a poem." 102

We can compare Pope's pastorals, for example, with those of earlier Renaissance poets - Drayton, Marvell, Spenser - and find no basic alterations in his imagery, his pragmatographia, his enallage, his descriptio. The "objective correlative" could never have occupied for Pope the central position in the theory of the image that it does for T.S.Eliot. Formally, Pope's objective correlative was still the substance of the poem, never the mere "subject matter" (as distinguished from "content"); likewise his imagery partook of the architectonic structure and was never simply an appendage of form. Applied to the subject of generalized diction this would lead to some such statement as Pottle's:

> "He [Pope] generalizes his description, not because he was deficient in minute observation...; he does it because he feels general descriptions to be more poetical. He does not express himself : he limits himself throughout to reflections that would be proper for anybody." 103

And Pope was able to do this because of the emphasis his age placed on the general:

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102. Tuve, R., op.cit. p 115. Also vide her chapter V.
103. Pottle, F.A., op.cit. p 128.

> "... in the eighteenth century sensibility of feelings were tied to the general; men were excited by generalizations, not by particulars. Men then felt the imagined norm to be more real, more exciting, more poetical, than any particular example." [104]

Perhaps the most famous expression of this view is in the tenth chapter of Johnson's "Rasselas"[105], but an example as well known is to be found in his strictures against the Metaphysicals:

> "Great thoughts are always general, and consist in positions not limited by exceptions, and in descriptions not descending to minuteness ... Those writers who lay on the watch for novelty could have little hope of greatness; for great things cannot have escaped former observation. Their attempts were always analytic; they broke every image into fragments : and could no more represent, by their slender conceits and laboured particularities, the prospects of nature, or the scenes of life, than he, who dissects a sun-beam with a prism, can exhibit the wide effulgence of a summer noon." [106]

In one paragraph Johnson represents the Renaissance and classical humanistic poetics with regard to generalizations. Quintilian has already been quoted in his echoing of the Aristotelian dictum that there is no merit in using the exact word for everything.[107] Without adducing examples at this point it can be stated that the decorum Quintilian had in mind throughout his

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104. Pottle, F.A., op.cit. p 37.
105. WORKS, vol III.
106. LIVES, vol I, pp 15-6.
107. Quintilian, op.cit. Book VIII, Ch 2, sec iii.

discussion of proper idiom is that which employs general and abstracted references and idioms. The erroneous view of Pope's diction is illustrated in Conington's reference to "Windsor Forest":

> "... the poet is led to compensate for want of imagination in his manner of conceiving the object by a stilted magniloquence which is meant to do duty as the language of poetry." 108

But for a poet who places universals and an integrated system of values based on a conception of the universe seen as "logical relation" ahead of mere fidelity to the isolated single experience of the poet no matter how intensely felt, description in general terms is inevitable. Granting that the following excerpt, as Pastoral, is required to comprise an idyllic picture, and not an acutely psychological representation of the soul bared before a searing onslaught of nature seen through Van Gogh eyes, can we say that the author has failed of poetry?

> "Now rise, and haste to yonder woodbine bow'rs,
> A soft retreat from sudden vernal show'rs,
> The turf with rural dainties shall be crown'd,
> While op'ning blooms diffuse their sweets around.
> For see! the gath'ring flocks to shelter tend,
> And from the Pleiads fruitful show'rs descend." 109

Not one particularity is here described in and for itself : the whole passage is generalities, yet none the less poetry. The classic authors knew that a tension is not perpetually to be expected of a poet - their doctrine of the genres was set up

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108. Conington, J., "The Poetry of Pope", OXFORD ESSAYS, pp 1-51, London, 1858, p 21.
109. Spring, 97-102.

partially in admission of this fact : each category had its own work to perform, and the poet is allowed to relax certain stresses while tightening others. Does the poet necessarily betray nature and truth if he is not always confronting the reader with analytic description?

> "Realism or aestheticism : one must choose. But must one? There are still those who conceive the possibility of a soundly humanistic art which shall, without forgetting circumstance and detail, somehow see through and beyond them to universal experience." 110

In referring to the concettists and bombasts in "The Art of Sinking in Poetry", and especially in defence of the "conventional epithet", Pope wrote:

> "Nothing seemed more plain to our great authors of his own day than that the world had long been weary of natural things ... He ought therefore to render himself master of this happy and anti-natural way of thinking..." 111

Behind the biting sarcasm is of course Johnson's view of the "general" quoted above, and Pope continues to illustrate by quoting various examples of anti-natural imagery and conceits, as often as not betraying weak logic in themselves as well as lacking any organic reference to the poem as a whole. This is of an identical tenour with Longinus' remarks on novelty:

> "All these ugly and parasitical growths arise in literature from a single cause, that pursuit of novelty in the expression of ideas which may be regarded as the fashionable craze of the day." 112

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110. Warren, A., op.cit. p 75.
111. WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol X, p 355.
112. Longinus, op.cit. p 53.

Quintilian had placed "words that signify more than they express" (cf. neo-classic "general terms") under ornament rather than perspicuity[113] with a view to show that ornament was not to be superficial gilt but integral amplification. Pope was never guilty of using novel diction to "affect a character for erudition."[114] General terms were more easily understood by the readers of his day; clarity and ease of interpretation were primary goals for Pope, and he followed Quintilian in his every suggestion for the avoidance of obscurity;"shortness of periods"[115]; careful use of parentheses;[116] avoidance of ambiguity,[117] of "clouds of empty words",[118] and of that kind of brevity by which "the reader has to understand by the exertion of his own ability."[119] The humanist goal was a via media, and it was intended to apply as much to rhetoric as to morals. Pope testified to this:

> "I preserve a mean which is the excellence, justice, and fitness of all things in the moral system..." [120]

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113. Quintilian, op.cit. Book VIII, Ch 2, sec xi.
114. Ibid, sec xii. Pope employed almost no neologisms. "Consiopation" occurred in a letter to the Hon. R.Digby (WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol IV, p 84); "livelily" in a letter to Fortescue (Ibid, vol IX, p 134).
115. Quintilian, Ibid, sec xiv.
116. Ibid, sec xv.
117. Ibid, sec xvi.
118. Ibid, sec xvii.
119. Ibid, sec xix.
120. "Letter to an Anonymous Correspondent", WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol X, p 267. DeQuincey, himself one of the most recent practitioners of traditional rhetoric, remarked on its presence in Pope's letters, especially those to Walsh, Wycherley, and Cromwell (these were among his early correspondents. His later style was not as faulty): "Every nerve

And again:

"Virtue's a mean, and vice is an excess,
In doing more than's fit, or doing less." 121

A glance at Parnell's lines in "Night-Piece on Death" will serve for comparative illustration of generalized diction. In the following verses there are only three particulars mentioned - sky, breeze, and lake - and none of them in any way descriptive of themselves:

"How deep yon azure dies the sky!
Where orbs of gold unnumber'd lie,
While thro' their ranks in silver pride
The nether crescent seems to glide.
The slumbering breeze forgets to breathe,
The lake is smooth and clear beneath,
Where once again the spangled show
Descends..." 122

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was strained to outdo each other in carving all thoughts into a filigree work of rhetoric."
DeQuincey's further comment was that Pope had "degraded the dignity of rhetoric [the truly magnificent rhetoric of Pliny and of Seneca] by applying it to trivial commonplaces of compliment..." (DeQuincey, T., op.cit.)
The same judgment may of course be passed on many of the Renaissance humanists. DeQuincey, however, tends to limit the functions and kinds of rhetoric, expecting in epistolary writing evidence of a creative passion; but no humanist would support this. It is to some degree a question of personal taste : whether one would prefer to receive letters in the style of "Suspiria de Profundis" or that sometimes flatulent but always genially engaging style of Erasmus and Petrarch.

121. "Letter to an Anonymous Correspondent", loc.cit.

122. Parnell, T., THE POETICAL WORKS, London, n.d. My italics. Parnell's images are of a mediocre kind, and therefore illustrate at the same time the custom, and the great gulf between himself and Pope.

The undeviating conventionality, both aesthetic and moral, of the underlined epithets and abstractions is of a piece with the widespread detestation of the particular as of interest or relevance in itself. And this, of course, represents the prevailing temper intent on preserving the status quo in all fields. Burke's conservatism,[123] for example, is in point here. After the enthusiasm and peculiarities in the previous century of vast political and religious disturbances, anything that might endanger the chance of general agreement amongst rational men was rejected, at first simply as dangerous, later as unaesthetic, ludicrous, immature.

The patterns of social response in given situations - love, war, nature - change from age to age (as Aldous Huxley has observed somewhere),[124] and therefore the images in poetry concerned with those things will also change. Exploratory imagery,

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123. "We are resolved to keep an established church, an established monarchy, an established aristocracy, and an established democracy, each in the degree it exists, and in no greater ... It has been the misfortune (not ... the glory) of this age, that everything is to be discussed as if the constitution of our country were to be always a subject rather of alteration than enjoyment." ("Reflections on the Revolution in France", quoted in Sutherland, J., A PREFACE TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POETRY, Oxford, 1948, p 34.)

124. They also change from place to place, person to person.

extravagant and novel imagery, are not to be expected where consolidation of a recognized social order is in progress. There were no private or esoteric images during the first half of the eighteenth century, for the audience-poet relationship was comparatively intimate.[125] The poet's images at such a time will never be violent in the sense of yoking incongruities together, and he will not feel the pressing need of imposing patterns and unities of his own fabrication by means of an imagery privately consistent. Again, since the tempo of the period was comparatively leisurely so the imagery, when illustrative, was unambiguously and consistently so. And since there was no distrust of a moderate rhetoric, rhetorical (but direct) statement obviated the overburdening of one's poetry with the unorthodox rhetoric of dissociative images. (Is this at all surprising - to take but one fact - for a generation nourished on the styles of Cicero and Pliny?) As Bradley has said of the classical poet:

> "... his matter, as it existed in the general imagination, was already highly poetical... a world not of bodiless thoughts and emotions, but of scenes, figures, actions and events. For the most part he lived in unity with it." [126]

To a slightly lesser extent this can be referred to the myth material and to the poetic diction of the English Augustans : traditional rhetoric was still poetical and carried imaginative conviction, and forcing and forced imagery were unnecessary.

In comparison with the passages from Pope and Par-

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125. That is, the audience for whom the poet was writing. The poet's audience is always restricted.
126. Quoted by C.Day Lewis, THE POETIC IMAGE, London, 1947, p 105.

nell given above we might conclude the subject of generalized diction by looking at a few verses of Spenser. The conventional epithet-substantive group is as well exemplified in Spenser (or in Milton) as in the Augustans. Here is a stanza selected as random from "The Fairie Queen":

> "Full many mischiefs follow cruell Wroth,
> Abhorred bloudshed, and tumultuous strife,
> Unmanly murder, and unthrifty scath,
> Bitter despight, with rancours rusty knife,
> And fretting grief the enemy of life;
> All these, and many evils moe haunt ire,
> The swelling splene, and Frenzy raging rife,
> The shaking Palsey, and Saint Fraunces fire:
> Such one was Wrath, the last of this ungodly tire." 127

There are as many cliché epithets as one could expect to find in one stanza, as many abstractions of evil; yet the concreteness of representation cannot be denied, and this must have been considerably heightened for Spenser's thoughtful contemporaries with their conception of a universal ethics. An age such as our own frequently discovers its poets seeking for imagery of violent impact with which to convey ideas and beliefs dramatically in order to persuade even the most sceptical readers of the underlying realities with which the poet is dealing. But Spenser knew that his audience would accept the mere namings of "full many mischiefs" with deep shudders, therefore he advisedly refrained from ultra-concettist frivolities that might only detract from the impact of the basic moral conceptions of his poem. A uni-

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127. Spenser, E., THE POETICAL WORKS, ed Smith, J.C. and Selincourt, E. de, London, 1926, Book I, Canto 4, stanza xxxv. My italics.

fied moral conception underlying and impregnating the creative activity of any artist of maturity and sensibility justifies the work per se; and the artist needs no recourse to isoltaed conceptions, brilliant as these may appear singly, independent of the structure of the work as a whole. These "gildings" may of course be allowed, but the "message" of the poem will not be found there.

4.

Ut Pictura Poesis

Pope's rhetoric was influenced to a considerable extent[128] by the Horatian dictum "ut pictura poesis" and by his close associations with painters such as Kneller and Jervas, the latter[129] the pupil of Kneller. Of Kneller, Pope wrote that his "Art was Nature" and his "pictures Thought" : in other words, Pope conceived that certain idea-conceptions could be adequately pictorialized. His fine "Epistle to Mr. Jervas, with Mr. Dryden's Translation of Fresnoy's Art of Painting", shows the same enthusiasm in its praise of Jervas' "free design / Where Life awakes, and dawns at every line",[130] and in its observation that "Images reflect from art to art."[131] Once more he commends the picturing of thought, whether by painting or by its sister art:

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128. "Ars Poetica", in Cook, A.S., op.cit., 361.
129. Pope wrote an epitaph on Kneller.
130. Epistle to Mr. Jervas, 3-4.
131. Ibid, 20.

"Beauty, frail flow'r that ev'ry season fears,
Blooms in thy colours for a thousand years." [135]

Pope studied painting some time with Jervas, and there are several references in Spence's "Anecdotes" concerning painting. We learm, for example, that the poet associated landscaping and landscape appreciation with pictorial art.[136] As Tillotson points out with regard to the eighteenth century in general,[137] Pope's love for landscape gardening is as characteristic of his period's pleasure in the conquest of nature (for civic ends) as is the careful husbandry of the diction of his pastorals. Pope, like the Virgil of the "Georgics", and unlike many of the tamer pastoral poets of his own time, knew the problems of gardening at first hand.

His appraisal of Homer seems to centre on "the principal beauty of it ... the liveliness of its paintings",[138] and he proceeds to give several examples of this feature, of which the two following are typical:

> "I cannot conclude the notes to this book without observing that what seems the principal beauty of it, and what distinguishes it among all others is the liveliness of its paintings ... The marshy spot of ground where Dolon is killed, the tamarisk or aquatic plants

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132. Epistle to Mr. Jervas, 23-4.
133. Ibid, 43.
134. Ibid, 45.
135. Ibid, 57-8. Was Pope aware of the shattering paradox in line 57, achieved through the syntactical inversion?
136. Spence, J., op.cit. p 170.
137. Tillotson, G., "Eighteenth Century Poetic Diction", ESSAYS AND STUDIES OF THE ENGLISH ASSOCIATION, vol XXV, 1939, p 73.
138. Preface to the Iliad.

> upon which they hand his spoils, and the reeds that are heaped together to mark the place are circumstances the most picturesque imaginable ... I cannot but confess my opinion that the chief beauty of it is in the prospect, a finer than that which was never drawn by any pencil." [139]

Those are unmistakably the words of a lover of the pictorial beauties of poetry. He praises the description of the shield with similar enthusiasm:

> "as a complete idea of painting, and a sketch for what one may call a universal picture, This is certainly the light in which it is chiefly to be admired, and in which alone the critics have neglected to place it." [140]

Mazzoni in the late sixteenth century referred in an almost identical manner to Homer's making "an image as a picture"[141], and refers to the same opinion expressed in Philostratus, Horace, Cicero, and Plutarch, all of whom Pope had read. There is little reason to doubt that he had also read Mazzoni, since he would have come across his name in Milton's tractate "Cf Education"[142]. Mazzoni quotes words of Philip Beroaldus which can be applied to Pope:

> "It is the glory of the greatest poet so graphically to describe or rather to depict everything that he seems to spread it out before the eyes of the reader to be looked at." [143]

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139. "Observations on the Iliad", THE ILIAD OF HOMER (6 vols), London, 1732, Bk X, p 120.
140. Ibid ,vol V, Bk 8, sec iii. Pope actually rhapsodizes over the description of the shield.
141. In Gilbert, A.H., op.cit., p 362.
142. MILTON'S PROSE, p 154.
143. In Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, p 363. Note the significant alteration from "describe" to "depict".

Sidney put forward the same argument in his "Defence of Poesie":

> "Poesy therefore is an art of imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in the word mimesis, that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth - to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture." [144]

Tasso considered the poet as a "maker of images in the guise of a speaking picture" which would move the reader to "contemplation of divine things"[145]. Pope had read both these authors in addition to having studied Spenser with great care - Spenser, in whom pictorial qualities predominate and who was exemplary in his indebtedness to the painting styles of his own day.[146] It is a fact that "our mode of vision is imposed on most of us by the art we know;"[147] how much more is the poet susceptible to the painter's influence, even without a contemporary stressing of the interrelationship of the arts as was the ease in Pope's time.

There are many pictures in "Windsor Forest" as authentic if not as acute as any Pope had read in his Homer. A graphic instance follows:

> "The levelled towns with weeds lie cover'd o'er;
> The hollow winds thro' naked temples roar;
> Round broken columns clasping ivy twin'd;
> O'er heaps of ruin stalk'd the stately hind;
> The fox obscene to gaping tombs retires,
> And savage howlings fill the sacred quires." [148]

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144. Sidney, P., "Defence of Poesie", ENGLISH CRITICAL ESSAYS, ed Jones, E.D., London, 1922, p 10. Aristotle had written of the parallel in his "Poetics", Ch XXV, p 464.
145. Tasso, "Discourses in the Heroic Poem", in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit. p 476. Longinus had referred to the image as a "mental representation" (op.cit., p 83.).
146. Vide Renwick, W.L., EDMUND SPENSER, p 120.
147. Loc.cit.
148. Windsor Forest, 67-72. It is of incidental interest to con-

The juxtaposition of the proud hind and the slinking fox is especially powerful. Or again:

> "Before his lord the ready spaniel bounds,
> Panting with hope, he tries the furrow'd grounds;
> But when the tainted gales the game betray,
> Couch'd close he lies, and meditates the prey." [149]

I merely mention the well-known pictures of the "whirring pheasant"[150], the "impatient courser"[151], the Latona episode.[152] Others quite as successful are legion:

> "... absent trees that tremble in the floods..." [153]

> "Oft, as the mounting larks their notes prepare,
> They fall, and leave their little lives in air." [154]

> "In genial spring, beneath the quivering shade,
> Where cooling vapours breathe along the mead,
> The patient fisher takes his silent stand,
> Intent, his angle trembling in his hand:
> With looks unmov'd, he hopes the scaly breed,
> And eyes the dancing cork, and bending reed." [155]

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trast this passage with the one quoted immediately above for an idea of Pope's musical skill. Contrast the number of light vowels in the first with the preponderance of heavy vowels and the weights of those phrases containing heavy vowels in the second.

The first passage, again, shows Pope to be a master of chiaroscuro, and I have counted over a hundred examples of this throughout his works. This is hardly surprising for the age of Newton and of the concentrated study of the science of Optics. Vide Appendix E for a brief expansion of this idea.

149. Windsor Forest, 99-102.
150. Ibid, 111-8.
151. Ibid, 151-4.
152. Ibid, 171-208.
153. Ibid, 214.
154. Ibid, 133-4.
155. Ibid, 135-40.

Andrew Lang has remarked that the art of the early Alexandrian age was "elaborately pictorial" and that therefore Theocritus in his later idylls received direct inspiration from painting.[156] We discover Pope making much the same remark (he was enamoured of Theocritus not less than of Virgil in so far as the pastoral was concerned):

> "... in each of them [the eclogues] a designed scene or prospect is to be represented to our view..."[157]

The descriptive passages may not be devoted at any length to the extension of one particular scene or image, but this is not necessary for the presentation of a "designed scene or prospect". Examples abound in the earlier pastorals on the seasons:

> "All nature laughs, the groves are fresh and fair,
> The Sun's mild lustre warms the vital air."[158]
>
> "... the birds, on ev'ry bloomy spray,
> With joyous musick wake the dawning day."[159]
>
> "... yon slow oxen turn the furrow'd Plain.
> Here the bright crocus and blue vi'let glow;
> Here western winds on breathing roses blow."[160]
>
> "... headlong streams hang list'ning in their fall!"[161]
>
> "A Shepherd's Boy ...
> Led forth his flocks along the silver Thame,
> Where dancing sun-beams on the waters play'd,
> And verdant alders form'd a quivering shade."[162]

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156. Lang, A., THEOCRITUS, BION, AND MOSCHUS, trans. Lang, A., London, 1932, Introd. p 38.
157. A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, p 11.
158. Spring, 73-4.
159. Ibid, 23-4.
160. Ibid, 30-2.
161. Summer, 84.
162. Ibid, 1-4.

But the pictorializations are not all confined to the earlier poetry. We recall the awful description of Chaos and Darkness descending on the Dunces,[163] the sardonic caricature of Bays,[164] the crowning and enthronement of Cibber,[165] and the savage mud-bath scene. It is, in fact, difficult to discover where the acid-etched prints do not stand out in searing realism in "The Dunciad". A totally different descriptive power is illustrated by the lines on his beloved Twickenham garden-grotto:

> "Where ling'ring drops from min'ral roofs distill,
> And pointed Crystals break the sparkling Rill,
> Unpolish'd Gems no ray on Pride bestow,
> And latent Metals innocently glow."[167]

The sections from "The Basset-Table" noted in Appendix D as icons; the graphic if somewhat misleading approximation to Spenser in "The Alley"; the Cowley imitation in "The Garden"; repeated passages in the translations from Statius and Ovid (the description of the Fury from the former,[168] The Fable of Dryope from the latter); several passages from "The Temple of Fame", especially the description of "Fame's high temple" itself extending for over two hundred lines;[169] the toilet- and card- and tea-table scenes from "The Rape of the Lock" : all testify to a driving interest in graphic pictorial representation, although

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163. The Dunciad, Bk IV, 627-56. Possibly inspired by Lucian's "Pharsalia", I, 72-80.
164. Ibid, Bk I, 109-20.
165. Ibid, 287-330.
166. Ibid, Bk II, 275-346.
167. On His Grotto at Twickenham, 3-6. Note the moral supplement.
168. The First Book of Statius his Thebais, 124-59.
169. The Temple of Fame, 61-257.

almost always effected by means of generalized diction.

In the light of what has preceded, it will be hard to credit the following statement concerning Pope's pictorial abilities. A.W.Ward, an editor of Pope's poetry, was able to say in all good conscience:

> "As a descriptive poem, Windsor Forest has the merits both of dignity and variety; though the sense of the picturesque is a discovery which had dawned neither upon the age nor upon the individual genius of Pope." 170

But we have seen above that Pope used the word "picturesque" in praising Homer for that quality; he employed it again in a letter to Caryll (1712), and Oldmixon had seen fit to attack Pope for a further use of it in his "Observations of Homer". 171

Further, it seems inconceivable that a poet who can speak with such spirit of Homer's pictures, who himself sketched and painted for years, who for amplification consciously employed the icon as one of his figures, and who was widely read in poetic theory which everlastingly placed emphasis on the parallels in the two arts, should not have meditated considerably upon these principles and effects and sought to put them into practice.

The evidence for Pope had already been shown. It will be of interest to ask ourselves, if not the ghosts of Pope's nineteenth century belittlers, why it is that what was

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170. POPE'S POETICAL WORKS, ed Ward, A.W., Introd. to Windsor Forest.
171. Warren, A., op.cit. p 56.

picturesque for Pope seemed not so to a later century but was thought cold, an insensitive "making" of the stuff of nature. The answer has already largely been supplied throughout this paper. It lies chiefly in what Pottle explains by means of his relativistic aesthetic : that different periods have differing sensibilities, and that we must ever be on the lookout for the adjustment necessary before we can hope to truly appreciate the work of another age. This adjustment involves, for example, a realigning of the whole system of moral and aesthetic values, and calls for some degree of "suspension of disbelief" which will enable us to admit aims and beliefs alien to us,as the primary directives in literatures other than that of our own time. With respect to Pope, it will entail the recognition that he was conditioned by a poetics which placed different emphases than nineteenth or twentieth century poetics have placed. It entails, to mention but one item, the accepting of the principle of decorum in application to the figures, never permitting them to obtrude as certain twentieth century imagery obtrudes - isolate, fragmentary, iconoclastic as it often is.

Pope, then, had no intention of intruding the "picture" on the reader so that it would usurp the central position of the logical structure and destroy the confident unity of the poem. Critics since Joseph Warton have frequently been unable to comprehend that classical humanism might possibly have offered a full, rich, and more unified view of the universe - and this

implicitly in its aesthetics - than any critical school since. Perhaps the lack of generally accepted convictions in the field of aesthetics since the Renaissance is an indication that post-Renaissance man has not been inclusive enough in his thinking (and feeling) to provide the necessary structure of universal values on which to found a modern science of aesthetics. At any rate, Pope was obviously nagged by no such misgivings. Like Petrarch on his mountain, who with one foot in the middle ages and the other in the modern world could not avoid describing his ascent in terms of a Dantesque allegory; who despite acute descriptions of nature both in his letters and poems - and they are acute regardless of the fact that they are in generalized rather than particularized imagery - turns from his mountain to Augustine and the classical dictum "Know thyself!" in a humanistic centring on the mind and soul of man; like Petrarch, Pope effectively maintained in his practice the inclusive references of the true humanist.[172]

5.

A Summary : Pope's Image and Humanist Poetics

The relationship between any image technique and

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172. Although qualified, as I have attempted to show throughout, by certain restrictions.
Pope refers to Petrarch's "Trionfi" in his notes to "The Temple of Fame", in a letter to Cromwell on Crashaw (Dec 17, 1710), and in a note on Rymer's "A Short

the poetics of a poet must be referred to his attitudes towards the society of his time (its institutions, practices, and beliefs) as revealed in the "content" of his poetry. It is this "content" that forms the basis of rhetoric, that is the body for which the style is a garment; and it is this "given" in a specific period which provides the fundamentals for the construction of a poem. . In all major poets we shall discover that the "content" is great, since this "content" is the most important element in any poem. If this appears to be a truism it is one carelessly ignored at times, and it might be advisable to suggest a definition for the term. Erwin Panofsky has written:

> "The more the proportion of emphasis on 'idea' and 'form' approaches a state of equilibrium, the more eloquently will the work reveal what is called 'content'. Content, as opposed to subject matter, may be described in the words of Pierce as that work which betrays but does not parade. It is the basic attitude of a nation, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion - all this unconsciously qualified by one personality, and condensed into one work. It is obvious that such involuntary revelation will be obscured in proportion as either one of the two elements, idea or form, is voluntarily emphasized or suppressed." 173

View of Tragedy". I have thought it worthwhile to parallel certain achievements of these two humanist poets in Appendix F.

173. Panofsky, E., "The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline", THE MEANING OF THE HUMANITIES, ed Greene, T.M., Princeton, 1940, p 103. Author's italics.

The key to the dissatisfaction not only with much contemporary poetry (I limit the discussion to poetry) but also with much Romantic and Victorean poetry, lies here. It must not be thought that a poetry which is exuberantly didactic or one which is exuberantly emotive necessarily has a maximum of content. On the contrary, the degree of content depends, as Panofsky has written, on the emphasis on "idea" and "form" having reached a comparative state of equilibrium; bad poetry always voluntarily emphasizes one of the two elements.[174] Victorean poetry, for example, frequently stressed "idea" and lost balance; we generally feel in such a case that we are being subjected to propaganda. Whereas Swinburne, a Victorean rebel, offends on the whole by stressing "form" at the expense of "idea" so that his poetry seems to lose touch with reality.

It appears obvious on reading such a documentation of figures as that of Quintilian or Susenbrotus or Puttenham, that their idea of the use of figures presupposes an aesthetic rooted in such a conception of poetic "content". It implies "pietas", a blend of learning and love of beauty, and a deep respect for ethical values on a solid social basis of rationality and faith. Man is above all duty-bound, a functional unit of "degree" in a hierarchic system of which he can remain the chief excellence (below God) so long as he preserves

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174. R.Tuve's defence of Renaissance and seventeenth century imagery implies such a distinction, although she does not make it in these terms.

the stability (decorum) of the system. It is indecorous (impractical, unethical, ugly : they all meet eventually) to bring about an imbalance by placing undue emphasis on formal elements; it is quite as indecorous to insist on a sensuous subjectivity which belies the facts of The Chain, or on an intellectual emphasis which obscures universal ethical and aesthetic relations. No matter (for example) how multi-figured a poem may be, the figures must be integrated descriptive affirmations of the poem's "ethos" (i.e. content). No satisfactory system of rhetoric is possibly without this complete integration. This is why the reader today is often bewildered or annoyed by bunches of images; why the sometimes abstract symbolism and extravagant metaphors of the Romantic poets, if present in any number, often leave one with a feeling of instability and dissatisfaction.[175] It is also why we can accept the emblazoning of exargasia in a Spenser stanza or in a satire of Donne's without being too aware of a sense of disproportion. And it is why Pope's Epistles, ebullient as they may be with brachiologa, insultatio, epithonema, meiosis, micterismus, antiphrasis, yet appear stable, delight as well as teach, with a unity never attained in "The Princess", "Arethusa", or "Eros in Dogma".[176] The content is present in Pope to an extent comparable with any Renaissance poet.

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175. It is true that this result often has been the aim of the poet.
176. By Tennyson, Shelley, and George Barker respectively.

A simple story can be told, a truism decorated, a well-known parable illustrated, a conventional description varied, without any self-consciousness of the basic matter as "prosaic" or of the embellishment as "appliqué", for the simple reason that the duty of the poet was clearly defined (in social as well as in individual terms) in Pope's time, and he could concern himself objectively with perfection of craft and clarity of perception. A specific relation of the poet and his universe was taken for granted - and was prosaic in a sense, if you will; and it provided the substantial content which rhetoric enhances without sacrificing its functional character.

In her remarks that it was not faithful descriptions of the poet's own mental processes but an attempt to convey with logical coherence the underlying concepts of the poem which was the true aim of the Renaissance poet, Tuve has made the same distinction. What matters is that the poet in imitating nature should represent its coherent order in some phase or aspect. Content is a revelation of vital relations in universal nature : subject matter is present (in place of content) to the degree that the poet is unable to disregard himself as an isolated particularity. Content is not the quality but the meaning of experience; it is an evaluation of the essential nature of things, not the analysis of subjective precipitates; it is comprised of "generalized interpretations of experience"[177], not

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177. Tuve, R., op.cit. p 175.

experiences of the poet's consciousness as a thing-in-itself. In so far as the poet removes from an examination of the universe through experience, and occupies himself solely with an interpretation of the feeling state, so far will subject matter predominate.

The conclusions of such a discussion leads us directly to an understanding of the imagery of Augustan poetry, and of Pope's poetry in particular. In his study of Milton's epic style Rajan contrasts the epic with the dramatic in order to demonstrate why the eighteenth century favoured the epic over the dramatic. The epic has a basis of accepted fact upon which it proceeds:

> "to imply through its level methodical persistence the nature of these ultimate and inexorable forces which the Providence of God deploys in history." 178

The drama, on the other hand, proceeds to "the recognition and acceptance of a new order of reality..." The language of the epic, then, is a "method of illustration" rather than a mode of conversion, presenting accepted data and precepts with clarity and with a "simplicity which proceeds from the prior assent of the reader" to the precepts propounded. These precepts are general and are presented in general terms, and in such a manner as to "shape them in an impersonal ritual", 179 not to define the emotions behind the beliefs. An illustrative technique replaces

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178. Rajan, B., PARADISE LOST AND THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY READER, London, 1947, p 111. The epic is therefore seen to be related to history as viewed by Rehaissance poetics - as a store of examples for the reader's moral edification.
179. Ibid, p 110.

one which explores emotion, and precise diction which would rarely seek to surprise with a "suffusing" emotional impact replaces chaotic and turbulent language arising out of complex or dense emotional situations.

We might recall that the commonplaces of Renaissance poetics concerning imagery were : embellished Nature as the poetic subject; delight and pleasure equally the poet's aim; the demand for "significancy"; the acceptance of certain aims (the didactic) and certain methods (generalized statement) of reasonable discourse; the demand for rhetorical efficacy; decorum employed as a regulative principle; and Imitation as (i) reproduction of the classics, and (ii) Aristotelian mimesis. The Renaissance attitude towards Nature need not be reviewed here at any length. The humanist often used the word "nature" without indicating a precise meaning for it - as, for instance, Leonardo da Vinci:

> "... Masaccio showed by his perfect works how those who take for their standard anyone but Nature, the mistress of all masters, weary themselves in vain." 180

Da Vinci escaped from the looming formalistic dichotomy which we sometimes discover in Renaissance poetics; yet beyond an obvious glorification of some universal nature, we are not specifically told here what the speaker had in mind. We do know that

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180. Quoted in Jamison, E.M., Ady, C.M., and Vernon, K.D., ITALY MEDIEVAL AND MODERN, Oxford, 1919, p 204. For the concept of nature in Pope's time vide Chapter III supra.

with the exception of Leonardo and a very few others the empirical investigation of nature was almost completely by-passed throughout the quattrocento and early cinquecento; evidently their "nature" was less material than glorious, although Quintilian like Bacon long after him had written that "true beauty is never separate from utility"[181], followed by : "We must look to nature, and follow her."[182] (It is of interest to note that this was written about the use of embellishment.) Throughout the writings of the humanists there was always a consciousness of the separation of art and nature, although it was thought that the former must derive from nature:

> "A person may be unable, perhaps, to understand exactly what is accurate and what is pleasing, yet he may act better under the guidance of nature than of art; but there is some degree of art in strict adherence to nature."[183]

That is Quintilian; Panofsky gives the more self-conscious present-day point of view:

> "From the humanistic point of view ... it became reasonable, and even inevitable, to distinguish, within the realm of creation, between the sphere of nature and the sphere of culture, and to define the former with reference to the latter, i.e., nature as the whole world accessible to the senses, except for the records left by man."[184]

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181. Quintilian, op.cit.,Book VIII, Ch 3, sec xi.
182. Ibid, sec lxxi. Cf. An Essay on Criticism, 68.
183. Ibid, Book IX, Ch 4, sec cxx.
184. Panofsky, E., "The History of Art", in Greene, T.M., op. cit., p 95. Panofsky's italics. The division was often accepted theoretically but ignored practically, however; vide Chapter VII, infra, p 242.

This became a major division for those early Renaissance humanists who believed that only the concentrated study of the classics could lead them to the polished life of piety and learning which none since the collapse of Roman civilization had enjoyed. Longinus had stated in succinct terms the widely held belief that nature herself exemplified a system (i.e. an order) which imposed itself in formal manifestations allied to those of art:

> "... while nature as a rule is free and independent in matters of passion and elevation, yet she is wont not to act at random and utterly without system. Further, nature is the original and vital underlying principle in all cases, but system can define limits and fitting seasons, and can also contribute the safest rules for use and practice." 185

This was the belief behind Leonardo's statement quoted above. Longinus proceeds to say:

> "Art is perfect when it seems to be nature, and nature hits the mark when she contains art hidden within her." 186

Both nature and art contribute their share in artistic creation, art imposing the "limits" of the creator's apprehended universals. That this was Pope's belief and practice - art contributing "form" at the same time that it derives from "unerring nature" - 187 can be seen throughout his work:

> "Art from that fund each just supply provides." 188

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185. Longinus, op.cit. p 45.
186. Ibid, p 103.
187. An Essay on Criticism, 70.
188. Ibid, 74.

A typical example of this attitude can be found in Jane Austen's "Emma", where Emma's improvement of Harriet lies in adding to her nature rather than in "bringing out her true nature."

With poetic imagery specifically in mind, Tuve has written:

> "The qualities of 'artificiality', decorous selectivity, and relative sensuous imprecision are in fact the very qualities which mark Renaissance images as functioning towards Imitation as Renaissance writers conceived it." 189

Precision of the real, even if accompanied by sensuous imprecision, is the chief demand:

> "... the beauty is the shining forth of the form of a thing, either of a work of art or nature... in such a manner that it is presented to the mind with all the fullness and richness of its perfection and order." 190

That is St. Thomas Aquinas, and yet it might well be a Renaissance critic defending his poetics. We see that not only logical but teleological significance is involved. The "end" of the poem is a philosophical inclusiveness which contains dynamic aesthetic and social references.

Related to this factor of philosophic content in poetry is the substitution of logical effectiveness for illogical conceit. Pope's imagery, for example, "habitually sacrifices rich texture for clear logical structure" [191] in accordance with Renaissance poetics.

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189. Tuve, R., op.cit. p 25.
190. Aquinas, S. Thomas, quoted in Gilbert, K.E. and Kuhn, H., A HISTORY OF ESTHETICS, New York, 1939, p 141.
191. Tuve, R., Ibid, p 8. Tuve applies this statement to certain Elizabethans, and not to Pope.

> "That an image should give us an immediate sense experience is, logically and imaginatively, the simplest function we can ask it to serve." 192

The poetic subject for the Renaissance artist and for the later humanist-poet - Pope, was necessarily formalized : representationalism was not as important as a suitably "artificial" formal excellence which more effectively communicated the universal logical structure (i.e. content) upon which the poet was intent. The aim of the poet was inclusive realism at the level of imaginative conception, not merely factual and perceptive realism. This is the full import of the words from Aquinas above.

Part of the formal excellence was to be obtained by what I have already referred to as "aptness" of imagery. Since the poet is concerned with the ordering of nature (his material), he must select images which are functionally coherent at the level of formal propriety and order. But above all, the image must satisfy the demands of true values and of logic arrived at by other than poetic representations. There is, for example, no room for the metaphysical conceit in so far as it proceeds from fragmentary intuitive apperceptions. Behind such stringent qualifications lay the didactic impulse of the age - or rather it is more correct to say that the age had a didactic concept of the "use" of poetry because of metaphysical conclusions arrived at beforehand.

Pope, the inheritor of this tradition, was not

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192. Tuve, R., op.cit. p 6.

primarily interested in the image as an acute reflector of single perceptions, since single perceptions per se did not interest him (unless they could be referred to a universal logic). He never entertained the idea that momentary imagistic acuteness and eclecticism was of value in itself : his attacks on the Metaphysicals are proof of that. The unfortunate repercussions of this attitude are evident in his few lyric poems, where instead of presenting verisimilitudes of affective states of being with fidelity and passion he provides an intellectual abstraction of feelings. This may be explained in part by his proximity in time to the excesses of the Metaphysicals, in several of whom he was thoroughly read. It was partly due to his misinterpretation of the function of the lyric, seeing it not as the intimate vehicle of personal emotion but as the medium of universal reflections on common affective states. It was largely due to his generalizing of ideas and feelings, until "what oft was thought" lost all individual character by its continual reference to merely common denominators of feeling. But Pope had a true sense of the lyric in so far as the images employed

> "lead the poem toward generalized reflection rather than toward the more exact understanding of the writer's emotion as peculiar to him." 193

It is a matter of emphasis : Pope's lyric images serve simply as single stones building together throughout the poem a logi-

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193. Tuve, R., op.cit. p 16; she is speaking of Campion.

cal structure whose total image-architectonic presents the "generalized reflection", but without the immediate individual affective dynamic of a Campion.

Pope's "Song, by a Person of Quality"(1733), for example, reveals a series of images none of which in themselves provide direct affective revelation. Pluto "arm'd in adamantine chains," Melancholy "swiftly purling in a round," " the bird of Juno stooping," even "Morpheus hov'ring o'er my Pillow" : all are bricks in the logical structure leading to "generalized reflection", and were never intended to be significant psychologically (I employ this last term in a very general sense). Similarly, in his "Ode, The Dying Christian to his Soul", we have a dispassionate statement of Christian salvation and glory, the poet not primarily setting up a poem of private sensibility but providing images which proceed from the central logic. "Heaven opens on my eyes!" is not an ecstatic representation of mood : it is evidence adduced for the central thought. "Lend, lend your wings! I mount! I fly!" is not a record of personal emotion but a calculated logical testimony laid out in rhetorical dialectic. His desire was to raise the mind of the reader to his conception by means of images, the images themselves to function otherwise only in a variety of incidental ways - as felicitous music, for example. There is nothing but general-

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194. Imgges are to be used for "raysing the mind to a more high and loftie conceite," wrote Campion ("Observation in the Art of English Poesie", ELIZABETHAN CRITICAL ESSAYS, vol II, p 330). By "conceite" Campion means logical comprehension.

ized imagery here, imagery that tends to lead from the specific and the unique, not towards it. Eevn when strongly under the influence of such an intense lyricist as Crashaw - as Pope is in "Eloisa to Abelard" - he cannot present uniquely private experience. The second stanza of "The Dying Christian to his Soul" demonstrates this fact:

> "What is this absorbs me quite?
> Steals my senses, shuts my sight,
> Drowns my spirits, draws my breath?
> Tell me, my Soul, can this be Death?"

This is as close as Pope ever comes to an explicit description of a private state, and it is an obvious failure of passionate exclamation. Where we might anticipate an intuitive metaphysical sensibility in imagery we are given descriptive cliches of the type "drowns my spirits" or "steals my senses". It is a failure, just as all his lyrics are relative failures, because the stress he laid in his poetics was too directly a reflection of that imbalance which the Augustan age had <u>not</u> derived from true humanistic neo-classicism - an imbalance leading to excessive didacticism and generalizing in social terms.

Pope's neglect of symbolism and allegory was due to similar reasons. We can imagine his scornful reaction to Denis the Areopagite's cry : "Unitive wisdom is unreasonable, insane, and foolish." The metaphor beyond metaphor of the perfervid mystic, often seeming to end in negation of language itself, was anathema to Pope. Likewise symbolism as method - the symbol posited as the essence of a relationship between things, making

causal connection less relevant than symbolic relation - this too would not do. Pope saw the danger only too well - that the absence of a dominating realism proposing "universalia ante rem" can lead to symbolism as superficial process of mental association based on casual similitude. (Symbolism is frequently employed today, for example, in compensation for the lack of a sound substrata of social and religious values.) But Pope was unable to realize that the best mystical poems of the seventeenth century (for example) employed symbols which could be directly identified with universal values, and which then illumined the concrete and the actual just as medieval religious symbolism had done.

Allegory too, Pope as an upholder of "common sense" found it necessary to discard. The incorporated abstract is meaningful only for those who can either concede some kind of Platonic reality of ideas, or for whom a strong belief in the immediacy of evil supports embodied spiritual essences of good and evil. This is why the medieval mind in its hunger to "ascribe a sort of substantiality to abstract concepts"[195] is the natural father of allegory, and why an eighteenth century "enlightenment" must reject what appears to it to be undyly ingenuous and ingenious vision. It was impossible for anyone who had read Locke as sympathetically as Pope[196] to ascribe substantiality to concepts; epistemology had become much too analytical, and

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195. Huizinga, J., THE WANING OF THE MIDDLE AGES, London, 1948, p 199. Chapter XV, "Symbolism in its Decline" is relevant to the point made here.

196. Johnson, S., LIVES OF THE POETS, vol II, p 237.

the new rationalsim had forbidden the reality of spirits. (The Neo-Platonic spirits became for Pope the genii of a lady's boudoir.) It was much easier to accept the epic heroes and other mythical personages of an urbane Augustan literature, requiring as they did simply a cultured acknowledgement of conventionalized organs of faith.[197]

In substituting the "mystique" of rationalism for that of symbolism, and a Deistic mathematical order of the universe for the supranatural order of the symbolic medieval conception, all was not gain in the house of Albion - although Pope significantly enough retained a passionate belief in the hierarchical symbolism of The Chain of Being. Even Pope, however, could not escape the implications of scientific mechanism in ethics and religion. An atomistic Nature does not allow of infinite qualitative relations between its units, whereas symbolism requires just that - a wealth of "those white designs which children drive."[198] For the deepest religious fervours, for intuited metaphysical apprehensions, no reach of meanings, no number of interrelations of "white designs" can be too many to suggest the illimitable subtleties and wonder of the God-man relation. The mystic must "look about the air / And wonder where [his] angels were."[199] Where the lamb is not The Christ, the wolf sin, the dove the beatitude of peace not simply as "construct"

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197. Vide supra, Chapter V, sec 1.
198. Vaughan, T., "Childhood", WORKS, ed Martin, L.C., Oxford, 1914.
199. Thompson, F., "Ex Ore Infantium", SELECTED POEMS, London, 1909.

but as spiritual embodiment; where the tree in its invigoration by the divine idea is not more the Cross than the rotting tree : where these are not, where are angels? We suspect that where Pope was, angels might well fear to tread! The Enlightenment employed either the Hobbesian deductive or a Baconian inductive dialectic unenlightened by the dynamic of Final Cause, and substituted it for the symbolic logic of essence-relationships. Mystic unity was scorned and a quantitative unity of motion substituted; things-in-themselves were denied inclusive relationships other than the purely mathematical in materialistic generics. And Pope was affected by it all. Yet we should recall his open defiance of these tendencies in that final passionate exclamation to universal darkness:

> "See skulking Truth to her old cavern fled,
> Mountains of Casuistry heap'd o'er her head!
> Philosophy, that lean'd on Heav'n before,
> Shrinks to her second cause, and is no more.
> Physic of Metaphysic begs defence,
> And Metaphysic calls for aid on Sense!
> See Mystery to Mathematics fly!
> In vain! they gaze, turn giddy, rave, and die.
> Religion blushing veils her sacred fires,
> And unawares Morality expires." 200

But since medieval symbolism had been over-extended to become finally a reservoir of fantastic number associations and a game for the adept mind, and since allegory came to be applied to such things as the teaching of grammar or costume representation until it lost all claim to the embodying of uni-

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200. The Dunciad, Book IV, 640-50. Author's italics.

versal truths, it is well to admit that the Augustans fulfilled historic necessity in their rejection of these means of copious embellishment. The Renaissance had reinvigorated the classic characters, and Atropos and Venus and Clothos were more effective representations of thought for Pope's age because less arbitrary than the roses and swords and the precious stones. What need had directly applied social ethic of the indirect and infinitely repercussive connections of the symbols? Pope's unit, for better or worse, was society not infinity, specific relations not "metaphysical shudders" and mystical ecstacies.

CHAPTER VI

POPE'S MUSIC

No study of Pope's rhetoric and diction could be complete without consideration of his superlative skill as a poet-musician. He inherited a vigorous and well-finished couplet form from Dryden, but added a polish and subtle variety of music to it which transformed it from an efficient instrument of incision and strength to a rapier-like weapon of even more tensile agility and pointed directness. In defence of the heroic couplet as a vital and capable technical medium "with its infinite and subtle variation"[1], Edith Sitwell has aptly remarked:

> "The reason why, to an insensitive ear, the heroic couplet seems monotonous, is because structure alone, and not texture, has been regarded as the maker of rhythm."[2]

The "structure" of the heroic couplet refers to its iambic pentameter in an unenjambed rhyming couplet, with caesura occurring generally after the third, fourth, or fifth syllables. Enjambment may occur - it does very rarely in Pope; or the individual couplets may be considered as units in a larger paragraph architectonic ; but the ideal norm exists despite these divergences or others such as the occasional appearance of an Alexandrine or triplet rhyme after the fashion of Dryden. Pope frequently does vary his structure alone, for effect; for example, his caesura not only passes

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1. Sitwell, E., ALEXANDER POPE, Harmondsworth, 1948, p 216.
2. Ibid, p 217.

with lightning rapidity from fourth to sixth, but sometimes exceeds these bounds:

> "Then thus.// 'Since Man from beast by Words is known,
> Words are Man's province,// Words we teach alone.
> When Reason doubtful,// like the Samian letter
> Points him two ways,// the narrower is the better.
> Placed at the door of Learning,//youth to guide,
> We never suffer it / to stand too wide." 3

We note the shifting caesura, its radical position in the first verse, and its almost complete absence in the last. As for triplet rhymes, there are eighteen in the early "January and May", not one in the four books of "The Dunciad". This is not to say that Pope discarded triplet rhymes later in life, however. We find three in the short 1738 "Epilogue to the Satires", and twelve in his satires written between 1732 and 1738. There is, nevertheless, a decrease in the use of triplets through the years.

The iambic pentameter is altered most frequently by a trochaic opening, but often, too, by a trochaic or anapaestic foot within the line:

1 "Tho' learned, well-bred; and tho' well-bred, sincere,
2 Modestly bold, and humanly severe:
3 Who to a friend his faults can freely show,
4 And gladly praise the merit of a foe?
5 Blest with a taste exact, yet unconfin'd;
6 A knowledge both of books, and human kind:
7 Gen'rous converse; a soul exempt from pride;
8 And love to praise, with reason on his side?" 4

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3. The Dunciad, Bk IV, 149-54.
4. An Essay on Criticism, 635-42. In verse seven, I have read "converse" as a noun; but it is arbitrary.

These lines, the last of a larger verse paragraph of twelve in definition of the just critic, exemplify the metrical variations. Only lines one and six are regular; lines two, three, five, and seven open with trochaics, the seventh with a (possible) double trochaic being the only one with the irregular second foot (but see note). The third foot of all eight lines is iambic, the regularity forced to some extent in this case by the occurrence of the caesura either at the beginning or end of the third foot in all lines (although extremely light in lines three and four). The fourth foot is pyrrhic in lines two, four, and eight. Thus this example shows considerable variation, even without employing the tri-syllable feet, feminine rhyme, and hypercatalexis of the following:

"Nor suffers Horace more in wrong Translations
By Wits, than Critics in as wrong Quotations." 5

Without, too, the "wrong ranging of accent" of:

"'Till show'rs of Sermons, Characters, Essays"; 6

the opening spondee in

"Come, lovely nymph, and bless the silent hours"; 7

the anapaestic third foot of

"And toil'd most piteously to please their bride"; 8

the anapaestic second foot of

"And many a Boat soft sliding to and fro"; 9

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5. An Essay on Criticism, 663-4.
6. The Dunciad, Bk II, 361.
7. Summer, 63. Note the borrowing from Milton.
8. The Wife of Bath, 59. Pope no doubt allowed three syllables only to "piteously".
9. Imitation of Spenser, 4.

and finally, an example of enjambment from the "Fourth Epistle":

> "Yet hence the Poor are cloth'd, the Hungry fed;
> Health to himself, and to his Infants bread
> The Lab'rer bears : What his hard Heart denies,
> His charitable Vanity supplies." [10]

But my purpose is to discuss the textural rather than the structural soundness and variety, and we can proceed with the former now that enough has been said for the purposes of differentiation.[11] Texture refers to the quality of rhythmic spirit, structure to the quantities of rhythm within the single cadence, verse, or verse paragraph; texture refers to the echoing of sense by sound, structure to the prosodic aids to this end; texture refers to aesthetic properties as felt, structure to physical representation of the poet's wit and sense. At this point, then, we are concerned with the most subtle techniques of melodic nuance as a master-craftsman devises effects of decorous musicality. The word "musicality" refers not only to tone and rhythm contrasts but also to sound effects characteristic of the logical structure and import of the poetry. Varieties of musical effects are amongst the most accomplished effects of a skilfully capable rhetoric, and their achievement by manipulation of texture is worth considerable study.

The description of the sylph in "The Rape of the Lock" comes to mind immediately as a suitable starting point, although any number of verses from that "most airy, the most ingenious, the most de-

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10. Moral Essays, Epistle IV, 169-72.
11. Vide Brown, W.C., THE TRIUMPH OF FORM, Chapel Hill, 1948, for an exemplary discussion of the heroic couplet in its structural variations.

lightful of all Pope's compositions"[12] would serve our turn.

"Loose to the wind, whose airy garments flew,
Thin glitt'ring textures of the filmy dew,
Dipped in the richest tincture of the skies,
Where light disports in ever-mingling dyes."[13]

In considering the musicality of any passage we must keep in mind the background of context to which the passage is inevitably referred not only for meaning but for music, much as a precious stone refers to its bracelet setting and the bracelet to the arm and the arm to the creature and her total dress. Here we have an exquisite mock-heroic backdrop which is always present to the mind - in the continuously perceived contrast, for example, between the mock and the authentic heroic styles. We are further prepared, by our feeling about the poem-as-a-whole, to expect a certain method, or certain methods, of achieving effects - in the example we are considering here, effects of musicality. Thus the polyphony of a passage may impress us with an augmented richness not only because of its intrinsic wealth, but also by contrast with the previous and following lines. It may become yet more complex by contrast with what we had been led to expect not only by the procedures of the poet up to that stage in the poem, but also by the authentic heroic style as well as by variants of the mock-heroic style met with in other poets we have read. Thus the complexity and subtlety of such a study is considerable, and I will not attempt to deal with the infinite number of influences both on the poet and on the reader, in this matter of the music of a poem. The most that can be done

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12. Johnson, S., THE LIVES OF THE POETS, vol II, p 245.
13. The Rape of the Lock, Canto II, 63-6.

is to glance at one or two of them in passing, and to remember that, musically, no passage can be considered in isolation.

The four verses quoted above are examples of Pope's methods throughout the poem, and a few of these devices are enumerated here to illustrate how the poet managed to write a passage in itself "sylph-like":

a) the predominance of the light consonants l,s,t,h,n,r.

b) the astonishing number of i's and e's
line 1: four e's, two i's (plus y)
line 2:four e's, four i's (plus y)
line 3: six e's, five i's
line 4: five e's, six i's (plus y)

c) the choice of words which judiciously effect airy combinations of letters : glitt'ring, mingling, tincture, skies, wind, dipped, filmy.

d) the "whispering" sibilants : s,t (partly sibilant), x, all suggestive of breeze, and thus reinforcing "wind" and "airy".

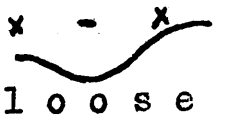
e) the presence only of soft explosives - d,p.)

f) the neat beginning of the passage with the word "loose", with its liquid "l" carried forward like a coalescing swallow on the double "o" (Aeolus with both cheeks puffed), to veer up in a gradual sweeping ascension on the "s".

"Loose" is stressed, and wings forward over two unaccented words to light on the back of "wind"; it then glides across the gulf of the caesura to drop into a descending whorl of air - the unstressed but windy "whose"; "whose" is enriched and in turn enrichening in meaning and music, backward in its internal rhyme with "loose" and in its assonance with "to", forward in its assonance with "flew".

Our swallow of sound is now tossed playfully upward to the stressed back of "airy", and continues alternately in the iambic lift and fall to the line's end. "airy garments" are so pictorially suggestive of the sweetly flowing liquefaction that the heaviness of "gar-" is quite obviated.

It further seems in keeping with the line's music to count "loose" as a catalectic (here an incomplete iambic) and to allow "to the wind" as an anapaest. We should also note the polyphony Pope achieves by using the word "loose", itself as we have seen a subtle complex of sound:



This unit, then, is counterpointed with the normal association through scansion of the word as an accented syllable, and once again with the ideal pattern of the iambic pentameter which would accord "loose" as unaccented. Such distinctions, it seems obvious, must be made in any study of the music of a major poet.

g) One last point must comprise the examination of meanings as they reinforce the sound. Loose, wind, airy, garments, flew : all in themslves reinforce the central idea of vapidity and lightness. Of the remaining words in the line, "whose" and "to" are onomatapaeically suggestive of wind, while even the consonant sound "th-" of the article cannot be said not to lend itself to this effect. And to add to the power of the rhyme word "flew", it is preceded and followed by seven exquisitely airy rhymes : sight, light, [flew], dew, skies, dyes, flings, wings. [14]

There is, in fact, more music line for line in Pope's "The Rape of the Lock" and "The Dunciad" than in any poems of comparable length by Tennyson, to whom none can deny a laurel for musical felicity. The second verse of the passage quoted above will be similarly examined for further support of this statement before glancing at the contrasting texture of lines from "The Dunciad".

"Thin glitt'ring textures of the filmy dew" occurs in the midst of a passage of astonishing technical virtuosity. "Thin" is either in rhyme or assonantal agreement with twenty-five sounds within ten lines![15] Within its own line it is echoed three times.

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14. Of the very considerable effects obtained with end rhymes - assonance, consonance, feminine rhyme, dissonances of various degrees - I have not thought it essential to treat here. Pope uses feminine rhyme but seldom, and there are only two examples in "The Rape of the Lock". Dissonance as an end-of-the-line effect could only be discussed with reference to the few stanzaic forms he attempted that do not have couplet rhyming. Pope did not try for assonantal effects in rhyming at the end of the line. He rhymed hair-ear (Rape,II, 139-40), rise-precipice (E on C, 157-8), improv'd-love (Ep I, Bk II Horace, 141-2), great-complete (Dunc I, 141-2); but he expected his readers to make the adjustment, to the lesser degree that it was necessary in the eighteenth century.

15. 58-68.

The effect of the light, airy "i" sound can scareely be overestimated, then, as it presents to and bulwarks in the reader's ear and mind these qualities of lightness and airiness. Furthermore, "thin" occurs as the first accent in a pyrrhic foot. The fact that a pyrrhic foot occurs infrequently in Pope's verse lends even greater emphasis to the sound and concept of "thin". And this is not all. The next syllable, the final accent of the pyrrhic, is itself an assonantal echo of "thin" and is followed by yet another assonantal aggreement ("-ring"). The final replication of this sound is skilfully made to fall in the remaining most emphatic place in the line - the fourth foot, following as it does a swift spondee.

There are three clearly sounded "t's", and the "th" of"thin" is echoed in the article ; further fortification for our idea of light and dew-spangled etheriality, together with the two "f's" in the line. Not one shadow falls across this line, not one dark vowel (the "o" occurs in the word least accented); there are four "i's", three of them in three out of the five accented syllables. The "t's", "th's", and "f's" alliterate throughout (Agnomination), and there is semi-assonance between "-ture" and "dew". The concept provided by the line itself is that of a spider-gossamer hung in the half-light of early dawn, lightly touched with dew against which a gentle breeze tosses its weight every few moments, to set the silvery globules glittering and shivering in the net.

The remaining two lines must be dealt with more briefly. Nine inner rhymes of the weak "i" set the same contrapuntal note as for the previous lines; three strong "i's" support it further. The heavy "o" in the two lines is negated by its occuring in a word ("disports") the first syllable of which is by now completely associated with the concepts "thin" and "fine" through assonance; the second half (-sports) suggests playfulness and fleetness. One heavy consonant -"v" - is likewise obviated since it occurs as the first of two compounded words and is spoken quickly as one passes to the emphatic "ming-". The internal assonance of "light" with "skies" and "dyes" lends to the last of these a bright rainbow-colour suggestiveness. The skilful compound "ever-mingling" is itself a concept of quick motion and suffusing variety, augmenting the feeling of intense activation conveyed by "disports".

Indeed, the passage is a masterpiece of music. Conceive of the word "plung'd" instead of "dipped", "spangling" for "textures", "fine" for "thin", "displays" for "disports", and one is immediately aware of the meticulous selection that has taken place. It is so easy to take the most felicitous passages for granted simply because the poet's painstaking mastery has made them appear as the work of a moment. For contrast, and the effect

of supercharged weight and massy ponderousness bedded in an atmosphere of murky darkness, the vowel and consonant manipulations of the following excerpt from "The Dunciad" should be considered:

> "Dulness o'er all possess'd her ancient right,
> Daughter of Chaos and Eternal Night:
> Fate in their dotage this fair Idiot gave,
> Gross as her sire, and as her mother grave,
> Laborious, heavy, busy, bold, and blind,
> She rul'd, in native Anarchy, the mind." 16

Or for incisive cutting, trenchant satirical disseveration, with its wicked whip-snapping of vowels and searing lash of consonants:

> "Yet let me flap this bug with gilded wings,
> This painted child of dirt, that stinks and stings;
> Whose buzz the witty and the fair annoys,
> Yet wit ne'er tastes, and beauty ne'er enjoys:
> So well-bred spaniels civilly delight
> In mumbling of the game they dare not bite..." 17

down to the last stinging line:

> "Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the dust." 18

For the childlike simplicity of faith we have the monosyllabic music of "The Universal Prayer":

> "If I am right, thy grace impart,
> Still in the right to stay;
> If I am wrong, oh teach my heart
> To find the better way." 19

For quiet exaltation in a work well done, and in the rich sincerity of homage to a friend, there is the compelling restraint of vowel alternations in the concluding lines to Bolingbroke in "An Essay on Man":

> "Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,
> To fall with dignity, with temper rise;
> Form'd by thy converse, happily to steer
> From grave to gay, from lively to severe;
> Correct with spirit, eloquent with ease,
> Intent to reason, or polite to please." 20

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16. The Dunciad, Bk I, 11-6.
17. Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, 309-14.
18. Ibid, 333.
19. The Universal Prayer, 29-32.
20. Epistle IV, 377-82.

The calm yet swelling and confident music of affirmation, of quiet dignity and self-possession : this kind of music seems particularly suited to the heroic couplet. The vowels alone of the passage provide a relevant pattern :

ē	ō	ī	ē	i	a	(ē)	u	ā	ū	ī
o	a	i	i	i	ē		i	e	u	ī
ō	ī	ī	o	u	a		i	ē	o	ē
u	ā	o	ā	o	ī		ē	o	e	ē
ō	e	i	i	i	e		ō	e	i	ē
i	e	o	ē	o	ō		ō	i	o	ē

20

The affirmation, the assurance, the dignity : they are present first of all in the masculine rhymes. Seven "ē's" within the lines reinforce the four final rhyming "ē's"; likewise four "ī's" and twelve unaccented "i's" reinforce the "ī" rhyme. There is no stridency, nothing emotive about the music here.

One could continue indefinitely. Pope seemed to know how to achieve all the musical effects - that polysyllabic words aid the speed of the line, for example, as does division of subject, verb, and object over two or more lines. He realized the benefits to be derived from chiasmus, which is a contrast by parallelism in reverse order as in the couplet from "Eloisa to Abelard" :

> "See from my cheek the transient roses fly!
> See the last sparkle languish in my eye!" 21

The antithesis is accentuated by opposing "languish" with "fly", and by the echo of "transient roses" in "last sparkle"; there is also the metaphysical suggestion in rhyming "eye" with "fly". He knew

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20. It is to be kept in mind that the passage is being considered out of context. I have employed a simplified phonetic representation.
21. 331-2.

the advantages in featuring an unexpected element produced by inversion, where a perfect syntactic balance (a) within the line, or (b) between the two verses of a couplet, had been expected:

"Her weapons blunted, and extinct her fires..." 22

"Round broken columns clasping ivy twin'd
O'er heaps of ruin stalk'd the stately hind..." 23

Pope was well aware, too, that he was employing a medium which tended to feature the music that prevented it from monotony. Brown states this in a slightly different way:

"The impact of sound upon meaning will be greater in thought structures that tend to be parallel (as in satire) than in thought structures that tend to be oblique (as in pure narrative)." 24

The use of antithesis produces a parallel of sound with which Pope obtained the most varied effects. Perfect interior verse antitheses reflect the ideal of stability and balance in addition to providing the sweetest harmonies:

"Fresh as the morn, and as the season fair." 25

"The sultry Dirius burns the thirsty plains." 26

"Feed fairer flocks, or richer fleeces shear." 27

"When music softens, and when dancing fires" 28

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22. Windsor Forest, 418. My italics.
23. Ibid, 69-70.
24. Brown, W.C., op.cit. p 48.
25. Spring, 20.
26. Summer, 21.
27. Ibid, 36.
28. The Rape of the Lock, Canto I, 76.

Effectively employed along with this physical antithesis is the antithesis of thought:

"Still breath'd in sighs, still usher'd with a tear" 29

"Careless of censure, nor too fond of fame,
Still pleas'd to praise, yet not afraid to blame;
Averse alike to flatter, or offend;
Not free from faults, nor yet too vain to mend." 30

Philosophically, such usage implies a somewhat complacent acceptance of an order understood by all readers, since variations of parallelism, and certain inversions, would often be confusing if the reader did not have the author's promise never to surprise with an ambiguous relation. (Thus metaphors when employed are less often of a surprising nature.)[31] Examples of such inversions may be found everywhere:

"Now leaves the trees, and flowers adorn the ground." 32

"Diana Cynthus, Ceres Hybla loves." 33

"While fish in streams, or birds delight in air
Or in a coach and six the British fair..." 34

In the last quotation one verb serves a triple subject to add to the complexity.

But the "impact of sound upon meaning" of which W.C. Brown was speaking has its greatest illustration in what Vida referred to as "imitative harmony"[35] in the first extensive treat-

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29. Eloisa to Abelard, 32.
30. An Essay on Criticism, 741-4.
31. Yet Pope was not one to deplore daring metaphors in others, so long as decorum was preserved. Of Homer he wrote : "... there are in him more daring figures and metaphors than in any good author whatever." (Preface to The Iliad.)
32. Spring, 43.
33. Ibid, 66.
34. Rape of the Lock, Canto III, 163-4.
35. Ars poetica, Bk III, 355-454.

ment of the subject. Dryden had been more influenced by Virgil directly than through Vida, and he wrote at length of Virgil in his discourse on epic poetry:

> "I have endeavoured to follow the example of my master, and am the first Englishman, perhaps, who made it his design to copy him in his numbers, his choice of words, and his placing of them for the sweetness of the sound... It is all we can do to give sweetness to our language, we must not only choose our words for elegance, but for sound - to perform which a mastery in the language is required; the poet must have a magazine of words, and have the art to manage his few vowels to the best advantage, that they may go the farther. He must also know the nature of the vowels - which are more sonorous, and which more soft and sweet - and so dispose them as his present occasions require..." [36]

This lengthy description must have been inwardly digested by the Pope who would later echo Horace [37] and Vida [38] in his famous onomataeic passage from "An Essay on Criticism":

> 1 "Soft is the strain when zephyr gently blows,
> 2 And the smooth stream in smoother numbers flows;
> 3 But when loud surges lash the sounding shore,
> 4 The hoarse rough verse should like the torrent roar.
> 5 When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw
> 6 The line too labours, and the words move slow:
> 7 Not so when swift Camilla scours the plain,
> 8 Flies o'er th' unbending corn, and skims along the main.
> 9 Hear how Timotheus' varied lays surprise,
> 10 And bid alternate passions fall and rise." [39]

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36. Dryden, J., "Dedication of the Aeneis", ESSAYS, vol II, p 215. Elsewhere Dryden said that Virgil's "chief perfection" was his diction. And again : "His [Virgil's] verse is every where sounding the very thing in your Ears, whose sense it bears." "... yet the same sounds are never repeated twice together." ("Preface to the Sylvae", POEMS, p 384.) Cf. Addison's worried reflections on the English Language, THE SPECTATOR, No 135, Aug 4, 1711, vol I, pp 469-71.
37. Ars poetica, 99-113.
38. Ars poetica, Bk III, 373-454.
39. An Essay on Criticism, 366-75.

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39. An Essay on Criticism, 366-75.

There is masterful handling of sound devices here. The first two lines could scarcely be softer and smoother, by reason of the plen - itude of soft vowels and only one soft explosive, while the five extended vowel sounds in line two are neatly synchronized with the sense. The third furiously assaults the ear by means of its dominant vowels and sibilants, the incessant flow broken by the contiguous "hoarse","rough", and "verse" of line four; six "r's" provide additional contrapuntal thunder. The sixth line exactly reproduces the sound in the sense and vice versa, reinforcing the groaning efforts of strength represented by the three consecutive accented words "rock's cast weight" of verse five. Additional commentary is unnecessary. Pope had given his opinions on the matter in his introduction to "The Iliad":

> "... applying the sound to the sense, and varying it on every new subject... is indeed one of the most exquisite beauties of poetry ..." 40

The subject was one which held Pope's attention continuously. Not only his contemporaries and near-contemporaries - critics such as Rapin, Wolseley, Bysshe, Dryden, Dennis - but the classical rhetoricians had considered musicality in poetry one of the chief concerns of rhetoric. In Book Nine Quintilian dealt with "order, junction, and rhythm" : the first concerning various inversions and the placing of words in the most effective part of

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40. Spence tells how "Mr. Pope wrote imitative verses of sounds so early as in this epic poem ['Alcander, Prince of Rhodes" - written 'when I was about twelve' (Pope)]", op.cit. p 127.

the sentence; the second, "junction" or "connection" referring to such matters as hiatus, clash of vowels or of consonants in successive syllables; and the third, "numbers".[41] And not only did Quintilian enumerate prosodic elements; he was eminently concerned with their decorous application. This is apparent in his remarks on style in general:

> "Feet that rise from short syllables to long are more spirited in sound, those which descend from long to short, more gentle."[42]

And again:

> "Are we not in narration, full and expressive; in argumentation, lively and animated, and spirited even in our action? Do we not, in moral observations and in descriptions, adopt a diffuse and flowing style; and in perorations, one that is submissive, and sometimes, as it were, faltering?"[43]

This is the tradition of rhetoric with which Pope is in direct line. Detailed Renaissance poetics were concerned with such subjects as these, ranging from synalepha[44] to rhetoric as a witness of the good man.[45] Wolseley typifies the first, in his "Preface to Valentinian":

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41. Quintilian, op.cit., Bk IX, Ch 4. With regard to numbers his definition is the one accepted by neo-classic poets and critics: "... for rhythm, that is numbers, consists of lengths of times; metre, besides length, requires the time to be in a certain order; and thus the one seems to refer to quantity, the other to quality." (Bk IX, Ch 4, sec xlvi.)
42. Ibid, sec xcii.
43. Ibid, sec cxxxviii.
44. "Synalepha becomes us, for the sake of Euphony." Dryden, J., "Dedication to Examen Poeticum", POEMS, p 426.
45. Quintilian's twelfth book sets forth his ethical presuppositions for the orator: "... for I not only say that he who would answer my idea of an orator, must be a good man, but that no man, unless he be good, can ever be an orator." (Bk IX, Ch I, sec iii.)

> "... the counting of the syllables is the least part of the Poet's Work, in the turning either of a soft or a Sonorous line; that the 'ed's' went away with the 'forto's' and the 'until's', in that general Rout that fell on the whole Body of the 'thereby's', the 'thereon's', and the 'therein's', when those useful Expletives, the 'altho's' and the 'unto's', and those most convenient Synalepha's, 'midst, 'mongst, 'gainst, and 'twixt, were every one cut off." 46

Pope, in an early letter to Walsh wrote at length on these matters, dealing specifically with seven points:

1. "A good poet will adapt the very sounds, as well as words, to the things he treats of."

2. "The pause at the fourth or sixth should not be continued above three lines together ... else it will be apt to weary the ear with one continued tone."

3. Expletives "made use of purely to supply a vacancy" must be sparingly employed. (Later in a letter to Cromwell - Nov 25, 1710 - Pope added the reason : "... all these being against the usual manner of speech.")

4. Alexandrine verses are not to appear "but when some remarkable beauty or propriety in them atones for the liberty."

5. "Repetition of the same rhymes written four or six lines of each other" is tiresome.

6. Monosyllable lines are to occur but rarely.

7. Hiatus is generally to be avoided. Pope wrote Cromwell - May 7, 1709 - that he had found only one hiatus in all of Malherbe, and he proceeded to note that Tully and Quintilian, Turnebus, Malherbe, and Menage, had all subscribed to this opinion. 47

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46. Spingarm, J.E., CRITICAL ESSAYS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, vol III, p 27.
47. Letter to Walsh, Oct 22, 1706, WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol VI, pp 56-9. With regard to the seventh point we recall the strictures of the Roman theorists against hiatus and harsh collocations of sounds, in connection with the "apta junctura". (Vide D'Alton, J.F., op.cit. pp 96ff.)

Pope's sensitive consciousness of the musical limitations of the couplet form led to an exceedingly careful avoidance of factors which might contribute to monotony and tediousness. Elegance, "right expression", perfect propriety of thought and word, "le mot juste", correctness, decorum : these key words of classical and neo-classical poetics all add up to felicity of phrase and of line (as well as of thought). And the sacrifice of individuality was not required, as we can clearly see from the contrast of Dryden and Pope which follows:

> "More mod'rate gifts might have prolong'd his Date,
> Too early fitted for a better State:
> But, knowing Heav'n his Home, to shun Delay
> He leap'd o'er Age, and took the shortest Way." [48]

These lines of Dryden's "Upon Young Mr. Rogers" are as sonorous and appropriate as could be wished for; the passage is fitting and right, assured, dignified - in a word, correct. The poet's subjective passion is not involved; on the contrary, an objective statement has been made by means of which the reader can identify the subject and its celebration in a system of ritual observances each one of which has its certain place. But Pope could not have written four such lines; the conceit "leap'd o'er Age", the rhyme on "Date", and the scansion of the first quoted line, all would have been alien to him. The following, however, is typical in its identification of spirit and control, and particularly with regard to the subject, for of the poet's high calling (despite occasional fashionable dismissals) Pope had no doubt, and wrote with passion whenever considering it:

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48. Dryden, J., POEMS.

"O sacred weapon! left for Truth's defence,
Sole Dread of Folly, Vice, and Insolence,
To all but Heav'n-directed hands denied,
The Muse may give thee, but the Gods must guide!" 49

This passage, like Dryden's, shows the controll'd diction, the iron discipline and polish required so that each word will be as a precious stone set judiciously in a coronet for aesthetic pleasure, but also representative of Order and moral stability. Pope's music is not always faultless; the drama of "Eloisa to Abelard" is betrayed by the "faultless couplet" with its elisions and precious rhymes and metre not violently enough disrupted - all of which weaken the passion. But on the whole, and because Pope realized his limitations so well, we can say of his musical art what Ivor Winters applied without qualification to Pope's poetry as a complete body of work:

"Pope, in combining a comparable diversity into a single complexity, varies the couplet noticeably less than Dryden; yet ... to the reader familiar with his sensibility he is one of the most exquisitely finished, as well as one of the most profoundly moving, poets in English." 50

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49. Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue II, 212-5. Cf. "To follow poetry as one ought, one must forget father and mother, and cleave to it alone." (Letter to Jervas, Aug 16, 1714, WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol VIII, p 6.)
50. Winters, I., op.cit. p 138.

CHAPTER VII

POPE AS HUMANIST

Pope wrote in the tradition of humanism, and was a major figure in the preservation of that tradition as a working continuity in the eighteenth century, qualifying it according to the sensibilities of his age and of his own genius. This has been a premiss of the foregoing chapters, with regard to both Pope's indebtedness in poetic theory and in his concept of private and social conduct, and to his imitations, his "society verse", his occasional pieces and essays and satires. The extent to which he qualified the tradition of humanism for himself (and for his age) was considerable, yet this perhaps not more so than the earlier continental humanists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had modified and altered classical humanism.

A large number of them had believed it quite within their rights to stress style above subject; they had regarded conformity to and standardization of the Augustan literary style more important then fidelity to the spirit of their own particular culture in time. In fact, they had attempted to put the clock back in a sense, and to identify their age with the age of Cicero and Virgil, Horace and Sallust: they had seen fit to develop a "literature of themes" as a means in

their "cult of permanence"[1]. As Singer has succinctly put it:

> "The humanists discovered the literary works of antiquity. In them they became absorbed to the exclusion of all else. Their eagerness passed into a literary vogue, and cast the blight of a modern literary education on the modern world. The barren striving after form as distinct from substance, the miserable imitativeness that is an insult to its model, these features, exhibited typically in the literature of the late Empire, were repeated by the humanists as they have been repeated in modern times..." [2]

Where "eagerness passed into a literary vogue", there indeed was the mischief; but this was by no means even generally the case during the years of ebullient Renaissance crisis. If certain early Renaissance humanists had overvalued some classical characteristics at the expense of others just as important, theirs had nevertheless been an heroic and sustained effort to reproduce in spirit the classical man at his best as they saw him, the symbol of a beautiful and noble conduct and a vital and rounded thought epitomising the best said and done in the world to their time. As Singer adds at the conclusion of the above quotations:

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1. The phrases are from Baldwin, C.S., RENAISSANCE LITERARY THEORY AND PRACTICE, p 19.
2. Singer, C., A SHORT HISTORY OF SCIENCE, Oxford, 1941, p 166. These are strong words, however, and I cannot accept the dogmatic generalizations written in the vein of a perverter of the Huxley criticism of an Arnoldian education.

> "What the humanist really gave was a something which, added to the heritage already there, made possible a completer reconstruction of the Greek spirit."
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> 4

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Theirs had not been an empty delight in dead forms; for the Renaissance scholar those forms were hallowed by the practices of the ancients with them. And in their own time the quickening of their literature was instinct with the return to the classics, as was the sparking of a national spirit and the extension of education. The "newly rich" of Padua and Lyon and Florence were determined by means of the patronage and practice of humanism to establish themselves and their ideas of culture as a permanent bulwark against a recurring barbaric night. The humanist never worked in vacuo, but was activated by contemporary social and political practices and ideals as well as by private spiritual needs.

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3. Singer, C., op.cit. p 166.
4. Cf. Pope's rejection of Imitation in Nosoponus' sense:

> "Others for Language all their care express,
> And value books, as women men, for Dress:
> Their praise is still - the Style is excellent:
> And Sense, they humbly take upon content."
> (An Essay on Criticism, 305-8)

with the following statement by Erasmus:

> "No form of expression can be pronounced elegant which is not both congruous to the artist and rightly fitted to the subject."
> ("Opera", I, 1026 A,B; quoted in Woodward, W.H., DESIDERIUS ERASMUS CONCERNING THE AIM AND METHOD OF EDUCATION, Cambridge, 1904, p 57.)

Poliziano can be quoted as typifying the humanist's rejection of a servile imitation:

> "The truly learned writer is one whose style emerges from a continued process of erudite study, of comparison of styles, and of actual effort at composition."
> "On the other hand he whose method is that of direct imitation is hardly different from a parrot, which

When we turn to Pope the situation is not very different. His was a conscious effort to establish humanism in his own time, and at the least to maintain a personal fidelity to the tradition of classical and Renaissance humanism. This was for Pope a matter of private necessity, and a goal he consciously devoted all his powers to reach. In 1740 he edited an anthology of Latin poetry which had previously appeared in England (in 1684), called "Selecta Poemata Italorum". Pope corrected it and added a few poems to it and failed to acknowledge its previous appearance. Warton's edition of Pope mentions it,[5] and Warren has listed the poets included in it.[6]

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repeats what are to it but meaningless sounds. Hence writing of this kind is without reality; it lacks the stamp of individuality, it leaves no impress; it has no nerve, no life; it arouses no emotion in others, no energy. Tear yourself away from that miserable superstition which forces you to decry your own writing because it is not a copy of someone else's ..." ("Letter to Cortesius" in Poliziani Opera, ed Aldina, sig I, 3, Lib viii, quoted in Woodward , W.H., op.cit., pp 55-6.)

5. Warton, J., WORKS OF POPE, 9 vols., London, 1797, vol I, pp lxi-ii.
6. Warren, A., op.cit. p 207. Apropos of this labour of love, Johnson avers that Pope as editor enlarged it by "more than half"; he adds that Pope had sought them out "for images and sentiments." (LIVES, vol II, p 298) None but a scholar with strong humanistic propensities would ever have discovered this forgotten volume in the first place, let alone edited it. (Pope's classical scholarship is, however, not beyond dispute. Broome, who should have known, accused him of gross incompetence in this regard. - Letter to Fenton, in WORKS OF POPE, ed Courthope & Elwin, vol VIII, p 150.)

They are such as would have appealed to the humanist, being a collection of Renaissance Latin poets in the humanist - i.e. stylistically imitative - tradition. Pope had also translated Statius, Virgil, Ovid and others in early youth, and as a variation of humanistic imitation of the masters he transcribed parts of Chaucer and wrote short pieces imitative of other English poets whom he considered worthy of this exercise. The "imitation" of Chaucer was an especially serious attempt - although not original since Dryden had done the same thing - to preserve and even to revitalize for contemporary English readers a work in their own tongue of masterful conception and style.

Tasso was one of Pope's favourite Italian poets, and Tasso as a humanist critic was thoroughly representative. It would seem, then, astonishing if Pope had never proceeded from Tasso's poetry to his criticism, and thence to other Renaissance giants such as Minturno, Castelvetro, Cinthio, Scaliger, and the rest.[7] We have seen that he knew Vida thoroughly.

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7. This is not the place to reproduce the almost unlimited evidence (yet never, or rarely ever, proved by Pope's quoting author, work, and page) that Pope was well acquainted with Renaissance critics as well as with the poets. A few parallels in opinion will suggest the relationship.
In the "Preface to the Iliad" (in THE PROSE WORKS OF ALEXANDER POPE, ed Ault, N., vol I, Oxford, 1936) Scaliger, Rapin, LeBossu, Perault, de la Motte, Mme. Dacier, and Tasso are all mentioned; Pope directly

perhaps no influence in this direction was more powerful for him than Milton's, who was better known by Pope than by any other in his century,[8] and who, like Spenser (with whom Pope

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refers to Scaliger's "Poetices" (p 242). It was Scaliger, incidentally, who praised Statius at some length, and therefore from whom it was possible that Pope received support in his exaltation of that author. (Baldwin, C.S., op.cit. p 174). Trissino in his "Poetica" (in Gilbert, A.H., op. cit. p 216) had written on passion in the poet: "Therefore Aristotle says that those of the highest ability are suited to poetry, and those who are moved by violent feeling." Pope praises Homer, Corneille, and Dryden for their poetic fire, and agreed with Boileau in valuing Longinus for the emphasis he laid on this aspect of the creative art. Similarly Pope had praised Homer for his invention; this was an echo of the common Renaissance preoccupation with inventing. Castelvetro, whom Milton thought to be one of the chief expositors of Aristotle's "Poetics" (Gilbert, A.H., op.cit., p 304), had written of invention: "In taking this matter from history, that is, from things that have already happened, the poet does not endure any fatigue, nor does it thence appear whether he is a good poet or a bad one..." (Ibid, p 306). Gilbert notes that Ben Jonson dismissed Du Bartas as a poet (he was "but a Verser") "because he wrote not Fiction." (Ibid, p 306, note 3). A final parallel might be pointed out in relation to the definitions in function of Fancy and Judgement, for which Pope was indebted more to Renaissance judgements than to Hobbes. Mazzoni had defined "phantasy" as "the common power of the mind for dreams and poetic verisimilitude." "On the Defence of the Comedy of Dante", Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, p 386.) He continued to point out that the "intellect" (Hobbes' "judgement") sees objects as they truly are, and that the Fancy is a synonym for the Imagination and must be clearly distinguished from the former (Ibid, p 387). Tasso also makes this distinction, deriving phantasy from the sensitive and not the intellective soul ("Discourses on the Heroic Poem", in Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, p 477).

8. Vide Havens, R.D., THE INFLUENCE OF MILTON ON ENGLISH POETRY,

was also thoroughly acquainted) had been one of the great humanists of his age.[9]

Not only the example of Milton's poetry itself, with its countless references to the classical masters, or his many Latin poems, but also his prose writings in both English and Latin are well sprinkled with classical allusion. These latter were also written if not in the most polished Augustan style yet in the grand style as recommended by ancient authors. Milton throughout his works exemplifies authentic Renaissance humanism as transplanted to England; he approximated to the continental humanist as closely as any Englishman then could or has since been able to - and which England possibly might have cultivated more frequently if she had not been engrossed with deposing Cavalier qualities of sweetness and light in favour of close-clipped sobriety and moral fearsomeness. His brief "Of Education" addressed to Master Samuel Hartlib is exemplary of his more reserved style in the best classical tradition, and is worth quoting as well for its interesting reflection on the importance of logic and rhetoric in education:

> "And not lastly will be the time to read with them those organic arts which enable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according

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9. P.H.Houston's study of Johnson (DR. JOHNSON : A STUDY IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HUMANISM) has shown how inclusively informed in classical and Renaissance literatures an eighteenth century man of letters could be.

> to the fitted style of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic therefore so much as is useful, is to be referred to this due place with all her well-couched heads and Topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate rhetoric taught out of the rule of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus." 10

In the matter of imitation also, Pope proved himself both a humanist and an English Augustan . Renwick has written of imitation:

> "For the Renaissance poet the sum of the universe included the poems men had written as well as the things they had written about, and if he might obtain help in his imitation from the other arts painting and music, for instance, surely he might from his own." 11

This is where the apprently conflicting ideas of imitation meet : mimesis, and the copying of the classics. For neo-classic artists "nature" included both, and both were identified in her. A quotation from Ronsard will illustrate this point:

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10. Milton, J., "Of Education", MILTON'S PROSE, ed Wallace, M.W., pp 153-4. That Milton had been deeply and directly influenced by Ramus and Talaean logic has been substantially put forward by Denis Saurat in MILTON, MAN AND THINKER, London, 1924, and in Tuve, R., op.cit. Also vide Milton's adaptation of Ramus' major work, supra p 113.
11. Renwick, W.L., EDMUND SPENSER, p 123. Or again : "For a Renaissance poet the matter of poetry was not only life, thought, the world around, but also the poetry of the preceding ages. Critical readers expected imitations, reminiscences and re-handlings of fragments of earlier poets, re-interpretations of notable themes, and re-settings of new matter in well-known frames." THE SHEPHERD'S CALENDAR, ed. Renwick, W.L., p. 165.

> "Invention is nothing other than the fine temper of an imagination conceiving ideas and forms of all things, both heavenly and earthly, animate and inanimate, which can be imagined, in order to represent, describe, and imitate them afterwards: for just as it is the aim of the orator to persuade, so that of the poet is to imitate, invent, and represent things which are, which may be, or which the ancients believed to be true." [12]

The reference to the imitation of the classics is made in such a way as to suggest the equal value both of original imaginative creation and of creation inspired by classical authors even to the point of neo-classic imitation. Pope at any rate was well aware of the pitfalls awaiting a too faithful idolater of the ancients. Indeed, not only Dryden and Pope but the English neo-classical age as a whole was more truly humanistic in this respect than has been generally allowed. Pope mocks [13] those who prize "the Ancients only", and he would have subscribed wholeheartedly to Bouhours statement:

> "Au jugement de Quintilien, il ne faut pas se persuader tout ce qu'ont dit d'excellens Auteurs foit excellent. Ce font de grands Hommes; mais ce font des hommes; et il arrive d'ordinaire que ceux qui prennent pour regle de l'éloquence tout ce qu'ils trouvent dans leurs écrits, imitent ce qu'il y a de

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12. Ronsard, P. de, "Abbrégé de l'art poétique français", Renwick, W.L., EDMUND SPENSER, p 139.
13. An Essay on Criticism, 395.

> plus mauvais, et croient étre semblables
> aux grands Hommes, s'ils en gagnent les
> défauts." [14]

For Pope the "matter of poetry" most certainly included the "the poetry of the preceding ages." This is borne out not merely in his many translations, and in the writings of his day on translations, but in such a matter as his many borrowings from Milton, Virgil, and Homer, to mention but three of his favourite sources; in his Pastoral writings after Mantuan, Theocritus, Sannazaro, Virgil, and Spenser; in his epitaphs

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14. Bouhours, P., PENSÉES INGÉNIEUSES DES ANCIENS ET DES MODERNES, Paris, la veuve Delaulne, 1737, p 316. A few typical opinions from Renaissance critics follow:
> "... authors who are judicious and skilful in composition should not so restrain their liberty within the bounds set by their predecessors that they dare not set foot outside the old paths." (Cinthio, "On the Composition of Romances" (1549), in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit., p 269.)
>
> "Make what is taken yours to such an extent that it will not any more appear to belong to others." The words and style may be either changed or retained, but not both together. (Minturno, "L'arte poetica", in Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, pp 301-2.)
>
> "If you give me the lifelike I care nothing for the theory. On the contrary its inflexibility wearies me and I have observed that they who devote themselves to concentrating on art fail to seize upon the natural." (Lope de Vega, "Lo fingido verdadero", Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, p 540.) Although this is too vigorous a rejection of authority for Pope (and Lope de Vega himself claimed that he was forced to hold these opinions by his ill-educated audiences), nevertheless we can see by it that there was a considerable pressure exerted against a hidebound neo-classicism, and the results of this pressure are to be seen throughout Pope's work, as well as in specific places of commentary - i.e. his mockery of La Mancha's knight (An Essay on Criticism, 267-88), his acceptance of those beauties "no Precepts can declare" (Ibid, 141), his attack on those who value authors only for their "rust" (Epistle I, Bk II Horace, 36).

after Pontanus, Jonson, Crashaw; in his"Imitations" of Horace, Spenser, Chaucer, etc., after those by Bembo, Ficino, Bruni, Vida, Milton, and others. Pope was as much concerned to irrevocably naturalize certain genres or "Kinds" as any of the humanists had been, and his imitations and translations were as much a consequence of the humanist tradition as "The Dunciad" and "The Rape of the Lock".[15]

Yet another facet of Pope's humanism has already to some extent been touched upon - his stress on the instructive value of poetry. Renaissance critics and poets were driven by the Counter-Reformation and various other puritan manifestations to defend poetry as an art, and they did this by writing about the "value" of poetry. This value, however, was referred

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15. In contradistinction to the last note, a few quotations will suffice to present the humanist's respect for the ancients to the point of (sometimes) idolatry. "The other way in which judgment is acquired is to read and observe diligently what has been written by authors who have attained excellence ... and to select their virtues and seek with all diligence to follow them ..." (Cinthio, "On the Composition of Romances", in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit. p 265.) "And what art, what science, what discipline can be found ... in which anyone works without endeavouring to follow the steps of the ancients, and in which he will not be most praised who follows them most closely?" (Minturno, "L'arte Poetica", in Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, p 286.) "For I affirm that with slight qualification the whole of attainable knowledge lies enclosed within the literary monuments of ancient Greece..."(Erasmus, "De ratione studii", in Woodward, W.H., op.cit. p 164.) "All that is left us is to recommed our productions by the imitation of the Ancients : and it will be found true, that, in every age, the highest character for sense and learning has been obtained by those who have been most indebted to them. For, to say truth, whatever is very good sense, must have been common sense in all times; and what we call Learning, is but the knowledge of the sense of our predecessors." (Pope, "Preface to the 1716 edition of his poems", in THE POETICAL WORKS OF ALEXANDER POPE, ed Ward, A.W., p 3.)

to in terms so ambiguous at times that it satisfied both the puritans who were demanding a didactic moral vehicle, and those of more aesthetic leanings who believed that art should never be governed primarily by utilitarian considerations. Wilson, writing in England in 1562, admirably pictures both these views for us:

> "For undoubtedly there is no one tale among all the Poets, but under the same is comprehended some thing that pertaineth either to the amendment of manners, to the knowledge of truth, to the setting forth of Nature's work, or else to the understanding of some notable thing done." [16]

The end of poetry is to "teach and delight", Sidney had written a few years later.[17] So Mazzoni in Italy, quoting Maximus Tyrius:

> "That I may speak briefly, the poetry of Homer is of the same mode as were the pictures of Polygnatus and Zeuxis, if indeed you think these painters were philosophers and did not rashly engage in painting. The business of these was double, one part depending from art, the other from virtue;... In about the same manner I think you should consider the Homeric poetry... So far as it considers poetic, it is concerned with the imitation of the story; but so far as it is concerned with philosophy, it is given over wholly to the love of virtue and the knowledge of truth." [18]

Dryden, after the bleak house of the Puritans, and eight years of the Restoration, found that he could not stress the didactic duties as primary:

> "... for delight is the chief, if not the only end, of poesy... for poesy only instructs as it delights." [19]

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16. Wilson, T., "The Arte of Rhetorique" (1553), in ELIZABETHAN CRITICAL ESSAYS, ed Smith, G.G., vol I.
17. "An Apology for Poetry" (1595), ENGLISH CRITICAL ESSAYS, ed Jones, E.D., Oxford, 1922, p 10.
18. Mazzoni, "On the Defence of the Comedy", in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit. p 386.
19. Dryden, J., "A Defence of an Essay on Dramatic Poesy", ESSAYS, ed Ker, W.P., vol I, p 113.

The general tendency of the Augustan age, however, was one which shifted the humanistic stress until for Pope poetry had as its highest conscious function the role of individual and social purger and directive. The reflection of the composite and well-knit society was in ratiocinative moral statement, although it was highly desirable to "charm with wit"[20] at the same time. Pope's frequent protests against his own severity of purpose serve merely to emphasize that aspect. We are not apt to be taken in when he writes:

> "I confess it was want of consideration that made me an author; I writ because it amused me..."[21]

In the following we detect the urbane humanist's reluctance to appear to be taking anything too seriously - except his own suggestion of some more "serious employment":

> "One may be ashamed to consume half one's days in bringing sense and rhyme together; and what Critic can be so unreasonable, as not to leave a man time enough for any more serious employment, or more agreeable amusement."[22]

"An Essay on Man" is alone sufficient refutation of this studied nonchalance, but there are other affirmations of the poet's duty, the most notable of which occurs in the second dialogue of the "Epilogue to the Satires".[23]

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20. An Essay on Criticism, 238.
21. "Preface" to the collected Poems of 1716, THE POETICAL WORKS OF ALEXANDER POPE, ed Ward, A.W., p 3.
22. Ibid, p 4.
23. See infra,

Pope is as much concerned to be a virtuous man, and to set up in his writing the model for one, as were Pico della Mirandola[24] and Quintilian. After extended Platonic discussion in favour of learning to recognize evil and injustice as preparation for a virtuous state of soul,[25] Quintilian had proceeded to announce that the virtuous man "requires notwithstanding to be brought to maturity by instruction" despite "certain impulses from nature" towards virtue.[26] We are aware of the extent of Quintilian's influence on the Renaissance and post-Renaissance world (at least into the eighteenth century), and therefore should not be surprised to find extended application of these two precepts alone in Pope's moral satires and essays. Again, there is the similar emphasis on civic qualities rather than on those of the withdrawn philosopher.[27] Indeed, Pope in the writing of his moral essays and epistles surely had in mind the poignant desire of Quintilian:

> "Would that there may some day come a time, when some orator, perfect as we wish him to be, may vindicate to himself the study of philosophy (which has been rendered odious as well by the arrogant assumptions, as by the vices, of those who have disgraced its excellent nature), and, by a reconquest as it were, annex it again to the domain of eloquence."[28]

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24. Cf. Pope's "An Essay on Man", Epistle II, 19ff, with Pico's well-known oration on the dignity of man.
25. Quintilian, op.cit., Book XII, Ch 1, sec xxiii-xlv. Cf. "An Essay on Man", Epistle II, 205ff.
26. Ibid, Ch 2, sec i. Pope's two principles of "self-love" and "reason" parallel this passage; see the lengthy discussion of them in "An Essay on Man", Epistle II.
27. Ibid, sec vi-vii. Cf. Pope's "An Essay on Man", Epistle III, 317-8.
28. Ibid, sec ix.

One feels, for instance, that Pope's frequent lacerations of dullness, turpitude, pride, incompetence, arise from such a feeling as Quintilian's. "The Dunciad", to take but a single poem, is of course much more than an heroic damnation of Grub-street quacks and small-minded personal enemies. The poem is a positive assertion, largely by implication but clearly enough, of the primary humanistic values of social uprightness and individual honour through the fullest kind of self and social justice.[29] An indication of Pope's breadth of vision lies in his final stress on the individual soul rather than on the nation's health, as in the well-known passage in "Windsor Forest"[30] - and this despite temptations to employ Isocratean rhetoric and his natural bent for social satire for the furtherance of national "greatness".[31] He would not encourage individualism cultivated without reference to the civic body - are not "self-love and social" the same?[32] - because he was aware that the human soul "Must rise from Individual

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29. Vide the Epilogue to Book IV, for example.
30. Windsor Forest, 235-58.
31. But we might consider that Pope echoed Isocrates in believing that by means of his rhetoric he could present a cultural force which would serve to offset a kind of national dissolution - comprising for Pope the threat to the educated aristocracy in the growing political power of a non-humanistically educated lower class. Pope obviously accepted a strict stratification of society (at a political level) into "touchables" and "untouchables" for instance, although humanistically (but alas, only in theory) based on the difference made by true education:

    "Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow,
    The rest is all but leather and prunello."
    - An Essay on Man, Epistle IV, 203-4.

    The inconsistency is present in Pope as in so many humanists : the failure to apply the implications of their cultural ideals at the political and sociological levels.
32. An Essay on Man, Epistle IV, 396.

to the Whole."[33] "An Essay on Man" platonically centres on the individual soul before it considers the extensions to "friend, parent, neighbour", "his country next, and next all human race."[34] The society of Pope's time found it congenial, however, to mock the poet-priest who tended to set himself up as integral to the welfare of the state and of every individual.[35] This no doubt accounts not a little for the excessively vituperative quality of much of the best work of the "human question mark".

This taking the role of the poet as "vates" seriously was not uncommon for humanist poets, as Spenser and Milton bear witness, and those many Renaissance critics who, faced with the task of explaining away Plato's contempt of the poet, were yet forced to acknowledge that he had at least regarded the poet as a factor of considerable social influence. Pope in his time once more set up the poet as an important integrating factor among the pillars of society:

> "O sacred weapon! left for Truth's defence,
> Sole dread of Folly, Vice, and Insolence!
> To all but Heav'n-directed hands deny'd,
> The Muse may give thee, but the Gods must guide:
> Rev'rent I touch thee! but with honest zeal,
> To rouse the Watchmen of the public Weal;

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33. An Essay on Man, Epistle IV, 362.
34. Ibid, 367-8.
35. That is, of every cultured individual. Vide note 3, p 55.

> To Virtue's work provoke the tardy Hall,
> And goad the Prelate slumb'ring in his Stall.
> Ye tinsel Insects! whom a Court maintains,
> That count your Beauties only by your Stains,
> Spin all your Cobwebs o'er the Eye of Day!
> The Muse's wing shall brush you all away." [36]

Those are the words of the poet who believes himself blessed with the divine afflatus, the "unacknowledged legislator of the world" in all but the final spark[37] of absolute presumption of a young Shelley. The poet has become not simply the voice of man before God, but the vehicle of the divine word for all mankind. Pope was fully aware of the significance which his implicit humanistic directives would bear for the future, not only through his ethics but also in the principle of decorum as the basis of an aesthetics of conduct; and it is the pervasive vitality of these factors which marks him not merely as a poet-aphorist but as a salutary tonic for ills of imbalance now and in the future.[38]

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36. Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue II, 212-23.
37. The final spark of presumption would have been consistently qualified by Renaissance humanist opinion, as in Castelvetro: "...poetry is devised and produced by the man of ability and not by the madman." ("The Poetics of Aristotle Translated and Annotated", Gilbert, A.H., op.cit. p 352.) Similarly Dryden, ESSAYS, ed Ker, W.P., vol I, 221-2.
38. The emphasis on the moral function of the poet was heavily laid in all humanist writings:
    "The function then of our poet, with respect to affecting morals, is to praise the virtuous actions and to blame the vices..." (Cinthio, "On the Composition of Romances", in Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, p 271.)
    Scaliger had held that poetry was primarily an instrument for inculcating moral doctrine and example - "the moral habit will be its end." (Gilbert, A.H., op.cit., note 28, p 317.)

Such evidences of humanism as "poetical diction" and the use of sententiae also warrant brief recapitulation. Thomas Gray, the later eighteenth century poet of considerable humanist stature, wrote of diction in Aristotelian terms that would have been acceptable to Pope:

> "... the language of the age is never the language of poetry ... except among the French... Our poetry ... has a language peculiar to itself; to which almost everyone, that has written, has added something by enrichening it with foreign idioms and derivatives : nay, sometimes words of their own composition or invention." 39

"The language of the age is never the language of poetry" : this has always been the neo-classic contention, although opinions have differed as to the degree of indebtedness to the tradition-

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Similarly Mazzoni : "I then think that the civil faculty [which deals with man as a social animal, and with 'the right ordering of human actions'] is that which found out the use of poetry." ("On the Defence of the Comedy of Dante", in Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, p 373.)
Varchi in 1553 ("Della poetica in generale", in Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, p 384, note 2) stressed moral utility rather than aesthetic ends : "Poetic is a faculty which teaches us in what ways any action, feeling, or habit should be imitated with verse, number, and harmony, either mingled or separately, for the purpose of removing men from vices and kindling them to virtue, in order that their perfection and beatitude may follow."
And lastly, Tasso : "Poetry, then, is an imitation of human actions, produced for giving instruction on life." ("Discourses on the Heroic Poem", in Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, p 467.)

39. Gray, T., "Letter to R.West" (1742), ENGLISH CRITICAL ESSAYS, ed Jones, E.D., p 310.

ally authorized poetic diction, Addison, exemplary prose stylist of his time of Ciceronian training, was as emphatic as Gray:

> "But since it often happens that the most obvious phrases, and those which are used in ordinary conversations, become too familiar to the ear, and contract a kind of meanness by passing through the mouths of the vulgar, a poet should take particular care to guard himself against idiomatic ways of speaking." [40]

Addison proceeded to deny the poet even "an elegant phrase" if it had been "debased by common use". He did advise moderation, however, so that the poet is not to "swell into a false sublime by endeavouring to avoid the other extreme." This was of course Pope's position in "The Art of Sinking in Poetry", as well as evidenced generally in his diction. As a poet, let alone as a humanist, he was bound to follow the classical dicta which recognized that poetic diction effects a "felt change of consciousness" [41] in the reader which is nothing more or less than the exciting of the aesthetic imagination. Since the poet, because of a higher degree o sensibility and a better integrated organization of powers than the reader, experiences more intensely and is concerned to communicate that heightened experience, he must employ language not sullied by commonplace associations with unenlivened and unenlivening experiences. He desires rather to confront the reader with a kindling new interpretation of something

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40. Addison, J., THE SPECTATOR, Jan 26, 1712, No 285, vol II, p 275.
41. Barfield, O., POETIC DICTION, London, 1928, pp 13-4.

previously experienced, by which the latter can participate in the thoughts and feelings at a more than usually inclusive level of integrity and meaning. It is for this reason that the great poets have all employed a poetical diction - even Wordsworth, who must have realized that the poet himself is excited into greater imaginative powers during the act of creation by the language he employs, and that the language "really used by men" is generally not satisfactory for this purpose.[42] The humanistic belief is echoed in Pope's exulting praise of Homer:

> "We acknowledge him the father of poetical diction, the first who taught that 'language of the gods' to men ..." [43]

The employment of sententiae is the last of those characteristics of neo-classical humanism which mark Pope undeniably as a humanist,[44] with which we shall concern ourselves here. It was

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42. Wordsworth, W., "Preface to Lyrical Ballads", PROSE WORKS, ed Grosart, A.B., vol II, p 81.
43. Preface to The Iliad.
44. There are many others, and first we might note his rhetorically modelled letters. These are in the epistolary tradition of the humanists; they are meant to serve as urbane and cosmopolitan commentaries on life and art, and they practice an easy detachment and objective breadth as indicated in the Horatian precept "nil admirari". They reveal the many-sided interests of the writer as much as his concern for the matter in hand. The faults of the humanist correspondents are perhaps more evident in Pope's letters than their virtues (as DeQuincey observed : vide his WORKS, vol VIII, pp 1-54). Yet for all the pretensions and flattery and petty moralizing - and it is not all petty by any means - a strong desire to achieve universal geniality and virtù is communicated in his hundreds of letters.
Other humanistic characteristics are to be found in his obvious delight in the dialogue form, as in certain of the Horatian imitations; in his assumption that a language achieves

natural that the humanists' predilection for the classics should lead to a continuation of the medieval practice of quoting sententiae from the "masters", although less now for moral content and with greater appreciation of their style and clarity and succinctness. Pope praised Quintilian for such qualities:

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its ideal development and capacity in a certain period, and that during such a great period style is or should be constant; in his dicta on the "Pastoral" which although differing in details yet follow those of Dryden, Rapin, Sidney, Spemser; in his composition of epitaphs; in his exaltation of the Epic as the supreme "Kind"; in his belief that the artist's "natural endowment without the aid of art is not able to make a perfect work" (Minturno, "L'arte poetica", in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit., p 285); and finally in his repeated insistence on art following nature. Evidence of Pope's acceptance of all these points is contained within this paper, and therefore no substantiation need be produced here. It will be of interest, however, to provide two or three sixteenth century Renaissance corroborations of the last point. Thus Minturno wrote in 1564 (Ibid, p 285) : "Art gives all her effort to the imitation of nature, and does well in proportion as she approaches her." Similarly Muzio in his "Rima diverse del Mutio Iustinopolitano" of 1551 (in Baldwin, C.S., op.cit. p 162) :"You might yourself look at nature, not merely seek it in books." Pope's lines from "An Essay on Criticism" (70-1):

"Unerring Nature, still divinely bright,
One clear, unchang'd, and universal light"

compare with Tasso's statement on nature : "Nature is very stable in its operations and ever proceeds with a certain and perpetual tenor ... for, directed with a light and guide that are infallible, it considers always the good and the perfect." ("Discourses on the Heroic Poem", 1594, in Gilbert, A.H., Ibid, p 497.)

> "The justest rules, and clearest method join'd:
> Thus useful arms in magazines we place,
> All rang'd in order, and dispos'd with grace,
> But less to please the eye, than arm the hand,
> Still fit for use, and ready at command." [45]

It had been a tradition of Tudor and Elizabethan rhetoric to amplify moral discourses with sententious materials. This can be observed in a multitude of authors [46] : Thomas More, Francis Meres, [47] Thomas Elyot, [48] John Heywood, [49] William Baldwin, [50] are representative. Francis Meres in his address to the reader defined "wit" in relation to the rhetorical use of those appurtenances usually accompanying sententiae:

> "So I judge him of a happie Wit, who is profound and substantiall in Sentences; eloquent and ingenious in Similitudes, and rich and copious in Examples." [51]

We have already considered the influence of Erasmus in this matter [52]. Sententiae are not primarily employed by Pope as "flowers of speech" for the sake of ornament; his sententious couplets exemplify that wise imitation which does not negate the "original" individual contribution of the author. But since moral precepts must be incorporated into the poetry, Pope would have agreed with Morysine

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45. An Essay on Criticism, 676-4.
46. More, Sir T., UTOPIA, or his DIALOGUE OF COMFORT.
47. Meres, F., PALLADIS TAMIA, 1598.
48. Elyot, Sir T., THE BANKETTE OF SAPIENCE, 1539.
49. Heywood, J., WOORKES, 1562. Especially his "proverbes and Epigrams".
50. Baldwin, W., A TREATISE OF MORAL PHILOSOPHIE, 1547. This was largely derived from Caxton's printing of the popular "The Dictes and Sayengis of the Philosophres", 1477.
51. In Crane, W.G., op.cit. p 28.
52. Supra.

that they can be decked out no better than in witty sententiae:

> "... moral precepts pleqsantly set out in feate colours of witty phantasies, both crepe faster into our bosomes, and also tarye there with much more delectation and profite, than they wolde, being playnly spoken." 53

The sententious "Anatomy of Melancholy" was not published between 1676 and 1800, but Dr. Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury in the mid-eighteenth century, reported that :

> "the wits of Queen Anne's reign, and the beginning of the reign of George, the first were not a little beholden to him." 54

Thus the humanist tradition of employing sententiae was preserved through Burton and a multitude of others, although it is impossible to ascertain with any degree of finality whether Pope's references in this field were the ancients directly or the ancients via later writers. The more important aspect, however, is the altered stress given by Pope as in the lines above on Quintilian, "less to please the eye, than arm the hand." The moral purpose was reemphasized by Pope (but justified by the humanist's concep-

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53. Morysine, R., "An Introduction to Wisdome", in Crane, W.G., op.cit. p 32. Minturno's definition of the Sentence, out of Aristotle, makes a decided moral emphasis : "Aristotle ... defines it as a saying by means of which at a fit time a grave person, not ignorant of the things he speaks of, gives judgment not on any chance topic but on the course one should follow as excellent and good or flee as bad and wicked, generally and not particularly." ("L'arte poetica", in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit. p 294). After the tragic poet and the comic chorus, Minturno continues, the satiric poet most employs semtences; these must apply "universally to life and morals", and they must be decorously employed. (Ibid, p 300)
54. Burton, R., THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY (3 vols), London, 1932, preface by H. Jackson, p xv.

tion of the use of poetry, as we have seen) for the benefit of an age which he believed at times to be buried under "universal Darkness"; he would paint for the unliberated mind "The naked nature and the living grace" [55] by rendering the truth "splendid and beautiful with new colours" [56]:

> "Something, whose truth convinc'd at sight we find,
> That gives us back the image of our mind." [57]

The counterface of the medal, the delight, the aesthetic aspect, was rarely neglected, however; Pope is second only to Shakespeare as a quoted poet not merely on the strength of didacticism alone, but because his better lines are indeed "bright shoots of everlastingness".

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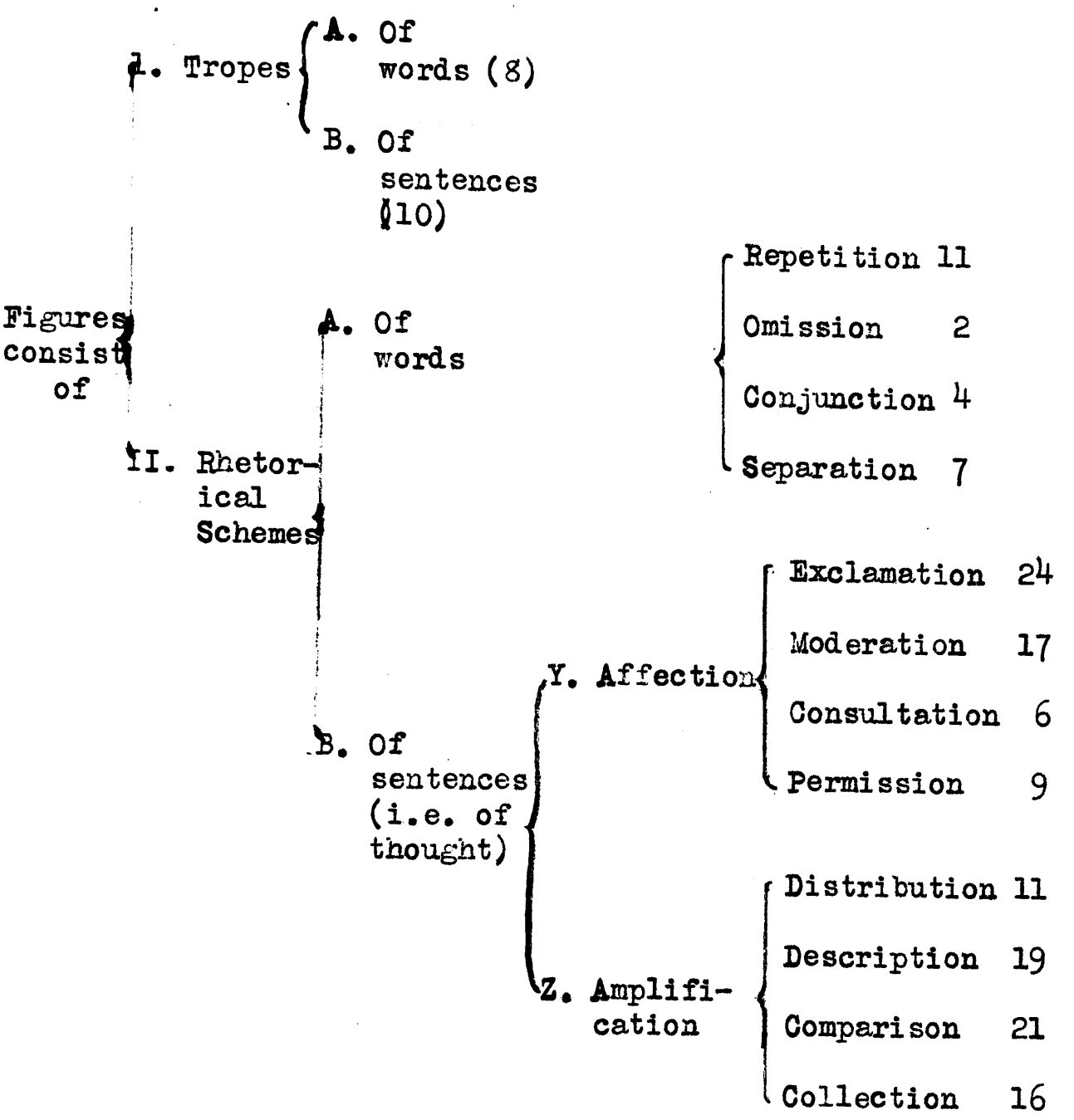
55. An Essay on Criticism, 294.
56. Tasso, op.cit., in Gilbert, A.H., op.cit. p 478.
57. An Essay on Criticism, 299-300. A further source of information concerning the relations of rhetoric and sententiae as late as the last third of the seventeenth century is the English Grammar-School text. Charles Hoole's "A New Discovery of the Old Arte of Teaching Schoole in Four Small Treatises" (London, 1660, but written c 1637), and Ralph Johnson's "The Scholars' Guide from the Accidence to the University" (1665) could have been read by Pope. These volumes refer the reader to the usual source books of sententious material for the purposes of amplification. Again, Milton's document to Samuel Hartlib "Of Education" was printed at the conclusion of the 1673 edition of Milton's minor poems, under his supervision; we are therefore justified in surmising that the conditions described pertain to that time and even later as much as to 1644 when it was first published. Milton here referred to the "Themes, Orations, verses" which the young scholars had to compose, and for which the works of Hoole and Johnson were designed. Whether Pope saw a specific book or not is really immaterial in so far as this subject is concerned, since there is no doubt that the intellectual milieu of his time was conditioned in part by such works and such a tradition.

APPENDIX A

The figures and their divisions as represented in "The Garden of Eloquence"(1593) by Henry Peacham (quoted in Crane, W.G., op.cit. Appendix VII, pp 237-8.)



I. Tropes:[1]

A. Of words : Metaphora, Onomatopoeia, Catachresis, Synecdoche, Metonymia, Antonomasia, Metalepsis, Antiphrasis.

B. Of sentences : Allegoria, Aenigma, Paroemia, Hyperbole, Asteismus, Ironia, Charientismus, Sarcasmus, Mysterismus, Diasirmus.

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1. I have italicized (underlined) all the figures with which Quintilian dealt in his "Institutes of Oratory".

II. Rhetorical Schemes:

A. First order - Of words:

a) Repetition : Epanaphora, Epiphora, Symploce, Ploce, Diaphora, Epanalepsis, Anadiplosis, Epizeuxis, Diacope, Traductio, Paroemion.

b) Omission : Zeugma (prozeugma, mezozeugma, hypozeugma), Asyndeton.

c) Conjunction : Polysindeton, Homeoptoton, Homeoteleuton, Paregmenon.

d) Separation : Paranomasia, Antanclasis, Articulus, Membrum, Compar, Hypozeuxis, Taxis.

B. Of sentences:

Y. Second order - Of affection:

a) Exclamation : Echphonesis, Ara, Eulogia, Mempsis, Euche, Asphalia, Eustathia, Epimone, Obstestatio, Optatio, Thaumasmus, Onedismus, Orcos, Anamnesis, Protrope, Dehortatio, Paraenesis, Cataplexis, Categoria, Paeanismus, Bdelygmia, Proclees, Apocarteresis.

b) Moderation : Martyria, Apodixis, Apomnemonsysis, Antirrhesis, Euphemismus, Ominasio, Diatyposis, Antisagoge, Paradiegesis, Pareuresis, Philophronesis, Syngnome, Epicrisis, Paranythia, Eucharista, Proecthesis, Epiphonema.

c) Consultation : Interrogatio, Erotema, Pysma, Hypophora, Aporia, Anacenosis.

d) Permission : Synchoresis, Epitrope, Paradoxon, Parrhesia, Dicaeologia, Apostrophe, Apoplanesis, Aposiopesis, Catacosmesis.

Z. Third order - Of amplification:

a) Distribution : Divisio, Partitio, Enumeratio, Dilemma, Horysmos, Epanados, Eutrepismus, Paralepsis, Restrictio, Symphoresis, Climax.

b) Description : Prosographia, Prosopopoeia, Sermocinatio, Mimesis, Pragmatographia, Topographia, Topothesia, Cronographia, Pathopeia, Icon, Epitheton, Periphrasis, Synonimia, Leptotes, Frequentatio, Commoratio, Systrophe, Digressio, Encomion.

c) Comparison : Comparatio, Similitudo, Dissimilitudo, Antithesis, Syncrisis, Enthimema, Inter se Pugnatia, Antimetabole, Peristasis, Auxesis, Meiosis, Incrementum, Anthypophora, Synaeceosis, Dirimens copulatio, Correctio, Metania, Paramologia, Metabasis, Medela, Excuscitatio.

d) Collection : Emphasis, Syllogismus, Noema, Metastasis, Brachiepia, Procatalepsis, Aetiologia, Apodioxis, Expeditio, Paradigma, Gnome, Epexegesis, Propositio, Expolitio, Scematismus, Parenthesis.

AN ESSAY ON MAN, Epistle IV, 217-36

"Look next on Greatness; say where Greatness lies?
'Where, but among the Heroes and the wise?'
Heroes are much the same, the point's agreed,
From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;
The whole strange purpose of their lives, to find
Or make, an enemy of all mankind!
Not one looks backward, onward still he goes,
Yet ne'er looks forward farther than his nose.
No less alike the Politic and Wise;
All sly slow things, with circumspective eyes :
Men in their loose unguarded hours they take,
Not that themslves are wise, but others weak.
But grant that those can conquer, these can cheat;
'Tis phrase absurd to call a Villain Great :
Who wickedly is wise, or madly brave,
Is but the more a fool, the more a knave.
Who noble ends by noble means obtains,
Or failing, smiles in exile or in chains,
Like good Aurelius let him reign, or bleed
Like Socrates, that Man is great indeed."

APPENDIX B

A reference list of the figures and their functions, selected from Puttenham, Peacham, Hoskins, Quintilian, and Longinus (in decreasing numbers respectively). [1]

(A - auricular; SE - sensable; SS - sententious. These are Puttenham's three categories, but since they are less representative of Renaissance rhetorical practice generally I have employed Peacham's categories - vide Appendix A - for all statistical examinations of Pope's figures.)

AGNOMINATION - alliteration

ALTERATION - (A) alteration in single words.

Adding - endanger for danger
Rabbatting - twixt for betwixt
Misplacing - desier for desire
Exchange - wrang for wrong
Wrong ranginf od accent - éndure for endúre

ALLEGORIA - (SE) (Fig of false semblant) - " a long and perpetuall Metaphore", the true reference of the allegorical images not disclosed to the reader.

ANACHINOSIS - (SS) (The Impartener) - asks the opinion of the reader. Example:
"Tell me faire ladies, if the case were your owne,
So foule a fault would you have it be knownen?"

ANADIPLOSIS - (SS) (Redouble) - word at the end of one line used to begin the next line.

ANAPHORA - (SS) (Fig of report) - the same word or words beginning several lines or sentences.

ANTENAGOGE - (SS) (Recompencer) - after a statement which is too negative, a qualifying affirmation is made.

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1. Puttenham, G., THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, ed Wilcock, G.D. and Walker, A., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1936.
   Peacham, H., THE GARDEN OF ELOQUENCE (1577 & 1593), in Crane, W.G., op.cit. Appendix VII, pp 237-8.
   Hoskins, J., DIRECTIONS FOR SPEECH AND STYLE, ed Hudson, H.H., Princeton, 1935.
   Quintilian,F., INSTITUTES OF ORATORY, tr Watson, J.S., (2 vols), London, 1856.
   Longinus, ON THE SUBLIME, tr Roberts, W.R., Cambridge, 1907.

ANTIMETANOLE - (SS) (Countercharge) - a play of two words by interchanging them. Example:
"We wish not peace to maintaine cruell warre,
But we make warre to maintaine us in peace."

ANTIMETABOLE - (or COMMUTATIO) - antithesis in structure by inversion. Example:
"If any for love of honour, or honour of love."

ANTIPHRASIS - (SE) (briad floute) - deride by flat contradiction. Example:
To say of a dwarf : "See yonder gyant!"

ANTIPOPHORA - (SS) (Fig of responce) - the author asks a question which he intends to answer himself. (Cf. EROTEMA).

ANTISTROPHE - (SS) (Counter turne) - the same word appearing in the middle or at the end of several lines.

ANTITHETON - (SS) (Reconter; Quarreler) - takes the contrary view to whatever is said. Example:
"For when he is merry, she lurcheth and she loures,
When he is sad she singes, or laughes it out by houres."

APORIA - (SS) (the Doubtfull) - circumlocution so as to make a thing seem doubtful, when there is actually no doubt concerning it.

APOSIOPESIS - (A) (Fig of silance or of interruption) - Example:
"And did ye not come by his chamber dore?
And tell him that : goe to, I say no more."

APOSTROPHE - (SS) (turne tale) - truns aside to suddenly introduce new matter, or to appeal to some new party or person.

ASINDETON - (SS) (Cf. ISOCOLON, POLISYNDETON) - parallel or similar clauses all separated by commas; brokem sentences, absence of connecting conjunctions, etc.

ASTEISMUS - (SE) (merry scoff; civill jest)

ATANACLASIS - (SS) (Rebounde) - one word used more than once, with different meanings. Hoskins applied this term to the repetition after an inserted parenthesis, of the word(s) occurring immediately before the parenthesis. (Cf. Hoskins' PARONOMASIA). Example:
"The maide that soone married is, soon marred is."

AUTONOMASIA - (SE) (Surnamer) - a true meaning by some descriptive word or image. Example:
Richard Cour de Lion.

AUXEFIS - (SS) (Avancer) - words or phrases succeeding each other, each of greater weight than the previous one. (Cf. CLIMAX, SINATHRISMUS). Example:
"He lost besides his children and his wife,
His realme, renowne, liege, libertie, and life."

BRACHIOLOGA - (SS) (Cutted comma) - comma after every word. Example : "Envy, malice, flattery, disdain,
Avarice, deceit, falshed, filthy
gaine."

CATACHRESIS - (SE) (Fig of abuse) - a word applied where it does not truly fit (yet is passable). Example:
"He threatens me a good turn."

CHARIENTISMUS- (SE) (Privy nippe) - a mild and appeasing mockery. Example :
One who had been told that he would die for his sins had answered : "Sir, I know your maistership speakes but in jest."

CLIMAX - (SS) (Marching figure) - Example:
"Peace, makes plentie, plentie makes pride,
Pride breeds quarrell, and quarrell brings
warre."

COMMORATIO - (SS) (Fig of abode) - makes much, or the chief concern, of a single point in an argument.

COMMUTATIO - (vide ANTIMETABOLE).

CONTENTIO - an opposition of contrary terms. Antithesis - (cf. SYNOECIOSIS). Example:
"There was strength against nimbleness, rage
against resolution."

CORRECTIO - having employed a certain word, substitutes for it, in a later phrase or clause, a more suitable or powerful word. Example:
"You must be content, nay, you must be desirous to take pains."

CRONOGRAPHIA - (SS) (Counterfait time) - a kind of Hypotiposis. Description of a certain time or season.

DELIBERATIO - to argue a matter out with oneself by pro and con. (Cf. DIALISIS).

DIALOGISMUS - (SS) (Right reasoner) - speech that suits the speaker's character and person.

DIALISIS - (SS) (Dismembrer) - argues a point out. Example :
"Now gentill Sirs let this young maide alone,
For either she hath grace or els she hath none:
If she have grace, she may in time repent,
If she have none, what bootes her punishment?"
(Cf. DELIBERATIO).

DIATYPOSIS - vivid description.

DICHOLOGIA - (SS) (Fig of excuse) - excuses or finds some pretext for a case brought against one.
Example: "I spoke amisse I cannot it deny
But caused by your great discourtesie."

DILEMMA - proposes two or more sides to a question, and overthrows each one of them.

DISTINCTIO - clarifies what might otherwise be ambiguous.

ECLIPSIS - (A) (Fig of default). Example:
"I remember I forget" (for : "I remember that I do forget.")

ECPHONISIS - (SS) (Outcry) - exclamatory speech.

EMBLEM - picture and motto. The epigram or verses applying the moral of the emblem are also considered part of the emblem.

EMPHASIS - (SE) (Reinforcer) - substituting a more powerful signification for a word or phrase. Example:
"O rare beautie, o grace, and curtesie!" - omitting "woman".

ENALLAGE - (A) (Fig of exchange) - use of archaisms, wrenched words, neologisms.

ENARGIA - a device for gaining vividness; it often employs the Character, Example, etc.

ENDIADIS - (A) (Fig of twinnes). Example:
"... fleaing a farre with venim and with dartes.
(thus making two, instead of saying "with venemous dartes".)

ENIGMA - (SE) (Riddle). Example:
"It is my mother well I wot
And yet the daughter that I begot."

EPANALEPSIS - (SS) (Eccho found; Slow return) - one word both begins and ends the same line or sentence.

EPANODIS - (SS) (Fig of retire) - explains a general statement by particular extension and illustration.

EPIMONE - (SS) (Love burden; long repeat) - recurring refrain.

EPITHETON - (A) (The qualifier) - apt use of epithet. Example : "Elizabeth regent of the great Brittaine Ile."

EPITHONEMA - (SS) (Surclose) - a smart epigrammatic conclusion.

EPISTROPHE - many clauses, sentences, verses, etc., end with the same word(s). "This figure is rather of narration or instruction, than motion." (Hoskins). 1

EPITROPIS - (SS) (Fig of reference) - leaves the further statement or exposition aside (having said enough already). Example:
"Me thinks that I have said, what may well
suffise,
Referring all the rest, to your better advise."

EPIZEUXIS - (SS) (Underlay; Cooko-spel) - one word repeated immediately. "This figure is not to be used but in passion." (Hoskins)

EROTEMA - (SS) (Questioner) - asks questions which receive (because requiring) no answer. (Cf. ANTIPOPHORA).

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1. Such decorous designation of the function of a figure was common, and all poets were expected to keep the due function in mind. Vide also under EPIZEUXIS, SYMPLOCHE.

ETIOLOGIA - (SS) (Reason rendrer; tell cause) - offers a proof for a statement made. Example:
"When fortune shall have spit out all her gall,
I trust good luck shall be to me allowde,
For I have seen a shippe in haven fall,
After the storme hath broke both maste and shroude."

EXARGASIA - (SS) (The gorgious) - general glowifying or emblazoning in a complete treatment often employing many figures.

EXCLAMATION - "is not lawful but in extremity of (e)motion." (Hoskins).

EXPEDITION - (SS) (Speedie Dispatcher - enunciates a series of points, then fastens on one principle to clinch the argument, rejecting the others one by one.

GNOME -(SS) (Director) - produces texts and authorities, proverbs, etc., to prove a point.

HIPERBATON - (A) (Trespasser) - a genus designation for several figures of disorder. Inversion of natural sequence.

HIPALLAGE - (A) (The changeling) - a kind of Hiperbaton, Example: "Madame, I set your eyes before mine woes."

HISTERON PROTERON - (A) (The preposterous) - a kind of Hiperbaton. Example:
"When we had climbde the cliffs, and were a shore."

HYPERBOLE - (SE) (Over reacher; loud lyer) - extreme speech.

HYPOTIPOSIS - (SS) (Counterfait representation) - represents a matter or thing absent, making it seem present.

HYPOZEUGMA - (A) (Rerewarder) - Zeugma at conclusion of a passage. Example:
"My mates that wont, to keep me companie,
And my neighbours .....
..... they are fled from me all."

HYPOZEUXIS - (A) (Substitute) - different words used to supply identical or almost identical clauses. Example:
"Unto the king she went, and to the king she said."

ICON - (SS) (Resemblance by imagerie) - a kind of Omiosis. Likening or comparison by acute portraiture and imaging. Example:
"Her bosome sleeke as Paris plaster
Held up two balles of alabaster,
Eche byas was a little cherrie
Or els I thinke a strawberrie."

INSULTATIO - (SS) (Disdainfull) - contemptuous speech, or scornful.

INTERROGATIO- what could be spoken in a statement, is turned into an interrogation for rhetorical power.

IRMUS - (A) (The long loose) - sense held up is finally given. Example:
"If weaker care if sodaine pale colour,
If many sighes with little speach to plaine:
..... be signe of love then do I love again."

IRONY - (SE) (The drie mock) -

ISOCOLON - successive or grouped clauses of like length (not like structure - Cf. PARISON).

LIPTOTE - (SE) (Moderatour) - moderate the sense by understatement. Example:
"I know you hate me not, nor wish me any ill."

MEIOSIS - (SE) (Disabler) - diminishes or abases. Example:
"A great mountaine as bigge as a molehill."

MERISMUS - (SS) (Distributer) - rather than say a thing directly, tells it slowly, in parts, and greatly extended. Example:
"When faith failes in Priestes saws,
And Lordes hestes are holden for laws,
And robberie is tane for purchase
And lechery for solace
Then shall the Realme of Albion
Be brought to great confusion." (All of which might have been said in a few words : "When vice abounds, confusion will reign.")

METALEPSIS - (SE) (Farrefet) - taking a far-fetched word or image rather than a more usual and expected one. Example : (Medea cursing Jason)
"Woe worth the mountaine that the maste bare
Which was the first causer of all my care."

METAPHORA - (SE) (Fig of transporte) - "wresting of a single word from his owne right signification, to another not so naturall." A transference of meaning; the putting of one thing for another which it only resembles.

METANOIA - (SS) (Penitent) - after a statement, an alteration is made in the sense, by way of retraction. Example:
"Her heart is hid none may it see,
Marble or flint folke ween it be,
Not flinte I trowe I am a lier,
But Siderite that feels no fire."

METASTASIS - (SS) (Flitting fig) - flits from one point to another in a discussion.

METONIMIA - (SE) (Misnamer) - "a wrong naming". Example:
"Thy gullat made thee poore."

MICTERISMUS - (SE) (Fleering frumpe) - scornful mock. Example:
To say to one disbelieved : "No doubt of that!"

MEZOZEUGMA - (A) (Middle marcher) - zeugma placed in the middle of the clauses it serves. Example:
"Either the trothe talke or none at all."

NOEMA - (SS) (Fig of close conceit) - a 'dark' figure, saying something darkly or obscurely or only lightly suggestive in a long speech, leaving the reader to guess its application.

ONOMATAPEIA - (SE) (New namer)

OMIOSIS - (SS) (Resemblance) - a similitude; comparison by simile.

ORISMUS - (SS) (Definer of difference)- concerned with the enunciation of meanings of terms, and with the differences between things.

PARABOLA - (SS) (Resemblance misticall) - illustrates by allegory and parable. A kind of OMIOSIS.

PARADIASTOLE - (SE) (Curry favell) - moderation which flatters or soothes or excuses. Example:
To call an unthrift, a "liberall" gentleman.

PARADIGMA - (SS) (Resemblance by example) - illustrated by reference to some previously performed event. A kind of OMIOSIS.

PARADOXON - (SS) (Wondrer) - extended description of something marvellous or amazing. Example:
"Now is it not, a wonder to behold,
Yonder gallant scarce twenty year old,
By might (marke ye) able to do more?
[He had sold his patrimony]
Than the mayne sea that batters on his shore?
For what the waves could never wash away,
This proper youth hath wasted in a day."

PARAMOLOGIA - (SS) (Fig of admittance) - admits the whole cause or case against one, then comments on it in some way (although not to excuse it).

PARALEPSIS - (SS) (Passager) - makes light of a matter, yet insinuates the extreme of it. To pretend merely to touch on a subject, yet to deal thoroughly with it.

PARAPHRASIS - Expressing an ordinary sense by the same number of words of extraordinary sense.

PARECNASIS - (SS) (Stragler) - ranges far from the centre of the subject.

PARIMIA - (SE) (Proverb).

PARENTHESIS - (A) (Insertour) - a kind of Hiperbaton; an "unnecessary parcell of speach."

PARISIA - (SS) (The licentious) - a speech excusing or apologizing for comming offense. Example:
"If my speech hap t' offend you any way,
Thinke it their fault, that force me so to say."

PARISON - (SS) (Fig of even) - phrases or clauses of a certain short and like structure, separated by commas. (Cf. ISOCOLON)

PARANOMASIA - a play on words very much alike orthographically, yet different in meaning. A pun. Cf. PROSONOMASIA.

PERIPHRASIS - (SE) (Fig of ambage) - a circumambient manner of expression. (Cf. PARAPHRASIS)

PLOCHE - (SS) (Doubler) - repetition of a word, a short space intervening. Example:
"I loved my selfe, because my selfe loved you."

POLISYNDETON - (SS) (Coople clause) - a kind of hiperbaton. Every clause is coupled together by means of a conjunctive. Example: "And I sawe it, and I say it, and I will sweare it to be true," (Cf. ASINDETON)

POLYPTOTON - accumulates matter. Variations and climaxes.

PRAGMATOGRAPHIA - (SS) (Counterfait action - a kind of hypotiposis. Description of a fictitious argument.

PREVENTIO - to foresee an objection to one's argument, state it, and answer it immediately.

PROCATALEPSIS- (SS) (Presumptuous) - anticipates another objection to one's argument and immediately answers it.

PROLEPSIS - (A) (Propounder; Explainer) - material added to explain what has gone before.

PROSAPODOSIS - related to EXPEDITIO. It enunciates two or more parts of a subject, then deals with each one in turn, keeping each part and rejecting none.

PROSONOMASIA - (SS) (Nicknamer) - a play on words sounding alike. (Cf. PARONOMASIA) Example:
"Meeke mindes should rather excuse than accuse."

PROSOPOGRAPHIA- (SS) (Counterfait countenance) - a kind of Hypotiposis. A fictitious person is represented as true or real by acute portrayal of face or speech, etc.

PROSOPOPEIA - (SS) (Personation) - a kind of Hypotiposis; personification; one character assumes the person of another.

PROZEUGMA - (A) (Ringleader) - a zeugma occurring in the forefront of several clauses. Example:
"Her beauty perst mine eye, her speach mine wofull heart."

SARCASMUS - (SE) (Bitter taunt).

SENTENTIA - (SS) (Sage sayer) - apothegmatic remark. Hoskins named it ACCLAMATION.

SILLEPSIS - (A) (Fig of double supply) - a word serves either a double grammatical sense or a double meaning. Example:
"Judge ye lovers, if it be strange or no:
My lady laughs for joy, and I for wo."

SIMILITER CADENS - (HOMOIOPTOTON) - several words in a sentence ending with the same letter(s) or syllable.

SIMILITER DESINENS - (HOMOIOTELEUTON) - more than one clause of a sentence ending with the same letter(s) or syllable.

SINATHRISMUS - (SS) (The heaping fig) - argues by heaping up point after point, each one different. (Cf. CLIMAX, AUXEFIS).

SINONIMIA - (SS) (Fig of store) - use of several words or clauses all meaning the same thing. Example:
"Is he alive,
Is he as I left him quick and queaving?"

SORITES - (a climbing argument) - a climax used for persuasive purposes.

SYMPLOCHE - (SS) (Fig of replie) - one or two words used both at the beginning and in the middle or at the end of several lines or sentences. (Cf EPANALEPSIS)
"This is the wantonest of repetitions, and is not to be used in matters too serious." (Hoskins).
Hoskins names this figure COMPLEXIO.

SYLLOGISMUS - amplification by mere suggestion. INTIMATION in Hoskins. Example:
"You had need eat a bushel of salt with him" (for : You must live with him a long time.)

SYNECDOCHE - (SE) (Fig of quick conceit) - "we drive the hearer to conceive more or lesse or beyond or otherwise then the letter expresseth." An allegorical figure, "because of the darkness and duplicitie of his sense." Example:
"Mistress will ye give me leave to unlace your peticote? meaning (perchance) the other thing that will follow." i.e., where the part (peticote) is named for the whole. Or cf. where the whole is named for the part - "He carries a goldsmith's shop on his fingers." Or where the general is given for the particular - "Put up your weapon" (i.e. sword).

SYNECIOSIS - (SS) (Crosse coupling) - words of contrary meanings paired in agreement. Example:
"The niggards fault and the unthrifts is all one."

TAPINOSIS - (SE) (Abbaser) - abases a thing because of the author's error in word choice. Example:
(addressing the Queen's coachman) : "Stay thy cart!" 1

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1. I include this figure as an example of a figure of abuse. With this exception, however, all such figures are omitted.

TOPOGRAPHIA - (SS) (Counterfait place) - a kind of Hypotiposis. Description of a place.

TRADUCTIO - (SS) (Translacer) - using one word in many different grammatical forms. Example:
"Who lives in love his life is full of feares,
To lose his love, livelode or liberty,
But lively sprites that young and recklesse be,
Think that there is no living like to theirs."

ZEUGMA - (A) (Fig of single supply) - one word to serve several phrases or clauses or antecedents. Example:
"Fellows and friends and kinne forsooke me quite."

Puttenham defined his classifications as follows:

Auricular figures : alterations in single words or in syntax or grammar.
Sensable figures : "alter or affect the mind by alteration of sense."
Sententious figures : rhetorical figures "all at once to beautifie and geve sence and sententiousness to the whole language at large."

APPENDIX C

(from Johnson, R., THE SCHOLAR'S GUIDE FROM THE ACCIDENCE TO THE UNIVERSITY, 1665, pp 13-4.)

AN ESSAY

An essay is a short discourse about any vertue, vice, or other commonplace. Such be Learning, Ignorance, Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, Drunkenness, Usury, Love, Joy, Fear, Hope, Sorrow, Anger, Covetousness, Contentation, Labour, Idleness, Riches, Poverty, Pride, Humility, Virginity, etc.

Rules for making it

1. Having chosen a Subject, express the nature of it in two or three short definitions, or descriptions.

2. Shew the severall sorts or kinds of it with their distinctions.

3. Shew the severall causes, adjuncts, and effects of each sort or kinde.

4. Be carefull to do this briefly, without tautology or superfluous words, in good and choice language.

5. Metaphors, Allegories, Antithetons, and Paranomasia's do greatly adorn this kind of exercise.

6. In larger and compleat Essays (such as Bacons, Feltham's, etc.) we must labour to express compendiously the whole nature of it, with all observables about our subject.

A STUDY SHOWING THE CLOSE APPLICATION OF JOHNSON'S RULES FOR THE ESSAY BY POPE IN HIS FOURTH EPISTLE OF AN ESSAY ON MAN:

1. The nature of Pope's subject ("Of The Nature and State of Man with respect to happiness") is expressed in several short definitions : 1-7 positive; 8-18 by remarking what and where it is not. The opening of the essay is further (as Warburton saw) a true classical invocation, and was a later substitute for lines which did not invoke the deity (Happiness) by his several designations.
2. 19-28 further discuss the differences and distinctions of opinions as to what and where Happiness is.
3. 29-40 define Happiness as natural, and universal (not partial).
4. 41-8 distinguish the former from the disproportionate lust of the eccentrics.

5. 49-72 attest that economic equality and Happiness are not synonymous.

These five subsections have been employed to illustrate the nature of happiness. The next series (73-110) elucidates the false strivings to achieve happiness.

6. 73-6 remark the vanity of excessive aspiration to happiness.
7. 77-92 show happiness discovered only in the virtuous, never in the vicious.
8. 93-110 point out the error of those who associate happiness with woe, and vice with bliss. Examples are supplied (99-110).

9. The third section (111-130) considers the error of believing that happiness has been denied to mankind simply because universal justice 'refuses' to compromise itself for a particular benefit.

10. 131-48, the fourth section, logically continue from the last subject to demonstrate that all mankind will never agree as to what constitutes happiness.

11. The fifth section (149-204) offers a defence of "whatever is, is right", which had been advanced in the previous section. 149-66 posit the argument that bread is not the reward of virtue.
12. 167-9 shows that the reward of virtue is peace of spirit.
13. 170-84 extend the latter consideration to note the folly of expecting cheap mortal rewards for immortal virtue.
14. 185-204 in conclusion of this passage reinforce the argument from subsection 10 above.

15. The sixth section (205-68) considers the rewards men revere and discounts their value. 205-16 explore and discount the attractions of nobility.
16. 217-36 likewise treat of greatness in achievement.
17. 237-58 consider Fame, the result of greatness in the world's eyes, and find it a small matter to stand against self-approval.
18. 259-68 conclude with the last possible advantage through which men might expect happiness - superior ability; and one who was generously gifted in this respect discounts the satisfaction of it.

19. A seventh section (269-308) now dismisses even more vigorously by example and by generalization, the apparent merits of all the rewards previously considered. 269-76 generalize on the worthlessness of these 'blessings'.
20. 277-308, by enumerating once more each of the false blessings, serve to show them of even less worth than previously accounted, with historical examples for substantiation.

21. The eighth section (309-72) now efficiently gathers all the previously intimated suggestions of the felicity of the truly happy (i.e. the virtuous) man, as well as introducing new features of his bliss, leading to an affirmation of that virtue which is true happiness. 309-26 announce the theme of the section - that "virtue alone is happiness", and provide examples of its practical benefits.
22. 327-40 remark the inevitable relationship of virtue with a true understanding of The Chain of Being and the relation of its parts.
23. 341-52 describe the achievement of this happiness through hope and faith.
24. 353-72 show that man is happy only by transcending self-love and achieving an inclusive love.

25. The final and ninth section of this"Fourth Epistle" is a classical epilogue addressed to the instigator and director of the poem, St. John Bolingbroke (373-98). He is praised in the rhetorical manner advocated by a host of critics indebted to Quintilian (Bk III, Ch 7, sec xv-xvi). 373-82 are a request to St. John for instruction.
26. 383-98 speculate on the possibility of the poem's influence in future ages.

Thus in nine sections the essay progresses from topic definitions through illustrations and examples to "causes, adjuncts, and effects" of happiness, Ralph Johnson's categories have all been strictly complied with, and as Pope's essay was intended to be"larger and compleat", he has "laboriously expressed the whole nature of it, with all observables about our subject". I have omitted consideration of the figures entirely, with the exception of those in the section on 'greatness' (217-36). Pope has, of course, avoided "tautology or superfluous words" as almost always in his writing, employing "good and choice language" with decorum.

APPENDIX D

An examination of the figures in "The Basset-Table".

Line 1 : parison, asindeton
2 : eclipsis
3 : epitheton
4 : ecphonisis
5 : hyperbole
6 : autonomasia
7 : mezozeugma
8 : eclipsis, epitheton
9 : micterismus, erotema
10: hipallage, agnomination, hyperbole
11: antitheton, hypozeugma, metaphora
12: etiologia, epizeuxis, distinctio, paradigm
13: erotema
14: prosopopeia
15: eclipsis
16: catachresis, ploche
17: sententia, antiphrasis, agnomination
18: emphasis, epitheton
19: enallage, ecphonisis
20: parison, sinonimia, hyperbole, erotema, ploche
21: enallage
22: paronomasia, hiperbaton, antitheton
24: rabbatting, hiperbaton
25: agnomination
26: eclipsis, synecdoche, synoeciosis
27: epizeuxis
28: micterismus
30: parenthesis, rabbatting
31: metaphora
33: metaphora
34: eclipsis
35: epizeuxis, metaphora, agnomination
36: catachresis
38: emphasis
41: autonomasia
42: parenthesis
43: exargasia, parenthesis
44: atanaclasis
45: agnomination, ecphonisis
46: prozeugma, asindeton, agnomination, parison
47: ecphonisis
48: rabbatting, hyperbole
50: synecdoche
51: rabbatting
52: exchange
53: metaphora, mezozeugma, asindeton, hyperbole, ecphonisis

54: sinonimfa, hyperbole, metaphora
55: ploche, parison, emphasis, sinonimia, autonomasia
56: epitheton, hyperbole, hipallage
57: agnomination
58: metaphora
59: eclipsis
60: parison, paronomasia, distinctio
62: emphasis, adding
63: autonomasia, agnomination
64: rabbatting
65: etiologia
66: netaphora, rabbatting
68: contentio, erotema
69: catachresis, synecdoche, metaphora, agnomination
70: metaphora
71: homoioptoton, erotema, hiperbaton
72: auxefis, eclipsis, erotema, hiperbaton
73: hipallage
74: ecphonisis, epithonema, sententia, erotema
75: metaphora
76: eroyema
77: brachidoga
78: sillepsis, hyperbole, eclipsis
79: brachiologa, metalepsis
80: contentio, parison, epanodis
81: emphasis
82: synecdoche, metaphora, hyperbole
83: metaphora, synecdoche
84: metaphora
87: homoioptolon, metaphora, agnomination
88: enallage, erotema, eclipsis
89: ploche, metaphora, emphasis
90: emphasis, catachresis, metaphora, hyperbole
91: emphasis, metaphora, hipallage, misterismus
92: ecphonisis, ploche
94: agnomination, hyperbole, metaphora
95: catachresis, hyperbole, metaphora
96: synecdoche
99: epitheton, agnomination
100: synecdoche, metaphora
101: autonomasia, hypozeugma
102: rabbatting, erotema, hyperbole
103: agnomination, autonomasia, enallage
104: isocolon, autonomasia, enallage
106: isocolon, omiosis, distinctio
108: misterismus
110: agnomination, metaphora, eclipsis

Figures extending over more than one verse:

irony : in the complete presentation of this satire of manners as an eclogue with pastoral accoutrements of response, of names, of final award, etc.
anaphora : 4-5, 21-3-4, 37-43-4, 57-8, 61-3, 71-2, 94-6.
antitheton : both of words and of thought. Cardelia's speeches beginning at lines 9, 29, 45, 67, 75, 99, contrast with Smilinda's beginning at lines 13, 37, 53, 71, 87, and 103 respectively.
apostrophe : 21-6, 29-36, 37-44.
polysindeton : 7-8, 89-90.
etiologia : 48-52.
auxefis : 6-8.
climax : 89-92, 82-5, 94-6.
icon : 30-6, 77-82.
prolepsis : 6-8, 11-12.
irmus : 55-8, 37-44.
dialisis : 59-64.
ploche : 85-6; double ploche : 97-8.
homoioteleuton : the rhymes.
pragmatographia : 48-52, 92-6.
paradoxon : 58-66.
diatyposis : 77-82.
parison : 69-70.
parenthesis: 37-42.
prosapodosis : Cardelia's and Smilinda's speeches beginning at lines 75 and 87 respectively, each state the theme in two verses, then extensively explore the theme in the remainder.
epanodis : 75-86 (epanodis for 67-70); 87-98 (epanodis for 71-4).
sinathrismus : 61-4, 77-82.
paradigma : 49-52, 59-66.
commoratio : throughout the speeches of the three, on misfortune in cards, in love, and with regard to tea.

APPENDIX E

THE SCIENCE OF LIGHT IN POPE'S TIME

Dryden's "Epistle" to Charleton" is typical of the scientific interest of the neo-classics poets. He was a "Town" poet like Pope after him, in touch with Court circles where scientific experimentation on a small scale was the dilettante amusement of many gentlemen, as well as a main activity of the "virtuosi". He even belonged to the Royal Society for a short time. Charles the second himself had a laboratory, and had been interested enough in the "new philosophy" to grant the Royal Society its charter. Dryden had translated Lucretius' great Epicurean nature poem "De rerum natura", and his diction, especially in earlier poems such as "Annus Mirabilis", reveals that science had a certain attraction for him. We find him speaking of astronomy:

"Then we upon our Globe's last verge shall go
And view the Ocean leaning on the Sky:
From thence our rolling neighbours we shall know,
And on the lunar world securely pry." 1

Transmutation also interested him:

"Methinks already, from this Chymick flame,
I see a city of more precious mold." 2

Dryden celebrated navigation and geography as well, and enthusiastically apostrophized the Royal Society and the whole course of scientific research in his day.

His work in this respect must have exercised a considerable influence on Pope, and we find that the latter actually paid more direct homage to scientists in his poetry than Dryden, perhaps due to the then world-wide reputation of Newton. Pope, however, (as we have seen) was not in favour of the many technical terms with which Dryden's poems were sprinkled, and we do not find many in his own work. His praises of scientists were frequent, nevertheless, and his interest in chiaroscuro relates not merely to his studies in painting but also to his knowledge of the writings of contemporary physicists.

The famous epitaph on Newton perhaps is the most well-known of such pieces:

"Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night:
God said : 'Let Newton be!' and all was light."

In his transcription of Horace's "Ninth Ode", Newton is equated with Caesar and other "sages and chiefs"3, while in "The Dunciad" he is listed with Bacon, Locke, and Milton.4 Of immediate interest is the eighteenth century emphasis on light - perhaps as much due to Milton as to Newton. (Certainly for

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1. "Annus Mirabilis", POEMS, stanza 164.
2. Ibid, stanza 293.
3. "Part of the Ninth Ode of the Fourth Book", 9-12.
4. Bk III, 215-6.

Pope the former influence cannot be discounted.) Since Newton's "Optics" first appeared only in 1704, we should not expect to find a direct influence from this source on Dryden's diction and imagery, although the subject was very much in the air for some time previous. Frequent images of light occur in Dryden's poetry:

"Flies like the nimble journeys of the light;
And is, like that, unspent too in its flight." 5

Pope's work is also shot through with such imagery:

"False eloquence, like the prismatic glass..." 6

"Unerring Nature, still divinely bright,
One clear, unchang'd, and universal light..." 7

"True expression, like th' unchanging sun,
Clears and improves whate'er it shines upon." 8

"And force that sun but on a part to shine..." 9

"If once right reason drives that cloud away,
Truth breaks upon us with resistless day." 10

Reason's white light was opposed to Fancy's imperfect, faint, confused suffusion. We have only to recall the designation of "judgment's" lance - "wit" - as bright, piercing, blinding, etc., or the perpetual recurrence of the ideas of clarté and of luminousness. Pope's frequent references to the panoramic visual view is a case in point, often with direct noting of chiaroscuro effects, as in the "Moral Essays":

"Behold Villario's ten years' toil complete;
His Quincunx darkens, his Espaliers meet;
The Wood supports the Plain, the parts unite,
And strength of Shade contends with strength of Light;
A waving Glow the bloomy beds display,
Blushing in bright diversities of day,
With silver-quiv'ring rills maeander'd o'er..." 11

I have already observed that the early eighteenth century painter's preoccupation with light and shade (which Jervas had possibly pointed out to Pope) found a parallel in the world of science. The poets of the day wrote numerous verse expositions of Newtonian optics for the layman - Savage, Glover, Thomson, Hughes, Halley, Mallett, Harte, Boyse, Brooke, to mention a few.[12] The sublime was often identified with light,

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5. Epistle to ... Charleton, 35-6.
6. An Essay on Criticism, 311.
7. Ibid, 70-1.
8. Ibid, 315.
9. Ibid, 399.
10. Ibid, 211-2.
11. Epistle IV, 79-85.
12. Vide M.Nicholson, NEWTON DEMANDS THE MUSE, Princeton, 1946.

as was beauty, since light was the source of colour. Pope's "Spring" abounds with colour references : rose, golden, purple, white, milk-white, sand, green, amber, while words directly suggestive of colour often occur more than once - blushing, shines, paints, bright, shade, radiant sky, blossom, blooms, and gild - all in a pastoral of one hundred lines. "Windsor Forest" is literally flooded with light and colour; the first thirty-eight lines have ten references to colour or light, but I merely note here the principal instance of chiaroscuro occurring in the image of the "chequered scene" which "part admit(s) and part exclude(s) the day"[13]:

> "Here waving groves a chequer'd scene display,
> And part admit, and part exclude the day;
> As some coy nymph her lover's warm address
> Nor quite indulges, nor can quite repress.
> There, interspers'd in lawns and op'ning glades,
> Thin trees arise that shun each other's shades.
> Here in full light the russet plains extend:
> There wrapt in clouds the blueish hills ascend."

This is a characteristic of Pope's rhetoric and diction that cannot be dissociated from the scientific discoveries of his time, from his interest in painting, and from the tradition of "like poet, like painter". Other chiaroscuro passages occur throughout his work.[14]

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13. Windsor Forest, 17-24.
14. For example, vide "An Essay on Criticism" : 21, 301, 488-90; "The Rape of the Lock", Canto I : 31, 121-48; Canto II : 59-68, 77-83; "An Essay on Man", Epistle II : 208-9, etc.

APPENDIX F

Pope and Petrarch

In a stanza on Laura's death, Petrarch wrote:

"Then on high seas a ship I spied.
Silver the rigging, and the sails were gold,
Set with rare ebony and ivory old.
Soft was the air and tranquil, clear the skies;
The boat was laden with rich merchandise.
Suddenly now a tempest from the East
So roused the wind and wave
That the boat struck against a reef -
O bitter grief!
The matchless treasures sank from sight
Into the tempest's night." 1

The reader discovers, with the passing of time, that such an "icon" remains in the memory, not as verisimilitude - what portraiture could be less realistically particularized? - but as a symbol of the basic allegory-motif of the poem as a whole ; the shattering sudden corruption of beauty and health, eternally significant and satisfying as they are while we possess them. Or once again:

"Are these the ringlets, this the golden hair
Of my most fair?"
I anguished cried, " That still has power
My senses to ensnare?
Are these the beauteous eyes beyond compare
That were myssuns?" 2

Here we find the conventional epithets and the generalized description, and we are not impeded by particularized identifications from experiencing the vision as a whole - although the picture is vivid enough to stir our senses and heighten our thoughts.

Petrarch's treatment of land- and seascape in generalized imagery is a further case in point. The love for gardens of both Petrarch and Pope is striking, and it is difficult to believe that Pope had not seen Petrarch's description of his gardens and grotto at Vaucluse before writing his own on the subject. Here is Petrarch:

"One of these gardens is shady, formed for contemplation, and sacred to Apollo. It overhangs the source of the river, and is terminated by rocks, and by places accessible only to the birds. The other is nearer my cottage, of an aspect less severe, and devoted to Bacchus; and what is extremely singular, it is in the midst of a rapid river. The approach to it is over a bridge of rocks; and there is a natural grotto

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1. Petrarch, F., "Standomi un Giorno", MADRIGALS, AND ODES, tr Peabody, H.L., New York, 1940, p 67.
2. Ibid, "Quando il soave mio fido conforto", p 59.

> under the rocks, which gives them the appearance of a rustic bridge. Into this grotto the rays of the sun never penetrate. I am confident that it much resembles the place where Cicero went to declaim. It invites to study. Hither I retreat during the noontide hours; my mornings are engaged upon the hills, or in the garden sacred to Apollo."

With this should be compared Pope's letters on his garden and grotto, especially those to Stratford[4], Bolingbroke[5], Swift[6], Blount[7], and Allen[8]. One is not required to imply personal resemblances and imitation; their common ground in Cicero might be enough to explain the similarities in this case. The general parallel is illustrated nowhere more clearly than in Pope's correspondence, where in addition to the often excessively formal and sententious style (less so in Petrarch), the subject matter is similar time after time in such matters as love of solitude, the vanity of fame, the delight in gardens, resignation in the face of private misfortune, reverence for the ancients, etc.

But without further extensions of a parallel which must rest largely on uncertainties, it can be admitted that Pope much more rarely achieved hypersensitive responses to wild and rugged nature than Petrarch. (But vide Pope's letters to Caryll, Mar 8, 1732-3; to Martha Blount - 1727, and two others in 1739; and the often quoted three lines from "An Essay on Criticism".)[9][10] Their meeting on the commonplaces of Renaissance poetics is, however, much more frequent.

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3. Petrarch, F., THE SONNETS, TRIUMPHS, AND OTHER POEMS, London, 1890, Introd. p 37.
4. WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, vol X, p 183. (Written in 1725.)
5. Ibid, Sept 3, 1740.
6. Ibid, Mar 25, 1736.
7. Ibid, June 2, 1725.
8. Ibid, Nov 6, 1736. Also his essay "On Gardens" ('The Guardian', Sept 29, 1713), in AULT, N., PROSE WORKS OF ALEXANDER POPE, Oxford, 1936, pp 145-6.
9. WORKS, ed Courthope and Elwin, letters Numbers 65, 66.
10. An Essay on Criticism, 156-8.

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The bibliographies are two : the first, of available books; the second, of those I could not obtain but consider important enough to the subject of this paper for listing. Where the name of a periodical first appears it is written out in full, otherwise only the abbreviation of letters is used.

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