VOICE AND CONTEXT IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VERSE

Order in Variety

Edited by JOANNA FOWLER
and ALLAN INGRAM

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Rhetoric and the Birth of American Antislavery, 1658–1761 (2012) and *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility: Writing, Sentiment, and Slavery, 1760–1807* (Palgrave, 2005). His most recent collection, *Quakers and Abolition*, co-edited with Geoffrey Plank, was published by University of Illinois Press in 2014. He is currently writing a book about the intersection of natural history and antislavery in the long eighteenth century as well as co-editing books on *Early Caribbean Literary Histories* (with Nicole Aljoe and Tom Krise) and *Birds in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (with Sayre Greenfield and Anne Milne).

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Allan Ingram is Professor of English at the University of Northumbria. He has published widely on eighteenth-century topics, including work on James Boswell, Swift and Pope and on aspects of insanity. He was Director of the Leverhulme Research Project, 'Before Depression, 1660–1800' (www.beforedepression.com), and is Co-Director of a second Leverhulme project, 'Fashionable Diseases in the Long Eighteenth Century' (www.fashionablediseases.info). His most recent works include the co-edited four-volume collection *Depression and Melancholy 1660–1800* (2012) and the Broadview Press edition of *Gulliver's Travels* (2012).

Tom Jones works on poetry, poetics and eighteenth-century intellectual hitstory in the School of English, University of St Andrews. Publications include *Pope and Berkeley: The Language of Poetry and Philosophy* (Palgrave, 2005), and *Poetic Language: Theory and Practice from the Renaissance to the Present* (2012). His edition of Pope's *Essay on Man* is scheduled for publication in 2015. He is also working on a biography of George Berkeley.

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Chris Mounsey worked for several years in theatre before an accident and four months immobility, in which reading was the only possible occupation, led to an academic career. Degrees in philosophy, comparative literature and English from the University of Warwick followed, and a doctorate on Blake founded an interest in the literature of the eighteenth century. He now teaches at the University of Winchester, is author of *Christopher Smart: Clown of God* and editor of *Presenting Gender, Queer People, Developments in the Histories of Sexualities*, and *The Idea of Disability in the Eighteenth Century*. He is also author of *Understanding the Poetry of William Blake through a Dialectic of Contraries* (2011), and *Being the Body of Christ* (2012).

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and co-editor of *Swift and his Contexts* (1989). He has convened six Münster symposia on Jonathan Swift since 1984, and edited and co-edited their transactions (as *Proceedings* and *Reading Swift*). He has also co-authored a monograph on *Gulliver's Travels* (1984), co-translated and annotated the *Travels* into German (1987; 4th ed., 2011) and annotated a new translation of *A Tale of a Tub* in German (1994). He has edited the annual *Swift Studies* since its inception (1986). Other book publications include three anthologies of edited essays on Swift. The latest volume of *Reading Swift* was published in 2013, and his Index to David Woolley's edition of *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift* (1999–2007), with Dirk F. Passmann, in 2014. For the past five years, he has been working as co-editor on a new old-spelling critical edition of the Prose Works of Jonathan Swift (http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/Swift/online.swift/index.html).

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Professor Bill Overton, 1946–2012: A Personal Memoir

Hermann Josef Real

> FAREWEL, too little and too lately known.
> John Dryden, *To the Memory of Mr. Oldham*

I first met Bill Overton at one of those legendary Paris colloques, initiated by our late friend, Professor Paul-Gabriel Boucé, at the Sorbonne Nouvelle, and subsequently organized and run by Professors Suzy Halimi and Serge Soupel. I can no longer remember exactly what year, but it was relatively late in our lives. I do recall that for the occasion I had teamed up with Dirk Passmann, and together we held forth on 'Barbarism, Witchcraft, and Devil Worship: Cock-and-Bull Stories from Several Remote Nations of the World'.[1] To our surprise, Bill came to the podium after this wildly mad talk and said to us with a smile: 'Thank you for an enjoyable paper.' Then he paused in mid-sentence and repeated: 'Thank you for a *most* enjoyable paper', emphasizing 'most'. My immediate reaction was, 'What a kind thing to say; I will take to this man.' Later in the afternoon, Bill gave his own talk, and, predictably, he spoke about what mattered to him most, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century poetry, and how to read it: punctuation, he rightly pointed out, affecting intonation and voice, and voice and intonation being meaning. One of the passages he had selected for discussion was from *Paradise Lost*, also one of my favourite poems, and, in the very amicable discussion afterwards, we embarked on Milton's compositors. Was the poet himself responsible for the punctuation of his immortal poem or were the compositors, we asked ourselves? Back home, the discussion led to an epistolary exchange about hermeneutics and 'correct' readings, and we started sending each other offprints of scholarly articles.

After Paul-Gabriel Boucé died, Dirk Passmann and I decided to convene a 'Colloque in memoriam Paul-Gabriel Boucé' in Münster in February 2010. Bill happily accepted our invitation, suggesting a very sexy title, 'Sex and Gender in the Augustan Heroic Epistle', and expressing his delight about the forthcoming event. He loved being in Germany, he told us, having family in Cologne. A heavy burden of

administrative work and paper-marking notwithstanding, Elaine came with him not to read a paper herself but to listen to Bill's and to spend as much time with him as possible. What I had found most striking about the two from the beginning was the deep love they both felt for, and showed to, each other. What they had not realized, however, was that Münster held a sore trial of that love in store for them. Let me explain: the conference facilities were new and modern, clean and functional, breakfasts and lunches were excellent, the lecture theatre fully equipped with all sorts of technical gadgets and the beautiful Gothic Überwasserkirche (Our Lady over the Water) and the Romanesque Paulus Dom (St Paul's Cathedral) in view of the locality (forgive me for blowing my own trumpet), but there is always a But in life. At one stage, I had to tell Bill that the conference facilities had been converted from a former Catholic seminary, and all the bedrooms were single, strictly single, and no exceptions permitted. I still treasure the letter Bill wrote in a kind of comic despair when I broke the news. For a moment, I feared that he might cancel the reservation, though in the end, manfully, he did not. I do hope that meanwhile, in the kindness of heart that was so characteristic of him, he has forgiven me.

We met again in the following year at Mascha Hansen and Jürgen Klein's splendid sequel at Greifswald in 2011. Erika and I had come by car, Bill came by plane and train, respectively, and we went to collect him from the station. I remember the heart-warming smile he flashed at us when alighting from the train. On that occasion, Bill spoke about Lord Hervey, and if I had not already known what a superb scholar he was, that paper, since published in the conveners' *Great Expectations*, would have told me.[2] In our private conversations during coffee breaks and at the dinner table, he confessed to suffering from some unspecified and undiagnosed back pain. In his Christmas letter that year, he told us about his imminent retirement and his joy at the prospect of completing his edition of Lord Hervey's poems, finishing on the coda, 'Elaine and I hope you and yours have the best of Christmases and New Years. Very warmest and most affectionate best wishes from us both.' A month later, on 18 January 2012, we received a piece of devastating news, which at first we refused to believe: 'The back trouble I have turns out not to come from the back at all but from a tumour in my pancreas.' Although Bill was clearly in an emotional turmoil at this moment, he never lost his outward calm for a second, pointing out reasons for hope at the same time. For one, he assured us, he was in good medical hands, in fact, in the hands of a world authority on pancreatic cancer, and, for

another, he went on in great excitement, Elaine had decided to receive him into her even more loving and caring hands for ever: they were getting married on 28 January.

Erika and I have a blow-by-blow account of the wedding (if that is the appropriate metaphor). 'It was a most joyous occasion', Bill wrote *post festum*. 'We had a very simple ceremony, with a strict interdiction on such items – and you know Elaine can be very strict – as confetti, overly smart dressing, presents and verbal chastisement of small children. The weather obliged, too: we had plenty of sunshine, and mild temperatures.' This report was accompanied by a link to the website set up by Elaine's favourite niece, which showed us photos of all 19 guests at the party. We were so happy to be allowed a share in Elaine and Bill's happiness.

In May 2012, Erika and I drove to Leeds in order to attend a reception in honour of the dedicatee of a Festschrift to which I had been invited to contribute. On the way home, we passed by Loughborough, seeing it signposted on the motorway. We dithered for a moment whether to surprise Bill and Elaine and drop by, but since we could not be sure whether we were welcome under the circumstances, we decided not to. Back home, we told Bill that we had been thinking of him and had sent him warmest telepathic greetings from the motorway, which, we pointed out, should have made his ears tingle. Bill responded on 10 June in what turned out to be his last letter to us, and it confirmed that our decision had been the right one. As always, Bill was charming (indulging in parody of eighteenth-century sublime style here and there): 'I fear that my telepathic powers did not extend to detecting your recent proximity, but both of you are often in my thoughts, and it would indeed be very good to see you again. I also fear, though, that an unannounced visit might find me out or in less good shape than I would like, so you made the right choice in not calling by, much though I would otherwise have appreciated a visit.' At the time of writing, there was still hope that our friend Jürgen Klein would be able to pull off another colloque in Hamburg in December of 2012. (That never materialized, alas, for all sorts of reasons.) If it were to materialize, Bill continued, 'I shall be delighted, and I would do my very best to be there.' As we all know by now, that was not to be the case: Erika and I never saw Bill again. So we have to take comfort in his very last sentence to us: 'Elaine joins me embracing you over the ether and sending you our love and very best wishes.' Once more, dear friend, hail and farewell. *Terraque sit super ossa levis*.

Notes

1. Published in (2008) *Swift Studies*, 23, 94–110.
2. (2012) 'Lord Hervey, Death and Futurity' in M. Hansen and J. Klein (eds) *Great Expectations: Futurity in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang), pp. 141–60.

Introduction

Allan Ingram and Joanna Fowler

This volume arises from the Bill Overton Memorial Conference on 'Eighteenth-Century Poetry' convened in September 2013 by Dr Joanna Fowler, Professor Elaine Hobby and Professor Allan Ingram. The subject of the conference was chosen because of Bill's career-long enthusiasm for and engagement with eighteenth-century verse, most evident in his work on the poetry of the 'Anonymous Lady', on the verse epistle and in the edition of the poetry of Lord Hervey on which he was working when he died in September 2012.

The intention behind the conference was to revisit the poetry of the eighteenth century, particularly in light of recent critical approaches and the opening up over the last decades of the range of verse now regularly discussed and studied. We hoped to recover something of the richness and excitement of what was then a form of writing practised by both professionals and amateurs, by the highly and the scarcely educated, those heavily influenced by past traditions and those more interested in expressing something important to them in the best way they could. In particular, we wished to show that, significant and influential though the poetic giants of the period were, other voices were continually being heard, arising from a variety of impulses and dealing with a variety of contexts and concerns through their work. The present collection, which comprises a selection of papers, reworked as academic chapters, is intended as a reassessment of the importance of verse as a medium in the period, and as an invitation for readers to explore many of the less familiar figures dealt with, alongside the received names of the standard criticism of the period. Contributors, from the United States, France, Germany and Ireland, as well as the United Kingdom, include both established names and current postgraduate students, reflecting the lively interest there now is in this field. The volume, we

believe, is likely both to open new areas of research for fellow academics and to help revitalize the study of eighteenth-century verse for a student readership. Above all, if it plays a part in stripping this period form of the accretions of solid respectability it acquired during earlier centuries and allows it to speak to current readers with some of the directness of the original texts, then it will have performed a valuable service.

The key works for contemporary study of eighteenth-century poetry were the twin volumes edited by Roger Lonsdale some 30 years ago – *The New Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse* (1984) and *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets: An Oxford Anthology* (1989). These collections overturned the received view of the verse of the period as dominated by a small number of elite male poets and made clear that writing and reading poetry were activities entered into at all levels of society, and that the poetic voice was freely adopted for all kinds of topic, from the serious and public to the highly personal or the utterly trivial. These anthologies were followed up with ones by David Fairer and Christine Gerrard (*Eighteenth-Century Poetry: An Annotated Anthology*, 1999), Joyce Fullard (*British Women Poets, 1660–1800: An Anthology*, 1990) and Paula R. Backscheider and Catherine E. Ingrassia (*British Women Poets of the Long Eighteenth Century*, 2009). Works since then have developed the vitality and range of poetry, without losing sight of the significance and achievement of those figures previously held as dominant. Publications covering the whole of the field include those by John Sitter (*The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, 2001, and *The Cambridge Introduction to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, 2011), David Fairer (*English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century, 1700–1789*, 2003) and by Christine Gerrard (*A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, 2006). These are vital texts for the field, building on Lonsdale and serving as excellent introductions for students and general readers. More selective, but still taking a wide perspective, is Patricia Meyer Spacks' *Reading Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (2009), which emphasizes the distinctiveness and urgency of much of the poetry of the period. The present volume is not intended to compete with these, but to enter the same market, dealing as it does with specific aspects and figures of the period, poetry that was part of what is now recognized as a vital medium of thought, of expression and communication. The study of the verse of the eighteenth century, so often in the past dwarfed by the Romantics, is now a significant and exciting field with excellent scholarship appearing all the time. This book, we hope, will be part of that movement, gaining from its momentum and contributing to it through its study of previously overlooked writers and forms,

and its re-examination of more major figures within that context. To repeat Lonsdale's 'conviction', it will demonstrate that 'the world of eighteenth-century poetry is at once less predictable and more familiar than we have been led to believe'.[1]

Our title, *Voice and Context*, is intended to throw the emphasis of the volume on both the individual and the time and place in which he or she was writing. If in 'voice' we are interested in what made a poet distinctive, or even to lack distinctiveness, we also recognize the importance of those many aspects of circumstance – biographical, social, political and cultural – that gave impetus to the adoption and development of a way of writing poetry. The subtitle, of course, is from the beginning of Pope's 1713 hymn to Britain and its royal inheritance – shortly, as Pope was aware, to pass to a Hanoverian incumbent:

> Here Hills and Vales, the Woodland and the Plain,
> Here Earth and Water seem to strive again,
> Not *Chaos*-like together crush'd and bruis'd,
> But as the World, harmoniously confus'd:
> Where Order in Variety we see,
> And where, tho' all Things differ, all agree.[2]

Pope's 'Order in Variety' is a statement of the potential for recapturing something of man's prelapsarian condition within a politics – that of Stuart Britain – and a landscape that reflect the best of all possible worlds. It is an ideal brought down to earth, not with a bump but with realistic and reasonable expectations of what is possible: productive coexistence is, and beauty is and, obviously, poetry is. Indeed, the form of Pope's poetry acts as a demonstration that potentially discordant elements, 'Earth and Water', upland and downland, natural growth and cultivation, are capable of being incorporated within a formal celebration of 'Order' in spite of their intrinsic 'Variety'. That is the best that fallen mankind can hope for.

Our intention, in picking this quotation, was less grandiose. Rather, we were interested in explorations of the ways in which poets, from professionals like Pope himself, to amateurs like most of the other writers covered in the volume, made coherent and formal sense from the many and various kinds of context that led to the desire for expression – the natural world, for example, relations with other people or with oneself, issues of gender, particularly of femininity within a masculine society or even admiration for or influence by a poetic master or predecessor. Hence the four divisions within the collection – though in doing this

we were well aware that many other possible divisions might have been chosen.

Part I of this volume is entitled 'Form and Influence'. Trying to define 'eighteenth-century verse' is a difficult task, because, as Lonsdale points out, many poets' work can be classified as 'very much of their period' and 'a variety of interesting individual voices' can be found in both print and manuscript, writing in a range of genres and forms.[3] Despite the seeming dominance of the pentameter couplet and then blank verse, the period saw much experimentation with prosody. In terms of influence, while the earlier Augustans drew on classical models and forms, 'Gray and his generation', Lonsdale notes, went 'back to the native tradition of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, or further afield to the Orient, Scandanavia, [and] the Middle Ages', and inspiration continued to come from diverse sources throughout the long eighteenth century.[4] In the opening chapter, 'Pope's Horatian Voice', Nigel Wood explores the author's *Imitations of Horace* and how, even though Pope 'adopt[ed] Horace's example – stylistically and philosophically' to engage in literary debates and explorations, the interaction between the two authors' works often represents a dialectic rather than a simple out-and-out affiliation. John Baker, in 'Celebrating *Universal Beauty*: Henry Brooke's In-between Poetics', similarly, explores the complex nature of influence and how this 1735 philosophical poem exhibits a 'betweenness' both in a formal sense (mixing verse with extensive footnotes), its style, and its poetic influences, 'occupy[ing] a middle ground' between Pope's *An Essay on Man* (1733–4) and James Thomson's *The Seasons* (1730; 1746). This Pope poem is also the subject of Tom Jones's work, 'Argumentative Emphases in Pope's *An Essay on Man*', but the focus switches to how Pope continually self-edited his work, exploring how grammatical and typographical changes to the poem can influence its interpretation and argument. In the final chapter of the Part, '"Stricken Deer and Digressive Diplomacy": The Influence of Matthew Prior upon William Cowper', Conrad Brunström revisits the topic of William Cowper's main influences which, he writes, 'could be conveniently abbreviated to just two: John Milton and Matthew Prior'. However, Brunström complicates the idea that the former impacts on Cowper's serious verse and the latter his lighter compositions, analysing different examples of Cowper's and Prior's poems. He concludes his argument by entering the discussion about a possible tripartite connection between Prior–Cowper–Wordsworth.

When one thinks of eighteenth-century verse and representations of nature, the pastoral will inevitably come to mind. David Fairer declares

that, 'Its malleability, as a mode rather than a genre, offered opportunities for poetic experiment [in the period], and the widespread familiarity of its codes allowed for considerable ingenuity and playfulness.'[5] Part II of the volume on 'Science and Nature', while looking at pastoral poems (albeit in new ways), also explores scientific-philosophical verse and poems that explore topography, both above and below the ground. According to Clark Lawlor, 'The "New Science" of the previous century, which stressed the role of the human body as a machine and the universe as a great watch mechanism, encouraged or even forced eighteenth-century poets […] to contemplate deeply their place in the great scheme of things or "Chain of Being".'[6] Megan Kitching's essay, '"When Universal Nature I Survey": Philosophical Poetry Before 1750', the first of this Part, presents a review of philosophical poems from the opening half of the century, exploring the tensions between this type of verse and satire, and how these poems 'turn questions raised by natural philosophy towards their moral and theological implications'. From didactic philosophical verse to poems that can be seen to teach readers about the earth's underground, Kevin Cope, in 'Metering Mineral Resources: Verse Jewels on Earth's Treasures', explores different examples of 'gem verse' or works that present 'versified geology'. Infusing often recondite diction into metrical compositions, these poems explore and celebrate the 'subterranean' like pastorals survey the countryside. Brycchan Carey's 'Deserted Village and Animated Nature: An Ecocritical Approach to Oliver Goldsmith' broaches the question of the location of the village of Auburn depicted in this well-known pastoral in a different way. Carey presents an ecocritical view of the poem, reading its descriptions of the landscape against Goldsmith's *History of the Earth and Animated Nature* to 'aid our understanding of the text's ecological significance as much as its social and cultural importance'. To conclude Part II, Elizabeth Edwards, in 'Footnotes to a Nation: Richard Llwyd's *Beaumaris Bay* (1800)', explores the polyvalence of this place poem that presents a 'topographical tour' that also 'highlight[s] the existence of a Welsh-language literary past'. The poem has to share its pages with bounteous footnotes and Edwards examines how the reading of the poem differs if you consider or ignore the peritext and the political implications of this.

In the 'Introduction' to his anthology, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets*, Lonsdale acknowledges 'the risk of seeming to segregate […] [women poets] from the literary mainstream, which would be misleading. Yet, although they shared some problems of acceptability with their less privileged male contemporaries, it is not unreasonable to consider

them in some aspects as a special case, given their educational insecurities and the constricted notions of the properly "feminine" in social and literary behaviour they faced.'[7] Part III of the volume, on 'Women's Verse and Genres', considers women poets' responses to birth, death and life and one's literary legacy, addressing genres and topics that could be seen as, traditionally, male dominated as well as those specific to female experience. In '"I wish the child, I call my own": [Pro]Creative Experience in the Poetry of Jane Cave Winscom', Ashleigh Blackwood identifies six 'birth poems' by the author and argues that these can be read collectively as a group to 'capture a strong sense of the importance of reproduction as a cultural concept' in the period. They can be read alongside non-fictional medical texts, like midwifery manuals, to help us understand the fears faced by expectant mothers as well as their hopes for their children. Mascha Hansen's 'Figs and Fame: Envisioning the Future in Women's Poetry' looks at the symbolism of 'figs' for female voices, linking them to hope and ambitions. The chapter analyses how women poets throughout the long eighteenth century addressed the notions of time, fame and futurity. Finally, Joanna Fowler, in 'Women Poets and the Mock-Heroic Elegy', considers how three female poets produce this kind of verse for a dual purpose: they explore the human/animal bond while 'adopt[ing] a mode often used to disparage women, and, with origins that can be traced back to Ovid and Catullus, to make a point about women as poets'.

It seems appropriate that a volume entitled 'Voice and Context' ends with a Part entitled 'Self and Others'. Backscheider and Ingrassia start their 'Introduction' to their anthology with the statement that 'During the time period […] people read poetry for entertainment, news, and self-improvement' and discuss its public/private dimension. They continue: the 'public function of reading and writing poetry [during the century] should not suggest that poets failed to aspire to the highest aesthetic achievements or that the poetry of the period lacks emotion and fails to draw on personal experience'.[8] Part IV of this volume looks at both the personal side of a poet becoming a public figure and the private cost of a public reputation. Allan Ingram's chapter entitled 'Getting Personal: Swift's Non-Public Poetry' inspects the 'fluidity of the private/public borderline in Swift's poetry', looking at, for example, some of Stella's 'Birthday Poems' and the 'Market Hill' poems and how Swift presents personal friends and experiences for 'semi-public' entertainment. In 'Blind Woman on the Rampage: Priscilla Pointon's Grand Tour of the Midlands and the Question of the Legitimacy of Sources for Biography', Chris Mounsey interrogates how useful and reliable published poems,

such as verse epistles, based on supposedly private events, journeys and relationships, are when trying to recover biographical information about a blind female poet and her experiences as a disabled woman and writer. The final chapter, Leigh Wetherall Dickson's '"What a Creature is Man": The Melancholia, Literary Ambition and Manly Fortitude of Robert Burns', looks at how Burns turned to his favourite sentimental verse to understand his emotions and thoughts, and examines extracts from his letters, commonplace book and poems to consider how the man and his melancholia were explored in his private, semi-private and public documents.

Verse quotations are presented in two different ways in this volume: if a poem comes from a collection or anthology that provides line numbers then these are used; however, if the texts are without lineation then page numbers have been employed.

Notes

1. (2003) 'Introduction' in *The New Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. xxxiii–xli (p. xxxix).
2. (1963) *Windsor Forest* in J. Butt (ed.) *The Poems of Alexander Pope* (London: Methuen), pp. 195–210, lines 11–16.
3. 'Introduction' in *The New Oxford Book of Eigtheenth-Century Verse*, p. xxxiii.
4. 'Introduction' in *The New Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse*, p. xxxiv.
5. (2003) *English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century, 1700–1789* (London: Longman), p. 79.
6. (2006) 'Poetry and Science' in C. Gerrard (ed.) *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 38–52 (p. 39).
7. (1990) 'Introduction' in *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets: An Oxford Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. xxi–xlvii (p. xliii).
8. (2009) 'Introduction' in *British Women Poets of the Long Eighteenth Century: An Anthology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), pp. xxiii–xxxviii (p. xxiii).

Part I
Form and Influence

1
Pope's Horatian Voice

Nigel Wood

There is a reassuring motive for choosing to translate a famous author in that you are servant to the master voice, relaying as innocently and accurately as you can past sentiments and tropes. In the wake of this irreproachable impulse, on the other hand, one might discover less obedient traces, not quite *graffiti*, but – because not announced – perhaps more insidious projections of the self; the 'strong' authors need to be misprized in order that their complex literariness might survive, but also that the imitator is no plagiarist. Interpretation has to intervene and not only at the micro level, but also in constructing the wider perspective, where the source text *does not* fit and, issuing from that dissonance, a cross-cultural dialogue emerges. In Wolfgang Iser's phrase, 'translatability is motivated by the need to cope with a crisis that can no longer be alleviated by the mere assimilation or appropriation of other cultures'. This gesture could be a form of 'therapy for a growing awareness of cultural pathology'.[1] The spectrum of cross-cultural adherence embraces imitation as well as academic translation, and the effect of 'coping' and negotiating is only a difference of degree. Pope's *Imitations of Horace* offer us some material for reassurance in that the ethics of retirement and its apparently apolitical consequences are very much part of what is overt about the very form of the literary choice: the inclusion of the Horace text interleaved with Pope's own and the adoption of Horace's own conversational register. It is homage of an intricate kind, and the refusal to represent his own voice as standing alone is perhaps evidence of such intricacy; it might not do, however, to rest on the assumption that the later author was simply in thrall to the earlier, and this chapter will explore the consequences of focusing on the moment of Pope's imitating: its immediacy and synchronic position as well as its more universal significance.

This is also part of the developing debate about the literary imitation in the period: the extent to which it was quasi-translation, substantially motivated by the aim of rendering the source, yet demonstrating one's own reading in the process, or, more radically, a display of enfranchisement where a familiar source was defaced or eventually left behind. Horace's example exhibited both varieties, using Lucilius's outspokenness as sanction for his own temerity or the liberal attacks of Old Comedy as a template for a 'low' vocabulary and dramatic alternations of tone. On the other hand, these models were unartful, even if effective, as he ventures in *Satires*, *I.iv*.38–62 and *I.x*.1–24.[2] This contest between art and direct truth-telling is embedded in two established modes of regarding satire itself: is it principally strategic, always using the contemporary for vivid examples but only to point to recurrent faults and a transcendent ethics, or is it really motivated by the need to name names and expose vice in particular? For analysts of the genre, there is a similar oscillation between a formalist approach, where particulars are merely elements in a larger scheme, and a historical focus, where the satiric fiction is wielded only to denounce real villains and temporizers.[3] Pope's Horace *Imitations* are variously examined as a series of neo-classical gestures, returning the reader from the Augustan precedent to a carefully cultivated self-image, and yet this puts in the shade a number of personal anxieties and political nuances that were also prime motives.

I

In the second volume of Pope's 1735 *Works*, the idea of adopting Horace's example – stylistically and philosophically – grew to maturity. In the 'Advertisement' to the Horatian pieces, Pope provides his own context for turning to the poet: '*The Occasion of publishing these* Imitations *was the Clamour raised on some of my* Epistles. *An Answer from* Horace *was both more full, and of more Dignity, than any I cou'd have made in my own person*'.[4] There then follows as 'Satire 1', his version of *Satire, II.i*, and then, as 'Satire 2', *Satire, II.ii*. The section is rounded off with imitations of the second and fourth of John Donne's own *Satires*, although Horace's preoccupation with courtly pretension shines through in both.[5] Both Horace satires had appeared before: *Satire, II.i* in 1733, and *Satire, II.ii* in 1734. Donne's *Satire IV* had appeared in 1733 as *The Impertinent; Or a Visit to the Court. A Satyr. By an Eminent Hand*. As the 'Advertisement' makes clear, the gesture of

collecting together his two appropriations of Horace – with two satires of Donne – is a form of defence and redress. In his *Of Taste*, the early title for his *Epistle To The Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington*, published in a prepossessing 16 page folio in December 1731, there seemed to some an inappropriate allusion, in his portrait of the *arriviste* Timon, to the sudden wealth of James Brydges, the first Duke of Chandos, and the '*Clamour*' refers to this unfortunate – and probably opportunistic – mischief-making.[6] In the third edition of the poem, now entitled *Of The False Taste* (January 1732), Pope included an exculpatory letter, where he confesses to the '*pain*' that this '*Clamour*' had caused him: '*This way of Satire is dangerous, as long as Slander rais'd by Fools of the lowest Rank, can find any Countenance from those of a Higher*.'[7] The dignity of the Horatian voice was thus part of a rather localized debate about the place of satire in the Hanoverian regime; Pope felt that his own *ethos* had been questioned, and – for the second volume of his 1739 *Works* – the 'Advertisement' to the *Imitations* concludes with a tag from Horace's own *Satire, II.i* (line 70), capitalized in the parallel Latin text of the 1735 edition: 'Uni aequus Virtuti atque ejus Amicis' ('kindly only to virtue and her friends'), and rendered at line 121 of Pope's poem as 'TO VIRTUE ONLY, and HER FRIENDS, A FRIEND'.[8] That same volume commences with a full version of his *An Essay on Man* (pp. 1–58), a formal grouping of the 'Ethic Epistles' followed by various 'Epistles', and then the 'Satires of Horace Imitated, with Satires of Dr Donne Versify'd by the Same Hand' (pp. 109–61). As a statement in its own right, this volume merits a close eye on its immediate context and its codes.

II

It is tempting to regard Pope's adoption of Horace's example as somehow inevitable. For Reuben Brower, the process of these *Imitations* was not simply one of 'mimicking' a style: 'Both poets disclaimed interest or influence in affairs of state, although their friendship with the "great" made their role and their poetry seem politically significant to others.'[9] The equivalence of his architecturally restrained Twickenham villa with Horace's Sabine Farm also signals themes of rural retirement and its non-aligned virtues and clear-sighted perspective, and it establishes a distance between those who owe their artistic prominence to the favour of those in power, on the one hand, and intrinsic poetic qualities on the other.[10]