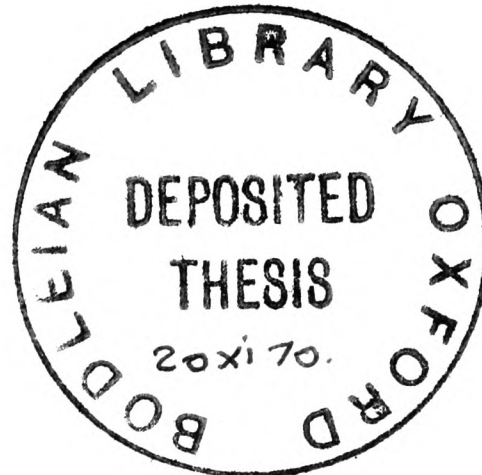


THE  
CULT OF THE HORATIAN ODE  
IN THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY,  
A Study of Some Translations  
and their Background

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(1920<sup>ms</sup>)



## CONTENTS

<b>Abstract</b> .....	p.i
<b>Abbreviations</b> .....	p.vii
<b>Chapter One. Education</b> .....	p.1
<b>Chapter Two. Three Essayists,</b>	
<b>Hannay, Cyples and Palmer</b> .....	p.29
<b>Chapter Three. General attitudes.</b>	
<b>1 The Man</b> .....	p.49
<b>2 The Poet</b> .....	p.69
<b>3 Translation Theory</b> .....	p.81
<b>Chapter Four. 'Classical Metres.'</b> .....	p.106
<b>Chapter Five. Five Translators</b> .....	p.157
<b>1 Francis Newman</b> .....	p.160
<b>2 Theodore Martin</b> .....	p.192
<b>3 John Conington</b> .....	p.224
<b>4 Lord Lytton</b> .....	p.254
<b>5 William Gladstone, (including a transcript</b>	
<b>of unpublished MSS)</b> .....	p.282
<b>Select Bibliography</b> .....	p.332

### Abstract

Throughout the earlier part of the nineteenth century Vergil, Homer and Horace dominated the teaching in public schools. At Eton a boy would go through the odes two or three times at least, and would be expected to memorise them all. The handing down of interleaved texts and an unimaginative adherence to traditional systems of 'calling up' boys exempted the idle from industry or cerebration; at the same time, the knowledge of Horace acquired by a tolerably conscientious boy would probably need little enlargement to satisfy Oxford examiners, at least till the late 'fifties, though in Cambridge some familiarity with Bentley's edition would probably be required. Horace's metres were analysed by James Tate with some skill, but his paper received little attention, and most copies of Latin lyrics shew only a rudimentary knowledge of the demands of metre and vocabulary.

The level at which the discussion of Horace was carried on throughout the century is demonstrated by articles in the Quarterly Review by James Hannay, novelist and essayist, in October 1858, and by Arthur Palmer, editor of the Satires, in October 1894. Horace's character is conflated from references in his works accepted with exaggerated credulity; even when the ladies of the odes are declared not to have had a real existence, Horace's attitude towards them is still discussed.

Palmer and his contemporaries read and discussed the Horatian scholarship produced on the continent; Verrall and Sellar contributed to it; but new interpretations had little effect on the 'cult'.

In the 'seventies William Cyples wrote two articles on Horace, in the first and most important of which he argues that the odes are virtuoso literary performances and have no basis in fact or factual morality. The articles are worth recalling for their energy, freshness and originality. By providing a contrast they reveal the general narrowness of contemporary Horatian discussion and the possibility of worshipping Horace without conforming to the cult.

The characteristics of Horace and his poetry most popularly pondered are illustrated in many essays, reviews and prefaces to translations. The themes vary less than the distribution of emphasis among them. Horace's politics, philosophy and religion were discussed at much the same length as his preference for town or country. Most of his admirers supposed him to prefer the country. Disagreement was rather as to the relative importance of Horace's references to himself than as to their objective truth. Comparisons with Burns and Béranger, and with Thackeray, characterise the Horace of the nineteenth century as he usually appeared.

The question of how best to translate Horace was widely debated. The flaccid 'Augustan' octosyllables of Francis were imitated by lesser translators early in the century, but they also gave rise to more self-consciously 'classical' attempts which endeavoured to demonstrate the foreign qualities of Horace's poetry. Others at the same time strove after 'popular' effects and English poetry. Every position between the two extremes is represented.

Conspicuous among the 'alienists' were those who tried to write

English verse in classical metres; some anxious to produce a more Horatian Horace, others simply using him as a conveniently fertile source of metrical variety. The difficulty of writing classical verses in English is obviously due to the different natures of Latin and English prosody. Unfortunately no analysis of the structure and dynamics of English verse has ever achieved universal acceptance. The nineteenth century experimenters encountered an additional difficulty in that they rarely agreed with one another as to how Latin verses ought to be read. The dispute was carried on with great liveliness and some ingenious solutions were suggested.

Others contented themselves with forming or adapting verses on English 'rules' to serve the special needs of Horace. The first to attract much attention was Francis Newman, who set out to translate Horace in 1853 on principles similar to those which he later brought to his Iliad. In (his translation) of Horace the qualities which he hoped to convey were terseness and a strict adherence to the stanzaic economy of the originals. He employed rhymeless stanzas made up of iambic or trochaic lines, but fell short of elegance. Occasional successes are surrounded by passages clumsy, obscure and bizarre. His anxiety to instruct is emphasized by his decision to present the odes in a possible chronological order. The educational advantage of this scheme with reference to the 'historical' odes is self-evident, but since Newman refused to regard the 'literary houris' as fictitious, he fell into some confusion in his attempts to ascertain the order of Horace's amours. His notes on the odes sometimes reflect very strikingly

his preoccupation with the political and social morality of his own times.

Seven years later Theodore Martin published a complete translation of the odes. He was a prolific translator, and his Horatian activities extend from the appearance of a few versions in 1845 to a translation of Horace's complete works, accompanied by a lengthy critical biography in 1881. His aims were almost precisely opposite to those of Newman, whose translation, though it probably did not provoke Martin's, was there subject to some gentle mockery. Martin's versions are fluent and facile, recalling both to his hostile and his favourable critics the ballads of Tom Moore. They are unusual in so far as they present the odes as coherent wholes, rather than as sets of stanzas uncertainly related. The results may be a more than usually comprehensible English poem, but the intention of Horace is necessarily often distorted. The evolution of Martin's Horace over the next twenty years is influenced by the suggestions of critics, the rivalry of Conington's translation, and the translator's increasing social and literary eminence; it became something of a popular classic, a position challenged only by Conington.

Conington's version which appeared in 1863, was more austere and more calculated to appeal to scholarly critics. Like Martin's it was executed in accepted English rhyming metres; like Newman's it presents, for the most part, only one English equivalent for each Latin metre. It appears that Conington took to translation as a deliberate attempt to resolve the tension between the lure of philological abstraction

and a desire for a wider field of human contact. On a simple level the translation reflects this. Even if not eminently representative of Horace, Conington's versions are more classical than Martin's: if they are rarely brilliant, they are as rarely offensive. All succeeding nineteenth century translations were liable to comparison with Conington's and it was highly praised by Quiller Couch and by Housman.

Lord Lytton's translation, published in 1869, probably owed the critical attention it received largely to the fame of the author. It was undertaken originally for therapeutic purposes when Lytton's matrimonial infelicity erupted spectacularly into publicity. It has been justly described as the most ambitious of failures in this field. Attempting to produce a version more classical than Conington's, Lytton chose, like Newman, to employ rhymeless metres; on the other hand, he allowed himself a greater degree of freedom in using more than one representative for the sapphic and the alcaic. His metres are sometimes difficult to read and probably seemed stranger to his contemporaries than they do now. By compromising Lytton failed to satisfy both those who looked for pleasant English verses and those who hoped for more servile classical approximations.

As a piece of literature Gladstone's translation of Horace, executed in his eighty-fourth year, has little to recommend it either on the grounds of success or of novelty. He employed rhyming stanzas and aimed, above all, at conciseness. He is often clumsy, often obscure and not infrequently in error. The interest of the translation

lies in the circumstances in which it was made. It was initiated at the beginning of Gladstone's last electoral campaign and completed in March 1894 on the day of his formal resignation. He decided to translate Horace because his deteriorating eyesight made reading difficult, and in this employment he thought he could rely to some extent on his memory. This explains some of his mistranslations. The order in which he translated the odes, with the departures from a purely systematic progress due presumably to preference, may be ascertained from MSS preserved in the British Museum. These MSS also contain considerable passages of prose, apparently intended as prefaces to publications realised and unrealised. These I have transcribed. They supply a much more comprehensive account of Gladstone's opinion of Horace, and of his principles of translation, than anything he published, and they also include attempted justifications of a number of the practices for which his critics took him to task.

I have considered, perhaps at too great length, the educational and literary backgrounds of the five translators chosen, in an attempt to place the Horatian labours in some sort of perspective with their demonstrable inclinations and total achievements.

The bibliography is necessarily highly selective.

## ABBREVIATIONS

In the footnotes I have usually given only the date of publication of translations and of periodicals; the full titles, volume nos. etc. <sup>rather than</sup> which <sub>1</sub> may be found in the Bibliography.

- Anti-Jacobin...Anti-Jacobin Magazine  
 Athen...The Athenaeum  
 Blackw...Blackwood's Magazine  
 Bookm...The Bookman  
 Brit.Q...British Quarterly Review  
 Chr.Rem...Christian Remembrancer  
 Class.J...Classical Journal  
 Class.Mus...Classical Museum  
 Class.R...Classical Review  
 Colb...Colburn's New Monthly Magazine  
 Cont.R...Contemporary Review  
 Cornh...Cornhill Magazine  
 Dub.Univ.Mag. (or D.U.M.)...Dublin University Magazine  
 Ecl.R...Eclectic Review  
 Ed.R...Edinburgh Review  
 Eng.R...English Review  
 Fraser...Fraser's Magazine  
 Gent.M...Gentleman's Magazine  
 Hints...Hints to Students in reading for Classical Honours at the  
 University of Oxford.  
 Lond.M...London Magazine  
 Lond.Q...London Quarterly Review  
 Lond. Soc...London Society  
 Lond. Stud...London Student  
 Macmil...Macmillan's Magazine  
 Month.R...Monthly Review  
 Nat.R...National Review  
 N.Brit.Q...North British Quarterly  
 Ox. and Camb.R...Oxford and Cambridge Review  
 PSC...Royal Commission on Public Schools  
 Quar...Quarterly Review  
 RCC...Royal Commission on Cambridge University  
 Schol.Q...Scholastic Quarterly  
 St. James...St. James's Magazine  
 Sat.R...Saturday Review

"Who shall say," asked Matthew Arnold of Winchester and Rugby, "what share the turning over and over in their mind, and masticating, so to speak, in early life, as models for their Latin verse, such things as Virgil's 'Disce, puer, virtutem ex me, verumque laborem,' or Horace's 'Fortuna saevo laeta negotio' has not had in forming the high spirit of the upper class in France and England?" 1

The question is rhetorical but also defensive, ironical even. The attack is on the disproportionate concentration of schools on Vergil and Horace: a concentration which left little room on a syllabus for other forms of study. The defence here, be it noted, is based on the moral value of these writers and, accidentally, their use as models for Latin verse composition: as though morality were to be found no nearer at hand and the composition of Latin verses were essential to the formation of a 'high spirit', whatever that might be, of the 'upper class.'

Most, but I fear not all, educationalists in the first half of the nineteenth century would have hesitated to subscribe to so bald an analysis of their theory of education, but they would some of them have been hard put to it to add anything further in defence of their practice.

Eton College was the most flagrant and the most castigated offender and there nestle among her laurels Lonsdale, Milman, Lord Redesdale, Whyte Melville and other less celebrated Horatians; to her then let us turn our eyes.

It need hardly be stated that throughout the nineteenth century the traditional, wholly classical education was subject to encroachments, on the part of modern languages, mathematics, and even the physical sciences.

1 'Schools and Universities ..' p. 265, 1868.

Progress in these spheres, however, rarely achieved a secure footing until after the Royal Commission on Public Schools initiated in 1861; it should also be remembered that from the second quarter of the century we are in the age of the great headmasters, men who, whether or not encumbered by Provosts, stamped upon their schools the imprint of their gigantic personalities, and that these men, Goodall, Keate, Hawtrey, Moberley, Butler and Kennedy, Vaughan, Arnold and Temple and Bradley were all great classics, and were so from passionate conviction, not because they had lacked other opportunities. Hawtrey, indeed, was outstanding for his encouragement of the study of modern languages and his own familiarity with them. He was also unusual in his introduction of more mathematics and geography, but these subjects, along with the 'extracurricular' classics were, in the main, done as 'private business,' and for the greater part of the century it was by stressing the potentialities and uses of 'private business' rather than by the reform of 'school business' that Eton justified her ways to her numerous critics.

This was the defence put forward in response to George Cornwall Lewis's claim that a young man going up to university from Eton 'besides Horace and part of Virgil and the Iliad..[had] read nothing.'<sup>1</sup>

The nature of 'school business' which remained so obstinately static may be illustrated by a well known story: called before the Commissioners

1 Ed. Rev. VOYAGE April 1830, p. 73 and 'Observations' on the same by 'Etonensis'. Eton 1830, pp. 12 et seqq.

the Rev. Edward Coleridge asserted of Sydney Walker that:

At the time I am speaking of he could not only repeat all the poems in Homer, Horace, and Virgil, but he could be called up in school (having an English Shakespeare in his hand) and take up a lesson anywhere that it might be going on: and, notwithstanding what was going on around him, he could construe a passage expression by expression; parse it word by word, answer any question that was asked him, and afterwards sit down to his Shakespeare. 1

The Rev. William Hill Tucker, moreover, gives, in his 'Eton of Old, or Eighty Years Since, 1811-1822,' (published in 1892) a graphic account of a boy high in the Fifth reciting in order the whole of the odes while some member of the Sixth publicly construed a Satire.<sup>2</sup> Tucker's more detailed account of Keate's teaching shews, rather unexpectedly, that even if the results became fossilised, there were schoolmasters who had at one time or another given consideration to the text:

Every Sixth, or nearly every Sixth, had his interleaved book, and Keate had his, and the great point, when called up, was to have parallel passages, or ideas, from other authors at command. Good scholarship, but scarcely final. This interleaved knowledge went down, not exactly from father to son, but from friend to friend; and by degrees it became stereotyped, so that in the long run one interleaved book was very much like another. That parallelism and comparison of authors and critical commentaries were the great test of scholarship in Keate's time.

It used to be a joke amongst us in construing Horace to see the perpetual conflict in Keate's mind as to the relative emendations of Bentley and Baxter. Bentley was the god of Keate's Horatian idolatry; but the name of Bentley always brought the name of

1 Royal Commission on Public Schools (hereafter PSC) 3720. Tucker (vide supra) tells the same story of Walker construing Homer before Keate. pp. 170-171, and the story is quoted by A.C. Benson in his Fasti Etonenses, 1899, p. 424. Benson also gives the version which represents Porson construing Horace with a copy of the Metamorphoses in his hand. loc. cit. p. 234. It matters little which (if any) of these is an embodiment of fact, they are all embodiments of the same truth.

2 p. 170.

Baxter into the controversy with the invariable addition:  
 "Baxter, as usual, mistakes the sense." We used to bait our  
 hook for that fish, and with general success. 1

The timetable submitted to the Commissioners by Eton College for the year ending with the Summer Holidays of 1861 shews that there had been little change. In the Lower School the classical teaching is all from books of excerpts and grammars, with an emphasis on Ovid, with some work on English history and geography, and some from the Greek Testament which continues right up the school. In the IV Form Ovid and Caesar are prominent; Greek still features mostly as Grammar but some Aesop was read along with the much-execrated Farnaby's Epigrams.

Horace first appears in the syllabus for the Remove. The Odes are read along with the first two Epodes. Sixteen stanzas were to be learnt each week, 512 in the course of the year. This almost certainly represents the whole of the first three books. Scraps of Nepos, of Xenophon and Ovid were also read. The rest of the time was almost entirely taken up by Vergil: the first three books of the Aeneid were studied and some 1,100 lines learnt a year.

The IV Form and the Remove contained 160 boys each, the next, which comprised seven divisions - the bulk of the V Form - consisted of about 300 boys. The books read in this year were Iliad I-IV, Aeneid V and VI, Horace - 'nearly the whole of the Satires and Epistles, and Book II and part of Book III of the Odes'. Herodotus, Thucydides, Theocritus and Livy were read in extracts.

It is important to recall, at this stage, that a boy continued in  
 1 pp. 163-164 My italics.

the V Form regardless of prowess until a vacancy at King's, and accordingly in the VI, should happen to occur. Accordingly we find the Rev. C.C. James saying to the Commissioners:

Horace is an author that is always interesting; I think the older one gets the more one likes him, but I think the effect on the VI Form was, that it was not thought necessary to learn the lesson because they had gone through it once. In my case, which was perhaps an extreme case, I was six years working at Horace, and I went through the whole of it three times, and I am not prepared to say that I did not get something from it each time; but certainly the effect was somewhat palling on one's mind, and if you had gone through it once, especially if you had your book written through with the English, you thought you need not learn the lesson quite so carefully. 1

Some of these six years would certainly have been spent in the V Form, and the case of the Rev. James was not in fact so very extreme. Two days later Sir John Taylor Coleridge reported to the Commissioners:

I was full five years in the V Form, and, during the whole of that time, week after week the main teaching of the school was Homer, Virgil and Horace. We never ceased doing Homer, Virgil and Horace. No doubt the result of that is visible in Etonians, they are very familiar with quotations from Homer, Virgil and Horace, and Horace they have almost by heart. 2

Four months later Viscount Boringdon, who had only just left, shewed that the case was not much altered, remarking petulantly:

Horace is going on continually. The moment you get into the V Form you do Horace, and continue till you leave. 3

In point of fact the upper division of the V Form in the year 1861 had their Horace limited to the Satires of which they learnt 70 lines weekly. They also read some Odyssey, the Eclogues and passages of varying lengths

from Thucydides, Aeschylus, Demosthenes, Lucretius, Cicero and Theocritus. The VI Form also encountered Horace in his Satires and Epistles, but they also read, or re-read the fourth book of the Odes and seven Epodes. They also added to their store of knowledge the Georgics and some Tacitus and Euripides. Some of these lessons were shared with the upper division of the V Form, and both groups had to learn by heart all the verse they construed. Verse composition began in the IV Form and continued throughout the school.<sup>1</sup>

Wykehamists, like Etonians, especially those lower down the school, prepared their lessons with a master before coming to sit up 'at Books'. The difference lay in the fact that, whereas at Eton this was not done in 'school time', at Winchester it was. As for the syllabus, it varied little in essentials. In spite of Moberly's low opinion of the Odes<sup>2</sup> Horace was read entire, starting in the lower part of the V Form; Vergil and Homer are equally prominent, but the tragedians received more attention here than at Eton. Juvenal also was read in the V and VI Forms. Memorising Horace was confined to the lower school.

At Winchester also we find a practice common at other schools, such as the Charterhouse and Rugby, where in alternate years, plain and annotated editions were used. The plain texts were usually the 'Oxford' or the 'Cambridge', the annotated ones Maclean or Orelli, or both.<sup>3</sup> Peculiar to Winchester and the Charterhouse seems to have been the custom

1 PSC pp. 388-390. v. II 2 v. F.D. How, Six Great Schoolmasters, 1904 p. 58

3 PSC pp. 392 et seqq. and App. II. III

of setting a junior boy to construe a passage just construed by a prefect.<sup>1</sup> This must have had much the same effect as the use of interleaved books at Eton.

The timetable submitted by Westminster to the Commissioners is unusual. Horace appears only as the author of the Satires and is read only in the VI Form.<sup>2</sup> It may have been an unusual year. For in March 1831 George Cornwall Lewis in his article on Westminster and Eton in the Edinburgh Review states that the range of reading at Westminster was wider than at Eton. Still, Horace is prominent, and Lewis particularly deplores the custom of translating Horace into Latin elegaics.<sup>3</sup>

At the Charterhouse it appears that Horace's Odes were learnt in toto starting in the Shell. The Satires, on the other hand, were confined to the VI Form.<sup>4</sup> At Saint Paul's Horace was confined to the top two forms, but again the Odes were learnt in their entirety<sup>5</sup>; much the same is true of Merchant Taylor's.<sup>6</sup>

At Harrow the Odes were started in the fourth division of the Shell; 32 Odes were learnt in the course of the year. Every form thereafter was set to learn some portion of the Odes, but it still seemed necessary to the Head Master, H.M. Butler, to remark:

I may add that for the future, a portion of Horace's Odes, amounting to about 350 lines, will be said at the end of each school quarter, as part of the examination, so that a boy who has been in the sixth form for two years will have said nearly the whole of the Odes by heart. 7

1 H. Staunton, The Great Schools of England, 1865, p. 87.

2 PSC p. 398. <sup>vq11</sup> 3 Ed. Rev. Vol.LIII pp. 64 et seqq. esp. p. 71

4 PSC pp. 404-406. <sup>vq11</sup> 5 PSC p. 414. <sup>vq11</sup> 6 PSC pp. 420-422. <sup>vq11</sup>

7 PSC pp. 428 et seqq. <sup>vq11</sup>

Happy the boy who had not already done so at least twice.

It is interesting to compare the account of the year's work at Harrow submitted to the Commissioners in 1861 to that published in the Scholastic Quarterly in 1844, the year that Vaughan became headmaster. Butler coyly declined to give a list of the books studied by the Monitors and the upper division of the VI. The lower division seem to have read no Horace, but rather Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Sophocles, Cicero, Tacitus and Plautus. The V Form read, moreover, some Demosthenes, Aeschylus and Livy, while concentrating on their Homer, Vergil and Horace.

In 1844 the VI Form, apart from these three, read a little Thucydides and Demosthenes, but otherwise relied on anthologies. The same is true of the V Form. In the Shell the Odes, Epistles and Satires are all in the syllabus with the same anthologies and some Nepos and Xenophon. In the IV Form Horace and Vergil are read in extracts, and from here down Ovid's Epistles form the nucleus of the week's lessons. Latin verses were expected from the III Form upwards.<sup>1</sup> I think it is reasonable to surmise that this widening of the classical vista was typical of all but the most obdurately reactionary schools.

Rugby, like Harrow, started Horace early, in the Upper Middle Form, 200 lines being learnt a week.<sup>2</sup> Unusual is the apparent neglect of the Satires and Epistles. At Shrewsbury, on the other hand, Kennedy included all Horace's works except the first book of the Satires in the amazingly wide field through which he spurred on his VI. Stranger still, Horace

1 Scholastic Quarterly Review, July 1844, pp. 295-300.

2 PSC pp. 440-447. v88 II

is confined to this form.<sup>1</sup>

Marlburians and Wellingtonians all read fairly widely in the V and VI Forms in 1861, but no Horace was read below the V Form.<sup>2</sup>

In 1868 was published the Royal Commission on the Endowed Grammar Schools. Broadly speaking the answers to the Commissioners' questions indicate that the classical syllabus was less predictable. Five out of the eight schools 'examined' had, in that year, read some Horace. Only at Christ's Hospital and Bedford was he tackled below the top form.

Scattered evidence for the rest of the century shews that Horace never lost his importance. Most of the people with whom I shall be concerned, however, had naturally left school by the end of the sixties. What then is the general value of the evidence so far brought forward?

Sometimes we shall be able to use it when considering in detail the performances of some of the high priests of the cult of the Horatian Ode. I hope to be able to shew what influence, if any, the experiences of their schooldays had on these men; but it has also an intrinsic interest of its own. Horace is frequently referred to throughout the century as the easiest of Latin poets. Surely this must be largely due to the system, typified par excellence by Eton, where familiarity might so easily swamp comprehension, and where it undoubtedly precluded a true appreciation of the subtleties of Horace's style and thought. How much more admirable was Kennedy's withholding of this poet until his boys might have acquired some of the sophistication necessary for a true appreciation.

1 PSC p. 452 V911

2 PSC pp. 514-521 and 536-538. V911

The quotation at the head of this chapter suggests that Horace was used as a vehicle for the transmission of morality, and Byron's famous lines afford us a glimpse of Harrow at the very beginning of the century, while demonstrating that the morality was attended by some technical analysis. They shew incidentally that he had studied all the works of Horace with the possible exception of the Epodes:

Then farewell Horace whom I hated so;  
 Not for thy faults but mine! It is a curse  
 To understand not feel thy lyric flow,  
 To comprehend but never love thy verse,  
 Although no deeper moralist rehearse  
 Our little life, nor bard prescribe his art,  
 Nor livelier satirist the conscience pierce,  
 Awakening without wounding the touched heart.  
 Yet fare-thee-well, upon Soracte's ridge we part. 1

Byron's frequent use of Horace throughout his works belies the antipathy here so eloquently expressed, 'abhor..the drilled dull lesson' he might. He never forgot it.

Lord Houghton in his essay on the 'Social Results of Classical Education', speaks of the application of oblivion to Horace's Odes as a matter of social necessity<sup>2</sup> and concludes:

There are indeed, still to be found, among our elders some few, mostly of those who have been actively engaged in public life, who cling with affection to this literature, often the only one to which they have felt inclined during their existence, - a remaining savour of the old dilettanti fruit, which we must not look to see repeated in an after generation. Among future statesmen we may have serious scholars like Mr. Gladstone and Sir Cornwall Lewis, but we shall not again have Sir Robert Peel discussing with Lord John Russell what was Mr. Fox's favourite among the Odes of Horace, or sprightly men of the world exchanging their Virgil and translating Homer. 3

This in 1867. His conclusion was premature.

1 Childe Harold. IV lxxvii, 1818. 2 Essays on a Liberal Education,  
 ed. F.W. Farrar, 1867, p. 369. 3 ibid. p. 376.

It seems reasonable to assume from the given evidence that a candidate leaving a public school for Oxford or Cambridge would be sure to be familiar with the works of Horace, especially when we recall that the timetables given in the Public School Commission were for a single academic year. It is, at the same time, hardly surprising that Horace should appear more frequently on Entrance papers, when they had at last been invented, than in examinations for an Honours degree. I shall be concerned only with Oxford and Cambridge, merely pausing to point out here that at London many considerable scholars enjoyed fruitful exile and that Trinity College Dublin and the Scottish Universities sent out a thin but always continuous stream of worthy Horatians.

At the universities the contrast between the maximum and the minimum requirements was naturally even more striking than at the schools. As late as 1850 the Rev. Bissett in his 'Letter...to Lord John Russell on Suggestions on University Reform' points out that:

it is true that some of the more powerful Colleges (Trinity, Cambridge and Balliol, Oxford) adhere to the examinations; but even Trinity is satisfied with a private examination by a Trinity M.A., in the country. 1

He also observed that as the colleges were dependent on the undergraduates for some part at least of their incomes it was not in their interests to make the examinations hard.<sup>2</sup>

I shall treat the two universities separately for the simple reason that they operated throughout the nineteenth century on very different principles as, at least until very recently, they still did.

1 loc. cit. p.4

2 ibid. p.5.

In answer to spirited attacks in the Edinburgh Review Bishop Copleston launched his Reply in 1810: an elaborate defence of the university of Oxford. In chapter four he expatiates, to the eternal shame of that university, on the Course of Studies pursued at Oxford. He informs us with conscious pride that at the 'previous examination' the candidate 'is expected to construe accurately from one Greek and one Latin book at least,'<sup>1</sup> that

the most difficult books are not required or encouraged, as there is no competition between the candidates, and an accurate grammatical acquaintance with the structure of the two languages is the point chiefly inquired into. Xenophon, Homer, Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, Demosthenes among the Greeks, and Virgil, Horace, Sallust, Livy and Cicero among the Latins, are the most usual books. 2

The Final Examination in 1810 is already concerned chiefly with Logic, with Aristotle's Ethics and Rhetoric, and the profound philosophical works of Cicero. Also at this final examination, to return to Copleston, in 1810

the student presents what number of Classical Authors he pleases, provided they be no less than three, and those of the highest order, including both languages. It is not unusual for those who aim at the highest honours to mention Homer, Pindar, one, two or three of the Greek Tragedians and Aristophanes. Thucydides is seldom omitted. The other historians, and the orators, are also included, according as the student's line of reading has been.

- 1 A 'book' might be, in all fairness, as much as twelve books of Herodotus. In June 1833 Mark Pattison offered for Responsions: two plays of Sophocles, Juvenal, Euclid I and II and Latin prose composition. Pattison, Memoirs 1885, p. 118.
- 2 Copleston's Reply to the Ed. Rev. 1810, p. 138.

Of Latin authors, besides the poets of the Augustan age, Livy, Tacitus, Cicero, Juvenal and Lucretius are the most usual. <sup>1</sup>

The system whereby a candidate for Classical Honours at Oxford selected the books in which he was to be examined continued in precisely this form until the second half of the century. Throughout the 'fifties the Statutes relating to Moderations and 'Greats' and their relation one to another were in a state of constant flux, but by the 'eighties they had settled into a form which, in all essentials, they retained until well into this century. The basic system still, to a large extent, obtains; a candidate for Honour Moderations is obliged to read the whole of Homer and Vergil and has only since 1936 been able to avoid some portions of Demosthenes and Cicero; he may safely ignore any two of the Greek Tragedians, or Aristophanes; it is possible to ignore Horace entirely, but only at the cost of reading Ovid.<sup>2</sup>

If Horace was not compulsory in 1810, we may see that he was commonly offered; in the 'Student's Guide' for 1837, we find that the Latin poets most frequently offered were Vergil, Horace, Terence, Juvenal and Persius, and Lucretius.<sup>3</sup> Here, as in Copleston, and for many years to come, the post-Augustan poets, with the exception of the satirists, are neglected in Oxford.

1 Ibid. p. 142 James Pycroft in his 'Oxford Memories' (London Society June 1885) gives as a laudable first class list for the final school: 'Aristotle's Ethics and Rhetoric, Butler's Analogy and Sermons, Herodotus, Thucydides, two books of Xenophon's Hellenics, the first Decade of Livy, Sophocles, Aeschylus, four plays of Euripides, four plays of Aristophanes, Virgil, Horace, Terence, Juvenal and Lucretius.

2 New Exam. Statutes. Addenda Tit. IX 3. 1954.

3 The Student's Guide to a course of reading necessary for obtaining University Honours. 1837, p. 90.

In 1843 were published the 'Hints to Students..' Among the Latin poets to be read Horace follows, predictably enough, on the heels of Vergil, and the following hints are appended:

In reading Horace, we would particularly advise the Student to make himself well acquainted with all the historical references, which are very numerous, as well as with those passages where Horace imitates the Greek Poets, or where he alludes to himself, his manner of living etc; for which purpose Boyd's edition of Anthon's Horace is the most useful, not only as it contains the most essential parts of Doering's, Mitscherlich's and Tate's editions, but is of a more convenient form than any of them. 1

Just before this we have been told that

There is so little variation in the list of books generally taken up by candidates for Classical Honours, that it might seem almost superfluous to set down a catalogue of those at present usually to be found in a Classman's list. 2

In 1855 Horace figures in the list of Books Recommended by the Examiners to Candidates for Classical Moderatorships, but not as author of the Odes. The books suggested for Latin are simply: Tacitus - Histories I-V; Cicero - all the speeches in Verrem; Horace - Epistles II and Ars Poetica.

In 1856 a new edition of the invaluable 'Hints..' came out, designed to meet the requirements of the new Examination Statutes. It is very nearly identical to the 1843 edition, except that the edition of Horace now recommended is Maclean's. Homer, Vergil, Demosthenes and Cicero are compulsory. 'Greats' is now devoted almost entirely to History and Philosophy. 3

1 Hints to Students... 1843, p. 28.

2 *ibid.* p. lll.

3 'Hints etc.' Rev. A.S. Farrar 1856 esp. pp. 5-17.

A synopsis of the Oxford Examinations published in 1865 shews that from Responsions to Honour Moderations, Horace, though not one of the compulsory four, remained a staple ingredient. For Honour 'Mods' it was necessary, if offering Horace, to offer him in toto.

Conington lectured on (probably) the whole of Horace, and from 1868-84 Horace is frequently the subject of the lectures of the associated colleges;—a series initiated by Balliol and New College and finally supported by Exeter, Magdalen, Corpus, Trinity, Saint John's, Worcester, and University Colleges. The most eminent lecturer on Horace in this later part of the century, was of course Wickham, but as more colleges joined the 'commune' he was joined, and finally superseded, by Chavasse, Prickard, Papillon, Ottley, Ellis and Morshead. In 1883 Nettleship, as Corpus Professor, gave a series of lectures divided into: 1/ The Life and Writings, and 2/ Criticism of the Text of Horace.

In 1881 L.R. Farnell of Exeter College in his booklet on 'Honour Classical Moderations' in the series of 'Oxford Study Guides', quotes the Examination Statutes for the previous year; Horace remains prominent, one of only seven 'optional' Latin texts. The sacred four remain unchallenged and, theoretically, themselves sufficient alone for an Honour.<sup>1</sup> We are hardly surprized to find him recommending Horace for doubtful starters on the grounds that

The ordinary school-system has almost always included Horace, and a man is thus generally familiarised with his style and vocabulary, so that it becomes an easier book for them than Plautus or Terence. 2

1 loc. cit. p.5.

2 ibid. p. 15.

The texts he recommends are Wickham, Orelli, Kirchner and Teuffel and Kruger; Wickham alone representing the Odes. He writes patronisingly of Maclean (sic) and Long and praises the translations of Conington and Martin; he also advises the student, very wisely, to study Sellar. The four points to which he particularly exhorts his readers to turn their attention are 1/ Horace's position in the history of Satire, 2/ the political bearing of the Odes, 3/ information concerning the social life, education, etc., at Rome, and 4/ the chronology of his works.<sup>1</sup>

From his four sample papers on Latin Literature the following bear directly on Horace:

'As a critic, Horace says nothing that is really new or instructive." How far is this remark borne out or refuted by the contents of the first epistle of the second book?'

'What materials are available for settling the text of Terence, Lucretius, Virgil or Horace?'

'Compare Lucretius, Virgil and Horace in their feeling for and expression of the beauty of outward nature.'

'Give briefly a life of Horace from his writings.'

'Explain Horace's method of treating Greek metres.'

In 1884 W.L. Courtney speaks of Horace as 'now withering in the cold shade of neglect at Oxford', perhaps because Nettleship's lectures had finished, or were badly attended.<sup>2</sup>

Finally I refer to the Synopsis of the Oxford Examinations for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, an unwieldy object printed in October 1886. It presents a familiar scene. Responsions can barely be described even as a farce, but if a man really had to sit the examination Horace was his standby, nor did Horace elude those doing Moderations. Opportunities

1 *ibid.* p. 42.

2 Fortnightly Review Vol. 35, N.S. p. 680 May 1st 1884

for utilising Horace were many, but the same books might not be submitted for more than one examination. 'Greats' was, by now, fully developed into that examination which Housman could not but plough.<sup>1</sup> So much for Oxford.

The Classical Tripos was created in 1824, and the University of Cambridge saw it, and, with scarcely a dissenter, when questioned by the Commissioners,<sup>2</sup> they saw that it was good. The amount of Latin and Greek required for a Pass was indeed meagre, yet even with the potentially limited field of the first three books of the Odyssey the examiners in 1847 shewed some ingenuity in the framing of their questions:- 'Where do you suppose Mount Atlas was?' 'Can you give Ovid's account of the metamorphosis of Atlas?' 'How many meals a day do you find spoken of in Homer? Give their Greek names.' Illustrations from the more important classical authors are often required.

By and large the various representatives of the Cambridge Colleges saw no need to specify the books to be set for the Tripos examinations; the examiners could be relied upon to remain within reasonable limits; some, indeed, felt that some limitations would be in order. France of Saint John's felt that some of Juvenal and Aristophanes should be debarred for immorality,<sup>3</sup> but this was a relatively unusual complaint; he also felt that 'some of the more recondite and less useful works of

1 A.S. Gow, A.E. Housman - a sketch, 1936, p. 6.

2 Royal Commission on Cambridge University, 1852-3. hereafter RCC.

3 RCC p. 283.

Plato and Aristotle might be expressly excluded',<sup>1</sup> and in this he was supported by a number of Fellows, such as Worsley of Downing;<sup>2</sup> Thring of Magdalene was opposed to some of the minor poets but scorned the Oxford system of 'taking up books'.<sup>3</sup>

So the candidates for the Tripos continued to read all that is good and useful and within the purest 'classical' traditions. This scheme was indeed fiercely attacked by Seeley as hugely detrimental to original research and teaching; he holds the examination system as an obstacle to the pursuit of philosophy and speaks of

The all-worshipped Tripos...[as producing] in fact, what may be called a universal suspension of the work of education. Cambridge is like a country invaded by the Sphinx. To answer the monster's conundrums has become the one absorbing occupation. 4

A collection of Cambridge University Examination and Scholarship papers from 1856-59 gives some idea as to the occurrence of questions on Horace at all levels. The Epistles were set for the Previous Examination in '57; in '57 and '59 illustrations from his works are requested in the Ordinary B.A. paper; Odes appear for translation and annotation in the Craven for '56, and in '57 for the Craven and the Chancellor's Medal; in '58 an Ode appears for translation into English prose in the Bell's Scholarships and in the University Scholarships part of IV ii is to be translated into English verse. The Epistles are about equally popular.

But for the Tripos itself; in 1859 III xxiii was set for translation

1 RCC, p. 283

2 RCC, p. 211

3 RCC, p. 289

4 Seeley, J. 'Liberal Education in Universities' in Farrar's Essays on a Liberal Education 1867 p. 163

and textual criticism. The type of question set on textual criticism is illuminating. In Cambridge the restless ghost of Bentley, fostered by Tate and later Munro, seems, even in these darker ages, to have preserved a more consistent interest in textual criticism than is to be found in Oxford. A Trinity College paper on Epist. I ii includes the question:

1.12. Inter - et inter. Quote other examples of this construction in Horace; and mention the readings proposed by Bentley. Point out Bentley's objections to this construction and Aristarchus Ante(sic)-Bentleianus's defence of it.

and again

1.32. Si noles sanus, cures hydropicus. Bentley prefers nolis and cures MSS. readings. Give his argument in defence of both readings.

Be it noted that the question is rather on Bentley than on the text; similar questions were set on the plays edited by Porson. Only rarely are candidates encouraged to state their own opinions.

But to return to the Tripos papers: their very nature is such that one is tempted to argue backwards, thus: that if, as in 1859, for example, passages are going to appear from such writers as Isaeus, Martial and Suetonius, as well as from Herodotus, Demosthenes, Plato, Thucydides, Aristotle, Sophocles, Hesiod, Homer, Aeschylus, Aristophanes and Theocritus; as Lucretius, Lucan, Ovid, Plautus, Vergil, Juvenal, Tacitus, Cicero, Caesar, Sallust and Quintilian, who will expect anything so inevitably familiar as a piece of Horace? Not that Horace could be ignored; he appears with some frequency on Tripos papers, along with Vergil and Homer, but it is impossible to discover from the papers alone with what depth and enthusiasm he was generally studied; if with more

than the usual degree of attention, this seems more likely to have arisen from Bentley's edition than from an enthusiastic interest in the poet himself.

As for the Chancellor's Medal; we have seen that in '57 an Ode was set for translation and annotation, in another year we actually find a piece of Vergil rubbing shoulders with a passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the sepulchral inscriptions of the Scipios, Cicero's 'Paradoxa' and textual criticism of Hesiod. How apt was the subject chosen for the Latin hexameters: I, DEMENS, et saevas curre per Alpes.

The mention of Latin Prize verses brings us to an element of classical education which I have hitherto ignored. Milton shines forth as a practitioner in 'Anglo-Latin', others, such as Marvell, soon come to mind. Latin verses written purely for pleasure are not, however, very common in the nineteenth century, or at least, not in bulk. One or two poems are frequently to be found at the end of an elegantly bound, privately printed volume. To get a more general picture of the standard of Latin verse composition we turn naturally to school and university publications of prize-winning verses. Generally the universities kept up a higher standard but as the prizes were usually awarded every year regardless of merit this was not always the case. Kennedy was still a schoolboy at Shrewsbury when his Latin ode was selected as best for the Sir William Browne medal at Cambridge. He was disqualified as not being a member of the university, but as soon as he was no one else stood much of a chance.<sup>1</sup>

1 How, Six Great Schoolmasters, pp. 94-5.

The Sir William Browne Medal at Cambridge, founded in 1814, was expressly to be awarded for a poem to be written 'in imitation of Horace', and the winning poems are chiefly remarkable for their constant quotation of Horatian phrases, lines, and sometimes whole sentences. We might deduce from this that the incorporation of such 'tags' into one's ode was deemed a mark of worthy ingenuity. What, after all, could be more eminently Horatian than the inclusion of quotations from and allusions to the 'initiator of the form'? It might even be argued, I suppose, that the same held good for quotations from Vergil; but since we find also allusions to Lucretius, Ovid and sundry later poets, we are probably right in asserting that these are rather instances of depravity resulting from a too servile and indiscriminating use of the Gradus, and that such practices were considered as reprehensible then as now.

Nearly all the Latin prize medallists, excluding, of course, those whose task was set rather in the field of the hexameter or elegaic, chose as their medium the Alcaic stanza, as being the most challenging as well as the most common of weighty metres. A weighty metre was indeed nearly always de rigueur since the themes set for these lyrical effusions usually concerned wars, treaties or natural disasters. I shall therefore confine my remarks to the Alcaic stanza.

It should, perhaps, first of all be stated that excellence is rare; more so probably in the nineteenth century than it is now; by starting young they were probably more prone to the abuse of rhetorical figures and other bad practices which usually survived the continuation of the

exercise into later years. Apart from the wholesale re-serving of Horatian tags, the use of such meaningless but metrically useful words as 'en', (which Horace never uses in an Ode,) of unjustifiable cries of 'heu, nefas' and of other words, 'grassor' notably, which have a conveniently loose meaning, and, though respectable in prose, never appear in lyrics of the classical period, were foibles as common then as now, and then apparently less reprehensible.

None of the text-books on Latin verse composition available at the beginning of the century afforded much reliable assistance to the aspiring Latinist. Structural faults are frequent among Holden's examples, the most frequent of all, perhaps, being the tendency to end the third line of the Alcaic stanza with a quadrisyllable or two dissyllables. In 1798, however, there appeared in the Monthly Review a critique by the Rev. Charles Burney of Butler's edition of M. Musurus. In this article he lays down several canons of composition, of which the second, on the Latin Alcaic stanza, obtained a wide currency, becoming known simply as 'Burney's Canon'. It was concerned largely with the structure of the crucial third line, and pointed out that this should not end with

a trisyllable followed by an enclitic or other monosyllable; nor with a word of four syllables...and as seldom as possible with two disyllables. 1

In June 1815 there appeared in the Classical Journal<sup>2</sup> a truly

1 Monthly Rev. Jan. 1798, p.6

2 ~~Vol. XII, No. xxii~~, pp. 351-6.

loc. cit June 1815

remarkable article by the eminent Horatian James Tate, editor of Horatius Restitutus (1832) and author of a number of works relating to Greek and Latin metres, and two theological volumes. It was as an ex-Fellow of Trinity that Tate published the Horatius Restitutus, his most widely known work. It has little enough to commend it to the student as it has no commentary either textual or exegetical. It was produced as a tribute to the shade of Bentley, and Tate prints the books in the order in which his great predecessor supposed them to have been written.

The article with which we are concerned arose directly from his teaching both at Trinity and at Richmond School, of which he was at that time headmaster. It is set out as a guide to those desirous of writing Latin Alcaics, and as such it is unsurpassed. As an analysis of Horace's practice it is far more profound than that of Page but for a few details of little significance.<sup>1</sup> Tate stresses at the beginning and end of his article his indebtedness to Burney and his analysis does indeed run along similar lines. It is, however, far more detailed and extends also to the fourth and the first two lines. He is concerned almost entirely with the structure of the various lines of the stanza; that is, the relationship between the word divisions and the metrical units. The first two verses are fairly straightforward; but the third and fourth demand a more detailed scrutiny and this Tate certainly afforded them. He drew up a complete statistical analysis of all the relevant verses in Horace and presented them divided synoptically into

1 The Odes of Horace ed. Page, ~~Palmer and Wilkins~~, 1896 pp. xvii-xix

types occurring in the first two books against those in the last two.

This procedure may seem odd to us, as we are accustomed to thinking of the first three books being written and published some time before the fourth, but it must be remembered that Tate was an ardent Bentleian and did not accept this familiar view. The result, however, amply justifies the experiment; one type of structure in the third verse, for example, occurs only four times in the first two books against forty-one in the last two; in the fourth verse another type declines from twenty to seven. Nor was the significance of this wholly lost on Tate who observes

It is an admirable observation in our immortal Bentley, in his Essay on the Chronology of Horace's works, "quanto annis provecior erat [sic], tanto eum et poetica virtute et argumentorum dignitate gravitateque meliorem castioremque semper evasisse."

It is now very obvious to extend that remark to the structure also of his verse, especially in the building of the Alcaic rhyme: and anyone may see, and must confess, that in his third and fourth books of Odes the model of that stanza is very greatly and with much severe judgement improved. Scholars in future will take their pattern from those books alone.     1

Tate here lays bare evidence that the four books of Odes were, in fact, written in the main in chronological order, and this evidence he recognises as none, bar a few long-since forgotten followers, have since. As it happens he was writing an aid to composition; had he realised a little more fully the significance of his discovery and had he had the courage to use it as a means of throwing light on the poems of Horace

1 Class. J., June 1815 p. 355.

he would have made a valuable advance in the study of the poet as well as publishing this astonishing conclusion which has not appeared in any standard work since.<sup>1</sup>

It has been indicated that Tate's work on Alcaics did not exactly mark an epoch in the composition of Latin verses; in the very year, 1815, when his article was published, the Sir William Browne medallist, another Trinity man, perhaps even one of Tate's ex-pupils, in a total of 23 stanzas four times makes no allowance for synaphea, twice in the first two lines, twice in the second. In the first two lines he elides eight times immediately after the caesura; he also offers one line of the 'sors exitura' type, and takes pathetic fallacy to the extent of envying marble its powers of delineation and of 'grazing (in the agricultural sense) the longing eyes clinging to it.' It is gratifying to find that he shortly afterwards confesses to an access of 'blandus furor'.

The book did receive some attention however. It is briefly mentioned in an article appearing two years later in the Classical Journal.<sup>2</sup> In 1824, moreover, there appeared anonymously a book entitled The Latin Alcaic and Sapphic Metre, as exhibited in the Odes of Horace, much of it, confessedly, straight reproduction of Tate. This was handed

1 Mr. R.G.M. Nisbet and Miss Hubbard publish almost identical statistical tables, independently conceived, in their Commentary on Horace Odes, Book I 1970 p. xlii. The late Mr. Bonavia-Hunt in his Horace, the Minstrel, ed. 2, 1969 Chap. II, analyses Horace's favoured metres in great detail and with much insight. He does not, however, stress the chronological development or employ the weight of statistical evidence.

2 Class. J. Vol. XV No. xxx, June 1817, p. 56.

on to Tate, who reviewed it in the Classical Journal for March 1825, observing that he was

naturally much pleased to find [his] labors in the attempt to settle the laws of the Alcaic stanza of Horace...have drawn the attention of eminent teachers, like those of Rugby and Saint Paul's. 1

In the September number the book is reviewed at greater length by the Rev. Dr. Crombie, who attributes it to the Rev. Dr. Sleath, HighMaster of Saint Paul's; but he makes no mention of its debt to Tate.<sup>2</sup> Clearly neither the paper nor the book ever became 'a classic', even for the short space of time allotted to Burney.

In spite of this, and in spite of the inadequacy of all the most popular text-books, I have not yet succeeded in finding any printed copy of Anglo-Latin Alcaics which can be absolutely faulted. True nearly all contain 'liberties' in their third and fourth lines; forms which Horace clearly came to regard as inferior, and many are extremely careless about the position of the Caesura in the first two lines; still, I have yet to find a single metrical 'error' that is entirely without precedent at least in the first two books of Horace. It seems also to have been generally recognised that the third line is most safely composed of three trisyllables, or, at least, that it should end with two trisyllables, and a recognition of this canon must have prevented many casualties.

On the whole, the standard of Alcaics written in the nineteenth

1 Cl. J. Vol. XXXI No. lxi. p. 144.

2 Cl. J. Vol. XXXII No lxiii. Sept. 1825, pp. 143-8. The final contribution to this minor battle came from Tate in the second edition of Horatius Restitutus 1837 pp. 159-202.

century seems generally to improve with the passing of time, in that fewer irregularities are to be found in odes printed after, say, 1880. Any such generalisation, however, must be treated with the greatest caution.

In 1824 the Sir William Browne medal was won, inevitably, by Benjamin Hall Kennedy. He was not exempt from ~~occasional~~ lapses; in one unusually poor stanza he employs 'en' twice and <sup>he</sup> occasionally allows grammatical pauses in unlikely, though not forbidden, places. His subject is the earthquake which destroyed Aleppo, and at his best he is magnificent. He manages to convey, without sacrificing originality, much of the dignity and exquisite elegance of Horace without producing, as his predecessors and successors so often unconsciously did, a parody or burlesque. Hear him at his best, describing the pleasant evening pastimes of the inhabitants of Aleppo just before the menacing silence which prefaced the disaster:

Nunc et domorum tegmina civicae  
Stipant catervae; seu teneram senex  
Inter puellarum coronam,  
Aut pueros operum solutos,

Fallit venustis tempora fabulis,  
Ludo innocenti deditus et joco;  
Seu nympa fragranti capillos  
Uda rosa patrioque nardo

Molles querelas audit amantium  
Fictosque luctus, dum citharae manu  
Expromit erranti susurros,  
Voce leves comitante chordas.

At cur profundo cuncta silentio  
Late quiescunt?...

It is gratifying to national pride to compare with these the stanzas written by Hermann himself to celebrate the Jubilee of the King of

Saxony in 1818, among which we find:

Iamserta templis addere, iam decet  
 Aras ad omnes et populum et patres  
 Sincere gratantes dicare  
 Vota, pii monumentum amoris.

'Sincere' contains a glaring false quantity and the ghost of Porson can be distinctly heard to chuckle; yet perhaps this lapse on the part of so accomplished and, in due course, internationally celebrated a scholar is no more extraordinary than the curious English habit of persisting in the composition of Latin Alcaics.

## II Hannay, Cyples and Palmer

The Horatian cult in the nineteenth century was fostered as much in periodical articles as in translations. Many of these articles were provoked, indeed, by the appearance of translations. On the other hand they often contain passages which do not arise directly from the works reviewed, and it may be that the articles received more popular attention, however transitory, than the translations.

The three articles which I have chosen to consider here are illustrative of different standpoints. The first appeared in the Quarterly Review in October 1858. It was written by James Hannay, an industrious essayist, author of the novel Fontenoy Singleton R.N., erstwhile editor of The Puppet Show and contributor to Punch. It is included among his Collected Essays.<sup>1</sup> Hannay had not had the education of a classical scholar but his researches were thorough. His article is long, and it touches on nearly all the topoi explored by other devotees. Unlike most such articles it is frequently, if carelessly, referred to by a number of writers later in the century.

William Cyples is a more obscure writer. His articles appeared in the Cornhill Magazine in July 1875 and July 1876. They are referred to enthusiastically by one translator. They might be regarded as eccentric, for they put forward a consistent and original interpretation. Cyples is sometimes carried away by his own cause but he displays

1 I know of no reason why William Frost in his Dryden and the Art of Translation 1955 p. 25, should attribute it to Conington.

laudable insight and original thought, both qualities rare in this field.

Arthur Palmer, unlike the other two, was a notable scholar. His article appeared in the Quarterly in January 1895. Like Hannay's it is concerned chiefly with translators. By 1895, however, Horatian scholarship had finally spread from the Continent to England. One of the remarkable features of Palmer's article, is the extent to which, in spite of this, it merely echoes those views expressed by Hannay thirty seven years earlier.

Hannay's article is set out as a review of the translations of Sewell, Robinson, Newman, and Lord Ravensworth, but it is only after twenty-three pages that he actually comes round to considering these versions, all of which had appeared in the last eight years. In his first sentence he refers to Horace as 'the wise and pleasant Venusian' and this sets the tone of what is to follow. The whole article is impregnated with an elusive air of condescension to 'the bard', but this should not blind us to its essential sanity.

Our English lovers of the wise and pleasant Venusian [he begins], continue to attempt translating him so pertinaciously that we are fairly provoked into inquiring what success has yet been attained in the object by our national literature, and whether there are any prospects of a perfectly satisfactory achievement of the nice and difficult task? We shall not apply the prosaic test of utility in the matter, for we do not estimate roses by their value for medicinal purposes, and a Horace in English, like Horace in Latin, would be something beyond price. But even on the ground of utility there is a good deal to say. Who knows whether a vernacular Horace may not yet be required for a Reformed House of Commons? Who knows what would be the effect of the diffusion of perfectly graceful and accurate versions

of the ancients upon a generation which threatens to respect nothing older than 1832? From this point of view, the inquiry becomes important as well as interesting; and the fact that our latest translator is a Peer not unknown in public life acquires a new significance. The truth is, that we cannot help looking upon Horace as a kind of honorary member of the British constitution. 1

He then proceeds to enumerate statesmen noted for their affection for and use of Horace and thence to an interesting account of the progress of Horace from being a revolutionary author in the time of Erasmus to a pillar of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Establishment. Next he attacks the vexed question of whether Horace was 'really a poet'. To this question he applies just such a test as the question deserves, asking 'whether the word 'poet' would be a sufficient description for [the] man.' It is absolutely typical of the fundamental concept of Horace entertained at nearly all levels, for the greater part of the century, that he answers this question with a firm negative. Horace 'the man' is nearly always regarded at this time as the protagonist of the odes. This cannot be too much stressed. Hannay immediately gives a half-unconscious explanation of how this position arose and how it breaks down in the context of the Odes.

Thus he maintains that we

involuntarily picture the little man trotting on his mule and watching with the mixed sympathy and criticism of a humourist the country-folk, or curiously scanning the flow of life in the Suburra or the Sacred Way. 2

This is the Horace whom Horace chooses to present to us in the Satires

1 pp. 325-6.

2 p. 328.

and whom Hannay, with the rest of his generation, habitually envisages.

He then takes us a stage further by continuing

We rather, that is, find such images of him rising before us, than those presented by the lyrics - Anacreontic visions of poetic dissipation - Horace under a vine, with his hair anointed, listening to Tyndaris; while Puer, myrtle-crowned is coming along with a wine jar. 1

We might suppose that from here Hannay would go on to conclude that in his lyrics Horace was 'a poet'; far from it.

Briefly, it is our theory that the historical Horace was a philosophical satirist and moralist, that his other gifts were subordinate, and that his lyrics must be studied with a constant eye to their artificial and (in some instances, at all events) utterly unreal character. 2

Thus, by the test offered above (p. 31) Horace is not 'really a poet'.

On this argument vast numbers of lyric poets, including a great proportion of English poets, must have been 'no poet'. From this position Hannay continually tries to extricate himself.

Hannay's predicament is not unusual. For him poetry should be a vehicle for genuine emotion; he finds little in the Odes, and he is right. In the Satires and Epistles, on the other hand, he finds a poetical persona with characteristics which he recognises as being life-like. This persona is more consistent and more prominent than anything of this sort to be found in the Odes; ergo: with the exception of the political odes and also of the moralising odes which come nearer to the tone of the Satires, the Odes must be merely 'exercises'.<sup>3</sup> None the less they are, as he earnestly declares each time he reaches this

1 p. 328.

2 pp. 328-9.

3 p. 334.

position, very good exercises, unrivalled in their 'finish'.

At one stage Hannay observes that Horace 'rose to originality through imitation,'<sup>1</sup> and here he is talking good sense; at another moment he maintains that 'there was a certain poetry in his selecting lyric poetry to labour on at all'.<sup>2</sup> This remark also seems to shew some vestiges of sense, but it is suspiciously close to saying that 'Horace was a poet because he wrote poems.' It is not the same thing as saying that he was a lyric poet because he wrote lyrics, as for Hannay Horace is not a lyrical poet; nor, as he reveals in the midst of this argument, can anyone claim to be a lyric poet who does not belong to 'the grand old singing time of peoples, when their hearts and voices are young..to the spring season of a race when...it pours out song for song's sake.'<sup>3</sup>

The supposition that Horace's Odes are merely a collection of beautifully fashioned phrases was not uncommon in the nineteenth century. Indeed, it was a far less dangerous theory than the opposite one, perhaps more prevalent, that the sentiments expressed in the Odes are statements of the convictions and actions of the poet throughout his life-time; that the poems themselves must therefore be, if only by means of a repellent innuendo set into exquisite form, slyly erotic. This latter theory led to translations which are among the first ranks of those that demand perdition as we shall see in some of the versions of Sir Theodore Martin.

The difficulty experienced by nineteenth century Horatians in

1 p. 333.

2 p. 332.

3 p. 329.

escaping from the personality which they supposed to be Horace's, and the type of poems such a man must have written, is hard to exaggerate. Hannay is not unusual, nor does he appear to be at all conscious that he is writing of anything but bare, known facts, when he asserts that Horace

dined out at the coenae of the great city somewhat too much, gorging himself with the peacocks, the cignale and the shellfish of a luxurious age. He mixed personally sometimes with circles where the moral tone was low.

and shortly afterwards when he refers to

the actual Horatius: a satirical weak-eyed slovenly little gentleman crossing one of the bridges to go to a dinner in the suburbs. 1

From this miasma Hannay emerges muddled but triumphant to give a summary of the early translators of Horace. Smoothly he despatches Ashmore, Jonson, Hawkins, Rider, Holyday, and Fanshawe. With ease and serenity he copes with the 1652 edition of Hawkins which was printed as the work of Barten Holyday, translator of Juvenal and Persius, whose own edition came out a year later. He touches upon Dryden, Creech, Atterbury, Pope and Swift and then spreads out into an attack on Francis.

It is not easy to say whether Francis was more of a bugbear or an asset to the translators of the first half of the century. His translation was first published in 1742, and in 1858 it was still, according to Hannay, 'in the eyes of the Trade...the 'standard' translation of the Venusian.' It may be that he was responsible in part for the tendency to cling to the octosyllabic couplet, with its

'fatal facility' so unsuitable for the translation of the Odes; he was, on the other hand, a splendid excuse for anti-monarchical revolutions and attempts at usurpation. Not until Martin's first edition came out in 1860 could anyone claim to have rivalled him in popularity; by the time Conington's edition of 1863 had received its accolade the ghost of Francis was more or less laid.

Hannay's criticisms of Francis are just and largely summed up in the remark that 'we have to modernise in his case what he wrote as a modernisation of an ancient'.<sup>1</sup> He is more concerned with the distortions attendant on his diction, as his translation of 'juvenes protervi' by 'wanton herd of rakes profest'<sup>2</sup> than by his metres, although these were his chief failing according to most of his detractors. Hannay was a devotee of Milton's 'Pyrrha', a 'Milton' rather than a 'Dryden man', and as such objects in particular to the introduction of 'modern associations' which, in the case of Francis, led not only to paraphrase but at times to a certain coarseness, as in the example given above.

Being a 'Milton man' Hannay is much distressed by Lord Ravensworth's attack on Milton's 'Pyrrha'. He considers it rather to be 'the high-water-mark which Horatian translation has attained': a view I share myself on alternate days. The reviewer's statement of his ideal translation shews that he, for one, was in sympathy with the aims of what he calls 'the New School', as represented by the 'austere'

1 p. 346.

2 p. 347.

versions of Newman and Sewell.

A translation of Horace should remind us of Horace; should have something of the effect of an antique statue or gem: if we lose sight of this object, the reader is not conscious that he is supposed to be in the ancient world at all. 1

We now come to the last part of Hannay's article where he considers the merits of the four translators whose versions are listed at the top of his article. He begins by comparing favourably Lord Ravensworth's attempt at I xxiii with that of Francis. He finds that Ravensworth is more successful in preserving the 'dignity and music of the Latin', but censures him mildly for being 'more paraphractical than we could wish.'<sup>2</sup>

He then considers the attempts of the New School, as exemplified by Newman and Sewell. As I have said, he was in sympathy with their desire for 'severer principles, and even new rhythms', but he is obliged to confess that he is not much surprised by their failure to win over the public. He finds Newman's verses 'quaint and harsh', as, indeed, they very often are. He doubts whether the sacrifice of tradition to novel mediocrity be not too much to ask.<sup>3</sup> He does find 'a grateful flow of verse' in a portion of Newman's I vii, but immediately sets it against his unfortunate III xiii, and thus he leads up to the memorable observation that

We find little to remind us agreeably of a friend in a photograph of his corpse. 4

He comes next to Robinson's III xiii which, predictably, he

1 p. 349.

2 p. 349.

3 p. 350

4 p. 351.

commends, since this translator in his aspiration towards a greater degree of accuracy made fewer sacrifices of conventional rhyme and metre. A series of further comparisons follows, Lord Derby and Gladstone are briefly touched upon.

By and large Ravensworth seems to attract him most though he regrets his carelessness of detail and tendency to omit proper names as in I xxii, stanza 1.<sup>1</sup> He has an intelligent comment to make also a propos of his comparison of versions of I xxxvii by Lord Ravensworth and Lord Derby. Ravensworth chooses to employ an irregular metre, whereas Hannay prefers a uniform one on the grounds that 'Laxity in this particular breeds laxity in others'.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, Hannay finds that

No one translator, perhaps, is entitled to put aside Francis; but the general run of translation is better than his, <sup>3</sup>

and urges youthful aspirants to make a careful study of statues, coins and gems.

Hannay is a very reasonable example of the reader of Horatian translations of his day. The questions most prominent in his mind are: the status of Horace as a lyric poet and the confused relationship between the personae of the writer of the Satires and Epistles and of the Odes; the 'poetical' status of the Odes; and the directions which translation might take. He is dissatisfied with Francis and those translators whose style and method resemble his, but he is not really

1 p. 357.

2 p. 359.

3 p. 360.

satisfied with any of the alternatives so far brought forward.

William Cyples, does not discuss translations but is chiefly interested in the question of the nature and status of the Odes and of Horace as their author. In the seventeen years since Hannay's article was first published, Macleane, Conington and Lytton and countless lesser fry had given lip-service to the tenet put forward as early as 1836 in Fraser's Magazine that 'an author's works are not always a faithful copy of his mind'.<sup>1</sup>

Lytton's general preface contains a noteworthy sentence:

We must next notice, as constituent elements of Horace's peculiar charm, his employment of playful irony, and the rapidity of his transitions from sportive to earnest, earnest to sportive; so that, perhaps, no poet more avails himself of the effect of "surprise" - yet the surprise is not coarse and glaring, but for the most part singularly subdued and delicate - arising sometimes from a single phrase, a single word. 2

R.W. Buchanan in St. James's Magazine for February 1864 speaks of Horace as 'pasting together pretty morceaux of Sappho and Alcaeus' as opposed to Catullus, whom he predictably depicts as pouring out his soul in passionate abandonment.<sup>3</sup>

The glory of Cyples is that not content with charging Horace with insincerity or unoriginality he boldly sets out to construct a positive analysis of Horace's 'character for perfect lightness.' His object is to display the poet's "Two Philosophies", the first of which he finds chiefly set out in the Odes and the second more in the Satires

1 loc. cit. ~~Vol. XIII~~ June 1836, p. 743.

2 Preface to ed. 1. 1869. p. xxv.

3 loc. cit. ~~Vol. IX~~, p. 350.

and Epistles. Even in his second essay, however, his main points are often illustrated from the Odes. With miraculous ingenuity he argues for a consistent and clearly thought out 'philosophy' which he finds running through all the 'lighter' Odes. In so doing he collects a great number of truths and a greater number of wholly delightful half-truths.

He starts with the premise that in spite of the continual reminders of 'pallida mors' and 'atra cura' Horace is a humorous writer. Any difficulty arising out of this he very acutely answers in the first instance by saying that Horace

industriously adopts as his working principle the mere availability of literary interest in his topic.<sup>1</sup>

This awareness of the purely literary nature of the Odes never leaves our sight, and it is largely in this that Cyples' great merit lies. I shall quote from him with some frequency as to do otherwise would be to do him less than justice.

In the literary conscience [he states] a higher duty than that of teaching morals is not to bore. <sup>2</sup>

Hence Horace's lack of tedium in moralising. From here it is but a short step to his first major statement of principle: and the demolition of the charge of eroticism:

The impression he has left upon the world, in fact, is neither effectively philosophical nor erotic; it is simply literary. <sup>3</sup>

Here it is brought forcibly home to us that we have to do with a man who, rather like Tate in the field of metre, has not only made some

1 Cornhill Magazine July 1875, p. 64.      2 p. 64.      3 p. 64.

acute observations but is prepared to pursue them, with a wholly laudable disregard for tradition, to their logical conclusion.

Briefly he touches now on Horace's supposed 'intoxication' with a 'new language', but he abandons this for a while to pursue his revelation of Horace's philosophy. The 'gay sphere' peopled by 'Pyrrhas' is by no means peculiar to Horace,

all lyric poets have found it just as ready made to their hands as this world is. His merit is that he alone has made its old incredibilities nearly believable. 1

This he does by peopling it with a mass of characters, some fictitious, some real, all treated in an almost identical fashion.

In the Odes literature is inextricably mixed with actual life, and the charm of it is marvellous, is irresistible. It is just what everyone has always been hoping will come true...Horace's delusion of the reader is, indeed, built up most laboriously...He feigned a counterfeit system of morals of delight, exactly dispensing from all seriousness, founding its idle obligations on the very vainest of joys...An inverted conscience is framed, giving an ethical dignity to our foolish wishes, enforcing vanity by an exquisite mimicry of large reasoning. 2

Observe how by almost imperceptible degrees Cyclus himself is carried away by his own boundless ingenuity. He continues to demonstrate in a number of odes the 'ethical' development of the poet's system, rising to another sub-climax with the passage: 'Ille potens sui..', his translation of which betrays his zealous bias: 'He his own master is, and surely gay..' <sup>3</sup>

This is the philosophy of the Odes. If the matter had to be taken seriously, we should have to say that it is a systemisation of our bad thoughts, our vetoed feelings, our variant wishes. In reality it is a perfectly constructed

1 p. 65.

2 p.66.

3 III xxix 41.

apparatus for displaying the literary interest of life to the full. They are lyrical ethics, and nothing more...The very position Horace took up was a piece of standing wit. 1

Further analyses follow in which Horace is shewn inciting everyone to further and further 'wickedness'.

Fortunately this

marvellous bewitching of all true reason, of all right principle, for the sake of the enlargement of a musical utterance, rises to such a perfected pitch, that the only sin possible in such a world as the Odes picture would be that most culpable one of slackness in momentary enjoyment. 2

How is it then that we do not (for Cyples apparently did not) find ourselves left with a picture of a grossly immoral poet?

The full publicity of it all leaves little relevancy to our feelings; in style it is really one with our virtue. 3  
Astonishment substitutes any more formal judgement of it. 3

From the 'banqueting' odes we move on to the 'love' odes. Here again it is demonstrated that this collection represents simply a literary tour de force. Cyples shews how 'the position is always critical', inconstancy, or the threat of it, are necessary ingredients in all these poems, 'he sings not so much of love as of jealousy'. 4  
'Of what use is it', he declaims, 'asking how much of this is true?'

The only thing quite certain is, that it is a lyrical exhaustion of the subject. 5

From this dissertation we move back to more general characteristics of the Odes; specifically to their 'fine irrationality', and a new

1 p. 68.

2 p. 70.

3 p. 70.

4 p. 71.

5 p. 73.

element is brought in by applying this to I xxii and more particularly the reverse case of II xiii, where the burlesque gives way to the lofty.<sup>1</sup> Once again he states his first main case, and there follows, almost immediately a statement which, for us, almost vitiates his whole thesis:

By this odd mixture of things epic grandeur does not oppressively solemnise, and lyric farce is kept moderately short of its own effect; the joint result being an unique kind of unreason, which is so wholly different from real experience that it eases, entertains, leisurely excites in a perfectly holiday fashion. This exhilarating preposterousness is ingrained in the Odes, and operates collectively as well as in detail. It is helped by the perpetual, the gross, the astounding contradiction of the personal odes and those on public affairs. 2

Cyple's is, of course, right in seeing that the two sets of odes are to be read at different levels, but surely not in supposing that Horace meant his moral and patriotic strictures to be seen mainly as a deliberate foil to the purely lyrical sentiments of the 'lighter' odes.

There still remain, however, in this first article, some memorable remarks, one of which will serve to shew that this theory is not incompatible, as the previous quotation seemed to threaten, with a more straightforward and serious interpretation of some of the odes. Writing of the ode addressed to the ship which was to carry Vergil to Greece,<sup>3</sup> he says:

If Horace had Vergil in mind when writing, he had something else there still more largely - his subject.

As a summary of the relationships of 'truth', sincerity and artistry

1 pp. 74-5.

2 p.75.

3 I iii.

in Horace's Odes it is very hard to find any improvement on this in the nineteenth century.

This is, in essence, the substance of the first essay. The second, which appeared exactly a year later in the same periodical, is less startling though not much less ingenious. Its chief weakness, from the point of view of this century, lies in the fact that he is trying to discern what Horace's real 'philosophy of life' was.

Cyple weighs together the various Stoic aphorisms and the theory of the 'golden mean'. The first he finds suspect, in that they lend themselves only too easily to neat antitheses 'too good to be true', the second he attacks on the grounds that, excellent maxim though it be, it is far too vague to be of much use for the 'here and now'. He finds the 'Justum et tenacem' passage bleak. What is the use of this laudable character surviving the disintegration of the universe if nothing else does?<sup>1</sup> His appraisal of each moral principle is just and the case he finally makes out is in itself plausible and balanced. Horace's real concern, as the title tells us, is 'The Art of Conduct', and this Cyple refines into three main maxims of which the least obvious and most sophisticated consists in 'self-conciliation'.<sup>2</sup>

In 1878 one W.T. Thornton published a translation of the Odes, and in the preface we find the following words:

I certainly should have liked...to transcribe the greater part of two papers on Horace's 'Two Philosophies' and Horace's 'Art of Conduct', by an anonymous contributor to

1 Cornhill Magazine, July 1876, p. 34.

2 p. 36.

the Cornhill Magazine for July 1875 and July 1876. I have nowhere else met with anything on the same subject which is to my mind so acute, so original, or so just; and if any one should by this brief reference to those brilliant essays be induced either to read them for the first time, or having read them, to read them again, the pleasure which he will derive from the perusal may help to put him in a good humour with me for recommending them, and so incline him to proceed without preconceived disfavour to the remaining fare set before him.

I am inclined to agree that this is a very reasonable form of insurance; but the papers are more memorable than the versions. They deserve resurrection, if only as monuments of what can be achieved by the momentous means of setting aside all preconceptions and allowing the ingenious intellect to range freely over a subject whose very familiarity seems to have stifled thought in most of his contemporaries.

Palmer's article, like Hannay's, appeared in the Quarterly Review in January 1895, and has much in common with it besides: it is prompted by Gladstone's translation, rather as Hannay's seems to have been by Lord Ravensworth's. Like Hannay he speaks of the 'momentous changes' in 'the literary character of the House of Commons', curiously speaking of Gladstone's book as 'perhaps, the euthanasia of scholarship in public men'. Palmer, as well as Hannay, takes up a lot of his paper in discussing the history of Horatian translation, and he quotes 'anonymously' Hannay's comment on Milton's 'Pyrrha'. For all this I do not think that we need accuse Palmer of plagiarism, or even necessarily assume that he had read Hannay's article. He makes two bibliographical errors in his history of translation which are not to be found in Hannay; and with the same two points the earlier writer did

concern himself.

It was, indeed, largely for the very sake of the similarity between this article and Hannay's that I chose it. A paper written by Tyrrell for the Quarterly in 1892 would certainly illustrate advances made in the assessment of the peculiar nature of Horace in the course of the century, but what I want to stress at the moment is rather the lack of progress which managed to co-exist with these advances.

As he draws near the end of his history of Horatian influence and translation Palmer draws a parallel between Horace and Cowper; he finds in both

the same love of the country, and the same sort of beautiful description of rural scenery and life; the same leaning to religious moralizing; the same inclination to mix grave and gay together, - laeta serietas - as Ausonius has it; the same tendency to preach lessons of moderation and contentment. <sup>1</sup>

He does, admittedly, find Cowper's 'cadence too sad, and the metres too monotonous', but surely the difference is far more subtle and important than this. Palmer gets a good mark for refraining from quotation of those dreadfully inevitable phrases, 'curiosa felicitas' and 'felix audacia', but it is precisely these qualities of verbal precision and wit which we do not find in Cowper. Palmer's denial of Horatian influence in the Romantic school, a view shared by Hannay, is also open to dispute. Of all the great classical poets Horace is surely among the less neglected at this time - it is necessary only to cite Wordsworth's sometimes unfortunate lines 'On Liberty'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> p. 125

<sup>2</sup> 1829. From line 92. v. Collected Poems 1849-50 Vol. V. p. 12

v. also his schoolboy translation of I xxv. Poetical Works ed. de Selincourt  
Oxford 1840 Vol. I. p. 286

Granted Wordsworth did not translate Horace as he did Vergil, but allusions are very frequent.

Palmer rates Horace as a second rate poet in that he lacks 'the two chief qualities of poetry...pathos...[and]...passion'.<sup>1</sup> At first sight this is true, but I think that there is in fact pathos in the description of the evicted tenants in II xviii and in the Archytas ode. His account of Horace's philosophy, moreover, seems to be drawn as much from the Satires as the Odes. It may be that Palmer, who edited the Satires in 1885, based his conception of Horace too exclusively on these. Pathos, after all, may be made more piquant by a little gentle irony.

While describing the 'shallowness' of Horace, however, Palmer again illustrates the continuity of tradition by repeating the well-worn maxim that Horace is the poet of the middle-aged; in Palmer's case in fact 'elder men - now sedate and mature'.<sup>2</sup> It is a source of some wonder how intelligent writers continued to produce these inevitable, if valid, aphorisms. Perhaps they supposed, and that rightly, that no one but themselves remembered, or indeed read, essays on Horace and his translators.

I do not know that much can be gleaned from Palmer's discussion of the metres most suitable for Horatian translation. It shews the influence of Conington, as do all such discussions after 1863. Palmer disagrees with Conington as to the suitability of the 'In Memoriam' stanza for Alcaics. Conington, in fact, objected to them solely on the

1 pp. 127-8.

2 p. 128.

grounds that the associations of the metre were too prominent; this seems not to have worried Palmer, but the metre is insufficiently versatile. It seems to offer less scope for witty stanza endings, and I think myself that Calverley's I ix, which Palmer cites with admiration, is his least successful attempt at an alcaic ode.

We also find that Palmer, like earlier critics, was not prepared to give serious consideration to Lytton's rhymeless metres. A pity. I think that Lytton, almost alone of the translators, probably reads better now than he did when his translation was first published.

At the same time it is heartening to see that the anti-Martin movement had made a modest start. Palmer dismisses his versions, along with those of de Vere, as being in too many cases pretty poems but not Horace.<sup>1</sup> Condensation, he says, marking a return to Gladstone, is essential. Palmer's rules for translators are only too simple: 1/ leave nothing out, 2/ add nothing.<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough he can give no examples of translation executed on these few but obvious rules, but continues rather to list the omissions in Conington and Gladstone. Here, indeed, he shews a more intelligent respect for Horace than hitherto, in stressing the importance of words at first sight insignificant.

Finally Palmer assumes the scholar's rôle and criticises Gladstone for accepting Faber's intelligent suggestion of 'Marsi' for 'Mauri' in I ii,<sup>3</sup> and triumphantly concludes, here unlike Hannay

1 p. 132.

2 p. 133.

3 p. 134 He gives a brief account of his own interpretation.

or any other essayist, by issuing a desperate plea for fewer translations of Horace.

Translations and papers similar to this last were to continue on much the same lines for some years yet.

### III General Attitudes towards Horace

#### 1. The Man

In this section I shall try to sum up and illustrate the various attitudes towards Horace expressed by translators and essayists in major periodicals. The majority of the translators published their versions with little or no preface so that the total number of these is only just over forty. The periodical articles here considered number sixty. I have postponed all those that deal chiefly with metrical matters and shall mention only briefly those on which I have already written and those translators with whom I shall be more fully concerned later.

It may often seem in this section as though a number of writers contradict themselves. This is in no way misleading. They contradict themselves with a marvellous regularity. Sometimes there is an attempt to reconcile these apparently opposed views, which arise usually from the adaptation of some piece of recent scholarship rather thoughtlessly grafted onto the 'traditional' picture. As often the writer seems oblivious of the necessity of adopting a totally new concept to accommodate his new idea.

So far as Horace's career was concerned all writers follow, with rare misgivings, the Vita of Suetonius. This in its turn, is drawn almost entirely from the works of Horace himself. It is characteristic of the Vita that it takes all statements as being absolutely and literally true and this same literal-mindedness is one of the most

outstanding features of nineteenth century classical thinking. I do not mean to imply, on the other hand, that there is a general unanimity on most points. On the contrary I think it is no exaggeration to say that there is no point but one, however straightforward it may seem to us, on which every shade of opinion was not held by at least one contender.

The one point that nobody disputes is that Horace was, in the words of the Vita, 'Habitu corporis...brevis atque obesus'. This fascinating detail is not, in fact, mentioned by all writers; there is, however, a wide variety in the amount of stress laid upon it. It was left to a Frenchman - M. Richard to produce a substantial pamphlet devoted entirely to a Commentaire physiologique sur la personne d'Horace in 1863. In the Chandos Classics edition, he is merely spoken of as being 'short' and 'fat'<sup>1</sup>, whereas 'Father Prout', writing as always with his tongue in his cheek, - his authority again Suetonius - elaborates his description of Horace as

in stature a dwarf with a huge head, à la Quasimodo; further endowed with an ungainly protuberance of abdomen; eyes which required the constant application of unguents and collyra.. [and that he was] prematurely bald like Béranger.<sup>2</sup>

The reference to Béranger here is not entirely insignificant since it seems to have been responsible for the rise of a cult<sup>3</sup>, *within the cult* viz. the Cult of Horace, Burns and Béranger. 'Father Prout's' articles, embedding his rollicking versions of many of the odes, were widely read: Hannay referred to them in his article in the Quarterly<sup>3</sup>, they received a supercilious mention in the Athenaeum at the time<sup>4</sup>, and are recalled in

1 1889. p. xxiv

2 Fraser Sept. 1836 p. 360

3 p. 360.

4 July 19th. 1836 p. 491.

an article in London Society as late as 1870.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the comparisons of Horace with Burns and Béranger do not generally carry with them a reference to 'Prout' and it may well be that they are some of them independent. It does seem likely, however, that Prout was largely responsible. 'Morgan Rattler' writing in Fraser's again in January 1845 compares Horace with both these moderns in his supposedly popular appeal,<sup>2</sup> his method of composition<sup>3</sup> and his sympathy with the ordinary emotions of the people.<sup>4</sup> While Hannay himself, who, as we have seen, was familiar with the articles, made the chief contribution to the cult with his article in the Cornhill for February 1868 on 'The Three Lyrists, Horace, Burns and Béranger.'<sup>5</sup>

Predictably, the only point on which agreement is at all general is in the detection of a certain parallelism in the careers of the three men. This parallel is most intelligently drawn by Hannay,<sup>6</sup> but it appears also in the preface to Jones' translation.<sup>7</sup> Beyond this there is little agreement. Martin in his first edition of 1860<sup>8</sup> maintained that Horace had

'none of those popular sympathies which inspire the lyrics of Burns and Béranger';

in the 'Life' which was attached to his fourth edition and which first appeared separately in 1870, however, he carries out a fairly elaborate comparison. De Vere finds in Horace some of the 'simplicity and

1 Feb. 1870 pp. 190 and 191.

3 Fraser May 1845 p. 565

6 pp. 150 et seqq.

2 pp. 44-5.

4 May. p. 575.

7 1865. p. xxi

5 pp. 150-167.

8 p. xix.

tenderness' of Burns,<sup>1</sup> and even Tyrrell in an article in the Quarterly for January 1892, referring back to Martin, finds more of Burns than Béranger.<sup>2</sup>

It may well seem that the prominence which I have here given to this question is disproportionate to its relevance. It does, however, serve two useful purposes. In the first place it indicates the level of a great deal of the stock-in-trade of the acolytes of the Cult of Horace; and in the second it provides a tolerably accurate summary of the sort of man many of these votaries thought they had to deal with. The sort of man described in the English Review for October 1852 as 'a man of society, a man of the world', a man 'eminently equable in his temper', as 'springy under misfortune', and as having yet a certain dignity.<sup>3</sup> Later in the century the English writer more popularly chosen to provide an analogy with Horace's tone is Thackeray.<sup>4</sup>

The label 'man of the world' which we have seen used by the English Review was a particularly popular one: it is, at first sight, an epithet as harmless and obvious as it is meaningless. It is a perfectly reasonable term to describe a man who wrote public poems of great sophistication to the most eminent men of his time, to say no more.

1 ed. 1 1885, p. xvii.

2 pp. 127-8 cf. also Bagehot on Béranger, Nat. R. No. X 1857 pp. 429 et seq. and p. 436; reprinted in Literary Studies, Vol II 1879 pp. 216-298.

3 pp. 149-151.

4 vide e.g. Tyrrell in Quart. Jan. 1892 p. 128 and Keble in Macmil. April 1892. p. 424. Cf. also T.R. Glover, Horace 1932 p. 14 and Elizabeth Mitchie in the American Classical Journal Vol. 13 pp. 393-40 March 1918.

The general unhelpfulness of the label is emphasized by its compatibility with other qualities which, for anyone but an Horatian devotee, might appear contradictory. Thus: for 'Rattler'<sup>1</sup> he is essentially artificial but, at his best, is inspired chiefly by 'friendship, love and wine', while at the same time he embodies 'quiet wisdom..mild and pleasant admonition'.<sup>2</sup> Even when the fatal phrase itself does not occur, but is represented by its usual concomitants 'social wit and wisdom..and..practical good sense' and a fondness of pleasure, the same 'man' is clearly with us; and yet the same writer on the same page praises his 'frankness and openness', his 'manly simplicity' and his 'contempt for affectation'.<sup>3</sup>

Both of the aspects hinted at here are further developed and will be further examined; my point is that the phrase 'man of the world' itself became so ambivalent that it can describe anything from a moral philosopher to a libertine, and this last to such an extent that it finally, in its turn, called forth an extremist rebuttal. E.D.A. Morshead writing in the Academy for December 8th, 1894 explodes thus:

That absurdly overrated and wearisome person, "the man of the world", is less at home in the lyric than anywhere: the trail of the prosaic is over him. Mr. Lionel Johnson (I think) has somewhere said that "the ideal Shelley is the real Shelley." I do not feel sure about that; but I do think that the real Horace is the self-secluding, independent, country-loving Horace - the Horace who reached half, at least, of Salvator's ideal - to be a "despiser of Wealth and of Death." 4

- 1 Fraser Jan. 1845, pp. 54-5.      2 loc. cit. p. 39.  
 3 C.A. Elton, Specimens of the Classic Poets, 1814, Vol. II p. 176.  
 4 Academy, ~~Vol. XXVI~~ Dec. 8, 1894, p. 487. cf Glover, Horace pp. 48-9.

It is barely necessary to point out that this passage shews how the concept of 'Horace the Man' was drawn from an interpretation of his poems. Whence could it else be drawn? For the time being, however, I would like to keep separate, so far as it is possible, the concept of the Man from that of the Poet. The dangers of doing this with Horace, whose personality can so rarely be traced with any confidence in his poems, needs no emphasis. 'Father Prout', indeed, observed that

The tenor and character of an author's works are not always a faithful copy of his mind. 1

but for him this is the incentive for finding out as much as possible about 'the author in his intention' before assessing his works. This information he derives almost entirely from the works of Horace.

This muddleheadedness illustrates sufficiently the ease with which most nineteenth century Horatians confused the relationship between the Man and the Poet. Even the more clear-headed writers found it very difficult to escape from the 'traditional' composite persona<sup>2</sup>, even when they were considering the Odes in isolation, and harder still to avoid interpreting the Odes in the light of this persona, and this is one of the most important sources of 'error' in the treatment of Horace at this time.<sup>3</sup>

1 Fraser. June 1836 p. 743. 2 cf. pp. 31-2 and 37 supra.

3 On this persistent difficulty see L.P. Wilkinson, Horace and his Lyric Poetry, ed.2 1968 pp. 2 et seqq. Wilkinson is himself somewhat 'nineteenth century', as witness the parallelism between the subsections of his third chapter, 'Character and Views' (pp. 19-86) and the topics which I have found most prominent. He rightly applauds Glover's treatment of the character of Horace. (p. 2 note 3).

The same lack of relation is also to be found between theories as to the nature of Horace's poetry and the theories of translation held by the same writers, as also between the theory and practice of some of the translators.

To return then to Horace the Man: the matter which was debated with most zeal was the question of his amatory experiences and social morality generally. Early in the century it was assumed, apparently, by the majority of writers, that Horace's 'love poems' were to be taken as autobiographical -

On his amorous propensities...we may, out of respect for his good qualities, be silent. 1

This attitude was nearly always set off by a reference to 'the contamination of his times'<sup>2</sup> and a fairly general failure to detect any signs of 'genuine passion' in the love poems.<sup>3</sup>

In this question of what Hannay delightfully calls the 'literary houris'<sup>4</sup> we find for once (though not without exceptions), a distinct change of position taking place in the middle of the century. In 1828 Buttman published his Mythologus, and appended to it his essay 'Über das Geschichtliche und die Anspielungen im Horaz'. This appendix, unlike the main work, was translated into English, by

1 Elton, Specimens of the Classic Poets 1814 Vol. II p. 176.

2 Elton, loc. cit. p. 176; cf. Penn, 1816 p. xvi; Month.R. April 1817 p. 360; Lond.M. March 1822 p. 278; Newman 1853 p. vi; Chandos 1839 p. xxiv and many others.)

3 v. Lond.M. Mar. 1822 p. 278; Doubleday in Blackw. May 1823 p. 544; and, later in the century, Landor, Imaginary Conversations 1853 (Tibullus and Messala) p. 45; Fraser May 1860 p. 680; R.W. Buchanan in St. James Feb. 1864 p. 344; Fraser Sept. 1866 pp. 311 and 315; Hannay in Cornhill Feb. 1868 p. 180; Lytton 1869 p. xxiv; Brit.Q. Jan 1870 p. 38; Lond.Soc. Feb 1870 pp. 100-1.

4 Quar. 1858 p. 332.

J.C. Hare, and appeared in the first volume of the Philological Museum in May 1833. Its impact was gradual. Tate referred to it in the second edition of his Horatius Restitutus,<sup>1</sup> and Milman in his article in the Quarterly and again in the preface to his edition of Horace,<sup>2</sup> but these editions were more admired than used.

Buttmann's firm dismissal of these ladies, therefore, was virtually unnoticed in this country until his comment on III ix, to the effect that it was as ridiculous to envisage Horace as the interlocutor of Lydia as it would be to find Ramler holding colloquy with Phyllis, appeared in Maclean's immediately popular edition of 1853.<sup>3</sup> It was, apparently, this happy thought that brought into prominence the question of whether these ladies actually existed.<sup>4</sup>

Martin writing in the Dublin University Magazine for August 1849 maintains that the mistresses are imaginary although Horace's amatory experiences may have been real;<sup>5</sup> Newman, in his second edition which came out in 1875, on the other hand, will have none of this:

the attempt to establish that the persons themselves are fictitious, though made by respectable scholars, is quite futile. 6

Newman, however, as we shall see, was capable of almost as many eccentricities in his Horace as he was in his Homer, and by and large

1 1837 p. 129                    2 Oct. 1838 p. 318 and the edition of 1849 p. 63.

3 Buttmann, Mythologus 1828 Vol.I p. 306. Maclean ad. loc. substitutes Collins for Ramler after Hare.

4 cf. Hannay in Quar. Oct. 1858 pp. 331 et seq. and Cornhill Feb. 1868 pp. 151 et seq.

5 p. 222.

6 p. 111.

the argument in the years before 1858 is concerned solely with the nature of Horace's 'intentions', and is not prefaced, as is it later, by any question as to the reality of the 'houris'.

Penn, in his versions of the Moral Odes (of which he found but fourteen) published in 1816, shrinks from all mention of the love poems while maintaining that after his conversion, (I xxxiv), at least, Horace preached much valuable morality. An article in the London Magazine for March 1822 held that the 'Glyceras and Lydias were mere objects of gallantry';<sup>1</sup> Dyer, writing in the Classical Museum for 1844, takes the mistresses quite seriously, as, apparently, do 'Rattler'; the author of an article in the Christian Remembrancer for October 1849; those of articles in Fraser's for October 1850; the British Quarterly for 1853; Fraser's for September 1866; and London Society for February 1870. Farrar writing in the Quarterly for October 1869 seems to share this view, whilst among the translators De Vere certainly stresses Horace's 'Anacreontism'<sup>2</sup> and Conington's occasional 'moral repugnance' at his author's 'philosophy of life'<sup>3</sup> should probably be taken as pertaining, in part at least, to his amours. Hague, to take an extreme instance of the contrary point of view, finds in Horace 'a pattern of morality in public life'<sup>4</sup> and an exemplar of unusual chastity.<sup>5</sup>

1 p. 278

2 ed. 1. 1885 p. vi and ed. 2. 1893 p. xiii.

3 ed. 1. 1863 p. xxxii.

4 1892 p. 9.

5 *ibid.* pp. 12-14.

This concern with the 'literary houris' is perhaps the most foreign of nineteenth century topoi to present-day discussions of the nature of Horace and his poetry. Fraenkel does not even find it necessary to dismiss the subject, though Leishman, following Wili, discusses it at somewhat unnecessary length.<sup>1</sup> We have seen how nineteenth century moral standards were applied to Horace's imagined way of life, and although the 'man of the world' was not always represented as a voluptuary, nor the voluptuary as being a nineteenth century voluptuary, there was something of the same more or less whimsical exaggeration of somewhat insubstantial or chimerical qualities in the impulse which led writers to transport Horace 'bodily' into nineteenth century London. For this reason it seems suitable to dispose now of 'Horace the Englishman' before returning to more serious considerations of his more 'public' or overt qualities as a man.

The work that first comes to mind in this context is the Horace in London of the celebrated brothers Smith, first published in 1813; but this comes more definitely under the heading of burlesque than the passages I intend to consider here. We have seen how Hannay enrolled Horace as a member of the British constitution<sup>2</sup>, and although this is not really the same thing as picturing him in Piccadilly or Brighton the process of thought is obvious. It is retrospectively

1 J.B. Leishman, Translating Horace. 1956. pp. 38-41.

2 Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 326, and p. 31 supra.

illustrated in Page's introduction to C.L. Graves' More Hawarden

Horace of 1896:

Since Mr. Gladstone retired perhaps Sir William Harcourt is the only speaker who, with innate conservatism, sometimes forgets that he is addressing a democratic house and amazes his hearers with a fragment of Virgil. As for Horace, since Lord Randolph Churchill pointed a jocular allusion to the magnificence of Mr. W.H. Smith's house in Grosvenor Place with the lines

Non ebur neque aureum  
mea renidet in domo lacunar,-

it is said that he has not been heard in St. Stephen's.<sup>1</sup>

From here Page moves on easily to the suggestion that Horace

would have written an incomparable 'London Letter' or possibly been editor of Punch. 2

The suggestion that Horace's true vocation was to be employed on the staff of Punch was not peculiar to Page; the same idea was mooted in the British Quarterly in 1853, where he is also pictured strolling the streets of the metropolis.<sup>3</sup> The British Quarterly vies with Fraser's in the purveying of these whimsicalities: the 1870 article contains the memorable observation that

He loved himself, liked his friends, and was tolerant of pretty girls. And this is obviously the proper tone of the modern Londoner. 4

Fraser's, as I have said, was particularly given to these Mercurial waftings away of Horace from his proper field of action: and the Saturday Review lends support in seconding him as a good 'club man',<sup>5</sup>

1 loc. cit. p. ix.

2 ibid. p. xvi.

3 loc. cit. Aug. p. 205 and pp. 202 et seqq.

4 Jan p. 39.

5 Fraser 'Prout' July 1836 pp. 87 et seqq.; Dec. 1850 p. 673; Sept. 1866 pp. 309 et seqq.; Sat. Rev. March 21st 1891 p. 352.

An attempt to endow Horace with French nationality by the English Review in October 1852 met with no success:<sup>1</sup> we find the Times transporting him to Piccadilly in 1860,<sup>2</sup> and much space in the London Quarterly is devoted to a report on Horace as an Old Etonian.<sup>3</sup> Nor was this misconception as to the nationality of Horace confined to the acquisitive English: according to a 'Letter from Mr. John Dennis', published in Milman's edition of Horace, the site of Horace's farm was so popular a resort of English travellers that

it is commonly believed by the peasantry, that Horace was our countryman, for they cannot conceive of any other source of interest in one so long dead, and unsainted, than that of co-patriotism or consanguinity. 4

France and Germany might have made similar claims. A brief quotation from Sellar may serve partly to explain and illustrate this phenomenon and also to relate it to the less eccentric views expressed as to Horace's character:

To each successive age or century, he seems to express its own familiar wisdom and experience. To Montaigne, to Addison and Johnson, as to our own times, he speaks with the voice of a contemporary. So true beyond his largest expectations was his prophecy:-

Usque ego postera  
Crescam laude recens.

He is one of the few ancient writers who unite all the cultivated nations of modern times in a common admiration. They each seem to claim him as especially their own. 5

This sentiment is ubiquitous in the nineteenth century literature

1 pp. 149-52.

2 April 12th. 1860 p. 6.

3 Lond.Q. April 1874 pp. 10/1.

4 Milman ed. 1. 1849 pp. 108 et seqq.

5 W.Y. Sellar, The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age. ed. 2. 1899 p. 4 so also in modern times L.P. Wilkinson Horace and His Lyric Poetry ed. 2. 1968 p. 1.

and is illustrative of two points: first, the reference to his 'familiar wisdom' emphasises the common feeling that whatever was enjoyable for the reader ought also to be of positive moral value, so that the question of Horace's 'love life' could not be ignored; secondly, the implication of an intimacy somehow established between Horace and his reader, which had the effect of making the first point the more important, and is obviously part and parcel of the quality of friendliness almost universally attributed both to the Man and the Poet.

The quotations from Matthew Arnold and Byron at the beginning of this paper<sup>1</sup> have already indicated the way in which the morality of Horace was stressed in the field of education, but this would have been largely a matter of extracting moral aphorisms from his works, and I have already stressed, as Cyples did, that this has no necessary relevance to the character of Horace the Man.

Penn, in the Moral Odes maintains that although Horace may pose as 'the patriot, the subject, the friend, the scholar or the convivial companion' it is only in the 'moral odes' that

we see the man, we discern the native turn and texture of his thoughts, and the centre towards which they habitually gravitated, when he was left to himself, and was not called out to assume any of these particular characters...[We perceive, in short,] devotion to the excellence of truth, sagacity and alacrity of judgement and a right-headedness, equalled by few and surpassed by none...<sup>2</sup> an innate rectitude of heart..a lofty and independent spirit.

1 pp. 1 and 10.

2 Penn. Moral Odes. 1816 p. ix.

The author of the article in the London Magazine for March 1822 indeed says that the intimacy which Horace establishes with his readers is directly due to his moral power.<sup>1</sup> Almost everyone, in fact, has something to say of Horace's moral qualities; his most enthusiastic referees are, perhaps Lord Ravensworth;<sup>2</sup> Martin;<sup>3</sup> Jones;<sup>4</sup> Hyett;<sup>5</sup> Farrar;<sup>6</sup> De Vere;<sup>7</sup> and Hague.<sup>8</sup> A much more moderate line is usually taken in which acute observation of men and manners makes satire the outward and visible sign of the modest virtues of temperance or moderation allied with 'social wisdom'.<sup>9</sup>

This quality of intimacy which was found in the Odes is not, I think, anything to do with the qualities of 'frankness and openness' and 'manly simplicity' to which Elton, for instance, draws attention,<sup>and</sup><sup>10</sup> which is probably derived from the Epistles. It was, however, the merging of intimacy with friendliness and of friendliness with conviviality, which

1 p. 278.

2 1858 p. vi.

3 ed. 1 1860 p. xviii.

4 1865 p. xxxiv.

5 1869 p. x

6 Quar. Oct. 1869 p. 482

7 ed. 1 1885 p. viii.

8 1892 p. 9.

9 For satire and sagacious observation see especially: Fraser June 1836 p. 744; Dyer in Class. Mus. Vol II 1844 p. 187; 'Rattler' in Fraser, Jan. 1845 p. 39; Chr. Rem. Oct. 1849 p. 283; Hannay, Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 329; Fraser, May 1860 p. 680; Nat. R. July 1860 p. 97; Lond. Soc. Feb. 1870 p. 187; Lond. Q. April 1874 p. 3; and Sargent 1893 p. viii.

For temperance and social wisdom see especially: Elton, Specimens of Classic Poets, Vol II 1814 pp. 175/6; Month R. April 1817 p. 258; Blackw. May 1823 p. 545; 'Prout' in Fraser, July 1836 p. 88; Milman in Quar. Oct. 1838 p. 287; 'Rattler' in Fraser Jan. 1845 pp. 39/40; Brit. Q. Aug. 1853 pp. 217 and 226; Hannay, Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 329; Martin ed. 1 1860 p. xviii; Athen. Mar. 3rd 1860 p. 298; Fraser May 1860 p. 677; Nat. R. July 1863 p. 27; Jones 1865 p. xxvii; Fraser, Sept. 1866 p. 312; Chr. Rem. July 1868 p. 34; Farrar, Quar. Oct. 1869 p. 481; Lond. Q. April 1874 p. 3; Duncan 1886 p. v; Tyrrell, Quar. Jan 1892 p. 156 and Palmer, Quar. Jan. 1895 p. 128.

10 Specimens of Classic Poets, Vol II 1814 p. 175.

is suggested by the Odes, which often led to the exaggeration of the picture of Horace as a bon viveur. This process explains in part the supposed analogy between Horace and Burns; it went to a yet further extreme in Jones's parallel with Tom Moore. It was Jones alone who not only described Horace as 'the Moore of his day'<sup>1</sup> but who actually thought Moore the better poet.<sup>2</sup> The author of the article in Fraser's for September 1866 does not allow this, but he trembles horribly on the brink, and, just as sanity seems about to reassert itself the writer falls into a most lamentable chasm, announcing that, as regards their love poetry,

Horace...is more in earnest than Moore - we can conceive that he really thought at the time more of pleasing his Lesbia [sic] of the minute than of pleasing the public. 3

It is a relief to recall that not all of those reviewers of Martin who compared his versions with the lucubrations of Moore intended a compliment.

It is fitting and less painful to trace the friendship/conviviality theme in its less extreme and far more common form. 'Genial', 'jovial' and 'cordial' are the adjectives most frequently used to describe the 'lighter' odes, reaching a detectable climax in the 'sixties'<sup>4</sup> but only very gradually falling off after that time. The actual words themselves are not inappropriate now and the concept is, of course, far older than the nineteenth century; it is, for instance, apparent in Congreve's version of I ix, and the elaboration of it within our period often betrays

1 Horace 1865 p. xxx.

2 ibid. p. xxxii.

3 Fraser Sept. 1866 p. 311.

4 W. Martin (ed. 1 1860 p. xviii) and Lytton (ed. 1 1869 p. xv), separate though they be in almost every respect, here unite.

a distinctly Restoration tone.

Two instances alone will serve to illustrate the limits within which most moderate writers kept their imagination: the description of Horace in Blackwood's for May 1823 as 'post-prandial'<sup>1</sup> and 'Rattler's' epithets 'sly' and 'playful'.<sup>2</sup> Hannay, it may be remembered, in his Quarterly article suggested that Horace was a gourmet,<sup>3</sup> and the same is certainly to be gathered from Walter Savage Landor's 'Conversation between Virgilius and Horatius', first published in the Athenaeum for March 9th 1861.<sup>4</sup> Such, indeed, were the innuendos and bald statements as to Horace's sybarism that we can hardly be surprised to find him rebuked in the Christian Remembrancer for being 'too much occupied with mere present enjoyment'.<sup>5</sup>

A clue to a further reason for the credulity with which some of these writers gobbled up the more Bacchanalian odes is conveniently handed to us by R.W. Buchanan along with a statement of a position very widely held as to the real nature of Horace's amatory propensities when he says that

he was too much of an epicurean to be capable of a grand passion. 6

The use of the lower-case 'e' usually indicates that the term is not being used technically, though the converse is not always true. It may be that Lord Ravensworth's 'Epicurean'<sup>7</sup> is merely a token of Disapprobation.

1 loc. cit. p. 545.

2 Fraser, Jan. 1845 p. 39.

3 Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 333.

4 loc. cit. p. 326.

5 Chr. Rem. Oct. 1849 p. 283.

6 St. James, Feb. 1864 p. 344.

7 1858 p. vi. Horace teaches rather 'la petite morale de la vie'.

The term 'Epicurean' is, of course, applied to himself by Horace - Epicuri de grege porcus<sup>1</sup> - and Penn enters into battle royal with the venerable shade of M. Dacier himself to prove that this was no joking allusion,<sup>2</sup> as it was. Horace had, moreover, made a plain and altogether acceptable statement of his philosophical position -

Nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri,  
Quo me cunque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes. Ep. I i 15.

Lord Lytton accepted this, and summarised it, calling Horace 'the poet of Eclecticism', adding that he sounded 'chords more spiritual than those who do not look below the surface would readily detect'<sup>3</sup> - a sentence which Martin seized joyfully for his third edition.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless the label 'Epicurean' was used throughout the century with far more frequency than any other. Jones, who detected signs of 'nature worship',<sup>5</sup> a 'high sense of chivalry', 'sublime motives and potency of virtue' calls Horace 'a true Epicurean'<sup>6</sup> with more accuracy than most; he is rivalled most closely by the author of the article in Fraser's for September 1866, who gives a lengthy and tolerably accurate account of Epicureanism, and maintains that it taught Horace to be 'a voluptuary but no rake'<sup>7</sup>

Usually the term is used very slackly, as it was by Lord Ravensworth; that it was not always meant to be interpreted as a pejorative term is indicated by 'Rattler' who speaks of Horace as

1 Ep. I iv 16.

3 ed. 1 pp. xvi and xvii

5 1865 p. xxxiii.

7 loc. cit. pp. 316 and 321.

2 Moral Odes 1816 pp. xii et seqq

4 1870 p. xxix.

6 1865 p. xxxiv.

'as much a courtier as an Epicurean',<sup>1</sup> and repeats the term in a later article as an apology, perhaps, for speaking of the second Epode thus:

There is a divine unction over it; it is clothed with holiness and purity. 2

More typical is a reference in the National Review to Horace's 'Epicurean sunniness of temper'.<sup>3</sup>

Virtues such as Lord Lytton found in Horace, as 'patience', 'friendship', 'manliness of sentiment', 'fortitude', and 'sincerity'<sup>4</sup> were sometimes endued with a quasi-Christian aura, by Martin also,<sup>5</sup> especially in his later editions. For Dean Farrar, however,

his philosophy...was that of the least elevated of the ancient schools in its least elevated form. 6

The other 'ancient schools' were also represented. In the London Magazine Horace is allowed 'stoical resignation without stoical apathy';<sup>7</sup> for De Vere he is Stoic first, sometimes Epicurean, never Platonic,<sup>8</sup> by a later edition he has acquired some Pythagorean tenets.<sup>9</sup> The editor of the 'Chandos Classics' edition, on the other hand, firmly declared him to be an Academic, believing in the gods,<sup>10</sup> while Hague claims him as a 'sincerely religious pantheist'.<sup>11</sup>

In one respect at least many writers agree in attributing to Horace, one of the qualities proper, though not of course exclusive,

1 Fraser Jan. 1845 p. 40.

3 July 1860 p. 97.

5 vide supra p. 65, Ecl. R. Dec. 1821 p. 503.

6 Quar. Oct. 1869 p. 480.

8 1885 ed. 1 pp. vi and vii.

10 1889 p. xxiii.

2 Fraser May 1845 p. 575.

4 ed. 1 1869 p. xv.

7 March 1822 p. 278.

9 ed. 4 1893 p. xvii.

11 1892 p. 15.

to the Epicureans: that of preferring the country to the town. We have seen how in the British Quarterly and the Times Horace was pictured in London;<sup>1</sup> the author of the article in Fraser's for September 1866 finds him enjoying town life but maintains that his love for the country was nonetheless genuine;<sup>2</sup> Farrar prefers to avoid such invidious comparisons;<sup>3</sup> the writer in London Society and Tyrrell agree that the poet's rustication was decidedly urbane;<sup>4</sup> but Keble, who attacks Tyrrell's view, was definitely on the winning side.<sup>5</sup>

With regard to the more serious, the political poems, Horace's political position is rarely discussed in any detail outside serious works of scholarship, though Verrall's Studies in the Odes of Horace (1884) attracted some public attention. Most sketches of the poet's life merely record the facts, making little attempt to form a considered judgement of Horace's timely desertion of the Republican cause; they are content to rejoice in his survival and briefly condone his flight or escape from the field of Philippi and conversion to the cause which ultimately brought some kind of order out of chaos.

The great 'patriotic' odes - the 'Roman' odes of Book III and the 'Tiberius' and 'Drusus' odes of Book IV - earned him the title of 'patriot' from Lord Ravensworth, Jones and De Vere<sup>6</sup> among others. Most

1 Brit. Q. Aug. 1853 p. 202 and the Times for April 12th 1860 p. 6.

2 loc. cit. pp. 310 and 311.                      3 Quar. Oct. 1869 p. 483.

4 Lond. Soc. Feb. 1870 p. 188 and Quar. Jan. 1892 p. 146.

5 Macm. April 1892 p. 429, along with: Lond. M. March 1822 p. 278; 'Rattler', Fraser, May 1845 p. 574; Fraser, May 1860 p. 689; De Vere ed. 1 1885 p. vii; Morshead, Acad. Dec. 8th 1894 p. 487 and the introduction to Page's edition of 1895 p. viii.

6 Ravensworth 1858 p. vi; Jones 1865 p. xxviii; De Vere ed. 4 1893 p. xxiii.

are content to praise the lofty phrases in which they are couched and the noble Roman virtues which they preach. There was some debate, indeed, as to whether or not Horace and his muse were 'servile'; but 'debate' is perhaps hardly the term since no one attempted to answer the arguments of anyone else. Father Mahony, in fact, in two separate sets of articles in Fraser's, one written anonymously, the other as 'Prout', maintained in June 1836 that Horace was servile<sup>1</sup> and in July that he was not.<sup>2</sup> In the July article he appears as an erstwhile radical now become 'the Laureate of Roman Toryism'. This pensée is echoed by Hatton in 1890 who speaks of Horace as 'a staunch Tory Augustan'<sup>3</sup> and recalls the dictum of the Times for November 19th 1869 that the first requirement of a translator of Horace is that he should be himself a gentleman.<sup>4</sup>

It would obviously not be possible to catalogue all the endlessly contradicted characteristics attributed to Horace in the vast bulk of literature and sub-literature turned out in this period. It can only be hoped that some idea has been given of the Protean figure summed up in Fraser's for May 1860 as

at different times the lover, the friend, the courtier, the philosopher, the gentleman in the country, the gentleman about town, the satirist, 'the welcome host and all-approving guest'. 5

1 p. 744. So also Ecl. R. Dec. 1821 p. 504.

2 p. 87. Supported by Penn 1816 p. x and Tyrrell Quar. Jan. 1892 p. 128

3 p. ix.

4 p. 5.

5 loc. cit. p. 680.

2. The Poet

The number of qualities attributed to Horace's Odes are almost as many and as disparate as those attributed to his character. For the purposes of the necessary over-simplification I have selected those aspects most commonly discussed. As presented they will seem to be concerned either with the nature of the poetry in its general effect or with some of the more 'technical' details, the artistry of words. Of the relationship between the two I need say nothing.

The excellence most frequently, and justly, ascribed to the Odes is that comprised in the ever-recurring adjectives, 'elegance', 'felicity' and 'grace'.<sup>1</sup> As to what lay behind this charm, however, and in what it most particularly lay there was less unanimity. An air of 'easy negligence' was particularised by many but most realised that this was the result of careful polishing.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 v. Elton Specimens of the Classic Poets Vol II 1814 p. 117; Ecl. R. Dec. 1821 p. 503; Lond. M. Mar. 1822 p. 277; Athen. July 9th 1836 p. 491; Milman, Quar. Oct. 1838 p. 318; 'Rattler', Fraser Jan. 1845 pp. 30, 40 and 55; and May p. 263; Eng. R. Oct. 1852 p. 151; Landor, Tib. and Mess. 1853 p. 456; Hannay, Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 352; Nat. R. July 1860 p. 95; Martin ed. 1 1860 p. xviii; Conington, ed. 2 1863 p. vii; Blackw. Aug. 1863 pp. 186 and 194; Buchanan, St. James Feb. 1864 p. 349; Jones 1865 p. xxx; Fraser Sept. 1866 p. 363; Brodie 1868 p. v; Hyett ed. 2 1869 p. x; Lytton ed. 1 1869 p. xiv; Farrar, Quar. Oct. 1869 p. 481; Times Nov. 19th 1869 p. 5; Lond. Q. Apr. 1874 p. 3; Sat. R. Mar. 21 1891 p. 352; Sargent 1893 p. viii; Sat. R. Nov. 17 1894 p. 538; Martin, Blackw. Dec. 1894 p. 795; Aglen, 1896 p. vi and Palmer, Quar. Jan. 1895 p. 112.
- 2 The English Review for Oct. 1856 contains the most anti-Horatian article I have yet come across, and accordingly finds only negligence, p. 159; 'ease' is attributed by Milman, Quar. Oct. 1838 p. 318; Nat. R. July 1863 p. 23; Martin, Blackw. Dec. 1894. None of these in fact implicitly deny the underlying polish noted in Athen. July 9th 1836 p. 491.; Nat. R. July 1860 p. 95; Buchanan, St. James Feb. 1864 p. 349; Blackw. Aug. 1863 p. 186; Brodie 1868 p. v; Hyett, ed. 2 1869 p. x; Sat. R. Nov. 17th 1894 p. 94; and Palmer, Quar. Jan 1895 p. 112.

The 'ease' which these and other writers admired can usually be confidently set down as an element of Horace's tone. Sometimes, on the other hand, it describes neither this nor yet the reader's response to it: Doubleday firmly maintains that 'no Latin poetry is so easy to construe',<sup>1</sup> the article in the English Review insists that 'there is nothing in the style difficult of apprehension',<sup>2</sup> and even Conington's 'simplicity'<sup>3</sup> seems to be intended as descriptive of Horace's diction. Others, happily, avoided this trap and rightly drew attention to the difficulty of his style: as Martin says

He wrote only for cultivated men...Beyond a very narrow circle his works could not have been read. The very language in which he wrote must have been unintelligible to the people. 4

In this he expresses the view also found in Fraser's ('Rattler') for March 1845<sup>5</sup> and the Saturday Review for March 21st. 1891.<sup>6</sup> De Vere, finally, observed that it was simply familiarity with the text which blinded readers to its essential obscurity.<sup>7</sup>

One of the more obvious sources of difficulty apart from the language itself arises from Horace's sudden transitions. These were much admired<sup>8</sup> but rarely associated specifically with 'difficulty', unless we except Tyrrell who follows Hartman in maintaining that 'the sense sequence is often weak'.<sup>9</sup>

1 Blackw. May 1823 p. 544.

3 ed. 2 1863 p. xxvii.

5 p. 263.

7 ed. 4 1893 p. xv.

8 Ecl. R. Dec. 1821 p. 503; Ravensworth 1858 p. ix; Lytton, ed. 1 p. xxv; De Vere ed. 1 1885 p. xii.

9 Quar. Jan. 1892 pp. 149 et seq.

2 Oct. 1852 p. 164.

4 ed. 1 p. xix.

6 p. 351.

Lord Ravensworth associates the 'abrupt transitions' with 'concentrated sententiousness' as kindred elements of Horace's style,<sup>1</sup> and this quality of terseness of phrase and brevity of composition were widely acclaimed;<sup>2</sup> nor can there be any doubt that it was this which was largely responsible for that practice of quoting the poet which we have already had occasion to notice.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of the frequent use of Horace as a source of moral aphorisms for use in schools and the House, and the almost universal approbation of the eloquence of the 'Roman Odes', his critics were extremely cautious, justifiably enough, of awarding him the honour of sublimity. Some, indeed, felt that he did occasionally reach such heights,<sup>4</sup> but many more expressly denied it.<sup>5</sup> Elton, indeed, in his anxiety to avoid this dangerous adjective, says of Horace's poetry that

Elegance and justness of thought, and felicity of expression rather than sublimity, seem to be its general character: though he sometimes rises to a considerable grandeur of sentiment and imagery. 6

Where precisely sublimity is to be sought if not in 'grandeur of

- 1 1858 p. ix.
- 2 v. Thomson 1801 pref.; Hannay Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 352; Fraser, May 1860 p. 677; Martin ed. 1 1860 p. xviii; Conington ed. 2 1863 pp. viii and ix; Blackw. Aug. 1863 p. 194; Brodie 1869 p. vi; Hyett ed. 2. 1869 p. x; Lytton ed. 1 1869 p. xxii; De Vere ed. 1 1885 p.v; Chandos 1889 p.v; and Gladstone 1894 p. vi and MS.f 146.
- 3 v. supra pp. 5 and 59; also: Nat. Rev. July 1860 p. 94; Blackw. Aug. 1863 p. 186; Cyples, Cornh. July 1876 p. 44; De Vere ed.1 1885 p. viii and many others.
- 4 v. Fraser Oct. 1850 p. 673; and May 1860 p. 480; also Brodie 1869 p. xiv. More enthusiastic were: Ecl. R. Dec. 1821 p. 503; Newman ed.1 p. v and Lond. Q. April 1879 p. 3.
- 5 Smith 1813 p. x; Lond. M. March 1822 p. 277; Milman, Quar. Oct. 1838 p. 318; Chr. Rem. Oct. 1849 p. 278; Eng. R. Oct. 1852 pp. 149 et seqq. and 160; Landor, Tibullus and Messala 1853 p. 456; Conington ed. 2 1863 p. xxvii; Jones 1865 p. xxx; Fraser Nov. 1866 p. 311; Hyett ed. 2 1869 p. x; Lytton ed. 1 1869 p. xxxvii; and Tyrrell, Quar. Jan. 1892 p.150.
- 6 Specimens of the Classic Poets 1814 Vol II p. 177.

sentiment and imagery' he declines to disclose.<sup>1</sup>

The hopeful reader was warned to expect neither pathos nor passion;<sup>2</sup> though a stout but diminutive party in the 'seventies and 'eighties did go so far as to allow him pathos.<sup>3</sup>

It is abundantly clear that not even those most deeply committed to the Horatian cause ever managed to detect in themselves a profound stirring of the emotions, excepting only, perhaps, the author of an article in Fraser's for October 1850. He in a moment of glorious generosity found in his poet 'every mood of the Muse'.<sup>4</sup> A further fault was Horace's artificiality,<sup>5</sup> he was, moreover, a mere imitator of Greek and Latin models.<sup>6</sup> 'Imitation', 'is a base aim.'<sup>7</sup>

Where now is that figure in whom Duncan found not only 'wit, geniality and shrewd pleasantry' but also 'lofty flights of an almost prophetic imagination'?<sup>8</sup> Where, for that matter, the more familiar one than whom 'no man has revealed himself to us so thoroughly in his writings'?<sup>9</sup> Perhaps, for the time being, we should accompany the writer

- 1 It may be that he missed τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πλῆθος; one of Longinus' five 'sources' of sublimity. 'Longinus' 8.1
- 2 v. Smith 1813 p. 10.; Doubleday, Blackw. May 1823 p. 544; 'Prout' Fraser June 1836 p. 54; Milman, Quar. Oct. 1838 p. 318; 'Rattler' Fraser Jan. 1845 p.744; Chr. Rem. Oct. 1849 p. 278; Landor, Tibullus and Messala 1853 p. 456; Eng. R. Oct. 1852 p. 149; Conington ed. 2 1863 p. xxvii; Buchanan, St. James Feb. 1864 p. 349; Jones 1865 p. xxx; Fraser Nov. 1866 p. 312; Hyett ed. 2 1869 p. x; and Tyrrell, Quar. Jan. 1892 p. 148.
- 3 Lond. Q. April 1874 p. 3; De Vere ed. 1 1885 p. xii and Chandos 1889 p.v.
- 4 p. 673.
- 5 v. Mahony as 'Prout' Fraser June 1836 p. 744; 'Rattler' Fraser Jan. 1845 p. 54 and Chr. Rem. Oct. 1849 p. 278 among others.
- 6 'Prout' as above, and Chr. Rem. - same sentences. Hannay Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 334; Tyrrell Quar. Jan. 1892 p. 143 and Sat. R. Nov. 17th 1894 p. 538, most of them speaking more truly than they knew.
7. Eng. R. Oct. 1852 p. 161. 8/ 1886 p. v. 9. Fraser Nov. 1866 p. 311.

of an article in the London Magazine and 'come to the odes...less as to a spring of poesy, than as to a well of sentiment and knowledge;'<sup>1</sup> conveniently forgetting that in the same paragraph he has noted 'a truly Spenserian fancifulness of sylvan accident.'

Of Horace's 'sentiment and knowledge' I have spoken in the last section<sup>2</sup>: widely disparate views were entertained as to the degree of profundity and valuable philosophy which might be extracted from his works. From a more strictly 'literary' point of view his adverse critics were less numerous. Conington accuses him of 'monotony' and 'poverty of sentiment',<sup>3</sup> and 'Rattler' in the first of his series of articles in Fraser's in 1845 rebukes him for narrowness and superficiality.<sup>4</sup>

'Rattler', however, is nothing if not inconsistent, and in the second article in the series he praises Horace for his 'subtle transmission of...deep and pregnant meaning'.<sup>5</sup> Others too drew attention to elements of thoughtfulness and realism in the odes. The National Review describes him as 'essentially concerned with reality' and discerns some 'living and personal feeling'<sup>6</sup> not incompatible with 'Tennysonian workmanship - importing freshness and novelty to common words'.<sup>7</sup> Even in the preface to his first edition, the most tepid in this respect, Martin concedes 'thoughtfulness'.<sup>8</sup> In the same year the National Review had already acclaimed Horace's 'freshness and originality';<sup>9</sup> it also finds

1 Lond. M. March 1822 pp. 278/9.

3 ed. 2 1863 p. xxvii.

5 Fraser March 1845 p. 263.

7 ibid. p. 30.

9 Nat. R. July 1860 p. 95; v. also Nat. R. July 1863 p. 27.

2 ibid. pp. 60-62 and 64-67.

4 Fraser Jan. 1845 pp. 54-55.

6 Nat. R. July 1863 p. 27.

8 ed. 1 1860 p. xviii.

it praiseworthy in him that he stays within his own limits.<sup>1</sup> De Vere, in his first edition detects thoughtfulness,<sup>2</sup> and to this adds in his fourth a long appreciation of Horace's truth to nature and reality in landscape.<sup>3</sup>

The same writers, by and large, are to be congratulated on their perception of a quality which they variously describe as sedateness, severity and 'grave courtesy'.<sup>4</sup> Another group distinguishes itself by allowing Horace the merits of vigour and force,<sup>5</sup> which the majority of writers strenuously deny him.

It has not been my intention to suggest that there was a very widespread disagreement as to the nature of the odes as a whole. It is true that there was some lack of unanimity as to whether or not Horace was ever sublime, or capable of pathos; but so far as the rest are concerned no one denied the gracefulness of language, the admirable terseness, the felicity of metrical artistry,<sup>6</sup> or the aphoristic quality of the poet's verse. What does emerge is some indication of the varying appeal of the odes on different readers - which odes left the more lasting impression on their minds, and an illustration of the attribution to Horace of the characteristics of contemporary literature

1 *ibid.* p. 95

2 ed. 1 1885 p. xii.

3 ed. 4 1893 pp. xvii et seqq.

4 *Doubleday, Blackw.* May 1823 p. 544; *Conington* ed. 2 1863 p. xxiii; *Nat. R.* July 1863 p. 37.

5 *Blackw.* Aug. 1863 p. 194; *Lond. Q.* April 1874 p. 3; De Vere ed. 1 p. xii; *Sat. R.* Mar., 21st 1891 p. 352; *Martin, Blackw.* Dec. 1894 p. 795.

6 v. e.g. *Anti-Jacobin M.* March 1803 p. 238; *Ecl. R.* Dec. 1821 p. 503; *Lond. M.* March 1822 p. 280; *Mahony, Fraser* June 1836 p. 744; *Adams* 1853 p. vii; *Ecl. R.* June 1853 p. 679; *Nat. R.* July 1863 p. 30; *Brodie* 1868 p. xiv; *Farrar, Quar.* Oct. 1869 p. 481; *Rose* 1869 p. 147; *Lond. Q.* April 1874 p. 12; *Gladstone MS* f. 162; *Page, Introd. to More Hawarden Horace* 1896 p. xii and *Phelps* 1897 p. vii.

on a scale unsupported by evidence.

There is a pretty illustration of this in Palmer's essay in which he quotes Archbishop Trench as saying that Marvell's 'Horatian Ode' gives to one unacquainted with Horace a truer notion of the kind of greatness which he achieved than could be obtained from any poem in the language. To this observation he appends the comment that this was

a remark which will cost those who know Milton's sonnets many a reperusal of the Ode to see whereby it can be justified. 1

If there is any difficulty here it would probably be best resolved by a reperusal of Horace. The similarity to Milton's later sonnets, previously noticed by Lord Lytton,<sup>2</sup> is surely to be found in Horace's 'moral' odes and aphorisms, whereas the teasing 'Horatianism' of Marvell's ode is related rather to the 'patriotic odes' (I xxxvi, III i-vi and IV ii and iv).<sup>3</sup>

We find no one who denied the grandeur of the 'patriotic odes' as pieces of literary workmanship, the only question is as to whether their inspiration, where the word was permitted, arose from genuine fervour, a justifiable wish to support official moral propaganda or from servility. In the case of the moral odes, we have found more disagreement. Those who were chiefly interested in these discussed whether they exhibited a greater degree of thoughtfulness or monotony.

1 Quar. Jan. 1895 p. 121.

2 ed. 1 1869 p. xvii.

3 v. A.J.N. Wilson on Marvell's Horatian Ode, Critical Quarterly Vol. XI No. 4 pp. 325-41 1969.

It would be absurd to suggest that anyone failed to appreciate the astonishing variety of the odes. We have already seen that one writer went so far as to allow Horace 'every mood of the Muse'.<sup>1</sup> Translators were particularly vexed by it, as their practice demonstrated even more eloquently than their prefaces. But it was a very popular critical commonplace.<sup>2</sup>

Other obvious qualities of Horace as a poet are his humour, wit and gaiety.<sup>3</sup> There was, however, very little attempt to analyse Horace's humour; Newman's attempt is as elaborate as any:

When [the lyric poetry] is playful, bombastic or bantering, the jocosity is subtle and subdued, never funny or boisterous. 4

But this is description rather than analysis, and even as description we feel that there is something missing, and not all of it is easy to supply. One comic effect we can draw attention to, and that is the 'bathetic' endings to some of the odes. Of those few who observed that there was anything at all strange in the progress of 'Integer vitae'

1 v. sup. Fraser Oct. 1850 p. 673.

2 Out of a profusion of instances only a few examples may be given: Elton, Specimens of the Classic Poets, 1814 Vol II p. 177; Lond. M. March 1822 p. 677; Newman ed. 1 1853 p. v; Landor, Tibullus and Messala, 1853 p. 456; Fraser May 1860 p. 680; Nat. R. July 1860 p. 95; Brodie 1868 p. v; Hyett ed. 2 p. xxxvii; Lytton ed. 1 1869 p. xxii; Times Nov. 19th 1869 p. 5; Lond. Q. April 1874 p. 3.

3 v. Bros. Smith, Horace in London, 1813 p. 10; Ecl. R. Dec. 1821 p. 503; 'Rattler' Fraser March 1845 p. 263; Eng. R. Oct. 1852 p. 161; Landor, Tibullus and Messala, 1853 p. 456; Ravensworth 1858 p. x; Athen. Nov. 17th 1859 p. 562; Brodie 1868 p. xii; Duncan 1886 p. v; Martin, Blackw. Dec. 1894 p. 795.

4 ed. 1 1853 p. xii.

(I xxii) Cyples alone perceives that the effect is comic.<sup>1</sup> Tyrrell's article,<sup>2</sup> perhaps on account of his seduction by Hartman, is a miracle of blindness to comic effect.

Much of Horace's most successful humour arises in fact from those 'subtle transitions' that we have seen so lauded,<sup>3</sup> but the startling surprises which they so often embody are almost never recognized as comic. Horace is frequently described as 'a humorist', a 'wag', a 'wit', 'sly' and 'arch'; but only too often these qualities are used, apparently, to describe such odes as I xxvii; II viii; III vii; the last stanza of II iv and the opening stanzas of III xvi. Many of the poems in which we now find comic effects are those containing literary jokes: poems in which Horace has taken a well-known literary form or specific model and wittily 'parodied' it by an unexpected inclusion of 'alien' adjectives, as 'junior' in I xxxiii.<sup>3</sup>, or by switching from the 'set theme' to one wholly different, as in I xxii. The editions available in the nineteenth century were largely unable to assist the reader to make these discoveries, though the sources of a fair number of the odes had been disclosed, often erroneously.

To recall for a moment Elton's dictum that Horace, though lacking in sublimity, sometimes rose to 'considerable grandeur of sentiment and imagery':<sup>4</sup> we have dealt briefly with the question of sublimity and, under various headings, with his sentiment; the imagery remains. Elton was probably thinking here of the 'patriotic' odes predominantly, and

1 Cornh. July 1875 p. 74.

3 p. 70 supra.

2 Quar. Jan 1892.

4 p. 71 supra.

hence in particular of the type of imagery which Horace uses of Pindar in the opening of IV ii; but the imagery and picturesqueness of the poet are important not only in linking these questions with the Horatian qualities of elegance and grace but also because it is here that a later generation would more probably look for an answer to the question: Was Horace a Poet?

Horace's vividness of imagery was often applauded,<sup>1</sup> and though they rarely attempted to analyse it, it would appear that it influenced nineteenth century writers more than they realised. Thus, those who like Penn, thought of Horace largely as an impressive moral philosopher, quoted with particular reverence the stanzas 'Justum et tenacem' (III iii)<sup>2</sup>, whilst those who, like Cyples, were not overwhelmed by this, turned elsewhere. Similarly, those who were more Wordsworthian in their attachments, although denying Horace, very rightly, a Wordsworthian aim or philosophy, were most often struck by the 'truth to nature' which Horace preserved in his landscapes. Those again, the numerous body who harked back to the Augustans, were more impressed by his pictures of social life. Farrar, who found in Horace equal proportions of rural and urban elements, illustrates this, at most semi-consciously, by speaking of his depiction of 'Watteau-like groups'.<sup>3</sup>

1 Eng. R. Oct. 1852 p. 151; Lytton ed. 1 1869 p. xxii; Farrar, Quar. Oct. 1869 p. 453; Chandos 1889 p. v; Martin Blackw. Dec. 1894 p. 795.

2 Penn, Moral Odes, 1816 p. viii.

3 Quar. Oct. 1869 p. 453.

We should return, before concluding, to the Burns/Béranger heresy and that small group who took all references to the lyre literally and conceived that the odes were intended to be sung. To this unlikely theory the Carmen Saeculare is an obvious exception, but Hague excepts also the 'Hymns to the gods';<sup>1</sup> Hannay also supposes some of the odes to have been set to music, as is especially implied in his later article. Other subscribers to his theory were 'Prout'; 'Rattler'; Newman; the author of an article in the National Review for July 1860; Farrar and Hatton.<sup>2</sup> This is not a large group, but it was representative of a theory sufficiently common to require several rebuttals, of which the most hideously memorable is to be found in Fraser's for June 1836:

The word 'ode' formerly meant no more than song, although with us a great distinction exists between the two words. According to Scaliger, Horace himself gave the title of odes to these poems, because they were to be sung. Yet, if this is true, is it not rather remarkable that the word ode never once, as far as I am aware, occurs in our poet? At all events, it seems to me a great absurdity to suppose that these odes of Horace were all of them intended to be sung. The form and manner of a species of composition is often preserved after the occasion of them has been abandoned, as in the case of closet dramas; or, indeed, in the case of the lyric productions of our day, which are, for the most part, quite independent of musical accompaniment. I believe that this is contrary to the received notion, and Scaliger, I know, says distinctly, "Neque enim ea sine cantu atque lyrâ pronuntiabant."...But beware, reader, how you take this, lest you believe that the public of Rome were smitten with

1 1892 p. 25.

2 v. respectively: Fraser July 1836 pp. 90 et seqq; Fraser Jan. 1845 p. 55; Newman ed. 1 1853 p. ix; Nat. R. July 1860 pp. 95/6; Quar. Oct. 1869 p. 491; and Hatton 1890 on I xxxvi.

such an uncontrollable mania for vocal music, that no one could take up a volume of poetry for an odd half-hour without instantly clearing his throat, and there and then volunteering a bravura. Horace himself says, in one place, "Scripta pudet recitare, et nugis addere pondus."

Reciting is a bore - I cannot bear

To give to trifles such a serious air!

But this would be carrying the thing to a pretty pass, if reading was to be altogether turned into a species of "recitativo accompanied", with variations for a lyre "obbligato", and the peace of families to be liable to be disturbed at all hours, whether you just wanted to refer to a passage in a book, or only quoted a couplet in conversation. 1

To summarise: even though there be disagreements as to sublimity and evocation of the emotions, admiration for Horace runs generally along familiar lines, the differences arising simply from the reactions most readily stirred in the readers. Some matters which were disputed provide no real cause for dispute: taking the odes in isolation, and bearing in mind Horace's ever admired and ever to be admired variety, there is no reason at all why we should not find in them exquisite grace, poverty of sentiment, moral truisms of varying value, artificiality and originality, humour and gravity, vigour, thought and vers de société.

1 Fraser June 1836 pp. 744/5. The late Mr. Noel Bonavia-Hunt in his Horace, the Minstrel ed. 2 1969 has given powerful arguments to support his picture of Horace as a musician. (Chap. I) He does not convince us that the majority of the odes were written as songs.

### 3. Translation theory

On the theory of translation in general little was said in the nineteenth century that had not been said before and little was left unrepeated. The challenge which Horace in particular lays down for his translators is that of representing his metres in all their flexibility and variety, and those who took up the challenge in earnest will be discussed in the next chapter.

The first thing that comes to mind in this context is the Arnold/Newman controversy, but the most interesting aspect of this debate lies in the different concepts of Homer which emerge; the only effect which it seems to have had on translators of Horace was to have deterred many of them from attempting classical metres.<sup>1</sup> Of translation theory itself all the points which were to be discussed for at least a century to come had already been mentioned by Dryden and his near contemporaries and followers, culminating in the Essay on the Principles of Translation by Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, published first in 1791 and again in an enlarged form in 1797.

This admirably comprehensive essay was not very often cited, and there is no positive evidence that Horatian translators used it in any way as a text-book, but it provides a convenient guiding line to which we may relate the theories supported by various nineteenth century Horatians. My plan is to go through this essay noting those points in it which were chiefly discussed.

1 v. Conington ed. 2 1863 pp. xxv ff.

At the beginning of his second edition Tytler quotes the popular couplet from Denham's tribute to Sir Richard Fanshawe,<sup>1</sup> on his translation of the Pastor Fido:

Such is our pride, our folly, or our fate,  
That few, but such as cannot write, translate.<sup>2</sup>

and this gloomy circumstance is corroborated by Conington in 1863:

...the time appears to be gone by when men of great original gifts could find satisfaction in reproducing the thoughts and words of others; and the work, if done at all, must now be done by writers of inferior pretension. <sup>3</sup>

After an introductory passage in which he broadly states the translator's duty to achieve a balance between fidelity to the letter and to the spirit of his original, Tytler gives, in order of importance, his three main rules for translation:

- I That the Translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work.
- II That the style and manner of writing should be of the same character with that of the original.
- III That the Translation should have all the ease of original composition. <sup>4</sup>

He then proceeds to examine these tenets in more detail. His third chapter is headed: 'May the translator add or subtract anything?'; he opines that he may

with the greatest caution. It must be further observed, that the superadded idea shall have the most necessary connection with the original thought, and actually increase its force. And, on the other hand, that whenever an idea is cut off by the translator, it must be only such as is an accessory, and not a principle in the clause or sentence.

1 Fanshawe was one of the earliest Horatians: he published in 1652 'Selected parts of Horace, Prince of Lyricks; and of all Latin poets the fullest fraught with excellent morality'.

2 Tytler, loc. cit. ed. 2 1797 p. 8 Denham, Yale ed. 1928 p. 143.

3 Conington ed. 2 1863 p. vii.      4 ed. 1 1791 pp. 13 and 14.

It must likewise be confessedly redundant, so that its retrenchment shall not impair or weaken the original thought. Under these limitations, a translator may exercise his judgement, and assure to himself, in so far, the character of an original writer. 1

In the translation of Horace, where conciseness is particularly to be desired, this is an important point. His own language is so terse, and his progress often so elliptical, that in order to produce a readily comprehensible version, such as most translators aimed at, some expansion is almost inevitable. This was always, I think I may safely say, acknowledged in practice, and frequently in theory.<sup>2</sup>

It might be thought that there was nothing in Horace which could justly be described as redundant, but of those translators who aimed most particularly at conciseness, and who were considered worthy of reviewing, most were criticised for their omissions. Conington and his disciple Brodie admitted to the fault,<sup>3</sup> and most of the critics of Lytton and Gladstone drew attention to their tendency to omit important epithets. Gladstone did it consciously. Hannay, comparing Ravensworth and H.G. Robinson in their renderings of I xxii stanza 1, deplored Ravensworth's omission of the vocative 'Fusce'.<sup>4</sup>

In his fourth chapter Tytler maintains that the 'liberty of adding or retrenching' is 'more peculiarly allowable in poetical than

1 ed. 1 p. 33.

2 For examples v. Elton, Specimens from the Classic Poets, Vol I 1814 p. xvii; Martin, Dub. Univ. M. Feb. 1851 p. 244; Ravensworth 1858 p. x; Hannay, Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 354; and Morshead Acad. Dec. 8th 1894 p. 487.

3 Conington ed. 2 1863 p. xxix and Brodie 1868 p. viii.

4 Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 357.

in prose translations',<sup>1</sup> in support of which statement he quotes Denham's hard-worked passage from his Preface to the second book of the Aeneid, about the fidus interpres and the caput mortuum.<sup>2</sup> Even if taken out of the context of Tytler's general thesis, that it takes a poet to translate a poet, this would be sufficient to indicate that he is here referring to the necessity of reproducing the poetical manner of the original rather than to the 'dancing on ropes with fetter'd legs' - the more purely technical difficulty which Dryden so memorably complains of in his Preface to Ovid's Epistles - when a translator 'is to confine himself to the compass of numbers, and the slavery of rhyme.'

Both of these questions were discussed in the nineteenth century. The matter of rhyme is most easily despatched. The majority of the translators of Horace, and the dilettante translators form this majority, translated into rhyme with no hesitation. By far the largest group of those who eschewed rhyme were those who attempted classical metres, or, like Newman and Lytton, sought 'unconventional' English equivalents;

1 ed. 1 1791 p. 49.

2 Yale ed. 1928 p. 159. 'I conceive it a vulgar error in translating poets, to affect being fidus interpres. Let that care be with them who deal in matters of fact or matters of faith; but whosoever aims at it in poetry, as he attempts what is not required, so shall he never perform what he attempts; for it is not his business alone to translate language into language, but poesie into poesie; and poesie is of so subtle a spirit, that in pouring out of one language into another, it will all evaporate; and if a new spirit is not added in the transfusion, there will remain nothing but a caput mortuum; there being certain graces and happinesses peculiar to every language which give life and energy to the words.'

there were, however, more humble imitators of the Miltonic type: in 1801 Gilbert Thompson produced unrhymed blank verse translations; two years later Dr. John Nott included among his versions one **blank** verse 'equivalent' to represent each of Horace's metres, and both were forthwith rebuked by the Anti-Jacobin Magazine.<sup>1</sup> In 1817 on the other hand, the reviewer of Penn in the Monthly Review regrets his use of rhyme.<sup>2</sup> These early aspirations to rhymelessness, however, were soon forgotten, and most of those who followed in similar paths 'apologised' for their novelty. The attempts of Sewell in 1850, of Newman in 1853 and of O'Brien in 1857 to produce rhymeless metres were sometimes approved in theory,<sup>3</sup> but their actual versions met with very general condemnation on the grounds that they were unreadable. Even Lytton failed to attract the approval he deserved.

Conington apologises for his use of rhyme, 'believing it ... to be an inferior artist's only chance of giving pleasure'.<sup>4</sup> In expressing thus his unwillingness to follow in the footsteps of Milton he speaks for the majority. We are, therefore, the more delighted to find a solitary reviewer commenting on this statement thus:

In other words, Professor Conington's modesty frightened him into putting a chime of bells round the neck of his Muse in order to reassure himself, and her, under the eventful unexplored prospect of appearing side by side with the angel-shade of Milton. He will forgive us for thinking this was a mistake. Milton himself must smile at the bells, however he may love the Muse. Professor Conington's modesty rather stands in his way. 5

1 Anti-Jacobin M. Aug. 1802 p. 423 and March 1803 p. 241.

2 Month. R. April 1817 p. 326. 3 as Hannay, Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 351.

4 ed. 2 1863 p. xi.

5 Nat. R. July 1863 p. 34.

Certainly the recurrence of rhyming terminations not only fetters the translator, it also, as Arnold points out in his first anti-Newman Lecture, tends to pair lines and thus distort emphasis.<sup>1</sup> The same is true where rhymes are alternate, or where the first line of a stanza rhymes with the fourth, as the attention is thus often drawn backwards at the end of the stanza.

There is, moreover, a more general and insidious objection to the use of rhyme in translating Horace, especially when it falls into the hands of an 'inferior artist'; it is, perhaps, best demonstrated by quotation. I submit three passages from Wrangham's second and revised edition of 1832:

By spring and Zephyr's gladsome sway  
Unloosed, stern Winter hastes away.  
Again the vessel tempts the sea;  
The herds again bound o'er the lea: ...

Seek not the term by Heav'n assign'd  
To me, to thee, lov'd Friend to find;  
Nor dare, with dark Chaldaean lore,  
Our coming fortunes to explore...

When one so loved, so valued, dies,  
What shall controul our sympathies?  
Muse, the deep funeral wail prolong:  
Thine sweetest lyre; thine saddest song....

I hope I shall not be imposing too much on the reader's credence when I protest that it was not my intention in selecting these passages to provide a single comprehensive Horatian Ode. Rather did I intend to inquire whether he could possibly guess anything at all about the variety of tone and metre here 'reproduced'. The masochist may, if he

1 Matthew Arnold, On Translating Homer, ed. 1 1861 p. 15.

wishes, contemplate one hundred and twenty-one odes rendered in a similar style.

I hope, at least, that no further explanation will be needed for the practice of those who balked at Conington's very reasonable demands for 'metrical conformity', and chose rather to follow the path which Dryden trod with conscious daring in his paraphrase of III xxix.<sup>1</sup>

Tytler criticises this translation quite justly for its redundancies,<sup>2</sup> but speaking of Dryden in general as a translator he makes a familiar observation which is borne out to a surprising degree by the translators of this period:

...it was to Dryden that poetical translation owed a complete emancipation from her fetters; and exulting in her new liberty, the danger was now, that she should run into the extreme of licentiousness... 3

Now it might be thought that a translator who wished to achieve a high degree of fidelity to his original would welcome the licence of a variable length of line, and so it was; but almost invariably we find that the translators who chose this looser structure were aiming at fidelity not to the letter, but to the spirit, of Horace; and the abandonment of a rigid metrical structure is directly proportionate to the 'laxity of paraphrase'. Lord Ravensworth, for example, is never more redundant than in those odes where he deserts his 'regular', if

1 It would have been well if Dryden's imitators, conscious and unconscious, had also read his 'apology' for using this 'irregular', 'Pindaric' structure for this one of his four versions of Horace's odes. His brief account of Horace as a lyric poet, in the same place, is one of the best, on such a scale, to be found. - Preface to *Sylvae* 1685. Second Cambridge edition 1949 pp. 180-181.

2 ed. 2 1797 p. 105. 3 ed. 1 p. 57.

extravagant, six line stanzas; as we may see in his versions of I xi and I xxxvii, let alone I iii, for which indeed he apologises. It is not simply that the form looks and sounds un-Horatian, it is also symptomatic of an unacknowledged adhesion to the most startling of Tytler's views.

Immediately after his attack on the pernicious licentiousness of Dryden, Tytler proceeds thus:

A judicious spirit of criticism was now wanting, to prescribe bounds to this increasing licence, and to determine to what precise degree a poetical translator might assume to himself the character of an original writer. In that design Roscommon wrote his Essay on Translated Verse; in which in general he has shewn great critical judgement; but proceeding, as all reformers, with rigour, he has, amidst many excellent precepts on the subject, laid down one rule, which every true poet (and such only should attempt to translate a poet) must consider as a very prejudicial restraint. After judiciously recommending to the translator, first to possess himself of the sense and meaning of the author, and then to imitate his manner and style, he thus prescribes a general rule,

Your author always will the best advise;

Fall when he falls, and when he rises, rise.

Far from adopting the former part of this maxim, I conceive it to be the duty of a poetical translator, never to suffer his original to fall. He must maintain with him a perpetual contest of genius; he must attend him in his highest flights, and soar, if he can, beyond him: and when he perceives, at any time, a diminution of his powers, when he sees a drooping wing, he must raise him on his own pinions. 1

Tytler has few supporters in this audacious and lethal scheme: De Vere held that poetry might be improved by translation,<sup>2</sup> the Eclectic Review for June 1853 dared to advocate 'paraphrase',<sup>3</sup> and Lord Ravensworth

1 ed. 1 pp. 58-9. In ed. 2 he attempts to justify this position against his critics.

2 ed. 2 1886 p. xxii.

3 loc. cit. p. 701.

maintained that 'abruptness must be softened, sententiousness diluted, obscurities made intelligible, indelicacies veiled'.<sup>1</sup> By far the greater number of this party contented itself with joining in the chorus of 'spirit before letter'. Roscommon, unless we except those who aimed at 'literal fidelity', had fewer supporters. Critics, without observing the significance of Horace's 'rises' and 'falls', allowed that Horace was sometimes uneven, but as translators they were loath to claim the same distinction for their versions; Thompson, however, quotes this couplet of Roscommon's with approbation,<sup>2</sup> and Elton maintained that the translator should not try and improve on his original, that it was not 'the translator's duty to please'.<sup>3</sup>

Those who aimed at capturing, as first priority, Horace's spirit fall roughly into three groups. First of all there are those who closely identified his spirit with his form, a small group but an interesting one. Newman, Conington and Lytton, perhaps also Gladstone and some of the 'metrical' translators, owe their distinctive qualities largely to this, as we shall see. A larger group, including 'Prout', Martin, Ravensworth, Noyes, De Vere and Goldwin Smith, although they admitted that conciseness was an important element in Horace's style were more concerned with representing his 'rapidity', or, more openly, as Aglen has it, 'the feeling of freedom from restraint'.<sup>4</sup> They

1 1858 p. x.

2 1801 Pref. ¶ 3

3 Specimens from the Classic Poets. Vol I 1814 p. xvii.

4 1896 p. vii.

sometimes achieved a rapid flow of English verses but rarely without prolixity. The third group includes most of those whose prefaces are brief and who claim that they have aimed at 'almost literal fidelity' along with 'the spirit of the original';<sup>1</sup> an easy statement signifying almost nothing and reminding us that most of these prefaces were probably written after the work of translation was completed. The 'contest of genius' which Tytler advocates is perhaps most conspicuous in the practice of Martin.

Tytler's fifth chapter, devoted to the imitation of 'Style and Manner', despite its eighteenth century overtones had one or two interesting remarks. He points out that this 'rule', though secondary in importance to the conveying of the ideas of the original, is more difficult of attainment:

for the qualities requisite for justly discerning and happily imitating the various characters of style and manner, are much more rare than the ability of simply understanding an author's sense. A good translator must be able to discover at once the true character of his author's style. He must ascertain with precision to what class it belongs; whether to that of the grave, the elevated, the easy, the lively, the florid and ornamented, or the simple and unaffected; and these characteristic qualities he must have the capacity of rendering equally conspicuous in the translation as in the original. If a translator fails in this discernment, and wants this capacity, let him be ever so thoroughly master of the sense of his author, he will present him through a distorting medium, or exhibit him often in a garb that is unsuitable to his character.<sup>2</sup>

1 G.M.S. 1857 p. iii. Also, among many others: Hyett 1869 pp. x et seq.; Perring 1872 p. vii; and Rutherford Clark 1887 p. v.

2 ed. 2 1797 pp. 113-4.

There is nothing very new or startling here, but it spotlights the pitfalls into which these translators so often fell. We have seen, in the previous section, that there was some disagreement as to which qualities were most predominant in Horace's style. All the 'classes' which Tytler enumerates are to be found in the corpus of the odes, and this alone makes a considerable demand on those translators who are aware of them. At the same time Horace's 'style' is extraordinarily elusive precisely because it is only rarely that any one of these qualities appears in isolation, even within a single ode - 'the grave' and 'the lively' are often cunningly intermingled, and a failure to discern this led not only to a distortion of Horace's style, but also of his tone and hence, to some extent, his sense.

Tytler himself aptly describes the hazards:

...a translator may discern the general character of his author's style, and yet fail remarkably in the imitation of it. Unless he is possessed of the most correct taste, he will be in continual danger of presenting an exaggerated picture or a caricatura of his original. The distinction between good and bad writing is often of so very slender a nature, and the shadowing of difference so extremely delicate, that a very nice perception alone can at all times define the limits. Thus, in the hands of some translators, who have discernment to perceive the general character of their author's style, but want this correctness of taste, the grave style of the original becomes heavy and formal in the translation; the elevated swells into bombast, the lively froths up into the petulant, and the simple and naif degenerates into the childish and insipid. 1

It is not my intention to give copious illustrations from the bad translators, but we shall find plentiful examples of these undesirable

consequences of the failure to reproduce what was apparently perceived in Horace, even among the relatively good.

Chapter VII of Tytler's Essay on 'Limitation of the Rule regarding the Imitation of Style' is largely concerned with the difficulties of reconciling the 'genius' of the English, with that of the more inflected and elliptical Latin, language. It contains nothing very pertinent to our problems, being almost entirely concerned with prose. The eighth chapter - 'Whether a Poem can be well translated into Prose' - is also largely irrelevant but that it provides me with a splendid, if transparently fallacious, excuse for neglecting versions executed in 'poetical prose':

...a great deal of the beauty of every regular poem consists in the melody of its numbers. Sensible of this truth, many of the prose translators of poetry, have attempted to give a sort of measure to their prose, which removes it from the nature of ordinary language. If this measure is uniform, and its return regular, the composition is no longer prose, but blank-verse... 1

In citing Smart's translation of Horace as an example of the futility of prose translation he wins our hearts.

It is in this chapter also that we find what was, perhaps, Tytler's most celebrated dictum, viz.:

That a translator ought always to figure to himself, in what manner the original author would have expressed himself, if he had written in the language of the translation. 2

Adams would seem to have had this thought in mind when he wrote:

1 ed. 1 1791 pp. 124-5.

2 ed. 1 p. 123.

I have long been persuaded that it might be possible to give a more faithful representation, in a modern language, of the Classic Authors than has been hitherto attempted, and that nearly all our translators have failed in consequence of their having acted upon the erroneous principle of making a translation such a work as they conceived the original author would have produced had he lived in their times and spoken their language...And yet it must appear self-evident to every reflecting mind that the only proper rule in such a case is, to exhibit the thoughts of the original author in such a dress as it is conceived he would have used, provided the language of the translation had been his own, but the language merely - the tastes, manners, and modes of expression being entirely those of the original author. 1

With this sentiment Newman explicitly agreed,<sup>2</sup> and so, it might be assumed, did Wrangham, Scriven, Horne,<sup>3</sup> and Thornton, who are among those who stress their 'scrupulous fidelity'. Hannay also maintained that a translation should hold 'no modern associations'.<sup>4</sup> Martin's translation, on the other hand, had the effect of leading his reviewer in Fraser's for May 1860 to proclaim that

To the English reader it adds an inexpressible charm, amounting almost to an agreeable surprise, to discover that Horace, with whom perchance he associates the memory of half-holidays spoilt, or yet direr sufferings endured, can be made to speak like a man of this world, even to the tune of his favourites, Moore, Béranger, or Tennyson. 5

De Vere defended his 'irregular' metres, and his tendency to modernise and paraphrase in his first edition, 1885, with the precepts of Dryden, Shelley, Boileau and Johnson;<sup>6</sup> in his second edition of 1886 he added

1 Arundines Devae, 1853 pp. v-vi.

2 ed. 1 1853 p. iv.

3 Class. Mus. Vol I 1844 'On Translation' p. 398.

4 Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 347.

5 loc. cit. p. 678.

6 pp. x-xii,

Chapman<sup>1</sup> and in his final edition of 1893 he produced Hallam's review of Elton in the Quarterly for April 1815, a further dictum of Johnson's, Mickle's Preface to his Lusiad, a letter of Sara Coleridge, and sundry quotations from Wordsworth, Coleridge, Cardinal Newman and Lowell.<sup>2</sup> Wordsworth's difficulty over his 'theory of compensation' was not, apparently, familiar to the Horatians. The phrase does not occur in their discussions. Few of them are as courageous as De Vere in combatting in such depth, or at least at such length, the more powerful forces of conciseness and fidelity.

His later quotation of Johnson, however, is relevant: he cites the sage's tentative reply to Garrick's question as to his opinion of Potter's Aeschylus:

We must first try its effect as an English poem; that is the way to judge of the merit of a translation. 3

This takes us conveniently to Tytler's third General Rule: 'That a Translation should have all the Ease of an Original Composition', in which he adds little that is not already implied in his statement that 'it takes a poet to translate a poet'.

The question of whether original poetic gifts were an asset or a handicap to the translator was one which did receive some slight discussion: from the reader's point of view Hannay and the author of an article in the Eclectic Review felt that a translation should read

1 p. xvi.

2 pp. xxi-xxvi.

3 Boswell's Life of Johnson, Oxford ed. 1934 Vol III p. 256 April 9th 1778.

like an original;<sup>1</sup> from the writer's point of view 'Prout' felt that some degree of originality was desirable,<sup>2</sup> while W. Lucas Collins, writing in Blackwood's, discusses the opinion rather surprisingly expressed by Conington that 'a really successful translator must himself be an original poet':<sup>3</sup>

a dictum with which, with all respect for such an authority, we cannot honestly concur. A translator must have a poet's taste, a poet's musical ear, a poet's nice appreciation of words and phrases: but it seems by no means necessary that he shall have what is the most essential endowment of the original poet - "the maker" - his power of creation. He who would translate Greek or Roman poetry so as to satisfy an English taste and ear, must be thoroughly well-read in our best English poets, and have their vocabulary at his perfect command; he must possess a scholar's critical judgement and a refined taste: but it is not required of him to have written, or to think himself qualified to write, an original poem.

'Creativity', he concludes, might prove to be a hindrance.<sup>4</sup> This view was shared by a reviewer in the same periodical in August 1863,<sup>5</sup> and Duncan presents as his excuse for offering yet another translation, the alarming revelation that:

It is for the very reason that those who have translated Horace before me were poets themselves. 6

At the end of his chapter on his Third General Rule Tytler sums up the relation of each rule to the other, before proceeding to less general considerations from which we shall extract only a very few which are particularly relevant either to Horace or his nineteenth

1 Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 344 and Ecl. R. June 1853 p. 696.

2 Fraser Aug. 1836 p. 203. 3 ed. 2 1863 p. vii.

4 Blackw. March 1882 p. 311. 5 pp. 185 et seq.

6 1886 p. v.

century translators.

The different genius of the languages of the original and translation, will often make it necessary to depart from the manner of the original, in order to convey a faithful picture of the sense; but it would be highly preposterous to depart, in any case, from the sense, for the sake of imitating the manner. Equally improper would it be, to sacrifice either the sense or manner of the original, if these can be preserved consistently with purity of expression, to a fancied ease or superior gracefulness of composition. 1

Would that all translators had so thought and acted!

Tytler's comments on the difficulty of translating 'just and delicate sentiments' united with 'simplicity of expression' in those rare cases where these occur in poetry would have been of some value to those who found, as Doubleday did, that it was Horace's 'simplicity' which rendered him so hard to translate;<sup>2</sup> but they need not detain us here. I would merely like to recall, at the risk of monotony his insistence that

he only is perfectly accomplished for the duty of a translator who possesses a genius akin to that of the original author. 3

and, also for the sake of a parallel passage which I wish to insert<sup>4</sup> after touching upon a very few points which Tytler does not mention,

that the best translators have been those writers who have composed original works of the same species with those which they have translated. 5

It would also be unfair perhaps to omit the rider which Tytler appended

1 ed. 2 1797 pp. 215-6.

2 p.70 supra.

3 ed. 2 1797 p. 225.

4 p.99 infra.

5 ed. 2 1797 p. 225.

to his second edition:

a poet, eminent as an original author in his own country, may fail remarkably in attempting to convey, by a translation, an idea of the merits of a foreign work which is tinged by the natural genius of the country which produced it. 1

One matter on which Tytler is curiously silent is that of diction.

The same is true of the nineteenth century Horatians. The social aspects of Augustan Rome are often compared, in sketches of the poet's life and character, with those of Augustan England, but while an intolerance of modern English poets, especially Browning, is expressed by some Horatians,<sup>2</sup> and the poeticisms employed by translators long retained an eighteenth century flavour, most writers remained largely unaware of any reactionary elements in the exercise. Adams seems to have had some idea of it,<sup>3</sup> and Brodie earnestly exhorted the translator to take as his model the prose (and mentality) of Addison,<sup>4</sup> but the most elaborate discussion is by Conington. I should perhaps have reserved it for the more detailed discussion of his work, but what he says is relevant to the subject as a whole:

I believe that the chief danger which a translator has to avoid is that of subjection to the influences of his own period. Whether or no Mr. Merivale is right in supposing that an analogy exists between the literature of the present day and that of post-Augustan Rome, it will not, I think, be disputed that between our period and the Augustan period the resemblances are very few, perhaps not more than must necessarily exist between two periods of high cultivation.

It is the fashion to say that the characteristic of the last century was shallow clearness, the expression of obvious

1 ed. 2 1797 p. 229.

2 e.g. Nat. R. July 1860 p. 95 and Brit. Q. Jan. 1870 p. 62.

3 Arundines Devae 1853 p. ix.

4 1868 pp. xii-xiii.

thoughts in obvious, though highly finished language; it is the fashion to retort upon our own generation that its tendency is to over-thinking and over-expression, a constant search for thoughts which shall not be obvious and words which shall be above the level of received conventionality. If this is so we can have no doubt to which division to refer the literary remains of Augustan Rome. The Odes of Horace, in particular, will, I think, strike a reader who comes back to them after reading other books, as distinguished by a simplicity, monotony, and almost poverty of sentiment, and as depending for the charm of their external form not so much on novel and ingenious images as on musical words aptly chosen and aptly combined...

On the whole I have tried, so far as my powers would allow me, to give my translation something of the colour of our eighteenth century poetry, believing the poetry of that time to be the nearest analogue to the poetry of Augustus' court that England has produced, and feeling quite secure that a writer will bear traces enough of the language and manner of his own time to redeem him from the charge of having forgotten what is after all his native tongue.<sup>1</sup>

To return to more general questions and the promised parallel to Tytler: I refer to an article by P.S. Worsley, the translator of Homer. He begins by drawing attention to the important part to be played by translation in view of the dislodging of Greek and Latin 'from their position as the exclusive instruments of an English gentleman's education', and maintains that 'the translator of verse must strive to attain a transfusion of moral and intellectual identity' with his author. (Like Conington he thinks it unlikely that great poets will, in future, devote themselves to translation.) 'Random paraphrase' he

1 ed. 2 1863 pp. xxvii-xxix. There are four Merivales who might have been referred to in the second sentence. The most likely might seem to be Charles Merivale author of A History of the Romans under the Empire in seven volumes 1850-62 but I cannot find any such observation in his works. Possibly the passage referred to came into one of the various works of Messrs. Herman, John Herman or Herman Charles Merivale.

rules out of court.

Inasmuch, then, as it is above all things to be demanded, as the true end, that real poetry in Greek or Latin should be represented by real poetry in English, it would appear that supreme excellence in translation can be manifested by original poets only. But when we consider the means involved - when, moreover, we so far qualify the end in view as to insist upon requiring poetry, not pure and simple, but possessed of certain strictly defined characteristics of manner - we are led to decide otherwise. The faculty of contemplating things through the medium of another imagination, is not, under ordinary conditions, to be looked for in an original poet. It is for him to inform with his own individual spirit whatever he touches, but it is for the translator to distil everything through the alembic of a mind external to himself, but which he has, for the time being, more or less consciously appropriated....We are content with stating that there is apparently no good reason why unoriginal verse-writers should not, if they pursue the right means, attain the highest success in translation. Where they have failed hitherto, it has been less for want of inherent ability than because they have subjected themselves to a false discipline. They have either tried to reach the heart of the poetry through and by means of its superficial characteristics, or they have aimed at what they erroneously call free translation - the substituting, that is, of their own inferior type of thought and expression for that of the original author...

Accordingly as he finds criticism or simple instinct lead him most readily to an enlightened appreciation of Horace, he will in the one case endeavour to reach his end by means of a careful analysis of details, trusting for the general effect to a conscious observation of these; or, in the other, he will strive to develop in himself that frame of mind by which he may be enabled to divine, as it were, what would have satisfied Horace himself in English, and to work up to this end in the Horatian spirit, by means of general sympathy rather than particular vigilance.

If the balance must incline one way rather than the other, it should incline rather to 'general sympathy'.

It is this...which will arrest the Horatian grace as it slips away under the fingers of a translator...the not to be analysed poetic element....It is no valid objection to say that an absolute oneness of view with the poet can never be actually seized: the practical question is not whether we shall ever

quite grasp it, but how near we can come to it. A verbatim rendering of Horace cannot possibly, except in rare and fitful flashes, merit the praise of fidelity to the original.<sup>1</sup>

It should by now be tolerably clear that some, at least, of those who were concerned with the translation of Horace had given some thought to what they were, or hoped they were, doing. It is the translators themselves, whether Horatian or no, who speak with real authority. The value of prefaces to translations in general is tidily assessed by Theodore Savory in his Art of Translation, and he has an interesting section on 'Translation in Action', based on various translations of Horace C.I xxii which goes some way towards illustrating the peculiar difficulties of translating Horace as well as awarding an otherwise unrecognised knighthood and featuring some curiously misspelt translators. Two of his remarks are of particular relevance here. In the first Savory says:

A great quantity of translation is in fact made, printed and published for no other reason than this - that the translator has enjoyed the reading of some passage or poem, has felt the urge to try to render or express it in English, and has fallen under the spell of the task to such a degree that he has wished to share his pleasure with others.

I hope I have demonstrated how Horace was particularly likely to fall a prey to such a passing whim. The brevity of the individual odes was in itself enough to tempt the initial experiment.

The other is a quotation from Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, 1603:

<sup>1</sup> Blackw. Aug. 1863 pp. 184-187.

If every man's humour might be followed, there would be no end of translating. 1

This is obviously, was obviously, and will obviously always be, true; whatever theories translators may advance before or after the completion of their work, they are all doing the same thing - they are trying to produce in their readers' minds the effect the original had upon them. It is not in the nature of things that they should attempt anything else. But it was particularly true of the nineteenth century translators who were well aware of the skeleton history of translation - the literalness of the 'renaissance' translators, and the devotion to 'types' of the next generation of great translators, their sometimes rigid concepts of what was 'proper' to each genre, (notably the epic) - Tytler's 'classes', 'the grave', 'the elevated' and so on, would have had an archaic ring for most of them, and nearly all of them were well aware that the Odes of Horace could not be fitted en masse, at least, into any such structure. I think it is not too much to claim <sup>for</sup> a considerable number of them that they were more or less consciously trying to find a middle way. Some tried unhappily to treat the English language as though it still had the glorious springtime bounty which it offered to the Elizabethans; others attempted to produce English poems which they hoped would attract those unfamiliar

1 William Barlow, The summe and substance of the conference..at Hampton Court, Jan. 14th 1603, first published 1604. Repr. in The Phenix 1707 Vol I p. 157. Theodore Savory, The Art of Translation, 1957 pp. 7 et seqq.; 126-136; 22 and 108.

with the original, and unwilling to tackle difficult language and metres. The greatest number probably did in their minds what Hyett said he did in trying to choose suitable metres:

Many of the Odes are remembered chiefly for the simple beauty or true feeling of the last line or two: "Tecum viverex amem," and "Dulce ridentem" are examples. To fit these into the tight shoes of other Odes is a crippling process, and hence so much disappointment. Before deciding peremptorily on any fixed metre for each Ode, I have often thought it a good expedient to try again and again in what metres these short effective bits will come out in English most naturally and gracefully, and to follow their lead through the whole. 1

The motto lingers in the mind and startles the amateur who finds he has reproduced it in an English phrase. A phrase which to him is exquisitely elegant because for him it is Horace. He can no longer fully separate in his mind the Latin from the English, and he is challenged to construct round it the rest of the Ode.

Hence I find statements such as that made by the reviewer of Peter Green's Juvenal in the Times Literary Supplement for November 16th 1967, somewhat irksome:

Few nineteenth century translators are readable now. Even in their own time many of them were not particularly accurate. This was because, unless they were just compiling cribs, they were writing for an in-group which knew the originals anyway, so that they could show how clever they were rather than bothering too much about strict fidelity. 2

There is nothing immoral about scholars writing for scholars. Those who claimed to be nearly always those who lay particular stress on fidelity. Adams alone admits to writing chiefly for the scholar; 3

1 W.H. Hyett, Flowers of the South., 1869 p. xii.

2 p. 1084.

3 1853 p. vi.

and T. Rutherford Clark apologises for expecting, in his modesty, to attract only collectors of Horatiana.<sup>1</sup> Brodie, Hague, Walker and Phelps wrote for both scholars and the 'English reader'.<sup>2</sup> Lytton stated in his first edition that he was writing for the general reader, as opposed to the scholar,<sup>3</sup> but remarked in the preface to his second that those of his reviewers who praised his efforts were scholars.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Nott thought his version might be useful for the higher classes in schools,<sup>5</sup> but there is no evidence that it was; Sewell<sup>6</sup> and Way<sup>7</sup> hoped to attract school-masters, but they were trying to reform teaching methods, neither of them were 'compiling cribs'. Of those translators who bespoke particular classes of readers for themselves by far the greater number wrote for the general public: for the literary but uneducated female and the rising middle-classes, anxious for self-improvement.<sup>8</sup> Lord Ravensworth may claim the distinction of having executed his version for the edification of the youthful Prince of Wales,<sup>9</sup> but unfortunately statements in his preface tend to belie the compliment offered in this Dedication. Moreover many of the translations were made before the distinguished recipient was born.

An account of the motives given for translating the Odes restores

1 1887 pp. v-vi.

2 1868 p. iii; 1892 p. v; 1893 p. iv; and 1897 p. vii respectively.

3 1869 p. xli.

4 1872 p. vii.

5 1803 pp. v-vi.

6 1850 p. x.

7 1876 p. 1.

8 e.g. Elton, Specimens from the Classic Poets, Vol I 1814 p. xviii; Newman, 1853 pp. v and vi; Martin ed. 2 1861 p. xxxiv; Hyett, 1869 p. xiii and De Vere 1893 p. xxxviii.

9 1858 p. v.

balance to what might appear to have been too uniform a picture of earnestness. Sewell and Newman may have written for specialised educational purposes, as Elton did for more general ones, and as Penn did for the dissemination of useful lessons in morality;<sup>1</sup> Whyte Melville, on the other hand, was apparently actuated by a sentimental nostalgia for his school-days.<sup>2</sup> The insistence of friends is stressed, with the usual degree of insincerity, by Lord Derby, Walker and Aglen.<sup>3</sup> Some were merely whiling away their leisure hours, as Adams,<sup>4</sup> Jones,<sup>5</sup> and Rose.<sup>6</sup> There also appears, among and apart from these, a distressing incidence of ill-health which led to the achievements of Peat, Walker and Aglen,<sup>7</sup> and which allowed to Thornton the time to complete an undertaking which he had embarked upon on hearing it to be impossible.<sup>8</sup> The astonishing claim made by De Vere early in the preface to his first edition, that he had translated the Odes by accident, is modified by the explanation that he was testing the theory of Boileau,<sup>9</sup> and in his fourth edition he admits to an intention of popularising the odes for instructive purposes.<sup>10</sup> The most elaborate apologia is surely that provided by Hyett, who took up the habit as a specific against insomnia due to gout, indulged it in hours spent in riding, walking and sitting in trains, and printed his versions privately in aid of a charity bazaar.<sup>11</sup>

1 Moral Odes 1816 p. xvii.

2 1850 p. π 4.

3 1862 p. xi; 1893 p. iv and 1896 p. v respectively.

4 1853 p. xii.

5 1865 p. vi.

6 1869 p. 147.

7 1845 p. vi; 1893 p. iii and 1896 p. v respectively.

8 1878 pp. vii and viii.

9 1885 p. xii.

10 1893 p. xiii.

11 Flowers of the South ed. 2 1867 pp. xiv et seq.

Yet even those whose modesty and lack of ambition would be admitted by the most rigorous critic, were undoubtedly aware of some of the hazards through which they tried to steer, and would have read with gratitude the beginning of Thomas Doubleday's article On the Imputed Failure of the Translators of Horace:

Let no man of talent, who happens to be of a testy disposition, turn translator. It is a thankless office. The translators of poetry in particular, have long been in that state, which is familiarly called "hot water", and that too - which is most provoking, from no fault of their own. They have been compelled nolentes volentes, by the public, to try to sit upon two stools, and when, as may be expected, they fail, and fall betwixt them, the public set up a horselaugh. This is ill-usage; nor has it been deserved.

Few subjects have given rise to more inconsistent, shallow, and pedantical talk, than that of translation...Upon this point, critics are inconsistent even with themselves. At one time they will assert, that only a poet can translate a poet, and in the next breath insist on his being "literal", and tell him to look out all the words in a dictionary, and do his best to get them to rhyme at the ends of the lines. 1

Alas, not even Doubleday solved the problem of how then Horace should be translated.

1 Blackw. May 1823 pp. 542 et seqq.

#### 4 Classical Metres

It might appear that the clearest way to deal with those who attempted to render Horace into 'classical metres', and those who simply discussed the issue, would be to divide them into 'schools' according to their theories of the mechanics of Latin and English verse. There are, however, manifold difficulties. In the first place, those who were concerned chiefly with Horace, usually gave only a partial account of their tenets; secondly, those who tried to align themselves with more comprehensive systems, allied themselves with metrical theorists who are not concerned pre-eminently with Horace, and who are so many, so various, so intricately inter-related, and themselves so frequently guilty of sins of omission, that it would be an act of presumptuous folly to try to reduce them to rule here.<sup>1</sup> I shall therefore attempt to give a very brief outline of the problems involved, in general terms, which will doubtless need qualifying and elaborating as investigation proceeds.

Two questions arise instantly: how was Latin verse read in the nineteenth century? and what may, or need, be done to English verse to

1 Saintsbury, A History of English Prosody, Vols. II and III 1908-10, provides a generally reliable account of what the prosodists of the late 18th and 19th century said. It is important, however, to bear in mind his eccentric use of the word 'quantity', and his admission (Vol. II p. 544) that when speaking of his own views, he uses the terms 'long' and 'short' to express the presence or absence of metrical stress, and that he would as willingly have used the words 'black' and 'white', or 'Greek' and 'Trojan'. It is a pity that he did not settle for the latter.

produce analogous effects? The first question is relatively simple.

Everyone accepted that Latin verse was regulated by quantity:

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris

Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen

Some people read it with a stress or accent on the long syllable at the beginning of each foot, at least in hexameters which provide the most familiar ground of battle:

Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen;

others were taught not to absorb the colloquial in the metrical accent, but to read rather

Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen.

They held that Latin verse was governed by quantity and that colloquial accent provided a more or less contrapuntal adornment.

Often this view was coupled with a symmetrically opposite one of English verse: governed by accent and adorned with quantity. Other nineteenth century prosodists, however, would not allow so simple an account. Calling to their aid the sciences of music, mathematics and physiology they proved astonishing things: a line of Miltonic blank verse must have six to eight cadences;<sup>1</sup> metre is made up of a concatenation of isochronous feet,\* prose feet may contain up to nine syllables, verse feet rarely more than four;<sup>2</sup> two monosyllabic feet never occur together in verse;<sup>3</sup> and ducks are incapable of arsis.<sup>4</sup>

1 Joshua Steele, Prosodia Rationalis ed. 2 1779 p. 26.

2 Richard Row, The Elements of English Metre.. 1801 pp. 5-6.

3 *ibid.* p. 15.

4 Thelwall, Illustrations of English Rhythmus, 1812 p. v v Saintsbury, Vol III pp. 157-8.

\* So Paul Verriev - Essai sur les principes de la Métrique Française 1909-10 -  
apparently 'proved' mechanically.

The appeal to the ear is made more often, perhaps, than Saintsbury would have us believe; but usually the point on trial is one of detail, as whether or not the stress on the first syllable of 'honestly' makes that syllable longer than the second. In nice cases such as this the reader must consult his own ear and the intention, if apparent and acceptable, of the writer; no general ruling has ever been, or will ever be, applicable to English practice. Much confusion arises from the failure to distinguish emphatically enough between the length of a vowel and the length of a syllable. This was worse confounded by the tendency of most composers in 'classical metres' to construct individual feet of single words, or more often, of groups of monosyllables:

Others may laud as they please fair Rhodes or renowned Mytilene.<sup>1</sup>  
 The constantly lamented monosyllabic character of the English language is an even greater obstacle to structure, i.e. the distribution of words within a verse, than to the reproduction of quasi-classical quantity.<sup>2</sup>

For the purposes of criticism I would allow the ear, albeit an idiosyncratic organ, a wider jurisdiction, and maintain that what sounds like verse is verse. I accord some measure of agreement with all who hold that colloquial and metrical stress and quantity may all be used, as it were simultaneously, to form both the framework and the

1 I vii Chorley, Horatian Metres 1867.

2 As Southey saw. V. Pref. to 'The Vision of Judgement' Poetical Works Vol X 1838 p. 200.

subtleties of rhythm in English metres; I would also allow that useful paradox the accented pause.

Many critics attacking those who attempted purely quantitative metres dismiss from their discussions the position tacitly, if not explicitly, assumed by their victims as experimenters. Such critics may be believed when they claim that they can find nothing of English verse. Exponents of classical metres do not, as a rule, write English verse in accordance with those rules which are so universally recognised and which have yet for so long defied satisfactory definition. Yet we now accept as verses a number of erstwhile 'metrical innovations', and Horace was a metrical innovator.

Some of the experimenters are trying to establish, largely for the use of translators, a new type of verse which they hope will facilitate the reproduction of some elements of the sound of Latin verse; others, confining themselves to rules yet more strict, try to write Latin verse with English words. They do not aspire so much to please the ear as to train it. Some, perhaps, would achieve this aim if we were to discipline ourselves to read their lines for a few minutes daily. The ultimate question thus reveals itself to be:- Is it worth it?

Let us then reduce all theories as to the 'true nature' or 'genius' of Latin and English verse to the status of hypotheses, setting all on an equal footing, and attempt to answer this question empirically by examining the specimens submitted to the public in the nineteenth century.

The first example I come to is a version of I xxii executed some

time in the seventeen-nineties, in what we instantly recognise as 'Needy Knifegrinders'.\* The lines are built on stressed syllables - the first, fourth, sixth and tenth in the first three lines and the first and fourth in the last:

Armed with a conscience void of guilty tumults,  
 He, that undaunted innocence relies on,  
 Needs, not, my friend, bow, javelin, or arrows  
 Mortal with poison: 1

And how would we read the original?

$\frac{1}{-}$   $\cup$   $\frac{1}{-}$   $\parallel$   $\int$   $\cup$   $\frac{1}{-}$   $\cup$   $\frac{1}{-}$   
 Integer vitae scelerisque purus  
 $\frac{1}{-}$   $\cup$   $\frac{1}{-}$   $\parallel$   $\int$   $\cup$   $\frac{1}{-}$   $\cup$   $\frac{1}{-}$   
 non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu  
 $\frac{1}{-}$   $\cup$   $\frac{1}{-}$   $\parallel$   $\int$   $\cup$   $\frac{1}{-}$   $\cup$   $\frac{1}{-}$   
 nec venenatis gravida sagittis,  
 $\frac{1}{-}$   $\cup$   $\frac{1}{-}$   $\cup$   $\frac{1}{-}$   
 Fusce, pharetra, (?)

or, at best, Integer vitae scelerisque purus. But if we are used to hearing this particular stanza thus read, is it not on account of its own strange history?<sup>2</sup> Certainly we could not read

Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis (I.x.1)

in the same rhythm, as opponents of the 'Needy Knifegrinder' representations point out. True, this type of line appears only six times in the first book of odes, only once in the second and not at all in the third, but in the fourth book it occurs twenty-two times

in far fewer stanzas and in the Carmen Saeculare nineteen times. Hence

\* The original by Canning and Hookham Freer appeared in the Anti-Jacobin (Review for Nov. 27 1797)

1 A Short Account of John Marriott...to which are added some of his poetical productions. 1803 p. 89.

2 v. Fraenkel, Horace, 1957 p. 184, J.B. Leishman, Translating Horace 1956 p. 92 and Nisbet and Hubbard A Commentary on Horace, Odes Book I 1970 p. 262.

it would appear, as Page maintains, in the case of the 'Mercuri facunde'  
type line

that Horace first carelessly used this rhythm, then rejected it, and finally deliberately employed it to relieve the monotony of the Sapphic stanza. 1

Why should the Sapphic stanza have seemed monotonous? Largely because whether the hendecasyllables were made up of four, five, or six words, so long as the strong caesura was preserved four of the accented syllables would naturally fall on fixed places, viz. the first, fourth, sixth (or eighth) and tenth.

It may very well be true that the Latin accent was extremely light,<sup>an</sup> that we cannot even be sure whether it was a question of loudness or 'musical' pitch ~~and that it was constantly demoted together in~~ ~~verse~~; the fact remains that in the nineteenth century as now some people maintained that accent should not be ignored altogether in the reading of Latin verse, and for such people most of Horace's Sapphic hendecasyllables and all his Adonics<sup>2</sup> would sound very much as they would in a mediaeval Sapphic.

Even taking the most lenient view of the 'Needy Knifegrinder' system, however, we cannot allow that a reproduction of fixed accents in a line of eleven syllables will suffice to give of itself an approximation to the sound of an Horatian Sapphic. We may explain the phenomenon, not condone it. As English verse it does have the merit of

1 T.E. Page, Q. Horatii Flacci Carminum Libri IV. ed. 2 1895 p. xxxiii.  
2 v. Note p. 156 infra

being instantly recognised. It has the demerit of having long been regarded as a metre which is proper only to parody.

As a representative of the Latin sapphic it has, apart from the arguable merit discussed above, the desirable quality of rapidity. Even if, as it too often true, it is made up of seven, even eleven, low words, they can be made to hop rather than creep. In this respect

Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, degraded,  
is a better line than many of its forbears and offspring.<sup>1</sup> Compare it with an earlier line in the same poem:

"(Have you not read the Rights of Man, by Tom Paine?)"

If we try to read this as a Latin sapphic we come to grief instantly: 'you' and 'Rights' must be read short, and 'not' and 'the' long. A writer may choose to preserve the colloquial accent in his classical metres, on no account may he ignore quantity. Nor can I agree with Saintsbury, Leishman and countless others, that the English word stress always <sup>appreciably</sup> lengthens the syllable it falls on, and that it is therefore impossible to read English verses on the classical models in such a way as to preserve quantity more or less independently of accent.

So in Marriott's first line of his first stanza<sup>2</sup> I am brought up short by 'a' in the place of a long syllable and 'void' in the place of a short. In the rest of his version he uses 'the' as a long syllable thrice, lengthens the first syllable of 'trepidation', shortens the

1 v. Calverley infra p. 147

2 v. p. 110 supra.





Aeschylus, on the 'Rhythmical Declamation of the Ancients'. The article itself need not detain us long: Blackie associates himself with Foster, Steele, Thelwall, Chapman and Roe among the modern prosodists, and supports his views with quotations from Scaliger, Vossius and Victorinus. He picks up the vexed subject of the difficulty of reproducing certain classical feet in English,<sup>1</sup> and the embarrassment of the ubiquitous monosyllable. In trying to fit classical feet to single words he falls into a very commonplace confusion. His conclusion is virtually identical to Herbert's.<sup>2</sup> The chief value of the article, however, was that it set up the whole issue of 'classical metres' as one worthy of debate in that journal.

In the third volume, published in 1845 there appeared an article by John Oxenford on 'The Practice of Writing English in Classical Metres'. He held that the practice ought to be encouraged. While lamenting the fate of the hexameter and the sapphic in falling into the hands of the parodists, he points to the example of the German translators and declares that they could not possibly have attained to so high a standard of accuracy, without following the French into the lower plains of prose, had they not determined to adopt classical metres.<sup>3</sup> His apologia for what he clearly feels will be a barely palatable theory is relevant to

1 'I scarcely think, indeed, we have a single molossus...in our tongue - unless it be - pōtātōēs - as it is marked in Walker's Dictionary, though I fear in common prandial discourse, it would require a very solemn humorist to do it justice.' p. 361.

2 Class. Mus. Vol. I 1844 pp. 338-369.

3 Class. Mus. Vol. III 1845 pp. 279-80.

the whole question of translation:

I am aware of the objection that a poem, written in English, and in classical metre, would not be "popular." This objection I would meet with the question: What ancient lyric poem in any metre can be popular, in the ordinary sense of the word? Mr. Dyer, in a recent number of this Museum, very properly animadverted on the absurdity of a popular edition of Aeschylus, and to me appears equally absurd the notion of a popular translation of Pindar, or even of Horace, for the acquisitions of a schoolboy, who has only fagged through a Latin poet or two, removes him far - far from the merely popular condition. The morals, manners, and motives which we find in ancient authors, are so totally different from the ordinary things that surround us, that the enjoyment of their works proceeds from a state of mind eminently artificial, though it has been implanted in many of the educated portion at so early an age, that it has become to them like a second nature. 1

Since none but those roughly acquainted with ancient metres are likely to pick up a translation, why should not the translator exploit their knowledge? Martin's reviewers seem to have been of the opinion that he Had produced a popular translation. Oxenford would have dismissed his versions as he did those of Francis, as being 'English poems written indeed on the subject of the original; but different in every other respect.'<sup>2</sup>

Metrical conformity, for Oxenford, is the only guarantee of fidelity.

But how should English metre be made to conform with Latin?

The question is not, whether we can write such hexameters as would satisfy the ear of Virgil himself, but whether we can write them, so as to give to a modern a pleasure approximating to that which he receives on reading a classic poet. And it certainly appears to me, that it is by a system of accents that our ear is chiefly affected, when we take pleasure in any unsung verse, ancient or modern, although we judge of the correctness of the former by the application of certain rules or authorities. 3

1 p. 280.

2 p. 279.

3 p. 381.

Here is a sad confession. If, as Oxenford seems anxious to prove by some confused variations in the accentuation of the word 'Italia', our attempts to read quantitative classic metres are characterised only by a displacement of accent, we have been badly taught indeed. There is, however, an element of originality in this attempt to justify the substitution of English accent for Latin quantity.

In his solitary example, then, we are not surprised to find that Oxenford's method is predominantly accentual. He does, however, give more detailed 'rules' for his procedure than many. A much greater latitude as to 'longs' and 'shorts' is to be allowed, 'but the place of the "ictus" should be observed with the most scrupulous exactness'.<sup>1</sup> By which he means that he proposes to stress the long syllable at the beginning of each foot, 'The same word may be made to perform the functions of a spondee and a trochee, but not those of a trochee and an iamb.' At the same time, though 'wisely' may serve as a spondee, 'a word with more weight in its second syllable would be preferable.'

The translator should steadily keep in view that his reader is not merely to glance at a scheme of versification first, and then torture the words into an adaptation to that scheme, but that the words themselves should mark the position of the "ictus".<sup>2</sup>

Finally Oxenford explains that he scans the line thus:-

⏏ ⏏ - - / ⏏ ⏏ / ⏏ ⏏ / ⏏ ⏏

with the first foot an epitritus secundus, the third syllable stressed more than the fourth; and apologises for individual lapses, or liberties.

1 p. 282.

2 p. 282 My italics.

As for the caesura he makes no mention of it and often little allowance for it. The lines demonstrate how different are the effect of the 'Oxenford' and 'Needy Knifegrinder' sapphic; the second of the last stanza alone preserving the caesura after the fifth syllable:

Atlas' grandson, eloquent-speaking Hermes,  
Who by teaching language and rites gymnastic,  
Wisely formed the manners uncouth of mortals  
Newly created.

.....

Thou to habitations of bliss restorest  
Pious souls; light shades with thy gold caduceus  
Guiding; Gods in Heav'n and hell regard thee  
Ever with favour.

This brief paper of Oxenford's had the honour to provoke one of the earliest published works of John Conington. Ostensibly concerned with reviewing W. Cooke Taylor's edition of Chapman's Homer, the twenty-year old undergraduate abandons his discussion of this reprint to take up four pages of the Oxford and Cambridge Review with an attack on Oxenford of a fieriness which we do not usually associate with him, and which is only equalled by his subsequent attack on Sewell.

Believing, as we do, that the principles laid down by Mr. Oxenford are incorrect, we cannot but rejoice that he has given them by his practice such a complete discomfiture, as must necessarily, far more than any adverse argument, produce a wholesome reaction in the mind of any one whom the former part of the paper may have convinced. Certainly he could not well have done our work more thoroughly. 1

There is, Conington points out, a way of reading English hexameters which conceals to some extent the weakness of English spondees:

1 Ox. and Camb. R. Nov. 1845 p. 477.

But the Sapphic stanza shows the weakness at once. It is read in two ways - two, that is, substantially, into whatever division of feet each line may be reduced. One is the popular way, making a decided pause in the middle. 'Jam satis terris / nivis atque dirae',. The other, which is found much more frequently in theory than in practice, resolves itself, after all disputes about epinetes and other denominations of feet, into something like this - 'Jam sa/ tis ter/ris nivis / atque / dirae.' The Latin line shows its Sapphic capabilities by bearing both indifferently. 'Terris' is a real spondee, with one syllable as long as the other. The English language can only produce one at a time. 'Needy knifegrinder! whither art thou going?' is an example of the first: 'Atlas' grandson, eloquent-speaking Hermes,' of the second. Every one will see that a line written on the one principle cannot possibly be reduced to the other. 1

The statement is made with such authority that it invites contradiction.

Marriott's lines, indeed, are uneasy in Oxenford's manner, and the most adaptable of Oxenford's:

Pious souls; light shades with thy gold caduceus -

is upset by the appearance of 'light-shades'. With, admittedly, too little allowance for true quantity -

So did I dare brash arrogance untimely -  
 Rashly wrote lines with many words disjointed -  
 Just to shew how hard is it lines to build with  
   Dual potential,  
 Conington's dictum to examine closely,  
 In an attempt vain, but in humble earnest -  
 Sapphics which may seem in ambiguousness  
   Latin to rival.

Peculiar, certainly, but neither harmonious nor English. 'Conington's' presents great difficulties as an accentual dactyl, or perhaps cretic and a quantitative bacchius or amphibrach. Any English line written in such a way that it might be read according to either division of the  
 1 loc. cit. pp. 477-8.

sapphic would have to be composed largely of monosyllables and so offend against the habitual smoothness and structure of the Latin line.

Conington's reply to Oxenford's 'popularity' argument almost becomes in its turn an argument against translation in any form:

Translations, it seems, as a general rule, are only read by scholars; that is, those who understand the original [Oxenford does, in fact, include those whose recollections of the classical tongues is but limited] - why, then, should they not be formed on the antique model? - We can only say, if this be forming on the antique model, it may brook a question whether it be expedient to form at all? We may be singular in our taste, but we should infinitely prefer reading Latin to English Sapphics. We cannot claim to be numbered among 'those who are adept in the original language, and wish to see how the translator has got through his task,' having no more curiosity to examine how classical metres can be written with as little awkwardness as possible, when we know for certain that they can never be written without some awkwardness, than to look at a man balancing on his chin a donkey tied to a ladder, as is occasionally done, we believe, by those who labour after novelty, even where there is no chance of attaining possession. Mr. Oxenford is a very clever man: he has shown his powers of translation in various walks of modern literature; but we cannot compliment him on the way he balances his donkey. He may do it as well as any man in England can; but the spectacle does not please us.<sup>1</sup>

Any translation, executed on any system, is as much a different poem from the original as any other. Conington always maintained his theory that the classics were best adapted to translation into 'conventional' English verse, but he expressed himself more moderately as time passed.

As I have said, the learned men who provided financial support and articles for the Classical Museum published in their seven years many theories as to the true nature of Greek and Latin verse. They

1 Ox. and Camb. R. Nov. 1845 pp. 478-9.

were much preoccupied with quasi-musical analyses and generally applauded attempts to produce English translations metrically analogous to their originals. Probably the most widely celebrated article on the subject was Clough's 'Illustrations of Latin Lyrical Metres' which appeared in number 14 Volume IV.

The paper opens with three unrhymed translations from the odes, whence indeed nearly all his illustrations come, similar in style to some published by Blackie in Volume II. The lines are not syllabically equivalent to the Latin, but are intended to represent the movement of the stanzas:

So may the Cyprian Queen  
 So Helen's brethren, constellations bright,  
 And the winds' father guide  
 Thy course, the rest restraining save Iapyx! ... I iii

Him wherefore weep, Asteria, whom bright airs  
 With early spring, Favonia, shall restore,  
 Rich with Bithynian ware,  
 A lover true to troth,  
 Thy Gyges?.... III.vii

O more than crystal bright, Bandusian spring  
 Worthy sweet wine, with flowers withal the morn  
 A kidling thee shall bring,  
 Whose front of budding horns  
 E'en now encounter lustful or of fight  
 Premeditates! unwitting! thy cold streams  
 With the red blood shall tinge  
 The youngling of the goats. ....III.xiii

The first stanza of this ode is the only one where rhyme creeps in; the second is the least justifiably incomprehensible.

After this soothing preface Clough warns us of his intention to dabble in metrical experiments, their object, as he hastily interposes,

'not to give poem for poem, but verses for verses.'<sup>1</sup> An article by Newman in an earlier number of the same journal<sup>2</sup> provides Clough with a reference for his theory that

in the verses of the ancients, the accent of speech was lost in the accent of song; that the preservation of the latter, and disregard of the former, is essential to any appreciation of the ancient metres. 3

The difficulties of this task and the need for co-operation between the writer and the reader are indicated when Clough uses the phrase 'difficult to exact'.<sup>4</sup> To illustrate the hazards the much-vexed Sapphic is selected.

So thoroughly has the misreading of it been stereotyped on the ear of common English scholars, that at last it has got itself naturalized in our own poetry, and been installed with all the honours. Southey's sapphics...exactly reproduce the usual reading of

Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari.

Even so

Rich is the freight, O vessel, that thou bearest  
And again the Parodist's: Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate,  
degraded.<sup>5</sup>

By its accentuation, as Clough points out, this is 'neither more nor less than a trochaic line beginning with a dactyl': it is 'a line such as may not unfrequently appear in our blank verse:

"Guard it, I pray thee, with a lurking adder." Rich. II. iii.2.'

and this 'in spite of Horace's own display of a growing partiality for the structure that rejects such a reading

Tuque dum procedis, Io triumphe!  
Non semel dicemus, Io triumphe! 6

1 Class. Mus. Vol. IV 1846/7 no. 14 p. 350.

3 loc. cit. p. 350.

5 p. 351.

2 No. 10 Vol III.

4 p. 350.

6 p. 351.

So far Clough has said nothing with which we are not familiar, but there now follows a remark, apparently inspired by Newman's article in number 10, which I find puzzling:

We are so used to doing whatever we please with words set to music, that colloquial accent becomes a trifle; we only wonder why the ancients made such a point of preserving colloquial quantity. 1

Happily this oddity need only serve as a reminder of the curious ideas current among classical prosodists and has no relevance to Clough's practice.

To return to the Sapphic: one of Clough's aims is, apparently to encourage us to read Latin verses correctly:

We find it hard to say

"Jam satis terris nivis atque diris

Grandinis misit pater."

Let us turn it into -

Now enough o'er earth of the snow and horrid  
Hail the sire has poured.

Such lines, he admits, 'may sound sadly devoid of melody

Yet a lucky line here or there may give us a revelation of the run of the metre; and turning from our ill-sounding copies, we may now be perhaps enabled to recognise in the originals the tune which those copies had only here or there imperfectly caught. 2

First of all Clough presents lines which 'do their utmost to preserve, in their strongest character, Horace's favourite central molossi.' It is, perhaps, significant that translation is momentarily laid aside:

1 pp. 351-2. My italics.

2 p. 352.

See! the faint green tinge from the western sky has  
 Faded; not one star but is gaining brightness;  
 Over dusk hills slowly, to western seas the <sup>1</sup>  
 Moon is retiring....

This is immediately followed by the first 'metrical' translation:  
 lines in which the length of the fourth syllable is admittedly less  
 scrupulously preserved. The difference is striking, and should  
 sufficiently prove the importance of quantity in such attempts:

What have I, unwed, with the first of March to  
 Do, for what the flowers and the censer full of  
 Frankincense, you ask, and the newly gathered  
 Turf with the charcoal,....III.viii.1-4<sup>2</sup>

The lines are quicker, the stress on the sixth syllable stronger, the  
 caesura hence more prominent, as it is in 'Needy Knifegrinders'. I do  
 not find this metre, qua metre, disagreeable; it might be adapted to  
 all tones for which Horace uses the Sapphic; it is, moreover, or  
 perhaps I should say, it becomes easy to read. The distortion of  
 syntax which usually accompanies such an attempt is not too pronounced -  
 more so, indeed, than what we are accustomed to in English verse  
 divorced from high emotion or curious conceit - but this is greatly  
 preferable to the descent into chattiness which is too common a feature  
 of translations of this type of ode.

By an unstated, but not altogether obscure, transition, Clough  
 proceeds to the statement that the task is a very hard one.

In part, I believe the difficulty arises from our not  
 knowing the strength with which the metrical accent was  
 given; and the degree in which the character of a verse  
 is altered by a difference of this kind is greater than  
 would be supposed. 3

1 p. 352.

2 p. 353.

3 p. 353.

Was Clough perhaps in doubt as to whether the sapphic hendecasyllable opened with an epitritus secundus or with a trochee and a spondee? Or is he concerned about the whole 'Laudabunt' theory?<sup>1</sup> Of his two examples of English verse shewing weak and strong metrical accent -

Yet, oh God, I said, oh grave, I said, oh mother's heart  
and bosom....

and

Comrades, leave me here a little, 'tis as yet the early morn..

we may assert that one is bad verse and the other worse; but in the manipulating of 'classical metres', as Clough had just found, the question is of great importance. The more foreign the metre to familiar English forms, the greater stress is the translator bound to lay on the 'metrical accent' and the uglier is the result likely to be.

These considerations I imagine to have been in the back of Clough's mind when he voiced his abrupt question about the strength of the ancient metrical accent. He breaks off to give us more examples, four from the epodes and four from the odes.

First of all another version of III.vii, this time metrically equivalent. The stress falls on the first syllable of the initial trochees and the first and last syllable of each choriamb:

Why, Asteria, weep, whom the Favonian  
Spring-tide breezes'll bring safe to thee home again  
Rich with ware of the Pontus  
Thy true lover immutable  
Gyges?...

The choriambic element of Asclepiads places them amongst the easiest types for the English ear to recognise; in the fifth Asclepiad, as we

1 v. p. 107 supra.

shall see, they are positively obtrusive, but in all forms the translator can afford to use as little metrical stress as he feels inclined.

At the completion of this ode Clough arrests us once again, saying that 'the ordinary reading;

Quid fles, Asterie, quem tibi candidi  
Primo restituent vere Favonii,

would be reproduced in English by

Why weep, Asteria, whom with the early spring  
Westerly breezes will bring to thee home again.<sup>1</sup>

But if it was the practice of the ordinary reader to read Asclepiada as though they were dactyls throughout, what did he do with lines like

Gygen? ille Notis actus ad Oricum  
post insana Caprae sidera frigidas

where an attempt to impose the same metre occasions a dreadful collision of word accent and metrical accent, and even the worst informed ear is struck by the abuse of quantity. A wandering word accent can only be reproduced in English versions against a structure of most rigorously observed quantity.

Clough's attempt on the metre of I.viii is <sup>less</sup> not successful. ~~He soon~~  
~~attempts to catch the long lines which emphasises the cadence but~~  
~~breaks the flow into the following short line:~~

Lydia, say by all the  
Gods, I pray thee, why with thy love thou to his ruin leadest  
Sybaris? why the sunny  
Campus hates he now, that of dust erst and of heat was patient?

In the twelfth line he also inserts an extra spondee at the beginning

of the line:

Oft, and oft for dart well sped to the mark, yea and beyond,  
was famous,....

Such lapses, however rare and hard to avoid, undermine the foundations of the method.

The fifth Asclepiad with its strongly insistent rhythm and two caesuras seems treacherously easy to handle in English; it emerges as chatty doggerel:

Seek not thou to enquire, (who can reveal?) when, my Leuconce,  
For us either an end Heaven has assigned; nor Babylonian  
Numbers seek to essay!....I.xi. 1

The third Asclepiad is much more grateful:

What or measure or shame can of the sorrow be  
For so dear a decease? Teach a pathetic strain,  
O Melpomene, teach! thou unto whom the Sire  
Gave sweet voice with the cithara. ...I.xxiv.

The first line is wholly to be deplored. Any difficulty which Clough's 'mere English reader' might find in grasping the rhythm would be greatly increased by the additional embarrassment imposed by nonsense.

By this time Clough clearly felt that his experiences enabled him to give a firm ruling on method. He lays down two rules, first: 'That the Metrical Accent must remain the same' and secondly 'That the Quantity should be preserved'.<sup>2</sup> So much we had gathered. Claims for the existence of quantity in English, if only, so to speak, comparative quantity, follow the usual pattern, as does his apology for sometimes neglecting it. More interesting is the fact that to illustrate his first rule Clough has taken an example first used, to the best of my

1 p. 356.

2 p. 357.



He, the haughty  
Tantalus and Tantalids  
Coerces aye, and he with quick releasing  
When the poor man's work is o'er,  
Alike or call he or refrain he, answers.

For his model of the Alcaic form Clough chose an ode of subtle tone thus dodging the question of whether he could use it to produce the grander or more humorous effects which lie at either pole of the enormously wide potential of the Latin. By doing so he courted other dangers since subtlety of tone is least compatible with syntactical oddities.

If with the new moon thou to the sky above  
Spread forth the hands, O villager Pheidyle,  
And with the frankincense, the new year's  
Corn, and a young pig appease the lares,  
No sickly wind shall breathing from Africa  
Infect the vineyard, nor i'the corn be seen  
Mildew, nor Autumn days of fruitage  
Come with a plague to the tender younglings. III. xxiii

The well-known Alcaic fragment in 'Amours de Voyage' which first appeared some eleven years later,<sup>1</sup> have a lyrical quality which we miss here:

Eager for battle here  
Stood Vulcan, here matronal Juno  
And with his bow to the shoulder faithful  
He who with pure dew laveth of Castaly  
His flowing locks, who holdeth of Lycia  
The oak forests and the woods that bore him,  
Delos' and Patara's own Apollo. III.iv 58-64

Best of all, perhaps, just as Alcaics, are some stanzas executed in about 1840. They surpass those in which he is tied down to translating much as do his Sapphics quoted above;<sup>2</sup> I quote them entire since they

1 Atlantic Monthly Feb.-May 1858.

2 p. 124 supra

are, like Tennyson's, forged into a single sentence:

So spake the Voice; and, as with a single life  
 Instinct, the whole mass, fierce, irretainable,  
 Down on that unsuspecting host swept  
 Down, with the fury of winds that all night  
 Up-brimming, sapping slowly the dyke, at dawn  
 Full through the breach, o'er homestead, and harvest, and  
 Herd roll a deluge; while the milkmaid  
 Trips i' the dew, and remissly guiding  
 Morn's first uneven furrow, the farmer's boy  
 Dreams out his dream: so over the multitude  
 Safe-tented, uncontrolled and uncon-  
 trollably sped the Avenger's fury. 1

Clough had no hard and fast rules as to what constituted quantity or, indeed, accent, and this open-mindedness usually shews to his credit. One of his notebooks which seems to have been used mostly circa 1851<sup>2</sup> contains several pages of attempts to group words with a common syllable into accentual or quantitative categories.<sup>3</sup> He also set out, with great optimism four 'columns', labelled respectively 'unmistakeability of articulation'; 'unmistakeability of accent'; 'unm. of quantity' and 'indication of tone'. The first contains a few words with the sound 'sh' - 'passion' and 'fashion'. Against the first of these he writes 'pendant or ascendant?' and then plays inconclusively with words ending '-ent'; '-ant'; '-ence'; '-ance'; and '-ency'. The second and fourth columns are barren and the third, 'unm. of quantity' contains only a group of words of one particular case: re-exist and re-embody, as against redi-  
 dispose, recompose and redisplay.

Another notebook<sup>4</sup> contains a draft of one of the translations

1 Complete Poems Oxford ed. 1951 p. 35.

3 ibid. ff. 2v-3v.

2 Bod. MS. Eng. Poet. d.122.

4 Bod. MS. Eng. Poet. d.118.



Rugbeian<sup>1</sup> could not earn his unqualified approval:

a perusal of them will, I think, be likely to convince the reader that the task is one of which even great rhythmical power and mastery of language would be far from certain of succeeding.

Even the Alcaic fragment.. 'Eager for battle here..'... admirably finished as it is, and highly pleasing as a fragment scarcely persuades us that twenty stanzas of the same workmanship would be read with adequate pleasure, still less that the same satisfaction would be felt through six and thirty Odes. 2

The next attempt to translate Horace into classical metres was made by one Richard O'Brien of Trinity College, Dublin, who presented the whole of book I in 1857. He gives no account of his method. His justification for his attempt now seems less than adequate and his claim paradoxically outrageous:

The Sapphics and Hexameters of SOUTHEY and LONGFELLOW, now so familiar to the English reader, have suggested the idea that the other Horatian metres may be as successfully adapted to our northern tongue; and, justified, it is hoped, by such high authority, the present translation has been in consequence undertaken. It does not pretend to vie in popularity with any previous version: enough, if the lover of ancient literature shall recognise the Venusian Bard in his new dress, and not deem it altogether unworthy of him. 3

We are not surprised to meet again the 'Needy Knifegrinder' strain, especially as it tends to cover up disregard for quantity:

Place me beneath the sun's bright car too closely  
In a dread region, as our home forbidden:  
With her sweet laughter, Lalage I'll still love,  
With her sweet accents.

In less rigid metres as that of I iv he is often hard to follow. Even if the reader carries the scansion to the version and makes allowances

- 1 Both were under Arnold.
- 2 Conington ed. 2 1863 p. xxvi.
- 3 O'Brien Preface p. vi.

for abuse of quantity, he still has to work out that in nearly every one of his fourth Archilochians O'Brien has placed a spondee, or some sort of dissyllabic foot, in the place of the dactyl which should fall there:

Grim-visgged Death with a foot impartial knocks at paupers' hovels  
And at the tow'rs of Kings. O happy Sextius!.. I.iv 13-14

Only twice does he employ a dactyl in the fourth foot, and in one of these cases it takes the improbable form of 'level sward'.

Much happier is his attempt on the daunting I v:

What youth, slender of form, decked with full many a rose  
And bathed with a sweet stream, doth his fond suit propose,  
Pyrrha, under some cool grot?  
For whom locks of pure gold dost knot,  
Simply, yet with such grace?...

Surprisingly enough O'Brien achieved a second edition, or rather a reissue, in 1860. To this he appended a number of 'Critical Notices'. This may seem odd because even in their mangled form the remarks of the critics betray an antipathy which a closer examination of the reviews endorses. On the other hand it was a considerable distinction for so lowly a competitor to have his versions mentioned in the Times, the Spectator and the Athenaeum, though the glory must be diminished when we recall that the articles in the Times and the Athenaeum, at least, were inspired chiefly by Martin's translation, and that the versions of Lord Ravensworth and Messrs. Robinson, Whyte Melville and Newman impressed the critics more favourably.

One of the more startling contributions to the discussion of classical metres was the Thoughts on English Prosody and Translations

from Horace by Lord Redesdale, which appeared in 1859. This distinguished gentleman, one of Hawtrey's ex-pupils, chairman of committees in the House of Lords, Speaker of that House and sometime Keeper of the Great Seal, had the misfortune to fall from his horse in the winter of 1858 and sought to beguile the ensuing confinement by perusing the Quarterly Review. Here he came across James Hannay's article on 'Horace and his Translators' and fell to pondering their general inadequacy, concluding that it was necessary to make use of Horace's metres and that the great obstacle in the way of this scheme was the absence of any rule of quantity in English. What more natural, then, than that he should propose that the two Universities should set up committees to make good this deficiency? The dictionary should be distributed, as it were, among some fifty members of each University, (non-residents would do,) the same pages being given to two, (not expressly to be paired according to University,) whose business it would be to consider those words which did not come under certain rules to be laid down by those bodies, and, indeed, already sketched by the author. The cause was surely worthy of a Royal Commission.<sup>1</sup>

For the time being Lord Redesdale was content with the English elegiac as a representative of the Latin alcaic, no metre in either language being superior to these.<sup>2</sup> For the sapphic, however, he could find no equivalent and so set about translating it into quantitative verses according to the rules established tentatively by himself.

1 loc. cit. p. 10.

2 ibid. p. 3.

Copious notes accompany his attempt: every word which does not obey his rules of quantity, and these are closely allied to the rules of Latin quantity, is explained. Words coming under rule four:

In the middle of a word a single vowel may be long or short before a single consonant, as the authorities may rule in each case. If it shall be found possible to make any general rules as to particular letters in determining quantities, it will be very advantageous. 1

are many of them pointed out. The first syllables of 'remove, abode, abandon, ever, never' etc. are to be taken as short. In the cases of 'quiver', 'jewel' and 'tumult' where doubts may arise, alternative readings are given.<sup>2</sup>

The product of these careful stipulations is not the most disagreeable of 'classical' versions:

All to God pray for quiet on the rough sea  
When the dark clouds are covering the moon, and  
Vainly is sought from star above a guiding  
Light by the sailor;... II.xvi. 1-4

These lines being governed entirely by quantity can be read, very often, in both forms which Conington demonstrated in the Latin sapphic.<sup>3</sup> By Lord Redesdale's account he was taught not to regard the metrical accent in reading Latin verse:

When quantity is governed by fixed rule, the strongest emphasis may be placed on a short syllable without injury to the metre, and reading is carried on without regard to anything but the sense of the passage. 4

It almost seems, indeed, that at Eton in Lord Redesdale's time even elided syllables were fully pronounced:

1 loc. cit. p. 7.

3 v. 119 supra.

2 loc. cit. p. 15.

4 loc. cit. p. 6.

Take, for instance, the words nunquam alias dato, comprising four long and three short syllables, while the metre requires two long and four short, and in which, consequently, both the eye and the ear must detect an excess in exact number and quantity. And yet, because we know that one of the long syllables is absorbed in the following one, and that another is excused, neither eye nor ear is offended.

Hence no doubt Lord Redesdale's contention that for the purpose of composition in classical metres 'the ear...is an insufficient guide.'<sup>1</sup>

This call for action in the provision of rules of quantity in English met with little public comment, in spite of the spate of articles occasioned by the many translations which appeared in the late 'fifties and early 'sixties. Whether the pamphlet failed to reach the public attention, or whether the silence was due rather to tact on the part of reviewers I do not know. A brief mention appeared in the Athenaeum for March 3rd. 1860 as an illustration of the attraction of classical metres for 'Powerful and cultivated minds'<sup>2</sup> and an article in Fraser's for September 1866 discards his translation as being not a legitimate form, labelling his lines, rather unfairly, as 'Needy Knifegrinders'.<sup>3</sup>

Later in the same year, however, Lord Redesdale produced his 'Further Thoughts on English Prosody..', apparently in reply to certain criticisms. The charge brought against him was that he 'offended against the established rules of accent':<sup>4</sup> bureaucracy replies, 'Let the rules of accent, then, be altered'. As least, I think this is the intention of the article, but the complexities are daunting. We must follow Lord Redesdale backwards for a little.

1 p. 5.

2 loc. cit. p. 299.

3 loc. cit. p. 310.

4 Further Thoughts... 1859 p. 3.

Whether from modesty or ignorance Redesdale had not previously revealed that his uncle was the Mitford who wrote on the 'Harmony of Language': he has now been referred to Herbert's review of the work.<sup>1</sup>

I accept with Mr. Herbert, Mr. Mitford's position that "Harmony in language is the happy result of measure and melody;" measure being governed by rules of quantity more or less strict, melody by those of accent; and it is most important to bear in mind that the rules of accent are only to a limited extent dependent on quantity, against which they frequently offend. 2

In English, he continues, the force of quantity is not powerful enough to act as the sole basis of metre, and we use rather a system of accentuation (similar to the Latin system). Classical metres have failed hitherto because we have tried to use this accentuation by itself

to do the double work of supplying measure to verses founded on quantity, against which that accent often offends, and melody to a language the natural accentuation of which exhibits a character materially different. 3

This, I think, is a crucial point in Redesdale's argument. When he says that we use Latin rules of accent he says nothing new; it had often been observed that we commonly accent words in accordance with the accounts given by Cicero and Quintilian of Latin practice,<sup>4</sup> i.e. in words of two syllables they accented the first, and in words of more than two syllables the penultimate, if long, and the anti-penultimate if the penultimate was short. In English, however, this is by no means true of all words; but even where it is true, and we do so accent a word, on

1 v. p. 113 supra.

2 {Further Thoughts... 1859 p. v  
{My Italics.

3 loc. cit. p. 4.

4 v. Cicero, Orator XVIII 58, and Quintilian, Inst. Orat. I.v. 30-1. There is much uncertainty as to how these passages should be interpreted and when applied.

what possible grounds could Redesdale maintain that the 'natural accentuation' was 'materially different'? Perhaps he means simply that in English 'classical metres' word-accent was often distorted.

Redesdale's next point is that Vergil and Horace, in order to adapt Greek metres to Latin, had to effect 'a change in accent to secure harmony';<sup>1</sup> and questions whether it be credible 'If they had not had rules of quantity to start with', that they should have been able 'to have established hexameters or lyric measures by rules of accent only?'<sup>2</sup> Assuming the answer to be 'no', he then asks how we should expect to accomplish such a thing in English with our Latin accentuation. Hence to the following point, which I hope will now be clearer than it is at first encounter:

Rules of quantity would enable us to form measures, adopting the classical without or with change, or establishing new metres, as may be found advantageous. To secure melody in English to such metres, rules of accent must be applied to them differing essentially in many respects from the Latin, for reasons which I will give hereafter, in like manner as rules of accent differing from Greek were established by Virgil and Horace, and I see no reason why the attempt should not be successful when it shall be made by persons<sup>3</sup> of similar taste and skill in language to those great poets.

It will be interesting to see, when these prodigies appear, whether they make the attempt.

It might seem that 'our Latin rules of accentuation' would already be ideally suited to combination with Latin rules of accent as they are used together by Vergil and Horace, but the 'reasons given hereafter'

1 The source for this theory is usually given as Quintilian, Inst. Orat. XII 10, a difficult passage.

2 Further thoughts ... 1859 p. 5.

3 loc. cit. p. 5.

reveal that in the midst of all this flux two uncontrovertible facts remain: the Latin 'poetical' accent is predominantly trochaic whereas the English is iambic. Proof follows, and when he concludes 'that to attempt to establish unrhyming poetry of any sort in our language on Latin rules of accent must necessarily be a failure',<sup>1</sup> we might suppose that Redesdale himself would surrender. But no, there is yet further room for legislation.

English is encumbered with too many syllables which are both long and stressed; Herbert had given it as his opinion that in Greek and Latin rules of quantity were necessary to prevent too many short syllables coming together. Why, then, should we not have them in English to prevent too many long syllables falling together?<sup>2</sup>

Various specimens of blank verse are next examined, largely from 'Comus' and 'Samson Agonistes'. Rhyme, we are told, is introduced with the purpose of distinguishing verse from prose.

The duty of rhyme is to mark the measure of verse, and it ought to be varied so as not to interfere with harmony.  
The duty of accent is to secure melody, and its cadences ought to be varied for that purpose. 3

Finally we are asked to admit that certain of the choruses of 'Samson Agonistes' want metre; to accept, from the failure of so great an authority, that rules of quantity as well as rules of accent are necessary to make such verses practicable; and to heed Redesdale's assurance that writing quantitative verse is only a matter of practice.<sup>4</sup>

The next volunteer mercifully and prudently gave no indication of

1 loc. cit. p. 7.  
3 loc. cit. p. 11.

2 loc. cit. p. 8.  
4 loc. cit. pp. 12-14.

his intention beyond his title: Horatian Metres, attempted in English.

His name was Charles Chorley and his twenty odes and epodes crept onto the field in 1867. They were generally ignored.

The following passage seems to indicate that he was familiar with Clough's 'Amours de Voyage' Alcaics, perhaps from Conington's preface:

Eager in bravery  
There Vulcan stood, there matron Juno,  
There too with bow from his shoulder pendent,  
He who in lucent waters of Castaly  
Laves his unfastened hair; who in Lycia  
Groves and his native wood possesses  
Delian and Patarene Apollo. III iv 58-64

It will at once be observed that his vocabulary is more prosaic than Clough's and his syntax less contorted. His attention to quantity, at the same time, is less scrupulous. He has less skill in making his reader linger on the second syllable of the opening lines of his Alcaics, with the result that a dactylic movement tries to assert itself:

See now Soracte whitened with snow appears;  
Scarce can the lab'ring forests their wintery  
Load now sustain; now streams, but lately  
Rapidly flowing, by frost are fettered. I.ix. 1-4.

His Sapphics, on the other hand, perhaps because of his misplaced caesuras, and his care to avoid syllables bearing 'sense' stress in the fourth place, bear no resemblance to 'Needy Knifegrinders':

He, the upright man, ever pure in conscience,  
Needs, my friend, no Maurican spears, nor bow, nor  
Pendent from his neck, quiver amply stored with  
Poisonous arrows;..... I.xxii.

As I have said, he compares favourably with Clough for the purveying of comprehensible sentences; less admirable is he in respect

of fidelity:

O Bandusian fount, lustrous as crystal gem,  
 Thou well worthy of wine poured from a flowery vase,  
 I will give thee tomorrow  
 Young kid, sprouting his firstling horns,  
 And now boldly prepared either for love or war,  
 Oh vain ardour of youth! Child of a wanton race,  
 He thy cool flowing waters  
 Shall soon tinge with his crimson blood. III.xiii

In his handling of the Archilochian metres Chorley differs widely from O'Brien in that in the first and fourth his preference is for the dactyl rather than the spondee. In the first Archilochian he has, out of fifty-six relevant feet, forty-eight dactyls to eight spondees:

Now have the snows disappeared, now verdure returns to the  
 meadows,  
 Trees too with leaves are adorned;....

It may be this which makes him easier to 'follow', but it leads him into yet further quantitative lapses:

Losses celestial, however, the swift-rolling moons soon  
 recover:-  
 IV. vii

His fourth Archilochian is less predominantly dactylic, bearing a proportion of twenty-nine to eleven, which is as well since the dactylic movement is not carried over in this metre into the following short line.

It is a little less easy to read:

Pale-faced Death with impartial footstep assails the huts  
 of paupers  
 And regal palace-tow'rs. O, happy Sextus!  
 Life's brief space forbids our indulging the hope of long  
 enjoyments;...I.iv. 13-15

but it is not an easy metre under any circumstances.

In his Alcman, where the dactyl appears <sup>ian</sup> again in the short line,  
 a

the proportion of dactyl to spondee increases again: forty-nine to fifteen in the long lines and twenty-four to eight in the short. His hexameters are easier than his dactylic tetrameters:

Others may laud, as they please, fair Rhodés or renowned Mitylene,  
Ephesus, or the high ramparts of sea-girt  
Corinth, ... I.vii.

The plainness of Chorley's diction and syntax, even if they be a credit to his fluency, usually detract from the total effect of his versions. The whole is more loosely knit, and while there is some justification for spot-lighting poetic epithets by contrast with a predominantly prosaic language, 'sea-girt' is no substitute for 'bimaris'.

His other notable fault is slackness of quantity, to give but a few examples: in III ix he has both 'Lydiá' and 'Lydiá'; and in I vii:

Whither, more kind than my sire, Dame Fortune may happen to  
lead us...l.25.

In June 1868 there appeared in the London Student an article 'On Metrical Translation' by Henry Ward Fortescue. It is a refreshingly simple article, more important in having stirred Calverley to refute it, than in itself. Fortescue holds that 'there can be no good translation... which does not reproduce the metre in which [the original author] wrote', and that Tennyson has proved the imitation of ancient metres to be possible. His optimism is endearing:

Our language is so elastic that we can do anything with it.  
I need scarcely observe that in our rugged words accent  
takes the place of quantity. 1

The increase of attention to metre in recent years Fortescue has

1 London Student, June 1868 p. 150.

witnessed with approval, and he is disappointed that Lytton's versions, then appearing in Blackwood's Magazine, did not demonstrate a more rigid metrical adherence to Horace, as he had been led to hope from the introduction.

So far as his own performance is concerned, Fortescue lays down two desiderata:

the English words must be read just as they are spoken  
in common conversation

and

The Greek and Latin metre should be rightly appreciated. We should discard from our minds the vicious habit of our school-boy days, when we are taught to commit three false quantities at least in every line of the Sapphic, and as many in the Alcaic verse. We must not suppose the 'Weary Knifegrinder' of Canning, or the poems of Dr. Watts, to be models of the Sapphic metre, which they only distantly resemble, none of them having the dactyl in the middle which is characteristic of the rhythm. 1

That is all.

Almost inevitably the effect of reading Fortescue's words 'just as they are spoken in conversation' would have the effect of reducing his verses to prose. He is scrupulous in maintaining his central accentual dactyl in his Sapphics, but the first four syllables too often resemble a pair of trochees, or even a first paeon:

Now, at length, enough of the snow and hailstorm....  
Shook the lofty citadels, high uprising...I.ii. 1 and 3.

Similarly, in his Alcaics the dactylic element has to be consciously repelled by the reader from the beginning of the first two lines:

1 loc. cit. pp. 150-151.

Me, once of gods most negligent worshipper:  
 Me, versed in all unrational reasoning,  
 While proud I wander, backward turneth,  
 Shifting the sails and the course reversing,...I.xxxiv.

One of his Alcaic stanzas, to do him justice, is conspicuously better than the other three:

Which shook the soil, made tremble the rivulets,  
 Shook Styx and shores of mystical Taenarus,  
 And Earth's atlantean foundations.  
 This is the god who can raise the humblest... I.xxxiv.st.3

Fortescue only offered three versions in all: the third is I xiv in the fourth Asclepiad. The metre seems to have rung so insistently in Fortescue's head that it prevented him from hearing many of his accentual feet. Strange spondees appear as 'Towards land', 'Blows of', and 'Tremble', and if the words are indeed to be read 'just as they are spoken in common conversation', who shall deny that

Painted prows cannot give mariners confidence  
 only escapes being a dactylic tetrameter by the cretic in the first place?

Calverley's article 'On Metrical Translation', which appeared in the next number of the London Student,<sup>1</sup> though presented as a reply to Fortescue, is in fact an attack on all attempts to write classical metres in English. It is an effective and witty article, but incomplete in that there is no discussion of the possibility of writing English replicas governed solely by quantity, such as Lord Redesdale attempted, and the account of the relationship between accent and quantity in Latin verse is incomplete to the point of inaccuracy.

1 Oct. 1868 pp. 311-316. Repr. Complete Works, Bell 1905, 496-501.

The two propositions on which Calverley's argument is based are:

'that classical metres are so written in English that they should 'scan themselves', for which he cites Fortescue and an article by Whewell in Macmillan's Magazine for 1862:<sup>1</sup> and 'that Latin accent was 'wholly independent of the scansion'.<sup>2</sup> The first proposition is true of most practitioners, and we need only note that alternative methods had been, albeit less thoroughly, explored, before proceeding to the rest of his argument.

Calverley displays a fondness for 'proof' by direct comparison, and for constructing from the individual case a general rule. Thus, to make his point vividly he quotes Tennyson's

Calm as a mariner out in Ocean  
as a good English alcaic line - which well it may be, but Tennyson in fact wrote 'Charm, as a wanderer...' - and then provides a 'Latin fac simile'

Sol ut in aere lucet alto

which 'is a line which any elementary lyric-book would tell us was bad'.<sup>3</sup>

So it would. From this position we move on to the statement that

The ancients, I contend, made it a special point that their verses should not 'scan themselves', and every form of line which did so they held bad on that account.<sup>4</sup>

Now we know that Calverley was taught at Harrow to read 'Ausa mori mulier marito' rather than 'Ausa mori mulier marito', and 'Mordet aqua taciturnus amnis' rather than 'Mordet aqua taciturnus amnis', because

1 L. Student Oct. 1868 p. 312.

2 ibid. pp. 313-4 et passim.

3 ibid. Oct. 1868 p. 311.

4 ibid. p. 213 My italics.

he tells us so himself.<sup>1</sup> Can he really not have noticed that in the second case the two last accents fall on the same syllables? Is the line a bad one on account of this coincidence of word- and metrical accent? This, he might argue, was only half a line; but surely he had observed that, accepting his accentuation of the Latin, the last line of the Sapphic almost invariably 'scans itself', as do a great majority of Sapphic hendecasyllables.<sup>2</sup> Similarly Calverley is quite right in maintaining that we never find in Horace an alcaic stanza ending with a line of the type

Fortia corpora fudit Hector,<sup>3</sup>

two dactyls without a caesura never occur. But this is not proof positive that a coinciding word-accent alone debarred this structure, because we do occasionally come across such words at the end of an alcaic stanza as

impetus aut orientis Haedꝰ            III 1 28.

His contention that all such 'self-scanning' verses were avoided by the ancients,<sup>4</sup> must therefore give way, and with it the bulk of his argument.

Nevertheless two fragments remain to be gathered up. The first arises directly from the main argument. Why are the Latin fac similes produced by Calverley bad? Because they abuse the accepted structure of the lines. Now I have no intention of discussing the why and

1 *ibid.* pp. 312 and 313. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that he read *Arma vyrumque cayno*', as Saintsbury seems to think. 'A History of English Prosody. Vol III 1910 p. 416.

2 v. p. 110 *supra*. cf. also Bonavia-Hunt Horace, the Minstrel ed. 2 1969 pp. 62-3.

3 p. 312.

4 v. p. 145 *supra*.

wherefore of these mysterious rules. I am content to say that they are somehow connected with the rhythm of the verse; that of all his bad lines one of the worst is 'sol ut <sup>in</sup> aere lucet in alto' and to link this more directly with Calverley's contention that his 'despised old friend'

'Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, degraded'  
is a better line than most of Fortescue's.<sup>1</sup>

This observation of Calverley's appears at the close of a passage explicitly concerned with rhythm. What exactly he means by the word is not entirely clear since he explains himself, as ever, by individual cases. He rightly asserts that rhythm is not to be found in or confounded with the scansion of metre of poetry, and seems to maintain that Fortescue errs in a question of rhythm in stressing the dactyl in Horace's Sapphics.<sup>2</sup> Calverley, I gather, would rather not divide up the line so minutely - or perhaps he prefers the molossus.

The discussion of rhythm leads Calverley to an enjoyable point apropos of metrical translations in general:

Any metre may, no doubt, as [Fortescue] says, be imitated in English: lines, that is, may be made in any metre which scan. Even so intricate a one as Super alta vectus Atys is, I am told, copied, and that correctly, in the Laureate's "Beddicea."

"Aditque opaca silvis redimita loca deae."

"Yell's and shriek'd between her daughters o'er a wild confederacy."

"Soldier, sailor, tinker, tailor, gentleman, apothecary."

What the metre of the second and third may be, and how far they correspond with the first, I am not competent to say. The last I had always mistaken for prose. However, the lines in "Andromeda" are (most of them) undeniable hexameters: but what then? The lines

"When little Samuel woke and heard his Maker's voice,  
At every word he spoke, how much did he rejoice,"

1 loc. cit. p. 314 cf. p. 112 supra.

2 ibid. p. 314.

are equally undeniable iambs: and the same claim that Mr. Kingsley has to have reproduced the rhythm of Homer, Dr. Watts had to have reproduced that of Aeschylus. I do not suppose that if Mr. Fortescue had to translate the "Prometheus Vincetus," he would feel obliged to represent the iambic lines by the "Little Samuel" metre, and the anapaestic ones by the metre of Owen Meredith's "Lucile" but I do not see how, consistently with his principles, he could do otherwise.<sup>1</sup>

Finally Calverley attacks a few of Fortescue's quantities. He is of the opinion, quite justifiably, that 'Trembled the', 'Romans be-' and 'turn the helm' are not dactyls, taking them rather as two antibacchiuses and a cretic respectively, the first two on account of the conglomeration of consonants. This he illustrates from English hexameters, before restating his opinion that the variable word accent in Latin poetry adorns a skeleton of quantity as quantity should a skeleton of metrical accent in English.<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Sendall in his biographical notice of Calverley, conflated from his article in the Fortnightly Review, June 1884<sup>3</sup> and the Memoir published with the Literary Remains of Charles Stuart Calverley, 1885, and prefixed to the 1905 edition of the Complete works, quotes a letter from Conington to Calverley, about this paper, to the effect that he 'read it with great delight'...

agreeing thoroughly with what was said, and enjoying greatly the manner of saying it.

Accord is self-evident but I do not think we need assume total accord.

A further diminutive contribution to classical versions of Horace appeared from the hand of T. Herbert Noyes, Junr., an actor, who produced

1 *ibid.* pp. 313-4.

2 *ibid.* pp. 315-6.

3 pp. 736-53.

in 1868 two volumes: Lyrics and Bucolics, and An Idyll of the Weald. Both of these contain a few translations of Horace, the first a few metrical ones.

I have thought it not amiss to render some few odes into the original metres, abandoning rhyme for rhythm. The difficulties of the Alcaic are considerable, though not insurmountable; but it is questionable how far the metre, even if mastered, will ever be naturalized. It certainly never can be popular, unless a natural system of prosody be adopted, which will enable it to be read, with ease and fluency, by those who are altogether unacquainted with the classical originals. 1

If this last sentence be not an attempted justification for writing accentual alcaics I do not intend to try to establish what it is.

The first stanza of I xxxvii is clearly a gallant attempt to write a popular alcaic:

Now fill your glasses, now foot it merrily,  
Strike up the galop, now for your banquetings,  
Now deck the Gods' shrines with your garlands,  
Now is the time for your fêtes, my comrades.

It requires no comment. His first Archilochian is entirely dactylic, his hexameters all divided at the weak caesura. In six stanzas out of fourteen it is supported by a strong caesura in the fourth foot, in four by a strong caesura in the second; in two stanzas both appear and in five neither. I surmise that these attempts to regularise highly irregular hexameters are purely unconscious. Few hexameters are so easy or so unpleasant to read:

Gone are the snows, and the grasses  
Are showing their face on the meadows,  
So are the fronds on the trees... IV vii.

Dean Farrar reviewing Lytton's translation in the Quarterly Review

1 Lyrics and Bucolics, 1868 p. xv.

for October of the next year is one of very few who wished he had employed classical metres: he claims that the task is possible and provides some lines in evidence:

Ghostlike, in white robes gracefully glimmering,  
From 'neath the dense-wove arch of acacias -  
As stars in dim twilight of Autumn  
Glitter alight i' the dusky welkin....<sup>1</sup>

After 1869 the interest in the reproduction of Horatian metres declined. The hexameter debate continued, but that too proceeded more sporadically between the 'sixties and the 'nineties than it did in those two decades.

In the nineties two 'metrical' versions of Horace appeared, which attracted little attention. I shall consider the second one first lest it should make our conclusion unduly gloomy,

In 1897 the Rev. Philip Phelps produced his Odes of Horace in English, in the Original Metres. He successfully startles his readers in the first sentence of his preface by claiming

that his Version is unique, being the only one in which the Poet appears in an English dress in the Horatian metres.<sup>2</sup>

It is indeed the only complete version in such metres. He hopes to attract the amusement of the scholar and the interest of those unacquainted with classical metres; he gives paradigms of the first Asclepiad, Sapphic and Alcaic for the benefit of the latter, and instantly disenchant the former by asking a favour of him:

1 Quar. R. Oct. 1869 p. 490 cf. Fortescue p. 143 supra.

2 loc. cit. p. vii.

that is, that he will not expect the long and short Latin syllables to be so rendered at all times in English - this were an impossible task - but that he will content himself with such a general rendering of the metres, as, for example, Canning has given (in Sapphics) in his well-known poem, The Needy Knifegrinder.<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible to conceive how amusement, instruction or interest might be aroused by 'Needy Knifegrinders' as execrable as these:

He who is pure and free from guile, my Fuscus,  
 Ne'er shall he need the darts of Mauritania,  
 No! nor the bow, nor quiver, laden full with  
 Poisonous arrows.

Nor do I see why, where quantity is so generously abused, we should tolerate 'love-sport and wantonness' as a translation of 'venerem et proelia' (III xiii 5). In general, however, Phelps is much more faithful to the sense of the original than to the metres. His hexameters are tolerable, but in his version of I viii there is only one long line which carries the right number of syllables, the four preceding ones lacking one, five, two and three respectively; *while the short lines show a tendency to assume the form of Pherecreans,*

...Tempers with bit and bridle.  
 Why fears he to touch the yellow Tiber, why the olive  
 More than the blood of viper  
 Does he shun, and now no longer carries  
 His arms all blue with the discus  
 Or javelin often sent beyond the boundary far,  
 Why he hides, as Achilles  
 Did (they say) of old before the tearful Trojan  
 Funerals, lest his manly  
 Habit should hurry him to slaughter and the Lycian bands.

It is possible to read all these lines with four extremely variable accents, but it is neither amusing nor instructive.

Two years earlier, however, there had been privately printed Horace

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.* p. viii.

in Quantity by Oswald Augustus Smith. He tells us in his preface that his versions of I vii and IV vii

were published in the magazine "Time", now defunct, in 1890, together with a few remarks on the general question, and on the difficulty connected with the treatment of the Latin anapaest and tribrach, which are accented dactyls in English, especially in the cases of proper names, such as Danaus, Tityrus etc., and are so used by the present writer. 1

Unfortunately I have been unable to trace this article but it is clear from this brief reference and from the odes presented that Smith's method is based on quantity while the 'metrical accent' is made to coincide with English accent. We may also gather that Tennyson was his model since he refers to Conington's preface and claims that Tennyson has provided the solvitur ambulando there allowed as a possible exception.<sup>2</sup> Some entertaining elegiacs excuse this addition to the ranks of Horatian translation on the grounds of their metrical novelty.

Smith only translates twenty of the odes, but he does them, by and large, well. To do them justice we must remember that conglomerations of <sup>consonants</sup> ~~vowels~~ are here deemed to make a syllable long: not to lengthen the vowel but to delay the voice between one vowel and the next. We should also remember that the English accents are not intended to fall on the same syllables in metrically identical lines.

Of his alcaics Smith had high hopes,<sup>3</sup> and I do not think them misplaced:

Alas! the years glide past, O my Postumus,  
Glide quickly! think not piety can delay  
Your wrinkles, or th'approach of Age, or  
Death's unavoidable law can alter.....

1 loc. cit. Preface p. 6.

2 Conington ed. 2 1863 p. xxvi.

3 Horace in Quantity 1895 p. 6.

Twice fifty keys will fail to preserve the flasks  
 You prize: an heir more worthy will empty them,  
 And waste the proud vintage unequall'd  
 E'en by the nectar a Pontiff offers.

II xiv stt. 1 and 7.

His sapphics, too, are good, avoiding all resemblance to 'Needy  
 Knifegrinders' even when an English accent may be placed on the sixth  
 syllable, as in the third line of this stanza:

Whosoe'er unblameably lives, O Fuscus,  
 Pure of all guilt, neither a bow, nor Afric's  
 Darts requires, nor needs quiver arm'd with arrows  
 Poison-annointed:...

I xxii

Quantity is usually scrupulously observed, but it is not faultless;  
 occasional bad lines do occur as

None more appalling in her ample beech-woods..

'More' must be long; and short, unstressed syllables in English, as the  
 first in 'appalling' cannot be 'lengthened' by a doubled consonant  
 following.

The hexameters of the first Archilochian display variety, without  
 becoming difficult to follow or over-accentuated:

All looks chang'd upon earth, streams lately so flooded,  
 again glide

Gently the margin along;  
 Nor with a band of Nymphs do the sister Graces in unclad  
 Purity tremble to dance.

Days that are happy, but end; all seasons teach that a mortal's  
 Destiny none can avoid.

IV vii

It has to be admitted that there is also, at times, a super-abundance  
 of inelegantly periphrastic renderings, as 'in unclad purity' for 'nuda'.

Failure to observe the correct caesura in metres like the sapphic  
 and alcaic is not, I think, to be deplored in English versions. The

lines are not embarrassingly long, and our profusion of short words tends to supply all too many irregular caesuras of itself; to insist on a fixed break in such lines leads too often to monotonous jiggling. In the hexameter, however, our ear requires a break and is accustomed to finding it in one of three positions.

Finally I would like to quote the beginning of Smith's I iv, which starts with a rather successful quasi-choriambic movement and proceeds to develop with all permissible variety:

Happy the change! Sharp winter again to the breezy spring  
is yielding,

Seawards the dry-dock'd ships machines are hauling;  
Herds their stalls quit gladly, the ploughman his hearth  
detains no longer,

No longer hoar frost sparkles on the meadows.  
Now leads out fair Queen Cytherea the dance beneath the  
moon-beams,

The lovely Graces, join'd by Nymphs, the ground shake  
With many-twinkling feet; whilst fiery Vulcan in the work-  
shops,

Where toil Cyclopes, sets them all ablazing.

It is a pity these versions are not closer to the literal sense and verbal elegance of the originals, because metrically they are among the most satisfying.

We set out to try and answer the question 'Are translations into classical metres worth attempting?' The individual can only answer for himself. I have met someone who, on hearing Tennyson's alcaics read, declared that it was as though a great light shone, but my astonishment was too great to allow me to examine this phenomenon more closely. Even were such a person able to describe the nature of the sensation there is no means whereby we might compare it with our sensation in reading Latin

alcaics. They are not, and cannot be, the same, and Oxenford is quite right in maintaining that the experience of having 'fagged through' a Latin poet in one's school-days removes one 'far from the popular condition'.<sup>1</sup>

Many scholars, most probably, would agree with Conington that Latin sapphics are more pleasant to read than English ones,<sup>2</sup> but even yet I retain some enthusiasm for 'seeing how the translator has got through his task'. It may be that 'metrical translations' shew even less intrinsic literary merit than the average verse translation, but there is a pleasure in examining the accomplishments of human ingenuity, and it is not a form of pleasure altogether incomparable to the enjoyment we derive from reading Horace. It is, moreover, a distinct pleasure to read versions so different from the namby-pamby verses purveyed by too many translators. For my part I find such attempts well worth while, especially when they are executed with the dexterity of Clough or O.A. Smith at their best.

1 v. p. 116 supra.

2 v. p. 120 supra.

NOTE

I have, throughout this chapter, used a number of terms to describe metrical feet which are unfamiliar largely because these feet do not occur as such in the metres with which we are most familiar. In token of the fact that I have done this rather to avoid deceiving the ear through the eye, by means of the usual symbols for long and short, than from wilful obscurantism, I append a table of the more unusual feet and of the metres which I have discussed.

ALCAIC:  $\bar{\cup} - \cup - - || - \cup \cup - \cup \bar{\cup}$  twice

$\bar{\cup} - \cup - - - \cup - \bar{\cup}$   
 $- \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - \bar{\cup}$

SAPPHIC:  $- \cup - - - || \cup \cup - \cup - \bar{\cup}$  three times  
 (an adonic)  
 $- \cup \cup - \bar{\cup}$

ASCLEPIADS: Made up of three types of line:

a/ The Glyconic  $- - - \cup \cup - \cup \bar{\cup}$

b/ The Pherecretean  $- - - \cup \cup - \bar{\cup}$

c/ The Lesser Asclepiad  $- - - \cup \cup - || - \cup \cup - \cup \bar{\cup}$

d/ The Greater Asclepiad  $- - - \cup \cup - || - \cup \cup - || - \cup \cup - \cup \bar{\cup}$

Classified by Page as:-

FIRST ASCLEPIAD c only

SECOND ASCLEPIAD couplets - a and c

THIRD ASCLEPIAD c c c a

FOURTH ASCLEPIAD c c b a

FIFTH ASCLEPIAD d only

GREATER SAPPHIC (I viii)  $- \cup \cup - \cup - \bar{\cup}$

$- \cup - - - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - \bar{\cup}$

<sup>MAN</sup>ALCMAH Hexameter followed by a Dactylic Tetrameter Catalectic

$- \bar{\cup} \bar{\cup} | - \bar{\cup} \bar{\cup} | - \cup \cup | - \bar{\cup}$

FIRST ARCHILOCHIAN Hexameter followed by a Minor Archilochian

$- \cup \cup - \cup \cup \bar{\cup}$

FOURTH ARCHILOCHIAN Major Archilochian followed by an Iambic Trimeter Catalectic

$- \bar{\cup} \bar{\cup} | - \bar{\cup} \bar{\cup} | - \bar{\cup} \bar{\cup} | - \cup \cup | - \cup | - \cup | - \bar{\cup}$   
 $\bar{\cup} - | \cup - | \bar{\cup} - | \cup - | \cup - | \bar{\cup}$

Amphibrach  $\cup - \cup$

Cretic  $- \cup - \cup$

First Paeon  $- \cup \cup \cup$

Choriamb  $- \cup \cup -$

Tribrach  $\cup \cup \cup$

Bacchius  $\cup - -$

Antibacchius  $- - \cup$

Molossus  $- - -$

Epitritus secundus  $- \cup - -$

V Five Translators.

For close inspection I have chosen five translators: Francis Newman; Theodore Martin; John Conington; Edward Bulwer Lytton and William Gladstone. The reasons for this selection must be briefly set forward. It is not really a chronologically significant sequence, or at least not principally so, though I shall treat them in order of publication and make some attempt to relate them to what trends are apparent.

Of first editions of the complete odes translated into verse in the nineteenth century about 40% appeared between 1850 and 1870, 30% of the total between 1860 and 1870; a further 30% appeared between 1885 and 1895, 60% of these after 1890. Thus, all these translations first came out in complete form in the two peak periods of production and are likely either to have provided, or reacted to, some stimulus particularly powerful at these times.

All five translators were men of note in their own time. None would be much less memorable to-day if they had never translated Horace: even Martin and Conington whose translations were highly popular in the last century, left other monuments as durable. I think it is true to say that none of the nineteenth century translators of Horace, with the possible exception of Sir Stephen De Vere, are remembered chiefly as such. With some knowledge of their characters and their other activities we may try to gather how and why these five men chose to render Horace; we may try to assess the extent to which they either responded to some real attraction in Horace, or used him to demonstrate

their own idiosyncrasies.

Francis Newman was the earliest of the nineteenth century translators attempting metrical innovation and rhymeless austerity to make any real impact on the public. With Sewall he set up a theory of translation which constituted a challenge - a challenge which excited opposition rather than rivalry. Martin's translation, which achieved a considerable meed of praise, is typical of the other extreme, and of the majority of lesser translators. Facile versification and 'anglicisation' are much more common than metrical innovation and obscure Latinity. He achieved eminence in so far as his exuberant character is more consistently conspicuous in his translation than is usual.

Conington's translation rapidly assumed the status of a contemporary classic in this field. Its appearance seems not to have seriously threatened the popularity of Martin's; rather did its more 'classical' virtues draw attention to Martin's deficiencies in this respect, encouraging the earlier translator to assert a more overtly 'popular' intention while modifying his more exotic excesses.

Lytton's exploit is one of the most interesting in its own right. No other translator managed to occupy a position so centrally established in theory between the extremes represented by Newman and Martin. If we once accept his basic metrical premise, we shall discover few major critical canons against which he habitually offends. If he failed it must be partly on the grounds that the compromise he sought

panders neither to the 'general reader', nor to the 'scholar', nor to the idiosyncratic.

Of the five translations Gladstone's is of the least intrinsic importance. It may be taken as representing the great number of translations undertaken largely for lack of crossword puzzles, and as a demonstration of the scope offered by the odes for intellectual gymnastics of many kinds. Horace provokes many kinds of uneasiness in the critic and the translator, and Gladstone's 'prefaces' contain explorations of various lines of attack. His draft versions provide evidence of every stage of translation, such as is rarely to be found.

Finally, the very fact that all five men were already known to the public meant that their translations received a certain amount of critical attention; reviewers were encouraged to write yet more articles on Horace, often comparing versions by lesser competitors which would otherwise have remained unnoticed; and thus these five are largely responsible for the flourishing of the cult of the Horatian ode, while contemporary opinions of their respective contributions may be found on every side.

1. Newman.

Francis Newman, the younger brother of the Cardinal, was born in 1805. He followed his brother to Ealing school where, he tells us,

we learned to repeat great masses of Latin poetry, besides the grotesque "Propria quae maribus," and "As in praesenti," with the Latin syntax. Moreover, we learned Latin vocabulary, both of nouns and verbs.... We also learned by heart Latin dialogues of modern composition, and all who rose to the highest class learnt, or heard and understood, from one to four plays of Terence. 1.

To this system in general he had no objections later, feeling that 'constant repetition' and quantities of learning by heart were valuable exercises in that they 'familiarized even dull boys with the facts of the language'. He appears to have read the odes at school and to have found them unsatisfactory as educational tools:

Horace's Odes are, many of them, gems of perfection as regards mere language; but when their whole compass is so small, and they can be read in so very moderate a time by one already advanced in the language, nothing whatever is to be gained by prematurely encountering their very numerous difficulties, which must seriously lower their interest to the learner.

A little later in the article, however, he recounts an episode which, for him, is indicative of an important truth:

An intelligent learner, for some time self-educated, told me that in spite of the great difficulties in Horace's Odes, their shortness had been an invaluable stimulus to the study. 2

1 Miscellanies, Vol. V, chiefly Academic. 1891 pp. 71-2.

2 Miscellanies, Vol. V. 1891 pp. 72, 76 and 79. The essay on 'Modern Latin as a Basis of Instruction' first appeared in The Museum No. IV Jan. 1862.

From this school he followed John up to Oxford as a scholar of Worcester in November 1822. In 1826 he achieved a double first in mathematics and classics, both subjects being at that time necessary for an Honours degree, and won the Balliol Scholarship. This he resigned in 1830 when the time came for him to take his M.A. and subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. His chief difficulties are said to have arisen over the theory of baptismal regeneration and the 'unspirituality of the English episcopate'.<sup>1</sup>

He proceeded to Ireland as private tutor in the household of an Irish peer and became a disciple of Darby, founder of the Plymouth Brethren; thence as an 'undenominational' missionary to Bagdad, where he seems to have reached the uncomfortable conclusion that he preferred the infidels to his fellow-missionaries. In 1833 he returned to England. Charged with heresy both by his brother and Darby, he proclaimed himself a theist. He became Classical Tutor at Bristol College until, in 1840, he went to Manchester as Professor of Latin at Manchester New College; six years later he was elected to the Chair of Latin at University College, London, and there he stayed till his retirement in 1863. He died at Weston-super-Mare in 1897.

It is Newman's misfortune to be remembered now chiefly as Matthew Arnold's victim in the 'Translating Homer' controversy of 1861, a battle from which I do not consider that either side emerged victorious. In his own generation, however, Newman was better known as the author of

<sup>1</sup> Manchester Guardian, obituary notice. Oct. 6th. 1897.

The Soul: its Sorrows and Aspirations, 1849; Phases of Faith 1850 and Theism, Doctrinal and Practical 1858; also, inevitably, as John Henry's brother.

It was with reference to The Soul that George Eliot alluded to him as 'our blessed St. Francis' <sup>1</sup>, and although this enthusiasm abated over the years her affectionate regard for Newman was sustained. <sup>2</sup> Carlyle also writes admiringly of him in his Life of John Sterling as

Then and still an ardently inquiring soul, of fine University and other attainments, of sharp-cutting, restlessly-advancing intellect, and the mildest pious enthusiasm. <sup>3</sup>

Newman's writings were by no means limited to matters theological.

Another side of his character is well summarised by Mr. Thomas Hornblower Gill in his contribution to a memorial pamphlet where he speaks of Newman's detestation of imperialism and all its works:

The intensity of his feelings in regard to public affairs bordered upon fanaticism. In his judgement of publicists he made no allowance for circumstances, and from disapproval of some particular step overlooked the general course and final beneficence of their action. <sup>4</sup>

Among books published by Newman were: A Collection of Poetry for the Practice of Elocution, 1850; Regal Rome, 1852; Relations of Professional to Liberal Knowledge, 1859; The Moral Influence of Law, 1860; Hiawatha in Latin, 1862; History of the Hebrew Monarchy, 1865; A Handbook of Modern Arabic, 1866; Translations into Latin Verse,

1 Letters. Yale ed. Vol. I. 1951. p. 282.

2 v. Letters. Yale ed. Vol. II. 1954 pp. 24-5, 85, 130 and Vol. VI 1956 p. 34.

3 loc. cit. 1897 ed. Part III. (Chap. I) p. 180. First published in 1851.

4 In Memoriam F.W.N. 1897 p. 7.

1868 <sup>1</sup>; Europe of the Near Future, 1871; Reorganization of English Institutions, 1880; A Libyan Vocabulary, 1882; Essays on Diet, 1883; Rebilus Cruso, 1884; Comments on the text of Aeschylus, 1884; Reminiscences of Two Exiles and Two Wars, 1888 and five volumes of Miscellanies 1869-91.

The poems selected for the practice of elocution shew Scott and Moore heading the contributors, followed by Shakespeare, Mrs. Hemans, Coleridge and Milman; nearly all the poets represented are of the nineteenth century.

The Miscellanies consist mainly of articles which appeared in the Prospective, Eclectic and Westminster Reviews and discuss not only academic, theological, political and social subjects but also, with passionate evangelism, the causes of vegetarianism, teetotalism and abstinence from tobacco. A collection of such articles, cut out and annotated by himself, survives in the Bodleian. They range from 1844 to 1853, and shew that between November 21st. 1852 and August 27th 1853 he wrote no fewer than 112 articles. Three or four such articles often appeared in one issue. They are mostly political, and the dominant themes are support for his friends Mazzini and Kossuth, urgent calls for 'decentralisation' in the fields of imperialism and local government, violent antipathy towards Louis Napoleon and concern with the questions of womens's suffrage and prostitution.

<sup>1</sup> His Latin verses are very bad because, as he explained in a letter to his old Headmaster, it was 'an exercise I always used to dislike, and have never much practised. I now find my dislike was largely caused by the unsuitable and over-stiff metres which used to be imposed on me .... I think it really a folly to insist on Horace's restrictions ....' v. I.G. Sieveking, Memoir and letters of Francis W. Newman, 1909 pp. 164-5.

This summary of Newman's interests is not entirely irrelevant since many of the themes appear in the notes to his translation. We should, moreover, have some idea of the sort of man with whom we are concerned. Francis Newman was, in many ways, an eccentric figure, and this is as apparent in his translation of Horace as it is anywhere. Nevertheless, his preoccupations were typical of his time, and his 'eccentricity' lies largely in the single-mindedness with which he preached his causes, and, pre-eminently, his insistence that in all cases the final appeal must be to morality.

Why should such a man choose to translate Horace?

It must not be inferred from my selecting Horace to translate, that I appreciate him as a genius of the first rank.... But I select Horace, as the Latin poet of next note to Virgil, - the poet of whom it next concerns the English reader to know something, - whose writings bring one into immediate contact with the celebrated Augustan age, when Roman taste ripened to perish, - finally, who is so compact in magnitude and so various in metre and in subject, as to give the best chance of succeeding somewhere in an attempt so novel. 1

It appears that Newman thought, perhaps uniquely, that Horace lent himself in some way to translation. To chose the odes of Horace, rather than the satires and epistles, as presenting a picture of life in Augustan Rome may also seem odd, at least until we reflect that he accepted every statement in the odes as being literally true. Thus, while the 'moral' odes, with more or less qualification, taught lessons valuable in themselves, the erotic odes could be used to display the corruption of morals setting in with the inception of the empire.

1 The Odes of Horace translated into unrhymed metres. ed. 1 1853 p.v.

A more basic question was why the classics should be translated at all, since 'modern European literature has now eclipsed the ancient', and since it may arise 'out of the preoccupation of the mind with deeper truths and purer beauty than was given to the ancients to attain' <sup>1</sup>. Newman's concern was with the self-educated.

When commercial England attains a higher mental culture, it will not be that of Oxford and Cambridge, but that of Germany and America combined,

but meanwhile

I conceive that every educated man who feels it inexpedient to encounter the effort of learning two difficult dead languages and exploring their literature, must desire to know whatever may be known in English concerning those masterminds of the ancients, who have so affected the European intellect; and this gives a great value to select Translations. <sup>2</sup>

Newman insists that he is writing for the 'unlearned' reader and that he is intent on purveying historical and moral education, <sup>3</sup> and both these facts are very important in considering his attempt, but what chiefly characterised his versions for his critics, and what remains their outstanding peculiarity, were the unrhymed metres into which he chose to translate the odes. It might be supposed that any such attempt would lessen the popular appeal of the book, and this had indeed been suggested to Newman;

I have been assured, that it is impossible to induce Englishmen to read poems in new metres. It may be so. But if so, I think it equally impossible to induce them to read ancient poetry at all, - in any metres, - or in prose translations. <sup>4</sup>

1 ed. I 1853 Pref. pp. iii-iv.

2 *ibid.* ed. I 1853 Pref. pp. iii-iv.

3 " *ed. I 1853* pp. iii-vi passim.

4 *ibid.* p. iv.

We must not underestimate the 'thoughtful and serious reader, anxious for instruction' whom Newman bespoke for himself. <sup>1</sup>

Even in his metrical innovations there seems to have been no desire to impress the reader with the purely literary charm of the original, but rather to give him 'a feeling of the form of thought, and a right conception of the ancient tone of mind', other translators having failed 'from aiming to produce poems in modern style'. <sup>2</sup>

Newman, in fact, takes up precisely the same position as he did in the Homer controversy and elsewhere, that a close translation into Latin 'serves very well to mark the diversity of the two languages'. <sup>3</sup>

The essential diversity of Latin and English verse is clearly discussed later in the Preface where accent and quantity are correctly distinguished. Magyar poetry is cited, as it is in the reply to Arnold, as an example of contemporary quantitative verse. <sup>4</sup> Newman's adherence to the theory that Horace's odes were, many of them, intended to be sung enables him to employ unembarrassed, the argument of musical derivation.

For his own part, Newman says, he has

endeavoured to adopt stanzas of similar tone and feeling, and proportionate compass to those of the original; but by no means to imitate the original metres. <sup>5</sup>

1 *ibid.* p. iv.

2 *ibid.* p. iv.

3 'Modern Latin as a Basis of Instruction'. *Miscellanies* Vol. V 1891 p. 81

4 v. Homeric Translation, in theory and practice. A Reply. 1861 p. 13.

5 Pref. ed. 1. p. ix.

He also uses 'one and only one' English representative for each type of Latin stanza, maintaining that 'the ability to fulfil this condition seemed to me an important test of my stanza being really suitable'.<sup>1</sup>

Though he does not say so in as many words, it is clear that the qualities of the Latin which Newman was most anxious to preserve were its brevity and its 'classicism'. This appears from his statement that

to work under the pressure of immoveable conditions, if they be not unreasonable ones, produces in the long run the chastest result,<sup>2</sup>

from his admitted difficulties with his stanzas in the first edition,<sup>3</sup> and his decision in the second to lengthen the first two lines of his representative of the Alcaic.<sup>4</sup>

The metres which Newman uses are nearly all iambic and trochaic; each is discussed in the text on its first introduction and they are indeed better left for discussion in close connection with the versions. The observations on English prosody in the preface to the first edition are of little importance. It is necessary only to quote Newman's 'summary of principle' that it may stand for what apology can be made for the often intangible badness of Newman's verses:

English metre is ruled by Accent, without any regard to its equability: nevertheless, the SWEETNESS of the verse depends on that equability, as well as on the ease of utterance, - that is, on the intrinsic softness of the words to be sounded; while the ENERGY depends on the opposite qualities, - unequable accents and strength of sounds. 5

Most of Newman's versions seem to aim at ENERGY.

1 *ibid.* p. xiii.

2 Pref. ed. 1. p. xiii.

3 *v.* for example his note on No. 23, III-xxi ed. 1. p. 61.

4 ed. 2 1876.

5 Pref. ed. 1. p. xv.

Of the preface to the first edition it remains only to note Newman's defence for presenting the odes in a chronological sequence, which he does not claim to be 'true', only 'possible'. Newman is the only translator that I know of who has attempted this. For one working with the 'unlearned' seeker after truth in mind it is a supremely logical thing to do:

For, inasmuch as many allusions to historical events are found, which absolutely require elucidation, the attempt to expound them involves the reader in hopeless confusion, if these odes are not presented in chronological order. Nothing but the fact that Horace is chiefly read at school, and for the mere language, with great unconcern as to the historical allusions, can make the existing malarrangement endurable. Yet, if these odes, - say, a quarter of the whole, - be presented chronologically, what else can a translator possibly do with the rest, but drop them into such positions as seem to him most probable, or at any rate, possible? 1

The answer would seem to be 'Print them in a place apart'. Newman here begs an important question. What then is history? References to the campaigns of various years are one thing, and there is something to be said for presenting them in a possible chronological order, especially if the claims of history are to be preferred to those of artistic inter-relationships, but when it comes to arranging a water-tight sequence of *Lydias* and *Lalages* the number of odes concerned are far more than a quarter and History peers out from behind the mask of the comic muse.

1 Pref. ed.1. p. vii.

The first edition was published by John Chapman on a commission basis <sup>1</sup>, and simultaneously, doubtless on the same terms, by Walton and Maberly <sup>2</sup>. Both editions were printed by John Edward Taylor; they are virtually identical but for the position of the imprint and an 'Additional Errata' slip which I have seen only in the Walton and Maberly edition. The second edition was published in 1876 by Trübner and Co. and printed by Stevenson, Bailey and Smith.

In the second edition the notes are fewer, the easier historical references are omitted; the 'introductions' to the versions mostly remain, but the accounts of the metres have gone. The preface is a much shorter summary of the points put forward in the first edition; they are, accordingly, more pithy.

The state of morals in Rome was lax in the extreme, and these Odes exhibit it; but they are not of corrupt tendency, even when they justly shock us ... on the whole a purer taste has saved Horace from the foulness of some other Latin poets. In general the libertinism here indicated was not wholly separate from a certain personal regard between man and woman, and in so far was a step higher than the immoralities which oppress the heart in the cities of Christiandom. That Horace could address Lydia with so warm affectation in No. 47 [III ix], and with such detestable unmanly spite in No. 102 [I xxv], is a profitable comment on the tendencies of what is now trumpeted as "Free Love". <sup>3</sup>

One point is given more prominence than it had been awarded previously; possibly Newman was riled by the mirth of some of his reviewers <sup>4</sup>:

1 Letters of George Eliot, Yale ed. Vol. II. 1954 p. 90.

2 Both regularly handled Newman's works.

3 Pref. ed. 2. 1876 p. iv.

4 e.g. Hannay, Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 332.

Private persons and ladies are veiled by the poet under fictitious names; but the attempt to establish that the persons themselves are fictitious, though made by reputable scholars, is quite futile. 1

Alterations to the text and notes of the odes will be noticed occasionally in considering individual versions, some of which we may, at last, approach.

No. 45. I xxxiv ON DIVINE PROVIDENCE

This ode records an incipient reaction in the mind of Horace, from Epicurean irreligion, towards a reverential belief that the gods interfere in human things. He specifies solely the occurrence of lightening in a clear sky as the crisis of his conversion; but it is manifest that a broad change of temperament and character was coming on. The apathy into which political despair had thrown him was overcome. He had learned to believe that the destruction of the Roman republic did not prove that there was no God in heaven, or that mortals have nothing better to do but eat, drink and drown their miseries in levity. The mischiefs of early sensuality were never wholly shaken off by Horace; but from about his thirty-fifth year onward he rather rose above than fell below the current Roman sentiment, so that he ventures in his fortieth year to assume the style of a moral prophet.

The last stanza of this ode, concerning the tiara, refers to the court revolutions of Parthia, and guides us to the opinion that it was written as Nos. 39 and 44 [I xxvi and II ii] in the year B.C. 30 or 29.

The metre is as in No. 23.

Scarce and scant my worship was,  
 Whilst, by doting wisdom taught,  
 I rov'd! but lo! my sails reverting,  
 Needs do I the course abandon'd

Trace again. For Jove, whose fire  
 Else the clouds coruscant rends,  
 His thundering steeds and winged chariot  
 Now in sky serene has driven.

1 Pref. ed. 2 1876 p. iii.

Quakes dull Earth and wandering floods,  
 Styx, and hateful horrid seat  
 Of Taenarus, and bounds of Atlas,  
 Thunderstricken. God at pleasure

Low for high and dark for bright  
 Changes. Fortune robs from one,  
 With whizzing wing, the proud tiára,  
 Doom'd to grace another's temples.

- [L] 2. Epicurus taught, that the gods were too serene to interfere in any human or terrestrial affairs.

Thus Newman presents his versions. They often appear rather forbidding, but his notes are usually illuminating either of the historical allusions or of Newman and his attitude to Horace. Most of his reviewers dismissed them from their discussions with a courteous nod, but it must not be forgotten that they are an important part of his book. His historical judgements would not all be acceptable today, but he used his sources with some critical intelligence and his 'unlearned' reader would find his comments coherent, informative and eminently useful.

In his second edition Newman omitted many of the notes, and sometimes abridged the introductions as well as making numerous alterations to the odes themselves. The ode quoted above, for instance, retains the introduction entire, but for the metrical clue, and the note on the Epicureans is banished. The ode itself appears thus:

Rare and scant my worship of the gods,  
 Whilst, in doting wisdom confident,  
 I wandered: but, my sails reversing,  
 Needs do I the course abandon'd

Trace again: for Jupiter whose fire  
 Otherwhile the clouds coruscant rends,  
 His thundering steeds and chariot winged  
 Now in sky serene has driven.

Stricken by his lightening, sluggish Earth,  
 Wandering floods, and Styx, and horrid seat  
 Of hateful Taenārus, and Atlas  
 Furthest quakes. The god at pleasure

Low to lofty changeth, bright to dark.  
 Oft with whizzing wing doth Fortune snatch  
 Swiftly from one the proud tiara,  
 Round another's brow to place it.

These two versions will serve to illustrate a number of Newman's characteristic practices. The first thing that strikes us, looking at the two versions, is that the shape of the stanzas has changed. Describing his representation of the alcaic stanza in the first edition Newman says,

My substitute is apt to be deficient in compass, wherever proper names occur in the Latin; but all attempts to enlarge it seemed on the whole to involve worse evils.

The first, second and fourth lines of the stanza are trochaic with four beats, but the two first are mutilated at the end, the fourth has its trochees complete. The third line consists of four and a half iambs. 1

In his introduction to III xxix (No. 97) in the first edition he complains particularly of this inconvenience, and the appearance of a 'Dace' in II xx bears this out. By the second edition he had had further thoughts:

In my first edition (1853) I took too short a stanza as my substitute for the Alcaics, and in some odes was painfully conscious that it cramped me: though in many it suited well enough. I have now elongated each of the two first lines by one Trochee, and in many difficult passages have gained much advantage from the slight change. 2

1 ed. 1 p. 61 Introd. to No. 23 - III xxi. 2 Pref. ed. 2 p.v.

In this ode, as in many others, we see that he felt it 'suited well enough', for in the first two stanzas the changes are very few: he has managed to fit in 'deorum' which is to the good, but 'confident' is not much better than 'taught' for 'consultus'; 'otherwhile' is in the worst possible class of poetic vocabulary, but perhaps it was felt to be more chaste than 'usually' for 'plerumque'. At any rate Newman clearly felt that this closer approximation rendered unnecessary the clumsy expedient of italics.

In the third stanza the missing connective is expensively supplied; and 'bounds of Atlas' is altered to 'Atlas Furthest'; 'furthest Atlas' would perhaps be tolerable for 'Atlanteus finis'. To use one verb in the first half of the last sentence where Horace uses four need not offend us here, though 'dark' and 'bright' are less than equivalent to 'obscura' and 'insignem'; the word 'rapax' is not directly represented, but it is vividness rather than sense that suffers; 'apicem' in the Latin is not qualified, nor is it placed on anyone's brow or subject to a doom.

Apart from these details, which are relatively few, both versions represent an accurate translation of the words of the original. The word 'whizzing' is distasteful: the more popular 'whirring' might have been better. We may also notice in these versions another of Newman's dominant practices: in the first stanza he gives 'course' for 'cursus'; in the second 'coruscant' for

'corusco' <sup>1</sup> and in the third 'horrid seat' for 'horrida sedes'.

Sometimes it is tempting to regard these direct transferences as the product of laziness, but to do Newman justice we must allow that it may well be a deliberate drawing of the veil, designed to reveal the Latin behind the English. This proto-Poundery, if such it is, certainly serves to 'mark the diversity of the two languages': even if 'horrid' retained Radcliffian associations such as would not be entirely inappropriate for the Latinless reader, he would surely assume Taenarus to be a mythological bad baron.

How would we assess the version in more general terms? It is admirably brief; it is 'chaste'; it has a certain epigrammatic quality in the line 'Low for high and dark for bright' which is eminently Horatian; the metre is not difficult to follow but the general effect is obscure, unpoetic and unexciting. It is not an easy ode. The tone of the original has been debated <sup>2</sup>, but however seriously we take the 'conversion' we must agree that this is not one of Horace's more lyrical or elevated odes and that it is therefore the less likely to be striking in translation.

Before turning to other odes less problematic in character it may be as well to consider very briefly Newman's substitute for the alcaic stanza. What is needed is a metre adaptable to a wide range of

1 The adjective, of course, qualifies 'fire' not 'clouds'.

2 v. Orelli's note on this ode and also Sellar, The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, ed. 2 1899 pp. 160-161 and Fraenkel, Horace, 1957 pp. 253-257.

tones from the gay to the grandiose; the stanzaic structure should be such that lines and stanzas may flow each into the next without interruption of cadence; the fourth line, on the other hand, must be capable of bringing a stanza and the completed ode to a well rounded close. Furthermore, we may hope for some attempt to 'reproduce the gathering wave of the first two lines, the thundering fall of the third and the rapid backwash of the fourth'.<sup>1</sup> Newman's metre, especially in its revised form, is well designed to fulfil these conditions; the switch from a trochaic to an iambic movement in the third line is effective. Failure to recapture Horace's tone need not be attributed to this metre unless, of course, we reject Newman's premise that rhyme and 'modernity' are out of place.

Failure, it must be admitted, is all too common. The end of III v, where we expect some nobility and pathos, fails to get airborne:

Then, as though of rank and fortune stript,  
 He his little sons repell'd ('tis said)  
 And chaste wife's kiss, his manly visage  
 Sternly on the ground everting:

Till his counsel, new and wonderful,  
 Fix'd the Fathers' vacillating minds.  
 Then calm amid his mourning kinsmen  
 Hastened forth the splendid exile.

Though of barbarous torture well aware  
 Held in store for him, he all the same  
 His thronging friends dispers'd, and people  
 Vainly his return obstructing.

1 L.P. Wilkinson, Horace and his Lyric Poetry, paperback ed. 1968 p. 152

E'en as though, from clients' tedious suit  
 Fresh decided, blithely liberate,  
 He to Phalanthus' town were wending,  
 Or, to meads of green Venáfrum. 1

In his digression on the nature of English poetry in his first edition, Newman maintains that 'Long, Latinized or compound words, which have two accents on them, are more appropriate in the line of five beats'<sup>2</sup>: he thus limits himself in theory to a predominantly Anglo-Saxon vocabulary. Numerous exceptions he was compelled to admit, but he certainly denies himself a Miltonic style of diction such as might have been more compatible with his frequent use of Latin syntax, and the resulting incongruity is surely one of the chief reasons for the oddity of his translations.

We shall return to this ode when the time comes to consider Newman's notes, but meanwhile let us see how the gayer alcaics appear. It cannot but be a depressing investigation:

Late I liv'd to damsels suitable:  
 Not inglorious was my warfare then.  
 My arms, and harp discharg'd from service  
 Now upon this wall I offer,

Which the left approaches of her fane  
 Guards for sea-born Venus .....

III xxvi. ed. 2.

When Newman detects a joke in Horace, which he does from time to time, he inserts a note to draw it to our attention.<sup>3</sup>

Very occasionally Newman is successful in a light vein. Here is his I xi, ('The spirit is playfully solemn.')

1 ed. 2.

2 loc. cit. p. xiv.

3 e.g. ed. 1. p. 158. Note on 'vocatus atque non vocatus audit' II xviii l. 40. As Newman says 'The joke is not much appreciated by editors'.

Cease to search, - for none may know, -  
     what end for me or thee,  
 Léuconoe! the gods assign;  
     nor seek of Babylon  
 Mystic numbers. Better far  
     to take whate'er betides:  
 Be it, winters many await;  
     or be it, Jove bestows  
 This the last, - with mouldering cliffs  
     disabling Tuscan waves.  
 Then be wise, and strain the wine:  
     retrench to scanty life  
 Distant hopes; for whilst we talk,  
     the spiteful hours are gone.  
 Seize the moments: wisest he,  
     who least the morrow trusts.   1

The greater degree of success here is perhaps the result of a slightly less rigid adherence to the Latin.

That it is Newman's vocabulary which chiefly irritates the reader may be seen by his version of I xxii where there is little that is exceptionable:

The pure of life, of guilt unconscious,  
 Needs not the Moorish bow and jav'lin,  
 Nor, fraught with many a poison'd arrow,  
     The quiver, Fuscus!  
 Whether he cross the broiling Syrtes,  
 Or Caucasus to strangers cruel;  
 Or where the lands Hydaspes kisses,  
     Renown'd in fable.  
 For while unarm'd in Sabine forest  
 Beyond the bound I wander'd careless,  
 And sang my Lalage, - outstarted  
     A wolf, and fled me.  
 Not such a portent martial Daunia  
 Rears in her spreading mast-oak thickets,  
 Nor Juba's thirsty land engenders, -  
     Stern nurse of lions.

O place me where in torpid valleys  
 No summer breeze the tree refreshes,  
 Or where with mist and Jove ungenial 1  
     The seasons languish; -  
 Place me in land denied to houses,  
 Too close beneath the Sun's careering; -  
 I'll love my Lalage sweetly laughing,  
     And sweetly prattling.

This ode also serves as an example of Newman's substitute for the sapphic stanza. It is described as iambic 'with four feet and a half in each of the first three lines, and two feet and a half in the last line of the stanza.' In this instance the accents fall with great regularity on alternate syllables, the only exceptions occurring in line five, and perhaps line twenty-one. Such irregularities, especially when they occur at the beginning of the line, do not greatly deter the reader, but it seems that Newman tried to avoid them from his printing

Jove n<sup>o</sup>t approving

as the last line of the fifth stanza of I ii, where the superimposed accent is not really necessary oratorically. In the same ode there do appear, however, three examples of the fourth line stressed on the first and fourth syllables, so that we should, perhaps, not make too much of this.

Newman's version of I xxii was criticised by a reviewer in the Eclectic Review for its inaccuracy, especially in the last two stanzas<sup>2</sup>;

1 A note to I i has already informed the reader that 'Jove is often Pantheistically confounded with the atmosphere by the poets'.

2 Ecl. R. June 1853 p. 702

this, however, only in passing. His wrath is more persistently directed against the metres. It is a surprisingly long and eloquent review from one who has not bothered to read the preface, where, moreover, he would have found more ably set forth many of the arguments he himself employs. The greater part of the review is devoted to emphasising the differences between English and Latin verse and the folly of Professor Newman in attempting to attract the English ear with classical metres <sup>1</sup>. The reviewer, it is true, is singularly defective in ear and education since he also assumes French Alexandrines to be anapaestic <sup>2</sup>. In stating that the reviewer did not 'read' the preface I do him the justice of allowing his account of Latin prosody to be his own; he did, however, open the book on those pages where Newman gives his, essentially identical, exposition, because he quotes from them in his review.

This unreliable witness, whose aspersions Newman rebutted in the preface to his Iliad <sup>3</sup>, was by no means the only critic to find the metres difficult: a writer in The Times for November 18th. 1869 maintains that Newman's attempt should have discouraged Lord Lytton from following in his footsteps:

Lord Lytton's lines are smooth and musical compared with those by means of which Mr. Newman sets our teeth on edge. But Mr. Newman, we must remember, essayed the thing from a daring originality and love of paradox, such as is conspicuous in some other works of his. 4

1 loc. cit. pp. 696-704.      2 ibid. p. 697.  
 3 loc. cit. 1856 p. xviii.  
 4 Times. Nov. 18th, 1869 p. 5.

Hannay struggles to find merit in them as 'interesting experiments' but finds them, in spite of the superimposed accents, 'somewhat quaint and harsh'; he gives his final verdict sadly:

Our complaint of Mr. Newman is not that his rhythms are new, and that he despises the ordinary ornaments of our common poetry. We respect the rhythms as experiments, and we honour the exactness as exactness; we only assert, that it is but one quality, and that he has not yet proved that his novelty of workmanship is compatible with that ease, grace, and music, which are as much essentials as the downright meaning of phrases and words. 1

A contributor to the London Quarterly waxes choleric over Newman's 'mongrel Sapphic-Iambic' version of I x. 2

As for the metres we have so far exhibited, I do not think that they are in themselves difficult to read. It is rather when the rhythm conflicts with the natural stress, or where the syntax or word order is strained that the modern reader mostly stumbles; but we have constantly to reflect that the modern reader is probably much more accomplished ~~today~~ in reading unrhymed metres than was his mid-nineteenth century counterpart. So far from being hard to follow, Newman's metres, once we become familiar with the fact that they are virtually all iambic or trochaic, and rigidly so, become the more inelastic and halting. To ignore the intended accentuation is sometimes the way to a greater enjoyment.

See how white Soracte stands, deep of snow!  
The staggering trees no more support the load:  
The rivers halt, in frosty stiffness fetter'd ...

reads well enough, but it is not thus, of course, that Newman divides the lines.

1 Quar. Oct. 1858 pp. 350 & 360.

2 loc. cit. April 1874 p. 16.

Interestingly enough, Newman reads better when he tackles the more unusual metres:

The snows are all dispers'd; the plains  
 Their grass are now regaining,  
 And trees their hair:  
 The Earth its season duly shifts;  
 And in their banks decreasing  
 The streams run off: ....

... Yet still the swift returning moons  
 Repair the heavenly losses:  
 But wé, when join'd  
 With pious Aeneas below,  
 With Tullus rich, and Ancus  
 Are dust and shade....

IV vii 1-4, and 13-16 ed. 1.

Of this metre Newman himself says,

The metre is abrupt, and to me unpleasing, though I am responsible for its defects: but the original metre is also abrupt. I intend this to be a mutilation of No. 9 [I vii], as Horace's is a mutilation of elegiac verse. 1

I vii, in fact, is again one of Newman's happier attempts: after describing its structure the composer instructs us that

The rhythm is vigorous and simple, - in some sense epical. The voice must be sustained and energetic. 2

Some choose for praises Ephesus,  
 Bright Rhodes or Mitylène,  
 Or walls of two-sea'd Corinth;  
 Some Thebes for Dionysus fam'd,  
 Or Delphi for Apollo,  
 Or deep Thessalian Tempe....

.....  
 - Me not the enduring Sparta  
 Nor fertile-soil'd Larissa's plain  
 So to the heart has smitten,  
 As Anio headlong tumbling,

1 ed. 1. 'Mutilation' here signifies only 'curtailment'

2 ed. 1. p. 27.

Loud-brawling Albunea's grot,  
 Tiburnus' groves and orchards  
 With restless rivulets streaming.... 1

A sufficient idea has, I hope, been given of the nature of Newman's versions in general. Each Latin metre has one, and only one, English representative, all of them basically trochaic or iambic with the exceptions of the fourth lines of the third and fourth Asclepaid: 'Whilst of destiny fierce he sang', I xv 4; 'One side bare of the oars is left' I xiv 4; and the startlingly Gilbertian Ionic a minore:

It is hard upon the ladies  
 To be barr'd from tender sporting;  
 Nor in luscious wine to swallow  
 Their alarms; but swoon in horror  
 At an uncle's sharp invectives. ... III xii 1 - 3. 2

The Latin syntax and the Latin words are preserved wherever possible; omission of words is far more common than insertion, partly on principle and partly on account of the syllabic brevity of the English substitutes. The vocabulary is mostly prosaic as, according to Newman<sup>3</sup>, was the vocabulary of Latin poetry, but it is generously interspersed with archaisms and other strange expressions of distracting eccentricity. 4

1 ed. 1. pp. 27-8. The version in the second edition is unusual in that it is worse, in nearly all its divergencies, than the first.

2 'In the English, each line has only three accents of the voice ... moreover the first and third accent may be much stronger than the second.' Note ad. loc.

3 'Lectures on Poetry', in Miscellanies Vol. 1 1869 p. 84.

4 e.g. 'plectrum' in I xxvi 11, is translated 'harpstick' in ed. 1. and 'hammer' in ed. 2. on the grounds that there is no English equivalent; we also find: 'Underheaps' for 'caementis', III xxiv 3; 'Lesbian burgess' for 'Lesbio civi' of Alcaeus, I xxxii 5; all in ed. 1. In ed. 2. 'to noble task Again ... In Cecropian boot betake thee!' for 'grande munus/Cecropio repetes cothurno', II i 11/12, and countless others.

From failing to arrive at a right conception of the knowledge of the Latin-less reader, Newman has often produced lines which must have been utterly incomprehensible to one with 'no knowledge whatever of ancient languages or literature, except to have read Homer in a translation' <sup>1</sup>. True, he supplied notes, but they serve rather to expound what is difficult in the Latin than the obscurities of the English.

The notes are concerned with the elucidation of historical and geographical references; with questions of interpretation in a broader sense; with the dating of individual odes, and with Newman's moral reflections. From the first two categories we may get some idea of the editions and learned works which Newman consulted. In the preface to the first edition he refers to Milman's, Doering's and Dillenburger's editions and to Franke's Fasti Horatiani <sup>2</sup>. Another work referred to in the notes is Orelli's edition <sup>3</sup>; Dr. Leonhard Schmitz's name is mentioned in a note on I x, in allusion, probably, to his history of Rome, but his is but one of several names which occur but very rarely.

I have attempted, chiefly with reference to two odes, to get a clearer picture of Newman's indebtedness to other editors by his tacit acceptance of their interpretations and borrowings from their notes. The enterprise is hazardous, because, where no debt is acknowledged, we can never be absolutely certain that Newman alone is not responsible.

1 Pref. ed. 1. p.v.      2 loc. cit. pp. vii and viii      3 passim

III xxx is the first ode Newman prints, letting it stand as a Proem. He dates it to B.C. 24 with Franke and Orelli. In translating 'exegi' 'I rear' he follows the interpretation favoured by Doering and rejected explicitly by Orelli, on the other hand his 'intemperate' for 'potens' may come from Orelli's exegesis: 'sibi non temperans'. Lines 10-14 he translates thus:

I, where Aufidus with deafening stream  
 Raves, upon the lip shall live, and where  
 O'er rustic peoples Daunus reign'd  
 Scant of flood: ....

The same interpretation is less obscurely given in the second edition. This interpretation was put forward by Dacier, in contradiction of the scholiasts; very few editors followed him - none of those chiefly used by Newman. Macleane adopted it in his edition which first came out also in 1853, and in the same month. It is, I suppose, possible that the one is indebted to the other, but it seems unlikely in spite of a similar coincidence in Newman's second ode. The same interpretation was accepted by Martin and Gladstone but not by Conington or Lytton<sup>1</sup>. It is now generally assumed correct.

Newman's description of the temple of Libitina as 'a sort of vast undertaker's shop' is a paraphrase of a note by Doering; and the reference to the Pythian games in connection with Delphi may have been suggested by a note in Duentzer's edition to which Newman nowhere refers.

<sup>1</sup> v. Fraenkel pp. 304-5 on the malign influence of the scholiasts on this passage. He makes no mention of Macleane's happy decision.

The second ode printed by Newman is I i, as a dedication. There are two outstanding peculiarities in the translation: A full stop is inserted after 'palmaque nobilis' and 'terrarum dominos' is taken in apposition to the Romans. Both possibilities are discussed and rejected by Orelli, both are accepted by Maclean. Newman's note on Maecenas closely resembles those of Orelli and Doering, but none of them contain anything unusual; the note on Attalus recalls Doering's note, that on Massic, Orelli's.

Further suggestions of Duentzer's influence may be found in I vii, where Newman speaks of the olive of line 7 as destined for the brow of Pallas, a view which Duentzer holds in contradiction to most editors, and in I xi, where Newman's etymological account of Leuconoe's name appears, among recent editions, only in Duentzer's. The strange word 'lindenbass' which translates 'philyra' in I xxxviii appears as 'Lindenbast' (Germanice) only in Doering. The word is as unusual in German as it is in English and occurs in Grimm's Deutsch Wörterbuch only as a translation of 'philyra', citing this passage.

It would appear that Newman worked mostly from Orelli and Doering, often preferring a curiosity in Doering to the predominantly sounder views of Orelli; and that he also referred from time to time to Duentzer. His approach, nonetheless, is scholarly enough and he is quite capable of taking an independent line, as he does in treating II v as a soliloquy as the early editors did. His faith in the Scholiasts is excessive, but this was a failing common to his age. There are flaws in his scholarship, on the other hand. His remark on I xxxv that 'Probably

this is the earliest extant expression in Horace's odes, of a harsh judgement against the courtezans of his day' <sup>1</sup> makes no allusion to the fact that this is the only passage in the odes where the word 'meretrix' appears.

III v Newman presents with copious notes. His date is that approved by Franke and Orelli; Orelli's note on the history of Tarentum is doubtless responsible for its appearing in the second edition as 'Phalanthus' town' and Orelli also draws attention to the silence of Polybius as to any torture intended by the Carthaginians for Regulus. There is little, however, to prepare us for Newman's outbursts:

Regulus appears a very vain and headstrong character in the unbiassed narrative of Polybius. The advice he gave not to exchange prisoners was an inhumanity which perhaps no nation but old Rome could admire....

We have no Punic history of the wars with Rome: our information is derived entirely from Roman narrators, who habitually stigmatize the Carthaginians as treacherous. Nevertheless, their own account manifests, that the palm of injustice, treachery and heartless ferocity, was always carried off by Rome....

Of this torture, Polybius says nothing; but Regulus certainly did his best to deserve it. 2

Newman's preference of the claims of Carthage to those of Rome seems to have been stimulated by his study of Niebuhr, whose methods he greatly applauded, while disagreeing, wherever possible, with his conclusions. <sup>3</sup> The contrast between the moral qualities of Roman and Carthaginian politics greatly interested Newman and he returned to the theme again

1 ed. 1. p. 144

2 ed. 1.

3 v. Regal Rome 1852 passim.

and again <sup>1</sup>.

In his dating of the odes Newman would be unlikely to gain the approval of any modern scholar except in the few cases where there may be found absolutely unambiguous references to historical events, as in I xxxvii, and where it seems not unlikely that the ode was a more or less contemporary comment. A great many odes which contain, for instance, vague references to Parthians were firmly dated by earlier editors to specific engagements past or contemplated, with that ferocious people, whereas the tendency now is to regard such references more and more as mere topoi. Even when the terms employed are sufficiently concrete to suggest a reference to actual affairs disagreements may arise. II ix has been dated to 30 B.C., 20 B.C. and, more recently to 25-6 B.C. Newman, feeling obliged to date the poem to 20 B.C., was further obliged to discard Franke's scheme, which was usually accepted as essentially sound, and with it the theory that 'the three first books were published as they now stand in the opening of the year B.C. 23 at the latest' <sup>2</sup>.

A number of the dates assigned by Newman to the 'historical' odes are feasible enough; more unusual is his dating of some of the odes as early as B.C. 41. By far the greatest single cause of chaos, however, is introduced by the ladies. Here we become intricately involved with Newman's ardent morality and a few quotations will have to serve to demonstrate the resulting mare's nest.

1 V. 'A defence of Carthage', Miscellanies Vol. I 1869 pp. 280 et seq and 'The Moral Character of Roman Conquest' ibid. Vol. V. 1891 pp. 167 et seqq. 1st published in Fraser's May 1874.

2 ed. 1. Pref. p. viii. Page, who accepts the publication of the first three books in 23, also dates this ode to B.C. 20.

On Epode xv:

If Horace's pecuniary position in B.C. 41 had allowed him to do what the heart of both would have prompted, viz. to join this Neaera to himself in legitimate wedlock, who shall say what a vast elevation of character would have accrued to him from it? ....

II viii must be early because

if Barine ever loved him it must have been when he was young ...  
[because he never had much money].

On III x

Two odes to Lyde are extant: this is written to her, when in youth and beauty; the other is a spiteful rejoicing that she is become old and unlovely, - with a historical retrospect which proves the persons and events to be real ...

(My italics)

On I xvii

This exemption [of Horace's villa from wolves and serpents] he ascribes to the favour of the gods on his piety; - a proof that the ode was written later than No. 45 [I xxxiv] ... 1

Countless similar remarks might be quoted to shew Newman industriously insuring to each mistress a career that shall be consistent, however brief.

Characteristic also is this moral reformer's attitude to myths.

Of the Ganymede myth we are told:

This is a legend into the genesis of which we can distinctly see. The original tale must have been that the beautiful Ganymedes died young: ("whom the gods love, dies early":) next, that he was too beautiful to be allowed to live: lastly, he was so beautiful, that Jupiter chose to transfer him to the banqueting table of Olympus for his own delight.

1 v. my p. 170 supra.

The growth of sensuality in the historical Greek nation, is painfully evidenced, in the violent tendency of legends, which rose out of a pure and innocent thought, to assume a voluptuous and corrupting shape. Whatever may be said of its beautiful imaginations, the religion of Greece was a memorable evil, as that of modern Hindustan. 1

The Europa myth (III xxvii) is similarly traced back to a primitive astronomical myth, the name of Kenrick being adduced in the second edition, relating to the constellation Taurus and the Moon. Even the ingenious Newman, however, is at a loss to explain 'why she should be brought by the Bull from Phoenicia to Crete'.

With reference to another myth (arsit Atrides medio in triumpho/ virgine rapta. II iv 7/8) Newman produces a rather strange moral judgement:

Horace here for his own purpose, follows a degenerate form of the old poetry. In Aeschylus, the prophetess Cassandra is awarded to Agamemnon by the army, as a special honour.

Curious also is the condemnation of IV ix: 'This ode, like many long passages of Pindar's, is moral philosophy, not poetry.' Elsewhere we find the same supposed incompatibility of poetry and moral philosophy asserted, arising from a criticism of Euripides:

Moral philosophy and argumentation was the ivy which clambered up the oak, adorning it with a splendid foliage not its own, and at last strangled it. We can see likewise in the Roman Horace a history not dissimilar. His later odes have little savour of poetical life; they are moral constructions. 2

Horace, it is to be lamented, never had a chance. His early odes were immoral and his later ones not poetry.

1 III xx ed. 1.

2 'Elocution as a part of Education', Miscellanies Vol. 1. 1869 pp. 94-5.

But if Horace never had a chance with Newman, nor more did Newman with his reviewers. The varieties of their opinions are not worth noting. With more or less acrimony they found him unpoetical, inelegant and unreadable, at best he was capable of 'a rigid reproduction of the text'.<sup>1</sup>

That Newman's version continued to feature in reviews for twenty years after its publication is interesting in itself. It was not the worst translation to appear, and if few others offered such scope for levity only Hannay took this advantage of it.<sup>2</sup> The cause must be found largely in the fame of the author. Yet the only reviewer to set his Horace against Newman's other works was that in Colburn's.

Qualified for the labour the professor is allowed to be: the only curiosity is, that the man should have fixed on Horace, as if it were a labour of love.<sup>3</sup>

There is little reason to doubt Newman's sincerity, or consistency, and the uniqueness of his translation may in fact lie in the fact that it was not a labour of love. We are, I think, forced to accept his statement that his purpose was purely educational; that, logically, there must be a demand for such a translation as he attempted, logically to meet.

1 The Times April 12th. 1860 p. 6; c.f. Colburn May 1853 pp. 339-348; Brit. Q. 1853 p. 226; Ecl. R. June 1853 pp. 695-704; Hannay, Quar. Oct. 1858 pp. 332-60; Athen. Sept. 17th. 1859 p. 362; Athen. March 3rd. 1860 p. 298; Fraser. Sept. 1866 p. 309; Hannay, Cornh. Feb. 1868 p. 152; Times Nov. 18th. 1869 p. 5; Lond. Q. April 1874 pp. 15-17.

2 v. Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 332 and Cornh. Feb. 1868 p. 152.

3 Colburn's May 1853 p. 341.

Even as an educational tool it seems unlikely that the book was a success, largely for reasons indicated in the 'Literary Gossip' column of the Athenaeum in the week of his death:

The late F. W. Newman was an excellent scholar, but it can hardly be said that his contributions to classical literature were successful. In his translations of the Iliad and the Odes of Horace he attempted to attain a rigid fidelity which was impossible of achievement, and he indulged in archaisms, neologisms, and quaint renderings which a livelier sense of humour would have led him to modify.... In spite of his long experience of teaching he never became a good teacher. Amiable and patient to a degree, he yet seemed unable to see things from the point of view of his students and understand their difficulties or weaknesses.... 1

An uncongenial sense of humour, perhaps, was Newman's greatest single deficiency as a translator of Horace. We must agree with Colburn's reviewer that

There is so little of the jocose about Mr. Newman's temperament, that his transfusion of the levities into sober English is not accompanied by an sparkling effervescence of gaiety. The sal ceases to be volatile. 2

So far from attempting to imbue himself with the spirit of Horace, Newman has succeeded in imbuing Horace with many of his own characteristics. I know of no other translation which reveals so little of the original and so much of the translator.

1 loc. cit. Oct. 9th. 1897 p. 492.  
2 loc. cit. May 1853 p. 348.

2. Theodore Martin.

Theodore Martin was born in 1816. Educated at Edinburgh High School and University, whence he graduated in his seventeenth year, he practised as a barrister in that city until 1846. Moving to London he set up in that year as a Parliamentary solicitor and agent and continued in the business until 1907. His two years of retirement were spent in active agitation against the nuisance of the omnibus. He died in 1909, and among those at his funeral were not only representatives of the Royal Family, but representatives also of the Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust; the Dante Society; the English Goethe Society and the Institute of Civil Engineers. The presidents of the Royal Society and the Parliamentary Agents' Society were among his pall bearers, as were also Alfred Austin and William Blackwood. The list would unquestionably have been yet more impressive had he not outlived by many years nearly all his distinguished friends.

His literary career was no less long and industrious. In 1841 he published, with Aytoun, 'Flowers of Hemp' in Fraser's Magazine, an attack on the glamorous dramas based on the lives of real and fictitious criminals, largely at the hands of Harrison Ainsworth and Bulwer Lytton. The collaboration was highly successful and led to the publication of the 'Bon Gaultier Ballads' in Tait's and Fraser's Magazines, first published in 1845 and many times thereafter. The two then set their hands to translations of the ballads of Goethe which appeared in Blackwood's Magazine. So close was the collaboration that

both Aytoun, writing of the Goethe, and Martin, of the 'Bon Gaultier' ballads, confessed that they found it hard to remember whose pen was responsible for what.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile Martin had collaborated with Coleridge in a translation of Schiller; translated Herz's play King René's Daughter; married in 1851 the only actress capable of making a success of so unactable a play and translated from the Danish Øhlenschläger's Correggio in 1854 and his Aladdin in 1857; in 1855 he published an original tragedy, Madonna Pia. In 1860 there appeared his first complete version of the Odes of Horace, instantly pirated in America and followed by a second edition in the next year. Also in 1861 appeared the first edition of his Catullus, and in the following year Dante's Vita Nuova. In 1865 came the first part of his highly successful Faust; in 1870 a life of Horace illustrated with numerous translations in the 'Ancient Classics for English Readers' series accompanied a new edition of the Odes, along with the Satires.

At about this time Martin started to work on the official biography of the Prince Consort, a massive work of over 2,600 pages, of which the fifth and last volume appeared in 1880. His output in other fields was diminished but not dramatically so. In 1874 he produced his Essays on the Drama; in 1875 a new and enlarged Catullus. In 1877, according to an article in the Dublin University Magazine, while still on the third

<sup>1</sup> v. Blackw. Sept. 1909 p. 454 and the preface to the 1907 edition of the 'Bon Gaultier Ballads' p. vi.

volume of the Biography

he still finds time for articles in the Quarterly Review, and elsewhere, on those topics of literature and art which he has made his peculiar study. He has recently, we see, been relieving his severer labours by what most men would find to be work severe enough in itself. 1

This is a reference to the translations of Heine's lyrics then appearing in Blackwood's Magazine, which were published separately in 1878. In 1881 came the complete Horace, prefaced by the Life of 1870. In 1883 he produced a biography of the widely abused Lord Lyndhurst; in 1885 he edited the letters of Alice, grand-duchess of Hesse, to Queen Victoria; in 1886 the second part of Faust; in 1888 Shakespeare or Bacon?; in 1889 translations of Schiller, Goethe, Uhland and others; in 1894 of Leopardi and in 1896 of the first six books of the Aeneid. Turning again to biography he published in 1900 Helen Faucit, Lady Martin, a book largely made up of press cuttings, and, privately in 1902; and publicly seven years later, Queen Victoria as I knew her.

In the preface to his first edition of Horace, published in his fortieth year, in 1860, Martin says:

The present version has grown up imperceptibly over many years, having been nearly finished, before the idea of a complete version occurred to the translator as a thing to be accomplished. 2

This was substantially true. Martin's earliest versions had been printed fifteen years earlier and he continued, amidst his multifarious activities, to translate and write on Horace for a further thirty-four years. His

1 loc. cit. Dec. 1877 p. 686.

2 loc. cit. p. xxix 26 odes and 5 epodes at least had been published.

evolution from 'Bon Gaultier' to Sir Theodore Martin C.B., K.C.B., K.C.V.O., and the resultant changes of tone among those critics concerned specifically with his Horace, is paralleled in the evolution of his versions and his views, but his whole attitude to the task of translation may be traced with some certainty to his education.

The clue is provided in Martin's 'Inaugural Address... at his installation as Rector of the University of St. Andrew's'. His recollections of his school-days are Byronic:

The weary iteration of lines badly construed and miserably translated under the handling of a prosaic system, which did not even aim at giving vitality to the poetry of our text-books, or creating a human interest in either the men who wrote it or the people of whose soul it was the finest expression, took from the Venusian bard well-nigh all his brilliancy and charm, and blurred the sweetness and stately grace of his great compeer Virgil.

Thus he prefaces his glowing tribute to Professor Pillans under whose tuition he came at the University.

He taught us to read and to assimilate the thoughts, of which the words had heretofore often seemed but sapless husks. He connected the literature of Rome with its history; he made us understand something of the men to whom it was addressed, and of the state of society in which it was produced. Thus he made it a living thing for us. 1

Happily, James Pillans, being an ardent educationalist, has left us, in several places, more precise accounts of his methods. I select that offered in A Word for the Universities of Scotland ... published in 1848, passing over his interesting account of Horace's cardinal virtues:

1 'Inaugural Address...' Nov. 21 1881 pub. Blackwood. pp. 10 and 11.

These are beauties, however, which can be but very imperfectly perceived or appreciated in boyhood, nor even in early manhood can they be discovered by the unassisted labour of the solitary student. He must be led to the discovery under the guidance - ductu et auspiciis - of an admiring and enthusiastic instructor. Proceeding upon this principle, I recommend indeed attention to the Odes prescribed for the day, so far as to have some idea of the general import and of the main difficulties of the construction, but I call upon no student to translate it publicly, till he has heard it translated and prelected upon from the Chair. This vernacular interpretation is accompanied by a running commentary, and with such illustrations as may be drawn from mythology, geography, antiquities, and parallel passages in the poetry of ancient or modern times, and at the same time with expansions and paraphrases of the sense, - with every thing, in short, that is likely to arrest the attention or make the ode memorable. It is not till the youthful mind is thus imbued and penetrated and impressed that I expect the lesson to be coned and accurately prepared at home, that I hear it next day construed and translated on the platform and in divisions. 1

Whatever Martin's failings, it must be admitted that he surpasses many of his rivals in that he displays an awareness of the coherence and individuality of many of the odes; he does not merely translate phrase after phrase with no apparent idea of how one is related to the next, and still less idea of the nature of the whole of which these are the parts. His versions are also accompanied by many parallel passages from ancient, and more often, modern poetry.

The first appearance of Martin's versions that I am aware of is in one of a series of Horatian articles in Fraser's Magazine by Percival Weldon Banks in May 1845. The identity of the author is not revealed; we are but told that

1 loc. cit. pp. 34-5. The later italics are mine.

He has sent us his translations of several of the best odes of Horace, and you shall have them, gentle reader, sharp and fresh from the mint of one of the finest minds ever yet organised. 1

The versions thus heralded are III xiii, IV ii and Epode II. They are all poems which we might expect to find described as among 'Horace's best' but they are not of the category to which Martin seems to have been mostly attracted later; nor do they lend themselves to that type of rendering which is most characteristic of him. The translations are executed in a form and manner which may be regarded as conventional at this time: reminiscent of Francis and common to such nineteenth century translators as Wrangham, Whyte Melville and Lord Ravensworth:

Iulus, he, who'd rival Pindar's fame,  
On waxen wings doth sweep  
The Emyrean steep,  
To fall like Icarus, and with his name  
Endue the glassy deep.

IV ii. stanza 1.

Oh, fountain of Blandusia, [sic]  
Clearer, brighter, in thy play,  
Far than crystal - thou of wine  
Worthy art, and fragrant twine  
Of fairest flowers - ....

III xiii 1-2<sup>2</sup>

In August 1849 there appeared in the Dublin University Magazine an article entitled 'The Love Songs of Horace' by Bon Gaultier. In Poole's Index this is attributed to Aytoun, but it is probably the work of Martin alone, who himself claimed that the name was first used by himself, not Aytoun. Moreover not only are the versions virtually identical to those which appeared in the 1860 edition, but much of the article reappears in his preface.

1 loc. cit. p. 561.

2 Fraser's May 1845 pp. 564 and 573

The versions which here appear are: I v, viii, xiii, xvii, xxiii, xxv, xxvii, xxxiii, xxxvii; II iv, viii, xii; III ix, x, xxiii, xxvi, xxvii; IV i, xi, xiii and Epodes xi, xiv and xv. I xxxvii is offered not as a 'love song' but as a proof of Horace's 'appreciation of the higher qualities of womanhood'.

The picture of Horace as a lover is not, Martin confesses, one which presents itself most frequently to the minds of his admirers, rather that of 'the little asthmatic philosopher ... with weak, watery eyes, - slouching dress and gait' <sup>1</sup>

His erotic poems, too, bear a proportion so small, both in amount and comparative value, to the rest of his works, that this forgetfulness is the more natural. But, perhaps, the strongest reason of all is that Horace is never very deeply in earnest in his amours. <sup>2</sup>

As to whether Horace ever was in love, and to what extent, and with whom, Martin expresses himself (on these matters) with a circumspection akin to indecisiveness. He quotes Milman's views on the matter <sup>3</sup>, and then continues:

There is something amusing in the learned canon's timid disbelief in the actual existence of the numerous charmers of our poet's song; as if there could be any doubt whatever, that to suppose a real mistress for every one of these names would be absurd.

On the other hand,

That many of Horace's erotic odes, have a personal reference is, however, manifest. They have the glow which true feeling alone can kindle; and, perhaps, there are none of them to which his individual experiences have not contributed some lines. <sup>4</sup>

1 Is, perhaps, Hannay's description the source of this, p.34 supra?

2 Dub. Univ. M. Aug. 1849 p. 221

3 Milman's edition of Horace, ed. 1. 1849 p. 63.

4 ibid. p. 222.

This 'glow' Martin attempts to introduce into his versions:

Though your drink were the Tanais, chillest of rivers,  
 And your lot with some conjugal savage were cast,  
 You should pity, sweet Lycè, the poor soul that shivers  
 Out here at your door in the merciless blast.

Only hark how the door-way goes straining and creaking,  
 And the piercing wind pipes through the trees that surround  
 The court of your villa, while black frost is streaking  
 With ice the crisp snow that lies thick on the ground!

In your pride - Venus hates it - no longer envelope ye,  
 Or haply you'll find yourself laid on the shelf;  
 You never were made for a prudish Penelope,  
 'Tis not in the blood of your sires or yourself.

Though nor gifts nor entreaties can win a soft answer,  
 Nor the violet pale of my love-ravaged cheek,  
 Though your husband be false with a Greek ballet-dancer,  
 And you are still true, and forgiving, and meek;

Ladies shouldn't as snakes of the jungle be cruel,  
 Nor at heart be as tough as the oak's toughest bole;  
 And I can't stand out here every evening, my jewel,  
Singing, drench'd to the skin, nor I won't, on my soul! 1

It would be less than just to describe this as typical of Martin's achievement, but it was for 'translations' such as this that he was chiefly remembered. This version, moreover, contains many of the elements, good as well as bad, which are characteristic of the whole corpus. The anapaestic metre, the double rhymes, the verbal infidelity and the colloquialisms occur most frequently, as might be expected, in the 'lighter' odes. Nevertheless we should appreciate that Martin is aware that this is a funny ode, and he has made sure that Horace's joke 'comes over'.

1 III x. So also in the editions of 1860/1. The alteration of the last stanza in the two later editions, cannot redeem the general effect and wrecks the joke.

But where is there any evidence of Horace's 'individual experiences'? Martin seizes every opportunity to inform us that these were never of a very searing nature:

Horace is not insensible to feminine attractiveness. He has too much taste for that. Indeed no writer hits off with greater neatness the portrait of a beauty, or conjures up more skilfully before his reader an image of seductive grace. But his tone is more that of a pleased spectator than of one who has loved deeply.

Horace's exquisite susceptibility to beauty of course subjected him to many transient passions.... His admiration, though it may preoccupy his thoughts, or even rob him of his sleep, never elevates him out of himself. It suggests no images beyond those of sensual gratification; it involves no sorrow beyond a temporary disappointment soon to be solaced elsewhere. His heart is untouched. 1

The concept is not attractive but it is interesting to see how it is realised in the translations. Those words which, if literally translated, might well 'raise a blush on the cheek of a good woman'<sup>2</sup> are sedulously paraphrased, while the substitution of a tone and style apparently based on that of Tom Moore, rather than that of Horace, produces at times effects of startling vulgarity in the place of formal austerity. Well might Sir Arthur Quiller Couch misquote the last stanza of Martin's I xxxiii:

I myself, wooed by one that was truly a jewel,  
 In thraldom was held, which I cheerfully bore  
 By that vulgar thing Myrtale, tho' she was cruel -  
 But I reckon Sir Theodore Martin was more. 3

1 ed. 1 pp. xx and 245. Almost identical passages occur in Dub. Univ. M. Aug. 1849 p. 221.

2 Martin ed. 4 1881 p. clxxxvi.

3 Studies in Literature, First Series, 'The Horatian Model in English Verse'. 1923 ed. p. 66. The last line alone is Q's.

Over IV xii and I xxv Martin waxes furiously indignant, refusing to forgive Horace on the grounds of his paganism.<sup>1</sup> The effect of his bowdlerisation of I xxv is that the poem appears rather tender than vituperative:

Swains in numbers  
Break your slumbers  
Saucy Lydia, now but seldom,  
Ay, though at your casement nightly,  
Tapping loudly, tapping lightly,  
By the dozen once ye held them.

Ever turning,  
Night and morning,  
Swung your doors upon its hinges;  
Now from dawn till evening's closing,  
Lone and desolate reposing,  
Not a soul its rest infringes.

Serenaders,  
Sweet invaders,  
Scanter grow, and daily scanter,  
Singing 'Lydia, art thou sleeping?  
Lonely watch thy love is keeping!  
Wake, oh wake, thou dear enchanter!'

Lone and faded,  
You, as they did,  
Woo, and in your turn are slighted;  
Worn and torn by passion's fret,  
You, the pitiless coquette,  
Waste by fires yourself have lighted.

Late relenting,  
Left lamenting -  
'Wither'd leaves strew wintry brooks!  
Ivy garlands greenly darkling,  
Myrtles brown with dew-drops sparkling,  
Best beseeem youth's glowing looks!' 2

- Aug. 1849
- 1 Dub. Univ. M. p. 228 and ed.i. 1860 pp. 300-1 He also claims indulgence for paraphrase in translating I.xxv and IV.x in his prefaces, ed. 1.p.xxx and later edd.
  - 2 ed. 1. In D.U.M. the third stanza is placed at the end.

This is not without merit as a poem; it is a great deal better than any of Martin's original poems. It is a pity that we are supposed to relate it to Horace C. I. xxv. Often the 'love songs' are very much more disagreeable:

Of late I've been leading a life of flirtation,  
 And trophies have won, that I care not to show,  
 But wooing and winning are only vexation,  
 I'm heartily sick of the business. Heighho!      III xxvi 1/4

This is retranslated in the later editions.

The article concludes with an affirmation of Horace's essential goodness, the strength of his friendship, his 'honest voice of reprobation' of ambition and corruption, his 'meek but earnest piety' and his passion for the country. The leading principles of his life are 'piety, truth, honour, self-control'.<sup>1</sup>

In February 1851 Sewell's despised Horace was reviewed in this same journal under the title, "Yonder's foul murder done!" That the reviewer is Martin requires no proof since he offers his own versions<sup>2</sup> as an indication that translations need not be as bad as Sewell's. He amuses himself with Sewell's rendering of the opening of III iii:

'if o'er him fall  
 The shatter'd globe, without alarm  
 The crumbling wrecks will smite him still.'

How, he asks, can a shattered globe fall on a man standing on it?

And if such a thing be possible 'is there in the nature of things any reason why the crumbling wrecks should feel the least alarm in smiting him?'<sup>3</sup> Most of the review is in a similar tone. The only thing that

1 Dub. Univ. M. Aug. 1849 pp. 233-4.

2 I xviii, xxiv, xxxi; II xii and Epode III.

3 Dub. Univ. M. Feb. 1851 p. 250.

need detain us is his observation on his own translation of I xviii -

.. we by no means profess literal accuracy, which in rendering a poem of this description is not desirable, even if it were possible; but such an indication of its spirit as our command of English will allow. 1

The version appears very little changed in 1860.

These sporadic efforts did not go unnoticed. Newman's reviewer in Colburn's affirms

that were we called upon to select a whole septuagint of translators, to render Horatian lyrics in becoming English, we should probably complete the tale of three score and ten (beginning with names such as Bon Gualtier [sic] and Father Prout), without once thinking to include this ripe scholar but miso-epicurean. 2

Hannay, too, couples these same names in passing, and adds

the occasional efforts of Bon Gaultier, Mr. Theodore Martin, induces us to hope that he will one day give to the world the complete fruit of a Horatian labour which has been continued long. 3

The happy event took place two years later. I am not sure that there is much to be gained in seeking a specific reason for this in respect of an author whose periodical jottings were so often the father of the fourth edition, but doubtless Martin was encouraged by the notice taken of his efforts, and he had also a strong streak of competitiveness. This seems to have been stimulated, to some extent, by Newman's edition to which he makes several references, some of a gently mocking tone<sup>4</sup>, he also mentions in his preface, as illustrative of the continued interest in Horatian translation, the versions of H. G. Robinson, Whyte Melville and Lord Ravensworth.<sup>5</sup>

1 ibid. p. 244.

2 Colb. May 1853 p. 341.

3 Quar. Oct. 1858 p. 360.

4 ed. 1. pp. 256; 265 et seq.; 278; 292 et seq.; 302.

5 1844, 1850 and 1858 respectively.

The production of a complete version of the odes was a more solemn affair than the almost casual purveying of such translations as the article of the moment called for, and some statement of aims had to be supplied. The fact that many of the versions had already appeared made this task the more difficult. A principle had to be formulated which would cover these and serve as a 'respectable' system for the whole. In this extremity he gave utterance to an immortal truth:

The object of the translator has been to convey to the mind of an English reader the impression, as nearly as may be, which the originals produce upon his own. 1

However, rarely stated, this aim must surely be common to all translators whether they be conscious of it or no, and a more concrete statement is required. The first edition accordingly carries the following elaboration:

The form of verse into which each Ode has been cast has been generally selected with a view to what might best reflect its prevailing tone. It has not always been possible, however, to follow this indication, where, as frequently happens, either the names of persons or places, often most intractable, but always important, must have been sacrificed, or a measure selected into which these could be interwoven. 2

Martin is indeed scrupulous in his preservation of proper nouns and 'particularising epithets': in III xxix, where Newman had such difficulty<sup>3</sup>, he omits only 'Silvani' in line 23 and 'Cyro' in line 27; for 'Seres', 'Bactra' and 'Tanais' he substitutes 'Scythis, India

1 Pref. ed. 1. p. xxvii.

2 ed. 1. p. xxix and later edd.

3 v. p. 172 supra.

or Cathay' which, as we shall see, is in accordance with his general practice. The names of winds, such as 'Aquilo' he habitually represents as 'northwind' <sup>1</sup>, which is surely legitimate. Some names he does omit as 'Atridas..superbos' and 'Thessalos' in I x stanza 4; 'Gaetulus' in I xxiii 10; 'Mareotico' in I xxxvii 14 and 'Liburnis' in line 30 <sup>2</sup>. In IV ix, on the other hand, he has no such omissions.

There follows immediately a claim to the greatest degree of fidelity admissible by the disparity of the languages, closely succeeded by a virtual palinode:

But there are occasions, as every scholar knows, where to be faithful to the letter is to be most unfaithful to the spirit of an author; and where to be close is to be hopelessly prosaic. Phrases, nay single words and names, full of poetical suggestiveness in one language, are bald, if not absolutely without significance in another. Besides, even under the most skilful hands, a thought or sentiment must at times be expanded or condensed to meet the necessity of the stanza. <sup>3</sup>

There is, perhaps, nothing intrinsically exceptionable here. When we consider, however, the metrical severity and the determination to be literal without expansion of Newman, and of Conington and Lytton with whom Martin was doomed to be compared in his own time, this plea for paraphrasis on metrical grounds seems almost impertinent.

So far, (I am aware,) I have concentrated chiefly on Martin's treatment of the 'lighter' odes, perhaps to the point of distortion; but his later critics, as well as those who coupled his name with that of 'Father Prout', also seem to have found his exertions in this field the most noteworthy, and we should therefore consider carefully the

1 v. for example II ix 6; II xiv 16; III x 4; III xxiii 5 &c.

2 cf. also II ii 21; II xiv 20; III ix 14 among others.

3 ed. 1. p. xxix and later edd.

apologia which he offers for these:

...a point of great difficulty is the treatment of the lighter odes - mere vers de société, invested by the language for us with a certain stateliness, but which were probably regarded with a very different feeling by the small contemporary circle to which they were addressed. To catch the tone of these, to be light without being flippant, to be playful without being vulgar, demands a delicacy of touch, which it is given to a few to acquire even in original composition, and which in translation is all but unattainable. 1

My own feeling is that Martin has but rarely attained to lightness without flippancy or playfulness without vulgarity, but it is the first part of this statement to which I wish in particular to draw attention. It is certainly worth noting, as Conington did later <sup>2</sup>, that the difference of language itself inevitably qualifies our reaction to its tone, and it is equally and undeniably true that Horace's Latin, as much or more than anyone else's, carries a quality of stateliness. Any attempt, however, to gauge the reaction of the original readers is hazardous. It is indeed possible that the odes appeared then less stately than they do to us, but probably no less sophisticated. As Martin himself observed in an earlier passage:

[Horace] wrote only for cultivated men, and under the shadow of a court. Beyond a very narrow circle his works could not have been read. The very language in which he wrote must have been unintelligible to the people, and he had none of those popular sympathies which inspire the lyrics of Burns or Béranger.

1 ed. 1. p. xxx and later edd.

2 v. p. 240 infra.

3 ed. 1. p. xix.

There is a measure of truth here, though we should recall that while 'the people' hardly constituted a reading public at this time, within a few generations Horace had become a 'school author'<sup>1</sup>. What Martin seems to have overlooked is that, for all their personal dedications, Horace's odes are essentially public, and any apparently personal allusions which we may miss in fact detract far less from our comprehension and enjoyment of them than we are beguiled into supposing by the efforts, valuable in themselves, of those scholars who are concerned with investigating Horace's relationships with his eminent contemporaries, or with extracting historical data from the poems.

Martin's first edition of 1860 is prefaced by a sketch of the life and character of Horace more than twenty pages long. Biography and literary appreciation are so closely intertwined that it would be difficult to summarise the whole. It contains, however, little that is either original or unexpected, so that a few isolated extracts should serve to give an adequate idea of the whole. The purely biographical matter comes inevitably from Suetonius and the poems themselves: what elaboration there is arises mostly from emphasis on the poetical, if not literal, truth in such pictures as those of the sleeping child

(III iv 9-20), and discussion of such questions as the flight from Philippi (II vii 9 et seq.)<sup>2</sup>.

'Horace', Martin informs us, 'is his own biographer'<sup>3</sup>, and so it happens that here, as in the later 'Lives', literary criticism and

1 Juvenal, Sat. VIII 226. Noted elsewhere by Martin.

2 pp. vi and ix-xi. Martin attaches no credence to this last.

3 ed. 1. p.v.

character study perpetually merge: it is true that the odes lack the passion and high inspiration of the lyrics of Greece, but

they possess in perfection the power of painting an image or expressing a thought in the fewest and fittest words, combined with a melody of cadence always delightful. It is these qualities and a prevailing vein of genial and sober wisdom, which imbue them with a charm quite peculiar... 1

Apart from his amorous proclivities, already sufficiently discussed, it is chiefly as a shrewd and witty philosopher, rather than as a profoundly inspired lyricist, that Martin envisages Horace; the subjects which arouse his deepest emotions being 'the decay of morals, and the selfish passions of faction' and a love of rusticity in moderate doses. 2

Finally we must notice an impressive sentence in Martin's discussion of the chronology of the odes where he refers to the works of Bentley, Masson, Dacier and Sanadon 'and in modern times, Passow, Orelli, Walkenaer, Weber, Grotefend, and Stallbaum abroad, and of Tate and Milman at home'. 3 All these names in fact occur in Milman's preface, with the exception of Stallbaum. It is certain that Martin was familiar with Milman since he cites in his preface a passage from the letter from Mr. John Dennis there printed, and in his note on III xiii he tells us that he has actually traced Dennis's footsteps and that he found his account accurate in general if not acceptable in all its particulars. 4

1 ed. 1. p. xviii.

2 ed. 1. pp. xviii-xix.

3 p. xxvii.

4 pp. xiv, in the corrected copies, and 289-91.

It is not certain that Martin was in fact familiar with all these works, though there is no evidence to the contrary. His own chronology, which he represents as being 'the general result of their investigations', could scarcely in fact be so, since they all disagree passionately with one another. Milman, we have seen, he did know, and Walkenaer<sup>c</sup> he refers<sup>A</sup> to also in his note on III xiii, along with Lombardi and Fea. He also mentions, in his note on the first Epode, Dyer's article on the 'Chronology of the Horatian Poems' in the second volume of the Classical Museum<sup>1</sup>. Franke, the deviser of the chronology most widely accepted at this time, he ignores, and his own system most closely resembles that of Bentley, as perpetuated by Tate, but that he places the first book of Epistles before, rather than after, the third book of odes.

Martin's notes in this edition are printed at the end of the book. They contain quotations from a number of classical writers mostly in translation, including Horace's Satires and Epistles, Vergil, Propertius, Martial, Tibullus, Ovid, Theocritus, the Copa and twenty complete poems of Catullus. Parallels from English literature are drawn from Herrick, Carew, Tennyson, Shakespeare, Sheridan, Patient Grissel, Burns, Sir Charles Hanbury and Jonson, and translations and paraphrases of Horace by Allan Ramsay, Tom Moore, Dryden and Bishop Atterbury.

We need not doubt that Martin was well read in Horatiana, but it would be a very lengthy process to trace all his debts. His notes on the persons named in the odes appear to be derived in part from Milman; historical notes can mostly be traced to Orelli, while the influence of

1 1844 pp. 187-221.

Newman is sometimes apparent. As for his text: he does not adhere to Milman, Tate or Orelli without divergence. Of these three, whom he mentions in his preface, Orelli alone provides a critical apparatus sufficiently elaborate to allow for all his readings. It is perhaps significant that the text presented opposite to Smart's time-honoured crib, few though the alternative readings offered are, seems to account for Martin's treatment of every crux wherever his translation is accurate enough to admit of any such judgement.

As a translator Martin shews himself at his most typical, - at his best, that is, as well as at his worst -, in his treatment of the lighter odes. In the more serious examples his tendency to modernise and paraphrase compares most unsatisfactorily with his originals and the result is too often a version which is most inappropriately facile and flaccid. Martin's most dominant characteristic, as both his admirers and detractors agreed, was his ability to produce versions which read like contemporary lyrics<sup>1</sup>; and this tendency is, of course, painfully at variance with those odes which are essentially Roman in their philosophy or historical allusions.

The last four stanzas of III v will suffice to convey a fair impression of Martin's handling of the more serious odes. They are neither more nor less accurate than those other of the odes which do not lend themselves to metempsychosis into ballads in the style of Tom Moore, and remained unaltered through all four editions.

1 v. Fraser's. May 1860 p. 678, quoted p. 93 supra; Nat. R. July 1860 p. 97; Blackw. Aug. 1863 pp. 190 and 197; Brit. Q. Jan 1870 pp. 44 and 57; Lond. Q. April 1874 p. 20. (This article is greatly indebted to the last cited. I have been unable to trace the authorship of either.)

From his chaste wife's embrace, they say  
 And babes, he tore himself away,  
 As he had forfeited the right  
 To clasp them as a freeman might;  
 Then sternly on the ground he bent  
 His manly brow; and so he lent  
 Decision to the senate's voice,  
 That paused and waver'd in its choice,  
 And forth the noble exile strode,  
 While friends in anguish lined the road.

Noble indeed! For, though he knew  
 What tortures that barbarian crew  
 Had ripe for him, he waved aside  
 The kin that did his purpose chide,  
 And thronging crowds, that strove to stay  
 His passage, with an air as gay,  
 As though, at close of some decree  
 Upon a client's lawsuit, he  
 Its dreary coil were leaving there,  
 To green Venafrum to repair,  
 Or to Tarentum's breezy shore,  
 Where Spartans built their town of yore.

Most of the extraneous words and phrases here serve no other purpose than to supply a rhyme, as: the third and fourth lines translating the three words 'ut capitis minor'; the eighth, which is represented in the Latin by the single word 'labantis'; 'lined the road' for 'inter'; 'that barbarian crew' for 'barbarus'; 'that did his purpose chide' for 'obstantis', and the last line for the modest 'Lacedaemonium'. The words 'with an air as gay' and 'breezy shore' represent nothing in the Latin, while the phrase 'nunquam alias dato' is not translated.

Of those versions which were praised by Martin's reviewers II i and IV iv are the only ones which are in Horace's more exalted vein<sup>1</sup>. No more than any of the others, however, do these sustain a sufficiently

1 Blackw. Aug. 1863 p. 190.

high standard of compression and self-restraint throughout to be acceptable in their entirety. Even those of his critics who most enjoyed his attempts on the 'lighter' odes generally found his III xxvi, of which I have quoted the first stanza on page 202 above, intolerable. Martin's I xi too, with its curiously seventeenth century rhythm, was deplored by all who noticed it.

Ask not of fate to shew ye, -  
 Such lore is not for man, -  
 What limits, Leuconoe,  
 Shall round life's little span.  
 Both thou and I  
 Must quickly die!  
 Content thee, then, nor madly hope  
 To wrest a false assurance from Chaldaean horoscope... 1

By 1870, in fact, the first stanza had been altered in order to correct the much-execrated misaccentuation of 'Leuconoe', but it is rarely the case that a reviewer, however long after the publication of a first edition he may be writing and however many editions may have intervened, quotes from any edition other than the first.

One of the most frequently praised of Martin's versions was his

I viii:

Why, Lydia, why  
 I pray, by all the gods above,  
 Art so resolved that Sybaris should die,  
 And all for love?

Why doth he shun  
 The Campus Martius' sultry glare?  
 He that once reck'd of neither dust nor sun,  
 Why rides he there,

First of the brave,  
 Taming the Gallic steed no more?... 2

1 v. Nat. R. July 1863 p. 30 and Brit. Q. Jan. 1870 pp. 48-9.

2 V. Athen. March 3. 1860 p. 298; Times April 12. 1860 p. 6; Brit. Q. Jan. 1870 p. 47.

In the first edition there also appeared what can only be described as a parody of this ode, which was mercifully demoted to the status of a terminal note in the second edition of 1861 and omitted in the third and fourth editions of 1870 and 1881:

Nay, Lydia, 'tis too bad, it is,  
 Thus to inflame poor Sybaris.  
 Be merciful, you puss, or sooth,  
 You'll soon make worms'-meat of the youth.  
 He's finished, floor'd, - and all agree,  
 Was never youth so changed as he!  
 Before his eyes by love were seal'd,  
 He headed every hunting field,  
 In horsemanship could all eclipse,  
 And was the very best of whips.  
 With skulls he was a match for Clasper,  
 His bat at cricket was a rasper,.....

Enough!

Two interesting facts emerge from a study of Martin's reviews. The first, an interesting example of how a good translation could alter public opinion of its predecessors, and the second an illustration of how a set of versions may evolve according to actual suggestions made by reviewers as well as the marked progress of the translator in social and literary status.

The four major reviews of Martin which appeared in the same year as his first edition in the Athenaeum for March 3rd.; The Times for April 12th.; Fraser's Magazine for May and the National Review for July are all predominantly favourable. The first praises him for his 'gaiety and skilfulness in using familiar language', considers that as 'Bon Gaultier' he was particularly well suited to the task, and finds

him more poetical than his recent predecessors, Newman, Lord Ravensworth and H. G. Robinson, though these may occasionally excel him in elegance, force and accuracy, respectively.<sup>1</sup> The Times is a little more critical and, while praising his tone and his account of Horace's character, draws attention to an inelegance in I i and an incorrect rendering of a passage in I ix. Both these passages are altered in Martin's own interleaved copy of his first edition, preserved in the British Museum, and in all subsequent editions. The same is true of an alteration to I iv suggested in Fraser's, where the reviewer not only praised Martin's modernity<sup>2</sup>, but also congratulated him on capturing all of Horace's moods:- the 'grains of Burns and... of Pindar and Alcaeus'.<sup>3</sup> The attitude of the writer in the National Review is summed up in his assessment of Martin as 'one of the most enthusiastic...perhaps the most genial and successful' of recent translators.<sup>4</sup>

In 1863 came out Conington's first edition, bearing in its preface criticisms of Martin's prolixity and excessive metrical license, and praise for his 'grace and delicacy of expression' and his 'happy flow of musical verse'.<sup>5</sup> With Conington's version before them, reviewers instantly became more critical of Martin. A further article in the National Review for July of that year, now compared with the

1 Loc. cit. p. 298  
 3 Loc. cit. p. 680.  
 5 ed. 2. 1863 p. xxiv.

2 v. p.93 supra.  
 4 Loc. cit. p. 94.

'cool, wary and wonderfully elaborate translation' of Professor Conington 'the fiery and talented distortions' of Martin.<sup>1</sup> P. S. Worsley, the translator of Homer, writing in Blackwood's the following month, speaks of Martin as happier in his treatment of Catullus than of Horace, and more successful as a versifier than a translator. In particular he finds Martin 'often too exuberant', lacking in depth and concentration, better at handling his metres than at choosing them, too prone 'to open the box where sweets compacted lie, and to scatter the concentrated fragrance.' Justly he accuses Martin of forgetting 'how much greater the half may sometimes be than the whole'; he deplores the too great resemblance to Moore, and concludes with the opinion that the book will probably give more satisfaction to those ignorant of Horace than to those familiar with him.<sup>2</sup>

In 1869, on the other hand, F. W. Farrar reviewing Lytton's too little appreciated version, applauds Martin's 'brilliancy and spirit'.<sup>3</sup> An article in the British Quarterly for 1870 compares Martin, Conington and Lytton as being the three best known contemporary translators of Horace, and it is interesting to see how it reproduces the judgements set out in Blackwood's for August 1863: once again Martin is described as a 'fluent and facile versifier', ill-advised in his choice of metres, too redolent of Tom Moore and Bon Gaultier and more likely to satisfy

1 loc. cit. p. 28.

2 Blackw. Aug. 1863 pp. 187-197.

3 Quar. Oct. 1869 p. 478.

those unfamiliar with Horace.<sup>1</sup> Precisely the same criticisms are levelled against him in the London Quarterly for April 1874, but in greater detail. Attention is here drawn also to the translator's assessment of the quality of Horace's amorous propensities, his common faults of 'verbiage, surplusage and weak finals to verses' and, in particular, to his bad rhymes.<sup>2</sup> The richness of his vocabulary, on the other hand, is praised, as is his good understanding and feeling for Horace and his occasional successes with individual odes.<sup>3</sup> Among those poems cited in support of the reviewer's more exalted opinion of the nature of Horace's love is Martin's attempt at the fifteenth epode. The Shakespearean overtones make it a little heavy, perhaps, but it deserves quotation even if it does not, strictly speaking, fall within my field.

'Twas night! - let me recall to thee that night!  
 The moon, slow-climbing the unclouded sky,  
 Amid the less<sup>er</sup> stars was shining bright,  
 When in the words I did adjure thee by,  
 Thou with thy clinging arms, more tightly knit  
 Around me than the ivy clasps the oak,  
 Didst breathe a vow - mock the great gods with it -  
 A vow which, false one, thou hast foully broke;  
 That while the raven'd wolf should hunt the flocks,  
 The shipman's foe, Orion, vex the sea,  
 And Zephyrs lift the unshorn Apollo's locks,  
 So long wouldst thou be fond, be true to me!      ll.1-10.

By 1882 the Life of the Prince Consort had been published, as had the fourth and final edition of the complete works of Horace with

1 loc. cit. Vol. LI pp. 44-57.      2 loc. cit. pp. 6-7 and 23.  
 3 ibid. pp. 19, 20 and 22.

the 1870 'Life' appended to it. It is not absolutely necessary to suppose that Sir Theodore Martin K.C.B. would automatically receive more courteous treatment than Bon Gaultier, but whatever the reason W. Lucas Collins reverts to the attitude assumed in Fraser's for May 1860 in not only justifying but applauding Martin's expansions and modernisations.<sup>1</sup> The playful abuse and genial approbation accorded to Martin's translation in a review of Gladstone in Blackwood's for December 1894 give no indication of public opinion, since the article, though attributed to Horace himself, is in fact by none other than Martin.<sup>2</sup>

How, then, did Martin react to these expressions of public opinion? In his interleaved copy of the uncorrected copy of the first edition in the British Museum there are over twenty major alterations to the text of which at least a quarter were provoked, or even supplied by his reviewers. Nearly all the parallel passages from ancient and modern literature which appeared in the second edition of 1861 also appear here, as do ten or more which were never included in any of the later editions. Conversely many variations and additional quotations were introduced into the editions of 1870 and 1881 which do not appear here. Most of the alterations are designed to diminish the frivolity, errors and general insobriety of individual odes. I ix, for example, was slightly altered for the second edition and almost entirely rewritten for the third.

1 Blackw. March 1882 pp. 312-328. This is hardly surprising since Lucas Collins must have selected Martin to contribute to the 'Ancient Classics' series of which he was general editor.

2 loc. cit. pp. 794-5.

'Vixi puellis' was rewritten for the third edition and the alternative, embarrassingly jocular, versions are omitted. Some obtrusively poor passages, however, were never expunged as, in I i the lines:

Him that delights afield to moil,  
 Tilling his old paternal soil,  
 You ne'er could tempt, by all the pelf  
 Of golden Attalus himself..... ll. 11-12.

and the unfortunate rendering of 'Graeca testa' in I xx 2 as 'in crock of Grecian delf'.

The steady maturing of Martin's Horace between the years 1860 and 1881 is best displayed, however, by a brief comparison of the prefaces. Feeling that he had created too frivolous a book Martin inserted into the preface of the second edition (1861) an account of Horace's 'deep seriousness' and the 'devout awe' with which he pondered 'those great questions, which have always occupied the thoughts and perplexed the hearts of the ablest men of all ages, of the relations of man to "the unseen God", and of his destinies in a future state.'<sup>1</sup> In accord with those of his reviewers who, at this time, were mostly inclined to praise his 'modernity', he also appended to that section of his preface which was devoted to his theory of translation, the following statement of principle:

The tone must be sufficiently modern to make the poems tolerable as English poems, and yet sufficiently classical to be characteristic, and such as the scholar will recognise as true. <sup>2</sup>

1 ed. 2. 1861 p. xxvii.

2 loc. cit. p. xxxi.

He also quotes Quintilian on the impropriety of some passages of Horace<sup>1</sup>, and in the fourth edition he informs the reader, in words strongly reminiscent of Newman, that it would be to the translator's shame 'if his book were not such as could raise no blush on the cheek of a good woman.'<sup>2</sup> His chief aim in the second edition was to strive after greater accuracy, and he courteously apologises to his 'able and scholarly critics', assuring them that any failure to adopt their suggestions 'has not arisen from a hasty disregard of their opinions.'<sup>3</sup>

The third edition of 1870 brings further evidence of Martin's unremitting interest in the subject. The book contains several additions which do not occur in his Horace which appeared later that year in the 'Ancient Classics for General Readers' series. A note on I xxiv shews that he has read Lord John Russell's Life and Times of Charles James Fox, published in 1866, and traced also Peel's disagreement with Fox as to their favourite odes. He also inserts a fairly lengthy quotation from Lytton on Horace's 'consciousness of nobler truths', his 'melancholy conceptions of the shadow-land beyond the grave' and his spirituality.<sup>4</sup>

In view of the greater severity now being shown towards him by critics, he ~~now~~ inserted a more polemical justification of his practice which also survived into the fourth edition:

1 'et Horatium nolim in quibusdam interpretari' Inst. Or. I viii 6. and Martin ed. 2. p. xxxiii.

2 ed. 4. 1881 p. clxxxvii. 3 ed. 2. 1861 p. xxxiv.

4 ed. 3. 1870 pp. xxviii-xxix and p. 65 supra.

In the translations of others, who have made it their aim to imitate the classical forms, the present translator does not find that, upon the whole, they escape the danger of either adding to or subtracting from the language of the original, which besets the translator who adopts the more familiar forms of English verse...

...The subtle aroma of expression is not to be fixed by pseudo-classical turns of phrase, or by artifices of rhythm, which are foreign to the structure and genius of our language.... 1

To the odes and epodes in <sup>the</sup> 1870 edition Martin added the satires, and his contribution to the 'Ancient Classics' series, moreover, acknowledges debts to a number of authorities: an article in the Pall Mall Gazette for August 16th. 1869; Conington's translation; Buttman; Lytton; Munro's edition; Maclean's edition; Estienne's Étude Morale et Littéraire sur les Épîtres d'Horace; Baron's Épître d'Horace aux Pisons sur l'Art Poétique.<sup>2</sup> To these were added in 1881 Sellar's Roman Poets of the Augustan Age of 1877 and Richard's Commentaire Physiologique sur la personne d'Horace of 1873.

The second edition contains many more parallel passages than the first. A note on I xxiii speaks of Spenser and Milton as the two English poets most indebted to Horace, ten passages are quoted from the one and six from the other. Shakespeare, meanwhile, provides nine parallels, Cowper and Tennyson two each and Thomas Browne, Wordsworth, Thomson, Pope, Coleridge, Chaucer, Moore, Campbell, Phineas Fletcher, Cowley, Habington and Byron one each. In the third edition Fitzgerald, (inevitably one might have thought), Shakespeare, Landor, Young, Marston and Lockhart each add one more; and in the fourth edition two additional

1 ed. 3 1870 p. xxxiv and ed. 4 1881 pp. cxxxv-vi.

2 pp. 70; 72 et passim; 117 et seq.; 119; 165; 179; 193 and 201 respectively.

pieces of Burns replace the excerpts from Moore and Marston. The historical and exegetical notes of the first two editions are absent in the third and fourth.

We have already seen that a number of critics considered that Martin's translation was more likely to attract the general reader than the classic. It is therefore not surprising that by February 23rd. 1861 it was already among the books stocked by Mudie's Select Library. A notice that it was being sold off as surplus by March 16th. of the same year also informs us that the copy they lent out cost originally seven shillings and sixpence. The second and third editions seems to have been issued at either seven and six or nine shillings, according to paper size and binding.

The book was, however, also recommended for students both in Low's 'Classified Educational Catalogue of 1871, along with the 'Ancient Classics' account, and even in L. R. Farnell's section on Honour Classical Moderations in the Oxford Study Guides in 1881.<sup>1</sup>

It is also interesting to see how highly his Horace was rated among Martin's so numerous works. The Dublin University Magazine in 1877 had an article on Martin in their 'Portrait Gallery'. The author seems to regard the 'Horace' as one of Martin's most firmly founded monuments; it placed him

1 loc. cit. p. 42 and p. 16 supra.

at once in the first rank of translators from the classics... and will be preferred to Conington's according as the reader prefers poems of life and spontaneousness of English verse, to the terser and less idiomatic manner which to a certain class of scholars is more agreeable...

The reproach to Lydia for ensnaring Sybaris is at once Horatian, and, if the word be allowable, Martinic. 1

By the time of Martin's death enthusiasm was less keen. The Times, in its obituary notice, admits that

he had made a mark in the well-worn path that has been trodden by so many translators of Horace.

All his translations are admitted to shew qualities of 'copiousness, grace, and, as a rule, an understanding of the author's meaning.'

But it would be untrue to call them translations, in the strict sense which the scholarship of Oxford and Cambridge applies to the word, or to seek for the true inwardness of Horace and Catullus in a writer whose style seems to have been formed on that of Thomas Moore.

Setting aside the unworthy thought that all reviews of Martin were written by two ghosts, we may note that the final sentence of the summing up, where it is asserted that Martin's translations read less like such than like original poems, is a nobly back-handed compliment.<sup>2</sup>

The obituary notice in Blackwood's Magazine, with which Martin had had so long and mutually profitable a connection, speaks of biography as his real talent and of his translation of Horace as inferior to his Faust, - 'fluent, melodious and vivid', but 'not Horace'.

1 loc. cit. Dec. 1877 pp. 679 and 691.

2 Times Aug. 19th. 1909 p. 11.

He has not been able to suggest in English Horace's compact style, splendid economy of phrase, and firm, even tight, handling of many metres... Here is Horace's meaning. Here are not his gravity and the stern measure of his lines. 1

Anthologists covering this period have been fairly generous to Martin: the Chandos Classics 'Horace' of 1889 contains three of his versions to one of Newman's; The Temple Classics of 1904, five; Courtauld, in 1916, eight whole odes and three fragments, and H. E. Butler in 1929 included, in his collection, one.

Time has been kind to Martin; kinder perhaps than he merits. Quiller-Couch in his essay on the 'Horatian Model in English Verse' mentions only nineteenth century translators, but even so it is startling to find him say:

My own judgement would place Conington first among competitors, with Sir Theodore Martin second (surpassing him in occasional brilliance but falling some way behind on the long run), De Vere third. 2

and downright appalling to find Showerman speak of

the version of Theodore Martin [as] probably the most successful complete metrical translation of Horace in any language. 3

1 Blackw. Sept. 1909 p. 455.

2 Studies in Literature, First Series 1923 ed. pp. 48-9.

3 G. Showerman, Horace and his Influence. 1922 p. 122.

### 3. John Conington.

John Conington was born in Boston, Lincolnshire, on August 10th. 1825, the son of a clergyman. His scholarly disposition shewed itself early. He recited to his father, at the age of seven, one thousand lines of Vergil.<sup>1</sup> The power of his memory was always admitted by his friends and enemies alike.

At the age of nine he went to a small school at Silk Willoughby, and two years later to Beverly Grammar School where his interest in translation was demonstrated by his purchase of a copy of Sotheby's Homer. In 1838, aged thirteen, he proceeded to Rugby. He had few friends and disliked games, but in one year, he was already at the top of 'the Twenty'. In later years he modestly remarked that he still remembered

'the Second Sunday in Advent, 1839, when I got perhaps my greatest κῶδος at Rugby, being thanked for my examination by Price [later Professor of Political Economy at Oxford] before the form, as having beaten everybody by 1,300 marks.'<sup>2</sup>

The following year, aged fifteen, Conington won the Rugby exhibition to Oxford, though he did not take it up for two years. Dr. Arnold, on the eve of his promotion<sup>3</sup>, advised him to read English, rather than Latin and Greek, in the holidays, and on December 26th. wrote to Conington's father:

1 H. J. S. Smith in his Memoir, prefaced to J. A. Symonds' edition of Conington's Miscellaneous Writings, 1872, p. x. This is the most informative account of Conington's life, and I have used it freely. Other sources are: a Memoir by an ex-pupil, T. H. Ward, in Macmillan's Magazine, November 1869; Mark Pattison's Memoirs, 1885 pp. 245-252 (malicious, but useful); and University papers. These, and a few others, will be cited when they either contradict or significantly endorse Smith.

2 H.J.S. Smith, loc. cit. p. xiii.

3 To the chair of Modern History at Oxford in 1840.

In his work I observe with great pleasure his remarkable memory and very good scholarship; his general knowledge is deficient, and his powers of thought and fancy are not in proportion to his memory; but this is the right order in which the faculties should develop themselves..' 1

In 1843, now eighteen, Conington matriculated at University College, Oxford, on June 31st. When he took up residence later in the year it was, however, at Magdalen, to which college he had in July won a demyship. 1843 is further to be noted as the year of Conington's first contribution to printed scholarship in the form of a paper on the MSS. from the Escorial in the Classical Museum. 2

As an undergraduate Conington inclined rather to the Liberal party, and after winning the Ireland and Hertford scholarships in 1844, he became in the three succeeding years, secretary, president and librarian of the Union. In November 1845 he contributed his review of W. Cooke Taylor's edition of Chapman's Homer to the Oxford<sup>and</sup> Cambridge Review, which incorporated his attack on Oxenford noticed in Chapter IV, pp. 118 et seq. supra. In 1846 he also won a scholarship to University College before achieving, in December, a First class in his final examinations.

In May of the following year, according to the curriculum vitae in the MS. records of 'the Club' 3, he became a Fellow of University. Smith and other sources, however, report that this distinction was achieved in February 1848. A clue to the reason for this discrepancy

1 H. J. S. Smith, loc. cit. p. xiii.

2 Vol. I. No. 3, 1844 p. 410.

3 'The Club', as opposed to THE Club, was a tutors' dining club to which members were elected. The MS. referred to is Bod. MS. Top. Oxon. d. 57. Conington became a member in 1857.

is to be found in T. H. Ward's memoir, which records that his election was challenged by some person unnamed on grounds of merit, that the College appealed to the Queen, who heard the appeal through the Lord Chancellor and confirmed the election.<sup>1</sup> The later date perhaps represents the confirmation of the election.

Also in 1847 Conington won the Latin Verse Prize, and the next year, now aged twenty-three, he won the English Essay Prize and published his edition of the Agamemnon, complete with commentary and an interleaved verse translation. Although this production was no source of gratification to Conington in later years, and is indeed without conspicuous merit, it confirmed his reputation as primarily a Greek scholar.<sup>2</sup> The translation is of some interest in that here Conington attempted most closely an approximation to the metres of the original. The attempt discouraged him for life.

1849 brought the Latin Essay Prize and, more significantly, a dissatisfaction with the isolation of the academic ivory tower. With timely presence of mind Conington accordingly won the Eldon Law Scholarship. Six months in London however sufficed to convince him that jurisprudence was no more conducive to contentment, nor did his association with the Morning Chronicle indicate that journalism was the profession for which he was ideally suited, though his leading articles on University Reform were written with some enthusiasm.

1 Macm. M. Nov. 1869 p. 146. ~~It has been unable to check the reference~~ quoting given viz. Phillips, Reports Vol. II. par 521. The challenge was not, in fact, on grounds of merit.

2 Smith asserts that Aeschylus was always Conington's favourite author, and that he had all seven plays by heart. loc. cit. p. xxx.

In 1850, therefore, he exchanged the Law Scholarship for his M.A. and returned to University College as tutor and Fellow. He also began an association with the Edinburgh Review, contributing in July a review of Blackie's Aeschylus and in October of 'Recent Classical Romances'. These were followed in January 1851 by a review of Sewell's translation of Horace's Odes, grossly disfigured by personal animosity<sup>1</sup>, and in July of Grote's History of Greece, Vols. VII and VIII.

His work on Vergil for which, as T. H. Ward prophesied with unhappy accuracy,<sup>2</sup> he is now chiefly remembered, was begun, in collaboration with Goldwin Smith, in 1852, the Bucolica appearing first in 1858. At the same time Conington manifested his interest in University reform in a number of ways and contributed two papers on the subject to the North British Review in November 1851 and November 1852.

The climax of Conington's career, and, in a less happy sense, of his life, was in 1854 when he was elected to the newly created chair of Latin Literature and Language. He was now only twenty-nine, and in the Long Vacation<sup>2</sup> between his appointment and his taking up the post he

1 Pattison, with animosity greater still, speaks of Conington so reviewing Sewell's Georgics published in 1846, and being overtaken in due course by Nemesis, producing in his turn a translation far worse. (Memoirs, 1885 pp. 246 et seq.) I can find no trace of any such review by Conington. Certainly it did not appear, as Pattison affirms, in the Edinburgh Review. The story cannot well be transferred to their respective translations of Horace since even Pattison was obliged to say of Conington's Horace that 'he translated Horace, I daresay, no worse and no better than the scores who have translated it before him' (loc. cit. p. 251), and however unfair Conington's criticisms of Sewell, Nemesis had no such power over his own Horace. Lionel James in A Forgotten Genius, Sewell of St. Columbia, and Radley 1945 pp. 224-5 records Sewell's failure to take offence at this.

2 Macm. M. Nov. 1869 p. 147.

fell a victim to the terrors of hell-fire. The unfortunate plight in which he found himself and its permanent effects on his character are discussed at some length by H. J. S. Smith<sup>1</sup> and with considerable relish by Pattison<sup>2</sup>, who seems to regard it as yet another of the good works of Nemesis actuated by Conington's bad temper, vanity and, most improbably, his resentment at not having reached so high a pinnacle of academic glory years before. If any guess may be hazarded as to the cause of this collapse it may be that Conington realised that having risen so far and so meteorically he had not only achieved the highest possible recognition of his intellectual powers, but he had demonstrated them almost to exhaustion. Religious perplexities alone, however, may have been cause enough. Certainly there is some resemblance between his position now and his temporary rejection of the scholastic life in 1849-50. It is, moreover, demonstrable, as I hope to shew, that this 'conversion' is directly relevant to his assuming the rôle of a translator.

The more or less immediate results of this crisis were a reversion to the simplest religious tenets of his childhood, leading finally to alignment with the Puseyites and the Conservative party; and a mistrust both of human contacts and those aspects of scholarship, notably philology, which tended to lure him furthest from such contacts.

1 loc. cit. pp. xxxii-iv.

2 loc. cit. pp. 249-51.

In his deepest moments of gloom it is recorded that he even refused to read the New Testament in Greek, owing to the associations of the language.<sup>1</sup> The foreseeable result of all this was a rejection of both extremes: a narrowing in his range of human sympathies, as witness T. H. Ward's comparison of him with Vergil<sup>2</sup>, and a tendency to devote his attention to the literary appreciation and interpretation of classical texts rather than philological analysis and textual criticism, as witness his Vergil.

As soon as his professorial duties were required of him, however, he performed them conscientiously, lecturing usually on whatever was currently occupying him. His lectures on Vergil - consisting mainly in the reading of his own prose translation - kept pace with his work on the critical edition. Notices are preserved of readings from the Eclogues in 1855, the Georgics in 1857 - publication 1858; February 1856, Aeneid II; January 1861, Aeneid V; May 1863, Aeneid VI - publication 1863; October 1863, Aeneid VII; June 1866, Aeneid IX-X; June 1868, Aeneid X-XI; May 1869, Aeneid XII - publication of Aeneid VII-XII by Nettleship 1871.

Nettleship described his lectures on Latin Verse Composition:

He began with an analysis of the piece of English set, comparing it sentence by sentence with any passages of the Latin classics which occurred to him as similar either in spirit or expression, and taking special care to point out anything modern or unclassical, and to show the nearest approximation to it which was likely to have occurred to a Roman poet. 3

1 V. H. J. S. Smith, loc. cit. p. xxxiii.  
 2 loc. cit. p. 150.  
 3 H. J. S. Smith, loc. cit. p. xxxvi.

He then read out and criticised the best efforts sent in and dictated his own translation. Particularly valuable was his 'comparison between modern and ancient poetical feelings and modes of utterance'.

While in his more advanced lectures Conington did teach that more minute examination of classical texts which he advocated in the preface to his edition of the Choephoroe, he also gave lectures covering a much wider field, as for example a splendid résumé and assessment of Statius' Thebaid in 1863, published in February of the next year in North British Review and in his Miscellaneous Writings. About the same time he lectured on 'Early Roman Tragedy and Epic', while in 1861 he had lectured on 'The Fables of Babrius', published in the Edinburgh Review for April of that year, and followed in July by his article on 'English translators of Virgil'. In May, 1864, he lectured on 'English Translators of Tacitus' and in March 1867 on 'The Style of Lucretius and Catullus compared with the Augustan Poets' - apparently his last blow in the amicable battle which he had taken up with Munro when he reviewed his Lucretius in the Edinburgh Review in July 1865. More surprising is it to find a lecture by Conington on 'The Poetry of Pope' published in Oxford Essays in 1858 and, at a later date, lectures on Lear and Hamlet.

In 1857 there appeared that edition of the Choephoroe on which he had been long working and on which his wellwishers might wish his reputation to rest. The fact that his reputation rests, in fact, on his Vergil is due only to the undeserved neglect of his Choephoroe and the unfortunate circumstance that no one has since produced an edition

of the complete works of Vergil which has succeeded in driving it into banishment.

The first six books of the Aeneid were published in 1863, and, recalling the cataclysm of 1854, we see at once the significance of Smith's account of his turning in that year to translation:

He had become so dissatisfied with his Agamemnon that he hesitated a little before a second venture; but when at last he did give way to the strong inward impulse he chose no task less difficult than the Odes of Horace. Probably no translation of Horace has any chance of obtaining a very extensive popularity, and Conington confessed that if he had no other means of subsistence the 'Odes' would not keep him. But he nevertheless had the pleasure of finding his work received with a large measure of approbation by the most competent judges... The discovery that he could translate his favourite poets in a manner which gave some satisfaction to himself and others was like finding a new vocation, and was the source of intense enjoyment to him. With all his love for the details of philology, he could not help feeling that they detained him in regions somewhat remote from human sympathy. But now, without quitting his own domain of classical literature, he had found an attentive and sympathetic audience, and had become an interpreter of the ancient world to his generation in a larger sense than he ever could have been as a mere commentator. 1

The Horace was followed in 1866 by his verse translation of the Aeneid into the metre of Marmion, and by the completion of Worsley's Iliad in 1868. This 'new vocation' is described unsympathetically by Pattison as 'the laziest of all occupation with the classics'<sup>2</sup>, but before coming at last to consider this activity we must sketch the conclusion of his career.

The later 'sixties were crowded with activity: Conington was now a Curator of the Bodleian and a Delegate of the University press; he

1 H. J. S. Smith, loc. cit. pp. xlii-xliii.

2 Memoirs p. 251.

continued to lecture energetically and contributed to the Journal of Philology two papers in 1868 on Ribbeck's Prolegomena Critica to his Vergil, and another on the text of a chorus in Sophocles' Electra, and in 1869 a review of the edition of Martial of Paley and Stone. His contributions to national periodicals were now confined to the Contemporary Review, and after an article in January 1868 on 'A Liberal Education', they were devoted exclusively to religious subjects.

In October 1869, his translation of Horace's Satires and Epistles just issuing from the press, he was staying, as he did whenever possible, with his mother when he developed a pustule on the lip which, in a very few days, turned 'malignant'. On October 22nd. he very suddenly died. He was forty-four. His successor, Nettleship, who had been collaborating with him on the latter half of his edition of the Aeneid, produced it in 1871, and the next year saw his edition of Conington's commentary on Persius.

We have seen how Conington's translations of Horace's Odes represented a source of very real gratification to him, however transitory the expectations of immortality and financial benefit it might inspire<sup>1</sup>; nevertheless, it has not since been surpassed in its immediate and continued popularity. A second, slightly emended edition appeared four months after the first, in July 1863, and a more thoroughly revised version followed two years later. Posthumous reprints came out

1 pp. 231 supra.

in 1870, 1871, 1874, 1876, 1880, 1882, 1887, 1892, 1898 and 1904. In 1903 it was included in the series of 'Pocket Book Classics'.

Although his Horace, unlike his Agamemnon, marked the beginning of what might be termed a career of translation, several of Conington's earlier publications illustrate an attitude towards those theories of translation which are embodied in his Horace and from which he rarely deviated.

It may be recalled that Conington's second publication was largely concerned with exploding John Oxenford's attempts to reproduce classical metres.<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of this attack he ventures on two more positive suggestions:

We do not say 'Exclude all classical metres': by no means: Let us have them where we can - in the translation of Greek anapaests for instance, the metre being just as much ours as it was theirs, consecrated to our use from time immemorial. But here we assert a definite principle: take the anapaestic metre, because it has already been proved to be congenial to our language: reject the hexameter for the same reason...  
...The rule is, seek in your own language for the metre most nearly corresponding to that of the poem which you are about to translate, if you happen to find one exactly the same, well and good: if not, on no account either make one yourself, or employ one made under similar circumstances, but shew your perception of analogy by fixing on a good equivalent - one which shall convey the same general impression to an Englishman, as the original metre to a Greek or Roman. 2

When he came to write the preface to his Agamemnon three years later he claimed that he had made some attempt at approximation to the metre of the original. There is, however, little or no inconsistency. He repeats much of what he has said in the article quoted above, and winds

1 v. pp. 118-20 supra.

2 Ox. and Camb. R. Nov. 1845 pp. 478 and 479.

up his argument as follows:

Thus it will be seen that nothing very definite can be laid down with reference to the degree in which a translator should copy the form of his author, owing to the indeterminate state of our language and metre, which will vary at different periods. There are some measures now tolerably congenial to our language which our fathers would have regarded as unnatural and affected; and the breaking up of conventional forms of phraseology, which has been for some time past going on under the influence of such writers as Mr. Carlyle, will allow us to hazard many expressions which could not have been used twenty years ago. All that can be said is, Be natural: and the appeal is to the <sup>216 En 615</sup> of the individual, checked by the prospect of an ultimate reference to "the common sense of most".

In conclusion he says,

my general object has been to approximate as nearly to the external conditions of my author as the English language, viewed as a vehicle for poetry, would admit. 1

Criticism of his Agamemnon would seem to have put Conington, if only temporarily, off the whole business of translation. He opened his review of Blackie's Aeschylus with an eloquent complaint about the lot of the nineteenth century translator:

There are few literary callings which have been more affected by the change of public taste than that of the translator. From the time of the Restoration, if not earlier, to the beginning of the present century, the achievement of a decently successful version of a classic author conferred on a man a species of immortality. Those who stood highest as original poets felt that their assurance of posthumous fame was doubly sure when they had associated their names with Homer or Virgil. 2

The general standard of translation, he admits, has fallen, but the demand is no less,

1 Agamemnon, 1848 Pref. pp. vii and viii.

2 Ed. R. July 1850 p. 173.

since country gentlemen are not much more conversant than heretofore with Greek and Latin as a pastime; and there is still a certain curiosity among the ladies to know something about those authors who are occasionally mentioned by their husbands and brothers. 1

Criticism in the field of translation has almost succeeded 'in what is conceived to be its most probable, if not most legitimate end, - that of destroying productive energy.' So much so, indeed, that Conington was sufficiently discouraged to abandon, for the time being, his arguments in favour of 'analogous forms':

But while the advocates of '[classical metres]' were thus driven into a corner, those on the other side have been scarcely more fortunate. They plead for analogy, and assert that a translation ought to be to English literature what the original work is to Latin or Greek. When pressed, however, they seem unable, as has been hinted, to furnish us with any precise measure by which to compare the relations existing in each case. They establish, perhaps, one or two obvious points, such as that Homer may be more naturally represented in ballad metre than in elaborate couplets, like Pope's or Sotheby's: but when they come to less unequivocal resemblances, they are rather at a loss. Ought a Greek ode to be rendered by an English ode absolutely? - and if so, what? In writing his lyrics, is the translator to choose some model already existing in the language - Dryden or Gray, Shelley or Coleridge - as he may think any of them nearer his author than the rest?... Or is he to strike into a new strain, such as he fancies his author might have written, if placed under the same circumstances? Analogy seems almost instinctively to suggest that he should follow the old path rather than the new; and thus the utter vagueness of the principle comes out. 2

This is a pertinent comment on Conington's own theory and practice.

From his Inaugural Lecture, delivered on December 2nd. 1854, three sentences alone need be extracted to indicate Conington's returning confidence in the possibility and value of translation:

1 ibid. p. 174

2 Ed. R. July 1850 pp. 176 et seq.

A skilful artist will often be more honourably employed in copying a great work, than in labouring on his own account. What he gives is his interpretation of the original - far inferior, no doubt, even in the sight of the shallowest perception, to that which he represents, but sure to reveal beauties which might otherwise have concealed themselves from a more observant eye. It is this principle which constitutes the true value of a really good translation - not as superseding the original, even to the worst scholar, but as explaining it, even to the best:.... 1

Copies of the first edition of Conington's translation of the odes are hard to find. Most of them seem to have been distributed to periodicals for review, or so I suppose from the fact that long after the second and third editions had come out reviewers continued to upbraid him for errors of taste which had long since been expunged. The only copies I have myself seen are in the collection of his own Latin library which he left to his successors and which was recently made over by Sir Roger Mynors to Corpus Christi College. Of these two, one is largely uncut and the other is elegantly bound up with the copy of Maclean's text published, like Conington's translation, by Bell and Daldy with 'classical' illustrations by T. D. Scott. This would appear to have been a gift to Conington from J. A. Symonds, to whom the translation was dedicated, since it bears on its fly-leaf the charming couplet:

Hoc mihi Symondus misit, ne forte rearis  
Carmina me Flacci postposuisse meis.

Because of the rarity of copies of the first edition I shall give page references to the second edition throughout.

1 Misc. Writings. 1872 p. 208.

Conington opens his Preface with the by now familiar statements that 'a really successful translator must be himself an original poet', and the lament that the work must now be performed 'by writers of inferior pretension'.<sup>1</sup> He then refers briefly to the discouragement engendered by his attempt on the Agamemnon and reiterates his concept of the function of translation<sup>2</sup>, before proceeding to an exposition of his aims. This exposition is concerned chiefly with metrical 'equivalents' both in general and in particular, and takes up twenty-eight of the thirty-two pages of his preface.

His theory that 'a Horatian translator ought to aim at some kind of metrical conformity to his original', was not a novel one; we have seen that Newman, for instance, adopted an identical system<sup>3</sup>, and others besides had tacitly or explicitly, in metres conventional as well as classical, conformed to the same standard; but it was Conington's statement that 'it is necessary in translating an Ode of Horace to choose some analogous metre' and to 'appropriate to each Ode some particular metre as its own'<sup>4</sup>, that was to be regarded by his successors and most of his reviewers as his peculiar characteristic<sup>5</sup>. The first and main reason why this course is to be pursued is that by this means the translator is compelled to confine himself as nearly as possible to the same span as his original so that

1 v. pp. 95, 82 supra.

2 As in his Inaugural Lecture, supra. Pref. pp. vii-viii.

3 v. p. 167 supra. Conington acknowledges his example. Pref. p. xxiv.

4 Pref. p. ix. By 'each Ode' Conington of course means 'each Horatian metre'.

5 Gladstone cites Conington as the sole example known to him.

Horace's 'occasional sententiousness'<sup>1</sup> may be preserved, and with it the relationship between the sentence and the stanzaic form.

That his adherence to this severe limitation deprived him of the wide range of tones implicit in many varieties of English metres, Conington was well aware:

It may be true that Horace himself does not invariably suit his metre to his subject; the solemn Alcaic is used for a poem in dispraise of serious thought and praise of wine; the Asclepiad stanza in which Quintilius is lamented is employed to describe the loves of Maecenas and Licymnia. But though this consideration may influence us in our choice of an English metre, it is no reason for not adhering to the one which we may have chosen. 2

The precedent which Conington pleads is Milton's celebrated I.v.

There can be no doubt that to an English reader the metre chosen does give much of the effect of the original; yet the resemblance depends rather on the length of the respective lines than on any similarity of the cadences. But it is evident that he chose the iambic movement as the ordinary movement of English poetry; and it is evident, I think, that in translating Horace we shall be right in doing the same, as a general rule. 3

Conington, in fact, uses precisely Milton's metre for the fourth Asclepiad, and incurs from Worsley precisely the same criticism which he here applies to Milton.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, he differs from Milton in employing rhyme, 'believing' it, as it may be recalled 'to be an inferior artist's only chance of giving pleasure.'<sup>5</sup>

The last general point made in this part of Conington's preface is that he has chosen, in order to avoid the couplet effect, to

1 Pref. p. viii.

2 Pref. pp. ix-x.

3 Pref. pp. x-xi cf. Conington's doubts about 'analogy' in his review of Blackie, p. 235 supra.

4 Blackw. Aug. 1863 p. 191.

5 v. p. 85 supra for this, and the protest it called forth from Nat. R. July 1863 on the 'chime of bells'.

employ as a rule alternate rather than successive rhymes. He then moves on to a discussion of individual metres, most of which will be best postponed for consideration in closer connection with individual versions, but it is interesting to note, again with reference to his quandary as to the vagueness of the concept of 'analogy' expressed thirteen years earlier in his review of Blackie, that for his Third Asclepiad, his Greater Asclepiad and his Alcmanian, he uses the established and familiar metres of Tennyson's 'Dream of Fair Women', 'Locksley Hall' and Mrs. Browning's 'Lady Geraldine's Courtship' and Gray's 'Elegy' respectively. This is the more interesting in that in his discussion of a representative for the Alcaic he rejects the 'In Memoriam' stanza used by Calverley to render a number of different metres, on the grounds that

With all its advantages, it has the patent disadvantage of having been brought into notice by a poet who is influencing the present generation as only a great living poet can.

and that

Mr. Tennyson's manner is not the manner of Horace,...it is the manner of a contemporary; the expression...of influences to which the translator of an ancient classic feels himself to be too much subjected already. 1

It is, Conington maintains, the failure to observe a 1:1

correspondence of English to Latin metres which robs Martin's otherwise admirable versions of those virtues of 'terseness and condensation

which remind us that a Roman, even when writing "songs of love and wine," was a Roman still. 2

1 Pref. pp. xvi-xvii.

2 Pref. p. xxiv.

At the same time, as we have seen, Conington had little patience with the perpetrators of classical metres.<sup>1</sup> We have also seen how Conington was one of very few who attacked the question of diction; concluding that no writer could wholly avoid the influences of his own time, but ~~at the same time~~<sup>that</sup>, the language of the English Augustans should be emulated in so far as it lends an appropriate 'colour'.<sup>2</sup>

One difficulty which the translator of the odes in particular has to face is that the element of 'lyrical commonplace' is 'more supportable' to the reader of the Latin not only because of Horace's agile word-play, but arising also from

the attractiveness of the Latin, half real, half perhaps arising from association and the romance of a language not one's own. 3

Nor should the translator attempt to compensate for such difficulties by employing 'that variety of images and forms of language which modern poetry presents', since this would be 'to exceed the bounds of what may be called classical parsimony'. If necessary one commonplace image may be substituted for another:

..where he has talked of triumphs, meaning no more than victories, I have talked of bays; where he gives the picture of the luxuriant harvests of Sardinia, I have spoken of the wheat on the threshing-floor.

The temptations of the compound epithet should be eschewed wherever possible.<sup>4</sup>

1 Pref. pp. xxiv-xxvi and pp. 81 and 132 supra.

2 Pref. pp. xxvii and xxix quoted p. 97/8 supra along with Conington's view of the shallowness and 'poverty of sentiment' of the odes.

3 Pref. p. xxviii.

4 Pref. pp. xxviii-xxx.

Facing such fearful odds it is hard to conceive whence the translator might draw comfort or strength. Conington confesses that he has occasionally been obliged to omit the definite article. A larger loop-hole however remains, and Conington dives through it with great agility:

I have not sought to interpret Horace with the minute accuracy which I should think necessary in writing a commentary; and in general I have been satisfied to consult two of the latest editions, those by Orelli and Ritter...[-nearly always Orelli -]...In the few notes which I have added at the end of this volume, I have noticed chiefly the instances in which I have differed from him in favour either of Ritter's interpretation, [- 11 instances -] or of some view of my own. [8 in the first edition, 7 later] At the same time it must be said that my translation is not to be understood as always indicating the interpretation I prefer. Sometimes, where the general effect of two views of the construction of a passage has been the same, I have followed that which I believed to be less correct, for reasons of convenience. 1

In point of fact, as we may see, Conington generally maintains a high standard of fidelity to his text, that is, to Orelli's text. His adherence to one edition may at first seem unadventurous, if nothing worse, especially when we consider the variety of editions he possessed.<sup>2</sup>

1 Pref. p. xxxi.

2 The edition Venetia 1494; Fabricius, 1580; Muretus, 1583; Cuninghame 1721; Bentley, ed. 3, 1728; Foulis, ed. 3, 1756; Baskerville, 1762; The Combe Variorum, 1792; Wakefield, 1794; Mitscherlich, 1800; Pottier, 1823; Gesner, 1824 and 1826; Bothe, 1827; the Delphin Valpy, 1830 (with the rest of the series); Braunhardius, 1831; Tate, Horatius Restitutus ed. 2 1837; Doering, (Oxon) 1838; Orelli, 1843; Duentzer, 1849, and '68/9; Maclean, 1853; Dillenburger, 1854; Ritter, 1856/7; Peerlkampf, 1862. (Also, published later than his translation:- Keller and Holder 1864-7; Yonge, 1868 and Munro and King (presented by Munro) 1869.) Also Aristarchus Anti-Bentleianus, 1717; Lenepii disputatio de Horatio, 1806; Bentleii Notae atque Emendationes in Horatio, 1828 ed. and Murray's Horatian Criticism, 1851

Of all these editions, Orelli's was the most reliable available, and a consideration of Conington's method of translation will show that he was necessarily limited to the almost exclusive use of one text:

His manner of translating was characteristic. He used to learn some couple of hundred lines of his original by heart (if indeed they were not already present to his memory), and then work out his version in his head, sometimes at hours regularly set apart for the purpose, but often at odd times as in a solitary walk, or on a railway journey, or before he rose in the morning. He used in this way to get through his work with great rapidity, sometimes not writing down each batch of verses till it was quite ready for the press. 1

This would appear to be written of the Vergil; Conington, in a letter to W. J. Courthorpe apropos of the Iliad, dated June 28th, 1866, refers to his 'railway-carriage efforts',<sup>2</sup> and there is no reason to suppose that he did not tackle the easily memorised odes in the same manner.

Largely on the grounds of the 'moral repugnance' they evoked the Epodes were omitted, as were Odes Ixxv; II v (favoured by Newman); stanzas 6-8 of III vi; III xx and IV x. Finally Conington explains

that any coincidences that may be noticed between my version and those of my predecessors are, for the most part, merely coincidences. In some cases I may have knowingly borrowed a rhyme, but only where the rhyme was too common to have created a right of property. 3

This 'for the most part' is of significance. Conington borrowed several phrases and rhymes from Boscawen's translation of 1793 and obligingly

1 H. J. S. Smith in Conington's Misc. Writings, 1872 p. xliii.  
 2 Misc. Writings p. lvi.                      3 Pref. p. xxxiii.

scribbled in the margin of his copy to bring this circumstance to my attention. Borrowings from Smart, Francis, Creech, Duncombe, Wrangham, Hawkins, Ashmore, the 'Eminent Hands' of 1717, Scriven, Robinson, Sewell, Whyte Melville, Newman, Ravensworth and Martin, also to be found in his collection, are rare enough to be imperceptible.

Robinson's translation of 1846 remained, indeed, almost uncut by Conington, and the attempts of Matthews and Lytton, both later than his own, suffered from the same neglect.

We know why Conington took to translation, we have some idea of his qualifications for the exploit, and an admirable exposition of the 'rules' by which he felt he should be bound in translating Horace. The rules are stringent. His aim - to attract the general reader. His performance?

The rain, it rains not every day  
 On the soak'd meads; the Caspian main  
 Not always feels the unequal sway  
 Of storms, nor on Armenia's plain,  
 Dear Valgius, lies the cold dull snow  
 Through all the year; nor northwinds keen  
 Upon Garganian oakwoods blow,  
 And strip the ashes of their green.  
 You still with tearful tones pursue  
 Your lost, lost Myster; Hesper sees  
 Your passion when he brings the dew,  
 And when before the sun he flees.  
 Yet not for loved Antilochus  
 Grey Nestor wasted all his years  
 In grief; nor o'er young Troilus  
 His parents' and his sisters' tears  
 For ever flow'd. At length have done  
 With these soft sorrows; rather tell  
 Of Caesar's trophies newly won,  
 And hoar Niphates' icy fell,  
 And Medus' flood, 'mid conquer'd tribes  
 Rolling a less presumptuous tide,  
 And Scythians taught, as Rome prescribes,  
 Hence forth o'er narrower steppes to ride. II ix.

This I consider one of Conington's most consistently successful efforts; but even this version, I think, taken simply as a poem in its own right, is not uniformly satisfying. Some may take exception to the powerful Shakespearean overtones of the opening lines, but in this particular passage the tone set chimes admirably with Horace's 'Non semper imbres...'. But the other 'difficulties' are insurmountable in translation. The allusions to classical mythology in lines 13-16 are 'easy' enough, but it must always be difficult for the translator to maintain the sympathy of the reader when he has to deal with 'Caesar's trophies newly won'.

The metre here is well suited to the matter, but how does it serve as the unique representative of the Alcaic? Worsley condemns it as 'the most quiescent of English metres' and quite unsuitable for 'the impulsive Alcaic'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, of all those who considered Conington's metres, as it were in the abstract, only one approves this equivalent.<sup>2</sup> It is true that this metre does not, in itself, carry any peculiar advantage, but on the other hand it has no disadvantageous overtones. Conington takes three pages of his preface discussing possible 'candidates' for representing the Alcaic<sup>3</sup>, rejecting in turn the metres used by Tennyson in 'The Daisy' and the 'Lines to Mr. Maurice' on account of the difficulties of finding a sufficient number of rhymes and sustaining the dignity of the longer odes, the metre of

1 Blackw. Aug. 1863 p. 193.

2 viz. the reviewer in Chr. Rem. July 1868 p. 21.

3 pp. xv-xviii.

Marvell's 'Horatian Ode' on account of the shortness of its line, and so on.

III v provides an example of the use of this metre to represent the Alcaic at its more grandiose.

" ...He knows not, he, how life is won;  
 Thinks war, like peace, a thing of trade!  
 Great art thou, Carthage! mate the sun,  
 While Italy in dust is laid!"  
 His wife's pure kiss he waved aside,  
 And prattling boys, as one disgraced,  
 They tell us, and with manly pride,  
 Stern on the ground his visage placed.... III v 36-44.

For myself, I regard this passage as containing two of Conington's most memorable errors; but T. H. Ward in his "Memoir" quotes most of this ode as an illustration of maximum success,<sup>1</sup> and Worsley actually selects the 'Mate of sun' couplet for special approbation.<sup>2</sup> Even the reviewer in the Christian Remembrancer who cites this ode as an example of the 'tameless' and 'sing-song' nature of the metre<sup>3</sup> takes no exception to the unhappy line

'Stern on the ground his visage placed.'

These lapses are the more surprising since they occur in an ode to which Conington seems to have devoted special care. The lines 47-52,

And, girt by kin that mourn'd him, sped...  
 He push'd the press of friends apart  
 And crowds encumbering his return,

are among the few altered between the first and second editions. The

1 Macm. M. Nov. 1869 p. 151.      2 Blackw. Aug. 1863 p. 105.  
 3 Chr. Rem. July 1868 p. 24. The apparent contradiction with the approval mentioned above (p.244) remained unresolved.

later version reading of

And, girt by friends that mourn'd him, sped...  
The press of kin he push'd apart  
And crowds encumbering his return,

with a note at the end of the book explaining the reason for the alteration. An earlier passage was altered after the second edition.

Even Conington's greatest admirers never seem to have credited him with capturing that species of gaiety sought after in Martin's translations. Lightness of touch and gentle wit he does, however, exhibit, as in this last Alcaic specimen:

Your heart on Arab wealth is set,  
Good Iccius: you would try your steel  
On Saba's kings, unconquer'd yet,  
And make the Mede your fetters feel.  
Come, tell me what barbarian fair  
Will serve you now, her bridegroom slain?  
What page from court with essenced hair  
Will tender you the bowl you drain,  
Well skill'd to bend the Serian bow  
His father carried? Who shall say  
That rivers may not uphill flow,  
And Tiber's self return one day,  
If you would change Panaetius' works,  
That costly purchase, and the clan  
Of Socrates, for shields and dirks,  
Whom once we thought a saner man? I xxix

Conington's Sapphic was less criticised. The metre is based on that of Pope's 'Ode to Solitude'<sup>1</sup> but that in most instances the double rhyme is not employed. The reason for this is that after executing three poems with the double rhyme - I xxi, xxxviii and II xvi - Conington felt that the limitations which it imposed were too severe<sup>2</sup>. His I xxii is, indeed, one of his least successful attempts, and this, I think, in relation to his other versions as much as to more

1 Pref. p. xiv.

2 Pref. p. xiv.

celebrated rivals by other hands:

No need of Moorish archer's craft  
 To guard the pure and stainless liver;  
 He wants not, Fuscus, poison'd shaft  
 To store his quiver,  
 Whether he traverse Libyan shoals,  
 Or Caucasus, forlorn and horrent,  
 Or lands where far Hydaspes rolls  
 His fabled torrent.... I xxii 1-8.

Very much more attractive is his III xxvii, which Conington contrives to make both moving and lyrical without exceeding 'the bounds of classical parsimony':

So to the bull Europa gave  
 Her beauteous form, and when she saw  
 The monstrous deep, the yawning grave,  
 Grew pale with awe,

That morn of meadow-flowers she thought,  
 Weaving a crown the nymphs to please:  
 That gloomy night she look'd on nought  
 But stars and seas.

Shameless I left my father's home;  
 Shameless I cheat the expectant grave;  
 O heaven, that naked I might roam  
 In lion's cave! III xxvii Stt. 6, 7 and 13.

The second of these stanzas was singled out for praise by both Worsley and a reviewer in the British Quarterly<sup>1</sup>, the third begins one of very few passages approved by E. D. A. Morshead.<sup>2</sup> His choice was interesting since this is one of the stanzas which most resembles Boscawen's. Boscawen also begins his first two lines: 'Shameless', and employs the 'home/roam' rhyme; his first line reads

1 Blackw. Aug. 1863 p. 195, though he finds it perhaps too 'sweet' and Brit. Q. Jan 1870 p. 43, commending its dramatic content.  
 2 Acad. Dec. 1894 p. 487.

Shameless I left my native home. 1

More striking, if fewer, are Conington's borrowings from English poetry. The most notorious of these, which afforded much merriment to his reviewers, was the amazing line in I i 20.

Who breathes the "too too solid" day unblamed.

A note in the first edition attempted to justify this lapse:

I almost fear that "too, too solid" may be thought an unseasonable reminiscence of Shakespeare. It enabled me, however, to represent the expression of the Latin in a way which would not jar on the English reader's mind as unfamiliar, at the same time that the feeling indicated is not, as it appears to me, inconsistent with that of Horace... 2

This evilly constructed sentence seems not to have been read by Conington's critics, who might have enjoyed the clumsy ambiguity as much as the over-familiar 'jar'.

Similar expressions which stand out among these versions are:

'And the troubles man is heir to' I xviii;

'The rain it rains not every day..' II ix 1; and

'For ladies' love I late was fit' III xxvi 1.

1 It is, of course, impossible to count the precise number of times any translator has borrowed from one of his predecessors. It might seem that the number of variants which it would be possible to introduce into a translation of an ode of three stanzas, when the great majority of translators employed one or two rhymes per stanza, would be severely limited. In reality, coincidences are astonishingly rare. Setting aside more than a dozen cases in which the coincidences are simply matters of commonplace rhymes and expressions, Conington's borrowings from Boscawen of unusual rhymes and constructions come to about eighteen, and of longer passages to about twenty-seven. Any individual case must be open to debate: some of the most outstanding apparent borrowings are unmarked in Conington's edition of Boscawen, other passages, where no resemblance can be traced, are heavily scored.  
2 ed. 1. p. 131.

This last line R. W. Buchanan compares with Dryden's 'Old as I am, for ladies' love unfit'.<sup>1</sup> Apart from "too, too solid", three phrases appear within quotation marks: "prolixity of shade" II xv 16; "prevalence of prayer" III x 13; and "diverse tones", III xi 4. Parts of IV ix are successfully reminiscent of Byron. The verse form is the same as that used by Pope in his version of the ode, very much in this tone.

Think not those strains can e'er expire  
 Which, cradled 'mid the echoing roar  
 Of Aufidus, to Latium's lyre  
 I sing with arts unknown before.  
 Though Homer fill the foremost throne,  
 Yet grave Stesichorus still can please,  
 And fierce Alcaeus holds his own  
 With Pindar and Simonides.  
 The songs of Teos are not mute,  
 And Sappho's love is breathing still:  
 She told her secret to the lute,  
 And yet its chords with passion thrill.  
 .....  
 Before Atrides men were brave:  
 But ah! oblivion, dark and long,  
 Has lock'd them in a tearless grave  
 For lack of consecrating song.

ll. 1-12 and 25-28.

Parallel passages from Arnold, Shakespeare and Vergil respectively to lines in odes I iii; II xiv and III ii; and III xxix are cited in the notes.

Also characteristic of Conington's translations is the repetition of a word not repeated in the original for the sake of emphasis, as in I xxxvi 20:-

'She clings, and clings, like ivy, round his heart.' 2

1 St. James's M. Feb. 1864 pp. 351-2. \* Cowper. The Task I. 252  
 2 cf. similar instances in I xiii 4; II iii 4; II ix 10; III iv 41/2; III xviii 3; III xix 28 and IV xi 10.

There is one more special characteristic of Conington's translations of the odes: a more general one, and one less appreciated. The gaiety of Martin, we have admitted cheerfully, he lacks. Nor does he succeed in capturing the hint of flirtatiousness which we may look for in some of the odes; but this is a small loss compared with his positive success in conveying the warmth of friendship present in the odes addressed to Horace's friends, (seen in the ode addressed to Valgius quoted above), and the elegance of the compliments to more distant and elevated figures as in this extract from IV i:

Cruel Mother of sweet Love!  
 Haste, where gay youth solicits thy regard.  
 With thy purple cygnets fly  
 To Paullus' door, a seasonable guest;  
 There within hold revelry,  
 There light thy flame in that congenial breast.  
 He, with birth and beauty graced,  
 The trembling clients' champion, ne'er tongue-tied,  
 Master of each manly taste,  
 Shall bear thy conquering banners far and wide.  
 Let him smile in triumph gay,  
 True heart, victorious over lavish hand,  
 By the Alban lake that day  
 'Neath citron roof all marble shalt thou stand:... ll. 7-20.

That the qualities of tenderness and friendship were congenial to Conington himself, within his own small circle, his letters eloquently testify: like Horace he keeps these qualities muted.

Also good are Conington's attempts at presenting the 'maxims' of Horace:

Nil mortalibus ardui est: - Nought is there for man too high.

Durum: sed levius fit patientia,/Quicquid corrigere est nefas: -

Ah! heavy grief! but patience makes more light  
 What sorrow may not heal.

Privatus illis census erat brevis, Commune magnum: -

Each Roman's wealth was little worth,  
His country's much:

Mitte supervacuos honores: - And vain the tribute of a grave.

Omne capax movet urna nomen: - The fatal urn has room for all.

On the other hand, Conington's literalness and somewhat conservative diction sometimes lead to unhappy coincidences: 'vulgar' he uses always in its older sense, and there is a prevalence of 'dames'. Hence Cleopatra and Phyllis (of II iv) are both described as 'no vulgar dame'. Absolute errors, arising neither from the adoption of a poor textual variant, nor from a simple failure to get the whole content of the Latin into the span of the English, are as rare as we might expect.

Most of Conington's metres are made up of iambic lines of varying lengths. One exception, however, deserves attention, viz. his Ionic a minore, which he invented himself:

How unhappy are the maidens who with Cupid may not play,  
Who may never touch the wine-cup, but must tremble all the day  
At an uncle and the scourging of his tongue!  
Neobule, there's a robber takes your needle and your thread,  
Lest the lessons of Minerva run no longer in your head;  
It is Hebrus, the athletic and the young! III xii 1-6.

This is probably the nearest Conington ever comes to being 'lively'.

Yet I think we must inevitably agree with the reviewer in the National Review, who preferred the 'cool, wary, and wonderfully elaborate' versions of Conington to the 'fiery contortions' of Martin.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nat. R. July 1863 p. 28.

Not all of his reviewers were inclined to support Conington so wholeheartedly<sup>1</sup>, and after his death his critical reputation suffered a clearly perceptible set-back. Sales, however, were not adversely affected, and in later years great tributes have been paid to him. The 1916 'Courtauld' anthology contains thirteen of his versions and six extracts from others, and H. E. Butler's anthology of 1929 contains sixteen. Earlier anthologies of this century were less generous; the Chandos Classics anthology of 1889 did at least include three versions, the 'Temple' Horace of 1904 has only one.

The zenith of Conington's critical career as a translator of Horace was in 1923, when 'Q' placed him head of his list of Horatian translators<sup>2</sup>, and John Drinkwater in the preface to his edition of Branwell Brontë's translation of the first book of the odes, tells us that

'no less an authority than Mr. A. E. Housman tells me that he considers Conington's to be the best English translations that he knows of Horace, and as among the best verse translations in the language.'<sup>3</sup>

So unguarded a remark seems uncharacteristic of Housman, and it may be that his enthusiasm was in fact more cautiously expressed. Even so, that the tribute was paid, and generously paid, we need not doubt. It may be worth reflecting, moreover, that Housman himself had tried his hand at the game and that his opinion of Conington as a scholar

1 Although he is recommended reading in Low's Classified Educational Catalogue of 1871 and L. R. Farnell's contribution to the Oxford Study Guides, 1881.

2 v. p. 223 supra.

3 Horace, Odes Bk 1, translated Branwell Brontë, 1840; edited John Drinkwater 1923 p. xx.

was most probably inexpressible.<sup>1</sup>

It is a little sad that Conington's reputation should rest finally on school texts and the complete edition of Vergil. His Choephoroe is not widely used and there can be few who still read his Horace. He was a remarkable man, a man as unpopular with the many and as well loved by his friends as Housman, albeit a far lesser scholar and poet; yet he was a man whose early brilliance and wide literary interests should perhaps have earned him a more grateful posterity.

1 The only mention of Conington by Housman which is known to me is in his letter to The Sunday Times for Dec. 23rd. 1934 à propos of Fraenkel's election to the Oxford chair. Here he describes Conington 'a modest man' but appears to question his qualifications for inclusion among the ranks of 'great Latinists'. A. E. Housman, Selected Prose, ed. John Carter 1961 pp. 129 et seq.

4. Lord Lytton.

When Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton, died in 1873 few of his obituarists recalled him as a translator of Horace. Few indeed devoted much space to his career as a politician, in spite of the fact that he had been from 1858-9 Secretary of State for the Colonies; fewer still gave his correct date of birth. Friends and enemies alike agreed with posterity in giving pride of place to his novels; comparisons with Dickens and Thackeray abounded and were sometimes not unfavourable<sup>1</sup>, while the Spectator, competing with the Saturday Review in the subtle art of enumerating the many fields in which Lytton was not really distinguished, satisfies its malice by stating that The Last Days of Pompeii is inferior to Romola and Hypatia.<sup>2</sup>

So wide indeed was the scope Lytton offered to the press by the time of his death, and so many were the mirrors held up to him, that it is easier to ascertain the precise degree of distortion of these mirrors and the very angles at which they were held than it is to derive enlightenment from them. The Athenaeum was mostly impressed by the fact that he had accumulated 'an enormous fortune' 'by authorship alone', receiving from Routledge's, for the right to publish a cheap edition of his works, no less than £20,000 with a further £10,000 for short renewals.<sup>3</sup> The Saturday Review deplored the fact that

1 E. Roscoe in the Victoria Magazine, May 1873 pp. 42-54, Temple Bar March 1873 p. 457.

2 Spect. and Sat. R. Jan. 25th. 1873 cited in Thompson Cooper's Lord Lytton, 1873 pp. 120-139.

3 Athen. No. 2361 Jan. 25th. 1873 p. 113.

Through the friendship of Mr. Disraeli and the confidence of Lord Derby he administered for a short time a great department of State, without having at any time served an apprenticeship in public business.

and maintained that, as a man of letters,

he should have been able to think of a better name than British Columbia. 1

Whatever the discrepancies of political or literary bias, the opinion generally voiced was that however much, or however little, he fell short of excellence as a novelist, compensation was to be sought in his versatile industry in the fields of oratory, poetry, essays and drama. To these some added scholarship, and the Quarterly, Blackwood's and the Temple Bar added translation.<sup>2</sup>

Edward Lytton Bulwer was born on May 25th. 1803, the third son of General Bulwer and of the heiress of the Lytton family. He himself used to maintain that he did not know in what year he was born.<sup>3</sup> It was, however, quite natural for the world to suppose that he was born in 1805, since his earliest publication, Ismael, an Oriental Tale, with other Poems, published in 1820, claimed to have been written by a boy aged fifteen. In Burke's Peerage the year of his birth was given as 1806.

In 1807 General Bulwer died and the two elder boys were thereafter brought up by other relations, Edward alone remaining with his mother. He was educated privately, first at Dr. Hooker's school at Rottendean,

1 Sat. R. Jan. 25th. '73. Cited Cooper, Lord Lytton p. 120.

2 Quar. April 1873 p. 515; Blackwood. Feb. 1873 pp. 256-7; Temp. B. March 1873 p. 464.

3 Life and Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton by his son. 1883. Vol. I p. 3.

next at Mr. Wallington's in Ealing, where, as he set his hand to writing English verse, -

Poor Horace was robbed of all his classic turns, and my beloved Euripides poured into vernacular verse, 1

and finally at the Rev. H. Thompson's school at St. Lawrence, near Ramsgate, to learn physical sciences, preparatory to going up to Cambridge.

To Cambridge he duly went, and after one term at Trinity College he migrated to Trinity Hall whence he took his B.A. in 1826. Bulwer's academic career at Cambridge was not notably distinguished, though he won in his final year the prize for an English poem, Sculpture. More significant were his reputation for insufferable pride, Byronism and dandyism, and his activities at the newly-formed Union. Here he debated with his friend Alexander Cockburn, later Lord Chief Justice, with Macaulay and Praed; here he first made the acquaintance of Benjamin Hall Kennedy. According to the second Lord Lytton, however,

It was not till long after they had left College that my father and Canon Kennedy (though as members of the Athenaeum Club they continued to meet occasionally) renewed their acquaintance with each other on a closer footing. But they had then added to their common recollections of College days so many mutual sympathies that the acquaintance thus renewed soon ripened into an enduring friendship. 2

On the strength of a speech in defence of the monarchy, in a debate on the relative merits of the British and American constitutions, Bulwer is said to have been offered a seat in Parliament. This was not

1 Life and Literary Remains, Vol. I p. 133.

2 Life and Literary Remains, Vol. I p. 247.

yet to be. On going down from Cambridge he went to Paris, where he had privately printed another book of verse; within a year he had returned to England and joined the army. Very shortly afterwards he sold his commission, and on August 30th. 1827 he contracted his disastrous marriage and took to literature for his livelihood.

As an author Bulwer Lytton's career falls into two parts: the first and most prolific lasted from 1826 to 1851 and saw the production of some nine volumes of poetry, seven plays, five political works, two volumes of a history of Athens, a translation of Schiller's poems, countless essays and twenty-two novels. Meanwhile Bulwer had stood for parliament for St. Ives for the Reform interest and from 1832 to 1841 had represented Lincoln in the House of Commons. In 1838 he was created baronet, and in 1844, after the death of his mother, he took the name of Lytton.

In 1852 Lytton re-entered Parliament as representative for Hertfordshire and from 1851 to 1855 his pen lay idle. Nothing of any importance, indeed, did he send to press until What Will He Do With It? started to appear in Blackwoods's Magazine in 1857. In 1863 he published a collection of essays - Caxtoniana -, in 1865 collected Poems, in 1866 The Lost Tales of Miletus, in which he introduced to the public the rhymeless metres into which he had been translating Horace off and on since 1855. In the same year he was created Baron Lytton of Knebworth and in 1869 his translation of the Odes and Epodes finally appeared. Between 1869 and his death in 1873 Lytton wrote

one more play and his four remaining novels, while in 1870 there appeared a revised edition of his epic, King Arthur.

That Lord Lytton should produce a translation of Horace was not so astonishing as the Edinburgh Review found his production of a History of Athens.<sup>1</sup> We may recall that he had already translated Schiller in 1844. This provoked jibes from Martin in the 'Bon Gaultier Ballads', where he is made to speak of himself as one who had

...hawked at Schiller on his lyric throne,  
And given the astonished bard a meaning all his own. 2

That it should have been so received by Martin is by no means extraordinary. Martin's Schiller did not come out for another two years, and meanwhile the success of Martin's and Aytoun's 'Flowers of Hemp', inspired by Bulwer's Paul Clifford and Eugene Aram, was quite sufficient to ensure that those witty collaborators should join Thackeray and the other Fraserians in the popular sport of Bulwer-baiting. But the translations of Schiller were not Bulwer's first attempts at translating: already in 1833, during his brief editorship of that periodical, he had presented translations of several of Horace's odes in the New Monthly Magazine:

Behold how, on the lofty brow  
Of lone Soracte, stands the lustrous snow!  
Ill bears its load the labouring wood,  
And creeps the sharp ice through the halting flood.  
Dissolve the cold! - the hearth shall smile,

1 Ed. R. July 1837 p. 151.

2 Bon Gaultier Ballads ed. 1. 1845. p. 36.

Heaped - largely heaped - with many a blazing pile!  
 Come, Thaliarchus, bid the wine,  
 Some four years old, in Sabine goblets shine! I ix 1-8 1

None of them were very good. The least Horatian were, as usual, those  
 in 'irregular' metres:

On mine own natal day,  
 (When Manlius held the sway,  
 Thou, too, receiv'dst a soul, O pious Cask!  
 Or if to jest or sadness,  
 Or love's delicious madness,  
 Or to quarrel thou wouldst stir us,  
 Or in pleasant sleep inter us,-  
 Corvinus bids thee! - Come, awake thee to thy task!  
 No matter what thy date,  
 Thou art worthy of thy fate,  
 And a merry day is thine  
 To shed the slow and languid blood of thy old friend, the Wine!  
 III xxi 1-8 2

The rhymes, on the other hand, are better.

A gentlemanlike acquaintance with Horace Bulwer always had.

In the prefatory essay to his translation of Horace he observes that

It is an era in the life of the schoolboy when he first  
 commences his acquaintance with Horace. He gets favourite  
 passages by heart with a pleasure which (Homer alone excepted)  
 no other ancient poet inspires. Throughout life the lines so  
 learnt remain on his memory, rising up alike in gay and in  
 grave moments, and applying themselves to varieties of incident  
 and circumstance with the felicitous suppleness of proverbs.  
 Perhaps in the interval between boyhood and matured knowledge of  
 the world, the attractive influence of Horace is suspended in  
 favour of some bolder poet adventuring far beyond the range of his  
 temperate though sunny genius, into the extremes of heated passion  
 or frigid metaphysics -

"Visere gestiens  
 Qua parte debacchentur ignes,  
 Qua nebulae pluviique rores." [III iii. 54-6]

1 New Monthly M. Aug. 1833 p. 439.

2 ibid. p. 440.

But as men advance in years they again return to Horace - again feel the young delight in his healthful wisdom, his manly sense, his exquisite combination of playful irony and cordial earnestness. They then discover in him innumerable beauties before unnoticed, and now enjoyed the more for their general freedom from those very efforts at intense emotion and recondite meaning for which, in the revolutionary period of youth, they admired the writers who appear to them, when reason and fancy adjust their equilibrium in the sober judgement of maturer years, feverishly exaggerated or tediously speculative. 1

Certainly the Horace whom Lord Lytton translated between 1855 and 1869 was less 'romantic' and 'modern' than the Horace of 1833, though it must be admitted that his meaning was sometimes more recondite. Nevertheless the novel in which Horatian quotations are most conspicuous is Pelham (1828), though of the twenty-eight quotations or references in the book more than half appear as chapter headings. The decline in Horatian allusions in later works is as much relative as positive: the classical 'tags' that continue to appear are derived from an ever-widening field of classical reading and are more closely tied to character and context.<sup>2</sup>

Lytton's reasons for taking to translation, and to Horace in particular, were more demonstrably therapeutic than Conington's: the 'Lady Lytton scandal' had just erupted. The case is clearly presented in his grandson's biography:

During the year 1855 Bulwer Lytton was at work upon his translation of the Odes and Epodes of Horace. In a letter to John Forster he wrote:- "I am translating Horace's Odes in rhymeless metre for amusement - my first literary impulse for four years." A letter to his son also gives some explanation

1 ed. 1. Blackwood. 1869 pp. xiii-xiv.

2 There is, however, a Horatian renaissance noticeable in Lord Lytton's letters and essays after about 1850.

of the circumstances in which this work was undertaken. After describing a private worry which had preyed upon his mind, he adds:-

It was to force my mind into something wholly different that I plunged into this Horatian Bath - Fonte Bandusiae! And do not forget, in after life, if you have the same kind of torment immediately bearing on the present, affecting the future, irritating, stinging, haunting, irreparable,- to try the same effect of entering into that still classical world of the dead past. I do not think original poetry would have the same effect, because that would still bear on one's own feelings, re-excite imagination, and recall one's own individuality. But the classical world has ideas wholly apart from one's own; one insensibly transmutes oneself on entering into it. The petty and trivial difficulty of hunting after the right word - the immersion in disputes of grammarians and commentators - all gradually interest the mind, and call out counterbalancing powers not usually employed...Shakespeare is too small for the grief, but Horace and Homer serve as a draught or sip of Lethe.'

The task, as his grandson says, was 'undertaken as a mental sedative, and without any regard to publication.'<sup>1</sup> Another letter, written to his son the following year, contains the ominous remark: 'I may hark back to the Horace. My literary vein seems quite dry.' In February 1865, however, his enthusiasm was more positive:

I have been going through Horace with increased delight. He is the model for popular lyrics, and certainly the greatest lyricist extant... 2

I have given the year in which Lytton began working on Horace as 1855; there is, however, some doubt about this. Although My Novel was not published in book form until 1853, it had started appearing in Blackwood's in 1851, and Charles Kent maintains that it had long since been finished in MS.<sup>3</sup> Also produced in 1851 were the Letters to John

1 The Life of Edward Bulwer, first Lord Lytton, by his grandson, the Earl of Lytton. 1913. Vol. II. pp. 246-8.

2 Life of...Lord Lytton, Vol. II. pp. 248 and 361.

3 The Derby Ministry, by 'Mark Rochester', ed. 2 1859 p. 192.

Bull and Not so Bad as we Seem. This fits in with Lytton's letter to Forster, quoted above, where he claims that the translation was the fruit of his 'first literary impulse in four years'. On the other hand a letter from Lytton to Bentley dated October 31st. 1867, and preserved in the Bodleian, reads:

I have a translation in hand of Horace's Odes in rhymeless Metres - I have been 16 years about it.. 1

which brings the date back to 1851. The Earl of Lytton finally claims 1853 for the year of the inception of the task.<sup>2</sup> The letter to Forster, written in 1855, seems to me better evidence than the retrospective assessment of 1867. None of the biographies offer any support for a date earlier than 1855, apart from the bald statement of Lytton's grandson mentioned above.

As to the respective order in which the preface, translations and notes were executed: the notes, as we would expect, were added last. At least there is no mention of them in the letters preserved by his grandson before one dated March 11th. 1867.<sup>3</sup> All three were in a state of continuous revision from their first appearance in Blackwood's Magazine in April, May, July and August 1868 and the second edition of 1872.<sup>4</sup> Several statements found in the preface appear in Caxtoniana<sup>5</sup>

1 Bod. MS. Eng. Lett. d. 90, f 249.

2 The Life of...Lord Lytton, Vol. II p. 451.

3 The Life of...Lord Lytton, 1913 Vol. II. p. 440.

4 The 'Prefatory Note to the Knebworth Edition', reprinted with the translations alone as No. 67 of 'Sir John Lubbock's Hundred Books' in 1894 by Routledge, gives the date of Longman's second edition as 1870. This seems to be a simple error. Also printed again here is the 'Preface to the Edition of 1872'; the prefatory essay on 'The Causes of Horace's Popularity' and the Latin text are not reprinted here.

5 Pub. 1863. v. Vol. I. Essay VI p. 81; Essay XIV pp. 233-4; Vol. II Essay XXV p. 261.

and in an interesting letter to his son on the Lost Tales of Miletus, written on December 26th. 1865.

This is a particularly informative letter: the rules which Lytton claims to have laid down for himself are clearly based on his conception of Horace's practice and are justified by the same standard. At the same time the discussion of metre seems to support the hypothesis that one of the aims of the Lost Tales of Miletus was simply to introduce the rhymeless metres to the public in a form more likely to achieve popularity than a translation:

1/ they require a backbone, namely:- a single leading idea or purpose, which should not be obscured by episodic ornament...  
 2ndly, I think that vigorous treatment requires terseness and a pruning of superfluous blossoms, the study of compression.  
 3rdly, that as some purely poetic passages may be required, it should be well considered what it should be, and the poetry then thrown pre-eminently into that passage, so that it stands out as a picture from the frame.

Now in these two last named peculiarities, Horace's lyrics seem to me unrivalled as hints for narrative. First, observe how wonderfully he compresses and studies terseness, as if afraid to bore an impatient, idle audience; secondly, when he selects his picture, how it stands out - Cleopatra's flight, the speech of Regulus, the story of Europa, the vision of Hades in the ode on his escape from the tree, etc. He never has two plots, and rarely two pictures in his lyrics....;

and then as to the metres

..But, putting aside rhyme, as having nothing to do with the question, I think if you fairly examine, you will see that you obtain in rhythmical quatrains a compression and terseness, and some lyrical quality that you cannot obtain in heroic blank verse. I think, speaking honestly, [a rare and valuable exercise for Lytton,] that for the perfect success of these innovations of rhythm, it requires a more perfect master of form and expression than I am. I have been so accustomed by prose fiction to consider large effects, that like an infinitely greater master of fiction, Scott, I have dulled myself to the requirements of verbal form,

and I do not sufficiently care for the delicacies of musical cadence... 1

Earlier in 1865 it would appear that Lytton had temporarily abandoned a previous intention to bring his Horace before the public, as we gather from the dedication of the 1865 edition of his poems:

My dear Dr. Kennedy,

Some years ago I anticipated the honour of inscribing to you a certain work which, had I completed it for publication, would have owed no slight obligations to your exquisite taste and incomparable scholarship. But circumstances [Perhaps his elevation to the Colonial Office.] compelled me to suspend my task when it was scarcely half accomplished; and the labour that pleases us at one time of life - 'dum res et aetas - patiuntur' - seldom retains its charm when we return to it at another

'sol ubi montium

Mutaret umbras.'

But in relinquishing the work to which you so kindly encouraged me, I am naturally unwilling to forego the honour which its completion would have enable me to claim... 2

The ornament of Kennedy thus having been rashly squandered, the first edition of the Horace carried no dedication. The second edition was dedicated to F. W. Farrar, whose assistance is also acknowledged in the preface<sup>3</sup>, and who had reviewed the first edition most graciously in the Quarterly.<sup>4</sup>

Lytton's letters to Bentley reveal that he finally got round to arranging for the publication of his Horace in 1867. An undated letter, bound out of sequence, suggests willingness to accept an offer from Bentley:

1 Life of...Lord Lytton, Vol.II pp. 363-5. Cf. pref. ed. 1 pp. xxii-vi and xxxviii-ix.

2 Poems, 1865 pp. v-vi.

3 p. xliii.

4 Quar. R. Oct. 1869 pp. 478-93.

I should say about the Horace that I believe its notes and translations comprise the most recent acknowledged Scholarship in text and [translation] interpretation, which I believe no other translation does, and I assume the translation itself to be more close to the classical spirit and letter than rhymed translation can be. I have been much encouraged in it by a few thoroughly Horatian Scholars such as Dr. Kennedy who have seen specimens in MS. 1

Another letter dated October 31st. 1869 may, in fact be earlier: details of Blackwood's offer are given, but the offer has not yet been accepted. 'But I don't pretend to say that a work of that kind can be very popular.' 2 Even after the translations selected for the purpose had appeared in Blackwood's Magazine George Bentley seems to have continued to angle for the book:

I am very much obliged by what you say about Horace - but I should not like to press what may be a losing bargain, and at all events that must stand over. 3

From the title of the 'Prefatory Essay' - 'On the Causes of Horace's Popularity' - it is possible to foresee Lytton's first major point: the popularity of Horace throughout Europe over the ages is to be ascribed chiefly to his universality:

He touches us on so many sides of our common nature: he has sympathies with such infinite varieties of man; he is so equally at home with us in town and country, in our hours of mirth, in our moments of dejection... His very defects and weaknesses of character serve to increase his attraction; he is not too much elevated above our own erring selves. 4

1 Bod. MS. Eng. lett. d. 90 ff. 286 and 255.

2 *ibid.* f. 249.

3 Bod. MS. Eng. lett. d. 90 f. 285. In point of fact, as Lytton confessed in a letter to his son late in 1869, 'The Horace sells better than any of my original poetry has done of late years.' Life of... Lord Lytton. 1913 Vol. II p. 451.

4 Pref. ed. 1. p. xv. First printed Blackw. April 1868.

Furthermore, 'his inclination' is 'towards the agreeable aspects of our mortal state,' and if he is fond of dwelling on the good things of life, he is no less willing to foster

fortitude and courage, sincerity and honour, devoted patriotism, the superiority of mind over the vicissitudes of fortune, and a healthful reliance on the wisdom and goodness of the one divine providential Power'

- viz. Jupiter.<sup>1</sup>

Horace's philosophy derives from both Epicureanism and Stoicism, as does that of most men to this day; he is 'the poet of Eclecticism.'<sup>2</sup> He is civilised and cosmopolitan, and, on account of his 'undefinable air of good breeding' - a phrase which, according to the reviewer in the British Quarterly, 'could have been coined only by the author of Pelham'<sup>3</sup> - he appeals in particular, to gentlemen. This quality in Horace is further defined as urbanitas; it is a quality not shared by Catullus, or by Pope and Boileau, and is closely connected with the poet's delight in things rustic alongside things urban:

He might be as familiar with Sir Philip Sidney in the shades of Penshurst, as with Lord Chesterfield in the saloons of Mayfair. 4

Here Lytton gets carried away and produces a Horace who seems to have stepped from the pages of one of his novels, and who is not entirely consistent with the character that is later developed:

1 ibid. p. xv.

2 p. xvi.

3 Brit. Q. Vol. LI 1870 p. 38.

4 Pref. ed. 1. p. xvii.

... out of this rare combination of practical wisdom and poetical sentiment there grows that noblest part of his moral teaching which is distinct from schools and sects, and touches at times upon chords morespiritual than those who do not look below the surface would readily detect....With all his melancholy conceptions of the shadow-land beyond the grave, and the half-sportive, half-pathetic injunction, therefore, to make the most of the passing hour, there lies deep within his heart a consciousness of nobler truths, which ever and anon finds impressive utterance, suggesting precepts and hinting consolations that elude the rod of Mercury, and do not accompany the dark flock to the shores of Styx:

"Virtus recludens immeritis mori  
Coelum negata tentat iter via" 1

This is borne out by references to Milton's Sonnet xxi, to Cyriac Skinner<sup>2</sup>, and the death of Condorcet, which Lytton had already celebrated in an original poem.

Having suggested that it is the character of Horace that gives rise to this main element of his popularity, Lytton invites us to share in his rejoicing that 'the kindly enthusiasm of German scholars' and the 'judicious and invaluable work' of Estrée have, by seeking out Greek prototypes, cleared that character of the charges that might be brought against it on the grounds of his love poems, his 'cowardice' on the field of Philippi and his panegyrics on Augustus.<sup>3</sup>

From his initial, rather general, position Lytton proceeds to a more minute consideration of the more purely literary merits of the odes. At the top of the list he places the merit of terseness, observing acutely that Horace

1 Pref. ed. 1. p. xvii.

2 No. xviii, also to Cyriac Skinner, would be a better example than 'xxi' - by which, presumably, is meant the unnumbered sonnet on his blindness.

3 Pref. ed. 1. pp. xviii-xix. A reference, in this context, to the parallels to be derived from contemporary French history, is dropped in the second edition, possibly out of courtesy to the exiled Louis Napoleon.

seems always to consider that he is addressing a very civilised and a very impatient audience, which has other occupations in life besides that of reading verses... 1

Next he places 'picturesqueness', which he considers more important, especially in the 'grander odes'. Copious examples are given. Related to this, but arising from a 'rarer and higher attribute of art', is the dramatic element, illustrated at yet greater length.<sup>2</sup> Nor should these dramatic scenes be regarded as episodic or disproportionate: the accounts of Hypermnestra and of Europa, for example, are essential elements to which the opening stanzas of their respective odes stand in the capacity of frames.

Horace, in a word, generally studies to secure to each of his finer and more careful poems, however brief it be, that which play-writers call "a backbone." And even where he does not obtain this through direct and elaborate picture or dramatic effect and interest, he achieves it perhaps in a single stanza, embodying some striking truth or maxim of popular application... 3

The last general quality noticed by Lytton before discussing questions of style and diction, is Horace's irony: his rapid transitions and the element of subtle surprise which they introduce. This is a good point. Lytton makes too much of it:

He has thus, in his lyrics, more of that combination of tragic and comic elements to which the critics of a former age objected in Shakespeare, than perhaps any poet extant except Shakespeare himself. 4

1 Pref. ed. 1. p. xxii cf. p.263 supra and Martin p.206 supra.

2 Pref. ed. 1. pp. xxi-xxiv.

3 *ibid* ~~Maas~~ ~~ed.~~ f. p. xxv. cf. p. 263 supra.

4 " Pref. ed. 1. pp. xxv-vi.

Touching once again on that impatient audience which can, surely, never have tolerated Vergil, Lytton moves on to the 'oratorical' character of Horace's diction, his reliance on 'sentiment' rather than 'poetical fancy' for emotive effect. This point is developed by means of a contrast with 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso'. Once again the point is taken too far:

Had Horace written with equal length and with equal care an 'Allegro' and a 'Penseroso', not only the poet and the student, not only the man of sentiment and reflection, but all varieties in our common family - the young lover, the ambitious schemer, the man of pleasure, the country yeoman, the city clerk, even the rural labourer - would have found lines in which he saw himself as in a mirror. 1

The remaining characteristic of the odes to which Lytton directs our praise is Horace's use of particularising epithets. The English parallels in this case are Scott, who is good at it, and Macaulay, who overdoes it.<sup>2</sup>

Having exhausted his thoughts on Horace's popularity Lytton proceeds to consider his 'defects or shortcomings'. Immediately characteristics rise up which are not entirely consistent with what has been said already. For instance: we find now that Horace's 'strong good sense' and 'the practical tendency of his mind' prevent him from writing on what might have been called 'chords more spiritual than those who do not look below the surface would readily detect', and from achieving total universality<sup>3</sup>:

1 Pref: ed. 1. pp. xxvi-ix.

2 *ibid.* ~~ed. 1.~~ pp. xxix-xxxi.

3 Cf. pp. 267 and 265 sup.

Marvellously as he represents the human nature we have all of us in common, each thoughtful man has yet in him a something of human nature peculiar to himself, which, like the goal of the Olympian charioteer, is sometimes almost grazed, but ever shunned, by the rapid wheels of the Venusian. 1

Thus, Horace's love poetry is not passionate: it is on the other hand popular. If it were passionate, not only would we cease to find in it the familiar figure of the urbane Horace, but we would resent the loss.

How does Lytton conclude?

The reason, perhaps, is, that most men have loved up to the extent that Horace admits the passion, and very few men have loved much beyond that limit. 2

This is all very well for Pelham, or perhaps a Caxton, but it would be no more satisfactory in the central novels than it is in reality.

Further difficulties ensue as we approach the problem of Horace's 'love life'. The attempt to identify Horace's 'beauties' is scorned; so is the theory that they can all be discounted as purely literary figments. After all, as Lytton had been at pains to demonstrate, 'few poets have ever been more subjective than Horace', and, (the calculation is doubtless based on experience), 'it is probable enough that a man like Horace...should have been pretty often in what is commonly called "love" during, say, thirty-nine years out of the fifty-seven in which he led a bachelor's life'.<sup>3</sup> The 'subjectivity' of Horace having been asserted thus, Lytton perceives his error and tries to recoup his losses:

1 Pref. ed. 1. p. xxxi.

2 ~~Pref. ed. 1.~~ p. xxxiv.

3 ~~Pref. ed. 1.~~ p. xxxiv.

On the other hand, it is impossible to distinguish with any certainty what really does thus illustrate the actual existence of Horace, and does utter the sounds of his own heart, from the purely objective essays of his genius... 1

The massive collapse at this point is but thinly disguised: we are told that poets possessed of 'the dramatic faculty' are commonly both subjective and objective; the structure of the sentence gives way utterly; and all is left to the individual judgement of the 'acute reader' with the mournful rider that 'it is one of those matters in which acute readers will perhaps differ the most.'

The last windmill to be abolished is Horace's fault of 'self-repetition'. This does indeed occur, but it is not, of course, a fault. The maxims on the shortness of life and the like produce a soothing effect 'similar to the prevalence of green in the tints of nature'; Goldsmith, Cowper and Byron exhibit the same characteristic.<sup>2</sup> Summarising his conclusions Lytton asserts that while Horace may lack the 'height' of Pindar and the 'intensity of passion' to be found in Sappho, he compensates for these deficiencies by 'breadth'. Comparison with Alcaeus might be more profitable, but the surviving fragments and Horace's imitations offer insufficient ground for the exercise.<sup>3</sup>

Up to this point the preface of the first edition, and indeed that of the second, is substantially the same as the article in Blackwoods

1 Pref. ed. 1. p. xxxv. My italics.

2 ~~Pref. ed. 1. p. xxxvi,~~

3 ~~Pref. ed. 1. p. xxxvii.~~

for April 1868. The ensuing 'technical' discussion was rewritten. This seems to be partly due to the exigencies of publishing in serial form; there is more space given in Blackwood's to the praises of the English editors - Macleane and Long, and Yonge -, passing references also occur to Bentley and Sanadon and Dacier.<sup>1</sup>

As it appears in book form this last section begins with a reference to the difficulty of keeping up with the new editions constantly appearing. This may be illustrated in Lytton's own work. Between the appearance of his efforts in Blackwood's and the first edition Munro's edition issued from the press.<sup>2</sup> Munro prints his text without apparatus criticus and confines his observations on text and interpretation to the discussion of some three dozen passages in his preface. In his first edition Lytton had time only to incorporate Munro's notes on I i and ii, and towards the end, III xxix, two passages in IV iv and one, unacknowledged, in IV vii, before sending the final proofs to press. The second edition includes Munro's thoughts on twelve intermediate passages, one of them a reading of his text not discussed in his preface.

As to the parallel spate of translations Lytton maintains that they appeal both to the 'Latinless' reader and to the Horatian scholar, who feels

1 Blackw. April 1868 pp. 396-7.

2 Early in 1869.

an interest in examining how each succeeding translator grapples with the difficulties of interpretation which have been, as many of them still are, matters of conjecture and dispute to commentators the most erudite, and critics the most acute.

The reason he assigns for the enthusiasm for translating Horace is, quite simply, 'the comprehensive range of his sympathy with human beings'.<sup>1</sup>

Lytton's account of the reasons and principles behind his choice of metres is less opaque in the form in which it first appeared than it is in the first edition where the conflict between his original intention - to write 'English alcaics' - and his actual practice is incompletely resolved. The earlier formulation condescends to begin with a reference to the two basic principles of Conington: that analogous metres should be used, and that each Latin metre should have one, and only one, English representative. Lytton accepts the first principle but demurs from the second on the grounds that the prototypical representative of the alcaic, for instance, should be modified in 'flow and cadence' according to the prevailing spirit of the ode in question. A 'grave' alcaic asks for treatment different from a 'sportive' alcaic.<sup>2</sup>

The translations which appeared in Blackwood's were so set out as to demonstrate this principle. The May number contains alcaics, asclepiads and sapphics from the first two books. By way of preparation we are told that the alcaic is represented by two different forms of rhythm, both of them admitting 'slight occasional variations'; the sapphic is described at greater length. In one or two short poems a species of "Knife-grinder" is used, but Lytton regards it as unsuitable not only

1 Pref. ed. 1. p. xxxviii.

2 Blackw. May 1868 p. 573.

on account of its associations but on the grounds that it is unpleasant and monotonous. Two main varieties serve for the rest: for the 'statelier' odes three lines of 'our own recognised blank verse, usually, though not always, with a dissyllabic termination', are followed by an accentual adonic. The anapaestic rhythm used for the lighter sapphics is simply described as 'more sportive or tripping.'<sup>1</sup>

The preface to the first edition closes, as did the article in the April number of Blackwood's, with an account of the editions used by Lytton. Chief among these are Orelli and Maclean, which he seems to have used equally; and after these Dillenburger and Yonge, most frequently consulted at notable cruces. Ritter is named only in the first and second editions; where his name appears in notes in Blackwood's it is usually at second-hand, where he is cited also by Maclean. It appears that Munro's edition was largely responsible for the more frequent appearance of his name later. The same may be true of the allusion to Kirchner's Quaestiones Horatianae.<sup>2</sup> Omitted in the book are references to the editions of Doering and to Dacier and Sanadon. There is little evidence for any use of the first, and Dacier and Sanadon are among authorities extracted, without acknowledgement of course, from Francis. Kennedy and Farrar are named only in the book.

1 Blackw. May 1868 p. 574 and pref. ed. 1. p. xl.

2 Pref. ed. 1. pp. xl-xlii. Blackw. April p. 395.

As an example of Lytton's presentation of the odes I transcribe I xxiii. The Latin appears on the opposite page.

## TO CHLOE

This ode has the appearance of being imitated, though but slightly, from a fragment in Anacreon preserved in "Athenaeus", ix. p. 396. But it is not the less an illustration of the native grace with which Horace invests his more trivial compositions.

Like a fawn dost thou fly from me, Chloë,  
Like a fawn that, astray on the hill-tops,  
Her shy mother misses and seeks,  
Vaguely scared by the breeze and the forest.

Sighs the coming of spring through the leaflets?  
Slips the green lizard stirring a bramble!  
Her knees knock together with fear,  
And her heart beats aloud in its tremor.

Nay, but not as a merciless tiger,  
Or an African lion I chase thee;  
Ah! cling to a mother no more,  
When thy girlhood is ripe for a lover.

Most of the odes carry far more notes. In the second edition the second stanza is altered to:

Shudders Spring, newly born, thro' quick leaflets?  
Slips the green lizard stirring a bramble!  
She is seized with a panic of fear,  
And her knees and her heart are one tremble.

The improvement is not conspicuous. It is partly due to the objection to 'sighs' registered by the reviewer in the Times.<sup>1</sup> An added note quotes Munro's argument in favour of the reading 'vepris', viz. that the genitabilis aura Favoni<sup>2</sup>, which is presumably meant, 'would

1 Nov. 18th. 1869. p. 5.

2 Lucretius 1. 11.

be the last thing to startle a fawn'. Lytton continues:

This criticism is founded on nice observations of details in external nature, but I do not think such nicety of observation is a characteristic of Horace. The simile itself of the fawn is rather a proof of the contrary; for the fawn just missing her dam is by no means of an age to be wooed, nor does she attract the courtship of the male till she has parted company with the mother altogether, and is mingling with the other does. 1

This comment is derived from quotations from Regel and Doering preserved in Orelli.

As an example of the gayer alcaic Lytton presents I ix: the note introducing it discusses the question of whether or not 'Thaliarchus' is a proper name - Dillenburger, Maclean, Orelli and Yonge are consulted. Walckenaer's note on Soracte is gleaned from Orelli, as is the reference to the precedent of Alcaeus and the explanation of the last stanza.

See how white in the deep-fallen snow stands Soracte!  
 Labouring forests no longer can bear up their burden;  
 And the rush of the rivers is locked,  
 Halting mute in the gripe of the frost.

This anapaestic rhythm is difficult to maintain; the reader is often led to quarrel with the word stress. Nor is the form in which this metre appears in II xx, for example, any more satisfactory. The extension of the fourth line merely stresses the occasional unwieldiness of the others:

I shall soar through the liquid air buoyed on a pinion  
 Not familiar, nor slight; I will tarry no longer  
 On this earth; but victorious o'er envy, two-formed,  
 Bard and bird, I abandon the cities of men.

1 ed. 2. pp. 82-3.

Much better is the metre employed for the 'graver' alcaic. Lytton offers, in Blackwood's, I xxxv<sup>1</sup>, but it is more pleasant to consider II xiv - more particularly the last two stanzas, where there is, according to L. P. Wilkinson,

much of the Horatian dignity and distinction, undisturbed by the tinkling of rhyme; and although the third lines are too light to suggest the effect of those three long syllables in the middle that concentrate the force of the Horatian Alcaic stanza, yet the total impression is not unfaithful to the original. 2

Lands, home, and wife in whom thy soul delighteth,  
Left; and one tree alone of all thy woodlands,  
Loathed cypress, faithful found,  
Shall follow to the last the brief-lived lord.

The worthier heir thy Caecuban shall squander,  
Bursting the hundred locks that guard its treasure,  
And wines more rare than those  
Sipped at high feast by pontiffs, dye the floors.

The first stanza also merits transcription:

Postumus, Postumus, the years glide by us,  
Alas! no piety delays the wrinkles,  
Nor old age imminent,  
Nor the indomitable hand of Death.

This is a striking attempt, and ought to encourage interest in Lytton's method. Among other admirable features is the way in which the fourth line serves either to carry one stanza on into the next or to conclude the ode.

Similarly Lytton is more successful in his graver sapphics than he is in the gayer. His 'Knifegrinders' are only good in so far as 'Knifegrinders' can be:

1 May pp. 587-8.

2 L. P. Wilkinson, Horace and his Lyric Poetry, p'back ed. 1968 pp. 154-5.

Boy, I detest the pomp of Persic fashions -  
 Coronals wreathed with linden rind displease me;  
 Cease to explore each nook for some belated

Rose of the autumn.

I xxxviii 1-4.

The first three lines of the anapaestic sapphic often take a form identical with the first two lines of the more emphatically anapaestic alcaic. The general effect, however, is sometimes more satisfactory in that the lighter sapphic is lighter than the lighter alcaic:

He whose life hath no flaw, pure from guilt, need not borrow  
 Or the bow or the darts of the Moor, O my Fuscus!  
 He relies for defence on no quiver that teems with  
 Poison-steeped arrows;

Though his path be along sultry African Syrtes,  
 Or Caucasian ravines, where no guest finds a shelter,  
 Or the banks which Hydaspes, the stream weird with fable,  
 Licks languid-flowing. I xxii 1-8 1

The Times' reviewer, who is disinclined to tolerate Lytton's rhymeless metres, complains with some justice, that 'his verses too often halt between the old principles of rhythm and the new.' He exemplifies this by a reference to I xxxviii, quoted above, commenting that,

Those who recall the metre of the original cannot help trying to read the English with the cadence of Canning's 'Needy Knifegrinder'. And even when you perceive how it is intended to be read, this metre haunts the ear still. 2

~~This choice of example is unfortunate since I xxxviii is written in~~  
~~'Knifegrinder'; the criticism is, however, occasionally applicable~~  
~~to some of the 'quiver' sapphics. None the less, when rightly read,~~

1 'Stream weird with fable' is altered to 'River of Story' in the second edition, and a rather unnecessary note on the Hydaspes is dropped.

2 Times Nov. 18th. 1869 p. 5.

that version of the sapphic which is made up of three lines of 'ordinary' blank verse and an adonic can be very pleasant to read:

Back from the rocks recedes the rush of waters,  
Winds fall - clouds fly - and every threatening billow,  
Lulled at their will, upon the breast of ocean  
Sinks into slumber. I xii 29-32

This metre is condemned by James Davies, writing in the Contemporary Review.<sup>1</sup>

In matters of detail critics were often at variance as to the merits of Lytton's metres. With the exception of Farrar, who praised the method<sup>2</sup>, it was generally agreed that, though Lytton had been more successful than Newman, his whole scheme was at fault. In individual cases agreement is less general: the metre of I viii -

By all the gods, Lydia, O say, I implore,  
Why must love hurry Sybaris into perdition?  
Why to him once so patient of dust and of sun  
Has the Campus become so detestably sultry? 1-4

was applauded by Davies, though he preferred Conington, and abominated by the British Quarterly.<sup>3</sup> In the second edition it was changed.

Lytton's earlier critics mostly congratulated him on his interpretations and annotations, while criticising individual passages. These criticisms he took to heart. Four passages attacked in the Times were altered in the second edition, as were two each from the Contemporary Review and the British Quarterly.<sup>4</sup>

1 Cont. R. Nov. 1869 p. 455.      2 Quar. Oct. 1869 pp. 478-93.  
3 Cont. R. Nov. 1869 p. 455 and Brit. Q. Jan. 1870 p. 48.  
4 Times: I iv, xii, xxii and IV i; Cont. R.: I xiii and II xv;  
Brit. Q.: I vii and xi.

Perhaps the most antipathetic review to appear was a 'posthumous' one in the London Quarterly for April 1874. This describes Lytton's attempt as 'the most ambitious of all failures', refuses to tolerate any of his metres, justly criticises a number of phrases, such as 'woman-queen' (I xxxvii), which had already been expunged in the second edition, and cavils, usually unfairly, at some of his notes.<sup>1</sup>

Certainly the version has its faults: the metres are often difficult to read at first and unpleasant later; it is a pity that the 'Roman odes' are not all in the same metre; at times the English is very obscure:-

I burn, or whether quarrel o'er his wine,  
 Stain with a bruise dishonouring thy white shoulders,  
 Or whether my boy-rival on thy lips  
 Leave by a scar the mark of his rude kisses.      I xiii 9-12.

at others sadly prosaic:-

It is said that Prometheus to man's primal matter  
 Was compelled to add something from each living creature,  
 And thus from the wild lion he took  
 Rabid virus to place in our gall.      I xvi 13-16.

Startling observations occur in the notes, where Lytton abandons the commentators. Davies noticed a comment on Hypermnestra (III xi p. 263):

Probably she was the ugly one of the family, and less likely,  
 if she killed one husband, to find another.

This vanished. In III xvii a curiosity from Orelli is rendered yet more curious:

<sup>1</sup> loc. cit. pp. 11-14.

Mitscherlich says: "His own good sense will easily show any well-bred gentleman (*urbanum*) that Horace here, in a well-bred, gentlemanlike way, offers himself as a guest; in plain words, hints that Lamia should ask him to dine." On which the commentator in Orelli [Orelli himself] observes, with much feeling asperity: "In the whole poem there is not a vestige of this sort of gentlemanlike good-breeding, if gentlemanlike good-breeding it be, which it is permitted vehemently to doubt." Evidently the commentator is an Italian. A gentleman of that country would certainly dispute the good-breeding of any friend offering to drop in at dinner. 1

Orelli was, in fact, Swiss.

The reader's concentration is indeed not infrequently disturbed by oddities of diction, awkwardness of metre and obscurities; nevertheless, Lytton's occasional successes, more easily appreciated perhaps, now, that we are more accustomed to rhymeless metres, render him worthy of renewed attention.

What shame or what restraint unto the yearning  
For one so loved? Music attuned to sorrow  
Lead thou, Melpomene, to whom the Father  
Gave liquid voice and lyre.

So, the eternal slumber clasps Quinctilius,  
Whose equal when shall shame-faced sense of Honour,  
Incorrupt Faith, of Justice the twin sister,  
Or Truth disguiseless, find?

By many a good man wept, he died; - no mourner  
Wept with tears sadder than thine own, O Virgil!  
Pious, alas, in vain! thou redemandest  
Quinctilius from the gods;

Not on such terms they lent him! - Were thy harp-strings  
Blander than those by which the Thracian Orpheus  
Charmed listening forests, never flows the life-blood  
Back to the phantom form

Which Hermes, not reopening Fate's closed portal  
At human prayer, amid the dark flock shepherds  
With ghastly rod. Hard! yet still Patience lightens  
That which admits no cure.

5. W. E. Gladstone.

Of the five translators here considered none was so much in the public eye during the time he was at his task, and none has left such copious records as Gladstone. At the same time, the nature of the translation and other circumstances are such that there remain several unanswered questions and little support for conjecture. It is possible, though not particularly likely, that the last volumes of Gladstone's Diaries will, when published, solve some of these problems; meanwhile, the most important document is an unpublished manuscript in the British Museum - drafts apparently for prefatory essays to 'Sixteen Odes of Horace..' abortively prepared for publication, and for other contemplated productions. Before offering a transcript of this document, however, I must briefly supply the necessary background.

From September, 1821 to December 1827 Gladstone was an oppidan at Eton. Among his preceptors were the Rev. A. A. Knapp, Henry Hall Joy, Edward Coleridge, Hawtrej and Keate.<sup>1</sup> Entries in the diaries for 1825-27 are consistent with the picture given in my first chapter, but that it is not until Gladstone is in the Upper Division of the Fifth that Horace begins to occupy more time than Vergil and Homer. Almost every week Horace is committed to memory for 'Friday's business', almost every week, that is, after June 16th. 1826, when it is recorded that

1 B.M. Adds. MSS. 44790 ff. 66-8 and L. Tollemache, Talks with Mr. Gladstone, ed. 3. 1903 p. 110.

Gladstone 'began Odes in school'.<sup>1</sup> For the six months past 'notes' and quotations had been industriously 'put down' 'to Horace', presumably in an 'interleaved'.<sup>2</sup> A cheering entry appears for July 14th. 1826:

'Friday's business - pleasant enough now, as we do so much Horace'.<sup>3</sup>

From June to November 1827 Gladstone was editing the Eton Miscellany. From among the papers he contributed himself, it is in the humorous ones, notably the Introductions and Epilogues, that Horace most frequently features. In no. iv, Vergil, appearing from the Underworld, describes Horace's existence as Pluto's butler, and in no. vii several poets - Dryden, Gray, Collins and Byron - are suggested as modern counterparts to Pindar and Horace; and Pope and Dryden, Boileau and Swift, Byron and Churchill, and Butler, and Johnson and Gifford as satirists. In the Conclusion of the tenth and last number the last quotation is prefaced by the parenthesis: 'to indulge, for the last time, in the darling sin of quoting poor Horace'.<sup>4</sup>

Between leaving Eton and going up to Christ Church Gladstone went to a 'coach' at Wilmslow, where on February 16th. 1828 he 'learned Homer - and a long Ode of Horace to repeat'.<sup>5</sup> At the beginning of August of this year he went to lodge at Cuddesdon, and from August 11th. to September 8th. he studied 'about an Ode, or a little more, each

1 Gladstone Diaries ed. M.D.R. Foot. 1968 Vol. I. p. 55.

2 V. Foot. Vol. I. 1826 Jan. 23; Feb. 17; April 15 etc.

3 *ibid.* Foot p. 61.

4 Eton Misc. Vol. I. pp. 181 et seqq. Vol. II pp. 56 & 257. 1827.

5 Foot. Vol. I. p. 164.

evening'. It was only now that he was beginning to read the Odes in Bentley,<sup>1</sup> His copy was given to him by his Eton tutor, Knapp, on December 3rd. 1827 just before he left.

In March 1829, three months before his 'littlego', Gladstone was working on the Odes again. He read through the four books in a fortnight.<sup>2</sup> Later in the same year he tackled the Satires, and in the next year the Ars Poetica. As 'Schools' approached in 1831, he spent the evenings of July and part of August going through Horace again, often with one of his friends, Denison or Phillimore.<sup>3</sup> In the Schools Horace was one of the eight out of eighteen 'books' which Gladstone 'sent up' in which he was not examined. - He commented: 'I fear that unless they alter this, no one will get up his books.'<sup>4</sup>

It may be supposed that the amount of time Gladstone spent on Horace as a schoolboy and an undergraduate was neither more nor less than that spent by most of his fellows. There is no evidence of a particular fondness for Horace in the notebooks of this time. Vergil is much more frequently cited.

It is notorious that whenever Gladstone went out of office, and, in earlier years, whenever his political activities left him time, he turned his attention either to theology or to Homer, or, with atrocious confidence, to both at once. Nevertheless a perfunctory

1 Foot. Vol. I. pp. 193 et seqq.

2 <sup>ibid</sup> Foot. ~~Vol. I.~~ March 6. p. 230 - March 19th. p. 233.

3 <sup>ibid</sup> Foot. ~~Vol. I.~~ pp. 367 - 377; 247; 288 and 297 - 8 and 331 - 2.

4 <sup>ibid</sup> Foot. p. 393.

interest in Horace was shewn by his translation of ode III ix, printed by Hannay in his article of October 1858<sup>1</sup>, and by the inclusion of translations of the same ode and of I v (translated in 1859) in the Translations which he published jointly with Lord Lyttleton to celebrate the twenty-second anniversary of their joint wedding, in 1861.

These slight attempts would hardly justify the designation of Gladstone as an Horatian, nor would anything else in his private or public character. The Hon. Lionel Tollemache in his Talks with Mr. Gladstone, discussing the description of Gladstone by a friend of Bagehot's as 'an atrocious pagan', tries to get round this problem. A good pagan, he stipulates, is a man marked by dislike of extremes; an atrocious pagan hence by extremism.

He was no doubt open to this charge; yet even in him the wholesome pagan ingredient was not quite wanting. His continued study of Horace proves this. To study Horace is to learn nil admirari; and the prolonged effort of translating him must serve to dilute Christian with pagan modes of feeling. 2

The only trouble with this is that there is no evidence that Gladstone's Horatian 'studies' were anything but sporadic, nor was the 'effort of translating him' markedly prolonged.

Gladstone's translation of the complete Odes and Carmen Saeculare of Horace appeared in September 1894, just six months after the downfall of his fourth and last administration. A rumour to the effect that something of the sort was in preparation had appeared in St. James's

1 Quar. Oct. 1858 pp. 354-5.

2 loc. cit. 3rd. revised edition 1903 pp. 79-80.

Gazette in December 1893, and had elicited from Gladstone the explanation in answer to an enquiry from the editor of the Westminster Gazette:

Statement in St. James's Gazette full of errors. Some time before the formation of the present Govt., I found that my power of reading, of [sic] which I had been accustomed greatly to rely in disposing of odds and ends of views, was gradually declining. In consequence I occasionally turned my mind to translating Odes of Horace (not into verse), with which I was partially familiar and which gave little work to the eye. This practice I have continued simply as a substitute for another of long standing. But I have no literary plan or publication in view....W.E.G. Dec. 6. 93. 1

The suggestion here that the translations were done partly, at least, from memory is of great significance. Gladstone's fourth administration was formed in July 1892, and he is quite accurate in maintaining that he began translating before this; he was less accurate in stating that he was not translating into verse.

The external evidence as to Gladstone's activities on the odes in the early 'nineties is slight and scattered; Sir Algernon West recalls that on October 27th. 1893 Gladstone 'had talked to Welby about Regulus and his own translation of Horace, which he did not want talked about.'<sup>2</sup> Gladstone's reserve on this subject probably accounts for the scarcity of direct references to the subject by those who were close to him at the time, for such was his fame, and the interest he aroused, that there is scarcely a day between July 1892 and March 1894, when the

1 v. Private Diaries of the Rt. Hon. Sir Algernon West G.C.B. 1922 p. 224.

2 West's Private Diaries, 1922 p. 213. The Regulus ode, III v, was one of several translated in the course of this month.

translation was completed, on which an encounter with Gladstone does not occur in the papers of one or other of his satellites.

Tollemache's conversations with Gladstone took place at Biarritz where Tollemache lived and where, at this time, Gladstone usually passed the worst of the winter. The discussion of paganism quoted above is appended to a reference by Gladstone to his translation in January 1893. On January 24th. 1894 they met again and Gladstone quoted the lines

infernus neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum  
liberat Hippolytum

from Odes IV vii, as an instance of Horace confounding the identities of Diana and Proserpine. Tollemache

suggested that in this instance Horace seemed to him to refer to Diana, not as identical with Proserpine, but as the goddess whom Hippolytus especially worshipped. Mr. Gladstone frankly said that this was a new idea to him, but that he would think it over. 1

No less interesting than this Gladstonian confusion is the fact that the ode had been translated on the previous day. In the same passage Tollemache records further difficulties encountered by Gladstone in Horace: in I xxxv he wanted to translate

O utinam nova  
Incude diffingas retusum in  
Massagetis Arabasque ferrum

"Break up our corrupt civilisation, and remould us after the fashion of barbarous tribes." This strange thought does not appear in the

1 Tollemache, loc. cit. p. 104.

translation which had been completed six days earlier. II xv, on the other hand had not yet been translated; Gladstone disliked the usual interpretation of 11.17-18:

Nec fortuitum spernere caespitem  
Leges sinebant.

"I do not think there is any point in the rendering 'chance turf'. What would they do with it? Not build. Conington suggests that they might make their roofs of it. I know that they so construct their roofs in Iceland and elsewhere, where it is hard to get wood. But otherwise I do not think that they would make their roofs of turf alone. I think it refers to the enclosure of commons, and so it touches on a question which has lately been coming to the front."

I asked how he explained "spernere." He said that it meant "to disregard the laws which forbid the appropriation of ager publicus." But he admitted that his view was not free from difficulty. 1

Accordingly the passage was translated a week later:

The common turf, that grew at large,  
Those ancient laws bade all respect..

and was so printed with a note explaining his deviation from the usual interpretation.

Of the last stages of the translation Morley affords two glimpses. On February 27th. 1894 arriving at Euston from Ireland he found a messenger asking him to call on Gladstone on his way home:

I found him busy as usual at his table in Downing Street. 'I suppose it is the long habit of a life,' he said cheerily, 'but even in the midst of these passages, if ever I have half or quarter of an hour to spare, I find myself turning to my Horace translation.' 2

1 Tollemache, p. 105.

2 Morley's Life of Gladstone Vol. III pp. 509-10. 1903. 'These passages' are presumably the impending resignation of Gladstone on account of 'ears and eyes' and the naval estimates.

On March 2nd. the day on which Gladstone formally resigned, Morley found him 'packing his papers, and working at intervals on his translation of Horace.'<sup>1</sup>

The translation of the hundred and third ode, IV xiv, was completed on March 3rd. 1894 at Windsor where Gladstone had gone to give his letter of resignation to the Queen. The beginning of the enterprise is more uncertain but with the help of the dates marked by him on his drafts we may get at least a general picture of how Gladstone set about his translation. The information is almost all derived from the British Museum Additional MS 44,706.

We have seen that III ix and I v had been translated many years earlier. In July 1892, during the elections, work on the Odes started again. On the 19th. Gladstone translated, significantly perhaps, the 'Aequam memento', II iii, and on the 23rd., 'Exegi monumentum', III xxx. Also in this year were accomplished IV xv, and, most appropriately of all, the address to the Ship of State, I xiv. In Biarritz, in January 1893, Gladstone selected two popular odes, I iv and I xi and also III xxi and xxii. The task was then abandoned again until September. It may be that it was now that Gladstone first thought of attempting the whole body of the odes. September was a busy month. On the second, the Third Reading of the Home Rule Bill passed through the House of Commons to be rejected by the Lords on the eighth; on the twenty-first Parliament adjourned. Gladstone, staying at Blackcraig,

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.* p. 512.

went through Book I, apparently translating those <sup>odes</sup> which most appealed  
 to him: I iv, vi-ix, xi, xv, xvi, xviii, xix; also II xvi and III xxiv,  
 and at the end of all, I i. I iv and I xi thus received a second  
 handling. The next month some of the gaps were filled, viz. I ii  
 and x. I xxiv and I xxv were added as was the last ode of the first  
 book. Book II also was launched, the first four and the fourteenth  
 ode being translated; and III ii, v-vii and xxx and IV xv were added.  
 If we add to these a group of eight odes simply labelled 'Autumn 1893',  
 we find that a systematic picture emerges. Book I i-xix were completed,  
 with the omission only of xvii, also finished were I xxiv, xxv and  
 xxxviii; Book II i-iv, xiv and xvi; Book III i-viii and xxx; and  
 the last ode of the fourth book was also done.

November 1893 was spent in retackling earlier translations: I xvi,  
 III xxi-ii and in adding III xxvii-xxix, all done before November 19th.  
 Work was resumed on December 12th. and by the end of the month I xxvii  
 had been inserted and xx and xxi added; III xviii-xx were also  
 translated and xxvi-xxix added, if they were not already done. The first  
 four odes of book IV joined them. From November 2nd 1893 to March 5th  
 1894 the House sat every day except Christmas Day. Gladstone continued  
 to fill in the missing odes: five were done by the time he left for  
 a holiday in Biarritz on January 13th and once there productivity  
 increased so that by the 24th Book I was completed. On the 25th  
 Algernon West went over to Biarritz for the second time, bringing  
 communications from the Cabinet and trying to get Gladstone to reciprocate.

On the 29th Gladstone announced to the Cabinet by telegram his intention of retiring, and translated II v-vi.

On February 10th 1894 Gladstone returned to England, by the 13th Book II was completed, and by the 22nd, Book III. Deliberately the process continues until, on March 3rd, IV xiv, the last remaining ode, is translated and the letter of resignation taken to the Queen at Windsor. This would appear to be largely a coincidence. We have seen that the work was sporadic, affected partly by the amount of leisure time available, and to a far less extent, perhaps by imminent crises. Various 'progress reports' on the odes translated and to be translated were drawn up by Gladstone in September 1893, December 1893 and on January 6th and 15th 1894, and these reflect the uneven pace of progress. Perhaps the most interesting is the first. Gladstone calculated that, on the evidence of the past seventeen days, in which he had translated eleven odes, he had either done five lines an hour for three hours a day or six lines an hour for two and a half hours a day. These seventeen days are 'to the 25th. [Sept] incl.', shewing that Gladstone began on the eighth, the day the Lords rejected the Home Rule Bill, and he works out that if the twenty-one odes in all which he has already done represent one fifth of the whole (104 odes) he 'may require 128 more days at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours each' to complete the task. This brings him to March 3rd 1894 exactly.

Gladstone's rationale of Horatian translation and his assessment of Horace are set out in the essay or essays mentioned at the beginning

of this chapter. The manuscript bears two dates, both of them later than March 3rd. 1894, but it is not always clear how much was written at any one time. I have therefore been content to separate by a ruled line those parts which are distinguished by a difference of pen or other such indications where they are positive enough.

I present the transcript here, rather than separately in an Appendix, for ease of reference, and retain the folio numbers in the margin for the same reason. I aim at presenting a direct transcript and have not therefore altered the punctuation which is sometimes erratic but rarely so much so as to cause more than a momentary delay. Where I have inserted anything into the text, as when I have filled gaps left by Gladstone, I have done it within  $\langle \rangle$  brackets. Erased words are dropped into the footnotes and marked by the prefix del.; words superscript placed between  $\backslash /$  brackets. The footnotes are mine, except when followed by a (G), in which case they are Gladstone's.

I repeat that the order in which the various sections appear is not the order in which they were written; folios 161 following are certainly later than the last section; nor is it always clear whether a part was written to introduce the group of sixteen odes, never published as such, or the five 'Love Odes of Horace' which appeared in the Nineteenth Century for May 1894,<sup>1</sup> or the complete odes published in September of that year. Certain themes are handled more than once, but as it is interesting to see how he has marshalled the same or different arguments in each case, I have made no omissions.

1 The section 169-172 was almost certainly intended to preface the 'Love Odes' - (I xxiii. III vii. III x. IV xiii III xv.), though it becomes irrelevant to them after f. 171. See note on IV xiii. f. 169.

B.M. Add. MS. 44, 706 folios 142-184v.

Sixteen Odes  
of Horace  
To and on his Loves  
Past, present and to come.

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f.142

Of the Odes, speaking generally, I conceive that those of the lightest tissue are the best; the Poet is most completely master of his work. They are I think included in this selection, though all the sixteen do not come up to the same standard.

On translating Horace there is much to be said. My principle points are that I follow Conington as to rhyme; go even beyond him as to compression. My version may be too short. It is the shortest I have seen.

I have been led during many long years to consider what are the true, Canons of Translation, and which of those Canons have primary and supreme authority, And I arrived at a conclusion, which I think that the Revised Version of the New Testament, contrasted with the Psalter as it stands in the Common Prayer Book, first perhaps led me to condense into a proposition. If it startles any, or many, I beg him or them to wait, and weigh before they wholly condemn. It is this. That close and uniform accuracy is not the supreme law which is to command the obedience of the translator. It is well, indeed, for him, and for his reader, if he can attain it, and every departure from it is in itself a loss. But his first duty is, to acquire the spirit of translation, and from this never to depart. What is the spirit of translation?

f.143

Nequeo monstrare, et sentio tantum. 1

It is, however, a frame of mind, which includes several elements. It requires the renderer into another tongue to possess himself, above all, of the spirit of his author. Then, to remember carefully the spirit of the language in which the author writes. But beyond this second obligation, is the obligation to know the resources, and to abide by the spirit of his own tongue. Some slight detortions, to use the phrase of Horace,<sup>2</sup> the language and the grammatical construction of prose require, when we have to deal with verse, but they are generally not otherwise than agreeable to its spirit, largely viewed. What we require is to establish as closely as we may in the translation something near or like the relation between the<sup>3</sup> author's mind and the clothing it has to undergo in language, as prevailed in the original: something that the author himself would be able to recognise as presenting in a degree the features of his work without deformity or caricature of the shifting of the balance between essential elements.

f.144

Let us consider the main difficulties of the translator. I might almost have said his main difficulty. It arises from the necessity of submitting to the fetters of rhyme. To those fetters

f.145

1 Juv. Sat. VII.56

2 Ars P 53

3 del: version.

which Milton declined, and which if Milton could go to work again, and translate the Odes in mass, he and such as he might perhaps make bold to decline. But for the ordinary translator I fear that rhyme is the only equivalent, compensation, or palliative, which he can offer for the loss of metres far more marked and effective than our own. Even Homer, in whom we find the grains and seeds of so many undeveloped excellencies, thought that he could draw aid from the music of rhyme or assonance, and has employed *(it)* to an extent which has not, in this country at least, been sufficiently noticed. In one remarkable instance he has no less <sup>1</sup> than rhymes or assonances within the space of lines.

f.145  
contd.

There are many alternatives open for choice to the translator of Horace in his very natural embarrassment, the easiest of them all is to be diffuse. And this has the merit that it gets rid at a stroke, like Nero with the Roman people at the block,<sup>2</sup> of all the rest. No word need be omitted, no cramped expression used, no doubtful or imperfect rhyme employed, no violence done to a single phrase of the original, provided the translator adopts diffuseness as the basis of his work.

f.146

I have said no violence need be done to a single phrase of the original. The wine need not in any case be flavoured. But through diffuseness the entire flavour may be lost.

Horace in the Odes is eminently a succinct, sometimes though rarely almost a cramped writer. He has himself warned us, perhaps with an experimental recollection hovering in his mind

Brevis esse laboro

Obscurus fio. <sup>3</sup>

But I conceive that the translator, whatever his difficulties,<sup>4</sup> make it one of his rules to maintain unless in cases of exceptional difficulty, the central, and fundamental features of his author. Indisputably, as I think, the workmanship of the Odes commonly displays a pervading and masculine conciseness: which means propriety and felicity, with a stern avoidance of the superfluous, and a leaning, when the choice is one between opposing difficulties, to be over close rather than over loose. When this is the rule of the original, it is surely the duty of his servant the translator to follow suit at least so far as not to pursue the opposite and specially avoided characteristic.

f.147

In the case before us this question submits itself to a rather definite, and also an easy test, the genius of the English language into which we have to translate is eminently monosyllabic. It is so monosyllabic that Lord Tennyson once told me he thought it might be practicable, through the strength of this remarkable characteristic, to render the Iliad into English blank verse, line for line, though I doubted this it was on the ground of particular difficulties, which for the most part have no place in Horatian translation: such as the particles, for which we have absolutely

f.148

1 Il.XII 1- (G) Almost certainly he means Il.XIII 4-6.  
10 rhymes in 3 lines.

2 Presumably Caligula, Suet. 20. 3 Ars.P. 25-6

4 del: to.

no succinct representative; the patronymics which make large demands for syllabic space; the oblique cases of the proper names where<sup>1</sup> the employment of the apostrophe, \without the letter s to indicate the genitive/ often become odious to a sensitive and exacting ear, and in some cases the accumulation of proper names in groups, which seem to laugh at us and our monosyllabic genius. And the assertion of Lord Tennyson was perhaps only open to these rather special and occasional objections.<sup>2</sup> In any case it came with immense weight from him, and it amounted to no less than this, that the seventeen thousand (and odd) lines with an average of (say) fifteen syllables could be rendered into lines with <sup>3</sup> syllables only ten, susceptible of a rare enlargement giving <sup>4</sup> eleven in particular cases.

f.148  
contd.

This reference to Lord Tennyson will I hope excuse me from insisting in further detail on the monosyllabic spirit of our language. But it is a consideration of the most vital importance with regard to translations, first from Latin into English, and secondly from Horatian Latin into English. It seems to show that we ought to be able, apart from special difficulty in special cases,<sup>5</sup> to render<sup>6</sup> Latin poetry into English verses not only without any enlargement, but with some contraction of its bulk. And further that if we do not largely fulfil this condition, we commit a capital offence against the genius of our own tongue. But that genius, if the translation itself is to have any pretension to life<sup>7</sup> or/ reality, it is indispensable to follow and to observe.

f.149

But when we come to deal with a concise writer such as Horace, the obligation is doubled; for we have to reproduce in a measure both his conciseness, and the conciseness of our own tongue. It follows that a diffuse translation of Horace, whatever talent it may exhibit, and though it may possess a beauty of its own, sins vitally, and sins vitally under two counts. It sins against the Latin author, and it sins against the English language. And any translation of Horace which \exceeds or which closely/ approaches in bulk, that is in<sup>8</sup> the number of its syllables, the bulk of the original, is a diffuse translation.

I have now cut myself off without retreat from that which is evidently the most sweeping and effectual of the translator's remedies.

f.150

The framework of Horace's ideas is I think singularly complete, and it is exhibited in his works with great ingeniousness. His emotional nature is better regulated than his relation to conscience, and to duty or piety as such: for he was susceptible of affection much more than of obligation. There are two laws which have little claim upon his allegiance: the law of God, and the law of nature. But he is a Roman citizen: and as a Roman citizen, while slavish like his contemporaries towards the imperial power, he recognises the law of country and the law of the family.

f.151

1 del. appreciation

2 The last two often apply also to Latin.

3 del. an average of

4 del. them

5 del. all

6 del. a

7 del. and

8 del. bulk.

His Chloes, Lydias, Pyrrhas, and the rest, are all unmarried. He has no word of mitigation for the case of Helen. The matron is everywhere with him a venerable or an honourable image. The pollution of the family is what he cannot endure.<sup>1</sup> Duty to the State, lifted on strong pinions in the case of Regulus into heroism, has inspired the noblest of all his works:<sup>2</sup> but few of them, as it must be admitted, deserving in full that lofty epithet. Subject to this important limitation in the political and in the social sphere, his philosophy of life is a system of pleasure, subject of course to checks alike unavoidable and rude, for encountering which he has and can have no better specific than the reflection that they are unavoidable and must be endured.<sup>3</sup>

f.151  
contd.

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1. When Horace enumerates several historical persons, or several things in one category or class, the order of them may be altered.  
as in I.vii.1-4...IV.xv.31,2. f.152
  2. The expression of a thought in the original may be developed by specification, when material to fill a gap is required.  
as in II.xiv.18. 4
  3. Or it may be further generalised, provided the essence and 'go' (κίκος Odyssey) are retained.  
as in Od.I.xxxviii
  4. Epithets may be left out when they ~~are~~<sup>at</sup> all partake of the otiose, as is not uncommon.  
As in <I.iv. 'decentes' 1.6 is omitted. Often elsewhere.>
  5. Where a deity or personage is described by one of his names or local indications, another may be substituted, provided no solecism be introduced.  
As in <I.ii.33 'Venus' for 'Erycina'.>
  6. When Horace uses the *ἔνδρα δουρῶν*, the two may be made to coalesce.  
as in rugis et senectae, 'wrinkled old age'. II xiv 3.<sup>5</sup> f.152v
  7. The English article is an enemy of the Translator: it occupies a syllabic place that he can ill spare, and it is also a weak link in the chain. I admit that the omission of it has also some disadvantages.

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Either then by syllabic extension; or by the abandonment of rhyme; or by the arbitrary plurality of metres in the rendering of the same Ode; it appears that we impose a disfiguring disguise upon

f.153

- 1 Od. III vi 17 and 19 (G) The case of Lyce in III x seems to offer an exception.
- 2 III v.                      3. Od.I. xxiv.19 (G)
- 5 Published translation reads                      4 The cask of the Danaids is introduced.
- 'wrinkled age'.

the original. We have therefore to carry with us from the outset the resolution to work patiently under these three restraints.

f.153  
contd.

There are some further and minor restrictions under which I have desired to work.

First as to the intermediate use of unrhymed lines.

Secondly as to the allowance of imperfect rhymes.

Thirdly as to the employment of the apostrophe to convey the genitive. <sup>1</sup>

Od.III.28

f.154

The metre which I have chosen for this Ode was not recommended by its ease, as it required twenty-four rhymes for the four stanzas whereas only sixteen would be necessary if the distribution of lines were maintained as it is in the original.<sup>2</sup>

To that distribution Mr. Conington has adhered. The Ode has alternately two lines of eight syllables each, and two of twelve to make up the stanza. Mr. Conington, adhering to the sound principle of syllabic abbreviation, renders these by two of seven, and two of ten respectively.

Now one of the important principles which I think ought to pervade the whole business of translating the Odes is never on any account to slacken the movement of the original. If in a congenial subject matter it can be a little accelerated I think no harm is done. This process of maintaining or even quickening the movement is I think mainly to be worked by shortening the lines \ substituting the trochee for the iambic/ and multiplying the rhymes \ or by a combination from among these/. On this principle, in dealing with the first Ode of the Series I have made the large contraction of the hendecasyllabic into the octosyllabic line:<sup>3</sup> and it seems to me as if a ten syllabled line in the translation much increases the weight

1 Unrhymed lines are uncommon, but in I xxv only the even lines rhyme, and line 9 of III xxx, which has an odd number of lines, does not rhyme. Imperfect rhymes are frequent. Often they are eye-rhymes - I ii 13-15 stood...flood, 33-5 come...Rome - but not always - I x 19-20 given...heaven.

I find no example of an apostrophe alone after a word terminating in 's'. Gladstone usually contrives to so construct his sentence that the problem is avoided, but in II xiv 20 we have 'Sisyphus, his' and in IV vi 9 Pacorus's'.

2 To Neptune's festal day                      III xxviii stanza 1  
What honour shall we pay?  
Up, Lyde; that fine juice,  
Old Caecuban, produce;  
Thy proper tasks perform,  
And take our wits by storm.

3 This cannot refer to I i. Gladstone is probably referring to a Sapphic. III xxviii was not one of the Odes published in the Nineteenth Century. This passage may therefore have been intended to accompany the 'Sixteen Odes.'

laid upon the reader in the perusal which, if the translation make any claim to life is the very thing above all other to be avoided.

f.155

In the present instance I am of opinion that Mr. Conington's translation which so faithfully follows the relative distribution of material among the respective lines, has a decidedly slower movement than the original. To avoid this I have taken the daring liberty of breaking up the stanzas of two twelves and two eights into a stanza of six sixes, which results in a syllabic reduction from forty to thirty-six: and much increases the stringency of what may be called the rhyme-handcuff. Whether I am justified in the adoption of this and other like or even extremer<sup>1</sup> changes still<sup>2</sup> the reader will be the judge.

I have been impelled in the proceeding partly by an opinion to which I have come, that excepting a few great and noble or deeply pathetic passages, the lightest of the Odes are the most perfect as works of art.

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Mr. Conington attaches great value to an imitation of the metres of Horace and I agree that anything like departure into Pindaric forms is to be deprecated, and that metrical resemblance is constantly to be had in view.

f.156

But when we speak of imitating the Horatian metres we have to have in mind that the term can only be used with such large qualifications as to induce serious doubt whether it is a staff on which we can always safely lean<sup>3</sup> and whether we can do more than treat it as one among several conditions determining propriety in translation. We begin by dispensing with the fundamental law of time to which the Horatian metres are unconditionally subject in the enunciation of each and every syllable. We cannot indeed get rid of time altogether, for our vowel is longer in ale than in apse, and the aggregation of consonants requires time for their utterance.

But our recognition of time seems to be altogether so indeterminate that it has only a very small fraction of the value belonging to it in the Latin metres, and it is (so to speak) ridden over by the law of emphasis which appears with us to dominate every other law. As an example I take the first line of Paradise Lost: blank verse being the metre most peculiarly English, and Milton being the most consummate master of blank verse.

f.157

'Of man's first disobedience and the fruit.'

The second of the five feet into which the line is divided is 'first dis-' and this we call an iambic. Next to emphasis, I suppose that rhythm, which deals with the members of a sentence rather than with words or syllables singly, has with us a dominant influence in the work of construction. It is plain then that when we speak

1 I am not wholly convinced of the reading 'extremer' but its sense, at least, is appropriate.

2 del: as in Od <I.xxv?> (Lydia \ Od I (I iv) (Ancilla)/and Od <III.vii> (Asterie

3 del. or



Is the explanation to be found in the Latifundia which had so much to do with the decline and fall of Rome? If the work of agriculture was wholly intrusted to slaves, then slaves and their masters or even probably the agents and representatives of their masters constituted the whole rural population. So constituted it was in no sense a centre of civil life; no more than were the estates of Jamaica before the emancipation Act of 1833. The aggregated and organised life of man, the politeia, was only in the towns. Thus it might be as I conjecture that Pater Urbium might circuitously become the equivalent of Pater Patriae.

f.160  
contd.

f.160v

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Jul.5.94

f.161

If the Odes of Horace are, as I believe them to be, deathless compositions, it is dangerous to offer criticisms upon them. The danger will be mitigated, if the criticisms are modest: and they may perhaps be entitled to the benefit of that sheltering epithet, if they are offered with the frank admission that they may like colours represent more truly something that exists in the writer of them than a just character of the author with whom he deals.

I suppose that an ordinary but intelligent reader of Horace, if called upon to state the capital excellence of the Odes would probably specify the perfection of their workmanship. In this respect, taken generally, they may perhaps be compared by way of contrast with the Satires which did not aim at any exalted standard, probably because their subject matter was not thought to require it. If I am right in the designation I have made, it may remind us of our own loved and familiar countryman, Tennyson whose most prominent excellence might perhaps be denoted by the same phrase, and of whom it may be permitted to hope that, at least for our country and our race he too has entered into the band of the Immortals, though it seems as yet uncertain how far any of his companions, with a possible exception of the very greatest will ever come to occupy like Greeks and Romans to occupy an universal throne as the poets of mankind, or of that entire portion of mankind which are still taken to be the governing portion.

f.162

I will now venture a remark which as far as it goes is against Horace and in favour of Tennyson. So far as the high praise of perfect workmanship applies to the poems of Tennyson, it applies to their matter as well and as much as to their form. This I conceive not to be the case with the Odes of Horace. Perfection of workmanship as to metre, diction, style, pervades them all. Perfection of workmanship as to matter and form combined applies only to a part: and to what part? Not I conceive a very big one.

In my view the two finest Odes in all Horace are those on the <sup>1</sup>faith of Regulus and on the death of Cleopatra. Yet may it not be questioned with respect to either the one or the other whether the whole of what precedes the crowning<sup>2</sup> which are also the closing parts of them is entirely worthy the noble conclusions? The production of the Caecuban (I xxxvii) to the placing of the asp is an immeasurable distance, and they hardly allow so close a neighbourhood. f.162 contd.

So much for majesty to which<sup>3</sup> in these two cases, and perhaps in these two only, Horace ascends. Of deep pathos he has but a single instance in the beautiful Ode on the death of Quintilius (I xxiv). It perhaps approaches, it is certainly behind, the heart-wringing verses of Catullus on the death of his brother. But who can fail to wish that Melpomene so properly invoked had been allowed to continue her dirge to the not too remote close of the four and twenty lines? In its exterior form the Ode is perfect. But surely if it were needful to descend the descent should have been that grave descent upon the solid ground or at least upon the best approach to it which the best systems of the day could command, and not upon a fragment of poor and barren Epicureanism which Lucretius I suppose would hardly have accepted. The pattern of all such descent is to be found in the sublime Ode of Wordsworth: but for this which is essentially Christian it would not have been equitable to ask. f.163

In the highest then of the Odes of Horace it would appear that the perfection of workmanship, considered as embracing both form and matter, hardly can be held to extend to the whole of those great compositions respectively. f.164

Where then are we to look, in the Odes, for the largest and most complete exhibition of this double perfection. I should be disposed to answer with little hesitation it is to be sought and found among the lightest of them. I would specify,

- The Pyrrha I.v
- The Incognita (O mater pulchrâ) I.xv
- The Chloe. I.xxiii
- The Xanthias Phocæus II.iv
- The Asterië III.vii

Given their starting point, these Odes, and perhaps others of their class, appear incomparable. But their weight, like that of Pope's Rape of the Lock, lies in their perfection only.

There is another dispersed family of Odes, which approaches them in the finished nature and consistent tissue of the excellence - these are the Odes containing Horace's philosophy of life. Perhaps they might be held equal to the others in an age of which the beliefs and traditions were such as to allow to the mind of the reader or critic an equal facility of favourable access. f.165

But these beautiful and finished Odes, for example the

1 del. death

2 del. part

3 del. here

Aequam memento, to Dellius (II iii) come more directly, from their comparable seriousness, into contrast with the Christian idea. Exhibiting so vividly and so touchingly the downfall of hopes, pleasures, and speculations purely human, they make us more painfully sensible that the Divine presence, and the Divine element, had been banished from the literary world of Rome.

f.165  
contd.

We require then causes of greater breadth than those hitherto enumerated to account for the fact that civilised mankind has placed the Odes of Horace in the first rank of that popularity which is both permanent and universal. Where are these causes, \ or any of them, / to be found?

Not, I conceive, in the allegation that the Odes present us, as a rule, and apart from purely interior form with poetic excellence of the first order, or indeed of any order which approached it. He did not himself suppose it, although he had a full share of vanity. The Ode on Pindar, highly effective seems to me also absolutely sincere. According to that Ode, it requires almost a gale to carry the Theban swan: but all the air which he, Horace, needed, is that which floats a bee. Perhaps when he proceeds at once to patriotic aspiration, it is with the secret thought of showing that he was at least the rank of a queen bee. His vaunts elsewhere, such as

f.166

Me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium  
Dis miscent superis<sup>1</sup>

require attenuation in his own interest: but here too he was perhaps led on by a consciousness that his deification of Augustus might in principle be extended to distinctions other than Imperial.

Upon the whole, would it be inequitable to say that the bulk of the serious Odes of Horace presented to us poetry of the second order, but good poetry of the second order?

If this be so, there are certainly some drawbacks of which account has to be taken. Among them is the lavish and fulsome flattery everywhere associated with the duration of Augustus: which is not only accepted, not only paraded, but worked out into its ulterior detail, such that he is entreated not to repair too soon to the realm of bliss but patiently to bear by effort a longer sojourn in that impure atmosphere of bad Roman morals which it is assumed that he must find offensive and difficult to endure.<sup>2</sup>

f.167

The next of the drawbacks I would take into view is less apparent on a first view of the Odes, when the delights of style, metre, diction, carry everything before them, than under a close analysis of the minute component parts.

The practice of padding, to which as a rhyming translator,

1 I i 29/30

2 I ii 45-9.

hard driven by necessity, I plead guilty, had I think left its mark even on the original of the Odes. They are not like that really wonderful work the Elegy of Gray, in which every word makes its contribution to the sum total, and words could probably be changed<sup>1</sup> without more or less of actual mischief to the structure. Not a few only but many of the Epithets of the Odes have been chosen as it appears to me with a view not to actual necessities of the metre, but to its convenience, to the facility and rapidity of the composition.<sup>2</sup> Suckling speaks of

f.167  
contd.

The sweat of learned Jonson's brain;<sup>3</sup>

and we see in every line of the Divina Commedia, the sweating of the brain of Dante. Now I am confronted with the fact that in one place (IV ii. <29-30> ) he describes himself as composing with much labour <labour> per laborem plurimum which however is not quite the case with his prototype the bee, unless labor plurimus means no more than assiduity.

f.168

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#### HORACE

f.169

The Odes of Horace have the reputation of being among the most highly finished productions of the world's literature. And some of them, particularly of the lighter Odes appear thoroughly to deserve this credit. In those<sup>4</sup> Odes which I have now in view every syllable tells: nothing could be added or withdrawn without distinct injury to the grace, the symmetry, the force of the composition. Such among others are I think the Pyrrha (I.5) the Barine, ( < II viii > ) the Chloe (I. < xxiii > ) the Ancilla II.iv / the Asterie (III vii), the Lydia Dialogue (III.ix) the cruel punishing Ode to the poor cast-off Lyce (IV.xiii) which seems even to surpass the preceding supplicatory Ode (III.x)<sup>5</sup>. And among the graver compositions I would name the Postumus (I.xiv)<sup>6</sup> on the flight of life, and the next following Ode (I < I > xv) on the encroaching inclosures.

It is worthy of remark, according to the view here taken, that all of these serious or amatory are short compositions. And perhaps it is not overbold to say that this Matinian bee, as he describes himself in an exceptionally modest reference to his own poetry<sup>7</sup> was not capable of a sustained flight in the rarified atmosphere that belongs to great elevations. There is no long Ode in Horace, I think, which is of uniform or nearly

f.169v

1 sc. in Horace's Odes.

2 cf. f.170 and f.172 infra for specific example.

3 'Lines to a Friend' 1.20. 4 del. perfect

5 'Preceding' because also addressed to Lyce and printed just before it in the five 'Love Odes', Nineteenth Century May 1894 pp. 701-9.

6 No. II xix. 7 IV.ii 27

uniform excellence. First in rank among them all, according to my estimate, is the great Ode on Regulus.<sup>1</sup> But it is only from the 18th line, when Regulus is made to speak, that the proper level is reached and maintained. It may be instructive to compare Horace with the most intense of all poets. Almost every word and line of the Divina Commedia seems as if<sup>2</sup> though there is no note of \_\_\_\_\_ in the product; it had been produced with pangs of birth.<sup>3</sup> But intensity was not in the manner of Horace. Labour with him was everywhere attended by care, but nowhere suffered to pass into pain.

f.169v  
contd.

And now with regard to the finished character, not of particular Odes, and passages ad unguem factae,<sup>4</sup> where it is undeniable; but of the average serious Horatian Ode; and the very large majority of the Odes be it remembered are serious. In most of them there is that kind of semi-earnestness which we find for example in I.ii. And in many of them as it appears to me he not<sup>5</sup> frequently but still not very rarely uses what in the slang of literary phraseology is commonly termed padding. He does not vamp up the exterior form with passages or ideas factitiously introduced: but he allows himself a licence in epithets. There are a certain number of them which a Translator may for moderate cause conscientiously omit, and nobody will be the poorer. Not one of course could be withdrawn without injury to the metre: but in these cases the harm would be to the metre only, and it has evidently been for the purpose of squaring metrical demands that the<sup>6</sup> \particular/ adjective has been inserted. I speak of course only of adjectives which do not add force or vitality to the description, and which may be taken as (to coin a word for my purpose) truistic. This licence is the more remarkable because by nature, by habit, and by his addiction to the Greek lyric, Horace was a concise, almost a compressed writer. On the other hand his philosophy of life, which is deeply embedded in their structure was indolent; his creed, which went to deprive life of serious purpose, was a creed of indolence: they probably represented his temperament. We may assume him to have been an indolent man, but endowed with refined tastes, and deteriorated by corrupt passions, each of which in its own sphere partially required and inspired activity.

f.170

f.170v

Horace was evidently full of kindly and genial qualities; but it may be feared that they were shallow. I would for the present suggest two tests of this proposition. Take the Ode, undoubtedly a beautiful Ode, on the death of Quintilius (I.xxiv)- It represents as much warmth and depth of feeling as his nature

- 1 III v cf. f.162 supra.                      2 del. though  
 3 The gap was left by Gladstone. He seems to have wanted a word meaning something like 'struggle'. cf. 167 supra.  
 4 v. Hor. Sat. I v 32                      5 del. ra                      6 del. words.

could supply or contain. But compare this Ode with the agonising lines of Catullus on the death of his brother. Brother and friend are not the same, it may be said. But does anyone suppose that if Quintilius had been the brother of Horace he would have written very differently? What are we to say of the sad bathos at the close

f.170v  
contd.

'Sed levius fit patientiâ

Quidquid corrigere est nefas.'

as much as to say 'all these fine sentiments <to> which I have invited the Muse to help me to express I will tone at least to their minimum, if I cannot quite work them down to you.'<sup>1</sup> But I confess to being more scandalised with what I shall present as my second illustration: his severity, which might be called his savagery, with cast-off mistresses. We have the case of Lydia (I. <xxv>), of Chloris (<III.xv>) and of Lyce.<sup>2</sup> The poetical and satirical excellence of these performances I think aggravates the complaint, for it tends to show that the work on which he was employed was thoroughly congenial to him. It may be said and said f.171 with great truth, that the worn out courtesan, apeing the manners of her youth and her attractions, is a disgusting object, and ought to be stigmatised. Yes: but who is to attach the stigma? Is it to be the man of the world, perhaps equally or still more than equally worn out, who has flattered her, inflamed her, egged her on in mischief, as long as she was in a condition to yield him some freshness of unsatisfied enjoyment, and who, when some new form of beauty or charmer has given to his palled taste the chance of a new lease in some other direction, uses his great gifts to mock at the ruin he has helped to make? But this magisterial severity must in the life of Horace from the nature of the case have been exceptional. He would probably be as a rule from sunrise to sunset the most agreeable of men, the most effective in the reciprocal import and export of social satisfactions, gifted with the finest tact for the avoidance of the disagreeable in all its forms; incapable of boring, and himself not bored too easily. But surely he should have left it to some Juvenal to wield the cat of nine tails over the poor accomplices of man's licentious life.

I turn to lighter matter: the mode in which Horace refers to and makes use of Homer. He accords indeed to the mighty master a conventional superiority (<IV.ix 5-6>) and in the <second Epistle of the first book lines 1-31> ( ) recognises his shrewdness and good sense as lifting him above the severe philosophers in the character of a practical instructor upon the business of life. Nor can we wonder or complain that Horace

f.171v

1 I xxiv cf. f.163 supra also on I.xxiv.

2 IV xiii.

did not rectify the miserable misconceptions of the great Homeric character which appear everywhere to have prevailed. But there is something startling in the manner in which he makes his references to the warriors of the Iliad. These are mainly in two passages, the first from Od. I. vi to Agrippa, the other from the fine prophecy of Nereus (I. xv.). In each of these instances he has occasion to cite for his immediate purpose, the names of Achaian warriors. In the first of the two passages as supplying subjects for which no bard can altogether suffice: in the second, as the leading instruments of the<sup>1</sup> divine retribution upon Troy. We have therefore a title to expect from any moderately conscientious writer, that the personages produced should be the real heroes of the struggle. But what is the fact? In Od. I. vi. he gives us as \themes/ transcending the powers of \any/ Poets, Diomed, so far so good; Mars who never appears in Homer but to be disparaged; and Meriones who can only just be said to appear there at all, and is no more than a fourth or fifth rate personage.<sup>2</sup> The case of Ode xv where a god is made to prophesy, is still worse. Here we have no less than seven personages introduced (XV. vv. 17-32). Achilles, the great Ajax, Agamemnon, Patroclus, Menelaos, are not named. Diomed, Nestor, Odysseus, make their appearance, and very properly: but with them are joined four personages altogether insignificant in the action of the poem: the smaller or swift-footed Ajax, Teucer, Sthenelus, and our old friend Meriones. It seems far from easy to account for this unconscientious treatment of a great subject, for the result in poetical effect is most chilling. For my own part I am inclined to believe that the poet's reason for this strange selection was neither more nor less than this <: > that he took almost at random the first names that happened to occur to him, and that accorded with the demands of mere metrical convenience.

The truth is that this question of high finishing, or perfection in form, is both of immense importance, and admits of an almost infinite number of degrees. It is perfection of form; which has so greatly aided to raise Tennyson to his very high place among our poets:<sup>3</sup> which makes a sensible and how large addition to the superlative claims of Goethe: and which in one remarkable case has given to small poems by an author who can hardly be called great a charter of immortality probably as absolute as is held by any of the great poems of the world, I mean Gray's Elegy in a Country Churchyard:<sup>4</sup> the Elegy itself, not including the three appended stanzas, which are thin and meagre in comparison. Of that Elegy I should say it may be doubted,

1 del. grand

2 N.B.B. XXIII (G) The reference, added in pencil, is to Iliad XXIII ll. 262ff. where Meriones plays a prominent part in the Funeral Games.

3 cf. ff. 161 f. supra.

4 cf. f. 167 supra.

f.171v  
contd.

f.172

f.172v

whether it contains a single word of "padding": a single word which could be displaced without sensible injury to the meaning as well as to the metre. It is surely a far more finished production than the average Ode of Horace: than any Ode of Horace except a small number, and those of very limited compass. No such poem I conceive could possibly have been written by a modern, except one who like Gray had drunk early and deeply at the fountain of the ancients, and had profoundly saturated himself with their spirit.

f.172v  
contd.

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The Odes of Horace taken altogether probably do not exceed in syllabic bulk two of the longer books of the Aeneid. Not only however have they exercised a great attractive power, but within their brief compass they present a great diversity. They may be distinguished into a \very/ few principal classes which jointly embrace almost all in them that is of interest.

f.173

The Four Books together with the Carmen Saeculare number one hundred and three Odes in all.<sup>1</sup> /Then <?> the Odes of Patriotism: the Odes of Policy: the Odes of Religion: \the Odes of self-glorification:/ the Odes of what must be called Love: and the Odes on the Philosophy of Life. The first is the smallest class. I sever from it wholly the Caesarean Odes or Odes of Policy which appear to represent the price paid by Horace for civic toleration, to which his title as one attached to Brutus and the aristocratic party might be questionable. It was doubtless worth his while to pay blackmail as the price both of tranquillity and of a qualified or apparent favour. The flattery of these Odes is sometimes fulsome: and their want of sincerity is betrayed partly by their extravagance in the ascription of praise and honour to Augustus, partly by the contrast between the picture of a golden age of morality and peace supposed to have Augustus for its author, and his darker and more sincere descriptions elsewhere of Roman degeneracy and profligacy.<sup>2</sup>

f.174

There are two and perhaps only two of the Odes which may at once be described as patriotic, and as rising, alone among these compositions into real grandeur. They are the two Odes on the Death of Cleopatra ( <I xxxvii> ) and on the exile and self-sacrifice of Regulus.<sup>3</sup>

The two largest classes of Odes are firstly those on his Loves, even after we have expelled from it a few which from their nature are intolerable: and the Odes on what may be termed his Philosophy of Life.

1 104.

2 cf. f.167 supra.

3 III.v

What I have termed the Philosophy of Life forms the subject, as I reckon, \besides <a> hundred indications elsewhere,/ of no less than twenty-four of the Horatian Odes, or more than one fifth in number of the whole. More than this: they exhibit not only a favourite subject matter, but the dominant thought of his mind, the root-idea of his existence.

f.175

Shakespeare who is not I think without strong points of resemblance in character to Horace, has also lighted on this particular flower. In II Henry VI, Alexander Iden, who is credited with having killed Jack Cade, thus soliloquises in his Kentish garden,

f.176

Lord, who would live turmoiled in the court  
And may enjoy such quiet walks as these?  
This small inheritance my father left me  
Contenteth me, and worth a monarchy,  
I seek not to wax great by others' waning  
Or gather wealth I care not with what envy;  
Sufficeth that I have maintains my state,  
And sends the poor well pleased from my gate.<sup>1</sup>

Surely this may be called, - mutatis mutandis, a truly Horatian passage though among the mutata there appear(s) as a constitutive idea, due to Christianity the consideration of the poor. In lieu of this Roman Paganism had only to say

Nec doluit miserans inopem, aut invidit habenti.<sup>2</sup>

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HORACE

f.177

Perceived or unperceived, some responsibility attaches to any one who makes an addition to the load already threatening to break down the bookshelves of the world. The adverse presumption gains force in a case such as that of the Odes of Horace, on which within the latter half of the century a large number of translators into English, in some instances men of brilliant gifts have been employed. I think that a new labourer in such a field is bound to show some cause for his undertaking.

Certain works of antiquity, as well as of modern times, are admitted to have become the permanent and the common property of civilised man. They are principally poetical. In these the question of form becomes very often almost as important as the question of matter. I limit myself at present to poetry, and to ancient poetry. Here beyond all <sup>3</sup> dispute, form and matter are more closely allied than they are as a rule in the

f.178

1 II Henry VI. Act IV. Scene x (G).

2 Virg. Georg. (G) Georg. II 498/9 'neque ille  
aut doluit.....

3 del. question

works of the moderns. It would seem also that form was more thoroughly understood, and more successfully associated with matter than has been common in modern times, the exceptions being great but comparatively rare.

f.178  
contd.

The command of these works over the mind and thought of civilised man appears to be gifted with an indestructible vitality. The number of students may, as compared with other branches of knowledge have \recently/ diminished; \the/ but the energy and efficacy of study has increased. A main reason for the study is that we obtain from them, as we find, something of which in the main they have a monopoly: something that we cannot obtain elsewhere.

These works then are such <as> will be studied on account of their perfection of form added to their poetical merit which in many cases is thus greatly enhanced. They are also indispensable to any comprehensive circle of knowledge, because they essentially belong to the history of races in some respects the most remarkable that are known to have lived on the surface of our planet. Lastly and most of all, they supply a portion of the grand Præparatio Evangelica. When all these lights of history are focussed together, we can then estimate each of them in its relation to the great and crowning light of all, the light of Christianity. The Greek and the Roman literature show us by practical examples what the very highest endowments of human nature could accomplish apart from Divine Revelation specially so called. These examples have been given on the largest scale, in the most conspicuous theatres of human Action. I think it may be demonstratively shown that the Greek literature in the first place, and the Roman in the second supply a portion of the evidences for Christianity that is of high importance from an historical and philosophical point of view.<sup>1</sup> One further point, considered with reference to their form, and to their harmony between form and substance, these works commonly called classics, have an especial title to be viewed as works of art. And we of these islands and of the English tongue have a special title so to view them. It is among us alone that, at least for a certain number of generations, verse composition in the Greek and Latin tongues, on the models and in the spirit of the ancients has been, not indeed always wisely but yet assiduously cultivated. Our countrymen learnt it from abroad. But on the Continent it has fallen into desuetude or sunk to a comparatively low standard. In this country a congenial soil and climate appear to have been found for it. It has in a remarkable degree, adorned the nineteenth century. Let us hope that neither exaggerated athleticism, not the 'modern side'

f.179

f.180

1 Gladstone's hobby horse. v. nearly all his Homeric works from Studies in Homer and the Homeric Age Vol. II 1858, onwards.

nor the insidious and unceasing growth of leisure, which is on the whole a synonym for effeminacy, may doom the twentieth century to stagnate on a lower level.

f.180  
contd.

We now arrive at the questions with which we are more immediately concerned. Is Translation from the classical poets an essential, or at least a valuable and important part of true and searching classical study? Is it before all things bound to maintain or aim at maintaining the character of its originals as works of art, and to strain after the closest union between form and substance which the difference of essential conditions will allow? Is it in this view a work which can be struck off at a heat by a single individual so that he shall leave no portion of his work unperformed, and leave nothing for successors to accomplish? Or is it a work gradual and progressive, in which later labourers, profiting by the performances of their predecessors, ought to be able to make advances upon them in proportion as both general principles, and the characteristics of particular works and authors, are placed in their due relation to one another?

f.181

In attempting to give an answer to the first question I have put respecting translations, I must observe that it refers to such Translations only as aim at being reproductions. Versions which simply aim at giving the correct meaning of the words of the original are sometimes executed with great care and ability, as in the case of the version of Horace by Mr. Lonsdale and Mr. Lee.<sup>1</sup> These are stepping stones to the original, which can in no case be substitutes for it. But the Translations which aim at reproductions aim at being in themselves works of art: such for example as Milton's version of the Ode to Pyrrha (I.v). To some extent they aim at being substitutes; at conveying some living idea of the original: as being worthwhile to possess and have the power of reading, for those to whom the original is inaccessible. This substitute will in almost every case be imperfect and inferior. It may in some cases clear a thought or sharpen the edge of an impression: but as a rule it must present a confessed inferiority. It may have however a double use; first in giving something of an author to those who could otherwise have nothing, and that a something which ought to be in the nature of a true though an imperfect similitude: secondly in helping the regular student - when difficulty intervenes in his efforts to arrive at the meaning.

f.182

In the case of the Horatian Odes, almost all the questions that can vex the soul of a translator are raised with a peculiar sharpness. They are sometimes difficult, generally concise and compressed. They are full of fugitive graces hard to catch and hold, and they reproduce the perplexities of a portrait painter who has for his subject a woman of great delicacy in feature. Metre is in them

f.183

1 Globe Edition. Macmillan, 1890 (G) ed. 1 1883 Gladstone possessed the 1890 reprint.

sharply pronounced, most of all in the Sapphics and Alcaics. To the metres of Horace our metres bear but a remote analogy, and here arises the enquiry whether and how far we can provide an effective/ supplement to metrical arrangement of words by the powerful but in translation difficult instrument of rhyme. Again the translator into English finds as it were a large fund placed to his credit and available for his use, through the monosyllabic genius of our language. His command over his original is thus increased. He finds many spaces which the original does not fill. Is he to contract his spaces, or to enlarge and by enlarging relax his forms of expression. (?) Again Horace uses in numerous cases one and the same metre for Odes of very different subject spirit and intention. Is the translator to adopt some one metre for all these Odes, or is he boldly to translate each Ode according to his own genius and spirit and find for it the best vehicle which his ear and the capabilities of his mother tongue can supply?

f.183  
contd.

f.184

Upon the best survey I can make of the matter my conclusions are these.

1. In the case of Horace compression must be studied as capital and primary. Diffuseness is destruction. There may be and are beautiful poems called Translations of Horace but they are falsely so called.
2. For the ordinary working Translator into English rhyme is absolutely indispensable as a means of eking out his too slender metrical resources, and it should be used with all the strictness and exactness possible.
3. The main and incessant aim should be to present thought which is Latin in the manner which is Horatian: & to assume so far as he can the personality of Horace for the purpose. He is not to give to a passage the dress most agreeable to his own sympathies; but the dress which Horace himself if he could see it would most approve.
4. In order to encounter hopefully the difficulties of his task he must be allowed to take certain liberties both with his author and with his medium.

f.184v

As regards the author I have found alterations of order among the members of a sentence in many cases necessary to meet the conditions of space and metre, and to a large extent free from objection.<sup>2</sup> Omission should not if possible extend beyond epithets, and such of them as are otiose.<sup>3</sup> Insertion there should never be, except of something implied in the author's thought.<sup>4</sup> But verbal exactitude is never to take rank above the spirit of translation which ought to shape the essence of the work.<sup>5</sup>

1 del. system

2 cf. f.152 supra.

4 cf. f.152 2/.

3 cf. 167 and 170.

5 cf. ff. 143-4.

5. In regard to the English tongue, it may be found impossible in a compressed translation to avoid certain licences: such as in the omission of the article, or transposition of words. But the limiting condition is to be found in his general aim which should be to render his author as a rule in free and flowing English versification.

f.184v  
concl.

Mch.31.94.<sup>1</sup>

1 This date relates to ff. 177 ff.

The Preface which finally appeared with the translation of the complete odes was very short, it touched on the need for compression, the desirability of deviating from Conington's law of 1:1 correspondence, the avoidance of imperfect rhymes and the '-s' type of genitive and the pursuit of good English versification.<sup>1</sup> It was received by the Oxford University Press on May 23rd, two days after the versions of Books III and IV and eight days after Books I and II. On the next day, May 24th., Gladstone underwent his operation for cataract. By the latter half of July he was again able to read freely and corrections to the proofs continued until late in August. The date given at the end of the preface is September 10th.

The fact that the MS of the Preface only reached the Press on the day before the operation for cataract reminds us of the statement sent to the Westminster Gazette in December 1893 <sup>suggesting a</sup> ~~stating the~~ connection between Gladstone's failing eyesight and his translation.<sup>2</sup> A picture arises of Gladstone, now aged eighty-four, summoning to his powerful memory recollections of 'Friday's business' and, after the passage of three hours, carefully setting down the fifteen lines accomplished. It was not quite as simple as that. Arthur Palmer, in his article in the Quarterly for January 1895, produces an ingenious explanation for a certain species of error found several times in the versions:

1 cf. ff. 183, 184, and, for the translator's obligation to shew just cause for his undertaking, 177. It contains nothing that is not mentioned in that part of our MS dated March 31st. 1894.

2 v. p. 286 sup.

...these odes must have been read out to the translator without any regard to the punctuation. Else how could anyone carry an imperative over a semicolon? Criticism is, or ought to be, disarmed, by this consideration. 1

The two passages which inspired this thought in Palmer are I i 11-14:

One hoes paternal fields, content,  
On hardest terms. Will he consent,  
A trembling mariner, to brave  
In Cyprian bark, Myrtoan wave?

where a break seems to have occurred after the phrase 'Attalidis condicionibus' which has accordingly been loosely connected with 'gaudentem' rather than with 'dimoveas', and the sentence broken quite in two. Even Palmer's theory, however, cannot exculpate Gladstone since, as everyone pointed out, Attalidis condicionibus cannot mean 'on hardest terms'. The other occurs in I ix where

dissolve frigus ligna super foco  
large reponens atque benignius  
deprome quadrum Sabina,  
o Thaliarche, merum diota: (5-8)

is rendered

Melt, Thaliarchus, melt the cold.

Heap freely logs upon the fire.  
Nay, more and better I desire,  
And from that Sabine jar require  
Its wine that reckons four years old.

and Palmer has, understandably, failed to observe the significance of Gladstone's punctuation claiming that there a full stop has been supposed after benignius. A similar argument

might be employed to explain the errors at I xx 5, where ut is mistranslated, at I xxv 5-8, where the second half of the stanza is not made to depend on audis and in a number of other cases.

We cannot, however, accept Palmer's theory as it stands. That Gladstone used certain books for his translation, and read them himself, is demonstrated by the survival of his marginalia. The necessary modification is small: Gladstone may still have translated largely from memory, and he may have overlooked points of punctuation. That he referred comparatively rarely to his text, is, moreover, suggested by the fact that the points of punctuation erroneously inserted or omitted nearly always occur at the end of a line. Indeed, the whole translation reads very much line-by-line, or at least stanza-by-stanza, which, while it may be regarded as a feature of laudable fidelity, is what we might expect of a translator more fully aware of small sense-units than of the poem as a whole. There is one curious piece of concrete evidence which might be taken to support Palmer's theory: a draft of part of I ii in the hand of Mary Drew, Gladstone's daughter. The significance of this phenomenon is largely outweighed by its uniqueness, though it seems reasonable to observe that if co-operation were required on the grounds of failing eye-sight, a reader would be perhaps more useful than an amanuensis.

The line-by-line characteristic is most apparent in the version of III xxx, which bears the date July 23rd. 1892, and which was rejected in October 1893 and retranslated in the following December. The early date of this version need not argue against it having been done from memory since, as we have seen<sup>1</sup>, at this time there is no evidence that

1 p. 289 *supra*.

a translation of the odes in mass was contemplated, or that this represents anything but the translation of a favourite ode more or less on impulse. It is interesting to note that this rejected version is syllabically shorter than the later replacement.

Now have I reared a pile to outlive brass,  
 And kingly pyramids in scale surpass;  
 Which floods of rain, nor worsted Aquilo  
 Shall bow to ruin, nor the countless flow  
 Of years, nor seasons' flight. Of me not all  
 Shall perish, no: a mighty portion shall  
 Foil Libitina; nor my praise shall end  
 While Priest and silent Vestal shall ascend  
 The Capitol, but ever freshly grow.  
 Loud roaring Aufidus my name shall know  
 And Daunus, where his subject tillers sow  
 Their arid soil; know, as of one who, brought  
 To strength from weakness, first of all men wrought  
 Aeolian measures for Italian thought.  
 Take thou thine honours, earned by deeds. Gird thou,  
 Melpomene, with Delphic bays my brow.

The preservation of so many of Gladstone's drafts enables us to gain an intimate view of his procedure. Having produced what may be called a skeletal translation his first preoccupation, as we should expect, is with finding rhymes. Once he has done this he rarely changes them, but is concerned rather to establish a satisfactory syntactical relationship between clauses. It is in this last respect that, hard pressed by the claims of conciseness, he most frequently fails. The process may be seen in the evolution of two versions of I xxiii:

So you shun me as a fawn  
 Chloe, seeks its trembling dam  
 O'er low hills with idle fears  
 Of the woods and (of the) winds.

Chloe shuns/flies me, as<sup>1</sup> young deer  
 [Hunting for its timid dam  
 On low hills with idle fear.]  
Track the dam along the hill

1 del. a fawn. 2. del

Not without a\ n /<sup>1</sup> idle fear  
Lest the woods, the winds, should kill  
 may

(May Hill)

Zephyr in the spring is born  
 Hath this breeze  
 Just touched the trees  
 Have green lizards stirred the thorn  
 Tremble<sup>2</sup> heart and tremble<sup>3</sup> knees

Chloe! if the spring be born  
 If its breeze just move the trees,  
 If green lizards stir the thorn,  
 Tremble heart and tremble knees.

No Gaetolian<sup>4</sup> lion I  
 I no tigress<sup>4</sup> at thy back  
 Ripe for mates no more be shy  
 Tread no more thy mother's track.

A fair copy was made of this attempt, (the first stanza as underlined), punctuation was inserted, and it was sent to the press and printed in this form. Yet between December, when the translation was made, and May, when it was sent to the press, Gladstone continued to fiddle with the ode, especially the second stanza, thus:

Chloe flies me.<sup>5</sup> If the trees  
 Bend to breath of spring new born  
 If the lizard stir the thorn  
 Tremble heart, and tremble knees.

With the result that the version which John Morley took to the offices of the Nineteenth Century on April 21st. 1894, ran:

Like the kid upon the hill,  
 Of its trembling dam in quest,  
 With an idle fear possess  
 Lest the wood, the wind, should kill,

Chloe flies me. Should the trees  
 Bend to breath of spring new-born,  
 Should the lizards stir the thorn,  
 Tremble heart, and tremble knees.

- |   |              |   |           |   |                                       |
|---|--------------|---|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | del. mil.    | 2 | del. ing. | 3 | del. ing.                             |
| 4 | del. fierce. | 5 | del.      |   | If new born                           |
|   |              |   |           |   | Spring's sweet zephyr stir the trees. |

The last stanza required only a change in the order of the first two lines.

Apart from the draft prefaces and the versions themselves there are preserved in B.M. Adds. MS 44706 notes both on the odes themselves and on the problems of translation. Some of these are such as might have been printed as notes at the foot of the versions, as when he writes at the foot of III xiv:

In the rather forced transitions at the close of this Ode, which impair its unity and force, we may perhaps find evidence of the constraint, mental though not physical, under which Horace addressed his panegyrics to Augustus.

Or this on IV viii:

This Ode offers a remarkable example of a species of poetical realism. The feats of the past are treated as owing not only their<sup>1</sup> \celebrity/ but their reality to commemoration by poets.

Others are rather in the character of aides mémoires like this observation on I xxiv 11-12:

Thou askest him from the gods with futile prayer  
Lent finally to their care -  
N.B. two senses.

Many of the versions are accompanied by tables shewing the number of syllables of the translation set against those of the original. Very often the number of syllables used by Conington is also tabulated. Sometimes there are more elaborate comments on the metres, as this on III xv -

This Ode, not very easy to render, seemed to me to require a trochaic measure in order to maintain its rattling spirit and its railing force, without passing into dilution.

1 del. fame.

or this on I xxiv -

In arranging the words of this Ode, most difficult to render, both in phrase and sound, I have endeavoured to make the rhythm the dactylic trimeter catalectic. But it is not carried through quite consistently, from the pressure of other necessities.

One of the most heartily ridiculed passages in Gladstone's translation was his conclusion to I i -

Count me for lyric minstrel thou,  
The stars to kiss my head will bow. 1

A glance at the drafts shews that Gladstone, though he liked this, realised that it was open to objection. The lines appear in this form in the earlier drafts, but in later ones he substitutes:

Count thou for lyric bard's my lays,  
My head to touch the stars 'twill raise.

At the foot of the version he writes that he does not 'dare to substitute for the last couplet' the original lines, 'and yet I am tempted to do it.' Temptation prevailed. The expressions of doubt are erased and the two lines inserted.

It is obvious that Gladstone was aiming at syllabic abridgement while he was still translating, and it seems likely that his other 'rules' (f. 152 sup.) were formulated as he went along. An undated and mutilated scrap of paper carries a brief statement of them in a form which suggests working notes rather than a retrospective summary. There appears here a 'rule' nowhere else so specifically stated:

1 v. Sat. R. Vol. 78. Nov. 17 1894 p. 538 and Blackw. Dec. 1894 p. 797.

To make substitution for what is really foul but to take the nearest tolerable form.

In relation to his contemporaries Gladstone could tolerate quite a lot. The versions of the 'Sixteen Odes of Horace, to and on his Loves, past, present and to come'<sup>1</sup> were sent to Sir Arthur Godley, Lord Kilbracken, for comment. His observations are preserved with the rest of the Horace manuscripts.

The document enables us in the first place to identify twelve out of the sixteen odes, viz.: I xiii, xvi, xix, xxiii, xxv, II iv, v, viii, III x, xii, xv and IV xiii. II iv and v, he observes, do not strictly come under the heading proposed. His suggestions are mostly concerned with making the versions more genteel: in I xiii he suggests 'heart' for 'bile', in I xxv 'fevered bosom' for 'cankered entrails' and so on. None of these suggestions were adopted. The few that were are concerned rather with a more accurate rendering of the sense of the Latin, though it appears to have been the influence of Godley which induced Gladstone to alter the last stanza of II v from

Who if among the girls he stood  
The sharpest eye could scarce discern  
His difference from a maiden's snood,  
Or how to class his features learn.

to

Who if he stood the girls among,  
The sharpest eye could scarce discern  
What locks were o'er the bosom flung,  
What features, boy's or maiden's, learn.

1 See f. 142.

whether or not this modified Godley's feeling that the ode was 'too coarse' is difficult to conjecture.

We have seen that Gladstone refers to the translations of Conington, Lytton and Lonsdale and Lee.<sup>1</sup> Nowhere does he mention a text. Among the thirty thousand books which he transferred to St. Deiniol's Library in 1896 are thirteen texts of the odes: Bond, 1670; Bentley ed. 3, 1728; Francis, 1745; Wakefield, 1794; Pine, 1737; Jani 1809; Smart 1818; Gesner-Zeune 1826; Tate 1832; the Polyglot 1832; Doering 1838; Wickham 1874 and Stampini 1892. The Bentley we know he had used<sup>2</sup>, it has two or three pencil notes in it, one dating from his youth. It is a fine large book with large print. Of the others, the only ones which contain marginalia are Wickham, and Francis. In Wickham he has inserted his translation of I ii 13-14, and altered 'dirum' at II xii 2 to 'durum', probably following Bentley. Four other passages are marked by marginalia of little significance. The notes in Francis are more numerous but all relate to the translation printed opposite rather than to the text. 'Licentious rhymes' are noted in I xxiv and IV xi; the number of syllables employed by Francis as against the original is calculated in I xxiv, III xii, III xiv and IV ix. In I xxiv again the diversity between the rendering of the first stanza of the Latin into four lines of English verse and of the second into eight is ~~also~~ noted. Thus it seems likely, but certainly not more than likely, that Gladstone used whichever text happened to be by him.

1 ff. 154-6, 160, 182.

2 p. 284 sup.

We have to remember that his library is not preserved entirely intact: his copy of Lytton, for example, is missing, but so far as we can tell no effort was made to acquire or use the best editions available.

Out of twelve translations of the odes only two seem to have been studied: Martin's and Conington's. Seven notes occur in Martin: wrong pagination in the preface is corrected, and two observations marked with approval, the first that 'the beauty of expression' in the odes, 'is indeed apt to blind the reader upon occasion to their poverty of idea'<sup>1</sup>, and the second that Horace's view of society in Augustan Rome is the best we have<sup>2</sup>. Syllabic comparison takes place at II i and Martin's omission of 'vagus' and of 'meis Argivis' in III iii 9 and 66-7 is noted. A great part of the book is uncut.

The Conington, as we might expect, was studied more closely. Some thirty passages in the preface are obelised, tokens in most cases of Gladstone's concurrence. In the text omissions have been sought out, either of epithets or of 'immoral' stanzas. Inside the back cover are listed the omitted odes. Also marked in the text are a few places where Conington has inserted something not in the original, and also inside the back cover are yet more of Gladstone's attempts. It is clear from the drafts in MS. 44706 that Gladstone constantly compared the length of his versions with that of Conington's. When he came to do this with III xv he found the first line of each version

1 Martin pref. ed. 1. p. xviii

2 *ibid.* p. xxiii.

to be identical and wrote at the top of Conington's 'Not read till mine was finished.'

The appearance of the five specimens of Horace's Love Odes in the Nineteenth Century excited comment in organs as widely separated as Punch and the New York Critical Review<sup>1</sup>, and the appearance of the complete odes in September was widely noticed. The Saturday Review, among the first on the field, listed examples of omission, expansion, obscurity, mistranslation, bad metres, bad rhymes and bad diction<sup>2</sup>. Anyone could do as much, and nearly everyone did. The article in the Athenaeum for the same day falls over backwards in its attempts to praise:

Actual errors of translation are, however, rare, as would naturally be expected. 3

Several howlers are given as exceptions. It is, indeed, by the exercise of considerable ingenuity that Palmer limits 'undeniable mistranslations' to the number of ten.<sup>4</sup>

E. D. A. Morshead writing in the Academy for December 1894 attempted a favourable review but deplored the numerous omissions; 'splendide mandax' heads his list, as it does that of several others, but his defence of less conspicuous words condemned as 'otiose' by omission is equally damaging<sup>5</sup>. Sir Theodore Martin in an elaborate jeu d'esprit produced in Blackwood's an expostulation from the shade of

1 Punch Vol. CVI May 12th, 1894. I have been unable to find the relevant copy of the N. Y. Crit. R. Both were cut out by Gladstone and pasted into his copy of the complete odes.

2 Sat. R. Vol. 78 Nov. 17 1894 pp. 537-9.

3 Athen. No. 3499 Nov. 17th, 1894 p. 668. 4 Quar. Vol. 180 Jan. 1895

5 Acad. Vol. 46 Dec. 8th. 1894 pp. 487-8. p. 119.

Horace in the Elysian Fields. He draws attention to faults in I i which are typical of the translation as a whole.

Some reckon for the crown of life  
The dust in the Olympian strife,

What would Maecenas have thought of me if I had called "dust" a "crown"? Again, how would he have rated me if I had followed up this extraordinary metaphor by such a couplet as this? -

The goal well shunned, the palm that, given  
Lifts lords of earth to lords of heaven.

I pass the doubtful grammar that uses the singular "lifts" in connection with the two substantives "goal" and "palm", to which such a remarkable power of lift is ascribed. But, pray, absolve me from the folly of meaning by my line, "terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos," that the noble palm "lifts lords of earth to lords of heaven." 1

Much of this is, of course, unfair. There is no need to take 'goal' as a subject of 'lifts', and the interpretation of the Latin line is arguable. Elsewhere his criticisms are more just, but they mostly fix on passages where conciseness has driven the translator into clumsiness or obscurity. The following lines from I vi are typical:

Small themes, small men. My blush, the Muse  
That sways the lyre of peace, refuse  
Thy praise, and noble Caesar's fame,  
For scant of worthy gift, to maim.

T. E. Page, writing in the Bookman is less damagingly critical, though he suggests that Gladstone would have been wiser to attempt some other author or at least to have limited himself to selected odes. among other passages he praises the rendering of III vii:

1 Blackw. Dec. 1894 p. 796.

Why these tears, Asterie?  
 Earliest breeze of spring  
 Him, with Thynian wares to see,  
 Him, the youth, unmatched in truth,  
 Back to thee will bring,

Gyges. Him wild Goat-stars vexed,  
 Far as Oricum  
 Drove him blustering Notus next:  
 Sleepless nights, and cold that bites,  
 All his limbs benumb. 1

The most interesting review is Palmer's in the Quarterly, already mentioned on several accounts. He considers the translation in a historical context not only in so far as it is the work of Gladstone<sup>2</sup>, but as being an attempt to move in the direction of the earlier tradition of 'quaint fidelity'<sup>3</sup>. In assessing the relative merits of the versions he hazards a guess which, like his theory to account for negligence of punctuation observed above, although it goes too far, yet contains a grain of truth -

It is commonly supposed, we believe, that the work was all written since Mr. Gladstone resigned office in the spring of last year, or since he contemplated resignation. This is not likely: with respect to the Ode to Pyrrha and the Amoebaeon Ode, it certainly is not the case; probably several other odes were translated many years ago.

There follows an account of the publication of Translations in 1861.-

These versions were much praised at the time, and, in our judgment, merited the praise which they received; and we shall think it likely, until we are corrected, that Mr. Gladstone, encouraged by the praise he won, from time to time in his leisure moments translated an ode here and an ode there. These would naturally be the best odes; and to this we may ascribe the inequality which exists between the versions - namely, that Mr. Gladstone translated several of the best odes at times when he was able to concentrate his powers, while in their prime, on specially selected poems. Take for instance

1 Bookman Vol. 7 Dec. 1894 pp. 81-2.

2 v. p.44 supra.

3 Quar. Jan. 1895 p. 132.

the 'O navis', I xiv:

O ship, new billows sweep thee out  
Seaward. What wilt thou? hold the port, be stout.  
Seest not? thy mast  
How rent by still south-western blast,... 1

Now although it cannot be said that this ode was translated in Gladstone's prime, Palmer is just correct in saying that he is 'very much mistaken if it was made within the last two years'. It was made in 1892, before the complete version was contemplated, and the same is true of the other ode which he here selects for honourable mention, III xxx, though not in the form in which it was finally printed.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that we ought to suspect some disingenuousness.

It came as a surprise to most of his reviewers that Gladstone was more successful in the lighter odes than the grander. This is not so surprising in the light of his avowed preference for them<sup>3</sup>, but his failure in 'purple passages' is none the less disappointing, as in this excerpt from his favourite III v:

'Will the repurchased soldier dare  
As once he dared? Add not the lie  
To acted crime. Can wool repair  
The colours that it lost, when soaked with dye?

Ah no. True merit once resigned,  
No trick nor feint will serve as well.  
If, from strong meshes loosed, the hind  
Will combat, then in these may courage dwell,..'

Occasionally he is successful in solemn moments, as in the final stanza of the next ode:

1 loc. cit. p. 114.

2 v. pp.289 and 315 supra.

3 ff. 142 and 155.

Age cankers all things: so our grandsires' time  
 Bequeathed us one more ripe in crime;  
 Our sires did worse again beget,  
 And we shall yield the basest yet.

The evil that men do lives after them, and as late as 1912 the Nineteenth Century<sup>1</sup> published a violent attack on Gladstone's translation from the pen of R. Y. Tyrrell, an article containing fossils from the attack in the Saturday Review of November 1894. If there is little need to take from its grave Gladstone's translation of the odes, the same can not be so confidently asserted of its offspring, the Hawarden Horace and More Hawarden Horace.<sup>2</sup> These are collections of burlesques by C. L. Graves, later to distinguish himself with Ronald Knox and Rudyard Kipling in the production of Q. HORATI FLACCI Carminum Liber Quintus, some of which had already appeared in the Spectator. The subjects are mostly political and some of them are accordingly less immediately effective now than they were. They are in no way parodies of Gladstone's translations, rather of the act of translation. It would, nevertheless, be a shame to lose this version of IV ii addressed to Alfred Austin on the difficulties of being Tennyson's successor -

Lo! great Alfred grandly sweeping onward with resistless gait  
 In sonorous closes rounding many a swift trochaic line,  
 Master of the 'long-resounding march, the energy divine.'

Hard it is I ween to follow as the wearer of the bays  
 Such a favourite of Apollo, maker of undying lays,  
 Who in moments of expansion metric innovations tried,  
 And the rigid rules of scansion irreproachably defied.

.....

I to lower levels keeping, by the margin of the Dee,  
 Emulate the never-sleeping labours of the busy bee.

1 June pp. 1167-8.

2 1894 and 1896.

There I with impassioned relish woo the Theologic Muse,  
 Penning theses to embellish North American Reviews,  
 Heedless of the wild excursions planned by Jameson - or Rhodes  
 As I titivate my versions of the Sabine singer's Odes. 1

or this more celebrated address 'Ad Hiberniam':

Redolent of 'Jockey Club,'  
 Pliant as a lath,  
 Is the boy you now decoy  
 Down the primrose path.  
 Him with neatly braided locks  
 Lovingly you lure,  
 Clad in green, and in your mien  
 Studiously demure.

Soon from off the gingerbread  
 Vanishes the gilt:  
 Ere the year be spent and sere  
 You will prove a jilt.  
 Do I blame him? No, not I; -  
 Only could a wizard  
 In your face the symptoms trace  
 Of the coming blizzard.

Trusting in your halcyon mood  
 Thinks he, simple chiel,  
 You will bide, whate'er betide,  
 Lovable and leal.  
 When a landsman in a sieve  
 Braves the western gales,  
 Patrick Jones must have his bones -  
 (Davy works for Wales).

Lamentable is the lot  
 Of the gilded friend  
 You bemuse and Hugh Price Hughes  
 Labours to amend.  
 I was very nearly wrecked  
 Rounding Ireland's Eye;  
 But I swam, and here I am  
 High and dry and spry. 2

1 More Hawarden Horace 1896 pp. 69-75.  
 2 Hawarden Horace 1894 pp. 9-13.

### Conclusion

The amount of material available for and relevant to a consideration of the nineteenth century preoccupation with Horace's odes is very great, and any attempt to give an account of it in any detail must necessarily take a somewhat arbitrary form. By dividing my account between general and individual characteristics I have tried to achieve a compromise whereby each may illustrate the other. Also arbitrary may appear my omission of prose translations and of treatment of the satires and epistles. I defend these omissions partly on the grounds of space and partly on the grounds that many of the prose translations were intended chiefly as 'cribs'. They are not often works that can justly be described as part of a 'cult'; they do contain, sometimes, material I would have liked to include, as for instance the General Introduction and the Introduction to the Odes in the translation of Lonsdale and Lee. The satires and epistles, like the epodes, are more rarely subject to dilettante fondling than the odes. As in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they are most interesting when most freely handled. No one in the nineteenth century can compare with Donne or Pope.

The reasons for the flourishing of the 'cult' here described are found to be such as the imagination might suggest: the odes are short and self-contained, lending themselves to spasmodic reading and translation; they are a treasury of maxims and bons mots of proverbial wealth and adaptability; finally, they were familiar from the school-room, they served to recall it, and with it the reassurance that its lessons had not all of them been forgotten; they stood as an universal symbol of the classical attainments proper to a gentleman.

The cult is not extinct. It has recently received a welcome  
recognition:

The Horatians

Into what fictive realms can imagination  
translate you, Flaccus, and your kin? Not the courts of  
Grand Opera, that galere  
of lunatics, power-famished

or love-ravenous, belting out their arias,  
nor the wards of Buffa, either, where abnormal  
growths of self-love are excised  
by the crude surgery of a

practical joke. Perhaps the only invented  
story in which your appearance seems credible  
is the Whodunit: I can  
believe in one of you solving

a murder which has the professionals baffled,  
thanks to your knowledge of local topography.  
In our world all of you share  
a love for some particular

place and stretch of country, a farm near Tivoli  
or a Radnorshire village: what the Capital  
holds out as a lure, a chance  
to get into Society,

does not tempt you, who wry from crowds, traffic noises,  
blue-stockings and millionaires. Your tastes run to  
small dinner-parties, small rooms,  
and the tone of voice that suits them,

neither truckle nor thrasonical but softly  
certain (a sound wood-winds imitate better  
than strings), your most worthy wish  
a genteel sufficiency of

land or lolly. Among those I really know, the  
British branch of the family, how many have  
found in the Anglican church  
your Maecenas who enabled

a life without cumber, as pastors adjective  
to rustic flocks, as organists in trollopish  
cathedral towns. Then, in all  
labyrinthine economies

there are obscure nooks into which Authority  
 never pokes a suspicious nose, embusqué havens  
 for natural bachelors  
 and political idiots,

Zoological and Botanical Gardens,  
 museum-basements displaying feudal armor  
 or old coins: there, too, we find  
 you among the custodians.

Some of you have written poems, usually  
 short ones, and some kept diaries, seldom published  
 till after your deaths, but most  
 make no memorable impact

except on your friends and dogs. Enthusiastic  
 Youth writes you off as cold, who cannot be found on  
 barricades, and never shoot  
 either yourselves or your lovers.

You thought well of your Odes, Flaccus, and believed they  
 would live, but knew, and have taught your descendants to  
 say with you: "As makers go,  
 compared with Pindar or any

of the great foudroyant masters who won't stop to  
 amend, we are, for all our polish, of little  
 stature, and, as human lives,  
 compared with authentic martyrs

like Regulus, of no account. We can only  
 do what it seems to us we were made for, look at  
 this world with a happy eye  
 but from a sober perspective."

(W.H. Auden, City without Walls, 1969 pp. 33-5)

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