ABSTRACT

The knowledge and appreciation of Pindar in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This thesis is an examination of the knowledge and appreciation of Pindar, especially in England, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a period conveniently bounded at one end by the edition of his works produced by Erasmus Schmid in 1616 and at the other by that of August Boeckh (with Ludolph Dissen), normally taken to mark the beginning of modern Pindaric scholarship. It is divided on a chronological basis into three parts - the early seventeenth century, from the Restoration to the mid-eighteenth century, and the later eighteenth century -, the end of the first part being marked by the appearance of the Pindarique Odes of Abraham Cowley, and the beginning of the third by the translation of Pindar by Gilbert West, and the Odes of Thomas Gray. Within each part an examination of the state of Pindaric scholarship is followed by a discussion of the presentation of him and his importance in the literature and criticism of the time.

The first chapter, 'The seventeenth-century editions', describes the various editions available to a seventeenth century reader, and particularly the two annotated editions produced in the second decade of the century, by Erasmus Schmid at Wittenberg in 1616 and by Johannes Benedictus at Saumur in 1620. The editions are discussed and compared from the points of view of textual criticism, metrical scholarship, and interpretation, with special emphasis being given to the rhetorical analyses of the odes presented by Erasmus Schmid.

The second chapter, 'Cowley's Pindariques and their background' first traces the importance of Pindar in English literature and criticism before Cowley's popularisation of the Pindaric ode as an English poetic form, and includes a discussion of Ronsard and the continental tradition, the influence of which was largely responsible for the earliest English references and imitations. The section on Cowley himself includes a discussion of the attitude towards Pindar revealed by his translations and imitations, and a brief assessment of their immediate influence.

Part II deals with a long period of nearly one hundred years in which the popular idea of Pindar, formed largely upon Horace's ode 'Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari' (Odes iv. 2), and upon Cowley, undergoes little change. After a survey of the state of knowledge of and interest in Pindar in education and scholarship, including a description of some unpublished lectures delivered in Cambridge in 1697, the third chapter, 'The appreciation of Pindar', presents a selection of critical opinions which demonstrates the dominance at the turn of the century of assessments of Pindar handed down from ancient critics, especially from Horace and 'Longinus', and the reaction against these conventional dicta in the works of 'moderns' such as Charles Perrault. The fourth chapter, 'The English Pindaric', deals with the development of the form popularised by Cowley throughout the next eighty years, through its particular association with 'occasional' and religious subject matter to its apparent decline in popularity about 1720, and the sporadic manifestations of interest in it shown later by, for example, Edward Young. The final section in this part lists and discusses the English translations of Pindar after Cowley until 1749.

Part III, dealing with a much shorter period, reflects in its greater length the many ways in which both the Pindaric ideal and the appreciation of Pindar himself were changing. Chapter V, 'The Pindaric Revival: West and Gray', shows how the production of cheaper, easily available editions of the poet and a growing sense of Pindar's place in history - exemplified not only in West's Pindar but also in Thomas Gray's manuscript notes on him, hitherto unpublished - conspire to make obsolete the vague and derivative impressions of him which had held sway hitherto and which are to some extent perpetuated in Gray's Pindaric odes. Chapter VI, 'Towards the nineteenth century', traces the emergence in the latter half of the eighteenth century of scholarly methods and interests, especially in matters concerned with metre and interpretation, which coalesce in Boeckh's edition at the beginning of the next century. The second section, on translation, discusses the style, intentions, and reception of the many translations of Pindar which appeared during this period, and in the final section it is shown how, whereas Pindar and the Pindaric become firmly associated with such fashionable critical pre-occupations as primitivism and originality, the problem of reconciling his subject matter and the traditional notions of his style becomes increasingly difficult, with Pindar often a subject for parody or burlesque.

There are three appendices - an analysis of Erasmus Schmid's policy in establishing his text of the first Pythian, a note on Milton and Pindar, and a transcription of Thomas Gray's notes on Pindar.

Penelope B. Wilson
March, 1974.



Apud Fulvium Vrsinum in marmore.

110.

4° ST AM 24

" His library, (where Busts of Poets dead
And a True Pindar stood without a head)...

Pope, Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot. 235-6.

" His library, (where Busts of Poets dead
And a True Pindar stood without a head)...

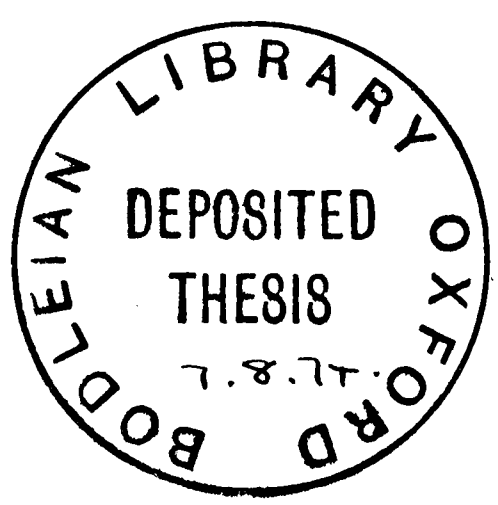
Pope, Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot, 235-6.

THE KNOWLEDGE AND APPRECIATION OF PINDAR IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

by

Penelope B. Wilson

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Literae Humaniores in the University of Oxford for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



March, 1974.

PREFACE

The seeming inexhaustibility of the material on this subject, combined with the need to keep this thesis within an acceptable length, has forced me to impose some limitations on its scope, and in its final form it is rather different from the comprehensive survey which I originally envisaged. Pindar in England, and in English literature, has been my focus, although I have tried to take account of work in other countries at all points where its influence, or comparative interest, seemed important: this applies particularly to the more specialist field of Pindaric scholarship. It has proved impossible to include a study of the influence of Pindar in Germany at the end of the period - an omission made excusable only by the amount of scholarship already available on the subject.

One work published when I was beginning my research relates closely to the whole subject, Douglas Gerber's Bibliography of Pindar 1513-1966 (American Philological Association Monograph no. 28, 1969). The coverage in this work of the period with which I have been dealing is, however, very erratic, and it has seemed worth-while to present my own bibliography in such a form that it can act also as a supplement to Gerber's work.

In footnote references, I have adopted the policy of giving the full reference to a work the first time it appears in any chapter, and thereafter in that chapter referring to it in an abbreviated form. References to Pindar's works are always to Bruno Snell's Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1964), unless it is stated that

the reference is to the old colometry.

I should like to record grateful acknowledgments and thanks to three people whose conversation, advice, and encouragement has been of particular value to me - to Dr Frank Stubbings of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; and to my two supervisors, Miss Margaret Hubbard of St Anne's College, Oxford, and Dr Roger Lonsdale of Balliol College, Oxford.

ABBREVIATIONS

Heyne (1773)	Heyne, C.G. Pindari carmina cum lectionis varietate, Gottingen, 1773.
Heyne (1798)	Heyne, C.G. Pindari carmina et fragmenta. 3 vols. Gottingen, 1797-99.
Drachmann	Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina. Ed. A.B. Drachmann. 3 vols . Stereotype edition, Amsterdam, 1964-66.
CR	The Classical Review
ELH	ELH: A Journal of English Literary History
JEGP	The Journal of English and Germanic Philology
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLQ	Modern Language Quarterly
MP	Modern Philology
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
SP	Studies in Philology

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CHAPTER I

THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY EDITIONS

The edition of Pindar produced by Erasmus Schmid (1570-1637), professor of Greek and of Mathematics in Wittenberg, and published there in 1616, dwarfed all its sixteenth century predecessors, comprising a critically-established text of the epinicians (with some fragments), a Latin translation, and a Latin commentary.[1] Schmid's edition was followed in 1620 by another on a similar scale from Jean Benoit or Benedictus (1585-1664), a French Protestant who combined, as long as the authorities would allow it, the family profession of medicine with the professorship of Greek at the University of Saumur.[2] At the end of the seventeenth century, in 1697, two Oxford scholars, Richard West and Robert Welsted, produced a large and useful new edition which, however, could make few claims to originality: they printed Schmid's text and translation together with the 'argument' and paraphrase provided for each ode by Benedictus, to form an edition 'in qua', as they admitted, 'nos plura aliorum studio quam Te nostro debere invenies.'[3] The volume also included the Latin verse translation of

1 ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ hoc est Pindari lyricorum princeps, plus quam sexcentis in locis emaculati, ut iam legi et intelligi possit. Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι. Πυθιονῖκαι. Νεμεονῖκαι. Ἰσθμιονῖκαι cum fragmentis aliquot diligenter collectis, Wittenberg, 1616. For biography of Schmid, see Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, 56 vols, Leipzig, 1875-1912, xxxii, 27-8; Conrad Bursian, Geschichte der Classischen Philologie in Deutschland, Munich and Leipzig, 1883, pp. 238-40; J.E. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, 3 vols, Cambridge, 1903-8, ii, 272.

2 ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΙ Pindari Olympia. Pythia. Nemea. Isthmia. Saumur, 1620. For biography, see E. and E. Haag, La France Protestante, second edition, 6 vols, Paris, 1877-88, ii, 280-1.

3 Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia. Una cum latina omnium versione carmine lyrico per Nicolaum Sudorium, Oxford, 1697.

the odes by Nicolas le Sueur (Sudorius), and the scholia, now printed for the first time since the Geneva edition of 1599. The editors' own contribution was the collation of five manuscripts preserved in the Bodleian Library, and a certain amount of scepticism towards some of Schmid's emendations, but they offered little of value towards the improvement of the text, and were, in fact, to become notorious for their editorial perversity: 'fatendum est, nec lyricorum metrorum rationes, nec Pindaricae orationis indolem viros praestantissimos satis esse assequutos, et modo damnasse, quae retinere, modo retinuisse, quae damnare debebant.'[1] The Oxford edition served as the basis for several texts printed in Glasgow and London in less magnificent format throughout the next century;[2] but after Benedictus no more original edition of Pindar appeared until Heyne's first attempt at a new one in 1773. Schmid and Benedictus thus went more or less unchallenged in the editorial field for more than a hundred and fifty years, and in the characteristics of these editions, and more particularly in the differences between them, there already lie the seeds of much of what is most important in the subsequent history of the appreciation of Pindar.

Although the text of the epinicians seems to have been relatively well preserved from an early stage, the form as available to a seventeenth or eighteenth century reader differed in one major respect from the texts in use today. The old colometry, inherited from the Alexandrians and retained in all editions until Boeckh's (published 1811-21), meant that the text was presented in metrical cola generally much shorter and much more even than the lyric lines.[3] The strophic system in which the odes are composed had

1 Heyne (1798), 'Praefatio', p.31.

2 See below, pp. 221-3.

3 J. Irigoin, Histoire du texte de Pindare, Paris, 1952, pp. 44-8; Les scholies métriques de Pindare, Paris, 1958.

been recognised certainly since the text was first arranged according to metrical principles, and it is observed, with occasional lapses and variations, in all manuscripts, as in the fifth century fragment of a papyrus codex of the Olympians.[1] Schmid and Benedictus both give explanations in their prefaces of the terminology and of triadic, dyadic, and monostrophic structure. Schmid is eager to demonstrate the continuing vitality of the triadic principle:

> Neque sunt haec ita transmarina, aut ignota, aut inusitata, quum Cantiones Germanicae nostrae pleraeque, et Latinae quaedam, et multae Gallicae Italiaeque, eadem observent, licet rhythmica hic potius sit ratio quam metrica.[2]

Schmid's edition leaves no room for confusion. Each ode, headed with its own metrical schema, is printed in large clear type, the triads marked with an α - a - A notation, with a parallel Latin translation on the facing page and the commentary coming at the end of the ode. Significantly, in Benedictus's edition the metrical structure of the odes is less clearly indicated, since he makes no attempt to number the strophe, antistrophe, and epode, nor to provide a metrical analysis, and the arrangement of his page virtually masks the symmetry of shape. In his edition each stanza is taken as a separate unit, sandwiched between a literal Latin translation - the metaphrasis - on the right, and an expansive paraphrase on the left, each section being followed with its own commentary. The effect is made still more disjointed by the minute and heavily abbreviated Greek type used for the text itself.

1 Ox.Pap. 1614, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri xiii (1919), 155-61.

2 p. 49.

i. The editing of the text

With Pindar during the sixteenth century little significant advance was made upon the first printed texts, in this case upon the Aldine edition of 1513 and the Roman edition of Zacharias Callierges which followed, with the addition of the scholia, two years later.[1] Perhaps because of this valuable addition, and the textual advantages which accrued from it, it was the Roman rather than the Aldine edition which became the vulgate for later editors, and there is little evidence of any consistent attempt during this period to collate the two, although the 1542 Frankfurt edition, based on the Roman edition, does have some Aldine variants printed in the margin. No editor, however, considered that his duty lay in mere reproduction of the text before him, and all the editions have individual variations in reading, some inevitably the result of carelessness but most giving proof of the exercise of individual judgment. Scholarly interest in textual matters was very active. An essay by Isaac Casaubon, whose manuscript notes on Pindar are preserved in a copy of the Roman edition in the British Museum,[2] was included by his father-in-law Henri Estienne in the third edition of his Greek lyric poets, pointing out the special difficulties occasioned by the strangeness of Pindar's dialect and the ignorance of his scribes. Four typical corruptions - at O.ii.71, O.iii.17, O.i.79, and P.viii.74 - are discussed in the essay while it is left to the reader to note others for himself.[3] Benedictus shows no sign of

1 See bibliography, below, p. 364.

2 BM shelf-mark C.77.c.13. A selection of the notes appears in Henry Huntingford's edition of Pindar (second edition, London, 1821), pp. (3)-(6).

3 'Ex observationibus Isaaci Casauboni', Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia, Paris, 1586, pp.411-4.

having read Casaubon's essay, but Schmid certainly knew it, and used some of the examples in it (with acknowledgement).[1]

A particularly well-documented example of a scholar at work on Pindar at the turn of the century is that of Aemilius Portus, Greek professor in Heidelberg from 1596 to 1608, and son of the Cretan Franciscus Portus who had been one of Casaubon's teachers in Geneva.[2] Aemilius Portus's industry in turning out classical editions and handbooks was hardly equalled either by his ability or his originality: several of the earliest of his numerous publications were in fact posthumous editions of his father's works, among them a commentary on Pindar published in 1583, the year after the author's death.[3] Fifteen years later Aemilius Portus produced his own edition of the epinicians, usually known as the Heidelberg or Commelinian edition.[4] In itself the edition is almost valueless, being substantially a reprint - 'mera repetitio', according to Fabricius[5] - of the text and translation of Henri Estienne (Stephanus). Portus's only original contribution, consisting of a few notes printed at the end of the second half of the volume, also a reprint from Stephanus, of the fragments of the Greek lyric poets, is summarily dismissed by Heyne as of no interest: 'sunt eae satis ieiunae et vulgaria recoquunt.'[6] The deficiencies of the Annotationes are

1 Schmid, Olympia, p. 112.

2 Bursian, Geschichte, pp. 232-4; Sandys, History of Classical Scholarship, ii, 271.

3 Commentarii in Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia, Geneva, 1583.

4 Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia. Graece et Latine, Heidelberg, 1598.

5 J.A. Fabricius, Bibliotheca Graeca: sive notitia Scriptorum veterum Graecorum quorumcunque monumenta integra, aut fragmenta edita extant, tum plerorumque e MSS ac deperditis, ed. G.C. Harles, 12 vols, Hamburg, Leipzig, 1790-1809.

6 Heyne (1798), i, 44.

adequately suggested by the heading, 'in Euripidem [sic], et aliquot Lyricorum poetarum fragmenta, dum opus typis mandaretur, notae raptim scriptae.'[1] Haste led Portus into almost unbelievable carelessness: on I.ii.43 and I.v.39, for example, he meticulously emends his own unprecedented and impossible reading to that of the vulgate, adding to the confusion by suggesting the most convoluted arguments in favour of letting his own text stand.[2]

In the D'Orville collection in the Bodleian Library is preserved a copy of this 1598 edition with copious manuscript notes which, according to a note in the fly-leaf, 'ipse Portus... adscripsit'.[3] A manuscript catalogue of the collection as it was when in the possession of D'Orville's son (from 1751), drawn up by J.C. Strackhovius, lists, in addition to this, a copy of Franciscus Portus's Commentarii 'cum notis et Emend. Aem. Porti MSS secundae editionis inserendis'.[4] This copy, separated at some stage from the body of the collection, is now in the British Museum.[5] It seems undeniable that the revisions in the Commentarii were originally intended for a second edition, and likely that this was the copy intended for the printers. The notes, however, show two main strata, reflected in the revised title-page. Under the printed title Portus had written, possibly

1 Carminum Poetarum novem, lyricae poeseως principum, fragmenta, Heidelberg, 1598, p. 171.

2 e.g. I.ii.43, Portus reads αμφιηρεμαιται and notes 'Suspicor αμφιηρέμανται legendum, facilis typographi lapsus'; and I.v.39, where he reads προφύει στόμα and notes 'Si codex mendo caret, τὸ προφύει κατὰ συγκοπήν pro προφητεύει praedicit, praedicat, ponetur. Vel a προφάω ῶ fit προφέω unde προφούω, ut a σωλάω, σωλέω, σωλεύω mutata coniugatione, et υ inserto. Alioqui προφέρει dicendum videretur, si metri lex hoc pateretur.'

3 Bodl. MS. D'Orville 437.

4 Bodl. MS. D'Orville 302, p. 51.

5 BM shelf mark 652 b.8.

for the printer,

> Secunda editio, ab Ae.Fr.P.Cr.F. diligenter recognita,
> et innumeris in locis emendata.

The words 'et novis annotationibus illustrata' have been added, obviously later, in a different ink. Throughout the body of the text these two strata are clearly visible: the original undertaking seems to have involved little more than simple corrections - of misprints and faulty punctuation - and the incorporation of notes originally printed in the margin into the main text. The original idea of a new edition of the Commentarii, and the earlier corrections, could theoretically date from any time after 1583, but the bulk of the notes are later additions, clearly post-1598 since the references are to Portus's own edition. To accommodate the later notes, seventeen extra sheets have been inserted, fifteen between the fly-leaf and title-page and two, containing Aemilius Portus's own Prolegomena (dated 18th May, 1598) before page one. Portus's serious work on Pindar may therefore be assumed to have begun very soon after the publication of his highly unoriginal edition of the poet, and presumably continued sporadically from then until, eight years later, the production of his Pindaric lexicon.[1] Between 1598 and 1606 Portus's chief publications were an Ionic dictionary based on Herodotus, and a similar one for Doric, based on Theocritus.[2] To judge from the content of the notes, Portus seems gradually to have abandoned the idea of revising his father's commentary, which is taken up mostly with exposition of the text, more concerned to point out and explain rhetorical figures than dialect forms: and most of Portus's own notes are clearly designed for the later lexical work.

Most of the manuscript notes both in the commentary and in the

1 Pindaricum Lexicum, Heidelberg, 1606.

2 Dictionarium Ionicum Graecolatinum: Dictionarium Doricum Graecolatinum, both published Heidelberg, 1603.

edition of Pindar are incorporated with very little alteration into the Pindaricum Lexicum: the possibility that the relationship is the other way round and that the notes are derived from Portus's printed work can be safely ruled out. The dates in the manuscript Prolegomena are not the sole evidence for this: a note on βλέφαρα, for example, on page forty-nine of the Bodleian copy of the edition, followed by the initials Ae.P., is not to be found either in the lexicon or in the earlier Annotationes. The attribution to Portus is confirmed by other similar examples and also by the standard reference to Franciscus Portus's commentary as 'comment.pat'.

Portus's views on Pindar's dialect are the standard views of the time, summed up in a note on the fly-leaf of the Heidelberg edition:

> Pindarus Dorice scripsit, ut patet ex (O.iii.5)...
> Pindarus Aeolica quoque dialectu usurpavit.[1]

The lexicon is largely concerned with noting doricisms, and the occasional aeolism, but also treats of unusual phrases and unfamiliar grammatical forms. One of the longest notes, both in manuscript (in the Commentarii) and in the lexicon, is a characteristically eccentric one on ἄλπνιστος (I.v.12). After a discussion of alternative etymologies connected with ἐλπίζω Portus continues:

> Vel etiam (quod longe simplicius, et verisimilius) ut a substantivo τὸ κάλλος εος. ους formatur comparativus καλλίων, et superlativus κάλλιστος, sic a substantivo τὸ θάλπος. εος. ους deducetur comparat. θαλπίων, et superlativus θάλπιστος, unde sublato θ, fiet ἄλπιστος. η. ον, idem significans ac ἡδιστος η. ον. Iam enim τὸ θάλπος, et ἡ θαλπωρή, quae poetica sunt, συνωνύμως accipiuntur pro tempore quodam, qui nobis est amicus, quique naturam nostram favet, laetificat, et voluptate perfundit.[2]

Portus frequently refers the reader to the 'vulgata lexica', usually to their deficiencies, and more specifically often cites the Magnum Etymologicum. Among ancient grammarians the sources he most frequently

1 fly-leaf, Bodl. MS. D'Orville 437.

2 Commentarii (BM shelf mark 652 b.8), pp. 10-11 of insert:: cf. Lexicum, pp. 47-8.

names are the Greek scholia to Pindar, and Eustathius: Gregory of Corinth, surprisingly, is not explicitly referred to, and Portus does not seem to have been influenced by the examples of Doricisms in Pindar (all from the first three Olympians) given in the De Dialectis.[1]

The examples already quoted will suffice to show that the explanations provided by Portus are for the most part purely mechanical, invoking the most unlikely mutations, insertions, and omissions in the name of dialectical change, and frequently producing strange genealogical hybrids (as, for example, on Ἀγησίλοχος.[2] Ten years later Schmid is to be found quoting a long 'excerpt' more or less as a donnish joke. In fact, the note attributed to Portus on πεδίφρων in Pythian 7, with the comment 'Quae quàm longè petita, quantaque violentia huc sint detorta, quivis facilè videt', is not to be found in the lexicon and reads suspiciously like a parody.[3] Bentley's caution to Ludolph Kuster might as well apply to Portus the lexicographer as to Portus the editor of Aristophanes:

> ...quamobrem, o amicorum τὰ πρῶτα, iterum iterumque te monitum velim, ut probe tibi caveas a Porto, etiam in Aristophane exhibendo...[4]

Before he is dismissed entirely out of hand, however, itmight be considered that in one suggested emendation he does, although only in manuscript, introduce textual information not otherwise available until Schmid: in the

1 Gregorius Corinthius, De Dialectis, ed. G.H. Schaefer, pp. 205-21, passim. The editio princeps appeared in Milan in 1493, with Demetrius Chalcocondylas, ἐρωτήματα συνοπτικὰ τῶν ὀκτὼ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν ἢ μετὰ τινων χρησίμων κανόνων and the treatise was printed again by Aldus Manutius in the θησαυρός. Κέρας ἁμαλθείας, καὶ κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος. Thesaurus Cornucopiae; et Horti Adonidis, Venice, 1496; and in Urbanus Bolzanius, Grammaticae Institutiones, Basle, 1524, 1530.

2 Lexicum, p. 7.

3 Schmid, Pythia, pp. 308-9.

4 The Correspondence of Richard Bentley, ed. Christopher Wordsworth, London, 1812, pp. 309-10.

printed note on O.ii.70 Portus had already suggested the (unmetrical) emendation of ἐτελλαν to ἐστελλαν, and the manuscript note added later continues 'ut F.P. codicem nactus videtur, in quo sic legebatur'.[1]

Although another reprint, the sixth edition, of the Stephanus volume was to appear in 1624, with the publication of the two big annotated editions of Pindar in Germany and France in the second decade of the seventeenth century most earlier works became immediately outdated. Despite the similarity in scale of the editions of Schmid and Benedictus, and the contrast which they together form in this respect with the earlier editions, in their main preoccupations, as regards both the establishment of the text and the elucidation of the odes, they are so widely divergent as to form almost two schools of Pindaric scholarship. Textually, Benedictus, although working a year or so after Schmid, is much closer to the sixteenth century tradition. Two factors in his edition help to establish the textual basis of it; first, the Latin metaphrase, which is closely based, like most of its predecessors, on that of the later Stephanus editions, and secondly the constant use, at first hand, of the Greek scholia. Since the only edition to print the scholia, apart from the Roman editio secunda and the 1542 Frankfurt edition, a corrected version of the Roman, was like Portus's 1598 edition more or less a reprint of Stephanus, it seems most probable that this, the Paulus Stephanus edition printed in Geneva in 1599, was Benedictus's immediate exemplar. It was certainly the most readable of the editions to date, with the exception of Schmid: Portus by 1606 was using it in preference to his own edition, following in the references in the Lexicum what he describes as the 'pulcherrimam optimamque P. Stephani editionem'.[2] It has often been falsely assumed that Benedictus merely

1 Bodl. MS. D'Orville 437, p. 171.

2 title-page, Pindaricum Lexicum.

copied the text of Schmid,[1] but the total dissimilarity of the Latin translations, together with the closeness of Benedictus to the Stephanus text and translation, makes so close a relationship improbable. Benedictus was, however, not entirely independent of his immediate forerunner: although in the foreword to his edition he claims that he had already dealt with the Olympians, the Pythians, and the greater part of the Nemeans when Schmid's work came into his hands,[2] there are throughout Benedictus's text places where he can only have introduced a particular reading after a perusal of Schmid's text - for example, in the first Pythian ἐς ἡσυχίαν at v.70 and ὥσπερ at v.91 are new readings made available by the collation of Schmid's Codex Augustanus.[3] But few of Schmid's original emendations are adopted, probably because Benedictus took little interest in the metrical considerations which prompted them. Occasionally he notes a metrical anomaly pointed out by Schmid, but takes no steps to remove it - for example he does not follow Schmid into his strange reading, and interpretation, of P.i.70 though he notes 'Unica Crat. legit γέρων ; alii γεραίρων, ita ut abundet syllaba'.[4] Benedictus appears never to emend on metrical grounds alone, and even where he does seem to have been influenced by Schmid into questioning a reading generally provides some supporting reason such as 'phraseos proprietas' or 'sensus ratio'. A substantial part of Benedictus's commentary is devoted to the explanation of dialect forms: occasionally, as on πρόσφορος at O.ix.81,[5] he quotes extensively from Portus's lexicon, and he frequently

1 e.g. by Heyne, 'Praefatio' (1798), i, 31.

2 Benedictus, 'Ad Lectorem'.

3 See appendix A, below.

4 Benedictus, p. 266. Most editions read ξὰν τε γεραίρων.

5 ibid., p. 177.

follows Portus's explanation without acknowledgment (e.g. unfortunately, on ἀλπνιστον. [1] Benedictus's notes on dialect forms, however, remain purely explanatory, and it never occurs to him to challenge the vulgate reading on linguistic grounds.

On the whole, then, Benedictus is content to accept the text of the Stephanus edition without testing it against other editions or against principles of metre or dialect: he departs from it generally only where he feels that the sense could be improved. Fairly often he is led into the kind of over-simplification instanced in his emendation of χρόνος at N.i.46 to χρόνῳ, [2] but he does in fact finish up with a handful of remarkably good emendations in Isthmians 7 and 8. Though in two of the three instances quoted Schmid had seen the necessity for some change or explanation, his solutions are much less satisfactory.

> I.vii.43: All previous editors read ἄϊστος on which Schmid notes, 'In ἄϊστος, ι corripitur, τῷ σ dissimulato, ut iam saepe vidimus.' Benedictus makes the same metrical comment and then continues, 'Praeterea non agitur hic de ignoratione sortis, sed de inequalitate et diversitate mortis variorum hominum. Ideo lego ἄϊσος.' He also cites the scholiast in support of this new reading. [3]
>
> I.viii.13: All others had read παροιχομένων. Benedictus emends to παροιχόμενον: 'Sic lego ad vitandam hypallagen obscuriorem...' [4]
>
> I.viii.30: All others had read ἔρισας. Schmid kept ἔρισας ('refertur semel ad Ζεύς, altera vice ad Ποσειδᾶν et idem est ac si bis poneretur, vel ἐρίσαντες aut ἐρίσαντε diceretur.') He does however emend βέλων to βέλον δ' (βέλοντο). Benedictus reads ἔρισαν: 'ut haec sit perspicua constructio, ὅτε Ζεὺς, ἁγλαός τε Ποσειδᾶν, ἀμφὶ Θέτιος γάμῳ ἔρισαν, βελῶν ἑκάτερος... [5]

1 ibid., p. 708.

2 ibid., pp. 498-9.

3 Benedictus, p. 742. Cf. Schmid, Isthmia, p. 133.

4 Benedictus, p. 747.

5 ibid., p. 749. Cf. Schmid, Isthmia, pp. 149-50.

Schmid's much more radical approach to the accepted text becomes evident right from the title-page: here are the odes of Pindar 'plus quam sexcentis in locis emaculati, ut iam legi et intellegi possit...' For Schmid too the basis of the text is the Roman edition. According to Boeckh he used Ceporinus's Cratandrian edition as his exemplar,[1] but for the first time there is so much collation of printed texts that the extent of his debt to any one edition must be limited. Schmid had access to and used both the Roman and the Aldine editions, and throughout his commentary discusses readings also from Brubacch's edition (Frankfurt, 1542), the Antwerp edition of 1567 (Plantiniana), and Portus's 1598 edition (Commeliniana).[2] Besides using more printed texts than Benedictus, Schmid also collates three Palatine manuscripts lent to him for a year from the Electoral Library in Heidelberg, and named by him, in what he considered to be their order of merit or of antiquity, Pal.A, Pal.B, and Pal.C. The first two, Pal.Vat.190 and 128 respectively, are fifteenth century Moschopoulean manuscripts containing only the Olympians.[3] Pal.C, now Pal.Heid.gr.40, the only one of the three which contains both the Olympians and the Pythians, Irigoin dates to the first part of the fourteenth century, tracing its descent through Thessalonicensis from the abridged exemplar of the Vatican archetype.[4] For the first three Pythians Schmid also made use, at second hand, of Codex Augustanus (Monacensis gr.489).[5] This manuscript, then in the Augustan library

1 Boeckh, 'Praefatio Editoris', Vol.I, p. vii.

2 below, pp. 364-5.

3 Irigoin, Histoire du texte, pp. 286, 390, 393.

4 ib., pp. 232-3, 368. Turyn, De codicibus Pindaricis, Cracow, 1932, p. 41.

5 Irigoin, Histoire du texte, p. 389. Turyn, pp. 50, 56.

in Augsburg, was 'diligentissime' collated for Schmid by David Hoechsel (best known for his editio princeps of Photius' Bibliotheca) with the Paulus Stephanus edition of 1599. To Schmid's regret he had no comparable manuscript for either the Nemeans or the Isthmians.

Schmid's policy with regard to the establishment of the text of Pindar is a blend of the traditional reliance on editorial judgment and conjecture based on an entrenched, because printed, vulgate, and a growing appreciation of the importance of manuscript evidence in textual criticism. Sandys' statement that the edition of Pindar 'was founded on' the three Palatine manuscripts is, however, very far from the truth.[1] It emerges clearly from a close examination of Schmid's treatment of the text that his collation of the manuscripts, and even more so of the Aldine edition, was far from exhaustive.[2] Although he does frequently note a variant reading for its own interest, Schmid still accords the manuscripts and the editio princeps little status of their own, using them in practise almost exclusively to remedy points which he already feels to be unsatisfactory in the Roman or Cratandrian editions. In the introduction he reports of the Aldine edition, 'Ac licet σφάλμασιν editio illa laborat plusculis: multa tamen loca, eius beneficio restitui potuerunt.'[3] In fact he follows it in preference to the Roman edition only in the relatively few instances where he finds the Roman reading metrically unacceptable and the Aldine reading an improvement upon it; and in several places where the Aldine edition does offer a possible alternative its reading has either gone unnoticed or been ignored. Schmid's preface, with its discussion of

1 Sandys, History of Classical Scholarship, ii, 272.

2 see Appendix A.

3 Schmid, p. 8.

fifteen common types of textual corruption, indicates the little faith he had in scribes and their manuscripts in any case: much more, in his view, still depended on the learning and common sense of the editor-emendator. In view of the limitations of manuscript material available to any one editor in an age when communications were difficult, this was probably the most practical course to follow; but it remains true that Schmid shows little interest in the kind of scholarship inaugurated by Joseph Scaliger, who in the previous century had already begun to develop a system of emendation based on the conception of an archetype and a genuine manuscript tradition.[1]

In the first Pythian alone Schmid has about eleven original emendations, some of them only tentative but nearly all of them attempts to free the text from the metrical anomalies he perceived in it. Though the importance which Schmid attached to Pindar's metre was certainly new, his metrical theory itself marks no progress upon his predecessors. His concern with the metre of the odes aims at nothing more than establishing exact strophic responsion, with the proviso that two short syllables can on occasion stand in the place of one long, and that the last syllable of each κῶλον is always ἀδιάφορος.[2] The metrical schemata printed by him at the head of each ode carry on the tradition, inherited from the scholia, of mechanical division into monometers, dimeters, trimeters, and tetrameters catalectic, acatalectic, and hypercatalectic (or as Scaliger would have it 'hyperacatalectic'). Schmid does attempt to make the analyses more consistent but his suggested improvements could only be refinements upon a meaningless system: though one readily agrees, on a

1 In his edition of Catullus (with Tibullus and Propertius), Antwerp, 1582.

2 Schmid, 'De Carminibus Lyricis', p. 47.

line like πεῖθεν ταὶ δ'ἀνδὶ σάμασιν that 'Male Scholia vocant Antispasticum', his own analysis, in this case a hypercatalectic dimeter from two fourth epitrites, rouses little more enthusiasm.[1] In fact it was not until the last decades of the eighteenth century that any progress was made towards an understanding of lyric metre.

ii. Elucidation and interpretation: the rhetorical approach

The needs of few of Pindar's seventeenth century readers would have been met by the Greek text alone, however scrupulously emended and rationalised, and during the sixteenth century several supplementary works had already been published.[2] The work of translation and commentary on the epinician odes began thirteen years after the editio princeps, with a Latin translation, of which at least two further editions appeared by 1560, by Johannes Lonicerus or Leonicerus. Philip Melanchthon was lecturing on Pindar in Wittenberg in 1553, and his Latin translations of the odes were collected and published in 1558 by his son-in-law Caspar Peucer.[3] After 1560, the Stephanus translation was incorporated into several of the new editions, and, as has already been seen, Benedictus printed this version, probably through the medium of the Paulus Stephanus edition, with little modification, adding a Latin paraphrase of his own which clarifies his interpretation of many points, if at the expense of labouring them. The parallel Latin version in

1 Schmid, Pythia, p. 19.

2 see bibliography, pp. 366-7.

3 Melanchthon, Opera: Corpus Reformatorum, xix, ed. C.G. Bretschneider and H.E. Bindseil, Brunswick, 1853. pp. 189f.

Schmid's edition is an original one, but sacrifices clarity to a desire to retain as far as possible the exact word order of the Greek, tending at times even to confuse rather than to enlighten. Besides the translations, two commentaries had already appeared before 1600, the posthumous edition of Franciscus Portus's Commentarii being followed four years later, in 1587, by the Commentarii absolutissimi of Benedictus Aretius -- later only in its date of publication, as Aretius himself, a theologian whose works included commentaries on the New Testament and on the Psalms, had died in 1574.[1] These two works already foreshadow the contrast in the exegetical approach of Schmid and Benedictus: broadly speaking, in Portus's work the main concern is the paraphrase or explanation of poetical words and figures, later developed out of all recognition by his son in the lexicon, while Aretius devotes nearly all of his commentary to more general analysis in terms of rhetorical structure and effects.

Throughout his commentary Benedictus pursues the policy of translating Pindar's poetical figures and phrases into terms of everyday Greek ('Graeca prosa'), often drawing attention to frequently recurring Pindaric usages. At the beginning of the first Olympian - undoubtedly the best perused lines in the whole Pindaric corpus - the section ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς . . . πλούτου is explained as 'phrasis poetica, pro ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς ὥσπερ πυρὸς ἐν νυκτὶ διαπρέπει ἐξοχα πλούτου μεγάλως δυναμένου, καὶ παρασκευάζοντες αὐχηπικοὺς τοὺς κεκτημένους'. On γαρύων he notes: 'Dorice, pro γηρύειν. Et poet. est γήρυω pro ὑμνέω, καταλέγω, dico, praedico.

1 Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie XXVI, 447-9.

Frequens est apud authorem ... Ergo δεῦρο χαρῶν pro ἀγῶνας ὑμνεῖν. [1] He notes that φίλον ἦτορ is equivalent to ἐμὴ καρδία: this archaic use of φίλος had been pointed out by Daniel Heinsius although the usage was apparently unknown to Schmid. In this respect of basic exposition of the text, in fact, Schmid offers no competition to Benedictus. On the same passage, for example, he confines himself to pointing out the examples of metonymy and metalepsis, and the logical structure of the whole comparison, and to discussing various interpretations of the opening phrase and of ἑρήμας αἰθέρος. The difference between the two is suggested in the notes provided by each on O.ii.85ff, where Pindar himself describes his words as φωνέντα συνετοῖσιν· ἐς δὲ τὸ πὰν ἑρμανέων χατίζει. Benedictus explains that Pindar means that his poems are difficult but can be unravelled by the learned who appreciate 'vim argumenti et suavitatem compositionis', but he also declares, taking his cue from the scholia:

> Non mirum est hunc authorem apud ineruditos egere interprete: siquidem et eruditissimi quique in eo explicando graviter laborant, tot habet digressiones, tot tamque crebras fabularum, historiarum, sententiarum insertiones, unde cum sequentibus praecedentium obscurus nexus: tot habet etiam schemata, intricatas phrases, hyperbata, verborumque δαιδάλματα. [2]

Here, perhaps, is the source of the belief apparently held by Charles Perrault at the end of the century that Benedictus himself had drowned with Perrault in Pindar's incomprehensibility;[3] but as far as

1 Benedictus, p. 4.

2 Benedictus, p. 62.

3 below, p. 146.

the ineruditi in particular are concerned - or indeed anyone whose proficiency in Greek might bear the same proportion to his Latin as the Greek text to the Latin metaphrase, paraphrase, and commentary on Benedictus's page - his approach is obviously the more helpful, and it comes as no surprise to discover that in 1660 Charles Hoole was recommending the use of this commentary to those English schoolmasters who were able to advance their pupils as far as Pindar.[1] Benedictus's paraphrase was still being reprinted as an aid in Henry Huntingford's edition of 1821.[2]

On the 'difficulty' of Pindar Schmid comments that one must, in studying the odes, pay careful attention to such matters as metre, dialect, syntax, figures, and principally dispositio. All this understood, however, Pindar will become easily intelligible: 'ad quae omnia, si diligenter attenderit, verum intellectum facile percipiet.'[3] As Boeckh was to claim two hundred years later, for a different system but in the same spirit, 'Dies erklärt alles'.[4] As, with a due attention to metre, Schmid has in his own view emended away all inconsistencies in the text, so with a proper attention to their rhetorical purpose and dispositio he is able to explain away all alleged incoherencies in the structure of the odes. The most immediately striking aspect of Schmid's commentary is the

1 A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole, in four small Treatises, London, 1660, p. 196.

2 Pindari carmina juxta exemplar Heynianum, ed. Henry Huntingford, second edition, London, 1821.

3 Schmid, Olympia, p. 113.

4 August Boeckh, Gesammelte kleine Schriften, 8 vols, Leipzig, 1858-84, vii, 396.

mathematically neat analysis which he prints before each ode, dividing it up into its principal rhetorical partes and showing the relation of almost every idea within them to the general encomiastic purpose of the whole.

In his general rhetorical approach, and particularly in the tendency to treat Pindar at times rather as a treasure-house of examples of metalepsis, synecdoche, metonymy, and similar figures, Schmid is conforming to a well-worn tradition in the study of classical literature, amply illustrated, for example, by Julius Caesar Scaliger's Poetics.[1] No-one before Schmid had applied the science of rhetoric so rigorously to Pindar's odes, but Schmid's view of them as essentially suited to this kind of treatment was not an original one and would have met with little demur. Pindar himself, as was pointed out at the beginning of the twentieth century in a work which has been passed over without the notice accorded to later genre-studies on the same theme,[2] frequently refers to his poems as encomia: one might cite, for example, the phrase ἐγκωμίων μελέων of O.ii.47 or ἐγκώμιον ἁρμὸν τρόπον of O.x.77. The scholia regularly speak of Pindar's ἐγκωμιαστικοὺς λόγους.[3] This approach, though not, of course, pursued consistently, is borne out by the technical terms which appear scattered throughout the scholia. προοίμιον occurs several times, and παρέκβασις and παρεκβαίνω very frequently, sometimes with a term of reproach, as on the myth in Pythian 11: ἄριστα ὁ Πίνδαρος τὸ ἐγκώμιον εἰργάσατο· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐξῆς σφοδρᾷ ἀκαίρῳ παρεκβάσει ἐκρήσατο.[4]

1 Poetices libri septem, [Lyons], 1561.

2 G. Fraustadt, Encomiorum in litteris Graecis usque ad Romanam aetatem historia, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 8-41.

3 Drachmann, O.xiii.133b; I.v.58; cf. O.ii.150c; O.x.92b.

4 Drachmann, P.xi.23b: Cf. P.x.46b.

ἐπανέρχομαι is used once, in an obviously rhetorical context, on the transition from the myth in Nemean 3: μθανῶς, ἐπεὶ παρεκβέβηκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰακίδας . . . βούλεται πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ὕμνον τῷ ἀθλητῇ. [1]

In the sixteenth century, Franciscus Portus had pointed out the standard rhetorical figures but was no more concerned with making a consistent analysis of the structure of the odes than had been the scholiasts, and in his wake, and little more systemically, Benedictus throughout employs terms like exordium, propositio, digredíri, redire ad encomium. The 'arguments' which Benedictus prefixes to each ode indicate that he is far from perceiving any closely-knit framework behind them: on the second Olympian, for example,

> Laudatur Theron Agrigentinus tyrannus, a victoria quam quadriiugio curru in Olympiis est adeptus; item a justitia, liberalitate, fortitudine, et maiorum claritudine: quorum fortunam occasione sumpta attingit. Tum digressiones ad Semelen, Inonem, Peleum, Achillem, aliosque intertexit: atque obiter loca Beatorum, et Damnatorum apud inferos designat. Tandem concludit Oden sui carminis et Theronis liberalitatis laude.[2]

In Schmid's tabular analyses of the odes all such random elements as are here suggested in the phrasing 'occasione sumpta', 'tum digressiones ad Semelen ... aliosque', 'obiter', and 'tandem' are effectively eliminated, and every single element is made to fit in with and contribute to a highly formal rhetorical structure. The nearest precedent for the consistency of Schmid's approach is to be found in the commentary of Benedictus Aretius, where each ode is introduced with a description of its genus, propositio, partes (here used to mean its strophic structure), and materia.

1 Drachmann, N.iii.114b.

2 Benedictus, p. 36.

In the tenth Olympian, for example,

> GENUS mixtum est, ut hactenus fere semper: nam principale ἐγκωμιαστικόν, longa narratione rerum ab Hercule gestarum miscet.
>
> PROPOSITIO est de laudibus Agesidami ...
>
> MATERIA tres habet generales partes: exordium ... in quo quidem est ὁμολογία criminis: tamen μετάστασει illud in oblivionem transfert et compensationem ... promittit. 2 Pars continet λόγον ἐγκωμιαστικόν ubi primo laudatur persona. Secundo fit prolixa digressio in historiam Herculis . . . Tertio ἐπάνοδος ad rem praesentem. 3 Pars Epilogus est, non sine laudibus ex hac vita migraturum Agesidamum.[1]

The technical rhetorical terms used by Schmid in his commentary are predominantly Latin but with some admixture of Greek, sometimes written in Greek and sometimes Latinised; for example Schmid uses both γνώμη and gnome, ἐπάνοδος and epanodus, ἐπίλογος and epilogus. In this inconsistency he reflects the general practice of contemporary writers on rhetoric. The most comprehensive account of classical rhetoric at the beginning of the seventeenth century was the Oratoriarum Institutionum libri sex by Gerard Johann Voss of Heidelberg,[2] a work which usefully provides a resumé and discussion of what had been said on the subject by earlier writers, both Greek and Roman, with particular attention to Aristotle. There is no concrete evidence that Schmid himself knew Voss's work, but it would be surprising if he did not; it became rapidly known in scholarly circles. Scaliger, Casaubon, and Heinsius all knew it soon after publication, and Heinsius wrote to Voss in January 1606 that he would wish all concerned with the education of the young to use it as an introduction to Aristotle, a προτέλεια μυστηρίων.[3]

Rhetoric was regularly divided into three categories - legal oratory, or genus iuridicale; political oratory, or genus deliberativum; and

1 Commentarii, pp. 157-8.

2 Leyden, 1606

3 Gerardi Joan. Vossii et Clarorum Virorum ad eum Epistolae, ed. P. Colomesius, 2 vols. in one, London, 1690, ii, 1.

epideictic oratory, genus demonstrativum, concerned with either ἔπαινος or ψόγος and also known as encomiastic or panegyric oratory. It subdivides into several smaller categories according to its subject, whether animate or inanimate, rational or irrational, sacred or secular, but 'most commonly', as it was put by Thomas Wilson, author of one of the earliest English vernacular books on the subject, 'men are praised for divers respectes, before any of the other things are taken in hand.'[1] The argument of an ἐγκωμιαστικὸς λόγος will normally be concerned with virtus, which rhetoricians divided into external (God, ancestors, wealth, education, etc.) and internal (of the mind and body), and with the effects of virtus - good deeds, and tokens such as crowns, trophies, and scars.[2]

The rhetorical handbooks, written as they were for educational purposes, approach the different branches less from an analytic point of view than from that of giving practical advice for composition; and as far as Schmid's kind of analysis is concerned the most illuminating parts of them are the straightforward rules on the structure of a λόγος and on rhetorical terminology. But although hints on how to get round the difficulties which may present themselves in the praise of famous personages are less directly relevant, there are naturally many correspondences in argument and approach between their recommendations and Pindar's practice. It is interesting that although Pindar would seem to be an obvious model of this branch of encomiastic oratory, and could be the source of copious examples, he does not ever appear to be cited in this connection.

1 Thomas Wilson, The Arte of Rhetorique (1560), ed. G.H. Mair, Oxford, 1909, p. 11.

2 Voss, Inst. Orat., p. 33.

Although Voss gives the Homeric Hymns and Callimachus as examples of the praise of gods, and Virgil on bees as an example of the praise of irrational animals, the only models mentioned by him in connection with the praise of mankind are Isocrates and Cicero.[1]

To scholars like Aretius and Schmid, however, it was clear enough that it was within this rhetorical context that Pindar's odes must be approached. At the beginning of his commentary, Aretius draws up a table showing the conventional subdivisions of the ἐπιδεικτικὸν γένος and defining Pindar's ἐπινίκιον λόγον as praise of living, rational, mortal subjects as opposed to gods, places, and inanimate things.[2] In the individual introductions to each ode the genus of each is usually described as being ἐγκωμιαστικόν with some admixture of other types, e.g. ἱστορικόν, διηγηματικόν. Schmid, in an introductory essay 'De Carminibus Lyricis', otherwise mostly concerned with explaining the metrical structure of the odes, analyses the content of the odes thus:

> ... Materiae, quae huiusmodi Lyrico generi conveniunt, variae sunt. Neque enim tantum Encomia Victoriarum, campus sunt, in quo Lyra desultet, ut aliqui opinantur: sed fere omnia Causarum genera, ut Rhetores vocant, sibi familiaria fecit. Verum est, in Encomiis hos genus maxime luxuriare: Non tamen semper ob Victorias sed saepe etiam ob alias causas.[3]

Among these other 'causes' proper to lyric poetry Schmid lists consolationes, adhortationes, admonitiones, invocationes, excusationes, historica, didactica, and moralia. However, although Schmid here isolates some of the different elements which may constitute a Pindaric ode, in the final analysis they are all absorbed into the formal structure of an ἐγκωμιαστικὸς λόγος.

1 ibid., pp. 31-2.

2 Commentarii, p. 21

3 Schmid, Olympia, pp. 47-8.

The odes in his analysis usually follow, with individual variations, the general structure summed up by Voss in the mnemonic exorsus narro, seco, firmo, refuto, peroro. Voss, who defines dispositio as 'idonea collocatio partium orationis', lists the main parts, in their natural order, as exordium, narratio, propositio, confirmatio and confutatio (together forming the contentio), and epilogus: he notes in addition that the narratio, or relation of facts, is used in forensic oratory and not in the other genres except for what belongs to the confirmatio. In Schmid's analyses, the odes never range far from this 'natural order' of parts, and in the following examination of his method I have taken as a starting-point his analysis of the tenth Olympian ode, composed for Hagesidamus of Epizephyrian Locris for his victory in the boys' boxing. The summa et dispositio of this ode is a representative example, with seven main parts - the exordium, propositio, confirmatio, digressio, regressio, and epilogus.

> The exordium in Olympian 10 is threefold, consisting of a confession of the poet's forgetfulness, an invocation to the Muses and to Alatheia, and a promise to redeem the debt, illustrated with a simile.

Most of the technical terms used by Schmid are based on sound classical authority, though with generations of rhetorical teaching some usages have become entrenched and others have undergone some modification in sense. Exordium is defined in the Rhetoric ad Herennium as 'principium orationis, per quod animum auditoris constituitur ad audiendum.'[1] It is used by Cicero and with reservations by Quintilian, who prefers προοίμιον as used by the Greeks, or its Latinised form prooemium:[2]

1 Auct.ad.Her.i.4.

2 Quint.Inst. iv. 1.1-2. As Quintilian here points out, this term has been borrowed by rhetoricians from musical terminology.

Schmid occasionally uses this as an alternative though exordium is much more common. In his analyses the exordium very frequently consists wholly or partly, as here, of an invocation; otherwise it may introduce the ode with a simile (e.g. Olympians 6 and 7), or it may state a thesis of its own (e.g. the supremacy of the Olympian games in Olympian 1, the power of music in Pythian 1). In Pythian 3 the exordium takes the form of a wish. Quite often a separate exordium is dispensed with, and Pindar goes straight into the proposition, as in Olympian 13 and Pythian 9: at the other extreme is the example of Isthmian 8, where in Schmid's analysis both the propositio and the confirmatio are included in the first lines of the exordium, which extends right up to the beginning of the myth.

> The propositio, 'Agesidamus iuvenis est laudandus', is implicit in the exordium.

'Speciatim propositio dicitur, qua proponit auctor, quae sit probaturus'.[1] The term is used by Cicero and Quintilian: the equivalent Aristotelian term is πρόθεσις, never used by Schmid. The proposition in Schmid's analyses is usually implicit, in some phrase on which his almost invariable note reads 'In his concipienda est Propositio, ——— victor est laudandus.' It is quite explicit however in Olympian 2 and in a few other cases. In Olympian 9 the proposition is a double one (αἰνήσαις ἔ καὶ ὅτον) followed by two separate confirmationes: in the exceptional cases of Pythians 3 and 4 it is triple.

1 J.C.G. Ernesti, Lexicon Technologiae Latinorum Rhetoricae, Leipzig, 1797, p. 310.

The confirmatio has six arguments in support of this propositio. Hagesidamus is to be praised: 1. for his patria which is commended for Justice, for the cult of Calliope and of Mars. Before proceeding to the rest of the arguments Pindar adds an objectionis dilutionem or προκατάληψιν, answering the charge against Hagesidamus for his initial retreat with the exemplum of Heracles and Cycnus.

2. for his trainer Hylas - illustrated with the exemplum of Patroclus and Achilles.

3. for his keen opponents whose valor whetted his own

4. for the divine help accorded to him

5. for his effort

6. because of the pre-eminence of the Olympian games.

Of these points the last four, especially the third, fourth, and fifth, are expressed θετικῶς and γνωμικῶς but are understood ὑποθετικῶς, of Hagesidamus.

The confirmatio is defined by Cicero as the part of an oration 'per quam argumentando nostrae causae fidem et auctoritatem et firmamentum adiungit oratio.'[1] In Pindar's confirmationes the arguments are fairly standard; a victor is praised for his victory, his patria, his family, the help accorded to him by the gods, his natural gifts, his wealth, his hard work, and, in the case of boys, his trainer. More specialised arguments are added to meet the individual requirements of a particular case. Schmid's astute recognition that some of Pindar's generalising maxims are to be interpreted ὑποθετικῶς, finitely, of the victor himself is not an isolated instance but reflects his usual practice: similarly he notes on Isthmian 3 on the arguments he finds in the first strophe, 'Atque has septem rationes, partim conditionaliter, partim γνωμικῶς ponit Poëta, adeo, ut in textu consideratae, semper Majores Syllogismorum constituant, ad quas Minores concipi oportet ...'[2] There is, in fact, a precedent for this, although in a much more obvious context, in the scholia on the seventh Olympian, where ὁ δ' ὄλβιος (10)

1 Cic.de Inv.i.34.

2 Schmid, Isthmia, p. 54.

is to be taken

ἢ τὰ γνωμικῶς· ἢ ἰδίως, ὃν ἂν εὑφημήσω. 1

προκατάληψις, the Greek equivalent of the Latin praemunitio,[2] has more affinity with the other regular section of the contentio, the confutatio, than it has with the confirmatio, and several similar terms appear later in the analysis of this same ode.

> The digressio stems from the sixth argument and deals with the Olympian games, which are described with regard to ten aspects - place, founder, cause, institution, attendant good fortune, long duration, five-yearly celebration, first victors, full moon, and the conviviality of the occasion.

Digressio as the equivalent of the Greek παρέκβασις is found in Cicero and Quintilian, but the synonyms egressio, egressus, are much more common in classical rhetoric: it is only later that digressio becomes the standard term.[3] According to the rhetorical handbooks the main instrument of epideictic oratory is amplificatio (as for judicial oratory it is the enthymema, for deliberative the exemplum). One of the methods of amplification is ἐπεισοδιοῦν or to introduce digressions. Isocrates in the Helene has, according to Voss, because of the sterility of his subject, more παρεργα than ἔργα.[4] Hermagoras (quoted with disapproval by Cicero) thought it fit 'quandam inferri orationem a causa atque a indicatione ipsa remotam':[5] in Schmid's analyses the digression generally stems from some point in the confirmatio, but he makes no attempt to fit it more tightly into the encomiastic scheme, recognising its natural place there without having to resort to comments like

1 Drachmann, O.vii.17b.

2 J.C.G. Ernesti, Lexicon Technologiae Graecorum Rhetoricae, Leipzig, 1795, p.

3 Ernesti, Lex.Gr., p. 248: cf. Richard Volkmann, Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Romer in systematischer Übersicht (1885), repr. Hildesheim, 1963, p. 165

4 Voss, Orat. Inst., p. 34.

5 Cic.de Inv.i.97.

Benedictus's arrepta occasione. Though the digression sometimes carries on until the ode comes to a rather abrupt end (as, for example, Nemean 10), it normally occurs in the middle of the confirmatio and is followed by a return to the matter in hand.

> The regressio or ἐπάνοδος takes Pindar back to the praise of Agesidamus.

Regressio is one of the less well-attested of Schmid's usages. He uses the term, or its equivalent ἐπάνοδος, to indicate the resumption of the main theme after a digression: to Quintilian, however, regressio is a figure of speech 'quod simul proposita iterat et dividit', and for a return to the main subject the classical terms are reditus and parts of redire.[1] Regressio in Schmid means the continuation of the arguments of the confirmatio rather than the transition itself. He recognises the function of such images as the bee flitting from flower to flower in Pythian 10 and the javelins of Olympian 13: 'In encomiis non est diu immorandum in uno argumento, sed subinde ab uno ad aliud transeundum, atque ita grata varietate tota oratio exornanda... Est praeceptum Oratorium.'[2] These to Schmid are a 'praecisio digressionis allegorica' (praecisio being used in something like Schmid's sense in the Rhetoric ad Herennium and listed by Voss as an equivalent to aposiopesis):[3] the epanodus itself consists of the arguments which follow. In Olympian 2 the epanodus begins with a repetition of the proposition lest during the long digression and related confutatio it 'animo excidisse potuerit'.

1 Quint.Inst.ix.3.35 cf. Ernesti, Lex.Lat. p. 327, Volkmann, Rhetorik, p. 470.

2 Schmid, Pythia, p. 366.

3 Schmid, Olympia, p. 321; Auct.ad.Her.iv.41; Voss, Orat.Inst. p. 329.

The confutatio answers the possible objection that the hymn is too late to give pleasure in two ways:
1. with inversio
2. with concessio and ἐπανόρθωσις. Great deeds die with the man, if not celebrated in verse; Hagesidamus, however, will live in these praises even though late.

The confutatio is defined in the Rhetoric ad Herennium as 'contrariorum locorum dissolutio': Thomas Wilson describes it as 'a dissolving or wyping away of all such reasons as make against us.'[1] What Schmid treats as confutationes in Pindar are usually simply continuations of the confirmatio, with a mildly defensive bias. Schmid makes explicit objections at most only hinted at in the text - e.g. I.vii.39f., 'Si in bello occumbere gloriosum est: cur tu Pindare in senectutem usque quietam agis vitam?' Most are concerned with adverse family fortune or with the possibility of envy, although there are others - for example in the fourth Olympian where the objection is 'de canitie et inde coniicienda senectute Psaumidis'. The answer very frequently includes a concessio, as here. Concessio, as defined by Cicero, 'est cum reus non id quod factum est defendit, sed ut ignoscatur, postulat'.[2] Here Schmid uses it of Pindar's admission of the delay and implicit claim that it should be pardoned because of the benefits which will accrue to Hagesidamos. Interchangeably with this term Schmid uses συγχώρησις, for example in the second Olympian where Pindar is said to concede the unfortunate history of Theron's ancestors. The concessio is frequently backed up, as it is here, with an ἐπανόρθωσις; the term has the same meaning as ἐπιδιόρθωσις which occurs in the analysis of the second Olympian, where the misfortunes of the ancestors are redeemed with an 'ἐπιδιορθώσει malorum, quae consistit in oblivione, in meliore fortuna, in virtutum denique studio'. According to Ernesti, both these words have the much

1 Auct.ad.Her.i.4; Wilson, Arte of Rhetorique, p. 7.

2 Cic.de Inv.i.15.

narrower sense of correctio - 'cum supra dictum verbum verbo sequenti corrigitur'.[1] On the seventh Pythian Schmid himself uses the Latin word: the objection concerning Megacles' adverse fortune is met 'acceptando et corrigendo'. These terms can, however, be used in the wider sense of 'excusing an unpleasant statement'. As Volkmann notes, they are opposites of προδιόρθωσις, or the anticipation of an adverse argument: 'Das Gegentheil der προδιόρθωσις ist ... die ἐπιδιόρθωσις, correctio, emendatio, die nachträgliche Verbesserung einer voraufgegangenen Behauptung ...'[2] The Verbesserung in this instance obviously relates to the suggestion that

κενεὰ πνεύσας, ἔπορε μόχθῳ βραχύ τι τερπνόν,

as in the seventh Pythian it relates to the

φθόνον ἀμείβομεναι τὰ καλὰ ἔργα,

and in the second Olympian to the deeds done

ἐν δίκᾳ τε καὶ παρὰ δίκαν.

The argument of the concessio and the ἐπανόρθωσις regularly concerns the vicissitudes of fortune and the common fate of mankind. The first part of the confutatio is the image of the father advanced in years to whom the arrival of a son is the more welcome, described by Schmid as an inversio. Both here, and in the one other occurrence of the figure in Schmid's analyses, on P.i.85, it is tempting to take this, in its context of refutation, as an equivalent of the Greek ἀναστροφή, a 'modus refutandi per simplicem negationem';[3] but inversio in classical rhetoric

1 Ernesti, Lex.Gr. pp. 117, 122.

2 Volkmann, Rhetorik, pp. 495-6.

3 Ernesti, Lex.Gr. p. 21. The Latin equivalents given are intentio and depulsio.

regularly means simply ἀλληγορία, which, according to Quintilian, 'aliud verbis, aliud sensu ostendit'.[1] This sense does, of course, fit both with the image here and, less attractively, with the succession of metaphors following the passage in Pythian 1,: it is, however, perhaps less economical than most of the elements in Schmid's analytic system.[2]

> In the epilogus he firstly concludes a) his praises of Hagesidamus, which have issued from the lyre, the flute, the Muses, and the poet's songs, and b) his praises of the victor's homeland. Secondly he strikes up new praise, partly again from the Olympic victory, partly from the strength and courage of Hagesidamus, and partly from his youth and beauty, the grace of which Pindar illustrates with the exemplum of Ganymede.

In Cicero and Quintilian the regular term for the 'ultima pars orationis' is peroratio (sometimes conclusio): it is only later that the Greek epilogus becomes standard.[3] According to Voss the partes of the epilogus are two, enumeratio and affectus.[4] Sometimes shadowy enumeratio, or résumé of the arguments, (Schmid uses the Greek word ἀνακεφαλαίωσις) can be discerned at the end of an ode: however, the only epilogus which can really be said to conform to Voss's prescription is Pythian 4, with an epilogue clearly intended to movere affectus in support of Pindar's plea for the repatriation of Damophilus. Sometimes Pindar's conclusions can seem to be carefully rounded off, very frequently with a prayer for the continuing prosperity of the victor or of Pindar himself, but often the close of the poem is, at least in Schmid's terms, less tailored than the

1 Ernesti, Lex.Lat. pp. 227-8; Quint.Inst.viii.6.44; cf. Volkmann, Rhetorik, pp. 429-32.

2 Inversio is not used on other occasions where the regular sense would seem to fit, e.g. on N.xi.40 (Schmid, Nemea, pp. 253, 263).

3 Ernesti, Lex.Gr. p. ; cf. Volkmann, Rhetorik, p. 262.

4 Voss, Orat.Inst. p. 180.

beginning, and Schmid does tend to group together under the heading epilogus everything that comes after the end of the confirmatio. Quite often the ode does break off here or at the end of the digression, but generally there is some otherwise unclassifiable material to finish.

Nearly all of the odes lend themselves well to Schmid's method, and his treatment of exceptional cases, such as Nemean 11 with a subject entirely unconnected with athletic victories, or Pythian 3 with its triple proposition, demonstrates the flexibility of his approach within a rather rigorous system. The one exception is, perhaps, Pythian 4, which presents a quite different problem. Schmid does separate three propositions - the praise of Arcesilaus, the story of the journey of the Argonauts, and the restoration of Damophilus; and his treatment of the first and third of these, with the analysis of the points of their confirmationes, is as confident as in most of the others. His analysis of the main narrative is, as one would expect, ingenious, but its most interesting element is the attempt to show its didactic purpose: 'vult enim tacite admonere Arcesilaum...'[1] by reminding him of his destiny, of the need for obedience to oracular sayings, and of the desirability of leading a secure and peaceful life without stirring up faction. Otherwise, the purely formal rhetorical divisions he finds in the long narrative contribute little if anything to an understanding of it.

By the end of the eighteenth century, when the next editions of Pindar began to appear, Schmid's analytic method was being dismissed as a long-antiquated curiosity of classical scholarship. Dissen, for example, granted that Schmid's commentary was a full and learned one, but continued:

1 Schmid, Pythia, p. 134.

> in eo erravit maxime, quod pro temporum illorum iudicio ad logicas et rhetoricas divisiones frigidissimas omnem in his carminibus tractationem et dispositionem rerum revocavit, quasi orationes ante oculos habeamus cum propositionibus, confirmationibus, confutationibus, digressionibus et quae sunt similia. Sane habet etiam poetica ars leges suas, sed alia est rhetorica, alia poesis.[1]

Heyne in the Praefatio to his second edition had been still more emphatic: in his reductions of the odes to a rhetorical scheme Schmid

> 'ab omni diviniore animi vi et impetu prorsus deturbavit ... ut omnino in iis locis, quorum obscuritatem vel difficultatem ut tollas, sensus aliquis poeticae virtutis vel spiritus audacior et ad Pindaricam sublimitatem assurgens requiritur, infelix fere ille esset opera et interpretatione.

It is a commonplace by this time that the fault was less in Schmid himself than in the rhetorical tradition, 'quo morbo illa aetas laborabat'.[2] Sandys classes Schmid as a sixteenth century scholar, 'one of the last ... in the spirit of Melanchthon'.[3] While one need not question that in many ways, and not-least in his preoccupation with the rules and theories of classical rhetoric, Schmid is at the end of a (venerable) line, the foregoing examination of his use of rhetorical terms and concepts should indicate both the acuteness of the analytic powers which he owed to this training and the flexibility of his individual approach within the system. No doubt Schmid's assumption that Pindar could be reduced to a table of carefully-disposed rhetorical parts left him blind tomany of the poetic qualities of the odes, but it should not be supposed that the vague notions of grandeur and irregularity entertained by the best of his contemporaries were in any way closer to achieving such

1 Pindari carmina quae supersunt cum deperditorum fragmentis selectis ex recensione Boeckhii, ed. L. Dissen, Gotha, 1830, p. xciii.

2 Heyne (1798), i, 17, 30.

3 Sandys, History of Classical Scholarship, ii, 272.

an appreciation. In Schmid's hands, in fact, rhetoric is not an end in itself, an artificial phenomenon into which Pindar must be made to fit, but the tool for a kind of literary criticism which, having made a decision about the genre involved, does have the very considerably merit of taking the reader into the details of the text, and establishing their relation to each other and the intention of the whole. The method, a system which was, of course, handed down to Schmid and his contemporaries ready-made and therefore the more immediately acceptable, anticipates much that has had to be painfully recovered in the twentieth century. Schmid would have been amazed to find a scholar claiming as an original approach:

> I have observed and catalogued a host of these conventions and find that they point uniformly, as far as concerns the Epinikion, to one master principle: there is no passage in Pindar and Bakkhulides that is not in its primary intent enkomiastic ... It should be evident that the Epinikion must adhere to those principles that have governed enkomia from Homer to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.[1]

Schmid's analyses are too penetrating to be dismissed simply as the products of a discredited intellectual fashion. It is an achievement in any age to reach such a degree of confidence in the interpretation of a poet as difficult as Pindar, and in these analyses, highlighting the extensive similarities between them in pattern and content, the odes are shown for the first time, and probably more clearly than they have been shown since, as products of a highly-developed encomiastic technique.

1 E.L. Bundy, Studia Pindarica. I: the eleventh Olympian ode, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962, (University of California Publications in Classical Philology xviii), p. 3.

CHAPTER II

COWLEY'S PINDARIQUES AND THEIR BACKGROUND

i. The continental tradition

On the strength of the scholarly tradition inaugurated by Melanchthon and culminating in the important edition of Erasmus Schmid, Wittenberg has been styled 'le berceau du culte de Pindare à l'époque de l'humanisme'.[1] Schmid's edition, however, was to have relatively little influence upon the development of Pindaric appreciation over the subsequent centuries, and certainly neither Schmid nor even Melanchthon inaugurated the humanistic interest in the poet. Chronologically, perhaps the strongest claimant to the title is Cremona, city of origin of the otherwise unknown Rinaldo Persichelli who, it is claimed, before his death in 1370 'a Graecis Poetis, et praecipue a Pindaro carmina in latinos numeros mirum in modum convertit.'[2] Cremona too was the native town of Benedetto Lampridio, a friend of Pietro Bembo, and director of the Collegi dei Greci in Rome about the time of the publication of Callierges' edition of Pindar;[3] and it is Lampridio to whom tradition has assigned the distinction of being the first to compose original Latin odes in the triadic form associated with Pindar. His work - which could have been circulating only in manuscript form at the time,

1 Z. Lempicki, 'Pindare jugé par les gens de lettres du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècle', Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres de Cracovie (1930), p. 30.

2 Francesco Arisi, Cremona literata, 3 vols, Parma, 1702-41, i, 175. Cf. M.E. Cosenza, Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800, 6 vols, Boston, 1962-7, iii, 2679.

3 Cosenza, Dictionary of Italian Humanists, iii, 1903-4.

since it was not published until 1550[1] - was thought to have been known to and approved by Jean Dorat (Auratus). As Gian-Matteo Toscani writes in Peplus Italiae in 1578:

> Cremona Lampridium nostri saeculi miraculum edidit, qui quod Horatius stultae temeritatis esse existimavit tentare, sibi proclive admodum esse declaravit, Pindari imitationem, quem felicissime Latinis est versibus aemulatus: ut Aurato Poetarum regi, et omnibus Graecae linguae peritis videtur.[2]

Underlying this first phase of Pindaric enthusiasm, which centred on the French court in the middle of the sixteenth century, is a unique interaction between the poets and some of the best scholars of France and Italy: the climate for the study and appreciation of Pindar is never again so propitious until this phase is surpassed in interest and fruitfulness by the situation in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century. Dorat himself wrote two Latin Pindarics,[3] but his chief importance in this respect is as the teacher of the Pléiade: under his tutelage Pierre de Ronsard, his most famous pupil, was inspired with an enthusiasm for Pindar which led him to attempt the imitation of him in the vernacular. The attempt was fairly soon abandoned, but while it lasted Ronsard repeatedly declared his belief that Pindar was a formative element in his poetic character: 'la Thebaine Grace' is described as the 'nourrisse de mes ans',[4] and although Ronsard must have been at least twenty when the earliest of his Pindaric odes was composed, he can still write that

> des mon enfance,
> Le premier de France,
> J'ai pindarizé.[5]

1 Benedicti Lampridii Necnon Io. Bap. Amalthei Carmina, Venice, 1550.

2 Toscani, Peplus Italiae, Paris, 1578, p. 56.

3 Delitiae C. Poetarum Gallorum, ed. Ranutius Gherus, Frankfurt, 1609.

4 Ronsard, Odes (1550) iv.4.51-2. The odes of 1550 and 1552 appear in the first three volumes of Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Paul Laumonier, revised and completed by I. Silver and R. Lebègue, 18 vols, Paris, 1914-67. References and quotations are from the second edition of Vols I and II (Paris, 1924), and the first edition of Vol III (Paris, 1921).

5 Odes ii.2.35-7: Laumonier i, 176.

The 'primus ego' topos is of course familiar from Latin poetry,[1] but nevertheless, whatever was the extent of the collaboration between Ronsard and du Bellay, Ronsard's odes, with their triadic form and Pindaric expressions, seem to be without precedent in France.[2] It does, however, seem likely that he was to some extent influenced, as regards form rather than content, by the eight triadic hymni included in the works of Luigi Alamanni, an Italian poet who resided at the French court for seventeen years, from 1530 to 1547.[3]

Of the fifteen Odes Pindariques which appear in the later collections of Ronsard's works (and of which all but those placed first and tenth in the final arrangement had been included in the 1550 volume),[4] only one is monostrophic: the title of this short ode, 'Usure', makes clear the connection with Pindar's eleventh Olympian, the τόκος for the long-standing debt.[5] In the other odes Ronsard abides strictly by Pindar's triadic form, and that it was considered one of the essential elements of Pindaric imitation is made clear by the recurrent references to it in the text:

> Affin qu'en pillant je faconne
> D'une laborieuse main
> La rondeur de ceste couronne
> Trois fois torce d'un ply Thebain . . .[6]

1 Cf. Propertius, Carm. iii.1.3f.; Virgil, Georg. iii.10; Horace, Odes iii. 30.13.

2 See Isidore Silver, 'Ronsard and du Bellay on their Pindaric collaboration' Romanic Review xxxiii (1942), 3-25.

3 Luigi Alamanni, Opere Toscane, Lyons, 1532. See Cosenza, Dictionary of Italian Humanists, i, 76-8. Pierre de Nolhac thinks it unlikely that Ronsard's odes owe any stylistic or metrical details to Alamanni, but suggests that 'l'idée flottait donc dans l'air' (Ronsard et l'humanisme, Paris, 1921, p. 47).

4 Les quatres premiers livres des Odes de Pierre de Ronsard, vendomois, ensemble son Bocage, Paris, 1550.

5 Odes 1.7: Laumonier i, 99.

6 Odes v.8.5-8: Laumonier iii, 119.

The odes published in the 1550 volume vary in length from a single triad to five: the ode to the king with which later collections open (and which had been published separately, also in 1550, in still longer form) contains eight triads,[1] and that later placed tenth, the ode to Michel de l'Hospital (first published in 1552), has no less than twenty-four triads,[2] obviously in emulation of the scale of the fourth Pythian. The odes are all encomiastic, proceeding in the official arrangement from poems in honour of the king and members of the royal family through the aristocracy to poems in praise of Ronsard's fellow writers. Only a few of the odes have the same kind of immediacy of occasion as the athletic victories of the Greeks, for example the ode to Henry II on the peace signed with England in 1550, the ode on the victory at Cerizoles, and the ode to Guy de Chabot on his victory in a duel: the others are more general tributes.

Ronsard's odes evince a very close acquaintance with the text of Pindar, or at least with a translation.[3] The expression used in the (unpindaric) 'Ode à sa Lyre' to describe his debt indicates the initial fervour of Ronsard's discovery of the two great classical lyric poets, Pindar and Horace:

1 Laumonier iii, 3-35.

2 Laumonier iii, 118-163. Cf. also Lampridio's ode 'In Petri Melini villam, ubi ille Poetas, de more familiae, exceperat' (Lampridii Carmina, pp. 38 ff.), which contains nineteen triads.

3 The subject of Ronsard's imitation of Pindar has been well covered since E. Gandar's Ronsard considéré comme imitateur d'Homère et de Pindare, Metz, 1854. The main works are Laumonier's Ronsard, Poète Lyrique, Paris, 1909, esp. pp. 296-426; Pierre de Nolhac, Ronsard et l'humanisme; and I. Silver, The Pindaric Odes of Ronsard, Paris, 1937. Laumonier's critical edition of Ronsard gives many Pindaric parallels, supplemented by Silver in The Pindaric Odes.

> Je pillai Thebe', et saccagai la Pouille,
> T'enrichissant de leur belle depouille.[1]

The metaphor is both forceful, and accurate in that the odes consist very largely of straight borrowings, fragments of near translation transplanted from the original context to the new. Ronsard reproduces most of the externalities of Pindaric technique - the gnomai, the abrupt transitional formulae, the images of poetry, such as that of the 'carquois de fleches' which 'ne font bruire leurs vois/ Que pour les doctes oreilles'.[2] Not only Pindar's poetic character but also his supposed private traits are imitated in the frequent first-person references. Ronsard's quarrel with another court-poet, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, leads him, for example, to identify with Pindar as the victim of jealous (and inferior) rivalry, his enemies

> semblables aux corbeaus
> Lesquels desous l'ombre quaquetent
> Contre deus aigles . . .[3]

In a singularly unfortunate contaminatio of two Pindaric passages Ronsard gives a fair imitation of the φιλοχρηματία which was in the sixteenth century one of the most universally noted aspects of Pindar himself. The result is perhaps more reminiscent of Martial than of Pindar:

> Prince, je t'envoie cette Ode,
> Trafiquant mes vers à la mode
> Que le marchant baille son bien,
> Troque pour troq' : toi qui es riche,
> Toi roi de biens, ne soi point chiche
> De changer ton present au mien.
> Ne te lasse point de donner,
> Et tu verras comme j'acorde
> L'honneur que je promai sonner
> Quand un present dore ma corde.[4]

1 Odes i.20.31-2: Laumonier i, 164.

2 Odes i.3.13-16: Laumonier i, 73. Cf. Pindar, O.ii.83-5.

3 Odes i.9.54-6: Laumonier i,111. Cf. Pindar, O.ii.87-8.

4 'Ode de la Paix', 469-78: Laumonier iii, 33-4. Cf. Pindar, P.ii.67-8 and P.i.90. As Laumonier comments 'Pindare est plus discret'.

In these passages of more or less direct borrowing, Ronsard's rendering, though very close, is hardly faithful enough to make it possible to deduce whether he knew Pindar from his own reading of the Greek or from Dorat's exposition in Latin or French. At least one inaccuracy of translation appears to derive from the Greek text: at O.xiii.86 the punctuation (not omitted in any of the editions available to Ronsard) is ignored, so that ἵππον πτερόεντ' ἀναβάς .. becomes, in Ronsard's version of the Bellerophon myth, 'Monté sur le dos volant'.[1] In most such passages, Ronsard, though selective of detail, also makes his own additions. In the same myth, for example, he omits the mention of the episodes with the Amazons and the Solymi to concentrate on the Chimaera 'à trois formes', with 'ses testes difformes'. Pindar's only epithet for the Chimaera is πῦρ πνέουσαν: Ronsard's description is Hesiodic in origin.[2] Such additional details probably come largely from Ronsard's own fund of learning and from his imagination, but, although few are traceable to the ancient scholia, there are one or two indications, for example Ronsard's very precise understanding of χειμέριον ὄμβρον at P.v.1ff.[3] that use may have been made of the scholia, which were available in the Roman and the Brubacchian editions, probably by Dorat in his teaching.[4]

1 Odes i.6.75: Laumonier i, 94.

2 Odes i.6.80-2: Laumonier i, 95. Cf. Hesiod, Th.319-24.

3 The phrase, explained by the scholiasts as having a specific political reference to the recent troubles in Cyrene, is applied by Ronsard, at the beginning of the 'Ode de la Paix', to the conclusion of the war with England: Laumonier iii, 4; Silver, Pindaric Odes, pp. 82-5. For other possible examples of the scholiast's influence, see Silver, pp. 35, 50

4 No attempt has yet been made to establish which edition of Pindar was used by Ronsard, or Dorat, but the choice is limited. When Ronsard started to write his Pindaric odes only the Aldine, Roman, Cratandrian and Brubacchian editions were available, except for Morel's edition of the Olympians and Pythians. Since Ronsard shows knowledge of all four books, it seems most likely that the edition used was one of those containing the scholia.

Ronsard's Pindaric attempts were soon abandoned, and despite a regular flow of imitations in the following decades, their popularity was short-lived. By the end of the next century Boileau uses Ronsard as a chief example of the ephemerality of an undeserved contemporary reputation.[1] When Ronsard's own associate, du Bellay, rejects the Pindaric mode, the aspects which are to him unacceptable are very largely those which characterise Ronsard's imitation of Pindar, especially the antiquarianism of the mythological references, and the deliberate obscurity:

> Si je voulois suyvre Pindare,
> Qui en mille discours s'egare
> Devant que venir à son poinct,
> Obscur je brouillerois ceste Ode
> De cent propos: mais telle mode
> De louange ne me plaict point.
>
> Il me plaict de chanter la gloire
> D'un vers lequel se face croire
> Par sa seule simplicité:
> Sans me distiller la cervelle
> Nuict et jour, pour rendre nouvelle
> Je ne sçay quelle antiquité.
>
> Tirant d'une longue fable
> Un loz qui n'est veritable,
> Pour farder l'honneur de ceux
> Qui peincts de telles louanges,
> Comme de plumes estranges,
> N'ont rien de louable en eux.[2]

The most telling charge against Ronsard's Pindarics has always been that of pedantry; and a concentration upon the passages which have a recognisable

1 'Nous en avons un bel exemple dans Ronsard et dans ses imitateurs, comme Du Bellay, Du Bartas, Desportes, qui dans le siècle précédent ont été l'admiration de tout le monde, et qui aujourd'hui ne trouvent pas même de lecteurs.' Réflexions critiques sur quelques passages du rhéteur Longin, in Oeuvres, 3 vols, Paris, 1832, ii, 260.

2 Joachim du Bellay, 'Ode au Prince de Melphe' (c. 1555), Oeuvres Poétiques, ed. H. Chamard, 6 vols, Paris, 1908-31, v, 350-1.

origin in Pindar's work underlines the suggestion of academic pastiche. Ronsard's sources are, however, very diverse, and an examination of the parallels supplied by Laumonier to, for example, the long ode to Michel de l'Hospital, reveals a wealth of classical learning being brought together to form an original myth.[1] Throughout the odes, although Pindar is the main source, he is not the only one, and they range in their eclecticism from Homer to Ariosto.

Despite the often excessive verbalism of Ronsard's Pindaric imitation, he does also hold a vision of Pindar which goes beyond the externalities of technique. It is strange, in view of the seventeenth century rejection of Ronsard's erudite obscurities and over-literal classicism, to find him, in the Preface which accompanied the odes in 1550 but was suppressed in all later editions, apparently anticipating that view of lyric poetry expressed by Boileau in the phrase 'beau désordre'. Ronsard might well be regarded as an originator of the idea of Pindaric imitation as a licence for breaking the rules when he writes that:

> tu pourras (si les Muses me favorisent comme j'espère)
> contempler de plus prés les saintes conceptions
> de Pindare, et ses admirables inconstances ...[2]

This probably primarily reflects the influence of Horace's judgment on Pindar as in many ways lawless and intractable, but a far more composite tradition is involved in the opening of the third of the Pindaric odes, addressed to the queen. The lines suggest a surrender to the forces of inspiration for which there is no parallel in Pindar:

1 Laumonier iii, 118-63.

2 Laumonier i, 43.

Je suis troublé de fureur,
Le poil me dresse d'horreur,
D'un ardeur mon ame est pleine;
Mon estomac est pantois
Et par son canal ma vois
Peut se degorger à peine;
Une deité m'emmeine:
Fuiez peuple, qu'on me laisse,
Voici venir la déesse;
Je la sen entrer en moi:
Heureus celui qu'elle garde,
Et celui qui la regarde
Dans son temple où je la voi.[1]

The closest parallel for this opening is probably Horace's 'Quo me, Bacche, rapis' (Odes 3.25),[2] and it contrasts so markedly with the general tenor of Ronsard's Pindarics that it would be misleading to place very much weight on it as a foreshadowing of the later Pindaric abandon. The mistake about Pindar's poetic fury was one shared with Ronsard by nearly all imitators of Pindar over the next two centuries, but, against the wideranging misinterpretation of the nature of his poetry which was later to take hold, such a passage in Ronsard stands out as a conscious importation. It is, however, interesting to see how readily even Ronsard associates Pindar with irregularity and dithyrambic fervour: it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that even to this undoubtedly learned circle the Pindar who emerges from a retrospective glance through Horace carries conviction as well as the figure of the professional writer of victory odes. On the whole, however, to Ronsard and his circle Pindar was very firmly located in the province of encomiastic poetry as a sub-species of epideictic oratory: as Ronsard also declared in the 1550 Preface, 'Pindare faisoit chanter les hinnes écris à la louange des

1 Odes i.3.1ff.: Laumonier i, 65-6.

2 Laumonier (ad loc.) cites Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo; Virgil, Aen. vi.45-50: cf. also Ronsard, Poete Lyrique, pp. 339-42.

vainqueurs ...'[1] Du Bellay, ostensibly rejecting Pindaricism in the ode to the Prince de Melphe, really emphasises the encomiastic purpose which they both have in common with his repeated use of phrases like 'telle mode de louange', 'il me plait de chanter ta gloire', and 'pour farder l'honneur'.[2] At this stage of his fortuna Pindar was conscientiously enough viewed in the context of his intentions, if not of his times, to produce in his imitators rather the kind of pedantry which often shows through in Ronsard than the indiscipline and excesses of his seventeenth and eighteenth century followers.

ii. From Soowthern to Jonson

For eighty years at least, despite their detractors, Ronsard's odes appear to have enjoyed a considerable vogue in France, reinforced by successive reprints of the Oeuvres, and resulting in a more or less unbroken stream of imitations of the Ronsardian Pindaric.[3] Had they become really popular in England the history of the Pindaric might have followed a different course: but although Ben Jonson was to declare that 'the best pieces of Ronsard were his odes',[4] his approval is not borne out by English poetic practice. Only two English Pindaric odes appeared during the sixteenth century and these are worthy of mention only from a historical point of view, being recognised at the time as

1 Laumonier i, 46. See A.L. Gordon, Ronsard et la Rhétorique, Geneva, 1970, pp. 55f.

2 See I. Silver, 'Did du Bellay know Pindar?', PMLA lvi (1941), 1007-19, where the parallels from the fifth Pythian all derive from the primary eulogistic function.

3 See Hugues Vaganay, Les Odes Pindariques après Ronsard, Maçon, 1923.

4 Jonson, 'Conversations with Drummond', works, ed. C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson, 11 vols, Oxford, 1925-52, i, 134.

merely inept translations from the French poet. In a collection of sonnets and elegies by John Soowthern, published in 1584,[1] there appeared two odes arranged in triads whose component parts were labelled strophe, antistrophe, and epode, but with apparently no recognition of the metrical responsion which the names imply. Soowthern's poems have been fairly thoroughly dealt with, and there can be little to add to the general condemnation.[2] The first of his many critics is George Puttenham in the section of The Arte of English Poesie dealing with 'Soraismus, or the mingle-mangle':

> Another of reasonable good facilitie in translation finding certain of the hymnes of Pyndarus and of Anacreons odes, and other Lirickes among the Greekes very well translated by Rounsard the French poet, & applied to the honour of a great Prince in France, comes our minion and translates the same out of French into English, and applieth them to the honour of a great noble man in England (wherein I commend his reverent mind and duetie) but doth so impudently robbe the French poet both of his prayse & also of his French termes, that I cannot so much pity him as be angry with him for his injurious dealing.[3]

As Soowthern's poems nowadays seem little better than doggerel it is interesting that he does seem to have passed at least muster - 'of reasonable good facilitie' - with his contemporaries. About thirty years later Drayton pays him a surprising, if somewhat guarded, tribute:

> Southerne, I long thee spare,
> Yet wish thee well to fare,
> Who me pleased'st greatly
> As first, therefore more rare,
> Handling thy Harpe neatly.[4]

1 John Soowthern, Pandora: or the Musyque of the Beautie of his Mistresse Diana, London, 1584: reprinted by the Facsimile Text Society, no. 43, New York, 1938.

2 See, for example, Robert Shafer, The English Ode to 1660, reprinted New York, 1966, pp. 44-50.

3 Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie (1589), ed. G.D. Willcock and A. Walker, Cambridge, 1936, pp. 252-3.

4 Michael Drayton, 'To Himself and his Harpe', Works, ed. J.W. Hebel, 5 vols, Oxford, 1961, ii, 349.

Soowthern's first ode, the first poem in the volume, is dedicated to the Earl of Oxford, and consists of three triads in which each stanza is self-contained in both syntax and sense. An analysis of the content reveals Soowthern's inability to do more than hedge around his task with Pindaric, or Ronsardian, preliminaries. The first triad deals with the power of the 'well-singing Muses' to confer immortality on the great through the medium of a chosen few - for they do not bestow their 'Divine furie' on 'everie doting troupe that comes'. The whole of the second triad is taken up with a long-drawn out and repetitive propositio of the poet's intention to 'fredone in thy honour/ These renowned songs of PINDAR' - 'for I will shewt...', 'I will (Deuere) push thy louanges ...' The third strophe announces that the poet feels himself hardly equal to the task and realises that his song will never be 'coniont'

> If I will thus like Pindar
> In many discourses Egar.

The poem closes with the promise of future and greater celebrations. The second ode, 'To Diana', which occurs near the end of the book, consists of one triad only and is a love poem rather than an encomium. From the 'garden Thebein' Soowthern has culled his opening image of poetry, 'the little Melisset' taking the best of the 'fayrest blomes'; otherwise the poem is devoted to the theme of the transience of beauty uncelebrated in verse and to Soowthern's own poetic gifts. The poems are of interest chiefly in establishing that, apart from the triadic structure which he only imperfectly grasped, the characteristics of the Ronsardian Pindaric which filtered through to Soowthern and to those who depended upon him for their knowledge of 'Pindar's string' were very largely rhetorical. Despite Soowthern's claim to have been touched with the 'divine furie' of the Muses, his two odes, with their themes of immortality conferred by verse, and

consequent self-vaunting, their insistently digressive nature, and their repeated affirmations of the debt to the Theban harp, are perhaps most sympathetically viewed as specimens of encomiastic oratory devoid of poetic substance.

The same emphasis on Pindaric imitation as the adoption of a particular, perhaps professional, rhetorical level appears about two years earlier in some lines from Sidney's Astrophil and Stella, but with the significant addition of a suggestion, nowhere hinted at by Soowthern, that Pindar himself stands apart:

> Let daintie wits crie on the Sisters nine
> That bravely maskt, their fancies may be told:
> Or Pindare's Apes, flaunt they in phrases fine,
> Enam'ling with pied flowers their thoughts of gold ...[1]

Despite the fact that there were no English Pindarics before 1584, and none after Soowthern until the second decade of the seventeenth century, Sidney's lines are sufficient evidence that Pindar, and more particularly the Pindaric style as a literary vogue, already loomed fairly large in the literary consciousness of the time. Pindar himself is also, to Sidney, at least partially a rhetorician. It is in the very nature of the argument in which Sidney was involved with the Puritan pamphleteers in his Apology for Poetry that he should be committed to the idea of the Pindaric style as an embellishment, an art of persuasion. Of the 'Liricke' in general he declares that

> as the unimitable Pindar often did, so is that kinde most capable and most fit to awake the thoughts from the sleep of idlenes, to imbrace honorable enterprises.[2]

1 Sidney, Poems, ed. M.A. Ringler, Oxford, 1962, p. 166.

2 Sidney, 'An Apology for Poetry' (c.1583); Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. C. Gregory Smith, 2 vols, Oxford, 1904, i, 179.

The beneficial influence of Pindar and Simonides on Hiero - 'of a Tirant they made him a just king' - is compared with Plato's utter lack of success with Dionysius;[1] and in a more direct appreciation of Pindar, who here stands as the sole representative of lyric poetry, Sidney emphasises the power of the lyre to charm men into bravery.

> I never heard the olde song of the Percy and Duglas that I found not my heart mooued more then with a Trumpet; and yet is it sung but by some blinde Crouder, with no rougher voice then rude stile; which being so euill apparralled in the dust and cobwebbes of that uncivill age, what would it worke trymmed in the gorgeous eloquence of Pindar?[2]

It is, of course, important to discriminate between this kind of awareness of Pindar as a symbol of a certain kind of poetry, or of certain elements common to all poetry, and a first, or even second-hand knowledge of his odes. Of this more immediate knowledge there is virtually no literary evidence earlier than Ben Jonson. Ascham in The Scholemaster mentions Pindar several times in connection with Horace as a model for study and imitatio, but never elaborates upon this.[3] When Sidney finds it necessary to defend Pindar, or rather Pindar's literary genre, against the charge of triviality of subject-matter, he demonstrates at least a degree of historical awareness:

> And where a man may say that Pindar many times prayseth highly victories of small moment, matters rather of sport than of virtue; as it may be answered, it was the fault of the Poet, and not of the Poetry; so indeede the chief fault was in the tyme and custome of the Greekes, who set these toyes at so high a price ...[4]

1 ibid., i, 190.

2 ibid., i, 178.

3 Elizabethan Critical Essays, i, 8, 20.

4 Sidney, 'An Apology for Poetry', Elizabethan Critical Essays, i, 178-9.

Such awareness was not, however, universal; and one may suppose that William Webbe was not alone in his uncertainty when, in a résumé of the history of poetry, he writes:

> In thys place I thinke were most convenient to rehearse that auncient poet Pyndarus; but of the certaine time wherein he flourished I am not very certaine; but of the place where he continued moste, it should seem to be the Citty of Thebes, by Plinie, who reporteth ...[1]

It should be noted that chronologically the place chosen by Webbe for his 'rehearsal' comes after Tyrtaeus and before Homer. Some confusion is also apparent in the more detailed information provided by Puttenham in The Arte of English Poesie when, talking about the 'exameter' as the poetic medium for gravity and stateliness, he notes that it is intermingled with shorter measures only

> in matters of such qualitie as became best to be song with voyce and to some musicall instrument, as were with the Greeks all your Hymns and Encomia of Pindarus and Callimachus, not very histories, but a manner of historicall reports, in which cases they made those poems in variable measures, and coupled a short verse with a long to serve that purpose the better.[2]

Though Shafer is over-meticulous, in view of the looseness of poetical terminology both in the sixteenth century and in Pindar's own day, in stating that 'no hymns or encomia of Pindar are extant',[3] it is true that Pindar and Callimachus hardly bear enough similarity to each other to be thus coupled, and moreover that the extant hymns of Callimachus are, with one

1 'A Discourse of English Poetrie', (1586), Elizabethan Critical Essays, i, 234.

2 The Arte of English Poesie, p. 42.

3 The English Ode, p. 75.

exception, written in hexameters. The vagueness of the description 'not very histories, but a manner of historicall reports' also suggests something less than a first-hand knowledge of the works of either. Despite its inaccuracies, however, this passage remains the nearest approach to literary criticism of Pindar in the sixteenth century, and certainly almost the only critical comment which can be proved to be independent of a Latin source.

The sources for the awareness of Pindar shown by the writers of the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century are manifold, chief of them, of course, being Horace and Quintilian, responsible respectively for all references to Pindar as 'inimitable' and 'the prince of lyric poets'. For the elaborate and meaningless rapture of some appreciations of the poet it would be pedantic to attempt to trace a source:

> O stately Homer, and lofty Pindarus, whose witt mounteth like Pegasus, whose verse streameth like Nilus, whose Invention flameth like Aetna, whose Elocution rageth like Sirius, whose passion blustereth like Boreas, whose reason breatheth like Zephirus, whose nature savoreth like Tempe, and whose Art perfumeth like Paradise ...[1]

Most of the references, however, revolve around the same easily identifiable traditions, generally preserved in a handbook such as the popular dialogues on Greek and Roman poetry produced in 1545 by Lilius Gyraldus.[2] Milton, for example, in the lines from the sonnet 'Captain, or Colonel, or Knight in Arms',

> Lift not thy spear against the Muses Bowre,
> The great Emathian Conqueror bid spare
> The house of Pindarus, when Temple and Towre
> Went to the ground ...[3]

1 Gabriel Harvey, 'Against Thomas Nash', Elizabethan Critical Essays, ii, 278.

2 Historiae poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum dialogi decem, Basle, 1545.

3 John Milton, Poetical Works, ed. Helen Darbishire, 2 vols, Oxford, 1952-5, ii, 150.

is using a topos already well established. The story of how the sight of Pindar's dwelling stirred the better feelings of Alexander as he ravaged Thebes was well known from several classical sources - Plutarch, Pliny, Arrian, Aelian - as well as from Gyraldus, and appeared in 1563 in Lawrence Humphrey's The Nobles or of Nobility,[1] in William Webbe's Discourse of English Poetrie,[2] and in Sir Walter Ralegh's Historie of the World.[3] When Donne, in 'A Valediction: of the Booke', speaks of 'her who from Pindar could allure',[4] Aelian is again the ultimate source for the Corinna legend, in this case probably filtered through Francois de Billon's compendium of such tales, Le fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe feminin.[5] Quotations from Pindar provide no more substantial evidence of knowledge of the text: when Chapman's Bussy d'Ambois speaks of man as

> a torch borne in the wind; a dream
> But of a shadow ...[6]

the Pindaric source would have been found quoted in illustration of the adage 'Homo bulla' by Erasmus, who probably had it from Plutarch.[7]

1 London, 1563.

2 Elizabethan Critical Essays, i, 234.

3 Sir Walter Ralegh, The Historie of the World, London, 1614, Pt. II, iv, 141.

4 John Donne, The Elegies and The Songs and Sonnets, ed. H. Gardner, Oxford, 1965, p. 67.

5 Aelian, Var Hist. xiii.25: de Billon, Le fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe feminin, Paris, 1555, p. 30.

6 George Chapman, Bussy d'Ambois I.i.18-19 (cf. V.iii.131-4)
Cf. Pindar, P.viii.95.

7 Erasmus, Adagia, II.iii.48: Plutarch, Moralia, 104 B.

Erasmus no doubt, however, indirectly, also accounts for a more celebrated echo of the phrase, a parallel first pointed out by Johnson:

> Guildenstern: ... the very substance of the ambitious
> is merely the shadow of a dream.[1]

The conclusion to be drawn from these examples must be that during this period Pindar was well established in England as an example of poetic excellence, but only through secondary sources which provided both a few details, in the form of anecdotes and excerpts, and the authority for an almost unbounded adulation. In 1606 Drayton, claiming to revive 'th'old Lyrick kind', traces its progress in a catalogue of poet-musicians which sets Pindar in a much wider context than before, grouping him not only with David, Orpheus, and Horace but also with a strong native British tradition:

> The Druydes imbrew'd
> With Gore, on Altars rude
> With Sacrifices crown'd,
> In Hollow Woods bedew'd
> Ador'd the Trembling sound.[2]

In this tradition a place is found also for 'the Irish', Soowthern, and one of Drayton's favourite models, Skelton. In the prefatory note 'To the Reader' Drayton differentiates between the three types of classical ode:

> Some transcendently loftie, and farre more high than the Epick (commonly called the Heroique Poeme) witnesse those of the inimitable Pindarus consecrated to the glorie and renowne of such as returned in triumph from Olympus, Elis, Isthmus, or the like: Others, among the

1 Shakespeare, Hamlet, II,ii.261-2. Cf. Samuel Johnson, Johnson on Shakespeare, ed. Arthur Sherbo, Works, Yale edition, viii, New Haven, 1968, p. 975.

2 Drayton, 'To Himselfe, and the Harpe', Works, ii, 348.

> Greekes, are amorous, soft, and made for Chambers, as others for Theaters; as were Anacreon's, the very Delicacies of the Grecian Erato ... Of a mixed kind were Horace's ...[1]

The Olympus-Elis confusion, and the omission of the Pythians and Nemeans from the list of Pindar's epinicia, establish Horace as Drayton's only source of information about Pindar for this passage,[2] and Drayton's rejection of Pindaric imitation, also recognisably Horatian, must therefore be seen as the convention it is: his odes are

> little partaking of the high Dialect of the first,
> Though we be all to seeke
> Of Pindar, that great Greeke ...[3]

Most of the more detailed references to Pindar which appear throughout the works of Ben Jonson can similarly be traced to a secondary source. The anachronistic reference in Discoveries to 'Pindar's celebration of Epaminondas' hardly demands consideration in this context.[4] In the early 'Ode. Allegorike', written to Jonson's school friend Hugh Holland, Phoebus shows the black swan

> The cleare Dircaean Fount
> Where Pindar swamme ...,[5]

and in the masque News from the New World he is still in familiar guise:

> Your Man's Poet may break out strong and deep i'th'mouth, as he Horace said of Pindar, Monte decurrens velut amnis ...[6]

1 ibid., ii, 345.

2 cf. Horace, Odes i. 1. 3, i. 12. 58, iv. 2. 17, iv. 3. 3. There is one reference to the Pythian Games, Ars Poetica, 414.

3 Drayton, Works, ii, 345.

4 Ben Jonson, Discoveries (1640-1), Works, viii, 574. See editors' note, (Works, xi, 224) for the source of the error.

5 Works, viii, 366: cf. Horace, Odes iv.2. Horace's description of Pindar probably also lies behind Jonson's famous address to Shakespeare as 'Sweet Swan of Avon' ('To the Memory of my Beloved, the Author, Mr. William Shakespeare: and what he hath left us', Works, viii, 392.)

6 Works, vii, 518.

The garbled reference on Telia, in the much earlier masque Hymenaei, to 'the Greek Scholiaste on Pind.Nem. in Hym. ad Thyaeum Vliae filium Argi'[1] [sic] has been traced to its source in Gyraldus's treatise on the gods.[2] Virgil in The Poetaster includes Pindar in his 'strict and holsome dyet' of reading:

> Use to reade
> (But not without a tutor), the best Greekes:
> As Orpheus, Musaeus, Pindarus,
> Hesiod, Callimachus, and Theocrite,
> High Homer, but beware of Lycophron:
> He is too darke, and dangerous a dish . . .[3]

In 1619 Jonson recommended the reading of Pindar 'for delight' to William Drummond,[4] but on the evidence of incidental references shows only an increased general scholarship over his predecessors and contemporaries, and no more acquaintance with the Greek original.

Jonson's real importance in the development of the cult of Pindar lies in the fact that, discounting Soowthern, he was to write the first English Pindaric ode, and that this ode was, moreover, in the strictly classical form which was not again to be attempted until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Contemporaries made extravagant identifications: R. Brideoake, for example, declared in a tribute after Jonson's death,

> That twenty ages after, man shall say
> (If the Worlds story reach so long a day,)
> Pindar and Plautus with their double Quire,
> Have well translated Ben the English Lyre.[5]

1 Jonson, Works, vii, 220n. The reference is to the scholiast on N.x.18 (Drachmann N.x.31).

2 De Deis Gentium varia et multiplex Historia, Basle, 1548, pp. 161-2: see D.J. Gordon, 'Hymenaei: Ben Jonson's Masque of Union', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes viii (1945), 144.

3 The Poetaster V.iii.543 ff.

4 Works, i, 136.

5 In Jonsonus Virbius (1638): Jonson, Works, xi, 467.

Jonson first aligns himself with Pindar very early in his poetic career, in the ode 'To James, Earle of Desmond' which, though first published in The Under-Wood in 1640, must have been written about the time of Desmond's restoration to earldom in 1600.[1] Jonson does not claim in the Desmond ode to be imitating Pindar in any detail, although the poem does show several of the characteristics which might be expected from such an undertaking: one might note, for example, the compressed, almost contorted, syntax of ll. 24-6, the consciously obscure mythical allusion to the Cyclopes Brontes, Steropes and Pyracmon (from Virgil, not from Pindar), and the interspersal of gnomic phrases such as 'Palme grows straight, though handled ne're so rude'. In such ways Jonson does at least reflect the influence of the Pindaric ideal, and possibly a degree of conscious imitation. Generally, however, there is not much of Pindar in the poem, and upon examination surprisingly little even in the opening stanza where the allegiance is made explicit:

> Where art thou, Genius? I should use
> Thy present Aide: Arise Invention,
> Wake, and put on the wings of Pindars Muse,
> To towre with my intention
> High, as his mind, that doth advance
> Her upright head, above the reach of Chance,
> Or the times envie:
> Cynthius, I applie
> My bolder numbers to thy golden Lyre:
> O, then inspire
> Thy Priest in this strange rapture; heat my braine
> With Delphick fire:
> That I may sing my thoughts, in some unvulgar straine.[2]

The eighth and ninth lines immediately recall the opening of Pindar's first Pythian, but 'Cynthius' is not a Pindaric epithet and the 'golden lyre', though one must allow for the possibility of direct influence here, could as well have come from Ronsard, if Jonson read French at the time:

1 Jonson, Works, xi, 62.

2 Works, viii, 176-7.

> Lyre dorée, où Phébus seulement
> Et les neufs Soeurs ont part egalement ...[1]

Several sources, including, of course, Pindar himself, might account for the intention to sing in some 'unvulgar straine'; but 'bolder numbers' is recognisably Horatian, and so, probably, is 'Delphick' fire.[2] These accretions, and the whole dithyrambic tone of this appeal for a divine inspiration - which might be compared with Ronsard's 'Je suis troublé de fureur' - are critical adjuncts produced from a background of generalisation about Pindar and his poetic craft: and it is perhaps only the quality of the writing which marks this passage out from earlier examples where Pindar is simply a vague symbol of a lofty poetic style.

Nearly thirty years after the Desmond ode Jonson wrote the ode 'To the Immortall Memorie, and Friendship of that Noble Paire, Sir Lucius Cary, and Sir H. Morison'. The ode is marked as Pindaric not only by the description 'Ode Pindarick' added to the title in Benson's quarto and duodecimo editions of 1640, and in the Edinburgh manuscript,[3] but also by its triadic structure and the use of the terms 'The Turne', 'The Counter-turne' and The Stand' to describe the stanzas. The ode has inspired widely varying reactions among its readers, from the idolatrous Gifford's 'the very soul of Pindar'[4] to Swinburne's 'eccentrically execrable'[5]; and several critics since Gifford have ventured into

1 Ronsard, Odes i.22.1 f: Cf. Pindar, P.i.1.

2 Cf. Horace, Odes iv. 2. 10; Odes iii. 30. 15.

3 See apparatus, Works, viii, 242.

4 Jonson, Works, ed. W. Gifford, London, 1816, ix, 8.

5 A.C. Swinburne, A Study of Ben Jonson, London, 1889, p. 109.

assertions about the relationship of the ode to Pindar which are hardly worth reviving. Perhaps the most significant, and least subjective, observation to be made about the style as opposed to the form of the ode is the absence of any attempt to simulate a mood of 'strange rapture', or to invoke 'Pindars Muse'. In the same year as Morison's death, Jonson exhorted himself, on the failure of his play The New Inne, to abandon the stage and 'Warme thee, by Pindares fire':[1] what is perhaps most surprising about his one formally Pindaric ode is its seemingly deliberate rejection of all the traditional, Horatian, associations of Pindar's style.

The ode, a consolatio to Cary on the death of his friend, is closely based on the ninety-third of Seneca's Epistulae Morales,[2] on the theme that life should be measured by its quality rather than its length. In the first part of the poem, illustrating the theme with the exempla of the 'infant of Saguntum' and the octogenarian who had lived sixty years too long, the conflicting images of the circle against the mass, completion and fruition against aimless computation, are resolved into the gnomic sequence of the third 'Turne':

> It is not growing like a tree
> In bulke, doth make man better bee;
> Or standing long an Oake, three hundred yeare,
> To fall a logge, at last, dry, bald, and seare:
> A Lillie of a Day,
> Is fairer farre, in May,
> Although it fall, and die that night;
> It was the Plant, and flowre of light.
> In small proportions we just beauties see;
> And in short measures, life may perfect bee.[3]

The rest of the poem relates the theme more closely to Morison himself,

1 'Ode to Himselfe', Works, vi, 493.

2 See J.E. Hankins, 'Jonson's 'Ode on Morison' and Seneca's Epistulae Morales', MLN li (1936), 518-20.

3 Works, viii, 245.

especially in the context of his friendship with Cary: the two are seen as even now as united as the Dioscuri, providing together - 'Two names of friendship, but one Starre' - a 'faire example' to all mankind. It is of course possible to list elements in the ode which might derive from Pindar: for example, the abruptness of the opening, and, generally, the high sententious tone. More specifically, one might note the allusion to the Dioscuri myth from the tenth Nemean, the personal reference to Jonson in 'thou fall'st, my tongue', and perhaps - very tentatively - the imagery of the penultimate line, 'Who, e'er the first downe bloomed on the chin', might recall the lines on Pelops,

πρός εὐάνθεμον δ' ὅτε φυὰν
λάχναι νιν μέλαν γένειον ἔρεφον. [1]

Even collectively, however, these items carry little conviction when compared with the differences from Pindar which appear in the very structure of the argument and in the shifts of tone - in, for example, the opening stanza,

> Thou looking then about,
> E're thou wert halfe got out,
> Wise child, did'st hastily returne ...,

and in an expression like 'Here's one outliv'd his Peeres ...' or 'And keepe the one halfe from his Harry'. The opening lines have a flourish possibly partly in emulation of Pindar's proœmia, but the poem proceeds, a consolatio and not an epinicion, on a quietly philosophical note as different from Pindar's compressed utterance as are Jonson's rhetorical questions from the abrupt gnomic phrases of Pindar's odes. It seems probable that, as authority for this use of the 'Pindaric' ode, Jonson had in mind Horace's description of the

1 Pindar, O.i.67-8.

θρῆνοι, highly applicable to the subject in hand:

> flebili sponsae iuvenemve raptum
> plorat et vires animumque moresque
> aureos educit in astra nigroque
> invidet Orco.[1]

The most obvious intention of Jonson, or his editor, in calling the ode 'Pindarick' is, however, to call attention to the form. The best evidence for Jonson's first-hand knowledge of Pindar is in fact the metrical structure of the Morison ode, which reveals not only an appreciation of the rules of triadic responsion but also, in the terms 'The Turne', 'The Counter-turne', and 'The Stand', a degree of theorising about the significance of the division. There is one other strong indication that Jonson had read some Pindar, in the apparent echo of the opening lines of the first Olympian in Volpone's invocation to his gold,

> That lying here, amongst my other hoards,
> Show'st like a flame by night.[2]

The conjunction of this with the evidence of Jonson's knowledge of the form of the Pindaric ode points the way towards their probable source. Clenardus's Greek Grammar, which was in regular use at Westminster School until it was supplanted by Camden's adaptation of the Grammar of his predecessor, Edward Grant,[3] was furnished with the notes of Petrus Antesignanus and a section added by him, 'Praxis Seu Usus Praeceptorum Grammatices', which gave extracts from selected Greek authors - among them Euripides, Aristophanes, Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, and the

1 Horace, Odes iv.2.21-4

2 Volpone I.i.7-8.

3 John Sargeaunt, Annals of Westminster School, London, 1898, p. 40. Jonson attended Westminster School in the 1580's.

first triad of the first Olympian ode of Pindar. The Pindar extract is introduced as follows:

> Divisae sunt Odae Pindari per strophas et Antistrophas, quae eodem semper numero et eisdem versuum legibus constant, atque per Epodos et numero et versuum ratione ab utraque illa variantes. Si verbum verbo velis reddere, στροφή versionem sonabit, a στρέφω verto, ἀντιστροφή inversionem vel contraversionem: et ἐπωδός accentionem . . . In Antistrophe gradum invertebant, et in Epodo interquiescebant.[1]

It seems unnecessary to look farther for Jonson's Pindar, or for the origin of the terms 'counter-turne' and 'stand'.[2] The suggestion of Herford and Simpson that Jonson had unearthed metrical mysteries not to be uncovered again until Boeckh could never have been more than fantasy,[3] but the Clenardus evidence establishes that he probably did have a clearer and more thorough grasp at first hand of the nature of the triadic divisions than most of his successors throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Morison ode has always stood out unaccountably from its context, from the vague and obviously derivative ideas of Pindar which surround it and the irregularity and licence of the Pindaric imitations which follow: to see it as the offspring of Horace's less noticed description of Pindar's funeral songs and of a school text-book which was fast going out of use in no way diminishes its quality and its uniqueness, but does at least make it less unaccountable.

1 Institutiones ac meditationes in Graecam linguam . . . cum scholiis et praxi P. Antesignani . omnia a Frid. Sylburgio . . recognita, 2 pts., Frankfurt, 1580, p. 260.

2 There would in any case seem to be no reason for believing, with Carol Maddison, that Jonson's terminology must be derived from Minturno's 'volta', 'rivolta', and 'stanza' rather than from the Greek or even from Alamanni's 'ballata', 'contraballata', and 'stanza' (Carol Maddison, Apollo and the Nine: A History of the Ode, London, 1960, p. 301.)

3 Jonson, Works, ii, 398.

iii. Cowley's Pindariques

According to Cowley's literary executor and biographer, Bishop Thomas Sprat, 'the occasion of his falling upon the Pindaric way of Writing was his accidental meeting with Pindars Works in a place where he had no other Books to direct him. Having then considered at leisure the height of his Invention and the Majesty of his Style, he try'd immediately to imitate it in English.'[1] Neither of Cowley's two modern biographers have found it necessary to question the foundation of this statement, and both agree as to the probable occasion. Nethercot remarks that 'this accidental meeting with Pindar on an occasion when Cowley's mind was not preoccupied with military and political matters (and where could this have been but Jersey?) led to what was practically the invention of the Pindaric or irregular ode in English'.[2] Loiseau reaches a similar conclusion, and, referring to William Stebbing's tentative dating of Cowley's reading of Pindar to one of his missions to Jersey for the exiled Royalist court,[3] places it in the summer of 1651 when Cowley was charged with selling land for Lord Jermyn.[4] Scholarship finally becomes pure myth in the amazing statement of D.M. Robinson that 'Cowley really knew Pindar. When he was in exile with the Royalist court in France, his only book was a copy of Pindar with no choral division.'[5] There is, of course, no reason to reject Sprat's statement outright, and in fact one might bring forward arguments which would at least raise the

1 Thomas Sprat, 'An Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Abraham Cowley' (1668): Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, ed. J.E. Spingarn, reissue, 2 vols, Indiana, 1963, ii, 131.

2 A.H. Nethercot, Abraham Cowley, The Muse's Hannibal, Oxford, 1931, p. 135.

3 W.W. Stebbing, Some Verdicts of History Reviewed, London, 1887, p. 59.

4 Jean Loiseau, Abraham Cowley: Sa Vie, Son Oeuvre, Paris, 1931, p. 111.

5 D.M. Robinson, Pindar, a Poet of Eternal Ideas, Baltimore, 1936, p. 14.

proposed location of Cowley's study of Pindar above the level of mere surmise. Sprat's statement immediately recalls the words of another Royalist exile in Jersey, Edward Hyde, who had declared his intention, if crossed, to

> have retired myself into a chamber in one of these Castles, and study under Sir George Carteret ...[1]

Carteret's Castle Elizabeth, where Clarendon was housed, apparently provided the resources for 'studying Law and Greek',[2] and also the leisure: as Clarendon explained, most of his time was spent by himself, 'with such ordinary books as this poor island can supply me with'.[3] It is perhaps also significant that a former Oxford contemporary of Cowley's, Jean Poingdestre, who was also closely associated with Carteret in Jersey at this time, had as early as 1636 produced a Greek Pindaric ode on the birth of the princess.[4]

It is, however, surprising that this unsubstantiated statement of Sprat's has always been so uncritically accepted. The 'accidental meeting', besides adding a touch of romance permissible to the biographer, stresses the originality of the undertaking, an originality which one might feel tempted at least to question, in view of the flourishing tradition of Pindaric imitation which had continued on the continent into the seventeenth century in the works of, for example, a poet of such standing as Chiabrera. One should treat with some caution the suggestion that Cowley's discovery of the potentialities of the Pindaric ode was a purely fortuitous occurrence independent of the literary trends of the time. Cowley himself

1 Hyde to Sir Edward Nicholas, 1st June 1646: Clarendon State Papers, 3 vols, Oxford, 1767, ii, 237.

2 Hyde to Nicholas, 7th March 1646/7: ibid., ii, 345.

3 Hyde to Sir John Berkeley, 26th December 1646: ibid., ii, 315.

4 Flos Britannicus veris novissimi, filiola Carolo et Mariae nata, Oxford, [1636.] For Poingdestre, see DNB xvi, 16-17; and below, pp. 97, 99.

declares, in the 1656 Preface to the Pindarique Odes, that Pindar's

> way and manner of speaking . . . has not been yet (that I know of) introduced into English, though it be the noblest and highest kind of writing in Verse; and which might, perhaps, be put into the List of Pancirollus, among the lost Inventions of Antiquity.[1]

It is easy to believe that Cowley was unacquainted with Scowthern's hybrid renderings of Ronsard; but it is strange, though not perhaps impossible, that he did not even know of Ben Jonson's ode on Morison. Loiseau convincingly suggests that Cowley is here implicitly rejecting Jonson's use of 'Pindarick' to denote a particular form rather than a style, but if this were so one might have expected a more specific reference.[2]

Certainly it was Cowley who, with the fifteen poems included under the heading Pindarique Odes, Written in Imitation of the Stile and Manner of the Odes of Pindar,[3] established the Pindaric ode as a literary genre, and his first two Pindariques, the renderings of the second Olympian and the first Nemean, are the first published English translations of Pindar. During the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century the 'new learning' in England meant for the most part the discovery of the classical orators and philosophers. Homer, of course, was not neglected, but before Chapman started to publish his translation even Homer had been translated only once, and then through the medium of a French version. The Greek dramatists are very poorly represented in the way of editions

1 Cowley, Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, Cambridge, 1905, p. 156. The reference is to Guido Panciroli, Rerum memorabilium jam olim deperditarum: et contra recens atque ingeniose inventarum: libri duo (Latin translation by H. Salmuth), Hamburg, 1599.

2 Loiseau, Abraham Cowley, p. 355.

3 Other Pindarics appeared in the later Verses written on several occasions and Essays in Verse and Prose, first published in the posthumous 1668 folio.

and translations. Of those included in Henrietta Palmer's list of early English editions and translations of the classics, George Gascoyne's Iocasta is a translation of an Italian play by Lodovico Dolce which is in turn based upon a Latin version of Euripides' Phoenissae;[1] and the play written in 1615 entitled Oedipus, although not a translation, is, predictably, closer to Seneca than to Sophocles.[2] Pindar does not appear at all.[3] For several years poets had been trying their hands at translation from the Latin poets, especially from Horace and Ovid. Jonson's Under-Wood contains a few short translations, from Horace, Martial, and Petronius Arbiter, and one might note also his adaptation in Volpone of Catullus, (Carm. v) 'Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus'.[4] Cowley himself, in the Miscellanies, has a free version 'in imitation of' the fifth ode of Horace's first book, which may be contrasted with Milton's translation of the same poem, 'Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa', rendered 'almost word for word without Rhyme according to the Latin Measure, as near as the Language will permit.'[5] Cowley's Pindaric translations, however, are more than a poetic exercise: perhaps because Pindar was so much less familiar to readers of poetry than were the Latin poets like Horace or Martial, Cowley saw fit to provide these two versions with the full

1 C.T. Prouty, George Gascoyne. Elizabethan Courtier Soldier and Poet, New York, 1942, p. 145 n.

2 Oedipus: Three Cantoes. Wherein is contained: 1. His unfortunate infancy 2. His execrable Actions. 3. His lamentable End. By T.E. Bach. Art. Cantab., London, 1615.

3 See Henrietta R. Palmer, A List of English Editions and Translations of the Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641, London, 1911, pp. 46,100.

4 Volpone, III. vii. 165 ff.

5 Cowley, Poems, pp. 37-8: Milton, Poetical Works, ed. H. Darbishire, Oxford, 1952-5, ii, 158 (poem first printed in 1673).

scholarly paraphernalia of Greek text, Latin translation, and explanatory notes, an apparatus which, though it cannot have added much of literary interest to the experiment, proves of great values in shedding light upon Cowley's study of his source.

On the basis of a comparison of the Latin translation and the notes with those of the contemporary editions of Pindar, it is now accepted that Cowley read Pindar in the Saumur edition of Johannes Benedictus.[1] The Latin translation, though very close, is not an exact replica of the metaphrasis provided by Benedictus, and it should in any case be borne in mind that Benedictus himself was simply adapting the standard translation which first appeared in the later Stephanus editions. The evidence of the notes is, however, conclusive. D.C. Allen lists all the places in 'The Second Olympique' where Cowley's note clearly derives from that of Benedictus, and 'The First Nemeaean' yields similar results on a lesser scale. Some of the notes, such as that on the line 'How much at Phlaegra's field the distrest Gods should ow' follow almost exactly the same pattern as Benedictus's note and are in fact virtually translated.[2] Nevertheless, if one assumes because of this that Cowley knew Pindar only from the Benedictus edition, several anomalies remain to be explained away. It is clear from the notes that Cowley was himself a widely-read scholar and that he had plenty to add in the way of original comment and information. It is interesting, for example, that in the note at the beginning of 'The First Nemeaean' Cowley follows without hesitation the usual version of the

1 D.C. Allen, 'Cowley's Pindar', MLN lxiii (1948), 184-5.

2 Cowley, Poems, pp. 177-8: cf. Benedictus, p. 503.

Alpheus-Arethusa myth as related by Ovid while Benedictus and Schmid had adopted the interpretation given by the scholiast, in which the pursued is not Arethusa but Artemis, δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος then taking the more obvious meaning 'Diana's bed', rather than, as Cowley interprets, Diana's birth-place, i.e. 'Latona's Child-Bed'.[1] Cowley refers several times to the scholiast: sometimes, for example, in the note on Hercules and the Whale in the first Nemean, he could have found the information in Benedictus,[2] but in the second Olympian Benedictus does not report that 'the old Greek Scholiast' interpreted ἀκρόθινα as 'the spoils of war dedicated to the Gods'.[3] In the note on Δάλου κασιγνήτα, 'The Commentator says, because Delos too was called Ortygia', one might expect 'the Commentator' to refer to Benedictus: but if Cowley is quoting he is closer to the scholiast's 'Ὀρτυγία γὰρ καὶ ἡ Δῆλος ἐκαλεῖτο' than to Benedictus: 'sive quod Ortygĭa dicta est Delus, tum quum emersit ex aquis: sive quod utraque nomen Ortygiae habuit; et Deam utraque excepit.'[4]

In the Errata to the 1656 folio the reader is urged to correct 'with his pen' several major misprints which are then listed: but 'False points, false spellings, and such like venial faults (as also some mistakes in

1 Poems, p. 175. This is suggested as a possibility by Benedictus (p. 490): 'cubile Dianae: vel quod ibi praestolata sit Alpheum fluvium, vel quod ibi genita sit.'

2 Cowley, Poems, p. 177: Benedictus, p. 502: 'Idque ex Homero Scholiastes hausisse se testatur ...'

3 Cowley, Poems, p. 163. 'The old Greek Scholiast' may well be a reference to the scholia vetera as opposed to the scholia recentiora: in those editions which did print the scholia, the most recent being the Paulus Stephanus edition of 1599, the two kinds are clearly differentiated. Cowley's use of the phrase in this sense would be attractive evidence for his having consulted other editions besides that of Benedictus.

4 Cowley, Poems, p. 175: cf. Drachmann, N.i.4c. and Benedictus, p. 491.

the Greek) are recommended to his judgment and candour to mend as he reads them'. It is worth pointing out just how many 'mistakes' there are in the Greek, if Benedictus's text is to be taken as sole exemplar: in 'The Second Olympique' alone there are more than twenty discrepances, and a proportionate number in the first Nemean. Most are minor points of spelling or punctuation, and for these one need suspect no more serious cause than carelessness on the part of Cowley or his printer - Cowley was not, after all, attempting to set up a definitive text, but simply providing the more educated of his readers with a working one. Some differences, however, seem more significant, particularly in accumulation. Cowley's φύσει at O.ii.86, is perhaps a natural substitution for φυᾷ, and seems to be unique (cf. also Τιρησίαν for Τειρησίαν. But there are several more puzzling discrepancies to be considered:

O.ii.1 ff: Cowley reads Τίνα θεὸν, Τίν' ἥρωα, τιν' ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν; (Benedictus: Τίνα θεὸν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν;)

O.ii.61: Cowley reads ἴσον δὲ νύκτεσσιν ἀεί, ἴσον ἐν ἁμέραις. (Benedictus: ἴσον δὲ νύκτεσσιν ἀεί, ἴσα δ' ἐν ἁμέραις).

N.i.52: Cowley reads (as do most editions) ξίφος ἐκτινάσσων. (Benedictus: ἐκτινάσσων ξίφος.) Other points where Cowley agrees with the vulgate when Benedictus differs from it are minor - O.ii.99 κεῖνος (Benedictus ἐκεῖνος); N.i.31 κατακρύψας (Benedictus κατακρύψαις): N.i.60 ἐκκάλεσαν (Benedictus ἐκκάλεσεν).

Not much weight can be attached to these details: Cowley's text is in fact so erratic that it seems unbelievable that he could have been adhering very closely to any printed text. Cowley himself cannot have thought it a matter worth wasting time over; in the few places where his text has a different meaning from that of Benedictus he casts some doubt over his

mastery of the language he was said to practise 'not as a Scholar but a Native'[1] by continuing to follow Benedictus's Latin translation, as with 'advocavit' at N.i.60. No other edition can be brought forward as a rival claimant; but although the evidence for Cowley's use of the Benedictus edition is conclusive, it seems reasonable to question whether Cowley's knowledge of Pindar did in fact derive solely from the concentrated study of this one edition, in Jersey in the summer of 1651 or anywhere else.

Until Robert Shafer in 1918 actually looked at some of the early editions of Pindar, the general opinion (still apparently held by Robinson in 1936) was that Cowley's irregularity of metre derived from ignorance of the triadic structure of most of Pindar's odes.[2] A strong reaction against this view was produced when Shafer pointed out that there never had been an edition in which the odes were printed without choral divisions, and this reaction was strengthened further when Allen provided the evidence for the Benedictus edition.[3] In a recent article on Cowley, H.D. Goldstein considered the question finally closed: 'Cowley really knew Pindar's work, knew therefore its tripartite structure and metrical regularity. He chose to ignore the tripartite arrangement.[4] Supporting evidence is usually found in Cowley's own words in the Preface:

> We must consider that our Ears are strangers to the Musick of his Numbers, which sometimes (especially in Songs and Odes)

1 Thomas Sprat, 'Life and Writings of Cowley', Spingarn, ii, 122.

2 Robert Shafer, The English Ode to 1660, reprinted New York, 1966, pp. 153-4 and note. Cf. D.M. Robinson, Pindar, p. 14.

3 'Cowley's Pindar', MLN lxiii (1948), 184-5.

4 H.D. Goldstein, 'Anglorum Pindarus, Model and Milieu', Comparative Literature xvii (1965), 299.

> almost without anything else, makes an excellent Poet; for though the Grammarians and Criticks have laboured to reduce his Verses into regular feet and measures (as they have also those of the Greek and Latine Comedies) yet in effect they are little better than Prose to our Ears.[1]

This certainly suggests that Cowley did have some specialised knowledge on the subject, or at least that he knew something of the kind of analyses to be found in the scholia and in recent scholars like Schmid; but he is clearly unconvinced by them, and there is nothing in this passage to indicate that he found the triadic divisions any less forced than the divisions into metrical cola. It does not seem to have been pointed out before that if Cowley was using Benedictus for his background information, he might well have had no clear idea of the necessity for metrical responsion between the parts of the triad. The presentation of Benedictus's text has already been described;[2] and apart from the occasional unelaborated reference (always in the wake of Schmid) to 'metri ratio', the only explanation Benedictus affords 'de vocibus ἐίδος, στροφή, ἀντιστροφή, ἐπῳδός, κῶλον' comes in the introduction and is not very clearly expressed: 'Stropha et antistropha colis ἰσαρίθμοις constabant. Epodi numerus impar est'.[3] Cowley's own stanzas in the two paraphrases do not of course coincide with those of the original, and in the accompanying Greek text his policy is to print as much of the Greek as is included in his stanza in a continuous block printed as prose except that the beginning of a new line is indicated with an uncial letter. Since these divisions are made for purely practical reasons nothing can be deduced from them in themselves as to Cowley's knowledge or ignorance of the triadic structure of the odes: but it does seem significant that within these blocks the lines are frequently wrongly

1 Cowley, Poems, p. 155

2 above, p. 3.

3 Benedictus, 'De Pindaro'.

divided, even by the standards of the time, and that if they were to be arranged into lines the responsion between the parts of the triad would be unrecognisable.

The Preface to the Pindarique Odes does not purport to discuss the Pindaric ode as a literary type; instead Cowley uses his two Pindaric translations as a platform for a discourse on the theory of translation and the new 'libertine way of rendring forreign Authors'.[1] As Cowley himself explains:

> I speak not so much all this in defence of my manner of Translating, or Imitating (or what other title they please) the two ensuing Odes of Pindar; for that would not deserve half these words, as by this occasion to rectifie the opinion of divers men upon this matter.[2]

Cowley was not, of course, as Sprat is forced to admit, 'the absolute Inventor'[3] of the theory of translation which advocated, instead of a faithfully literal version of the original, an attempt at acclimatisation to the English language and temperament, an enrichment of the vernacular rather than an extension of knowledge of a foreign literature.[4] A similar method had been followed, notably, by Chapman in his translations of Homer,[5] and chief among the others who had 'had the good luck to recommend it first in Print' was John Denham in 1648, in his prefatory verses to Fanshawe's

1 Cowley, Poems, p. 156.

2 ibid.

3 'The Life and Writings of Cowley', Spingarn, ii, 132.

4 See introduction, Spingarn, i, pp. xlviii ff.; J.W. Draper, 'The Theory of Translation in the Eighteenth Century', Neophilologus vi (1921), 242-4.

5 See 'To the Reader', ll.105-8: Chapman's Homer, ed. Allardyce Nicoll, London, 1957, i, 9. Good translations

aspire
As well as to reach the spirit that was spent
In his example, as with art to pierce
His Grammar and etymologie of words.

translation of Pastor Fido:

> That servile path thou nobly dost decline,
> Of tracing word by word and line by line ...
> A new and nobler way thou dost pursue,
> To make Translations and Translators too:
> They but preserve the Ashes, thou the Flame,
> True to his scheme, but truer to his Fame.[1]

The method was, however, to become particularly associated with Cowley and his treatment of Pindar: to Dryden in 1680 Cowley is the principal representative of the kind of free 'imitation' which assumes the liberty 'taking only some general hints from the original, to run division on the ground-work', and lies at the opposite extreme from 'metaphrase', as practised, for example, by Jonson in his version of Horace's Ars Poetica.[2] In general, to Dryden, both are equally to be avoided.

Pindar, according to Cowley, would make a particularly bad subject for the literal translator.

> If a man should undertake to translate Pindar word for word, it would be thought that one Mad man had translated another: as may appear, when he that understands not the Original, reads the verbal Traduction of him into Latin Prose, than which nothing seems more Raving. And sure, Rhyme, without the addition of Wit, and the Spirit of Poetry (quod nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum) would but make it ten times more Distracted than it is in Prose.[3]

Cowley lists the three factors which he sees as contributing to this:

> We must consider in Pindar the great difference of time betwixt his age and ours, which changes, as in Pictures, at least the Colours of Poetry, the no less difference betwixt the Religions and Customs of our Countrys, and a thousand particularities of places, persons, and manners .... And lastly, (which were enough alone for my purpose) we must consider that our Ears are strangers to the Musick of his Numbers, which sometimes (especially in Songs and Odes) almost without anything else, makes an excellent Poet .... And when we have considered all this, we must

1 Denham, Poetical Works, ed. T.H. Banks, New Haven, 1928, p. 143-4.

2 Dryden, 'Preface to Ovid's Epistles', Essays, ed. W.P. Ker, 2 vols, Oxford, 1900, i, 237.

3 Cowley, Poems, p. 155. He quotes from Juvenal, Satires vii.56.

> needs confess, that after all these losses sustained by Pindar, all we can adde to him by way of our wit or invention (not deserting still his subject) is not like to make him a Richer man than he was in his own Country.[1]

In his two translations Cowley makes no attempt to give the subject a more contemporary relevance: despite the acknowledged unfamiliarity of the mores and the topical allusions, he does not take the liberty, though trying how Pindar will look in an English habit, of transporting Theron to England and Christianity. The difficulty is met, as far as it can be met, by Cowley's explanatory notes. The other two factors, however, the strangeness of his metres and the difference of his 'Colours of Poetry' are ones in which Cowley feels the Pindaric Muse may be freely acclimatized.

Whatever Cowley did know of Pindaric metre led him to consider, probably under the influence of Horace, and not surprisingly in view of the kind of metrical analyses to which Pindar was being subjected, that 'in effect (his Verses) are little better than Prose to our Ears'.[2] The numbers are to be 'various and irregular', but despite Sprat's curious commendation of Cowley's 'inequality of number' in the odes for its 'near affinity with Prose', Cowley's phrase, which seems likely to have influenced Sprat's judgment, does not suggest that prose was Cowley's own ideal. The metrical freedom of the Pindarique Odes is firmly based in an already existing tradition of free verse, and one should bear in mind Cowley's own assertion of its underlying 'Numerosity'.[3] With metre as with style, Cowley was not aiming at reproduction, but rather attempting to find a suitable substitute in English.

1 ibid.

2 ibid. Cf. K. Schlüter, Die Englische Ode : studien zu ihrer Entwicklung unter dem Einfluss der Antiken Hymne, Bonn, 1964, pp. 78-9.

3 Poems, p. 11.

Cowley's treatment of Pindar in the practical matter of translating him is not unqualifiedly reverential. He has already declared his intention of adding to Pindar all that he can by way of his own 'wit and invention' to compensate for the loss suffered not only in translation but also in an approach from a different age and a different sensibility; but Coleridge sarcastically assigned him 'the charitable purpose of rationalising the Theban Eagle',[1] and at times indeed Cowley does seem to approach his task in something nearer a spirit of improvement than a mere retouching of the faded 'Colours of Poetry'. Occasionally he changes the application of an epithet: with the very first word of the second Olympian he notes: 'Whereas Pindar addresses himself to his Song, I change it to his Muse; which, methinks, is better called Ἀναξιφόρμιγξ, then the Ode which she makes.'[2] The opening lines become:

> Queen of all Harmonious things,
> Dancing Words, and Speaking Strings ...

cf. on stanza 2 (note 2): 'I rather chuse to call Agrigentum, then Therons Ancestors (as Pindar does) the Eye of Sicil ie. The Metaphor in this sense is more natural. So Julian terms Damascus ...'[3]

Twice he explains an omission of some item for clarity's sake: in Nemean I 'I leave out the mention of his Brother Iphiclus, who lay in the same Cradle, because it would butembroil the story, and addes nothing to the similitude.'[4] And at the beginning of the next stanza (the eighth) 'I leave out a sentence that follows; which is a wise saying, but methinks to no great purpose in that place.'[5]

1 S.T. Coleridge, Biographia Literaria, ed. J. Shawcross, 2 vols, Oxford, 1907, ii, 66.

2 Poems, p. 163.

3 ibid., pp. 163-4.

4 ibid., p. 177.

5 ibid.

The most common preoccupation of the notes, however, reflects back to the phraseology of the beginning of the Preface - 'than which nothing seems more Raving ...', 'ten times more Distracted than it is in Prose.' Pindar's 'lack of Connexion' is sometimes pointed out, but more often remedied without comment. The introduction of the myth in the First Nemean is an explicit example: Cowley states that 'Pindar, according to his manner, leaves the Reader to find as he can, the Connexion between Chromius and the story of Hercules, which it seem'd to me necessary to make a little more perspicuous.'[1] Cowley's solution, 'How early has young Chromius begun .../None but Alcides e'er set earlier forth than he ...', seems to be related to the explanation provided by Didymus, much discussed in the commentaries and favoured by both Schmid and Benedictus.[2]

On the passage in the second Olympian on the blessings of ὁ πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος, Cowley again remarks that 'the Connexion of this Stanza is very obscure in the Greek, and could not be rendred without much Paraphrase.'[3] Benedictus's metaphrasis keeps very close to the Greek - 'Divitiae etiam virtutibus ornatae afferunt horum atque illorum opportunitatem, profundam sustinentes sollicitudinem, indagatricem.' In his commentary, though pointing out that the maxim is a general one - that riches provide for the good of the mind, the good of the body, and for external benefits such as honour and authority - Benedictus stresses the particular application of the maxim to Theron: his riches give him the

1 ibid.

2 cf. Benedictus, p. 497: 'hoc innuere vult: quemadmodum Hercules hoc primo labore ... Tiresiae dedit ansam vaticinandi, futurum ut nunquam non vinceret ... sic cum Chromius hoc primo certamine vicerit . . . '

3 Poems, p. 166.

means to rear horses, his 'generosus animus' impels him towards noble deeds, for example, Olympian contests, and hence he derives victory and honour. Μέριμνα, 'care', he rightly interprets, as does Schmid, as 'studium rerum praeclarum': ἀγροτέραν is taken to be equivalent to ἀγρευτικήν - 'care which searches after noble deeds'.[1] Cowley's own Latin version is a little eccentric: 'Divitiae autem virtutibus ornatae afferunt (huius rei) opportunitatem indagatricem, sustinentes profundam sollicitudinem': he does not, however, attempt to render this into English. The stanza runs:

> Greatness of Mind and Fortune too
> The' Olympique Trophees shew.
> Both their several parts must do
> In the noble Chase of Fame,
> This without that is Blind, that without this is Lame.
> Nor is fair Virtues Picture seen aright
> But in Fortunes golden light.
> Riches alone are of uncertain date,
> And on short-Man long cannot wait.
> The Vertuous make of them the best,
> And put them out to Feme for Interest.
> With a frail good they wisely buy
> The solid Purchase of Eternity.[2]

In the first four lines Cowley has achieved a loose but fairly complete translation of the Greek as Benedictus had interpreted it (though omitting the 'variety of benefits'). Already, however, in 'both their several parts must do' Cowley had introduced a new note of contrast, and the next nine lines, far from elucidating the 'connexion' of the Greek, are taken up with a quite gratuitous expansion of this contrast in a series of antitheses with a final emphasis quite foreign to the original sense. Though the related notion that riches are best employed in buying immortality from the bard is a familiar Pindaric one, Cowley's formal

1 Benedictus, pp. 52-4.

2 Cowley, Poems, p. 160.

and balanced development of the contrast and the stress on the frailty of riches certainly amount to a major shift of emphasis: in the Greek, and in Cowley's Latin, the syntactical subject is ὁ πλοῦτος, 'divitiae', and it is ὁ πλοῦτος which, when combined with ἀρετᾶς, is the ἀστὴρ ἀρίζηλος, the ἀληθινὸν ἀνδρὶ φάος, 'the bright star, the true light to man'.

It is significant that Cowley begins his Preface with a clear example of what Schmid would have categorised as προαναλήψις or 'objectionis dilutio': and it is perhaps worth noting that the factors which Cowley lists as detracting from modern appreciation of Pindar are not ones which arise simply from translation but which apply equally to the original. Comparing the writings of the Prophets, especially Isaiah, with those of Pindar, Cowley writes:

> They pass from one thing to another with almost Invisible connexions, and are full of words and expressions of the highest and boldest flights of Poetry, as may be seen in this Chapter, where ... the connexion is so difficult, that I am forced to adde a little, and leave out a great deal to make it seem Sense to us, who are not used to that elevated way of expression ... The old fashion of writing, was like Disputing in Enthymemes, where half is left out to be supplyed by the Hearer: ours is like Syllogisms, where all that is meant is exprest.[1]

The neatness and cogency of Cowley's expression here should not be allowed to blind us to the difference between his declared intention and his practice. Cowley's modernisation of Pindar extends again and again beyond the mere elucidation of 'invisible connexions' into a kind of reforming zeal, or at least a confidence in his own ability to equal Pindar's effects. Of the (certainly superfluous) lines at the end of stanza six of 'The Second Olympique',

1 Poems, p. 214.

Unrelenting Torments prove
The heavy Necessary Effects of Voluntary Faults,

Cowley admits that 'This is not a Translation ... but an innocent addition to the Poet, which does no harm, nor I fear, much Good'.[1] Such additions must presumably be taken to spring less from a desire to clarify obscurities in the original than from the infusion of the 'Wit, and the Spirit of Poetry' of which Cowley speaks in the Preface, and very often, while appreciating that it was his intention to mould his model wholly to the modern taste, and that his 'failure' to match Pindaric effects is, in many respects, a deliberate rejection, one cannot but sympathise with Coleridge's irritation. On the other hand, there are passages where Cowley's determination to make a seventeenth century English poem out of the Greek results in an original strength of metaphor which a more rigorous treatment might miss:

Soft-footed Winds with tuneful voyces there
Dance through the perfum'd Air.
There Silver Rivers through enamell'd Meadows glide,
And golden Trees enrich their side.
Th'illustrious Leaves no dropping Autumn fear,
And Jewels for their fruit they bear,
Which by the Blest are gathered
For Bracelets to the Arm, and Garlands to the Head.[2]

Of far more importance to Cowley, however, and certainly to his followers, who pick up only a vague notion that Cowley's 'Phoenix Pindar'[3] has in some way profited from the resurrection,[4] is the

1 Poems p. 166

2 'The Second Olympique', stanza 8: cf. O.ii.70-4.

3 'In Praise of Pindar', Poems, p. 178.

4 cf. Dryden, 'Preface to Ovid's Epistles', Essays, i, 240: 'he alone was able to make him amends, by giving him better of his own, whenever he refused his author's thoughts.'

positive side of the experiment, the importation into English poetry of 'the spirit of Pindar'. Pindar's position, despite the unfamiliarity of his manner, was secure: Cowley quotes the testimonies of such ancients as Alexander, Horace, and Quintilian, and is no more prepared than his less well-read predecessors to question the judgment of the greatest of the ancient conquerors and critics.[1] His conception of the essential ingredients of the Pindaric ode as an English form is outlined in a paragraph in the Preface to the 1656 folio. Apologising for any displeasure caused to the grave reader by the lightness of the preceding book, The Mistress, Cowley hopes that

> he may find wherewithal to content his more serious inclinations in the weight and height of the ensuing Arguments. For as for the Pindarick Odes (which is the third part) I am in great doubt whether they will be understood by most Readers; nay, even by very many who are well enough acquainted with the common Roads, and ordinary Tracks of Poesie. They either are, or at least were meant to be, of that kind of stile which Dion.Halicarnasseus calls, Μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ ἐξ ὑψους μετὰ δεινότητος, and which he attributes to Alcaeus: the digressions are many, and sudden, and sometimes long, according to the fashion of all Lyriques, and of Pindar above all men living. The Figures are unusual and bold, even to Temeritie, and such as I durst not have to do withal in any other kind of Poetry: the Numbers are various and irregular, and sometimes (especially some of the long ones) seem harsh and uncouth, if the just measures and cadencies be not observed in the Pronunciation. So that almost all their Sweetness and Numerosity (which is to be found, if I mistake not, in the roughest, if rightly repeated) lies in a manner wholly at the Mercy of the Reader. I have briefly described the nature of these Verses, in the Ode entituled, The Resurrection: and though the Liberty of them may incline a man to believe them easie to be composed, yet the undertaker will find it otherwise.[2]

There is little in this to strike one as original critical insight: although these views had never been expressed in English before at any length, Pindar himself had first pointed out the need of the masses for

1 Cowley, Poems, p. 180.

2 Poems, pp. 10-11.

an interpreter of his own ὠκέα φρήν, and it is interesting to note how closely Cowley's description of his own Pindariques follows the pattern of Benedictus on Pindar:

> Non mirum autem est hunc authorem apud ineruditos egere interprete: siquidem et eruditissimi quique in eo explicando graviter laborant, tot habet digressiones, tot tamque crebras fabularum, historiarum, sententiarum insertiones, unde cum sequentibus praecedentium obscurus nexus: tot habet etiam schemata, intricatas phrases, hyperbata, verborumque διάλλαγαν.

together with the proviso that though the poems are difficult they can be unravelled by the wise who will appreciate their 'vim argumenti at suavitatem compositionis'.[1] The boldness of the figures and the frequency of digressions had, of course, been the stock-in-trade of Pindaric criticism from Horace to John Sowthern.

Cowley's definitive statement of the nature of the Pindaric ode is found at the end of 'The Resurrection', a poem which Cowley describes as 'truly Pindarical, falling from one thing into another, after his Enthusiastical manner'.[2] The Pindaric 'hint' from which the poem springs concerns the common Pindaric theme of verse as the only memorial to virtue which will last until the end of the world: the second stanza pictures the measured dance of 'the Years to come, a Numerous and well-fitted Quire', until the day when the 'gentle Notes' are shattered by the sound of the Last Trump and the dance and the familiar world disintergrate, as the 'scatter'd Atomes' crowd back to their place of origin, and the mountains themselves crumble. In the last stanza, Cowley draws himself up with a Pindaric formula and describes the kind of force which he sees as the essence of the Pindaric spirit:

1 Benedictus, p. 62.

2 Poems, p. 183.

> Stop, stop, my Muse, allay thy vig'orous heat,
> Kindled at a Hint so Great;
> Hold thy Pindarique Pegasus closely in,
> Which does to rage begin,
> And this steep Hill would gallop up with violent course,
> 'Tis an unruly, and a hard-Mouth'd Horse,
> Fierce, and unbroken yet,
> Impatient of the Spur or Bit.
> Now praunces stately, and anon flies o'er the place,
> Disdains the servile Law of any settled pace,
> Conscious and proud of his own natural force.
> 'Twill no unskilful Touch endure,
> But flings Writer and Reader too that sits not sure.

Although the transitional device here is recognisably Pindaric, in the metaphor which follows Cowley invokes a much later tradition of poetic symbolism. The Pegasus, like the Phoenix a long-established emblem of poetic inspiration, may have shed here much of the moral force of the myth of divine favour and mortal hubris which surrounds it in the proem to the seventh book of Paradise Lost,[1] but it is not yet the literary cliché which it was to become in the succeeding age, often little more than 'the Muses' Horse'. The special associations of the winged horse with the kind of licence claimed for the Pindaric ode is satirically illustrated by Samuel Butler in his character of 'a Small Poet':

> To what purpose did the Antients feign Pegasus to have Wings, if he must be confined to the Road and Stages like a Pack-Horse, or be forced to be obedient to Hedges and Ditches?[2]

The phrasing of both this passage and the last stanza of 'The Resurrection' is recalled in the ode 'Upon Liberty', appended to the first of the Essays in Prose and Verse, where Cowley himself, in finding

1 See, for a discussion of the symbol, Mary Lascelles, 'The Rider on the Winged Horse', Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies presented to F.P. Wilson, Oxford, 1959, pp. 173-98.

2 Samuel Butler, Characters, ed. Charles W. Daves, Cleveland and London, 1970, p. 87.

an analogy in this kind of poetry for his own preferred way of life, produces a negatively-stated definition which does tend to stress the 'liberty' of the medium at the expense of the kind of difficulty which Cowley claims elsewhere for Pindaric composition:

> If Life should a well-order'd Poem be
> (In which he only hits the white
> Who joyns true profit with the best Delight)
> The more Heroique strain let others take,
> Mine the Pindarique way I'le make.
> The Matter shall be Grave, the Numbers loose and free.
> It shall not keep one setled pace of Time,
> In the same Tuen it shall not always Chime,
> Nor shall each day just to his Neighbour Rhime,
> A thousand Liberties it shall dispense,
> And yet shall manage all without offence;
> Or to the sweetness of the Sound, or greatness of the Sence,
> Nor shall it never from one Subject start,
> Nor seek Transitions to depart,
> Nor its set way o'er Stiles and Bridges make,
> Nor through Lanes a Compass take,
> As if it fear'd some trespass to commit,
> When the wide Air's a Road for it.[1]

This is probably the first instance of the loose application of Pindar's name to something other than a poetic style, although here the sense of metaphor is still strong. Nowhere else, however, does Cowley more clearly foreshadow the future course of the Pindaric ode as simply an escape from the rules imposed by the poetic tradition; and the opposition to 'heroique' suggests that this is not wholly a rising above them, but at leant partially an easy way out. In this passage, however, as in 'The Resurrection', emphasis also falls on the proud independence of the Pindaric spirit which is opposed to monotony, servility, and the fear of trespass. Even in the 'liberty' stanza there is a proviso, and in the kind of paradox expressed, mildly here,

1 Cowley, Essays, p. 391.

in the concept of 'a thousand Liberties ... without offence' lies the essential justification of the apparent lack of discipline of the Pindaric ode, at least in its ideal form, a justification which, as H.D. Goldstein has pointed out,[1] invokes the long-standing tradition of harmony from discord and the reconciliation of opposites, and which also looks forward to the eighteenth century aesthetic of the sublime.[2] Cowley's poetic theory, or Pindaric theory, is also illuminated in 'The Muse', in a passage which was to arouse Johnson's particular scorn.[3] The Muse is instructed to mount a rich chariot - the image of the chariot of poetry being taken from the sixth Olympian[4] - drawn by three antithetical pairs, 'unruly Phansie' with 'strong Judgment', 'nimble-footed Wit' with 'Smooth-paced Eloquence', 'sound Memory' with 'young Invention', and driven by a further conventional antithesis, Nature and Art. The passage of the 'travelling Throne' is described in a succession of conceits which further emphasise a mode in which all contraries are reconciled, through uncharted Regions.

> Where never Foot of Man, or Hoof of Beast
> The passage prest,
> Where never Fish did fly,
> And with short silver wings cut the low liquid Sky;
> Where Bird with painted Oars did nere
> Row through the trackless Ocean of the Air.[5]

1 H.D. Goldstein, 'Discordia Concors, Decorum, and Cowley', English Studies xlix (1968), 481-9.

2 For the possible influence of 'Longinus' on Cowley himself, see Scott Elledge, 'Cowley's Ode "Of Wit" and Longinus on the Sublime: a study of one definition of the word Wit', MLQ ix (1948), 185-98.

3 Johnson, Lives, i, 45-6.

4 Cowley, Poems, p. 184. Cf. Benedictus, p. 101: 'Estque haec oratio tota tropica. Nam per aurigam, mentem suam, per mulas et puram viam, praeclarum argumentum et insignes versus: per currum, totum hunc hymnum intelligit ...'

5 Poems, p. 185.

There is in 'Postillion Nature' and 'Coachman Art' no hint of any precedence. Cowley notes on the passage in the second Olympian, σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φύᾳ. μαθόντες δὲ...(86-87) that Pindar 'falls frequently into this commonplace of preferring Nature before Art ... The comparison of Art to a Crow, and Nature to an Eagle is very nobly extravagant, but it was necessary to enlarge it.'[1] One might rather say 'obfuscate': Cowley's development of the comparison with a metaphor which is at best obscure, at the worst repellent, certainly does nothing to clarify Pindar's meaning, if clarification were necessary:

> Let Art use Method and Good Husbandry,
> Art lives on Natures Alms, is weak and poor;
> Nature herself has unexhausted store,
> Wallows in Wealth, and runs a turning Maze
> That no vulgar Eye can trace.[2]

In 'The Muse', however, in contrast to this, the allegorical chariot simply unites all these contraries as symmetrical elements forming one total symbol; and the implied recommendation holds nothing of the kind of abandonment to natural forces which was to become the hallmark of the Pindaric ode.

With both these passages in mind, one may regard the 'Pegasus' symbol of 'The Resurrection' in a somewhat modified light. To H.D. Goldstein, one of the few modern critics to take Cowley's Pindariques seriously, the poem as a whole is an extension of the Pindaric metaphor, one in which apparent irregularity is shaped into a profoundly-structured whole. The decorum of the Pindaric structure is 'the disharmonious harmony of an ordering achieved through digressions,

1 ibid., p. 168.

2 ibid., p. 161.

bold and frequent metaphors, exalted allusions', and the Pindaric mode is oracular, non-logical, proceeding by way of 'invisible connexions' and abrupt transitions.[1] Goldstein's approach is, however, vitiated by the assumption that Cowley found and approved in Pindar what Gilbert Norwood approves, that to Cowley too Pindar's waywardness was 'magical'.[2] It would have been more accurate to confine the foregoing description to what Cowley thought about Pindar, as distinct from what he thought fit to imitate: its inapplicability to the Pindariques generally is obvious on any close reading, and one must also bear in mind Cowley's explicit rejection - which Goldstein seems not to take as a rejection - of just this old fashion of 'disputing in Enthymemes'.[3] Neither Benedictus nor Cowley commit themselves to this mode with the wholehearted approval of it shown by Norwood: and as becomes abundantly clear from Cowley's versions of the Greek odes, his most usual reaction to it is to rationalise it. 'The Resurrection' is marked out by Cowley's note as a particularly daring experiment in Pindar's 'enthusiastical manner'; but even in the last stanza of this poem it is not true that Cowley leaves the reader with an impression of an untrammelled natural force. Although the magnificence of the Pindaric style is certainly seen to spring from the power and energy of a natural inspiration, the final emphasis surely rests upon the skill and sureness of touch to be maintained by the writer.

1 H.D. Goldstein, 'Anglorum Pindarus: Model and Milieu', Comparative Literature xvii (1965), 299-310.

2 Gilbert Norwood, Pindar, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945. (Sather Classical Lectures, 19).

3 Poems, p. 214.

iv. The importance of Cowley's Pindariques

> Tho' blind Maeonides unmatch'd displays
> His Fire, and Pindar scarce 'till Cowley known . . .[1]

Samuel Wesley, writing about thirty years after Cowley's death, clearly regarded his influence as a central one in the introduction of knowledge of Pindar into English letters. Probably the earliest reaction to Cowley's Pindarique Odes is the poem written by Thomas Sprat 'Upon the Poems of the English Ovid, Anacreon, Pindar, and Virgil, Abraham Cowley, in imitation of his own Pindaric odes', on the appearance of Cowley's 1656 volume. Sprat also wrote two more Pindarics before the end of the decade, an ode on Oliver Cromwell, and the lengthy 'Plague of Athens', which runs to thirty-one stanzas. Another early tribute to the importance of the new genre, whether by way of imitation or of parody, is an obscure poem - 'On the ingenuous poet Mr Cowley. A Pyndarique Ode' - included in a volume satirically entitled Naps upon Parnassus, a collection of the poems of Samuel Austin garnished with observations by some of the 'university Wits' of the day. The composite authorship of the book makes it particularly difficult to gauge the tone of the remarks on Cowley:

> I can't now comprehend unless I'me taught
> To write a strein above myself, aloft:
> If that my Muse would honour him with a Song,
> It must first learn to chat in th'Hebrew tongue.[2]

1 Samuel Wesley, 'Ode to James Oglethorpe', Poems on several Occasions, London, 1736, p. 370.

2 Naps upon Parnassus. A Sleepy Muse nipt and pinchit though not awakened. Such Voluntary and Jovial Copies of Verses, as were lately receiv'd from some of the Wits of the Universities. In a Frolick, London, 1658. (With The Authors own Verse and Prose, with Marginall Illustrations on his Obscurities, by a friend, to a Reader).

Apart from these examples, however, the Pindaric itself took some time to fire the spirit of imitation, and it is not until the further impetus of Cowley's death and the publication of the 1668 folio that, in Johnson's words, 'every boy and girl caught the pleasing fashion, and they that could do nothing else could write like Pindar'.[1] Cowley's translations, however, and the statements in the prefaces and the poems themselves about the nature of Pindar's genius, quickly made a difference to the frequency with which Pindar was referred to in English, and to his importance as a poetic symbol. The increased confidence of the references does not always reflect a corresponding increase in knowledge: Cowley's epitaph accords him the title 'Anglorum Pindarus, Flaccus, Maro, Deliciae Decus, Desiderium Aevi Sui', and the assumption that to know Cowley was to know Pindar was to last for several decades. Knowledge of Pindar himself, in fact, often became increasingly vague:

> [Cowley's] poetical fancy seemed to be inspired with some divine breath; which in sweet numbers, the monuments of his own glory, after Maro and the delights of Rome, equalled the Raptures of Pindar and the gracefulness of Athens ...[2]

It is interesting, though not surprising, to note the preponderance in the ensuing decades of Pindaric echoes from the second Olympian and first Nemean: Prior, for example, in his 'Carmen Seculare' for

1 Johnson, Lives, i, 48. For a survey of the influence of Cowley's odes, see Arthur H. Nethercot, 'The Reputation of Abraham Cowley (1660-1800)', PMLA xxxviii (1923), 588-641; and Jean Loiseau, Abraham Cowley's Reputation in England, Paris, 1931, passim.

2 Thomas Skinner, Motus Compositi: or, the History of the composing the affairs of England by the Restoration of King Charles the Second, and the punishment of the Regicides: and other principal occurrents in the year 1660, London, 1685, p. 99.

the year 1700, speaks of 'an Olympic crown/ To Chromius' strength, and Theron's speed unknown',[1] and William Somerville echoes either Prior or Cowley in the lines 'Can Chromius' strength be nam'd with yours?' and 'The bard would blush at Theron's speed...'[2]

It is noteworthy that Cowley should choose to quote, to describe the style of his Pindariques, a phrase used not of Pindar but of Alcaeus: what Dionysius in fact says is Ἀλκαίου δὲ ἀκόπει τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ βραχὺ καὶ ἡδὺ μετὰ δεινότητος. Unless Cowley is adopting the quotation from some secondary source (and it is not Benedictus), he must have read before this that Pindar was to be admired for many qualities, including elevation, intensity, 'a pleasing sharpness', his sentences, his figures, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν εἰς σωφροσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἠθῶν.[3] Cowley seems to be the first to isolate weightiness and gravity as prerequisites for the subject-matter of a Pindaric ode. Ronsard had followed his model closely in making all his odes at least generally encomiastic, and Jonson's Morison ode does of course retain a fundamentally similar intention through its elegiac nature. In Cowley's definition, however, personal encomium is no longer an essential, or even an important, ingredient of the Pindaric ode: 'the Matter shall be Grave', but the ode is defined less by content than by style, metre, and mood. Several of Cowley's Pindariques are written in praise of

1 Matthew Prior, Literary Works, ed. H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears, 2 vols, Oxford, 1959, i, 171.

2 William Somervile, Occasional Poems, Translations, Fables, Tales etc., London, 1727, p. 2.

3 D.H. de Imit. vi. 2.

individuals - 'To Mr Hobs', 'Brutus', 'To Dr Scarborough', the 'Ode upon Dr Harvey', and 'Ode on the death of Mrs Katherine Philips' - but the Pindaric also takes over subjects already familiar in reflective and religious poetry, such as the resurrection, 'destiny', 'life and fame'. It was a commonplace to compare the odes of Pindar with the songs of the Psalmist, and Cowley, considering 'the manner of the Prophets writing, especially of Isaiah ... very like that of Pindar',[1] includes among his Pindariques two poems on Old Testament subjects. In 1660 Cowley celebrated the restoration of the monarchy with a Pindaric 'Upon his Majesties Restoration and Return': in this politically-inspired ode and in those treating of the religious and the terrible Cowley has already indicated the main lines for nearly all Pindarics to come.

There is no need to question that the vein opened up by Cowley in these poems was to produce some of the worst poetry written in English in the next hundred years. The condemnation of modern critics has generally extended to Cowley's Pindariques themselves -- 'despite their historical place, and despite the critical intelligence Cowley reveals in the preface, these are not works worth defending.'[2] It is, however, worth emphasising the distinction made between Cowley and his imitators by critics of the age immediately following him. In many ways Cowley's performance suffers unfairly from being viewed retrospectively through the abuses of his disciples. Metrically, for example, Cowley's own view of his 'numbers' is perhaps fairer than

1 Poems, p. 214. Cf. below, pp. 121 55.

2 David Rawlinson, 'Cowley and the Current Status of Metaphysical Poetry', Essays in Criticism xiii (1963). 336.

that of Enid Hamer when she declares the whole effect to be 'shapeless and tuneless in the extreme',[1] although Dryden's ear is surely true in suggesting that

> somewhat of the purity of English, somewhat of more equal thoughts, somewhat of sweetness of the numbers, in one word, somewhat of a finer turn and more lyrical verse is yet wanting ...[2]

The stanzas conform to no set pattern, although one ode, 'The Ecstasie', is nearly monostrophic, and most show a predominance of iambic tetrameters and pentameters rhymed in couplets (with the occasional triplet) or in quatrains. For the most part the stanzas read smoothly enough, if not musically, in their syntactical units, with the odd awkward, almost unreadable, line, frequently at the end of a stanza. On one such line, 'Shall some fly routed, and some fall slaine', Cowley himself remarks that:

> It is, I hope, needless to admonish any tolerable Reader, that it was not negligence or ignorance of Number, that produced this Stumbling Verse, no more than the other before, And truly then headlong into the Sea descend. And several others in my book of the like kind.[3]

Cowley's followers were to take over the licence without the scruples, and without, perhaps, even the degree of metrical awareness required to tell when such an apology is warranted.

It would be difficult to find a poet whose contemporary reputation, in other matters besides metre, has been more completely reversed by posterity. Sprat remarked of Cowley that

1 Enid Hamer, The Metres of English Poetry, London, 1930, p. 225.

2 'Preface to Sylvae', Essays, i, 267.

3 Poems, p. 217.

> he perfectly practises the hardest secret of good Writing, to know when he has done enough. He always leaves off in such a manner that it appears it was in his power to have said much more.[1]

A hundred years later Dr Johnson gave a judgment which is directly - though not, apparently, intentionally - contradictory:

> The fault of Cowley, and perhaps of all the writers of the metaphysical race, is that of pursuing his thoughts to their last ramifications, by which he loses the grandeur of generality.[2]

Sprat's judgment is the less immediately convincing: examples of Cowley's over-elaboration of metaphor often his most prominent characteristic, spring readily to mind, among the most notorious, perhaps, the navel-cutting, washing, and circumcision of the poet by the 'Midwife Muse' in 'Destiny'. Cowley is, however, arguably at his best where the two come closest to reconciliation and where, by a kind of happy confusion or density of metaphor, he goes far beyond the prose values which Sprat elsewhere extols. The following passage, in a poem dismissed by David Rawlinson as an exposition of the attitude 'History is bunk',[3] finely expresses the ambivalence of Cowley's attitude towards tradition and towards the classical authors to whom he pays the compliment of imitation:

1 'Life of Cowley', Spingarn, ii, 130.

2 Lives, i, 45.

3 'Cowley and the Current Status of Metaphysical Poetry', p. 334.

We break up Tombs with Sacrilegious hands;
Old Rubbish we remove;
To walk in Ruines, like vain Ghosts, we love,
And with fond Divining Wands
We search among the Dead
For Treasures Buried,
Whilst still the Liberal Earth does hold
So many Virgin Mines of undiscover'ed Gold.[1]

1 'To Mr Hobs', Poems, p. 189.

CHAPTER III

THE APPRECIATION OF PINDAR

i. The scholarly and educational background

One of the strongest arguments in support of Sprat's claim that Cowley's interest in the Pindaric was the result of a more or less fortuitous period of intensive study is the very marked difference between Cowley's knowledge of Pindar and the degree of acquaintance with the poet shown by even the more highly educated of his contemporaries. The available evidence for the study of Greek both in schools and universities tends to show that, with a few exceptions, even a passing acquaintance with Pindar would be mostly the result of extra-curricular private study.[1]

Until about the middle of the eighteenth century it was commonly held that it was the function of the grammar school to provide the necessary classical foundations upon which the universities could build a structure of philosophy and science; and an undergraduate who had attended Eton or Westminster might well have undergone the best of his classical training by the end of his schooldays.[2] Evidence for the study of Pindar in schools is, predictably, thin. In the sixteenth century, it has already been seen that although Ascham recommended the

1. See T.W. Baldwin, William Shakespere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke. 2 vols, Urbana, 1944, esp. vol. i; M.L. Clarke, Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900, Cambridge, 1959.

2 Clarke, Classical Education, pp. 66-73.

study of Pindar with Horace as a model for *imitatio*, and although the strict censorship of Laurence Humphrey, excluding Homer and Virgil, Horace and Ovid, allowed Pindar to have been proved worthy by Alexander, there is no evidence of any detailed knowledge of the poet,[1] and he is not among those authors specifically recommended for the training of young men by Sir Thomas Elyot.[2] Pindar does appear in the impressive list of Greek authors to be read in the early statutes of Blackburn Grammar School, which names Isocrates, Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, 'Pindarus, Olnithrace, Demostenes Oraciouns' [*sic*], and the Greek Testament. The correct reference may be either to Demosthenes' *Olynthiacs* or, possibly, to Pindar's *Olympia*, but in either case it may well be that Pindar was only to be read, if at all, in the extract - the first triad of the first Olympian - which appears in the *Praxis* of Antesignanus at the end of Clenardus' Greek grammar.[3] Westminster School is, of course, of particular interest as the training ground of both Ben Jonson and Cowley, as well as of Dryden, but in this respect the printed curricula are of little assistance, since Pindar is never specifically mentioned, and in a description of the Westminster routine written [supposedly by Archbishop Laud, about 1630,] Pindar is at best only included in the 'other gr and lat. authors' following a list which names only two Greek poets, Homer and Euripides.[4] In the fairly detailed

1 see above, pp. 49-53.

2 Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named the Governour* (1531), ed. H.H.S. Croft, 2 vols, London, 1880, i, 54-70.

3 Clarke, *Classical Education*, pp. 19 and 186n.

4 Baldwin, i, 360.

lists of authors which are available for Merchant Taylor's School and St. Paul's, Pindar has no specific mention.[1] Except for the Clenardus extract, Pindar was not available in any handy selection until the appearance of the Eton College Poetae Graeci, the 'Eton Extracts', in the second half of the eighteenth century:[2] he is not included in Winterton's Poetae Minores Graeci of 1637. By 1660, however, Charles Hoole was recommending that after his pupils become 'well acquainted' with Hesiod and Homer the schoolmaster may let them proceed to Pindar, to taste 'some of his Odes, by the help of Benedictus his Commentary ... '[3]

In the universities throughout the eighteenth century Greek studies were at a notoriously low level. In an age when scholars like Tyrwhitt and Musgrave were pursuing their studies outside college walls, most of the Greek professors at both Oxford and Cambridge were little more than names: M.L. Clarke points out that the obligation to lecture in Greek, and even to study it, was very widely neglected.[4] Thomas Hearne, perhaps not an entirely impartial witness, despairs of the state of the Greek chair in Oxford after the death of Humphrey Hody, one of its more learned incumbents, in a letter to Joshua Barnes, Greek professor in Cambridge from 1695 until his death in 1712: 'I am afraid we shall have but a sorry

1 Clarke, Classical Education, pp. 41-2.

2 Selecta ex Poetis Graecis, cum vulgata versione emendata, ac variis partim scholiastarum graecorum, partim doctorum recentiorum, notis, Eton, 1762.

3 Charles Hoole, A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole, London, 1660, p. 196.

4 M.L. Clarke, Greek Studies in England 1700-1830, Cambridge, 1945, p. 28.

Person to succeed Dr Hody, and that he will not be worthy to be stil'd your Brother.'[1] That this state of things continued right into the last quarter of the century can be judged from the disillusioned comments of undergraduates like Thomas Gray, on Cambridge in the 1730's, or Edward Gibbon on Oxford in the 1750's. According to Gray's friend Richard West, eighteenth century Oxford was 'a country flowing with syllogisms and ale, where Horace and Virgil are equally unknown'.[2] As late as 1773 there is still, apparently, cause for the following plea:

> Yet surely the study of the Mathematics, and of Nature's operations, should not intirely engross the youthful mind . . . It is to the finished compositions of Greece and Rome that the student must direct his view, if he wishes to excel in just sentiment, and expressive diction; yet, excepting the encouragements given by the Chancellor, and University Members, Classical Merit is altogether disregarded.[3]

On a less organised level, however, classical learning flourished in England during the period. Serious undergraduates pursued their own courses of reading, either self-imposed or under the guidance of a tutor, and although Pindar is omitted from the 'method of study' drawn up by one university tutor, Daniel Waterland, around the beginning of the century,[4] there is enough evidence in the incidental

1 Bodl. MS Rawl letters 35, f.230v. Cf. Hearne, Remarks and Collections, ed. C.E. Doble, 11 vols, Oxford, 1885-1921, i, 318-26.

2 Clarke, Classical Education, p. 72.

3 John Jebb, Remarks upon the Present Mode of Education in the University of Cambridge, to which is added a Proposal for its Improvement, Cambridge, 1773, pp. 8-9.

4 Daniel Waterland, Advice to a Young Student. With a Method of study for the first four years, London, 1730.

references in the poetry and prose of the period, discussed in this chapter and the next, to suggest that he must have been at least as widely studied as any other Greek poet apart from Homer. More specific evidence is, however, furnished from a rather curious source, in the appearance, in the Oxford and Cambridge collections of occasional poems on the deaths, births, and marriages of royal personages, of original Greek Pindaric odes. The earliest of these, in the Oxford collection of 1636,[1] was written by a Channel Islander, Jean Poingdestre (1609-1691), who was one of the first holders of a scholarship founded at Oxford by Charles I on behalf of students from Jersey, and was elected a Fellow of Exeter College in 1636, the year of publication of his poem. Poingdestre is of particular interest in this context, as his return to Jersey from Oxford in 1648 (after his expulsion by the parliamentary party) provides a possible link between Jersey and Cowley's Pindaric studies. After the publication of Cowley's Pindarics, English Pindaric odes take their place as a favourite form in these collections, but another Greek ᾠδὴ Πινδαρικὴ appears in 1695, in the Cambridge collection on the death of Queen Mary in which the English form proliferates.[2] The author of this, Charles Daubuz (1673-1717) of Queen's College, was a Frenchman by birth, whose parents had moved to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Daubuz held the post of librarian for his college for two years after his graduation,

1 Flos Britannicus veris novissimi, filiola Carolo et Mariae nata, Oxford, [1636]. See above, p. 63.

2 Lacrymae Cantabrigienses in obitum Serenissimae Reginae Mariae, Cambridge, 1695. Cf. below, pp. 178-9. For Daubuz, see DNB.

until 1695, when he was appointed to a living in Yorkshire from where he produced his best known work, a commentary on the Apocalypse. Another Greek Pindaric is included in the Cambridge collection produced five years later on the death of William of Gloucester in 1700.[1] The author, Samuel Cobb, is this time more familiar, a minor though not insignificant poet whose name is often linked with Pindar, since he produced some noteworthy English Pindaric odes, including a translation of Boileau's ode on the taking of Namur,[2] and also features in an anecdote recorded by Dr Johnson as an illustration of the unwarranted licence of Pindaric imitators, quoted on p. 328 below. The odes by Poingdestre, Daubuz, and Cobb each consist of one triad only: another, longer, Pindaric ode appears in 1714, the contribution of an otherwise unknown Roger Farbrother (1688-1715) to the Oxford collection on the accession of George I.[3] The tradition continues sporadically throughout the eighteenth century, with apparently a 'flowering' around 1760, with several short specimens of one triad, and one consisting of four triads contributed to a Cambridge collection of 1760 by Michael Lort, Regius Professor of Greek.

Possibly the most revealing aspect of these poems is the mere fact of their existence, and the evidence it provides that some interest was being taken in Pindar, if only on an individual level, in the universities: but they do also encourage some more particular reflections

1 Threnodia Academiae Cantabrigiensis in immaturum obitum illustrissimi ac desideratissimi principis Gulielmi ducis Glocestrensis, Cambridge, 1700.

2 · see below, p. 148.

3 Plebas Universitatis Oxoniensis in obitum Reginae Annae, et gratulatio in ... Regis Georgii inauguration[em], Oxford, 1714.

on the state of Pindaric scholarship among those who were not specialists. The first two, of course, pre-date the publication of the Oxford edition. Poingdestre's ode, on the birth of the princess, is full of ligatures and so badly printed as to be at times virtually indecipherable: there is a marked change in this respect by the end of the century. Even apart from the problems of actually reading it, however, Poingdestre's poem is full of difficulties and obscurities of construction and vocabulary. There are very few recognisably Pindaric usages: some words, such as τεκνοῦργος as an adjective, or the compound ἀδυκρέτος, seem to be Poingdestre's own coinages, and several other words are very rare. The factor which most effectively distances the poem from Pindar must, however, be the predominance of the vocabulary of child-birth, none of it, oddly enough, reflecting a debt to the sixth Olympian: Evadne's crimson dyed girdle and silver pitcher are unremembered in this much less lyrical atmosphere of τεκνούργων κλέος, λεχωΐων ὠδίνων, ἑωα βρέφεος, ἀγκάλισμα τίτθας, πόπα θέσκελον, λοχείαν μογοστόκων.

Metrically, Poingdestre's strophe and antistrophe respond correctly enough, but the metres are unrecognisable: the lines, ranging for the most part between seven and nine syllables, could only be analysed after the fashion of the metrical scholiast. In contrast, the ode by Charles Daubuz, generally speaking a much simpler production on the not unfamiliar theme that the best are taken first, is exceptionally interesting in this respect, in that the lines can be scanned very successfully as dactylo-epitrites. They are, in fact, mostly too long to fit into the usual seventeenth and eighteenth centuries patterns of analysis of lyric metre, and the poem as it is printed looks uncannily prophetic of Boeckh's new line arrangement. At the very least, one must

grant Daubuz a much better ear for Greek metre than most of his contemporaries:

Φιλτάταν νυμφᾶν ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἀνώγει
Πενθέειν ὠδᾶς κατακλαιόμενον·
Αὐτὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄπο
Δάκρυ φιῶς τε κωλύει, φωνάν τε βαρυστεναχόντων
Στηθέων ἄχθος τ', ὀδυρμός τε δά-
μων καρτερὸς, μεγάλαι τε βοαί.

Several of the cadences in this strophe, and some of the epithets which occur in the rest of the poem, as well as the final picture of the dead Queen grasping the knees of Zeus in supplication for her husband, suggest that a partial explanation of this apparent metrical precocity lies in the predominantly epic tone of the work. It would be churlish, certainly, to rob Daubuz of all the honour of his metrical success, but the discrepancy between his poem and the current state of knowledge of Pindaric metre probably indicates that he knew his Homer much better than he knew Pindar.

With Samuel Cobb, now supported by the new Oxford edition with its inclusion before each ode of the analyses of the metrical scholia, we return to the old unmusicality. Cobb's metres, like those of Poingdestre, are unidentifiable in modern terms: the one principle which does emerge from his poem, a principle shared probably by both Poingdestre and Daubuz, is that the epode should be characterised by increased irregularity, particularly by greater variety in length of line. Stylistically, however, whereas neither of his two forerunners come very close to Pindar, Samuel Cobb's poem approaches Pindaric pastiche. Dr Johnson's tale of Bentley's submissions notwithstanding, not all of Cobb's phrases and constructions are defensible Pindaric usage: he occasionally has recourse to unusual forms - τὸ ἐλώριον,

for example, meaning 'victim, prey', or ἀνερώσσασα , from a verb more usual in prose than in poetry. Several phrases obviously came to Cobb' mind from a knowledge of the Greek tragedians - e.g. μανίαισι σὺν ὀργᾶσιν ἀνωφελῆ, both possible Sophoclean echoes. But although one feels tempted to challenge Cobb on these points and many others, there can be no doubt that he did know Pindar very well, and the strophe particularly abounds with Pindaric echoes:

ἀναξιφόρμιγγας ὕμνους, ὦ φιλησίμολπε, Εὐφροσύνα,
φωνάν τε | Ἐναρμόσασα Δωρίῳ | πεδίλῳ . [1]

That Cobb was using Pindar not merely as a grandiose label but actually as a model is apparent too from the structure of the poem, with its invocation to Euphrosyne and the request that she should now cease to sing of 'contests', with its proposition. ὀμφὰ Πινδαρικὰ τε χρὴ κελαδεῖν Ἥρωα, τὸν Διογενῆ παῖδα, its rather attractively tasteless myth likening the fever which killed the young prince to the thunderbolt which shrivelled Semele through the kisses of Zeus, and its list of the virtues of the <u>lugendus</u> -

οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν βαιῶν
πράγματος ἐπέβαμεν
οὐκ ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι, οὐδὲ κάλλος
Ἥρωα δύναντο σώζειν
γλώσσᾳ . . .

Although there is ultimately little to show for it, a considerable interest was being taken in Pindar by scholarship at a more professional level. Most significant, of course, is the appearance of the first

1 cf. <u>O</u>.xiv.13; <u>O</u>.ii.1; <u>O</u>.iii.5.

English edition, produced in Oxford by Richard West and Robert Welsted in 1697. As already stated, there is little in the edition which is original except for the collation of five Bodleian manuscripts, one fourteenth century and three fifteenth century members of the extended Moschopoulean family, and one fifteenth century Triclinian. The manuscripts had all been acquired by the Bodleian earlier in the seventeenth century. One, MS. Misc. Gr. 99, probably the oldest of the five, and at one time in the possession of John Free, was presented by Thomas Cecil in 1618; two, MSS. Barocc. 46 and 62, came with the Barocci collection in 1629, and the remaining two, MSS. Laud 713 and 731, with the third Laud bequest in 1639.[1] The collation of the manuscripts is generally full and fairly accurate, but, as Thomas Hearne was to point out, the editors were little accustomed to working with such material, and significant variants are lost in a mass of apparatus which consists largely of glosses. The text, translation, and notes are very closely based on Erasmus Schmid's edition, and Benedictus' paraphrase is included also, as well as Sudorius' Latin Verse translatic The chief merit of the edition is, therefore, that of a useful compendiu the most important features perhaps being the clearness of type and lay-out, the inclusion of the scholia, and the addition of an 'index vocum et locutionum'.

The publication of this edition in 1697 must have provided a considerable impetus to interest in Pindar, although the size and

1 See F. Madan and others, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 7 vols, Oxford, 1895-1953, vols. i and ii.

expense of the volume no doubt precluded it from becoming a part of the regular student library. In the same year, however, a series of lectures on Pindar was given in Cambridge by the professor of Greek, the industrious Joshua Barnes.[1] The lectures, the first of which is dated April 20, 1697, are disconcertingly described in a manuscript catalogue of Barnes's writings as 'thirty-two lectures on the first Olympian ode of Pindar',[2] but in fact, although the last does indeed take us to the end of the first Olympian, the first ten are more generally introductory. Barnes had already lectured on Homer, and in subsequent years was to proceed to Theocritus and Sophocles: his lectures on the Ajax, which were being delivered in 1703, fill two bound volumes. The subjects were all chosen, as he informs his listeners, because each 'in suo certe genere fuit Princeps.'[3] Barnes's frequent appeals to his 'Auditores Academici' or 'Auditores φιλέλληνες' seem to suggest a fairly enthusiastic reception, and his correspondence throughout his tenure shows him to have been held in high esteem by eminent contemporaries and students alike,[4] but it is difficult to conceive that these painstaking and learned Latin productions could have done much to fire the imaginations of a youthful audience - an audience of whom a predecessor, Isaac Barrow, had complained that

1 Emmanuel College MS 151.

2 'Catalogue of Books written by Mr J. Barnes': MS Rawl.J.fol.8 (1

3 Emmanuel College MS 148, (Praelectiones in Sophoclem) p. 1.

4 . A large number of letters to and from Barnes are preserved in the Rawlinson manuscript collection in the Bodleian library.

> not to mountains and woods, but to these walls and benches have I murmured my Greek sentences, figures, phrases and etymologies culled from every source; just like an Attic owl withdrawn from the company of other birds.[1]

In his first lecture, Barnes predictably introduces his subject with an attack upon those who would regard such an occupation as less than worthwhile.

> Quoniam hac aetate, in qua pulcherrima quaeque sordere solent, pro more obtinuit, non sacros modo Poetarum huius seculi impetus deridendos penitus omnibus propinare; verum etiam augustissimos functorum veterumque Poetarum Manes (quorum Nominibus tota assurrexit Antiquitas) sollicitare, stultisque suis et leviculis objectionibus temerare non verentur Virtutis omnis ac scientiae vacui Homunciones: Imo quum apud Doctos alioquin atque prudentes Viros haec de iis habita sit Opinio; ut Nonnulla apud eos obscure sint dicta, alia quoque mediocriter bona; sententiae melioris notae non adeo multae; admiratione digna vix pauca; sensum ipsum alicubi impeditum aiunt, aliquando etiam vacillantem; seque adeo nihil in iis posse deprehendere, quod aut Expectationi suae respondeat, aut famae ipsorum: nihilque prorsus aliud illorum Opera, quam meram Infamiam, Sapere; ac proinde haerentem eorum capitibus per tot secula multa cum laude Coronam dejiciunt iterum et hanc turpiter provolvunt. Ego itaque, ut caecorum furori obvius eam, aut certe illius Cursum aliquo modo inhibeam, priusquam ulterius in hoc Authore procedam, nonnulla de eius Vita, Eminentia atque Authoritate praemittam, Philologis forsan non ingrata; quando eum a primis incunabulis ad tumulum usque per exactissimam Olympiadum seriem deducam, multa interim hic illic ex abditissimis Veteris Historiae mysteriis inspergem, tum demum de Scriptis eius, et de Carminis ratione Metroque, nec non de Poematum ipsius materia atque methodo, Ingenii que tam vasti excellentia et quibus potissimum sit causis omni honore atque admiratione dignus, inquiram, atque expedire conabor ut quantumvis otiosi homines contra Pindarum ad ravim usque oggannniant. Vos tamen, Auditores Academici, aperte videatis, quantum ille et omnium Veneratione et Praelectionibus hisce meis et vestra insuper attentione studioque prae Reliquis omnino dignus habeatur.

1 Isaac Barrow, Theological Works, ed. A. Napier, 9 vols., Cambridge, 1859 ix, 156.

[Since it has become the custom in this age, in which the most beautiful things are held of little account, not only to consid the sacred impulses of the poets of this century worthy of general derision, but also to harass the venerable shades of dead and ancient poets (at whose names all Antiquity rose in admiration), and since little men, devoid of all worth and learning, do not fear to desecrate them with their stupid and trivial objections: especially since the opinion is current among some otherwise learned and prudent men that several thing among the ancients are obscure in expression, or mediocre in quality; that there are few sentiments worthy of note and that not much is worthy of admiration. The sense itself, they say, is in some places difficult to grasp, and sometimes even confus and they themselves find it so impossible to discover anything in these writings which fulfils either their own expectations or the reputation of the authors: they say, in short, that the works of the ancients savor of nothing other than pure infamy; and accordingly they cast down again the Crown which has sat fast for so many centuries multa cum laude upon their heads, and knock it shamefully about.
In order, therefore, to meet the blind ravings of these critics or at least to check their progress in some way, before going further into this author I shall set out some observations on h life, on his pre-eminence, and on his reputation, to scholars perhaps not unwelcome. When I have brought him from the cradle to the tomb through a strict sequence of Olympiads, I shall intersperse here and there in the meantime many items from the most hidden mysteries of ancient history; then at length I shall inquire into his writings - into the metrical system of his poetry, into the matter and method of his poems, and the excellence of so great a natural gift, and into the main reasons why he should be worthy of all honour and admiration, and I shal try to bring it about that idle men may snarl against Pindar until they are hoarse. May you, however, auditores academici, clearly see how much he above the rest is held to be entirely worthy of the homage of all, and of these my lectures, and - especially - of your own attention and study.][1]

Despite the exhortation with which it concludes, this rambling and vituperative introduction is hardly an inspiring start. Barnes is clearly concerned with the kind of attack made upon Pindar by the 'moderns', like Charles Perrault, in France, and with the rather niggling criticisms about matters of taste and decorum which were the special province of the neo-classical critics,[2] but neither this passage nor the subsequent lectures really provide any more effective defence than a conservative respect for

1 Emmanuel College MS 151, p. 1.

2 see below, pp. 151f.

the judgment of past ages and a dislike of those who would call that judgment into question whom Barnes describes, with typically narrow dismissiveness and underestimation of his opponents, as 'homunciones', 'otiosi homines', in the grip of 'caecus furor'.

The first four lectures, as promised, deal in meticulous detail with Pindar's life, combining a strict chronological framework of archons and Olympiads with an exhaustive survey of all the known episodes, historical and legendary, of Pindar's birth, life, and death. In the fifth lecture Barnes begins by discussing some ancient criticisms of Pindar and testimonia to his worth, and ends with a brief reference to the modern works of Pindaric scholarship. Characteristic of the lectures in general and of this one in particular is a wealth of erudition and scholarly annotation which would be remarkable in an edition of the poet, let alone a series of lectures upon him: here, Barnes, while hinting that most interest attaches to the judgments of writers like Plato, Horace, Quintilian, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, amasses also a host of lesser references from Ovid, Statius, Propertius, Aelian, Plutarch, Pausanias, the Greek anthology, Athenaeus, Justinian, Clement of Alexandria, Galen, and Maximus of Tyre.

> Infinitus essem, si omnes omnium aetatum Authores Graecos et Latinos enumeraverim, qui Pindari autoritatem deosculati sint, et illius flosculis suas corollas adornarent.[1]

Among modern works, it is interesting - in view of the notorious Homer and Solomon episode of ten years later - to find that Barnes expresses a particular admiration for Michael Neander's Aristologia:

> qui certe labor est non minoris ingenii, quam utilitatis; habet enim Poeta noster Elegantissimos locos de Virtutibus, de Moribus contra Vitia, contra Impietatem, contra

1 ibid, p. 34.

> Avaritiam, et similia; item Phrases iucundissimas, verba exquisita, nihil sordidum, nihil sine ratione innovatum, durum nihil; totus elegans, pius, suavis, gravis, mundus, rotundus per omnia.[1]

In the sixth lecture Barnes proceeds to discuss Pindar's lost works, particularly regretting the disappearance of his tragedies, and translating and discussing at length the fragment Δεῦτ' ἐν χορόν (Snell fr. 75); subsequent lectures deal with the Games.

The tenth lecture is devoted to a study of Pindar's metre,

> non quod observatu non sit facile, sed quod communiter inobservatum relinquitur, plurimorum animis, ut puto, ad inquirendo factis aversis ex illo Horatii de hoc nostro Poeta loquentis, numerisque fertur lege solutis. At non obstans hoc μορμολυκείῳ, certe certius est, quod vel Horatius per illud intellexit, Pindarum iis numeris uti, qui magis liberam imaginationem admitterent, vel illud tantum de Dithyrambis illius dixit, quod legibus minus quidem constrictis formant.[2]

The whole lecture, in fact, takes us not much further than this. Barnes, side-tracked for a time into a discussion of Horace's use of the term epode, deals only with the structural aspects of Pindar's triads, listing some of the odes which fail to conform. The fifth Olympian presents a special problem, being an exception to the rule 'nisi malimus tertium illus μέλος, quod Vulgo metrorum similitudine persuasi στροφὴν secundam vocant, ἀντῳδὸν conferre, quanquam tria illa μέλη, mallem ego στροφὰς omnes vocare.'[3] On the categorisation of Olympian 14 Barnes agrees with the Oxford editors: 'duabus tantum στροφαῖς constat, sibi nequaquam respondentibus; unde Couleius sibi Pindaricorum suorum licentiam videtur sumpsisse.'[4] The point about the

1 ibid., p. 35

2 ibid., p. 61

3 p. 63

4 ibid.

Cowleyan Pindaric is re-emphasised later:

> quare nullo modo putandum, Pindarum nostrum tali libertate in carmine usum, quali nostrates Poetae in suis, uti vocant, Pindaricis; cum is semper ad priores numeros accurate recurrat et insigni arte ac diligentia Musicaeque et carminis legibus prospiciat.[1]

It is worth noting here that Barnes himself, although he published an irregular pindaric on the death of Charles II in 1685, had also written, apparently in 1686, a triadic Pindaric ode 'On Charles E. of Westmoreland his Picture, given by him to Emmanuel Coll.'[2] He clearly felt, however, that any attempt to shake Cowley's influence, such as Congreve was to make a decade later, would be in vain: 'tantumque apud nostrales invaluit, et radices egit; ut vereor, ne frustra sit, qui praeceptis illud nunc amolire conatur.'[3]

The remaining twenty-two lectures form a detailed exegesis of the first Olympian. One of the regular features of Barnes's professorial lectures was apparently the Latin verse translation with which he followed each section of the Greek: at the beginning of the eleventh lecture he reminds his listeners that they have heard such a translation of the whole of the first book of the Odyssey, and promises the same for Pindar. Apart from this verse translation, the discussion of each passage includes much paraphrase and basic exposition. Points for more detailed discussion often involve etymology and textual comment, where Barnes shows constant if

1 p. 64.

2 Emmanuel College MS 171 (Poemata Lat. et Ang. a Jos. Barnes), ff. 1-2 (from back).

3 MS 151, p. 64.

undiscriminating interest in the readings of the Palatine manuscripts collated by Schmid and the Bodleian manuscripts very recently examined by the Oxford editors. A specimen from the seventeenth lecture will provide a representative idea of Barnes's method, and also of the tendency to sidetrack which alone could have enabled him to draw out the first Olympian to such length. The meaning of the passage - 'unde clare perspicimus integritatem et candorem ingenii, quo excelluit Dircaeus hic Cygnus'[1] - is expounded in a translation and a paraphrase, and its moral function explained with the aid of Schmid: 'sequitur nunc Invectiva in vanitatem hominum, plus Fabulis, quam Veritati, tribuentium ... Simul etiam dehortatur a Vanitate Fabularum in Deos impiarum.'[2] From here Barnes moves on to a closer examination of the Greek.

> ἡ βαῦμα τὰ πολλά , ita omnes antiqui Codices habent et accipiunt Interpretes vel adverbialiter pro ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ , quasi dicat, ut plurimum hoc mirabile, quod Fabulae animos hominum adeo transversum rapiant, vel Neutraliter ... quod mirum sit, tam multa in hac una fabula esse absurda. Verbi gratia, carnes humanas Diis esse appositas, Pelopem in lebete fuisse recoctum, et vitae restitutum. Ebur, quod plane ἑτερογενὲς est, accrevisse reliquis partibus corporis humani: Cererem tantae aviditatis et voracitatis fuisse, ut reliquis omnibus Diis abstmentibus, sola comederit nec prius vel senserit, vel admonita fuerit, de hoc infausto convivio, quam totam scapulam devorasset. Caeterum Eustathius ad Iliados tertium, legere videtur hoc loco, θαυμὰ πολλὰ, quod verius agnosco, inquit Schmidius, ut sit a θαυμαστὸς ἡ, όν, pro θαυμαστὸς , non autem a θαῦμα substantivo. Benedictus legit ἦν θαύματα πολλὰ ...

Barnes, though inconclusive, tends to favour the evidence of Eustathius because he would have had access to good manuscripts.

1 p. 109.

2. p. 110.

> Θωμαστής ego idem quod Θωμαντὸς et Θωμάσιος, a θῶμα pro quo Ἰῶνες θῶμα et θώμιον, unde nonnulli vocem Θωμᾶς proprium nomen idem quod Θωμάσιος valere putant; verum errant, cum illa vox nequaquam Graecae originis sit, sed Syrae et Μάωμος sonat, ut recte Grammaticorum Coryphaeus, Hesychius, Θωμᾶς, ἄβουλος, δύσμορος. . . . De vocibus φρονῶν et φρῆν diximus ad Homerum, Hoc in loco, φρενῶν φρένας pro φρονῶς dixit, quia error Mortalium est error Mentis, quando per Apparentias decipiuntur. ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον) A Graeca voce ὑπὲρ Latina super aperte ducitur, ut ab ὑς, sus, ὑπό, sub, de qua me olim . . .[1]

Barnes's devotion to his subject and to his duties as professor can only be commended, but the absence of any critical intelligence behind his industry makes his work almost entirely worthless except as a curiosity. Thomas Warton's response to the Theocritus lectures, lent to him by Richard Farmer seventy years later, shows the same disappointment: 'nulli tamen mihi in hoc opere adjumento fuere: nam trita tantum et pervulgata dudum prae se ferunt, nugisque praeterea abundant operosis.'[2]

The Oxford edition, the first to be produced after a lapse of seventy years, was eagerly awaited by the scholarly world. J.G. Graevius writes to Bentley from Utrecht in October, 1695, that 'a vobis expectamus Xenophontem, Thucydidem, Pindarum.'[3] A year later Graevius writes, after sending a specimen of Spanheim's Manetho, that

> in notis Spanhemii videbis illum collegisse multa Pindari fragmenta. Si forte illa desiderabitis ad editionem, quam apud vos adornant, operam dabo, ut illorum vobis copiam faciat.[4]

1 pp. 110-11. The cross-reference to the Homer commentary is of course to the previous series of lectures, and not to Barnes's edition of Homer, which was not published until 1711.

2 Theocriti quae supersunt, 2 vols., Oxford, 1770, i, p. xvii.

3 Correspondence of Richard Bentley, ed. Christopher Wordsworth, 2 vols. in one, London, 1842, p. 100.

4 ibid., pp. 122-3.

The use of the third person does suggest that Graevius is here referring to the Oxford editors then preparing Pindar for the press, and it is unlikely that the offer is connected with Bentley's own project for an edition of the fragments of the Greek poets, mentioned with some concern a year later by Jean le Clerc, who was entertaining a similar idea for Menander and Philemon. The Oxford edition finally, however, contained only those fragments which had been collected by Schmid. Le Clerc had received a copy by June, 1698, and writes to Locke that he finds it 'fort belle, mais je n'ai pas encore eu le temps de l'examiner avec un peu de soin.'[1] Once the edition was more closely examined, opinion was to become less favourable, and Thomas Hearne severely criticises it in 1706:

> As for y^e^ said Edition of Pindar tho' 'tis printed in a Good Letter & Paper, yet y^e^ Editors being careless & not much versed in old MSS. (a fault common to most of the Fellows and even others in Oxon) & being not withall diligent enough in collecting Materials & consulting Authors there are a great many Blunders in it, besides divers material Omissions to y^e^ no small Blemish of the undertaking.[2]

It was perhaps this dissatisfaction with the work of West and Welsted which led Bodley's librarian, John Hudson, to propose around this time to Joshua Barnes that he should undertake to produce an edition of Pindar as well as the Homer he intended. Barnes had come to Hudson's notice a few years earlier, and in March, 1704 Hudson had written:

1 Letter dated 17 June 1698, Lettres inédites de le Clerc à Locke, ed. Gabriel Bonno, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959, p. 107. A serious blunder appears in the introduction, p. 16, where the editor speaks of 'la récente édition de Pindare par Bentley'.

2 Thomas Hearne, Remains and Collections, ed. C.E. Doble, 11 vols., Oxford, 1885-1921, i, 153.

> Some time a goe I had two places of Pindar from you restor'd to y^e^ just Measures w^th^ such accuracy, y^t^ I cannot easily forgett you, nor the great civility w^th^ w^ch^ they were communicated to me.[1]

The lack of any supporting detail gives Pindar a ghost-like quality in the following exchange of letters, which perhaps also provides a sufficient reason for the general failure of such enterprises to come to fruition:

Barnes to Hearne, 9 November, 1706.

> Homer I'll think upon soon, nor forget Pindar, no more than 'tis possible to forget Dr Hudson or Dr Aldwich ...[2]

Barnes to Hearne, 11 February, 1707

> I am here [Hemingford-Abbot] all y^e^ time, being excus'd above, on Homer and Pindar's Account ... Get me a Bookseller at Oxford & a μοθάριον, & I'll begin Pindar w^th^ in y^e^ month. But to put me on y^s^ or y^t^ w^th^ out any prospect, convinces me, I had as good do, what I do. Mrs Barnes would ha' me get some Benefit by my study and Reason would y^e^ same. Make an agreeable Bargain, & I'll stand to your Condition.[3]

Barnes to Hudson, 18 February, 1707.

> Get somebody also to undertake Pindar & I'm ready; for y^e^ work of providing Booksellers is not in my way.[4]

Barnes to Hearne, 10 April, 1707.

> I wrote not long since to Dr Hudson, about Pindar, if he can find any Bookseller will undertake it, let me know y^e^ Condition & I'll be ready in a fortnight, but he sayes nothing; so what can I do? I'll undertake any thing, on good grounds, but no more, upon uncertainty.[5]

1 Bodl. MS Rawl. letters 75 f. 162.

2 MS Rawl. C. 146 f. 49.

3 ibid., f. 50.

4 ibid., f. 54.

5 ibid., f. 55.

Hearne to Barnes, 21 April, 1707.
I have look'd into the MS^t Homer . . . I show'd Dr Hudson your Letter, but he resolv'd nothing about Pindar.[1]

Barnes to Hearne, 14 July, 1707.
I could have gone on w^th Pindar at the same time if the Dean (?) had thought fit. But I can't bargain w^th Booksellers.[2]

1 MS Rawl. letters 40 f. 78.

2 MS Rawl. letters 24 f. 3.

ii. Pindar's critical status

Cowley's popularisation of Pindar in his immensely influential translations and imitations ensured the transition of 'the Theban Swan' from the slightly mystified regard in which he had been held since the Renaissance into a full acceptance into the neo-classical pantheon. Pindar's place in the temple of fame was secure: and in Pope's poem of that title, written in 1711, he is numbered, with Homer, Virgil, Horace, Aristotle, and Cicero, among 'the greatest Names in Learning of all Antiquity'.[1] By virtue of this position he appears in the forefront of much of the critical theory and controversy of the day, assuming over all a composite character which is perhaps formed as much by the critical demands of the age as by the actual knowledge - which was certainly increasing - of his works. In Pope's temple Pindar's column stands between those of Virgil and Horace:

> Four Swans sustain a Carr of Silver bright,
> With Heads advanc'd, and Pinions stretch'd for Flight:
> Here, like some furious Prophet, Pindar rode,
> And seem'd to labour with th'inspiring God.
> A-cross the Harp a careless Hand he flings,
> And boldly sinks into the sounding Strings,
> The figur'd Games of Greece the Column grace,
> Neptune and Jove survey the rapid Race:
> The Youths hand o'er their Chariots as they run;
> The fiery Steeds seem starting from the Stone;
> The Champions in distorted Postures threat,
> And all appear'd irregularly great.[2]

Pope's own note elaborates upon the iconography of the column:

1 Alexander Pope, 'The Temple of Fame', 178-243 note: Poems (Twickenham edition, general editor John Butt), 11 vols, London and New Haven, 1950-69, ii, 393.

2 'The Temple of Fame', 210-221.

> Pindar being seated in a Chariot, alludes to the Chariot-Races he celebrated in the Grecian Games. The Swans are Emblems of Poetry, their soaring Posture imitates the Sublimity and Activity of his Genius. Neptune presided over the Isthmian, and Jupiter over the Olympian Games.[1]

This presentation of Pindar on his column of fame necessarily draws its strength from the popularity and conventionality of the ideas of which it is composed, and in its representative nature as well as its comprehensiveness it provides a useful starting point for an examination of the components and terminology of the neo-classical idea of Pindar - his relation to other poets, the 'divine' nature of his inspiration, and the 'bold' and 'irregular' character of his poetry.

Inevitably, the poetic character of Pindar, mystifying even to those who had made some attempt to understand it at first hand, is often most concretely expressed in the form of a comparison with other works which would have been rather better known. The opening couplet of the lines on Horace which immediately follow Pope's description of Pindar in his chariot takes up one of the most recurrent motifs of Pindaric criticism, that of comparison between the two great lyric poets of the Greek and the Roman world:

> Here happy Horace tun'd th'Ausonian Lyre
> To sweeter Sounds, and temper'd Pindar's Fire...[2]

The first critical work on Pindar of any magnitude is a comparison of Pindar and Horace written by Francois Blondel, an architect to Louis XIV,

1 ibid., note.

2 'The Temple of Fame', 222-3.

and published in 1673.[1] The essay must subsequently have become fairly widely known: translated into English in 1696 by Sir Edward Sherburne, and into Latin in 1704, it was reprinted in two editions of the works of Rapin, and appears again, this time with no acknowledgment of the original authorship, in an English translation by the physician and miscellaneous writer Ralph Schomberg, in 1769.[2]

The comparatio had been a favourite form of literary criticism since classical times: the most relevant influence on later Pindaric criticism is the use of the method by 'Longinus' in the digression in the Περὶ Ὕψους on the contrast between flawed genius and flawless mediocrity:

> τί δέ; ἐν μέλεσι μᾶλλον ἂν εἶναι Βακχυλίδης ἕλοιο ἢ Πίνδαρος;[3]

Bacchylides, represented in the Stephanus edition of the fragments of the Greek lyric poets, and in the later editions based upon it, by a handful of fragments of which only two were of any considerable length,[4] was too unfamiliar an example to have much appeal to the critical imagination of

1 Comparaison de Pindare et d'Horace, Paris, 1673. References and quotations from The Comparison of Pindar and Horace... English'd by Sir Edward Sherburne, Kt., London, 1696.

2 Jacques le Paulmier de Grentemesnil, Κριτικὸν ἐπιχείρημα, sive pro Lucano apologia, Leyden, 1704; first volume of René Rapin, Oeuvres diverses, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1686, and 3 vols, Amsterdam, 1709; Ralph Schomberg, A Critical Dissertation on the Character and Writings of Pindar and Horace, in a letter to the Rt. Hon the Earl of B –, London, 1769.

3 On the Sublime, 33.5.

4 Neither was from his epinicians: they were the paean πίκτες δέ τε θνατοῖσιν εἰρήνα μεγαλάνορα πλοῦτον (Snell fr. 4), and the 'parthenion' γλυκεῖ' ἀνάγκα (Snell fr. 20 B, part of an encomium to Alexander son of Amyntas.)

the time, but it was a small step to the substitution in his place of Horace, seen in this context simply as Pindar's disciple. The responsibility was not entirely Horace's own. With the same kind of disregard for historical perspective, eighteenth century critics tended to place Virgil against Homer as the representative of Art against that of Nature,[1] and Jacob Tollius, in some observations on Longinus, declares it his specific intention to show, by means of three comparisons -- between Pindar and Horace, Theocritus and Virgil, Apollonius and Ovid -- the superiority of 'Graecae facundiae' over the Latin tongue in general.[2] This was a usual stance: as Pope declared,

> Indeed the Greek has some Advantages both from the natural Sound of its Words, and the Turn and Cadence of its Verse, which agree with the Genius of no other Language. Virgil was very sensible of this, and used the utmost Diligence in working up a more intractable Language to whatsoever Graces it was capable of . . .[3]

The main impetus, however, came from Horace himself:

> multa Dircaeum levat aura cycnum,
> tendit, Antoni, quotiens in altos
> nubium tractus. ego apis Matinae
> more modoque
>
> grata carpentis thyma per laborem
> plurimum circa nemus uvidique
> Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
> carmina fingo.[4]

1 e.g. Dryden, 'Preface to the Fables' (1700), Essays, ed. W.P. Ker, 2 vols, Oxford, 1900, ii, 251-4; Pope, 'Preface to The Iliad', Poems, vii, 12.

2 'Animadversionum Criticarum ad Longinum Gustus', in his edition of Longinus, De Sublimitate, Utrecht, 1694, p. 349.

3 Pope, Poems, vii, 11; cf. Dryden, Essays, ii, 253.

4 Odes iv.2.25-32.

In Cowley's rendering of the lines the contrast becomes more marked:

> Lo, how th'obsequious Wind, and swelling Ayr
> The Theban Swan does upwards bear
> Into the walks of Clouds, where he does play,
> And with extended Wings opens his liquid way.
> Whilst, alas, my tim'erous Muse
> Unambitious tracks pursues;
> Does with weak unballast wings
> About the mossy Brooks and Springs;
> About the Trees new-blossom'ed Heads;
> About the Gardens painted Beds,
> About the Fields and flowry Meads,
> And all inferior beauteous Things
> Like the laborious Bee,
> For little Drops of Honey flee.
> And there with Humble Sweets contents her Industry.[1]

Conclusions about the contrast between the two show little variation.

At the end of his treatise Blondel expresses the standard opinion:

> Pindar has some things more surprizing than Horace and comes nearer, as we may say, to what is Divine . . . But for Horace, he hath a larger extent of Knowledge than Pindar, more Equalness, more Sweetness, and Jovialness, and much fewer Defects.[2]

Noel d'Argonne, a Chartreuse monk writing under the pseudonym Vigneul-Marville, uses almost identical terms in his Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature at the end of the century: Pindar is more elevated, Horace more delicate, more 'equal'. 'L'un donnoit plus à l'antousiasme [sic] et l'autre au bon sens.'[3]

Blondel's 'comparison' of the two poets maintains a fairly symmetrical pattern, the first part little more than a rearrangement of the traditional biographical and anecdotal material to highlight the parallelism of their lives and moral characters. In the following critical section, however, the works of each are discussed almost entirely independently, the only

1 'The Praise of Pindar', stanza 4. Poems, p. 179.

2 Blondel, Comparison, pp. 87-8.

3 Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature, 3 vols, Rotterdam and Paris, 1700-1702, ii, 127.

point of contact being the comparison in the concluding paragraph. Jacob Tollius's brief note is, in contrast, an exercise in comparative practical criticism, devoted to an examination of the losses incurred by Horace in his rendering, at the beginning of the twelfth ode of the first book, of the first lines of the second Olympian.

> Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
> tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
> quem deum?

Latin itself is seen as less susceptible of sublimity than Greek, the repetition of the 'e' and 'm' sounds in 'quem' producing a much lower effect than the Greek τίνα, which, with its nu and iota - 'quae plena dulcedinis est' - pleases the ear 'modulo quodam iucundissimo'. In Horace the effect is lessened - 'laxatur magnitudo' - by the disjunctives which keep the two parts of the anaphora too far apart. The use of the singular 'Clio' is in its nature 'humilior' than Pindar's plural and Horace's rearrangement of the order 'god, hero, man' loses in poetic effect all that Horace was supposed, by Tollius and others,[1] to have aspired to gain in rhetorical correctness:

> Advertite igitur sinceram naturalemque in Pindaro magnitudinem, quam ipsa veritas suppeditabat. Verum in Horatio Sophistica est, ficta, elaborata arte ad veri similitudinem; et consequenter ad illius fastigium non accedit. Plerumque enim ab archetypo pulchro absolutoque labitur ac decidit imitatio: nec tamen facile est naturae decora aemulari, quam laudare. Hic est lapsus Horatii, et hoc in dispositione peccatum.[2]

Another attempt to go beyond a vaguely generalised comparison between the two is made by the French Academician Claude Fraguier, giving a reassessment of Pindar's character in the first decade of the eighteenth century.[3]

1 e.g. Olaus Borrichius, Dissertationes Academici de Poetis, Frankfurt, 1683, p. 25.

2 Tollius, 'Animadversionum ad Longinum Custus', p. 350.

3 'Le Caractère de Pindare', Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettres, ii (1717), 34-47.

On the subject of digressions, Fraguier defends Pindar on the grounds that his digressions never fail to lead him to greater heights, being the result of violent impressions working upon his heated imagination. Dismissing the idea that the digression in Horace's ode 'Iustum et tenacem propositi virum' (Odes iii.3) is a warning to Augustus against removing the seat of the Empire to Troy, Fraguier finds that this passage, like the digressions in the propemptica to Virgil (Odes i.3) and Galatea (Odes iii.27), has no real connection with the subject:

> Il est aisé d'en marquer la différence, sans parler de celle du stile, qui dans Pindare a toujours plus de force, plus d'énergie et plus de noblesse que dans Horace. Les digressions dans ces trois Odes, sur tout dans la première, ne tiennent que fort peu au sujet; et il semble que, sans y faire tort, on auroit pu mettre toute autre chose à la place. Pindare au contraire ne se jette jamais absolument a quartier.[1]

Horace, as a follower of Pindar, is using a Pindaric kind of poetic liberty, but his handling of it is greatly inferior, the 'foible imitation' of an apt pupil who understands the master's manner but is not his equal in genius.

Such comparisons, over-riding as they do all considerations of differences in intention and milieu, hardly result in a balanced comparative assessment of the two poets, but this is the context of Pope's lines in 'The Temple of Fame'; of Elijah Fenton's invocation to the Muses to receive him into their

> blest Retreat
> Where Horace wantons at your Spring,
> And Pindar sweeps a bolder String;[2]

1 ibid., p. 40.

2 Fenton, 'An Ode to the Right Honourable John Lord Gower. Written in the Spring, 1716', Poems on several Occasions, London, 1717, p. 219.

and of Joseph Addison's vision of Cowley, out of breath and unable to keep pace with Pindar, falling back into the more congenial and less demanding company of Horace and Anacreon.[1] Despite the picture which emerges from such theorising, however, in practice at least there were few eighteenth century writers who knew little enough of Horace to treat him simply as a disciple of Pindar, and even when he is seen in this context there were always those, like Charles Perrault, ready to accord him a favourable treatment as having, in his imitation, avoided the worst of Pindar's 'galimatias impénétrables'.[2] Joseph Trapp, in the sixteenth of his Oxford lectures on poetry, favours Horace for a different reason, taking up a stance apparently directly opposite to that of Claude Praguier: 'Poetam Thebanum saepe imitatur Horatius; Pindaro etiam ipso interdum magis Pindaricus. Ut in isto Poematio, cujus initio prosperam navigationem Virgilio precatur . . .'[3]

In view of the relative unfamiliarity of the works of the other Greek lyric poets in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is not to be wondered at that they were displaced in this context by the historically less accurate but more critically satisfying comparison with Horace. There is, however, one other body of writing with a long-standing tradition of association with Pindar. When Cowley discussing the advantages of free imitation over a close translation, instances the general failure of the translators of the Psalms to approach anywhere near

1 The Spectator, no. 514 (20 October 1712): ed. D.F. Bond, 5 vols, Oxford, 1965, iv, 329.

2 Perrault, Paralelle des anciens et des modernes, en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences, second edition, 3 vols, Amsterdam, 1693, ii, 125.

3 'De Poesi Lyrica', Praelectiones Poeticae: in Schola Naturalis Philosophiae Oxon. Habitae, 4 vols, Oxford, 1711-19, ii, 108.

the greatness of the original, and declares that the Psalms were 'to the Hebrews of David's time, though not to our Hebrews of Buxtorfius's making, the most exalted pieces of Poesie',[1] he is not making an original observation. The psalms were commonly held to be the oldest kind of lyric poetry, and the model for all later lyricists. Drayton, in the ode 'To Himself and his Harpe', traces the later progress of lyric poetry through Pindar, Horace, the Druids, Skelton and Soowtherne from their original:

> ... those Prophetike strings
> Whose sounds with fiery Wings,
> Drave Fiends from their abode,
> Touch'd by the best of Kings
> That sang the holy Ode.[2]

The relationship felt to exist between the lyric poetry of western Europe and the scriptures must, of course, be seen in the wider context of the literary criticism of the Bible in the Renaissance, the growing awareness - expressed in the writings of figures such as Petrarch, Erasmus, and John Colet, of lesser writers like George Wither and Barnaby Googe, and of rhetoricians like Richard Sherry and John Smith - of the scriptures as a body of writing to be considered in aesthetic as well as doctrinal terms.[3] Gabriel Harvey, writing in 1592, shows an untroubled acceptance both of the homogeneity of the sacred writings and classical poetry and of the element of rhetoric, even artifice, common to both:

1 Cowley, 'Preface to the Pindarique Odes', Poems, p. 156.

2 The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J. William Hebel, 5 vols, Oxford, 1961, ii, 348.

3 See, for a full treatment of the subject, Israel Baroway, 'The Bible as Poetry in the English Renaissance: An Introduction', JEGP xxxii (1933), 447-480, and the two subsequent articles by the same author: 'The Hebrew Hexameter: A Study in Renaissance Sources and Interpretation', ELH ii (1935), 66-91; and '"The Lyre of David": A Further Study in Renaissance Interpretation of Biblical Form', ELH viii (1941), 119-42.

> Good sweete Oratour, be a deuine Poet indeede: and use heauenly Eloquence indeede: and employ thy golden talent with amounting usance indeede: and with heroicall Cantoes honour right Vertue, and brave valour indeede . . . Right Artificiality . . . is not mad-brained, or ridiculous, or absurd, or monstrous: but deepe-conceited, but pleasurable, but delicate, but exquisite, but gracious, but admirable . . . according to the fine modell of Orpheus, Homer, Pindarus, and the excellentest wittes of Greece, and of the lande that flowed with milke, and hony. For what Festivall Hymnes so divinely dainty, as the sweete Psalmes of King David . . . or what sage Gnomes, so profoundly pithy, as the wise Prouerbes of King Salomon . . . ? Such lively springes of streaming Eloquence: and such right-Olympicall hilles of amountinge witte: I cordially recommend to the deere Lovers of the Muses.[1]

Seen in this context, Pindar, to Jacob Tollius an 'archetypum pulchrum absolutumque', is of course himself an imitator. According to Joseph Trapp, although the kind of poetry which has 'licentia' as its main characteristic is commonly called Pindaric, it is by no means original to Pindar:

> constat enim ad illum sicut et Graecos alios, literas a populis orientalibus a Judaeis scilicet et Phaenicibus derivatas fuisse. Ea autem fuit indoles eloquentiae orientalis, non solum Metaphoris atque Hyperbolis audacissimis abundare, sed in prolixas etiam Digressiones excurrere: quae plurimae in sacris Libris extant observandae.[2]

A more detailed parallelism, together with a rather eccentric chronology, had been drawn by Thomas Lodge in his Defence of Poetry, where in answer to the pamphleteer Stephan Gosson he declares:

1 Harvey, 'Foure Letters', Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 3 vols, London, 1884-5, i, 217-8.

2 'De Poesi Lyrica', Praelectiones Poeticae, ii, 108.

> Beroaldus can witnes with me that Dauid was a poet, and that his vayne was in imitating (as S. Ierom witnesseth) Horace Flaccus, and Pindarus; sometimes his verse runneth in an Iambus foote, anone he hath recourse to a Saphic vaine, and aliquando semipede ingreditur.[1]

Lodge's surprising statement rests upon a misinterpretation of the passage in Jerome on which it is based:

> Quid Psalterio canorius, quod in morem nostri Flacci, et Graeci Pindari, nunc iambo currit, nunc Alcaico personat, nunc Sapphico tumet, nunc semipede ingreditur.[2]

but regardless of detail it is clear that the belief that the Psalmist composed 'in morem ... Pindari' was already of long standing when it was taken up in the Renaissance. The suggestion in Jerome that Hebrew poetry could be analysed in the terms of classical prosody was not, in fact, carried to its final limits until well into the seventeenth century. The patristic tradition exemplified by Jerome is clearly at the root of the Davidis Lyra, a scriptural 'ars poetica', published at Leyden in 1637, which analysed the Hebrew prosody on classical lines, providing parallels specifically from Pindar and Sophocles.[3] The author, Franciscus Comarus (1563-1641) was a noted Hebraist, educated in Germany and England and professor of Hebrew successively in Saumur

1 Lodge, 'Defence of Poetry' (1579), Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. C. Gregory Smith, 2 vols, Oxford, 1904, i, 71.

2 'Praefatio in Librum II Chronicorum Eusebii', Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. J. Migne, xxvii, Paris, 1884, 223-4.

3 Franciscus Gomarus, Davidis Lyra, seu nova Hebraea S. Scripturae Ars Poetica Canonibus suis descripta, Et exemplis sacris, et Pindari ac Sophoclis parallelis, demonstrata: Cum selectorum Davidis, Salomonis, Ieremiae, Mosis, et Jobi poematum analysi poetica, Leyden, 1637.

and Leyden.[1] His metrical principles are founded upon the Hephaestion tradition with elaborations from later metrical scholars: his analyses of Pindaric cola generally follow those of the Greek scholia, which were printed complete in the edition he was using, that of Paulus Stephanus printed in Geneva in 1599.[2] He does, however, show a high degree of independence of secondary sources as regards both the interpretation and the metre of Pindar: his Latin renderings of the Greek, for example, are not given verbatim from the Stephanus translation.

The metrical pattern into which the Hebrew lines are analysed run from simple iambic and trochaic monometers through the gamut of metrical intricacies to mixed antispastic dimeters brachycatalectic and imperfect hypercatalectic paeons. On these scientific principles are established a set of rules for scriptural verse, the first, and most fundamental, establishing that

> Omnia S. Scripturae poemata Hebraea, variis ac promiscuis carminum generibus constant. Qualia sunt omnia Pindari, et Lyrica apud Sophoclem plurima.[3]

Nearly a century before Gomarus's researches into the technical skills underlying Hebrew prosody, Michael Neander, in the Epistola Nuncupatoria to his selection of passages from Pindar, had reported a surprising heterodoxy on the part of some of his contemporaries:

> (Pindarum) ex nostris quidam tanti fecerunt, et adhuc faciunt, ut fateri non dubitarint, se eius lectione plus teneri et affici, quam nulla quantum vis docta lyra Davidica, in qua Christum personat, et in psalterio decachordo ab inferis excitat resurgentem. Id argumentum de Christo ... plane sit absconditum: tamen aiunt, quod quae psalmi concionantur de providentia, de praesentia Dei in genere humano, de poenis improborum, et liberatione aeterna iustorum, quae item habent praecepta omnia virtutum, eadem legantur similiter in carmine Pindarico, sed longe dulciora

1 Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Leipzig, 1879, ix, 363-5.

2 Davidis Lyra, p. 29.

3 ibid., p. 97.

et gratiora omnia ...[1]

Few would have had the audacity to maintain such a view, and it is much commoner to find that the transcendence of the subject of the Scriptures is extended to an actual stylistic superiority: as Sidney expressed it in his defence of the poets, 'the chief both in antiquitie and in excellencie were they that did imitate the inconceivable excellencies of GOD.'[2] Gomarus, in addition to demonstrating, at least in his own terms, the unparalleled variety of Hebrew metres, draws the conclusion that the Hebrew poetry is, on these terms, actually superior to classical verse in its smoother inter-relation of parts, avoiding the divisions of words between lines, and the breaks and pauses within lines, to which the Greek (and, apparently, the Latin) poets are prone.[3] Gomarus's findings, expressed in terms which are often vague in themselves, and based upon a theory of classical prosody now long discredited, and a theory of Hebrew prosody which must have appeared unconvincing even to his contemporaries,[4] would collapse at the first examination: but his general conclusion as to the superiority of the Hebrew, now founded upon an allegedly 'scientific' proof, was almost universally accepted. Milton must almost certainly have had this treatise, as well as his own convictions, in mind when he expresses a clear preference for the Hebrew psalms over 'those magnifick Odes and Hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy': the songs of the prophets

1 Aristologia Pindarica Graecolatina: Hoc est, quicquid est in Pindaro, vate ut vetustissimo, ita quoque castissimo et sapientissimo, memorabile, notatu dignum, et rarum, nec alibi similiter obvium: seu historiae notabiles, seu fabulae iucundissimae, seu sententiae insignes et graves, plenae doctrinae et sapientiae, Basle, 1556. [B2-2^{b}]

2 'An Apology for Poetry' (1583), Elizabethan Critical Essays, i, 158.

3 'Ex quibus canonibus (quos exemplorum inductio postea confirmabit) clare elucet, quam multis modis, Hebraea S. literarum poesis, Graecae (ut et Latinae) hac perfectione antecellat.' Davidis Lyra, p. 22.

4 cf. G.J. Voss, ten years later: 'Hieronymus quidem ait, psalterium in morem Pindari nunc Iambico currere, nunc Alcaico personare, nunc Sapphico numerare. Sed non minus de Pindaro, quam de psalterio, fallitur. Nec enim Pindarus iis utitur metris, quae Hieronymus putavit: nec eiusmodi metra inveniuntur.' De Artis Poeticae Natura, ac Constitutione, Amsterdam, 1647, p. 77.

> not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition may be easily made appear over all the kinds of Lyrick poesy, to be incomparable.[1]

At the end of the seventeenth century, the belief in the Psalms as the oldest kind of lyric poetry, and the belief in their superiority in this kind over the Greeks, appears to have been reinforced by a resuscitation of the notion, hinted at in Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie[2] that the Hebrews occasionally used rhyme. Samuel Wesley, who elsewhere speaks of 'he whom wond'ring Seraphs did inspire, Whence PINDAR stole some Sparks of heav'nly Fire',[3] expresses an interesting, if singularly unconvincing, development upon this belief in the section dealing with rhyme in the 'Epistle to a Friend concerning Poetry':

> PINDAR at first his antient Copy trac'd
> And sometimes equal Sounds his Numbers grac'd:
> Till with the more than human labour tir'd
> He drop'd his Rhime, and own'd him uninspir'd.[4]

1 The Reason of Church Government urg'd against Prelaty (1641): Complete Prose Works of John Milton, Yale edition, (in progress) New Haven, 1953-71, i, 815-6. Cf. Christ's speech in Paradise Regained, iv, 334 ff., (Poems, ii, 49):

> ...All our Law and Story strew'd
> With Hymns, our Psalms with artful terms inscrib'd,
> Our Hebrew Songs and Harps in Babylon,
> That pleased so well our Victors ear, declare
> That rather Greece from us these Arts deriv'd;
> Ill imitated, while they loudest sing,
> The vices of thir Deities, and thir own
> In Fable, Hymn, or Song, so personating
> Their Gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
> Remove their swelling Epithetes thick laid
> As varnish on a Harlot's cheek, the rest,
> Thin sown with aught of profit or delight
> Will farr be found unworthy to compare
> With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling ...

2 'But the Hebrues and Chaldees who were more ancient then the Greekes, did not only use a metricall Poesie, but also with the same a maner of rime, as hath bene of late observed by learned men.' George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie (1589), ed. G.D. Willcock and A. Walker, Cambridge, 1926, p. 10.

3 'An Epistle to a Friend concerning Poetry' (1700), 1020-1: Augustan Reprint Society, series 2, no. 2 (1947), p. 27.

4 ibid., 553-7: pp. 15-16.

The evidence adduced for Pindar having started off in rhyme is, predictably, the beginning of the first Olympian:

ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ,
ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ . . .

The idea that Pindar might in fact have used parts of the scriptures as his model was not, even at this date, regarded as a fantastic one. Francois Blondel, for example, considered that his 'Discourses' were so full of moral elevation that ''tis impossible such graceful Sentiments should proceed from a Soul ill-form'd, or meanly perswaded of the Principles of Honour': in his works we find 'Thoughts of so high a Flight, that many have believ'd he drew them from the Divine Source, the Holy Scripture.' Blondel points out that Clement of Alexandria had found a parallel with Proverbs 9.17, 'Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant' - or, in Pindar's translation - ἐπεὶ θεν ὠφελημένος, according to Clement -

γλυκὺ τι κλεπτόμενον μέλημα Κύπριδος.[2]

In a much less fantastical way this aspect of Pindar would, of course, have been emphasised by frequent citations in the sermons of a man like Jeremy Taylor: numerous themes throughout the sermons are backed up with Pindaric sententiae, and the first Pythian provides the epigraph to Ἐνιαυτός : A Course of Sermons for all the Sundays of the Year.[3]

Even at the beginning of the eighteenth century, then, the business of the 'scripturalising' of Pindar still had enough vitality to lend point to the mockery of a curious and generally unnoticed pamphlet which appeared in 1712/3 under the pseudonym 'Philomeropindaros', The Olympick Odes of Pindar, in English Meetre: as they were lately found in an Original

1 Blondel, Comparison, p. 12.

2 Paedagogus III.xi.72.1. Blondel adds his own parallel from P.viii.95-6 (τί δὲ τῆς; τί δ' ἐκ τῆς;): 'Which he hath so visibly drawn from the Books of Solomon, and where he hath put nothing of his own, but the Antistrophe... Comparison, p. 13.

3 Jeremy Taylor, Works, ed. Reginald Heber, 15 vols., London, 1822, IV.

Original Manuscripts of those Sublime lyrick Translators, Thomas Sternhold, and John Hopkins, and Others.[1] In fact only the first two 'Olympicks' are accounted for, in a very neatly deflatory parody both of Pindar himself and of the unfortunate translators of the psalms, perhaps especially successful in a passage of 'so high a Moral flight' as the following, from the second Olympian:

> Riches with Virtue join'd
> Are a Possession good
> They cleanse the inner Man,
> And purify the Blood.
> Cares flee before 'em
> Like Stars they shine,
> So fair and fine,
> Gods might adore 'em.
> He who this Treasure has
> Has sense enough to know
> What Pains the wicked Souls
> Endure the Earth below.
> And that there is
> In Pluto's Den
> For Sinful Men
> A Rod in Piss.[2]

The immediate occasion of the pamphlet appears to have been the election, in 1712, to the Regius Professorship in Cambridge of Joshua Barnes's successor, Thomas Pilgrim of Trinity College. The 'Epistle Dedicatory', addressed to Pilgrim, opens with an admission that the odes are liable to the charge of being spurious, since the subject may be considered too light for the translators of the Psalms. The defence immediately invokes the whole 'scripturalising' tradition:

> ... what most of all inclines me to think these Odes genuine, is, that Mr. Sternhold and Mr. Hopkins were of opinion, that David and Pindar were the same Person; which Conceit of theirs, whether absurd in it self or no, does yet make it very probable that they had the same Translators.[3]

1 London, 1713.

2 Philomaropindaros, p. 30.

3 ibid., 'Epistle Dedicatory' [A3^{a}]

New ammunition reveals itself as the author urges the Professor to publish a discourse on this apparent paradox:

> Thus will You give the World a publick Demonstration, how worthy You are, not only the Professorship, but Your Predecessor too, who, by his indefatigable Industry and equal Judgment, had done a great way towards proving the Identity of Solomon and Homer ... You have now a very fair Opportunity of doing immortal Honour to the Memory of Homer, by wiping that infamous Blot out of his Escotcheon, and proving him to be no Bastard; but the lawfully begotten Son and Heir of King David, or (which is the same thing in the Greek) King Pindar.[1]

The point of this is adequately explained by a note in Monk's Life of Bentley, on the publication of Barnes' large annotated edition of Homer: 'The story is well known of Barnes having, as it is said, overcome the scruples of his wife, as to the employment of her money for this purpose, by persuading her that the author of the Iliad was no other than King Solomon.'[2]

Philomerepindaros goes on to provide more detailed evidence for the proposed merger with a bland perversion of logic:

> Indeed, I have always wonder'd how so sublime a Poet as Pindar cou'd be born Baeotum in terra, crassoque sub aere; and his Poems are so sacred, that I am almost persuaded they could be the Product of no other Country, but the Holy Land.
>
> As to the Nature and Genius of their Poems, there is so great an Analogy between 'em, that 'tis very likely they had the same Author. They are both Lyrick, and the same noble Majestick Spirit triumphs in 'em both. Their being writ in different Languages is no manner of Objection against this Opinion, unless we will suppose David to be such a Ninny, as to understand none but his Mother-Tongue.[3]

Since Pindar and David were both shepherds (?),[4] it is more than probable that they were both kings:

1 ibid., [A3^{a} - A3^{b}].

2 J.H. Monk. The Life of Richard Bentley, D.D., London, 1830, p. 228.

3 Philomerepindaros, 'Epistle Dedicatory', [A3^{b} - A4^{a}].

4 From O.xi.8-9. τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ποιμένων ἔθνος, perhaps

> In short, I have now no Scruples upon my Mind about this Matter, but what arise from Geography and Chronology; and when you have dispers'd these, I shall most firmly believe, that Pindar and Homer were two Kings of Israel.[1]

The 'Epistle' closes with a hope that the book will not be long in making its appearance:

> and if the rest of the World shall but read it with the same Judgment that you write it, I doubt not but shortly to see the Iliads and Olympicks received into the Canon.[2]

iii. The Horatian ideal

There is an element of paradox about the unanimous acceptance of a 'court-poet' like Pindar, of whom, after all, one fact generally known was that he made his living by flattery of the great on trivial occasions, almost into the company of the prophets and certainly into the class of those who composed under the influence of an overwhelming inspiration. Some of the elements which contributed to this character have already been isolated - the general tendency, produced by a combination of linguistic with historical preconceptions, to view Greek literature, together with Hebrew, as more natural and spontaneous, less sophisticated, than Latin; the long-established belief that the psalms too were odes; and a consciousness of Pindar's high sententious tone. The deciding factor in forming the Pindaric ideal which held sway throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries sprang, however, neither from such tenuously general tendencies nor from any detailed first-hand knowledge of the content of Pindar's odes: the ultimate responsibility must be assigned to the critical tradition which had been handed down from Rome. Cowley's inclusion of his Pindaric imitation

1 Philomeropindaros, 'Epistle Dedicatory', [A4^{ro}].

2 ibid.

of the first seven stanzas of Horace's ode 'Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari' (Odes iv. 2) in a place where it effectively assumes as much authority as 'The Resurrection' as a poetic expression of Cowley's own theory is a measure of the importance of the tradition, and virtually seals the fate of Pindar, and the Pindaric, in the popular literary consciousness. Cowley's introductory note emphasises the authority that was attached to the critical judgments of the ancients, and it should not be overlooked that he here cites also the other passage of classical criticism, from Quintilian, which underlay the later idolisation of Pindar:

> Pindar was incredibly admired and honour'd among the Ancients, even to that degree that we may believe, they saw more in him than we do now: Insomuch, that long after his death, when Thebes was quite burnt and destroy'd ... the House wherein he had lived was alone preserved by publick Authority, as a place sacred and inviolable. Among the very many Elogies of him, I will only cite that of Quinctilian (than whom no man perhaps ever living was a better Judge) L. 10 c.1 "Novem Lyricorum longe Pindarus princeps, spiritus magnificentia, sententiis, figuris beatissimus, rerum verborumq; copia et velut quodam eloquentiae flumine, propter quae Horatius nemini credit eum imitabilem."[1]

Quintilian's judgment is regularly invoked by later Pindaric critics, but the influence over the critics of this period of Horace's judgment on Pindar is ubiquitous.

Among scholars, Horace's description of Pindar was not, even then, uncritically accepted. As might be expected, it was anathema to Erasmus Schmid, whose edition had it as its primary aim to emend or explain all roughness and obscurities: with the help of his text and commentary, he promises the reader,

> Te jam Pindarum non legere solum, sed et intelligere, adeoque obscuritatem, quam quidem nonnulli sibi ipsis finxerunt, videre nullam: imo te etiam, si debitam diligentiam adhibeas, et alias Musas vel mediocriter propitias habeas, pro tuo genio

1 Cowley, Poems, p. 180.

> INITARI EUM POSSE, quod invidus Horatius, ut Lectores ab elegantissimo Poeta deterreret, ne furta sua forte deprehenderent, hyperbolice negavit.[1]

The opposition of Schmid and his disciples to the Horatian idea of Pindar as a wild and controllable poetic torrent is epitomised in the re-application of Horace's words which appears among the introductory material in Schmid's edition:

> PINDARUM quisquis fuit aemulatus
> OLIM, is aptatis ope Daedalea
> Nixus est pennis, vitreo daturus
> Nomina ponto.
>
> Pindarum qui NUNC studet aemulari
> Ille constructis ope SCHMIDIANA
> Usus antennis, celebri daturus
> Nomina Famae est.
>
> Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
> Quem super notas aluere ripas,
> Eluit sordes, Lyricique mendas
> SCHMIDIUS aufert.[2]

Schmid's edition, with its elaborate analyses of rhetorical structure and its painstaking metrical schemata, is in itself a denial of everything Horace had to say, or was taken to have said, about the irregularity and difficulty of Pindar's odes. The passage from his introduction about 'invidus Horatius' is quoted, and translated, by Edward Sherburn, who refers to Schmid as 'a Learned, but Sowre Critick', in a note to his translation of Blondel's Comparaison,[3] but otherwise, as far as one can tell, Schmid's edition had little influence in this respect, and in France and in England the popular, and Horatian, conception of Pindar went on its way regardless.

1 Schmid, Olympia, p. 4.

2 Schmid, Olympia, p. 15.

3 Comparison, p. 91.

In Charles Perrault's Paralelle des Anciens et des Modernes, 'le Président' is deliberately a particularly ineffectual advocate for the cause of the ancients, but one senses a grain of realism at least behind his lame defence of Pindar:

> Vous voyez cependant la réputation que Pindare s'est acquise jusques dans les derniers temps, où pindariser signifie, dire les choses d'une manière noble et sublime, et vous voyez ce qu'en a dit Horace ...[1]

The definition offered by 'le Président' for the meaning of 'pindariser' is so contrary to the explanations usually provided that one must suspect Perrault of sarcasm. Only a decade or so later Fraguier declares that the 'le nom mesme a fourni a nostre langue une expression qui ne se prend jamais qu'en mauvaise part',[2] and he is borne out in this by the dictionary definitions: 'parler avec affectation, se servir de termes trop recherchez. Cet homme ne s'explique pas naturellement, il ne fait que pindariser.'[3] The very aptness of the President's second point is damaging to his cause: in fact nearly every discussion of Pindar, however brief, takes pains to remind the reader 'ce qu'en a dit Horace'.

1 Paralelle des Anciens et des Modernes, en ce qui regarde les Arts et les Sciences. 3 vols, Amsterdam, 1693, ii, 110.

2 Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions ii (1717), 44.

3 Le Grand Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, second edition, vols, Amsterdam, 1695, ii, 147: cf. Richelet, Dictionnaire Française, second edition, vols, Geneva, 1690, ii, 165 - 'parler d'une maniere qui sente l'afectation, mais une afectation un peu ridicule.'

> Horace, tho' he appear'd his most dangerous Rival, yet had generosity enough to give him his just Commendations, as he had Judgment enough to fix them on a due bottom. From Horace therefore, especially since he has been improv'd by Mr. Cowley, we are to take our true notions of the Genius and the Stile of Pindar.[1]

Horace's authority is invoked by Blondel, by Boileau, by Olaus Borrichius, by Dryden, by Adrien Baillet, by Sir Thomas Pope Blount;[2] and it takes a position of central importance in John Dennis's preface to his 'funeral-Pindarique' on the death of Queen Mary. Dennis derives most of his preface from the work of the French critic René Rapin, but finds some deficiencies to be supplied: Rapin on Pindar

> falls short of his Character, and leaves out some of his most considerable qualities, which may be supply'd from one divine Stanza which Horace has writ in his praise ...[3]

The all-pervasive influence of Horace is, however, most clearly seen not in such explicit references to his judgment, but rather in the often unvoiced assumptions about the Pindaric style which seem to have been almost universal at the time. Notoriously, of course, Horace was held to be responsible - though unintentionally - for the mistaken belief that Pindar enjoyed a total freedom from the usual laws of metre, and thus

1 Basil Kennett, The Lives and Characters of the Ancient Grecian Poets, p. 73. He quotes both Horace and Cowley.

2 Blondel, Comparison, p. 66: Boileau, Works . . . made English by several Hands, 3 vols, London, 1711-13, ii, 119 ; Borrichius, Dissertationes Academicae de Poetis, p. 25; Dryden, Essays, i, 266; Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, 7 vols, Paris, 1722, iii, 393; Blount, Characters and Censures of the Most Considerable Poets, London, 1694, pp. 171-2.

3 Preface to 'The Court of Death' (1695): Critical Works, ed. E.N. Hooker, 2 vols, Baltimore, 1939-43, i, 43.

for all the metrical irregularity which passed under the name of Pindaric: as Congreve notes in 1706,

> For certainly they have utterly misunderstood Horace L4 Ode 2 who have apply'd numerisque fertur lege solutis to all the Odes of Pindar; which, there, expresly relates only to his Dithyrambicks, and which are all entirely lost. Nothing is plainer, than the Sense of Horace in that Place. He says, Pindar deserves the Lawrel, let him write of what, or in what manner soever, viz., first, whether he writes Dithyrambicks...[1]

Cowley certainly realised that Horace, in speaking of Pindar's audaces dithyrambos, was referring to a special kind of poetry, different from the epinicians: his note on the line begins 'There are none of Pindar's Dithyrambiques extant ...' and continues with an explanation, based largely on one in Benedictus's Pindar, of the origin of the term.[2] Sir Thomas Pope Blount too points out, as does Adrien Baillet, in a similar 'collection of opinions', that Horace's judgment pertains mainly to the dithyrambs, and in most critical works, for example in Blondel's Comparaison, the various 'books' of Pindar's works are clearly differentiated.[3] Undoubtedly, however, to most Pindarisers 'dithyrambic' meant nothing much more specific than furious and headlong, 'enthusiastic' in the sense of divinely possessed: it is used in this sense with reference to Pindar even by scholars like Tanaquil Faber and Olaus Borrichius, in both cases with overtones of disapproval.[4] One can infer from a passage in Gerard Johann Voss that the

1 Congreve, Complete Works, ed. Montague Summers, 4 vols, London, 1923, iv, 83

2 Cowley, Poems, p. 180: cf. Benedictus, p. 218. Had Cowley used Schmid's edition he would have been able to read a short essay 'De Dithyrambis' (Schmid, Isthmia, pp. 247-8) and also the lengthy fragment Δεῦτ' ἐν χερόν, Ὀλύμπιοι, preserved in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (De Compositione Verborum, 22) : Snell, fr. 75.

3 Blount, Characters and Censures, p. 171. Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, iii 393. Blondel, Comparison, pp. 52-3.

4 Faber, Abrégé des Vies des Poëtes Grecs (1665): cited by Blount, Characters and Censures, p. 173; Borrichius, Dissertationes, p. 25.

mistake of applying Horace's words to the extant odes was a common one, and already of long standing by 1647, well before Cowley published his Pindarique Odes:

> Valde enim eos ratio fugit, qui arbitrantur, quia Horatius dicat, Pindarum numeris ferri lege solutis, eo versus eius esse exleges. Sane longe alia est mens poetae: qui loquitur de dithyrambornm opere deperdito; non odis, quibus celebravit hieronicas.[1]

Horace's words, no doubt often at second hand, were the authority on which all the metrical amorphousness of the English Pindaric was based. Whether or not Cowley himself did realise that the 'numeri lege soluti' were in fact limited to the dithyrambs, he did certainly add to the confusion; and with his practice in the Pindariques he must remain chiefly responsible for the perpetuation of the error. The discrepancy in structure between the ancient and modern examples of the Pindaric had been noticed by Edward Philips in 1675:[2] it seems, however, to have passed generally unnoticed that the mistake was again pointed out, nine years before the publication of Congreve's Discourse on the Pindaric Ode, by a very minor poet, John Hopkins, in the preface to his poem on the death of Lady Cutts. The confused and ambiguous terms used suggest that Hopkins was taking up an imperfectly-grasped hint from Congreve himself, whose last irregular Pindaric had appeared in 1695 and who had apparently read and approved Hopkins's very mediocre poem:

> The Stile is Pindarical, or at least, that which is vulgarly call'd so: 'tis of the same Libertine sort, tho' not such, as Mr. Cowley was so successful in; but indeed it

1 Voss, Poeticarum Institutionum libri tres, Amsterdam, 1647, iii, p. 77.

2 Theatrum Poetarum, Spingarn, ii, 265.

> deserves not to be thought even an Imitation of Pindar; for in all his Odes there was a constant Measure certainly observ'd; and tho' the Number of every Verse was not answer'd by the immediately succeeding Line, yet infallibly 'twas answer'd with an harmonious Disposition in some other in the Stanza, it was the artful Measure that his Genius kept, which made him appear so much at liberty, and his Muse, tho' fetter'd, with such Grace danc'd to the Musick of her own Chains, she seem'd to have her freedom.[1]

The date of Hopkins' preface (1698) does suggest that the immediate impetus behind this new awareness of the technicalities of Pindaric metre, and probably also behind Congreve's own Pindaric studies, was the appearance of West and Welsted's Oxford edition in the preceding year.[2]

Belief in the total irregularity of Pindar's metre is, of course, only one constituent of the more general misconception of Pindar's style which sprang from an uncritical acceptance - and to some extent a misinterpretation - of this passage in Horace: but whereas the former is easily traced to a simple misunderstanding of the Latin, it is often impossible to isolate specifically Horatian influence from the associated aesthetic notions with which it tends to be conflated. Horace's judgment does, however, have what amounts to a stranglehold over the literary conception of Pindar until well into the eighteenth century. Pindar's poetry is seen as bold and unrestrained in its composition, its effect

1 'The Preface', The Victory of Death; or, the Fall of Beauty. A Visionary Pindarick-Poem, occasion'd by the ever to be deplor'd Death of the Rt Hon the Lady Cutts, London, 1698.

2 But see also p. below.
Congreve's quotation from 'the Paraphrase of Sudorius' establishes that he was in fact using the Oxford edition as one of his sources (Works, iv, 86): most of the references, however, are to Schmid ('the Learned Schmidius', Works, iv, 83), and it is interesting that Schmid's edition is the only one listed in Congreve's book list (item 464 in The Library of William Congreve, ed. J.C. Hodges, New York, 1955, p. 82).

upon the reader being irregularity and difficulty, with Horace's Icarus metaphor here supplementing Pindar's own declaration of esotericism.[1] The other metaphors used by Horace in describing Pindar as a rushing mountain torrent, or as a swan soaring high into the clouds, immediately identified Pindar in the minds of most of his critics as a symbol of natural force too strong for conventional control, genius untrammelled by the laws of art and decorum. In the words of the greatest critic of the late seventeenth century:

> Pindar is generally known to be a dark writer, to want connection, (I mean as to our understanding,) to soar out of sight, and leave his reader at a gaze. So wild and ungovernable a poet cannot be translated literally; his genius is too strong to bear a chain, and Samson-like he shakes it off.[2]

There is a strange disparity between this and the rhetorical structure and classical restraint of Dryden's own Pindarics, one of which, the ode in memory of Anne Killigrew, won high approval from Johnson and has been celebrated by recent critics as the culmination of the tradition of English rhetorical elegy.[3] Perhaps one must again discriminate between Dryden's actual knowledge of Pindar and his interest in the Cowleyan Pindaric as an English poetic form. The same tension may be felt six years later in the dedicatory epistle to Eleonora, where alongside the usual commonplaces about undisciplined inspiration and the 'Priests of Apollo', Dryden shows a simultaneous recognition that Pindar was to be counted among the great encomiastic orators of the classical world.[4]

1 Pindar, O.ii.83-6.

2 Dryden, Preface to the Translation of Ovid's Epistles (1680): Essays, ed. W.P. Ker, i, 240.

3 Johnson, Lives, i, 439. For modern criticism see e.g. Ruth Wallerstein, 'On the Death of Mrs. Killigrew: The Perfecting of a Genre', SP xliv (1947), 519-28.

4 Poems, ed. James Kinsley, Oxford, 1958, ii, 582-3. See below, pp. 181-2.

To Addison, erecting a more systematic theory upon the traditional Nature-Art antithesis, Pindar is to be placed, along with Homer, the Old Testament poets, and Shakespeare, in the class of natural geniuses, who

> by the meer Strength of natural Parts, and without any Assistance of Art or Learning, have produced Works that were the Delight of their own Times, and the Wonder of Posterity. There appears some-thing nobly wild and extravagant in these great natural Genius's, that is infinitely more beautiful than all the Turn and Polishing of what the French call a Bel Esprit.[1]

Pindar, in the second Olympian, was the first to align himself on the side of natural genius, and his association with Nature against Art had gathered strength through Longinus, through Benedictus, and through Cowley;[2] Addison's contribution to the tradition is the introduction of the metaphor of organic growth which was to become increasingly characteristic throughout the eighteenth century.[3] Continuing the distinction between natural geniuses and those whose strength is in their art, Addison writes:

> The Genius in both these Classes of Authors may be equally great, but shews itself after a different Manner. In the first it is like a rich Soil in a happy Climate, that produces a whole Wilderness of noble Plants rising in a thousand beautiful Landskips without any certain Order or Regularity. In the other it is the same rich Soil under the same happy Climate, that has been laid out in Walks and Parterres, and cut into Shape and Beauty by the Skill of the Gardener.[4]

1 The Spectator, No. 160 (3 September 1711): ed. D.F. Bond, Oxford, 5 vols., 1965, ii, 127.

2 See above, p. 84.

3 See M.H. Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp, reprinted New York, 1958, pp. 198 ff.

4 The Spectator, No.160: ed.cit, ii, 129.

In a more flippant tone in a later article Addison makes the association of Pindar with the gardening metaphor more individual: 'my Compositions in Gardening are altogether after the Pindarick manner, and run into the beautiful Wildness of Nature, without affecting the nicer Elegancies of Art.'[1] For his more particular idea of Pindar's style Addison's debt to the Horatian tradition is obvious, and made more emphatic by his opposition to the irregular English productions he is castigating:

> I cannot quit this Head without observing that Pindar was a great Genius of the first Class, who was hurried on by a natural Fire and Impetuousity to vast Conceptions of things, and noble Sallies of Imagination ...[2]

The single feature most frequently recurring in discussions of Pindar's style, and perhaps most essential to the formation of the Pindaric ideal, is the supposed alogicality of his method: in Dryden's words, echoing Cowley, 'Pindar is generally known ... to want connection (I mean as to our understanding)'.[3] Cowley, fresh from his struggle in rendering Pindar's Greek and the Authorised Version of Isaiah's Hebrew into an acceptable seventeenth-century English poem, was certainly referring to the compressed and paratactic structure of the originals, but to those less intimately acquainted with the odes in the original Pindar's 'lack of connection' was sufficiently represented in the larger

1 The Spectator, No.477 (6 September 1712): ed.cit., iv, 190-1.

2 The Spectator, No.160: ed.cit., ii, 128.

3 Cf. Cowley, Poems, p. 214

form of his long and apparently unrelated digressions. Despite the hint in Dryden (and in Cowley) that it is our modern 'understanding' which is at least partially wanting, Pindar's digressiveness is generally treated as a fault in itself: it comes second on Blondel's list of the charges commonly levelled against him.[1] Tanaquil Faber was one of those to complain that Pindar

> very often loses his Subject, by Reason of his long Digressions; and that after he has been upon the Ramble, he returns all of a sudden, when one least expects him; and at his Re-entry, he never uses any thing of Ceremony, that is to say, he takes no manner of Care, to make any Connection betwixt his first thoughts, and that which is to follow.[2]

In the year after Blondel's treatise, Rapin was to repeat the charge, although without the note of petulance which Faber has acquired in translation: at times, according to Rapin, Pindar 's'abandonne trop. Ce sont des égaremens perpetuels que ses Panégyriques.'[3]

Almost in passing, in fact when comparing Horace's greater freedom of subject matter with the restricted range of Pindar, Blondel does make a very perceptive observation on the subject of Pindar's digressions:

> And in Truth, it was requisite the Works of Pindar should have something extraordinary, or rather Divine, to have pleas'd as they have done, by only singing of Praises; which ordinarily to us, appear as flat, as Satyres are agreeable, by reason of that little principle of Envy which is in us, which makes us believe men take from us what is given to another by praising him, and give to us what is taken from another by dispraising him.[4]

1 Blondel, Comparison, p. 67.

2 Faber, Abrégé des Vies des Poètes Grecs (1665): cited in Blount, Characters and Censures, p. 173.

3 René Rapin, Réflexions sur la poétique d'Aristote, et sur les ouvrages des poètes anciens et modernes, Paris, 1674, p. 234.

4 Comparison, p. 42.

Pindar himself constantly reminds the recipients of his odes of this danger: in the first Pythian, for example, Hiero is warned:

> ἀστῶν δ'ἀκοὰ κρύφιον θυμὸν βαρύνει μάλιστ' ἐθελοῦσαν ἐπ'ἀλλοτρίοις
>
> [That which is heard by townsmen about the merits of others weighs heavily on their secret soul.]
>
> (85)

Pindar's concern throughout his odes is as much, however, with the danger of arousing the envy of the gods as with the innate tendency to envy in human nature;[1] but Basil Kennett, like Blondel, is more conscious of the psychological aspect than of Pindar's semi-superstitious reticence when he declares:

> Now it would have been an invidious, as well as a tiresom business, to fill a Hymn that was design'd for General Entertainment, with the direct Praises of a single Man: and, now and then, of a Man, not very eminent on any other account, but for his good Fortune in winning the Prize at some of the Publick Exercises.[2]

Blondel's general attitude to the digressions is fairly well indicated in the metaphor he chooses to describe them, and later on in his essay he claims that these 'large pieces of Cloth of Gold, sew'd to some Stuff, of less Value' were very necessary to such poems not for the reason Rapin was to provide, that 'l'emportement' was essential to the nature of the ode, but because Pindar had to praise people 'but of mean merit',

1 e.g. P.x.20-1; I.vii.39. See S. Eitrem, 'The Pindaric Phthonos', Studies presented to D.M. Robinson, 2 vols, St. Louis, 1951, ii, 531-6.

2 Lives of the Grecian Poets, pp. 83-4.

and search abroad for material 'forasmuch as the wretched Combatants would have long Odes for their Money.'[1] At times Blondel does not seem to rise far above the notion of Pindar composing the good bits at leisure and cementing the ode together with baser detail when the time came to make the work saleable: for a more sophisticated version of a similar standpoint one must turn to John Dennis, who felt that Pindar was convinced that the excellence of the greater ode derived from religion, and attributed his 'numerous extravagant Digressions' to that conviction, joined with the obligation 'by the desire of Gain, to celebrate the Triumphs of Worthless Coachmen and Jockeys.'[2] 'Extravagance' and 'want of connection' are both terms which in the eighteenth century carry a perceptible tone of disapproval: but it is abundantly clear that to Blondel, to Dryden, to Dennis, and to Addison the very essence of Pindar's greatness lies in these 'noble sallies of Imagination' which leave the reader 'at a gaze', and in the overwhelming - Samson-like - natural force, or religious force, which refuses to follow the rules of logical connection or to mould itself to the laws of art and decorum. If Congreve did have some degree of success in bringing into the open the inaccuracy of current metrical ideas on Pindaric composition, in another, rather less emphasised point, he seems to have been almost entirely overlooked. Like Schmid, indeed probably through Schmid, Congreve reacts against this idea of Pindar as an undisciplined and irregular genius, having come to believe that

> There is nothing more regular than the Odes of Pindar, both as to the exact observation of the Measures ... and the perpetual Coherence of his Thoughts. For tho' his Digressions are frequent,

1 Comparison, p. 67.

2 The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry (1704): Critical Works, ed. E.N. Hooker, Baltimore, 1939-43, i, 332. See Below, p. 154.

> and his Transitions sudden, yet is there ever some secret connexion, which tho' not always appearing to the Eye, never fails to communicate it self to the Understanding of the Reader.[1]

Congreve here shows himself more optimistic than realistic: and although Gilbert West quotes this passage with approval in his own preface to the translation of Pindar, before 1749 perhaps the only echo of Congreve's opinion is to be found in the preface to 'The Female Reign', a poem by Samuel Cobb, a prolific but not unlearned Pindariser.[2] Cobb had already rejected Congreve's triads as altogether too academic to be observed, and shows something of the spirit which apparently incensed Bentley in his remark that

> Mr. Congreve, an ingenious Gentleman, has affirm'd, I think too hastily, that in each particular Ode the Stanza's are alike, whereas the last Olympick has two Monostrophicks of different Measure, and Number of Lines.[3]

With Congreve's second point, however, he appears in wholehearted agreement:

> In my Digressions and Transitions I have taken care to play always in sight, and make every one of them contribute to my main Design. This was the Way of Pindar ...[4]

In Cobb's terms the Pindaric wilderness is tamed to an unusual degree of urbanity and cultivation:

> I will not pretend to have div'd into him [Pindar] over Head and Ears, but I have endeavour'd to have made myself not the greatest Stranger to his Manner

1 'A Discourse on the Pindarique Ode', Works, iv, 83.

2 See above, pp. 100-101.

3 'A Discourse on Criticism and the Liberty of Writing', Poems on Several Occasions, London, 1707, [A8^{b}].

4 'A Letter to a Gentleman in the University', The Female Reign: an Ode, alluding to Horace, B.4. Od.14... attempted in the Style of Pindar, London, 1709, [A2^{b}].

> of Writing; which generally consists in the Dignity of the Sentiments, and an elegant Variety, which makes the Reader rise up with greater Satisfaction than he sat down. And that which affects the Mind in Compositions of any sort, will never be disagreeable to a Gentleman of Ingenuity and Judgment.[1]

In France, as a corollary to the characterisation of Pindar as a wild and irregular genius, there were those who claimed to find him impossibly obscure. Foremost among his detractors was Charles Perrault, and although in the discussion in the Paralelle des Anciens et des Modernes Horace's words are summarily dismissed as counting for nothing, Perrault returns to the Horatian metaphor in defending himself against a statement made by Andre Dacier in his edition of Horace, that Pindar was a torrent in which Perrault had drowned. Perrault replies with a concessio:

> J'avoue que je me suis noyé dans Pindare dès le commencement de la première de ses Odes, ou pour parler plus clairement, que je n'ay pas entendu le commencement de cette première Ode: mais je croy m'estre noyé avec tout le genre humain, et qu'il vaudroit mieux comparer Pindare au Déluge universel qu'à un Torrent, puisque personne ne s'en est jamais sauvé ...[2]

Perrault's attack provides the immediate impetus for Boileau's most elaborate formulation of his theory of Pindar and of the ode, a theory which had already found succinct expression, nearly twenty years before, in the Art Poétique. Boileau's debt to the Horatian tradition is emphasised in the imagery:

> L'ode avec plus d'éclat, et non moins d'énergie,
> Elevant jusqu'au Ciel son vol ambitieux,
> Entretient dans ses Vers commerce avec les Dieux ...
> Son stile impetueux marche souvent au hasard:
> Chez elle un beau désordre est un effet de l'art.[3]

1 ibid.

2 Lettre a M. Menage, in Paralelle des Anciens et des Modernes, ii, 222-3.

3 Boileau, L'Art Poétique, Oeuvres, I, 232.

In the essay which accompanies the ode on the taking of Namur Boileau picks up and develops the idea of enthusiasm as an artistic contrivance: the irregularity remains, but Art replaces nature as the force behind Pindar's genius. Pindar,

> to show a Spirit intirely beside it self, does sometimes designedly quit the Pursuit of his Discourse; and, if we may so say, departs from Reason, the better to enter into it; with great Diligence avoiding that Methodical Order, and those exact Connexions of Sense which wou'd take away the very Soul of Lyric Poetry.[1]

The accompanying ode, designed to help the Greekless Frenchman to an appreciation of the essentials of Pindar's style, has significant limitations as a Pindaric imitation, having no concern with the technicalities of metrical structure or the inclusion of a myth: there is little in Boileau's conception of the Pindaric style which cannot be traced back to the general impression of wildness and irregularity. The ground has shifted, however; and the irregularity which Horace had taught Boileau to see as the central element in Pindar's genius is painstakingly reproduced in abrupt transitional devices such as rhetorical question and apostrophe. It is clear that to Boileau what makes a poem pindarique is a deliberately-created sense of inspiration too strong to be controlled, of possession by 'Phébus ... ce Dieu sublime':

> Quelle docte et sainte ivresse,
> Aujourd'hui me fait la loy ?[2]

In this respect, Matthew Prior's brilliant parody of the ode, making satirical capital out of the opportune recapture of Namur by the English in 1695, misses the main point:

> Was you not drunk, and did not know it,
> When you thought Phoebus gave you Law?

1 Boileau, Works ... made English by several Hands, London, 1711-13, ii, 148.

2 Boileau, Oeuvres, i, 321.

> Or was it not, good Brother Poet,
> The chaste Nymph Maintenon you saw ?[1]

Further on Boileau is given that characteristic so often attributed to Pindar himself:

> Pindar, that Eagle, mounts the Skies,
> Whilst Virtue leads the noble Way:
> Des Preaux, a Vulture, only Flies
> Where sordid Interest seeks the Prey.[2]

Boileau's own conception of Pindar is in fact much nearer to the figure of the professional rhetorician than his English contemporaries, committed as they were to the ideals of spontaneity and irregularity, would have been able to appreciate. The germ of Boileau's theory, as formulated in the Art Poetique, was of course to become a critical commonplace in England, reflected not only in the various more or less direct imitations of the work, such as Soames's Art of Poetry, but also in the terminology of critical writings over a wider field: Pope's debt in the Essay on Criticism, for example, is revealed in such phrases like 'brave Disorder', and 'Nature Methodiz'd'. The more extended treatment of the ode in the Discours was translated in the English edition of Boileau's works, but seems to have exerted little or no direct influence upon English criticism, although the ode itself achieved a certain notoriety, largely through Prior's parody. There is an able translation of it by Samuel Cobb:

> What Learned Fury in my Breast does reign,
> And, rising from the fam'd Castalian Spring,
> Like some invading King,
> Extends its new Dominion o'er my Brain ?[3]

The ode was apparently still remembered in 1738 when Pope wrote in the 'Epilogue to the Satires':

1 'An English Ballad, On the Taking of Namur by the King of Great Britain, 1695', Literary Works, ed. H.B. Wright and M.K. Spears, 2 vols., Oxford, 1959, i, 141 (1695 version).

2 ibid.

3 Boileau, Works, London, 1711-13, ii, 157.

> When black Ambition stains a public Cause,
> A Monarch's sword when mad Vainglory draws,
> Not Waller's wreath can hide the Nation's Scar,
> Nor Boileau turn the Feather to a Star.[1]

iv. Pindar and 'the sublime'

Boileau's use of Longinus, in the Réflexions Critiques sur quelques Passages du rhéteur Longin, as the platform on which to mount his defence of the two Greek poets whose worth had been challenged by Charles Perrault in his attempt to establish the superior merit of 'the moderns', firmly establishes the importance to eighteenth century criticism of Homer and Pindar as the representatives of the Longinian sublime.[2] The influence of the treatise 'On the Sublime', ascribed to 'Longinus', begins to make itself felt in European literature about the middle of the seventeenth century: Gerald Langbaine's Oxford edition, with a Latin translation, was published in 1636, and in 1652 there appeared the first vernacular translation, an English version by John Hall. Although the treatise becomes a major influence only with Boileau's French version of 1674, the 'Traité du Sublime', it

1 'Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue II', 228-31, Poems, iv, 325-6. In Boileau's ode the feather in the French king's helmet is seen as a kind of comet leading his army to victory, in a figure which Boileau in the 'Discours' singles out as a most audacious one, of the type to be found in the ancient dithyrambic poets. (Works, ii, 150).

2 See Samuel Holt Monk, The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England, New York, 1935: reprinted, Ann Arbor, 1960.

is worth noting that Cowley may have known the essay well even before Hall's translation, and by 1656 there does in any case seem to be a clear echo of the famous ninth chapter in the second stanza of 'The Muse':

> Thou speakst, great Queen, in the same stile as He,
> And a new World leaps forth when Thou say'st, Let it Be.[1]

Longinus's judgment on Pindar occurs in the section devoted to a consideration of the relative merits of imperfect works of genius and perfect works of mediocrity.

> ἐπειδὴ οἱ μὲν ἀδιάπτωτοι καὶ ἐν τῷ γλαφυρῷ πάντη κεκαλλιγραφημένοι, ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ὁτὲ μὲν οἷον πάντα ἐπιφλέγουσι τῇ φορᾷ, φρενοῦνται δ'ἀλόγως πολλάκις καὶ πίπτουσιν ἀτυχέστατα.
>
> 'Tis True Bacchilides and Io never made any false Steps, and there's a great deal of Eloquence and Grace in their Writings. 'Tis not so with Pindar and Sophocles: For in the midst of their greatest Violence; when, as one may say, they Thunder and Lighten, their Fire goes often out unseasonably, and they Miserably Flag.[2]

Certainly the earliest, and perhaps the most closely Longinian, piece of Pindaric criticism in this tradition is Francois Blondel's essay on Pindar and Horace, written some twenty years before Boileau's Réflexions and published the year before the translation by Boileau which has always been seen as the starting-point for the European preoccupation with 'the sublime'. The critical section on Pindar is virtually an illustrated expansion of the judgment of 'Longinus', to whom Blondel acknowledges his debt. After quoting with approval the words of Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Pindar[3] (which he regards as the source of Quintilian's eulogy) Blondel goes on to

1 Cowley, Poems, p. 185.

2 On the Sublime 33.5: translated in Boileau, Works made English, ii, 70.

3 Dion.Hal.Comp. 22.

talk of Pindar's works 'where the Sublime (of which Longinus has written) is in its greatest Lustre, and of which Horace says . . .'[1]

A long section of Blondel's essay is devoted to a discussion of 'the most considerable' of the charges which had regularly been levelled against Pindar. With one of these, the matter of the digressions, it has already been shown how the criticism could be turned to Pindar's advantage, but the other charges appeared less easy to dispose of. Three of them seem merely trifling: Pindar's faults of chronology (as with Ganymede in the first Olympian), his alleged inferiority to Simonides in matters pathetical, and the lack of proportion in the comparison at the beginning of the first Olympian - although, inevitably, 'that of Gold has some excuse for the Passion this poet had for Riches',[2] critics had claimed that there is no proportion between water and the sun. Joshua Barnes's fifth lecture collects several more equally nugatory examples of anachronisms and mistakes in natural history, much on a level with that, pointed out by Jacques Peletier in his Art Poétique, of giving horns to a doe.[3] The other criticism discussed is, however, like that of the digressions, more substantial, and clearly very widespread and persistent. This concerns the fastus of Pindar's diction and his perpetually hyperbolic expression; and coupled with it, although it really makes a second point, is his use of untoward expressions such as 'lest Envy should throw stones at him', 'he fell upon the Golden Knees of Victory', and 'Know, Sostratus

1 Comparison, p. 56.

2 ibid., pp. 68-71.

3 Peletier, Art Poétique, Lyon, 1555, i, 5: cited by Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, iii, 395.

his son hath in this Shooe/ A happy Foot' - very far, in Blondel's view, from 'the notion of Sublime'.[1] Among those who had criticised Pindar on the first count were scholars like Joseph Scaliger, who found Pindar's neologisms excusable only because his use of such words was less deliberately recherché than its equivalent in writers like Nicander and Callimachus,[2] and Gerard Johann Voss, who found that Pindar 'took too much delight in Metaphors and Lofty Expressions.'[3] Tanaquil Faber appreciated that the figures used by Pindar were noble and great, but thought that 'they have sometimes the Air of the Dithyrambick, that is to say, they are bold and rash, which is by no means agreeable to such as love a correct style.'[4] Olaus Borrichius too, writing rather later than Blondel, felt that Pindar's figures, at times magnificent, were often bold to an extent which would today be counted a fault:

> Dictio eius sublimis, gravis, sententiis et verborum copia frequens, digressionibus quandoque nimia, nonnunquam et sine nexu, abrupta, unde non rara obscuritas. Figurae eius, ut magnificae, ita aliquando dithyrambicae et praecipites. Haec audacia nostris moribus inter vitia censetur, Pindarico aevo et succedentibus illi saeculis haud dubie inter virtutes numerata fuit, ita antiqui Scriptores de laudibus eius diserte perorant.[5]

1 Comparison, pp. 66-7.

2 Scaligerana, second edition, Cologne, 1667, p. 187: cited by Blount, Characters and Censures, p. 171.

3 Blount, Characters and Censures, p. 173: from Voss, Poeticarum Institutionum libri tres, ii, 74-5.

4 Blount, ibid.: from Faber, Abrégé des Vies des Poètes Grecs, Saumur , 1664, p. 65.

5 Borrichius, Dissertationes Academicae de Poetis, p. 25.

Blondel readily has recourse to the same defence on these points, explaining away all seeming excesses and breaches of decorum with a reference to 'the Mode and Gusto of the Times':[1] even Blondel, however, does not attempt to deny them.

Blondel's final answer to such charges is, however, independent of such detail.

> And these, my Lord, are the Defects which some have charg'd Pindar with, which are no other than little Moles in a Beautiful Body . . .[2] Which, in my Sence, make in his admirable Works, what Shadows do in Painting, which heighten and set off with greater Lustre the Beauties and Colours of the Piece: Or, as Longinus says, As Dissonances in Musick are suffer'd, to give the greater relish and more agreeable sweetness to the perfect Accords. They are, to speak truly the inevitable Effects of that Sublimity of Thought and Diction, which according to the Sentiment of that Author, can never be entirely pure; and where as in a great and rich store, there will be a necessity of losing or neglecting Something.
>
> I call these Faults Negligences, for such are those of Pindar, which will never hinder him from always meriting to be crown'd with Phoebean Lawrel, and bearing away the Prize from all the Lyrick Poets, tho the Stile of some of them be more even, and less defective: For that evenness of Stile can never enter into Comparison with that Majestick Force (tho something uneven) in the Stile of Pindar.[3]

Blondel's debt to Longinus is not limited to his critical conclusions on the greatness and unevenness of Pindar's style, but extends to a deeper appreciation of the critical method involved. Part of the essay is devoted to a list of the 'beaux endroits' in Pindar, 'some Passages which I never yet could read without being extremely concern'd.'[4] Blondel seems to have learnt from Longinus to treat imaginative and

1 Comparison, p. 67.

2 cf. Horace, Satires i.6.66-7 - 'velut si/ egregio inspersos reprehendere corpore naevos', where the metaphor is used in a moral context. There is a parallel for its use in the context of literary criticism in Seneca, Controversiae 2.2(10).12, where he reports of Ovid that 'non ignoravit vitia sua, sed amavit . . . aiebat interim decentiorem faciem esse, in qua aliquis naevos esset.'

3 Comparison, pp. 71-2.

4 ibid., p. 57.

emotional response as a valid test of literary merit - the 'extreme concern' of the reader testifying to the power of the writing. Selecting as one of Pindar's most notable passages his account of Antilochus saving the life of Nestor, Blondel comments that 'the relation is so tender, so touching, and so lively . . . there is no body but trembles for the poor Nestor.'[1] In England twenty years later a similar development can be seen in the remarks on Pindar made by John Dennis - characterised by Pope and Gay in 1717 as Sir Tremendous Longinus.[2] Dennis's preoccupation with the sublime dates from the beginning of his career, and in the preface to The Court of Death (1695) his allegiance to Longinian principles of criticism is already marked. Isolating as two of Pindar's chief qualities those of 'sublimity' and 'magnificence', Dennis proceeds to a discussion, based on the third chapter of On the Sublime, of 'Fustian' and the false sublime. The terms he uses to describe the essential element in Pindar missing from Rapin's assessment show him already appreciative of the subjective element introduced into literary criticism by Longinus and emphasised by Blondel, an element which over-rides the 'incorrectness' and lack of decorum with which Pindar's critics were wont to charge him. To Dennis, Pindar's 'vehemence, his impetuousness, and the magnificent sounds of his numbers' combine to produce that fourth, less easily definable, element:

> another thing which is the result of the rest, and that is something dreadful, something which terribly shakes us, at the same time it transports us.[3]

1 ibid. Blondel's 'beauties of Pindar' include also Aeson's recognition of Jason (P.iv.120-3); the sculptures of Rhodes (O.vii.52-4); the ruin of the Epeian land (O.x.35-8); the birth of a son in old age (ibid. 86-7); the shame of the defeated (P.viii.83-7); and the eruption of Aetna (P.i.19-24

2 Three Hours after Marriage, Burlesque Plays of the Eighteenth Century, ed. Simon Trussler, Oxford, 1969, pp. 91-142.

3 Dennis, Critical Works, i, 43.

It is particularly interesting that as early as 1673 Blondel should have fixed upon the discussion in 'Longinus' of flawed genius versus flawless mediocrity as the basis for his assessment of Pindar; but it is of course Boileau who makes the association of Pindar with the sublime a literary commonplace. In fact Boileau never develops the association as far as had Blondel, and in his approach even the 'petites négligences' become less Longinian in the context of the theory that in the ode, and in Pindar, 'un beau désordre est un effet de l'Art.'[1] In the eighth of the Réflexions of 1694, however, Longinus is invoked as 'the Greatest and Severest Critick of all Greece' (to whom one must oppose the Greekless Perrault) in the attempt to refute Perrault's charges against Pindar as:

> not only full of Faults, but an Author who has no Beauty at all; a Fustian, Unintelligible Writer, whom no body could ever comprehend, and of whom Horace made a Jest, when he said he was an Inimitable Poet.[2]

The fact that Blondel had found it necessary to devote a large part of his essay to defending Pindar against his detractors indicates on a small scale the tradition behind the attitude which was incorporated by Perrault into his challenge to the unquestioning assumption of the superiority of the ancient world. One can add the kind of attack made on Pindar by Malherbe (of whom it is reported that 'il n'estimoit point du tout les Grecs, et particulièrement il s'était déclaré ennemi du galimatias de Pindare'),[3] or by the anonymous critic, cited in the

1 see above, p. 146.

2 Boileau, Works made English, ii, 117.

3 Racan, 'Vie de Malherbe', Les Oeuvres de Francois de Malherbe, 3 vols, Paris, 1722-3, i, 20-1.

annotated edition of Baillet's Jugemens des Savans, who had accused Pindar of being 'tout décousu, et tout dés-uni'.[1] But although Pindar had not in the past been by any means immune from criticism, Perrault's contribution to the controversy gains from its context and its tone an authority which raises it above the level of ink-slinging to which the immediate quarrel between him and Boileau rapidly descended. Perrault's case, or rather that of his spokesman, the Abbé, is a straightforward one. On Pindar's worth, 'le temoignage d'Horace ne conclud rien'.[2] Aptly, l'Abbé instances as an example of inflated reputation that of an early Pindariser: 'on ne laisse pas de se moquer aujourd'huy de Ronsard, et de la folle imitation des Anciens qu'il a affectee.'[3] Here, of course, Boileau has to agree.[4] Dismissing the ancient testimony on which Pindar's reputation had so heavily depended, l'Abbé turns to modern critics, and suggests that this reputation is little more than a gigantic hoax:

> Si les Savans lisoient Pindare, avec résolution de bien comprendre ce qu'il dit, ils s'en rebutteroient bien viste, et ils en parleroient encore plus mal que nous; mais ils passent légèrement sur tout ce qu'ils n'entendent pas, et ne s'arrestent qu'aux beaux traits qu'ils transcrivent dans leurs Recueils. Ils remarquent, par exemple, dans la première

1 Note on Baillet, Jugemens, iii, 394. The reference, 'Anonym. Bibliograph. Cur. Philolog. hist. pag. 53' is probably wrong. A section on Pindar appears on pp. 50-53 of the (unpaginated) Bibliographia Historico-Politico-Philologica Curiosa, quid in quovis Scriptore laudem censuramve mereatur exhibens, Germanapoli, 1677, but there is no reflection of this kind on Pindar's works.

2 Paralelle des Anciens et des Modernes, en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1693, ii, 110.

3 ibid.

4 ibid. Cf. above, p. 42 note 1.

> Ode, une épithete grecque, qui dit que les richesses rendent l'homme superbe; que la Sicile est abondante en beaux chevaux, etc. Ils vont fort viste dans leur lecture, où peu de choses les arreste; et après avoir fait leurs extraits qu'ils regardent comme un amas de pierres précieuses, ils exaltent de toute leur force l'autheur d'où ils les ont tirées, pour augmenter par là le prix de leur travail et de leurs collections.[1]

It is clear from several references that Perrault was in fact acquainted with Benedictus's edition of Pindar, but equally clear that he thought, or pretended to think, that Benedictus was as bewildered as himself. From the fact that Perrault's attack on Pindar never progresses further than the beginning of the first Olympian, it seems safe to assume that his hostility is very largely the result of Horace's dictum working upon a very imperfect knowledge of Greek. But despite the obvious vulnerability of his position, and his rather bullying tone, Perrault's point about the anthologising approach is a valid one. His criticism strikes in fact at the root of the Longinian approach as it is exemplified in Blondel - the search for 'beaux endroits' which are only highlighted by the lesser material surrounding them, and the neglect, extending often even to a denial, of the existence of the ode as an entity.

Boileau, taking up the challenge in the Ancient's defence, summarises this part of Perrault's argument and dismisses it as 'without any manner of Proof', but the rest of his answer is devoted to a discussion of the 'proof' that Perrault elsewhere advances in an intentionally flat translation of the opening of the first Olympian. Perrault succeeds fairly well in making the worst of Pindar, with a translation which runs:

> L'eau est très-bonne, à la vérité; et l'or qui brille, comme le feu durant la nuit, éclate merveilleusement parmi les richesses qui rendent l'homme superbe.

1 Perrault, Paralelle, ii, lll.

> Mais, mon esprit, si tu désires chanter des combats, ne contemples point d'autre astre plus lumineux que le soleil pendant le jour, dans le vague de l'air; car nous ne saurions chanter des combats plus illustres que les combats olympiques.[1]

The rather heavy humour of Boileau's response, concerned largely with pointing out Perrault's grammatical errors, makes on the whole little impact: more interesting is his demonstration of the difference made to an appreciation of Pindar by an understanding of the background - in this case, by the realisation that Pindar, living 'a little time after Pythagoras, Thales, and Anaxagoras', would have known the lost poem of Empedocles on his theory of physics:

> Wherefore, when Pindar came to write his First Olympick Ode, in the Praise of Hiero, King of Sicily, who had won the Prize of the Horse Course; he begins with the most Simple and Natural thing in the World, which is, that if he was to sing the Wonders of Nature, he wou'd, in imitation of Empedocles, Sing Water and Gold, as the two most Excellent things in the World; but being devoted to Celebrate the Actions of Mankind, the Olympic Combat should be the Subject of his Song; that being the greatest of all Human Actions, and to say that any other Combat was as Excellent as the Olympick, wou'd be to pretend there's some other Star in the Heavens, as Luminous as the Sun. This is Pindar's Thought, put in its Natural Order, and as a Rhetorician might have said it in Plain Prose: But Pindar, as a Poet, expresses it thus . . .[2]

Boileau's approach, separating out what might be called the prose content from Pindar's poetic expression, is potentially a fruitful one (much like that of Benedictus): but his case against Perrault, like

1 Quoted by Boileau in'Réflexion VIII', Oeuvres, 3 vols, Paris, 1832, ii, 270-1: quoted and translated by Basil Kennett, The Lives and Characters of the Ancient Grecian Poets, p. 78.

2 Boileau. Works made English, ii, 118: cf. Kennett, Lives of the Grecian Poets, pp. 76-7.

Perrault's against Pindar, stops short at the beginning of the first Olympian. Pindar's defence, in the hands of Blondel and Boileau, Basil Kennett and Joshua Barnes, invariably rests like this on one or two isolated points: against Perrault's more general charge of an over-all unintelligibility the only answer is a retreat into the protection of Horace, Longinus, and the 'je ne sais quoi'.

It is often impossible in these writings to distinguish the specifically Horatian influence from the Longinian, and Blondel's coupling of the two ancient critics, as well as his use of the Horatian metaphor of the moles in a beautiful body to expand on the doctrine of 'Longinus',[1] shows how closely they were seen to complement each other. The most developed formulation of an approach to Pindar which fuses Horatian preconceptions of Pindar's style with a Longinian theory of poetics is the paper delivered to the French Academy by Claude Fraguier, perhaps the most eloquent and convincing defence of Pindar's poetic character in this period. Fraguier sets out to provide a reassessment of the poet as he was seen at the beginning of the eighteenth century:

> je me suis attaché à traiter un sujet de poésie presque également célèbre et inconnu, mais dont la connoissance dépend plus encore des réflexions que du savoir. Ce sujet est le caractère de Pindare . . . un poète, qui n'est pas peut-estre moins digne de l'attention des gens de lettres que les marbres et les bronzes les plus curieux.[2]

At its most general, Fraguier's defence rests on the apparently unanswerable premise reminiscent of Hans Christian Andersen's emperor and his new clothes, that 'le sang froid est mauvais juge de

1 See above, p. 153.

2 Claude Fraguier, 'Le Caractère de Pindare', pp. 34-5.

l'enthousiasme.'[1] A fully developed psychological theory of 'enthusiasm' is the basis of his description of the process of poetic creation:

> son esprit s'échauffe; son imagination s'allume; toutes les facultez de son ame se réveillent pour concourir à la perfection de son ouvrage; et le feu qui l'anime, répandant l'éclat d'une lumière vive et brillante, lui découvre tout d'un coup . . . ce qu'avant cela il n'estoit pas capable d'appercevoir.[2]

But, according to Fraguier, the popular idea of Pindar takes no account of the variety of his style. His powers of sublimity cannot be gainsaid; but he is generally known only 'par ses écarts', and Horace's images of the swan and the mountain torrent have obscured the sweetness and elegance of many passages in the odes. Selected for particular mention are the description of the Isles of the Blessed from the second Olympian, the Cyrene myth from Pythian 9, and the account in the sixth Olympian of Iamos among the flowers fed by the snakes:

> Quelle peinture! et les tableaux de l'Albane ou du Correge les plus achevez ont-ils rien d'aussi gracieux? Si le temps n'eust pas plus épargné les oeuvres de Pindare que celles de tants de grands personnages. . . n'auroit-il pas sa place avec Sappho et Anacréon, avec Bion et Moschus, ces poëtes tendres et fleuris qui n'ont jamais invoqué que les Graces.[3]

With a keen appreciation of the bolder of Pindar's effects in 'le genre sublime', and a theory of the psychology of poetic composition

1 ibid., p. 38.

2 ibid., p. 36.

3 ibid., p. 45.

which is in itself a very traditional one, Fraguier nevertheless infuses into his outline of 'le caractère de Pindare' an originality which one must attribute to the sense of a personal enthusiasm for the poet built upon something more than a superficial knowledge of his work. The circle reached by the publications of the French Academy would, of course, have been a restricted one, but within its confines the readers of Fraguier's article would have felt for the first time in the history of Pindaric criticism

> combien s'éloignent de la verité ceux qui croyent qu'il n'y a dans Pindare que de l'élévation, et qui le voyent toujours comme un aigle dont le vol échappe aux yeux, et se perd dans l'obscurite des nuës.[1]

1 ibid., p. 46.

CHAPTER IV

THE ENGLISH PINDARIC

i. The form

The most recurrent motif in discussions of the Pindaric ode as an English poetic form is a sense of more or less unbridled proliferation. As early as 1685, Dryden remarks of Cowley's innovation that

> The seeming easiness of it has made it spread; but it has not been considered enough, to be so well cultivated. It languishes in almost every hand but his, and some very few, whom (to keep the rest in countenance) I do not name.[1]

Nine years later he returns to a similar metaphor, still finding the Pindaric full of potential, 'a vast Tract of Land newly discover'd. The Soil is wonderfully Fruitful, but unmanur'd, overstock'd with Inhabitants; but almost all salvages.'[2] In 1707 Congreve testifies that 'there is nothing more frequent among us, than a sort of Poems intitled Pindarique Odes ...',[3] and John Gay, proffering advice to Lintott in 1712 for the compilation of a poetical miscellany, pleads 'Tire not our patience with Pindaric lays ...'[4] In The Battle of the Books, Swift, describing the havoc wreaked by Pindar among his imitators, neatly underlines the anonymity of the modern Pindarising hordes:

> Then Pindar slew ----, and ----, and Oldham, and ---- and Afra the Amazon light of foot; Never advancing in a direct line, but wheeling with incredible Agility and

1 Preface to Sylvae, Essays, ed. W.P. Ker, 2 vols, Oxford, 1900, i, 267.

2 Letter to John Dennis, c. March 1694: Letters, ed. C.E. Ward, Duke University Press, 1942, p. 72.

3 'A Discourse on the Pindarique Ode' (1707): Complete Works, ed. Montague Summers, London, 1923, iv, 82.

4 'Epistle to Bernard Lintott. On a Miscellany of Poems' (1712): A. Chalmers, Works of the English Poets, 21 vols., London, 1810, x, 479.

> Force, he made a terrible Slaughter among the Enemy's Light-Horse.[1]

This view is not restricted to contemporaries: the picture is still much the same when seen by Dr. Johnson, looking back from the vantage point of 1779:

> This lax and lawless versification so much concealed the deficiencies of the barren and flattered the laziness of the idle, that it immediately overspread our books of poetry; all the boys and girls caught the pleasing fashion, and they that could do nothing else could write like Pindar . . . Pindarism prevailed above half a century, but at last died gradually away, and other imitations supply its place.[2]

Modern assessments of the actual popularity of the Pindaric ode have been more moderate: R.D. Havens, basing his findings on a comparative survey of the contents of Dryden's and Dodsley's miscellanies, felt that the Cowleyan Pindarics "are often so long and so bad as to loom more largely in our consciousness than the facts warrant... They seem never to have been really popular; but such vogue as they did enjoy would appear ... to have reached its height in the second decade of the century."[3]

One difficulty in the way of a solution to these contradictory views is the problem of terminology. If one treats as Pindaric the entire corpus of poems written in otherwise unclassifiable irregular stanzas the project quickly becomes meaningless;[4] on the other hand, relatively few

1 A Full and True Account of the Battle Fought last Friday between the Ancient and the Modern Books in St. James Library (1710): A Tale of a Tub etc ed. A.C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith, Oxford, 1958, p. 248.

2 'Life of Cowley', Lives of the English Poets, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, 3 vols, Oxford, 1905, i, 43.

3 R.D. Havens, 'Changing Taste in the Eighteenth Century. A Study of Dryden's and Dodsley's Miscellanies', PMLA xliv (1929), 506.

4 J. Schipper (Englische Metrik, 2 vols, Bonn. 1881-88, ii, 1009), using similarly vague principles of definition, indexes as composers of 'Pindaric odes' writers as diverse as Addison, the Brownings, Burns, Coleridge, Crashaw, Keats, Edgar Allan Poe, and Tennyson.

irregular odes are in fact 'intitled Pindarique', and to count only those which make their claim explicit would be just as misleading. Even if one includes all those which make even a passing reference to 'Pindar's ... heavenly Fire', or invoke the Theban lyre, one's idea of the genre is still much narrower than that accepted by the poets of the day and their readers. None of Swift's early odes are in fact described as Pindaric, but it is clear from a letter to his cousin Thomas Swift that to Swift himself the stanza form spoke for itself.

> I seldom write above 2 Stanzas in a week I mean such as are to any Pinderick Ode, and yet I have known myself in so good a humor as to make 2 in a day ... if the fitt comes not immediatly I never heed it but think of something else, and besides, the Poem I writt to the Athen. Society was all ruff drawn in a week, and finishd in 2 days after, and yet it consists of 12 stanza and some of them above thirty lines, all above 20 ...[1]

In the later eighteenth century Dr. Johnson had no hesitation in discussing Pope's Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day in the context of the Pindaric; and it is only in the more modern editions of Dryden's poems that the ode 'To the Pious Memory ... Mrs. Anne Killigrew' - according to Johnson "undoubtedly the noblest ode that our language ever had produced" - is described as Pindaric. No doubt to hesitate over grouping these and numerous other irregular odes under the heading Pindaric would have seemed mere quibbling to writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: but for the purposes of a retrospective evaluation of the genre and of its popularity some kind of discrimination must be exercised between poems which simply make use of a conveniently free metrical form and those which are consciously motivated by the Pindaric ideal. The passage in Swift's letter does indicate that stanzas 'such as are to any Pindarick ode' were often expected to be particularly long ones, an impression supported by Congreve's characterisation of the

1 Letter to Thomas Swift, 3 May, 1692: Correspondence, ed. Harold Williams, 5 vols, Oxford, 1963-5, i, 8.

Pindariques as 'rambling': there is enough precedent for this feature -- and also for the length of individual lines - in Cowley's own odes to make it unnecessary to consider tracing it back more directly to the elongated appearance of Pindar's epinicians in the seventeenth century editions. After 1707 some odes are made more recognisably Pindaric by their triadic structure; but so few poets did follow Congreve's precepts that this as an aid to identification affords little help. Largely for this reason, the distinction frequently made in the interests of academic accuracy between the true (triadic) Pindaric and the 'pseudo-Pindaric' is not a very helpful one: there must have been some others who, like Samuel Cobb, found the strict observation of triads too pedantic, and many who found it too difficult, deciding rather to 'err with Mr. Cowley, who shew'd us the Way, than be flat and in the right with others'.[1]

It is clear, however, that although the definition cannot rest on this alone, the metrical irregularity, or later regularity, of the Pindaric is its most essential feature. William Coward, in one of his less controversial works, insisted that:

> 'Tis not uneven Lines Pindarics make,
> Where Rhymes with frequent Interruptions break,
> But 'tis the Noble Style which PINDAR wrote,
> Expressive of as excellent a Thought,
> That makes Him justly valu'd and admir'd,
> In Imitators th' Only Thing Desir'd.[2]

1 Cobb, 'A Discourse on Criticism and the Liberty of Writing', Poems on several Occasions, London, 1707 (reprinted: Augustan Reprint Society, 1946).

2 William Coward, Licentia Poetica Discuss'd: or, the True Test of Poetry. Without which it is difficult to Judge of, or Compose, a Correct English Poem. To which are added, Critical Observations on the Principal, Antient and Modern Poets, viz. Homer, Horace, Virgil, Milton, Waller, Cowley, Dryden, etc. as frequently liable to Just Censure. A poem, London, 1709, p. 64.

Although, however, in the writings of its serious exponents the style and subject matter suitable to the Pindaric ode do emerge as more important elements of Pindaric theory than purely metrical considerations, the mass of opinion sanctions a very loose definition. There is no appreciable difference in style between Samuel Butler's Pindarics -- 'Upon a Hypocritical Nonconformist', and 'To the Happy Memory of the most Renowned Du-Val' -- and his other verse satires, while discursive odes such as Charles Cotton's 'Contentment', 'Melancholy', 'Beauty', or 'Poverty' bear little relation to the Horace-inspired ideals of the later Cowleyan tradition. Steele speaks in The Spectator of a Lapland ode possessing numbers in the original 'as loose and unequal, as those in which the British ladies sport their Pindariques':[1] and the poems of the circles around Katherine Philips, Aphra Behn, and Anne Finch, Countess of Winchelsea, abound in examples of the form. The tone of the great bulk of these productions is social rather than sublime: even the state poems regularly produced by Mrs. Behn manage to exhibit a cliquishness more akin to the pastoral than to the Pindaric, and Mrs. Behn, like John Oldham, did in fact product an example of a strange hybrid, the Pindarick Pastoral Ode. The section on the Pindaric in Edward Bysshe's Art of English Poetry is mostly taken up with a description of the liberty of stanza form permissible. After quoting from Cowley's ode 'On Liberty', to give a better idea of the Nature of this Sort of Poetry', Bysshe concludes, very much after the manner of Sprat, that

1 The Spectator no.366, (April 30th, 1712): The Spectator, ed. D.F. Bond, 5 vols, Oxford, 1965, iii, 376.

> This sort of Poetry is employ'd in all manner of Subjects; in Pleasant, in Grave, in Amorous, in Heroick, in Philosophical, in Moral and in Divine.[1]

For many writers, the Pindaric came to mean little more than this - simply a convenient verse form, better suited to their own temperaments or intentions than the couplet or a more regular stanza form.

It is broadly true to say that while the enthusiasm of the promoters of the Cowleyan Pindaric tended to be fired by the more general stylistic associations of grandeur and intensity, its metrical irregularity provided a ready focus for the scorn of its detractors. For long after Congreve's Discourse, metrical freedom appeared to many critics to be the only necessary ingredient. Steele in The Tatler describes a meeting in Will's Coffee-House with a would-be poet who declared that he had, among other things,

> "the sketch of a heroic poem upon the next peace: several indeed of the verses are either too long or too short, it being but a rough draft of my thoughts upon that subject." I thereupon told him, that as it was, it might pass for a very good Pindaric, and I believed I knew one who would be willing to deal with him for it on that foot.[2]

Addison, in a discussion of 'typographical wit', proffers

> a Word of Advice to those admirable English Authors who call themselves Pindarick Writers, that they would apply themselves to this Kind of Wit without Loss of Time, as being provided better than any other Poets with Verses of all Sizes and Dimensions.[3]

1 The Art of English Poetry: Containing, I. Rules for making Verses. II. A Dictionary of Rhymes. III. A Collection of the most Natural, Agreeable, and Noble Thoughts, viz. Allusions, Similes, Descriptions, and Characters, of Persons and Things; that are to be found in the best English poets. London, 1702, p. 36.

2 The Tatler no.106 (December 13th, 1709); The Tatler, ed. G.A. Aitken, 4 vols. London, 1898, ii, 378.

3 The Spectator no.58 (May 7th, 1711); ed. D.F. Bond, i, 248.

Even a Pindariser himself could on occasion stoop, like Flatman, from his poetic heights to take a more practical line towards his motives, even if allegedly with tongue in cheek:

> As to the measures observ'd by me, I always took a particular delight in the Pindarique strain, and that for two Reasons, First, it gave me a liberty now and then to correct the saucy forwardness of a Rhime, and to lay it aside until I had a mind to admit it; and secondly, if my sense fell at any time too short for my Stanza (and it will often happen so in Versifying) I had then opportunity to fill it up with a Metaphor little to the purpose, and (upon occasion) to run that Metaphor to stark mad into an Allegory ... But in good earnest, as to the subjects ...[1]

Although it was probably the metrical licence of the Pindaric which did most to bring the form into disrepute, it was not of course always treated so lightly. The irregularity itself, properly handled, was felt to be a virtue, as Charles Cotton demonstrates in a tribute to Flatman prefaced to the latter's poems -- a tribute presumably sincerely intended as such, despite the self-destructive effect of its extravagance:

> But your Pindaric Odes indeed are such
> That Pindar's lyre from his own skilful touch
> Ne'er yielded such an harmony, nor yet
> Verse keep such time on so unequal feet.[2]

Sprat, more seriously, commended the metrical freedom of the Cowleyan Pindaric not only on the grounds to which Dr. Johnson was to take exception, that it made the form 'fit for all manner of subjects', but also, and chiefly, on the much more individual count of

> its near affinity with Prose: From which all other kinds of English Verse are so far distant that it is very seldom found that the same Man excels in both ways. But now this loose and unconfin'd measure has all the Grace and Harmony of the most Confin'd. And withal it is so large and free, that the practice of it will only

1 Thomas Flatman, Poems and Songs ... The Fourth Edition, with many Additions and Amendments, London, 1686.

2 'On the Excellent Poems of my Most Worthy Friend, Mr. Thomas Flatman', Poems, ed. John Beresford, London, 1923, p. 401.

> exalt, not corrupt our Prose, which is certainly the most useful kind of Writing of all others, for it is the style of all business and conversation.[1]

This rather curious commendation, strangely at odds with the later tradition in which subjective enthusiasm rather than 'usefulness' was seen as the shaping principle of the Pindaric ode, must be considered in the light of Sprat's celebrated views on prose in The History of the Royal Society. The Pindaric ode, free as it was from the trammels of a fixed scheme of metre and rhyme might well have seemed -- paradoxically in view of its actual development -- a potential remedy for poetical extravagance, a means to "return back to the primitive purity and shortness, when men deliver'd so many things almost in an equal number of words ... bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness as they can, and preferring the language of Artizans, Countryman, and Merchants, before that of Wits or Scholars."[2] As one of Cowley's chief devotees, Sprat naturally produced his own Pindarics, the earliest being an ode on the death of Oliver Cromwell. Dubbed by some, according to Anthony à Wood, 'Pindaric Sprat',[3] he has been generally -- and fairly -- esteemed as a master of prose and condemned as a poet, although his longest poem, The Plague of Athens, ran through several editions and won high commendation from one critic at least.[4] An echo of his prose

1 Thomas Sprat, An Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Abraham Cowley: Written to Mr. Clifford (1668); Spingarn, ii, 132.

2 The History of the Royal Society of London (1667); Spingarn, ii, 117-8.

3 Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ed. P. Bliss, 5 vols., London, 1813-20, iv, 727.

4
> 'Tis true if any where Great PINDAR lives
> And in our English Verse again survives,
> By Transmigration in Another Shape,
> SPRAT's Plague of Athens seems his Soul t'enwrap.

William Coward, Licentia Poetica discuss'd, p. 64.

theory is heard in the introduction to this poem in the comment on the source in Thucydides that 'I know not which is more a poem, his description or that of Lucretius',[1] but Sprat's own rendering, a mass of insufficiently unified detail, appears merely prosaic in the worst sense.

There are some passages of Cowley's own Pindariques which seem to derive their strength from a specificness of diction somewhat similar to the use of language advocated here by Sprat, but perhaps the nearest that his ideals were to come to realisation is in the discursive strain of poems like the Pindarics of Charles Cotton. It is an interesting manifestation of the continuity of the ideal of the prose values of poetry that a critic as remote from Sprat as Coleridge was to write of the poems of Cotton, in commendation, that there were not a few

> so worded, that the reader sees no one reason either in the selection or the order of words, why he might not have said the very same in a appropriate conversation, and cannot conceive how indeed he could have expressed such thoughts otherwise, without loss or injury to his meaning.[2]

One may see Thomas Fletcher (1666-1713), a fellow of New College, Oxford, as pursuing this line to the next logical, if hazardous, development in his Poems on Several Occasions (1692) with the experiment of a 'blank Pindarique ode'. Fletcher's views on blank verse evolve from his translation of Virgil, which led him to the discovery that rhymes 'do but emasculate Heroick Verse, and give it an unnatural Softness ....

1 Thomas Sprat, 'To my Worthy and Learned Friend, Mr. Walter Pope', The Plague of Athens, which happened in the Second Year of the Peloponnesian Warre First Describ'd in Greek by Thucydides; then in Latin by Lucretius; Now attempted in English, after incomparable Dr. Cowley's Pindarick Way, London, 1659.

2 S.T. Coleridge, Biographia Literaria, ed. J. Shawcross, 2 vols. Oxford, 1907 ii, 71.

An Heroe drest up in them looks like Hercules with a Distaff';[1] blank verse carries more majesty. With some doubt that the Pindaric experiment may be carrying things too far, Fletcher vindicates himself with an appeal to current Pindaric practice which suggests an actual "affinity with Prose" rather less to be desired:

> Only this I have to say, that the licentiousness of Rhiming, which is usual in that sort of Poetry among us, will make the want of it less discerned; at least it will clear me from the imputation of chusing Blank Verse out of Laziness.[2]

Fletcher's ode on eternity does go a long way towards meriting Dr. Johnson's description, 'this lax and lawless versification'; and Edward Bysshe, in his poetaster's handbook, leaves the way open for almost any degree of individual experimentation. In the Pindaric, according to Bysshe, the stanzas are not confined to any number of lines, nor the lines to any number of feet:

> Some Stanzas contain 50 Verses or more, others not above 10: some Verses 14, nay 16 Syllables, others not above 4: Sometimes the Rhymes follow one another for several Couplets together, sometimes they are remov'd 6 Verses from each other; and all this in the same Stanza.[3]

Bysshe emphasises that the quotation from Cowley is given as guidance only, 'not as an Example, for none can properly be said to be given, where no Rule can be prescribed.' It is surprising that in all the subsequent editions 'corrected and enlarged' through which this standard work was to pass in the eighteenth century this section stood unaltered: in the edition of 1762 the 'rules for the making' of Pindaric verses were still as libertine as this.

Even before Congreve there were attempts to suggest bounds which

1 The Preface, Poems on Several Occasions, and Translations: Wherein the First and Second Books of Virgil's Aeneis are attempted, in English, London, 1692.

2 ibid.

3 The Art of Poetry, p. 35.

might suitably contain this apparently anarchic form. Dryden's strictures on the Pindaric in the preface to Sylvae represent perhaps the first attempt to draw up 'rules' for its composition, since Edward Philips, pointing out ten years earlier the misunderstanding of Pindar's strophic structure in the so-called Pindaric, had merely rejected the form as inferior to the Italian canzon.[1] When Dryden expresses a reservation about Cowley's versification it is not, however, for his lack of formal regularity, but because

> somewhat of the purity of English, somewhat of more equal thoughts, somewhat of sweetness in the numbers, in one word, somewhat of a finer turn and more lyrical verse, is yet wanting.[2]

According to Dryden, the numbers used in imitating Pindar 'should for the most part be lyrical': since he goes on to explain that exceptionally, 'for variety, or rather where the majesty of thought requires it, they may be stretched to the English heroic of five feet, and to the French Alexandrine of six', it is clear that in his view the standard lyrical line should consist of four feet or less.[3] Dennis glosses this stricture of Dryden's with the comment that 'Numbers which are truly Lyrical are seldom to be extended beyond the eighth syllable.'[4] Except for Alexander's Feast, which was published in 1697, Dryden's own Pindarics date to the mid-1680's, but his interest in the form remained keen. In 1685 he had expressed the

1 Edward Philips, Theatrum Poetarum (1675); Spingarn, ii, 265.

2 Preface to Sylvae (1685); Essays, i, 267.

3 ibid., i, 268.

4 John Dennis, Preface to Miscellanies in Verse and Prose (1693); Critical Works, ed. E.N. Hooker, 2 vols, Baltimore, 1939-43, i, 9.

hope that 'A musical ear, and a great genius, if another Mr. Cowley could arise in another age, may bring it to perfection':[1] and in 1694 he seemed to feel that he had found his man in John Dennis. In a letter to Dennis Dryden remarks:

> There is another part of Poetry in which the English stand almost upon an equal foot with the Ancients; and 'tis that which we call Pindarique: introduced but not perfected by our famous Mr. Cowley: and of this, Sir, you are certainly one of the greatest Masters. You have the Sublimity of Sense as well as Sound, and know how far the Boldness of a Poet may lawfully extend. I could wish you would cultivate this kind of Ode; and reduce it either to the same Measures which Pindar us'd, or give new Measures of your own.[2]

It is not easy to imagine just what Dryden might have meant by the phrase 'reduce it to the same measures Pindar used', but since there is no evidence in his other writings, or indeed in Dennis's response, to support a reference to strophic responsion, and since he can hardly have intended Dennis to experiment with hypercatalectic antispasts and the like, it seems most likely that he is still largely concerned with the length of the line.[3] If so, this does seem to be a reflection of the old colometry; but even in Dryden's own Pindarics its influence is not very extensive. In the odes of 1685-6 the norm seems, in fact, to be the pentameter, while lines of seven feet are not excluded: it is only with the later, metrically experimental, Alexander's Feast that the move towards shorter lines becomes noticeable, with a preponderance of tetrameters, trimeters, and dimeters. Even here, however, the occasional longer line is admitted:

1 Preface to Sylvae: Essays, i, 268-9.

2 Letter to Dennis c. March, 1694; Letters, p. 72.

3 E.N. Hooker, (Critical Works of John Dennis, i, 511 n.) feels that (from this passage?)' it is fairly clear that Dryden understood something of the form in which Pindar's odes were written': in the absence of any supporting evidence, this must at best remain very questionable.

anticipated by John Oldmixon, who declared that 'neither did Pindar allow himself to be so Licentious in his Measure, as some who would have us believe they have Imitated him',[1] and by the anonymous author of the Reflections on the Poems made upon the Siege and Taking of Namur:

> And they are much mistaken, who think (or seem to do by their Composings) that this way of Writing (the Pindarique) consists in joyning a Company of fine hard Words together, and jumping from one sort of Verse to another, as their own extravagant Fancy leads; as if there was no Texture, no Regularity to be observ'd in one of the most Noble Kinds of Poetry.[2]

Samuel Cobb had contributed a triadic Greek ode to the Cambridge collection on the death of William of Gloucester in 1700,[3] and his first-hand study of Pindar is well attested by Dr. Johnson:

> perhaps the like return might properly be made to a modern Pindarist, as Mr. Cobb received from Bentley, who, when he found his criticisms upon a Greek exercise, which Cobb had presented, refuted one after another by Pindar's authority, cried out at last, 'Pindar was a bold fellow, but thou art an impudent one.'[4]

But as Cobb was to write in 1707, to a friend in Barbadoes, 'Mr. Congreve has given the World an Ode, and prefix'd to it a Discourse on the Pindaric Verse...'[5] It was of course Congreve who first brought to the public notice the regularity of the structure of Pindar's odes, and according to Johnson we are indebted to him

1 John Oldmixon. Preface to Poems on Several Occasions, written in imitation of the manner of Anacreon, with other Poems, Letters, and Translations, London, 1696, [A6^{a} - b].

2 Reflections on the Poems made upon the Siege and Taking of Namur; together with a short answer to the Modest Examination of the Oxford Decree etc. Lately published. Both in a letter to a friend at Oxon. London, 1696.

3 Threnodia Academiae Cantabrigiensis in immaturum obitum Gulielmi ducis Glocestrensis, Cambridge, 1700.

4 'Life of Pope', Lives, iii, 227.

5 'A Discourse on Criticism and the Liberty of Writing', Poems on Several Occasions, London, 1707.

> for the correction of a national error, and for the cure of our Pindarick madness. He first taught the English writers that Pindar's odes were regular; and though certainly he had not the fire requisite for the higher species of lyrick poetry, he has shewn us that enthusiasm has its rules, and that in mere confusion there is neither grace nor greatness.[1]

Congreve did have one or two disciples in this matter, among them Elijah Fenton, but generally, although the Discourse may have helped to stem the already diminishing tide of irregular Pindarics, it had perhaps surprisingly little positive effect upon the practice of those poets who did persist in the genre. Cobb's strictures have already been noted, and Congreve himself had reservations about the relevance of the triadic structure to modern English poetic practice: it is, in a way, 'Obsolete and Impertinent: and certainly there may be very good English Odes, without the Distinction of Greek Appellations to their Stanzas.'[2] In 1709 Cobb rejected Pindaric triads even more emphatically than he had done in 1707, declaring, in the preface to The Female Reign, that 'the Strophe, Antistrophe, etc. will never bear in English ...'[3]

ii. Types of the Pindaric: the occasional poem

It was demonstrated by Cowley, and reiterated by Sprat,[4] that in

1 'Life of Congreve', Lives, ii, 234.

2 Congreve, 'Discourse', Works, iv, 85.

3 'A Letter to a Gentleman in the University', The Female Reign: An Ode, alluding to Horace B.4.Od.14 attempted in the Style of Pindar, London, 1709.

4 Thomas Sprat, An Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Abraham Cowley: Written to Mr. Clifford (1668): Spingarn, ii, 132.

its choice of subject-matter the resurrected Pindaric ode could range far more widely than its Greek original: the encomiastic element in Pindar was, for purposes of imitation, of little moment, the essence of his poems seeming to lie rather in their irregularity and magnificence. Nevertheless the Pindaric quickly became accepted as the ideal medium for public encomium. In 1660 Cowley led the way in celebrating the return of Charles II with an Ode. Upon his Majesty's Restoration and Return, and had already at least one follower in Samuel Austin, the apparently resilient victim of News upon Parnassus;[1] but other forms, especially the heroic couplet, still kept their supremacy.

By 1685, the news of Charles's death was greeted with a flood of mournful Pindarics, not only Dryden but a host of lesser writers, 'Struck with the Horror of the Dismal News', according to J.H. Esq., opting for this form as the most suitable vehicle for the expression of their affliction. The 'funeral-Pindariques' of this occasion are followed without a pause - in the same poem, in the case of Mrs. Behn - by celebrations of the coronation of the new king; and Edmund Arwaker finds opportunity for a third barely two years later 'on the Occasion of Her Majesty's Happy Conception'. Some months later the birth of the Prince of Wales is celebrated in a congratulatory Pindaric by Caleb Calle, gent.

1 Samuel Austin, A Panegyrick on His Sacred Majesties' Royal Person, Charles the IId,... and Corronation, London, 1661.

2 e.g. Edmund Arwaker, The Vision: a Pindarick ode and The Second Part of the Vision (1685); Joshua Barnes, The Apotheosis of the most Serene and Illustrious Monarch Charles the II. With an humble Address to his Most Sacred Majesty King James the II. and a poem to the Queen Dowager (1685 - reprinted from the Cambridge collection); Aphra Behn, A Pindarick on the Death of our Late Sovereign, with an Ancient Prophecy on his Present Majesty (1685); 'Sir F.F. Knight of the Bath', A Pindarick Ode on the Sacred Memory of our Late Gracious Sovereign ... (1685 - an inaccurate reprint, perhaps pirated, appears as Ireland's Tears. To the Sacred Memory of our late Dread Sover ign ...), Thomas Flatman, On the Death of our late Sovereign Lord ... A Pindarique Ode (1685); J.H. Esq., A Pindarick Ode on the Death of his Late Sacred Majesty...; J. Phillips, An Humble Offering to the Sacred Memory of the late most Serene and Potent Monarch ... (1685); Fitz Norris Wood, On the Death of his late Sacred Majesty ... A Pindarique Ode (1685).

'Tis come, the mighty Blessing's come.

Earlier Pindarics had mourned the deaths of, among others, Prince Rupert, the Earl of Ossory, Thomas Lord Fairfax, and John Oldham; had celebrated marriages, victories, and births; and at least two Pindarics were produced in 1682 on the subject of the king's return from Scotland and 'escape at Sea'. From about 1680, in fact, for the next two decades, the Pindaric seems to have been the regular medium for celebrating and deploring public events of all magnitudes. The vogue is reflected in the more specialised collections produced by both universities to mark such occasions. By far the greater part of these miscellanies is taken up with contributions in Latin and Greek (with occasional sorties into Hebrew, Arabic, Irish, and modern European languages): some contain no English poems at all, and this becomes increasingly true after the turn of the century. Where English poems are included, the fortunes of the Pindaric exhibit a curiously consistent pattern. Oxford seems never to have had any great liking for the form: the collection for 1660, Britannia Rediviva, already contains one irregular ode among the twenty-three English contributions,[1] but no other appears until 1689.[2] In the Cambridge collections, however, one finds one irregular ode in 1669, six in 1670, three in 1677, four in 1683, seven in 1685 - this total probably reflecting the influence of Dryden's Threnodia Augustalis -, two in 1689, and five in 1695, on the death of Queen Mary, an event which nationally marks a second apex in the production of the 'occasional'

1 Britannia Rediviva, Oxford, 1660. Pindaric by R. Stubbes of Wadham College.

2 Strenae Natalitiae Academiae Oxoniensis in Celsissimum Principem, Oxford, 1688.

Pindaric, the first of course being 1685.[1] The collection produced jointly by both universities in 1700 on the death of Dryden, Luctus Britannici, contains only two irregular odes, one called Pindarique: the rest is couplet.[2] By the time the eighteenth century had got under way the peak had undoubtedly passed, but even in 1729 the much-abused Melpomene could complain to Apollo:

> If chance a hated Statesman die
> A long Pindarique I supply;
> As much surpriz'd no Comet bold
> So fatal an Event foretold;
> Array the dead in borrow'd dress,
> Amuse the Croud, and tire the Press.[3]

Not all occasional poems were written to celebrate matters of such national consequence. A large store of encomiastic Pinderics

1 Threni Cantabrigienses in Exequiis ... Henriettae Mariae ... Caroli Secundi Matris, Cambridge, 1669; Musarum Cantabrigiensium Threnodia in Obitum ... Georgii Ducis Albemarlae, Cambridge, 1670; Epithalamium in Desideratissimis Nuptiis ... Principum Guilelmi-Henrici Arausii et Mariae Britanniarum ab Academia Cantabrigiensi Decantatum Canbridge, 1677; Hymenaeus Cantabrigiensis, Cambridge, 1683; Maestissimae ac Laetissimae Academiae Cantabrigiensis Affectus, Decedente Carolo II. Succedente Jacobo II, 1685 (for the probable influence of Dryden on this collection see The Works of John Dryden, University of California Press, 1969, iii, 300-1, 305); Musa Cantabrigiensis, Serenissimis Principibus Wilhelmo et Mariae ... Publicae Salutis ac Libertatis Vindicibus. Haec Offici et Pietatis ergo D.D., 1689; Lacrymae Cantabrigienses in Obitum Serenissimae Reginae Mariae, 1695.

2 Luctus Britannici: or the Tears of the British Muses: for the death of John Dryden ... By the most Eminent Hands, London, 1700.

3 Joseph Thurston, 'The Complaint', Poems on Several Occasions, second edition, London, 1737, p. 67.

can be amassed from among the commendatory 'Poems to the Author' prefaced to so many poetic collections of the period: it is here that one finds, to take the most notable example, Dryden's ode to the memory of Anne Killigrew, prefaced to the posthumous edition of her Poems:[1] similar poems are found with the works of Flatman, Oldham, and Thomas Heyrick among others, and to the 1688 edition of Cowley's Works are added 'several commendatory Copies of Verses on the Author, by Persons of HONOUR', including an irregular ode by Thomas Higgons. The Pindaric was also a favourite form for expressions of private bereavement, or the bereavement of a patron: to a dedicated Pindariser like Flatman, for example, author of Pindariques on the deaths of Albemarle, Ossory, Katherine Philips, Prince Rupert, Charles II, and Ormond, it was natural to accord the same treatment to the death of his brother Richard Flatman.[2] For such subjects the pastoral had, of course, long been established as a favourite medium and it naturally retained its popularity. Flatman, in his poem to the memory of John Oldham, attempts to combine the two modes into a 'Pastoral Pindarique Ode'.[3] An interesting statement on the poetic mores of the time in this context comes from John Hopkins, explaining the choice of style in his 'visionary Pindarick poem' on the death of Lady Cutts:

> 'Tis no easie Task for the Muse constantly to beat her aiery Wings in Fancy's middle Region, and yet seem to the Beholders still to rise: her Flight is to be perform'd like that of Daedalus, she's to be born up but by a constant Motion, and not only to shun the Ocean, the Abyss of Thought, but even the Heats of a too scorching Sun; tho' Phoebus is the God inspires her: But mine, yet artless, and making but her second Journey thro' the Air,

1 London, 1686.

2 Thomas Flatman, Poems and Songs, fourth edition, 1686 : in Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, ed. George Saintsbury, 3 vols, Oxford, 1905-21, iii, 373-5.

3 ibid., iii, 380-2

> like Icarus, perhaps might miss her way; her Wings, like his, being only war'd. Unskilful as she is, she flyes undaunted; for she esteems it better to have dar'd to rise than not at all attempt it. She chose therefore that Style, whose rapid Current might bear her up the best; besides this mournful Theam (in my opinion) requir'd such Numbers most, Numbers resembling the late bright Subject which has caus'd them, where awful Lustre shone at once, and tender Beauty warm'd. Pastoral may seem to some to have been most proper here, that is indeed the common Mode of writing, and had the Subject here been common, I should have chosen it too; but 'tis a Path so worn already, that no Genius, less than that of the admirable Author of Pastora, can, without servilely following others Tracks, with any pleasure tread; and if he deviates from it, he may err; besides Pastoral only begs our Pity, but Pindarick forces.[1]

It is disappointing, after the forcefulness of the concluding thought of this paragraph, to find the poem itself little more than an extravaganza of tears and tearing of hair which begins with a visit, strongly reminiscent of Dennis's ode on the death of Queen Mary, to the Courts of Death: the ideals of 'awful Lustre' and 'tender Beauty' melt away before the reality:

> This must be all but visionary Dream,
> Which thus my Thoughts, thro' Indigestion frame.[2]

Predictably, none of these poems show any kind of detailed understanding of Pindar's encomiastic techniques: they share only the general elements which must be common to all encomia. The most interesting comment on the proper use of the Pindaric for encomiastic purposes, interesting because it does show a deeper appreciation of the rhetorical structure and intention of the epinician odes, is not technically a Pindaric ode at all. In the dedicatory letter to Eleanora: A Panegyrical Poem dedicated to the Memory of the Late Countess of Abingdon (1692), Dryden begins in conventional enough style with an apology to the countess's

1 John Hopkins, 'The Preface', The Victory of Death: or, the Fall of Beauty. A Visionary Pindarick Poem, occasion'd by the ever to be deplor'd Death of the Rt Hon the Lady Cutts, London, 1698.

2 The Victory of Death, stanza xiii (p. 18).

husband for his delay in producing the required poem. All the Horatian and Longinian commonplaces are invoked:

> We, who are Priests of Apollo, have not the Inspiration when we please: but must wait till the God comes rushing on us, and invades us with a fury, which we are not able to resist: which gives us double strength while the Fit continues, and leaves us languishing and spent, at its departure .... The Reader will easily observe, that I was transported, by the multitude and variety of my Similitudes: which are generally the product of a luxuriant Fancy: and the wantonness of Wit. Had I call'd in my Judgment to my assistance, I had certainly retrench'd many of them. But I defend them not; let them pass for beautiful faults amongst the better sort of Critiques: For the whole Poem, though written in that which they call Heroique Verse, is of the Pindarique nature, as well in the Thought as the Expression; and as such, requires the same grains of allowance for it.[1]

Where Dryden does seem to break new ground is in associating Pindar - perhaps for the first time - with the major figures of encomiastic oratory:

> On all Occasions of Praise, if we take the Ancients for our Patterns, we are bound by Prescription to employ the magnificence of Words, and the force of Figures, to adorn the sublimity of Thoughts. Isocrates among the Grecian Orators; and Cicero, and the younger Pliny, amongst the Romans, have left us their Precedents for our security: For I think I need not mention the inimitable Pindar, who stretches on these Pinnions out of sight, and is carried upward, as it were, into another World.[2]

Largely by accident, since Dryden's declared 'pattern' for the design of his poem is Donne in his Anniversaries, Eleonora does come near to the kind of rhetorical structure which Schmid would have taught Dryden to see in Pindar: the marginal summary of the content proceeds from 'The Introduction', through a list of the Countess's virtues, to 'Reflections on the shortness of her life', 'Apostrophe to her Soul', and the 'Epiphonema: or close of the Poem'.

1 Eleonora: A Panegyrical Poem dedicated to the Memory of the Late Countess of Abingdon (1692): Poems, ii, 582-3.

2 ibid.ii, 583.

iii. The Religious Pindaric

The second major stream of Pindaric poetry descends from the last of Cowley's Pindarique Odes, 'The 34 Chapter of the Prophet Isaiah', and 'The Plagues of Egypt'. As Isaac Watts was to write in the preface to Horae Lyricae:

> It has been a long Complaint of the vertuous and refined World, that Poesy, whose Original is Divine, should be enslav'd to Vice and Profaneness; that an Art inspir'd from Heaven should have so far lost the Memory of its Birth-place, as to be engag'd in the Interests of Hell.[1]

Among the most eloquent of the complaints of the 'virtuous and refined' was that of Cowley himself, who devoted a considerable section of his 1656 Preface to a plea, in the context of the Davideis, for the 'Regeneration' of the 'Divine Science' of poetry and its restoration to 'the Kingdom of God, who is the father of it'.[2] Cowley's pre-occupation with the matter is attested by Sprat in his Pindaric tribute to Cowley:

> You first the Muses to the Christians brought,
> And you them first the Holy language taught;
> In you good poetry and divinity meet,
> You are the first Bird of Paradise with feet.[3]

The name most generally associated with the urging of the cause of the restoration of poetry of its high and sacred origin is, however, that of John Dennis. His most elaborate and extended treatment of the subject is to be found in The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry (1701), where he argues at length that where the Ancients excelled the Moderns in the three branches of 'The Greater Poetry' -- the epic, the tragic, and the greater ode -- that superiority is to be traced not to any quirk of

1 'The Preface', Horae Lyricae. Poems Chiefly of the Lyric Kind, second edition, 'altered and much enlarged', London 1709, p. iii.

2 Cowley, Poems, p. 12.

3 Thomas Sprat, 'Upon the Poems of ... Abraham Cowley'; Chalmers, Works of the English Poets, ix, 327.

environment or disposition, but to the sacred nature of their subject matter.[1] It is an easy step from the association of Pindar and the Pindaric with a kind of supernatural inspiration to its adoption as inherently the most suitable vehicle for religious enthusiasm. The process is made explicit by Dennis in his introductory 'proposal' to the later, and shorter, work, The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry (1704). The ode, in its present state, is the 'most degenerated' of the three kinds of greater poetry:

> For since the Nature of Poetry consists in Passion; and that of the Greater Poetry in great Passion ... and since that which we commonly call Passion is very rarely to be found in the greater Ode, it follows that the excellence of the Greater Ode must consist in extraordinary Passion, which can be nothing but strong Enthusiasm; but Religion is the greatest, noblest, strongest source of Enthusiasm as we very clearly shew; so that the Modern Ode, by forsaking Religion, and becoming for the most part prophane, has parted with that from which it deriv'd its greatest excellence.
>
> And that the excellence of the Greater Ode is deriv'd from Religion, we make appear not only by the Examples of those very few who are admirable among our own, but by those of Pindar and Horace; and we shew that the first of these great Masters was so thoroughly convinc'd of this at the same time, that he was oblig'd, by the desire of Gain, to celebrate the Triumphs of worthless Coachmen and Jockeys, that his numerous extravagant Digressions are to be attributed, in a great Measure, to that Conviction join'd with that Obligation.[2]

Comparing this with the structured rhetorical panegyric which is beginning to emerge as the Pindaric ideal in the works of Dryden and Congreve, tentatively in their criticism but more confidently, if unconsciously, in their poems, one is tempted to invent and apply such terms as 'Schmidian' and 'Benedictine' approaches;[3] although a rigid dividing line on this basis would be misleading, especially if taken to suggest a direct influence, it is clear that there is even here, at

1 John Dennis, Critical Works, i, 210-51.

2 Dennis, Critical Works, i, 332.

3 In modern terms, perhaps, Bundyan and Wilamowitzian?

this much popularised stage of Pindaric theory, just the same dichotomy as that between those scholars who argued for Pindar as a professional rhetorician and those who felt that his odes represented a constant refusal to be bound by the triviality of the immediate occasion. Behind the much more developed theorising of Dennis and his school is the persistant echo of such phrases as Benedictus's arrepta occasione..

Hoxie Neal Fairchild, in his comprehensive study of English religious poetry from the beginning of the eighteenth century, sees the prevalence of what he calls the 'pseudo-pindaric' ode in this province simply as part of a wider trend in religious poetry away from the heroic couplet towards less standard forms - blank verse, octosyllabic couplet, and short stanza lyrics. Beyond this he finds itunnecessary to do more than point out that the predilection was an unfortunate one: over Norris, he says, 'Pindarics exert a fatal fascination',[1] while Watts 'is obsessed with the notion that the pseudo-pindaric ode is the ideal form for the exercise of original genius'.[2] The connection of the Pindaric ode with scriptural and associated subjects is, however, a more fundamental one than mere 'material for the seeker of pre-romanticism',[3] and, regardless of the quality of its results, is worth some stress. In the thought of a major critic like Dennis the theory results from a fusion of the long association of Pindar's odes, seen as essentially religious although superficially encomiastic, with the Psalms of David, and the equally long-standing idea of the greater ode as achieving in shorter compass, by its compressed intensity, the grandeur and sublimity of the epic: and to the generality of Pindarisers the popular and Horatian notion of Pindar's style as having a

1 Hoxie Neal Fairchild, Religious Trends in English Poetry, 6 vols, New York, 1939-68, i, 108.

2 Fairchild, i, 132.

3 Fairchild, i, 209.

unique natural freedom and sublimity was alone enough to make it the ideal medium for expressions of devout rapture and awe. In 1687 Cowley's disciple John Norris published a Collection of Miscellanies which included a paraphrase in Pindaric style of Isaiah 63, and 'The Passion of our Blessed Saviour, represented in a Pindaric ode'. In the Annotations to this, the first ode of the collection, Norris is perhaps the first to put this natural association into words, but the expression is already derivative:

> This ode is after the Pindarick Way; which is the highest and most magnificent Kind of Writing in Verse; and consequently, fit only for great and noble Subjects; such as are as Boundless as its own Numbers: The Nature of which is to be Loose and Free; and not keep one settled Pace; but sometimes like a gentle Stream, to glide along Peaceably within its own Channel; and sometimes, like an impetuous Torrent, to Roll on Extravagantly, and carry all before it.[1]

Cowley and Dennis had both argued for the superiority of a sacred subject for poetic composition on the grounds of the inherent sublimity of religious material. Even if authority had been required for the identification of religious feeling with 'the sublime', Longinus himself had drawn one of his most powerful examples of sublimity from the book of Genesis.[2] As Norris writes,

> Once more, my weary'd Muse, thy Pinions Try,
> And reach the Top of Calvary,
> A steep Ascent ...[3]

Already foreshadowed in such lines is the emergence of a kind of poetry which, whatever the intentions of the author, tends more or less to subjugate the 'lofty conceptions' and 'noble transports' of a religious subject to the end of achieving a poetical sublimity. John Pomfret, better known for his immensely popular poem The Choice, chooses subjects which show the Pindaric mood as a combination of the religious and the terrible - 'A Prospect of Death', 'On the General Conflagration and Ensuing Judgment',

1 A Collection of Miscellanies: consisting of Poems, Essays, Discourses, and Letters, occasionally written, Oxford, 1687, p. 8.

2 On the Sublime, 9.9 (ed. Russell, pp.11-2.)

3 'The Passion of our Blessed Saviour', Miscellanies, p. 5.

'Dies Novissima; or, the Last Epiphany'. In the opening lines to the last of these it is difficult to distinguish the religious conversion from the poetical one:

> Adieu, ye toyish Reeds, that once could please
> My softer Lips, and lull my Cares to Ease:
> Be gone; I'll waste no more vain Hours with you.
> And smiling Sylvia, too, Adieu,
> A brighter Pow'r invokes my Muse,
> And loftier Thoughts, and Raptures, does infuse.
> See! beck'ning from yon Cloud, He stands.
> And promises Assistance with his Hands.
> I feel the heavy-rolling God,
> Incumbent, revel in his frail Abode.[1]

In the work of Isaac Watts this inevitable conflict between the call of religious sincerity and that of poetic effect is pursued to some sort of conclusion. Watts, illustrating his theme with quotations from the scriptures and references to David, Solomon, Isaiah, and the book of Job, also urges the superior imaginative appeal of a sacred subject for poetry:

> ... it must be acknowledg'd, that the naked Themes of Christianity have something brighter and bolder in them, something more surprizing and celestial than all the Adventures of Gods and Heroes, all the dazzling Images of false Lustre that form and garnish a Heathen Song... The Heaven and the Hell in our Divinity are infinitely more delightful and dreadful than the Childish Figments of a Dog with three Heads, the Buckets of the Belides, the Furies with snaky Hairs, or all the flowry stories of Elysium.[2]

Watts goes on to give it as his opinion that

> the free and unconfin'd Numbers of Pindar, or the noble Measures of Milton without Rhime, would best maintain the Dignity of the Theme, as well as give a Loose to the devout Soul, nor check the Raptures of her Faith and Love.[3]

1 'Dies Novissima; or, the Last Epiphany', lff. First published in Remains of the Rev. Mr. Pomfret (with the seventh edition of Poems on Several Occasions), London, 1727, p. 8.

2 'The Preface', Horae Lyricae (1709), pp. xiii-xiv.

3 ibid., p. xvi.

The point is much the same as that made by Norris, but the emphasis is subtly different, with poetry more clearly subservient to the ends of religion. In the Pindaric 'Two Happy Rivals: Devotion and the Muse', included in the section of Poems sacred to Devotion and Piety, Watts explores further the relationship between religious feeling and the art of poetry. The first stanza consists of a conventionally Horatian, although unusually individual in expression, description of the Pindaric Muse:

> Wild as the Lightning, various as the Moon,
> Roves my Pindaric Song;
> Here she glows like burning Noon
> In fiercest Flames, and here she plays
> Gentle as Star-beams on the Midnight-Seas;
> Now in a smiling Angels Form,
> Anon she rides upon the Storm
> Loud as the noisy Thunder, as a Deluge strong.
> Are my Thoughts and Wishes free,
> And know no Number nor Degree?
> Such is the Muse: Lo she disdains
> The Links and Chains
> Measures and Rules of Vulgar Strains,
> And o'er the Laws of Harmony a Sovereign Queen she reigns.[1]

While the subject is a worldly one - pastoral, amorous, descriptive, and even when it concerns 'the biggest mortal things,/Tott'ring Thrones and Nations slain' - the poet is well within his realm:

> My Soul sits fast upon her Wings,
> And sweeps the crimson Surge or scours the purple Plain:
> Still I attend her as she flies
> Round the broad Globe and all beneath the Skies.[2]

When, however, the subject rises to celestial heights and the Muse ascends her 'heavenly Carr', the poet's human carnality makes it impossible for his spirit to follow:

> Then she leaves my flutt'ring Mind
> Clogg'd with Clay and unrefin'd
> Lengths of Distance far behind:

1 Horae Lyricae, p. 115. The poem does not appear in the first edition (1706).

2 ibid. p. 116.

> Virtue lags with heavy Wheel;
> Faith has Wings, but cannot rise,
> Cannot rise, - Swift and high
> As the wing'd Numbers fly,
> And faint Devotion panting lies
> Half way th' Ethereal Hill. [sic][1]

The fourth stanza is a prayer for deliverance from this earth-bound state: at length Religion beckons and the poet, released from his mortal element, is transported into regions of unimaginable beauty and immensity:

> Which nor the rolling Sun has seen,
> Where nor the roving Muse has been,
> That greater Traveller ![2]

The Muse, confident enough before the heavenly summons of the third stanza, fails to meet this greater challenge. In relation to the experience of total transport and total knowledge to which the poet is brought by death, the summons from Religion, the poetic art becomes weak and ineffectual:

> A long Farewel to all below,
> Farewel to all that Sense can show,
> To golden Scenes and flow'ry Fields,
> To all the Worlds that Fancy builds,
> And all that Poets know.
> Now the swift Transports of the Mind
> Leave the fluttering Muse behind,
> A thousand loose Pindaric Plumes fly scatt'ring down the Wind.
> Amongst the Clouds I lose my Breath,
> The Rapture grows too strong;
> The feeble Pow'rs that Nature gave
> Faint and drop downward to the Grave;
> Receive their Fall, thou Treasurer of Death;
> I will no more demand my Tongue
> Till the gross Organ well refin'd
> Can trace the boundless Flights of an unfetter'd Mind
> And raise an equal Song.[3]

1 ibid. pp. 116-7.

2 ibid. p. 118.

3. ibid. pp. 118-9.

These two categories, the occasional and the religious, account for by far the largest number of Pindaric odes appearing during this period, but they are not, of course, exhaustive. Setting aside those poems which are Pindaric only in the loosest sense of consisting of irregular stanzas, there are others, less easily categorised than those already considered, which also make a positive contribution to the idea of the English Pindaric. Religion was not the only,although it was the most abundant, source of sublimity; and natural disasters achieve something of the awesomeness of a religious experience, which they often do indeed represent, in poems on subjects such as earthquakes, or hurricanes, or the exceptional heat-wave of the plague year.[1] One of the most noteworthy of the Pindarics of the late seventeenth century, from the point of view both of subject matter and of length, is 'The Submarine-Voyage', a poem nearly seventy pages long by Thomas Heyrick, curate of Market Harborough. In the course of this long geographical survey the author, having witnessed a shipwreck and prayed for some gratification of his curiosity about the world beneath the sea, is turned into a rational dolphin who is able to moralise upon the drifting corpses and their treasures, and to glorify 'th'Atlantick isle' from a new vantage-point.[2] As William Tunstall writes in one of the prefatory

1 e.g. John Tutchin, The Earthquake of Jamaica, describ'd in a Pindarick Poem, London, 1692; Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, 'Upon the Hurricane', Poems on several Occasions, London, 1713, pp.230-47; Corbet Owen, 'Upon the intolerable Heat in the latter end of May and the beginning of June, 1665', in A New Collection of Poems and Songs. Written by several Persons, London, 1674.

2 Thomas Heyrick, The Submarine Voyage. A Pindarick Poem in Four Parts, Cambridge, 1691.

poems congratulating the author:

> Your Odes may properly be stil'd Divine
> That both Caelestial are and Submarine.[1]

iv. The tradition until 1750

The tradition of the Cowleyan Pindaric remains surprisingly tenacious throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, although the peak had been passed in the first decade. About 1730 George Woodward devotes a whole poem to a graphic presentation of its deficiencies. Just as a woodland labourer will bind together sticks of every length to make what 'the country-Folk a Faggot call',

> So fares it with those Public-Biters
> Which we miscall Pindarick-writers;
> With Pen and Ink, and wondrous Pains,
> They bind together various Strains,
> First Lines as long, as any Arm,
> With Rumbling Stuff the Vulgar charm:
> Earth, Heav'n, and Hell must all conspire
> To sett the noisy Bard on Fire.
> Next comes a Line not half a span,
> Like Dwarf behind a Giant-Man,
> Trembling and low, it scarce can speak,
> But must in softer Accents squeak,
> Then comes the Long-Tail'd thing again,
> Thund'ring on in frantick strain,
> Wide it swells, and foames with Rage,
> And leaps beyond the scanty Page.[2]

Although by this time the general popularity of the form had undoubtedly waned, individual poets still seem to have found it a suitable medium of expression. The most prolific of these later Pindarisers is Pope's friend Aaron Hill, poet and traveller. In their subject-matter Hill's

1 Thomas Heyrick, Miscellany Poems, Cambridge, 1691, p. xii.

2 George Woodward, Poems on Several Occasions, Oxford, 1730, p. 23.

Pindarics show the influence of the criticism of John Dennis: without exception they deal with such biblical topics as 'Good Friday', 'Moses' Song of Thanksgiving', and 'The Judgment-Day'. Hill prefaces his Pindaric ode on 'The Creation' with a discourse 'Concerning the sublimity of the Ancient Hebrew Poetry, and a material and obvious Defect in the English'. After a discussion of 'the divine Spirit, glowing forcibly in the Hebrew Poetry, a kind of terrible Simplicity', and an unfavourable review of attempts to render this spirit into English, Hill concludes that the Pindaric form alone 'can allow the necessary Scope, to so masterless a Subject as the Creation, of all others the most copious, and illustrious'.[1] The Pindaric measure is 'apt to disgust Readers, not well grounded in poetry, because it requires a fuller degree of attention than the couplet', but, according to Hill, perseverance brings its reward:

> It wins, insinuates, and grows insensibly upon the Relish of a Reader, till the little seeming Harshness, which is supposed to be in it, softens gradually away, and leaves a vigorous Impression behind it, of mixed Majesty and Sweetness.
>
> A Man, who is just beginning to try his Ear in Pindaric, may be compared to a new Scater: he totters strangely at first, and staggers backward and forward; every Stick, or frozen Stone in his Way, is a Rub that he falls at. But when many repeated Trials have emboldened him to strike out, and taught the true Poize of Motion, he throws forward his body with a dextrous Velocity, and becoming ravish'd with the masterly Sweep of his Windings. knows no Pleasure greater, than to feel himself fly through that well-measured Maziness, which he first attempted with Perplexity.[2]

Although the metaphor is different, Hill is here re-stating and expanding upon Cowley's image of the 'unruly Horse', to which he refers earlier in

1 Aaron Hill, The Creation: A Pindaric, with a preface concerning the sublimity of the ancient Hebrew poetry and a material and obvious defect in the English (1720): preface ed. G.G. Pahl, Los Angeles, 1949 (Augustan Reprint Society), p. 12.

2 ibid., pp. 14-15.

the essay. The esteem in which Hill held the Pindaric genre can be gauged from his undertaking to write an epic poem on Gideon in twelve books of irregular Pindaric verse. The project, started about 1716, was apparently completed in manuscript by 1724, although only three books were eventually published in 1749, the year before Hill's death.[1]

Other irregular Pindarics continued to appear, most notably a version of John Dyer's Grongar Hill: it seems likely that this Pindaric version was written earlier than the better-known one in octosyllabic couplets, although both, and another earlier octosyllabic version, were published in the same year, 1726.[2] A determined but unsuccessful attempt to resuscitate the Pindaric ideal was made in 1729 by Edward Young, better known as the author of the popular and influential Night Thoughts. Young was inspired to eulogise Britain's trade in Pindaric style, the immediate occasion being the return of George II from Hanover in September 1729, and the ensuing peace. A year earlier Young had produced, to accompany another patriotic ode, a rather pedestrian 'Discourse on Lyric Poetry'. His position here is defensive, essentially an elaboration by analogy of Fraguier's assertion that 'le sang froid est mauvais juge de l'enthousiasme':

> Men of cold complexions are very apt to mistake a want of vigour in their imaginations for a delicacy of taste in their judgments; and, like persons of a tender sight, they look on bright objects in their natural lustre as too glaring; what is most delightful to a stronger eye, is painful to them. Thus Pindar, who has as much logic at the bottom as Aristotle or Euclid, to some critics has appeared as mad; and must appear so to all who enjoy no portion of his own divine spirit. Dwarf understandings, measuring others by their own standard, are apt to think they see a monster,

1 see D. Brewster, Aaron Hill: poet, dramatist, projector. New York, 1913, pp. 166, 187-88, 247.

2 John Dyer, Grongar Hill, ed. R.C. Boys, Baltimore, 1941, pp. 45-67.

when they see a man.[1]

Young's unelaborated comment on Pindar's logic is of considerable interest; but his succession of adjectival triads cannot disguise the extreme vagueness of his remarks on the special characteristics of the ode.

> Its thoughts should be uncommon, sublime, and moral; its numbers, full, easy, and most harmonious; its expression, pure, strong, and delicate, yet unaffected, and of a curious felicity beyond other poems; its conduct should be rapturous, somewhat abrupt, and immethodical to a vulgar eye. That apparent order, and connexion, which gives form and life to some compositions, takes away the very soul of this.[2]

The kernel of the preface to 'Imperium Pelagi', a year later, is a foretaste of the ideas expressed at much greater length in Young's Conjectures on Original Composition, published thirty years later in 1759.

> No man can be like Pindar, by imitating any of his particular works, any more than like Raphael, by copying the cartoons. The genius and spirit of such great men must be collected from the whole; and when thus we are possessed of it, we must exert its energy in subjects and designs of our own. Nothing is so un-Pindarical as following Pindar on the foot. Pindar is an original; and he must be so too who would be like Pindar in that which is his greatest praise. Nothing so unlike as a close copy and a noble original.[3]

Significant as Young's interests are in the context of the development of the eighteenth century critical outlook, as a criticism of past attitudes to Pindaric imitation his comments must seem rather beside the

1 Edward Young, Complete Works . . . to which is prefixed, A Life of the Author, by John Doran, Ll.D., 2 vols, London, 1854, i, 416.

2 ibid., p. 415.

3 , ibid., ii, 2.

point. Cowley himself had written of imitation in similar terms, and whatever the failings of the corpus of English Pindarics, few would accuse them of an over-zealous fidelity to their original: 'following Pindar on the foot' was beyond the scope of most of his imitators.

In form, Young's ode is undoubtedly a new departure in Pindarics. Composed in short regular stanzas of six lines, the ode consists of a 'prelude', five 'strains', 'the moral', and 'the close', one hundred and seventy stanzas in all. As the subject matter acquires Pindaric respectability from the quotation heading the poem -

πλατεῖαι πάντοθεν λογίσ-
σιν ἐντὶ πρόσοδοι
νέεσθαι εὐκλέα τάν-
δε κοσμεῖν -[1]

so Young is able to defend the magnitude of the work (itself, apparently, only 'Ode the First') on the best authority: 'as for length, Pindar has an unbroken ode of six hundred lines.' In his comments on Pindar's style Young adopts a tone which suggests some innovation in outlook: of its true nature, he declares, 'I conceive the critics have hitherto entertained a false idea.' The theory with which Young replaces the 'received notion' of Pindar remains, however, like his earlier comments, intangible and unexplained:

> Pindar is as natural as Anacreon, though not so familiar; as a fixed star is as much in the bounds of nature as a flower of the field, though less obvious and of greater dignity.[2]

1 Pindar, N.vi.45-6.

2 Young, Works, ii, 1.

Not surprisingly, one looks in vain in the ode itself for any transformation of this aperçu into poetical practice: Young's Pindaric exaggeration is just as forced and, if anything, more ridiculous than what had gone before. The 'prelude' ends with the following 'Pindaric boast':

> Dare you to sing, ye tinkling train?
> Silence, ye wretched, ye profane,
> Who shackle prose, and boast of absent gods;
> Who murder thought, and numbers maim;
> Who write Pindarics cold and lame,
> And labour stiff Anacreontic Odes!
>
> Ye lawful sons of genius, rise,
> Of genuine title to the skies!
> Ye founts of learning, and ye mints of fame!
> You who file off the mortal part
> Of glowing thought with Attic art,
> And drink pure song from Cam's or Isis' stream.
>
> I glow, I burn! The numbers pure,
> High-flavour'd, delicate, mature,
> Spontaneous stream from my unlabour'd breast;
> As, when full-ripen'd teems the vine,
> The generous bursts of willing wine
> Distil nectareous from the grape unpress'd.[1]

The ode did achieve some contemporary notoriety: it is ridiculed by Fielding in The Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great, where Grizzle is made to declaim:

> I'll swim through seas; I'll ride upon the clouds;
> I'll dig the earth; I'll blow out every fire;
> I'll rave; I'll rant; I'll rise; I'll rush; I'll roar;
> Fierce as the man whom smiling dolphins bore,
> From the prosaic to the poetic shore . . .[2]

Young's Pindaric efforts do, perhaps, mark the acme of frigidity of

1 ibid., p. 4.

2 Henry Fielding, 'The Tragedy of Tragedies; Or, The Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great, with the Annotations of H. Scriblerus Secundus. First acted in 1730, and altered in 1731', Works, with an Essay on his Life and Genius by Arthur Murphy, Esq., ed. James P. Browne, 11 vols, London, 1902-3, i, 473.

a genre which by this time combined the misinterpretation of Horace with a rejection of the 'wit' and rhetoric with which the first English practitioners had coloured it. In an age characterised by the urbanity and irony of Pope, ridicule such as Fielding's was likely to be the only response to the onanistic fervour of Young's self-exhortations:

> How shall I farther rouse the soul?
> How Sloth's lascivious reign control
> By verse, with unextinguish'd ardour wrought?
> How every breast inflame with mine?
> How bid my theme still brighter shine
> With wealth of words and unexhausted thought?
>
> O thou Dircaean swan, on high,
> Round whom familiar thunders fly,
> While Jove attends a language like his own!
> Thy spirit pour, like vernal showers;
> My verse shall burst out with the flowers,
> While Britain's trade advances with her sun.[1]

The reaction against the total seriousness with which most Pindarisers regarded their poetic afflatus is reflected in the adoption of 'Pindaric' as a semi-humorous vogue word to describe anything from behaviour to travel. Addison in 1712 provides an interesting link between the poetic cult of irregularity and the emergence of a new taste, usually associated with the latter end of the century, in landscape:

> My Compositions in Gardening are altogether after the Pindarick manner, and run into the beautiful Wildness of Nature, without affecting the nicer Elegancies of Art.[2]

Such expressions have always an air of conscious artificiality about them, neatly exemplified in a letter written in 1740 by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, safely arrived, as she reports to Lady Pomfret, in Rome:

1 Young, Works, ii, 19.

2 The Spectator, no. 477 (6 September 1712): ed. D.F. Bond, iv, 190-1.

> It was a violent transition from your palace and company to be locked up all day with my chambermaid, and sleep at night in a hovel; but my whole life has been in the Pindaric style.[1]

The cumulative effect of this kind of usage is deflatory, and it expresses an atmosphere in which the English Pindaric was unlikely to flourish: but the theory behind the genre is never quite discredited. Although it might demur at the details of expression, a 'cool and methodical Genius' is not immune from the ideals behind a passage such as the following, written probably in the first years of the century but apparently not published until the 1750's:

> A Pindarick Poet, according to the notion I have formed to myself, must exceed the Common Rate of Mankind, in an abundant flow of Animal Spirits; and hence, instead of traversing the Brain with a cool and methodical Genius to start proper Thoughts, or hunt after Images to adorn them, he is fired and transported with some noble Hint, and sees, at the same Moment, everything that has any Relation to the principal Subject offering itself, unsought and uncalled, and, as it were, crowding upon his Imagination; making so deep an Impression there, that he views them all, as actually present before him, and mistakes them for real.
>
> He is seized with a kind of prophetical Inspiration, and, transported with the Grandeur and Beauty of the mimic Shapes and pleasing Visions, eagerly grasps at all, discourses of all (as in an Ecstasy) and pours them out of the inexhaustible Stores of his Soul, with a rich Profusion, and, as Marvel calls it, Expence of Thought; but in no other Method or Order, than as he is hurried from Image to Image, with the utmost Connection indeed of Ideas, but without any Warning or Preparation of the Reader, in the hasty Transition from one Object to another, or from Ideas to warmest and justest Reflections upon them.[2]

1 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, letter dated 22 October, Complete Letters, ed. Robert Halsband, 3 vols, Oxford, 1965-67, ii, 207.

2 Quoted, and ascribed to 'The Rev. Samuel Say, in a letter to Mr Hughes', by William Duncombe, in The Works of Horace in English Verse, by several Hands, 2 vols, London, 1757-9, i, 425-6. The passage is quoted also in the Literary Magazine review of Gray's Odes (see below, p.268), where it is attributed to 'the late Mr Hughes'. Arthur Sherbo comments (New Essays by Arthur Murphy, Michigan, 1963, p. 208, note 312): 'I cannot find this passage in the works of either John Hughes (d.1720) or his brother Jabez (d.1731), and I know of no other Hughes who would qualify.' For a letter from Hughes to Say on a similar theme, dated December, 1702, cf. below, p. 202.

An analysis of the terminology of the passage and the concepts behind it would bring in, as major sources, Horace's

> fervet immensusque ruit profundo
> Pindarus ore,

and also the Longinian chapter on phantasia or 'visualisation'.[1] A feature of the description is its acceptance of the 'Pindarick Poet' as a species without a necessary connection with Pindar: the idea of the 'Pindarick Poet' is arrived at, not by reading and studying the Greek model, but, unashamedly, by 'forming a notion to oneself'. One of the most striking examples of the circularity of this thought-process is 'An Essay on Pindaric Poetry', published in 1746. This somewhat long-winded production is chiefly concerned with the question of form: 'Pindaric Poetry alters its Verse to what different Measures it chuses.' Even a fairly detailed description of metre and subject matter requires little or no sanction from Pindar, although the writer contrives to suggest a spurious historical basis for his assertions:

> The Design and great Excellence of the PINDARIC I take . . . to be an Allowance to call in the Aid of every Kind of Verse, to a more free and full Expression of its Subject, and vary them in different Measure from the one to the other, according as the Mind is to be surprized or lulled, elevated or softened: To move strong, gentle, violent, slow on the unlimited Change of Syllables in the round and long EXAMETER; to keep the even, moderate Pace of the weaker ELEGIAC, or now catch the Wings of the sprightly, careless, and soft LYRIC, sometimes beating 'em to quicken its Flight, again gliding easy without the least visible Motion: That so the Words and Verse should sympathize with the Sense, and convey in Sound the Thing described, the Measure break to the different Passions, or easy or sudden Transitions of the Subject. For this Reason this Poetry has been always chosen as the most free and grand Conveyance for Subjects of the boldest Figures and greatest Variety of Imagination, such as Hymns of Triumph, Actions of the Gods, Wanderings of the Planets, Olympic Games, and such-like Songs of the Ancients.[2]

1 Horace, Odes iv.2, 7-8: [Longinus], On the Sublime 15.

2 'An Essay on Pindaric Poetry', prefixed to An Hymn to God, London, 1746, p. viii.

It is recognised that Pindar 'and his best Followers' (who remain unidentified) carried this metrical liberty 'no further than the first two, or generally first three Stanzas', but this wins them no approval: triads, as 'a kind of Reservedness which keeps the Imagination in Awe', are clearly too mean for the purposes of this kind of poetry. Without irony, apparently, the writer draws the inevitable conclusion:

> This may indeed suit the Ode or Song, but it is below the Dignity and Largeness of Subjects which claim the PINDARIC Force.[1]

v. Translations of Pindar before 1749

Although Cowley's introduction of the English Pindaric ode as a form of original composition had a far-reaching influence over the poets of the succeeding generation, his attempt to introduce into English Pindar's 'way and manner of speaking' through the medium of a paraphrastic translation remained an almost wholly isolated one. Before the few versions which did appear in the next ninety years are examined, however, it is worth noting that in the related experiment of translating Horace into 'Pindaric' form Cowley's example was widely influential. The closeness of the connection generally felt to exist between Pindar and Horace is seen in the popularity throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century of the Pindaric form as a medium for the translation or imitation of Horatian odes. In the first two volumes of the miscellany edited by Dryden, six out of the seven poems in irregular stanzas are imitations of Horace.[2] In the preface

1 ibid., p. x.

2 Miscellany Poems. Containing a new translation of Virgills Eclogues, Ovid's Love Elegies, Odes of Horace and other authors, with several original poems; and Sylvae, or the second part of Poetical Miscellanies, London, 1684, 1685.

to Sylvae, the second part, which appeared in 1685, Dryden singles out for comment his own imitation of Horace (Odes 3.29) 'paraphrased in Pindaric Verse, and inscribed to the Rt. Hon. Laurence, Earl of Rochester':

> 'Tis his darling in the Latin, and I have taken some pains to make it my masterpiece in English: for which reason I took this kind of verse, which allows more latitude than any other.[1]

It is interesting that even here Dryden proffers no reason why Horace should be particularly adaptable to the Pindaric form, or why he should require such latitude. In 1709 Samuel Cobb published The Female Reign: An Ode, alluding to Horace IV.14. Attempted in the Style of Pindar, but in the preface to the poem he is no more forthcoming than Dryden, and even manages to suggest that the conjunction of the two is here quite fortuitous:

> If you ask wherein I have trod in the steps of Horace, you will find it in the beginning. I have only kept him in view, and used him only where he was serviceable to my Design . . . In my Digressions and Transitions I have taken care to play always in sight, and make every one of them contribute to my main Design. This was the Way of Pindar.[2]

The prevalence of the practice suggests, however, that it was inspired by something more than accident, or even a vague sense of the parallelism between the two. In a collection of translations from Horace published in 1715, for example, no fewer than seventeen of the odes are translated into irregular stanzas.[3] One of these, Odes 2.16, 'Indulgent Quiet! Pow'r serene', is paraphrastically imitated by John Hughes, and it is to Hughes that one must look for a fuller exploration of the rationale

1 Dryden, Essays, i, 267.

2 Cobb, The Female Reign, London, 1709.

3 The Odes and Satyrs of Horace, in English Verse, by several hands. London, 1715.

behind the vogue. In a letter to Samuel Say, dated 26 December 1702, Hughes sets forth his reasons for rendering the ode, which accompanies the letter, into Pindarics.

> None have pretended to copy his [Horace's] numbers; for the Pindaric, which seems the fittest for us, and gives us a greater liberty and variety, does not answer the Latin measures . . . The Sapphic measure is indeed very musical, and what Horace seems best to have practised, but it seems too soft . . . and the lofty sense of some of his odes soars above it. Our English Pindaric is undoubtedly more majestic, and the various length and shortness of the lines, as well as the mixture and returns of the rhyme, well-chosen; and therefore, as I said before, it is the most proper for such odes as have anything of the sublime in them. I wonder Horace did not introduce something like it into his language, being so great an admirer of Pindar, and having, in other respects, imitated him so finely, notwithstanding his declaration (Pindarum quisquis, etc.)...[Cowley's translation] does not answer to the numeris lege solutis, by which Horace means only, that Pindar's numbers were unlimited, and not confined to any set measure, in those odes that were called dithyrambic, which had the most heat and fury, being first invented in honour of Bacchus. And, methinks, Horace might sometimes have attempted this dithyrambic measure, especially in that ode, [Odes 3.25] Quo me Bacche, rapis, etc.[1]

The pindarising of Horace, then, inaugurated by Cowley in his ode 'The Praise of Pindar', gathers strength in the following decades; but translations of Pindar himself remain a relatively rare occurrence. Cowley's closest follower, a Scottish divine named Robert Fleming who had received most of his education in Holland, whither his Dissenting father had fled in 1679, published translations of four more odes in 1691.[2] The translations seem never to have attracted any attention, perhaps because

1 John Duncombe (ed.), Letters of several eminent Persons deceased. Including the Correspondence of John Hughes, Esq. (author of The Siege of Damascus) and several of his Friends, published from the originals: with notes explanatory and historical, second edition, 3 vols, London, 1773, i, 30-2.

2 Robert Fleming, The Mirrour of Divine Love Unvail'd, in a Poetical Paraphrase of the High and Mysterious Song of Solomon, whereunto is added a Miscellany of several other Poems, sacred and moral. Together with some few Pindariques in the close, London, 1691.

they are hidden away at the end of a volume largely devoted to a 'poetical paraphrase' of the Song of Solomon, but they are clearly directly inspired by Cowley's example, retaining the irregular Pindaric form (without any hint of strophe, antistrophe, and epode), and provided like Cowley's with Arguments and Notes. Although thirty-five years had elapsed since the publication of Cowley's 1656 volume, Fleming's translations themselves should probably be dated considerably earlier than their publication: the contents of the book are apparently 'but the product, for the most part, of my younger Years'.[1]

Fleming's choice of odes is original, and, one suspects, random; he presents his reader with the fourth Olympian, the sixth Pythian, the third Nemean, and the third Isthmian. Unless the first and last were chosen for their brevity it is difficult to see what principles guided him in his selection. In a testy little Advertisement appended to the poems Fleming's tone suggests that the matter was of little import:

> Reader, I had once an Intention to have translated all Pindar's Works, and for that end made my first Essay in translating the four foregoing Odes out of the correctest Greek extant, being one of each sort, viz. one Olympian, one Pythian, one Nemean, and one Isthmian: But truly by that time I had done with these, I became so weary of the old Poetical Fables of their Gods and Hero's, and so sick with their Sterility, Impertinences, Adulation, etc., that I thought better to employ my Thoughts on more profitable Subjects, and so to rid my Hands of these, with a few Notes upon them, leaving the rest to any that please to employ their time and pains that way. And yet I must say, I did what I could to make the best of this Poets Expressions. But since our English Pindar, Cowley has translated but two of these Odes, I think I have done enough in rendring four.[2]

1 ibid., Preface, sig. A2.

2 ibid., p. 160.

Fleming's attempts 'to make the best of this Poets Expressions' result in a translation which is a more damning indictment of Pindar than the deliberate pedestrianism and inconsequence of Perrault's specimen translation from the first Olympian. The suspicion that the translator is indulging in intentional burlesque is probably undeservedly complimentary, but it would be difficult to parallel in serious translation the infelicity of expression of lines like the following on Psaumis:

> Yea probably his hoary hairs
> May be the Heirs
> Not of his Age, but of his Cares;
> His Cares, which for his Countrey's Peace and good
> Oft prove his only Food.
> For why we oft do see
> That hoary Hairs on Young Men be.
> Wherefore this possibly
> May be the Cause why thus is he.[1]

More representative, perhaps, of the general quality, both of the translation and of the style, is the following passage from the end of the third Nemean (despite the rather incongruous suggestion of vultures and jackdaws):

> And though I be remote, and far away,
> Yet can I hence thee see, where thou dost stay:
> I can afar smell out my Prey;
> Like to the generous Eagle, which farr off can view,
> What Crows and Ravens even near can't do.
> Behold how, though remote, thy worth most bright
> Appeareth glittering to my sight.
> This hath inspired so my Muse aright
> As to invite her to a soaring flight,
> In praising and exalting thee,
> In whom such Vertues she doth see;
> Vertues which came unto a wondrous height,
> When at Megaris and Nemea, thou,
> And Epidaurus didst them show
> In each of which thou didst victorious fight.[2]

Fleming insists in the heading and in the Advertisement that his odes

1 'The Fourth Olympique Ode of Pindar', ibid., p. 134.

2 'The Third Nemean Ode', ibid., p. 144.

are here translated 'from the original Greek':[1] it is interesting that the only divergence from Cowley's method of presentation is the absence of a Latin translation. The paraphrase is, however, so loose that one cannot really tell whether or not the claim is a valid one, although there seems no reason to doubt it.

The passage quoted above serves also to demonstrate the apparent perversity which one encounters at nearly every turn in Fleming's attempts at translating and expounding the four odes, frequently in the text but most persistently in what Fleming describes as 'some few brief Notes upon the same, for clearing the dark expressions thereof'. Rightly or wrongly, the scholia, the Latin translations, Schmid, and Benedictus are all in agreement that the point of the 'eagle' passage (N.iii.80ff) is that the ode was composed some considerable time after the victory, and that Pindar uses the image both to apologise for and to vindicate the delay. Fleming, however, ignoring ὀψὲ περ, seems confident that the crux lies in πλόβε : as he summarises in the 'argument',

> And then commending his own Song; he endeth with an excuse for his not being present himself in Egina, drawing a Commendation to himself therefrom.[2]

It is a less straightforward exercise that might be expected to detect from which of the relatively few extant editions of Pindar Fleming might have been working, particularly without the evidence, so valuable in the case of Cowley, of a Latin translation. It might seem likely that to a man educated in Leyden and Utrecht 'the correctest

1 ibid., p. 129.

2 ibid., p. 140.

Greek extant' would have meant Erasmus Schmid's carefully emended text; but on the other hand Fleming's arguments, while considerably more detailed than those of Benedictus, suggest something of the latter's attitude to the structure of the odes. The summary of the fourth Olympian, for example, is reminiscent of Benedictus' style:

> Where Pindar, beginning with Jupiter as the great Moderator as well of the World as the Olympique Games; he praiseth Psaumis from the Victory it self, from his brave and warlike Disposition, in his training Horse for that end, from his liberality to his Friends, from his love to his Countrey's peace and flourishing, and from his vigorousness. Whence, taking occasion from his Grey-hairs, he amplifies thereby the Victory . . . adducing on that account an old famous instance of Ergin one of the Argonauts. Yet nevertheless he concludes with a denyal of the certainty of his being Old, from the common token thereof, the hoary Head; upon the supposition of it flowing sometimes from other Causes.[1]

More tangible evidence, however, suggests that Fleming's debt to either of the two major editions was minimal. Most of the notes provided to his translations are mythological or geographical. Many are clearly nothing more than his own inferences from the text, as, for example, his remark, in defiance of all the commentaries, that Erginus in Olympian 4 was 'then an old, but vigorous man'.[2] Otherwise much of the evidence points to a direct use of the scholia: for example, on the death of Melissus' kinsmen in Isthmian 3,[3] or the note on the

1 ibid., p. 130. Cf. Benedictus on Olympian 2, above p. . The amount of detail provided by Fleming, little of which appears in Benedictus' summary of Olympian 4, is of course more characteristic of Schmid's tabular analyses.

2 ibid., p. 151. According to the scholia (Drachmann, O.iv.32c), Erginus was still young although prematurely grey (νεώτερος μὲν τῷ χρόνῳ, πρεσβύλιος δὲ τὴν κόμην): Schmid (p. 138) makes the point 'quum iam canus esset, licet non admodum annosus', and Benedictus paraphrases (p. 87) 'Ergini canos prematuros . . .'

3 Fleming, p. 160.

Myrmidones in Nemean 3, where Fleming gives Hesiod's derivation of the name and continues: 'But others more truly derive that Name from the ancient manner of dwelling of that People, which was in Caves and Holes under ground, like to Ants.'[1] The note on Aegina is an interesting case: the island, says Fleming, is one of the Cyclades (presumably a slip for Sporades rather than a deliberate emendation), lying over against Attica, and a colony of the Argives.[2] At times Fleming's note is directly contradictory to the scholia, for example on 'Asop' in the third Nemean.[3] It is, however, usually clear that when Fleming does diverge from the scholia or expands upon them, his information does not come from either of the seventeenth century commentaries. For example, Fleming introduces into the note on Telamon (Nemean 3) the additional information that he was one of the Argonauts, and into that on Iolaus the information that it was he who helped Heracles to slay the Hydra:[4] these comments are probably provided out of a general mythological knowledge gleaned from Natalis Comes or some similar handbook.[5] No reputable source, however, would have provided the description of the

1 ibid., p. 156. Cf. scholia (Drachmann, N.iii.21): Ἄλλοι δέ τινες πιθανώτερον ἐξηγοῦνται περὶ τούτων ...

2 Fleming, p. 155. Cf. scholia (Drachmann, N.iii.5): Αἴγινα μία νῆσος τῶν Σποράδων ἀντικρὺ κειμένη τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἄποικος τῶν Ἀργείων.

3 'Asop was a River in Egina, where 'tis like, the city or palace of Aristoclides hath been situated' (Fleming, p. 155). Cf. schol. (Drachmann, N.iii.1c): ὁ γὰρ Ἀσωπὸς οὐκ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ, ἀλλὰ περὶ Φλειοῦντά ἐστι καὶ Νεμέαν.

4 Fleming, p. 157.

5 According to Douglas Bush (Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, Minneapolis, 1932) the handbook in most common use at this time was Natalis Comes, Mythologiae sive Explicationis Fabularum libri decem. In quibus omnia prope naturalis et moralis Philosophiae dogmata in veterum fabulis contenta fuisse perspicue demonstatur, Passau, 1637. For Telamon, cf. Comes, p. 316: for Iolaus, p. 360.

Argonauts as 'the company of Thereus, who went to take the Golden Fleece'.[1] Some of the notes, such as those on Aetna and on Typhon in the fourth Olympian, stand out as curiosities of scholarship. The note on Aetna reveals Fleming's apparent conception of a volcano as a mountain burning, like a candle, from the top down:

> When it began to burn, is utterly unknown, since even Pindar speaks of it as a thing in his time out of the Memory of Man; which argues it at first to have been of an incredible height, considering that though for some thousands of years it hath been burning; Yet is it one of the highest Mountains, even at this day...[2]

The note on Typhon appears to have been composed from the text itself, from some general mythological knowledge (the attempt to scale heaven by casting Pelion on Ossa, and both on Olympus), perhaps from some information in the scholia, and finally from the recurring tendency to relate pagan myth to a biblical analogue:

> All which [the myth of Typhon] is a Fable patched together out of the old confused Relicts of the Tradition of Babel's building, which the Scripture speaks of. This Typhon is said to have had an hundred Heads; by which I suppose is meant the unite Confederacy that was amongst the Babel-builders.[3]

Fleming's tone suggests that he had more authority for this interpretation than merely his own ingenuity, but the source is elusive: in Gerard Johann Voss's major work in this sphere, Typhoeus was equated with Og king of

1 Fleming, p. 151.

2 ibid., p. 150. The conception does not seem to have been a common one: cf. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, 'it is said, that this hill hath dennes full of brim-stone in the Southeast side, and those dens stretch unto the sea, and receive waves and waters, and gathereth winde, and that winde bloweth out brimstone, and gendreth fire thereof.' Stephen Bateman, annotating this passage, describes the craters. (Bateman upon Bartholome, his Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum, London, 1582).

3 Fleming, p. 151. Cf. Voss, De Theologia Gentili, et Physiologia Christiana, sive, de Origine ac Progressu Idolotriae, ad veterum gesta, ac rerum naturam, reductae, Amsterdam, 1641, p. 189. The connection between Aetna and Babel may have suggested to Fleming by the phrase κίων οὐρανός (P.i.19).

Bashan, the only remaining 'of the remnant of the giants' (Deuteronomy iii.11).

At other times when Fleming receives no guidance from the scholia, for example on ἵππιον ἔδοδον in Pythian VI, where the scholia merely remark ὅτι ἵππιος ὁ θεός, he seems to be ignorant of the notes in Schmid and Benedictus, and is reduced to proferring a tentative explanation of his own: Neptune is called a Horse-God, he says, 'it may be because he is said to ride through the Waves on the backs of Fishes, as the Dolphin, and others.'[1] The indications, taken all in all, are that Fleming was using only an edition containing the scholia. There is no evidence that he made any direct use of either of the two major editions, but he shows a grasp of the structure of the odes which may directly or indirectly derive from one or both of them. His handling of whatever sources he did use is not, in any case, either consistent or accurate; and several of the notes as well as the concluding Advertisement betray some degree of impatience with Pindar himself and with the minutiae of scholarship. Since Fleming was the first to translate as many as four of Pindar's odes, and since the known translations of Pindar before the middle of the eighteenth century are so extremely scarce, his historical place is an important one: it is the more to be regretted that he provides us with a no more enthusiastic picture of the state of Pindaric scholarship at the time.

Sir Edward Sherburne, in the course of his translation of Blondel's comparison of Pindar and Horace, produces English versions of the excerpts from Pindar quoted by Blondel, but it seems likely that he was working from the French rather than from the Greek. In one of

1 Fleming, p. 155: cf. schol. (Drachmann, P.vi.49). According to Benedictus, Neptune was 'equitationis author'. (p. 409).

Sherburne's commonplace books, now in the British Museum, there is a draft translation of the first strophe and antistrophe of the first Olympian, often shaky in its grasp of the meaning of the Greek, and much less fluent, while more literal, than the passages in the Comparison. The vocabulary and the ordering of the thought, especially in the opening lines, suggest the influence of Benedictus' paraphrase, possibly through the medium of the Oxford edition; but the result is at times confusing.

> The Best of Elements is Water; Gold
> The Best of Mettles: Which, (as We behold
> A Mighty Fire illustrating Night's shade)
> Makes Glorious It's Possessors: and as farr
> As the Suns Splendour dims by Day each Starr
> Does Heaven's deserted Vault invade.[1]

There is an interesting importation of secondary 'Pindaricism' in the somewhat unpolished lines,

> When noble Raptures fill my Braines
> Then take thy Dorick Lyre downe from the Pin,
> It hangs on.

The lines are heavily revised throughout, and at times virtually illegible: it is not surprising that Sherburne, abandoned the attempt before reaching the epode. There is tantalising evidence of at least one apparently ambitious attempt at rendering Pindar into English verse before the appearance, thirty years after Fleming's volume, of the next published translation. Nothing seems to have come of Pope's design, reported by Joseph Spence, of 'giving a taste of all the most celebrated Greek poets by translating one of their best short pieces . . . a hymn of Homer, another of Callimachus, an ode or two from Pindar, and so on',[2] but a more sustained effort had apparently been made at the

1 BM, Sl.Ms. 836, f.89v: Sir Edward Sherburne, Poems and Translations, ed. Frans Jozef van Beeck S.J., Amsterdam, 1961, pp. 121-2.

2 Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men, collected from Conversation, ed. J.M. Osborn, 2 vols, Oxford, 1966, I, 81.

beginning of the eighteen century by the rather feckless Edmund Smith, author of a neglected tragedy on Phaedra and Hippolitus. According to the biography by Oldisworth, quoted in full by Johnson in his own Life of the poet, Smith had, some years before his death in 1710,

> engaged himself in several considerable undertakings: in all which he had prepared the world to expect mighty things from him. I have seen about ten sheets of his English Pindar, which exceeded anything of that kind I could ever hope for in our own language.[1]

Johnson himself had heard no more of the Pindar manuscript, of which there now seems to be no trace.[2]

The next 'translation' of which there is published evidence appears in a collection of poems by another Oxford scholar, Walter Harte: the first edition came out in 1727 when Harte was only nineteen.[3] The poet claims to have paraphrased 'part of Pindar's first Pythian ode', but although one does not doubt that he did have either the Greek text or a Latin translation to hand, the paraphrase is so loose that one cannot easily tell where, in the original, the part ends. The translation is arranged in 'triads' of strophe, antistrophe, and epode, but with no observation of responsion. Harte's method seems to have been to select hints from the original and expand upon them at will. The final stanzas, strophe and antistrophe three of Harte's version, probably approximating to the same in the original, become:

1 Johnson, Lives, ii, 10.

2 ibid., 17.

3 Walter Harte, Poems on several Occasions, London, 1727.

Gentle wishes, chaste desires,
Holy Hymen's purer fires:
Lives of innocence and pleasure,
Moral virtue's mystic treasure;
Wisdom, eloquence, and love,
All are blessings from above.
Hence regret, distaste, dispraise,
Guilty nights, uneasy days:
Repining jealousies, calm friendly wrongs, [sic]
And fiercer envy, and the strife of tongues.

When virtue bleeds beneath the laws,
Or ardent nations rise in arms,
Thy mercies judge the doubtful cause,
Thy courage ev'ry breast alarms.
Kindling with heroic fire,
Once again I sweep the lyre.
Fair as summer's evening skies,
Ends thy life serene, and glorious;
Happy hero, great and wise,
O'er thy foes, and self victorious.[1]

Isolated phrases from the Greek present themselves as the germs from which this has sprung: 'all the means of mortal virtues are from the gods; through them are men wise, strong of hand, eloquent', 'may the time to come grant happiness ... and forgetfulness of pains.' In the expansive mellifluence of Harte's lines it is, however, impossible to trace a nearer relation than this to the economy and compression of the original. Although dismissing the eagle in two lines, Harte devotes the whole of his first antistrophe to Mars, domesticating him in a neat antithesis and all the eighteenth century affectations associated with terror and romance:

See, Mars awak'd by loud alarms
Rouls o'er the field his sanguine eyes,
His heart tumultuous beats to arms,
And terrours glare, and furies rise!
    Hark the pleasing lutes complain,
    In a softly-breathing strain;
    Love, and slumber seal his eye
    By the gentle charms opprest:

1 Harte, pp. 63-4.

From his rage he steals a sigh,
Sinking on Dione's breast.[1]

Harte's Argument similarly deals with only part of the poem. He has, in fact, tailored the first Pythian into an ode on the powers of music and poetry, relating it to Hiero in the observation that 'we must suppose this art [music] to be one of his hero's more distinguishable excellencies; as it appears from several passages' [in the first Olympian].[2] Harte'sode deals with the effect of music on the passions, with the importance of poetry, and with the fate which awaits those who, like Typhoeus, fail to acknowledge it. Referring to the Typhoeus myth Harte states his opinion that 'the digressions in this ode are the most inartificial and surprising of any in the whole author.' Then, being 'once more in the hero's native country', Harte has exhausted most of his interest in the poem: 'everything opens agreeably to the eye, and the poem proceeds after Pindar's usual manner'.[3]

In 1748, the year before the publication of Gilbert West's translations from Pindar, Ambrose Philips published a volume of poems which included translations from Pindar, Anacreon, and Sappho.[4] For information about his Pindaric studies one must, however, go back twenty-seven years, to the end of the period in which he was editor of The Free-Thinker, a half-weekly periodical which was one of the

1 ibid., p. 59.

2 ibid., p. 57.

3 ibid., p. 58.

4 Ambrose Philips, Pastorals, Epistles, Odes, and other original poems, with translations from Pindar, Anacreon, and Sappho, London, 1748.

more important of the imitators of The Spectator and The Tatler. Each number of The Free-Thinker consists of a single folio half-sheet, and at intervals whole numbers, called Miscellanies, were devoted to poetry. The tenth 'miscellany', printed on Monday, June 19th, 1721, consisted of Philips' translation of 'The First Olympionique of Pindar', a work considered of sufficient importance to merit having the two previous issues devoted to Pindar as an introduction. The first of these contains 'a succinct Account of the Life of this great Poet', and the second a description of the subject of the odes - i.e. the games - and of 'The Nature of the Poet's compositions on this, and the like Occasions'. The Life leaves no doubt which edition of Pindar was used by Philips: it consists of a more or less exact translation, with a little adaptation, of the relevant section of West and Welsted's Oxford edition of 1697. The number is rounded off with not only the expected translation of Horace Odes iv.2, the opening line of which is unusual in its awareness of the intended recipient ('The Man, Julus, who presumptuous vies/ With Pindar . . . '), but also two Greek epigrams on 'the statue of Pindar', translated with Philips' characteristic scrupulousness. In the first, by Antipater, the elegiac metre of the original is faithfully attempted:

> As the loud Trumpet's Blast the rural Pipe excells,
> Among the Lyres, Thy Lyre, distinguish'd, swells.
> Nor vainly, Pindar, did the soft, brown Swarm around
> Thy Mouth, in waxen Cells their Sweets compound.
> Witness the Arcadian; horned God! who threw aside
> The pastoral Reed, and sung Thy Hymns with Pride.

In the second, by Christodorus, Philips aims at 'the Epick Measure' of the Greek:

> Of ancient Thebes the Heliconian Swan admire,
> Voice-charming Pindar! Him Apollo, Silver-bow'd,
> Bred, where Boeotian Helicon's fair Cliffs aspire,
> And the sweet Mystery of mighty Numbers show'd.

> Bees, on his infant tuneful Lips soft-clustering, throng
> To work their Combe; sure Omen of his heavenly Song.[1]

The second number is headed with another quotation from Horace (Ep.i.3.10

> Quid Titius, Romana brevi venturus in ora,
> Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus;
> Fastidire lacus et rivos ausus apertes?

The first few paragraphs give a brief description of the Olympian Games, with emphasis placed on the honour accorded to them and to the victors, and, curiously, an explanation of the relevance of the myth of Tantalus to Hiero as his descendant.[2] The rest of the sheet is devoted to a description of Pindar's style:

> As to the Manner of this amazing Writer; it is wholly peculiar to himself: The Glory of it is all his own. He has no Rival; He has no Imitator; He stands alone ...

Much of this second instalment of the introduction to Pindar is simply restatement of the usual commonplaces about him: his inimitability, his superior 'Force of Nature', his grandeur, his boldness, his compression, his moral seriousness. Philips lays particular emphasis on the ease with which Pindar moves within the strict laws of the choral ode: he

> observes them, with an Air, indeed, of Freedom; as a great Mind seems to act without Restraint; while it pays the strictest Regard to the Laws of Vertue, Decency, and Honour; and overlooks the little formalities of the Vulgar.

1 The Free-Thinker no. 337, 13 June 1721. The first of these epigrams (AP 16.305), but not the second (AP 2.382) is included in the prefatory material to the 1697 Oxford edition of Pindar. Both are quoted and translated into Latin verse by Benedictus. An earlier English version, through French, of 16.305 is found in Sherburne's translation of Blondel's Comparison: for influence on the continent of the anthology, see the two studies by James Hutton, The Greek Anthology in Italy to the year 1800, Ithaca, N.Y., 1935; and The Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin writers of the Netherlands to the year 1800, Ithaca, N.Y., 1946.

2 The Free-Thinker no. 338, 19 June 1721. None of the commentators suggests that Tantalus was an ancestor of Hiero: it seems most likely that Philips here has the second Olympian and the Emmenidai in mind.

Like Claude Fraguier in his lecture to the French Académie, Philips stresses Pindar's variety, noting particularly his use of enjambement even between stanzas to achieve the effect of being unrestrained:

> Read his Compositions; and, you can hardly be perswaded, he is under any Restraint at all: So glowing are his Thoughts; so true his Stops; and so agreeable to natural Eloquence is the Run of every Sentence; now smooth and peaceable, now precipitant and loud; like a mighty Flood, in its Progress, greatly varying down Precipices, and over Plains.

The Horatian flood simile reinforces the idea of natural force over artistry, but Philips does not see Pindar as totally at the mercy of his inspiration: 'in the midst of all this Transport' he still has control:

> Nor, in the seeming Hurry of his Inspiration, does he forget any Circumstance, proper to ingratiate himself with the Victor, and the People.

This consciousness of Pindar's need to 'ingratiate' underlies the most original tendency of Philips' approach, an increasing pre-occupation with the subject of the victory odes and their occasion. It has been seen that in the general view, to which there were a few notable exceptions, Pindar was seen as a great and inspired poet corrupted by his time into expending his genius on unworthy material. Sir Philip Sidney had condemned 'the tyme and custome of the Greekes, who set these toyes at so high a price', and Blondel's characterisation of the victors as 'the wretched Combatants' finds an echo in Dennis's reference to the 'worthless Coachmen and Jockeys'.[1] William Somervile, in one of his odes to the victorious Duke of Marlborough, had acknowledged Pindar's pre-eminence and sublimity, but with a proviso:

1 above, pp. 49, 144, 184.

> But what alas! would Pindar do,
> Were his bold Muse to sing of you?
> Can Chronus' strength be nam'd with yours?
> Can mimic Fights and sportive War,
> With Schellemberg's demolish'd Tow'rs,
> Or Blenheim's bloody Field compare?
> The Bard wou'd blush at Theron's Speed . . .[1]

A similar point, adorned this time with a pun, is made by Edward Young in Imperium Pelagi, again with the immediate purpose of elevating his own subject:

> Not Pindar's theme with mine compares,
> As far surpass'd as useful cares
> Transcend diversion light and glory vain:
> The wreath fantastic, shouting throng
> And panting steed to him belong, -
> The charioteer's, not Empire's golden, reign.[2]

Philips' contribution in this short paper is to give a more proportionate idea of the significance of the games and the corresponding status acquired by the victors:

> They, who overcame in these Games, especially in the Olympick, were the most honoured; and oftentimes, even adored. It was esteemed a Felicity to have been but once a Victor: He, who bore several Prizes, was thought to arrive to the Pitch of Human Beautitude: But, the Man, who obtained the Palm in all the Exercises, was thought to be raised above the Condition of Mortality.[3]

This has much the same tone of vague generalisation as do the more conventional comments on Pindar's style, but, nevertheless, in his

1 William Somerville, 'An Ode, humbly inscrib'd to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, upon his Removal from all his Places', Occasional Poems, Translations, Fables, Tales, etc., London, 1727, p. 2.

2 Young, Works, ii, 30.

3 The Free-Thinker no. 338.

concern with the background and setting of Pindar's odes Philips reflects the development which was now beginning to take place of a more historical and less purely literary approach to the classics. Significantly, a series of articles on Greek athletics had already appeared in the first volume of papers delivered before the Académie des Inscriptions in France (published in 1717).[1]

Only 'The First Olympionique' appeared in the tenth miscellany of The Free-Thinker: the translation of the second Olympian seems to have received its first publication in the 1748 volume. After the paraphrastic translations of Cowley (and Fleming, although his work was less likely to be known to Philips himself), and the somewhat impressionistic rendering of Walter Harte, the outstanding feature of Philips' translation is his fidelity to the structure and content of the original Greek. The metrical structure is a very fair attempt at an approximation to the form of the odes as they appeared in the Oxford text, not merely in the strict observance of the triads but also in the lengths of the individual stanzas. The strophe and antistrophe of the first Olympian in the Oxford edition contain seventeen cola, the epode thirteen: the corresponding parts in Philips' translation have eighteen and sixteen lines respectively. For the second Olympian the strophe: epode ratio in the Greek is fourteen: eight; in Philips' version it is sixteen:ten. There is, especially in the first Olympian, a clear differentiation in metrical character between the parts of the triad, with the strophe/antistrophe in almost unmixed iambics and the epode opening in a burst of anapaests -

> But, in thought ever pure, shall I deem it amiss,
> Vile Gluttons to call the partakers of bliss:

1 Pierre-Jean Burette, 'Sur la gymnastique des anciens', Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles-lettres i (1717), 89f.

to be brought up short with a trochaic third line -

Let me then refrain, and dread:[1]

Generally, that Philips had arrived at an unusual appreciation of the variety of Pindar's metre is indicated by the degree of metrical experimentation in which he indulges in his translations: it is not, perhaps, too fanciful to see in lines like 'For below/E'er they go' an attempt at emulation of Pindar's hypercatalectic monometers, e.g.

- σὲν Ἡρακλέης (O.ii.6, old colometry)

- δικαίων ξένων (O.ii.11, old colometry).

In both translations the stanzaic divisions of the original Greek are religiously observed, achieving something of the precision of Schmid's parallel Latin translation (reprinted in the Oxford edition) in its reproduction of the enjambements which Philips had selected as a characteristic Pindaric mannerism:

e.g. 'Through their late lineage down. (O.ii. epode 1)

'Of his daughter. (O.i. epode 3)

Ambrose Philips' achievement in giving a verse translation which abides by such strict rules as these and yet manages to a great extent to avoid either adding to or subtracting from the original sense has always been overshadowed by Dr Johnson's epigrammatically dismissive judgment:

> In his translations from Pindar he found the art of reaching all the obscurity of the Theban bard, however he may fall below his sublimity: he will be allowed, if he has less fire, to have more smoke.[2]

Inevitably, a translation as close as this is frequently involves a kind of wrenching of the English language from its normal course into

1 Philips, Pastorals, pp. 121-2.

2 Johnson, Lives, iii, 325.

an unnatural compression of sense and syntax, such as one might find in lines like

> The possessor of this store,
> Far-future things discerning, knows
> Obdurate wretches, once deceas'd to immediate Woes
> Consign'd, too late their pains deplore ...

On occasion this alien effect is underlined by an incongruity of metre, but, on the other hand, Philips is frequently led by his very fidelity to his model into a phrase which is successful by virtue of its very compression: particularly felicitous are the descriptions of Hiero, who

> all excelling while he reigns,
> From every lovely virtue crops the flower;

and Poseidon, 'his soul subdued by love' (δμηέντα φρένας ἵμέρῳ).[1] There is a certain -very un-Namby-Pamby-like - gusto about the presentation of the rejected version of the story of the feast of Tantalus:

> Some envious Neighbours, to defame
> Thy father's feast, a rumour spread,
> The rumour through the country fled,
> That thou, to heighten the repast,
> Wast into seething water cast,
> Fierce bubbling o'er the raging fire,
> Thy limbs without compassion carv'd,
> Thy sodden flesh in messes serv'd,
> To gorge the gods and a voracious sire.[2]

1 Philips, Pastorals, pp. 118, 121.

2 ibid.

CHAPTER V

THE PINDARIC REVIVAL: WEST AND GRAY

i. Mid-century Pindaric scholarship in England

The interest taken in Pindar both as a focus for classical scholarship and as a source of poetic inspiration is of a markedly different nature in the second half of the eighteenth century from that already described in the preceding period, and it seems natural to take as the turning point in this development the years around 1750 which saw the publication first of Gilbert West's celebrated translations of a selection of the odes, and secondly of the Odes of Thomas Gray. A third factor which - then, as now - attracted less attention should, however, be accorded some recognition as a symptom of the changing direction and, partly at least, as an impetus towards it. Throughout the period which has been discussed so far, the text of Pindar was available only in continental editions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and in the bulky and expensive Oxford edition of 1697; but from the middle of the eighteenth century Pindar shared in the revival of interest in printing, and particularly in the printing of classical texts, which spread throughout Britain.[1] So marked was the success of this revival that by the end of the century Lewis Brueggemann, counsellor of the consistory in Stettin, found it worth while to publish, at his own

1 See Philip Gaskell, 'Printing the Classics in the Eighteenth Century', The Book Collector, i (1952), 98-111.

expense, a list of the classical books published in Great Britain, commending British scholars for 'the splendor of their Greek and Latin Classics, the correctness of their editions', in which they 'outdid by far the Learned on the Continent'.[1]

In the space of forty-four years, the Foulis press in Glasgow produced no less than three editions of Pindar's odes and one of the Olympians alone. In 1744, the year after his appointment as printer to Glasgow University, Robert Foulis produced an edition based on the Oxford text, with a Latin translation, which was available in at least three different issues - in octavo on good paper, and as a duodecimo on fine or common paper.[2] The next edition, with the Greek text only, appeared in four volumes between 1754 and 1758 in thirty-two-mo, apparently retailing at three shillings: the first volume, containing the Olympians, was also available, as were a few other Foulis productions, in a de luxe issue on silk.[3] Another edition with Greek and Latin appeared in octavo in 1770, a fine paper copy costing about five shillings.[4] The 1788 edition of the Olympia is of poorer quality, the work of Andrew Foulis the younger.[5] Besides the Glasgow editions there was also one comprising all the epinician odes printed in London in 1755 by William Bowyer - according to John Nichols, Bowyer was both printer

1 A View of the English Editions, Translations, and Illustrations of the Ancient Greek and Latin Authors, with Remarks, Stettin, 1797, p. x. Supplement, Stettin, 1801.

2 Philip Gaskell, A Bibliography of the Foulis Press, London, 1964, pp. 97-8.

3 ibid., p. 190.

4 ibid., p. 298.

5 ibid., p. 379.

and editor.[1] By 1782 Edward Harwood had apparently heard that 'they are preparing at Oxford a new Edition of Pindar, which is to be published in quarto. All the manuscripts of Pindar, which are known to be reposited in various libraries are now collating for this Edition.'[2] This edition, however, never materialised. The size and price of these eighteenth century editions obviously made Pindar much more accessible to students and to literary men alike, and Dr. Johnson, for example, takes advantage of one of Boswell's visits to Scotland to remind him that 'You promised to get me a little Pindar, you may add to it a little Anacreon'.[3] Receipt of the work is acknowledged several months later with the appreciative but not very reverential remark that 'I have read your kind letter much more than the elegant Pindar which it accompanied.'[4] Another important feature of the classical editions of the eighteenth century is a new concern for the comfort of the reader, indicated by the increased clarity of the Greek type: the Foulis brothers, for example, came to insist on the abandoning of all but the most easily decipherable ligatures, and the contrast in this respect with nearly all the earlier editions is very marked.[5]

1 Literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century, 9 vols., London, 1812-16, ii, 277.

2 Harwood, A View of the Various Editions of the Greek and Roman Classics, with Remarks, third edition, London, 1782, p. 11.

3 Johnson to Boswell, 31 August 1772: Johnson, Letters, ed. R.W. Chapman, 3 vols, Oxford, 1952, i, 279.

4 Johnson to Boswell, 24 February 1773: Letters, i, 302.

5 See Philip Gaskell, 'Printing the Classics in the Eighteenth Century'; 'The Early Works of the Foulis Press and the Wilson Foundry', The Library, fifth series, vii (1952), 109.

The evidence of these editions, and of the Pindaric studies of Gilbert West and Thomas Gray, suggests that in Great Britain at least the Oxford edition was generally accepted, despite its failings, as a reliable one. Long before it was superseded in 1773, however, doubts about its quality, like those voiced by Thomas Hearne only a few years after its publication,[1] were given substance and some publicity in an essay by Richard Dawes, the notorious Newcastle schoolmaster, and a former Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.[2] Dawes's Miscellanea Critica, which included besides the Pindar section essays on Greek pronunciation and syntax, on the digamma, and emendations of Callimachus, of Terentianus Maurus, and of the Attic dramatists, was reprinted several times between 1780 and 1827: it may not, however, have made much impact on its first appearance in 1745, since none of the English eighteenth century editions of Pindar show any signs of Dawes's influence, and Heyne apparently did not come across the book until just before the publication of his 1773 edition.[3]

Like Schmid, Dawes believed that the way to approach Pindar's text was through his metre. He takes issue with earlier editors, and in particular with West and Welsted, on two general principles - the belief that the last syllable of a Pindaric verse (or colon, in this

1 see above, p. 111.

2 'Oxoniensium Pindari Editorum desideratae ἀκριβείας specimen', Miscellanea Critica in sectiones quinque dispertita (1745), ed. Thomas Kidd, Cambridge, 1817, pp. 60-108. References are to the original pagination. For biography of Dawes, see John Hodgson, 'Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Richard Dawes', Archaeologia Aeliana ii (1832), 137-66 : J.H. Monk, Life of Richard Bentley, second edition, 2 vols, London, 1833, ii, 367-71: and entry in DNB.

3 Heyne 1773, p. xv.

context), is διάφορος, and the principle which he finds underlying the Oxford text, that metrical feet can be regarded as ἰσόχρονοι or ἰσοδύναμοι if the total quantity of their syllables is equal (so that, for example, an iambus may respond to a trochee). With his own principles to guide him - that the last syllable of the line follows the metrical pattern as rigidly as any in the middle, and that different feet can only respond when their single elements are resolvable, so that one long syllable is answered in the same place either by another long or by two shorts - Dawes sets out his own rationalised text of the sixth Pythian and of the fourteenth Olympian, which here appears for the first time in the form of strophe and antistrophe. Most of the corrections and improvements to the Oxford text suggested by Dawes involve the removal of metrical anomalies, and for several this is the only ground for change, as with πτυχαῖσιν for πτυχαῖς (P.vi.18),[1] ὀρνίχων for αἰετῶν (P.iv.4),[2] or, at P.vi.47, the reading οὐτ' ἄδικον οὐθ' ὑπέρτολμον;[3] as these last two examples show, the limitations of Dawes's understanding of Pindaric metre sometimes led him into unnecessary complications. The best of his emendations and comments are those which combine such metrical concerns with his wide knowledge of the Greek language and his scrupulous sense of scholarship. Dawes differs from Schmid, for example, in his more critical attitude to manuscript evidence and his greater regard for the authority of the established text. On P.vi.18, for example, he prefers his own emendation πτυχαῖσιν to Schmid's ἐξαγγελᾶ, also an attempt to rectify the metre, because 'nos a recepta lectione minus discessimus.'[4] On P.vi.13 he rejects the Oxford

1 Dawes, p. 44.

2 pp. 54-5.

3 p. 46.

4 p. 44.

reading ἀξον based on the authority of the Bodleian manuscript 'γ': 'nempe cum ex omnibus codd. sive scriptis sive impressis solus ille pravam atque absurdam lectionem repraesentet, eam pro suo judicio viri docti arripuere';[1] but on the next line he uses the authority of the same manuscript to support his suggested emendation of τοπτόμενος to τοπτόμενον: 'monent editores Oxonn. in MS. γ haberi τοπτόμενον. Cui verbo si unicam lineam ita adjeceris, ut τοπτόμενον evadat, nullus dubito quin germanam scripturam restitueris.'[2] Several emendations show a knowledge of and feeling for the language far in advance of that of Schmid or of West and Welsted - the rejection, for example, of Schmid's ἐλέσθαι at P.i.75 ('nam verbum istud non tam Graecum est quam Scythicum') in favour of ἀρέσθαι, which he supports with Sophoclean parallels;[3] and the emendation of χεράδι at P.vi.13 to χεράδεσι, in favour of which he adduces the evidence of the Etymologicum Magnum, citing fr.327 (Snell).[4]

Before Dawes's examination, the Oxford editors are exposed as inefficient in a multitude of ways: unable to distinguish, as on P.vi.2, between a gloss and an alternative reading in the scholia,[5] and insufficiently critical of manuscript evidence; making simple mistakes of interpretation and syntax such as the failure to see that προφανεῖσαν in P.vi.14 is the subject of ἀμαμελεῖ;[6] but most of all unsatisfactory in their disregard and misunderstanding of the intricacies of Pindaric metre. There are, of course, many flaws in Dawes's own metrical science,

1 p. 41.

2 p. 43.

3 pp. 52-4.

4 pp. 41-3.

5 p. 40.

6 pp. 43-4. The Oxford editors are, of course, here following Schmid and Benedictus.

not least that he is still tied to the old dissection of the lines into meaningless combinations of feet. Quite often he is led into unnecessary difficulties both by his own rigid rejection of the διάφορος final syllable, and by the faulty line-division of the odes as he knew them, for example with the attempt to avoid shortening before a following vowel in ἄγει, | ἄδικον at P.vi.46-7 and in ἀποδρέψαι | ἄβελον at P.ix.110-1.[1] On the other hand, however, Dawes's recognition that the last syllables of Pindaric κῶλα were not in an unmetrical limbo of their own is the first step towards the restructuring of the odes into their lyric lines: with the consistency established of most of the elements previously thought random, the rationale behind the conventional division of the lines has been removed. Dawes, who after the publication of Miscellanea Critica lapsed into an eccentric inactivity, does at one time seem to have intended to expand this 'specimen' into an edition,[2] and in view of the amount of permanent value contributed by his penetration and discernment in this short space, one can only regret with his editor Thomas Kidd that the project did not come to fruition:

> In hac sectione palmaria suas animadversiones tam dilucide, et succincte, et tam nullo negotio concinnavit, ut, si ad Pindari editionem animum suum appulisset, votis omnium cumulate satisfecisse jure suspicaremur.[3]

1 pp. 46, 55-6.

2 Miscellanea Critica, p. v.

3 Kidd, 'Praefatio', p. viii.

ii. Precursors of West and Gray

Thomas Gray's Odes of 1757 have often been regarded as the starting point of a new tradition of Pindaric imitation to replace that which had, generally speaking, languished since the early years of the century, but the Pindaric had in fact received its new impetus more than ten years earlier. A thin quarto volume of the odes of Mark Akenside was published in 1745,[1] and was followed three years later by his Ode to the Earl of Huntingdon,[2] which was probably the chief stimulus for Tobias Smollett's satiric character in Peregrine Pickle of a physician who

> was strangely possessed with the opinion that he himself was inspired by the soul of Pindar; because, making allowance for the difference of languages, in which they wrote, there was a surprising affinity between his own works and those of that celebrated Theban.[3]

It is gratifying to find Akenside, himself a Northener, writing from Leyden in 1744 to his friend Jeremiah Dyson, 'I wish you could get the Pindar which I hear is probably finish'd at Glasgow, in one volume, the same size and type with the Theophrastus.'[4] Akenside's interest in Pindaric imitation certainly does spring, perhaps for the first time

1 Odes on Various Subjects, London, 1745.

2 An Ode to the Right Honourable The Earl of Huntingdon, London, 1748.

3 The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle (1751), ed. J.L. Clifford, London, 1969, ch. xlvii.

4 April 7, 1744. Quoted in C.T. Houpt, Mark Akenside: a Biographical and Critical Study, Philadelphia, 1944, p. 59.

since Cowley, from a direct enthusiasm for the Greek odes, possibly originally awakened by his old schoolmaster in Newcastle, Richard Dawes, the 'Momion' of The Pleasures of Imagination,[1] and author of an essay highly critical of the work of the Oxford editors of Pindar.

Akenside published only ten odes in this first volume of 1745, two of which, 'On Leaving Holland' and 'On Lyric Poetry', were in Pindaric triads.[2] It is clear from the second of these, the last ode in the book, that Akenside derived his Poetic ancestry not only from Pindar but also from the other major lyric poets of Greece; and this multiplicity of inspiration is illustrated in the frontispiece (plate) which depicts a timorous modern bard - presumably Akenside himself - approaching the seat of the Muse. Anacreon, Alcaeus, and Sappho all appear at the fountain as well as Pindar:

> Majestic in the frown of years
> Behold, the Man of Thebes appears:
> For some there are, whose mighty frame
> The hand of Jove at birth indow'd
> With hopes that mock the gazing crowd;
> As eagles drink the noontide flame,
>
> While the dim raven beats his weary wings,
> And clamours far below.[3]

This allegiance to the Greek tradition is one of the most constant features of Akenside's poetry, appearing throughout The Pleasures of Imagination and, especially, in what Douglas Bush has described as 'the most notable mythological poem of the century',[4] the Hymn to the

1 London, 1744, iii, 179-90. Akenside denied that the lines were intended to have a personal application (Houpt, p. 8). For Dawes, see above.

2 There is no triadic notation in the first edition, but it is introduced in 1748 in the ode to Huntingdon, and for the triadic odes in the second, expanded, edition of Odes on Several Subjects, London, 1760.

3 'On Lyric Poetry' ll. 41-8. Cf. Pindar, O.ii.86-7.

4 Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry, Cambridge, Mass., 1937, p. 36.

Capell p 293

ODES
ON
Several SUBJECTS.



Vide page 48

LONDON:
Printed for R. DODSLEY at Tully's Head in Pall-Mall,
And Sold by M. COOPER in Pater-noſter-Row.
M.DCC.XLV.

4° Rawl 290

Naiads, written in 1746. In his rejection, largely politically-motivated, of the tradition of Roman poetry (Virgil and Horace, like Raphael after them, subverted their art to the ends of tyranny),[1] and in his imaginative identification with Tempe and the 'genius of ancient Greece', Akenside, together with Collins and the Wartons, is obviously a forerunner of the romantic philhellenists of the nineteenth century.

A close parallel with Keats's early mentor, Leigh Hunt, can be seen too in Akenside's association of ancient Greece with the ideals of liberty and freedom from oppression. As early as 1738, when he was not yet seventeen, Akenside had invoked 'the bold ardour of the Theban bard' in his first really successful poem - at least in terms of popularity -, A British Philippic.[2] This poem, a spirited incitement to British hearts to take action against 'th'insulting Spaniards' pride' in the current maritime quarrels, was so much admired by Edward Cave, the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, that he had it printed as a separate pamphlet, and it combined with others, like Pope's 1738 and Johnson's London, both published in the same year, to express and probably to inflame the public feeling which forced Walpole to abandon his peace policy with the continent.[3] The coupling of Pindar

1 Ode to Huntingdon ll. 81-90, 111-120, and notes.

2 'A British Philippic. Occasioned by the Insults of the Spaniards, and the Present Preparations for War', Gentleman's Magazine, August, 1738: published separately as The Voice of Liberty: A British Philippic, London, 1738.

3 See C.A. Moore, 'Whig Panegyric Verse, 1700-1760: A Phase of Sentimentalism', PMLA xli (1926), 362-401.

with Demosthenes in this poem makes it clear that from a very early stage Akenside - caricatured by Smollett as a 'poetical republican'[1] - saw Pindar as an apostle of liberty, and it is this aspect of his reverence for the Greek poet which comes over most strongly in the ode to Huntingdon:

> O noblest, happiest Age!
> When Aristides ruled, and Cimon fought;
> When all the generous Fruits of Homer's page
> Exulting Pindar saw to full Perfection brought.
> O Pindar, oft shalt thou be hail'd of me!
> Not that Apollo fed thee from his Shrine;
> Not that thy Lips drank Sweetness from the Bee;
> Nor yet that, studious of thy Notes divine,
> Pan danced their measure with the sylvan Throng:
> But that thy Song
> Was proud to unfold
> What thy base Rulers trembled to behold;
> Amid corrupted Thebes was proud to tell
> The Deeds of Athens and the Persian Shame:
> Hence on thy Head their impious Vengeance fell.
> But thou, O faithful to thy Fame,
> The Muse's Law did'st rightly know
> That who would animate his lays
> And other Minds to Virtue raise
> Must feel his own with all her Honours glow.

In the long note in which Akenside explains this epode, he declares that 'as the Argument of this Ode implies, that great Poetical Talents and high Sentiments of Liberty do reciprocally produce and assist each other, so Pindar is perhaps the most exemplary Proof of this Connection, which occurs in History.'[2] The parallel between this note and Coleridge's remark that Pindar, together with Chaucer, Dante, and Milton, demonstrates a 'close connection of poetic genius with the love of liberty and of genuine reformation' is very striking.[3] Pindar had more usually been seen as himself the supporter and admirer of a tyrannous regime, and Akenside's picture of him shows an interestingly selective approach.

1 Peregrine Pickle, passim.

2 Ode to Huntingdon, p. 25.

3 Biographia Literaria, ed. J. Shawcross, 2 vols., Oxford, 1907, i, 140.

There is a nice irony in the fact that Pindar, now deprived of the liberties of his metrical irregularity, is here assigned just that kind of independence of spirit which he had formerly been denied: possessed of a far more scholarly knowledge of Pindar than most of his predecessors, Akenside has with unconscious ingenuity transferred Pindar's boldness from the poetical to the political arena. There is an interesting development of this idea towards the end of the century when Thomas Warton, in an ode for the king's birthday, puts the tradition to a practical use:

> When Freedom nurs'd her native fire
> In ancient Greece, and rul'd the lyre;
> Her bards, disdainful, from the tyrant's brow
> The tinsel gifts of flattery tore;
> But paid to guiltless power their willing vow:
> And to the throne of virtuous kings,
> Tempering the tone of their vindictive strings,
> From Truth's unprostituted shore,
> The fragrant wealth of gratulation bore.
>
> 'Twas thus Alcaeus smote the manly chord;
> And Pindar on the Persian Lord
> His notes of indignation hurl'd,
> And spurn'd the minstrel slaves of eastern sway
> From trembling Thebes extorting conscious shame;
> Illum'd, the banner of renown unfurl'd:
> Thus to his Hiero decreed,
> 'Mongst the bold chieftains of the Pythian game,
> The brightest verdure of Castalia's bay;
> And gave an ampler meed
> Of Pisan palms, than in the field of Fame
> Were wont to crown the car's victorious speed:
> And hail'd his sceptr'd champion's patriot zeal,
> Who mix'd the monarch's with the people's weal;
> From civil plans who claim'd applause,
> And train'd obedient realms to Spartan laws. [1]

The doctor in Peregrine Pickle is at one stage rudely awakened from a vision in which Pindar, 'with words more sweet than the honey of Hybla

1 'An Ode for his Majesty's Birth-Day, June 4, 1786', Poems on Various Subjects . . . now first collected, London, 1791, pp. 233-4.

bees, told him, that of all the moderns, he alone was visited by that celestial impulse by which he himself had been inspired, when he produced his most applauded odes.'[1] This shared inspiration manifests itself not only in Akenside's revival of the triadic form and his dedication of his poetic genius to the ideal of liberty, but often also in passages of close echo or actual translation. Akenside was clearly so familiar with Pindar that it is often difficult to pinpoint where the influence becomes subconscious: for example in the first ode of the 1745 collection, addressed to the 'master of the Latin lyre', where the following lines on Akenside's Muse have something of Pindar as well as Horace in them, including a recognisable Pindaric borrowing. The Muse

> Nor through the desert of the air,
> Though swans or eagles triumph there,
> With fond ambition strays.
>
> Nor where the boding raven chaunts,
> Nor near the owl's unhallow'd haunts
> Will she her cares employ.[2]

It is generally true, in the triadic odes of the first collection and in those which followed, to Huntingdon in 1748, to Townshend in 1750, and to the Bishop of Winchester in 1754, that where Akenside seems to be attempting to reproduce something of Pindar's manner he sounds, as had most of his predecessors, much more like Horace. In another poem which is ostensibly Callimachean, however, there occurs an extended passage of imitation from Pindar:

> . . . those powerful strings
> That charm the mind of gods, that fill the courts
> Of wide Olympus with oblivion sweet
> Of evils, with immortal rest from cares,

1 ch. lxv.

2 Odes, p. 7.

> Assuage the terrors of the throne of Jove,
> And quench the formidable thunderbolt
> Of unrelenting fire. With slacken'd wings,
> While now the solemn concert breathes around,
> Incumbent o'er the sceptre of his lord
> Sleeps the stern eagle, by the number'd notes,
> Possess'd, and satiate with the melting tone,
> Sovereign of birds. The furious god of war,
> His darts forgetting, and the winged wheels
> That bear him vengeful o'er the embattled plain,
> Relents, and soothes his own fierce heart to ease,
> Most welcome ease. The sire of gods and men
> In that great moment of divine delight,
> Looks down on all that live; and whatsoe'er
> He loves not, o'er the peopled earth and o'er
> The interminated ocean, he beholds
> Cursed with abhorrence by his doom severe,
> And troubled at the sound.[1]

It is curious to find that despite the degree of imaginative identification with Pindar shown here and in the ode to Huntingdon, Akenside could at the same time assign him to a relatively low position in the lists of poetical excellence, albeit in a light-hearted mood. In a paper entitled 'The Ballance of Poets' which appeared in Dodsley's Museum, of which Akenside was editor, he rates Pindar highly on 'incidental expression', 'taste', 'moral' and 'colouring', but very low on 'pathetic ordonnance' and 'critical ordonnance', where only Spenser comes lower. The paper, a half-mocking corollary to Roger de Piles' Balance of the Painters, ends with an idiosyncratic final estimate where Pindar comes in the fifth class out of seven, on a par with Sophocles, Horace, Dante, Ariosto, Racine and Pope, with Homer, Shakespeare, Milton, Virgil, Corneille and Spenser all ahead. Akenside comments that 'Justice to the manes of the divine poets requires, that we should acknowledge their pre-eminance upon the whole, after having thus set their inferiors upon a level with them in particular parts': it is interesting, even in criticism at a level as low as this, to see Pindar demoted on several

1 'Hymn to the Naiads' (written 1746, published in A collection of poems in six volumes, by several hands, vi, London, 1758) ll. 262-83.

grounds from amongst the divine.[1]

Eleven years after the publication of Akenside's Odes Joseph Warton, later to remark that 'of all our poets perhaps Akenside was the best Greek scholar since Milton',[2] expresses strong admiration for some of them:

> ... We have lately seen two or three lyric pieces, superiour to any Pope has left us: I mean an Ode of lyric Poetry, and another to Lord Huntingdon, by Dr Akenside: and a Chorus of British Bards, by Mr Gilbert West ... Both these are written with regular returns of the Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode; which gives a truly Pindaric variety to the numbers, that is wanting not only to the best French and Italian, but even to the best Latin odes. In the pieces here commended, the figures are strong, and the transitions bold, and there is a just mixture of sentiment and imagery: and particularly, they are animated with a noble spirit of liberty.[3]

This official - or perhaps considered - reaction differs markedly from the opinions expressed by Warton in a letter to his brother Thomas, written just after the publication of Akenside's Odes, probably in April, 1745

> The Odes you speak of I suppose by this you know Akinsides, & some of 'em are extremely insipid and flat. Collins sent them to me with Tancred and Sigismunda ... Which of Akinside's Odes are most approved, or are any of 'em approved? The thoughts to me are generally trite and common. You see by his Advertisement that he thinks to set up as the first correct English [lyric] poet.[4]

The letter, particularly interesting for the evidence it provides of Collins' early knowledge of Akenside's poems, makes it clear, as

1 'The Ballance of Poets', The Museum: or, the Literary and Historical Register, no. xix, 6 December [1746]. Roger de Piles's Dissertation sur la balance de peintres (1708) was published in an English translation in May 1743: Collins refers to it a fragment, ['Lines Addressed to a Fastidious Critic'], Poems, ed. R.H. Lonsdale, London, 1969, p. 535.

2 An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, 2 vols, London, 1756-82, ii,

3 ibid., i, London, 1756, p.

4 BM Add.MS 42560, ff. 3, 4v.

does a letter written a month earlier from Catherine Talbot to Elizabeth Carter, that the appearance of the Odes was regarded as a noteworthy literary event. To Miss Talbot, 'they are all I believe good',[1] but Tom Warton shares his brother's opinion that 'they have a vast deal of frigid',[2] and Horace Walpole's immediate response is no more enthusiastic:

> There is another of these tame genius's, a Mr Akenside, who writes Odes; in one he says "Light the tapers, urge the fire." Had you not rather make gods "jostle in the dark" than light candles for fear they should break their heads?[3]

Gray himself never speaks highly of Akenside: he confesses to having 'rather turn'd over, than read' The Pleasures of Imagination, and of Akenside's contributions to the sixth volume of Dodsley's miscellany he is scathing:

> Why, the last two volumes are worse than the four first; particularly Dr Akenside is in a deplorable way. What signifies Learning and the Ancients, (Mason will say triumphantly) why should people read Greek to lose their imagination, their ear, and their mother tongue?[4]

Despite his initial irritation at the ostentatious 'correctness' of Akenside's odes, Joseph Warton includes in his own Odes on Various Subjects, published in December of the following year, a triadic ode 'To Liberty'; and a similar but much more experimental interest is shown in the metrical patterns of Greek choral lyric by his friend William Collins, whose odes, originally to have been published together with Warton's, eventually appeared later in the same month.[5] Like Akenside, Collins

1 March 2, 1745: A Series of Letters between Mrs Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catherine Talbot, from the year 1741 to 1770, ed. Montagu Pennington, 4 vols., London, 1809, i, 91.

2 Letter dated 19 April, BM Add.MS 42560, f. 5.

3 Walpole, Correspondence, ed. Wilmarth S. Lewis et al., 36 vols., (in progress), New Haven, 1937 - , xix, 28.

4 Gray, Correspondence, ed. Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley, corrected by H.W. Starr, 3 vols., Oxford, 1971,

5 see The Poems of Gray, Collins and Goldsmith, ed. Roger Lonsdale, London, 1969, pp. 408-10. (Hereafter referred to as Lonsdale).

chooses for his title-page an epigraph from Pindar (O.ix.80-3):

— Ἔστιν
ἐργασιᾶς ἀναγκαίας
πρόσφορος ἐν μοισᾶν δίφρῳ·
τόλμα δὲ καὶ ἀμβλυδαὴς δύναμις
ἕπεται —

The intention to structure some of the odes upon the Greek model is underlined by the use, which Collins seems to have inaugurated, of the terms strophe, antistrophe and epode, but the structure is not that of the eighteenth century 'correct' Pindaric, as illustrated by Congreve and Akenside. Authority could be found in Pindar for the antistrophic arrangement of the 'Ode to Mercy'; but the 'Ode to Fear', where the epode (properly, as has often been pointed out, the mesode) comes between the strophe and antistrophe, and the 'Ode to Liberty', where strophe and antistrophe are each followed by unequal epodes consisting of octosyllabic couplets, bear a closer analogy to the choral odes of Greek tragedy. Collins' enthusiasm for the Greek tragic poets, and particularly perhaps Sophocles, is evident throughout his poetic career, already suggested in the Epistle to Sir Thomas Hanmer (composed in 1743) and re-appearing in the lines on the music of the Grecian theatre, a fragment which is probably one of his last productions. In a letter to Dr William Hayes, Professor of Music at Oxford, comparing this probably only projected poem with 'The Passions. An Ode for Music' which had been set by Hayes, Collins writes that 'the composition too is probably more correct, as I have chosen the ancient Tragedies for my models.'[1] This does not, of course, imply that Collins had come to see Pindar as

1 cf. also references to Euripides in 'Ode to Pity', to Aeschylus and Sophocles in 'Ode to Fear', and references to Sophocles, Oedipus Coloneus and Electra in 'Ode to Simplicity'.

a less correct model than the tragic poets: the contrast is with an irregular ode. There is nothing to suggest that 'the ancient Tragedies' had not also been Collins' model in the triadic odes of five years earlier.

The influence of Pindar, or the Pindaric, on Collins is, however, undoubtedly strong in the Odes, underlined not only by the Pindaric epigraph but also by several echoes, for example of the beginning of the first Pythian in the 'Ode to Liberty', ll. 133-6, and the 'Ode to Mercy', ll. 4-6:

> Who oft with songs, divine to hear,
> Winn'st from his fatal grasp the spear,
> And hid'st in wreaths of flowers his bloodless sword![1]

As his first editor was to remark in a review of Collins' poems in the eleventh volume of The Poetical Calendar, which appeared in November 1763, 'there is something perfectly classical in Mr Collins's manner, both with respect to his imagery and his composition',[2] and few readers would have found the distinction between the structure of a choral lyric from Greek tragedy and that of a Pindaric ode a very important one. Nevertheless, it remains true that in Collins the distinction between the stanzaic odes and those showing some form of triadic or antistrophic arrangement is not simply reducible, as it very largely is in Akenside, to the difference between individual classical influences like Pindar and Horace: the contrast, for example, between the obviously paired 'Ode to Pity' and 'Ode to Fear' is far less easily definable, drawing all the contrasting associations of 'sentimentalism' and the new interest in the gothic and the terrible into a formal contrast between

1 Lonsdale, pp. 554-5.

2 Review by John Langhorne, Monthly Review xxx (1764), 25.

the 'lesser' and the 'greater' ode. Collins, while frequently, as A.S.P. Woodhouse has remarked,[1] sounding more like Pindar than Akenside or even Gray, is nevertheless less overtly Pindaric, and it is significant that few if any of his contemporaries or their immediate successors place any emphasis on the relationship. The terms which Langhorne uses to discuss the effect of the odes are those familiar in the context of the popular Pindaric ideal - 'a luxuriance of imagination, a wild sublimity of fancy', an ode 'so extremely wild and exorbitant that it seems to have been written wholly during the tyranny of imagination'.[2] A more definite alignment would, however, have involved an underestimation of Collins's originality, and one of his earliest imitators, Richard Shepherd, would clearly have found it a negation of the elements which had for him had the strongest appeal. Talking of 'descriptive and allegorical' odes, he remarks that there are no examples among the Ancients:

> This Species of Writing is in almost every Circumstance different from the Pindarick Ode, which has its Foundation in Fact and Reality, that Fact worked up and heightened by a studied Pomp and Grandeur of Expression; it not only admits of, but requires bold Digressions, abrupt and hasty Transitions: while the other is built intirely upon Fancy, and Ease and Simplicity of Diction are its peculiar Characteristics.[3]

1 'The Poetry of Collins Reconsidered', From Sensibility to Romanticism: Essays presented to Frederick A. Pottle, ed. Frederick W. Hilles and Harold Bloom, London, 1965, p. 119.

2 Monthly Review xxx (1764), 24.

3 [Richard Shepherd], Odes Descriptive and Allegorical, [London], 1761, p. iv.

iii. West's Pindar

Since the publication of Cowley's impressions of the sense of two of Pindar's odes, the translations of Pindar which followed sporadically had gone largely unnoticed. It is symptomatic of the changing literary mood of the mid-eighteenth century that the volume which contained a selection of the odes translated by Gilbert West, according to the Dictionary of National Biography the son of the Richard West who had collaborated with Robert Welsted to produce the Oxford edition of Pindar, was greeted by many as a major literary event. West himself, as befitted one in whom 'the Christian, the scholar, and the gentleman were happily united',[1] rather played down the importance of the work, and in a letter to Philip Doddridge written on March 14, 1748, he declared:

> I know you will expect to hear something from me about the work [the Observations upon Celsus] which you recommended to me so earnestly, when I had the pleasure of seeing you at Northampton. At present, I can only say, that I intend to try what I can do upon that subject, with the assistance which you so kindly offered me, as soon as I have rid my hands of some papers, which have lain by me many years, and which I am now revising and preparing for the press: the Translations of some Odes of Pindar, and some other pieces, both in verse and prose, translated from the Greek: to all which will be prefixed a dissertation on the Olympic games, which yet wants something of being finished. Though I look upon these subjects as mere trifles in comparison with the other, yet I am sensible they have a weight, indeed too great a weight, in the opinion of the world.
>
> Hae nugae seria ducent
> In bona, laudatum semel, acceptumque benigne.
>
> Works of this kind sometimes gain a man a reputation and authority, which may serve him upon better and more useful subjects. You will not think I am either too vain or sanguine in my expectations, when I tell you, that these papers have passed their examination, and received the approbation of Mr Lyttelton, the best critic, the best friend, and the best man in this world.[2]

1 Philip Doddridge, Letters, ed. Thomas Stedman, Shrewsbury, 1790, p. 429n.

2 ibid., pp. 432-3.

Pope, whose own plan to translate 'an ode or two from Pindar, and so on' came to nothing,[1] seems to have taken some interest in West's project. Spence reports another remark which gives some indication of the length of time which did elapse between West's taking up of the task and his final preparation of it for the press: as early as 1736 Pope apparently told Spence that

> the works of Pindar that remain to us are by no means equal to his great character. His Dithyrambicks, which were his best things, are lost, and all that is left of his works being on the same subject is the more apt to be tiresome. This is what induced me to desire Mr West not to translate the whole, but only to choose out some of them.[2]

It seems likely, then, that West embarked upon his translation at least thirteen years before it was ready for publication. In fact only twelve of the odes are selected (Spence reports in December, 1748, that West had translated three or four others besides):[3] eight of these are Olympians, the others being the first Pythian, the first and eleventh Nemeans, and the second Isthmian. In addition to a translation of Horace, Odes iv. 4, and of Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris, the volume also contains translations from Lucian, Apollonius Rhodius, and Plato.

As far as the Pindar section is concerned, much the largest part of the undertaking is the 'Dissertation upon the Olympick Games' which runs to more than two hundred pages. The dissertation consists of seventeen

1 above, p. 210.

2 Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men, collected from Conversation, ed. J.M. Osborn, 2 vols, Oxford, 1966, i, 225.

3 ibid., i, 373.

sections, dealing with the origin of the games, their religious associations, and their constitution; with the different contests, each of which is accorded a section to itself; and with the contestants and their rewards. West concludes with a section 'Of the Utility of the Olympick Games', presenting the reader with a translation of a dialogue of Lucian on the benefits of gymnastic exercises and claiming a very high degree of social and political importance for the Games

> which, though they were for above a thousand Years so highly reverenced by the Grecians, and are so frequently alluded to by all the Greek, and by many Roman Authors, are yet but imperfectly known even to Men of Learning; and have never, that I know of, been placed in the Light in which I have considered them. A Light by which, I flatter myself, they will now appear to have been established upon great Political Views; to have had a considerable Influence upon the Manners and Morals of the Greeks, and consequently to deserve the Notice of all those, who, for the sake of Knowledge and Improvement, read the Writings and History of that great People, so abounding in Philosophers and Legislators.[1]

The 'Dissertation' is an impressive piece of scholarly work. Interest in the antiquities of Greece and Rome as opposed to their purely literary productions had been growing particularly fast since the beginning of the eighteenth century: travellers like Aaron Hill and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote accounts of their sojourns in the classical lands and the East, and West in his 'Dissertation' draws upon the writings of one of the first of those to explore and collect the relics of the classical past - Sir George Wheler (1650-1723) whose report of his travels in Greece and the Levant during 1675 and 1676 had been published towards the end of the preceding century.[2] Throughout the work West, acknowledging his debt to

1 Gilbert West, Odes of Pindar, with several other Pieces in Prose and Verse, translated from the Greek. To which is prefixed a Dissertation on the Olympick Games, 'Dissertation', p. ccv.

2 George Wheler and Jacob Spon, A Journey into Greece ... With variety of Sculptures, London, 1682.

Pierre du Faur (Petrus Faber) whose Agonisticon was a compilation of all the references he could find to the Greek games in the Greek and Roman authors,[1] makes thorough use of his ancient sources: Pausanias, Plutarch, and Pindar's scholiasts are the most recurrent, although information is gleaned from a wide selection of the classical poets, historians, and geographers. But concurrently with these West is making continual references to modern works such as Potter's Archaeologiae Graecae,[2] the works of le chevalier Jean-Charles de Folard, who had been inspired by reading Caesar into making reconstructions of ancient martial strategy, the series of articles on Greek athletics in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions by Pierre-Jean Burette,[3] and Charles Rollin's Histoire Ancienne.[4]

Most of the scholarship of West's book is concentrated upon the 'Dissertation'. For the text of the odes he used, as might be expected, the Oxford edition, and there is no evidence that he consulted any other works of recent Pindaric scholarship except for the essay by Claude Fraguier on 'Le Caractere de Pindare' and the section on Pindar in Basil Kennett's Lives of the Grecian Poets, to both of which he refers the reader in the 'Preface'. The one note which is closely parallel to Schmid's commentary,

1 Petrus Faber, Agonisticon: sive de re athletica, ludisque veterum gymnicis, musicis, atque circensibus, spicilegiorum tractatus (1598): reprinted in Jacobus Gronovius, Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum, 12 vols, Leyden, 1697-1702, viii, 1758-2286.

2 John Potter, Archaeologiae Graecae: or, the antiquities of Greece, 2 vols, Oxford, 1697-9.

3 'Sur la gymnastique des anciens', Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et de Belles-lettres i (1717), 89f.

4 Published in Paris, 13 vols, 1730-38: English translation, The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians, and Grecians, 11 vols, London, 1734-7.

that on the custom of passing the lyre around the table, had been reprinted more or less unchanged by the Oxford editors,[1] and it is clear from a note to the last ode translated, Isthmian 2, that West was content with the snippets of earlier Pindaric scholarship which were passed on through the Oxford commentary:

> We are told in the Latin Notes upon this Passage, that Aretius ... affirms, that there was a general Law in Greece, requiring all, who were able, to breed Horses ...[2]

Since the Oxford edition had only a vestigial Latin commentary of its own, West makes constant use of the scholia, 'older' and 'younger', both of which are printed complete by the Oxford editors; but although these are the source for most of his commentary, West also draws occasionally upon other ancient authors - historians, geographers, and sometimes poets - when they have some bearing upon the passage being translated. West's interests, as they appear in the notes, are very largely historical, and one of the longest of them, on Gelo's victory over the Carthaginians, had already been incorporated into the seventh volume of An Universal History, from the earliest account of time to the present: compiled from original authors, and illustrated with maps, cuts, notes, etc., a work which appeared, under multiple editorship, in twenty-three folio volumes between 1736 and 1765.[3]

1 'Juxta veterum morem lyram circumferentium et hospitibus offerentium, quam siquis ex imperitia recusasset, indictior habebatur.' (Oxon., p. 3): 'This it seems, was a Custom among the Ancients: At their Entertainments a Harp was carried round the Table, and presented to every Guest, which if any one refused out of Ignorance or Unskilfulness, he was looked upon as illiterate, or ill-bred.' (West, Pindar, pp. 5-6).

2 West, Pindar, p. 120.

3 ibid., pp. 85-92.

Metrically, West does try to produce some kind of equivalent in English for the structure of the odes, 'as far as the different Genius of the Greek and English versification would allow'. In all but three of the odes he retains the triadic structure of the Greek, labelling the stanzas strophe, antistrophe, and epode, and approximating them to the length of those in the original. For Olympian 14, printed by the Oxford editors, as by all before them, as μονοστροφικόν ('non quod unicam στροφήν habeat, ut scribit Lonicerus, sed solam sine ἀντιστροφῇ et ἐπῳδῷ, since in the metrical analyses of the scholia the two strophes do not respond),[1] West follows the same pattern, describing the ode as 'Monostrophaick': one may conclude from this that his knowledge of modern scholarship did not stretch to Dawes' Miscellanea Critica, in which, four years earlier, the responsion of the ode had been established. The two other exceptions are Olympian 7, translated into four-line 'Heroick Stanzas', and Pythian 1, which is translated into 'Decades'. West devotes a large section of his 'preface' to an explanation of 'the exact Regularity observed by Pindar in the structure of his Odes', and prints a long account of choric metre which had been communicated to him by 'a learned and Ingenious Friend.' This scholar (so far unidentified), quoting passages from the scholia on Hephaestion and from Marius Victorinus, is less impressed than Congreve had been with the notion that the triads somehow represent the motions of the heavenly bodies - Aristides Quintilianus, he reports, 'is full of the same Fooleries'. He does also, however, find in the scholia on Hephaestion the idea of the strophe and antistrophe as the 'larger Stanzas', the epode as the 'lesser'. Hitherto Pindarisers had

1 Oxon., p. 159.

certainly not formed any rules on the relative lengths of the parts of the triad: Congreve had written that in the epode the poet could make a fresh choice

> where, accordingly, he diversify'd his Numbers, as his Ear or Fancy led him; composing that Stanza of more or fewer Verses than the former, and those Verses of different Measures and Quantities ....[1]

West himself uses the same vague terms as does Congreve: there seems to be little evidence for believing that there was ever an accepted theory of the difference between strophe and epode, though in the artistry of a poet like Collins the epode has clearly evolved special characteristics of its own.

Already in Ambrose Philips' articles on Pindar in The Free-Thinker emphasis had been placed on the importance, for a true appreciation of the odes, of understanding the high regard in which the Games were held by the Greeks. Although West's 'Dissertation' stands by itself as an independent work of scholarship, it does of course in its original derive from the undertaking to translate Pindar. In his 'Preface' West notes as one of the 'Prejudices' unfavourable to a proper appreciation of Pindar the tendency, already well-documented, of those who know little of ancient history to 'think meanly of Odes, inscribed to a set of Conquerors, whom possibly they may look upon only as so many Prize Fighters and Jockeys', and the whole 'Dissertation' is explicitly intended to 'obviate this Prejudice'.[2] Philips had been content to point out that the honour in which the games, and victory in them,

1 William Congreve, 'A Discourse on the Pindarique Ode', Complete Works, ed. Montagu Summers, London, 1923, iv, 84.

2 Pindar, 'Preface'.

were held in Pindar's time did make these subjects worthy of his Muse. With West too this is a major line of argument; but his perception of the importance of the background and setting of the odes goes much further than this, containing, in fact, the elements of the approach which was to culminate after sixty years in the interpretative method of Boeckh's edition, the principle of relating as much as possible of Pindar's passages of metaphor and myth to historical facts and events.

West's solution to the problems posed by the opening of the first Nemean, for the victory of Chromius of Aetna in the chariot-race, provides a central illustration of his method. The scholia wonder why Pindar should mention Alpheus and Ortygia in the context of a victory won not at Olympia - the usual association with Alpheus - but at Nemea, and put forward several possible reasons, among them the suggestion that Ortygia was the place where Chromius reared his horses.[1] West, however, summarily rejects the profferred explanations, putting forward his own 'Conjecture' that Ortygia was probably the place where the chariots and horses of Chromius would first land on their return to Sicily, together with Pindar's dispatched ode:

> Pindar, therefore, by addressing himself to Ortygia, may be considered as saluting, by his Representative, the Ode or the Chorus, the Island of Sicily, immediately upon his Arrival, and beginning his Song of Triumph at the very Place, where in all Probability Chromius began his Triumphal Procession.[2]

The procession, like the ode, would have set out from Ortygia (δεῦτε δεύεσθ' ὕμνος ἁρμόζει) and gone on to Aetna (Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάρω). The cogency of the following passage is not wholly impaired by the very hypothetical nature of the details of West's argument:

1 Drachmann, N.i.Inscr.b.

2 Pindar, pp. 96-7.

> Upon this Supposition it is evident that many of the Topicks insisted on by Pindar, which seem to have but little Relation to his Subject, took their Rise from the Places, where the Ode was to be sung: An Observation which will help us to account for many of those long Digressions, and sudden Transitions, which have been censured by many, and have contributed to give a very ill Impression of Pindar, and his manner of Writing; as if he himself was little better than a Madman, and his Compositions mere Rhapsodies of shining Thoughts indeed, and Poetical Expressions, but wild and irregular, without Method, without Connexion. How far his Dithyrambick Odes may have deserved this Character, cannot now be determined, since they are all lost; but whoever reads that Part of his Works, which now remains, with due Attention, and takes into Consideration the Circumstances of Time and Place, &c. with a View to which these Odes were composed, will, I am perswaded, find no Reason to think Pindar wanted Good-sense, any morethan he did Poetical Fire and Imagination.[1]

'Mutatis mutandis', continues West, this kind of principle 'may and ought to be applied to most of the odes of Pindar': he himself uses a similar line of argument, based on the circumstances of the performance, to make his case for the authenticity of the fifth Olympian,[2] and to explain, in Olympian 14, the paucity of reference to Asopichus, for whose victory in the boys' foot-race it was composed. West recognises the ode, probably performed, in his opinion, in the temple of the Graces at Orchomenos while Asopichus made a thanksgiving sacrifice, as 'a kind of Hymn, or Thanksgiving Song':

> The not knowing, or not reflecting upon such Circumstances as these, as well as a thousand others, of Places, Times, and Persons, has, I am persuaded, caused Pindar to be charged more than he ought to have been, with Obscurity, digressing too long, and wandring too far from his Subject. I will not undertake to justify him in every Point. He had a great and warm Imagination, but it must be allowed at the same Time, that he was a Man of Sense.[3]

1 ibid.

2 pp. 40-1.

3 pp. 74-5.

The point is re-emphasised in the 'Preface' where it takes a position of central importance in West's version of the 'removal of Prejudices' which had for long preoccupied the admirers of Pindar. West follows Congreve in stressing not only the metrical regularity of the Odes but also the 'perpetual Coherence of his Thoughts'.

> Another Charge against Pindar relates to the supposed Wildness of his Imagination, his extravagant Digressions, and sudden Transitions ...[1]

Most of the arguments produced by West in Pindar's defence have been seen before. John Dennis, for example, would have agreed with him that 'whoever imagines the Victories and Praises of the Conquerors are the proper Subjects of the Odes inscribed to them, will find himself mistaken', and many, like Blondel, had earlier expressed the view that digressions arising from the circumstances of the victor's family, his country, or the games themselves, were necessary to fill out the material.[2] West's own comment, however, shows a quite new depth of sympathy with the sociological differences between Pindar's age and his own:

> So would it have been an Indecency unknown to the Civil Equality and Freedom, as well as to the Simplicity of the Age in which Pindar liv'd, to have filled a Poem intended to be sung in Publick, and even at the Altars of the Gods, with the Praises of one Man only ...[3]

In itself this picture of the mores of the ancient world harks back to the idealisation of it found in the Augustan satirists - in Swift, for example, in the third and fourth books of Gulliver's Travels - but

1 'Preface'.

2 ibid. Cf. above, p. 144.

3 'Preface'.

in this context, as an explanation of the vagaries of Pindar's encomiastic art, where φθονος is an ever-present threat, it represents a considerable advance in understanding.

The most strikingly new, and constructive, element in West's approach arguments is his insistence that the unifying principle of each ode lies in the occasion of its performance. One hundred and thirty years earlier Schmid had offered a system of analysis for the odes based on their encomiastic purpose, and now, after a period in which the 'Horatian' dictum of irregularity had held absolute sway, a new, and of course essentially reconcilable, solution is presented, with the emphasis not on the purpose but on the circumstances of the performance:

> Upon the whole, I am persuaded that whoever will consider the odes of Pindar with regard to the Manners and Customs of the Age in which they were written, the Occasions which gave Birth to them, and the Places in which they were intended to be recited, will find little Reason to censure Pindar for want of Order and Regularity in the Plans of the Compositions. On the contrary, perhaps, he will be inclined to admire him for raising so many Beauties from such Trivial Hints, and for kindling, as he sometimes does, so great a Flame from a single Spark, and with so little Fuel.[1]

Translating Pindar into English is, however, still in the province of 'polite Learning' rather than that of professional scholarship; and West's adherence to the critical tradition of the past decades already appears in the terminology of the last sentence of the preceding passage. His approach towards Pindar's style is explicitly Longinian:

> The very Faults imputed to him are no other than the Excesses of great and acknowledged Beauties, such as a poetical Imagination, a warm and enthusiastic Genius, a bold and figurative Expression, and a concise and sententious Stile. These are the characteristical Beauties of Pindar;

1 ibid.

> and to these his greatest Blemishes, generally speaking, are so near allied, that they have sometimes been mistaken for each other. I cannot however help observing, that he is so entirely free from anything like the far-fetched Thoughts, the witty Extravagances, and puerile Concetti of Mr Cowley and the rest of his Imitators, that I cannot recollect so much as even a single Antithesis in all his Odes.[1]

West continues with Longinus' view that such slips are in the end preferable to a 'constant tenour of Mediocrity'. Even so, like Cowley, he has to conclude with the admission that an English reader must take Pindar's greatness largely upon trust: what with his references to 'secret History', his unfamiliar allusions,

> and withal, such a Mixture of Mythology and Antiquity, ... I almost despair of their being relished by any, but those who have, if not a great deal of Classical Learning, yet somewhat at least of an antique and Classical Taste. Every Reader, however, may still find in Pindar something to make amends for the Loss of those Beauties, which have been set at too great a Distance, and in some Places worn off and obliterated by Time; namely, a great deal of Good-sense, many wise Reflections, and many moral Sentences, together with a due Regard to Religion; and from hence he may be able to form to himself some idea of Pindar as a Man, though he should be obliged to take his Character as a Poet from others.[2]

Unlike Schmid, West feels no need to reject Horace's description of the character of Pindar's writings,[3] and the predominantly traditional nature of his attitude to Pindar is underlined by his use of Horace, and of Pope in 'The Temple of Fame', as authorities on Pindar's greatness, 'the Testimonies of two great Poets, whose excellent Writings are sufficient Evidence both of their Taste and Judgment'.[4]

1 ibid. There is, inevitably, a recent dissertation to prove West wrong on his last point: G. Frener, Kontrast und Antithese bei Pindar, Diss. Innsbruck, 1969.

2 'Preface'.

3 cf. his reservation about the dithyrambs, p. 248 above.

4 West translates Horace and quotes Pope in the 'Preface'.

Dr Johnson, who took the trouble to check West's translation of the first Olympian against the Greek, found his expectation surpassed 'both by its elegance and its exactness', but felt also that West was sometimes 'too paraphrastical'.[1] There are moments, indeed, when West begins to sound very like Cowley. On the passage near the end of Olympian 11, for example,

> a vast and unexhausted store
> Of innate wisdom, whose prolific seeds
> Spring in each age. So nature's laws require:
> And the great laws of nature ne'er expire,

West's self-defence closely echoes Cowley's 'it was necessary to enlarge it':

> But how beautiful, or rather how excusable soever such a Conciseness may appear in the Greek Language; I was afraid the literal Translation of this Passage would seem too harsh and abrupt to an English Reader, and for that Reason have endeavoured to draw out and open the Sense of Pindar ... a Liberty which a Translator of this Author must sometimes take with him, if he would render his Translation intelligible, or at least palatable to the generality of Readers.[2]

Generally speaking, West's translation is very readable but rarely remarkable. Meticulous scholarship is as much an aim as elegance. In the first Nemean, for example, West's first version of 11.19-24 ran:

> To Chromius once a welcome Guest
> I came, high sounding my Dircaean Chord,
> Who for his Poet strait prepar'd the Feast:

while in the final version he substitutes

> To Chromius no unwelcome Guest
> I come, etc.

1 Johnson, Lives of the English Poets, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, 3 vols, Oxford, 1905, iii, 331.

2 West, Pindar, p. 67.

The accompanying note runs to eight columns. The past tense (ἔστιν) had originally suggested to West that the passage referred to Pindar himself, and to a previous visit to Sicily: reflection, however, disposed him to understand it of the chorus as Pindar's representative, and to treat as a poetic liberty the 'Enallage of the Tense' -- 'no uncommon thing in Poets, and very frequent in Pindar.'[1] West's main stylistic fault is the fault of his age, a tendency to unnecessary adjectival verbiage which effectively smothers any modulations in tone. At times this can become a virtue, and in a passage like the description of the Isles of the Blessed in Olympian 2 the effect of the conventional diction is not unpleasing:

> They through the starry Paths of Jove
> To Saturn's blissful Seat remove:
> Where fragrant Breezes, vernal Airs,
> Sweet Children of the Main,
> Purge the blest Island from corroding Cares,
> And fan the Bosom of each verdant Plain:
> Whose fertile Soil immortal Fruitage bears;
> Trees, from whose flaming Branches flow,
> Array'd in golden Bloom refulgent Beams;
> And Flow'rs of golden Hue, that blow
> On the fresh Borders of their Parent Streams.[2]

One would, however, allow any amount of manufactured antitheses and 'puerile Concetti' to avoid the clumsiness of, for example, Tantalus:

> Now vainly lab'ring with incessant Pains
> Th'impending Rock's expected Fall to shun,
> The fourth distressful Instance he remains
> Of wretched Man by impious Pride undone.[3]

1 ibid., pp. 99-102.

2 ibid., p. 29.

3 ibid., p. 10.

We have West's own evidence that Lyttelton approved of his Pindaric translations. On June 17th, 1749, in another letter to Philip Doddridge, West is already 'glad to find, that what you have read of my book hath met with your approbation'.[1] Also in 1749, Joseph Warton is extravagant in its praise:

> Albion rejoice! thy Sons a Voice divine have heard,
> The Man of Thebes hath in thy Vales appear'd!
> Hark! with fresh Rage and undiminished Fire,
> The sweet Enthusiast smites the British lyre ...[2]

Outside this friendly circle, however, West's translations of the odes were to meet with more guarded comment. Only a month after the appearance of the volume Horace Walpole writes to George Montagu that

> now I talk to you of authors, Lord Cobham's West has published his translation of Pindar: the poetry is very stiff, but prefixed to it there is a very entertaining account of the Olympic Games ...[3]

Johnson's carefully balanced views have already been noticed, and Edward Gibbon produced the interesting judgment - sound as far as West at least is concerned - that

> West has learning, good sense, and a tolerable style of versification; but Gray and Dryden alone should have translated the Odes of Pindar, and they did much better than translate.[4]

1 West to Doddridge, 17 June 1749: Doddridge, Letters, p. 443.

2 Joseph Warton, An Ode, occasioned by Reading Mr West's Translation of Pindar, London, 1749, 1-4.

3 Walpole to Montagu, 18 May 1749: Walpole, Correspondence with Montagu, ed W.S. Lewis and R.S. Brown, Yale, 1941, i, 84.

4 Gibbon, 'Notes on the Various Editions of the Greek and Roman Classics', Miscellaneous Works with Memoirs of his Life and Writings, ed. John, Lord Sheffield, second edition, 5 vols, London, 1814, v, 585.

iv. Gray's Pindar

Parallel in importance with the publication of Gilbert West's translations is the appearance in August, 1757, of Thomas Gray's Odes, printed at Horace Walpole's new Strawberry Hill press, and published, as had been the Odes of Akenside and West's Pindar, by Dodsley. D.M. Robinson asserts, apparently without evidence, that West's 'translation of Pindar in strophes ... fell into the hands of Gray',[1] but although it is tempting to assume some causal connection between the first large-scale translation of Pindar and the composition of the two best-known Pindaric odes in English, the evidence suggests that any influence was negligible. In the one passage of Pindar common to both, the description of the powers of music from the first Pythian, it would be difficult to make out a convincing case for West's influence upon Gray. West translates:

> Then, of their streaming Lightnings all disarm'd,
> The smould'ring Thunderbolts of Jove expire:
> Then, by the Musick of thy Numbers charm'd,
> The Birds fierce Monarch drops his vengeful Ire;
> Perch'd on the Sceptre of th'Olympian King,
> The thrilling Darts of Harmony he feels;
> And indolently hangs his rapid Wing,
> While gentle Sleep his closing Eyelid seals;
> And o'er his heaving Limbs in loose Array
> To ev'ry balmy Gale the ruffling Feathers play.[2]

In Gray the passage, described by him as 'a weak imitation of some incomparable lines in the Greek', becomes:

> Perching on the sceptred hand
> Of Jove, thy magic lulls the feather'd king
> With ruffled plumes, and flagging wing:
> Quench'd in dark clouds of slumber lie
> The terror of his beak, and lightnings of his eye.[3]

1 D.M. Robinson, Pindar, a Poet of Eternal Ideas, Baltimore, 1936, p. 18.

2 Pindar, p. 80.

3 'The Progress of Poesy' 20-24.

While noting the verbal similarities in these two versions, one must bear in mind that Gray is, in fact, often closer to the Greek, for example in suggesting the κελαινῶπιν νεφέλαν and the δροσόλῳ κραδίᾳ, both omitted by West. An interesting judgment is made by one of Gray's most sympathetic reviewers, who, quoting both passages, remarks:

> Were I to attempt a decision upon these two passages, I should perhaps give the preference to the former; it is a picture by Raphael, it has all the softer graces ... tho' perhaps Mr Gray's lines have more of the closeness of the original.[1]

The same passage had already, as has been seen, been translated by Walter Harte and imitated by Akenside and Collins.[2]

Apart from the evidence of the poems themselves, we know from external sources that Gray's concentrated study of Pindar ante-dated the appearance of West's translation by some two years. In a letter to Thomas Wharton dated 17 March 1747, Gray writes that 'I am now in Pindar and Lysias: for I take Verse and Prose together, like Bread and Cheese.'[3] Gray's manuscript notes on Pindar, dated 20 March 1747, are preserved in the British Museum in a notebook which also contains notes made of Aristophanes three months later.[4] The notes, which unlike those on

1 The Literary Magazine, or Universal Review ii, no. 18 (Sept.-Oct.1756), p. 422. (Arthur Sherbo attributes this review to Arthur Murphy, and includes it in New Essays of Arthur Murphy, Michigan, 1963, pp. 145-56.) A contrasting view is found in William Mason's note on the two passages in his edition of Gray's Poems, to which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life and Writings, London and York, 1775, p. 87: Mason favours the 'superior energy' of Gray's version, and remarks that in West's 'if we except the second line, we find no imagery or expression of the lyrical cast. The rest are loaded with unnecessary epithets, and would better suit the tamer tones of Elegy.'

2 above, pp. 212, 234, 238.

3 The Correspondence of Thomas Gray, ed. Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley, corrected by H.W. Starr, 3 vols., Oxford, 1971, i, 277.

4 See Appendix C . The notes on Aristophanes were printed by T.J. Mathias, in his edition of Gray's Works, 2 vols., London, 1814, ii, 132f.

Aristophanes have never been printed, have been described in some detail by William Powell Jones, but, finding the Aristophanes notes 'of little value except for the portrayal of Gray's mental habits', he considers that the notes on Pindar 'would be no exception, if Gray had not chosen the ancient poet as his model for his two later odes ... As it is ... here is the real beginning of the 1757 Odes, both in technique and in ideas.'[1] The natural consequence of viewing the notes retrospectively through poems written several years later is a distortion of emphasis, and an examination of them shows that although they are not very copious they do in their own right throw an interesting sidelight on the scholarly pre-occupations of the time.

The notes fall into three sections. In the first, Gray works through the odes copying out excerpts without translating - rather in the manner so scorned by Charles Perrault - and making background notes on some passages. The second section is headed 'Difficulties', and the third contains an analysis of Pindar's metre. Of this last section little need be said, except as an illustration of how far astray one can be led by ignoring contemporary aids to eighteenth century scholarship. Powell-Jones is impressed, as one well might be, with Gray's command of recondite metrical vocabulary:

> He has thoroughly analysed some of the odes, listing 28 sorts of feet with examples. He has named and described every conceivable combination, making in all '4 Disyllabic, 8 Trisyllabic, 16 of 4 Syllables' and including such familiar names as trochee, dactyl, and anapaest, alongside many others never used in English verse except as a tour de force ... Whether original with Gray or not, this shows an early interest in versification, one of his chief studies about ten years later.[2]

1 Thomas Gray, Scholar, Harvard, 1937, pp. 63-4.

2 ibid., pp. 64-5.

Gray's achievement becomes considerably less remarkable when it is realised that his list of the '28 sorts of Feet', together with the examples, and the analysis of the metre of the strophe of the first Olympian, are taken directly from the metrical scholia printed on the two pages immediately preceding the first Olympian in the Oxford edition. Gray does in fact have an original contribution, since, not resting content with the specific names given to each line by the scholiast, he analyses them back into their constituent feet. Though one can see that this process may have cleared the matter in Gray's own mind, it is not one which can be held to have advanced metrical science much further. The section on metre is, somewhat oddly, finished off with a résumé of the rules, based on Hephaestion, for iambic and trochaic trimeters and the dactylic hexameter.

In the other sections as well, Gray's main sources of comment and information are the scholia, virtually the only commentary on matters other than textual in the Oxford edition. The notes in the first section are largely on points of historical or mythological background, and like those on metre show a curious tendency to tabulate detail rather than to provide elucidatory information. Gray translates in its entirety the scholiast's list of the victories of Diagoras of Rhodes, recipient of the seventh Olympian, and gives a list of the Argonauts, from the text of Pythian 4. His special interest in genealogy is shown by the table drawn up of the 'History and Descent of the Iamidae', and the reference to the scholiast's genealogy of Theron: the five pages immediately preceding the Pindar section in the notebook are taken up with eleven detailed genealogies of the kings of the Greek states. On the second Olympian, the scholiast is again the source of the story from Timaeus of the quarrel and reconciliation of Hiero and Theron, but in the long note on Pindar's 'particular Respect for Rhea' Gray refers to Pausanias's

description of her temple (Paus. 9.25.3), as well as to the scholiast's note. The second leaf of the notes, the 'difficulties', deals with miscellaneous points, most of which also arise from the scholia. Several of the problems are merely quoted, and left without elaboration: presumably what Gray intends in these rather cryptic notes is a reference to the discussion in the scholia on each place. Elsewhere, however, it is clear that Gray's attitude towards the ancient commentators is one of scholarly caution, for example in the note on the two methods of divination used by the Iamidae in the sixth Olympian, and in that on Ἕλλάδ' ἐξέλκων in Pythian 1.

From the general tenor of the notes Gray's interests are seen to centre on points of history and chronology, and this is hardly surprising, since we learn from a letter written to Wharton three months earlier that

> we have made a great Chronological Table with our own Hands, the wonder and amazement of Mr Brown ... it begins at the 30th Olympiad, and is already brought down to the 113th; that is, 332 Years. our only Modern Assistants, are Marsham, Dodwell, and Bentley.[1]

For one of his notes Gray perhaps deserves recognition from modern editors, since he is apparently the first to question the scholiast's assignation of Hiero's victory celebrated in Olympian 1 to the seventy-third Olympiad, or 488 B.C. It is worth noting that Gilbert West does not question the scholiast's dating, although conscious of the difficulty:

1 Gray to Wharton, December 1746, Correspondence, i, 259-60. James Brown (1709-84), vicar of Shepreth, Cambs., was a Cambridge friend of Gray's, later to become Master of Pembroke and Vice-Chancellor (see Gray, Correspondence, i, 222-3n.)

> Hiero, in this Ode is more than once styled king; and yet we are left in the dark as to the City or People, over which he reigned at this Time: all we know is, that it could not be the city of Syracuse, notwithstanding he chose to denominate himself of that City when he entered himself a Candidate for the Olympick Crown, for he did not come to the Crown of Syracuse till after the Death of his Brother Gelo, which happened in the 75th Olympiad, many Years after the Date of the Victory here celebrated by Pindar.[1]

The same kind of preoccupation with historical detail is shown by Gray in the last of his dates, 468 B.C.) and in the note on the 'blunders' of the scholia over the references in the first Pythian to the Persian Wars. The part of Amphiaraus in the myth in Pythian 8 remains a puzzle to Gray. It is interesting to note that although most commentators speak without explanation or discussion of 'the dead Amphiaraus' (Fennell), 'the soul of Amphiaraus' (Gildersleeve), 'the buried Amphiaraus' (Farnell),[2] Schmid had a characteristically individual interpretation. For him, Amphiaraus 'ὦ δ'ἔμπα non tempore ἐπιγόνων in secunda expeditione, sed tempore Πολυνείκους καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων in prima.' Amphiaraus foresaw that after this first unhappy venture the sons would make another, more successful, expedition:

> Ideoque τὸ ἰδὼν in praecedentibus pro πρεσὼν exponendum erit, quum praevidisset, vi occulta μαντικῆ. Rursus ὁπόταν ἥμενον, non ad ἰδὼν aut ἡνίξατο, sed ad παρμένοντας ἀλκᾷ referendum erit, Lonicerus ἐξόδου πειρᾶν esse censet. Sed verius Vaticinium in prima expeditione, antequam à terra absorberetur, editum dicemus.[3]

1 Pindar, p. 17.

2 Gildersleeve, The Olympian and Pythian Odes, New York, 1885, p. 326; Farnell, Works of Pindar, 3 vols., London, 1930-32, ii, 195; C.A.M. Fennell, Olympian and Pythian Odes, Cambridge, 1893, p. 224. Cf. F. Mezger, Pindars Siegeslieder, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 404-5: 'der Geist des Amphiaraos steigt aus der Unterwelt empor'.

3 Schmid, Pythia, p. 303. This interpretation is rejected on syntactical grounds by Boeckh, ii, 2. 312: 'quamquam ἰδὼν potest Amphiaraus esse procul videns et animo, tamen παρμένοντας ἀλκᾷ ne erit Sph. vix credierim de futuris esse, quae Amphiaraus viderit.'

Gray's especial interest in relating the Syracusan odes to their historical context is shown also by the note on the difficulties over the Ixion myth and the κολὸς πόθεν passage from the second Pythian, of which Burton writes that 'the problems raised by this poem will probably never be solved.'[1]

There is ample evidence here to show that Gray was meticulously attempting to come to grips with the difficult and seemingly inexplicable in Pindar, and that he was fully attuned to seeing the poet in his historical background, as a court poet of the fifth century B.C. It is correspondingly disappointing to see how rarely he allows himself an appreciative or evaluative comment like that on the reposing eagle of the first Pythian, later adapted for 'The Progress of Poesy'. The only other comparable remarks are those on the infancy of Achilles in Nemean 3, according to Gray 'nobly described', and on the description of the expedition of the Argonauts in Pythian 4: most of the excerpts copied into the notebook are presented without comment. The passages Gray selects do, however, show an appreciation of a wide variety of styles. One other note to 'The Progress of Poesy' points out a specific debt to Pindar, giving the source from the second Olympian of the characterisation of Pindar as 'the Theban Eagle'. In the notebook the passage, which provides the epigraph for Gray's own Odes, is copied out in full: to Gray, as to earlier writers, the esotericism expressed in these lines is clearly central to Pindar's character. Several of the passages selected, in addition to those already mentioned, are descriptive, such as the full moon from Olympian 3, and the arrival of Jason from the mountains into the forum of Iolcos from Pythian 4. The two gnomic sayings selected, from the first and the

1 R.W.B. Burton, Pindar's Pythian Odes, p. 111.

seventh Nemean odes, are perhaps unexpected choices, but the same interest in Pindaric 'wisdom' is shown in the first excerpt, part of the speech of Pelops to Poseidon in Olympian 1, renouncing inglorious old age. The last quotation, the third strophe of Nemean 8, is in some ways perhaps the most interesting selection of all, and provides a striking contrast to the heroic sentiments of the first: here Gray is seen to have marked out among his favourite passages in Pindar one which approaches much closer to the tone of the Elegy, which may have been in progress around this time,[1] than to the traditional idea of the Pindaric.

Gray's Odes were eventually published in August 1757: the first, 'The Progress of Poesy', had been finished in 1754, but 'The Bard' was not completed until the summer of 1757. In this first printing 'The Progress of Poesy', originally entitled 'Ode in the Greek Manner', was called simply 'Ode', and it was not until 1768 that it was given officially described as 'a Pindaric Ode'.[2] Almost exactly a century earlier Cowley had felt that he could best communicate his impression of Pindar's manner by imitating it, and his Pindarique Odes are, in intention at least, his most definitive statement of his view of Pindar, or of what Pindar would have been in seventeenth century England. The influence of Gray's odes on the popular idea of Pindar and the Pindaric was to be just as strong, and it was accepted then, as now, that Gray wrote his odes 'making a more careful attempt than his predecessors had done, exactly to follow Pindar.'[3] William Mason, on being shown part of the still unfinished 'Poesy' ode, thought, while fearing that the public

1 For the dating of the beginning of the Elegy, see Lonsdale, pp. 103-10.

2 Lonsdale, pp. 156-7.

3 Lord David Cecil, 'The Poetry of Thomas Gray', Eighteenth Century English Literature, ed. J.L. Clifford, Oxford, 1959, p. 242.

would not receive it well, that 'it breathed the very spirit of Pindar',[1] and Horace Walpole speaks, a few days before their publication, of 'two amazing odes of Mr. Gray -- they are Greek, they are Pindaric, they are sublime.'[2] It is the intention to imitate which draws from Goldsmith, in his review of the Odes, an almost moral castigation of the misdirection of Gray's genius. On 'the generality of readers' this publication, 'designed for those who have formed their taste by the models of antiquity', will be lost: 'an English Poet . . . could produce a more luxuriant bloom of flowers, by cultivating such as are natives of the soil, than by endeavouring to force the exotics of another climate.'[3]

The most obvious manifestation of Gray's scholarly intentions in the Odes is his observance of the triadic structure. As has been seen, this was not an innovation, but Gray's desire to make the poems genuinely Pindaric in this respect is underlined by his use in manuscript of the terms Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode, as well as by the passage in a letter to Wharton dated March 9, 1755, where he invokes Pindar's authority for his own ideas on the suitable length for the stanzas:

> I am not quite of your opinion with regard to Strophe & Antistrophe. setting aside the difficulties, methinks it has little or no effect upon the ear, wch scarce perceives the regular return of Metres at so great a distance from one another. to make it succeed, I am persuaded the Stanza's must not consist of above 9 lines each at the most. Pindar has several such Odes.[4]

1 Mason, Memoirs, p. 145n.

2 Walpole to Horace Mann, 4 August 1757: The Correspondence of Horace Walpole, ed. W.S. Lewis and others, in progress, New Haven, 1937 - , xxi, 120.

3 Review of Odes in Monthly Review, September 1757: Collected Works, ed. Arthur Friedman, 5 vols., Oxford, 1966, i, 112-3.

4 Gray, Correspondence, i, 420-1.

We have Mason's evidence that Gray strongly disliked 'that chain of irregular stanzas which Cowley introduced, and falsely called Pindaric; and which from the extreme facility of execution produced a number of miserable imitators.'[1] There is certainly nothing facile about Gray's carefully structured triads, with the epode, in 'The Progress of Poesy' at least, forming a lyrical contrast to the more settled pace of the strophe and antistrophe, but it would be difficult to maintain a case for a more detailed imitation of Pindar's metrical patterns. Beyond the recognition of the triadic form, Gray's understanding of Pindaric metre amounted to nothing more than a mechanical computation of long and short syllables, and he was no more competent than any of his contemporaries or predecessors to suggest an English approximation to the lyric lines of the Greek.

The two odes published together in 1757, with two and a half years between their dates of completion, are in most other respects so unlike that it is difficult to see what other common features the term 'Pindaric' is meant to imply. At the most general level, both poems deal with art and history, and bearing in mind what Pindar meant to Akenside and to Warton, one can see in both something of the same libertarian spirit: but such connections as these probably owe more to Gray's poetic interests than to his concept of Pindar. The style in both is partly imitative of the subject, so that in places 'The Progress of Poesy' owes more to Milton or Dryden than to Pindar, and the style of 'The Bard' may be influenced by Gray's knowledge of Welsh prosody, an influence pointed out in Gray's own note on the 'double cadence' of the fifteenth line of the epode. In 'The Progress of Poesy' there is,

1 Memoirs, p. 233n.

of course, more than the metrical form to show that Gray was concerned to reproduce the authentic manner of Pindar - the acknowledged borrowings such as the invocation to the Aeolian lyre, and the whole of the first antistrophe, the gnomic passages (expressed with a very un-Pindaric diffuseness), and the abrupt transitions:

> But ah! 'tis heard no more -
> Oh! lyre divine, what daring spirit
> Wakes thee now?

Passages like the third antistrophe, on Milton and Dryden, have the compression and elevation which had for long been seen as essential ingredients of the Pindaric style, although here owing more to Milton; but the style is as varied as Gray must have realised, after his intensive study of Pindar, his model's own style to be. In 'The Bard' there is less of what one reviewer described as 'the charming variety and sweetness of versification, the τὰ τερπνὰ καὶ τὰ γλυκέα of Pindar': the later poem isolates the other side of the Pindaric, 'the fire, the wildness, and enthusiasm',[1] The poem epitomises the eighteenth century concept of the sublime, with its prophecy, the setting among the mountain crags, the hoary wild-eyed bard, and the throngs of spirits. 'The Bard' is the focal point of the identification of the Pindaric with the sublime. The reviewer in the Critical Review launches into an extravaganza of Longinian terminology:

> What follows is all enthusiasm, exstasy, and prophetic fury, that alarms, amazes, and transports the reader ... The woes that attended Edward's descendants, are introduced in such a manner, as to excite surprise, terror, and admiration; and seem to be written in the true strain of an inspired sybil. A reader of sensibility can hardly help shuddering, when he reads the following antistrophe on the fate of Edward II . . .[2]

1 Critical Review, iv (1757), 167. . The reviewer was thought by Gray and by others to be Thomas Francklin, Greek Professor at Cambridge, but this was denied in a later number.

2 ibid., p. 169.

Contemporary reaction to the Odes was largely preoccupied with their alleged obscurity; and not surprisingly this was felt to be the natural result of a close imitation of Pindar. Walpole remarks a few days before their publication that the odes 'are Pindaric ... consequently I fear a little obscure',[1] and the reviewer quoted above feels that

> perhaps [Gray] has imitated [Pindar] too closely, in affecting an obscurity of transition. Though even this obscurity affords a kind of mysterious veil, which gives a venerable and classical air to the performance.[2]

It is clear from his choice of epigraphy that to Gray himself 'difficulty' was an important feature of his Pindaric poems: as the Literary Magazine reviewer writes, 'From the reception which the odes now before us, have met with from the generality of readers, it evidently appears that the two Greek words from Pindar were selected with great propriety, and a kind of fore-knowledge that these little compositions would be caviar to the multitude.'[3] Although Gray was certainly not prepared for the degree of incomprehension with which they were greeted, a letter written to Walpole several years earlier, while 'The Progress of Poesy' was still in the process of composition, shows how consciously he made the connection between Pindar and esotericism. Gray speaks of a possible contribution for Dodsley's next anthology,

> an ode to his own tooth, a high Pindarick upon stilts, which one must be a better scholar than he is to understand

1 Walpole, Correspondence, xxi, 120.

2 Critical Review, iv (1757), 167.

3 New Essays by Arthur Murphy, p. 144.

> a line of, and the very best scholars will understand but a little matter here and there.[1]

Although Gray seems to have consented only reluctantly to the provision of the explanatory notes which accompany the odes in the 1768 edition of his poems, it is probably this feature which, together with the triadic form, represented to him the guiding characteristic of the Pindaric style. Pindar's allusiveness had long been seen as one of the major obstacles in the way of a modern reader of the odes in the original or in a literal translation; and to Gray as well as to his readers this would naturally transmute itself into the rather riddling character of several passages in 'The Progress of Poesy' and 'The Bard'. In the later poem, indeed, a significant association emerges from the conscious use of enigma as a prophetic as well as a Pindaric device.

The distinct development between the two poems in this as in other respects may be generalised as a movement from an attempt to legitimise the old Pindaric ode by replacing the traditional wildness and irregularity with the symmetry of structure and variety of style which Gray himself had found in Pindar, towards a kind of poetry in which Pindar has again become primarily an imaginative symbol, defined less by his own writings than by associations - with primitive poetry, with the prophetic and the sublime. Taking both odes together, Goldsmith remarks that they are

> in some measure, a representation of what Pindar now appears to be, though perhaps, not what he appeared to the States of Greece, when they rivalled each other in his applause, and when Pan himself was seen dancing to his melody.[2]

1 Gray to Walpole, July 1752: Correspondence, i, 364.

2 Works, i, 114.

The truth of Goldsmith's judgment here is hardly more arresting than the derivative manner in which it is expressed, and his words point the way to a wider judgment on the discrepancy between Gray's representation of 'the Pindaric' and the first-hand knowledge of Pindar which would have enabled him to query in turn the depth of Goldsmith's characterisation. Although in part Gray bases his Pindaric manner, and especially the difficulty of it, on the soundest authority, the most striking aspect of his approach is its conventionality. His self-deflatory use of the phrase 'a high Pindarick upon stilts' inevitably aligns him with the earlier Pindaric tradition, and in some passages in 'The Progress of Poesy' he is simply - and surely deliberately - immortalising the old Horatian commonplaces.[1] Two examples stand out: the passage on Pindaric style,

> Now the rich stream of music winds along
> Deep, majestic, smooth and strong,
> Through verdant vales and Ceres' golden reign:
> Now rolling down the steep amain,
> Headlong, impetuous, see it pour:
> The rocks and nodding groves rebellow to the roar:

and the passage on his own relationship to Pindar:

> Though he inherit
> Nor the pride nor ample pinion,
> That the Theban eagle bear
> Sailing with supreme dominion
> Through the azure deep of air.

The particular importance of 'The Bard' in this respect is that it crystallises emerging aesthetic preoccupations, for example with Celtic

1 This is illustrated by the important review, already quoted, in the Literary Magazine, where Murphy, if it be he, points out one Horatian parallel and cites Boileau's couplet on 'beau desordre', and the passage (above, p. 198) describing a 'Pindarick poet', ascribed to Mr Hughes. (New Essays by Arthur Murphy, pp. 150, 148, 153-4).

literature and mythology, and projects them in association with Pindar into the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Gray knew Pindar: he knew the special nature of his subject matter in the extant odes and the variety of his style. It is significant that when he came to write his own 'Pindaric odes' he kept so close to a tradition which had been founded on vague or second-hand impressions. The historical interest and scholarly discretion of the 1747 Pindar notes seem irreconcilable with the wholesale acceptance in the 1757 odes of the well-worn tradition of the Pindaric as an elaborate convention of wildness, darkness, and obscurity. The new antiquarianism, and the developing historical sense in classical scholarship, meant that the days of a form based on the idea of Pindar as an untutored prophet, dark and sublime, were numbered, and Gray, while perpetuating the myth in a slightly modified form, seems in his own work to have epitomised this incompatibility.

CHAPTER VI

TOWARDS THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

i. Major Developments in Pindaric scholarship

The crowning work of eighteenth century Pindaric scholarship is Heyne's three volume edition of the epinician odes and fragments, published in the last three years of the century, and comprising an improved text with a copious apparatus criticus, explanatory notes, a Latin translation, indices of words and of proper names, the scholia, and, most importantly, a commentatio de metris Pindari by Gottfried Hermann, then in his mid-twenties.[1] Heyne's edition, with its retention of the traditional colometry and its somewhat unscientific approach to the text and manuscript tradition, was to become outdated within a few years, with the publication, between 1811 and 1821, of the great edition on which Boeckh and Dissen collaborated, but much of the groundwork for the great advances in Pindaric scholarship represented by the work of Boeckh had already been laid, in several more or less unnoticed works which appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century. The contribution of these works can most fruitfully be considered under the headings of text, metre, and interpretation.

a. Text.

A gap of nearly eighty years lies between the publication of the Oxford edition of Pindar and the next original edition, Heyne's first

1 Pindari carmina et fragmenta cum lectionis varietate et annotationibus, 3 vols., Gottingen, 1797-9.

attempt at editing Pindar, published in 1773.[1] The Oxford edition, much reprinted during the eighteenth century in England, had also, as has been seen, been much criticised: Richard Dawes had exposed many of its very serious textual failings, and it suffered also, more indirectly, from the Notae of 'that arrogant scholar of Utrecht', Jan Cornelius de Pauw, who, with a uniquely unenchanting blend of acrimony and acumen, points out the weaknesses of earlier editors, in particular Schmid - characterised from time to time as 'bonus Schmidius' or 'syllabarum mensor'.[2] Pauw brings nothing new to the study of the text of Pindar beyond common sense and, like Schmid himself, a concern with metre; but his notes do clear up several confusions, particularly those arising from Schmid's less successful metrically-based emendations. Both Dawes and Pauw had approached Pindar's text through a study of Pindaric metre: Pauw, primarily concerned with Schmid's text, does occasionally refer to variant readings in the editions, but makes no attempt to distinguish the relative authority of, for example, the Aldine and Roman editions. It had long been recognised that the Oxford editors were highly incompetent in their handling of manuscript evidence, but criticism of their approach remains very much on the level of common sense rather than science, and no other manuscripts are collated by their critics. Heyne, in his first edition of 1773, had originally had it as his modest intention to produce a revision of the Oxford text in the light of Pauw's notes, but the work grew under his hands as he realised the inadequancies of the Bodleian collation and of Schmid's attitude to earlier editors. Eventually, he

1 Pindari carmina cum lectionis varietate, Gottingen, 1773.

2 Pauw, Notae in Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia, Utrecht, 1747.

claims, he had all the important printed editions to hand, and he does, as his claim suggests, attempt to discriminate among them. It is not until 1864 that the first serious attempt was made - by Tycho Mommsen - to establish the manuscript basis of the Aldine and the Roman editions, but Heyne in 1773 already recognises the composite nature of the Aldine text, to which he pays special attention 'cum eum a nemine viderem curiose satis in partes vocatum':

> In Olympiis Aldus codicem recentem habuisse videtur, qui ad dialectum vulgarem plurime inflexisset et mutasset. Longe meliorem librum expressit in Pythiis et in Nemeis: alium, eumque satis corruptum, in Isthmiis. [1]

Heyne's preface gives evidence of a real and growing interest in problems of textual tradition with regard not only to the printed editions but also to the forty or so manuscripts which Heyne has found recorded - surprisingly few, he feels, and mostly dating only from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Although he does no manuscript collation of his own, he gives a good deal of attention to the manuscript evidence provided by Schmid and by West and Welsted; and for the Nemeans and Isthmians, not included in any manuscript so far collated, he is particularly careful in his examination of the Aldine and Roman editions. No amount of interest, however, could take the place of examination of the manuscripts themselves, and Heyne perhaps marks an advance in textual criticism only in the importance he attaches to the authority of a manuscript or an edition. His specific judgments are all purely intuitive and nearly always wrong: of Schmid's Pal.C, for example, dated by Irigoin to the first half of the fourteenth century, probably earlier than 1325, Heyne remarks that 'cum Aldino

1 Heyne (1773), p.ix.

exemplari adeo conspirat, ut interdum dubitaverim an inde transcriptus esset'.[1]

If Heyne's intuition lets him down over the genealogy of editions, however, it is a source of considerable light in the text itself at all points where experience of and feeling for the Greek are required. His aim in this edition is simply to provide an improved text, and again and again his perceptiveness leads him to the removal of some generally accepted anomaly of text or interpretation. Herder, reviewing the edition, soon after its appearance, in the Wandsbecker Bote, commends Heyne, unironically if sadly, for his contribution:

> Was aber diese Edition zur Crone aller übrigen macht, ist insonderheit das trefliche Licht, so Hr. H. durch die Hinwegräuming, oder Veränderung, oder Hinzusetzung der Unterscheidungszeichen über viel dunkle und verworrene Örter seines Autors ausgegossen hat.[2]

Herder expresses understandable disappointment over Heyne's concentration on textual matters to the exclusion of any more general commentary or interpretation: Heyne's Pindar may be very useful for the student whose teacher can supply a historical and mythological commentary, but the amateur who attempts Pindar on his own is likely to become quickly discouraged:

> Wenn aber nun der Liebhaber, der auch diesen Schatz gebrauchen, nicht mehr über den P. hören, sondern ihn lesen will, wenn der Trost in den Noten sucht, aber statt Real-Erläuterungen zu finden, sich immer Varianten aufgetischt sieht, die ihn schlecht sättigen! und den einmal mit unter Worterklärungen! und den immer wieder Varianten! und immer Varianten! - Wer kanns ihm verdenken, das er scheele Augen dazu macht?[3]

1 ibid. The remark is, of course, very ambiguous, but Heyne regularly uses 'exemplar' to mean simply 'edition'. Cf. Irigoin, Histoire du texte, p. 232.

2 Herder, Sämmtliche Werke, ed. Bernhard Suphan, 33 vols, Berlin, 1877-1913, xxxiii, 210.

3 ibid., p. 212.

But as Herder also notes, the critical dryness of textual variants is often interrupted: 'fast überall ist die Dürre der Critik durch angenehme exegetische Erläuterungen unterbrochen'.[1] Heyne's declared intention in his preface is a fairly narrow one, leaving all matters of clarification of the mythological and historical background, and of interpretation, to a projected later work, but as he himself ingenuously acknowledges, he is at times unable to keep within his self-imposed limits:

> Venia esto, in tam longo per salebrosos criticae anfractus cursu semel nos ad amoeniora viridia de via deflexisse.[2]

Heyne's notes all start from a textual problem, often one of punctuation rather than emendation, but branch off almost spontaneously other areas, tangential to the textual point, apparently more congenial to the editor's interests, and tantalisingly indicative of the insights which could have been extended to passages where the text itself was in no doubt. Heyne's note on the corrupt I.vi.36, for example, includes not only the critical observation that this passage, describing the arrival of Heracles at the feast of Telamon, is to be considered 'inter splendidissima Pindari', but also an account of the libation ceremony citing Homeric parallels, variant accounts of the legend in Apollodorus, Lycophron, and elsewhere, and a reference to a marble in the Vatican supposed by Winckelmann to represent a related scene.[3]

1 ibid., p. 209

2 Heyne (1773), p. 359.

3 ibid.

b. Metre.

Commenting on the metrical peculiarities of the first epode of the third Nemean, Heyne more or less withdraws from the fray.

> Pauw digladiatur de pedum et metrorum nominibus: quod ipsi remittam, qui mihi persuadeam, Pindarum cumulata illa metrorum nomina et tam argute tornatas et implexas naturas ignorasse, quae nihil aliud sunt, quam male feriatorum Grammaticorum commenta et tricae inanes, quibus metrorum lyricorum natura magis obscuratur et corrumpitur, quam illustratur et expeditur. Ita sit quoque, ut, quoties de metro constituendo dubitetur, plures rationes iniri fere possint, eaeque omnes recte et legitime. Satis, puto, habuit poeta, tempora animo tenere, et numeros modosque ad aurium sensum exigere, idque, quod semel mente conceperat, schema per totum carmen ante oculos habere.[1]

While certainly not insensitive to or heedless of Pindar's metre, Heyne in this edition effects a separation of problems of metre from problems of text which was, perhaps, a necessary precondition of the advances to be made in both aspects of the understanding of Pindar's works. Metrical scholarship had almost certainly been held back in earlier works by its subservience to the aim of establishing a correct text, and Heyne's attitude marks an increase not only in flexibility of approach but also of appreciation of lyric metre for its own sake. This development, which was to culminate in the work of Hermann and of Boeckh at the end of the century, is seen very clearly in the work of an Italian scholar, Giovanni Luigi Mingarelli, which was published the year before Heyne's edition.[2] The heading of Mingarelli's second chapter - 'De Pindari metris generatim, seu de ratione emendandi ea Pindari loca, in quibus metri leges a librariis violatae sunt' - consciously connects him with the tradition of textual critics like Schmid and Pauw; but he acknowledges them as his predecessors only to take issue with them. Both Schmid in

1 ibid., p. 248.

2 De Pindari Odis Conjecturae, Bologna, 1772.

his counting of syllables and Pauw in his counting of feet have, Mingarelli realises, been too cavalier with the received text. Mingarelli does not urge the acceptance of metrical anomalies -- he is, indeed, stricter than Pauw in his ideas of responsion -- but he does emphasise the importance of respect for the manuscript tradition:

> singula. . .loca, de quibus dubitetur, an corrupta sint, diligenter expendere oportet, vetustos in primis codices, si fieri possit, consulere, antecedentia, et consequentia considerare, versum cum versis omnibus ei oppositis conferre, Pindaricae poeseos indolem prae oculos habere, vetera Scholia inspicere: ad tum demum timide judicium ferre: a lectione autem veterum codicum, nisi cognat necessitas, non recedere: sin autem ea cogat, audacter recedere, etsi veterum Scholiastarum obstet auctoritas: plura enim sunt loca, ex quibus colligatur, ipsos quoque exemplaria alicubi corrupta prae manibus habuisse.[1]

The most important point made by Mingarelli in this context almost necessarily emerges from the combination of a concern with strict metrical responsion and a conservative attitude towards the received text. There is only one place, according to Mingarelli, where strict responsion is not demanded, i.e. at the end of a verse:

> Cum ergo in versum incidimus, qui versui sibi oppositi non congruat, non lectio continuo mutanda est, praesertim si in ea codices omnes consentiant, sed videndum prius, utrum mutata versuum distributione, vulgata lectio commode retineri queat.[2]

Mingarelli seems to be the first to follow up a peculiarity of Pindar's text which must have been observed by many of his earlier editors, the frequent inconsistencies in line distribution; and his recognition of the importance of this for Pindaric metre lays the ground for a more radical revision of the old colometry than he himself attempts. Like Dawes, Mingarelli redistributes the lines of the fourteenth Olympian so that its triadic structure becomes apparent, and he shows in one or two other places

1 Mingarelli, p.29.

2 ibid., p.26.

how Pauw's problems can be effaced and his emendations rendered unnecessary by a simple rearrangement of the lines.

The restoration of Pindar's text is, however, only one aspect of Mingarelli's interest in Pindaric metre, and he concerns himself also, to a greater extent than had either Schmid or Pauw, with improving upon the traditional analyses of the lines. Mingarelli feels dissatisfaction with the analyses of the metrical scholia and of Pauw at two different levels. In some cases, he feels, they are wrong and to be rejected entirely, as, for example, in the description of the first colon of Nemean 6 (⏑ – – – ⏑ – ⏑⏑ –) as an 'iambic dimeter acatalectic': to Mingarelli the line should be read as a 'paeonic trimeter catalectic', composed of a bacchic, a cretic, and an incomplete third paeon.[1] It is sometimes difficult to see the difference between an allegedly 'wrong' analysis and one which Mingarelli feels might be improved, but in his second class of disagreements with Pauw and the scholia Mingarelli's dissatisfaction is less sure, more subjective, and correspondingly more interesting, springing from a feeling that not metrical law but harmonic sense has been violated.

> Alias, quas etsi omnino explodere non audeam, minus tamen concinnas ducam. In huiusmodi autem rebus ea amplectenda sunt, quae simpliciora, quae facilicra, quae auribus jucundiora, quae demum, ut sic loquar, rotundiora sint.[2]

The importance of Mingarelli's work as a foundation for his own, much more elaborate, metrical researches is acknowledged, with reservations, by Gottfried Hermann in the essay on Pindar's metre contributed

1 ibid., p.48.

2 ibid.

to Heyne's three volume edition of the poet, an essay which must count as the first really great contribution to modern Pindaric scholarship.[1] Advances had been made in other areas of classical metric, notably by Bentley and Porson, but the new scientific approach did not as yet extend to the study of the metres of Greek choral lyric: even with Porson no significant advance was made upon the mere observation of strophic responsion first established in editions of Greek tragedy by the Dutch scholar Canter.[2] The importance of metre for textual emendation was recognised, but such emendations were more and more only refinements upon a faulty system whose basis was rarely questioned, the commentators perpetrating, as Hermann declared, innumerable mistakes of prosody 'ut scilicet Pindarum febriculosis grammaticorum digitis accommodarent'.[3] It is possible to trace a coherent line of development through Richard Dawes and Mingarelli to Hermann: the important qualities shared by them are scepticism and distrust of the metrical scholia and a willingness, which becomes increasingly radical, to alter the traditional line distribution. Hermann's work, however, represents such a tremendous advance, in method and in sensitivity to metre, upon any of his predecessors that it must be allowed to stand alone. Two qualities which he brought to the subject prove particularly

1 'Commentatio de metris Pindari', in Heyne (1798), vol. iii. References are to the reprint of this edition, Oxford, 1809. Hermann apparently had also received, through Heyne, some hitherto unpublished conjectures by Mingarelli, who had died in 1790. (Commentatio, p.4)

2 Cf. Wilamowitz, Griechische Verskunt, Berlin, 1921 (reprinted 1962), pp. 80-82.

3 Hermann, De metris poëtarum Graecorum et Latinorum libri iii, Leipzig, 1796.

valuable: it is clear even from this early work on Pindar that he possessed a true ear for the rhythms of Greek poetry and a feeling for its beauty, and he was the first student of choral lyric diligent and scholarly enough to base his theories upon a thorough knowledge of the poetry. His starting-point is the rejection of the metrical scholia: 'habebant enim isti homines suam quamdam metrorum doctrinam, perangustam illam et futilissimis subtilitatibus refertam.'[1] Hermann consciously turns away from the academic refinements which they represent to something closer to instinct:

> Nos quidem de huiuscemodi adminiculis artis metricae plane desperamus, idque eo lubentius facimus, quod divinum ingeniorum fervorem non aliis, nisi quae ex ipsa rei natura petitae sunt, legibus coerceri posse intelligimus.[2]

His empirical approach to metre, as well as his dependence upon the traditional terminology, is demonstrated by the ten chapters listing the types of Pindaric metre and their variations, under the headings trochaic, iambic, cretic, antispastic and dochmiac, dactylic, anapaestic, choriambic, ionic a minore, ionic a majore, paeonic and other longer metres.

The most significant development, one which necessarily precedes all others, is the establishment of new principles of line distribution. In an earlier treatise De metris poetarum Graecorum et Latinorum Hermann had already devoted four pages to this subject, pointing out that realisation of Pindar's awareness of the metrical ambiguity of what he calls 'monosyllabic anacrusis' - 'up-beat' - and of the last syllable of a line could already have led much closer to the genuine text, and demonstrating with a re-cast version of the first strophe and antistrophe of Pythian 8.[3] In the essay included in Heyne's edition of Pindar

1 Hermann, Commentatio, p.19.

2 ibid., p.23.

3 see above, p.278 n.

Hermann develops these remarks into a comprehensive treatment of the question. Chapters two to five deal with four factors which Hermann sees as aids to the recognition of the point where a line ends, or of what would now be called 'pause' - punctuation, syllaba anceps, natural quantity of words ('numerus vocabulorum'), and hiatus. Of these the first, as Hermann points out, can have only a limited force since there is always the possibility of deliberate enjambement even if it is accepted as a general rule that sense divisions coincide with metrical ones; and the third leads Hermann into the somewhat anomalous position of distinguishing between syllables with 'natural value' and those without. The trouble in this case probably arises from the clash between Hermann's continued acceptance in principle of word-division at the end of a line, and his ear for metre which tells him that it is nearly always unacceptable. The most informative indication Hermann finds to be syllaba anceps, and with this, as with hiatus, his remarks are always based upon careful observation of poetic custom. Following the principles which he has set out, Hermann presents his own re-arrangement of the strophe of the second Olympian, in ten lines instead of the original fourteen cola, removing all unacceptable word-divisions (on the principle that such division is only allowable when the first element of the next line begins with 'arsis'), and trying to ensure that no syllable which is not anceps occurs at the end of a line.[1] The only differences between this arrangement and that of Boeckh now standard in most editions are explained by the fact that Boeckh's fourth

1 It is strange that Hermann was content to leave his seventh and eighth lines as they stood, since in his arrangement division of words occurs in five places, with the new line beginning in 'thesis': in the later edition of the essay published in 1824, this is altered in the metrical schema of the ode, although the change is not noted in the text.

factor in the division of lines (besides hiatus, syllaba anceps, and punctuation) takes Hermann's rules about the division of words to its obvious conclusion, taking it as a principle that a word must never be divided at the end of a line.

Hermann does not, of course, distinguish between the colometry itself and the metrical scholia, written by an anonymous metrician three centuries later, and both are rejected as one. As far as terminology is concerned, however, Hermann is still hidebound by traditional metric, and despite the very great improvements made by him in the description of Pindar's metres, this aspect is less interesting perhaps for itself than for the way in which it highlights the particular problems of Pindaric metre which have since been recognised. Hermann, for example, observes the frequency with which trochees are used in combination with dactylic measures: in such combinations lies his analysis of a large proportion of dactylo-epitrites. Maas's e-D, a line occuring very frequently throughout the dactylo-epitrite odes and variously analysed by the scholia as a 'prosodiac trimeter catalectic' (on O.iii.str.5, ep.3), an 'iambelegus lacking the first syllable, or with the last syllable put at the beginning' (on O.xii.str.1, N.x.str.3), an 'encomiologicon' (on O.xiii.ep.3), and a 'Pindaricon, derived from the Sapphicon' (on P.i.str.7). The line is seen by Hermann, surely acceptably, as consisting of a trochaic metron followed by a dactylic penthemimeres. Hermann's essay is intended to be purely an account of the metres used by Pindar, but although leaving it, as he says, to others more curious to investigate the laws which govern the association of the different types of metre, Hermann does note at the end of Part I that metres used in conjunction normally bear some relationship to each other, and that in some poems, such as Pythian 4, there is a strong preponderance of dactyls and trochees, while in others the character

of the metres is altogether more surprising, bold, and abrupt.[1] It is one of the natural results of the scholiast's mechanical principles of division of the lines into, usually, one, two or three tetrasyllabic groups that they eradicate any distinction between the dactylo-trochaic odes and the aeolic-iambic odes, if indeed any trace of such a distinction might still have existed in the Alexandrian colometry. Although Hermann makes no attempt in this essay to make the distinction more explicit, the concluding remarks of Part I indicate that it was in practice beginning to emerge. The terminology for Hermann's description of the metres of what are now known as dactylo-epitrite odes is clumsy, but the form and rhythm are clearly recognised and retrieved from the chaos of the scholia. The same is to some extent true of the aeolic odes, but not surprisingly the analysis here is less successful. Although the advance made by a careful and sensitive consideration of rythmic groups and pauses is immense, Hermann seems to have believed that the metres of such odes could be 'dissimillimi inter se, inaequabiles, praerupti, novi, audaces' to any degree, and that Pindar is so far above being bound by rules that he is capable of breaking out at any moment among series of glyconics and trochees into sudden rushes of paeons and dochmiacs.

c. Interpretations.

As far as the interpretation of Pindar's odes is concerned, the greatest advance upon the important but generally over-looked rhetorical analyses of Erasmus Schmid had been made, before 1750, by Gilbert West. There are, however, in the last decades of the eighteenth century, some surprising anomalies in Pindaric appreciation. Most views on Pindar's style remain as impressionistic - or derivative - as ever: he is still

1 Commentatio, p.40.

commonly looked upon as a poet of inspiration, of timeless interest and value despite the limitations of his subject matter because of the majesty of his style. According to Michel Chabanon, speaking before the French Academie in 1761, form and poetic exterior are all that need be considered in Pindar: the subject matter of the lauding of victors, and the description of Greek gods and heroes, are of no note today.[1] Mingarelli, in a work more important for what he has to say about Pindar's metre, does make some detailed observations about Pindar's style. In contrast to Claude Fraguier, he finds Pindar's style of an even tenor throughout - 'grandi quodam dicendi genere utitur, ac majestatis pleno' - and often 'asper' and 'durus'. These points, and several others, often accompanied with a profusion of illustrative detail, are, however, introduced by Mingarelli not entirely for their own sake, but to support his case in a specific argument: 'an Pindarus Psalti ab aliquibus recte comparetur'. The examples adduced by Mingarelli show either what seems to him to be a difference between Pindar and the Psalms - as in the points of style mentioned above - or else, as in the case of the particle δέ and the Hebrew particle vav, a superficial similiarity which becomes a contrast when the different natures of the Greek and Hebrew languages are taken into account.[2]

The terms of the argument itself, which seem to have had considerable currency in Italy at the time, reveal a host of underlying assumptions about the nature of Pindar's poetry. Mingarelli was apparently writing in immediate response to the suggestion of a recent Italian translator

1 'Discours sur Pindare et sur la poésie lyrique', Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles-lettres xxxii (1768), 451-512.

2 Mingarelli, De Pinderi Odis Conjecturae, pp. 6-21.

of the Pindar that the odes could be considered in the same category as the Psalms,[1] but there is at least one other interesting example of the lengths to which such a comparison might be carried, a treatise by Giovanni Battista Passeri, primarily an Etruscan scholar, one of whose achievements was that of living to the age of one hundred and five.[2] Passeri's treatise, although by no means devoid of an interest in Pindar's historical position, is a far cry from West's enlightened if speculative attempts to recognise the occasional elements in the poems. The prefa tory 'argomento della Dissertazione', translated here, conveniently summarises Passeri's concerns in Pindar.

> I. Two excellences of Pindar his inimitability in sublimity of expression, and the purity of his sentiments on the model of the sacred Books known at that time.
> II. His aim to promote the Sacred Games among the lower classes by means of honour and praise in order to oppose a great obstacle to tyranny by exercising the people in athletic pursuits and rendering them more spirited and desirous of glory.
> III. The difficulty which Pindar faced in adapting the sublime style to popular subjects and for the most plebeian audience, and suggestions about the means by which he achieved his aim.
> IV. One of these consists in the associations of the persons of the victors by indicating the relation which they had with subjects connected with them, for example the homeland of the heroes, the natural properties of the country and notable events which happened there, the founders of the sacred games, the famous people who had taken part in them, the Muses, the lyre, the victories, etc.
> V. Discussion of aspects of the language of Pindar, and his choice of metaphor.
> VI. Reflections on the truthfulness of Pindar's writings and the sincerity with which he talks of pagan myths; consequent suggestion that he had studied the Sacred Books of the Jews.
> VII. Demonstration of the ease with which Pindar could have had full knowledge of the Sacred Books, especially after the return of the Jews from the captivity in Babylon.
> VIII. Another strong argument for believing that Pindar was versed in the reading of the Sacred Books comes from the knowledge that during the invasion of Xerxes he wrote a book of Threnoi, that is, Lamentations, as had Jeremiah on a similar occasion.
> IX. An even stronger argument for believing this is the uniformity of sentiments and of moral sentences between the poet and the books of Holy Scripture.

1 Christian Friedrich von Blankenburg, Litterarische Zusätze zu Johann Georg Sulzers allgemeiner Theorie der schönen Kunste, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1795-98, ii, 499.

2 Passeri, Dissertazione... intorno alla poesia e stile proprio di Pindaro. (Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli scientifici e filologici , 40 vols, Venice, 1755-84), xxvii, [1775].

Eccentricities apart, this concern with the question of whether or not Pindar's writings were analogous to, or even influenced by, the Scriptures, with the consequent, almost exclusive, emphasis on the 'inspired' and didactic qualities of the Greek poems, could do little but distract from the real problems of structure and occasion which lay as obstacles in the way of any understanding of the odes as works of art or of Pindar's intentions in them.

The kind of cul de sac in which Pindaric criticism finds itself at this time is illustrated by a passage from one of the more significant French critics:

> Dans la plûpart des Odes qui nous restent de Pindare, ses sujets sont de foibles ruisseaux qui se perdent dans de grands fleuves. Pindare, il est vrai, mêle à ses récits de grandes idées et de belles images; c'est d'ailleurs un modèle dans l'art de raconter et de peindre en touches rapides. Mais pour le dessein de ses Odes, il a beau dire qu'il rassemble une multitude de choses, afin de prévenir le goût de la satiété; il néglige trop l'unité et l'ensemble: lui-même il ne sait quelquefois comment revenir à son héros, et il l'avoue de bonne foi. Il est facile, sans doute, de l'excuser par les circonstances; mais si la nécessité d'enrichir des sujets stériles et toûjours les mêmes, par des épisodes intéressans et variés; si la gêne où devoit être son génie dans ces Poëmes de commande; si les beautés qui résultent de ses ecarts suffisent à son apologie; au-moins n'autoriesent-elles personne à l'imiter: c'est ce que j'ai voulu faire entendre.[1]

In the context of these critics - of impressionistic judgments, traditionally unhistorical terminology, and irrelevant associations - it is the more surprising to come upon a work, produced in the same year as Mingarelli's treatise by one who, like Chabanon, was a member of the French Académie, which succeeds in thinking about the interpretation of Pindar in a way which is both original and sympathetic. One of the most undeservedly overlooked of Pindaric scholars, overlooked, no doubt, because of the stature of his immediate successors in Germany, is

1 Jean François Marmontel, Poétique Françoise, 2 vols., Paris, 1763, ii, 430-1.

Jean Francois Vauvilliers (1737-1801), Professor of Greek from the age of twenty-nine at the Collège Royal in Paris. Vauvilliers' work, like that of several of his predecessors, centres on the translation of Pindar, and the final edition of his work, published ninety years after the first, includes French versions of seventeen of the odes.[1] Seven of them, discovered by his family among his papers, had not previously been published, possibly because of the disruption caused to his academic career by the French Revolution, in which he took a prominent part. The kernel of Vauvilliers' work on Pindar, published in 1772, seventeen years before his involvement with the Commune, consists of translations of six Syracusan odes - the first, second, fourth, and fifth Olympians, the first Pythian, and the first Nemean - together with an essay on Pindar and on translating Pindar.[2]

In his theory of translation, justified at length in the notes to the fourth Olympian, Vauvilliers shares a common aim with Cowley and with Gilbert West:

> Pour moi, quoi qu'on pense, je serai content, si les Gens de goût jugent que j'aye rendu Pindare, non pas sous les traits d'un homme mort . . . mais sous ceux d'un homme vivant et animé. C'est-à-dire, en un mot, si on retrouve dans le Traducteur François, l'âme du Poëte Grec.[3]

In his introductory essay, however, and in the analyses which he attaches to each ode, Vauvilliers shows a consistency and a concern with method which places his work firmly in the main line of Pindaric scholarship from Schmid to Boeckh. Taking issue in particular with Boileau's

1 Vauvilliers, Traduction poétique des Odes les plus remarquables de Pindare, avec des analyses raisonnées et des notes historiques et grammaticales precedée d'un discours sur ce poëte et sur la vraie manière de le traduire, Paris, 1859.

2 Discours sur Pindare, Paris, 1772.

3 Discours, p.31.

declaration that Pindar's principal merit consists in 'l'harmonie de ses mots et de ses phrases', Vauvilliers gives an account of Pindar's genius which avowedly derives from Horace, 'qui fait son éloge en Poete digne de marcher sur ses traces'. It is, however, only in the account of Pindar's genius in its widest sense that Vauvilliers' approach to Pindar is recognisably 'Horatian':

> Car il faut de l'ordre par tout; et pour éviter une symmétrie monotone, il n'est pas permis de desordonner les parties d'un bâtiment, de maniere qu'on n'en puisse plus appercevoir l'ensemble. Ainsi ce que nous appellons dans l'Ode, episode ou écart, ne devient plus qu'une digression froide et ridicule, si le Poëte n'a pas l'art de le lier à son sujet, de maniere à ne former qu'un tout inséparable, aux yeux des gens suffisamment instruits, et qui prendront la peine d'y apporter un examen réfléchi. [1]

The caution implicit in this is developed at length:

> Mais prenez garde, je vous prie, que je demande plusieurs conditions essentielles pour ce jugement: un gout éclairé, des connoissances suffisantes, c'est-à-dire, relatives à l'objet, et un examen équitable, et par conséquent mûrement approfondi. Faute de l'une ou de l'autre, on peut, que dis-je, on doit infailliblement s'égarer . . . Combien ne doit-on pas être réservé dans les jugemens qu'on porte sur un Poëte, dont la vie et les relations, nous sont aussi inconnues que l'histoire de son tems; et dont les ouvrages ne nous sont parvenus qu'à travers la nuit des siècles et de l'ignorance, au milieu de mille vicissitudes, et par le canal d'une foule de gens la plupart aussi présomptueux qu'ignorans, et par conséquent très-hardis à altérer et à mutiler des textes qu'ils n'entendoient point. [2]

Like Schmid and West before him, Vauvilliers' concern is with a principle which will impose a structural unity on the odes, which will enable one 'appercevoir l'ensemble'.

Despite his talk of caution and reserve, Vauvilliers, throughout the rest of his essay, speaks with the same tone of confidence as do Schmid, West (in his milder way), and, later, Boeckh - a tone which after Boeckh was to become increasingly familiar among those who believed that they had

1 ibid., pp. 16-17.

2 ibid., pp. 17-19.

discovered a key to Pindar's odes. Vauvilliers' key, unnoticed as it appears to have gone, is, like Schmid's, of particular interest in the context of the later history of Pindaric criticism. The extent of his claims is demonstrated by his summing-up of the analysis of the first Olympian:

> Si la traduction offre à l'esprit un tout bien ordonné dans son ensemble, et bien assorti dans tous ses détails: si les notes prouvent que, sans jamais altérer le sens du texte, je rends un compte exact de toutes les parties du Poëme considerées relativement à l'objet que je viens d'exposer; des transitions qui les unissent, du choix des images et des sentences; et même de ces expressions qui portent un certain caractère, . . . il sera démontré que j'ai saisi le plan de l'Ode inconnu aux modernes qui m'ont précédé; et que le Poëme est vraiment digne de la réputation de Pindare, et des éloges que les Anciens lui ont donnés; puisque ses détails étant sublimes, on ne pouvoit lui reprocher que le défaut d'ensemble; non que ce défaut fut réel, mais parce qu'il étoit impossible de reconnoître l'ordre general du Poëme, et même d'en entendre certaines parties sans avoir aucune idée du plan que le Poëte s'étoit tracé.[1]

The problem, as it presented itself to Vauvilliers, was one of reconciling Pindar's reputation, and the variety and poetic appeal of the extant odes, with the fact that the Pindaric corpus consisted of forty-four odes apparently composed on a single theme, 'je chante un vainqueur dans les Jeux'. The answer now provided is essentially a fusion of the approach which minimises the poetry by exalting the encomiastic intention, and that which makes a dichotomy between the crude intention and the poetic fervour or inspiration which carries the poet perpetually - and happily - off the track.

> Aussi dans presque toutes ses Odes, et en particulier dans celles que je présente ici, remarque-t-on deux choses très-distinguées l'une de l'autre, quoique parfaitement liées ensemble par l'adresse du Poëte, qui malgré la difficulté d'être toujours varié dans un si grand nombre de transitions, sçait pourtant être toujours nouveau, sans nous en laisser appercevoir le travail dérobé sous l'air de la négligence et de la simplicité. Ces deux choses sont d'abord le sujet, ou pour mieux dire, l'occasion du Pöeme, prise de la victoire même; puis l'objet particulier du Poëte, pris dans la personne de celui qu'il célèbre, dans son caractère, dans ses mœurs, dans ses vertus, ou dans ses défauts personnels, ou dans les circonstances qui l'environnoient, et dont Pindare profite pour le défendre et le justifier contre les reproches de ses

> ennemis, et l'envie de ses concitoyens; pour faire servir son éloge à l'instruction publique, ou pour l'instruire lui-même, le corriger sans paroître lui donner de leçons, le rappeller à lui-même, ou l'exciter à de nouvelles vertus. [1]

Vauvilliers' information about the attendant circumstances forming a background to each poem - circumstances relevant to victor, to poet, and to their relationship - is gleaned from a variety of sources: the odes themselves, the scholia, and the few remaining Sicilian monuments known at the time. By applying such information he hopes to find 'la raison des épisodes, qui ne paroissoient avoir par eux-mêmes aucune relation directe avec la victoire . . . qui étoit le sujet ou l'occasion du Poëme'. The view of the unity of the ode which is expressed in this essay is as comprehensive as any which later scholars have claimed to find, embracing every detail:

> je n'ai jamais cru entendre le Poëme, à moins que, sans violenter l'ordre des phrases, ni détourner le sens des expressions, je ne crusse être en état de me rendre un compte fidele et raisonné, non-seulement des grandes parties de l'ouvrage, et de leurs liaisons principales; mais encore des détails de chacune de ses parties comparées les unes avec les autres, et avec l'ensemble de la pièce; de leur ordre, du ton de leur couleur, du choix des sentences, ou des particules qui servent de liaisons; et même du choix de certaines expressions, qui presentant des images fortes, ou restreignant des idées générales, ou donnant, en un mot, à la phrase une nuance particuliere, ne peuvent pas être supposées employées sans dessein ; et ne sont par conséquent bien entendues et bien senties, que quand on peut reconnoître et indiquer leur rapport, avec le lieu même dans lequel elles se trouvent placées, ou avec l'ensemble du Poeme. [2]

The comprehensiveness of such a catalogue arouses one's forebodings, perhaps, as much as one's expectations, and Vauvilliers himself was not blind to the dangers inherent in the rigourousness of his approach. A qualm strikes him at the end of the analysis of one ode:- 'je ne sais si

1 ibid., pp. 22-3.

2 ibid., pp. 25-6.

l'esprit de système me séduit' - but confidence quickly reasserts itself. 'Il me semble qu'une fausse supposition ne scauroit être si bien d'accord avec elle-même, et expliquer avec tant d'analogie, deux Poëmes differens (Olympians 4 and 5) sans jamais faire violence au texte . . .'[1] There is, at times, little doubt that Vauvilliers has, in fact, allowed himself to be 'seduced' by the impulse to make all things fit. The system is seen at its most reductive on the first Pythian where Vauvilliers adopts as the only interpretation which satisfactorily binds the first fifty-five lines (in the old colometry) and the last thirty to the centre of the poem the suggestion of Artemon, recorded and rejected by the scholiast, that Hiero had promised Pindar a golden lyre. The whole ode, then becomes a coherent instance of Pindaric φιλοχρηματια, with the recital of Hiero's victory and virtues subservient to the end of showing him to be worthy to bestow such a gift.[2] The other odes are subjected to the same sort of treatment, although with less disastrously simplistic results. The first Olympian, dominated by the myths of Tantalus and Pelops, appears to Vauvilliers to be primarily designed to warn Hiero, through Tantalus, against discontent with his lot, and to encourage him, through Pelops, to have faith in the bounty of the gods: in historical terms, to cease his jealousy of his brother Polyzelus, a jealousy which can be inferred from the ode itself (ll. 113-4) as well as from historical events. The second Olympian too emerges as a sermon, in this case directed towards Theron, exhorting him to a sincere and lasting reconciliation with

1 ' ibid., p. 124.

2 An indication, perhaps, of how close the historicist approach can come to the symbolist in its hunt for the unifying principle.

Hiero, urging the foolishness of harping on the past (for example on the massacre of Himera which, according to Vauvilliers, must have lain heavily on Theron's conscience), and the uses of adversity. The suggested background to the fourth and fifth Olympians marks a departure from the firm, if unexciting, historical background invoked to explain the first two odes into new realms of speculation and circularity of argument: Pindar may have heard unofficially that Psaumis, generous throughout his life and now glorious in his victory, wished to put his wealth towards restoring his native town of Camarina. Pindar's encouragement is tactfully insinuated through the implicit contrast of Typhon's pride with Psaumis's generosity, and the invocation of the Graces as the patron deities of good deeds - so tactfully, indeed, that it may escape detection:

> Alors je loue la prudence du Poëte qui sans se compromettre ni donner à ses éloges l'air de l'imposture, en annonçant un projet qui pouvoit n'avoir aucune suite, l'indique pourtant d'une manière propre à le faire soupçonner, et sur-tout à animer son auteur à l'exécution.[1]

It will be seen from these examples that the details of Vauvilliers' arguments, like those of Gilbert West, frequently fail to fulfil the promise of his ideas: like Schmid, and like nearly all of his successors in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Vauvilliers is hampered by an excessive rigidity of system which fails to allow Pindar any lee-way in structure and intention: the odes are not merely seen as individual unities but are also all forced into more or less identical moulds. Vauvilliers is, however, of particular interest as a clear fore-runner

1 Discours, p. 122.

of Boeckh and Dissen in a line of interpretation, the distinction between 'objective' and 'subjective' unity, which David C. Young, in his survey of Pindaric criticism after Boeckh, regards as an obscure idiosyncrasy.[1] It is worth noting that Vauvilliers consistently uses the terms 'sujet' and 'objet' in exactly the opposite sense from that usually attributed to Boeckh: but as David Young points out, Boeckh is by no means consistent himself in this respect.

1 'Pindaric criticism' [first published in Minnesota Review iv (1964), 584-641:]: W.M. Calder and J. Stern, Pindaros und Bakchylides (Wege der Forschung 134), Darmstadt, 1970, pp. 8-9.

ii. Translations of Pindar after West

> Between Pindar and his English readers, there hang, so to speak, many veils: a foreign language, an unwonted diction, a different way of looking at things, a constant and familiar allusion to forgotten ideas and legends, all tend to obscure his poetry. Of these veils, as I have called them, a translator has, I think, to remove the first alone; the removal of the others is the province of the commentator, the critic, and the literary historian.

F.D. Morice, in these words from the introduction to his verse translation of the Olympian and Pythian odes, published in 1876,[1] stands at the opposite end of the scale from Cowley's declared intention to dress Pindar 'in an English habit', showing not so much 'precisely what he spoke, as what was his way and manner of speaking'.[2] The position of the late eighteenth century in this dispute has received less attention than have the periods enclosing it, perhaps because it lacks an obvious focal point comparable to Dryden's theories of translation and his Aeneis, Pope's Iliad and Odyssey, or Matthew Arnold's essay On Translating Homer.

In the second half of the eighteenth century translations from the classics generally appear in a steady, if modest, stream, and Greek poetry in particular receives a higher proportion of interest. The reputation of Pope's Homer must have been a strong deterrent to would-be followers, but even so two more complete versions of the Iliad were published before the end of the century, a prose translation by James Macpherson and a verse rendering, which went into several editions, by William Cowper.[3] The complete plays of Sophocles, translated by

1 The Olympian and Pythian Odes of Pindar. Translated into English Verse, London, 1876, p. ix.

2 Cowley, Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, Cambridge, 1905, p. 156.

3 The Iliad of Homer. Translated by James Macpherson, Esq., 2 vols, London, 1773: William Cowper, The Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, translated into English blank verse, 2 vols, London, 1791.

Thomas Francklin, Greek professor in Cambridge, appeared in 1759; Aeschylus, translated, for the first time, by Robert Potter, in 1777; and the tragedies of Euripides appeared in English twice, translated by Robert Potter and by Michael Wodhull, between 1781 and 1783.[1] Pindar is one of the most striking examples of this increase in interest. Translated only sporadically in the century since Cowley, he suddenly becomes, about fifteen years after the publication of West's volume, one of the most frequently translated of the classical authors.

West's Pindar, of which two more editions had appeared by 1753, was accepted throughout the second half of the century as definitive: with one exception those who followed him had it as their aim to supplement his work rather than to improve upon it, and the odes which he had translated are seldom attempted again. Henry James Pye, the future laureate, who published anonymously a translation of the six remaining Olympian odes in 1775, acknowledges in his preface his debt to West, 'with whose performance I never mean to interfere, my utmost ambition being only to follow his steps, though I fear, haud passibus aequis'.[2] William Tasker in 1780 speaks of West's work as 'too well known and too much admired, to need any further recommendation, its only fault perhaps lying in a too finished regularity'; and he sees a

1 Thomas Francklin, The Tragedies of Sophocles from the Greek, 2 vols, London, 1759: Robert Potter, The Tragedies of Aeschylus translated, Norwich, 1777 (or 1778), and The Tragedies of Euripides translated, 2 vols, London, 1781-3: Michael Wodhull, The nineteen tragedies and fragments of Euripides translated, 4 vols, London, 1782.

2 Six Olympic Odes of Pindar, being those omitted by Mr West. Translated into English verse. With notes, London, 1775. References to Robert Anderson, A Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain, 14 vols, London and Edinburgh, 1793, 1792-5, xii, 861-876.

further disadvantage for subsequent translators:

> Mr West had too much good taste not to pick out the very best odes; and in fact he hath broken up all the richest mine of Pindar's poetry.[1]

In 1791, forty-two years after West's translation, James Banister still felt it best to omit the odes included by West from his own volume, and concludes his preface with a eulogy of West as a man and a scholar:

> To such a man, I say, the merit acquired by a Translation of Pindar, will always be considered as subordinate, when compared with his other excellencies. Yet I cannot but observe, that in his Translation he has given us as noble specimens of sublime poetry as are to be met with in the English language; and had he translated the whole of Pindar, I should by no means have attempted that great poet after him.[2]

After 1749, translations of single odes, or a small group, continue to appear, giving evidence of the same kind of individual interest in Pindar as was seen earlier in, for example, Walter Harte and Ambrose Philips. In the following year Thomas Tyrwhitt, then an Oxford undergraduate, translated the last ode of the περίοδος, the eighth Isthmian, (published, with two other translations, in 1752).[3] Other individual odes to appear in subsequent years were the first Pythian, translated in 1775, apparently by the statesman Henry Flood,[4] and the ninth Pythian, translated by Robert Potter and published in 1783 to illustrate his remarks on Dr Johnson's criticisms of Gray.[5] The ninth Pythian had

1 Select Odes of Pindar and Horace translated, and other original poems: together with notes critical, historical, and explanatory, Exeter, 1780, p. 30.

2 A Translation of all the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian Odes of Pindar, except the fourth and fifth Pythian Odes, and those odes which have been translated by the late Gilbert West, Esq., Salisbury, 1791, p. xiv.

3 Translations in Verse. Mr Pope's Messiah, Mr Philips's Splendid Shilling, in Latin; the Eighth Isthmian of Pindar in English, n.p., 1752.

4 An Ode on Fame. And the first Pythian Ode of Pindar, London, 1775.

5 An Inquiry into some passages in Dr Johnson's Lives of the Poets: particularly his observations on lyric poetry, and the Odes of Gray, London, 1783, pp. 39-49.

appeared earlier, with three other odes, the fourth and sixth Olympians and the seventh Pythian, in the poems of the ill-fated William Dodd, who was tutor to Lord Chesterfield's son and was hanged in 1777 for forging the Chesterfield signature.[1] In 1751 Dr Johnson had produced a translation of a few lines from the third Pythian as the motto for

The Rambler:

> For not the brave, or wise, or great,
> E'er yet had happiness compleat;
> Nor Peleus, grandson of the sky,
> Nor Cadmus, scap'd the shafts of pain,
> Though favour'd by the pow'rs on high,
> With every bliss that man can gain.[2]

Besides these scattered signs of individual interest in translating Pindar, the second half of the eighteenth century saw the publication of a succession of more sustained efforts to make Pindar accessible to a less scholarly audience. There is a sixteen-year gap between West's Pindar and the publication of the remaining six Olympian odes translated by Pye, and at this stage truth as well as authorial convention lies behind Pye's opening remark that 'it is surprising, that while the prince of Roman lyric poetry has been either imitated or translated by every dabbler in Helicon, his Grecian archetype should have remained almost unattempted.'[3] After this, however, there is no reason to complain that Pindar was neglected. Three years later there appeared the remaining three books of odes translated by Edward Burnaby Greene,[4] who had already

1 Dodd, Poems, London, 1767, pp. 121-39.

2 The Rambler no. 128, 8 June 1751: Johnson, Poems, ed. D. Nichol Smith and E.L. McAdam, Oxford, 1941, p. 136.

3 Pye, p. 861.

4 The Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian Odes of Pindar, translated into English Verse; with Critical and Explanatory remarks: to which are prefix'd Observations on his Life and Writings; Conjectures on the Æra wherein the Grecian Games concluded; and an Ode to the Genius of Pindar, London, 1778.

published imitations of Horace and Juvenal, and translations of Anacreon and Sappho, and was two years later to produce a version of the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius - a curious collection of works, all of which, according to an unkind notice in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1782, 'may be seen at Mr Birch's Pastry-shop (late Horton's) opposite the Royal Exchange, and at all the principal Cheese-mongers in London and Westminster'.[1] Pindar's next translator was William Tasker, a sequestrated rector to whom this privately-printed volume of select odes of Pindar and Horace seems to have appeared as something of a life-line: a sympathetic reviewer of the second edition expresses the wish that 'the poems, which conferred immortal honour on the Theban bard, may tend, during his mortal state, to the comfortable support of his industrious Translator.'[2] The list of subscribers is long and distinguished, including such names as Samuel Johnson, Thomas Warton, and Sir Joshua Reynolds: and although it is difficult to believe that, even if fashionable, Pindar was actually a money-making proposition, there is a perpetual sense throughout the volume of genuine enthusiasm cramped by financial duress, for example in the sad consciousness of being in some measure confined 'to the most inconsiderable and inferior compositions of a most un-equal poet'.[3] Tasker translates twelve of the shortest odes - Olympians 4, 11, 12, and 14, Pythians 6, 7, 11, and 12 (numbered 14), Nemeans 2 and 8, and Isthmians 3 and 7 - and, in addition, part of the first Pythian. James Banister, the last to produce a major translation of Pindar in the eighteenth century, includes in his volume,

1 The Gentleman's Magazine lii (1782), 253.

2 Critical Review (second series) i (1791), 468.

3 Tasker, p. 31.

published in 1791, the same odes as had been translated by Burnaby Greene with the omission of the fourth and fifth Pythians. By the end of the century, therefore, all the odes (except the Olympians, which were sacrosanct to West and, in his wake, Pye) had been translated at least twice, and several many more times: it is an ironic postscript to all this activity that by 1810 Francis Lee was able to declare on the title-page of the first nineteenth-century translation of Pindar, still preserving West's versions of the odes which he had translated, that 'not one fourth' of the odes here presented had previously appeared in English.[1]

It is difficult to construct from the evidence available a coherent picture of the intentions and reception of these rather short-lived works. The earlier translators must have been motivated partly by the sense of public service which Greene expresses as the promotion 'of the surviving works of an Ancient, who merits to be drawn, as during his existence, from the closet into the world':[2] at this pioneering stage, tedium seems to have been no obstacle, although Greene was, like Pope, of the opinion that 'there is evidently a sameness in the Complection of Pindar's less confin'd Compositions.'[3] Pye, who turned his hand later in his career also to Aristotle, Xenophon, Tyrtaeus, Horace and Homer, seems to have been motivated by a combination of simple reverence and educational zeal:

1 Francis Lee, The Odes of Pindar, in celebration of Victors in the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian Games, Translated from the Greek, not one fourth of which have ever appeared in English; including those by Mr West, London, 1810.

2 Greene, p. xi.

3 ibid., argument to Pythian 8, p. 78. Cf. above, p. 241.

> That translations of the ancient poets, if faithfully executed, and the connection of their thoughts properly preserved, are of use even to the learned reader, is asserted by one of the best critics this country ever produced. The author of Polymetis informs us, that he never perfectly understood the satires and epistles of Horace, till he read Pope's imitations of them. How necessary, then, must such assistance be to the explanation of a poet, of all others the most daring in his flights; and whose meaning has been so much perplexed by fanciful and tasteless commentators.[1]

The same mixture of functions, popularising and scholarly, is suggested in George Colman's remarks on Robert Potter's Aeschylus:

> Translators are a kind of bankers in learning. They raise a credit from a fund not their own, and the course of exchange may sometimes be against them; yet they are of infinite use in the commerce of letters, and enrich the state to which they belong. Without a figure, translation, good translation, requires no mean portion of original genius. To catch the graces, soften the peculiarities, and yet retain a faithful likeness, of an ancient or foreign author, is in some instances attended with more difficulty than even the first composition. We are pleased therefore to see a reverend and learned adventurer, clearing away the brambles, and scaling the steeps of antiquity, and endeavouring to bring the present age to a familiar acquaintance with the least known writer of the Grecian drama; a writer oftener mentioned than read, even by our deepest scholars, most of whom will now perhaps be indulged in a more exact and comprehensive view of the plays of Aeschylus, than they have ever yet taken.[2]

There is predictably little evidence that these high expectations were fulfilled as far as the Pindar translations were concerned, but it is clear, on the other hand, that their appearance was generally met with considerable interest, and they are given very good coverage in the literary periodicals. J.W. Draper, in a survey of translation in the eighteenth century, found that the reviews only exacerbated what he

1 Pye, p. 861.

2 The Monthly Review, lxix (1778), 287.

describes as 'the ignorance and laxity of the translator and the crass taste and faulty scholarship of the prospective patron': 'the reviews give great attention to the 'beauties' of the English version without more than a cant phrase about the "exactness" of the rendering.'[1] There is a tendency, certainly, for the critical section of a review to turn on such polite and unsubstantiated judgments as that 'the author is a man of taste and abilities', 'a man of taste and learning', 'a faithful and not inelegant translation'; but there is more evidence than Draper's conclusions suggest for a critical and scholarly attitude on the part of the educated reader - as far, at least, as this was influenced by or can be deduced from the literary periodicals. The Critical Review on Pye presents what is largely a well-informed and derivative account of some aspects of the style, structure, and occasion of Pindar's odes. Apart from a quibble over Pye's freedom with the prosody of proper names, the reviewer ventures no judgment but allows an extract from the work, the translation of the fourth Olympian, with notes, to stand on its own: 'by this extract the reader will perceive, that the author is a man of taste and abilities.'[2] Six years later the reviewer in the same periodical passes a similar comment on Tasker's translation of the eighth Nemean: the currency of the term 'faithful' as applied to Tasker's version is perhaps somewhat debased by the polite assertion that 'our readers will easily perceive' its applicability.[3] Detailed criticism of

1 J.W. Draper, 'The theory of translation in the eighteenth century', Neophilologus vi (1921), 251.

2 Critical Review xl (1775), 453.

3 Critical Review lii (1781), 267.

the translations often tends to fasten rather on faults of English style than on points of accuracy or inaccuracy as translation: Tasker's reviewer, for example, takes up the phrase 'the mitre embroidered with music's variated sound' to remark that 'the embroidery of sound is certainly an unwarrantable expression, which even the licentia Pindarica can hardly excuse.'[1] John Wolcot, alias Peter Pindar, reviewing Banister's translation in the Monthly Review, picks out from the second Pythian 'peccadillos' where Banister has sacrificed grammar to rhyme or metre, and concludes of the version as a whole:

> Ease and perspicuity pervade it; and if the translator manifests any deficiency, it is on the side of simplicity. A feeble prosaic line now and then limps into a stanza; which, for the ODE, requires vigour and inversion.[2]

There are, however, some examples of a more rigorous approach. Dr Johnson was to claim, in writing his lives of the English poets, that he had checked West's translation of the first Olympian against the original 'and found my expectation surpassed, both by its elegance and its exactness.'[3] Robert Langhorne, reviewing Pye's volume in the Monthly, gives a vague commendation of the translation itself, quoting, without comment, Pye's version of the eighth Olympian entire: but he also challenges Pye on two points of scholarship and interpretation arising from the annotations to the fourteenth Olympian, on which, Langhorne declares, he has been more particular 'as this Olympic seems, hitherto,

1 ibid.

2 Monthly Review (new series) xi (1793), 454.

3 Lives of the Poets, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, 3 vols, Oxford, 1905, iii, 331.

to have been little understood'.[1] One of the very best of the reviews is that in the Critical Review on Burnaby Greene, where the reviewer rises to impressive heights of sensitivity and scholarship - wasted, one feels, on the turgid material with which he has to deal.[2]

The concept of 'fidelity' in translation is a very fluid one, and it is clear that none of Pindar's eighteenth century translators would have felt that they were doing their duty by their author had they simply produced a metrical rendering of Pindar's own words. Pye, in the preface to his work, strikes a typical note of compromise in his account of his aims:

> I have studiously endeavoured to give the sense of the original as exactly as possible; not taking too great a liberty in paraphrasing, on one hand; nor on the other, suffering the spirit of the poet to escape me, by adhering too closely to his letter.[3]

Tempting as it obviously was to look on the need to preserve 'the spirit of the poet' as an escape clause in moments of particular difficulty, the translations show on the whole, at least in principle, a high degree of meticulousness over the details of the text. Pye's own refusal to follow

1 Monthly Review liii (1775), 158. Langhorne regards Psaumis' grey hair as an invention of the scholiast, taking him instead to be 'so young a man that the poet was obliged to assert his own veracity, at the same time that he expatiated upon his exploits', Pindar's final point being that 'early youth has many times the merit and qualities of maturer years.'

2 Critical Review xlvi (1778), 59-62. Much of the review is concerned with a detailed comparison of Greene's version of the Antilochus and Nestor episode from Pythian 6 with the original.

3 Pye, p. 861.

blindly the accepted sense (i.e. the Latin version in the Oxford edition) is shown in several of his notes: on ἐλαύνῃ (O.iv.1), on κλυτᾶν Τιρυνθίων (O.vi.40), on the beginning of Olympian 13. Burnaby Greene's very cavalier approach to traditional renderings and to the text presents itself, paradoxically, as a pre-occupation with the Greek original;[1] and William Tasker's concern with the correctness of his rendering is illustrated by the frequency with which he provides his own Latin translation to support his version of the more difficult or metaphorical phrases.

The translations as well as the reviews, however, show that 'elegance' was in the eighteenth century as necessary a part of 'fidelity' as was Cowley's attempt to preserve, at the expense of meaning, the original 'Colours of Poetry'.[2] William Tasker and James Banister are both praised for the accuracy of their translations: and it is a revealing exercise to compare their renderings of a particular passage with that of a twentieth-century translator. The third strophe of Nemean 8, in Richmond Lattimore's version, runs as follows:

> Zeus father, may such never be my way;
> let me, walking always in the path
> of simplicity, make my life, and die thus, leaving
> to my children fame without reproach. Some pray for gold,
> some for lands

1 See below, pp. 313-4.

2 cf. Banister, p. x: 'To copy the peculiar style of Pindar in an English translation would be a vain attempt . . . It therefore becomes a Translator to consider the genius of the language in which he writes, as well as that from which he translates, if he wishes to preserve the beauties, whilst he expresses the sense of his author.'

without limit, but I to lay my limbs in the ground as one who
gladdened his fellow-citizens,
praising that which deserves it, scattering blame on the
workers of evil.[1]

The same passage is translated by Tasker thus:

A different custom far be mine
Confirm my wish, O Jove divine!
Do thou approve my flowing lays,
While they ne'er sink to venal praise:
Grant me an humble life to lead,
In virtue's simple path to tread;
When Pindar's bones are laid in earth,
Let no son blush to own his birth,
From him deriv'd - nor pine that others hold
Vast tracts of land, and mines of richest gold;
Some distant offspring may inherit
Pindar's sole heritage, poetic spirit,
Who warm with Phoebus' heavenly fire
In honour's cause attun'd his lyre,
Pursu'd th'example of the candid few,
To praise, where praise; and blame, where blame was due.[2]

Banister's version is of comparable length:

May no such passions e'er molest
The tranquil temper of my breast,
O father Jove! but rather lead
My steps though Honour's simpler ways,
That when I'm number'd with the dead
The virtuous may record my praise,
And my surviving children bless my name,
And glory in their sire's transmitted fame.
On heaping gold some minds are wholly bent,
And others wish for fields of wide extent,
For me alone, I seek the applauding voice
Of those who in my lyric strains rejoice;
Till in the earth my languid limbs are laid,
Inclos'd in Death's impenetrable shade;
This be my wish, to raise the strain sublime,
And bid the virtuous live through endless time;
But on the soul degenerate, mean, and base,
To fix the mark of horror and disgrace.[3]

1 Richmond Lattimore, The Odes of Pindar, fifth impression, Chicago and London, 1964, p. 119.

2 Tasker, p. 143.

3 Banister, p. 157.

The original nine lines of Greek (in the eighteenth century texts) have become seventeen in Tasker, eighteen in Banister: the versions are clearly rather paraphrase than translation, and both in fact may have picked up some hints from the Latin paraphrasis in the Oxford edition.[1] Despite what seems to be a mistranslation of ἐφαντόμαν, Banister is on the whole closer to the sense of the Greek, avoiding the temptation to personalise the passage as Tasker does with his introduction of Pindar's name and the increased emphasis on his offspring. It could hardly be said, however, that one gives a clearer idea of the original than the other: the compressed and quietly conventionalised prayer has in both cases become a diffuse apologia resting entirely on a succession of moral and literary clichés.

The kind of 'elegance' which the eighteenth century translators try to foist upon Pindar consists partly of form and partly of style, both of these ancillary to the reigning literary tyrant, decorum. The pressure exerted upon a translator by the chosen form is particularly obvious in the case of Banister, who renders all the odes into smooth octosyllabic couplets, but it is an influential factor in all these works. Rhyme is, as the reviewer of two nineteenth century translations of Pindar put it, 'a very Procrustes' bed in the hands of a translator':[2] and even although

1 'Faxis Jupiter pater, nunquam istiusmodi sim moribus, ut per invidiam de bonis male, de malis bene loquar, blandem et dolosam orationem commentus. Malim vitae meae stadium decurrere simplicibus candoris et sinceritatis viis insistendo, ut illud emensus, famam omni ab infamia liberam liberis meis post mortem relinquam. Alii nummorum numerum innumerum optant, alii arvorum immensum campum. At ego unicum hoc studeo, ut meis civibus placeam usque ad obitum, post quem corpus meum terra tegetur, laude digna laudibus prosequendo, et iniquis vituperium inspergendo.' Oxon., p. 396.

2 Quarterly Review li (1834), 25.

none of these versions attempts a strict observance of triadic responsion, the urge to reproduce Pindar's variety of metre increases the need for manipulation of the sense to fit the form. Tasker explains his policy in his introductory essay: 'some of the odes are attempted in regular, others in irregular measure; and of those that are regular, each ode is attempted in different versification, to give greater variety, and to approach, if possible to a greater similitude of the original.'[1] The effect of the metrical variations in the versions of William Dodd is often more overwhelming than in those of Ambrose Philips: in the sixth Olympian, for example, the shifts of metre range from

> While she unloos'd her various-colour'd zone,
> And in a secret grove brought forth a soul-enlightened son;

to a strophe such as

> Hecate and the fates consenting
> To Apollo's fond request,
> All the mother's pangs preventing . . .

and the following epode:

> For Apollo five times his bright journey renew'd
> While the babe lay conceal'd on a violet bed;
> Where each sweetest flower's choice fragrance bedew'd
> His tender limbs nightly in open air laid.
> But when manhood, gaily blooming,
> Spread his roseat cheeks with down . . .[2]

Predictably, one finds in the style of these translations an insistently classicizing effect. At its best, as in parts of Thomas Tyrwhitt's translation of Isthmian 8, the elevation of language and Latinate syntax considered suitable for a representation of Pindar's majesty can be, in its own way, very successful:

1 Tasker, pp. 31-2.

2 Dodd, Poems, pp. 127, 128.

Fly swift, ye Youths, where Youth and Friendship call,
To Telesarchus' honour'd gate proceed,
There for Cleander form the festive Ball,
And give his daring Toils a glorious meed:
Those happy toils, which on the Nemean plain
Declar'd him Victor, now triumphant bring
The Youth from Isthmus; and demand a strain
Distinguish'd as his worth. Ev'n I must sing
For young Cleander; sunk in gloomy woe
Ev'n I must call the Muse, in golden sounds to flow.[1]

Whether consciously or not, Tyrwhitt seems to have responded to the strikingly epic flavour of the original:

"Nor let the Nymph a second strife create,
But, soon as e'er the Moon full-orb'd shall shine
Auspicious on the rites, submit to fate;
And to the Chief her virgin charms resign."
She spoke: and instant each contending God
Shook his immortal Brows, and gave th'assenting Nod.[2]

Pye's rendering of the description in Olympian 10 of the first games at Olympia shows, however, the other side of the coin:

While lovely Luna pours her argent light
Full-orb'd, and cheers with rays the gloomy shades of night.
The echoing woods, and vaulted temples round,
Ring with the jocund shouts, and festive strain.[3]

The concern with 'decorum' results on one obvious plane in the crude instinct to raise what were thought to be Pindar's pedestrianisms to a level reconcilable, circularly, with the dignity of the ode: as Pye remarks on the phrase δαιμόνιον πόδ' ἔχων at O.vi.8, defending his translation 'In this thrice-honoured state by fortune placed',

1 Thomas Tyrwhitt, Translations in Verse, p. 14.

2 ibid., p. 18.

3 Pye, p. 872.

> To stand in a person's shoes, is a well-known English proverbial expression. This is a startling example of the different genius of languages; what is sublime in the Greek would be the height of ridicule in English.[1]

There is even, perhaps, a trace of pre-Victorian prudery in Tasker's note to authorise the expression 'navel of the earth' at P.vi.74, at the same time offering a less offensively literal version for any 'very delicate reader'.[2] But the influence of the desire to make everything in Pindar befit the character of the ode is far more pervasive than this, extending beyond a concern with individual words and phrases into a constant manipulation of the tone and the sequence of thought. Dr Johnson, berating Cowley for the incongruity of his sentiments and the lack of metrical harmony in his two Pindaric paraphrases, sets out his own ideas on Pindaric translation:

> The imitator ought . . . to have adopted what he found, and to have added what was wanting: to have preserved a constant return of the same numbers, and to have supplied smoothness of transition and continuity of thought.[3]

Banister, with his heroic couplets, might almost have been writing to Johnson's prescription: and the applicability of his words to Banister's predecessors is clear also. In the lines quoted above from Pye's version of Olympian 10, Pindar's full moon becomes a Latin personification, with the 'gloomy shades of night' introduced as a gratuitous contrast with her radiance; and the πὰν πεδίον of the original is turned into any neo-classical landscape. The same process - the heightening of diction, the introduction of poetical periphrases and conventional epithets, the

1 ibid., p. 865.

2 Tasker, p. 85. The epithet, omitted from the first version, is included in the alternative - 'To Delphi, centre of resounding earth'.

3 Johnson, Lives, i, 47.

manipulation of Pindar's sense into new contrasts and balances - can be seen at work in almost any excerpt from the works of these translators. Tasker's introduction of Orestes in the eleventh Pythian demonstrates how, faced with a passage thick with proper names and legendary detail, the translator becomes simultaneously selective and expansive to achieve a smooth-running narrative:

> whom Arsinoë fair
> His faithful nurse, with anxious care
> Convey'd in secret from his native land,
> And Clytemnestra's murderous hand,
> Red with the blood of Agamemnon slain;
> What time the fierce Adulteress impress
> The ruthless steel on fair Cassandra's breast,
> To Acheron, in Pluto's dark domain,
> Hurl'd headlong with a vengeful blow,
> To seek her lord and lover in the shades below.[1]

The epithets are otiose but not without effect: all the individuality of Pindar's style is ironed out to make him as far as possible the correct eighteenth century poet. This attempt to level out all particularities of style is carried to its furthest extremes in the work of Burnaby Greene, where the impulse towards generalisation leads even to the studious avoidance of 'the adoption of Greek names, to characterize the several persons, and places described in his Original, which would not have served the purpose of Poetry, however it might have tended to display the Scholar'.[2] The result is, not unfrequently, an unfathomable obscurity, as in the first antistrophe of Pythian 9:

> Thou, silver-footed Queen of Love,
> Soft-smiling on the Delian guest,
> The heav'n-built Chariot gav'st to prove
> With gentler touch the sweets of rest!
> Protective of the genial bed,
> Fair Modesty, thy pinions spread,

1 Tasker, pp. 109-111.

2 Greene, 'Advertisement' p. xlvii.

> While He the downy hour imploys
> In all the ecstacy of Joys,
> Which thrilling o'er the God-like frame
> Melt with a mutual bliss the princely Dame,
> Boast of the Monarch-Sire; - the pride of arms
> Awakes his iron Subjects to alarms.
> Sprung from Ocean's sov'reign God
> He the paths of Glory trod!
> Embow'r'd in Pindus' sacred vale of yore
> This Son to Peneus' bed the lovely Naiäd bore.[1]

The levelling effect of translation was, of course, recognised by the eighteenth century, and there are several expressions of discontent. Thomas Francklin, the Greek professor at Cambridge, had expressed his view in 1753:

> In the fair field the vet'ran armies stand,
> A firm, unconquer'd, formidable band,
> When lo! Translation comes and levels all;
> By vulgar hands the bravest heroes fall.
> On eagle's wings see lofty Pindar soar;
> Cowley attacks, and Pindar is no more.[2]

By 1782 the target has changed, but the complaint is the same:

> Lo! GREENE wields the pen with which long he had scribbled,
> And levell'd old Pindar with Pomfret and Tibbald . . .[3]

Burnaby Greene's reviewer in the Critical Review, writing four years earlier, shows a clear sense of the distortion of style produced by contemporary attitudes towards translation, a distortion seen of course at its most extreme in the work under review. Setting a passage of the Greek (P. vii. 20-21) alongside Greene's version, the reviewer points out that what is 'plainly and simply expressed in the Greek . . . is rendered obscure and enigmatical by an affectation of metaphorical elegance'

1 Greene, pp. 90-91. The obscurity of this method is, according to Greene, 'obviated' by footnotes providing the proper names: Greene's description of them as 'these less melodious appellations' tallies with his apparent uncertainty over their scansion.

2 Thomas Francklin, Translation: a Poem, London, 1753, ll. 13-18.

3 The Gentleman's Magazine, lii (1782), 253.

Greene's work, in the rather mildly expressed judgment of his reviewer,

> would have been more valuable if, both in his prose and verse, he had been content to express himself with a natural simplicity, and had not introduced such a multiplicity of glaring and inconsistent metaphors.[1]

There obviously were those, then, who would have rated other qualities, such as simplicity, higher, in a translation, than 'elegance': but there is only one attempt - little-noticed and almost wholly unsuccessful - to put into practice the realisation that Pindar might be allowed to speak for himself. In 1783, in A New Translation of Select Odes of Pindar and Anacreon, William Green, who had already produced a translation of Horace's odes, became the first to challenge West's position as the model for Pindaric translators:

> Cogitanti mihi saepenumero occurrit,
> That, the unlearned must think themselves egregiously imposed upon, when they hear such high Commendations of Pindar, Virgil, Horace, etc., and have such Translations put into their Hands, and highly extolled too, in which, they are so far from discovering any Beauties, that they can scarce bear to Peruse them.[2]

Despite the unpleasantly conceited tone of his Proem, there is more to Green's forcefully expressed attitude than mere cantankerousness:

> Our young Academicians commend highly the Translation of Pindar, without having carefully enough compared it with the original. The Excellences of Pindar, are Energy, Propriety, and Grandeur, and his Concise Sublime when Diffused, and Involved in a Multiplicity of crowded Words, is lost in a Cloud. The single word ἱπποχαρμαν delighting in Horses, is drawn and spun out [in west's translation] to no less than Four lines...And such feeble Strains,
> As, - - Who along the Desert Air,
> Seeks the faded Starry Train! etc.
> when compared with the Numbers of the deep-mouthed Pindar, are as the sound of a Squeaking Fife, to the Clangour of a Trumpet.[3]

Green's appreciation of Pindar's 'concise sublime' is genuine: he notes,

1 Critical Review xlvi (1778), 62.

2 William Green, A New Translation of Select Odes of Pindar and Anacreon, London, 1783.

3 ibid.

for example, on ἀμόφορος ἀοιδᾶς (O.vii.6) that 'this Phrase in Pindar contains the most Sense in the fewest Syllables of any I have met.'[1] Green's own translation, which would be more accurately described as an aperçu of selected odes, is an almost unqualified failure in itself. The four odes chosen, the first, second, fourth, and seventh Olympians, had all been translated by West, and for part of Olympian 1 Green quotes West's version in a footnote, presumably as a foil. Having disposed of Olympian 2 in little more than a page, he reminds the reader that he means 'not a full Translation, but to preserve the Spirit and manner of the Author, of which, the English Reader has never yet had any just idea, or example given'. Occasionally he does hit upon a very successful phrase. The opening line of Olympian 2, for example, 'Ye heavenly Harp-controuling Hymns', is in happy contrast to West's 'Ye choral hymns, harmonious lays,/ Sweet rulers of the lyric string': and it is interesting to note that when Coleridge approached the same passage in Pindar, this time with Cowley as his butt, his rendering of the phrase was almost identical - 'Ye harp-controuling Hymns'.[2]

In all of these works, except for that of William Green, it is clear that the authors, unlike F.D. Morice, saw the province of the translator as indivisible from those of 'the commentator, the critic, and the literary historian': and although the importance attached to such accessories varies widely among them, in most cases the scholarly annotation goes far beyond what is required for simple elucidation of problematical points in the text. Pye's notes are kept fairly brief, most of them supplying historical or mythological background, and William Tasker's are very largely concerned with points of construction and etymology in

1 ibid.

2 Coleridge, Biographia Literaria, ed. J. Shawcross, 2 vols, Oxford, 1907, ii, 67.

the original, used, frequently in conjunction with a Latin paraphrase, to support his own version. In Burnaby Greene's volume, however, the two hundred and seventy-six pages of translation, arguments, and commentary are sandwiched by nearly two hundred of 'Observations on the Life and Writings of Pindar', 'Conjectures of the Aera wherein the Grecian Games concluded', an 'Ode to the Genius of Pindar', 'Annotations to the Foregoing Odes of Pindar', 'Postscript to the Annotations upon Pindar', and an appendix. Both Tasker and Banister preface their work with long and informed critical essays on various aspects of Pindar. Despite the obvious intention of these translators to make a contribution to Pindaric scholarship, references to the new developments on the continent in the study of Pindar are very sporadic - the work of Mingarelli in Italy, and of Vauvilliers in France is clearly still unknown. Heyne, whose new edition of the odes and fragments had appeared in 1773, is more familiar: his reputation in England is attested by a reference made to him by Tasker, who did not come across the new edition until his own work was in the press, as 'the German Longinus':[1] and Greene, besides one or two references in the body of his commentary, uses a quotation from Heyne's edition (wrongly dated 1775) as the epigraph to his whole work:

> Sunt in Nemeis, et Pythiis, etiam in Isthmiis Carmina quae Olympiis, meo quidem sensu, Structurae felicitate, et Sententiarum gravitate praestant.[2]

For William Dodd, Pye, Burnaby Greene and Tasker, however, it can be confidently asserted that, as for Gilbert West and Ambrose Philips, the

1 Tasker, p. 72. Tasker refers here also to 'the Glasgow edition of Pindar'.

2 Greene, title-page: cf. p. 234.

basis for Pindaric study was the Oxford edition - by this time about eighty years old, and preserving in its metaphrase, paraphrase, and Latin verse translation the work of scholars of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Use of this material is never wholly uncritical: Tasker, for example, charges Sudorius with having '(if the expression may be allowed) Horatianiz'd Pindar',[1] and Pye takes issue with the traditional interpretation of passages from the fourth and sixth Olympians. In most cases, however, few other scholarly works are invoked. Edward Burnaby Greene stands out as an eccentric exception, citing in the course of his work not only 'Henry Stephens', Aemilius Portus, Schmid, Benedictus, and Heyne, but also Pye's Six Olympic Odes, Congreve's 'Discourse', Barford's dissertation on the first Pythian, Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Bentley's Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Chandler's Travels in Greece, and a host of other miscellaneous works. One of the features of Burnaby Greene's translation, to which he frequently refers, with justification, as an 'edition', is a readiness quite comparable with that of Erasmus Schmid to emend the text wherever an opportunity - not necessarily a difficulty - presents itself. Greene's motives for emendation tend to be vague: at their best they are trivial, at their worst laughable. The notes abound with phrases such as ' - will be more clear if read - ', 'I would read, as being more elegant . . .', or 'a tautology at least will be avoided by thus altering . . .'. The emendations themselves are curiosities not worth preserving. The note on πίθων at P.ii.72 is representative:

> I would propose to read πείθων, 'He who persuades, or allures by Flattery;'. . . It must however be acknowledg'd, that the ancient adage πίθων καλὸς, handed down by Erasmus, and quoted by the Saumur Editor, MAY reconcile the old reading.[2]

1 Tasker, p. 29.

2 Greene, p. 8.

The same cavalier attitude to Pindar's intentions combines with the same misguided ingenuity in the note on P.iii.66, where Greene states that 'from the great application of Baths in ancient times for the Cure of principal disorders, I am induc'd to read βερμὰν in the Accusative Singular, instead of making it an Epithet to νοσῶν.' [1]

From his voluminous notes it becomes obvious that Burnaby Greene's interest in Pindar's odes centres on their mythological content. The bulk of the notes have little or nothing to do with the text or with Pindar: Greene, totally enmeshed by Jacob Bryant's very recent 'new system' of mythological analysis, an attempt to relate all ancient myths to their Biblical prototypes, is far more concerned with the legends themselves than with Pindar's use of them.[2] A particularly puzzling example which serves to demonstrate the kind of speculation considered by Greene to be relevant to his commentary is the note on the Ixion myth, which, according to Greene, 'if any transition throughout the Odes may be considered as precipitate in its introduction, and prolix in its detail . . . stands fairest for censure':

> The Fable of Ixion claims its original existence from a primaeval period; the amour of our heathen Adventurer is a type of his ambition; he is accused by Pindar of that enormous criminality, Murder; and intentional Fraud was its immediate result. Will not these allegations receive additional efficacy, if apply'd to the sacred Records? The Arch-Rebel Cain may be presum'd the source of Ixion . . .[3]

1 ibid., p. 20.

2 Jacob Bryant, A New System, or, An Analysis of Ancient Mythology: wherein an attempt is made to divest Tradition of Fable; and to reduce the Truth to its Original Purity. First edition, London, 2 vols., 1774: second edition, 1775, with third volume, 1776. Cf. Greene, 'Postscript', p. 401.

3 Greene, pp. v, 282.

The affinity with George Eliot's Mr Casaubon is often striking in the style as well as the content of Greene's mythological excursuses.

On Medea in the fourth Pythian, for example, Greene demonstrates an unenviable ability to flatten his subject matter with a judicious suggestion of enthusiasm:

> Medea's long discourse must have been interesting to Grecian Vanity in the days of Pindar, nor is it indeed unworthy of modern attention, as containing the history (however mix'd with the frolics of Fable) or original adventurers in the labors of settlement.[1]

The boundaries of Greene's rather confused reverence for Pindar as the 'Voice' of a lost age of patriotism and heroic endeavour, boundaries already hinted in his sense of an underlying monotony in the odes and in his readiness to improve upon Pindaric details, become even more marked in this context. 'Take away Lust, Murder, and Rapine, and you annihilate Pagan Heroism.'[2] The attitude of the mythological 'systematisers' is well expressed in the note on the tale, in Pythian 6, of Zeus despatching two eagles to ascertain the centre of the earth:

> On the whole I cannot but suppose the Fable to have arisen from a bungling mixture of Heathen Mythology with the description of the Raven and the Dove, sent from the Ark, as simply deliver'd in Holy Writ: for ancient Heathenism, like more modern commentators, made little scruple grossly to force the stream of History from its sacred channel, and overflow the boundaries of Reason, and Religion with the muddy torrent of enthusiastic conceits.[3]

1 ibid., p. 34.

2 ibid., p. 156 (on Phocus in Nemean 5). A contrasting view is expressed in, for example, the 'Ode to the Genius of Pindar': cf. below, p. 320.

3 Greene, p. 306.

Greene does seem, from his own assertion, to have thought that his copious mythological annotations would help to 'elucidate the text of Pindar', but his lack of ability to discriminate between the elucidatory and the purely self-indulgent makes it difficult to feel that his theories significantly affected his reading of Pindar. His scorn for the degeneracy of the Greek mythology obviously did extend to its effectiveness as a poetic stimulus: on Jason's two javelins in the fourth antistrophe of Pythian 4 Greene remarks dismissively that 'Milton's single Spear weighs more than a thousand of these.'[1] It is something of a paradox, then, that despite this feeling that in matters of 'History' and 'Truth' Pindar was a victim of the ignorance of his age, the moral content of the odes is one of Greene's major concerns. In the arguments prefixed to each ode he frequently expounds on the moral message inculcated in it, most often in the gnomic passages, but even, occasionally, in the myth:

> Heathen tales, however trifling in appearance, rarely fail to inculcate moral reflections: We, who are so happy to profess undisturb'd the purer doctrines of christianity, may be forward to excuse many tenets of Error and Absurdity, to admire a Picture, delineated in Colors of brotherly affection.[2]

Greene's occasional comments in the notes on the prolixity or abruptness of Pindar's mythological digressions can be seen as a sympton of the more general, and perennial, debate over Pindar: as John Wolcot writes in 1793,

> the merits and demerits of the old Theban bard have formed a frequent subject of literary contention . . . Some moderns, attempting and wishing to tarnish his poetical crown, suspect [his reputation]; concluding it to be all a fable, invented by some idle enthusiast who was incapable of distinguishing between sense and sound, noise and sublimity, the bold thunder and the rumbling wheel-barrow.[3]

1 ibid., p. 37.

2 Argument to Nemean 10, ibid., p. 204.

3 Monthly Review (new series) xi (1793), 449-50.

Wolcot leaves the question open: the translators themselves tend, naturally, to the side of the thunder, but Greene, Tasker and Banister all see current prejudices against Pindar as significant obstacles in their way. Greene devotes much of his preface to a defence of Pindar on the counts of incoherence, irregularity, and harshness, but his defence abounds with reservations about the digressions, about the 'dull Uniformity' produced by accounts of the merits of ancestors, and about the 'partial aspect' of Pindar's proverbs, which makes us 'vainly wish the impression, which they made upon ancient minds'.[1] Again, the total effect of Greene's observations, wrapped as they are in a mass of verbiage, is one of mere confusion, and one searches in vain for any sense of the odes as unities in themselves rather than compounds of materials -- mythological, historical, and gnomic - inviting annotation. Both of Greene's immediate successors, however, do give priority to a critical discussion of the odes, and it is interesting to note that, despite the veneration expressed by each of them for Gilbert West, West's own contribution to the question of Pindaric 'coherence', the emphasis on the occasion of each ode as its unifying factor, is completely ignored: both produce what is in fact largely a modified re-statement of the conventional dicta of a century earlier.

William Tasker's line is a simple one, explicitly Longinian in approach. Pindar is to Bacchylides (of whom Tasker remarks that 'some fragments . . . that are still extant, evince the mediocrity of his poetical talents') as was Shakespeare to Ben Jonson:

> The sweet swan of Avon was in the drama, what the bold swan of Dirce was on the lyre: both in their respective provinces equally inimitable. They were both endowed with that wildness of imagination which always accompanies an elevation of genius: the one caught the living manners as they arose in the various scenes of many-chequered life: the other painted in glowing colours, the athletic exploits of an heroically-romantic age, and was literally possessed of that fine phrenzy, which the

1 Greene, pp. iii-vi.

> English dramatist described; they both despised, and nobly deviated from, the laboured rules of art; and both occasionally snatched graces beyond the reach of any, and were irregularly and magnificently great.[1]

The conventionality of the judgment is, in this case, deceptive. Tasker's view of Pindar, surprisingly anarchic for its date, is in conscious opposition to 'the fashionable criticism of the age', and is founded partly at least upon a considered theory of Pindar's metrical art. Starting apparently from the premise that Horace's phrase lege solutis was not meant solely of the dithyrambs, and conceding that Congreve and West in refuting this description have clearly proved the regularity of Pindar in some particulars, Tasker formulates what remains to him, 'the grand question . . . whether he is, upon the whole, regular or irregular?' Tasker's grounds for questioning the modern view are, taken individually, shaky, since they are necessarily based on the Alexandrian line division, and also - despite Dawes - on the old, irregular, arrangement of the fourteenth Olympian. He contends that, despite the correspondence of strophe with antistrophe and epode with epode, 'at the same time there are no two lines of the same strophe or antistrophe alike, either in length or measure.' In addition he points out the occasional difficulty of making the syllables correspond exactly: 'metrum laborat', he remarks, is no uncommon complaint.[2] The irregularity of Olympian 14, described by Tasker as 'a short specimen of Dithyrambic poetry', he finds confirmed by Heyne.[3] Despite the inevitable misconceptions and the individual

1 Tasker, pp. 16-17.

2 ibid., pp. 21-26.

3 ibid., p. 72.

inaccuracies of the details of his argument, Tasker's summing-up brings a welcome note of flexibility to the subject:

> The Scholiasts seem to try Pindar's versification by an ex-post-facto law of criticism; and, by adopting all the more modern terms of different measure and quantity, give some particular title to almost every kind of verse in Pindar: whereas they seem to forget that their pompous stile of verse and measure, Ionic, Acataleptic, Hypercataleptic, Brachy-cataleptic, Paeonic, Antispastic, Iambic, Trochaic, &c. &c. were names that Pindar in all probability never even heard of in all his life time . . . Doth it not appear, that Pindar's Odes were in some particular respects (such as in the distributions of the strophe and antistrophe, &c.) very regular, but in all others very irregular; and that the great variety of his verses, in their general structure, acknowledged no other standard or established rule than Pindar's own sense of harmony: and who, in all likelihood, first made the strophe of each ode in any fancy-measure that pleased him best; and then took great pains to make the antistrophe correspond to it.[1]

The metrical libertarianism established in the second half of this passage provides a semi-scientific consolidation for Tasker's general view of Pindar's poetic character, a view in which all the elements are familiar from Cowley - rejected by Tasker for his 'false thoughts, puerilities, and quaintnesses of wit' - and from numerous reapplications of Horace, to whom Tasker too acknowledges a debt.[2] Pindar is a poet

> who seems to swallow up everything in the rapid vortex of his unbounded imagination; and whose glowing stile is full of the boldest figures. - Apostrophe - personification - hyperbole - unexpected digression - and daring deviation - characterize the numbers of our lyrist; together with that abrupt transition, which, as it gives surprize to the reader, is so far from being any defect, that it constitutes the peculiar and essential beauty of the bold stile of lyric poetry. In his wildest and most excentric flights, however, the Theban bard never loses sight of his main object, and connects seeming inconsistencies, by the invisible chain of magic harmony; and is perhaps never more consistent, than when to vulgar cold-blooded readers, he appears inconsistent; and is, if the expression may be allowed, upon the whole poetically-coherent, when to a prose-critic he may appear prosaically-absurd.[3]

1 ibid., pp. 26-7. William Green for once expresses approval of a fellow-translator, declaring that 'the absurd contest for the regularity of Pindar, is now given up.'

2 Tasker, pp. 18, 19-20.

3 ibid., pp. 17-18.

In contrast to the curiously anachronistic vocabulary and style of Tasker's preface, Banister's appreciation of Pindar, written ten years later, reflects on every page the preoccupations of the pre-romantic era. The dominating theme is simplicity: like Dr Johnson and John Brown, among many others, Banister is largely interested in speculation on the origins of lyric poetry and in placing Pindar in the context of its development.[1] His preface includes, with little indication of their relevance to Pindar, the standard primitivist references to the 'desarts' of America and 'the savage tribes roaming in quest of food, through dark forests and over wild savannahs', to the poetry of the Peruvians and the Chinese, and to the debilitating effects of 'the soft climates of some parts of Asia, where subsistence is easily obtained, and the senses are gratified by all the rich productions of nature'.[2] Burnaby Greene had lauded Pindar's subjects as 'Lessons to an Insect Tribe, who doze/ On Pleasure's silken couch, and sip the Virgin Rose':[3] Banister shares this belief in the efficacy of classical learning as a cure for the sybaritism of the age. He finds that one of the chief disadvantages under which Pindar labours lies in 'the peculiar style of his writings, so discordant to the manners of the present age'.

> To men who have had a mere modern education, who are unacquainted with the mythological fables of the Greeks, many parts of Pindar must be unintelligible, and if at the same time their hearts have been corrupted by luxury, and their attention dissipated by trifles, his vigorous flights of fancy must appear like wild extravagancies, and the generosity of his sentiments are not to be relished, but by those who can form some conception of heroic virtue. This will account for the different opinions which are now entertained of Pindar by scholars and men of the world, as they term themselves. And perhaps we might, without injustice, ascribe to the effeminacy of our manners, that indifference for, or rather that dislike of

1 cf. below, pp. 338f.

2 Banister, pp. i-iii.

3 'Ode to the Genius of Pindar', Greene, p. xxxviii.

> sublime poetry, which has for some time past infected the higher orders of people in this kingdom.[1]

Despite the contemporary wrappings, however, Banister's critical approach to Pindar is wholly traditional, resting, with acknowledgments, on what had been said by Congreve and reiterated by West. His sense of the structure of the Pindaric ode is limited to the old defence of the digressions, that 'we ought to consider that all his odes are written nearly on the same subject, and that it required great skill and ingenuity in the poet, to introduce a variety of circumstances, which can alone render compositions of that sort pleasing'. Again, however, there is a distinctly modish twist to the expression:

> He sometimes expatiates on the countries which gave them birth, and enlarges on the natural productions of the soil, together with the artificial improvements of industry and commerce, and the origin of their laws and government, interspersed with historical anecdote, and adorned with those beautiful fictions which have at all times rendered the Greek mythology so captivating to the imagination.[2]

In the works of Banister and Burnaby Greene the eighteenth century debate over Pindar largely resolves itself into a question of whether Pindar's myths are indeed 'captivating to the imagination' - 'large pieces of Cloth of Gold', in Blondel's metaphor of 1673 - or simply tiresomely lengthy fictions about figures in whom we no longer believe nor can be expected to feel any interest. Banister's few notes prove that he too found the Greek legends interesting in their own right: most are purely explanatory, dealing with Ixion, Medea, Telamon, Megara, Ulysses, and others, but the note on Thetis in Isthmian 8 shows the same urge as Greene to find out 'all that can be collected of history from the

1 Banister, pp. vi-vii.

2 ibid., pp. viii-ix.

fables'.[1] The hints given by Greene of the moral message occasionally to be found embedded in these pagan fictions now receive a new emphasis, however, and Banister credits Pindar himself with a more didactic intention:

> Such wonderful power has poetry to adorn the most simple tale, and make it the vehicle of moral truth. And it is much to be wished, that those who are blest with a genius for that divine art, would, like our author, engage the imagination and passions in the interests of Virtue and Religion.[2]

The dominance of the didactic element in Banister's view of Pindar is clear from the weighting of the 'arguments' to each ode as well as from his statements in the introduction, where the claims made for Pindar as a psychiatric agent act as a screen for Banister's inability to reach anything other than a superficial understanding of the nature of his poetry:

> We may yet hope, that the love for virtue and religion which our poet manifests on all occasions, and the excellent moral precepts he every where inculcates, may render him the delight of readers of all ages and conditions; for it will not be too much to say, that the diligent perusal of our author will not only tend to elevate the thoughts, but to mend the heart.[3]

Banister's pious 'hope' is indicative of the general failure of these translators of Pindar to face up to the central problems of how to read Pindar's odes and of their literary value. In critical approach as well as in style, Henry James Pye is simply a diligent but uninspired disciple of West's, and Tasker's Longinian views, Greene's concern with the message behind the mythology and Banister's straightforwardly moralistic approach, merely represent different ways of skirting round the central issues. The critical sections of these works, in fact, demonstrate yet again Pindar's reputation being taken on trust, with

1 ibid., p. 243.

2 ibid., (on Coronis myth in Pythian 3), p. 31.

3 ibid., p. ix.

rather more reservations than had been made by earlier enthusiasts about his ability to appeal to the modern age. Considering the translations as a whole, what is noticeable is not so much the attempt to come to terms with Pindar's digressiveness and the particularity of his subject matter, but rather the struggle to turn the uncompromising economy of Pindar's expression into a respectably diffuse and generalised form. Parrot fashion, most acknowledge the 'energy' of Pindar's style, but the translations themselves are an indication of how unpalatable was Pindar's peculiar conciseness as poetry: even Tasker, with his retreat into the supposed lawlessness of the 'Horatian' line of criticism, dares not follow his prefatory theories through into his translation. The industry of the translators of Pindar in this period is not wholly without its moments of success, and the works did not perhaps deserve to have been forgotten by the end of the first decade of the next century, but there can be no doubt that their most permanently interesting feature is the mere fact of their existence in such numbers. Setting aside those aspects which attract attention through pure eccentricity, the English Pindar of the late eighteenth century must be studied rather as a document of the tastes of the age than for any contributions to be found there to the understanding and appreciation of Pindar.

iii. Pindar's place in literature and criticism

Bearing in mind the confident assertion made around 1779 by Dr Johnson that 'Pindarism prevailed above half a century, but at last died gradually away, and other imitations supply its place',[1] it is with some surprise that one reads, in the Critical Review for 1781, the following complaint:

1 Johnson, Lives, i, 48.

> Falstaff . . . was not only witty himself, but the cause of wit in other men. In like manner we may say that Pindar was not only himself a writer of odes, but the cause of ode-writing in other men. We are certainly indebted to him for some good ones of his one, and we are likewise indebted to him for some millions of very bad ones. Scarce an unfledged genius comes from school, but he tries his skill in an ode, which he never fails to gild with the title of Pindaric, though it has no more pretensions to the name than a birth-day sonnet.[1]

In fact, depressing as the picture may have seemed to one whose time was spent in reviewing the new poetical productions of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, little trace now remains of the 'millions' of odes here deplored: odes allegorical, descriptive and celebratory appear in plenty, but relatively few authors make an explicit claim, in title or text, to be emulating Pindar. Investigation of the book registers, reviews, and miscellanies of the time suggests that 'Pindarism' still loomed larger in the mind than on the printed page. In the ten volumes which appeared in 1782 and 1783 as a supplement to Dodsley's collection of poems, the only extended invocation of Pindaric precedent occurs in an 'Ode to Sleep' which accords equal space to Hesiod, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, and refers also to Theocritus, Callimachus, and Anacreon. The details of the passage are traditional enough to provide a text for an illustration of a century and a half earlier:

> Methinks I hear the Theban lyre;
> I feel my ravish'd soul aspire:
> The nymphs surround the infant boy.
> Already conscious of his fame,
> The festive choirs their hopes proclaim,
> While Pan exults with uncouth signs of joy;
> For thee, sole glory of thy abject race,
> The thyme-fed bees their luscious sweets diffuse,
> To sooth the numbers of thy copious muse,
> And in Boeotia fix each coy reluctant grace.[2]

1 Review of A Pindaric Ode to Lord North, Critical Review li (1781), 471.

2 A Collection of Poems in six volumes. By several Hands. With notes, London, 1782, i, 137-8.



DIALOGVE.

D. *Que peuuent ſeruir des abeilles*
A la naiſſance d'vn enfant?
R. *Nous en prediſons les merueilles*
Et qu'il doit eſtre triomphant.
D. *Quelle apparence qu'vne mouche*
Eſleue vn enfant iuſqu'au Ciel?
R. *C'eſt dautant que ſa belle bouche*
Ne doit diſtiller que du miel.
D. *Le laurier eſt en ſa couchette,*
Ainſi comme aux victorieux;
R. *Mais pluſtoſt c'eſt qu'il eſt Poëte,*
Et que ſes vers ſont amoureux.

PINDARE.

An age which could produce an 'Ode on the death of a favourite Bull-finch',[1] was not likely to be short of imitations of 'the Wonderful Wonder of Wonders', Gray's two Pindaric odes. Triadic odes had, of course, been fairly common before 1756, but metrical and verbal echoes of Gray make his influence unmistakable in the works of, for example, James Scott, John Ogilvie, and James Beattie, whose veneration for Gray was largely responsible for the fine Foulis edition of Gray's poems which appeared in 1768. Among the poems which Beattie published in 1760 were two triadic odes, 'To Peace' and 'To Hope', for which, as the Monthly reviewer noted, Gray had clearly been the model: the metrical technique owes much to him, particularly in the more experimental ode 'To Hope'. Despite Gray's influence, however, the irregular ode does not disappear. Such productions as James Sheeles' 'funeral Pindaric poem' entitled Threnodia Northumbrica and Abraham Portal's 'War: an Ode'[2] exhibit, with William Tasker's 'Ode to the warlike genius of Great Britain',[3] all the irregularity and exclamation of the Pindarics written at the beginning of the century. For a while the 'regular' ode was probably more fashionable. In 1756 Joseph Warton had commended poems written 'with regular returns of the Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode, which gives a truly Pindaric variety to the numbers',[4] and nearly twenty years later William Mason, in his edition of Gray's poems, argued for the superiority of this kind of regularity as 'a curb on the wayward

1 by Charles Hanbury Williams: in A Collection of Poems, intended as a Supplement to Mr Dodsley's Collection, new edition, 4 vols., London, 1783, iv, 262-4.

2 Threnodia Northumbrica. A Funeral Pindaric Poem sacred to the Memory of the Right Honourable the Lady Elizabeth Anne Frances Percy, London, 1761: Abraham Portal, War. An Ode, London, [1763]

3 see above, p. 296.

4 Joseph Warton, An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, London, 1756, p. 69.

imagination', and expressed a wish that

> in order to stifle in their birth a quantity of compositions, which are at the same time wild and jejune, regular Odes, and these only, should be deemed legitimate amongst us.[1]

There had always, however, been a current of disapproval of the pretentiousness of the triadic ode, and by the 1780's it seems to have begun to fall generally out of favour. Edmund Cartwright in the Monthly Review, discussing in 1781 an ode by William Hayley to the prison reformer John Howard, observes 'not without pleasure' that

> Mr Hayley has preferred stanzas to the fashionable, though affected, division of the ode into strophe, antistrophe, and epode, which a pedantic veneration for the Grecian model, without any correspondent propriety, was bringing into general use.[2]

William Tasker's views on the degree of regularity to be found in Pindar have already been discussed,[3] and three years after the publication of his views, William Preston, in a paper delivered to the Royal Irish Academy, openly takes issue with Mason:

> If the irregular ode has introduced compositions wild and jejune, the pedantry of the Anglo-Grecian lyric has contributed to the propagation of verses that are tame and insipid, made up of epithets and unmeaning verbiage, and disguised with foreign idioms.[4]

Most of Preston's arguments against the use of triads in an English ode are already familiar from writers like Samuel Cobb - the fact, for example, that the Greek odes were designed for a musical performance, and the 'different genius' and 'greater flexibility' of the Greek language. For

1 The Poems of Mr Gray. To which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life and Writings by W. Mason, York, 1775, p. 98.

2 Monthly Review lxiv (1781), 104-5.

3 above, pp. 318-9.

4. William Preston, 'Thoughts on Lyric Poetry', Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy i (1787), 62.

an English poet, Preston argues, the imposition of triads is

> just such an experiment as if we should attempt to add grace and agility to a dancer by encumbering his legs with fetters, or speed a courser by loading him with a heavy burthen.[1]

Preston's concluding argument in favour of irregularity, however, is firmly rooted in the pre-occupations of the later eighteenth century. Gray himself, in 'The Progress of Poesy', had envisaged how

> Oft, beneath the odorous shade
> Of Chile's boundless forests laid,
> She [the Muse] deigns to hear the savage youth repeat
> In loose numbers wildly sweet,
> Their feather-cinctured chiefs and dusky loves.

Preston, with this passage in mind, makes it clear that for him the supposed primitivism and spontaneity of the form is a guarantee of its inherent merit, making this kind of composition 'peculiarly susceptible of true sublimity':

> It cannot be denied, that a species of composition which adopts the construction of the rythmus, and even the sound of particular words to the subject, must have its foundation in the genuine undepraved feelings of human nature. I have not a doubt within my mind of the irregular ode being the first form of composition adopted by mankind, in their first wild attempts at literature . . . The first literary production, in an unpolished nation, where the pure dictates of nature prevailed, was a poem, and that poem an irregular ode. Whether the subject of the rude minstrelsy was the feather-cinctured chiefs, or dusky loves, the untutored feelings of the heart teaching expressions, and suggesting sounds attempered and attuned to that subject, the stanza varied with the sense, and the spontaneous descant became an irregular ode.[2]

The more general implications for Pindaric influence of the development of this kind of approach to lyric poetry will be dealt with later: in the immediate context, however, Preston's remarks emphasise the increasing alienation of the 'Anglo-Grecian lyric' from the popular tastes of the age. The most notorious attack on Gray's Pindarics, however, which had come five years earlier in Dr Johnson's 'Life of Gray',

1 ibid., p. 64.

2 ibid., p. 71.

was directed not against the form of the triadic Pindaric but against Gray himself. Dr Johnson's views on the vogue of the irregular Pindaric ode - the Pindaric 'folly', the Pindaric 'infatuation' - were unequivocal, finding their fullest expression in the Life of Cowley, the first of the collection. Johnson's main quarrel was with the metrical licence of the form: Sprat, in commending the Cowleyan form, should, he declares, have remembered that 'what is fit for everything fits nothing well.'

> The great pleasure of verse arises from the known measure of the lines and uniform structure of the stanzas, by which the voice is regulated and the memory relieved.[1]

Pindarism seemed to Johnson, as to many before him, to have opened the floodgates to a torrent of bad poetry; but even in the giants of his poetic hierarchy, Dryden and Pope, the lack of 'the essential constituent of metrical composition, the stated recurrence of settled numbers', was to be condemned.

> It may be alleged that Pindar is said by Horace to have written 'numeris lege solutis', but as no such lax performances have been transmitted to us, the meaning of that expression cannot be fixed; and perhaps the like return may properly be made to a modern Pindarist, as Mr Cobb received from Bentley who, when he found his criticisms upon a Greek exercise, which Cobb had presented, refuted one after another by Pindar's authority, cried out at last, 'Pindar was a bold fellow, but thou art an impudent one.'[2]

Johnson did, however, as is clear from the remark quoted at the beginning of this section, regard Pindarism as a passing phase: Prior, he remarks, 'probably lived to be convinced that the essence of verse is order and consonance'.[3] It would be quite wrong to suppose that Johnson's hostility to the irregular Cowleyan ode extended to Pindar himself,

1 Johnson, Lives, i, 47.

2 'Life of Pope', ibid., iii, 227.

3 ibid., ii, 210.

or even to the imitation of Pindar. His remarks on Cowley's own Pindarique Odes are, except in the matter of versification, unexpectedly sympathetic:

> Of the Olympick Ode the beginning is, I think, above the original in elegance, and the conclusion below it in strength . . . Though the English ode cannot be called a translation, it may be very properly consulted as a commentary . . . In the following odes, where Cowley chooses his own subjects, he sometimes rises to dignity truly Pindarick, and, if some deficiencies of language be forgiven, his strains are such as those of the Theban bard were to his contemporaries.[1]

Johnson would probably have subscribed to Horace's dictum on the imitation of Pindar: to him Pindar stands as a probably vague ideal of which all attempts at emulation are bound to fall short. He did possess a copy of Pindar from 1773, and checked parts of the translations of both Cowley and West against the original. His expectations of West's version seem to have been low, and he found them surpassed. In Cowley's translations 'the spirit of Pindar is indeed not every where equally preserved.' Dr Johnson found Cowley, as he was to find West, too paraphrastical: the outpourings of Pindar's 'deep mouth' seem to him to have been extended, enlarged, 'prettified'.

It is in this context of veneration of Pindar, and not in that of his dislike of the irregular Pindaric, that one should place Johnson's notorious attack on Gray. Although he is critical of the versification of Gray's triadic odes, this is on the grounds that the stanzas are too long, and there is no thought of aligning Gray with the earlier practitioners in Pindaric licence. It is noteworthy that in his criticism of Gray's two Pindaric odes, Johnson says nothing about the genre itself. Much of his criticism of the odes may fairly be regarded as over-pedantic 'verbal criticism' (Horace Walpole's phrase),[2] but certain generalities

1 ibid., i, 43-4.

2 Walpole, letter to William Mason, 27 January 1781, Correspondence ed. W.S. Lewis and others, 34 vols (continuing), London and New Haven, 1937-65, xxix, 97.

do emerge. He censures the obscurity of the odes, and clings to his standpoint of 'incredulus odi' with a seemingly perverse immovability. Neither 'The Progress of Poesy' nor 'The Bard' could stand up for long in the face of a rather blinkered search for 'moral and political truth' and a curt dismissal of much of their subject matter as 'puerilities of obsolete mythology'. It is only at the end of his discussion of the odes that Johnson abandons this apparently deliberately unpropitious and narrow viewpoint to arrive at a conclusion of more general validity:

> These odes are marked by glittering accumulations of ungraceful ornaments: they strike, rather than please; the images are magnified by affectation; the language is laboured into harshness. The mind of the writer seems to work with unnatural violence. 'Double, double, toil and trouble.' He has a kind of strutting dignity, and is tall by walking on tiptoe. His art and struggle are too visible, and there is too little appearance of ease and nature.[1]

Although in this unmistakably vitriolic assessment no reference at all is made to Pindar, in setting himself up in opposition to the 'many' who were 'content to be shewn beauties which they could not see', Johnson is inevitably combating perhaps the most frequently reiterated of contemporary opinions on Gray's odes, that they 'breathed the very spirit of Pindar.' In the storm of protest aroused by the appearance of the 'Life of Gray' - referred to by one pamphleteer as 'the Philippic upon Mr Gray'[2] - this was certainly to become a central theme in Gray's defence. In his edition of Gray's poems published in 1786, Gilbert Wakefield hoped to provide an antidote to the severity of Dr Johnson's strictures. His acceptance of the odes as true representations of the spirit of the original is unquestioning:

1 Johnson, Lives, iii, 440.

2 Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Life, and Critical Observations on the Works of Mr. Gray [attr. William Tindal], London, 1782, p. 74.

> These two Pindaric Odes of Mr Gray have a much greater resemblance to the odes of the Theban bard, than any thing of the kind in our own, and probably in any other language. Wildness of thought and irregularity of verse had usually been esteemed the only way to resemble Pindar. The characteristic excellences of Pindar's poetry are sublimity of conception, boldness of metaphor, dignity of stile, rapidity of composition, and magnificence of phraseology. If a fair judgment can be formed upon these few specimens, which the desolations of time have spared, in grandeur of imagery and regularity of thought he is surpassed by Mr Gray; as, on the other hand, he may justly claim a superiority from the moral dignity of his compositions.[1]

Wakefield was a man of considerable learning, and if suspicions are aroused by the familiarity of these phrases that his acquaintance with even the 'few specimens' was slight, they are probably unjustified: in fact the conventionality of the terminology belies the rather idiosyncratic nature of the relative assessment of the imagery and morality of Gray and Pindar. In any case the opinion that Gray had achieved a true representation of Pindar was more or less universal.[2] The 'tasteful' world found it difficult to decide whether Dr Johnson had been actuated by insensitivity or spite, and the strength of feeling aroused is suggested in a letter from Anna Seward to Mrs Piozzi:

> It is universally allowed, that 'Dr Johnson had no taste for the higher walks of poetry'; nor is it much wonder that it should be so said of the man who had spoken contemptuously of the first odes in our language, that are allowed, by so large a majority in the literary world, to possess all the fire and sublimity of Pindar, with an happier and more interesting choice of subject . . . What could he mean by it? To bring lyric poetry into disgrace, I suppose, because his poetic talents had not taken that bent. I know the selfish and narrow jealousy of that, in many respects, mighty spirit, and place to its account solely those absurd critical

1 The Poems of Mr. Gray. With Notes by Gilbert Wakefield, B.A., London, 1786, p. 74.

2 According to Richard Hurd, in a letter to Gray, 28 August 1757, 'the readers of Pindar dote upon them [the Odes]' (Gray, Correspondence, ed. Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley, corr. H.W. Starr, 3 vols, Oxford, 1971, ii, 247.)

> axioms which set the world agape, and force it to conclude that he wanted taste, where, in reality, he only wanted truth.[1]

The intensity of Johnson's attack on Gray's Pindarics marks it out from an earlier and rather more light-hearted response which had likewise focussed on the obscurity and erudition of the works, to the extent of borrowing Gray's own Pindaric epigraph. The two odes 'To Obscurity' and 'To Oblivion' jointly produced by Robert Lloyd and the dramatist George Colman and published in 1760 have Mason as well as Gray as their butt, but the choice of form and the verbal echoes define them as primarily a parody of Gray's odes. The first, and more particularised of the two, is adorned with an amusing woodcut showing a contemporary 'bard' tumbling from the pinnacle to which his Pegasus has taken him:

> See, see, he soars! With mighty wings outspread,
> And long resounding mane,
> The Courser quits the plain.
> Aloft in air, see, see him bear
> The Bard, who shrouds
> His Lyrick Glory in the clouds,
> Too fond to strike the stars with lofty head!
> He topples headlong from the giddy height,
> Deep in the Cambrian Gulph immerg'd in endless night.

The poems are on the whole an undistinguished jumble of styles and modes, but of some interest as a late product of the Dunciad tradition, showing the characteristic elevation of the ancient ideal at the expense of modern pretensions:

> Daughter of Chaos and Old Night,
> Cimmerian Muse, all hail!
> That wrapt in never-twinkling gloom canst write,
> And shadowest meaning with thy dusky veil!
> What Poet sings, and strikes the strings?
> It was the mighty Theban spoke
> He from the ever-living Lyre
> With magic hand elicits fire.

1 Anna Seward, letter dated 20 February 1790, Letters 1784-1807, 6 vols, Edinburgh, 1811, ii, 378-9. Boswell defends Johnson's motives in The Life of Johnson (ed. R.W. Chapman, corr. J.D. Fleeman, Oxford, 1970, p. 286.) For an account of reactions to the 'Life of Gray', see W.P. Courtney and D. Nichol Smith, A Bibliography of Samuel Johnson, Oxford, 1925, pp. 138-9.

> Hear ye the din of Modern Rhimers bray?
> It was cool M - n: or warm G - y,
> Involv'd in tenfold smoke.[1]

The discrepancy between the loftily classical aims of the modern poet and his actual performance is symbolised, as in the woodcut, by his appearance: he is seen either as a 'stripling neat, of visage sweet,/ In trimmest guise array'd' or else a 'Bard, secure of praise', sporting a bushy peruke and 'large wide boots', with 'broad Mustachios' which, like the beard of Gray's own bard, 'flame, like a meteor, to the troubled air'. There is obviously some common ground between the criticisms of Colman and Lloyd and those of Dr Johnson, notably in the sense of what Johnson expressed as 'a kind of strutting dignity', but there is little in this exercise in parody to suggest serious critical comment other than the traditional conservative concern with the supposed debasement of a classical ideal: and the sincerity of even this is thrown into some doubt by the lines which appeared only a year later in Lloyd's 'Epistle to Charles Churchill':

> What Muse like Gray's shall pleasing pensive flow
> Attemper'd sweetly to the rustic woe?
> Or who like him shall sweep the Theban lyre,
> And, as his master, pour forth thoughts of fire?[2]

Criticism in the form of parody and ridicule, as in these two odes or in Smollett's attack on Akenside, is not invariably directed at individual practitioners but extends to the Pindaric mode in general. Probably because of West's emphasis on the Greek games and the consequent lessening of ignorance over Pindar's subject matter, burlesque often fastens upon this aspect of the Pindaric rather than the vague ideas

1 [George Colman and Robert Lloyd], Two Odes, London, 1760: reprinted in Lloyd, Poems, London, 1762, pp. 109, 101-2.

2 Lloyd, Poems, p. 195.

of grandiloquence and irregularity which had held sway hitherto. In the same year as Thomas Warton's satirical contrast of the Greek athletic ideal with the debased and mercenary activities of eighteenth century society at Newmarket, Colley Cibber uses the same parallel to deflate Pindar:

> Suppose toc Pindar's Muse had known
> To let the Elements alone;
> And, not t'have shewn a Horse's Merit,
> Swam him in streams of spumy Spirit;
> Might not strong Nature's Force elastic
> Have, there, surpass'd th'Enthusiastick?
> . . .
> The golden Sun's a glorious Thing
> By night the silver Moon we praise:
> Just so, below (God save the King!)
> Newmarket Plates demand our Lays.[1]

Cibber's poem demonstrates a familiar feature of Pindaric burlesque, namely acquaintance with little more than the first few lines of the first Olympian. A more extensive knowledge of the text is shown sixteen years later by Christopher Anstey in a satirical poem written at the close of the Duke of Newcastle's administration, 'The Patriot: a Pindaric Address to Lord Buckhorse'. 'Pindaric' here signifies not only the conventional invocations of 'Theban fire' and 'the deep-toned shell of Pindar', but also an encomiastic intent and more specific debts in the way of abrupt transitional formulae and textual references, sometimes pointed out in footnotes. Contemporary sport still provides much of the humour, and Anstey escapes from the by now conventional Newmarket joke into other areas:

> Thus was the valiant Wight confounded
> His clatt'ring Cheeks and Temples sounded;

1 Colley Cibber, A Rhapsody upon the Marvellous: arising from the First Odes of Horace and Pindar. Being a Scrutiny into Ancient Poetical Fame, Demanded by Modern Common Sense, London, 1751, pp. 20, 26.

> While you with frequent Fist assail'd him,
> With Chukkers in the Mazzard nail'd him,
> and Clicks upon the Muns regal'd him;
> Nor didst thou not amaze with Leggers,
> Cross-Buttocks, flying Mares, and Peggers,
> Fall with your Elbows in the Bellows,
> Scatter the Grinders, close the Smellers,
> Darken the Day-Lights! - Muse, be brief -[1]

In a travesty of the myth of the first Nemean, Anstey introduces as an exemplum of the dangers of envy 'Alcides',

> Who, when a Child in Cradle laid,
> On Necks of Snakes his Strength display'd,
> Roast Beef, instead of Pap, would cram,
> Like Giant Boy of Willingham;
> From which such Vigour was created,
> He cuff'd the Maid that on him waited;
> And after that, to prove his Might,
> Got fifty Children in a Night . . .[2]

The humour of pieces such as these depends largely on the incongruity apparent to eighteenth century taste between the grandeur and sublimity traditionally associated with Pindar's style and the nature of his subject matter, especially when transferred to a contemporary context. Much more significant than these, however, although something of a by-road in the history of Pindaric criticism, is the establishment of Pindar's name as, virtually, a label for this kind of burlesque in the work of John Wolcot, already mentioned as a reviewer of Banister's translation, in the persona of 'Peter Pindar'. The pseudonym first appears in 1782, and Wolcot continued to use it until his death in 1819, sharing it, or variations upon it, with numerous imitators - Paul Pindar, Peregrine Pindar, Peter Pindar Junior, Peter Pindar Minimus, Pindar Minimus, and another Peter Pindar who has been identified as C.F. Lawler. The earliest works of the vogue, and those in which the pseudonym carries most force, are the Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians 'by Peter Pindar, a distant relation to the poet of Thebes', which appeared in 1782 and 1783. The odes are

1 Christopher Anstey, The Patriot: A Pindaric Address to Lord Buckhorse, Cambridge, 1767, pp. 29-30.

2 ibid., pp. 12-13. Anstey cites the Oxford metaphrase, 'intolerabile vero jaculum percussit Mulieres.'

more interesting for the amusing and irreverent angle they give on English art in the era of Reynolds, Gainsborough, West, Zoffany, Angelica Kauffman, and Wolcot's friend John Opie than for any sophistication in the use of Pindar as a medium for burlesque: but the pose, rarely over-played, does give a coherence to the series of 'odes upon ode'.

> My Cousin Pindar, in his Odes,
> Applauded Horse jockeys and Gods,
> Wrestlers and Boxers in his verse divine!
> Then shall not I, who boast his fire,
> And old hereditary lyre,
> To British painters give a golden line?[1]

The characteristics of Pindaric style taken over by Wolcot for his satirical encomia include a frequent use of gnomai, invocations to the Muse, and a pose of uncontrollable poetic impulse seizing on all that comes before it, as in the following passage where Peter 'elegantly and happily depicteth his great Cousin of Thebes':

> A desultory way of writing,
> A hop and step and jump mode of inditing,
> My great and wise relation, Pindar, boasted:
> Or, (for I love the bard to flatter)
> By jerks, like boar-pigs making water,
> Whatever first came in his sconce,
> Bounce, out it flew, like bottled ale, at once once,
> A cock, a bull, a whale, a soldier roasted.
> . . .
> Amidst the hurly-burly of my brain,
> Where the mad Lyric Muse, with pain,
> Hammering hard verse her skill employs,
> And beats a tinman's shop in noise;
>
> Catching wild tropes and similes,
> That hop about like swarms of fleas---
> We've lost Sir Joshua--- Ah! that charming elf,
> I'm griev'd to say, hath this year lost himself.[2]

1 Lyric Odes, to the Royal Academicians. By Peter Pindar, a distant Relation to the Poet of Thebes, London, 1782: Peter Pindar, Works, 3 vols, London, 1794, i, 15.

2 Lyric Odes (1783): Works, i, 69-70.

Wolcot, like Anstey, makes effective use of the lowest possible diction to achieve a comic deflation of the classical ideal and to associate it with the disreputable, and there is an aptness in his choice of a Pindaric persona for his particular kind of subject, but the conventionality of the individual features of Wolcot's Pindaric burlesque warn one not to attempt to extract from it a serious critical judgment on Pindar. There is an open-mindedness or detachment about these works which makes it difficult, especially with Anstey and Wolcot, to assess the actual degree of reverence or irreverence with which the writers regarded Pindar,[1] but it is probably true to say that the burlesque of the end of the eighteenth century represents an attitude to Pindar at the furthest possible extreme from the 'Horatianism' of Cowley and Dennis, and it constitutes a marked contrast also to the image of Pindar presented in the serious poetry and criticism of the day.

The characterisation of Pindar when he appears, as he does rather less frequently than before, in the critical theory of the day shows little or nothing of the influence of West's interest in the occasion prompting the composition of the odes. In its essential respects the view of Pindar held by the serious critics of the later eighteenth century differs little from the views which had been accepted since Cowley. John Pinkerton, a writer not in any case noted for his originality, selects Pindar as the representative, unrivalled until Gray, of the spirit of the sublime lyric, and isolates as the essentials of his style 'sudden transitions, bold and abrupt metaphors, a regular cadence, and a warm and impetuous glow of thought and language'. Alexander Gerard, although, like Chabanon, laying much greater stress than had earlier theorists on the details of the psychological processes

1 cf. above, p. 316.

2 [John Pinkerton], Letters of Literature. By Robert Heron, Esq., London, 1785, p. 34.

of creation, clings to the old Horatian and Longinian terminology:

> Often, however, the byroads of association, as we may term them, lead to rich and unexpected regions, give occasion to noble sallies of imagination, and proclaim an uncommon force of genius, able to penetrate through unfrequented ways to lofty or beautiful conceptions. This is the character of Pindar's genius, the boldness of which more than compensates for its irregularity.[1]

The importance of Pindar for Gerard, as for Addison and Edward Young before him, lay in his 'originality', a quality for which Young, in his Conjectures upon Original Composition (1754), singled him out from nearly all other classical writers except Homer and Anacreon:

> A star of the first magnitude among the moderns was Shakespeare; among the ancients, Pindar; who, as Vossius tells us, boasted of his no-learning, calling himself the eagle, for his flight above it.[2]

In a context in which Young recognises that most writers of antiquity are 'originals' only by the accidental circumstances that the works of their predecessors and masters have been lost, it is difficult to understand this exception of a poet as sophisticated and erudite as Pindar. Young, it seems clear, is still building upon an accepted impression of Pindar as a poet with characteristics which make him, almost by definition, an 'original genius', rather than upon a detailed knowledge of his historical context and his extant works: and in view of West's translations and those which were to follow it is surprising how strong the old traditions remain.

Pindar most frequently figures at this stage in works of criticism where the interest of the writer is focussed on the origins and development of poetry, an interest which, to the modern eye at least, appears more

1 Alexander Gerard, in Eighteenth-Century critical essays, ed. Scott Elledge, 2 vols., Ithaca, 1961, ii, 888.

2 Edward Young, Complete Works, 2 vols, London, 1854, i, 557.

sociological or psychological than historical, and which rarely stops to take account of the actual works remaining to us. John Ogilvie, in his Essay on the Lyric Poetry of the Ancients, does show some first-hand acquaintance with at least the first Pythian, but is more concerned with fitting Pindar into his theory that lyric poetry, having as primary qualities the enthusiasm, obscurity, and exuberance characteristic of its first manifestations in the primitive imagination unbridled by rationality, is less susceptible to development and improvement than the epic or the drama. His rather lukewarm explanation of Pindar's poetic character is inevitably rooted in this theory which takes him to the opposite extreme from Young and Gerard:

> He had seen the first Lyric Poets indulging the boldest sallies of Fancy, and applying to particular purposes the Mythology of their country; and as their writings had been held in admiration by succeeding ages, instead of being exposed to the researches of criticism, he was encouraged to proceed in the same course, by the expectation of obtaining a similar reward. Pindar thought himself exempted from conforming to rules of any kind whatever, and we can suppose this opinion to have proceeded originally from no other foundation than his knowledge of the practice of former authors.[1]

The same primitivist doctrine, in which poetry is derived from the spontaneous outpouring of untutored emotions of awe or love, has already been seen in William Preston's defence of the irregular ode, in substantiation of which he adduces the example of the two Lapland odes found in Scheffer's History of Lapland, and also declares his conviction that 'the death song and the war song, which have such an influence on the spirits of American warriors, are irregular odes'.[2] As early as 1735 in

1 John Ogilvie, Poems on various subjects. To which is prefix'd an Essay on The Lyric Poetry of the Ancients; in two letters to Lord Deskfoord, London, 1762, p.

2 William Preston, 'Thoughts on Lyric Poetry', p. 73.

England the contemporary American Indians had been credited with a special lyric quality, and travellers' reports of the song-feasts of, for example, the Iroquois and the Hurons of North America are incorporated into the prevailing theory of poetry. Hymns or odes, according to John Brown, 'in their simple State, are but a Kind of rapturous Exclamations of Joy, Grief, Triumph, or Exultation . . . A Species of Composition which naturally ariseth from the savage Song-Feast'.[1] The relevance of these speculations to the study of Pindar is easily overlooked; but Banister, among others, incorporates them into his discussion of Pindar's genius with no apparent doubts as to their pertinency. Dr Johnson, in a Rambler essay of 1751 upon which Ogilvie's work is partially an elaboration, had depicted the first lyric poets living in an age when 'science had been but little cultivated' and imagination was 'vehement and rapid',[2] and associated with this widely-held theory of barbaric rapture as spontaneous lyric is the idealisation - and consequently the equation - as 'pure' poetry of the earliest poetic attempts of various cultures and civilisations, an attitude which with undiscriminating reverence embraced Ossian, the Hebrews, the Norse, the Welsh, the Arabs, and, in some cases, the Greeks. A precedent for the connection of some of these forms with the greater ode had been set by Gray, in 'The Bard', 'The Fatal Sisters', and 'The Descent of Odin', and his followers were legion. Some poems retain the triadic structure of Gray's Pindaric odes - for example, Samuel Rogers' 'Ode to Superstition'

1 A Dissertation on the Rise, Union and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions, of Poetry and Music. To which is prefixed, The Cure of Saul. A Sacred Ode, London. 1763, p. 41.

2 The Rambler no. 158, 21 September 1751: The Rambler, ed. W.J. Bate and B. Strauss, Yale edition of Works, Vols iii-v, New Haven and London, 1969, v, 77.

and Leoline Fitzmador's 'Ode' published in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1792, the curse of an ancient British bard upon Caesar's invading forces. Others, like the Runic Odes of T.J. Mathias, imitated the structure of Gray's own Norse poems.[1] The oriental scholar Sir William Jones chose Pindaric triads as a suitable form for his translations of several Indian hymns, one of them, the 'Hymn to Pacriti', being rendered 'as near as possible' in the same metre as Pindar's third Nemean, although Jones hastens to add that 'there is nothing of Pindar in them but the measures.'[2]

A general picture thus emerges, in theory and in poetic practice, of considerable confusion among the compositions of the supposedly 'primitive' stages of several civilisations. This sense of the uniformity of savage life is carried to perhaps its furthest pitch in the ambitious work by John Brown entitled A Dissertation on the Rise, Union and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions of Poetry and Music. In his scheme, which traces the gradual disintegration into its constituent parts of the original, natural union of the functions of poet, musician, and legislator - likened by René Wellek to the Wagnerian 'Gesamtkunstwerk' - and the emergence, in a degenerate form, of individual arts and genres, Pindar is placed, together with Homer, Hesiod, and the three tragedians, in a special 'first period' class of 'poet-legislators'. In Pindar's sublime songs we find 'the fullest and most perfect Union of Salutary Principles, thrown out in Maxims religious, political, and moral'. His intent was, according to Brown, to inspire his countymen, whose fortunes were then rising to their meridian, with the love of glory and of virtue:

1 cf. C.S. Northup, A Bibliography of Thomas Gray, New Haven, 1917, pp. 65-66; and supplement by H.W. Starr, Philadelphia, 1953, p. 16.

2 Sir William Jones, Poetical Works with the life of the author, 2 vols., London, 1810, ii, 67. The Hymns were first published in Calcutta, 1785.

> No Vices or Imperfections, either of Gods or Men, are there applauded or palliated; nor ever recited, but to be condemned: All Actions are praised or censured, according to their Influence on the public Happiness.

With legislation substituted for religion, Brown's view of Pindar is reminiscent of that expressed by John Dennis at the beginning of the century:

> In Justice to this great Poet we must observe, that PINDAR'S Songs, considered in this legislative View, afford an easy and internal Solution of a Difficulty which hath at all Times embarrassed his Commentators and Critics; who have ever censured his seeming Irregularities and sudden Flights from the declared Heroe of his Poem, to Gods and deceased Chieftains. But on the Principle here given, it appears, that the Heroe of the Day was but the occasional and incidental Subject of his Ode. The main Intent was the Praise of his Country's Gods and Heroes who had signalized themselves by Actions beneficent and great. When therefore he seems to wander into the Celebration of their Names, he is indeed severely true to the leading Subject of his Song.[1]

It was inevitable that in such highly systematised and conjectural accounts as these of the evolution of poetry facts and texts would bend under the pressure of system and conjecture, and neither the general principles nor the particular distortions went unchallenged. Brown's elaborate picture of the gradual separation and consequent corruption of the genres from an original unity, 'a sort of undistinguished mass, mingled in the same composition', quickly acquired a European reputation, with translations into French, German, and Italian before 1772: but from the start his treatment of individual authors met with heavy criticism. Eschenberg, Brown's German translator, comments in 1769 on the Pindaric section:

> Man darf den Pindar nur einigermassen kennen, um zu sehen, dass man die Absichten, wleche Hr Brown seinem Gebrauch der Fabeln und der Gotterlehre zuschreibt, nicht anders als sehr erzuwungen, beilegen kann.[2]

1 Brown, Dissertation, pp. 82-3.

2 Hermann M. Flasdieck, John Brown (1715-1766) und seine Dissertation on Poetry and Music, Halle, 1924, p. 91n.

Langhorne in the Monthly Review, while assigning the work a fullness of coverage which acknowledged its importance, devotes most of the space to disapproval of the highly conjectural nature of Brown's work, and in the following year he gives a cordial acclaim to an anonymous pamphlet entitled Some Observations upon Dr Brown's Dissertation. The author, disdaining to discuss 'the obvious ridicule which arises from the searching for the seeds and principles of all the most refined and transporting poetry of Greece in the dreary wilds of North America', levels his attack at the details of Brown's thesis, and is incidentally provoked into one of the most realistic appreciations of Pindar yet to be found outside West's preface - and also, since Langhorne finds the passage worth quoting in full, probably one of the more widely known. Brown's critic,while displaying a detailed knowledge of Pindar, and backing every argument with textual evidence, leaves Pindar his pedestal:

> Pindar, the immortal Pindar! he is not content with considering as a great and sublime Genius, who could, multa levatus aura, soar to the clouds, and bear the souls of his hearers with him, unless he make him a Demi-legislator too, and attributes all the honours which were paid his talents, to this supposed dignity of his character and employment.[1]

His general intention is, however, to reduce Pindar to something more like human size: and, refusing to swallow the notion of the odes as, in any sense other than the loosest, legislative in nature, he adduces the evidence of the beginning of the second Isthmian as an indication that Pindar was pursuing a trade rather than a vocation, and the evidence of Horace that Pindar composed other poems, such as elegies, which it would be difficult to reduce to 'a legislative cast'. Instead of seeing the myths themselves as the real subject of the odes, the

1 Monthly Review xxx (1764), 126.

writer, who refers Brown to West's work, points out that Pindar himself feels from time to time that his digressions need an apology, and stresses the importance of the persuasive art in Pindar's use of myth, quoting the poet's own observation that 'tales, ornamented and variegated with fictions, allure the hearts of men more than truth.'

> Whatever was the Author's intent or motive for writing them, as they are panegyric, they must abound with reflections on what was laudable, or the contrary; and with pictures and recommendations of what that age and nation reputed Virtue: and since the subject of a victory at the Games was narrow and hackneyed, and required to be varied by digressions, what could be more obvious than fables built on the current traditions, which at once struck the imagination, soothed the vanity, and excited the awful respect of the hearers?[1]

Another dissident voice, also using Pindar himself to dispel the myths of the systematisers, comes from Robert Potter in 1783, in the best-known of the replies to Dr Johnson's Lives of the Poets. While approving Johnson's condemnation of 'that lax and lawless versification which . . . had long been a disgrace to poetry and Pindar', Potter considers his general approach to lyric poetry less worthy of praise. Going back to the Rambler essay of 1751, Potter finds it 'a very unscholarlike account' of the origins of lyric poetry, and, like the author of the Observations on Brown's Dissertation, he dismisses with scorn the idea of the rise of lyric among savages: 'the first lyric poets . . . wrote not in barbarous times, but in the most enlightened age of Greece.'[2] Potter's translation of the tragedies of Aeschylus had appeared in 1777 and had been widely acclaimed. Aeschylus, in Potter's genealogy of the ode, belongs, although not presumably chronologically, to the original stages of its history, when, to Potter

1 ibid., p. 127.

2 Robert Potter, An Inquiry into some Passages in Dr Johnson's Lives of the Poets: particularly his observations on Lyric Poetry and the Odes of Gray. London, 1783, p. 13.

as to John Dennis, it was a sacred composition, 'sometimes . . . of the prophetic cast, and of course assumed a mysterious and awful obscurity'.

> It then descended to sing the actions of Demi-gods and Heroes: this was the province of Pindar, and his excellence in it is inimitable.[1]

Potter's view of the characteristics of Pindar's style is not a representative one, and it is difficult to see what influences were at work in the formulation of it. It is certainly coloured by his anxiety to point the contrast with the more mysterious and terrible sublimity of Aeschylus, and probably also by the fact that the ode which he chooses to translate to introduce his readers to the real Pindar is the ninth Pythian with its epithalamic flavour. In Pindar, according to Potter,

> everything is splendid, animated, gay: or if at any time he is led to consider adverse fortune, or the variety of human life, the reflection is generally short, he soon returns to his usual chearfulness, and every thing around, like the face of Nature after a shower, becomes more fresh, more bright, and more smiling: his genius at the same time was impetuous and rapid, and carried him to the noblest heights of the sublime.[2]

With this critique in mind, it is less surprising to read that 'the brightest manner of Pindar' is preserved in Gray's 'Ode on the Spring'.

There is ample evidence here to show that in England at the end of the eighteenth century Pindar was still a major figure in the literary consciousness. Although it had become impossible for any writer to remain in total ignorance of the real nature of Pindar's odes, the ideal which had been satisfied by the earlier misconceptions, both inadvertent and deliberate, remained. The plethora of English translations of Pindar and more or less scholarly dissertations upon him meant that in the course of the latter half of the eighteenth century his place as an

1 ibid., pp. 13-14.

2 ibid.

image of the wild and untutored poet was gradually taken over by the savages of North America and the supposedly primitive bards of the Norse and the Celts. The change is epitomised in Thomas Penrose's poem 'The Harp', where, after a typically 'Pindaric' opening -

> Borne on Fancy's wing along,
> High soars the bard's enraptured soul -

Penrose goes on to invoke not the Theban eagle but the 'spirit of Ossian', and Cadwallo.[1] An interesting substantiation of this shift of interest is to be found in an ode written about 1747 by the German poet Klopstock, the second stanza of which runs, in the first version, as follows:

> Wilst du zu Strophen werden, o Lied, oder
> Ununterwürfig Pindars Gesängen gleich,
> Gleich Zeus erhabenen trunkenen Sohne,
> Frei aus der schaffenden Seele taumeln?

The later version of the poem, first published in 1798, shows significant changes:

> Willst du zu Strophen werden, o Haingesang?
> Willst du gesetzlos, Ossians Schwunge gleich,
> Gleich Ullers Tanz auf Meerkristalle,
> Frei aus der Seele des Dichters schweben?

It is of course to Germany - to Herder, to Goethe, and to Hölderlin - that one must look in this period for a fusion of a real interest in and study of Pindar's works with an admiration of them as close to worship as any of the more derivative adulation of the 'Horatian' school, which

1 Penrose, Poems, London, 1781, p.

2 Friedrich Gottlob Klopstock, Werke, ed. R. Hamel, 4 vols., Berlin and Stuttgart, [1885], iii, 4-5.

results in the most creative period of any in the history of the appreciation of Pindar.[1] Interest in Pindar in England was, in some ways, greater than ever, and is evident at a less formal level than the poetry or works of criticism hitherto discussed, in many private letters of the period. Gilbert Wakefield, for example, writing to Charles James Fox in 1800, talks of his reading in Pindar, and expresses a preference for the 'Pythics' over the 'Olympics': 'however, the second Olympic is still my favourite'.[2] In England, however, the dissociation between Pindaric scholarship and the 'Pindaric' ideal was almost complete. There is no sudden sense of identification with the ancient Greeks to compare with the rise of hellenism in Germany which produced in the young Goethe, on his first prolonged encounter with Pindar in Frankfurt in 1772, a reaction like that expressed in his letter to Herder, which, despite its inaccuracies, shows for the first time since Horace, perhaps, the interaction of Pindar and another poet of comparable stature:

> Ich wohne jetzt in Pindar, und wenne die Herrlichkeit des Pallasts glücklich machte, müsst' ichs sein. Wenn er die Pfeile ein- übern andern nach dem Wolkenziel schiesst, steh' ich freilich noch da und gaffe, doch fühl' ich indess, was Horaz aussprechen konnte, was Quintilian rühmt,

1 See, e.g., Rene Nünlist, Homer, Aristoteles und Pindar in der Sicht Herders, Bonn, 1971; Ernst Grumach, Goethe und die Antike: eine Sammlung, 2 vols. Berlin, 1949, i, 226-231; Humphry Trevelyan, Goethe and the Greeks, Cambridge, 1941; M.B. Benn, Holderlin and Pindar, 's-Gravenhage, 1962. Greatly to my regret, I have been unable to consult the unpublished dissertation by G.L. Archer listed in Benn's bibliography (p. 161), The Reception of Pindar in Germany during the Eighteenth Century (Diss. Harvard, 1943).

2 Gilbert Wakefield, Correspondence with the late Rt Hon Charles James Fox, 1769-1801, chiefly on subjects of classical literature, London, 1813, pp. 149-50. An irresistibly curious remark occurs in a letter written by Anna Seward, with reference to Juvenal and Pindar (uneasy companions, one would have thought): 'scholars tell me there is not a gleam of pathos in all their writings.' (Anna Seward, Letters, i, 305.)

und was Thätiges an mir ist, lebt auf, da ich Adel fühle und Zweck kenne. Ἐνθεμιν ἦσαν, ψεφηνας ἀνηρ ἵππων ἀρετὰν ἀτελεῖ νόῳ ἡσυχάζει, σοφὸν ἔπρεπε κατὰ τρόπον, χαλοῦντι Diese Worte sind mir wie Schwerter durch die Seele gangen. . . Ueber den Worten Pindars ἐπικρατεῖν δυνασθαι ist mir's aufgegangen. Wenn du kühn im Wagen stehst, und vier neue Pferde wild unordentlich sich an deinen Zügeln bäumen, du ihre Kraft lenkst, den austretenden herbei, den aufbäumenden hinabpeitschest, und jagst und lenkst, und wendest, peitschest, hältst, und wieder ausjagst, bis alle sechzehn Füsse in einem Takt ans Ziel tragen - das ist Meisterschaft, ἐπικρατεῖν, Virtuosität.[1]

1 Letter to Herder, c. 10 July, 1772: Grumach, Goethe und die Antike, i, 226-7.

CONCLUSION

> I have, dear Miss Talbot, read a little of Pindar, and perhaps should own, he did not to me by any means answer the magnificent testimonies given him by other authors, and I cannot help thinking it much to his credit that you are reading Mr West. One reason perhaps why I am not very fond of Pindar, may be, I have very little taste for horse races, and might perhaps have been better pleased, if he had described the agility of damsels running for a shift.
>
> (Elizabeth Carter to Catherine Talbot, 1 December, 1750)

Elizabeth Carter's difficulty sums up - albeit idiosyncratically - the problem which presented itself more forcibly than any other to the readers or critics of Pindar in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the problem of reconciling what was known about his subject matter with the 'magnificent testimonies' which were the accepted accounts of his style. Attempts to meet this paradox, by those who were less ready than the learned translator of Epictetus to give Pindar up, result usually in the adoption of one of two main lines of approach. A thin but unbroken thread runs throughout the period, from Erasmus Schmid through Congreve, Ambrose Philips, and Gilbert West, which tends towards the idea that the importance of the subject, or the nature of it, has been underestimated: and another line, stemming primarily perhaps from Benedictus and Cowley, answers by playing down the subject matter as far as possible and stressing the boldness and enthusiasm which carry Pindar perpetually away from his purpose into an irrelevant but wholly admirable sublimity. This second line, with a misunderstanding of Horace at its source, often accompanies a more or less complete ignorance of Pindar's works, but this is not always the case: an interesting variation on it appears in the

second half of the eighteenth century in the association of Pindar with ideals of national liberty manifested in the works of learned poets such as the Wartons, Akenside, and Gray, and carried to its furthest extreme by the Italian scholar Passeri, with his vision of Pindar as, implicitly, the kind of figure needed to lead the Italian people to liberty in his own time. Read or unread, Pindar is a poet for all seasons.

Even as Mrs Carter writes, the tide was turning: West's Dissertation was a sign of the new sense of historical placing which was to make Greece - together with Greek art, Greek literature, and Greek athletics - into a romantic ideal. It has not been my intention to assess the Pindaric lore and learning of the period which I have examined in relation to modern developments in Pindaric scholarship, or even, except incidentally, to relate them. Obvious and important parallels do emerge, to which I have given some emphasis - Schmid as a forerunner of Bundy, for example, or Vauvilliers as a possible source for the historicist line of interpretation. I have, however, been more concerned here to show the surprising vitality and tenaciousness of the Pindaric ideal and the variety of thought about him. Some of the work done on Pindar in this period - for example, by Schmid, Dawes, Vauvilliers, and Hermann - must stand as valuable in its own right: other ideas raised do at least still provide food for thought: and the rest, the popular idea of Pindar as a symbol of uncontrollable poetic fervour, must be acknowledged to be one of literature's most creative mistakes.

APPENDIX A

SCHMID'S TEXT OF PYTHIAN 1 (see pp. 13-15)

Schmid's reading is given first, followed by variant readings in the texts used by him whether recorded or note in his note, followed by an account of the note where it exists. Manuscript readings not recorded by Schmid are taken from Mommsen, Pindari carmina, Berlin, 1864. Line referemes correspond to Snell's numbering, not to Schmid's text.

The following abbreviations are used:

Aldine edition, Venice, 1513	- Ald
Roman edition, Rome, 1515	- Rom
Cratandrian edition, Basle, 1526	- Crat

Manuscripts:

Pal.C (Palatinus Heidelbergensis gr. 40)	- P
Codex Augustanus (Monacensis gr. 486)	- Y

Schmid notes the reading of the Aldine edition in the following places:

10. καταεχόμενος : καταεχόμενος Rom: καταγχόμενος P Ald. Schmid notes 'Ald et Pal C καταγχόμενος.'

12. λατοΐδα : λατοΐδα Rom: λατοίδα Ald. Schmid follows Rom (⏑ ⏑ scanned as –), but suggests that Ald may be alternative.

65. δωριῆς : δωριῆς Rom: δωριῆς Ald: δωριεῖς P corr. 'Est autem δωριῆς Atticum ex δωριέες , vel δωριῆς , ut Aldus habet, ex δωριεῖς : quod et Pal C adscripsit.'

70. ἐφ' ἡσυχίαν : ἐφ' ησυχίαν Ald: om. prep. P Rom: ἐς ἡσυχίαν Y. Schmid reads as Ald (as do most other editors), but notes Y - 'non male'.

83. ἀπάδις : ἀπάδις Rom: ἐλπίδας P Y Ald. Schmid follows Rom but notes reading in MSS and Ald. (For ἀπάδις, see Portus, Lexicum, pp. 81-2).

92. ὦ φίλε : ὦ φίλε P Y Ald: φίλε Rom. 'Legendum autem est cum Ald, Pal C, et Aug.'

The Aldine reading is recorded but not specifically attributed at:

67. τέλει : τέλει Rom: τέλεϊ' Ald. 'Alii τέλεϊ', quasi ex τέλεϊε, a verbo Poetico τελείω, pro τελέω.

The Aldine reading is ignored:

Frequently where Ald shares a reading attributed by Schmid only to Rom or Crat, and also at the following places:

6. χαλάξαις : χαλάξαις Rom: -ας Ald.

8. βλεφάρων : βλεφάρων Rom: γλεφάρων Ald.

ἐγκατέχευας (Schmid's emendation): κατέχευας Rom: κατέχευσας Ald.

12. κώμαστ : κώμαστ Rom: κώμῳ Y Ald: κώμαστ· κῦλα δὲ καὶ om. P. Schmid has no textual note.

26. προϊδέσθαι : προϊδέσθαι Rom: τι ἰδέσθαι Ald. Schmid does mention variant readings in P and Y: see below.

31. ἐκύδανε : ἐκύδανε Rom: ἐκύδανεν Ald.

35. φερτέρου : φερτέρου Rom: φερτέρα Ald.

37. στεφάνοισιν, ἵπποισιν τε (as Crat): στεφάνοισι ἵπποισι τε Rom: νιν στεφάνοισιν ἵπποισιν τε Ald: στεφάνοισιν ἵπποις τε P Y. Schmid notes no variants.

42. βιατὰ : βιατὰ Rom: βιητὰ Ald.

43. δύνῃσαι : δύνῃσαι Rom: δύνεσαι Ald.

45. ῥίψαις, ἀμεύσασθ' ἀντίους : so Rom: ῥίψας ἀμεύσεσθ' ἀντίους Ald.

57. προσέρποντα : προσέρποντα Rom: ποτέρποντα Ald.

69. ἀγητὴρ : ἀγητὴρ Rom: ἀγιοτὴρ P Y Ald (ἀγ. Y)

75. δουλείας : δουλείας Rom: δουλίας Ald.

92. ἀνεμόεν : ἀνεμόεν πεδάσας (-αις) P Y Ald: om. πεδάσας Rom. Schmid has no textual note.

93. δόξας ἕον : δόξας ἕον Rom: δόξας ἕον Ald. Schmid notes, 'id est μόνον ut Scholiastes recte reddit. Male Lonicerus interpretatus est Ceu, quasi esset ὡς ἕον, toto contextu refragante.'

97. φόρμιγγες ὑπ. : φόρμιγγες ὑπ. Rom: φόρμιγγες τε ὑπ. Ald.

98. ὀάρου : ὀάρου Rom: ὀάρου Ald.

Differences in punctuation are frequently ignored: e.g. 12, 17, 20, 81.

The difference of line division in the Aldine and Roman editions is ignored at 70 (γε - ραίρων Rom, as Schmid: γεραί - ρων Ald), but discussed at 92 (εὐτρα - πέλοις Rom: εὐ - τραπέλοις Ald).

Schmid notes the reading of his manuscripts at:

10, 65, 70, 83, and 92, above.

14. ἀΐσσετα : ἀΐσσετα P Ald Rom: δ'ἀΐσσετα Y. Schmid comments, 'perperam'.

26. προσδέσθαι : προβέσθαι P: ἐδέσθαι Y. Both, according to Schmid, 'una syllaba deficiente'. See above for Ald and Rom.

34. ἀρχομένοις : ἀρχομένοις Ald Rom: ἐρχομένοις Y. Schmid follows Y.

58. πὰρ : πὰρ Ald Rom: περὶ P Y. Schmid notes Y, 'incongrue'.

61. κείναν : κείναν P Ald Rom: κλειναὶ Y.

91. ὡς τις : ὥστε P Ald Rom: ὥσπερ Y. Schmid notes: 'Legendum est ὡς τις vel ut Aug. Codex habet ὥσπερ .'

Schmid ignores the reading of the manuscripts:

Where the difference is a small one, often of dialect. He ignores the frequent examples of normalisation, especially in P: e.g. the aorist participle in ας instead of αις, one of the points dealt with by Casaubon.

He also passes over the manuscript evidence at 8, 12, 37, 69, and 92, above; and at the following places:

13. ἀτύξονται : ἀτύξονται Ald Rom: ἀτύξεται P Y.

35. γὰρ κἂν τελευτᾷ : γὰρ κἂν τελευτᾷ Ald Rom: γὰρ καὶ τελευτᾷ P: γὰρ ἐν καὶ τελευτᾷ Y.

79. τελέσαις : τελέσαις Ald Rom: τελέσσαις P.

92. αὔχημα : αὔχημα Ald Rom: καύχημα P.

There are also several other places where Y apparently offers a different reading, e.g. ἓξ ὧν πλάμασι at 48, νέμοντες at 64, but some of these variations may not have been listed in Hoechsel's collation.

APPENDIX B

MILTON AND PINDAR

A considerable amount of the work done on Milton's knowledge of the classics has been based on the attribution to him of the copious marginal annotations in a copy of the 1620 Saumur edition of Pindar, sold at Sotheby's in August, 1871, and now in the Houghton Library at Harvard (Sumner 123). This volume has been used not only to establish the editions which Milton used for Homer and Callimachus and the method of his study of the classics, but also to throw serious doubt upon the practice of dating Milton's handwriting to a period pre- or post-1639 according to the form of the miniscule c.[1] The Columbia editors print a selection of the longer notes, those which they feel contain what can loosely be called original composition, in the final volume of the collected works, describing the book as 'the most heavily annotated . . . now known from Milton's library, and stating that although the book does not bear his name, the notes are 'in his familiar autograph'.[2] The first expression of doubt over this generally accepted attribution comes in a work not otherwise remarkable for its caution, D.M. Robinson's Pindar: A Poet of Eternal Ideas (Baltimore, 1936).

1 See Harris F. Fletcher, 'Milton's Homer', JEGP xxxviii (1939), 229-32; Nathan Dane II, 'Milton's Callimachus', MLN lvi (1941), 278-9; Fletcher, The Intellectual Development of John Milton, 2 vols, Illinois, 1956-61, ii, 293-4.

2 Milton, Works, Columbia University Edition, ed. F.A. Patterson and others, 18 vols, New York, 1931-8, xviii, 565-6.

Robinson himself accepts the notes as Milton's ('In the Harvard Library is the very personal copy of Pindar that Milton used, which I have carefully examined'), but adds:

> Prof. H. Deas of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, writes me that he does not see "quite conclusive evidence for the ascription of the MS. notes to Milton. The reasons which led the London booksellers to identify the volume with Milton did not seem to be very fully given."[1]

Deas, however, never published his hesitations, and much research was based upon Milton's 'Pindar marginalia' before, in 1964, an article was published by Maurice Kelley and Samuel D. Atkins, giving a formidable presentation of the case against the attribution on the existing evidence.[2] Amazing as it may seem that the confidence of earlier scholars, based in many cases upon minute examination of the marginalia, could be unfounded, the present entry in the Harvard library catalogue states that it has been 'conclusively established' that the notes are not in Milton's autograph. Kelley and Atkins are more guarded in their conclusions, but they find that, in addition to a circumstantial detail concerning the Lycophron references, there are considerable differences in form and content from the authentic Milton marginalia in other books: 'We are therefore reluctantly forced to conclude that Milton's ownership of the Harvard Pindar has yet to be demonstrated, and that available evidence all points to a non-Miltonic origin for the annotations found therein.'[3]

The Pindar marginalia account for exactly half of the references under 'Pindar' in the Columbia edition index, leaving ten on which to base an independent assessment of Milton's knowledge of Pindar. Six of

1 . Robinson, Pindar, p. 26.

2 'Milton and the Harvard Pindar', Studies in Bibliography xvii (1964), 77-82.

3 ibid.

these are suggested Pindaric echoes, most of which are too remote to carry any real weight, or, like the reference in At a Vacation Exercise (written 1627/8) to 'unshorn Apollo' (cf. P.iii.14, I.i.7), have parallels in other classical authors besides Pindar, in this case in Homer and in Horace.[1] Other parallels, interesting but inconclusive, were suggested at the end of the last century in the Classical Review by L. Campbell ('Milton and Pindar', CR viii (1894), 349), W.T. Lendrum and R.Y. Tyrrell ('Milton and Pindar', CR ix (1895), 10-12). It has already been noted that the reference in Sonnet 8 to Alexander's reverence for Pindar's dwelling-place was something of a commonplace (above, pp.51-2), and another reference, arguing the superiority of the sacred Hebrew poetry over the classical and secular, probably also has a secondary source, discussed below (pp.126-7). There is a Pindaric quotation in a letter to Charles Diodati written towards the end of 1637: Milton had visited Diodati's lodgings on a rumour that his friend was in town, 'but "'twas the vision of a shadow".'[2] but see above, pp.53-3 for examples of the currency of this phrase. Milton's only acknowledged quotation from Pindar is a fragment not included in any contemporary edition:

> Pindarus apud Herodotum νόμος πάντων βασιλεύς, legem omnium regem esse dixit.[3]

In Elegia sexta, written to Charles Diodati just after the composition of the Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity in December

1 Homer, Iliad xx. 39: Horace Odes i.21.2, etc.

2 The Reason of Church Government (1641): Works iii, 238.

3 Works viii, 167.

1929, Milton argues that poetry, far from being banished by wine and good living, is in fact given new life:

> Pindaricosque inflat numeros Teumesius Evan,
> Et redolet sumptum pagina quaeaue merum,
> Dum gravis everso currus crepat axe supinus,
> Et volat Elco pulvere fuscus eques.[1]

This is certainly a new light on Pindar: current notions about him had not hitherto included the idea of a wine-loving prophet of Bacchus. The passage is of particular interest as the Harvard Pindar was purchased by the annotator so long supposed to be Milton less than two months before, on November 15, 1629. If the attribution of the notes was substantiated in any other way, this fact might be taken as corroborative evidence, but it is hardly sufficient in itself to weight the case one way or the other. Milton's mood here is a light one, and it would be over-pedantic to search for esoteric references in the lines; but it seems more likely that they were based on secondary passages than directly inspired by a first perusal of Benedictus's Pindar. (Cf. Horace, Odes iv.2. 10 'audaces dithyrambos', for the association with Bacchus; Odes i.12. 58 'tu gravi curru quaties Olympum'; Odes i.1. 3-4 'sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum/ collegisse iuvat'; Odes iv.2. 17 'sive quos Elea donum reducit'.) The most obviously esoteric note struck in Milton's lines, the reference to Bacchus as 'Teumesius Evan', seems to be an echo of Statius, Thebaid v.94:

> insano veluti Teumesia thyias
> rapta deo, cum sacra vocent Idaeaque suadet
> buxus et a summis auditus montibus Euhan.[2]

1 Works i, 208.

2 cf. Douglas Bush, A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton. Volume One: the Greek and Latin Poems, London, 1970, pp. 117-8.

To realise that virtually all of Milton's references to Pindar can be traced to some secondary source is not, of course, to prove that he had no first-hand knowledge of the Greek odes: in a man of his learning such a gap would be very surprising. Without the backing of the Harvard Pindar marginalia, however, the case for Pindar's influence on Milton's poetry has yet to be made.

APPENDIX C

THOMAS GRAY'S NOTES ON PINDAR: BM Add. Ms. 36817

4]

Pindar. Oxon. 1697. Fol: March 20, 1747.

Olympian, the first, to Hiero

— ὁ μέγας δὲ κίνδυνος ἀνάλκιν οὐ φῶτα λαμβάνει· βαιᾶν δ'οἶδεν ἀνάγκα, τί κέ τις ἀνώνυμον ἦμαρ ἐν σκότῳ - καθήμενος ἔφθιτο μάταν ἀπάντων καλῶν; Ἀμέρας Ode 2 23. Story (from Timaeus) of the Quarrel & Reconciliation of Hiero & Theron, by the Intervention of Simonides. (Schol:) 3 — πολλὰ μὲν ὑπ' ἀγκῶνος ἰσχέα βέλη - ἐνόσσητι φαρέτρας — φωνάντα συνετοῖσιν· ἐς — δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἑρμηνέων χατίζει· σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ — μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι - παγγλωσσία κόρακες ὡς — Ἄκραντα γαρύετον - p42 Διὸς, πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον. 35 (Schol:) Genealogy of Theron Ode 3. - Διχόμηνις ὅλον χρυσάμπυκος — Ἑσπέρας ὑφάλλων ἀντέφλεξε μῆνα - Ode 6. p:63. History and Descent of the Iamidae — Neptune and Pitana

Nursed by Aipytus son of Elatus, k. of Arcadia — Evadne = Apollo — Iamus

86. Ode on Diagoras the Rhodian - he had carried the Prize in Boxing now at Olympia, 4 Times in the Isthmian Games, 2 in the Nemean, once at Athens, (whither in the Panathenaean, Eleusinian, Heraclean, or Panellenian Games is uncertain) at Argos in the Heraean or Hecatombaean; in Arcadia, at the Lycaean. at Thebes, in the Heraclaean, or Iolaian. at Thespiae in the the Erotidian (or at Lebadea) in the Basilean, or Trophonian, or at Plataea in the Eleutherian, or at Oropus in ye Amphiaraian. at Pellene, in the Theoxenia, or Hermaea, at Aegina, in ye Aeacean, or Delphinia at Megara in the Dioclea, or Pythia - 166. The first Pythian. describeing the Power of Musick, as calming the Fierceness and lulling to Repose even the Eagle perched on the Sceptre of Jove; he has the following Lines, an Example of fine Expression and poetic Painting, equal to anything I have met with - Εὗδει δ'ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διὸς ἀΐστος, ὠκέων πτερύγων ἀμφοτέρωθεν καλάξας, — Ἄρχὸς οἰωνῶν, κελαινῶ - πιν δ'ἐπὶ νεφέλαν - Ἀγκύλῳ κράτι, βλεφάρων — Ἀδὺ κλαῖστρον, κατέχευας· ὁ δὲ κινήσαις — Ὑγρὸν νώτου ἀΐσσει, πτερύγων κατάγμενος. 205. Ματρί, τᾶν κούραν παρ' ἐμὰν πρόθυρον ζόν ποτὶ μέλπονται, παρὰ Ζαμενὲς θεὸν ἐνόχλων — Pindar had a particular Respect for Rhea, the Mother of the Gods. near the Ruins of his House (says Pausanias) a little without the City of Thebes cross the Rivulet Dirce is a Temple of the Dindymenian Mother dedicated by Pindar: her Statue and Throne, the Work of Aristomedes and Socrates, two Theban Sculptors, are of Pentelic Marble. the Gates are open'd but once a Year. We perceive farther from this Passage, that this Building was sacred in common to Her, and to Pan, whom in a Fragm: here quoted by the Schol: he calls Ματρὸς μεγάλας ἀοιδόν — see also Olymp: 2 where he says of Rhea, & Saturn - Πᾶσιν ὁ πάντων Ῥέας Ὑπέρτατον — ἔχόντας Ὄφρον —

222. Pyth:4. the Description of the young Jason just come from the Mountains and appearing first in the Forum of Iolcos. – Αἰχμᾶσιν διδύμαισιν ἀνὴρ Ἔκπαγλος· ἑσθὰς δ' ἀμφιέπεν μὲν ἔχεν – Ἀ τε Μαινάλιος ἐπιχώριος ἁρ- μόζοισα θαητοῖσι γυίοις. Ἀμφὶ δὲ παρδάλεα Στέγετο φρίσσοντας ὄμβρους. Οὐδὲ κομᾶν πλόκαμον κερβέντες αἶψα τ' ἀμηλιόν- Ἀλλ' ἄπαν νώτου καταιθύσσων – the whole succeeding account of their Expedition to Colchi is somewhat wild, but with great Magnificence of Expression, & in the Taste of Homer. Names of the Argonauts. Iason, Son of Aeson. Castor, Pollux, Hercules. Sons of Jupiter. Euphemus, Periclymenus, Sons of Neptune. Orpheus, Son of Apollo. Echion & Eurytus, Sons of Mercury. Laches and Calais, Sons of Boreas. Alopsus &c: 327. Τὸ γὰρ σίκινον πέσει πάντ' ὁμῶς· εὐθὺς δ' ἀπήμων καρδία κᾶδος ἀμφ' ἀλλότριον. 342 the Infancy of Achilles nobly described. – Ἄθυρεν Μεγάλα ἔργα χερσὶ βαμιὰ, βραχυστίβαρον ἄκοντα πάλλων &c: Nem:5 p:361. Schol. Price of an Ode: Pindar asked 3 Drachmae, w^ch was thought too much – perhaps the Reading may be false: one can hardly suppose a Statue of Bronze bore that Price, when in Diogenes the Cynick's Days one would cost 3000 Drachmae (almost 100£) – 388. – Εἰ δὲ γεύσεται Ἀνδρὸς ἀνὴρ τὸ φαμέν κε γέγων· ἔμμεναι Νόῳ φιλήσαντα γ' ἀστενὲς Τέκτονι χάρμα πάντων Ἐπάξιον. – Nem. 8. Ἕλη μή ποτέ μοι τοῦτον ἦθος, Ζεῦ πάτερ. Ἀλλὰ κελεύθους Ἁπλόας ξυνὸς ἐφαπτόμαν – Χρυσὸν, εὐγενὲς πέδιον δ' ἄπειρον Ἀπέραντον· ἐγὼ δ' ἀστοῖς ἀδὼν καὶ Χθονὶ γυῖα καλύψαμ' ἀνέων ἀνηκὰ, μαψ- φὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων ἀλιτρὸς.

5]

Difficulties

1. The Schol:st ascribes the Victory to Ol:73. (& Dodwell in his Tables follows him yet that was four Years before Gelo began to reign at Syracuse. now Hiero is here called Συρακόσιον ἱπποχάρμαν βασιλῆα – & what the Schol: mentions of his founding the City of Aetna doubtless did not Happen, till after he himself began his Reign, w^ch was Ol:75:3. so that I imagine, there must be some Mistake in the Number (ογ) for besides the Expression already mention'd, the following βεβαστάκοι ὀξ ἀμφέπων σκᾶπτον &c: can hardly be applicable to him before the Death of of Gelo, nor is it probable the Poet should make no compliment at all to that Prince, if he were still liveing: so that I should certainly place it either Ol: ος , or οξ (Dodwell ad Thucyd.) P8. Μετὰ τριῶν πεμπτῶν πόνων. cf. Tantalus' Punishment – 66. Θησαυρὸν δίδυμον μαντοσύνας τόκα μὲν ἀκουᾶν ἀκούειν φωνᾶν ἄγνωστον – the Schol: explain the first kind of Divination here, of Inspiration, where the Prophet is supposed to hear and utter the Voice of the Deity. that w^ch follows, is the Prophecy by Fire, & observing the Skin of the Victim laid on the Embers: ἢ διὰ τῶν ἐμπύρων μαντεία, ἢ μέχρι τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἀμφὶ δὲ χρώτα (see Ode 8) w^ch shews the Antiquity of these Scholia, w^ch seem an Extract from Aristarchus, Aristophanes, Didymus, & other good Grammarians, but mixed with worse Authors – 69. (Schol:) that the Lacedaimonians had 20 Harmostae. was there any settled Number? – this fine Ode to Agesias, must have been wrote either Ol:76 .77. or 78. by what he says of Hiero – 145. τίς δὲ ἱππείοις ἐν ἀγῶσιν μέτρα; – 175. the Scholia are guilty of two Blunders (the last a terrible one) they tell a Story of the Greeks sending to Hiero for Succours on Xerxes' Invasion, who was then a private Man. & they say, that Pindar had probably read Ephorus, (whose History was publish'd near 100 Years after Pindar died) without considering Pindar was but 40 Years old at the Time of this Action, and

must know the Matter better than Eborus could possibly do - 'tis plain he just after mentions the famous Defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera, 6 Years before the Action at Salamis. the Sea-fight may be perhaps a different Battle afterwards - 191. No Doubt the long Story of Ixion: and his Reflections upon Ingratitude allude to something in Hiero's Life, which we are not well acquainted with, nor is the little Light given here and there by the Schol: sufficient to make it clear to us - κακὸς τὸν πίθων παρὰ πασιν ἀεὶ κακὸς - to whom is all this Declamation against Scandal & Flattery addrest? the Schol: say it is meant of Bacchylides, who traduced Pindar to Hiero, as a Friend of Theron & Thrasydaeus - 215. Ἐπετροφᾶ - the Sch: renders it ἐπέτυχε - 253. πολάρκεως δυσεξαλέφοιν τέρενας - 276. Was Amphiaraus yet liveing at the Time of the Expedition of the Epigoni? certainly not. yet, from hence one would think both he and Adrastus were so - 358. Θεὸν αἰνέων κε Μελησίαν &c: is what follows meant of Melesias - Nem:7 p:379. ἐίρηται δὲ πότμῳ ξυνὰ θἑτερα ἕτερα. 382. Τετρακόσιων βοατέων.

5v]

List of '28 Sorts of Feet, 4 Disyllabic, 8 Trisyllabic, 16 of 4 Syllables' from Cron.

Metres. Pindar. 1st Olymp:		
1. Antispastic Dimeter, or Glyconean	..	an Antispast, and a Diiamb
2. Trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic, or Ithyphallic	..	a Ditrochaic, and a Bacchee
3. Choriambic dimeter catalect	...	a Choriamb, & a Bacchee.
4. Anapaestic dimeter catalect. or Parœmiac	..	2 third Paeons, & a Spondee; or 3 Anapaests & a Syllable over.
7. Trochaic dimeter catalectic, or Euripidean	..	a Ditrochee, & Amphimacer
8. Trochaic monometer hypercatalect	..	a Trochaic, Dactyl, & long Syllable
9. Iambic dimeter hypercatal:	. . .	2 Diiambs, & a short Syllable
10. Antispastic epionic dimet.catalectic	..	an Antispast, & Amphimacer
11. Trochaic dimeter acatalectic	. . .	2 Ditrochiacks
12. Choriambs dimet: catalectic	. . .	a Choriamb & Dactyl
13. Proceleusmatic dimet: catalect:	..	a Proceleusmatic, & Tribrachys
6 15. Antispast dimet: hypercatalect:	..	an Antispast, first Paeon, & one long Syllable
16. Antispastic trimeter brachycatalect:	..	an Antispast, a Ditrachaic, & Anapaest
17. Phalaecian		Antispast, Diiamb, & Iamb.

Acatalectic Verses are compleat with an even Number of Syllables, thus Monometers have four Syllables, Dimeters eight, Trimeters twelve, &c: Catalecticks want one Syllable; so that Monometers have three, Dimeters seven, Trimeters eleven.
Hypercatalecticks have a Syllable over the Metre.
Brachycatalecticks want one Foot of the Metre.

The Iambic Trimeter acatalectic allows (the first, 3d, & 5th Feet) either an Iamb, Tribrachys, Spondee. Dactyl, or Anapaest. (the 2nd, 4th, the 6th) an Iamb, Tribrach, or Anapaest: tho' the Tragedians & Satyrists do not take the Liberty of

this last Foot. the 6th Place demands always an Iamb or Pyrrhichee. the Iambic Catalectic ends always with an Amphibrachys, or Peoniee.

The Trochaic, in the perfect Places, demands a Trochaic, a Spondee, or Anapaest. in the imperfect, an Iamb, a Dactyl, a Tribrach, or the former.

The Dactylic receives a Dactyl or Spondee in every Place, but the last, which must be a Dactyl, or Cretic.

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