English Literature in Latin Translation, 1580-1750

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Abstract

In early modernity, as classical literature was rapidly translated and absorbed into English, the opposite phenomenon also took place: English literary texts were translated into Latin. This thesis is the first study of the 'Latinization' of English literature during a crucial period of development for the English language and literary tradition. It discusses Latin translations of Chaucer, Spenser, May, Marvell, Fletcher, Milton, Dryden, and Pope, by translators including Richard Fanshawe, Christopher Smart and Samuel Johnson.

In this period, Latin was not only a language of the past composed of fragments of ancient texts and history; it was also a living *lingua franca*, imagined by these translators to be the language of futurity. English poetry was Latinized for both posterity and international readers. Latin acted as the medium for English literary texts to move from Portugal to Poland and across the Atlantic. This literary history of 'Latinization' reveals the real and imagined place of English poetry in the world and the relationship between two competing literary languages as the vernacular rose, showing how contingent that 'rise' appeared to be as it happened. The translations also disrupt existing models of translation, Latinity, bilingualism, allusion, and reception.

Latin translation goes through three broad phases in this period. In the first phase, c.1580-1635, it is primarily a response to changes in the English language that may soon render Chaucerian and Spenserian language unintelligible; it is also a European, 'transmarine' project to put English literature and politics on the map. The second phase, c.1635-1681, sees English texts Latinized, often self-translated, to explore political and diplomatic identities during the Civil Wars and Restoration. In the third phase, c.1681-1750, Latinization adapts Milton (alongside Dryden and Pope) to new Augustan contexts, and fraudulency and failure become increasingly characteristic of Latin translation in this changed literary environment.

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Conventions and Abbreviations

All classical and late-antique Latin texts (up to and including Augustine) are cited from the most recent Loeb Classical Library edition, unless otherwise stated; these editions are listed in the bibliography. My English translations are usually indebted to these, and to other parallel and translated editions of Latin works cited. '*BC*' refers to the Loeb edition of Lucan's *Bellum Civile* (Lucan, *The Civil War (Pharsalia)*, trans. J.D. Duff (Cambridge, MA, 1928)), and '*DRN*' to the Loeb edition of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura* (Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*, trans. W.H.D. Rouse, rev. Martin F. Smith (Cambridge, MA, 1924)). All Shakespeare quotations are from *The Oxford Shakespeare: Complete Works*, second edition, edited by Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett and William Montgomery (Oxford, 2005). All quotations from the bible follow the King James Version unless otherwise stated. Quotations from manuscript sources follow the principles of semi-diplomatic transcription. Standard contractions and abbreviations are silently expanded.

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INTRODUCTION

> So-called dead languages are alive in that to know them … is to acknowledge that they must have *some* kind of life. Living languages are dead in that every language, like every species, goes towards death.[1]



Figure 1.

In 1756, the frontispiece of a new periodical, *The Universal Visiter*, depicted an author-figure – identified with the poet Christopher Smart, one of its editors – composing the magazine, seated before the 'Templum Apollinis Anglicani': the 'Temple of English Apollo', or the altar of English literature.[2] Smart, then a successful hack writer on the cusp of a serious breakdown which would

[1] Christopher Ricks, *Beckett's Dying Words* (Oxford, 1995), 96.

[2] On this frontispiece, see David Hopkins and Tom Mason, 'Two Uncollected Poems by Christopher Smart?', *Notes and Queries*, 67.4 (2020), 504-6; Trevor Ross, *The Making of the English Literary Canon: From the*

lead to his incarceration in an asylum in 1757, has himself been canonised as a major, visionary poet since the nineteenth century (particularly since the discovery of his *Jubilate Agno* in 1939). This frontispiece expresses the magazine's intent to honour and monumentalise the English poetic tradition. Five poets are chiefly worshipped at this altar, their busts surrounded by an outsized laurel wreath: Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Waller, Dryden. Twenty-one other names make up the lesser pantheon, written on the spines of books behind the busts: Gower, Hubert (group 1); Sidney, Drayton, Fairfax, Surrey, Beaumont (2); Jonson, Bathurst, Bacon, Fletcher, Raleigh (3); Milton, Butler, Wycherley, Congreve (4); Temple, Addison, Pope, Gay, Tillotson (5). These are 'most of the authors who, in 1756, would have been thought of as the central figures in the English literary canon', excluding, perhaps, Denham and Cowley.[3] Only one name is obviously out of place (although Francis Hubert is also surprising), not having made any contribution to literature *in English* at all: Theodore Bathurst (*c.*1587-1652), translator of Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* into Latin.[4] Spenser, Bathurst and Smart all attended Pembroke College, Cambridge. David Hopkins and Tom Mason note that Smart 'was himself a prize-winning neo-Latin poet', so his inclusion of Bathurst 'would seem to indicate a desire … to honour the poetic traditions (English and Latin) of his own *Alma Mater*'.[5] The affiliation between Bathurst and Smart is, however, even closer. Smart was not only a Latin poet but, more precisely, a Latin *translator* of three poets memorialised in the temple: Milton, Butler, and, most extensively, Pope.[6] Smart's inclusion of Bathurst in the canon of English literature by sole virtue of having 'Latinized' another of its members (Spenser) implies the inclusion of Smart himself in the same canon, for the same reason.

In early modernity, as classical literature was rapidly translated and absorbed into English by the likes of Jonson, Dryden, and the rest of Smart's canon, the opposite phenomenon also took place: English literary texts from *Troilus and Criseyde* (1380s) to *An Essay on Criticism* (1711) were translated into Latin. Eleven of twenty-six authors in the 'Templum Apollinis Anglicani' were

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Middle Ages to the Late Eighteenth Century (Montreal, 1998), 3-4; Alok Yadav, *Before the Empire of English: Literature, Provinciality, and Nationalism in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke, 2004), 28-30.

[3] Hopkins and Mason, 504. There is significant overlap between this list and 'Tonson's vernacular classics'; see Robert B. Hamm, Jr, 'Rowe's *Shakespear* (1709) and the Tonson House Style', *College Literature*, 31.3 (2004), 179-205.

[4] Hubert would not usually be ranked among these peers, but his *Life of Edward II* was reissued in 1721, as was Bathurst's translation in 1732 and 1735. See chapter 1 on Bathurst.

[5] Hopkins and Mason, 504.

[6] See conclusion.

'Latinized' in print in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries:[7] Chaucer, Spenser, Dryden, Bacon, Fletcher, Raleigh, Milton, Butler, Addison, Pope, and Gay. If we include Jonson, whose poetry was translated in manuscript, and the Latin translators Bathurst and Smart, over half (fourteen) of this selective English canon either translated or was translated into Latin. Add to these names King James I, Herbert, May, Marvell, Fanshawe, Prior, Blackmore, Johnson. Some of these authors, such as Bacon and Pope, were active, even anxious, in their pursuit of Latin translations of their works, Bacon accounting it 'a second birth of [a] work, if it might be translated into Latin'.[8] Some, such as May and Marvell, translated their own.[9] Like Smart's temple, this thesis integrates English-to-Latin translation into our picture of English literature and, charting its progress from 1580 to 1750, presents it as a continuously evolving practice in which translators such as Bathurst and Smart spoke to each other and to mainstream (vernacular) literary culture.

In the foreground of Smart's frontispiece is a large globe.[10] This clearly establishes the English literary canon in a global context, aspiring to the 'universality' that Smart discusses in the essay on the English language that follows this in the *Universal Visiter*. Smart's essay emerges directly from his practice as a Latin translator of English poetry: three of his six examples are passages that he himself had Latinized or cited in a Latin translation. One 'objection' that can be made against English, Smart writes, 'is, that our tongue wants universality'.[11] Latin translation is one answer to this want: it is a means to extend the reach or dominion of English literature and its major authors beyond the narrow confines of Britain, and to make them accessible to a foreign

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[7] I use 'Latinization' as a counterpart to 'Englishing', following Richard Fanshawe (chapter 3), the *OED* ('Latinize', sense 1, 'To turn into Latin', first usage 1589; first usage in the sense of translation by John Florio, 1603; compare 'English, *v.*', sense 1a), and Estelle Haan, '"Latinizing" Milton: *Paradise Lost*, *Latinitas*, and the Long Eighteenth Century', in *Milton in Translation*, ed. Angelica Duran, Islam Issa and Jonathan R. Olson (Oxford, 2017), 93–114.

[8] Translated by J.W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan England: The Latin Writings of the Age* (Leeds, 1990), 252. See conclusion on Pope.

[9] See chapter 3.

[10] The globe is half-covered, concealing it from the gazes of the five busts; the part of the world which is not covered (possibly Africa and part of South America) is visible only to us, the viewer. The implication is either that these English authors have achieved such coverage, or (connectedly) that Smart can derive all he needs (ideas global in scope) from English predecessors without needing to uncover the rest of the globe.

[11] Donald D. Eddy, ed., *The Universal Visiter* (New York and London, 1979), 6. Further references in parentheses.

readership, literate in Latin. Latin, I will show, acted as a medium for English literary texts to move across a range of geographic contexts, from Poland to Portugal and across the Atlantic. Yet, Smart counters, by 1756 this objection to the English language is 'vanishing daily', since 'in many places abroad … it is become the fashion to study the *English* tongue' (6) – not to mention the colonies, where English is widely spoken. Smart is writing in a moment when French has just become 'that fashionable, that universal language' (7); when Latin is winning its 'last victories' in the 'battle of the languages',[12] and English is poised to gain universal reach in the next century (within a few years, Smart would declare that '*the ENGLISH TONGUE shall be the language of the WEST*').[13] This is the moment that this thesis takes as its natural end point.

Another limitation of the English language as late as 1756 is 'its fluctuating state and incertitude of duration' (4). Again, Latinization can offer a solution. The passage Smart quotes to offer this objection is an oft-cited one from Pope's *Essay on Criticism* (1711) – lines Smart has recently Latinized:[14]

> *No longer now the golden age appears,*
> *When patriarch-wits surviv'd a thousand years;*
> *Now length of fame, our second life, is lost,*
> *And bare threescore is all e'en that can boast;*
> *Our sons their fathers failing language see,*
> *And such as* Chaucer *is, shall* Dryden *be.* (4)[15]

Latin translation is a means to secure that 'length of fame' or 'second life' for English texts, since Latin is imagined to be fixed, durable, permanent, whereas English is changeable, 'failing'. Durability is tied with universality as the main motivation for Latin translation cited by authors and translators across this period. Bacon, for example, sought Latin translations of his works in the early-seventeenth century both because foreign readers wished to access to them and because he believed that books written in modern vernaculars would waste away ('non ita multo post

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[12] Florian Schaffenrath, 'Neo-Latin Epic Poetry on Telemach after Fénelon', in *Neo-Latin and the Vernaculars: Bilingual Interactions in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Florian Schaffenrath and Alexander Winkler (Leiden, 2018), 147-165; 163.

[13] *The Poetical Works of Christopher Smart. Vol. 1, Jubilate Agno*, ed. Karina Williamson (Oxford, 1980), B127.

[14] See conclusion.

[15] *Essay on Criticism*, 478-3. All references to Pope are taken from *The Major Works*, ed. Pat Rogers (Oxford, 2006). Hopkins and Mason provide an alternative interpretation of these lines, contrary to their 'overt sense', as 'a potential prophecy of the *longevity* of both [Pope's] great predecessors' (*Chaucer in the Eighteenth Century: The Father of English Poetry* (Oxford, 2022), 349).

decocturos').[16] In the mid-eighteenth century, however, Smart sets out a different story of the English language and Chaucer's and Dryden's roles in its progress in the poem below the frontispiece (see above). Smart can look back and see that Dryden's works *have* survived '*threescore*' years without their language '*failing*' (Dryden died in 1700). Instead of decline, he sees a completed narrative of refinement, in which Chaucer 'the English Tongue design'd' and Dryden 'its full Perfection found'. Smart sides with William Benson against Pope: Benson 'has justly observed, that as long as our admirable version of the bible continues to be read in churches, there will remain a perpetual standard for the language' – a gold standard comparable to the fixity of Golden Age Latin.[17] Dryden and the Authorized Version create the conditions for a new '*golden age … When patriarch-wits surviv[e]*'. One means by which Dryden had perfected the English language – according to himself, his contemporaries, and standard critical narratives – was translation from Latin: Mary Chudleigh, for example, traces a similar lineage from Chaucer's 'delusive Light' to Dryden's 'refulgent Day' in her 1697 poem 'To Mr. Dryden, on his excellent Translation of Virgil'.[18] Yet the inverse practice, translation *into* Latin, was still seen as a way to transcend the inevitable failure of English, if not by Smart in 1756, certainly by his near contemporaries (including Pope) earlier in the eighteenth century.

The earliest usage of the near-dead metaphor 'dead' to describe classical languages is 'later than might have been expected' (Christopher Ricks observes): in 1712, Joseph Addison first describes '[t]he Works of Ancient Authors' as 'written in dead Languages' in the *Spectator*.[19] In the eighteenth century, Latin could be considered a '*failing language*' for the opposite reason to English: not fluctuation, but stagnation. Smart quotes another oft-cited passage to demonstrate the limitations of Latin – the same Lucretian passage that he had used as the epigraph to his Latin translation of Pope's *Essay on Criticism* in 1752:

> *Nec me animi fallit*
> *Difficile illustrare Latinis versibus esse,*
> *Multa novis verbis praesentim cum sit agendum*
> *Propter* EGESTATEM LINGUAE *&* *rerum novitatem.*
>
> Which literally translated runs thus, 'Nor does it escape me, that it will be difficult to illustrate (my philosophy) in *Latin* verse, especially as many things must be

[16] In Binns, 252. *decoctus* suggests a variety of metaphors applicable to language: economic ('spent'; see conclusion), culinary ('stewed', 'denatured'; see chapter 4), metallurgical ('smelted away'), or simply 'ruined', 'lost' (as in Pope, above).

[17] See conclusion on Benson's connection to Pope and Latin translation.

[18] Yadav cites this poem (*Before*, 31).

[19] Ricks, 97.

> handled in new forms of speech, on account of the POVERTY of the language, and the NOVELTY of the subject.' (7)[20]

When Lucretius wrote these lines, Latin was in general spoken usage. When Smart cites them (both times), they refer to the difficulty of expressing the novelties of modernity in Latin, due to its lack of fluctuation, or its (near-)deadness. But Latin translation was often conceived as an act of renovation, especially in the seventeenth century, akin to Smart's own English modernization of Chaucer in the same issue of the *Universal Visitor*.[21] And Latin translators' efforts to render what was distinctive or 'untranslatable' about English as a poetic language often transformed and modernized their medium, Latin. Smart himself was clearly ambivalent about these ideas. In this essay, he cites '*Pope's Ode on St.* Cecilia'*s Day*' as an example of the English language's range of 'measures' which make it 'animated and majestic' compared to Latin (8-9), yet his own Latinization of this poem abounds with metrical variety. In the *Jubilate Agno*, where he expresses more eccentric ideas about linguistic difference (and a more capacious 'canon'), he declares that '*the Greek and Latin are not dead languages*'.[22]

Latin translation is deeply formative for, and embedded in, Smart's picture of English literary history and ideas about the English language (and his original poetry, as I will later show). Our understanding of this frequently cited account of English literature by a major eighteenth-century poet – and, indeed, our wider understanding of English literary history from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries – is incomplete without an account of the practice of Latin translation. As this small example shows, Latin translations were not literary dead-ends. A literary history of Latinization charts the real and imagined place of English poetry in the world and the relationship between two competing, mutually absorptive literary languages across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This thesis uncovers that history for the first time.

'English Literature in Latin Translation'

This thesis discusses Latin translations of English literature, defined as poetic texts (in the broad, Sidneyan sense); in practice, this means that all the originals and translations discussed in depth

[20] Smart abridges the first line; see conclusion.

[21] See Hopkins and Mason, 'Uncollected Poems', 505-6. Francis Kynaston explicitly makes the comparison between modernizing and Latinizing Chaucer in the preface to his *Amores Troili et Creseidae* (Oxford, 1635), †r-†2v; †v.

[22] Smart, *Jubilate Agno,* B645. See conclusion.

are in verse.[23] Latin translations of English literary texts have hardly featured in studies of translation, canon-formation, or early modern literary culture to date. 'Insofar as they have been studied at all, [they] … have been treated as curiosities, simple exercises of ingenuity.'[24] This is because they have been assumed have been both rare and futile. On the first point, J.W. Binns states that 'Latin translations of English poetry are not common' in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods; Francis Kynaston's 1635 translation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* is taken as an anomalous exercise of virtuosity,[25] followed later by a more understandable 'spate' of translations of the deeply Latinate Milton.[26] Yet W. Leonard Grant, surveying European vernacular works in Latin translation, finds that in 'literature and belles-lettres, translations were made most frequently from Italian and English'.[27] Peter Burke positions English in third place behind Italian and French in his analysis of 1140 Latin translations of all genres published in early modern Europe until 1799; 'fiction' places fifth among genres after religion, history, natural philosophy, and travel. His sample of fictional texts translated seems to confirm Grant's picture, with Italian and English leading, English especially in epics and long poems.[28] English lags behind Italian and French chronologically: Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and Ronsard were being Latinized by their own countrymen in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,[29] whereas literary Latinization takes off in

[23] Walter Charleton's prose fiction *The Ephesian Matron* was Latinized by Bartholomew Harris in 1665; John Dickenson translated the verse *Mirror for Magistrates* into Latin prose (Delft, 1601).

[24] Peter Burke, 'Translations into Latin in Early Modern Europe', in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge, 2007), 65-80; 65.

[25] Binns, 251, noting James I, *Naupactiados Metaphrasis* [*Lepanto*], trans. Thomas Murray (London, 1604); Dickenson's *Speculum Tragicum* (n.23), and Kynaston's *Amores*. He describes the latter as 'appearing to be a simple anomaly', but for the fact that it 'throws important light on the literary and cultural aspirations of England at this time' (253-4). See also Richard Beadle, 'A virtuoso's *Troilus*', in *Chaucer Traditions: Studies in Honour of Derek Brewer*, ed. Ruth Morse and B.A. Windeatt (Cambridge, 1990), 213-33.

[26] Philip Hardie, 'Abraham Cowley, *Davideis. Sacri poematis operis imperfecti liber unus*', in *Neo-Latin Poetry in the British Isles*, ed. L.B.T. Houghton and Gesine Manuwald (London, 2012), 69–86; 71, following Binns, 269.

[27] W. Leonard Grant, 'European Vernacular Works in Latin Translation', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 1 (1954), 120-156; 121.

[28] Burke, 69, 75.

[29] See Grant; Michele Zanobini, 'Early Humanist Latin Translations of Dante's *Commedia*', in '"Per un Dante Latino": The Latin Translations of the Divine Comedy in Nineteenth-Century Italy' (PhD thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 2016), 11-34; Philip Ford, *The Judgement of Palaemon: The Contest between Neo-Latin and Vernacular Poetry in Renaissance France* (Leiden, 2013), 159-201.

England in the seventeenth century and, as in France,[30] continues well into the eighteenth. This thesis significantly supplements both Grant's and Burke's bibliographies. One of its fundamental claims is that Latin translations of English literature were much more common than has been appreciated. None of the translations can be explained away as anomalies, although the earliest were pioneering.

Latin translations of literary texts are particularly worthy of study for a number of reasons. I share with other scholars of literary translation the view that 'it is when translation is most under pressure that it is most self-questioning, and therefore most revealing'.[31] Latin translations are sites of uniquely close encounters between English and Latin poetics, providing an opportunity to show in a stark way that the relationship between them was not unidirectionally absorptive, but reciprocal. Most importantly, my concern is to illuminate a period of crucial development in the formation of an English poetic culture and canon by revealing the place of Latinization in that changing landscape. A secondary reason why a study of Latinized poetic texts is especially called for is that they have provoked the most critical bafflement. While Latin translations of non-literary texts are accepted as having had a genuine communicative function, the question of why anyone 'ma[d]e translations in the "wrong" direction, from a modern language into an ancient one' has seemed more fundamental in the case of poetic translations.[32] From a modern perspective, the exercise seems counterintuitive; the translators, essentially wrongheaded. So Paul Klemp: '[i]f Spenser wrote *The Shepheardes Calender* to show that the pastoral form of … Virgil in the Latin [language] could be rendered in English, Latin translations indicate that some missed the point.'[33]

The English works that are central to this thesis have stood the test of time – many of them, in large part, for the ways in which they set themselves apart from the Latin literary tradition: *Troilus and Criseyde* (c.1380s), *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), Marvell's 'The Garden' and 'On a Drop of Dew' (pr.1681), Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667, 1674), Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681), Pope's *Essay on Criticism* (1711). Even the less canonical texts discussed are now central to scholarship on the period: John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* (c.1608), Thomas May's *Pharsalia* (1627), Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (1663-78). One could assume that these texts have endured in spite of the Latin translators who betted against them. However, Latin translators did not 'miss

[30] See Schaffenrath.

[31] Matthew Reynolds, *The Poetry of Translation: From Chaucer & Petrarch to Homer & Logue* (Oxford, 2011), 7.

[32] Burke, 65.

[33] Paul J. Klemp, 'Imitations and adaptations, Renaissance (1579–1660)', in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A.C. Hamilton (London, 1990), 1036–8; 1036.

the point' of vernacular literary achievement and innovation, nor were they set against its progress. Rather, they saw themselves as furthering its course – and, indeed, they often did, in a multitude of ways both direct and indirect.

This incomplete list shows that, while the texts that were Latinized largely fall within both our canon and Smart's eighteenth-century equivalent, there are also obvious gaps: Shakespeare and his fellow sonneteers and dramatists (Fletcher is the exception); Donne; all women writers. Latin translation proceeded for the most part by positive selection according to individual translators' preferences and ideologies, rather than by a more concerted, institutional endeavour to offer a 'Temple of English Literature in Latin Translation' to international audiences.[34] Insofar as the translators' criteria can be generalized, English texts are selected for the following reasons: 1) their archaic language; 2) the author's or text's status as worthy of celebration, reputational rehabilitation, dissemination abroad, or preservation for posterity; 3) the text's proximity or relation to the translator's life and ideology, especially its applicability to the political moment or the concerns of a coterie; 4) an affinity between the English text and Latinity (broadly conceived – that is, not narrowly classical). This last point is not to say that the translators were not interested in differences as well as similarities between English texts and the Latin literary tradition, nor that genres that seem to us characteristically 'English' could not be Latinized.[35] The texts translated do, however, tend to have clear classical or other Latinate models.[36] Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* is Latinized above other plays for reasons 3 and 4, among others that are more particular to its translator, Richard Fanshawe.

The absence of women writers calls for no explanation beyond the obvious.[37] There is a paper trail of abortive attempts in one case, however, which shows how one author's works did not 'achieve' Latinization. While Bacon, Hobbes and Pope all ultimately procured satisfactory Latin translations of their works despite some initial difficulties – and Hobbes had to self-Latinize

[34] For Milton and Pope, however, there *was* a more 'institutional' effort, instigated by wealthy patrons in Milton's case and the author himself in Pope's (see Part III, conclusion).

[35] See, for example, Watson's Latinization of a Petrarchan sonnet (chapter 1).

[36] In the case of 'On a Drop of Dew', the affinity is primarily to biblical verses.

[37] Jane Stevenson gives four examples of European women writers whose works were Latinized, one of whom is Cavendish (*Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2005), 347).

as a last resort – Margaret Cavendish was not so lucky.[38] Cavendish wished that she could have written her works in Latin, rather than English, to reach a wider, higher calibre audience; not being 'so learned' herself, she sought out others to Latinize them for her, lest they be 'lost in oblivion'.[39] This project was coordinated on her behalf by Jasper Mayne and Thomas Tully, who commissioned translators across several Oxford colleges, Tully writing out a list in the flyleaf of his copy of *Philosophical Opinions* (Figure 2).

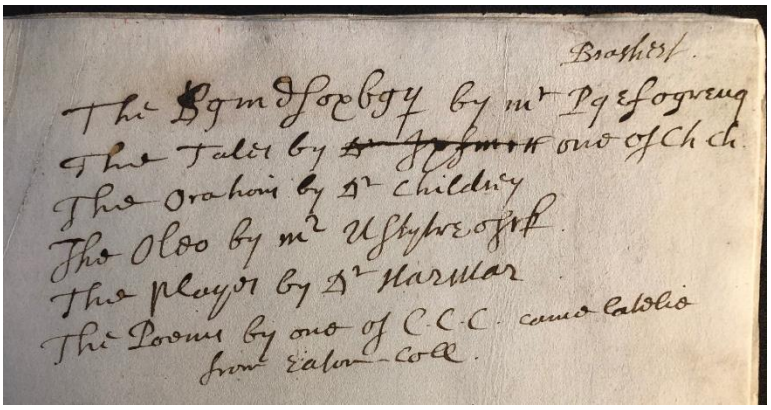


Figure 2.

Despite this substantial effort, only Cavendish's *Life* of her husband William was Latinized in print.[40] One of the translations that failed to come to fruition was a version of *Poems and Fancies* (1653) by the young James Bristow (the 'one of C.C.C. come latelie from Eaton Coll' in Tully's list). According to Anthony Wood, Bristow blamed Cavendish's original poems rather than his own youth and inexperience for his difficulties: 'finding great difficulties therein, through the confusedness of the subject, [he] gave over, as being a matter not to be well performed by any'.[41] Mayne's letter to Cavendish explaining these problems is naturally more complimentary about the original's 'Excellent Fancy', but Bristow and Mayne's shared lexis of 'confusedness' and

[38] Bacon rejected one specimen because it wanted 'clear, *masculine*, and apt expression' (in Binns, 253; emphasis mine). See conclusion on Pope, and Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Noel Malcolm, 3 vols, vol. 1 (Oxford, 2012), 165-6.

[39] Margaret Cavendish, *Philosophical and Physical Opinions* (London, 1655), a2r. See Katie Whitaker, *Mad Madge: Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, Royalist, Writer and Romantic* (London, 2003), 258-9; William Poole, 'Margaret Cavendish's Books in New College, and around Oxford', *New College Notes*, 6 (2015), 1-7; 2-3; Paul Salzman, *Reading Early Modern Women's Writing* (Oxford, 2006), 160.

[40] Margaret Cavendish, *De vita ... Guilielmi ducis Novo-castrensis*, trans. Walter Charleton[?] (London, 1668); see Justin Begley, 'Arthur Annesley, Margaret Cavendish, and Neo-Latin History', *RES*, 69.292 (2018), 855-73.

[41] Bristow, in Salzman, 160.

'stubborn[ness]' raises the suspicion that gendered perceptions of the eccentricity of Cavendish's works played into the Latinization project's ultimate failure.[42]

Durability and universality: Cavendish shared the twofold aim of most Latin translators in this period. While the desire for durability has been critically understated, the genuineness of the translators' professed desire to bring English literature to an international readership has been treated with scepticism, despite the fact that about half cite it as a key motivation; it is assumed that they were really just showing off or trying to make money.[43] This impression has arisen from the critical tendency to extrapolate conclusions about Latinization from the Milton translations only, which are relatively late and of which only two seek an international audience. There is no reason to doubt that other Latin translators who cite it as an important motivation imagined an international readership for their translations, whether or not that was actually achieved in every case. Some certainly *did* reach international readers. Bohemian poet Wenceslas Clemens's reading of Chaucer was made possible by Kynaston's Latin; while Clemens chose to record this fact in verse, his experience may have been shared by others.[44] Thomas May's *Supplementum Lucani* was first printed (and read by Dutch humanist scholars) in Leiden in 1640, and William Hog's Latinized Milton was reissued in Rotterdam in 1699.[45] The *Supplementum* was printed alongside Lucan in the majority of European editions for nearly two centuries, and was further translated into Polish by Jan Alan Bardzinski in 1691.[46] Hog and Thomas Power were recommended to Leibniz by Thomas Burnett as two of the best poets of the age for their 'excellentes versiones latines del admirable poeme heroique de Mr Milton intitulé *Pardise lost*'.[47] It is nonetheless true that many of the translations were 'made by Englishmen [more accurately, English, Scottish and Irish men] for

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[42] Mayne, in *Letters and Poems in Honour of … Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle* (London, 1676), 96. Cf. *Hamlet* 5.1.181.

[43] Haan: '[i]t would be wrong … to assume … that the securing of a continental readership was the prime motivation for the Latinization of vernacular texts in general', citing Hog's pecuniary motive (95). See conclusion on durability.

[44] See chapter 1.

[45] See chapter 3 for May. *Paraphrasis Poetica in Tria Johannis Miltoni*, trans. William Hog (Rotterdam, 1699). Hale infers that 'Dutch and German [readers] may have admired the poem's Protestant and scriptural theology' (175).

[46] *Farsalia Lukana*, trans. Jan Alan Bardzinski (Oliwa, 1691).

[47] Burnett to Leibniz, 6/16 December 1696, in John Barnard, 'Early Expectations of Dryden's Translation of Virgil (1697) on the Continent', *RES*, 50.198 (1999), 196-203; 201.

Englishmen'.[48] Some, including the earliest translations, were coterie, collegiate performances. Others were made for Englishmen in the sense that they were commissioned by a patron or had a large number of subscribers at home. English readers of Latin translations include among their numbers Samuel Hartlib, Bathsua Makin, Richard Fanshawe, William Sancroft, Christopher Smart, and Alexander Pope. It will be obvious, however, that the translations did not find a significant readership in posterity. Yet the translators did achieve durability and universality in a different way (aims that were not necessarily dependent on securing a wide readership): by participating in the elevation and canonization of the texts they Latinized.

Unfortunate Translators

Traces of the translators' lives are legible in their translations. Each chapter of this thesis tells stories of individual translators and their uses of English texts to reflect and shape their worlds. Paul Davis argues that Augustan poetic translation from the classics was a particularly concentrated 'medium of self-examination for the poets who practised it':

> It is no accident that Denham, Vaughan, Cowley, Dryden, and Pope all took up translating at moments of crisis or transformation in their lives … Translating changed the direction of the lives of five of the major poets of the Augustan age, and in doing so helped shape the future of the poet's life.[49]

Translating the classics invited such self-examination for three reasons: 'translating naturally promotes self-consciousness: however involved a translator becomes with his original, he remains … external to it, and correspondingly [particularly] visible to himself'; the typical Augustan figurations of the translator invited comparison with the defining concerns of classical poets (for example, voicelessness in literal translation and in Ovid's works), and Augustan poetic culture considered the 'various ethical matters' that fell under the rubric of 'the poet's life' in terms established by the poets of Augustan Rome.[50] These conditions are applicable to Latin translation, too, which also brings the poet into close contact with the poets of Augustan Rome, by immersing them in their language. May and Marvell exemplify the depth of identification with a particular classical model of the poet's life that Latinization can intensify and strain.[51]

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[48] Hale, 174.

[49] Paul Davis, *Translation and the Poet's Life: The Ethics of Translating in English Culture, 1646-1726* (Oxford, 2008), 15.

[50] Ibid., 14.

[51] See chapter 3.

There are other reasons why Latinization particularly lends itself to biographical reading, even more than translation from the classics. The natural self-consciousness and externality of translation is heightened when one is performing the more unusual task of translating *into* rather than from a language that is somewhat defamiliarized, not fully one's own. In this case, neither the original nor the language is fully his own, although both are tantalizingly close to being so. The original texts had a greater proximity to the translators' lives than classical texts – some seemed even to be set in their own lives. For the translators of *The Shepheardes Calender* and *Absalom and Achitophel*, the characters depicted still lived and worked around them; Kynaston claims a privileged insight into Chaucer's meaning on the grounds that he held the same courtly position – an intensity of identification made possible by the continuity of institutions between Chaucer's time and his own. While temporal distance was no barrier to identification with classical models in this period, Latin translators could overlay this onto a closer, but still partially distanced, rendering of their own worlds. This mediation of three rather than two experiences – ancient, medieval/modern, and contemporary – turns Latinization into an exercise of viewing one's own surroundings through Miltonic glasses with one Augustinian lens, for example, heightening the translators' range of feelings of identification and distance. While Latin translators drew on figurations of the translator from classical literature, they also find new figures in their English originals – translation as pandering or covenanting, for example – that are relevant to their own lives.

Another difference from Davis's laureate poets is that Latin translators did not, for the most part, lead 'poets' lives'. In part because Latin translation did not offer the kind of career-building success of other kinds of composition, and in part because of the upheavals of the times they lived in, the translators had *other* lives, as diplomats, clergymen, colonial planters, founders of academies, plotters, grooms of the stool, coin-filers, pioneers of inoculation. While Davis argues for a particular affinity between translation and *the poet's life* as a cultural construct, these translators had to square their ambitions for a poet's life with a range of other biographical intrusions and experiences, for which both Augustan and English poets also offered models. They were immersed in 'ethical matters' beyond the poet's life that were also conducted in 'terms established by the poets of Augustan Rome', most obviously civil wars and political plotting in the 'Long Restoration'. But these matters were also conducted in terms established by the poets they translated: Spenser, Dryden, Pope and, most profoundly, Milton. Travel was more central to their lives than it was for Davis's comfortably 'national' poets. ~~When~~ Latin translation acted as a medium for English literature to cross borders and seas, the texts moved with their translators as much as their readers. And the translations often had a more instrumental function in the lives of the

Latinizers (beyond the procurement of patronage) than it would have had if they had led successful poets' lives: as diplomatic instruments or tickets out of gaol, in the most extreme cases.[52]

There is another way in which the life of the Latin translator seems strikingly reflective of the conditions and practice of Latinization: the tendency towards failure. Most of the men who published Latin translations of English works, especially after 1680, had unfortunate lives. There are partial exceptions: a Latin translation of Pope's *Messiah* launched Samuel Johnson's career (although Johnson too suffered more than his fair share of personal misfortunes); William Dobson was very well remunerated for a time as a translator of Matthew Prior, Pope, and Milton, but he 'died in great distress', '[t]o the disgrace of the nation in general, and his friends and patrons in particular';[53] Joseph Trapp was the first Oxford Professor of Poetry, but his translation of *Paradise Lost* was a costly failure.[54] Colin Burrow's observation about translators of Virgil is true of Latin translators:

> Most British and Irish translators of Virgil are anxious about their own standing, usually support losing political causes, and often they were not 'English' but Irish or Scots… Virgil tends to be adopted into English by poets who need the consolation of his authority, or who are attracted by his manifest interest in those who are underdogs, or by the sustaining dream of his imperial vision.[55]

William Hog, 'un Ecoissois fort miserable pour sa conditione, intemperance et l'ivroignerie' who died destitute, and Usher Gahagan, a 'singularly unfortunate Irishman' who was ultimately executed, fit this profile exactly.[56] The experience of loss was, in part, a condition of the times: the seventeenth century experienced so much political change and religious conflict that it was more common than not to find oneself on the losing side at some point in a lifetime. Like the *Aeneid*, the texts that were translated (reflecting these times) were attractive to underdogs: Spenser's pessimistic depiction of the pursuit of patronage in *The Shepheardes Calender* attracted Bathurst; *Paradise Lost*, by far the most frequently translated poem in this period, offered both consolation to supporters of losing causes and sustaining dreams of imperial visions; Pope's works attracted

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[52] See chapter 4 and conclusion.

[53] Bannister, in *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq. In Verse and Prose*, ed. William Lisle Bowles, 10 vols, vol. 5. (London, 1806), 275.

[54] Richard Sharp, 'Trapp, Joseph', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27666 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[55] Colin Burrow, 'Virgil in English Translation', in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. Charles Martindale, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2019), 109-27; 109-10.

[56] Burnett in Barnard, 201; W.B. Stanford, 'Towards a History of Classical Influences in Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 70 (1970), 13-91.

marginalised Catholics; even Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, triumphalist in its time, became a Jacobite 'loser's epic' in the longer term.[57] The activity of translation itself can also feel like a distinctively 'negative' activity,[58] appropriate for a condition of exile or constraint.

In Milton's wake, it was increasingly clear that Latinization was a losing literary cause, even as it became increasingly common as a practice. It had never been a sure-fire path to commercial or other success. Latinity itself could offer the consolation of its authority, an imperial vision, and the possibility of success abroad to those who were not able to succeed in the vernacular marketplace. The translators could also hitch their wagons to the fame of a recent or still living English poet, whose reputation had survived the adverse conditions their poems depicted or presaged. Those who profited most from Latinization used it as a way to achieve these kinds of prestige before succeeding in another walks of life, or in the vernacular. The failure that is the increasingly inevitable condition of Latin translation is not merely reflected in but causally connected to failures in the translators' lives. While Latinization offered translators a vision more lasting than bronze, a way to stop or transcend time, they could hardly have avoided the creeping sense that this was not to be. And, indeed, many never had their translations read or their stories told until now.

Towards a Theory of Latinization

Latin translations disrupt existing models of (self-)translation, Latinity, bilingualism, allusion, and reception; a theoretical investigation of these problems underlies my contextual and biographical readings throughout this thesis. Burke proposes that translation into Latin disrupts a familiar paradigm of translation theory, 'domestication' versus 'foreignizing', suggesting 'a third possible solution': 'classicizing'.

> The classicizing option [is] a kind of cultural translation in reverse. We are accustomed to the translation of the language of the past into that of the present. … Here, however, we find the opposite phenomenon, the translation of the language of the present into that of the past, justified by the Renaissance project of reviving antiquity.[59]

[57] See David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton, 1993), and Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries* (London, 1984).

[58] Davis, 6.

[59] Burke, 80.

Similar but subtly different is the common association of Latin translation with 'double' or 'back-translation' (sometimes used a synonym for Latinization), the pedagogical exercise whereby a classical text is Englished only to be translated 'back' into a Latin that is as close as possible to the original (usually Ciceronian). So Philip Hardie: '[Cowley's] English is itself close to the classical Latin models, into which the Latin … might almost be thought of as a back-translation.'[60] The difference between 'classicizing' and 'back translation' is that, while the former translates 'the language of the present into that of the past', the latter all but eliminates the intervention of the present; Latinization simply discloses the prior classical origins of the English 'original', functioning as a restoration or a return. So William Dillingham (1653), who describes Bathurst's Latinized Spenser as 'non tam translatus quam *restitutus*', and John Hale (1984): 'the better [Latin translations] *restore* to our sense of Milton's verse its Latinity of syntax, cadence, and cast of thought.'[61] The resulting effect of temporally undercutting the original can seem dissimulative or even fraudulent. In both models, Latin translation is assumed to be fundamentally classicizing, whether it is conceived as the first or second leg of a cultural journey; a revival or return.

Estelle Haan has provided an important corrective: 'the coexistence of a vibrant neo-Latin literature' means that 'translation into Latin, far from constituting "cultural translation in reverse", is more accurately describable as the rendering into a target language, which was itself a core linguistic medium of an existing … literary culture.'[62] This repositions Latin translation as 1) not narrowly classical but *neo*-Latin and thus 2) a kind of translation similar to any other, as a 'rendering into a target language' with its own coexistent literary culture. The latter point is reflected in Haan's use of both classic and 'current translational theory': Dryden's distinction between paraphrase and metaphrase; Laurence Venuti on the translator's invisibility; code selection; reading translation through its metaphors.[63] 'The key to a skilful Latin rendering of English verse', Haan proposes, 'lay in the extent to which it could effect a marriage between … Drydenesque "Translation with Latitude" and what Lawrence Venuti has termed a "fluent

[60] Hardie (n.26), 76.

[61] 'Not so much translated as restored'. Edmund Spenser, *Calendarium pastorale*, trans. Theodore Bathurst, ed. William Dillingham (London, 1653), A3v; J.K. Hale, 'The Significance of Early Translations of *Paradise Lost*' [1984], in *Milton as Multilingual: Selected Essays 1982-2004* (Dunedin, 2005), 174-97; 182. Emphases mine.

[62] Haan (n.7), 96-7.

[63] Ibid., passim, esp. 93-7; John Dryden, preface to *Ovid's Epistles, Translated by Several Hands* (London, 1680), A3r–a4v**;** Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 3rd edn (New York, 2018); see Davis (n.49) and Reynolds (n.31).

strategy".'[64] This is could be said of translation generally; many other ideas from both early modern and contemporary translation theory are fruitfully applied to Latinization.[65]

Haan's view invokes not only translation theory but also what could be called an emergent 'theory' of neo-Latin poetry. This has often been articulated through expressions and refutations of the 'problem' of neo-Latin's singular traits as a poetic medium, which make it unlike other 'target languages', and perhaps dead, near-dead or *undead*. Chief among these are that it is 1) not a 'first' or 'native' language; 2) institutional, being associated with schools, religion, international relations, etc.; 3) international, thus both universal and homeless (defying the assumptions of domestication vs. foreignization); 4) highly literary, and 'the most intertextual poetry known to Europe'.[66] This last trait has posed the biggest problem. As a consequence, neo-Latin poetry is cento-like, combinatorial, particularly material; a puzzle to be solved; a metalanguage; necromantic, illusory, belated; all surface; derivative, artificial; lacking in sincerity, emotion, or living thought – etc.[67] Haan does not aim to invoke this baggage when she emphasises that the medium of Latin translation is *neo*-Latin; she is simply stressing that it is 'coexistent' (she hesitates to say 'contemporary') with modern vernacular literature. Yet, unlike her discussions of 'original' neo-Latin verse elsewhere, her reading of the Milton translations hardly refers to this coexistent Latin culture (and not at all to a coexistent literary culture).[68] The translators in her account seem

[64] Haan, 96-7. A fluent strategy is 'impossible to achieve with close or "verbal" translation, which inhibits the effect of transparency, making the translator's language seem foreign' (Venuti, 47), so it is not clear how Haan means to differentiate Dryden from Venuti.

[65] For pre-Augustan translation theory in England, see Neil Rhodes, Gordon Kendal, and Louise Wilson, eds., *English Renaissance Translation Theory* (London, 2013) and Gordon Braden, 'Translating Procedures in Theory and Practice', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, Vol. 2: *1550–1660*, ed. Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford, 2010), 89–99.

[66] See Leo Spitzer, 'The Problem of Latin Renaissance Poetry', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 2 (1995), 118-38; Hale, quoted by Haan, 96.

[67] See, for example, Spitzer; Yasmin Haskell, 'Conjuring with the Classics: Neo-Latin Poets and Their Pagan Familiars', in *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. Victoria Moul (Cambridge, 2007), 17-34; Reinhold F. Glei, '(Neo-)Latin as a Meta-Language', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 63 (2014), 3-25.

[68] Except to associate *lynceus* with the Renaissance *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* and *maculosa* with Galileo's 1610 *Siderius Nuncius* (Haan, 103-4).

mired in a Virgilianism that tends towards the 'pathological', in Stephen Hinds's words.[69] Whether the traits associated with the intertextuality of neo-Latin are framed as a problem or potentiality, we cannot dispense with their effects entirely: so, we might acknowledge that neo-Latinity can *think*, but perhaps that it thinks *differently* to other languages; that neo-Latinity is modern, but also deeply classical and intertextual. If we accept this baggage, Haan's two points, which seemed sequential, are perhaps mutually exclusive: if the medium of Latin translation is emphatically *neo*-Latin, it is not a kind of translation like any other, and can never be properly 'fluent', since fluency 'assumes a theory of language as communication … as a transparent medium of personal expression'.[70]

We are back where we began. Latin translation is not just like any kind of translation, nor is it the same as original neo-Latin verse. The models that account for its difference, however – 'classicizing' and 'back translation' – are limiting, because they deemphasise the intervention of the English text and the continued presence of the present in the Latin translation. 'Back translation' reinforces an impression of Latinity as essentially prior through its pedagogical function as well as its structure: Latinity is located in the schoolroom and might be pursued early in a career or form a nascent thought, before the poet moves on to more ambitious vernacular compositions.[71] But seeing as many Latin translations do have some relation to a pedagogical setting (usually university), a pedagogical model is not wholly inappropriate. In his *Interpretatio Linguarum* (1559), Lawrence Humphrey set out a revised version of double translation which is more applicable to the act of Latinization. In Humphrey's exercise, the aim is that the final text be as *different* as possible from the classical original, carrying across the *Anglicitas* of the intermediary English version by writing 'Anglica Latine', in Anglicized Latin.[72] Far from usurping a primariness of time and sense, the Latin version reaches towards an English original that is anterior and outside its reach in time and sense. This resembles 'foreignizing' translation, except its terms are more temporal than geographical. Burke's gesture of adapting the 'domestication' versus 'foreignizing' paradigm into more temporal

[69] Stephen Hinds, 'In and Out of Latin: diptych and virtual diptych in Marvell, Milton, Du Bellay and others', in *Conversations: Classical Imitation in Renaissance Literature*, ed. Syrithe Pugh (Manchester, 2020), 55-90; 86.

[70] Venuti, 49. On potential conflict between translation and the imitative nature of Latin verse, see chapter 5.

[71] Haan is also reliant on the model of 'double translation' in this way, as I discuss in chapter 3.

[72] Lawrence Humphrey, *Interpretatio Linguarum* (Basle, 1559), 549-53; 549.

terms has some value,[73] but it fails to account for the fact that Latinization might aspire to secondariness as well as priority, to different extents, at different points. While the translations are not always obviously Anglicized in style, I share Samuel Johnson's conviction that 'No book was ever turned from one language into another, without imparting something of its native idiom … it alters not the single stones of the building, but the order of the Columns.'[74] Even when this effect is most elusive stylistically, the temporal intervention of the English means that purely 'classicizing', 'back-' translation is impossible, and is felt to be so. Sometimes classical quotation – so common in 'the most intertextual poetry known to Europe' – seems to make the translation fuse with an anterior meaning that excludes the original. But then the reader regains their awareness of the passing of time, the intervention of the English, the impossibility of that priority. To butcher an aphorism from Paul de Man, 'Time is [classical quotation's] inability to coincide with itself.'[75]

As this invocation of de Man signals, the complex temporality of Latinization has something in common with that of allegory (an affinity that becomes particularly pertinent when allegorical texts are Latinized). While allegory (like metaphor) has structural similarities to translation in general,[76] the predicament of Latinization in particular (like that of allegory) is profoundly temporal (more than spatial).[77] Following Gordon Teskey's gloss on de Man, allegory tries to recapture temporality by dramatizing its own failure to break out of time; 'the author appears to assume that everything he says emanates from, and ultimately returns to, an ideal meaning that is beyond the figurative distortions of language'; on the other hand, '[he] recognizes this assumption to be false because, in assuming one can return to an original point and find it unchanged, the reality of time is denied'.[78] The Latin translator is continually faced with, indeed dramatizes, the reality of time, the inescapable condition that prevents his Latinity from returning to an original point and finding it unchanged. While translation sometimes threatens to usurp priority or to return to an original point beyond language, the doubled intervention of time – the

[73] The spatial metaphors are still relevant, and might be usefully translated into 'nationalising' and 'universalising'.

[74] Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1755), 5. This thesis shows that translation from English was a driver of stylistic innovation in Latin: see especially chapters 1-2.

[75] 'Time is truth's inability to coincide with itself.' Paul de Man, *Blindness & Insight: Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism*, 2nd edn (London, 1993), 78, also cited by Gordon Teskey, in 'Allegory', in *Spenser Encyclopedia*, 16-22; 22.

[76] See chapter 1.

[77] See Paul de Man, 'The Rhetoric of Temporality', in *Blindness*, 187-228.

[78] Teskey, 22.

time of the original, and his own time – prevents it from doing so. This thesis finds that the strength that Teskey identifies in 'the great allegorical poets' is shared with some Latin translators: they 'recognize and exploit' the 'dissonance' that occurs in this 'rift', 'while the minor ones do what they can to avoid it'.[79] Humphrey describes how he instructed his pupil 'ut quam minimum a sensu verborum ac idiotismo nostro recederet nisi cum esset necesse, ut postea *discrimen* in conferendo appareret luculentius.'[80] Humphrey's word *discrimen* captures something of Teskey's 'rift', since it means not just distance or interval but also risk – a dangerous, decisive moment. Time is truth's inability to coincide with itself, and the gap that emerges is the *discrimen*.

This thesis divides the 170-year period it covers into three phases of Latin translation. In the first phase, c.1580-1635, it is primarily a response to changes in the English language that have rendered or may soon render Chaucerian and Spenserian language unintelligible; it also becomes a European, 'transmarine' project to put English literature and politics on the map. The second, c.1635-1681, sees English texts Latinized, often self-translated, to explore political and diplomatic identities during the Civil Wars and Restoration. In the third phase, c.1681-1750, Latin translation responds to the literary legacy of Milton and adapts Milton (alongside Dryden and Pope) to new Augustan contexts, including Jacobitism, imperialism and slavery, economic policy, and incarceration.

[79] Gordon Teskey, *Allegory and Violence* (Ithaca; London, 1996), 23.

[80] 'To stray as little as possible from the sense of the words and our idiom apart from when it is necessary, so that afterwards when they are compared the *difference/interval* between [the classical original and the Anglicised Latin] may appear more plainly.' Humphrey, 550-1; emphasis mine.

Part I: Latinizing the Medieval

The three Latin translations – two of Spenser (1584 and 1602-8), one of Chaucer (1635-40) – discussed in the following two chapters provide different responses to 'the cultural dialectic made available (indeed, made inescapable) by Renaissance humanism … between antiquity and the middle ages', the two pasts upon which an English national literature was formed.[1] In Richard Helgerson's account, this dialectic was unstable, with the gothic divided into two versions – one more linguistic, centred on rhyme (as opposed to quantitative verse), and one more chivalric or courtly – both of which were deeply politicised.[2] The poems translated, *Troilus and Criseyde* and *The Shepheardes Calender,* combine the classical and the medieval in different ways: Chaucer's rime royal epic transposes a chivalric world to a classical setting; Spenser embeds Virgilian pastoral in a revival of rugged, archaic English rhymes. The impulse to Latinize the medieval might be assumed to be a strongly classicizing, anti-gothic one – an extension of the impulse towards quantitative verse. Yet two of the translators, John Dove and Francis Kynaston, share a desire also to express, preserve, or revive medieval English *through* Latinization, to different ideological ends.

[1] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (London, 1992), 5.

[2] Ibid., 19-62.

CHAPTER 1

Glossing *The Shepheardes Calender* in Latin Translation

The existence of Latin translations of *The Shepheardes Calender* indicates to Paul Klemp that some readers 'missed the point' of the poem, if Spenser's 'point' was 'to show that the pastoral form … of Virgil in the Latin could be rendered in English' (specifically, in rhyme).[3] A good test by which to assess whether Latin translators really did 'miss the point' of *The Shepheardes Calender* might be to examine the extent of their engagement with E.K.'s 'glosse'. The material by E.K. amounts to 'roughly one half of the entire volume',[4] and the role and identity of E.K. has dominated recent critical discussion of the *Calender*. It is largely through the introduction of this contemporaneous annotator that Spenser reinvents the pastoral and its topicality, in addition to staking his claims for the mother tongue. The roles of E.K. and the Latin translator in 'glossing' the poem are potentially analogous,[5] so that one might render the other redundant. Translations, particularly Latin translations, often function as a kind of commentary, and vice versa. Kynaston's *Amores*, for example, is described in one of its dedicatory poems as 'both a comment and Translation', and it shares the central aim of E.K.'s gloss, 'thexposition of old wordes'.[6] Inversely, one of E.K.'s primary functions is to transform the 'new Poete['s]' rugged English work into a Latinate classic, and one of the many ways in which E.K. glosses the *Calender* is by straightforward translation: 'Vnkempt' is 'Incompti' (*SC*, 145).

E.K.'s input, however, is rarely straightforward, and the various meanings of 'glosse' encompass more than translation and commentary. 'One needs to remember', writes Richard McCabe, 'that in sixteenth century usage the term "gloss" frequently implied deception.'[7] E.K.'s

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[3] See 'Introduction', n.33.

[4] Richard A. McCabe, 'Annotating Anonymity, or Putting a Gloss on *The Shepheardes Calender*', in *Ma(r)king the Text: The Presentation of Meaning on the Literary Page*, ed. Joe Bray, Miriam Handley and Anne C. Henry (Aldershot, 2000), 35–54; 35.

[5] The *OED* definition of 'gloss' under which E.K. is listed as an example is 1b, 'A collection of [inserted or marginal] explanations, a glossary; also, an interlinear translation of, or series of verbal explanations upon, a continuous text.'

[6] Kynaston, trans., *Amores*, **^{v}; Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender*, in *The Shorter Poems*, ed. Richard McCabe (London, 1999), 23–156 (hereafter '*SC*'), 29. When quoting verse from *SC*, I give eclogue and line numbers, in the form '2.34'; all other numbers are page numbers.

[7] McCabe, 'Annotating', 41.

interpretative comments are characterized by an intimacy of access that he opens up to the reader: 'by meanes of some familiar acquaintaunce I was made priuie to [the poet's] counsell and secret meaning' (*SC*, 29). But the context of political 'ieopardee' (*SC*, 24) surrounding the threat of the French match, Queen Elizabeth's potential marriage to the Duke of Anjou, necessitates a degree of 'priviness' and concealment in his apparent exposition. The *Calender* takes up the long-established idea of pastoral as an intrinsically political genre, but now 'even the gloss operates in the manner attributed by Servius to Virgilian pastoral verse: certain things are said "aperte" (openly) and certain things are said "latenter" (covertly)'.[8] A Latin translation that does not 'miss the point' of the *Calender* by our critical standards would coexist with and extend the function of E.K. in all its complexity – commend the poet to readers, promote the mother tongue, comment and 'gloss', arrogate classical authority, reveal sources and literary history, participate in pastoral dialogues, discover secrets, conceal and duplicate identities, and potentially deceive – even where these effects diverge from principles of early modern translation and the conventions of Virgilian pastoral. I will assess the Latin translations of *The Shepheardes Calender* by Dove and Bathurst by these standards.

In 1653, William Dillingham published the *Calendarium Pastorale*, a parallel-text edition of a Latin translation of the *Calender* composed by Theodore Bathurst some decades earlier. This translation would reach many more readers when it was reprinted in the 1679 Spenser Folio (and again in 1732). This publication in 1653 constitutes the début of its late translator, Bathurst, whom Dillingham introduces and commends as a new poet in his preface, in the manner of E.K. Dillingham says he came into possession of two manuscripts of this translation from Bathurst's library when he died in the previous year (1652); it was composed about fifty years earlier, when Bathurst was at Cambridge. Dillingham engages deeply with E.K.'s epistle to Gabriel Harvey in the dedication to his edition. His mode of engagement, however, shows a 'witlesse headinesse' or 'heedelesse hardinesse', to use E.K.'s words (*SC*, 27). Dillingham sees the *Calender* as 'non tam translatus, quam restitutus' in Latin.[9] Whenever he presents the Latin as improving on Spenser's original, as he does consistently, he uses arguments that E.K. has already dismissed in the epistle. Bathurst's translation, Dillingham writes, brings brightness and ease to Spenser's rough and obscure words (Bathurst, A4r), but E.K. justified the new poet's 'set purpose and choyse' in using 'rough and harsh termes [to] enlumine and make more clearly to appeare the brightnesse of braue and glorious words' (*SC*, 26–7). Dillingham comments that Spenser's English poem was born with

[8] Ibid., 51.

[9] See 'Introduction', n.60. Further references to 'Bathurst' in parentheses.

a hoary beard like the biblical Esau (A3v), making light of E.K.'s claim that 'ofttimes an auncient worde maketh the style seeme graue, and as it were reuerend: no otherwise then we honour and reuerence gray heares for a certein religious regard, which we haue of old age' (26). When Dillingham claims that Spenser's words shudder 'ejusmodi dictiones tanquam *Evandri* matris carmina' (A3v),[10] he takes precisely the position that E.K. mocks in the epistle:

> if them happen to here an olde word albeit very naturall and significant, crye out streight way, that we speak no English, but gibbrish, or rather such, as in old time Euanders mother spake. whose first shame is, that they are not ashamed, in their own mother tonge straungers to be counted and alienes. (27)

Dillingham does not acknowledge, however, that his dedication is a response to E.K. His reader can only figure this out by returning to a copy of Spenser's original, since – in perhaps the greatest indication of his wrongheadedness – his edition of Bathurst's translation does not reproduce or translate any of the material by E.K.

Dillingham's presentation of Bathurst's translation does nothing to challenge the view that Latin translators 'missed the point' of *The Shepheardes Calender*. But this posthumous edition conceals two things about the history of Latinizing the text. The first is that another, earlier Latin translation of the *Calender* was composed during Spenser's lifetime by John Dove of Christ Church, Oxford, likely in 1584. Although it was never printed, Dove's translation is notable for its literary effects, which often surpass Bathurst's, and its paratexts: a preface which suggests that Dove did not know the identity of the *Calender*'s author, and an appended elegy for Archbishop Grindal (*d.*1583), indicating that Dove could nonetheless interpret and build on Spenser's topical allusiveness (Grindal appears in the *Calender* as 'Algrind').[11] The second is that the true nature of the later translation, and Bathurst's authorship of it, can only emerge from an examination of its diverse and unusual manuscript origins. In this chapter I 'un-edit' Bathurst's translation and read it against Dove's, to demonstrate that the translations as originally presented and conceived are much 'truer' to the *Calender* and its mysterious glossator E.K. than Dillingham's edition.

These translations last received sustained attention in the 1930s.[12] Leicester Bradner provided the fullest attempt to date to 'present the facts' and counter bibliographical

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[10] 'Like the songs of Evander's mother'.

[11] See Leicester Bradner, 'The Latin Translations of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*', *MP*, 33.1 (1935), 21–6; 23–4.

[12] A chapter by Tabitha Tuckett, in her 'Character, Moral Evaluation and Action in Virgilian and Elizabethan Pastoral' (DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 1997), is unpublished.

misinformation about the translations.[13] However, Bradner did not have access to all the 'facts', so a degree of misinformation has been perpetuated. Bathurst's translation was also given a modest claim to fame as a potential source for Milton's use of the name 'Lycidas'.[14] Neither of these discussions reads the translations in any detail; Bradner's claim that Bathurst 'could hardly have seen Dove's work' is quickly disproved by a comparative reading of the translations, which reveals that Bathurst borrowed from Dove extensively.[15] As Tabitha Tuckett (n.12) has shown (in a reading that focuses on character and moral evaluation), the translations can act as new versions of Spenserian pastoral that reveal and develop characteristics of the genre and the original text. This chapter will explore their versions of three aspects of Spenserian pastoral (all prominent in E.K.'s gloss): community and competition; allegory and allusion; register and rusticity.

Community and Competition

Like other pastorals since Virgil's, *The Shepheardes Calender* conveys a strong sense of community and competition on three different but permeable levels of representation; the inclusion of E.K.'s commentary makes this more evident than before. There is the cast of pastoral characters – Colin, Hobbinoll, Eliza, Algrind, Roffy, Pan, and the rest – who form 'an integrated shepherd community with its web of relationships and year-round tasks'.[16] Then there is the 'real' community that the community of shepherds allusively represents: Spenser, Gabriel Harvey, Queen Elizabeth, Archbishop Grindal, John Young, Christ, various members of the clergy both upright and corrupt. And there is the poetic community that becomes a cast of characters in the *Calender* as never before in the pastoral tradition, due to its introduction of authorial personae and self-commentary: the 'new Poete' or 'Immerito', E.K., Philip Sidney, Chaucer, Virgil, Maecenas, Mantuan, Theocritus, Marot, and other poets cited in the gloss. When the *Calender* is translated into Latin, a further representative community may be brought into the mix, of the translators, their influences, contemporaries and patrons, which may or may not be continuous with the *Calender*'s existing 'real' and poetic communities.

In his preface, Dove asks his patrons to excuse his translation's limitations with reference to the most extensive treatise on translation written in the Renaissance, Humphrey's *Interpretatio*

[13] Bradner, 21.

[14] Ernest A. Strathmann, 'Lycidas and the Translation of "May"', *MLN*, 52.6 (1937), 398–400.

[15] Bradner, 25.

[16] Sukanta Chaudhuri, *A Companion to Pastoral Poetry of the English Renaissance* (Manchester, 2018), 36.

Linguarum (1559). He writes, 'non omnes … Humfredice transferre possimus, aut ea sequi praecepta quae doctissimus pater pastorum Oxoniensium prescripsit, et ab iis exigit qui hanc transferendi operam navare volunt'.[17] This statement confirms some of Sheldon Brammall's conjectures about Humphrey's influence in England.[18] The *Interpretatio* was until recently assumed to have had only a marginal impact on English translation practice, in spite of its considerable interest as a rare example of English translation theory.[19] Composed when Humphrey was in Marian exile and steeped in the continental context of the Ciceronian controversies, it was 'written in Latin, published in Basle, and never reprinted'.[20] But, Brammall argues, its 'significance for specifically English translation history' is underrated. Published one year after Elizabeth ascended the throne, the *Interpretatio* 'aims to show off Humphrey's erudition to an English audience' before his return from exile. 'There are several copies in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge', and 'Humphrey was a celebrated pedagogue who taught several generations of students at Oxford', as Vice-Chancellor of the university, then President of Magdalen College.[21] Humphrey's principles influenced not only those who translated *into* English, such as Richard Stanyhurst and John Harington, as Brammall argues, but also those who translated *from* English, such as John Dove.

Dove refers specifically to his failure to follow Humphrey's injunction to carry over the 'idiotisomos [sic]' ('characteristic features') of the original language (3) – in Spenser's case, the style, archaisms, and dialects of the *Calender*'s pastoral speakers – to which I will return in my discussion of register and rusticity. To translate 'Humfredice' ('in the Humphrey style') means more than this, however, and Dove's preface refers to other principles from the *Interpretatio*, confirming either that he paid close attention to the whole treatise or that the translation theory of the 'pater pastorum Oxoniensium' trickled down to Oxford students (likely both). Dove cites, for example, the Horatian idea that a poet should wait ten years to publish a work, which he has failed to do, having

[17] 'We can't all translate in the Humphrey style, or follow the precepts which that most learned father of Oxford shepherds prescribed and demanded from those who want to do this work of translating.' Gonville & Caius MS 595/547 (*Calendarium Pastorum*, trans. John Dove), 3. Further references to 'Dove' in parentheses.

[18] For Humphrey see Sheldon Brammall, *The English Aeneid: Translations of Virgil 1555–1646* (Edinburgh, 2015), 8–15, and 'Laurence Humphrey, Gabriel Harvey, and the Place of Personality in Renaissance Translation Theory', *RES*, 69 (2017), 56–75.

[19] See Braden ('Introduction', n.64), 89.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Brammall, *Aeneid*, 9–10.

written his translation 'currenti calamo' (4).[22] This principle is advocated by Humphrey in the *Interpretatio*.[23] Although Dove modestly says that he has *not* been able to follow all of Humphrey's precepts, many of the *Interpretatio*'s ideas are borne out by both Dove's and Bathurst's translations. The *Interpretatio* is doubly relevant here, because the only Elizabethan literary figure who is known to have owned and extensively annotated a copy of the *Interpretatio* was central to *The Shepheardes Calender*: Gabriel Harvey. Harvey's copy shows that he read the full 622 pages, made notes on the whole text, and read Humphrey's other works.[24] 'Given that Harvey made his annotations in 1570', Brammall comments, 'it is tempting to conclude that Spenser must have known about the *Interpretatio*.'[25] Brammall does not push this speculation beyond Spenser's earliest translations of the 1570s to 1579, when the publication of the *Calender* enshrined Spenser's relationship with Harvey in literary history. If, however, ideas mediated by Harvey from the *Interpretatio* are traceable in E.K.'s epistle, as I will argue, Dove's use of Humphrey's ideas in his translation completes a chain of influence from Humphrey to Harvey, to Spenser, to Dove. At the least, Dove's engagement with Humphrey constitutes a form of engagement with E.K., both because E.K. and Humphrey express similar ideas and because Dove's interest in Humphrey mirrors that of Harvey, E.K.'s addressee and model.

One of Humphrey's central points is that translation and imitation are connected but different: the translator must follow his original author, whereas an imitator can emulate. The translator should not emulate his source author, but rather previous translators of the source text. 'Aemulatio magnum calcar est et incitamentum ut recte vertamus, contendamusque cum aliis qui ante nos quippiam verterunt, ut cum illis de palma certemus.'[26] Thus 'translating for Humphrey is essentially a communal endeavour'.[27] Such a relationship of emulation exists between Dove and Bathurst, I argue, and Bathurst's translation is a 'communal endeavour' in this and other ways. Similarities between Dove's and Bathurst's translations first present the possibility that *The*

[22] 'With a running reed', i.e. quickly.

[23] Humphrey, *Interpretatio*, 186. All references to Gabriel Harvey's copy (Trinity College, Cambridge Library, III.18.74).

[24] Brammall, 'Humphrey', 63–75.

[25] Ibid., 73.

[26] 'Emulation is a great spur and incitement for us to translate correctly, and we contest with others who translated before us, so we may struggle for victory with them.' Humphrey, 536; Brammall's translation. Harvey labels this 'Æmulatio'.

[27] Rhodes, Kendal and Wilson, eds., *Theory*, 263. My translations of the *Interpretatio* are frequently indebted to Kendal's partial translation in this volume.

Shepheardes Calender anticipates and fixes its own Latin translation by using a pastoral vocabulary and allusions in English that have clear Latin equivalents or are derived from Latin sources (often pointed out by E.K.), so that there would naturally be overlap between two versions composed without mutual influence. This can account for some moments of similarity. In the first three stanzas of the 'Januarye' eclogue, for example, Dove and Bathurst share the vocabulary of *bruma*, *rigor*, *pecus*, *curas*, *amantes*, *pastores*, *dolores*, often constructed similarly, especially where the English is particularly patterned. Both translate the line 'Well couth he tune his pipe, and frame his stile' (*SC* 1.10) with 'calamos inflare, et dicere versus', quoting Eclogue 5.2, *tu calamos inflare levis, ego dicere versus*, re-asserting Colin's poetic prowess by combining in him the skills of Virgil's Mopsus and Menalcas (*tu* and *ego*). Even though E.K. does not suggest any allusion to Virgil here, these similarities need not suggest that Bathurst followed Dove, but simply that they draw on a common, highly Virgilian *langue*.

However, a complete comparison of Dove's and Bathurst's versions reveals that Bathurst makes frequent borrowings from Dove, ranging from convenient fragments to full lines. In 'October', Bathurst closely imitates Dove's version of the lines 'But ah *Mecoenas* is yclad in claye, / … And all the worthies liggen wrapt in leade' (*SC* 10.61–3). Here Dove precedes Bathurst:

> Sed nunc Mecoenas fulvâ tumulatur arenâ
> Occidit Augustus Romanae gloria gentis
> Magnanimique duces nigrum mittuntur ad orcum (49)

> Sed iam Mecoenas fulvâ tumulatur arenâ,
> Nec non Augustum terrae sinus invidus hausit,
> Magnanimique duces insuti corpora plumbo
> Putrescunt (117)

Where Bathurst varies Dove's lines, from replacing 'nunc' with 'iam' to retranslating 'And great *Augustus* long ygoe is dead', it seems like purposeful emulation of the kind that Humphrey recommends. By replacing the looser 'nigrum mittuntur ad orcum' with 'insuti corpora plumbo / Putrescunt' he shows a desire to get closer to Spenser's imagery than Dove. This is representative of Bathurst's translation compared to Dove's: Bathurst's is a parallel translation, so he reproduces Spenser's lines without any cuts or elisions and stays closer to his syntax and imagery than Dove. In 'September', for Diggon's lines 'I was bewitcht / With vayne desyre, and hope to be enricht' (*SC* 9.74–5), Bathurst borrows a line that Dove used earlier in the same eclogue, for Hobbinoll's enquiry, 'Diggon areede, who has thee so dight?':

> Quae me intemperies, quaeve exagitavit Erynnis (Bathurst, 101)
> Quae te intemperies vexat? quae tristis Erynnis? (Dove, 41)

Bathurst seems to have considered Dove's pairing of *intemperies* ('intemperance') and *Erynnis* ('a Fury') overblown for Hobbinoll's innocent question, but memorable and more appropriate for Diggon's expression of renunciation of Rome.

There is no reason why Bathurst could not have consulted Dove's translation. Assuming this was the only copy, the manuscript, originally dedicated to William James, Dean of Christ Church, and Martin Heton, Subdean, migrated from Oxford to Cambridge some time between its composition in *c.*1584 and the late 1650s, when William Moore (a Cambridge University librarian) left it to his old college, Gonville & Caius. Its owner before Moore, Richard Newell, was at Cambridge in the 1630s, but I suggest that it found its way to Cambridge earlier than this, by 1602-8. A plausible route can be constructed via its dedicatee Heton, who succeeded one Lawrence Humphrey as Dean of Winchester and eventually became Bishop of Ely in 1600. There he came into conflict with but was eventually accepted by Lancelot Andrewes, who encouraged Bathurst to migrate from Trinity to Spenser's old college, Pembroke, where he was Master, between 1602 and 1606. Bathurst had already presented a partial version of the January and February eclogues to Thomas Neville, Master of Trinity, before he moved college;[28] he may have seen Dove's version after this draft, if it was introduced to him by Andrewes. Andrewes's interest in Bathurst was presumably piqued by the fact that Bathurst had started translating his friend Spenser. If not through Andrewes, the manuscript could easily have come into Bathurst's hands in Cambridge from neighbouring Ely by some other link.

Given that Bathurst consulted Dove's translation, his metrical choices are clearly driven by competitive emulation. Dove uses hexameter for the main body of the eclogues but renders the songs in 'Aprill', 'August', and 'November' in 'new stanzaic forms' of his own construction.[29] Bathurst does the same but shows a 'larger command of meters',[30] using four instead of Dove's three in 'Aprill' and recombining the same metres into a different stanza in 'November' to link the eclogues about the 'Queene of Shepheardes all' (*SC* 4.34). This metrical emulation is in keeping with the *Calender*, in which 'Spenser makes exceptionally good use of the vernacular poet's freedom from the unvarying [metre] of classical pastoral.' 'These formal innovations', Chaudhuri goes on, 'align him more closely with the shepherd-poets of his fiction', particularly Colin.[31] One 'problem' with the translations, however, is that, in 'August', both Dove and Bathurst use a variety of metres

[28] British Library Add MS 33586, 75r-81r.

[29] Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry, 1500-1925* (Oxford, 1940), 105.

[30] Bradner, 'Translations', 25–6.

[31] Chaudhuri, 36.

for the roundelay between Perigot and Willye but revert to hexameter for Cuddy's rendition of Colin's song (an elaborate variant of the Provençal sestina in English), making it indistinguishable in poetic skill from the rest of the translations.[32] The result is that Dove and Bathurst fall back on a Virgilian rather than Spenserian mode of poetic representation, in which pastoral representation and self-representation interpenetrate to a lesser degree. In 'August', the tie in the poetic contest between Perigot and Willye recalls that between Damoetas and Menalcas in Eclogue 3, as both E.K. and Dove make clear by echoing Palaemon's judgement: 'so saith Virgile. Et vitula tu dignus, et hic &c.' (*SC*, 115); 'vitulo tu dignus, et ille' (Dove, 39). But the superiority of Colin and his closer alignment with the poet present a problem for the translator like that of Eclogue 7, in which the contest between Corydon and Thyrsis apparently has a clear winner – Corydon – but commentators have struggled to differentiate his poetic skill from Thyrsis's. Like Corydon, Dove's and Bathurst's Colin is no more skilful than the other shepherd-poets.

An examination of the manuscripts reveals that Bathurst's translation is yet more 'communal' than this. I have provided detailed analysis of the one partial and five complete copies of Bathurst's translation elsewhere.[33] The diversity of these manuscripts is essential to the depth and complexity of the translation's engagement with *The Shepheardes Calender*. There are four main points. Firstly, the partial copy (January and most of February) contains a poetic dedication to Thomas Neville, dating it to 1602, and represents Bathurst's first draft; another copy contains a prose dedication and short poem 'Ad Mecaenatem suum' addressed to Samuel Harsnet, successor to Andrewes as Master of Pembroke (1605 to 1616), which dates it to around 1608. Secondly, four of the complete copies were interleaved with printed copies of the 1597 quarto *Shepheardes Calender* to create parallel-text composite books in which the manuscript translation, page by page, faces the printed English text. Thirdly, the text varies widely between the copies, seeming to stem from two primary versions which differ widely on a local level. Each copy represents a different variation on one or both of these versions, and the first draft also includes a list of 'Variae lectiones' (variant readings) for ten passages of the January eclogue. Fourthly, in addition to textual variety, the manuscripts also contain a surprising variety of hands (up to eight or nine collaborating in a single copy); Bathurst's is prominent among these (throughout the first draft and one other copy), but there are at least ten in total.

[32] Tuckett also raises this issue (257).

[33] See my 'Glossing *The Shepheardes Calender* in Latin Translation', *Translation and Literature*, 31.1 (2022), 1-34.

Dillingham's edition is an interpretation of two of these manuscripts (which I have identified)[34] that cleans up the 'Bathurst' translation's unstable text and authorship, flattening its engagement with Spenser in a number of ways. McCabe notes that 'typographical diversity' is one means by which the *Calender* 'insinuates a diversity of viewpoints or "voices"'.[35] With the addition of manuscript material, the diversity of the forms of writing in the interleaved translations is even greater. Unlike Dillingham's edition, the use of printed copies of the *Calender* means that the interleaved manuscripts *do* include E.K.'s glosses. The composite books contain English verse in black letter, E.K.'s glosses mostly in roman of a similar size, the envoy and epilogue in italic typeface, and the Latin verse translations in italic hand(s) (plus woodcuts). The role of the manuscript translation is visually aligned with E.K.'s commentary to an extent, but perhaps more closely with the 'in-between' italic persona of the envoy and epilogue who sends the book into the world. In the copies that contain multiple hands, the visual multiplicity of the translation far exceeds that of the *Calender*. Comparison of the eclogues that appear twice in autograph shows that Bathurst himself did make revisions, and the 'Variae lectiones' show that textual variety is part of the translation from its first, seemingly single-authored conception. But the 'round-robin' mode of writing and emendation in some copies, with multiple hands participating in a single copy (even switching mid-eclogue and mid-page) and varying the text in turns, also suggests collective, competitive composition that imitates the communal mode of both pastoral and Humphrey-esque translation.

The experimentation on display, from metrical improvements to reinterpretations of whole stanzas, means that the material texts themselves constitute a representation of a fourth pastoral community: of translators. They reproduce the 'sense of a continuum' that is inherent to the pastoral tradition, in which 'a body of short and formally distinct poems, *composed by many hands over time*, can take on something of the thrust and substance of a single unfolding annal or narrative'.[36] The manuscripts also pervasively reproduce the alternating mode of that pastoral continuum: *Alternis igitur contendere versibus ambo / coepere; alternos Musae meminisse volebant*.[37] Both Dove and Bathurst emphasize this alternating element in their translations, particularly where Spenser's English makes mention of 'rymes'.[38] In the *Calender*, the gloss is printed following the

[34] Ibid.

[35] McCabe, 'Annotating', 37.

[36] Chaudhuri, 10. Italics mine.

[37] Eclogue 7.18–19; 'So in alternate verses the pair began to compete: alternate verses the Muses chose to recall.'

[38] Tuckett (258) also notes this.

text, rather than surrounding it as was usual in Renaissance editions of Virgil, so verse and commentary 'alternate in such a way as to "gloss" one another'.[39] In addition to the alternation between hands and the alternation of verse and gloss, by necessity in the interleaved manuscripts of Bathurst's translation the Latin and English alternate between verso and recto, so two pages of the Latin translation are followed by two pages of the English. Although the design of the parallel text is disrupted, the alternating element embodies the Janus-like figure of the Latin translator and the pastoral ideal of alternating song given by Meliboeus, made bilingual.

The way in which the manuscripts of the 'Bathurst' translation pastoralize the community of a university composition scene raises the possibility that Bathurst's role in the production of the translation is analogous to that of Colin in the *Calender*, in that he is the best of a competitive community. Bathurst's choice of persona in the dedications to Neville and Harsnet suggests the Spenserian parallel between himself and Colin. Bathurst Latinizes the names of all the *Calender*'s characters, choosing names mostly from Virgil but also from Mantuan and other sources. These are sometimes significant, but often unsuitable or inconsistent. Willye, for example, appears as 'Daphnis' in 'August', but Cuddy (formerly 'Damon') becomes 'Daphnis' in 'October'; 'Tityrus' is not only Chaucer and Virgil but Algrind and Wrenock, too. Since 'Tityrus' is so overpopulated, Colin cannot take the usual Virgilian persona, but becomes 'Alexis'. In his dedications, Bathurst styles himself as Alexis and his dedicatees, Neville and Harsnet in turn, as Maecenas, in a flattering refutation of Cuddy's pessimistic assertion that '*Mecoenas* is yclad in claye.' In most of the manuscripts, Bathurst imitates Spenser's anonymity by concealing both his own identity and his original author's (even though Spenser's name could hardly have been unknown to him). Dillingham, who has much authority to gain as editor by claiming that his text is based on 'authorial' revisions, ignores this.

Dove's preservation of Spenser's anonymity in 1584 is either similarly tactful or a sign that the *Calender* effectively concealed its author's identity from early readers. Dove's paratexts pastoralize his own community with pseudonyms in a similar way to Bathurst's. The appended elegy for Grindal is attributed to 'Jakues, pastoris alicuius nominis, et existimationis, adhuc viuentis' (Dove, 59).[40] Similarities between the elegy, the *Calender*, and Dove's translation suggest the strong possibility that 'Jakues' is in fact a pseudonym for Dove himself; if not, a close contemporary who also knew the *Calender* well. Dove retains Spenser's names throughout his translation and his preface addresses his collegiate community under the same pastoral names: 'sitis … Algrindi, …

[39] McCabe, 'Annotating', 41.

[40] 'A shepherd of some name and fame, still living'.

Pierci, et Thomalini, orthodoxi pastores' (3).[41] Dove's translation reproduces the effect of community and competition created by E.K. in a different way to Bathurst's. Where E.K. suggests that the poet is imitating a Latin source, noting 'Translated out of Mantuane' or 'so saith Virgile', Dove almost always incorporates the source into his translation, showing that he is using the commentary as a translation aid. In 'September', for example, E.K. notes that the phrase 'make a mocke' (*SC* 9.54) 'imitat[es] Horace, Debes ludibrium ventis' (*SC*, 125), and the lines 'so it is, as the bright starre / Seemeth ay greater, when it is farre' (9.76–7) translate lines from Mantuan's Sixth Eclogue. Dove's translation quotes both sources verbatim: 'Sic debere licet rigidis ludibria ventis' and 'Vt procul immensum reddunt distantia lumen' (42).[42] Dove also extends the allusive conversation beyond E.K.'s suggestions. He inserts two new allusions that relate Diggon's dispossessed state to that of Meliboeus in Virgil's First Eclogue, then alludes to a source that is neither classical nor pastoral in Diggon's rant about false shepherds. Here his translation becomes looser, as he seems to become more involved. He elaborates on the phrase 'they bene … full of couetise' with the image 'Flagrant inuidia mediis vt strongilos vndis' (*SC* 9.82; Dove, 43), quoting a line from a description of 'the wicked man' in the 1536 astrological poem *Zodiacus Vitae* by Palingenius,[43] which was part of the grammar-school curriculum and influenced Spenser.[44] Dove connects Palingenius' image of the wicked man who seems to bubble with mirth but in fact boils volcanically with ire to a similar image that follows in Diggon's speech:

> [They] kindle coals of conteck and yre,
> Wherewith they sette all the world on fire:
> Which when they thinken agayne to quench
> With holy water, they doen hem all drench. (9.86–9)

Bathurst alludes to other authors in his translation more rarely, preferring to stay closer to Spenser's lines, and he never quotes post-classical authors (even Mantuan). He only alludes to one Latin poet in his translation of 'September', and the allusion is significant. For 'They setten to sale their shops of shame, / And maken a Mart of theyr good name' (9.36–7), Bathurst gives 'Prostituunt venalem (o tempora dira) pudorem, / Vilis fama probi parvo mercabilis aere' (99), quoting Ovid's *Amores* 1.21, 'Stat meretrix certo cuivis mercabilis aere'. Apart from intensifying the

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[41] 'You are Algrinds, Pierses and Thomalins, orthodox shepherds'.

[42] Compare *Adulescentia: The Eclogues of Mantuan*, ed. Lee Piepho (London, 1989), 6.8–9.

[43] 'As *Strongilos* amyd the seas, / yet doth he boyle within'. Marcellus Pallingenius Stellatus, *Zodiacus Vitæ* (London, 1572), 12; trans. Barnabe Googe (London, 1561), A4v.

[44] See Rosemond Tuve, 'Spenser and the "Zodiake of Life"', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 34.1 (1935), 1–19.

critique of priestly corruption by comparison with prostitution, the quotation combines two keywords: *merc-*, which Spenser uses in the *Calender*'s ambiguous final motto, '*Merce non mercede*' (*SC*, 156), and *aere*, which famously appears in the Horatian passage that E.K. quotes in the final emblem, 'Exegi monimentum *aere* perennius, / Quod nec imber nec aquilo vorax &c.' (155). Bathurst is particularly interested in the *Calender*'s framing paratexts (whereas Dove does not translate them). He makes both '*Merce*' and '*mercede*' keywords in his translation, using them interchangeably in 'October', the debate about poetic patronage. In 'Maye', Piers attacks the hiring of unqualified deputies 'for little pay' (5.47), 'levior mercedula', and 'for hire' (5.52), 'mercedis quod tantum acceperit' (Bathurst, 49), while ministers shirk their pastoral duties (here *merc-* also echoes the biblical-pastoral word for 'hireling', *mercenarius*).[45] Bathurst's Ovidian quotation thus invokes the corruption of the clergy to comment on the corruption of the system of poetic patronage, suggesting that poets too are forced to 'make a Mart of theyr good name' – something from which his Maecenas, Harsnet, presumably saved him, after he was apparently neglected under Neville at Trinity. In his initial dedication to Neville, Bathurst wrote, 'rupit mors impia cantus', forcing him to 'abreptum … suspirare parentem'.[46] This bereavement deprived him of both inspiration and the practical means to write, forcing him to cut short his translation with the February eclogue unfinished and plead Neville for relief from his destitution. Although Neville had patronized Bathurst at school, this plea was unsuccessful. In a letter written to Dillingham on receipt of a copy of the translation, John Hacket (who was at Trinity from 1609) notes that Bathurst's lack of advancement under Neville was an experience he shared with Spenser: 'Spenserus … semper cum inopia conflictatus est … pro *mercede*, multorum annorum exilium in Hibernia perpessus est.'[47] The depiction of the difficulties of securing patronage in 'October' was central to Bathurst's reading of *The Shepheardes Calender*.

Dove's and Bathurst's translations thus develop the *Calender*'s sense of community and competition in different ways. While Dove mainly extends the allusive conversation within the *Calender*'s poetic community, Bathurst's translation conveys a new representative community

[45] See John 10:12–13.

[46] 'Unholy death interrupted my songs', 'to mourn my dead parent'. The poem is translated by Raffaella Colombo in 'Liminary poems in Latin verse presentation manuscripts in England c. 1550-1650' (PhD thesis, UCL, 2021), 89.

[47] 'Spenser was always afflicted by lack of means, and endured exile in Ireland for financial gain [*mercede*] for many years.' British Library Sloane MS 1710, 188 (Hacket to Dillingham, 28 September 1653); emphasis mine.

of translators, their influences (including prior translations), and patrons, particularly in its manuscript forms.

Allegory and Allusion

Humphrey serves to introduce my second topic, allegory and allusion, through his imperative for the translator to 'res abstrusas et sua natura absconditas aperire … et auribus oculisque hominum explicare'.[48] This runs counter to the *Calender*'s pastoral mode, in which some things are said *aperte* and others *latenter*. Their respective contexts give Dove and Bathurst different kinds of access to the poet's 'secret meaning[s]', which they can choose to make 'Priue or pert' (*SC*, 126). Dove's preface and the appended elegy for Grindal indicate that, in 1584, it is primarily the *Calender*'s religious allegory that he wants his translation to convey to his readers: he particularly recommends 'æglogas 7, 9, etc.' on the grounds that they contain 'sensus divinissimus' (3). This phrase brings a religious dimension to the Horatian concept of the *fidus interpres* who negotiates between fidelity *ad verbum* and *ad sensum*. Dove's paratexts suggest that he will use a combination of concealment and explication to convey the *Calender*'s *sensus divinus*. His epigraph, 'Intrinsecus autem sunt rapaces lupi' (1),[49] presents the *Calender* as a religious allegory and invites a reading that attends to the *periculum* that lurks *intrinsecus* or *latenter* in the text, under the sheep's clothing of its pastoral setting. While the addition of the elegy makes the poem's allusive references to Grindal more explicit, Dove always calls him by his pastoral name, Algrind the *archipoimen*. Similarly, he addresses his readers in an allegorical mode, but also explicates the characters' religious identities: 'Spero vobis non ingratum fore hoc meum studium, quum non sitis Morelli, non Davides, non Palinodi, et pseudo apostoli; sed Algrindi, sed Pierci, et Thomalini, orthodoxi pastores, qui hic scaenice oculis vestris subiiciuntur' (3).[50]

Unsurprisingly, the *Calender*'s central topical concerns – the French match and the fall of Grindal, who was sequestered from his office as Archbishop of Canterbury by Elizabeth for his support for Puritan 'prophesyings' – do not surface twenty years later in Bathurst's translation.

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[48] 'Open up matters that are hidden away and essentially recondite and unfold them for the ears and eyes of men'. Humphrey, 128.

[49] '[Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing,] but inwardly are ravening wolves', Matt. 7:15.

[50] 'I hope this study of mine will not be unwelcome to you, since you are not Morells, not [Diggon] Davids, not Palinodes, and false apostles, but Algrinds, but Pierses and Thomalins, orthodox shepherds, who are shadowed in this scene for your eyes.'

While it is tempting to read the word 'gallus' for 'cocke on his dunghill' in 'September' (*SC* 9.46) as a pun, as we read 'Gaule' in Thomalin's 'March' emblem,[51] there seem to be no allusions to the French match in either translation. Dove does, however, pick up notes of discontent in Spenser's treatment of Elizabeth. In 'Aprill', he incorporates the language of Spenser's subversive Virgilian emblem, '*O quam te memorem virgo? … O dea certe*' (*SC*, 71), into his translation, giving 'Est mihi certe dea magna, virgo' for 'Shee is my goddesse plaine' (Dove, 18; *SC* 4.97). Although Elizabeth's marriage negotiations were a thing of the past by 1584, Dove was likely alive to the anxieties that Spenser's invocation of Venus' appearance as a nymph of Diana is intended to provoke: 'does she represent chastity, or license disguised as chastity? Is she really a virgin (*virgo*) or a goddess (*dea*)?'[52] Dove's placement of both words, *dea* and *virgo*, in close proximity glosses over the fact that they cannot comfortably coexist. This allusion may function as a reminder of recent anxieties or an indication of their passing.

Dove does not elaborate much on the allusions to Grindal within his translation, but the appended elegy (which he may have written) incorporates many features from the *Calender* so it seems to function retrospectively as a master-allegory for the whole translation. It opens with a command to 'pecudes, pecudumque magistri' to moisten their cheeks for 'Tityrus', another alias for Grindal (Dove, 59). This Virgilian construction, 'oves oviumque magistros' (Eclogue 2.33), is cited by E.K. in his gloss on 'December' (*SC*, 153) and used by Dove in his translation (Bathurst uses it even more pervasively). The elegy refers to the unfortunate and undeserved star that harmed 'Tityrus', but his downfall also seems to be attributed to Elizabeth, under the guise of yet another goddess, in the following lines:

> Nam, tua te Juno contentum vallibus imis
> Et tenues habitare casas, et sordida arura
> Euexit, superos iussit conscendere montes
> Praecipitemque dedit, sic praestant infima summis. (Dove, 59)

> (For, your Juno carried you away, contented to live in deepest valleys and small cottages and sordid countryside, and ordered you to climb the highest mountains, and gave you the peak: thus the lowest are preeminent over the highest.)

As Susan Doran notes, earlier in Elizabeth's reign, marriage was celebrated as a preferable state to chastity through entertainments in which the goddess Diana was trounced by Venus or Juno; the first appearance of an iconography of chastity coincided with the Anjou marriage

[51] '*Of Hony and of Gaule in loue there is store: / The Honye is much, but the Gaule is more*' (*SC*, 56).

[52] McCabe, 'Introduction', in *Shorter Poems*, xi-xxi; xiii.

negotiations.[53] The elegist's identification of Elizabeth with Juno in 1584 uncomfortably recalls an obsolete iconography and invokes not Juno's positive traits as goddess of marriage, which no longer had a place in the Elizabethan image, but her Virgilian vengefulness. The elegy's allegory of Grindal's successes as Archbishop of Canterbury absorbs those of 'Julye' and 'September', Dove's favourite eclogues. It argues that 'Pastori tutum non est in monte locari' (59) with the same Horatian allusion that appears in 'Julye', 'Sic feriunt tactas de caelo fulgura quercus.'[54] The elegy then recounts Grindal's separation of the kids from the lambs and exclusion of foxes and wolves with a comparison to the elimination of wolves in Britain by King Edgar, whose name Dove inserts in his translation of the reference to 'the Saxon king' in 'September' (*SC* 9.151; Dove, 44). The connections that the elegy makes across the *Calender*'s eclogues – particularly 'Julye', 'September', and the Elizabethan eclogues, 'Aprill' and 'November', but also Colin's laments – draws its various modes of engagement (allegory, allusion, fable) together into a continuous, seasonal, Virgilian allegory of Grindal's rise, fall, and death.

Hacket's account of Bathurst's first dedication of his translation to Thomas Neville suggests that, in *c.*1602, an incomplete understanding of the interpersonal relationships shadowed in the *Calender* may have hindered his success. Hacket is baffled by Neville's neglect of Bathurst. Neither Bathurst nor Hacket seems to have realized that Neville had a personal reason to be disdainful of a translation of *The Shepheardes Calender*. At Pembroke in the early 1570s, where he was a contemporary of Spenser, Neville became a 'bitter enem[y]' of Harvey, 'even going as far as to *non placet* the grace for the admission of Harvey to his master of arts degree'.[55] Harvey appealed to Pembroke's then Master, John Young, who forced through his admission in 1573; Harvey was placed first in order of seniority.[56] Young, for whom Spenser later acted as secretary, is also allusively represented as Roffy in the *Calender*. No doubt Neville had been able to decipher the *Calender*'s personae all too well back in 1579 and would not have appreciated a reminder of his precocious enemies' successes in 1602. Bathurst, either lacking a complete understanding of the

[53] Susan Doran, 'Juno versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561–1581', *Historical Journal*, 38.2 (1995), 257–74.

[54] 'It is not safe for a shepherd to be placed on a mountain'; 'Thus lightning strikes the oaks touched from heaven' (E.K. glosses *SC* 7.91–2 as 'according to the saying of the Poete, Feriuntque summos fulmina montes', *SC*, 104).

[55] J.B. Mullinger, rev. Stanford Lehmberg, 'Neville [Nevile], Thomas', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19965 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[56] Jason Scott-Warren, 'Harvey, Gabriel', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12517 (accessed 9 April 2023).

semi-covert roles of Harvey and Young in the *Calender* or unaware that his college master had history with them, presented his translation to one of the people who would best recall its hidden meanings twenty years after its publication.

Dove's handling of Roffy's presence in the *Calender* shows greater subtlety. In 'September', when Diggon mentions him ('But shall I tell thee what my selfe knowe, / Chaunced to Roffynn not long ygoe?' *SC* 9.170–1), Dove's translation is no more explicatory than the gloss. E.K. comments, 'The name of a shepehearde in Marot' (*SC*, 126), neglecting to mention that the name is a play on 'Roffensis', John Young's see as Bishop of Rochester. Dove simply refers to 'Roffino pastori' (45). Earlier in the translation, however, Dove gives an explicatory translation for a geographic reference that indicates he understood the name's significance. In 'Julye', Morrell says, 'Here has the salt Medway his sourse, / wherein the Nymphes doe bathe' (*SC* 7.79–80), and E.K. glosses Medway as 'the name of a Ryuer in Kent, which running by Rochester, meeteth with Thames' (*SC*, 104). Dove translates, 'Balnea nympharum sinuosis flexibus errant, / Quorum Roffenses perlambunt flumina ripas' (32). Since Young remained Bishop of Rochester long after Dove was composing, this inserted gloss seems to function as a wink of understanding. Bathurst's insertions of geographic detail, on the other hand, suggest a greater interest in Spenser's poetic career from his standpoint in 1602–8 than in the *Calender*'s topical resonances. The marriage of the Medway and the Thames at Rochester is a subject that Spenser returns to throughout his career: in his published letters to Harvey, he refers to an unpublished poem called *Epithalamion Thamesis* on this marriage,[57] and Book IV of *The Faerie Queene* includes a description of 'the spousalls … Betwixt the *Medway* and the *Thames*'.[58] The bathing nymphs of 'Julye' are perhaps more evocative of the *Prothalamion*'s 'Flocke of *Nymphes*' and its refrain, 'Sweete *Themmes* runne softly, till I end my Song.'[59] Bathurst inserts two references to the Thames in 'Aprill' that seem designed to recall the *Prothalamion*: he translates 'Ladyes of the lake' (*SC* 4.120) as 'natas Thamesino in litore Nymphas' (p. 43) and 'shee is *Syrinx* daughter … Which *Pan* the shepheards God of her begot' (*SC* 4.50–1) as 'Syringis filia … Quam Panis enixa est Thamesini ad littoris undam' (37). These echoes honour the importance of this subject to Spenser's career and make the translation read as a fusion of the *Prothalamion* with Colin's song.

[57] Andrew Hadfield, 'Spenser, Edmund', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26145 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[58] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A.C. Hamilton (Harlow, 2007), IV.11.8.

[59] Spenser, *Shorter Poems*, 491–8, l.20, 18, etc.

Register and Rusticity

According to E.K., the language of pastoral should be characterized by a 'simplycitie' and 'rough sounde' that is 'fittest for such rusticall rudenesse of shepheardes', even if it seems 'straunge' and 'harsh'. Part of this is the use of 'olde and obsolete wordes' that are 'most vsed of country folke'. E.K. cites three Latin authors as authorities for the use of such words, none of whom, however, use archaisms to represent shepherds' speech: Livy, Sallust, and Cicero (*SC*, 25–6). Examples of rustic stylistic effects, especially archaisms, in Latin pastoral poetry are more difficult to identify. Jonson praises Virgil for his sparing use of archaism and, like E.K., gives a non-pastoral example for the use of archaism in Latin: Lucretius, who is 'scabrous and rough in [archaisms]: he seeks them, as some do Chaucerisms with us'.[60] Humphrey argues that Virgil's pastoral style is different to that of his georgic and epic: 'Humi repit Virgilius in Bucolicis, et arbusta canit, humilesque myricas: in Georgicis cultior est et floridior aliquanto.'[61] Humphrey's account of the *Eclogues*' humility seems to take subject matter ('arbusta … humilesque myricas') for manner of speech, although his comparison with the *Georgics* develops this botanical language into a more clearly stylistic metaphor, 'cultior … et floridior', making the *Georgics* the product of georgic labour.

'Apart from words for rustic objects' like the trees and shrubs Humphrey mentions, modern critics identify only limited features of the *Eclogues*' style that seem designed to produce 'a whiff of the countryside'.[62] Unlike Theocritus, Virgil made 'very limited' efforts to use archaisms or dialect. When he did, for example at the beginning of Eclogue 3, it prompted Mantuan's well-known retort, 'dic mihi, Damoeta: "cuium pecus" anne Latinum? / non, verum Aegonis nostri, sic rure loquuntur'.[63] Sidney does not note the disparity between Theocritus's and Virgil's uses of dialect and archaism, rebuking Spenser's 'framing of his style, to an old rustic language … since neither Theocritus in Greek, [nor] Virgil in Latin … did affect it'.[64] This view of the classical precedents seems shallow compared to Jonson's; Theocritus' use of 'old rustic language' was

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[60] Ben Jonson, *Discoveries*, ed. Lorna Hutson in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. David M. Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge, 2012), vol. 7, 481-596; ll.1378–9.

[61] 'Virgil creeps on the ground in his *Bucolics*, speaking about trees and lowly tamarisk shrubs. In the *Georgics* he is a good deal more refined and flowery.' Humphrey, 82.

[62] R.G.M. Nisbet, 'The Style of Virgil's Eclogues', *Proceedings of the Virgil Society*, 20 (1991), 1–14; 2.

[63] 'Tell me, Damoetas, *cuium pecus*, is it correct Latin? – No, it's our Aegon's, that's how they speak in the country.' See Nisbet, 2. Translation from Stephen Hinds, 'Pastoral and its futures: reading like (a) Mantuan', *Dictynna*, 14 (2017), 1–20; 6.

[64] Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd, rev. R.W. Maslen (Manchester, 2002), 110.

widely recognized.[65] Mantuan heightens the levels of rusticity in his pastoral relative to Virgil, but often in a self-conscious or inauthentic way, such as when Alphus says, 'rusticus es, "crates" etenim pro "gratibus" inquis', or by introducing 'hyper-rustic' subject matter, such as when Alphus asks Iannus to watch his flocks while he goes for a quick shit.[66] When George Turberville translates Mantuan, in English he 'shap[es] [his] stile and tempre[s] it with such common and ordinarie phrase of speech as Countreymen do use', because 'the conference betwixt Shepherds' in Mantuan's Latin is 'familiar stuffe and homely'.[67] Turberville's use of 'stuffe' for the Latin's rusticity and 'stile' for his English may not be strictly demarcated, but it seems again to suggest that the vernacular has the greater capacity to express rusticity through style rather than substance.

Dove clearly does not think that the use of Virgilian or Mantuanian language is sufficient to express Spenserian rusticity – justifiably, since the *Calender*'s rusticity is mainly characterized by archaism, unlike Virgil's and Mantuan's. As if to confirm this, Dove's translation, which fails by his own account to recreate Spenser's style, twice borrows Humphrey's phrase for Virgil's pastoral style, 'humilesque myricas' to translate 'plants both humble and tall' (*SC* 2.164) and 'the little plants that lowly dwell' (*SC* 11.32; Dove, 11, 51). Dove has no resources of popular poetry or spoken usage outside the Latin literary tradition to draw on to express shepherds' speech. His prefatory comments modestly blame his youth and haste, rather than the capacities of the language, for his inability to vary his style: 'Fateor … hoc meum exemplar … alicubi mancum esse, neque nativam illam emphasin spirare, me non tam exacte idiotisomos quam ille autor anonymus in vernaculo idiomate, observasse' (3).[68] Dove's word for Spenser's language, *idiotisomi*, is taken from Humphrey, where it is used slightly differently:

> Idiotismus dicitur, qui in omnibus linguis conspicitur. Romani Latinitatem … quum scilicet quaeque res suo nomine signatur vere, proprie et fideliter … Et magna laus est interpretis *χυριολεγειν*, quemadmodum agrestes ac rustici qui rudius loquunt sed planius, ligonem ligonem, vocantes, ficum ficum: simplices homines et fucate rhetoricae ignari, qui suis figuris amplificandi et diminuendi,

[65] See Raf Van Rooy, *Greece's Labyrinth of Language: A Study in the Early Modern Discovery of Dialect Diversity* (Berlin, 2020).

[66] Hinds, 'Pastoral', 4–7.

[67] George Turberville, *The Eglogs of Mantuan* (London, 1567), A3v-A4r.

[68] 'I confess that this exemplum of mine is somewhat maimed, and does not breath that native emphasis, I have not observed the common speech as exactly as that anonymous author did in the vernacular language.'

> aliisque *σκιασμοις* obscurant res et obumbrant … Nec enim sunt aspera molliter dicenda…[69]
>
> (Idiotismus, it is called, which is evident in all languages. For the Romans it is 'Latinity' … whereby everything is designated accurately, fittingly, and faithfully, in its own proper terms … All praise to a translator who uses literal language, in the fashion of country folk and rustics who express themselves rather crudely but clearly, and call a spade a spade: simple folk, innocent of the obfuscations of rhetoricians who play around with words to amplify or condense things, and in other ways darken or obscure their topic … We should not express rough things smoothly…)

In the context of *The Shepheardes Calender*, the word *idiotisomi* seems to refer more specifically to the use of 'common speech' than Humphrey's use, which approximates Dove's other phrase, the *nativa emphasis* of a particular national language. Dove's translation commits the fault of expressing rough things smoothly, expressing the *Latinitas* that is inherent to the Roman language, rather than using a style that Humphrey calls writing 'anglica Latine'.[70] It is interesting that Humphrey compares the literal translator to a rustic who creates a one-to-one sufficiency of style between word and object. If any translator imitates the rustic simply by translating accurately, this is doubly applicable to Dove, whose original calls for the imitation of rustic style, so he fails on two fronts.

For Dillingham, Dove's inability to reproduce Spenser's rustic style, which Bathurst carries over, is not a failure but an advantage. In his dedication, Dillingham argues that Spenser artificially speeds up the natural palingenesis of words that Horace endorses in the *Ars Poetica* – a source that E.K. does not cite, but one of many that lie behind his justification for reviving words that 'haue ben long time out of vse' (*SC*, 27).

> Ita quidem illi visum est atavorum voces ab oblivione vindicare, eorumque paligennesia accelerare; (siquidem
>
> > *Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentq;*
> > *Quae iam sunt in honore vocabula.*
>
> inquit Horatius) verum inde tamen interea factum est ut nonnulli, quia non retro sibi vivendum esse constituerant, eiusmodi … palantia quaedam spectra abhorruerint. (Bathurst, A3v-A4r)
>
> (So indeed it seemed right to [Spenser] to save the words of our forefathers from oblivion and to hasten their palingenesis (as Horace says, 'Many terms that have fallen out of use shall be born gain, and those that are now in repute will fall'); meanwhile, however, it happened that many of his words, since they had decided they did not need to live in the past, shuddered like … certain pale spectres.)

[69] Humphrey, 41–2. Harvey annotates this passage.

[70] See 'Introduction', n.72.

The passage from the *Ars Poetica* that Dillingham cites (ll.70–1) talks about the enrichment of the native tongue in similar but crucially opposite terms to E.K.'s. Horace refers to the *sermonem patrium*,[71] whereas E.K. revitalizes the metaphor of the mother tongue 'which together with their Nources milk they sucked' (*SC*, 27). Dillingham presents a translation that reverses this evolution of the Latin *sermo patrius* to the English *lingua materna*. Humphrey would certainly take the side of E.K. against Dillingham here: he writes, 'Non enim debet Latina lingua a matris lacte fugi, aut a nutricibus domesticis et patriis, sed foris ad tempus peregrinandum Romae, et a Cicerone eiusque alumnis et aequalibus petenda et combibenda haec cognitio est.'[72]

In fact, despite his different characterization of rustic language, several of Humphrey's sentiments in the *Interpretatio* are so similar to E.K.'s that it seems likely that Humphrey's ideas were part of the conversation about linguistic nationalism between Spenser and Harvey that gave rise to *The Shepheardes Calender*. Like E.K., Humphrey is concerned about the purity of the mother tongue. Introducing his discussion of vernacular languages, he writes:

> In quibus [linguis] id in uniuersum praecipitur, ut omnia verba sint quam familiarissima, ne ulla communem linguam adulteret corrumpatve peregrinitas. Quod quidem vitium in lingua Anglica … late patet, Latinis verbis aut externis puritatem quotidiani sermonis inquinantibus … quis nescit Anglicam Linguam aliorum uerborum influxu a proprio suo idomate si non degenerasse certe multum declinasse? ut iam pro Britannica facta sit semilatina aut semigallica? Pauci siquidem illam incorruptam antiquitatem conseruant: quod sonata olet peregrinum[.][73]
>
> (In [vernaculars] it is universally prescribed that all the words should be familiar enough that no foreignness should adulterate or corrupt the common language. This fault is clear in the English language … with Latin and other foreign words polluting the purity of everyday speech … Who does not know that the English language has certainly greatly declined if not degenerated from its own idiom with an influx of other words? So that now instead of British it is made semi-Latin or semi-French? Few conserve that uncorrupted antiquity: because when pronounced it smells foreign.)

Like E.K., Humphrey thinks that authors should 'labour to garnish and beautifie' the mother tongue (*SC*, 27): 'Estque et sua cuiusque lingua materna assidua scriptio ne excolenda.'[74] Harvey

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[71] Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 57.

[72] 'For the Latin language ought not to mean fleeing from the mother's milk, or from domestic and paternal nourishment, but this knowledge is to be sought and learnt from Cicero, and his nurslings and contemporaries, in order to travel abroad at the appointed time to the gates of Rome.' Humphrey, 101.

[73] Ibid., 541.

[74] 'We should each of us refine our own mother tongue by constant writing.' Ibid., 515.

writes out this quotation in the margins of the page and labels the passage 'Vrunacula[e] [*sic*] lingua[e] illustratio', 'the illustration of the vernacular language'.[75]

These are not very unusual ideas, but occasionally Humphrey's language is particularly similar to E.K.'s. The *Interpretatio* opens, for example, by stating that language gets its value through usage. For all his belief that the translator should not smooth out his original, Humphrey does not approve of obscurity. 'Dein si loquaris, lingua tamen aliis ignota et sermone peregrino, perinde est ac si taceres … Sic enim loqui, est plane … balbutire atque garrire non eloqui.'[76] E.K. defends the poet against this kind of charge, when he rebuts those who 'crye out streight way, that we speak no English, but gibbrish' since his words are in fact 'very naturall and significant' (*SC*, 25–7). Like E.K., Humphrey repeatedly uses the language of nursing and infancy, not only for the mother tongue, but also to describe the translator. He describes crude, word-for-word translators as 'tanquam nutrices infantibus mansa ac comminuta frustulatim in os ingerant', 'ac si in cunis eos velit denuo vagire, dum hoc praemanso velut pabulo tenere et molliuscule alit et educat'.[77] We are right, he argues elsewhere, to blame a translator who is an 'elinguis et mutus ac in dicendo infans' because he lacks interpretative powers.[78] Harvey selects an instance of this language for commonplacing. Humphrey argues that each writer should follow the nature of his original and his own nature, rather than imposing other authors' styles on the text (an idea that has relevance to Dove's use of Virgil and Mantuan). On this theme, Harvey marks out the following phrase: 'Deformis enim foetus erit non obstrectricante natura.'[79]

Dove's use of similar language in his preface suggests that he too was interested in this strain of imagery, from the *Interpretatio* or elsewhere. He concludes, 'Si igitur hoc qualecunque studium meum tanquam abortivus fœtus mutulatum sit, incultum, et vobis indignum, detur pueritiae sive potius infantiae meae' (3).[80] Here he characterizes both himself as an *infans* and his

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[75] Also in Brammall, 'Humphrey', 70.

[76] 'If when you speak you use a strange language, a language that others do not know, it is no different from remaining silent. It is babbling and gabbling rather than proper speaking.' Humphrey, 1.

[77] 'Like nurses forcing morsels of food that they have already chewed and broken up into infants' mouths', 'as if he wants them to be back in their cradles whimpering while he softly and delicately feeds and nurtures them on this "pap"'. Ibid., 14–15.

[78] 'Wordless, mute and a mere infant in expressing himself'. Ibid., 128.

[79] 'For the child will be deformed if nature does not act as midwife.' Ibid., 123, also in Brammall, 'Humphrey', 72.

[80] 'So if this my study of whatever kind is an aborted foetus, so to speak, uncultivated, and unworthy of you, let it be attributed to my boyhood or rather my infancy.'

translation as a *foetus*. Dove uses a trope from Humphrey's treatise that also interested Harvey and – it is tempting to imagine – perhaps influenced the *Calender* itself. Dove uses the word *mutul[at]us*, a distinctive variant of *mutilus*, in his translation. He translates Colin's lament at 'howe my rymes bene rugged and vnkempt' (*SC* 11.51) as 'Sed veniant mutuli nostro de pectore rithmi' (Dove, 51). Another word in this line, *rithmi*, also appears in Dove's preface, when he says that the poet composed the *Calender* 'rithmo Anglicano' (3). Colin's despair now reads as Dove's statement on his inability to translate Spenser's distinctive English *rithmi* (note that he does not translate 'rugged' – ruggedness being a feature of the *Calender* that he cannot imitate).[81] Two features of Dove's translation, however, show him making some effort to write 'anglica Latine'. One is his retention of Spenser's names, which certainly stand out amid his *Latinitas*. Similarly, in the roundelay between Perigot and Willye in 'August', Dove retains Spenser's 'Hei ho' (37–8), whereas Bathurst uses the more classical exclamation 'Io' (87); his use of a very short trochaic dipody line for every second response (e.g. 'Hei ho festum') makes his roundelay seem much simpler and more authentically 'rustic' than Bathurst's longer lines.

Dove's translation shows a pervasive interest in register. Dove repeatedly invokes registers other than the rustic in a way that seems designed to compensate for or replace the linguistic effect of rusticity in his lines. Allusions to satirists like Juvenal and Persius introduce notes of bitterness and suggest an attempt to 'keep it real' in a way that resembles Mantuan's rusticization of Virgil.[82] In 'Julye', Dove translates 'The wastefull hylls vnto [the heat's] threate / is a playne ouerture' (*SC* 7.27–8) as 'Nam coquit excelsos insana canicula montes' (31), an allusion to Persius' Third Satire, where the phrase is couched in a series of abrupt, unpoetic questions and deflated rusticity:

> 'en quid agis? siccas insana canicula messes
> iam dudum coquit et patula pecus omne sub ulmo est'
> unus ait comitum. verumne? itan? ocius adsit
> huc aliquis. nemon? turgescit vitrea bilis:
> findor, ut Arcadiae pecuaria rudere credas. (5–9)

> ('Hey, what are you doing? The mad Dog star has been baking the crops dry for hours now and all the herd's beneath the spreading elm', says one of my mates. Are you sure? Really? Quick, someone come here. No one around? My bottle-green bile is swelling: my head is splitting – you'd think all the herds of Arcadia were braying.)[83]

[81] Harvey writes this word in the margin beside its use by Humphrey (*Interpretatio*, 33).

[82] See Hinds, 'Pastoral', 4–7.

[83] Trans. Susanna Morton Braund (Cambridge, MA, 2004).

This allusion is appropriate to the rebarbative tone of the argument between Thomalin and Morrel in 'Julye'. A quotation of Juvenal in the translation of 'October' acquires a similar rusticizing effect by introducing notes of harshness, but it also invokes another register, the tragic. Dove translates the second line of 'The vaunting Poets found nought worth a pease, / To put in preace emong the learned troupe' (10.69–70) as 'Scribere qua plena potuissent margine libros' (Dove, 49), an allusion to an insult to writers of overlong tragedies in Juvenal's First Satire:

> inpune diem consumpserit ingens
> Telephus aut summi plena iam margine libri
> scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes? (4–6)

> (Will I have no revenge on one who has taken up the whole day with an interminable Telephus, or with an Orestes, which, after filling the margin at the top of the roll and at the back as well, hasn't yet come to an end?)

Dove's attack is even more embittered than Juvenal's and Spenser's, since it implies that today's 'vaunting Poets' write in a braggadocious tragic style without the small dignity of a tragic subject like Telephus or Orestes. This allusion colours Cuddy's modulation into a tragic register later in 'October':

> O if my temples were distained with wine,
> And girt in girlonds of wild Yvie twine,
> How I could reare the Muse on stately stage,
> And teache her tread aloft in buskin fine,
> With queint *Bellona* in her equipage. (*SC* 10.110–14)

The dialogic form of the eclogue leaves it open whether Cuddy's 'vaunted verse' (*SC* 10.100) is a triumphal display of the divine gift of the poet in adverse circumstances (Piers' view) and a truly transcendent moment of generic escalation akin to Virgil's *paulo maiora*, or mere 'thondring' (*SC* 10.104). The argument to 'October' suggests the former, presenting Cuddy as 'the perfecte paterne of a Poete' and stating that 'the Author … discourseth' of poetic 'ἐνθουσιασμός' in an unpublished work called 'the English poete' (*SC*, 128). Like 'glosse', however, 'vaunt' has negative connotations that are clearer in *The Faerie Queene*.[84] Dove's Juvenalian allusion makes these connotations more prominent.

Another allusion to a description of the tragic register becomes central to Dove's translation. Dove uses the phrase 'sesquipedalia verba' three times, his most frequent allusion. In

[84] Cuddy presents 'vaunted verse' as an ideal: 'The vaunted verse a vacant head demaundes' (*SC* 10.100). In *The Faerie Queene*, however, it is the false knight Braggadocchio who glosses and vaunts: he 'could well his glozing speaches frame' (see McCabe, 'Annotating', 41) and speaks 'in vaunting vaine' (*Faerie Queene* III.8.11).

the fable of the Oake and the Brere in 'Februarie', when the Brere 'scold[s] / And snebbe[s]' the Oake (*SC* 2.125–6), he 'Iecerat ampullas, et sesquipedalia verba' (10). In 'Julye', when Morrell says to Thomalin, 'Now sicker I see, thou doest but clatter' (*SC* 7.207), Dove translates, 'Exiguas ineunt tua sesquipedalia dicta' (35). In 'October', in Cuddy's description of 'vaunted verse', Dove renders 'Who euer … thinks to throwe out thondring words of threate: / Let powre in lauish cups' (*SC* 10.103–5) as 'Proiicere ampullas, et sesquipedalia verba' (50). The phrase *sesquipedalia verba* originates in a passage in Horace's *Ars Poetica* on decorum of register (which also mentions Telephus):

> singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decentem.
> interdum tamen et vocem Comoedia tollit,
> iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore;
> et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri
> Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exsul uterque
> proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba,
> si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querella. (92–8)

> (Let each style keep the becoming place allotted it. Yet at times even comedy raises her voice, and an angry Chremes storms in swelling tones; so, too, in tragedy Telephus and Peleus often grieve in the language of prose, when, in poverty and exile, either hero throws aside his bombast and sesquipedalian words, should he want his lament to touch the spectator's heart.)[85]

Alongside the allusions to Persius and Juvenal, Dove's use of the phrase *sesquipedalia verba* establishes a frame of reference in which the comic and the satirical registers act as stand-ins for the rustic style, defined negatively against the tragic. The use of the tragic to define the rustic negatively, particularly the kind of stylistic effects for which Latin pastoral lacks resources, aligns with E.K.'s description of 'October': 'The style hereof as also that in Theocritus, is more loftye then the rest, and applied to the heighte of Poeticall witte' (*SC*, 133). In his 'tragic' stanza, Cuddy uses a truly sesquipedalian word adopted from the French only in the 1570s, 'equipage', indicating his distance from rustic archaism – that he has 'forgot the meanenesse of shepheards state and stile' (*SC*, 137).[86] Dove seems to recognize that Spenser's rustic style is more like Theocritus' than Virgil's, and that *sesquipedalia verba* is a more fitting, less elevated signifier of its opposite, on E.K.'s Theocritean spectrum of rustic to tragic, than the Virgilian *paulo maiora* (associated with epic).

Dove's evident interest in this Horatian phrase was likely piqued by contemporary events that coloured it with a confessional significance. At the interrogation of Edmund Campion held in the Tower of London in 1581, Campion, who had disseminated a 'Brag' (synonymous with

[85] Trans. H.R. Fairclough (Cambridge, MA, 1926).

[86] Lucy Munro discusses 'equipage' in *Archaic Style in English Literature, 1590–1674* (Cambridge, 2013), 173.

'vaunt') in the Oxford University Church in 1581 claiming that no protestant could 'maintain their doctrine in disputation',[87] was accused by those who disputed with him of using *sesquipedalia verba*. This account of the disputation by Alexander Nowell was published in 1583, the year of Grindal's death:

> when Master Campion did rise up … and fling with his handes and armes: did knocke and beate upon his booke at euery other worde, with an exceeding lowde voyce and sharpe countenance, affirming that all our printed bookes were false … was it I pray you so outragious in the Latine tongue, as severally to admonish Master Campion him selfe, without the understanding of the common auditorie, for one of us to say, *Qui hic mos est mi homo? Quis hic gestus? Et loqueris et pultas fores? Gloriosus miles. Proijcis ampullas, et sesquipedalia verba?*[88]

According to Nowell, Latin is used to convey a message to Campion, an exemplary Latinist, 'without the understanding of the common auditorie', in a way that is akin to the covert meaning of pastoral. Other accounts of the disputation also mention this Horatian accusation. The disputation continued into print, and Lawrence Humphrey published a confutation of Campion's *Decem Rationes* in 1584. Humphrey also uses the phrase *sesquipedalia verba* to refute Campion's claim to the authority of the Church Fathers, figuring the Tower setting as a stage: 'Iesuita nomen Antiquitatis et patrum obtendit, sed autoritatem nullam eorum profert: rationes non affert … Verba sunt et logi, praeterea nihil, nisi illud, *Proijcit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba.* Nos autem non personas mutas sed loquentes protrahamus in proscenium.'[89] In the same tract, Humphrey also parodies the opening lines of Eclogue 5, which Dove and Bathurst both quote in 'Januarye', to mock the abusive and self-congratulatory way in which Campion slanders Luther and others:

> illa vox mutuo se instigans sibique applaudens insonare videtur,
>
> > *Cur non Mome, boni quoniam conuenimus ambo,*
> > *Tu buccas inflare leues, ego carpere sanctos.*[90]

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[87] Michael A.R. Graves, 'Campion, Edmund [St Edmund Campion]', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4539 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[88] Alexander Nowell, *A True Report of the Disputation … in the Tower of London, with Ed. Campion Iesuite* (London, 1583), F3v.

[89] 'The Jesuit uses the name of antiquity and the Fathers but does not carry any of their authority; he does not make use of their reasons … They are just words and empty talk, nothing but "Proijcit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba." We, however, do not bring mute people but eloquent ones onto the stage.' Lawrence Humphrey, *Iesuitismi Pars Secunda* (London, 1584), 136.

[90] Ibid., 14.

> (That voice, by turns egging itself on and applauding itself, seems to sound out, 'Why not Momus, now that we have met, good men both, you at writing gentle bombast, I at slandering holy men.')

Given the extent of Dove's engagement with Humphrey, the presence of *sesquipedalia verba* (in addition to an allusion to the eclogues) in this confutation published in the year of the translation's composition confirms that the phrase is specifically linked to the Campion affair.

Through its association with Campion, the phrase *sesquipedalia verba* acts as a covert anti-Catholic dogwhistle amid Dove's Latin, not for 'the vnderstanding of the common auditorie', particularly in 'Februarie' and 'Julye' (but even Cuddy's 'vaunted verse' is tarred with this brush). This meaning is not divorced from the phrase's invocation of a tragic register, since Campion was both a tragedian in the literal sense and figured metaphorically as a tragic actor for his performances on the *proscenia* of the Tower and the scaffold. In a sermon delivered in the University Church on Ash Wednesday in 1582 and printed in the same year alongside Humphrey's first attack on Campion, *Iesuitismi Pars Prima*, Humphrey urged his audience to pass 'à Cothurno ad Cineres', among other anti-theatrical arguments.[91] 'Surprisingly', Sarah Knight notes, 'and ignoring the moral seriousness which theorists from Aristotle onwards had accorded to tragedy', Humphrey makes it seem 'trivial and pompous'.[92] Dove's translation seems to share this negative view of tragedy. More broadly, Dove's leap from the *Calender* to the Campion affair is a natural one, since the affair was 'closely connected' to 'the fall of Grindal and the Anjou Match', the very contexts that the *Calender* invokes. Campion's desire for a disputation 'aimed at taking advantage of the immediate political circumstances attendant upon' these events, and the confrontation was conducted through similar public media: manuscript, rumour, print, personal performance and – it seems – pastoral poetry.[93] Dove's allusion allows the *Calender* to signify just beyond its historical moment.

In 'Februarie', Dove's use of the phrase means that the debate between the young 'bragging brere' (*SC* 2.115) and the old 'goodly Oake' (2.103) comes to resemble that between the 'bragging' Campion and Humphrey (especially because Humphrey's confutation takes the form of a debate).

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[91] 'From tragedy to ashes'. Laurence Humphrey, *Pharisaismus Vetvs et Novvs* (London, 1582), 163.

[92] Sarah Knight, 'A Fabulis Ad Veritatem: Latin Tragedy, Truth and Education in Early Modern England', in *Politics and Aesthetics in European Baroque and Classicist Tragedy*, ed. Jan Bloemendal and Nigel Smith (Leiden, 2016), 239–59; 241, 258.

[93] Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Puritans, Papists, and the "Public Sphere" in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context', *Journal of Modern History*, 72.3 (2000), 587–627; 595, 611, 612, passim.

Some correspondences present themselves readily. Humphrey was fifteen years older than Campion and, in 1566, when Queen Elizabeth visited Oxford (in the role of the 'Hus-bandman', the trees' 'soueraigne' (*SC* 2.144, 163)), Humphrey received a retort, but Campion distinguished himself. Elizabeth told Humphrey that his doctoral gown became him, and wondered at his resistance to wearing it, referring to his involvement in the vestiarian controversy. Campion, as one of the scholars chosen to debate publicly, gained the patronage of Robert Dudley, later Earl of Leicester, for his rhetorical performance (he was also patronized by the Sidneys and a friend of the *Calender*'s dedicatee Philip Sidney before his conversion). However, the implied resemblance is problematic, in that it inverts the narrative of the oak and the briar tale and its confessional significance, insofar as the eclogue shadows 'the perils of "root and branch" reformation', in McCabe's words.[94] It is the old oak who displays the trappings of Catholic 'foolerie' (2.211) and is cut down by the sovereign, not the bragging briar. It is difficult to draw a full allegory out of Dove's activation of these topical associations; the oak's violent end may perhaps function as a recollection of Humphrey's Marian exile (during which Campion flourished and addressed the queen twice), or a magnification of the Queen's displeasure and Dudley's lack of action on a petition from Humphrey during the vestiarian controversy. A picture of Humphrey as a sturdy elder and of Campion as a precocious youth whose pride would lead to his downfall nonetheless lies behind the translation.

George Puttenham writes that *allegoria* is 'when we do speak in sense *translative*, and wrested from the own signification, nevertheless applied to another not altogether contrary, but having much conveniency with it' (*translatio* being the Latin for the Greek *metaphor*).[95] Dove's version of the *Calender* reveals how translation can reduplicate allegory's translative wresting of speech from its own signification into another way of speaking that is both contrary and convenient. Just as the embeddedness of pastoral metaphors in the language of the Church means that pastoral allegory in the *Calender* often merges with direct representation – the pastor and the flock cease to function as metaphors but become 'real' entities – so too the embeddedness of the Latin pastoral tradition in the *Calender* means that the translation often seems to merge with an 'original' meaning. But, as Dove is all too aware, the impossibility of recreating Spenserian language in Latin means that the translator necessarily 'allegorizes' (literally 'other-speaks'), and sometimes Dove's translation purposefully re-allegorizes the *Calender*, by making it shadow the death of Grindal and the Campion

[94] McCabe, *Shorter Poems*, 523.

[95] George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy: A Critical Edition*, ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca, 2011), 271. Emphasis mine.

affair which were beyond its remit. Dove's anxiety about the otherness of his own language is inextricably linked to his representation of Campion, implicating him in Campion's rhetorical dislocation of language from the truth by translating it into a new register. Allegory and translation exist in a triangular relationship with 'glossing', which likewise merges with and departs from the 'original' or 'real' sense of the text. Dove's translation functions somewhat like an allegory and somewhat like a gloss.

Bathurst's translation does not allegorize or 'gloss' to the same extent as Dove's, but it renders the *Calender* as an allusive representation of a new pastoral community of collaborative translators, extending the remit of Spenserian pastoral in a different way. Whereas Dove's reading of the *Calender* attends to its *sensus divinus*, politics, and linguistic agenda, Bathurst shows an interest in Spenser's experience of patronage and poetic career. In 1602, Bathurst's is a different Spenser to Dove's anonymous poet of 1584: a subject for competitive re-translation and deep literary engagement in a university setting, a star of the college whose influence outlived his death in 1599, and a biographical model for the aspiring young poet. The aspects of the *Calender* that interest Dove are those that differentiate it from Virgilian pastoral and made its publication a radical step forward for vernacular literature in 1579. Bathurst's *Calender*, on the other hand, is more comfortably classicized, suggesting that by 1602 Spenser had gained the status of a classic rather than radical new poet. Whereas later Latin translations like Kynaston's sought an international readership and Humphrey saw Latin as a vehicle to travel to the gates of Rome, neither Dove nor Bathurst seems to have sought an audience beyond their university settings. Heeding the warning of Diggon's trip to Rome, they saw the *Calender* as speaking directly to their communities. Dillingham's edition of Bathurst and its reproduction in the Spenser folio conveyed little of the translations' deep engagement with the *Calender* and its glossator E.K. to a wider readership. Dillingham himself found an original more suited to his taste in Herbert's *The Temple* (1633), from which he Latinized five poems in 1678.[96]

[96] William Dillingham, *Poemata Varii Argumenti Partim E. Georgio Herberto Latinè (Utcunque) Reddita, Partim Conscripta* (London, 1678), 1-4. Archbishop William Sancroft corresponds with Dillingham about his translation (W.H. Kelliher, 'Dillingham, William', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7651 (accessed 9 April 2023)).

CHAPTER 2

Transmarine Go-Between: Francis Kynaston's Courtly Mediations of Chaucer

> Eke for to winnen loue, in sondry ages,
> In sondry londs, sondry ben usages.[1]

Printed Latin translations brought English literature to new readers at home and overseas in early modernity. One of the first Latin translations of an English literary text to appear in print was the *Amores Troili et Creseidae* by Francis Kynaston.[2] Kynaston (1587-1642), a minor Caroline courtier, poet and politician, published his parallel-text version of the first two books of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* in 1635, some 250 years after its original. In his preface, Kynaston asserts that translation into Latin allows English literature to escape imprisonment 'infra limites huius nimis angustae (licet Augustissimae) Insulae'.[3] This is especially the case for Chaucer, whose 'obsolete' language seemed inaccessible even to native readers in the 1630s.[4] Dressed in an 'perdurabili Romana trabea', Kynaston writes, Chaucer will become both 'Exteris omnibus linguae Romanae peritis … familiaris' and newly intelligible to his modern countrymen.[5] Kynaston completed his translation of all five books of *Troilus* into innovative Latin rime-royal stanzas in manuscript within the next five years, also translating *Troilus*'s fifteenth-century 'sequel', *The Testament of Criseyde* by

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[1] Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, II.27-8, in Kynaston, *Amores*, II, 4 (further references in parentheses). The *Amores*'s page numbers restart in book 2. Chaucer's English is given as it appears in Kynaston's texts – books 1-2 from the parallel English in the *Amores*, and books 3-5 as written in alternation with the Latin in Bodleian MS Add.c.287 – with equivalent line numbers from *Troilus and Criseyde*, ed. B.A. Windeatt (Harlow, 1984).

[2] Others include *Speculum Tragicum* (n.23), *Naupactiados* (n.25), and *Cerasum et Sylvestre Prunum*, Thomas Duff's translation of Alexander Montgomerie's Scots poem *The Cherrie and the Slae* (Würzburg, 1631). Dove's and Bathurst's translations are only in manuscript at this time.

[3] 'Within the limits of this too confined (though most distinguished) island' (*Amores* †v). Translations of the *Amores'* prose paratexts are indebted to Judith May Newton, 'Chaucer's *Troilus*: Sir Francis Kynaston's Latin translation' (doctoral thesis, University of Illinois, 1967). The Latin commendatory poems have not previously been translated.

[4] The characterisation of Chaucer's language as 'obsolete' (*Amores* preface, †r-†2v, *passim*) was typical of the period; see Alice S. Miskimin, *The Renaissance Chaucer* (London, 1975), 229-30.

[5] 'everlasting Roman toga'; 'familiar to all foreigners skilled in the Roman language' (*Amores* †v).

Robert Henryson, even though he is perhaps best known as the first English scholar to identify it as the work of a different author.[6] This full manuscript version, accompanied by extensive commentary in English and Latin, was intended for print, but it did not reach a general readership until it too was partially 'rescue[d] from oblivion' in 1796, as I will discuss.[7]

The first two books of Kynaston's translation are accompanied by fifteen commendatory poems in English and Latin. These poems frequently figure the past as a foreign country. This is as much a Chaucerian condition as it is a condition of Latin translation, which transposes native texts into the language of the classical past for foreign readers. Alastair Minnis comments that '[f]or Chaucer the past was … a foreign country, but that foreignness seemed to share characteristics with the cultures of certain countries depicted on the fourteenth century *mappa mundi*.'[8] Two of Kynaston's commendatory poets, Dudley Digges and William Barker, model early modern English readers' temporal distance from Chaucer in terms of geographic distance in this way. But, instead of conceiving of the Chaucerian past as a foreign country, the early modern English present becomes the foreign country in which readers are exiled from their native past. As E.K. put it, they are 'straungers' in 'their own mother tonge':

> Dediscit Anglus nuper indigenos sales,
> Suique prorsus exul haud intelligit
> Dulces lepores Musa quos vetustior
> Effudit… (*Amores* *r)
>
> (The Englishman has recently forgotten his indigenous wits and, quite the exile from himself, does not understand the sweet charms that the older Muse poured out…)
>
> Like travellors, we had bin out so long,
> Our Natiue was become an vnknowne tongue… (*4r)

Kynaston's translation will reverse the Englishman's alienation from his native tradition (thus from himself), not only by turning Chaucer's text into a language better-known to him so he can re-familiarise himself with it, but also, paradoxically, by sending it out into real foreign lands. *Troilus*

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[6] *The Testament of Criseyde* was included in Speght's 1598 Chaucer (on which Kynaston's text is based). See Oxford, Bodleian MS Add.c.287, 457 (further references to 'MS' in parentheses).

[7] See n.73 below. Kynaston anticipates the completion of books 3-5 in his 1635 preface. As Lawrence V. Ryan notes, an *imprimatur* by Thomas Wykes, dated 2 June 1640, at the end of the MS suggests that this was a copy prepared for the printer ('Chaucer's Criseyde in Neo-Latin Dress', *ELR*, 17.3 (1987), 288-302; 288).

[8] Alastair Minnis, 'Other Worlds: Chaucer's Classicism', in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature. Volume 1, 800-1558*, ed. Rita Copeland (Oxford, 2016), 413-34; 414.

will be 'more our owne … made to Aliens knowne', William Cartwright writes (**r). He will only become a true Englishman again abroad, and in Latin ('his Latine stile / Hath Englisht thee', **v). Thomas Lloyd further inverts the analogy of the past as a foreign country, by modelling foreign countries on the past. He writes that 'Latii scient / Voces Britannas' (††4v).[9] Throughout these poems, there develops a sense of a living literary Latium (a 'cultum Latii', in Digges' phrase, *v) across Europe, modelled on the ancient Roman world. Britain is not yet a full member of this community. As the commendatory poets' inversions of the notion of the past as a foreign country illustrate, Kynaston navigates a more complicated *mappa mundi* than either Chaucer's narrator or Latin translators of more modern English literature. He mediates between overlaid versions of a native (Chaucerian) and foreign (classical) past, a native (English) and foreign (European) present.

Given the text he translates, Kynaston's role in making Chaucer 'familiar to all foreigners' and as mediator of Troilus and Criseyde's love plot between these worlds invokes the figure of the go-between. Three aspects of Burke's discussion of 'The Renaissance Translator as Go-Between' become salient here: the importance of the 'underestimated' practice of translation into Latin for the transference of texts across time and borders in the Renaissance; the (originally Horatian) figure of the *fidus interpres*, and the idea that translators not only transfer texts, but 'develop multiple identities', 'facilitate contacts' and 'encourage interests' in the process.[10] Although Pandarus is prominent elsewhere in the *Renaissance Go-Betweens* volume, Burke does not explore the potentially Pandaric side of translation, which will become unavoidable in Kynaston's *Troilus*. Kynaston's translation conveys to William Barker a Criseyde who is so vivid 'Vt ego, si iam viveret, amarem, / Fortassis etiam plusquam basiarem' (*3v).[11] Gilles Ménage had not yet articulated the idea of the translation as *belle infidèle* in the 1630s – in effect, that all originals are Troiluses, all beautiful translations Cressids, and all translators Pandars.[12] Kynaston's commendatory poets use the language of fidelity in purely positive terms. William Strode writes, 'Si dicat Illum lector Ingeni plenum, / Depraedicare non dubito fidelem istum' (*Amores* ††3v),[13] and William Cartwright praises Kynaston's 'faithful quill' which 'such constant light affords' (**r). Nonetheless, the potential for Kynaston not merely to act as go-between, mediating between the 'sondry … usages' 'for to

[9] 'The Latins will know British voices'.

[10] Peter Burke, 'The Renaissance Translator as Go-Between', in Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels, *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin, 2005).

[11] 'That, were she now living, I would love her, and perhaps more than that, kiss her too'.

[12] See Giles Ménage, *Ménagiana*, 2nd edn (Paris, 1694), 306.

[13] 'If a reader should say [Kynaston] is full of ingenuity, I still do not doubt he will thoroughly praise his fidelity'.

winnen loue' in 'sondry ages' and 'sondry londs', but ultimately to produce an unfaithful betrayal of his original, plays out in his translation. Despite professing a loving fidelity to *Troilus*, Kynaston ultimately breaks faith with Chaucer's text by making extensive cuts to the later books, in which Criseyde likewise proves unfaithful to Troilus.

This chapter will show how the idea of the Latin translator as go-between spans the aims, contexts, literary qualities and early reception of Kynaston's translation. Through this figure, it provides a more holistic account of the text than past critical approaches, which are few and tend to treat the translation as an instance of early Chaucerian scholarship and editing (for this reason, the paratexts and commentary have received more attention than the translation itself).[14] My discussion of the translation's literary features emerges directly from a contextual consideration of its 'transmarine' vision.

Transmarine Translation

A reader who glanced at the seventeen names in the paratexts to the *Amores Troili et Creseidae* might assume that Kynaston was embedded in a closed circle of Oxford literary figures, ranging from minor to more prominent. The two dedicatees – Patrick Young, royal librarian and chaplain of All Souls, and John Rouse, Bodleian librarian – and thirteen of the fifteen commendatory poets are Oxford men. The *Amores*' place of publication reinforces this impression: Philip Knox, William Poole and Mark Griffith note that 'Kynaston's work was published not in London, as we might expect, but in Oxford', which 'suggests, already, a scholarly venture'.[15] For Knox, Poole and Griffith, an even more local context for translating Chaucer emerges from the commendatory verses: 'Taken as a whole … the poems suggest a peculiar concentration of Chaucerian enthusiasm in New College, Oxford, in the period.'[16] But a reading of Kynaston's translation through its paratexts as an essentially scholarly, New College- or even Oxford-centred undertaking is a partial

[14] Ryan ('Chaucer's Criseyde') provides an initial literary-critical reading of the translation and its early modern approach to Criseyde. Beadle ('Introduction', n.25) and Tim William Machan ('Kynaston's *Troilus*, Textual Criticism and the Renaissance Reading of Chaucer', *Exemplaria*, 5 (1993), 161-84) take Kynaston's translation as an early instance of Chaucerian editing. Philip Knox, William Poole and Mark Griffith give a detailed reading of the paratexts ('Reading Chaucer in New College, Oxford, in the 1630s: The Commendatory Verses to Francis Kynaston's *Amorum Troili et Creseidae*', *Medium Aevum*, 85 (2016), 33-58).

[15] Knox, Poole and Griffith, 33.

[16] Ibid., 33. The dominance of New College fellows (five) in this group should not be overstated: four (including Young) are from All Souls, three from Christ Church and two from St. John's.

one. Kynaston is justly credited for his advanced editorial attitude to and reverence for Chaucer's text.[17] Both his commentary (see below) and comments by Samuel Hartlib attest that he is 'a good Scollar' who collected manuscripts.[18] But further consideration of the commendatory poets' outlooks and of Kynaston's other activities around 1635 reveals that the translation was a cosmopolitan, modern project, as much as a scholarly, antiquarian one. Kynaston's Chaucer is a vehicle for a courtly, chivalric, 'transmarine' worldview.

Taking a local view of these circles for now, these men are united less by Chaucerian enthusiasm than strong literary royalism. Several of them contributed Latin and English verses to the same royalist university collections in the years surrounding Kynaston's translation.[19] These endeavours are aligned with Kynaston's own past literary outings, *Musae querulae* (1633) and *Musae aulicae* (1635), both collections containing Latin poems in praise of the king by Arthur Johnston (a Scottish neo-Latin poet and the king's physician) with facing English translations by Kynaston. Two contributors of dedicatory verses to the *Amores*, William Cartwright and William Strode, were particularly prominent in the Oxford loyal literary scene. Cartwright's *The Royal Slave* and Strode's *The Floating Island* were two of three tragicomedies written for the royal visit to Oxford in the summer of 1636, under the watch of William Laud, Chancellor of the University in 1630-41. Both poets remained and died in Oxford, Cartwright of the same bout of illness as Dudley Digges (also a contributor) in 1643; William Barker contributed a poem to a volume in commemoration of Cartwright's death. This is a very small world indeed. Strode's commendatory poem characterises Kynaston's translation as a classicizing and courtly activity:

> Equiti Equitem, Aulico Aulicum coaptatum,
> Verum Iudicem Poematis, Poetaeque.
> Troiam Britannam transferens Hic in Romam
> Lapis esto Lydius Ingenique Versusque. (††3r-v)
>
> (Knight suited to knight, courtier to courtier, true judge of poem and of poets. Let this, translating British Troy to Rome, be a Lydian stone [a touchstone] of ingenuity and verse.)

Strode's reverential polyptotons emphasise Kynaston's alignment with Chaucer through their common chivalric roles. Strode's syntactical enactment of the act of translation transferring

[17] See Beadle.

[18] https://www.dhi.ac.uk/hartlib/view?docset=main&docname=29_03_24, 29/3/35A-B (accessed 8 January 2023).

[19] Three to *Musarum Oxoniensum* and seven to *Solis Britannici*, both in 1633; Cartwright and Digges also appear in *Flos Britannicus* (1637).

('transferens') one classicized setting at the beginning of the line ('Troiam Britannam') to another at the end of the line ('Romam') extends this alignment through courtly and classical succession, casting Kynaston as the Virgil to Chaucer's British Homer.

Cartwright shows some signs of the Chaucerianism that Knox, Poole and Griffith describe in works outside his contribution to the *Amores*.[20] This scholarly bent is reflected in his poem's praise of Kynaston's Latin for enabling its readers to understand Chaucer 'without a Dictionary' (*Amores* **r). Cartwright's commendatory poem then departs from its scholarly vein (ll.1-10) to express expansionist, imperialist ambitions for English literature (ll.10-18):

> Rome in her Language here beginnes to know
> Laws yet vntry'd, proud to be fetterd so;
> And, taught our Numbers now at last, is thus
> Growne Brittaine yet, and owes one change to vs.
> The good is common…

Cartwright's metaphors, first casting Rome as a personified colonial subject 'fetterd' by English poetic laws (meaning Kynaston's rime-royal stanza), then de-personifying (even, dehumanizing) her into a mere geographic outpost ('Growne Brittaine yet'), take the Chaucerian maxim 'in forme of speech is chaunge' and make it forcible. Unlike Strode's more innocently literary approach to Rome and *translatio*, this is explicitly the language of *translatio imperii*; the sense that this 'change' is overdue and an ineluctable 'good' is undeniably threatening. Cartwright and Strode's small world now seems deeply, ambitiously engaged with the wider world. Passages like this show that Latin translation can make 'traffic of our style', to borrow a phrase from Samuel Daniel.[21] Latinity, rather than acting as an agent of oppression of English (rhyming verse in particular),[22] acts as the medium of its expansion. Not everyone agrees, however: some of the commendatory poets equivocate about whether the good really is 'common'. Thomas Lloyd's poem stages a dialogic dispute between 'Invidus in Chauceri interpretem' and 'Sermo Britannicus in invidum'.[23] The former

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[20] See, for example, the speeches of Moth the antiquary in *The Ordinary* (William Cartwright, *Plays and Poems*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Madison, 1951), 631).

[21] See introduction, and chapter 6 on Latin translation's imperialist traffic of English style. As Helgerson notes, 'Daniel's reference to England as "thrust from the world" echoes a much cited-phrase from Virgil's first eclogue, "toto divisos orbe Britannos." … [T]he Roman sense of Britain … as far removed from the center of civilisation contributed significantly to English self-alienation in the sixteenth century' (308). The dedicatory poems share this sense of Britain and resulting self-alienation.

[22] See Helgerson, *Forms* and 'Language Lessons: Linguistic Colonialism, Linguistic Postcolonialism, and the Early Modern English Nation', *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 11.1 (1998), 289-99.

[23] 'The envious man against the translator of Chaucer'; 'The British reply to the envious man'.

objects that Latin translation will further divide off English, keeping it within its 'furvas tenebrasque, terminosque / Angustos' and leaving the vernacular 'despicata'.[24] This is ultimately countered by the latter's confident commands to extend the national language ('Extende Linguam patriam') through Latin translation (††3v-4v).

Some of the dedicatory poets express a more insular, scholarly 'Chaucerian enthusiasm'. Francis James, for example, coming from a family with strong medievalist interests, writes a poem in 'Middle English' full of Chaucerian imitations.[25] But most show an ambition to put England on the European or global literary map. Arthur Johnston's life combined the promotion of Scottish literary nationalism with travel and scholarly pursuits in Europe. His poem in the *Amores* takes the same approach to a competitive, global English literary nationalism, achieved by means of Latinity:

> Chaucerus patriam, sibi Kynastonus at orbem
> Devinxit, Latio sub Iove quantus erat. (††3r)
>
> (Chaucer fettered his country, but on his behalf Kynaston has fettered the globe, as far as Latium extended under Jove.)

Digges's book-list speaks to his ambitious pursuit of a trans-European literary culture: of more than 1000 books he left to All Souls, over 200 were 'Libri Exotici' in various European vernaculars, including several dictionaries, ranging from Flemish-French to one for the reading of Petrarch, Dante and Boccaccio.[26] As was often the case in early modern language learning, Latin tends to act as the go-between language, as in Digges' Latin-Spanish and Latin-Italian dictionaries; his 'dict of 8^{t} tongues' shows Latin acting as the primary mediator (on the far left of the verso) between vernacular languages.[27] Digges' poem positions Kynaston's translation similarly as a go-between to enable further translation into European vernaculars:

> …Vixit Angliae prius,
> Iam vivit orbi cultior…
> Mox Belga, Gallus, Italus vices tibi
> Has praestituri; nulla gens non transferet
> Interpretantem… (*v)

[24] 'Gloomy darkness and narrow confines'; 'despised'.

[25] See Knox, Poole and Griffith, 41-5.

[26] 'Catalogue of Sir Dudley Diggs' books bequeathed to the college', in Charles Trice Martin, *Catalogue of the Archives in the Muniment Rooms of All Souls' College* (London, 1877), 416.

[27] See Noel de Barlaimont, *Colloquia et Dictionariolum Octo Linguarum* (Vlissingen, 1613).

> (He [Chaucer] lived cherished by England before, but now he lives more cherished by the world… Soon the Belgian, French, Italian will surpass these changes to [your text]: no people will not translate the translation…)

Digges' own translation project – *Didos Death* (1622), a version of *Aeneid* 4 – intersected with his international trading interests, particularly his involvement in the Virginia, Muscovy and East India Companies.[28]

Kynaston's other contemporaneous project, the Musaeum Minervae, shares Johnston and Digges' common outlook and self-positioning on an international stage. The Musaeum was an academy in London, founded by Kynaston and endorsed by Charles I, which sought to emulate noble academies in Europe. For its opening, Kynaston wrote a masque, the *Corona Minervae*, for King Charles and his family, performed in an intimate setting at the Musaeum's premises in London. It aimed to educate the native nobility for their role as servants of the state, and for this to have a trickle-down effect throughout 'the whole kingdome of inferior people'.[29] 'Strong emphasis was to be placed on ideals of honour and lineage, conveyed by "exciting" students to emulate the accomplishments of old English "worthies" and their own virtuous ancestors'.[30] As John Gallagher observes, the Musaeum also 'aimed to remedy the lack of institutional provision for the formal study of modern foreign languages':

> [The Musaeum] promised to eliminate the need for Englishmen to travel abroad in search of an education, providing instruction in vernacular languages and all necessary accomplishments in London … attempt[ing] to capitalize on the failings of the universities and ambivalent attitudes to educational travel…[31]

The project combines elements of importation and exportation: it tries to redirect the predominantly absorptive direction of English cultural consumption, which, paradoxically, has resulted in a loss of England's own cultural resources; it imitates European models while sending newly educated Englishmen back out into Europe. Kynaston's constitution states that 'one great end of our institution is, to give language and instruction … unto our Gentlemen … before their undertaking any long iourneys into forreigne parts'.[32] As Regent, Kynaston plays the middleman between these gentlemen and the wider world, providing a partial substitute for real travel through

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[28] See Brammall, *Aeneid*, 116-45.

[29] Francis Kynaston, *The Constitutions of the Musæum Minervæ* (London, 1636), 14.

[30] R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Kynaston, Sir Francis', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15822 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[31] John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2019), 14-5.

[32] Kynaston, *Constitutions*, ¶¶2r.

language education, or translation. The risks of too much or too hasty European travel include falling into Catholicism; Kynaston tells Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, that he expects 'all papists and popishly affected' to oppose the academy, because it will lessen the need to 'travel beyond seas' and, thus, the attendant spiritual risks.[33] One commendatory poet, Thomas Gawen, fell foul of this danger after extensive travel on the Continent as a tutor; another, Thomas Reade, also ended his life as a Catholic. Kynaston's letter seems like an instance of the common Laudian use of anti-popery as a defence mechanism for an international, cosmopolitan outlook that contrasted with the more insular, potentially xenophobic mentality of radical Protestantism.[34]

Kynaston's Musaeum had some links to Oxford – the support of Laud in particular – but it was primarily viewed as a threat to the university. Knox, Poole and Griffith observe that there is 'relatively sparse biographical evidence for Kynaston's continuing relationship with his alma mater after his departure for London' in 1605, thirty years before the translation; they express surprise that Kynaston's work was not published in London.[35] In the Musaeum's constitution, Kynaston characterises London as one of many 'great transmarine Cities'.[36] London should not only be on a par with other cities *across* the seas, but it should also extend itself '*beyond* seas' (a phrase Kynaston repeats throughout the constitution).[37] Kynaston's dedication is signed from Whitehall, but it seems that he sought scholarly support and legitimisation from his old alma mater – to which he was no longer closely affiliated and with which his academic ventures were starting to cause tensions – at a time when his own academy was precarious and emergent and Oxford was a centre of royalist activity. The dedicatory poems show that there was ambition within Oxford for Latin translation to export English literature to Europe. Kynaston's translation creates and acts as mediator for a transmarine Oxford, as his Musaeum Minervae does for a transmarine London.

Laudianism is one common denominator here. Ultimately, however, Kynaston's internationalist, cosmopolitan outlook is quite secular, and this will be reflected in his translation. More central to the outlooks of the *Amores* and the Musaeum is Kynaston's Chaucerian, chivalric conception of the role of the courtier. Kynaston felt deep affinities with Chaucer's courtly life,

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[33] Woburn Abbey, Bedford Estate Archive, item 267, transcribed in Richard Cust, 'Charles I's Noble Academy', *The Seventeenth Century*, 29.4 (2014), 337-357.

[34] See Peter Davidson, *The Universal Baroque* (Manchester, 2007) on Latinity, internationalism and Catholicism.

[35] Knox, Poole, Griffith, 34, 33.

[36] Kynaston, *Constitutions*, ¶2r.

[37] Ibid., passim.

being convinced that Chaucer held the same position of Esquire of the Body in the court of Edward III as he himself held in the Caroline court at this time. In his discussion of the 'culture of the go-between … a state Pandarism, as it were' in the court of Henry VIII, Seth Lerer identifies the Esquire of the Body as a role that epitomises the condition of the courtly go-between.[38] Kynaston's idea of Chaucer combines the 'priviness' of this courtly go-between with the 'transmarine' mediation that is foregrounded in recent reappraisals of Chaucer, which see him as a crucially European poet embedded in political, social and literary networks across Europe and beyond. Like Chaucer's most recent biographer, Marion Turner, Kynaston imagined Chaucer's life as a European one, 'everywhere dependent on the *translation* – the carrying across – of ideas, texts, and things'.[39] The *Amores* is a transmarine translation that seeks to emulate the role of Chaucer as go-between within the court and abroad, while gaining legitimacy and royalist kudos from tight-knit Oxford university circles. The animating spirit of this Chaucer-figure renders Kynaston's roles in Oxford, in court, and in a transmarine London as analogous. Indeed, Kynaston's works show a striking ideological coherency. In addition to those discussed, he wrote a tract against what he perceived to be disrespect for kingship and an exaggerated reverence for Parliament, stressing Parliament's origins in 'an assembly convoked by Henry I for the purpose of taking oaths of fealty from his subjects after he had usurped the crown'.[40] In the year of his death, 1642, he published *Leoline and Sydanis*, a romance set in ancient Britain. In Helgerson's terms, Kynaston shows a commitment to merging the second version of gothic – the chivalric, feudalistic, romantic gothic – with a modern, humanistic, cosmopolitan classicism, under the aegis of a strong, modern Caroline court. This ideology is reflected in the language of the translation.

A New Lollius

> That of no sentiment I this endite
> But out of latin in my tongue it write.
>
> Cum nihil propria scripserim inventione
> E nostro in Latinam sed verterim sermone. (*Amores* II 1-2; [*TC* 2.13-14])
>
> (Since I have written it with no invention of my own, but merely turned it from our language into Latin)

[38] Seth Lerer, *Courtly Letters in the Age of Henry VIII: Literary Culture and the Arts of Deceit* (Cambridge, 1997), 30, 22.

[39] Marion Turner, *Chaucer: A European Life* (Princeton, 2019), 9.

[40] Kynaston *ODNB* (n.30).

Chaucer's narrator claims his task is 'only' that of translator – from a putative Latin source, called 'Lollius' elsewhere – while showing how capacious and ironic that role can be. Much of that irony was lost on early modern readers like Kynaston, to whom Boccaccio's version of the story was unknown.[41] For Kynaston, the Chaucerian narrator's claim to be a translator is only a pose 'to make the world belieue, that he himself was not the Author, but translator of this Poem' (MS 36), a faux-modest disavowal of his poem's originality. Accordingly, Kynaston affects modesty, further emphasising the constraints of the translator's role by replacing 'sentiment' with *inventio*. All the *inventio* of *Troilus* and its translation is ascribed to Chaucer; any sense that the original poem had another source or that Kynaston himself has any inventive input disappears. Kynaston is not tempted by the narrator's gestures to an imagined Latin source to undercut his original, step into the role of 'myn auctor', and play a classical Lollius – despite the commendatory poems' claims that 'the Translation will become / Th'Originall' (*4v). Kynaston's 'E nostro in Latinam' crucially inverts Chaucer's 'out of latin in my tongue', so as to speak more truly of himself than of Chaucer, as he writes in his commentary ('quam verius dicantur de illo quam de Chaucero', 204). Kynaston takes the Chaucerian narrator's coy pose and makes it a straightforward reality, fulfilling its wholly imagined act of translation in the present, rather than posing as the classical text translated.

Kynaston's Latin in the *Amores* sounds nothing like the notional classical Lollius's might have. Although he aims to endow Chaucer with the permanence and fixity of Latinity ('perenni Romani eloquij columna'),[42] his prosody effects an unprecedented 'chaunge' in Latin's 'forme of speech' by accommodating it to a rime royal stanza. Kynaston is keen to stress the novelty of this choice, calling it *novus* five times in his prefatory defence. His example for this new form is emphatically not the rhyming Latin of medieval leonines ('prerancidos & faecutinos imperitorum Monachorum rythmos iam diu explosos'),[43] but European models that he calls 'neoteric', like Tasso and Ariosto (†v-†2v).[44] Kynaston provides one answer to the questions 'On what foundation of authority could English rime depend? … How could the taint of cultural inferiority be removed from rime in the face of its undoubted medieval origin?'[45] Kynaston's solution has something in common with Daniel's (although Daniel's is directed to the opposite ideological ends, implicitly to

[41] See Helen Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Medieval World* (London, 2010), 207-8.

[42] 'The perpetual pillar of Roman eloquence'.

[43] 'The sour and tasteless rhythms of unskilled monks, long since rejected'.

[44] See my 'Neo-Latinity and the Neoteric in Early Modern England' on this word, https://www.renaissances-upl.com/neo-latinity-and-the-neoteric-in-early-modern-england/ (accessed 9 February 2023).

[45] Helgerson, *Forms,* 35.

value common law traditions above the royal prerogative): 'Translated into the terms of the confrontation between Goth and Greek, French and Italian poetic form [tacitly] came to stand for the customary and the unmade, for the purely English'.[46] Rather than claiming English rhyme as customary and unmade, however, Kynaston renders Chaucerian verse more modern, polished and classicized by association with Tasso and Ariosto, bringing the chivalric culture it embodies into the Renaissance and inventing a more humanistic feudal tradition.

The 'traffic of our style' that the translation makes is not limited to prosody: translating Chaucer gives rise to developments in Latin vocabulary, too. For the baffling word 'dulcarnoun' [3.931], for example – used of Criseyde at her wit's end – Kynaston supplies the neologism 'dulcarnium', although he is sceptical of the hybrid classical etymology proposed by some readers ('the Greeke word *Doulia* & the latine word cranium') and defines it as 'nonplus', a purely Latinate word (MS 266). The driving force behind most of Kynaston's local choices is the preservation of an essential constancy of style and sound from the original amid inevitable linguistic change. This is why he translates *Troilus* into Latin, rather than modernising its English, although this would not have been unprecedented. As Kynaston notes, the *Roman de la rose* was modernised 'quasi de novo' seven times (†v).[47] Kynaston makes Chaucer new in a different way, considering it a less radical transformation to render *Troilus* in a very modern kind of Latin, than 'minimum Iota in eius scriptis immuta[re]' (ibid.).[48] His liberal Latin can follow Chaucerian effects of rhyme, metre, alliteration and parallelism closely. Kynaston reads *Troilus* as a celebration of changefulness (as distinct from breaking faith), a view summarised by the Senecan maxim he translates in his commentary at the end of the third book (*Thyestes* 596-8):

> No change is long, griefe and disport
> Succeed ech other, ioy's more short
> For one short houre in manner strange
> Lowest to highest things doth change. (MS 319)

– echoing Troilus's 'manner straunge', which 'for a vertue chaunge[s]' under the influence of love [1.1084], an 'alter[ation]' that is ongoing at the end of book 3 [3.1778]. Kynaston acts as mediator as English and Latin mutually, amorously transform each other.

Kynaston's translation effects mutual transformations not only between languages but also between literary sources and cultures. Being unaware that Chaucer was translating Boccaccio, he

[46] Ibid., 39.

[47] 'As if it were new'.

[48] 'To change even the smallest iota in his writings'.

brings many other sources to the fore. Kynaston's distaste for anachronism (discussed below) does not preclude him from incorporating post-classical, even post-Chaucerian literary allusions into his *Troilus*. The *Amores* is a site of broadly European, early modern intertextuality. Authors cited in Kynaston's commentary range from Homer, Seneca and Statius to Thomas Overbury, Ben Jonson and Robert Burton, via Petrarch and Rabelais. In books 1 and 2 in particular, Kynaston acts as a literary go-between for the reader by mediating between different texts, classical and vernacular. By re-enacting real or imagined acts of translation and imitation, Kynaston places himself and the reader in the position of the Chaucerian narrator in the act of composition transposed to an early modern present. To an even greater extent than in Chaucer's *Troilus*, the reader becomes the true go-between, as the *Amores'* parallel-text format and Kynaston's commentary draw us into a mediating role.

Kynaston uses his most precise language for imitation and allusion ('imitatur'; 'alludit', MS 473) for Chaucer's relationship to Virgil. On rare occasions, he incorporates Virgilian language into his treatment of Chaucer's most evidently classical allusions, but iambic pentameter limits the extent to which his lines can accommodate Virgilian units:

> The swifte Fame, whiche that false thinges
> Egal reporteth lyk the thinges trewe,
> Was thorugh-out Troye y-fled with preste winges…
>
> *Nunc Fama velox falsa quae aequalis*
> *Ac vera refert lingua mentiente*
> *Pernicibus per Troiam volat alis*… (MS 346-7; [4.659-61])

Kynaston uses a short Virgilian phrase (*Aeneid* 4.180) to signal his recognition of a clear Chaucerian allusion, nodding to the wider relationship between Virgil's Fama and Chaucer's Fame. He does not, however, attempt to squeeze in further quotations where Chaucer is translating Virgil's Latin, nor does he insert Fama into his translation where she is not so prominent in the English, practices that are common in hexameter Latin translations.[49]

> The owle eek, which that hight Ascaphilo,
> Hath after me shright…
>
> *Feralis bubo etiam decantauit*… (MS 403; [5.319-20])
>
> Procul dubio heic author noster imitatur Virgilium [*Aeneid* 4.462] … (473)[50]

[49] See introduction, 23, on Latin translations' 'pathological' Virgilianism.

[50] 'Without a doubt here our author imitates Virgil…'

Kynaston's confident assertion that Chaucer has imitated Virgil ('Procul dubio') obscures an Ovidian allusion to Proserpine's transformation of Ascalaphus.[51] Similarly, although he translates the stanza closely, Kynaston's commentary on Pandarus's dream of Procne and Philomela in book 2 takes him away from this Ovidian story to a Virgilian moment – when Venus has Cupid disguised as Ascanius act as go-between for Dido and Aeneas – via a discussion of love spells (apparently, swallows produce love-inducing stones) (MS 91). Evidently the idea of Pandarus as go-between is more vivid to Kynaston than the ominous overtones of the Ovidian dream.

Ovidianism permeates the translation more thoroughly through a recurring terminology of art, love, remedies and changefulness, rather than specific citations. On occasion, however, Kynaston inserts an 'Alexandrian footnote' to draw attention to Chaucer's Ovidianism:[52]

> I wote well that it fared thus by me,
> As to thy brother Paris an heirdesse,
> Which that icleped was Oenone,
> Wrote in a complaint of her heuinesse:
> Ye saw the letter that she wrote I gesse:
> Nay never yet iwis (qd. TROILUS)
> Now (qd. Pandare) hearkeneth, it was thus.
>
> Nam mea bene memini & fata,
> Et *Paridis* fratris tui eadem fore,
> Opilio quando, *Oenone* vocata,
> Querelam suam scripsit prae dolore,
> Hanc te vidisse autumo quo more
> Scripsit: Non certe TROILUS dicebat,
> Tunc audi, ait *Pandarus*, Sic scribebat. (I 64-5; [1.652-8])

This passage begins to show how the Latin translator takes up and enlarges the role of Pandarus/the Chaucerian narrator as go-between. Defending his role as adviser and mediator despite being unlucky in love himself, Pandarus cites Oenone's claim that Apollo, god of medicine, was incapable of curing himself when he fell in love. The 'letter that she wrote' is the fifth epistle in Ovid's *Heroides*, from Oenone to Paris. For Lerer, this moment is '[a]t the heart of the Pandaric'.[53] Chaucer works this classical citation into the contemporary texture of his fictional creation, implying that the imagined physical letter itself has been intercepted and begun circulating among the men of Troy, and at the same time uses its status as an extra-fictional literary text, insisting on the irony of Pandarus's wilful misrepresentation of his Ovidian authority. Kynaston

[51] See Windeatt's edition, 5.319n.

[52] See Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge, 1998), 25 and passim.

[53] Lerer, 7.

emphasises both dimensions. The verb 'autumo' makes Pandarus's insistence on the letter's contemporaneity more assertive, while the Alexandrian footnote ('memini') draws attention to the literariness of the source.[54] Kynaston also makes the language of the intercepted letter and of the Ovidian *praeceptor amoris* more prominent in the following two stanzas than in Chaucer. 'Me miserum' echoes Ovid's Oenone (*me miseram*, 149), and 'Ars non medela est animi inquieti' is a convincingly Ovidian maxim (I 64),[55] again taking up Oenone's terms (*medendo*, 147; *artis ab arte*, 150) while refuting the philosophy of the *Remedia Amoris*. Kynaston goes back to the Ovidian epistle and re-enacts the original's textual mediation, heightening our awareness of Pandarus' interception of Oenone's meaning and yet making his Ovidianism more convincing.

When another classical text is intercepted in the narrative, Kynaston again inserts himself into the Pandaric role. In book 2, Pandarus comes upon Criseyde reading a book and asks what it is. She says, 'This Romaunce is of Thebes' [2.100], to which Pandarus responds:

> al this know I my selue,
> And al challeige of Thebes, and the care
> For hereof ben there maked bokes twelue.
>
> Haec omnia satis nota,
> Quae tu de *Thebis* potes enarrare:
> Nam bis sex libris est historia tota. (II 11-12; [2.106-8])

In his translation and commentary, Kynaston demonstrates that he, like Pandarus, knows all this himself. In the preceding stanza, he has Criseyde use the correct Statian phrase 'Amphiarus *vates*' for 'the bishop … Amphiorax' [105-6], and in his commentary he quotes and translates the passage alluded to (*Thebiad* 8.1f., *Ut subitus vates*…), thereby performing the Pandaric gesture of peering into his niece's reading and putting its contents on display for the reader (MS 93-4). His inserted description of the *Thebiad* as a 'historia' reads almost as a Pandaric, classicizing correction of Criseyde's medievalized 'Romaunce' label, which has been excised from the Latin. 'omnia … Quae tu de *Thebis* potes enarrare' ('what *you* can narrate') is even more dismissive than 'al this … And all challeige of Thebes'. This corrective impulse, arising from Pandarus's patronising tone, is also directed against Chaucer's narrator in Kynaston's commentary, for having Pandarus allude to a text that was not yet written at the time of the Trojan war. This misgiving does not stop Kynaston from bringing temporal dissonance to the surface of his translation, however, as in the Ovidian example.

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[54] Cf. Kynaston's use of 'si tu meministi' when Chaucer alludes to Ovid's Apollo and Daphne (MS 253; [*TC* 3.726-8]).

[55] 'Poor me'; 'Art is no cure for a restless mind'.

Kynaston has more misgivings about Chaucer's religious anachronisms. In his preface, he writes:

> Neque vitio mihi vertet prudens Lector, quod in Heptenario 791. [sic, for 79] & 144. lib. 1. ubi de Deo, de Fide, & Religione est sermo, *Troilum* & *Pandarum* Ethnico more loquentes introducam, contra quam a Chaucero religionis Christianae zelo abrepto factum est. (†2v)
>
> (Let not the prudent reader ascribe the fault to me, that in stanzas 79 and 144, Book 1, where there is a discourse on God, faith, and religion, I introduce Troilus and Pandarus speaking in a heathen manner, contrary to what was done by Chaucer, who was carried away by the zeal of the Christian religion.)

In these stanzas Kynaston replaces the singular 'God' with plural 'Dii' (I 54-5, 96-7). Later, he intervenes more decisively, excising moments when the narrator or his characters show an anachronistic awareness of their own paganism or express themselves in Christian terms, such as Criseyde's claim that 'drede fond first goddess, I suppose' [4.1408]. This means Kynaston's translation ends five stanzas before the original, omitting the moral reflections and invocations of Gower and Christ that follow, concluding instead with Troilus's nobility and 'estate royall':

> Such fine hath lo this Troilus for loue
> Such fine hath all his great worthinesse
> Such fine hath all his estate royall aboue
> Such fine his lust, such fine hath his noblenesse,
> Such fine hath false worldes brotlenesse
> And thus began his louing of Creseid
> As I haue tolde in this wise he deied.
>
> Hic finis erat Troili amorum
> Hic finis eius magnae dignitatis
> Hic finis erat omnium honorum
> Hic finis eius et nobilitatis
> Hic finis mundi faelicitatis
> Creseidam sic amare incipiebat
> Vt dixi, et sic fatis concedebat. (MS 471)

By eliminating such 'absurdit[ies]' (MS 248), Kynaston further disassociates Chaucer from a crude, monastic gothic, in favour of a courtly classicism.

Kynaston's Latin negotiates the relationship between Chaucer and his vernacular sources in addition to classical ones, sometimes translating through them. When the narrator names his 'Authour' as Lollius [1.394], in a stanza introducing the 'Canticus Troili' [400-20] as a close translation of Lollius's original version, Kynaston correctly comments that 'there was neuer any such man'; in fact, 'the three next following Stanzes are translated word for word out of Francis Petrarch his 103 Cansonet' (MS 36). Kynaston rhymes Lollius with 'mollius' in the introductory stanza in a nod of respect to the 'more stylish' Petrarchan original (I 38-9). He then replicates

Chaucer's method by working from Petrarch's sonnet, and making it his own, as he says Chaucer does (MS 36):

> 1) PETRARCH
> S'amor non è, che dunque é què i' sénto?
> Ma s'ègli é amór, per Dio, che cósa, e quale?
> …
> Fra sè contrári vénti in fragil barca
> Mi tróve in alto mar senza govérno.[56]
>
> 2) CHAUCER
> If no loue is, O God, what feele I so?
> And if loue is, What thing, and which is he?
>
> …thus polled to and fro,
> All sterelesse within a Bote am I
> Amide the Sea, atwixen Windes two,
> That in contrarie stonden euer mo…
>
> 3) KYNASTON
>
> *Si non sit amor, Dii quid est quod sentio?*
> *Et si sit Amor, Quidnam est vel quale?*
> *…Huc & illuc sic iactatus,*
> *Navigio sine Gubernaculo sum,*
> *In Mare medio inter duos flatus,*
> *Quorum oppositus est semper status…* (I 40-1; [1.400-18])

Kynaston recognises Lollius as a classical construct and goes back to his medieval vernacular roots. His 'Lollius' is also in touch with early modern English scholarship, antiquarianism, translation and literary culture. One basis of his claim that Chaucer was the author rather than translator of *Troilus* is his examination of 'a most antient Manuscript … lent me by my most learned & most valued frend Mr Iohn Selden' (MS 36). Kynaston's interwoven translation of Chaucer and Petrarch was likely also mediated by Thomas Watson's English and Latin hexameter versions of the sonnet in his *Hekatompathia* (1583). Watson first noted that Troilus's song was translated from Petrarch in his self-commentary on that sonnet sequence. Kynaston's decision to work directly from the Italian could have been in part inspired by Watson's claim that his Latin 'commeth somewhat nearer vnto the Italian phrase then the English doth' (Latin acting as an effective intermediary between Italian and English).[57] In a Chaucerian gesture, Watson obfuscates the authorship of the Latin translation in the *Hekatompathia*, creating a Lollius-like 'Author' who was not yet 'emboldened' to 'thrust in foote among our english Poets'.[58]

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[56] *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The Rime Sparse and Other Lyrics*, ed. Robert M. Durling (London, 1967), 271.

[57] Thomas Watson, *Hekatompathia* (London, 1582), A3v.

[58] Ibid.

Kynaston writes that 'it may be coniectured, that Chaucer writ this Poem after his being in Italy where he met Petrarch … [when] he first sawe theis verses' (MS 36).[59] Just as the Musaeum Minervae performs an equivalent to 'long iourneys into forreigne parts' for young gentlemen via linguistic exchange and mediation (i.e. language learning), Kynaston's Latin acts as a transmarine envoy on behalf of the reader, travelling from Chaucer's England, to Petrarch's Italy, to the reader's place and time. Kynaston's self-insertion into the Ovidian/Pandaric role of *praeceptor amoris* is similarly the textual equivalent of his *praeceptor* role in the Musaeum. We may also be reminded that one of the benefits of the Musaeum is the avoidance of popery when Kynaston cites 'the Archbishop of Spelato … ~~with whom I was very conuersant~~ when he was here in England' (MS 117). Kynaston facilitates but heavily mediates the reader's encounter with this source 'beyond seas' by excising evidence of the intimacy of his own acquaintance (Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato (Split), became a *persona non grata* in England after returning to Rome).[60] Kynaston's commentary travels freely across a map of native and foreign pasts and presents. For example, when Criseyde swears on the Simois, Kynaston writes:

> Author noster quamuis fortuito tamen admodum recte descripsit naturam Symoentis, qui vt hodie visitor a nuperrimis viatoribus torrens potius dicendus est quam fluuius quum praecipite & rectocursu properet per Troiae ruinas ad mare … Talis est hodie Cedron Hierosolymis qui nihil aliud est quam paruus riuulus tumidum tantumodo aquis pluuialibus, Vide Dms Sandys in suo Diaria iternario. (MS 384)
>
> (Our author described the nature of the Symois accurately (although probably by chance), which as it is visited today by very many travellers should be called a flood rather than a river since it runs headlong through the ruins of Troy to the sea … such today is Cedron Hierosolymis which is nothing more than a small brook only swelling with rainfall – see Mr Sandys in his travel diary.)

Kynaston's description of the river runs through the ruins of Troy to the sea (in the language of his translation, 'Per Troiam currens … ad mare', MS 374), to Jerusalem, then back to early modern England with George Sandys (who, like Dudley Digges, was a member of the Virginia Company and translated part of the *Aeneid*).[61] His Latin has analogous trans-marine and -temporal range. As Joseph Crouther's commendatory poem has it, the Helicon flows into the Tibur, which in turn

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[59] This theory originates with Thomas Speght, in *The Workes of our Antient and Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer* (London, 1598), B6r.

[60] W.B. Patterson, 'Dominis, Marco Antonio de', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7788 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[61] See Brammall, *Aeneid*, 133-45.

makes the whole Mediterranean swell with its riches; its tributaries arrive at the desks of Thomas May, Sandys and Ben Jonson, while Kynaston's translation pours riches back into it (††4v-*r).

As the translation goes on, Kynaston's mediation becomes more intimate and involved. His response to the innuendo 'The olde daunce' combines transmarine translation across 'sondry londs' with a more Pandaric interest in the ways 'to winnen loue':

> This old dance here … in all kingdomes and parts of the world hath gotten many names, for the French call it *Danse de Loup le queue entre les iambeis*, the Italian calls it *Scoutera il Peliccione* … but the English most significantly call it the beginning of the world … for this dance to be performed betweene Troilus and Creseid Pandarus is here prepairing the performance… (MS 251)

Kynaston's translation is explicatory, even instructive – 'Vetus tripudium, et quid est amare' (ibid.) – exposing to the reader the content of the innuendo and drawing them into his and Pandarus's detailed knowledge of the 'old dance'. Kynaston's translation sets out to celebrate and facilitate the mutual transformation that linguistic, literary, and loving encounters entail, by acting as go-between across places and times. Like Pandarus, however, the translator at times inserts himself into these textual encounters (with women in particular) too intrusively, to the detriment of fidelity.

Breaking Faith

> … let vs rise and streight to bed go
> And there let vs speken of our wo.
> For, by the morter, which that I see brenne,
> Know I full wel that day is not farre henne.
>
> …
>
> *Morter etc*: This word doth plainely intimate our Author *Jeffery Chaucer* to haue been an Esquire of the body in Ordinary to the King, whose office it is … to carry in the morter & to set it by the kings bed side … this Royall ceremony Chaucer wittily faines to be in *Creseids* bedchamber calling this kinde of watch light by the name of Morter, which very few Courtiers beside the Esquires of the body, (who only are admitted after all night is serued to come into the kings bedchamber) do vnderstand what is meant by it. (MS 364)

Kynaston inserts himself into Criseyde's bedroom, through his courtly role, which he claims Chaucer also held. The role of Esquire of the Body epitomises the condition of the courtly 'go-between, *interpres*, interceptor'.[62] This is an exemplary moment for the translator as go-between, with Kynaston becoming a candle-bearing *interpres* ('very few Courtiers beside the Esquires of the

[62] Lerer, 12.

body … do *vnderstand what is meant* by it') in the linguistically obfuscated darkness ('after all night is serued'). His privileged access to both Chaucer's experience and Criseyde's bedroom (by analogy with the king's) gives him privileged access to the text's meaning. When he translates the word himself (as 'lampadem'), he re-enacts the Chaucerian narrator's Pandaric prop-placement and illuminates his original, carrying in the morter and setting it by Criseyde's bedside again.

Kynaston uses his courtly knowledge to translate on a number of occasions. During the downpour that will enable Pandarus to bring Troilus and Criseyde to bed together, the scene is set and the curtains are drawn. Kynaston discourses on the Esquire of the Body's duty to divide the inner part of the king's bedroom from the outer with a sheet 'to cleere the place of all company, and so to prepare for bed'. His conviction that the custom has remained constant allows him to mediate between antiquity ('antiently … among the Troians'), 'Chaucer's time in England', and his own (MS 249). He then inserts his experience into his translation more visibly, giving 'velamen famulus tendebat' for 'They … travers draw', introducing an attendant where there was none (MS 249). The confidence with which he interprets these lines belies the modest presentation of his relationship to Chaucer, 'cuius successor ipse ego (licet indignus eius interpres) sum' (ibid.).[63]

Kynaston further intertwines Chaucer's (and his own) intimate courtly role with his vivid construction of a relationship between Troilus and Criseyde by claiming that Chaucer based his characterisations on courtly voyeurism. He comments that '[s]ome do not improbably coniecture, that Chaucer in writing the loves and lives of Troilus and Creseid did rather *glance at some priuate persons* as one of King Edward the 3ds sonns and a lady of the Court his paramour' than follow literary sources (MS 6; emphasis mine). More than once, Kynaston cites his own courtly intimate life as an authority in his commentary, occasionally realising that he has said too much: he excises the phrase 'a mistres of mine' from the anecdotal evidence of a 'hansome French woman', which he cites against Criseyde's characterisation of her own sex in book 2 (MS 108). He protests that the narrator's Pandaric pose of his own 'vnlikelines' for love is only 'modesty', since Chaucer was much better looking than he professes to be, and so cannot have lacked amatory experience at court (MS 3); presumably Kynaston is drawing on his own experience here, too. As for *Criseyde's* face, in his commentary Kynaston expands on Pandarus's reading of her fortunes in her features, supplying interpretations of different 'line[s]', 'warts and moles' (MS 105) – an early modern as well as medieval practice. This expanded discussion recalls Ulysses' reading of Cressida's features

[63] 'Whose successor I am [in court], albeit an unworthy translator'.

in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (an intertext for Kynaston's translation, as I will discuss).[64] It also recalls Kynaston's prefatory statement of his fidelity to the 'moles and wrinkles that [Chaucer] uses for embellishing and decorating the face of his poem' ('quibus ille tanquam naevis & rugis ad faciem sui Poematis honestandam & decorandam vtitur', *Amores* †2r). Kynaston's eagerness to enlarge and interpret Criseyde's moles and wrinkles, however, begins to undermine this fidelity to Chaucer.

It is to his commentary on Criseyde, Helen, and women generally that Kynaston brings a particularly contemporary frame of visual, textual, dramatic, and legal reference. His ogling impression of Helen as 'a lustie personable, fleshie woman' is based on 'a most antient statue' of Helen 'which I haue often seene in the gallery of rarities in St. Iames' (MS 199). His less favourable take on her conduct seems to be influenced by his legal training at Lincoln's Inn (which enabled him to teach common law at the Musaeum Minervae) and draws continuities with the present:

> *Helene* … cannot be properly saied to haue bin rauished by Paris, for it is not likely, that she was forced … she therefore as wee say in our common law, and as many wiues in theis times doe, did Eloppe from her husband… (MS 7)

The narrator's first description of Criseyde triggers a lengthy discourse on the inferior 'ladyes of our times':

> as Ben: Iohnson in his Alchymist describes the whore Doll Common, such a one as should beare her selfe stately, laugh and talke a loud, and haue all the tricks of a proud skiruy lady, whereas women in Chaucer's opinion ought to be, modest, bashfull, silent… (MS 26-7)

Performances of *The Alchemist* occurred regularly in 1630s London,[65] so it is likely that Kynaston's image of Criseyde's antitype originated on the early modern stage – an animated version of his interactions with the statue of Helen. In the same comment, Kynaston resurrects Chaucer ('I wonder what Chaucer would thinke if he were now aliue…') to judge the women of today, whose statures and fashion do not 'answer' as well 'to womanhood' as Criseyde's (they are 'soe very mannish that it would be a misprision of Sodomy for a man to engender with them'). The comment ends with a punchline about women's 'enormity' of stature, and an admission that 'some women it may be will say, that the Comment hath spoiled the Text' (MS 27). In both these cases in book 1, it is indeed only the comment that spoils the text: at this point, Kynaston's misogynistic angle is

[64] 'There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip…' (*Troilus and Cressida* 4.6.56).

[65] Lucy Munro, '*The Alchemist*: Stage History' in *Cambridge Jonson*, https://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/stage_history_Alchemist/1/ (accessed 29 April 2020).

kept out of the Latin by his fidelity to Chaucer (and, in the case of Criseyde's description, by *her* fidelity so far in the narrative). Even when he objects to a particular word in Helen's case ('Ravishing'), he translates it accurately ('Raptum', MS 7).

In his comment on Criseyde's criticism of men in book 2, we begin to sense that Kynaston is engaged in a struggle with her. He justifies a misogynistic outburst by saying, 'I only write this to be euen with Creseid, who laies that vnderserued imputation' (MS 137). Kynaston's bias gives rise to an odd misreading of Virgil:

> the cheife study of women being the contemplation of their owne feature to which Virgill alludes speaking of a country shepherd~~esse~~, when he saies, --*Nuper me in littore vidi*, making her for want of a looking glasse dresse her head by the reflex of her face in a riuer… (ibid.)

As he realised on reflection, the citation from the *Eclogues* is a description of a male shepherd. Again, however, Kynaston's bias does not lead him to mistranslate Criseydes's 'imputation'. Kynaston's antipathy may have been fuelled by his engagement with one well-known contemporary portrayal of Criseyde in particular. When Pandarus greets Troilus and Criseyde after their night together in book 3, an annotator writes 'See Shakspeare's Troilus & Cressida, Act 4. Scene 2.' (MS 387, Figure 3).

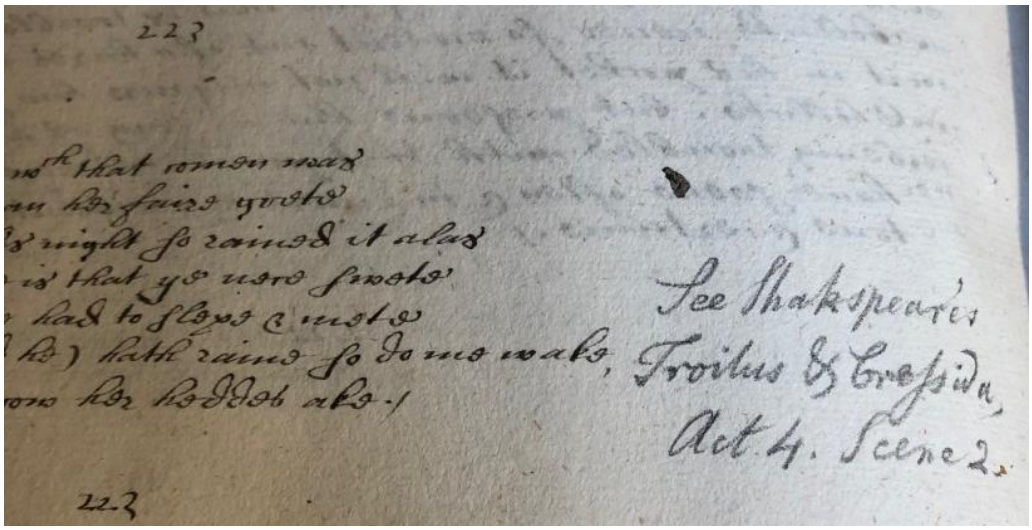


Figure 3.

Lawrence Ryan's argument for the influence of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* on Kynaston's translation wrongly assumes that this marginal note is authorial, and consequently that Kynaston

'had read Shakespeare's play' thoroughly.[66] But Hyder Rollins and this annotator (likely eighteenth-century) share his view that Kynaston's attitude to Criseyde was markedly post-Shakespearean.[67] Engagement with Shakespeare's version of the story is perhaps detectable when Kynaston glosses Pandarus's name: 'from the latine word *Pandere*, which signifies to open wayes or doores… [Chaucer] hath so viuely set [him] forth, as that the name of Pandare will remaine to all posterity on men of such function' (MS 46; compare Shakespeare's Pandarus, 'let all pitiful goers-between be called … after my name' and 'Brethren … of the hold-door trade', although both ideas were common).[68] Rollins notes the 'immense' influence of Henryson's *Testament*, which Kynaston chose to include in his translation even though he knew it was not by Chaucer, on the reputation of Criseyde in the early modern period, particularly in Shakespeare's play. 'Shakespeare adjusted his characterisation to [this] norm', and '[b]oth Henryson and Kinaston were quite modern in their attitude towards Cressid'.[69] For Ryan, Kynaston's attitude to Criseyde was 'clearly influenced by Henryson's and Shakespeare's'.[70] This influence is not obvious in the translation itself until Kynaston begins to make large cuts to the text of books 4 and 5.

Ryan argues that 'Kynaston's excisions … seem deliberately meant to deny to Criseyde the complexity of sentiments given to her by Chaucer and to … lay the stress on her unfaithfulness'.[71] I develop this claim by linking this tendency to the position of the translator as go-between and translation as faithful mistress. Until the end of book 3, Kynaston translates 'without omission of any stanza' (MS 328). Not only has he made no cuts, but his use of rime royal and of parallel and alternating formats for the Latin and English texts in the *Amores* and manuscript respectively has kept the translation to exactly the same length as the original, almost to the syllable. Kynaston's apologies for 'poeticae licentiae' when his stanza form forces him to make minor alterations of sense attest to his fidelity (MS 322). At the beginning of book 4, however, worn out by the length of the poem, Kynaston begins to make excuses:

> …by way of abridgement I haue contracted diuers times two stanzas of the English into one latine one, and allso haue left out many intire heptenaries of the English, which were less pertinent … I haue omitted nothing in my latine translation of that which is really pertinent touching the subject of the story. The English readers that

[66] Ryan, 297.

[67] Hyder E. Rollins, 'The Troilus-Cressida Story from Chaucer to Shakespeare', *PMLA*, 32.3 (1917), 383-429.

[68] *Troilus and Cressida* 3.2.197-8; 'Additional Passages'.

[69] Rollins, 400, 423, 397.

[70] Ryan, 290.

[71] Ibid., 297.

> are desirous to see the booke at large there are so many printed coppies extant, that I referre them to them. (MS 328)

This last sentence contains two implicit confessions: first, that the missing stanzas are only accessible to *English* readers, not to overseas audiences to whom he has pitched his translation; second, that his alternating format has caused him to abridge not only his translation, but also his *edition* of Chaucer's English, meaning that even English readers would need to find another copy to read it in full. In his 1635 preface, Kynaston wrote that it would be a sin to make any changes to Chaucer's sacred text (*Amores* †v). In April 1640, when he finishes book 5, Kynaston's rebutted self-accusations again recall language used by the narrator of Criseyde:

> Here Chaucer ends his worke and I my translation of him hoping that noe reader can iustly *blame* me, that in theis two last books I haue left out many whole stanzes since the worke without them is more voluminous then I expected and the omission of them takes no *breach or blemish* in the story… (MS 471; emphases mine)

It does not seem to have been lost on Kynaston that his translation breaks faith with his original at the very time when Criseyde breaks faith with Troilus. In his protestation that his ultimate infidelity should not undermine the pains he has taken to translate such a 'voluminous' work, we can almost detect the tone of Shakespeare's Pandarus:

> Go to, a bargain made … If ever you prove false one to another, since I have taken such pains to bring you together, let all pitiful goers-between be called to the world's end after my name … Let all constant men be Troiluses, all false women Cressids, and all brokers-between panders. (*Troilus and Cressida* 3.2.193-9)

Kynaston has broken his own bargain. Whereas Rollins suggests that some enamoured early modern portrayals of Criseyde make one suspect that, 'tired with Chaucer's long-drawn-out narrative, certain readers stopped at the great climax in the third book … and went on their way, blissfully unaware of Criseyde's later perfidy',[72] Kynaston's weariness worked with his anti-Criseyde bias to have the opposite effect on his translation. His version of Henryson's *Testament*, in Kynaston's words 'the punishment and end due to a false vnconstant whore' (MS 475), follows this, belying that weariness.

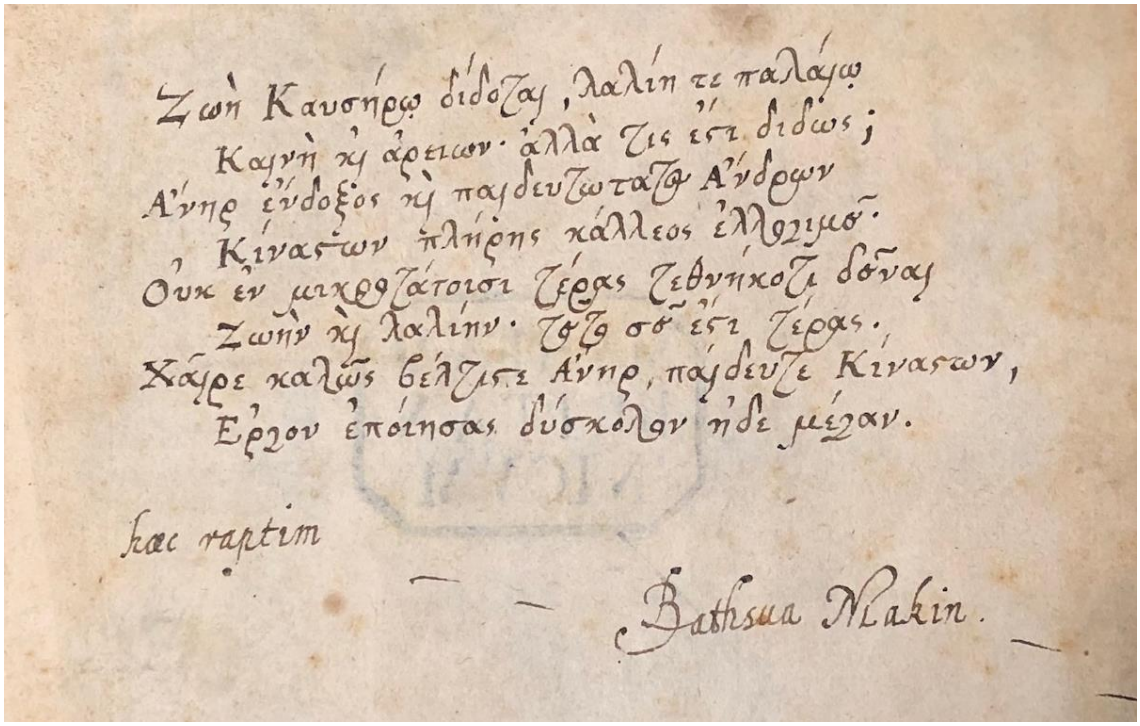
Encounters with Criseyde

Kynaston's English commentary on the first twelve stanzas of book 1 of *Troilus* was published as *The Loves of Troilus and Criseyde* in 1796, accompanied by expressions of regret from throughout the

[72] Rollins, 390.

century that the manuscript had been inaccessible. One of these statements, from the posthumous preface to John Urry's 1721 edition of Chaucer, claims that Urry consulted the manuscript when working on his edition.[73] The *Amores* had already found a readership in the early seventeenth century, however. In 1635, Hartlib wrote that Kynaston 'translated excellently old Chaucer'.[74] The responses of two extraordinary early readers will represent the breadth of its audience. One is female and the other male; one English and the other from overseas. Both read Kynaston's translation in print, so only had access to the first two books.

The first reader is Bathsua Makin, whose Greek poem in a copy of the *Amores* (British Library 1162.f.1.) has not previously been discovered (Figure 4).


Ζωὴ Καυσήρῳ δίδοσαι, λαλίη τε παλαίῃ
Καινὴ κὴ ἀρετέων· ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστι δίδως;
Ἀνὴρ ἐνδοξος κὴ παιδευτατος Ἀνδρων
Κινασσων πλήρης κάλλεος ἐλλογιμοῦ.
Οὐκ ἐν μιχθαίτοισι ξέρας ξεθνηκοῖ δόνας
Ζωὴν κὴ λαλίην· τῷδε σοῦ ἐστι ξέρας.
Χαῖρε καλῶς βέλτιστε Ἀνηρ, παιδευτε Κινασσων,
Ἔργον ἐποίησας δύσκολον ἠδὲ μέγαν.

hæc raptim

Bathsua Makin.

Figure 4.

Bathsua Makin was regarded as the most learned woman in England in the first half of the seventeenth century.[75] Her activities align with the 'transmarine', royalist spirit of Kynaston and his acquaintances. Makin was an exceptional linguist and became tutor to Charles I's daughter, Princess Elizabeth, whom she instructed in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, Italian, Spanish, and

[73] Francis Godolphin Waldron, ed., *The Loves of Troilus and Criseyde* (London, 1796), i. See Newton, 7-10.

[74] See n.18.

[75] See Frances N. Teague, *Bathsua Makin: Woman of Learning* (Lewisburg, 1998).

mathematics. She engaged in a transmarine correspondence with another famously learned woman, Anna Maria van Schurman; both Makin and van Schurman published defences of female education. Makin's poem focuses its praise on Kynaston's eloquence, learning and labour. She uses the language of resurrection that is pervasive in the *Amores'* commendatory poems: the poem begins, 'Giving life and voice to ancient Chaucer…' (my translation). Makin's choice to comment on the *Amores* in Greek verse seems intended to showcase her virtuosic range. We cannot know whether Kynaston's approach to Chaucer's text and to Criseyde in the latter books of *Troilus* would have tempered the high praise of such a formidable reader and defender of women. This copy of the *Amores* also contains the beginning of a list of Latin vocabulary at the back ('Abacus' to 'Arrugia') (Figure 5).

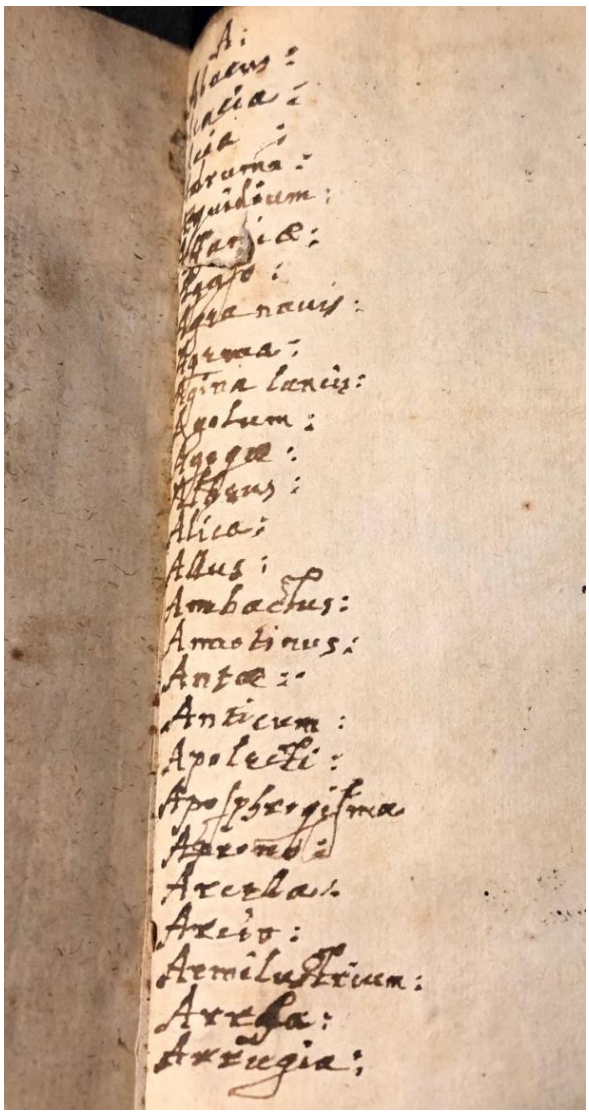


Figure 5.

It is not clear whether this is Makin's hand or another reader's. The colons after each item of vocabulary suggest that the writer may have intended to add translations, possibly to gloss Chaucer's English. It seems that this copy of the *Amores* was being used to increase linguistic familiarity in some way, in line with Kynaston's stated aims.

The poetic response of Wenceslas Clemens (Václav Klement) to Kynaston's Chaucer reflects my reading of the *Amores* so closely that it is hard to believe that Clemens did not have access to the latter books and commentary in manuscript. Clemens was an itinerant Latin poet from Bohemia – 'an exile, a casualty of the Thirty Years War on an enforced extended academic *peregrinatio* in search of gainful employment'[76] – who published the *Trinobantiados Augustae sive Londini libri VI* in Leiden in 1636, only a year after the publication of the *Amores*. In this account of his experiences in London, which he sets on an international stage as 'Orbis Gemmam, EUROPAE Ocellum, Britannarium Epitomen',[77] Clemens visits the tomb of Chaucer in Westminster Abbey. For J.W. Binns, this passage is 'an unusual instance of how the poetry of Chaucer could be of interest to a non-native speaker of English at this early date'.[78] It is also a sensitive reading of Kynaston's translation in particular, and of the condition and reach of Latin translation which the *Amores* shapes and reflects:

> Chriseisque novo rediviva calescit ab igni,
> Atque rudes, quid possit amor, docet una Sorores.
> Quaeve prius tantum Nymphas est sueta Britannas
> Oblectare domi, spaciatum mittitur extra,
> *Trans mare*, trans Alpes, trans culmen itura Pyrenes,
> Tybrigenas doctura nurus, Venetasque puellas.
> Laus haec tota tua est Musis dilecte Kynaston…[79]
>
> (Cressida, brought back to life, grows warm with a new fire, and she alone teaches her (sexually) inexperienced sisters what love can do. She who previously was wont to delight only British girls at home is now sent to travel abroad, on a journey across the sea, across the Alps, across the top of the Pyrenees, to teach young women of the Tiber and girls of Venice. O Kynaston, beloved of Muses, the praise for this is all yours.)

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[76] William Poole, 'Down and Out in Leiden and London: The Later Careers of Venceslaus Clemens (1589–1637), and Jan Sictor (1593–1652), Bohemian Exiles and Failing Poets', *The Seventeenth Century*, 28.2 (2013), 163-185; 163.

[77] 'The jewel of the world, the eye of Europe, the epitome of the Britains'. Wenceslas Clemens, *Trinobantiados Augustae sive Londini libri VI* (Leiden, 1636).

[78] J.W. Binns, 'Wenceslas Clemens' Homage at the Tomb of Chaucer, 1636', *Medium Aevum*, 62 (1993), 289-92, 292.

[79] Clemens, 84-5 (emphasis mine).

Clemens's encounter with Chaucer, and particularly Criseyde, is entirely mediated by Kynaston. The Criseyde whom Kynaston conveys to Clemens, as to Barker ('were she now living, I would kiss her'), is vivid and alluring. Clemens' phrase 'trans mare' confirms that the *Amores* was not only *positioned* as a transmarine translation, but actually acted as one. Recalling again the aims of the Musaeum Minervae and his role as a Pandaric *praeceptor amoris*, Kynaston's translation ships out Criseyde as an example of 'what love can do', casting her as a trans-European amorous instructress. This idea is similar to an anecdote in the passage in Kynaston's commentary in which he refutes Criseyde's criticism of men in book 2:

> I was once by the fauour of a hansome French woman admitted to be present in a place where diuers ladies met, as at an Academy which they termed the kissing schole where they [learnt] to kisse in the most delicious waies … with amorous casts & blinks according to the example of this French woman… (MS 139)

Binns comments that 'it is interesting that Clemens envisages the audience for *Troilus* as being principally female, possibly because Clemens may have regarded the poem as a love-story which would interest women'.[80] Although the *Amores* did have at least one female reader, on the contrary, the interest here in Criseyde's amorous frolicking across Europe is male and voyeuristic. Perhaps Clemens would have been less enthused about Criseyde's transmarine travel if he had been able to read the rest of the translation.

[80] Binns, 'Clemens', 291.

Part II: Latin Translation in the Civil Wars

Andrew Marvell (1621-78) liked to think he had little in common with Thomas May (1594/5-1650). Richard Fanshawe (1608-1666) also had differences with May, his former close friend from whom he parted ways for good, according to John Aubrey, in the summer of 1642, when Fanshawe joined the King at Oxford.[1] While most critics emphasise the three poets' differences, one thing they had in common was that they all produced Latin translations of English poems, often their own. Chapter 3 focuses on the 'self-Latinizations' of May and Marvell, revealing surprising similarities between them. It will ask why poets 'self-Latinize', how and why the English and Latin versions differ, and how 'self-Latinization' compares to other kinds of Latinization discussed in this thesis. Chapter 4 will discuss the political significance of May's, Marvell's and Fanshawe's Latin translations. These paired chapters share an interest in various kinds of identity – political, linguistic, the self-identity of two versions of the same poem, or of an author with himself across time – and in Latin translation as a self-reflexive medium to explore and encode them.

[1] John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Kate Bennett, 2 vols (Oxford, 2015), 573.

CHAPTER 3

Roman-Cast Similitude: The Self-Latinizations of Thomas May and Andrew Marvell

Fanshawe described his own acts of Latin translation as *Latinizing*, a practice he undertook and viewed in parallel with the more familiar *Englishing*: 'since my captivitie … I have published other men's matter: viz. a portingall poem of Luis de Camoens, englishst; and Fletcher's faithfull shepherdesse, latinised…'[2] In 'Maius Lucanizans', a poem in praise of his sometime friend May, Fanshawe describes May not as Englishing or Latinizing (although May did both), but *Lucanizing*.[3] This poem first appeared in May's *Supplementum Lucani* (Leiden, 1640; London, 1646), a self-translation into Latin of his 1630 *Continuation* of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, extended until the death of Julius Caesar. The *Continuation* was itself a sequel to May's 1627 translation of Lucan's Latin.[4] Fanshawe's poem describes the sequence and interrelation of these three volumes:

> Hoc tu Maje facis, divini Pectoris haeres,
> Linguarumque potens. *a* patrio seu Carmine reddis
> Quod peregrina suis cantabat Musa Quirinis:
> *b* Seu duce jam rapto procedure longius audes,
> Caesaris et tollens Aquilas, quas straverat ipse
> Lucanus moriens, Coeptis ingentibus addis:
> *c* Sive, Tui Interpres, quae paucis auribus ante
> Bella susurrabas, Romae Romana remittis…
>
> *a* Versio Lucani in Linguam Angl.
> *b* Supplementum Lucani in Lingua Angl.
> *c* Versio Supplementi in Linguam Lat.[5]

(You have done this, May – heir to [Lucan's] divine heart, master of languages. Whether (a) you render in your native verse what a foreign Muse sang to her Romans, or (b) you dare to continue further after your leader has been carried off and, carrying Caesar's standards which Lucan left scattered when he died, you add

[2] Fanshawe, in H.C. Fanshawe, *The History of the Fanshawe Family* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 1927), 160.

[3] Richard Fanshawe, 'Maius Lucanizans' in *Il Pastor Fido*, 2nd edn (London, 1648), 248-9.

[4] See Thomas May, *Lucan's Pharsalia (1627)*, ed. Emma Buckley and Edward Paleit (Cambridge, 2020).

[5] Richard Fanshawe, '*Ad* … THOMAM MAIUM Anglo-Lucanum', in Thomas May, *Supplementum Lucani*, 2nd edn (London, 1646), *6v-7v; *6v. Further references in parentheses. My translation is partially indebted to Syrithe Pugh's (*Herrick, Fanshawe and the Politics of Intertextuality* (Farnham, 2010), 175-6) and (as for all Fanshawe) Peter Davidson's (*The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1997), vol. I, 360-61).

to his immense undertakings, or (c) as your own translator, you return these Roman wars, which you whispered before to only few ears, to Rome…
a Version of Lucan in English
b Supplement to Lucan in English
c Version of the supplement in Latin)

Fanshawe's footnotes are necessary to clarify which textual instantiation (*Pharsalia*, *Continuation* or *Supplementum*) each metaphor of exchange between England and Rome refers to. These metaphors are typical of dedicatory poems to Latin translations (the proem to *Georgics* 3 likely being a common model), but the elements of continuation and self-translation in May's works bring new complexities. Fanshawe's poem moves from a straightforward idea of May's *Pharsalia* as domestication, to the metaphor of May taking up Caesar's standards which Lucan left scattered in the *Continuation*, to one of returning Roman wars to Rome in the *Supplementum*. The syntax allows the 'leader who has been carried off', whose works May is continuing in (b), to be both Lucan and Caesar; then, in (c), May almost becomes Caesar, by bringing a Roman war back to Rome. This imitates the epigraph to the *Supplementum*: '*Venturi me teque legent*' (*Bellum Civile* 9.985: 'Future readers will read me and you'), a line which originally identified the poet with Caesar, his subject, but now refers to May and Lucan. Fanshawe's medium of Latin requires him to refer to the *Continuation* and *Supplementum* by the same word, anticipating the critical confusion about priority that these texts have generated (discussed below) – as if the *Supplementum* lay as an imagined original behind the *Continuation* all along.

Characteristically, Fanshawe republished this 1640 poem in his 1648 *Il Pastor Fido* collection alongside other poems that hark back to an earlier period. This recontextualization registered a change for the worse in his relationship with May and the intensity of civil divisions since 1640. It is only in this instantiation that the poem is titled 'Maius Lucanizans'. Edward Paleit contends that 'the neologism may imply [a new] discomfort with May's work' and that the reprinted poem takes on a 'near-Lucanic irony, of forfeited opportunity and counterfactual wishing'.[6] In the rest of the poem, Fanshawe invites May to continue his continuation past Caesar's death, to the Battle of Actium and rise of Augustus; then, May can hang up his trumpets, greet Virgil, Horace and Ovid (Lucan is notably absent), and rest under an olive tree.[7] Such an extension would have skewed the supplement's political narrative away from the decline of liberty and towards 'dynastic renewal',

[6] Edward Paleit, *War, Liberty, and Caesar: Responses to Lucan's Bellum Ciuile, ca. 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2013), 307-8.

[7] Fanshawe, '*Ad … MAIUM*', *7v.

'transform[ing] the *Pharsalia* … into a traditional Virgilian epic'.[8] By 1648, it was apparent that May would not follow this advice.

In 'Tom May's Death' (1650), Marvell (ventriloquising Ben Jonson) 'falls very severe on him', in Aubrey's words.[9] He casts May as a mere 'gazette-writer',[10] whose shallow, ephemeral political writing is doomed to oblivion. Marvell's poem expresses distaste for the way in which May's Lucanian projects 'obtrude' with 'Roman-cast similitude'. This differentiates May's practice from Marvell's own, since Marvell's Roman analogies always 'call to mind points of dissimilarity as well [as similitude]'.[11] May's 'similitudes', if we follow Marvell's assessment, also contrast with what Tiago Sousa Garcia has called Fanshawe's poetics of 'the space in between', through which he 'create[s] an active reader' who registers distances between original and translation and between poems in his collections.[12] May's works create an over-literal reader like himself, lacking a capacity for ambiguity. At the end of 'Tom May's Death', Marvell puts May in a hell where he is punished with literalism: "Tis just, what torments poets e'er did feign, / Thou first historically shouldst sustain.' The question of the value and danger of 'Roman-cast similitude' becomes particularly vexed, I argue, when poets translate their own originals from English to Latin. The illusion of classical similitude and stronger evocation of classical sources that Latin translation is often said to create might be one of the things that flattens May's political analogies, for a reader such as Marvell. It might even lie behind Marvell's versification metaphor in the line 'How ill the measures of these states agree'. 'Roman-cast similitude' is an inherent risk of Latin translation even when the translation is not making political analogies, and Marvell's own Latin poems have not escaped this charge.

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[8] Brian Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists, and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth* (Farnham, 2015), 228.

[9] Aubrey, *Lives*, 1519.

[10] Andrew Marvell, 'Tom May's Death', in *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Nigel Smith (Harlow, 2007), 121. Further references to Marvell to this edition.

[11] John S. Coolidge, 'Marvell and Horace', in *Andrew Marvell: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. George de F. Lord (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), 85-100; 88. Also quoted in Robert Wiltenburg, 'Translating All That's Made: Poetry and History in "Tom May's Death"', *SEL, 1500-1900*, 31.1 (1991), 117–130.

[12] Tiago Sousa Garcia, 'The Space in Between: Creating Meaning Between Richard Fanshawe's Original and Translated Poetry', *Renaissance Studies*, 35.3 (2021), 463-85; 474.

If May 'Lucanizes' across his poetic career, Marvell is often said to 'Horatianize'.[13] Lucan and Horace are very different biographical and poetic models.[14] The life of Lucan, as told by Thomas Farnaby in his 1618 edition (which May read),[15] has several similarities to May's own. As a young man, Lucan was in favour with Nero; similarly, May's literary efforts were supported by the king (who once called May 'his poet') in the 1620-30s, and he was a credible candidate for Poet Laureate.[16] According to Farnaby, the grievance with Nero that led to Lucan's involvement in the Pisonian conspiracy was more poetic than political: after Lucan stole victory from Nero in a poetic competition, Nero banned Lucan from publishing his poems. Likewise, May is said to have developed a resentment towards the court which contributed to his growing republicanism after losing out on the Laureateship to Davenant in 1638.[17] However, there was no serious withdrawal of royal favour in May's case, and the *Supplementum*, like the *Continuation*, was dedicated to Charles I, just as Lucan's *Pharsalia* contains an effusive dedication to Nero which can be read as sarcastic or sincere.[18] May's republicanism was also said to have emerged from his prolonged engagement with Lucan's text.[19] The symbiosis of the two biographies ends with Lucan's forced suicide at 25, when he recited lines from the *Pharsalia* on the death of Lycidas (3.638-42) while the blood flowed from his own veins. This recital 'becomes the conceivable end of the epic [Lucan] never finished … [T]he story of the poet's end is written into his own work, and vice versa'.[20] May purportedly died with less dignity: drunk, obese, and choked on the string of his cap.[21]

Horace experienced the opposite reversal of fortunes to Lucan. He fought at Philippi against the future Augustus, but successfully adapted to the principate, writing poetry that arguably

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[13] See Coolidge.

[14] On Lucan, see Nora Goldschmidt, *Afterlives of the Roman Poets: Biofiction and the Reception of Latin Poetry* (Cambridge, 2019), 85-129.

[15] *M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia*, ed. Thomas Farnaby (London, 1618), A5r-v; Paleit, *War*, 212.

[16] David Norbrook, 'May, Thomas', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18423 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[17] May 'stood Candidate for the Laurell … but Sir William Davenant caried it manet alta mente repostum perhaps' (Aubrey, *Lives*, 573, quoting *Aeneid* 1.26, Juno's resentment at the judgement of Paris).

[18] See Michael Dewar, 'Laying it on with a Trowel: The Proem to Lucan and Related Texts', *Classical Quarterly*, 44.1 (1994), 199-211.

[19] See chapter 4.

[20] Goldschmidt, 86.

[21] Aubrey, in 'May', *ODNB*.

legitimized the Augustan programme, with ambivalent notes.[22] This adaptability is mirrored by Marvell, the political 'chameleon'.[23] Marvell's changing mind is difficult to map, from the royalist elegies and dedications of the late 1640s, to the 'Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland' in 1650, and 'Tom May's Death' later that year – each using 'contrasting sides of Horace and the Horatian legacy to explore the literary-political choices open to a poet in the face of modern times'.[24] The politics of the 'Horatian Ode' have proven the most difficult to pin down. The division of the poem's sympathies between Charles and Cromwell is legible in its combination of Horatian form with Lucanian allusion. Cromwell is compared to 'three-fork'd lightning', recalling Lucan's descriptions of Caesar; his 'restless[ness]' also evokes Horace's depiction of Octavian.[25] This 'cross-pollination' of Horace and Lucan is characteristic of both Marvell and May, belying any stark divisions that their ostensible choices of model imply.

R.T. Bruère's collation of the *Continuation* and the *Supplementum* remains the most thorough study of May's self-translation to date.[26] Criticism of the *Supplementum* has tended to debate whether it is 'more republican' than the earlier *Continuation* – a question that I will address in the next chapter. This chapter explores other facets of the *Supplementum* as a self-translation alongside other 'self-Latinizations'. Three of Marvell's posthumous *Miscellaneous Poems* (1681), including some of his most celebrated – 'On a Drop of Dew' and 'The Garden' – are printed alongside Latin versions. The question of whether the English preceded the Latin in each case has dominated critical discussion of the Latin. Fanshawe also wrote paired Latin and English poems,[27] but, unlike his Latinizations of other authors, the English clearly comes first. Other poetic self-Latinizers include Abraham Cowley, who self-translated the first book of his 1656 biblical epic *Davideis* and repurposed passages of his unfinished English epic *The Civil War* in his Latin *Plantarum Libri Sex*

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[22] See Michèle Lowry, 'Horace and Augustus', and Stephen Harrison, 'Horatian Self-Representations', in *The Cambridge Companion to Horace,* ed. Stephen Harrison (Cambridge, 2007), 77-90 and 22-35.

[23] See Nigel Smith, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (London, 2010).

[24] Annabel Brett, 'The Post-Machiavellian Poetry of "An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland"', *The Oxford Handbook of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Martin Dzelzainis and Edward Holberton (Oxford, 2019), 425-42; 429.

[25] A.D. Cousins, 'Roman Voices in Marvell's "An Horatian Ode"', *Andrew Marvell Society Newsletter*, 6.2 (2014): https://marvell.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/newsletter/roman-voices-in-marvells-an-horatian-ode/ (accessed 19 November 2020).

[26] R.T. Bruère, 'The Latin and English Versions of Thomas May's *Supplementum Lucani*', *Classical Philology*, 44 (1949), 145-63.

[27] See chapter 4.

(1668). Johnson, comparing their 'Latin performances', preferred Cowley to Milton – because, while Milton 'express[es] the thoughts of the ancients in their language', Cowley 'accommodates the diction of Rome to his own conceptions' – but held May 'superior to both'.[28] Self-Latinization might partially account for May's and Cowley's ability to accommodate Roman diction to *their own* conceptions. Cowley's Latin *Davideis* has been well analysed by Philip Hardie, and I will make some reference to it in my discussion.[29]

Just Filling in Time?

A poet chooses to translate their own poems into Latin for different reasons to those who translate canonical poets such as Chaucer or Spenser. Self-Latinization is not primarily an act of self-canonisation. To a degree, the *Supplementum* announces May's status as an 'Author Angl[us]' (as he is described on the title page) to international audiences. But, in Marvell's view, it would be a farce if people were to travel from far and wide to visit Thomas May's memorial at Westminster Abbey, as Latinization enabled Wenceslaus Clemens to do for Chaucer. He is simply not in their league:

> If that can be thy home where Spenser lies,
> And reverend Chaucer, but their dust does rise
> Against thee, and expels thee from their side…

May's body was exhumed on the Restoration in 1661 and replaced six years later by Davenant's (adding insult to injury).[30] Marvell may portray May as a relentless self-promoter who self-canonised above his worth, but Lucan's name is much more prominent on the *Supplementum*'s title pages than May's, and he does not print his own English in parallel with the Latin to facilitate comparison. His main motive is to serve Lucan's wide readership by providing a continuation to his curtailed epic in its original language.

Paleit finds the *Supplementum*'s 'occasion and purpose' 'obscure', observing that its dedicatory epistle to Charles I is 'barely reworded' from the *Continuation*.[31] But the following sentence added to the Latin version is a clear statement of purpose:

> Liceat ergo huic opusculo, quod aliquot abhinc annis Majestati tuae in sermone Britannico humillime oblatum fuit, jam Latine reddito maria tua transire; tua, magne Rex, cujus Imperium Oceanus Britannicus non terminat, sed est. (*4r-v)

[28] Johnson, in Hardie (n.26), 69.

[29] Ibid.

[30] 'May', *ODNB* (n.16).

[31] Paleit, *War*, 286, 288.

> (Permit, then, this little work, which was offered a few years ago in all humility to your Majesty in the British tongue, to traverse your seas now translated into Latin; yours, great King, whose Empire the British Ocean does not end, but *consists of*.)

May Latinizes to reach an international readership. In his 1633 translation of the Latin poet John Barclay's *Icon Animorum*, May similarly wrote that Barclay was 'loth to bound his fame within the narrow limits of his own Language, [so] cloathed his worke … in the *Roman* tongue'.[32] Whereas Marvell's and Fanshawe's Latin versions of their poems appear in volumes of English poetry that would be mostly unsellable to readers abroad, May prints his Latin separately, catering first to European readers in 1640, then to English readers who might prefer to read Lucan continued in Latin in 1646. An anecdote in May's preface to his *History of Parliament* (1647) offers a political interpretation of his pursuit of international audiences:

> An English Gentleman, who went to travell when this Parliament was called, and returned when these differences were growne among us … affirmed, That the Parliament of *England* (in his opinion) was more mis-understood in *England* then at *Rome*; And that there was greater need to remember our own Countrymen, then to informe strangers of what was past…[33]

Having spoken first to his 'own Countrymen' directly in English, offering them Roman analogues that might be better understood than their own recent history (to develop the paradox), May turned to the audience of 'strangers', whose need was less pressing but who had a deep enough understanding of English events to read national significance into a Latin poem on Roman history. According to Anthony Wood, who writes that May 'attained to much more reputation abroad than he hath lost at home' on the Restoration,[34] May *was* in fact 'more mis-understood in *England* then at *Rome*'.

Paleit's sense that May's translation of the *Continuation* was just 'a means of filling in time' – a deviation from his usual view of May's purposefulness – is based on a letter from the Dutch scholar and Latin poet Daniel Heinsius to the Royal Librarian Patrick Young (one of Kynaston's dedicatees) on 18 October 1640.[35] Heinsius writes, 'ad vos praestantissimus hic vir rediret, qui ne nihil ageret, Lucanum erudite apud nos supplevit'.[36] Paleit rightly observes that Heinsius's wording

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[32] *The Mirror of Minds: or, Barclay's Icon animorum*, trans. Thomas May (London, 1633), A3v.

[33] Thomas May, *The History of the Parliament of England* (London, 1647), Br.

[34] Wood, in Aubrey, *Lives,* 211.

[35] Paleit, *War*, 288.

[36] 'This most excellent man [May] is returning to you, who, so as not to do *nothing*, eruditely supplemented Lucan while staying with us'. Heinsius, in Paleit, *War*, 286.

suggests that translating the *Continuation* was not the reason why May was abroad.[37] However, the aside 'ne nihil ageret' is too casual to contradict the purposefulness of May's dedication. Perhaps it ventriloquises a self-deprecatory comment made by May, or merely indicates that he had an opportune window in the company of Latin scholars to complete a task that had been on the backburner since 1630. Paleit's description of the Dutch intellectual circles in which May's *Supplementum* took shape is nonetheless illuminating.[38] The Anglo-Dutch context had long been fruitful for neo-Latin poetry, with many works emerging out of diplomatic relations as far back as the 1580s (for example, Janus Dousa's 1585 *Odae Britannicae*). The New World geographer Johannes de Laet records that May showed him the work in Amsterdam in August 1640; Nicolaus Heinsius, Daniel's son and a future classical scholar, and Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn, another Leiden academic, contributed dedicatory poems. May's inclusion of the well-known, short 'continuation' of Lucan's Book 10 by the fifteenth-century Italian Giovanni Sulpizio da Veroli also 'reaches out to its [international] humanist audience'.[39] Paleit is led to 'hazard' a more specifically Puritan Anglo-Dutch context for the *Supplementum* through May's Leiden publisher, Willem Christiaens van der Boxe. Christiaens printed a number of Puritan texts that were banned in England (such as William Prynne's) in English and Dutch translation and, compellingly, was prosecuted for it in 1638 (before printing the *Supplementum*) by William Boswell, the English Resident at the Hague, on Archbishop Laud's instructions. Christiaens's (and Heinsius's) sympathies with English Puritanism must be weighed against the less spiritual motivations of the lucrative pirate English book trade and investment of Anglo-Dutch merchants. The evidence is ambiguous: another dedicatory poet, Samson Johnson, was chaplain to the exiled Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia and sister of Charles I, who was 'often the focus of radical English Protestant sentiment' near Leiden; on the other hand, Johnson was a Laudian appointee.[40] It is difficult to detect any particular religious convictions or deviation from mainstream Protestantism in May's works, whether towards Puritanism or atheism, the charge commonly laid against him by royalists. Norbrook notes that Daniel Heinsius 'disliked Laud's meddling with freedom of scholarly expression'.[41] This is likely the nature of May's antipathy, too, alongside his increasing republicanism. Ultimately, the internationalism of the *Supplementum* is less specific to any Anglo-

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., 286-8.

[39] Ibid., 288.

[40] Ibid., 287-8.

[41] David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge, 1999), 81n.

Dutch context – Puritan or not – than, say, Fanshawe's *Specimen Rerum a Lusitanis* is to Anglo-Portuguese relations.[42]

Many of May's motivations for self-Latinization are common to those for Latin translation generally: he Latinizes a poem that has both classical content and specific English significance for an international and marginal English readership. It is more difficult to identify Marvell's motivation as a desire for an international readership. Not only are 'Ros' and 'Hortus' printed among English poems but, like almost all of Marvell's verse, they were printed posthumously and, as Robert Wiltenburg argues, make a 'private exercise of what should be a public function'.[43] If '[s]elf-translation [is] a literary game' whereas 'printing it, is not', as Garcia claims of Fanshawe's, perhaps Marvell's Latin versions which went unprinted in his lifetime are simply 'a philological game being played by a seventeenth century poet engaging in a time-free way with a kind of abstract Latinity'[44] – just 'a means of filling in time'. But Marvell was more engaged with Latin as a language of international diplomacy than May was, becoming Milton's assistant and then Latin Secretary to the Council of State himself. As Hinds notes, 'this [role] impinges directly upon his Latin poetic oeuvre in pieces written to … accompany a Cromwellian mission to the Queen of Sweden', 'A Letter to Doctor Ingelo' and 'In eandem Reginae Sueciae transmissam' (1654).[45] These poems were not printed until 1681, but they were certainly no mere game, being intended for a specific international audience: Christina of Sweden. We also have an exemplum of a letter from Cromwell to the Marquess of Brandenburg which Marvell took down at dictation in English and translated into Latin, the language of official correspondence.[46] Hilton Kelliher writes that 'the style [of the English letter] shows that it was written with translation in mind',[47] a mode of thinking that might be relevant to Marvell's paired poems. This context is slightly too late for 'Ros', if not for 'Hortus' (likely composed around 1654). Critical debate about whether the English or Latin versions came first further obscures the question of purpose. We cannot reach conclusions about Marvell's motivations without first dealing with the question of priority.

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[42] See chapter 4.

[43] Wiltenburg, 127.

[44] Hinds, 'In and Out', 57.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Bodleian Rawl. MS A57, 358b (English) and Thomas Birch, ed. *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, 7 vols (London, 1742), vol. 6, 812 (Latin).

[47] Hilton Kelliher, *Andrew Marvell: Poet & Politician* (London, 1978), 70.

Tui Interpres: Theorising Self-Latinization

The simultaneity of their publication and the lack of authorial manuscript sources or certain dating for Marvell's poems has led to ongoing debate about which language came first in each case. More surprisingly, there is also a critical history of confusion about the priority of May's English and Latin. The *Supplementum* appeared ten years after the *Continuation*, and the *Supplementum*'s preface seems to confirm the priority of the English. Yet, in 1932, A.G. Chester claimed that it was 'commonly supposed' that 'May composed the work first in Latin and then translated it into English'. This seemed 'quite possible' to Chester, yet he considered that 'the opposite method … suggested by the dates, seems the more likely for an Englishman who was ambitious for popular success as an author', finally concluding that 'there is no way of telling'.[48] Chester overstates how common the supposition of the priority of the Latin ever was (Bruère only cites one example, Birkbeck Hill's 1905 edition of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*),[49] and the idea that May composed the work first in Latin has been long since debunked.[50] But the fact that any debate ever arose, in the face of the evidence of the dates, reveals a history of critical assumptions about the relative priority of Latin and English in translation, composition, and poetic development. There is a parallel, more persistent critical confusion about the Latin translation of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651, trans. 1668). Noel Malcolm observes that despite 'clear statements by Hobbes that the work was [self-]translated from English into Latin … some modern scholars [in 1932, 1971 and beyond] have suggested that the Latin version of *Leviathan* was essentially prior to the English text.'[51] The arguments made for the essential priority of the Latin in Hobbes's case are based on stylistic and political 'aspects of the published Latin text itself', many of which are shared with May's *Supplementum*.[52] Chief among these are that the Latin is shorter and seems 'rougher' in diction; that the ends of passages or paragraphs often seem curtailed or more epigrammatical,[53] and that temporal markers such as 'now' and 'today' relating to events of the Civil War are sometimes present in the Latin where they are not in the English (but sometimes vice versa). As I will discuss, the changes that May makes to his Civil War references in the Latin are even more ambiguous

[48] A.G. Chester, *Thomas May, Man of Letters* (Philadelphia, 1932), 156

[49] Bruère, 146.

[50] See Bruère.

[51] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Noel Malcolm, 3 vols, vol. 1 (Oxford, 2012), 168.

[52] Ibid., 168-170.

[53] See Bruère, 150.

than Hobbes's. Fortunately, external (and other kinds of internal)[54] evidence means that such arguments are not necessary in either case.

We should be wary of such arguments in Marvell's case. Like the *Supplementum* and the Latin *Leviathan*, 'Hortus' lacks some material that is present in its English equivalent. Four stanzas of 'The Garden', from 'What wond'rous life in this I lead!' to 'To live in paradise alone', are 'missing' from the Latin.[55] The absence of these stanzas is marked in the 1681 edition by the phrase 'Desunt multa'.[56] This may indicate that stanzas were genuinely lost from the Latin, or it may be an editorial conjecture to explain their apparent absence.[57] The 'missing' stanzas have been used as evidence for the priority of both the English and the Latin: either features latent in the Latin were developed into new stanzas in English, or Marvell encountered difficulties in translating those stanzas into Latin and abandoned them.[58] Although the 'missing' stanzas mean that there are only 58 lines of Latin to 72 lines of English, the Latin is more expansive if we exclude those stanzas (58 to 40 lines, and the hexameter can accommodate much more than the English tetrameter). 'Ros' is also slightly longer than 'On a Drop of Dew' (46 lines to 40), although one could argue that a simile of four lines in the Latin is 'missing' from the English, so the lengths of the shared material are more closely aligned. The *Supplementum* and the Latin *Leviathan* show that translation can work by excision as well as expansion, so relative length cannot help us much with the question of priority. Recalling the third argument made about May and Hobbes concerning the ends of paragraphs and passages, Carl Bain finds evidence that the Latin poems are translations in their line endings: 'the characteristic lack of enjambement … suggests to me that Marvell composed the Latin poetry a line at a time, putting into Latin a certain amount of English with whatever embellishments were necessary to fill out the verse.'[59] Although I give some credence to this, again the *Supplementum* and Latin *Leviathan* are cautionary tales.

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[54] Bruère uses the texts' relationships to Latin and English sources, the clarity and historical accuracy of the narrative, and metrical evidence.

[55] 'The Garden' and 'Hortus' in Marvell, *Poems,* 152-9, 160-162.

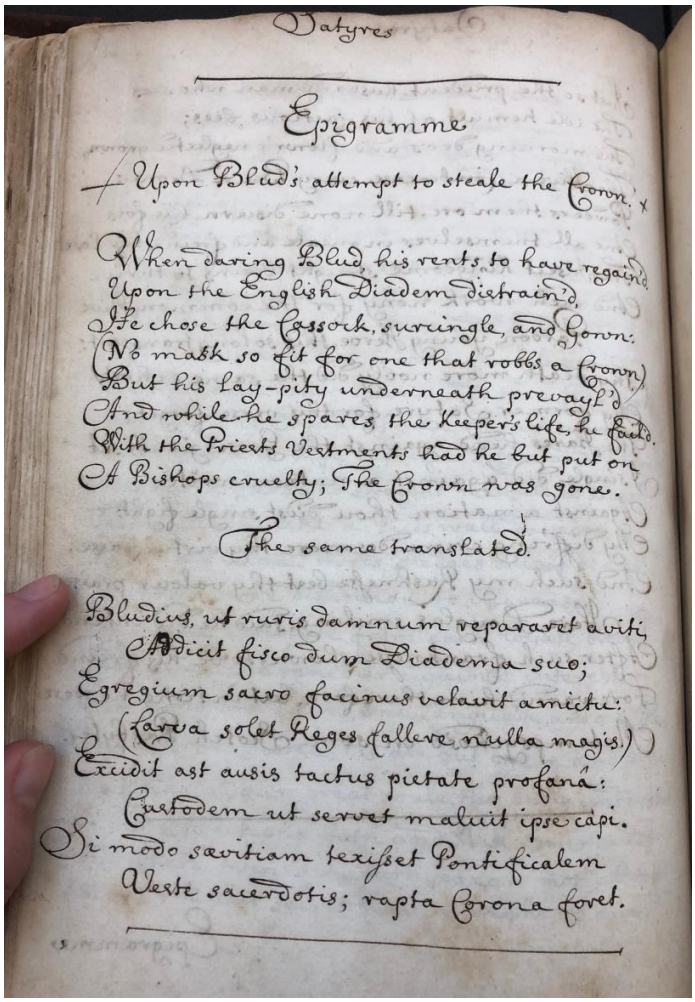
[56] Andrew Marvell, *Miscellaneous Poems* (London, 1681), 52.

[57] H.J.C. Grierson made the latter suggestion, in *Metaphysical Lyrics & Poems of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1921), 239-40. But Victoria Moul concludes that 'there is indeed a, probably substantial, portion of text missing' ('The Date of Marvell's Hortus', *The Seventeenth Century*, 34.3 (2019), 329–351, 340).

[58] For the priority of the English, see Carl E. Bain, 'The Latin Poetry of Andrew Marvell', *Philological Quarterly*, 38 (1959), 436-49; for the Latin, see William A. McQueen, 'The Missing Stanzas in Marvell's *Hortus*', *Philological Quarterly*, 44.2 (1965), 173-9.

[59] Bain, 442.

Although we do not have authorial manuscript sources for Marvell's paired poems, evidence from one manuscript – Bodleian MS Eng.Poet.d.49, the 'most important' manuscript in Marvell scholarship – is potentially illuminating.[60] The authoritative 'Hand A' provides English and Latin versions of the epigram 'Upon Blud's attempt' (Figure 6).[61]


Satyres

Epigramme

Upon Blud's attempt to steale the Crown.

When daring Blud, his rents to have regain'd
Upon the English Diadem distrain'd,
He chose the Cassock, surcingle, and Gown:
No mask so fit for one that robbs a Crown.
But his lay-pity underneath prevayl'd
And while he spares the Keeper's life, he failed.
With the Priests Vestments had he but put on
A Bishops cruelty; The Crown was gone.

The same translated.

Bludius, ut veris damnum repararet aviti,
Addicit fisco dum Diadema suo;
Egregium sacro facinus velavit amictu:
(Larva solet Reges fallere nulla magis.)
Excidit ast ausis tactus pietate profanâ:
Custodem ut servet maluit ipse capi.
Si modo savitiam texisset Pontificalem
Veste sacerdotis; rapta Corona foret.

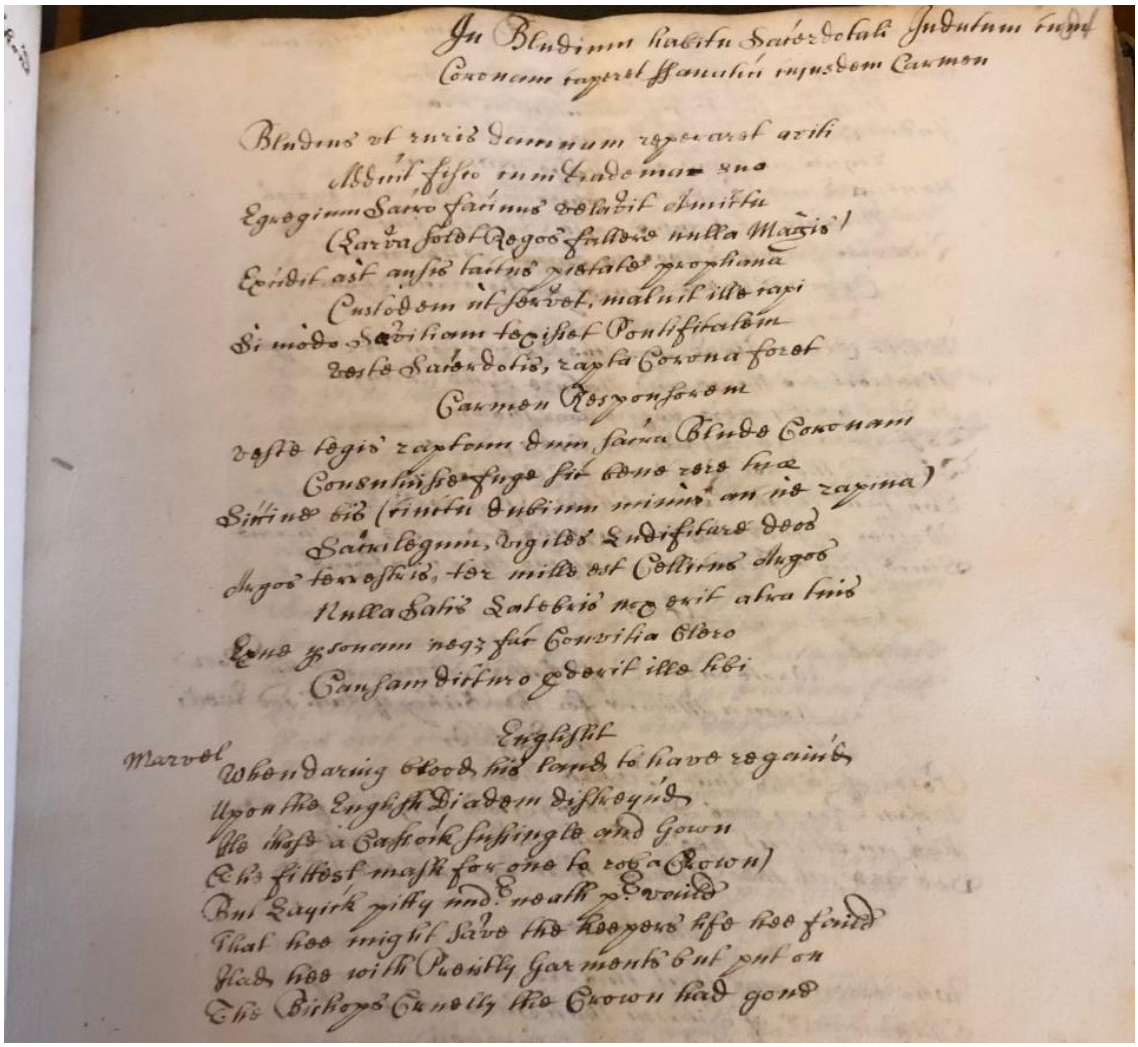
Figure 6.

The English is supplied above the Latin, which is titled 'The same translated' (not 'Bludius et Corona', as elsewhere). This signals to readers that the English is the 'original', possibly on the basis of authorial manuscripts to which 'Hand A' had access. Other evidence complicates this

[60] Diane Purkiss, 'Bodleian Library MS Eng. Poet. d.49', in *Handbook*, ed. Dzelzainis and Holberton, 725-45; 725.

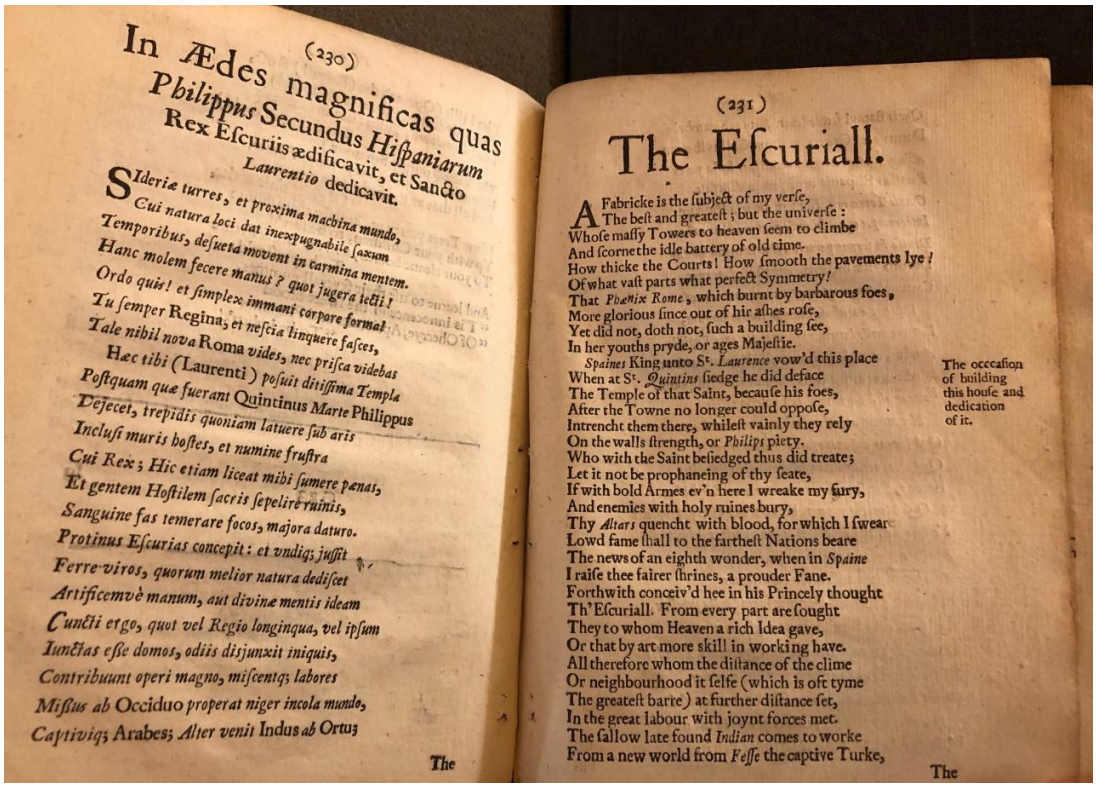
[61] For other MSS that supply both versions, see Smith, in Marvell, *Poems*, 411.

conjecture. 'd.49' is the exception among the witnesses in placing the English before the Latin, although it is the most authoritative. The transcriber of another manuscript writes 'Marvel' against the English version, described as 'Englisht', seeming to think (wrongly) that Marvell has translated a Latin poem that is not his own (Figure 7). The English and Latin texts of this epigram are so similar that either could be a translation of the other.


Figure 7.

Although the manuscript evidence is inconclusive, it suggests that we might attend to the order of the paired poems in the 1681 *Poems* as carrying implications about presumed priority, too. Critics have been surprisingly uninterested in their order as an editorial indicator of an implied sequence of composition, potentially based on authorial manuscript evidence. At the least, the order nudges readers of the 1681 *Poems* into interpreting the poems in that sequence. The placement of the Latin on the verso or recto of parallel-text editions can sometimes comment on

priority; the sense of implied anteriority is even stronger when the poems are printed in sequence rather than in parallel. Cowley's English and Latin versions of the *Davideis* were published simultaneously, but the significance of their order in his 1656 *Poems* – English before Latin – is confirmed by a note referring to 'the Latin translation'.[62] The fact that the editor of Marvell's *Poems* is not consistent in placing the Latin before the English or vice versa for all of the paired poems suggests most strongly that they had a motive (possibly authorial, possibly interpretative) for varying it in each case. The English versions of 'On a Drop of Dew' and 'The Garden' precede the Latin, whereas the Latin 'Epigramma in Duos montes Amosclivum et Bilboreum' precedes the English. Contrast Fanshawe's consistent formatting of his own paired Latin and English poems as parallel-texts with the Latin on the verso (indicating that the Latin came first), and his Latin translations of others' poems as parallel-texts with the Latin on the recto (Figures 8 and 9). Graham Parry writes that Fanshawe's *Il Pastor Fido* is 'designed in a more thoroughgoing way and the contents are more effectively inter-related than in any other contemporary volume of poetry, with the exception of Milton's *Poems* of 1645'.[63] The order of the 1681 *Poems* provides an invitation to take 'Ros' and 'Hortus' as Marvellian 'self-Latinizations' from English originals.



(230)

In Ædes magnificas quas
Philippus Secundus Hiſpaniarum
Rex Eſcuriis ædificavit, et Sancto
Laurentio dedicavit.

Sideriæ turres, et proxima machina mundo,
Cui natura loci dat inexpugnabile ſaxum
Temporibus, deſueta movent in carmina mentem.
Hanc molem fecere manus? quot jugera tecti!
Ordo quis! et ſimplex immani corpore formæ!
Tu ſemper Regina, et neſcia linquere faſces,
Tale nihil nova Roma vides, nec priſca videbas
Hæc tibi (Laurenti) poſuit ditiſſima Templa
Poſtquam quæ fuerant Quintinus Marte Philippus
Dejecit, trepidis quoniam latuere ſub aris
Incluſi muris hoſtes, et numine fruſtra
Cui Rex; Hic etiam liceat mihi ſumere pœnas,
Et gentem Hoſtilem ſacris ſepelire ruinis,
Sanguine fas temerare focos, majora daturo.
Protinus Eſcurias concepit: et undiq; juſſit
Ferre viros, quorum melior natura dediſcet
Artificemvè manum, aut divinæ mentis ideam
Cuncti ergo, quot vel Regio longinqua, vel ipſum
Iunctas eſſe domos, odiis diſjunxit iniquis,
Contribuunt operi magno, miſcentq; labores
Miſſus ab Occiduo properat niger incola mundo,
Captiviq; Arabes; Alter venit Indus ab Ortu;

The

(231)

The Eſcuriall.

A Fabricke is the ſubject of my verſe,
The beſt and greateſt; but the univerſe:
Whoſe maſſy Towers to heaven ſeem to climbe
And ſcorne the idle battery of old time.
How thicke the Courts! How ſmooth the pavements lye!
Of what vaſt parts what perfect Symmetry!
That *Phœnix Rome*, which burnt by barbarous foes,
More glorious ſince out of hir aſhes roſe,
Yet did not, doth not, ſuch a building ſee,
In her youths pryde, or ages Majeſtie.
Spaines King unto S^t. *Laurence* vow'd this place
When at S^t. *Quintins* ſiedge he did deface
The Temple of that Saint, becauſe his foes,
After the Towne no longer could oppoſe,
Intrencht them there, whileſt vainly they rely
On the walls ſtrength, or *Philips* piety.
Who with the Saint beſiedged thus did treate;
Let it not be prophaneing of thy ſeate,
If with bold Armes ev'n here I wreake my fury,
And enemies with holy ruines bury,
Thy *Altars* quencht with blood, for which I ſwear
Lowd fame ſhall to the fartheſt Nations beare
The news of an eighth wonder, when in *Spaine*
I raiſe thee fairer ſhrines, a prouder Fane.
Forthwith conceiv'd hee in his Princely thought
Th'Eſcuriall. From every part are ſought
They to whom Heaven a rich Idea gave,
Or that by art more skill in working have.
All therefore whom the diſtance of the clime
Or neighbourhood it ſelfe (which is oft tyme
The greateſt barre) at further diſtance ſet,
In the great labour with joynt forces met.
The ſallow late found *Indian* comes to worke
From a new world from *Feſſe* the captive Turke,

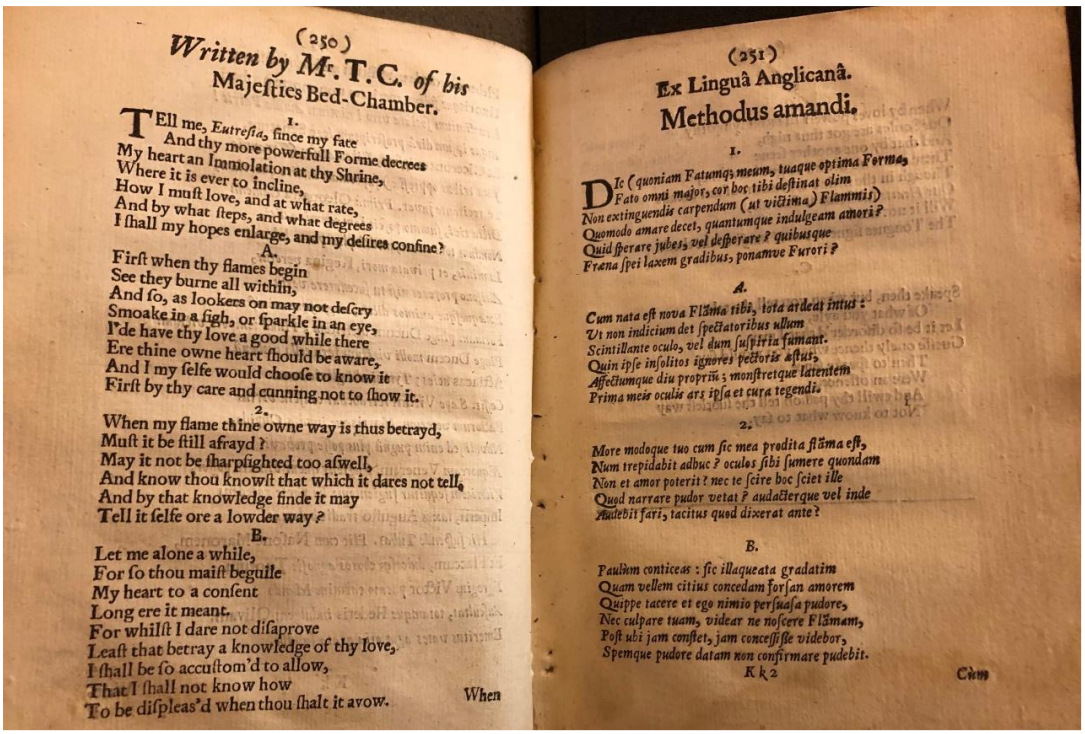
The occaſion of building this houſe and dedication of it.

The

[62] Hardie (n.26) cites this note, 70.

[63] Graham Parry, 'A troubled Arcadia', in *Literature and the English Civil War*, ed. Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (Cambridge, 1990), 38-58; 45-6.

Figure 8.



(250)

Written by Mr. T. C. of his Majesties Bed-Chamber.

1.

TEll me, *Eutrefia*, since my fate
And thy more powerfull Forme decrees
My heart an Immolation at thy Shrine,
Where it is ever to incline,
How I must love, and at what rate,
And by what steps, and what degrees
I shall my hopes enlarge, and my desires confine?

A.

First when thy flames begin
See they burne all within,
And so, as lookers on may not descry
Smoake in a sigh, or sparkle in an eye,
I'de have thy love a good while there
Ere thine owne heart should be aware,
And I my selfe would choose to know it
First by thy care and cunning not to show it.

2.

When my flame thine owne way is thus betrayd,
Must it be still afrayd?
May it not be sharpsighted too aswell,
And know thou knowst that which it dares not tell,
And by that knowledge finde it may
Tell it selfe ore a lowder way?

B.

Let me alone a while,
For so thou maist beguile
My heart to a consent
Long ere it meant.
For whilst I dare not disaprove
Least that betray a knowledge of thy love,
I shall be so accustom'd to allow,
That I shall not know how
To be displeas'd when thou shalt it avow.

When

(251)

Ex Linguâ Anglicanâ.

Methodus amandi.

1.

Dic (quoniam Fatumq; meum, tuaque optima Forma,
Fato omni major, cui hoc tibi destinat olim
Non extinguendis carpendum (ut victima) Flammis)
Quomodo amare decet, quantumque indulgeam amori?
Quid sperare jubes, vel desperare? quibusque
Fræna spei laxem gradibus, ponamve Furori?

A.

Cum nata est nova Flâma tibi, tota ardeat intus:
Ut non indicium det spectatoribus ullum
Scintillante oculo, vel dum suspiria fumant.
Quin ipse insolitos ignores pectoris æstus,
Affectumque diu proprium; monstretque latentem
Prima meis oculis ars ipsa et cura tegendi.

2.

More modoque tuo cum sic mea prodita flâma est,
Num trepidabit adhuc? oculos sibi sumere quondam
Non et amor poterit? nec te scire hoc sciet ille
Quod narrare pudor vetat? audaciorque vel inde
Audebit fari, tacitus quod dixerat ante?

B.

Paulùm conticeas: sic illaqueata gradatim
Quam vellem citius concedam forsan amorem
Quippe tacere et ego nimio persuasa pudore,
Nec culpare tuam, videar ne noscere Flâmam,
Post ubi jam constet, jam concessisse videbor,
Spemque pudore datam non confirmare pudebit.

Kk2

Cùm

Figure 9.

Some of the most sensitive critics of single-author paired English and Latin poems, such as Garcia on Fanshawe and Hinds on Marvell, think that the direction of translation is a red herring; instead, they view such poems as a 'continuum' (Garcia) or 'diptych composition' (Hinds).[64] Garcia argues that 'the ontological relationship between source and translation no longer exists' for self-translations, since neither version is 'more authoritative than the other'.[65] But self-translation does not call for total abandonment of the idea of original and translation, however dynamic the exchange between the two versions. Garcia mistakes the question of priority as being about authority, rather than temporality. For Jan Hokenson and Marcella Munson, '[t]he bilingual text thrives on the horizontal', in this case 'the level zone of two way interactions among Latin and vernacular cultures', contrasting the top-down, *translatio studii* model of (Latin to English) 'vertical

[64] Garcia, passim; Hinds, 'In and Out'. See also Hardie, 70.

[65] Garcia, 478.

translation'.[66] Yet May's texts thrive on the horizontal in terms of authority (*pace* Bruère, who grants authority to 'the poet's *ultima manus*'),[67] but not in terms of temporality, in which they are characterized by a *reversed* verticality. The direction of translation is clearly meaningful for self-translators such as May and Hobbes, who offer Latin translations separately to, and later than, English originals, although neither version is 'more authoritative'. I have discussed the complex temporality of Latin translations, which is diminished if they are always taken as essentially prior or even simultaneous. Temporality is central to Hinds's idea of the 'diptych': he writes that Marvell's poems are 'arguably meant to be read as in some sense simultaneous pairs'.[68] Hinds seems to place the focus on the reader, rather than the poems' composition (contrary to the phrase 'diptych composition'): the poems' shared space and time in the 1681 *Poems* calls for simultaneous, interactive interpretation and is evocative (for the reader) of what we might call 'truly bilingual' (non-translative or bidirectionally translative), even truly simultaneous composition. However, Hinds then suppresses the importance of temporality (of the reader or composition) by treating the Latin translations of *Paradise Lost* as forming comparable 'virtual diptych[s]' with their original.[69] And Marvell's poems are not quite simultaneous for the 1681 reader, as I have argued, because they are printed in sequence.

I offer a reading of 'Ros' and 'Hortus' as Latinizations, taking my cue from the 1681 *Poems* while holding on to a sense of simultaneity and bidirectionality, in part to counterbalance approaches such as Estelle Haan's. Haan conjectures that Marvell 'discipline[d] his own English poetic style by first composing a Latin poem, which he then reworked … into a vernacular companion piece', 'produc[ing] his own Latin "originals", as it were, which could then function as a pseudo-classical model for his English poetry'.[70] She speculates that 'there may have existed at some point in time Latin equivalents of his other English poems', such as 'An Horatian Ode' or 'To His Coy Mistress', which his editor may have chosen to exclude.[71] Haan aims to promote the importance of Marvell's Latin poetry by framing it as the origin of his poetic thought. My approach, on the other hand, eschews ideas of relative authority. In so doing, I offer an alternative to the idea of Latinity as always occupying the position of pseudo-classical, formative, disciplinary

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[66] Jan Hokenson and Marcella Munson, *The Bilingual Text: History and Theory of Literary Self-Translation* (Abingdon, 2014), 7.

[67] Bruère, 146.

[68] Hinds, 'In and Out', 56.

[69] Ibid., 21-7.

[70] Estelle Haan, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry: From Text to Context* (Bruxelles, 2003), 16.

[71] Ibid.

original. Abandoning this assumption allows us to better appreciate how the two languages and literatures interact. As I will show, the content and literary effects of Marvell's Latin poems (in relation to the rest of his oeuvre) further justify my reading of them as 'self-Latinizations'.

Theories of self-translation claim that self-translators across literary history have more 'poetic license to rewrite "their" originals' than other translators.[72] In early modernity, it was not only self-translators who rewrote their originals and were praised for doing so.[73] In fact, Hardie observes that '[a]s self-translator Cowley does not practice the "libertinism" that he advocates [for] translating from Greek and Hebrew', probably because 'there is of course no "great difference between his age and ours", such as might prompt translational libertinism'.[74] Yet May's and Marvell's English and Latin poems are very different – Marvell's, in particular, are much 'less identical' as pairs than Cowley's English and Latin *Davideis* (insofar as any identity is possible across languages). How do we account for the extent of this difference? In May's case, the time elapsed between the English and Latin, and changes to May's political identity across this period, lead to the assumption that there is a stark difference of intention between them; that May took the opportunity of translation to register difference from his prior self. Latin is considered a sufficiently flexible medium to make that to-the-minute political difference evident to the reader. In Marvell's case, contrastingly, the poems' apparent or near-simultaneity means that identity of intention is assumed, so changes are ascribed to the capacities of the two languages – lexical, conceptual, allusive. Each version seems to be shaped by 'linguistic determinism' to a large extent (as Daniel Jaeckle puts it, 'each language has its characteristic way of developing a theme'),[75] and Latinity is considered particularly limiting, 'bind[ing] [the poet] to a chronotope from the past'.[76] A comparison of May and Marvell brings nuance to each view, allowing us to see the capacities of Latinity at work in some of May's changes, and (particularly) to see Marvell as making creative changes freely in a language that does not bind him to a classical mode.

Other differences remain to be discussed. Genre, for example, makes questions of priority and authenticity more pressing in the case of Marvell's lyrics than May's historical epic

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[72] Rainier Grutman and Trish Van Bolderen, 'Self-Translation', in *A Companion to Translation Studies*, ed. Sandra Bermann and Catherine Porter (Somerset, 2014), 323-332; 324.

[73] See John Denham's 'To Richard Fanshawe' in Fanshawe, *Il Pastor Fido*, 1st edn (London, 1647), ar-v.

[74] Hardie (n.26), 76.

[75] Daniel Jaeckle, 'Bilingual Dialogues: Marvell's Paired Latin and English Poems', *Studies in Philology*, 98.3 (2001), 378–400; 388.

[76] Ibid., 398.

continuation. While Marvell is primarily imitating *himself* in translation (although other authors are involved), May is also – perhaps more prominently – imitating Lucan. I will now consider the effects of 'Roman-cast similitude' created by these different kinds and objects of imitation.

Horatian Thought, Lucanian Shade

One word in Marvell's 'Horatian Ode' is often seen as piercing open an entrance to a parallel world in which a Latin translation of the whole poem exists. The line '[He] with his keener Eye / The Axe's edge did try' uses 'Axe' to invoke the Latin *acies*, meaning both line of sight and cutting edge:

> Colingual signalling thus redoubles the heroically 'keener eye'. To appreciate the bilingual text, however, now envision this one line amplified into an entire second version in Latin, a hypothetical translation by Marvell himself and entitled something like 'Oda Horationis'. That once tiny liminal space between two words becomes a vast and crucial one … like the single word 'axe', but with immense semantical magnitude, the bilingual poem assumes two separate but equal modes of existence.[77]

There is something quite like an 'Oda Horationis' in Marvell's corpus: not an 'Oda' but a 'Parodia', the 'Ad Regem Carolum Parodia',[78] written when Marvell was fifteen at Cambridge, anticipating the birth of Charles I's fifth child. The 'Roman-cast' Horatian similitude of this youthful production is extremely close. The poem that the 'Parodia' redoubles is not virtual but all too real – *Odes* 1.2 – and its relationship to that poem is one of '*cento-like* congruence of imitation to model'. It is, in Hinds's words, a 'shadow-poem'.[79] Only in one stanza does it take its imitation to another level, 'culminating in a cameo of allusive self-annotation' which looks forward to the kind of transformations on which 'Ros' thrives:

> Horace:
>
> sive mutata iuvenum figura
> ales in terries imitaris almae
> filius Maiae, patiens vocari
> Caesaris ultor… (41-4)
>
> (Or you, o winged son of kindly Maia [Mercury], if you take on the shape of a young man on earth and are willing to be called Caesar's avenger…)
>
> Marvell:
>
> sive felici Carolum figura
> parvulus princeps imitetur, almae

[77] Hokenson and Munson, 9.

[78] Marvell, *Poems*, 8.

[79] Hinds, 'In and Out', 59.

sive Mariae decoret puellam
dulcis imago…

(Whether in his felicitous features a little prince imitates Charles or whether the sweet image of nurturing Maria graces a daughter…)

Mercury's imitation of Augustus becomes the future prince(ss)'s imitation of Charles or Henrietta Maria, via a self-reflexive *mutata figura*, invoking the Senecan injunction to resemble one's original as a child resembles its father.[80] A world of difference opens up in this similitude – an isolated occurrence in the 'Parodia'.

The shadowy life of this exercise in Horatian similitude resembles the imitative life that May assigns to his *Supplementum* in a short poem to the reader:

Desine mirari, Lector, si carmina forsan
Ista videbuntur frigidiora tibi.
Impetus ingenii felix, ardensque recessit;
Haec tibi defuncti debilis umbra canit. (*3v)

(Do not wonder, reader, if these verses perhaps seem colder to you. Ingenuity comes in a lucky onset [*impetus*] and, blazing, it recedes; a frail shadow of a dead man sings this for you.)

These lines, original to the *Supplementum*, offer a discouraging view of what is to come. May announces that he, the author, is this weak shadow of Lucan; no reference is made to the fact that he is translating his own work. This makes the *Supplementum* sound similar to an exercise in Lucanian imitation by Julius Caesar Scaliger which Farnaby disparages in his edition. In a 43-line 'semi-cento', Scaliger tries to improve Lucan's story of Antaeus (4.583-660) by 'reducing it to that temperament that would be desirable in this man's *impetus* and license', cutting down certain elements 'like raw matter/unnecessary lumber' and adding his own phrases 'in [Lucan's] style'.[81] As Farnaby comments, 'I do not see what you achieve by this – unless to make [the poem] worse'.[82] Both Scaliger and May use the word *impetus* for a Lucanian quality that their own poems lack (Scaliger sees this as an improvement). Scaliger's semi-cento resembles Marvell's 'Parodia' in that they are both 'poem[s] not so much *in the style of* Lucan and Horace ('suo stilo', as Scaliger says) 'as *in the words of* Lucan and Horace: 'a translation from Latin into Latin'.[83] Scaliger's poem – and

[80] See Colin Burrow, *Imitating Authors: Plato to Futurity* (Oxford, 2019), 72.

[81] Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem*, 5th edn (Heidelberg, 1617), 782-4. 'quasi semi-centonem'; 'reducere ad illud temperamentum, quod in huius viri impetus atque licentia desideratur'; 'quasi Syluam'; 'suo stilo'.

[82] 'non video ego quid profeceris, nisi … in deterius' (*Pharsalia*, ed. Farnaby, A4r).

[83] Hinds, 'In and Out', 58.

May's, in terms of setting and content – lacks the element of adaptation to a contemporary scenario that gives Marvell's its redeeming self-reflexive moment.

Comparing the 'Parodia', May's poem to the reader, and Scaliger's cento to Marvell's 'Horatian Ode' gives the impression that intra-lingual imitation has a limited capacity to break out of shadowy similitude. The relationship of 'Axe's edge' to *acies* is not one of shadowing, but of an axe's edge cutting the meaning of the word in two ('thorough his own side / His fiery way divide[s]'), or a flash of 'fork'd lightning … Breaking the clouds', piercing through the 'vita umbratilis' that the poem denounces.[84] In its reminiscence of that Lucanian simile, the translingual 'Axe's edge' – which is at the midpoint of the poem, sixty lines or one 'memorable hour' in, so that Marvell 'makes his own line decapitate the king'[85] – offers the *impetus ardens* that May's lines apparently lack. The way in which this small translingual effect of the axe in the 'Horatian Ode' resembles and *performs the work of* a simile provides a way of reading the relationships between 'On a Drop of Dew' and 'Ros', 'The Garden' and 'Hortus'. 'The Garden' is also a very Horatian poem, which has the potential to be reduced to a Horatian thought in a Horatian shade in Latin translation. Is its Latin version, then, a 'shadow-poem', or does it resemble the one-word miniature 'Oda Horationis' of the 'Axe's edge'? Each version, we will see, acts as a 'self-reflexive simile'[86] or *mutata figura* for the other, which means that similes *within* the poems are particularly loaded or self-reflexive translative moments; this pressure on similes is also a feature of the *Supplementum*.

In 'Hortus', Marvell does not translate the famous lines 'Annihilating all that's made / To a green thought in a green shade' literally – they are among the 'missing' stanzas – but the 'green shade' seems to appear, transformed, earlier in the poem, in the lines 'Sed vos hortorum per opaca silentia longe / Celarant plantae *virides, et concolor umbra*' ('But in the shaded silences of gardens, far off, the *green* plants and their *like-coloured shadow* hide you [*Quies* and *Simplicitas*]'). The Latin removes rather than opens up the 'simile effect' that the English 'thought' introduces, keeping us in the literal realm of the garden. There is something reductive or pragmatic about 'concolor' compared to the repetition of 'green': in the Latin, it seems banal that green leaves should cast shadows of

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[84] On the 'Roman colour[ed]' 'vita umbratilis' in the 'Horatian Ode', see A.J.N. Wilson, '*An Horatian Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland:* The Thread of the Poem and its Use of Classical Allusion', *Critical Quarterly*, 11.4 (1969), 325-42; 328ff.

[85] Alastair Fowler, paraphrased by David Norbrook in 'Marvell's "Horatian Ode" and the Politics of Genre', in *Literature and the English Civil War*, ed. Healy and Sawday, 147–69; 162.

[86] Christopher Ricks, 'Its own Resemblance' in *Approaches to Marvell: The York Tercentenary Lectures*, ed. C.A. Patrides (London, 1978), 108-20.

the same colour, whereas 'a green thought in a green shade' is mysterious and defamiliarizing. John Potter, who views 'Hortus' as 'an Epicurean poem in the Horatian mode', reads this 'concolor umbra' as Horatian shade, comparing *Odes* 1.1 and 'the *umbra* of Cromwell's picture mentioned in the epigram "In effigiem"':[87]

> 'In Effigiem Oliveri Cromwell'
>
> Haec est quae toties Inimicos Umbra fugavit,
> At sub qua Cives Otia lenta terunt.
>
> (This is an image [*umbra*] which put enemies to flight, but under which citizens enjoy quiet leisure.)

This Cromwell fosters a *vita umbratilis* instead of piercing through it. This idea of *umbra* in Horace and 'In Effigiem' alludes so clearly to the *Eclogues* that it is hard to call it Horatian. Yet other correspondences between 'Hortus' and *Odes* 1, other Horatian moments in the poem, and the fact that this *umbra* spans 'Hortus', 'In Effigiem' and the 'Horatian Ode' suggest that it is, for Marvell, Horatian. Is Marvell then, in effect, prioritising an Horatian idea over his own English in 'Hortus', to create mere shadows, just as May claims to be a mere shadow of Lucan rather than a self-translator?

This is not a true account of 'Ros', 'Hortus', or the *Supplementum*. For one thing, neither poet sticks to his own classical model. May is just as capable of 'Horatianizing' in the *Supplementum* as Marvell in 'Hortus'. In the sixth book of the *Continuation*, when war resumes in Spain in the build up to the battle of Munda, May includes the following simile:

> To impious warre through stormes as rough they goe
> As would the greediest venturing Merchant doe
> For Parma's wealthy fleeces, Spaines rich ore,
> Or brightest gemmes from th'Erythraean shore.[88]

In the *Supplementum*, the simile is translated as follows:

> …tantisque ruebat
> Militis impietas ad praelia dira procellis,
> Quantis Mercator, quamvis avidissimus, undas
> Aequoreas tentare *neget*; *nec* vellera Parmae,
> Indum ebur, aut rubro pretiosas aequore conchas
> Auderet tali ratibus conquirere caelo. (55-6)

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[87] John M. Potter, 'Another Porker in the Garden of Epicurus: Marvell's "Hortus" and "The Garden"', *SEL, 1500-1900*, 11.1 (1971), 137-51.

[88] Thomas May, *A Continuation of Lucan's Historicall Poem* (London, 1630), 104. I follow Bruère's system of numbering the pages. Further references in parentheses.

> (The soldier's impiety was rushing to dire battle in storms so great that even the greediest merchant would *not* try the ocean waves; *not* to gain fleeces of Parma, Indian ivory, or precious conches with blushing surfaces would he dare to seek such a sky with his boat.) (emphases mine)

As Bruère notes, while translating 'the notion of the greedy merchant recalled Horace to [May's] mind, and … he recast his verses' by interpolating more Horatian language, such as 'Indum ebur' from *Odes* 1.31 for 'Spaines rich ore'.[89] Where the English simile was extracted from Horatian ore, the raw materials are reincorporated in the Latin. But Bruère does not comment on the biggest change May makes to this simile. Whereas in English the sea was *as* rough *as* the sea a venturing merchant would cross, in Latin the seas are so rough that the greediest merchant would *not* attempt them. May's simile outdoes itself *and* Horace in translation, introducing a new element of dissimilarity to the idea of the reckless Horatian merchant, while making the similarity more visible through verbal echoes. Soon after, another Horatian moment is translated in a surprising way. In the *Continuation*, May writes that the Senate 'most of all desire a calme, since most / The highest cedars by rough stormes are tost'; in the *Supplementum*, this image is substituted by another from the same Horatian stanza (*Odes* 2.10.9-12): 'fulgura summos / Ut feriunt montes'.[90] Cross-pollination with the Lucanian image of lightning used by Marvell implies that Caesar is the storm that has stricken the Senate.

These small examples show that May does not merely imitate or exhaust one classical model in the *Supplementum*. In these moments, the mingling of Lucanian and Horatian material is comparable to the 'Horatian Ode'. Nor does Marvell imitate only Horace in 'Hortus' (and certainly not in 'Ros'), but also, more extensively, Ovid, among others. Three manuscript Latinizations of Ben Jonson's ode on the failure of *The New Inn* in 1629, discussed by Victoria Moul, display a more pervasive Horatianism: 'all three make some attempt … to augment the association between Jonson and Horace'. Yet even in those poems, the intervention of the vernacular tradition means that they are 'more *than* Horatian'.[91] A vernacular poem – the *Continuation* – also intervenes between Lucan and the *Supplementum*, although May suppresses that intervention in his poem to the reader. May and Marvell do not adhere to a 'chronotope' in their use of sources, but rather incorporate unclassical material from their own English originals and elsewhere.

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[89] *ebur Indicum*, 1.31.6. Also cf. ll. 11, 13-4; *Odes* 1.16.71; *mercator ad Indos*, *Epistles* 1.1.45f. (Bruère, 16).

[90] 'As lightning strikes the mountain tops'.

[91] Victoria Moul, 'Translating Jonson', in *Jonson, Horace and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, 2010), 202-6; 205.

In 'Tom May's Death', Jonson calls May 'Polydore, Lucan, Alan, Vandal, Goth / Malignant poet and historian both'. This list starts with two authors whose histories (the *Historia Anglica* and the *Pharsalia*) could be viewed as both mercenary and malignant, in that they flatter but subtly attack their patrons (Henry VII and Nero); the latter three are more straightforwardly traitors and barbarians. One of the offenses for which Polydore Vergil was remembered was burning his manuscript sources after incorporating them into his history, to make his own work supersede them.[92] Marvell's actual engagement with May's works in 'Tom May's Death' is arguably not extensive, but its criticisms are generally more pertinent to his translation and continuations of Lucan than to his *History of Parliament*.[93] The multivalent insult of being a 'Polydore' could be levelled at May's dissimulative treatment of his sources in the *Supplementum*.[94]

Each book of the *Continuation* apart from the seventh is followed by 'Annotations' where May cites his sources for points of the historical narrative. May also annotated his *Pharsalia*, although those notes tended to supply additional historical detail without citing particular sources. The *Continuation* cites Cassius Dio, Hortius (to whom May attributes the *Bellum Alexandrinum* and *Bellum Africanum*, continuations of Caesar's civil war commentaries), Strabo, Plutarch, Appian, Josephus, Florus, and others. It seems May did not think it necessary to provide citations for the familiar events leading to the death of Caesar in book 7. The *Continuation*'s highly visible relationship to the classical continuations of Caesar's civil war commentaries is analogous to that of Lucan's poem to Caesar's own *Bellum Civile*. That source-text relationship (Lucan-Caesar) was visually realised in a passage added by May to the end of his 1627 translation. Lucan's poem ends abruptly with Caesar cornered, so May supplied a brief conclusion describing Caesar's escape by jumping into the sea. He manages to preserve what seems to be the manuscript of his *Bellum Civile*:

> *…his left hand on high*
> *Raised, holds up his papers, and preserves*
> *The fame of his past deedes, his right hand serves*

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92 Vergil 'burned and embezeled the best and most ancient Records' (Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622), 51).

93 Gerard Reedy makes the valid point that 'Marvell himself was six years old at the time of May's translation and nine when the continuation was published' ("'An Horatian Ode" and "Tom May's Death'", *SEL 1500-1900*, 20.1 (1980), 137–51; 141-2). Marvell was, however, twenty-five when the *Supplementum* was published in London, four years before 'Tom May's Death'.

94 See G.W. Pigman, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33.1 (1980), 1-32, on dissimulative imitation.

To cut the waves…[95]

In contrast, there are no annotations in the *Supplementum*, and it is difficult to find traces of the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, *Bellum Africum*, or other sources cited in the *Continuation*. Bruère gives many examples of the elimination of military or geographical particulars taken from Dio, Strabo and 'Hirtius', or dissimulative changes to their order.[96] Paleit thinks annotations were simply unnecessary for the *Supplementum*'s audience: 'presumably Latin readers were supposed to know the background.'[97] Cowley's Latin *Davideis* also lacks the annotations of the English version, in part because many of the sources on which the English is based become more visible in the Latin, as Hardie shows (Cowley did not cite any English sources) – but the Latin is printed with the English, so the annotations are still accessible.[98] A Latin poem by nature possesses the visual classical authority and air of authentication that the annotations provide May's *Pharsalia* and *Continuation*.

Given that historical and narrative sources *not* cited by May in the *Continuation* also become less legible in the *Supplementum*, there is more to the changes than this. For instance, May cuts a digression on the 'large faculties' of elephants, which draws on Scipio's use of elephants in *Bellum Africum* 27 and Pliny's *Natural History* 8.1-13 (*C* 47-9). Bruère thinks this and other removals of fantastic detail show 'good judgement',[99] but it is disappointing not to find the account of the elephants' faculties of soul, sense and language and their worship of the moon in Latin. In the *Continuation*, the digression contains parenthetical gestures to unnamed sources: 'If ancient authors haue observed well', 'as some relate', 'If you beleeue it'. May's deleted lines on the elephants' faculties provide clues about his rationale for these changes:

> …they can discerne and vnderstand
> The language spoken in their natiue land;
> And might discourse, if to so strange a wit
> Nature had pleas'd to lend them organs fit:
> Not speake as Crowes and Parrats oft haue done
> By imitation of a sound alone. (47-8)

Composing the *Continuation* in the 'language spoken in [his] natiue land', English, means May cannot 'Parrat' his sources or imitate 'sound alone' but must transform them into new

[95] *Lucan's Pharsalia*, trans. Thomas May (London, 1627), T7v. Henceforth 'May's *Pharsalia*'.

[96] Bruère, 149, 158, passim.

[97] Paleit, *War*, 288.

[98] Hardie (n.26), passim.

[99] Paleit, *War*, 153.

'discourse'.[100] It is difficult to detect particular echoes of the historical Latin sources in the English – only narrative detail. However, as Bruère notes, 'in writing the Latin *S* the temptation freely to take over' the sources' language 'must have been great.'[101] The elephant passage's commentary on language, imitation and sources is daunting to translate (rather than its fantastical content), because it would be so self-conscious for May. May does not want to verbally echo the 'sound' of historical sources, nor does he want readers to think that he is simply paraphrasing to avoid doing so (the removal of the annotations helps to lessen the impression of paraphrase).

The 'temptation freely to take over' sources' language is especially attractive when, in the unique case of Silius, the 'historical' source is in verse. Silius's *Punica* is never cited by May in the English annotations: it is a history, but poetic (like Lucan); a source of narrative content, but generally of digressive narrative content unworthy of annotation. May consistently excises Silian quasi-historical plot-points, even to the detriment of a 'republican' poetic agenda. For example, in the story of the attack of the serpent of Bagradas on Regulus's army in Africa in the First Punic War told to Caesar while he is sightseeing near Utica after Cato's death (*C* 79-83), the role of Regulus (a model for Cato) is reduced as a consequence of May's elimination of Silian detail.[102] May makes an implied distinction in the *Supplementum* between works which are *sources* and works to which one alludes. The former are histories which provide narrative content; May cites these in the English but makes them less prominent in the Latin. The latter are poetic works which are never cited in the English, and which May does verbally echo in the Latin, often where there were no detectable allusions in the English. So, May does introduce the 'sound' of Virgil and Ovid into the serpent of Bagradas episode: 'Umbrosae fessi petierunt tegmina sylvae' (the familiar echo of *Eclogue* 1); 'Saepe illic Tigris spumantes oblita rictus' echoes the lioness of Ovid's Pyramus and Thisbe; 'Serpens caput extulit antro / Horrendus, totamque implerunt sibila sylvam' echoes Ovid's Cadmus and the dragon.[103] Silius belongs fully to neither category. May's Latin introduces some small verbal echoes: 'obscoena conduntur in alvo'; 'consederat arvis',[104] which seem like carefully rationed allusions, showing that May *did* return to Silius while translating, making his decision to

[100] On parrots, see Burrow, *Imitating*, 37-8.

[101] Bruère, 158.

[102] Ibid., 157.

[103] Eclogue 1.1-6; *Metamorphoses* 4.96-8 and 3.37-8. See Birger Backhaus, *Das Supplementum Lucani von Thomas May: Einleitung, Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Trier, 2005), 410.

[104] Cf. Silius, *Punica* 6.199, *obscaena condidit alvo*, and 6.145, *consedimus arvis*.

remove narrative detail and plot-points all the more deliberate. Silius is transformed into an object of allusion, not a source.

May cites Lucan himself on occasion in his English annotations, for example to supply Petreius's back-story from the *Pharsalia* in the *Continuation* (40). But Lucan can hardly act as a source for much of May's narrative, or there would be no need for a *Continuation*. May echoes the 'sound' of Lucan in the *Supplementum*, as he does Horace, Virgil, and Ovid. Often, where other sources become less legible, May 'replaces' them with Lucanian language. Sometimes this reveals Lucanian passages that underlay the composition of the *Continuation*. A near-quotation, 'Dum fortuna calet, dumque omnia plena timore',[105] sets the scene for Caesar's speech urging his troops to fight the Egyptians in May's first book, just as it did for Lucan's Caesar urging his troops to fight the Pompeians at Pharsalus. May heightens the correspondence by making indirect speech direct and having Caesar echo his Lucanian self (with quotation and paraphrase). This parallel was present to a lesser extent in the *Continuation*, where the lines 'Nor need the Souldiers be encouraged / To seeke their wages' translated Lucan.[106] Wherever these echoes of Lucan occur, May is not imitating sound alone. Since Lucan is not a narrative source for events which his epic did not cover, these avoid the risk of seeming like 'lazy' verbal traces, as quotation of Silius might. Every echo implies a discursive parallel with a Lucanian moment which goes beyond this kind of 'imitation', as Caesar's use of the word in the short continuation to May's 1627 translation suggests:

> *…if like him I dy,*
> *I doe not imitate, but* Caesars *feate*
> *Rather confirmes that* Scaeuas *act was great.*[107]

May's strategy for translating sources in the *Supplementum* implies a view of Lucan as a poet (as opposed to a mere historian) who took liberties with sources to make his narrative more effective and original and to respond to other poets. May's imitative practice confirms that Lucan's imitations were great. A desire to emulate Lucan more deeply in the *Supplementum* may underlie many of the changes May makes in translating sources, as much as the challenge of translating those sources into 'The language spoken in their [own] natiue land'.

While May makes his imitations of classical texts more and less prominent at different moments in translation, Marvell seems consistently to expand his poems' Ovidianism in Latin. For Jaeckle, the expansion of the fourth, most Ovidian stanza of 'The Garden' into seventeen lines of

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[105] 'While the iron was hot, and while everything was full of fear.' Cf. *BC* 7.734. Bruère, 150.

[106] Caesar's speech, *BC* 737-46; 736-7, *non magno hortamine miles / in praedam ducendus erat*. Bruère, 150.

[107] May's *Pharsalia*, T7r.

Latin (followed by 'Desunt multa' – has Ovidianism run away with the poet?) descends into a 'literary game of what might be called a refutation of Ovid from the perspective of a retired and witty Horace'.[108] Even for Hinds, this moment in 'Hortus' reflects well on 'The Garden': 'Hortus' 'allow[s] the details of [Marvell's] Ovidianism to be seen at closer quarters, in a treatment alongside which the *Garden* seems simultaneously invested in patterns of similarity and in patterns of difference'.[109]

> When we have run our passions' heat,
> Love hither makes his best retreat.
>
> hic Amor exutis crepidatus inambulat alis,
> enerves arcus et stridula tela reponens,
> invertitque faces, nec se cupit usque timeri;
> aut exporrectus iacet indormitque pharetrae,
> non auditurus quamquam Cytherea vocarit,
> nequitias referunt nec somnia vana priores.
>
> (Here Love, his wings cast aside, walks about in sandals, laying aside his slack bows and whistling arrows, and extinguishes his torches, no longer does he wish to be feared; or he lies stretched out and sleeps on his quiver; nor will he hear, although Cytherea call; nor do idle dreams report previous iniquities.)

Marvell certainly does establish difference from Ovid in 'Hortus': like the English, the lines describe the anti-Ovidian nature of the garden, where erotic desire is replaced with arboreal desire. But he describes the Ovidian things that are *not* done in the garden at much greater length and in much more Ovidian language, requiring seven negatives to deny his profusion of Ovidianism, where in 'The Garden' there are none. The *recusatio* trope that these lines perform is so reminiscent of Ovid's *recusationes* of epic, although reversed – *Amor* is retiring, rather than barging in – that 'Ovid becomes … the force which unovids Ovid'.[110] As Hinds notes, the phrase 'nequitias … priores' 'footnotes the literary historical point of origin of those "profligacies"'.[111] '[I]nvertitque faces' is echoed in the phrase 'Evertit calices',[112] a similar moment in 'Ros' when the drop of dew rejects Roman luxuries – invoked only to be rejected – in favour of the feasts of heaven.

Moments when Marvell is not expanding seem to be the most successful. 'Formosae pressit Daphnes vestigia Phaebus / Ut fieret Laurus' is an effective version of 'Apollo hunted Daphne so / Only that she might laurel grow'. The grammatical ambiguity of the subject of 'Ut fieret Laurus'

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[108] Jaeckle, 398.

[109] Hinds, 'In and Out', 63.

[110] See *Amores* 1.1; Colin Burrow on *Paradise Lost,* in *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton* (Oxford, 1993), 280.

[111] Hinds, 'In and Out', 69.

[112] 'It overturns the drinking cups'.

(Daphne or Apollo) which is not possible in the English heightens the suggestion that Apollo pursues Daphne in order to *become* (symbolised by) the laurel himself – to become the artist. 'Ut' heightens the tension between the purpose and result of the chase; 'vestigia' reflects on the kind of interpretative imitation at play. These lines show the possibilities of an approach to classical sources that uses their own words to convert their narratives into metaphorical or allegorical vehicles for natural, metaphysical or religious desire, playing against the English version to show that all classical 'Plantae virides' can be 'green thoughts'. But often 'Hortus' falls short of these possibilities. Marvell adds 'sed nil quaesiverat ultra' to end the line,[113] which detracts from its effects, and the profusion of other mythological examples added in 'Hortus' dilutes the symbolism of the laurel and the reed.

But there are not only classical sources and allusions in 'Hortus'. The following view from Jaeckle is fundamentally flawed:

> Because Latin literature has influenced English literature, [Marvell] seems to think, Roman elements can be brought into English poems to struggle for a continuing existence as best they may. But English literature and thought obviously did not influence Roman literature, and so he hesitates to include them in his Latin poems anachronistically.[114]

This thesis shows that the relationship between Latin and English is not 'unidirectional' (the way that Jaeckle switches between 'Roman' and 'Latin' at the convenience of his argument is telling), and 'Hortus' is a case in point. Smith identifies the lines 'I sought you then / In busy companies of men' from 'The Garden' as 'a reworking of George Herbert seeking after God' in *Redemption*:

> I straight return'd, and knowing his great birth,
> Sought him accordingly in great resorts;
> In cities, theatres, gardens, parks, and courts.[115]

Marvell's 'reworking' of Herbert is as evident, if not more so, in the Latin: 'Vos ergo diu per templa, per urbes, / Quaesivi, regum perque palatia frustra.'[116] Herbert's list is imitated, although the tell-tale echo of 'sought' is not possible ('Quaesivi' is the closest possible translation). The innocence of this speaker searching 'per urbes' projects Tityrus (who seeks his *deus* in the *urbem*) onto Herbert's search for his God,[117] epitomising multidirectional absorption. Haan makes a similar

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[113] 'But [Apollo] had sought nothing more'.

[114] Jaeckle, 400.

[115] Smith, in Marvell, *Poems*, 155.

[116] 'I sought you for a long time in vain in temples, in cities, and even in the lofty palaces of kings.'

[117] Eclogue 1.

argument about the influence of Henry Hawkins's 1633 *Partheneia Sacra* on 'Ros': 'in several instances the more striking parallels would seem to be those between Marvell's Latin poem and Hawkins's [English] work'.[118]

Similarly, at least once, May introduces a new vernacular influence into his poem while Latinizing it. At the end of a long description of Cleopatra's beauty, the Latin reads:

> …labra Rubinus
> Non rosea aequaret, nisi primo victa fuisset,
> Et pudor augeret quem dat Natura ruborem. (12)
>
> (a ruby would not equal her red lips, unless it had been defeated first, and its shame increased the redness that Nature gave it)

These lines take the 'blushing Rubies' of May's English – 'blushing Rubies seem'd to lose their die / When her more ruby lips were mouing by' – and invert the simile, saying not that the rubies *pale* in comparison with Cleopatra's lips, but that they could only equal them if they were to *blush* with shame for being found inferior (recalling the Horatian merchant simile). Bruère brilliantly points out the similarity of the Latin to a conceit in Shakespeare's *Lucrece*:

> …The colour in thy face
> That even for anger makes the lily pale
> And the red rose blush at her own disgrace (*Lucrece* 477-9)[119]

This passage takes inspiration from Lucan's portrayal of Cleopatra, but also constitutes May's Shakespearean 'The barge she sat in…' moment. May does not translate the four lines that follow this image in the English, making this the climax of the description in the Latin. That these words of Tarquin should surface rather than those of Enobarbus will be relevant to my discussion of May's and Marvell's representations of women. While Birger Backhaus finds an ambivalence typical of Shakespeare's Roman plays in the *Supplementum*'s characters,[120] May removes reminders of the English stage, whether his own *Cleopatra* or Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, from the Latin. He never translates the word 'tragedie', which is very common in the English. The probable existence of a lost Latin *Julius Caesar* by May, and the resultant desire to differentiate the *Supplementum*'s

[118] Haan, *Marvell*, 76-87.

[119] Bruère, 152.

[120] Backhaus, 28.

seventh book from that earlier dramatic treatment in the same language, may partially explain this decision.[121]

The most powerful rebuttal to Jaeckle's arguments is the existence of a neo-Latin poetic culture that interacted with vernacular poetic cultures, and the influence of that neo-Latin poetry on 'Ros' and 'Hortus'. Moul finds such pronounced echoes of neo-Latin poems by Casimir Sarbiewski (a selection was published with facing English verse translations in 1646) and Payne Fisher (composed in 1654) in 'Hortus' that she proposes the earlier date of around 1654 for its composition (previously held to be around 1668).[122] In addition to other neo-Latin texts,[123] a less literary kind of source seems formative for 'Ros'. Haan supplies an extract from a children's textbook, the *Visible World*, translated by Charles Hoole in 1659 from the extremely popular *Orbis Pictus* (1658) by Johann Amos Comenius, as an apt exemplum of 'the essential bilingualism of the seventeenth-century educational system'.[124] This textbook provides illustrations of scenes from the visible world with descriptions in English and Latin; the extract that Haan supplies is from the illustration of the water-cycle under the title 'The Clouds'/'*Nubes*' (Figure 10).

[121] See Joe Berry, 'A Critical Old-Spelling Edition of "The Tragedy of Cleopatra, Queen of Aegypt" by Thomas May' (PhD dissertation, Rice University, 1964), xx.

[122] Moul, 'Date'.

[123] See Haan, *Marvell*, 70-2.

[124] Ibid., 68-9.

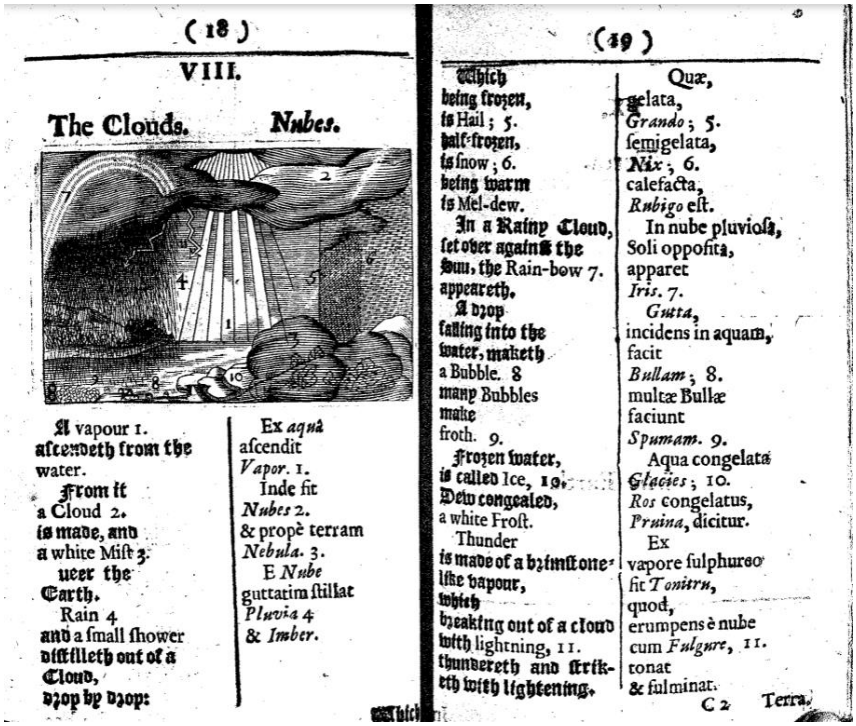


Figure 10.

Although Haan uses it merely to illustrate pedagogical bilingualism, her choice of this example is clearly motivated by its shared subject with 'On a Drop of Dew', and its shared vocabulary with 'Ros': *gutta*, *aqua*, *vapor*, *sol*, [*con*]*gelata*. In the first line of 'Ros', the dew 'descendat', and in the first phase of the water-cycle the vapour 'ascendit'. Haan makes no suggestion that this is a source, presumably because it does not fit with her dating of late 1650 to mid-1652, but the parallels are suggestive. Its wording of the final phase of the water-cycle, '*Thunder* is made out of a brimstone-like vapour, which breaking out of a cloud with *lightning*', could have caught the notice of Marvell with its echo of the 'Horatian Ode' (the Latin, 'cum *Fulgure*', recalls that moment's Lucanian source). In 'A Drop of Dew' and 'Ros', Marvell compares cycles of change in the visible world with that of the invisible life of the soul, 'Could it within the human flower be seen'. The *Visible World* also includes a rather odd illustration of the soul (Figure 11):

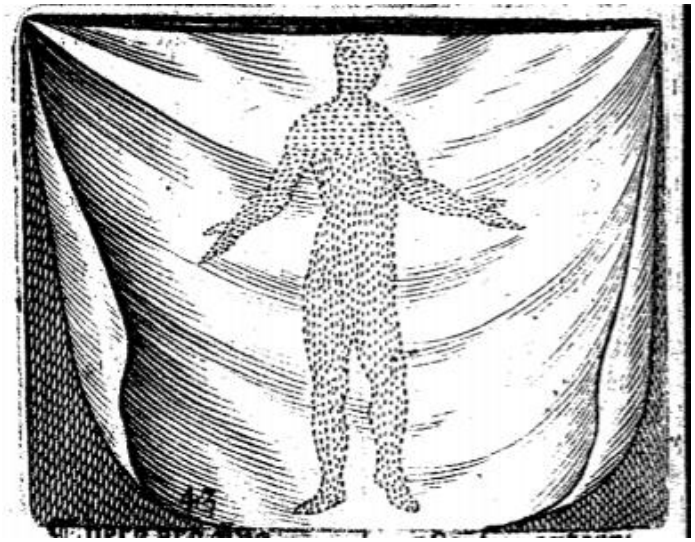


Figure 11.

Haan presents this exercise ('The Clouds'/'*Nubes*') as analogous to back-translation, in service of her argument for the priority of the Latin. In back-translation, Latin is the starting point; contrastingly, a movement from visual observation to *English* vocabulary acquisition to *Latinization* is more characteristic of the Comenian educational ideas espoused by Charles Hoole and popularised in England by Samuel Hartlib. Although the English in the *Visible World* is translated from the Latin of *Orbis Pictus*, the placement of the English in the left column and the instructions in the preface make clear the order in which it is intended to be used: 'Let him *read the Description at large*, first in English, and afterwards in Latine', since children will understand 'their own native tongues' but have only '*a smattering in Latine*'.[125] The use of pictures and English is meant to

> exercise the Senses … and … fasten upon the Intellect by impressing the first notions of things upon it, and linking them one to another by rational discourse. Whereas indeed, We generally missing this way, do teach children, as we do Parrats, to speak they know not what…[126]

The speaker of the parallel Latin does not imitate sound alone but, like May's elephants, links the picture, English, then Latin discursively and, ideally, understands both that 'the Book is in all things the same, only in two idioms', and that sometimes 'the Use of the Latine tongue differeth from the English.'[127] This is the effect of reading 'Ros' after 'On a Drop of Dew'. If the *Visible World* is probably too late to be a source, these Comenian ideas – particularly the process of observation,

[125] Johann Amos Comenius, *Visible World*, trans. Charles Hoole (London, 1659), A6v-7r.

[126] Ibid., A7r.

[127] Ibid., A5r-v.

vernacular vocabulary acquisition, and Latinization which 'On a Drop of Dew' and 'Ros' replicate – were common currency in the 1640s, and textbooks with similar parallel-text descriptions of the water-cycle were available before Marvell was engaged as tutor to Mary Fairfax.[128]

'In similitudinem pruinae': Biblical and Neoplatonic Ideas

The *Visible World* opens with an epigraph from Genesis (2 19:20), given somewhat counterintuitively first in English, then in Vulgate Latin. Marvell's most important and authoritative source for 'On a Drop of Dew' and 'Ros' is a passage from Exodus (16:13-14), read comparatively, I argue, in both English and Latin:

> …in the morning the dew lay round about the host. And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoar frost on the ground.
>
> …mane quoque ros jacuit per circuitum castrorum. Cumque operuisset superficiem terrae, apparuit in solitudine minutum, et quasi pilo tusum in similitudinem pruinae super terram.

The origins of the paired poems' endings can be found not only in this biblical simile, comparing the manna to hoar frost that appears in the place of the dew, but *in the difference between these similes* in the English and Latin. Whereas in the English the manna is 'as small as' the hoar frost, in Latin it is 'in similitudinem pruinae' ('in the *likeness* of the hoar frost'): the manna is more 'like' the frost in the Vulgate. It is also 'quasi pilo tusum' ('powdered down like something very small'), another simile (and *pilus* is already figurative, from its sense as 'a hair').

The absence of the 'missing' stanzas in 'Hortus' has been associated with the difficulty of Latinizing their biblical and neoplatonic ideas, or with Marvell's reluctance to do so.[129] In the second 'missing' stanza, '[t]he change from "green plants" to "a green thought" encapsulates the English poem's shift from physical to metaphysical – perhaps via the mystical, modern (and *non-Roman*) mathematics of zero ("annihilating ...")'.[130] In the third, the 'soul into the boughs does glide', and in the fourth the speaker reflects on the 'happy garden-state' of Genesis. These moments are allegedly absent from the Latin because the language is somehow inhospitable to

[128] E.g. 'Of Waters', in Johann Amos Comenius*, Porta Linguarum Trilinguis Reserata* (London, 1631), 10-11.

[129] See Jaeckle, especially 390.

[130] Hinds, 'In and Out', 64.

them.[131] It will be helpful to compare two moments in the *Supplementum* when May Latinizes biblical and metaphysical ideas.

The first comes in a scene in book 1 when Ptolemy consults the oracle of the snake-god Serapis about 'the future warres successe' (*C* 9-13, *S* 5-7). May describes at length 'the Temples inmost roome' where 'diuinely sent' dreams 'flie in companies'. There are four types of dream, corresponding to the humours: 'Faire sanguine dreames' ('Sanguinea [somnia]'), 'dreams of choller' ('Somnia de flava nascentia bile'), 'duskie dreams of melancholly' ('Quae nigra de bile fluunt') and 'Phlegmaticke lazy dreames' ('Somnia quae pituita creat'). May replaces memorable effects in the English – two double-couplets in a row and the alliterative phrase 'slow, like slimie Snailes' – with new sonorous and allusive effects in the Latin: the equally alliterative 'tardae testudinis instar', a quasi-Virgilian address to the doomed Ptolemy ('tu, Ptolemaee'), and self-reflexive echoes of Ovid's cave of sleep ('multas imitantia formas').[132] Ptolemy has a dream which recalls the Pharaoh's dreams in Genesis:[133]

> A large-siz'd Ox, into that sacred roome
> With sad and heauy pace did seeme to come,
> And leane he was, as if he had not eat
> Of long, or wanting, or refusing meat…

He also dreams that 'a woman came of stature tall … High Towers, and Castles on her head she bare'. In translation, the latter part of the dream ('Turrigero laceros effundens vertice crines') echoes the vision of the personified city of Rome which Ceasar sees while crossing the Rubicon in Lucan,[134] making Ptolemy's destruction of his people presage Caesar's. The 'sound' of the bible can be heard more clearly in the *Supplementum*'s description of the ox as 'Confectus macie' than in the *Continuation*'s 'leane'.[135] This allows us to hear an additional echo of biblical dream-language in the earlier lines, 'Erudit ac placide humanam per somnia mentem / Nocturnaque quiete docet' (in *C*, '[the god] gently glides into a sleeping brest, / By dreams instructing our repose and rest'), recalling Job 33:15-16, 'Per somnium, in visione nocturna, quando irruit sopor super homines, et

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[131] See introduction on the tendency to view Latin as essentially classicising. 'Marvell seems more comfortable with openly displaying a Neoplatonic streak in English than he is in Latin' (Jaeckle, 399).

[132] 'Like a slow tortoise'; 'imitating many forms', cf. *Metamorphoses* 11.613.

[133] 'And, behold, seven other kine came up after them out of the river, ill favoured and leanfleshed; and stood by the other kine upon the brink of the river' (41:3).

[134] Cf. *BC* 1.188, *turrigero canos effundens vertice crines*.

[135] 'Aliae quoque septem emergebant de flumine, foedae confectaeque macie…'

dormiunt in lectulo, tunc aperit aures virorum, et erudiens eos instruit disciplina…'[136] The *Supplementum*'s more visible mingling of the scientific, classical, and biblical on the verbal level heightens the strange effect of this scene's several frames of reference: the four humours, the Ovidian imitative cave of sleep, Lucanian moments, and dreams sent by the biblical God.

The second relevant episode is May's central scene: Cato's suicide in book 4 (*C* 73-7, *S* 37-41). Before killing himself, Cato engages in dialogue with a 'welcome Booke sent from the gods … To teach a dying man Philosophy': Plato's *Phaedo*. Passages 'spoken' by this book are in italics, attributed to 'Plat. Phaed.' in the margins of the English. Cato engages in a Platonic dialogue with a Platonic dialogue before confirming his resolve to die.[137] May used the same technique in the central scene of his *Tragedie of Cleopatra*, and its dramatic origins and potential are evident. In the play, Antony, '*disguis'd like* Timon' and reading Callimachus's epigram on Timon, engages in a philosophical dialogue, first with 'Timon', then *as* Timon ('*Timon* himself I am'), touching on the transmigration of the soul.[138] Addison would imitate May's version of Cato's suicide in his tragedy *Cato* (1712). This scene is more extensively changed in translation than any other. One important difference, for Bruère, is that Cato's reasons for suicide are more 'extra-mundane' in English, more properly Roman and political in the *Supplementum*.[139] The 'extra-mundane' ideas and language of May's English are similar to Marvell's third 'missing' stanza:

> In contemplation the vntroubled Soule
> Parts from the bodies bonds, free from controule
> …
> There by her selfe the Soule can take suruey
> …
> With contemplations wings it dare to soare…
> *Would birds incag'd, that with all motions trie,*
> *And seeke all wayes to gaine their libertie,*
> *The cage set ope, refuse to flie from thence?* (*C* 72, 75)

> Casting the body's vest aside,
> My soul into the boughs does glide;
> There like a bird it sits and sings,
> Then whets, and combs its silver wings;
> …till prepar'd for longer flight… ('The Garden')

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[136] 'In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed; Then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction'.

[137] As Backhaus notes (393), this is by no means a coherent passage from the *Phaedo*.

[138] Thomas May, *The Tragedie of Cleopatra Queen of Ægypt* (London, 1639), C8v. Further references in parentheses.

[139] Bruère, 156.

In the dialogue, May's '*Phaedo*' also uses that very word that evokes 'the mystical, modern (and *non-Roman*) mathematics of zero', *annihilate*: 'God, who did create / Can, if he please, againe annihilate / The Soule' (74). Comparison of the soul with the uncaged bird and God's annihilation are not found in the *Supplementum*, where May abridges the whole scene and thoroughly rearranges its component passages. Bruère argues that '[i]n composing *C* the incorporation of metaphysical matter had distracted the attention of the poet from the proper function of this suicide', which is 'a gesture of political despair'.[140]

May restructures the scene so it moves in a more linear way towards its climax and presents a Cato who is defiant and steadfast rather than doubtful and Hamlet-like, as he was in the *Continuation*. In the earlier version, the *Phaedo* speaks and Cato replies three times; Cato responds to *Phaedo*'s second point, that good men should not fear death but suicide is forbidden, by citing his political reasons; however, in an apparent moment of weakness, he then asks how the gods 'put a difference' between good and bad souls after death (76), all while knowing that he has been virtuous. He reaches the following conclusion:

> …doubts, where frailtie is, will euer be:
> Farewell, fraile World; what here we cannot see,
> I goe to finde, cleare truth and certaintie (77)

This returns to ideas expressed earlier by *Phaedo*; Cato's political reasons and the Socratic/Christian objection to suicide are passed over. In the *Supplementum*, *Phaedo* makes a longer, more coherent speech on the immortality of the soul, which confirms Cato's view that virtue is imperfect on earth but justly rewarded after death; the book speaks for a second and final time, objecting that suicide is forbidden; Cato cites his political reasons without equivocating, and reaches the following conclusion:

> Ah potius fragilem hanc sit fas abrumpere vitam,
> Quam te, Libertas, violem. sed Numina si te
> Nunc tandem jussere mori, tua funera saltem
> Prosequar, & Stygias liber comitabor ad umbras. (40)
>
> (Ah, I think it right to cut short this frail life rather than violate you, Liberty. But if the gods now at last order you to die, I will follow your death, and freely commit myself to the Stygian shades.)

[140] Ibid.

Cato's political rationale is framed by lines indicating the continuation and end of his doubt ('dubitans', 'Non ultra dubitare licet'),[141] unlike his conclusion in the English that 'doubts … will euer be'.

In the Latin, it is clearer that Cato's political will trumps his doubts and the philosophical objections to suicide. The scene's 'metaphysical matter' cedes to the political, but is not a mere distraction from its function. On the contrary, May makes the metaphysical content of the dialogue more coherent (merging much of it into one speech), and the scene's arguments – the immortality of the soul, the philosophical objections and political imperative to suicide – more integrated and counterbalanced. May has no discomfort Latinizing (neo)platonic ideas.[142] In fact, he shows not only that syncretism of the Roman, Christian and (neo)platonic is 'always an option' in Latin poetry, as Jaeckle concedes,[143] but that Latinization can take syncretism further and make it more visible. *Phaedo* begins:

> *Dum contemplatur, mentis se libera tollit*
> *Nec turbata acies, abstractaque corpore vires*
> *Exercere suas contendit pura facultas.*
> *Tunc volitans excelsa petit…*
> *…fulgentia caeli*
> *Corpora scrutatur…*
> *…aeternique Dei vestigia adorat.* (38)

> (In contemplation, the free and untroubled gaze of the mind [*acies mentis*] lifts itself up and, separated from the body, its pure faculty strains to exercise its strengths. Then, in flight, it seeks the heights… it examines the bright heavenly bodies… and it worships the soles of the eternal God's feet [*vestigia*].)

This soul casts the body's vest aside in flight. The phrase *acies mentis* (for 'Soule', 72) is the Latin equivalent of Greek ὄψις, found in Plato (e.g. *Rep.* 7.533d), taken up by Plotinus (*Enneads* 1.6.7-9), and used in Latin by Cicero (*De Or.* 2.160; *Tusc.* 1.73; *Leg. Man.* 4.368) and Augustine – the word *acies* again supplying a flash of insight across languages.[144] As Samuel Fisher defines 'ὄψις … acies mentis', it is 'the faculty of the understanding … the sight, the visive force, the very eye of the

[141] 'doubting … He could not doubt any further'.

[142] On these ideas as Christianised neoplatonism, see Sarah Hutton, 'Platonism in some Metaphysical poets', in *Platonism and the English Imagination*, ed. Anna Baldwin and Sarah Hutton (Cambridge, 1994), 163-78; 164-5.

[143] Jaeckle, 400.

[144] Frederick Van Fleteren, 'Acies mentis', in *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald (Cambridge, 1999), 6. On the Augustinian *acies mentis*, see chapter 6.

mind.'[145] The phrase *Dei vestigia adorat* is more Christianised than its English equivalent, 'glimps[e] … that infinite / Eternal essence' (72). It redirects Isaiah's prediction that those who have afflicted the Israelites 'shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet' (*adorabunt vestigia*, 60:14) to the worship of God himself.

The absence of ideas common to May's and Marvell's English from the *Supplementum* – the soul as uncaged bird and God's annihilation – is attributable to May's prioritisation of allusions to Latin sources, which make the scene's syncretism more visible, as well as to its overall abridgement. For example, where in the English God 'annihilate[s] / The Soule', May introduces an allusion to a Virgilian passage – Anchises' description of the soul and its separation from the mortal body – which was widely recognised as a 'Platonicall conceipt'[146] and often Christianised in early modernity:[147]

> *…animae est caelestis origo,*
> *Igneus atque vigor, substantia pura, suique*
> *In toto similis, variis nec partibus illa*
> *Composita est; ideo nullo dissoluitur aeuo;*
> *Sed sibi corporeo laxata a carcere vivit.* (*S*38-9)

(The soul's origin is divine, and its vigour is fiery, its substance pure, fully self-similar, and it is not composed of several parts; so it can never be destroyed; but lives on its own when it is separated from the body's prison.)

> igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo
> seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant
> terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.
> hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras
> dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco. (*Aeneid* 6.730-4)

(Fiery is the vigour and heavenly the source of those seeds of life, so much that harmful bodies do not clog them, or earthly limbs and body parts that are born to die. Hence come their fears and desires, their griefs and joys; and they cannot discern the heavenly light, trapped in the gloom of their dark dungeon.)

May also borrows from this Virgilian passage elsewhere, when the *Phaedo* describes the soul as '*caecis obducta tenebris*'.[148] Virgil is not May's only Latin source for his *Phaedo* – he is also dependent on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and Macrobius's commentary on that text.[149] The language of similitude in the phrase '*suique / In toto similis*' reflects on the combination of similarity and

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[145] Samuel Fisher, *An Additional Appendix to the Book Entituled Rusticus ad Academicos* (London, 1660), E1r.

[146] George Carleton, *Astrologomania: The Madnesse of Astrologers* (London, 1624), 82.

[147] For example, William Jackson, *The Celestiall Husbandrie: or The Tillage of the Soule* (London, 1616), 15).

[148] 'Shut up in blind darkness'.

[149] Bruère, 155.

difference in May's allusion to a moment that is simultaneously Christianised, Platonic, and Virgilian. The 'soul' of this Platonic idea remains self-similar and substantively consistent across various textual bodies, as its Virgilian component parts (*membra*) are re-membered in May's Latin; yet the introduction of this allusion means that May's Latin is particularly *dissimilar* to his English here. The ideas of the *Phaedo* about the consistency of the soul presented in this scene, and May's ventriloquisation of those ideas in languages different to that in which Cato is presumably 'reading' them (Greek), are necessarily self-reflexive for May as self-translator and reanimator of Lucan. Some essential *anima* is metempsychosed from the *Phaedo* into English into Latin into 'Lucan', across multiple traditions and bodies. There is life in the old *umbra* yet.

Words like *vestigia* and *umbra* used across this scene are familiar metaphors for imitation but also appear in Latin translations of and commentaries on Plato and Plotinus by Marsilio Ficino.[150] Characteristically, May does not simply versify a source, as he could by turning to Ficino's *Phaedo*, but incorporates various literary sources and a smattering of Lucanian echoes, too, so as not to confine the neoplatonic ideas in too imprisoning a textual body. Although the source for Marvell's bird simile is Spenser's *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* (1596), it is easy to imagine how he could have reached for Ficino's Plato or Plotinus, or indeed the bible,[151] to translate 'My soul into the boughs does glide…', to overlay a Latin source onto an English one, as he does for Herbert. But a Latin precedent is not necessary for Marvell to embark on this kind of syncretism, nor is it true to say that none of the biblical and neoplatonic ideas from the 'missing' stanzas appear in 'Hortus'. In the penultimate line, the phrase 'Temporis O suaves lapsus!' cannot but recall the fall (*lapsus*) from 'that happy garden-state' that is foreshadowed in the 'missing' stanza.[152] This less 'wholesome' reminder brings out the ambiguous coexistence of decay and life that Smith finds in the 'herbs and flow'rs' of 'The Garden"s final line.[153] The word 'lapsus' is one of several more negative or 'fallen' elements in the final lines of 'Hortus' that are not found in 'The Garden', reminding us that paradise was 'beyond a mortal's share'. The plants are 'brev[es]'; the sun 'pererret' through the zodiac ('passes', with the sense of 'errs'); the signs of the zodiac are newly threatening in the Latin, although kept at bay ('Proque truci Tauro, stricto pro forcipe Cancri, / Securis').[154] It is in 'Ros', however, that Marvell fully incorporates the English poem's biblical and neoplatonic ideas into his

[150] See, for example, Marsilio Ficino, *Commentary on Plotinus*, ed. Stephen Gersh, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA, 2017-).

[151] e.g. Psalm 123:7, 'Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est' ('Our soul is escaped as a bird').

[152] 'O sweet lapses of time!'

[153] Smith, in Marvell, *Poems*, 159.

[154] 'Short-lived'; 'safe from the fierce Bull and the Crab's threatening claws'.

Latin and uses the images of the soul as both dew and manna, changing state but remaining pure, to reflect on translation, similitude and difference (as May does in his treatment of Cato's suicide). 'Ros' 'may even allude more clearly to the waters above the earth in Genesis [1:7] than … the English' in the line 'Exprimit aetherei qua licet orbis aquas',[155] for example. *Exprimere* is to express, imitate, copy, *translate*; its true equivalent appears later in the English poem, when 'the soul … *express[es]* / The greater heaven in an heaven less.'[156] Marvell implicitly compares his imitation of both the bible and his own English (where the dew 'Frames as it can its own native element') to the dew's imitation of the heavenly waters. His Latin differs from his English, just as the bible differs from itself in different languages, and the dew differs from the heavenly waters.

As I suggested, the origins of the Latin poem lie in the differences between the similes for the manna as dew in the English and Vulgate bibles. It has often been noted that the line 'Like its own tear' contains two different similes in one; it is 'short-circuited' or 'inwoven', as the dew is simultaneously like an eye and the eye's tear.[157] The further duplication of the simile across 'On a Drop of Dew' and 'Ros' imitates this, with the Latin offering something slightly different:

> Suspicit at longis distantem obtutibus axem.
> Inde et languenti lumine pendet amans,
> Tristis, et in liquidum mutata dolore dolorem,
> Marcet, uti roseis lachryma fusa genis.
>
> (It looks up at the far-off pole with a distant gaze and, from there, hangs lovingly with a faint glow, sad, and changed by sorrow into pure/liquid sorrow, it droops, like a tear shed on rosy cheeks.)

The Latin poem follows this almost immediately with yet *another* simile, comparing the dew to a virginal girl (discussed below), which is not found in the English. Likewise, the biblical passage offers two similes in one across the two languages, 'as small as the hoar frost' and 'in similitudinem pruinae', with the Vulgate also providing two similes in succession, 'quasi pilo … in similitudinem pruinae'. Marvell's Latin lacks the tight self-involvement of the English here, especially because it tends to personify the dew excessively ('amans', 'Tristis', 'mutata dolore'). But the pun on *ros*/*rosa* allows the Latin to do something that the English cannot: the dew is like the eye, its own tear, and now also the cheeks, which slip back into *ros* itself. The echo of the title in 'roseis … genis' ('"R*os*"-y cheeks') signals the third level of similitude that the poem 'Ros' itself provides to 'Like its own tear': a similarly fluid transformation is occurring as the 'Drop of Dew' turns into 'Ros'. It is no

[155] 'It imitates the waters of the heavenly world as best it can'. Jaeckle, 387.

[156] Emphasis mine.

[157] William Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, 2nd edn (London, 1947), 160-61.

surprise that, when Marvell chooses one stanza of another lyric, 'Eyes and Tears', to Latinize, it contains a similar transformation:

> * So Magdalen, in tears more wise
> Dissolved those captivating eyes,
> Whose liquid chains could flowing meet
> To fetter her Redeemer's feet.
>
> * Magdala, *lascivos sic quum dimisit Amantes,*
> *Fervidaque in castas lumina solvit aquas;*
> *Haesit in irriguo lachrymarum compede Christus,*
> *Et tenuit sacros uda catena pedes.*[158]

This is also echoed, tellingly, in 'A Dialogue between the Soul and Body':

> O who shall, from this dungeon, raise
> A soul inslaved so many ways?
> With bolts of bones, that fettered stands
> In feet; and manacled in hands[159]

Neoplatonic ideas work well with Marvell's self-reflexive style of self-Latinization.

Throughout 'Ros', the reader is led to note 'Quam bene in aversae modulum contracta figurae' the Latin poem is: not quite 'In how coy a figure wound' (as the English has it), but 'How well made into *a model of the figure it turns away from*'. The *aversa figura* is, of course, the English version, as *-vers-* may very subtly hint. *Vers-* appears in the first line of 'Hortus' too, 'Quisnam adeo, mortale genus, praecordia *versat*?',[160] prompting Hinds to ask 'Does *versat* in the Latin *incipit*-line encode a mildly macaronic self-annotation, flagging *Hortus* as a "version" of *The Garden*?' I think it does. Cowley's translation has a similarly self-reflexive moment: an annotation states that the English lines 'But Thou, eternal Word, hast called forth me / Th' apostle, to *convert* that world to Thee' are 'more fully explained in the Latin translation':

> sed tu me, verbum aeternum, tu voce vocasti,
> et novus insolito percussus lumine Paulus,
> prodeo Musarum immensos *convertere* mundos,
> et coelum seris ignotum aperire poetis[161]

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158 Marvell, *Poems,* 52-3. Smith hazards that 'the Latin stanza began life as a separate entity – a Latin epigram – that was later incorporated into a new, longer poem', but this speculation (reflecting assumptions about priority discussed above) seems unwarranted (50).

159 Marvell, *Poems*, 52.

160 'What stirs the heart so, mortal race?'

161 Cowley, in Hardie (n.26), 77. Emphases mine.

> (But, eternal Word, you have called me with your voice, and a new Paul, struck with unaccustomed light, I step forth to convert the boundless worlds of the Muses and to open up an unknown heaven to poets of later ages)

In English, 'Word' slips into 'world', then is converted back to 'Thee', the Word. As these become *verbum*, pagan *Musarum mundos*, and *coelum ignotum* in Latin, the translation acts as a figure for the poet's act of conversion. He adapts himself to a different medium to address the 'immensos … mundos' and 'seris poetis', effecting an arguably more dramatic conversion of pagan poetry from *within* the Latin tradition, just as the incarnate Christ adapted himself for him and Paul.

The word that best represents the relationship of similitude between 'On a Drop of Dew' and 'Ros' is 'punctim', 'on a point'. This poetic pair is all reflection, all tension between states, with delicate or vanishing points of contact – between images, between the two halves of the poem that match up 'point for point',[162] between the two poems, between similarity and difference. 'On a Drop of Dew' and 'Ros' show most clearly how the simile can act as a figure for translation, and the pun as a miniature of both, as was the case for *acies* in the 'Horatian Ode'. The effect of *acies* was that of an axe's edge, or a flash of 'fork'd lightning'. One pun in 'Hortus' has a similar effect, providing a flash of similitude: the word *flagrantia* (burning) seems to blaze through the delicacy of the phrase 'fragrantia signa' (for 'fragrant zodiac', an image for flowers) and identify the flowers with flaming stars. But the puns in 'Ros' are, appropriately, more like a drop of dew (*ros*) falling into similitude with, and then shrinking back from, a rose (*rosa*). The final, most dramatic pun of the English poem, 'Into the glories of th' Almighty Sun', is not possible in the Latin – unlike the climactic pun of 'The Garden', on 'time'/'thyme', which rings out bilingually in 'Hortus' ('Horologo sua pensa thymo signare videtur'), imbuing Horace's bee with the English 'time'. That the pun on sun/son is clearly central to the conceit of 'On a Drop of Dew' – a pun that is likely to present itself to a poetically-inclined reader of the manna passage in Exodus, which occurs in both biblical passages and English sources – suggests to me the priority of the English version.[163]

What replaces 'th' Almighty Sun' in 'Ros', 'Ad … *purior* astra',[164] is an optimistic statement on both a theological and translational level. The soul returns to heaven wholly untainted by sin,

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[162] Smith, in Marvell, *Poems*, 40.

[163] e.g. Mal. 4:2, 'unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of Righteousness arise'. Mildmay Fane, 'Contemplatio Diurna', in *Otia Sacra* (1648): 'When we behold the Morning Dew / Dissolve ith'rising Sun: What should it shew? / But that a Sun to us did rise, / Our Fathers hoary sin to Atomise' (cited by Smith, in Marvell, *Poems*, 42).

[164] '*Purer*, to the stars'.

purer than when it came down to earth.[165] The soul of the poem is translated from English to Latin and, through the cycle established by the poems, back to the beginning of the English, only getting purer as it is read. That stars and constellations are more prominent at the ends of both 'Ros' and 'Hortus' than in their English versions suggests that Marvell is making a gentle bid for his poems' immortality in the Latin, which is a shade more triumphal in 'Ros', where the soul and the poem are *purior* rather than *lapsus*.

'Translators learn of her': Representations of Women

The stanza from 'Eyes and Tears' above is characteristic of Marvell's self-Latinizations in two ways: the self-reflexive liquid transformation that it shares with 'Ros', and the Latin stanza's different, augmented representation of the female figure, Mary Magdalen. The Latin phrase '*lascivos sic quum dimisit Amantes*' refers more directly than the English to Mary Magdalen's former promiscuity.[166] We might dismiss this as filler for the elegiac couplet, but additional material on female eroticism also features in 'Hortus' and 'Ros'. Jaeckle argues that Marvell is 'more concerned with erotic love' in all three Latin versions 'undoubtedly due to a stronger Ovidian current' (although Marvell's addition to the stanza on Mary Magdalen is as biblical as it is Ovidian).[167] The implication is that language choice, the medium of Latin specifically, affects or determines Marvell's representation of women. Its prison-house is uniquely constraining, not because of its particularly determining linguistic *structures* (although these are at play), but because of the supposed finitude of its literature and available literary materials, and Marvell's temporal distance from its world.[168] Marvell thinks about eroticised women *more*, and perhaps in a more conventional way, in Latin. Does the language carry him away with its elegiac tropes? Bruère implies something similar of May when he argues that the representation of Cleopatra in the *Supplementum* is 'less sympathetic' and more aligned with 'the Augustan tradition of depicting Cleopatra as a monster' than May's earlier portrayals in the *Continuation* and the 1626 *Tragedie of Cleopatra*.[169] May is free to represent Cleopatra differently to Shakespeare in the English works, but in a comparably sympathetic light:

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[165] Contrast Fane's lines, above.

[166] 'When she dismissed her lecherous lovers'.

[167] Jaeckle, 379, 399. The word *lascivos* arguably has an Ovidian flavour, but the addition is too brief to be called Ovidian. The idea of Mary as a repentant prostitute comes from a combination of biblical passages (Luke 7:37-8, 8:2, 10:39).

[168] See Jaeckle, passim.

[169] Bruère, 153.

'the Cleopatra in [the *Continuation*] resembles the less forbidding one in May's play, where the queen is portrayed as less constant than she is by Shakespeare, but as ingratiating and with an underlying integrity'. But, Bruère suggests, May's representation of Cleopatra in Latin is imprisoned within the Horatian, Virgilian and Lucanian unsympathetic tradition.[170] If, as Robert Simms claims, 'Cleopatra does not have a substantial voice of her own, and exists wholly as an object of externalized opinion and value' until early modernity,[171] this is presumably a significant regression.

The epigraph to May's *Tragedie of Cleopatra* announces his first treatment of Cleopatra as a Lucanian one:

> *quantum impulit Argos,*
> *Iliacasque domos facie Spartana nocenti,*
> *Hesperios auxit tantum* Cleopatra *furores.* (A1r)

May translates this passage as follows:

> As much as *Helena's* bewitching face
> Fatall to Troy, and her owne Greeks did prooue,
> As much Romes broiles did Cleopatra mooue.[172]

The play itself is Lucanian in that it continually recalls events described in Lucan's tenth book and its characters remember Cleopatra's affair with Julius Caesar more frequently than in Shakespeare. It opens with Plancus posing a version of a Lucanian question:

> Could we think that our Antonius
> A man not master of the temperance
> That *Caesar* has, could finde a strength to guard
> His soul against that beauty now set off
> With so much wealth and majesty? (B1v)[173]

Cleopatra describes how Julius Caesar used to 'conferre with [Achoreus] / About the nature of our Nile' (B4r), as he does at length in the *Pharsalia* (10.172-331). Towards the end of the play, Octavian wishes to see 'great *Alexander's* herse', as Lucan's Caesar did (10.17-52). Phrases like 'effeminate rout' recur in May's translation of Lucan's tenth book (B7v).[174] However, the play's

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[170] Ibid.

[171] Robert Simms, 'Redressing Caesar as Dido in Thomas May's Continuations of Lucan', in *Brill's Companion to Prequels, Sequels, and Retellings of Classical Epic*, ed. Robert Simms (Leiden, 2018), 316-334; 321.

[172] May's *Pharsalia*, S7r.

[173] Cf. *BC* 10.70-2 ('Who would not pardon *Anthonyes* mad loue, / When *Caesars* flinty breast desires could moue … ?' May's *Pharsalia*, S7v).

[174] Ibid., S8r, translating *BC* 10.64.

first memory of the affair of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra (voiced by Plancus) is a refutation of Lucan:

> That face of hers, that beauty in the bud
> Not fully blown, in yeers of innocence
> (If any yeers of hers were innocent)
> Set off with no adulterisme of art,
> Nor cloath'd with state and pompous Majestie,
> But in a fortune clouded and distrest
> A wretched prisoner in her brother's Court,
> Yet then I say that charming face could move
> The manly temper of wise *Julius Caesar*. (B1v)

Aside from the qualification in parentheses, Caesar and especially Cleopatra are presented more favourably here than they are in Lucan, where her face is 'all painted ore',[175] rather than 'Set off with no adulterisme of art'. This favourable treatment of Cleopatra persists throughout the play. She is a 'learned Queen' who speaks 'severall tongues' 'with elegance', in contrast with her 'dull predecessor Kings' (B2v). She is twice described as 'a woman' who teaches 'souldiers / To be magnanimous' and 'how to die' (D2r, D7r). She delivers a gender-inverted blazon on Octavian's portrait – contrasting, for example, Orlando's on Rosalind, which invoked Cleopatra herself:

> …all the best of each best modell meets,
> *Cupid's* sweet smiles, lodg'd in the eye of *Mars,*
> *Ganymed's* cheek, th'Imperiall brow of *Jove*… (D1v)
>
> …Helen's cheek but not her heart,
> Cleopatra's majesty,
> Atalanta's better part,
> Sad Lucretia's modesty. (*As You Like It* 3.2.142-5)

Similarly, Canidius, an advocate for Cleopatra, inverts a sentiment from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* – Portia's 'how weak a thing / The heart of woman is' (2.4.41-2) – when he says of Antony, 'How weak a thing is man' (C9v). This Cleopatra is still inconstant, has 'ambitious aymes' (B4v) and an 'adulterous bed' (B6v), but more voices in May's play view her *nullo discrimine sexus* (without the discrimination of sex) – the kind of treatment that she tries to command in Lucan (10.91), but the poet does not afford her.

Although she lacks the stature she had in the *Tragedie,* the *Continuation*'s Cleopatra does not become less sympathetic or more conventional in the act of self-Latinization. Bruère's assessment of May's opening description of Cleopatra's charms as coarser and more Lucanian in the *Supplementum* is correct:

[175] Ibid., S8v, translating *BC* 10.137.

It was the glance of her bewitching eyes,
Had power to helpe your helpelesse deities (*C* 24)

Infirmosque deos facie Cleopatra potente
Protegit, & stupro dedimit Memphitica sceptra. (*S* 11)[176]

(Cleopatra protects the helpless gods with her potent face and she buys back the sceptres of Memphis with defilement.)

In the *Continuation*, May revises Lucan's description of Cleopatra's beauty as overwhelmed by her adornments,[177] but not as radically as he did in the *Tragedie*. Four lines from the *Continuation* which revise Lucan most assertively do not appear in the Latin:

It seem'd (so well became her what she wore)
She had not robb'd at all the creatures store,
She had beene natures selfe, there to haue show'd
What she on creatures could, or had bestow'd. (25)

The second line particularly contradicts Lucan's description of Cleopatra as *plena maris rubri spoliis* (10.149).[178] But, as I have argued, May's decision not to translate these four lines makes his allusion to a conceit from Shakespeare's *Lucrece* the climax of his description. May's description of Cleopatra's 'azure veins' in the English two lines above these 'blushing Rubies' also echoes Tarquin's admiration of Lucrece's 'azure veins, her alabaster skin'.[179] Alabaster, ivory and snow-whiteness feature in both Cleopatra's palace in Lucan and Tarquin's blazon of Lucrece. This suggests that *Lucrece* was already on May's mind when he composed the *Continuation*, becoming more prominent in the Latin.[180] Caesar is compared to a lion in the Cleopatra episode (although in the context of the war), as Tarquin also is in this Shakespearean passage ('As the grim lion fawneth o'er his prey…').[181]

This implied comparison with *Lucrece* is ambiguous for the presentation of both Cleopatra and Caesar. Disgrace (Shakespeare's word) is only one side of *pudor* (May's word), more usually 'shame', a quality that May's Cleopatra clearly lacks; any comparison with Lucrece, whose bed is 'so pure', is clearly unfavourable to Cleopatra. May seems implicitly to endorse Tarquin's excuse,

[176] Cf. *BC* 10.105-6.

[177] *cultuque laborat* ('She is weighed down by her ornaments'), 10.140.

[178] 'Covered with the spoils of the Red Sea'.

[179] Shakespeare, *Lucrece*, l.419.

[180] May chooses not to imitate Plutarch and Shakespeare the dramatist here, as he did in the *Tragedie of Cleopatra* (B5r); the whole description is more Lucanian, whether repudiating or imitating him.

[181] Shakespeare, *Lucrece*, l.421.

'the fault is thine [Lucrece's]' (*Lucrece* 482), and acquit Caesar, when he comments immediately after this (only in the Latin) that Cleopatra's face would acquit even a rapist:

> facies absolveret ista
> Judice raptorem caelo; nam talia quondam
> Stupra Deis summis celebres tribuere poetae,
> Æthere qui toties posuere Tonantis amicas… (12)

> (Her face would absolve a rapist before the heavenly judge; for famous poets once attributed such defilements to the heavenly gods, poets who place so many of the Thunderer's lovers in the heavens…)

In contrast, May's dramatized Cleopatra transforms *herself* into one of Jove's 'victims', styled as an ambitious, majestic and willing lover. In her last speech, she claims:

> I descend
> As great a ghost as *Theban Semele*,
> When her ambitious love had sought and met
> The Thunderers embraces (*Tragedie* B2r-v)

Yet Caesar and Tarquin are both tyrants, and May perhaps condemns Caesar's lust by the implied comparison, rendering Cleopatra less culpable, especially since her beauty is more natural here than in Lucan.

May's introduction of allusions to Virgil's Dido and Aeneas across his translation of this episode is similarly ambiguous for his representation of Cleopatra, given that 'the Dido-Aeneas paradigm is flipped in order to redress Caesar as Dido'.[182] It is Caesar, not Cleopatra, who 'oculis & pectore totus inhaeret' and is 'iamdudum saucius' (12).[183] In the equivalent English lines the repetition of 'before' – 'though beheld before' and 'enflamed long before' (24-5) – recalls only the representation of Caesar and Cleopatra in Lucan. In Latin translation, as Simms notes, the word 'iamdudum' 'does double duty' to recall both Lucan's couple and Virgil's Dido episode, on which Lucan modelled his own version of the affair. This allusion clearly effeminises and orientalises Caesar but, like the allusion to *Lucrece*, its implications for Cleopatra are less obvious. We seem to have two Didos at this moment, but Caesar will soon reclaim the Aenean role, and Cleopatra become a 'successful' Dido who is impregnated. Again, the effect on Cleopatra's characterisation

[182] Simms, 'Redressing', 317.

[183] 'Clings to her entirely, with his eyes and his heart'; 'now already wounded for a long time'. Cf. *Aeneid* 1.717-8 and 4.1.

is less radical than in his earlier play, where Cleopatra herself alters the Dido-Aeneas paradigm (on the model of Shakespeare's Antony):[184]

> [I will] beg thy pardon in the other world.
> All crimes are there for evermore forgot.
> There …
> *Dido* forgives the perjur'd Prince of Troy… (D12v)

Bruère argues that 'the ethos of the farewell scene is changed to the disadvantage of Cleopatra' in the *Supplementum* in two ways.[185] First, a passage in which Cleopatra speaks of her unborn child as a 'pledge' guaranteeing Caesar's return is cut (36). This aligns with May's choice to abridge another seven-line passage about the baby Caesarion (which will be discussed in the next chapter). Secondly, Bruère observes, Caesar greedily drinks Cleopatra's tears and repeatedly kisses her in Latin,[186] whereas in the English he leaves her 'with a kisse' (37). If this is a 'decrease in delicacy', like the parallel with Dido it primarily affects May's treatment of Caesar, rather than that of the queen. We need only look to Crashaw's 'The Weeper' (a source for Marvell's 'Eyes and Tears') to disprove Bruère's idea that 'tear-drinking' is included in the Latin because it is 'normal enough' in 'Latin erotic poetry', whereas it would have been 'somewhat blunt for English taste'.[187]

May does not render Cleopatra less sympathetic nor more 'conventional' in Latin translation than in English. Neither the *Continuation* nor the *Supplementum* is significantly more like May's *Tragedie* – if anything, May's added allusions mean that the Latin Cleopatra resembles the dramatic one slightly more. The texts' genres (drama vs. epic) and relationships to the Lucanian model (loose vs. close imitation) determine May's representation of Cleopatra more than his choice of language or act of translation. While the *Tragedie* is pervasively Lucanian, May is freer to revise Lucan's treatment of Cleopatra through a multivocal tragic drama, with a strong Shakespearean precedent for giving Cleopatra a 'substantial voice of her own'. The play treats the affair with Antony (which Lucan only foreshadows), rather than Caesar, and the weakness of Antony allows Cleopatra to emerge as the stronger figure. Fanshawe registers this unreached potential when he particularly urges May in 'Maius Lucanizans' to continue Cleopatra's story further (*7r). Nonetheless, the *Supplementum*'s Cleopatra has Shakespearean and gender-inverted traits that are

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184 William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, 4.15.53-4: 'Dido and her Aeneas shall want troops, / And all the haunt be ours.'

185 Bruère, 153.

186 'lachrymas tum sponte cadentes / Combibit ore avido Caesar, repetitaque jungit / Oscula', *S* 20 ('then Caesar spontaneously drank up her falling tears with his greedy mouth, and he gave her repeated kisses').

187 Bruère, 153.

not in the *Continuation*, showing that May is not constrained by 'Augustan tradition' or Latin literary language, although May remains closer to his Lucanian model across both versions than he does in his play. It is the characterisation of Caesar and the future of his dynasty, rather than the representation of Cleopatra, that primarily drives May's translatorly choices.

It is difficult to draw conclusions about self-Latinization and Marvell's representation of women from 'Hortus' alone. In the Latin version of the third stanza, Marvell gives greater prominence to fleeting allusions to 'am'rous' virginal bodies and mistresses' names:

> No white nor red was ever seen
> So am'rous as this lovely green.
> Fond lovers, cruel as their flame,
> Cut in these trees their mistress' name;
> Little, alas, they know or heed
> How far these beauties hers exceed!
> Fair trees! Wheres'e'er your barks I wound,
> No name shall but your own be found.
>
> Virgineae quem non suspendit gratia formae?
> Quam candore nives vincentem, ostrumque rubore,
> Vestra tamen viridis superet (me judice) virtus.
> Nec foliis certare comae, nec brachia ramis,
> Nec possint tremulos voces aequare susurros.
> …
> Ast ego, si vestras unquam temeravero stirpes,
> Nulla Neaera, Chloe, Faustina, Corynna, legetur:
> In proprio sed quaeque libro signabitur arbos.
> O charae platanus, cyparissus, populus, ulmus!
>
> (Whom does the grace of maidenly beauty not arrest? Although it excels snows in whiteness and purple dye in redness, yet *your* power (in my opinion) surpasses it in its greenness. Hair cannot compete with leaves, nor arms with branches, nor are lilting voices able to equal your whispers. … But if I ever profane your trunks, no Neaera, Chloe, Faustina, Corynna shall be read: but each tree will be named on its own bark. O dear plane tree, cypress, poplar, elm!)

Where the English stanza reads 'Fair trees! wheres'e'er your barks I wound, / No name shall but your own be found', the Latin supplies four female names, balanced by the names of four trees. In the lines above, Marvell expands a fleeting allusion to virginal bodies into five lines of comparison between female and arboreal forms, three of which do not mention trees at all. Marvell's four names – Neaera, Chloe, Faustina and Corynna – represent a merging of classical and neo-Latin pastoral and elegiac poetry. The inclusion of Faustina, 'the name of two promiscuous Roman empresses', suggests to Jaeckle that 'Marvell is thinking of [these women] … as social starlets' of 'the city of [ancient] Rome'.[188] But Faustina is also an elegiac mistress – of

[188] Jaeckle, 391.

Joachim Du Bellay's *Liber amorum*. The pun on 'libro' (bark/book) confirms that the names' significance is primarily literary. Chloe is more generic (one of Marvell's own subjects), Corynna distinctively Ovidian; Neaera is a name that many prominent neo-Latin poets, including George Buchanan, chose for their mistresses. Stella Revard has argued that the allusion to 'the tangles of Neæra's hair' in 'Lycidas' speaks to the relationship of Milton's *Poems* to neo-Latin poetry and his 'attempt to be the writer of a monobiblos' – or a *liber*.[189] Moul notes that the first line quoted above on virginal beauty ('Virgineae quem non suspendit gratia formae?') and the lines on 'Amor' that follow are related to Sarbiewski's fourth epigram; Sarbiewski's religious use of sexual language to mark 'the transition from Cupid to Christ' links Marvell's heightened interest in female bodies to the poem's religious import.[190] Marvell's expanded focus on women in 'Hortus' seems, then, to originate in neo-Latin poetry at least as much as in Ovidianism. A degree of linguistic determinism – albeit one that does not assume the finitude of Latin – does seem to be at play in the poet's responses to the resources of the Latin literary tradition's endless procession of *puellae* across time. 'Hortus' is concerned with the place and identity of the poet in the world: natural, sexual, spiritual, and political. The flirtation with and rejection of a kind of poetic identity created by signing one's *liber* with the name of a woman is an aspect of this exploration of poetic identity that can be substantially elaborated in Latin.

Female sexuality is more deeply linked for Marvell to the central themes of 'Ros' than those of 'Hortus': identity and purity as things change state, and are compared, and translated. In 'To his Worthy Friend Doctor Witty', Marvell styles 'Celia', usually taken to be his tutee Mary Fairfax, as the ideal translator who preserves her purity when speaking continental languages:

> Celia whose English doth more richly flow
> Than Tagus, purer than dissolved snow,
> And sweet as are her lips that speak it, she
> Now learns the tongues of France and Italy;
> But she is Celia still: no other grace
> But her own smiles commend that lovely face;
> Her native beauty's not Italianated,
> Nor her chaste mind into the French translated:
> Her thoughts are English, though her sparkling wit
> With other language doth them fitly fit.
> Translators learn of her…[191]

[189] Stella Revard, *Milton and the Tangles of Neaera's Hair: The Making of the 1645 Poems* (London, 1997), 42.

[190] Moul, 'Date', 347.

[191] Marvell, *Poems*, 179.

The image of Celia's English 'flow[ing] … purer than dissolved snow' recalls the manna that 'dissolving, run[s]' in 'On a Drop of Dew'; 'purer' translates 'purior' in the final line of 'Ros'. Celia's framing of 'Her native beauty' in 'other language[s]' without tainting it is akin to the dewdrop 'Fram[ing] as it can its native element'. In 'Ros' the word 'Exprimit' introduces a translational meaning (as I have suggested) that closes the gap between the dewdrop and Celia the translator/translated text. These correspondences seem to confirm that Marvell uses his Latin version of 'On a Drop of Dew' to introduce a new level of similitude – reflection on translation – which is further likened to the transformation of virginity. Marvell's anticipation in 'Upon Appleton House' of a time when Fate 'worthily translates' Celia into marriage reveals that her sexualised forays into French and Italian are rehearsals for that more significant translation, through which she must still remain pure. Marvell's Latin dewdrop is like a girl who is hesitant to cross the marital threshold from her paternal sphere (more so than the English): 'Illa tamen patriae lustrans fastigia sphaerae, / Negligit hospitii limina picta novi'.[192]

Marvell's figuration of the translator/translated text as female recalls Kynaston's association of his translation with Criseyde.[193] Celia's preservation of 'her chaste mind' from French and Italianated influences is an inversion of Wenceslas Clemens's image of Kynaston's translation as a Criseyde who teaches French and Italian girls how to love. As in Kynaston's translation, this association of translation with female sexuality determines the Latin text's different (in Kynaston's case, more negative) representation of women more than the inherent capacity of the language and its frame of reference. May has no such association of translation with female sexuality, so is not wrangling with Cleopatra in translation, nor does female sexuality figure translation as his neoplatonic images do; like in Lucan, it is Caesar who is identified with the text. In Marvell's case, the figuration of translation as feminine, not simply an Ovidian spirit or Romanizing instinct, accounts for 'Ros"s most significant expansion, which takes the form – of course – of a simile:

> Trembling lest it grow impure:
> Till the warm sun pity its pain,
> And to the skies exhale it back again.
>
> Qualis inexpertam subeat formido puellam,
> Sicubi nocte redit incomitata domum.
> Sic et in horridulas agitatur gutta procellas,
> Dum prae virgineo cuncta pudore timet.

[192] 'Yet, surveying the heights of her paternal sphere, she disdains the painted threshold of her new lodgings'.

[193] See chapter 2.

> Donec oberrantem radio clemente vaporet,
> Inque jubar reducem sol genitale trahat.
>
> (Just as fear seizes an inexperienced girl if she returns home at night alone. Thus the drop, shaken in tiny storms, now in its virginal shyness fears everything, until the engendering sun turns to vapour its hovering form with gentle rays and draws it back to splendour.)

As in 'Hortus', this *puella* is embedded in the Latin literary tradition. But Marvell's association elsewhere of virginity with the text and loss of virginity with translation introduces more meaning to these lines. Characteristically, Marvell uses a simile – 'Qualis' – to introduce a moment of *dissimilarity* between the two versions of the poem, with 'Ros' departing from the English and straying towards something more Latinate. After *erring* briefly ('oberrantem'), the Latin rejoins the English at 'Donec' ('Till'). 'She is Celia still': she does not become a Latinate *experta puella* like the mistresses of 'Hortus', and the same *pudor* later allows her to reject other Latinate elements: 'calices, purpureosque toros … Tyria veste, vapore Sabae'.[194] Like Celia in 'Doctor Witty', her native beauty is not Latinized. At the end of the translation, she is purer yet. Her thoughts are English. Translators learn of her. Yet, as Christine Rees points out, Marvell does not wholly endorse the soul's purist attitude in 'On a Drop of Dew' and 'Ros', just as his attitude in 'Doctor Witty' is not wholly representative of his translation practices ('ill translators make the book their own').[195] Change is as inevitable in translation as it is for young girls, and Marvell does not really shrink away from non-native elements in 'Ros', elaborating them while rejecting them, as he does in 'Hortus'.

The figuration of translation as feminine is not uniquely Marvellian, but it seems clear that in Marvell's case this association has a lot to do with Maria Fairfax. Perhaps, in 'On a Drop of Dew' and 'Ros', 'as tutor … he was providing his pupil with excellent models' – or an allegory – 'for imitation and translation'.[196] Placing Maria Fairfax at the heart of the pair of poems strengthens the case for reading 'Ros' as a translation of 'On a Drop of Dew' (*pace* Haan). It makes more sense that Marvell would elaborate and reflect on his association of translation, Maria, and female sexuality *in the act of translation*, and use the sequence to illustrate that association. Although the *puellae* who are the signatures of the poet's identity in 'Hortus' and the *puella* with whom the poet identifies as translator in 'Ros' are very different, in both cases Marvell capitalises on the close identification of poetry and *puella* that exists in Latin. Marvell's decision to render 'it' (the dewdrop) in 'On a Drop of Dew' as 'Illa' in the Latin is not an unavoidable constraint of the Latin language:

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[194] 'Drinking cups and purple banquet couches … Tyrian robe or myrrh of Sheba'.

[195] Christine Rees, *The Judgement of Marvell* (London, 1989), 28.

[196] Haan, *Marvell*, 63.

'it' could have just as easily been 'she' in English, and Marvell could have gendered the dewdrop in Latin after the masculine 'Ros' of the title, rather than the feminine 'gemmula roris' of the first line. The feminizing work of turning 'it' into 'Illa' inverts the cultural anxiety that translating 'classical rhetorical forms [into the vernacular] reverses the masculinizing work of Latin language instruction and combines male and female into one "common" gender'.[197] Reading 'Ros' as a feminising translation allows us to better appreciate how 'Marvell's nostalgic identification with instructive nymphs bears the marks of a poet in the process of probing, interrogating, and estranging the culturally significant distinction between a "mother" and a "father" tongue', and 'interrogating the school's announced end game of reproducing masculine identity'.[198] Latinization does not necessarily perform 'masculinizing work': Marvell's Latinizations show a feminizing tendency, as do Fanshawe's, as I show in the next chapter; both have female figures at their hearts.

[197] Jenny C. Mann, *Outlaw Rhetoric: Figuring Vernacular Eloquence in Shakespeare's England* (Ithaca, 2012), 148-9.

[198] Lynn Enterline, 'Instructive Nymphs: Andrew Marvell on Pedagogy and Puberty', in *A Companion to Renaissance Poetry*, ed. Catherine Bates (Chichester, 2018), 31–49, 45.

CHAPTER 4

Latinization as Radicalization? May, Marvell, and Richard Fanshawe's *Faithful Shepherdess*

If May's 'translation of Lucan's excellent poeme made him in love with the republique', as Aubrey speculated,[1] his continuation and self-Latinization likely deepened the effect. The suggestion that the *Supplementum* is 'more republican' than the *Continuation*, 'reflecting a hardening of May's attitude towards Charles I', first made by Bruère, has been endorsed by several critics,[2] but more recently challenged. I propose that it was the act of Latinizing the *Continuation* that seemed to radicalize its politics, rather than May's hardening position. Other English poems seem to become (more) politicized in Latin translation: 'Hortus' is 'more politically suggestive' than 'The Garden',[3] and, as I will argue in this chapter, Fanshawe's Latin translation of John Fletcher's play *The Faithful Shepherdess* activates political meanings that it certainly lacked in its original performances. Political 'suggestiveness' is achieved largely through allusion in both cases, but it can be hard to know how much to read into such allusions, and when to draw out wider political allegories from them. This chapter explores whether Latin translation has the effect of radicalising the politics of English texts, and how purposeful this is on the part of the (self-)translator.

May's and Marvell's Political Similitudes

'The Garden' and 'Hortus' are both 'political poems'; that much is clear. For Victoria Moul, they 'mark, albeit in an elusive way, Cromwell's emerging authority and the relationship of the poet to that transfer of power', although their dating remains a topic of debate.[4] Moul's comparative reading of the English and Latin reveals that 'the Latin poem is the more politically suggestive'.[5] This argument holds regardless of what dating is accepted. '[O]verlaps in specific vocabulary',

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[1] Aubrey, *Lives,* 211.

[2] Bruère, 163, passim; Paleit, summarizing Bruère, 291. Critics who have endorsed Bruère include Burrow, in *Epic Romance*, 198n. and Norbrook, in *Writing*, 80n.

[3] Moul, 'Date', 343.

[4] Ibid., 330. Moul argues that the pair was composed 'probably in the aftermath of civil war (i.e. around 1652–5), and perhaps in the immediate aftermath of the first Anglo-Dutch war (which ended in 1654)' (ibid.).

[5] Ibid., 343.

especially words that signal the end of war, such as *quies, furor, otia, tyrannus*, allow the political side of the poem to come through 'more sharply in Latin'.[6] There are other images of 'newly-secured peace' in 'Hortus': the disarmed Cupid, the threatening zodiac kept at a safe remove.[7] The rest of Moul's case is based on the identification of allusions to Latin poems in 'Hortus', which are often politically salient and not found in the English. There are two particularly allusive, expansive moments in the Latin: the passage about gods and trees (equivalent to 'The Garden' stanza 4) and the final ten lines (stanza 9).

> Arbore nunc melius potiuntur quisque cupita.
> Jupiter annosum, neglecta coniuge, quercum
> Deperit …
> Nec Veneris Mavors meminit si fraxinus adsit.
> Formosae pressit Daphnes vestigia Phoebus…

> (Now each [god] attains a superior desire in a tree. Jupiter, neglecting his wife, is dying about an aged oak. … Mars does not remember Venus if an ash is present. Phoebus pressed upon the trail of beautiful Daphne…)

The allusion to the *annoso validam cum robore quercum* to which Aeneas is compared by Virgil (*Aeneid* 4.441) is 'politically suggestive', albeit in an elusive way, having 'close intertextual links with … [other] passages of Virgil (and Lucan) all of which are used to political effect in this period', including the simile of Pompey as oak tree and Caesar as lightning (*BC* 1.135-7). The ubiquitous imagery of oak trees was used in descriptions of Charles I and II and Cromwell (by Marvell himself, in 'A Poem upon the Death of his Late Highness the Lord Protector').[8] Moul makes more of an allusion to Ovid's description of the rape of Rhea Silvia by Mars, *Mars videt hanc visam cupit, potiturque cupita* (*Fasti* 3.21), via a panegyric epigram on Cromwell by James Wolveridge, printed in Payne Fisher's *Inauguratio Olivariana* (1654), a commemoration of the start of the Protectorate: 'Rus videt hanc visamque cupit, potiturque cupita'.[9] Wolveridge's poem, which 'hails Cromwell as the bringer of peace', 'reuses Ovid's line to refer to trees', as Marvell does, playing throughout with the anagram 'Laurus Oliva Comes'.[10] The final ten lines of 'Hortus' invoke Horace's *Odes* 4.2, *Georgics* 1.32-5, and Fisher's *Pro recuperata valetudine* in praise of Cromwell 'to point towards a specifically political and panegyric context', that of 'the dawning of a new regime'. The English stanza is

[6] Ibid., 340.

[7] Ibid., 332-3. See chapter 3 on these images.

[8] Moul, 'Date', 330-2. *Marvell*, 299-312.

[9] 'The Country sees, desires what it has seen, and possesses what it has desired'.

[10] 'Olive the companion of laurel'. Moul, 'Date', 337-8.

'anodyne in comparison'.[11] These allusions at the end of the poem imply a 'similitude' between Cromwell and Augustus, since all three sources to which Marvell alludes celebrate Augustus in close proximity to tropes that both 'The Garden' and 'Hortus' borrow, the bee simile (Horace) and the zodiac (Virgil and Fisher). Fisher's poem makes the contemporary application explicit:

> Ille *Cleonaei* tandem *Leo* territus Astri
> *Augustum* cognoscet *Herum*, scutique Leones
> *Cromelici* trepidabit inops…[12]

> (At length that lion of the Cleonaean constellation, in terror, shall recognise Augustus his lord, and tremble helpless at the lions of Cromwell's shield.)

We can spare Marvell the charge of hypocrisy by noting that 'Hortus' refers to neither Augustus nor Cromwell by name, so the implied similitude does not 'obtrude'.

May dedicates both versions of the *Continuation* to a different Augustus, Charles I. The critical assumption tends to be that May's poems imply a 'similitude' between the king and Julius Caesar, and that May's depiction of the death of Caesar effectively constitutes a call for Charles's execution nineteen years, then nine years, then three years before it happened (in the 1646 London *Supplementum*). These critics may have the wrong Caesar. As Gerard Reedy writes, 'surely May, who sought advancement through such works, does not wish to write a poem about Caesar's death, dedicate it to the reigning monarch, and hope he makes an application to himself.'[13] Paleit and Backhaus have demonstrated that almost all of the local changes that Bruère gathers in support of his claim that May's increasing republicanism is legible in the *Supplementum*, particularly in its harsher treatment of Caesar, are 'erroneous' and omit counterexamples.[14] The only substantial and clearly politicised changes that May makes when Latinizing in 1640, on the cusp of the Long Parliament which drove him further towards the Parliamentarians, are to passages that refer to Augustus by name. These changes suggest that the similitude between Charles and Augustus was the one that May felt to be politically on the nose. May's excision of two substantial passages anticipating the reign of Augustus has a notable effect on the poem's political narrative.

The first is the passage in book 2 in which May warns and criticises Augustus for the 'parricidal crime' of murdering his adopted half-brother Caesarion:

> Thy guilt, *Augustus*, is that night begot,
> Which shall hereafter those rich triumphs staine,

[11] Ibid., 338, 343.

[12] Fisher, *Pro Recuperata Valetudine*, H2r-v, quoted in Moul, 'Date', 342.

[13] Reedy, 142.

[14] Paleit, 292; Backhaus, 72.

Which thou from Ægypts conquest shalt obtaine;
Vnlesse that flattery be taught for thee
To wrest all natures lawes, and policie
Of State, together with the peace of Rome
Alleag'd to iustifie thy bloody doome. (28)

This passage is certainly not 'otiose' as Bruère claims.[15] '[T]hy bloody doome' an odd phrase for Augustus's fratricide, but the essence of the critique is clear: that Augustan flattery and the need to maintain peace justified monarchical criminality. 'Policy' or 'reason of state' (*ratio status*) is a keyword for the means by which rulers of states act above the law in the name of stability (near-synonymous with Machiavellianism). 'Reason of state' can simply be prudence – sometimes the ruler 'needs to know when to prescribe a little blood-letting' – but its more negative incarnation is tyranny and self-interest.[16] Paleit shows that 'many seventeenth-century English readers of Lucan' exposed 'the threat posed by reason of state, or "policy", to a community bound together by mutual obligations and held to embody certain moral norms'.[17] May's lines accommodate quite different interpretations: Paleit agrees with Howard Erskine-Hill that this passage is not an attack on dynastic rule as such, but he cannot find 'transparent evidence' of the belief in the divine right of kings that Erskine-Hill perceives.[18] May excises these lines entirely from the *Supplementum*, only translating those above these in the *Continuation* that call the murder a 'parricidal crime', and neutralising their critique even further:

Poena tamen sequitur; furtivi pignus amoris,
Caesario infelix, fatis generates iniquis
Caesaris Augusti cadet olim victima ferro
Caesareos tristans cognata caede Penates. (14)

(Yet their punishment follows; the pledge of their secret love, poor Caesarion, born with adverse fates, will fall in future to the sword of Caesar Augustus, saddening the hearth of Caesar with kindred blood.)

The second passage about Augustus that May omits from the *Supplementum* is more flattering. In his sixth book, a portent appears in the Caesarian camp before the battle of Munda. This eagle, which hovers over Caesar before perching on Octavian's tent, presages both 'the warres successe' and 'young *Octavius* future happiness' (107). May first dwells at length on the 'dire Tragedies' that would lead to the happy reign of Augustus; 'But not so soone, alas':

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[15] Bruère, 152.

[16] Peter Burke, 'Tacitism, scepticism, and reason of state', in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700*, ed. J.H. Burns with Mark Goldie (Cambridge, 1991), 477-98.

[17] Paleit, 273, 132.

[18] Ibid., 272-3, citing Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature* (London, 1983), 184.

How many ciuill wounds did yet remaine
Ere Rome with patience brooke a Caesar's reigne,
And for her safetie be inforc'd to flie
To Great Augustus happy Monarchy?
For thee, great Prince, and thy ensuing State
Was Rome opprest… (107)

Paleit is right to say that these lines and whatever praise follows should be read 'with due attention to the "but" which begins them'.[19] These lines and May's reminders of Marius and Sylla, Thapsus and Pharsalia recall Lucan's dedication to Nero: *scelera ista nefasque / Hac mercede placent* (1.37-8).[20] If May's list of 'dire Tragedies' is slightly less violent than Lucan's, he outdoes Lucan's climactic *tibi* by repeating 'For thee' three times, and lays more emphasis on Rome *suffering* or *accommodating* single rule. Having established that the price of peace was high, May praises the Augustan regime for fostering the arts:

Thou then anew that powerful State shalt mould,
… thy god like State
No force shall shake; when shutting *Janus* gate,
Thou shalt set ope the sacred Thespian spring,
And there securely hear the Muses sing,
Whose stately layes still keepe thy deathlesse fame,
And make immortal Great *Augustus* name:
Nor euer did the Arts so truly reigne,
Nor sung the Muses in so pure a straine
As then they did, to grace thy glorious time;
As if the Muse before lack'd power to clime,
Or else disdain'd her highest notes to raise,
Till such a Monarch liu'd to giue the Bayes. (108)

This is the closest May comes to following Fanshawe's vision of an Augustan narrative structure. It is similar to the end of 'Maius Lucanizans' and to Lucan's eulogy, in which Nero shuts Janus's gates (1.61-2) and inspires poetry (1.66). However, May replaces Lucan's 'baroque fantasy'[21] of Nero's katasterism – itself modelled on the Virgilian katasterism to which Marvell alludes in 'Hortus' (*Georgics* 1.24-42) – with less exaggerated praise of the Augustan Muses. His description of Augustus's 'god *like* State' contrasts Lucan's claim that *iurisque tui natura relinquet, / Quis deus esse velis* (1.51-2).[22] Reading May's eulogy is like encountering an authentic and sincere Augustan antecedent that was parodied by Lucan in the darker Neronian court. This episode – the portent

[19] Paleit, *War*, 274.

[20] 'Even such crimes and such guilt are not too high a price to pay'.

[21] Dewar, 199.

[22] 'Nature will leave it to you to determine what deity you wish to be'.

and the qualified praise of Augustus that follows it – is excised entirely when May Latinizes the *Continuation*. This cut makes book 6 notably darker and less providential, as May *does* translate the following passage, which dwells at length on the lack of portents in Pompey's camp and the despair this creates.

What effect does the removal of these passages have on the political narrative of the *Supplementum*? Read alongside each other, the original passages have an effect of qualified praise reminiscent not so much of Lucan as of Horace. Michele Lowrie notes that naming Augustus causes Horace 'special difficulty' in the *Odes*, and that the poems in which he is named directly are particularly politically evasive.[23] The passages in which he mentioned Augustus by name in 1630 cause May especial difficulty in 1640. The first passage's technique of warning Augustus to do something that he has already done ('shall … staine … Vnlesse that…') is one that Lowrie identifies as characteristic of Horace's 'Roman Odes', although May does not quite offer Horatian 'warning as praise', since he condemns flattery while warning Augustus to use it.[24] The second passage puts May in the position of an Augustan poet such as Horace. Both passages register the bloodshed upon which the peace of Rome is founded. May's intent in 1630 seems to have been to make a risqué address to the monarch celebrating Caroline peace, condemning the flattery of the Caroline court and – above all – promoting himself to the position of one of the Muses who deserves 'the Bayes'. The decision not to translate the second passage is consistent with the narrative that May was resentful about the Poet Laureateship. It is also in keeping with an increased republicanism and, more obviously, a dislike and fear of censorship, which no longer allowed the Muses to sing 'securely'. Such a fear also explains the removal of the more critical passage about Augustan flattery, and may have been stirred by the company that May was keeping in Holland, as Heinsius 'disliked Laud's meddling with freedom of scholarly expression'. Without these passages, the *Supplementum* neither praises nor blames Charles as Augustus; it retreats from the similitude entirely.

Whereas Marvell makes 'The Garden' more politically engaged when Latinizing it, by introducing a similitude between Cromwell and Augustus that was only hinted at in 'The Garden', May removes the most obtruding similitude from his poem in Latin translation, a decision that may betray his increasing radicalism by its very disengagement. There were not clear, developed analogies between the state of Rome and England at May's time of writing. In 1630, when May composed the *Continuation*, and again in 1640, there was a Caesarian vacuum in English politics;

[23] Michele Lowrie, *Horace's Narrative Odes* (Oxford, 1997), 226.

[24] Ibid., 265.

although the analogy between Charles and Augustus means that the actions of his predecessor Caesar in the poem necessarily reflect upon the king, May does not seem to see Charles as a type of Caesar, whatever the events of history may seem retrospectively to suggest. Later, Cromwell increasingly becomes a better type of both Caesar and Augustus than Charles had been, as poems like 'An Horatian Ode' and 'Hortus' show. In the dedication to his original *Pharsalia* translation of 1627, May wrote that the history of Rome 'will admit no comparison with other *States* either before, or after it'.[25] Even May's later *History of Parliament* 'is not an outstanding example of Roman similitudes': [26] although it does make the occasional comparison (Strafford to Curio and Sulla, Essex to Sejanus and Brutus), it is relatively sparing in its tendency to 'bestow / On him the Cato, this the Cicero'.[27] Marvell himself notes in 'Tom May's Death' that May died before he could 'great Charles his death relate'. He 'backs away from narrating the death of Charles in the *Breviary* [*of the History of the Parliament of England* (1650)], although he had, in 1630, composed a poem ending in Caesar's death, to gain royal favour'; Reedy speculates that 'Marvell might reasonably feel that this irony in May's life is a mark of moral cowardice',[28] whatever he might say in 'Tom May's Death'.

While Marvell employs Latin's 'specific vocabulary' to introduce political 'keywords' into 'Hortus', many of May's 'keywords' – flattery, policy of state, sovereignty, tragedy – are either eliminated or do not 'obtrude' as clearly through their Latin equivalents ('Majestas', 'Ambito', 13). One 'keyword', however, does ring out equally strongly in the *Supplementum* as in the *Pharsalia* and *Continuation*: *libertas*. Bruère notes that the conspirators renew their faltering resolution to kill Caesar through 'shame' in the *Continuation* and 'libertatis amor' in the *Supplementum*.[29] Paleit corrects Bruère's omission of a decisive adjective here, 'Libertatis amor *nimius*', and rightly comments that 'the idea that liberty's love could be excessive demands a careful evaluation of the *Supplementum*'s actual political perspective.' The phrase might point to May's constitutionalism and 'preference for balance and restraint' over 'violent excess', or it might suggest merely that 'the deed was *historically* excessive', whatever its moral value, because it prevented the Roman state from securing stability.[30] The loss of *libertas* in the abstract is the aspect of Lucan's poem and its *Supplementum* that is most translatable or assimilable to the actual political situation of 1640 – not their plots or characters. Latin translation does not flatten May's political analogies; if anything, it makes them more elusive.

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[25] May's *Pharsalia*, A3v-4r, quoted by Reedy, 141.

[26] Reedy, 145.

[27] Marvell, 'Tom May's Death'.

[28] Reedy, 150.

[29] 'Love of liberty'; Bruère, 162.

[30] Paleit, *War,* 292-3.

Both Bruère and Marvell himself seem somewhat dazzled by May's Latinity, the surface of which gives an impression of a republican poetics of similitude that the works actually lack, and which May actively tempers in the *Supplementum*.

In the *Supplementum*, May seems to lessen one type of 'Roman-cast similitude' – analogies to contemporary events – to increase another kind of 'Roman-cast similitude': the creation of an effective and internationally marketable continuation of Lucan's poem in its original language. He removes one of his closest imitations of Lucan, the eulogy of Augustus, to lessen any identification with the English political situation and thus, paradoxically, to make his supplement more plausibly Lucanian. May was highly successful: as I have mentioned, the *Supplementum* had a much longer afterlife than the *Continuation*.[31] 'Hortus' had no such independent life among international audiences. While it is possible that Marvell intended to speak of Cromwellian peace to external audiences, it seems more likely that he found that there was an allusive language in Latin through which he could make this 'similitude'. In this, he may have something in common with Fanshawe, whose Latin translation of John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess*, published as *La Fida Pastora* in 1658, also uses allusion to activate political meanings that it lacked in its original performances forty years earlier.

Twice-Cooked Tragicomedy

In the final days of 1653, Fanshawe wrote to John Evelyn on receipt of a manuscript of the latter's translation of Lucretius (published 1656). The letter sheds light on Fanshawe's own translation of Fletcher, which he would compose in the following years, revealing several of his nascent motivations to Latinize works of English literature and to choose the play as his original. While Paul Davis has observed that Fanshawe showed a 'disinclination to reflect on his own poetic practices' as a translator, this response to Evelyn's translation provides him with an opportunity to do so indirectly.[32] Fanshawe first praises Evelyn's Lucretius with three dramatic analogies:

> I knowe not where you could have made so crabbed a Choyce as you haue done … this Peice is *The taming of the shrew*. What shall I say more? Hauing … confronted his Latine with your English, they appeare to mee … both Pictures of one *Life*, the features beeing exactly the same in each, only yours (as the younger, so) the smoother. It puts mee in mind of the two *Amphitruo's* in Plautus, where the Translation was taken for the Originall by her That should best haue knowne … But I injure it with the name of a Translation. It is *Lucretius* himselfe. A judged Case in a certaine Italian Comedie, Thus. A Bondman of Naples is apprehended in open

[31] See introduction.

[32] Davis, 13.

> street. no running away now: no denying the fact for which he is accused. what then? hee changed his language, facing both the officers and his Prosecutors downe in perfect Spanish … but doe you thinke it seru'd his turne in the end? no … so shall wee knowe *Lucretius* in your Booke…[33]

Fanshawe's discussion of Evelyn's Lucretius refers to dramatic works from three cultures, Elizabethan England (*The Taming of the Shrew*), ancient Rome (Plautus's *Amphitryon*), and early modern Italy ('a certaine Italian Comedie'). *La Fida Pastora* – a Latin translation of a Jacobean English imitation of the Italian Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (1580-5, pr. 1590), which Fanshawe himself had Englished in 1647 – spans the same three cultures. Fanshawe's dramatic analogies suggest that he might be particularly drawn to translate a dramatic work such as Fletcher's, which, like Plautus's *Amphitryon*, is a tragicomedy involving instances of disguise and impersonation, of 'the Translation [being] taken for the Originall', in romantic relationships. The *Amphitryon* features two transformed doubles: Jupiter impersonates Amphitruo to have an affair with his wife, and Mercury takes the form of Amphitruo's slave to support Jupiter. Similarly, in *The Faithful Shepherdess*, the jealous Amarillis transforms herself into the shape of Amoret to sabotage the latter's relationship with Perigot. The defence of the *Amphitryon* that Mercury, sent by Jupiter, mounts in its prologue contains the first instance of the word 'tragicomedy', defined as 'commixta' (mixed) in part because kings and gods mingle with more usual comic characters (52-61).[34] When Fletcher's play is remembered by readers of Jacobean drama, it is for the definition of tragicomedy that Fletcher provided to 'justify' his play in print, identified as the first in English:

> A tragie-comedie is not so called in respect of mirth and killing, but in respect it wants deaths, which is inough to make it no tragedie, yet brings some neere it, which is inough to make it no comedie … a God is as lawfull in this as in a tragedie, and meane people as in a comedie.[35]

Fanshawe's citation of one of the chief classical authorities for the tragicomic genre suggests that he is interested in the conventions of mixed plays; his imitations of Guarini across his career demonstrates his respect for the continental origins of its modern form. But, as he claims in the preface to *La Fida Pastora*, he thinks that England can rival these other poetic cultures with her 'dramatic Muses': 'non video *in Anglicanis Musis* (praesertim Scenicis) quid despicere possit,

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[33] Fanshawe, ed. Davidson (n.253), I, 333-4. Further references to this edition in parentheses.

[34] See Tanya Pollard, 'Tragicomedy', in *Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature*, vol. 2, ed. Patrick Cheney and Philip Hardie (Oxford, 2015), 419–32; 420.

[35] John Fletcher, *The Faithfull Shepheardesse* (London, 1610), ¶2v.

vel *Francia*, vel *Hispania*, vel (ut amplius nihil dicam) antiqua aut nova *Italia*' (I 240).[36] This claim, and his choice of *The Faithful Shepherdess*, show that Fanshawe felt that the English stage had recently perfected and defined the tragicomic form. This constitutes a rebuttal of Guarini's own view of the English Muses back in the 1590s, 'remember[ed]' by Samuel Daniel in a commendatory poem to the first English translation of *Il pastor fido*:

> he hath oft imbas'd
> … the virtues of the North,
> Saying, our costes were with no measures grac'd,
> Nor barbarous tongues could any verse bring forth.[37]

In the same letter, Fanshawe also commends 'a posthumous Translation, by Mr or Doctor Bathurst … of *Spenser's Shepheards Calendar* into Latine':

> [Bathurst's translation] will, where it's true origine shall be unknowne, passe for a Native of ould Rome, and that as farr, as the utmost bounds extend of the Commonwealth of Learning. For if the great wonder there bee, how a Poem, which the Author made it his businesse to cloathe in rugged English, could be capable of so smooth Latine; certainly it is no lesse a one heere, how so rugged a Latine Poem … can be rendered in so smooth English. And, if Mr Bathurst by that exported commoditie doe more honour to England Abroad: You, by this imported, will more inrich it at home: making our Income proportionable to our Expense. (I 333-4)

This suggests that his translation of Fletcher was inspired by the publication of Bathurst's *Calendarium Pastorale* in 1653.[38] Fanshawe similarly translates an English pastoral text, likely associating Fletcher with Spenser as a Virgilian pastoral poet and continuing to model his translation practices on Spenserian precedents, as he did when he rendered *Aeneid* 4 in Spenserian stanzas.[39] This passage shows Fanshawe's enthusiasm for stylistic smoothness, particularly the translation of a 'rugged' poem into 'smooth' language, and his belief that 'younger' means 'smoother' when it comes to style. Unlike Evelyn and Bathurst, Fanshawe decides not to tame a shrew, choosing a fairly young original that was well-known as a 'smooth Pastorall'.[40] Fanshawe's vision of a fair exchange of imported and exported commodities suggests that, for him, the practice of Latin translation as upholds the English end of an imagined pan-European trade deal.

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[36] 'I see nothing to despise in the Muses of England (particularly in her dramatic Muses), whether by France or by Spain, or (and nothing greater can be said) by ancient or modern Italy'.

[37] Samuel Daniel, 'To the right worthie and learned Knight', in Battista Guarini, *Il pastor fido*, trans. Edward Dymock (London, 1602), A1v, cited in Helgerson, *Forms,* 35.

[38] See chapter 1.

[39] 'The Fourth Booke of Virgills Aeneis', in Fanshawe, *Pastor* (1648), 271-96.

[40] Shakerley Marmion, in Fletcher (1634), A3r.

The preface to *La Fida Pastora* uses the same terms: 'Quod si ejusdem GUARINI aliorumque externas merces Anglici Portus benigne receperunt, et indies recipiunt (de Scriptis et Linguis loquor) externos portus, saltem qui liberi nuncupantur (certe *Sermo Latinus* est *Sermo Mundanus*) Anglicis quoque mercibus aperiri quis vetat?' (I 240).[41] But the classicising tendency in Fanshawe's comments about 'pass[ing] for a Native of ould Rome' suggests that his ideas of literary exchange are less evenly balanced than he would like to think. Lucretius cannot 'pass' for an Englishman, nor the Neapolitan bondman for a Spaniard, but Spenser can be praised for 'passing' for an ancient Roman. Latin translation, for Fanshawe, may be less about exporting what is *different* about English literature than about assimilating it to and revealing its homogeneity with classical models – even concealing its English origins.

The motivations for Latinizing *The Faithful Shepherdess* that are apparent in Fanshawe's letter to Evelyn omit arguably the most significant factor. Fletcher's play was not popular with its earliest audiences, nor is it held in high critical regard today, being characterised as undramatic and artificial,[42] but it was enthusiastically revived and claimed by the Caroline court in the 1630s. This revival is largely attributable to 'Henrietta Maria's famous preference for pastoral as the expression of *her* personal style'.[43] A new quarto was published in 1629; '[t]he most complicated theatrical event of 1634,' in Annabel Patterson's view, was probably the new production of the play on Twelfth Night.[44] Understanding this event's ideological content requires a consideration of 'its origins, especially in Guarini's *Il pastor fido*'.[45] In 1580s Italy, *Il pastor fido* acted as a rebuttal of Tasso's *Aminta*, which had defined the Golden Age as an era of sexual freedom. Guarini's play advocated for stricter sexual mores and 'relocated the debate on chastity within a socio-political framework',[46] offering a myth of restoration from degeneration, projected onto the marriage of Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, to Catherine of Austria in 1585. *Il pastor fido* was, then, a suitable vehicle for a further *translatio* to honour the English Charles and his foreign wife.

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[41] 'If English ports have happily received the foreign wares of that same Guarini and others, and still receive foreign imports day to day (I am speaking of writings and languages), who would forbid those who can be called their children (indeed, the Latin tongue is the universal tongue) to be opened also to English wares?'

[42] See Lee Bliss, 'Defending Fletcher's Shepherds', *SEL, 1500-1900*, 23.2 (1983), 295-310.

[43] Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology* (Oxford, 1988), 147.

[44] Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation* (Madison, 1984), 171-2.

[45] Ibid., 172.

[46] Ibid.

Fletcher's imitation became the expression of 'Caroline arcadianism in foreign policy and the concept of an ethically purified court', and a rebuttal of those who criticised its luxury.[47]

Fanshawe's first engagement with the various permutations of this play – his English translation of Guarini in 1647 – was dedicated to a third Charles, the Prince of Wales, in the hope of another *translatio* of the Italian 'happy Royall Marriage' to 'unit[e] a miserably divided people in a publick joy'.[48] In this dedication we find another type of 'Originall' and translation. Fanshawe hopes the play will cause the prince to 'reflect upon the sad Originall [the state of England], not without hope to see it yet speedily made a perfect parallel throughout', through a tragicomic reversal of fortunes on the political stage.[49] This conforms to the critical commonplace that tragicomedy was the genre of the era for royalists, because '[t]he two Charleses acted out virtually every role available to a ruler in romance or drama … the world after 1642 *was* an appalling confusion of classes, creeds, and genres'.[50] Fanshawe sees the texts of *Il pastor fido* and *The Faithful Shepherdess* as very closely aligned (even though they differ in many respects), calling his Latin version 'bis coctus' (I 240; 'twice-cooked'), understating the number of times that this material had been revived, and the significance it had cumulatively accrued. Fanshawe's decision to give his translation an Italian title, *La Fida Pastora*, rather than a Latin one, announces this close alignment. Latinizing Fletcher in 1658, Fanshawe reinvokes the play's tragicomic model for a fourth time, on the eve of the Restoration.

What Fanshawe wishes to export from Fletcher's play is its cumulative political content more than its literary status as an English work. In fact, Fanshawe takes comfort in its *identity* with past models, rather than any distinctively English features, and in the translatability of its tragicomic cycle through a kind of 'Pythagorica … transmigratione' (I 240). Fanshawe is drawn to Latinization for its ability to make the translation the original in a way that other types of translation cannot, as his letter implied – in a way that creates political compulsion, elevating the play to the status of an ineluctably recurring pan-European tragicomic myth. The Latin translation represents the culmination of Fanshawe's uses of Guarini's tragicomic structure as a 'typological framework' for contemporary historical events, to 'refer simultaneously to a number of different contexts, past, present, and future',[51] just as his partial Latinization of *Os Lusíadas*, I will show,

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Fanshawe, *Pastor* (1647), A4v.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing* (Cambridge, 1989), 107.

[51] Lockey, 245, 253, discussing Fanshawe's uses of the *Pharsalia* and Camões.

represents the culmination of his uses of Camões to the same effect. Latin translation is, for Fanshawe, a medium that is particularly equipped to express his ideology and political hopes; it is, I argue, the ultimate embodiment of his characteristic poetics. This is in part because the poetics of Latin translation shares traits with royalist poetics more broadly, as it has been characterised and rehabilitated in recent criticism, particularly in terms of its 'diachronicity'.[52] Yet Fanshawe's Latinizations also bring him closest to his old friend May, as he registers the bloody cost of the happiness that recurrent dynastic marriages will effect, offering an opportunity for a critical *rapprochement* between these literary foils.

Innocence and Blood

Fanshawe's career as a royalist poet, translator, politician and diplomat spanned the Civil War and Restoration, including positions as Secretary of War to the Prince of Wales (from 1644), Latin Secretary (1659), and Ambassador to Portugal (1660) and Spain (1664). He is best known as the author of the first English translation of Luís de Camões's *Os Lusíadas* (*Lusiad*, 1655). Yet, despite the diversity of his life and publications, 'when [Fanshawe] is mentioned in works on the period, it tends to be with reference to his supposed "absolutism" and taste for pastoral "idealization".'[53] At his best, Fanshawe's name is mentioned alongside Milton's,[54] but he has come off badly in comparisons with May, for example in Paleit's reading of 'Maius Lucanizans':

> [Fanshawe] mingl[es] ideals of [Horatian] *amicitia* … with the public-service ethos of his own gentlemanly caste. His wife [Ann]'s memoirs, which hardly mention his prolific literary endeavours, indicate that in the Fanshawe household poetry was considered a pastime to be indulged away from public life or political involvement. … May, however, came from a different tradition…[55]

This is something of an exaggeration. Poetry was always political for Fanshawe; his politics simply differed from May's of the 1640s. Arguments based on Ann Fanshawe's memoirs are unhelpful since her focus was not on literary activity at all. Her failure to mention her husband's poetry (amid

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[52] Nicholas McDowell proposes an interest in contemporary continental poetry and its translation as an identifying trait ('Towards Redefinition of Cavalier poetics', *The Seventeenth Century*, 32.4 (2017), 413-31). Lois Potter discusses royalist writers' use of kinds of code, including translation as decoding and 'genre as code'. I will discuss diachronicity further below.

[53] Pugh, *Herrick*, 87; see Norbrook, *Writing,* 65.

[54] E.g. by Graham Parry (see previous chapter), and David Quint, who finds a 'pattern of Miltonic allusion' to Fanshawe's English *Lusiad* in *Paradise Lost* (*Epic and Empire*, 253-4).

[55] Paleit, 306-7. See also Norbrook, *Writing*, 66, 81, 159-60, 252.

vivid accounts of political upheaval, exile, imprisonment, piracy and diplomacy) does not mean that the household considered it a disengaged pastime; in fact, Ann's anecdotes, which show that Richard disapproved of her asking questions about his political activities, might suggest the opposite.[56] Reappraisals of Fanshawe and other royalist poets have sometimes gone too far, however, to temper our image of cavalier pastoral ease by imposing models of literary value shaped by republican poetics. Syrithe Pugh, for example, argues that Fanshawe's belief in limited monarchy is legible in his use of classical allusion in his 1648 edition of *Il Pastor Fido*, as '[t]he dialogue with and between the dead poets in Fanshawe's volume is … the literary equivalent of, and metaphor for, parliamentary debate in a limited monarchy.'[57] Lockey agrees that this reading goes too far.[58] The 1648 *Il Pastor Fido* collection is illustrative of two other sides of Fanshawe's royalist poetics – transnational diachronicity and an often-bitter ambivalence – that resurface in *La Fida Pastora*.

The collection contains two pairs of poems self-translated from Latin to English – 'In Aedes Magnificas quas *Philippus* Secundus … Escuriis Aedificavit' and 'The Escuriall', 'Ad eximinae magnitudinis Navem sub auspiciis Caroli … 1637' and 'On His Majesty's Great Ship … 1637' (I 60-77) (the Latin poems are reprinted with *La Fida Pastora*) – as well as an initial foray into Latinization, of two poems by 'T.C.', Thomas Cary (79-83). The self-translated poems are not merely pairs but doubly reflected: Philip II's achievement in building El Escorial is paralleled in Charles's in building HMS Sovereign, the '*Escuriall of the Sea*', in 1637. Yet the fact that Philip's Escorial was an act of 'rebuil[ding] that which war had destroyed in a form more glorious than the original',[59] and that these poems are published not in 1637 but 1648, anticipates that a further repetition will be in order, when Prince Charles will have to rebuild after the Civil Wars. This temporal gesture is typical of the collection as a whole, which accrues meaning and authority by recasting pre-Civil War writings from the 1630s as full of latent conflict and 'premonitions' that 'now appear to have been accurate'.[60] The poems thus form a cyclical narrative of building and rebuilding, and Fanshawe uses the further duplication of Latin and English to reflect the series of reconstructions that they memorialise and presage.

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[56] See *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, ed. John Clyde Loftis (Oxford, 1979).

[57] Pugh, *Herrick*, 8.

[58] Lockey, 228-30.

[59] Davidson (I 356).

[60] Parry, 38-40.

Fanshawe's most cited poem in discussions of royalist poetics is the 'Ode Upon occasion of His Majesties Proclamation in the yeare 1630. Commanding the Gentry to reside upon their Estates in the Country' (I 55-9). This deeply ambivalent ode contains in miniature many elements that resurface in *La Fida Pastora*. Patterson observes that, for a poem of pastoral retreat, it is 'perversely structured along a trail of blood':[61]

> …Nor Cupid there lesse bloud doth spill,
> But heads his shafts with chaster love,
> Not feathered with a Sparrowes quill
> But of a Dove,
>
> There shall you hear the Nightingale
> (The harmelesse Syren of the wood)
> How prettily she tells a tale
> Of rape and blood.
>
> The lyrricke Larke, with all beside
> …
> Behold you shall.
>
> The Lillie (Queene) the (Royall) Rose,
> The Gillyflowre (Prince of the bloud)…

Like the blood on Perigot's hands that is washed away at the end of *The Faithful Shepherdess* to give rise to a 'chaster love',[62] the poem's 'innocent' ending cannot fully erase the memory of all its supposedly 'harmelesse' bloodshed:

> T'is innocence in the sweet blood
> "Of Cherryes, Apricocks and Plummes
> "To be imbru'd.

Fanshawe's ode also encodes its ambivalence through allusions to *Eclogues* 1 and 9, the most pervasive of which is its inversion of the position of Virgil's Meliboeus, Lycidas and Moeris, who have been displaced from their land via proclamation. The poet finds more in common with Tityrus, who has been allowed to retain his, hoping that the estates will

> A *Virgill* breed;
>
> A *Tytirus*, that shall not cease
> Th' *Augustus* of our world to praise
> In equall verse, author of peace
> And *Halcyon* dayes.

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[61] Patterson, *Pastoral*, 148.

[62] John Fletcher, *The Faithful Shepherdess: A Critical Edition*, ed. Florence Ada Kirk (London, 1980), Act 5 Scenes 4-5. Further references to this edition in parentheses.

This Tityran pastoral of praise is undermined by more complex echoes, however, which remind us that Tityrus's cavalier remarks in the first eclogue are inappropriate and fail to note his companion Meliboeus's continuing plight. If the nightingale's tale of rape and blood were not inappropriate enough, Fanshawe's 'Dove' and other birds seem to recall Moeris's view that, in a time of war, poetry is as ineffective as *Chaonias … aquila veniente columbas*.[63] This poem, too, functions diachronically, presenting itself in 1648 as a premonition of the bloodshed that was to come. Unlike the paired poems discussed above and other poems in the collection (such as *Il Pastor Fido* itself), the 'Ode' on the proclamation offers no narrative of restoration within its bounds. Its apparent optimism seems merely a painful naivety, concealing deep pessimism.

Fanshawe's poetics is characterised by a combination of notes of premonition or lamentation, which intimate suffering and bloodshed, and structural typologies through which he recalls and anticipates happy reversals and restorations of fortunes on a transnational scale. In *La Fida Pastora*, this combination is achieved largely by the use of generically-mixed Virgilianism, incorporating quotations from both the *Eclogues*, as we might expect in a pastoral, and, more prominently, *Aeneid* 1-4, which Fanshawe translated in 1647. As Lockey states, *Aeneid* 4, like the genre of tragicomedy to which it is structurally related,[64] was 'a favourite narrative for royalists during this period, reminding them of a possible parallel with Prince Charles's itinerant and romantic exile before a hoped-for assumption of the duties of governance'.[65] In the translation, a tension arises within the Virgilian word *umbra*, which contains the tropes of pastoral ease, sitting *lentus in umbra*, and epic/tragic threat, being blasted *fulmine ad umbras*, and the idea that the play is an *umbra* of the state itself (dependent on its common usage in rhetoric and poetics to describe imitation, as May uses it above). These meanings must merge and the tension dissipate in the play's happy ending. Just as Henrietta Maria's entertainments '*shadowed* continental current affairs' for the English court,[66] in the 1650s Fanshawe shadows past, current and future English affairs for readers both on the continent and at home. Instead of 'premonitions' or 'typologies', I therefore use 'adumbrations' for Fanshawe's mode of political engagement in *La Fida Pastora*.

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[63] 'Chaonian doves when the eagle is coming', 9.14. Pugh, 116.

[64] *Aeneid* 4 is generically related to Shakespearean tragicomedy in particular, to which Fletcher's plays are successors. See Barbara J. Bono, *Literary Transvaluation: From Vergilian Epic to Shakespearean Tragicomedy* (London, 1984).

[65] Lockey, 241.

[66] Karen Britland, *Drama at the Court of Queen Henrietta Maria* (Cambridge, 2006), 14. Italics mine.

Fanshawe's aspiration to diachronic authority by casting his poems as hermeneutically incomplete at the time of writing but completed by later events is a particularly pervasive version of a royalist technique.[67] It also shares something with Lois Potter's characterisation of tragicomedies of the period as 'requir[ing] to be completed by the reader's awareness of their context' – or, in the case of *La Fida Pastora*, by future outcomes.[68] Latinization heightens these effects in Fanshawe's writing. The temporality of Latin translation is one of both 'before' and 'after', reaching back into literary history and forward into futurity. Latin is particularly allusive, and allusion offers Fanshawe both memorialisation and incompleteness, a sense that history works by types. The pattern of allusion in *La Fida Pastora* offers a 'type' of the play's tragicomic ending which the ending then completes. The relationship of this allusive structure to the play's outcome is analogous to the play's relation to the state, which will likewise be turned around.

Shades of the Nation

The Faithful Shepherdess is a play of many doubles. Clorin, a faithful shepherdess, lives in solitude near the grave of her first love and rejects the advances of Thenot, who loves her self-defeatingly for her constancy and chastity. Another faithful shepherdess, Amoret, is betrothed to Perigot, but the jealous Amarillis enlists the help of the Sullen Shepherd to disrupt their relationship. Amarillis transforms herself into a double of Amoret and disgusts Perigot by making unchaste advances, leading him to commit violence against the true Amoret. Lustful Cloe pursues both Daphnis and Alexis, but she and they almost fall victim to the Sullen Shepherd, who now pursues her. With the help of a kindly Satyr, the virginal Clorin cures all the lovers. All promise to love faithfully and chastely in future.

Fanshawe introduces the Tityran pose familiar from his 'Ode' into the translation early on, by making a Fletcherian allusion more visible: he translates the Satyr's description of his god Pan 'Under a broad beeches shade' (1.1.98-9) as 'Sub Fagi patulae supinus umbra' (I.i.98),[69] a conflation of lines 1 and 4 of *Eclogue* 1. The Satyr is a benevolent figure who helps to effect the play's happy ending, suggesting perhaps that Fanshawe endorses his Tityran pose. However, an allusive expansion of the speech that follows the Satyr's, made by Clorin – the other, more human

[67] Venuti detects a similar temporal dynamic in John Denham's statement that his *Destruction of Troy* (1656) was 'Written in 1636' (see Venuti ('Introduction', n.63), 45).

[68] Potter, 85.

[69] I use Davidson's line numbers (I, 237-315).

orchestrator of the play's ending, whose pastoralism is characterised more by *pudor* than by Tityran ease – tempers this endorsement:

> …strong chastity,
> Be thou my strongest guarde, for heere Il'e dwell
> In opposition against Fate and Hell. (1.1.127-9)

> Ergo mihi tu forte scutum fortissima rerum
> Sis pudor: hic etenim vivam sub paupere tecto
> Strenua in oppositos Fatique Erebique furores. (I.i.123-5)

Fanshawe's insertion of a quotation from Horace's *Epistles* 1.10.32, a poem which contrasts country and city life, revises the Virgilian position *sub umbra* with a more modest one, *sub paupere tecto*.[70] The implication, especially when the allusion's immediate Horatian context is recalled, is that the Caroline court should model its arcadianism on Clorin's prudent example, rather than the Satyr's luxuriant one: *fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto / reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos*.[71] Fanshawe occasionally adds less covert reminders of the topical resonances of the play's pastoralism: for example, when Perigot vows to be true or

> …let our great God cease to keepe my flockes,
> That being left alone without a guard,
> The woolfe … fall speedily… (1.2.52-6)

Fanshawe translates 'left alone without a guard' as 'Rege remoto' (I.ii.49),[72] implicitly comparing the troubles to come in the play to the condition of the royalists in the 1650s. A later allusion to Ovid's *Tristia* resonates with contemporary loyalist exile. Disguised as a lustful Amoret, Amarillis says to Perigot, 'Utere temporibus' (III.i.293, for 'let time be usd', 3.2.68), quoting a phrase used by Ovid at the end of a mournful epistle to his wife from exile (*Tristia* IV.iii.83, meaning 'Make use of these [difficult] times'). Amarillis's wilful repurposing of this sentiment as a *carpe diem* exhortation in her attempted seduction acts as a reminder of the good Amoret's condition of exile at this point in the play.

Fanshawe's most systematic quotations in the first acts are taken from Virgil's account of the relationship between Dido and Aeneas. These echoes immediately introduce ominous overtones into the relationship between Perigot and Amoret, whose love is soon to be sabotaged by Amarillis. Perigot says to Amoret,

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[70] 'Beneath a humble roof'.

[71] 'Flee grandeur: your home may be humble, yet in life's race you may outstrip kings and the friends of kings.'

[72] 'With the king far away'.

Did you not tell me once …
I should not loose
Those many passions, vowes and holy oathes,
I have sent to heaven… (1.2.71-4)

Non mihi dixisti … tot vota, precesque,
Juramenta, Faces, fore non ludibria Ventis,
Quot sparsi ad Coelum? (I.ii.66-8)

recalling Aeneas's injunction to the Sibyl not to write her prophecies on leaves, lest they become *ludibria ventis* (6.75). The Sibyl's leaves are a figure for literary interpretation, often with prophetic political implications. Parry writes of Fanshawe's earlier translation of *Aeneid* 4 that the translator 'is attempting to assert an auspicious figure by interpreting the Sibylline leaves of the *Aeneid*'.[73] Charles I reportedly consulted the *sortes Virgilianae* before the outbreak of Civil War and landed on the passage in which Dido curses the Romans to be afflicted by conflict.[74] Perigot's vows, like such 'premonitions', will soon become *ludibria ventis*. Amoret responds, 'Omnia tuta timet virgo' (I.ii.82, for 'Maids must be fearefull', 1.2.90), adapting Virgil's description of the anxious Dido as *omnia tuta timens* (4.298), when she suspects that Aeneas may leave her. After these first allusions, the echoes are pervasive. Perigot describes the marriage he wishes to conduct that night as a 'Foedus' (I.ii.89), the word Aeneas uses to deny his marriage to Dido (4.339). Given this, the light of the 'Lunae pallentis' (I.ii.93) under which the marriage will take place is reminiscent of Aeneas seeing Dido in the underworld, like one who sees or dreams he sees the moon through the clouds (6.454). All of the play's female characters become doubles of Dido in her various states of mind. Amoret is a tragic, abandoned Dido. Amarillis, who will disrupt Perigot and Amoret's bond, soon enters using the language of a furious Dido, calling Perigot 'Crudelis' and 'perfidus' (I.ii.152, 172, 162). She quotes Dido's very un-pastoral usage of the word *umbras* in her oath to remain loyal to Sychaeus before succumbing to her love for Aeneas:

Amarillis:	Cruell, thou hast strucke me deader with thy voice Than if the angry heavens with their quicke flames, Had shot me through… (1.2.188-90)
F's Amarillis:	Crudelis! magis icta tua cado mortua Voce, Quam si pallentes adigat me fulmine ad umbras Jupiter iratus. (A6r)
Dido:	vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras, pallentis umbras… (*Aeneid* 4.25-6)

[73] Parry, 43.

[74] See Pugh, *Herrick,* 116.

Clorin's earlier vows to stay loyal to her lost love, which likely brought Dido to Fanshawe's mind, now cast her as an untragic version of Dido who stays true to Sychaeus.

The recurrent trope of *amor caecus* (blind love) associated with the *Aeneid*'s Dido story clarifies Fanshawe's comparison of the play's destructive lovers to recent political events:

> …Sure such fancies oft have bene
> Sent to abuse true love, and yet are seene,
> Daring to blinde the vertuous thought with error… (Daphnis, 2.4.41-3)

> Caecus ut erret amor fixo de tramite, saepe
> Talia sunt sane phantasmata, et ante fuerunt. (II.iv.38-9)

Amor caecus is a Virgilian trope, standing for self-defeating frenzy, lust, and the chaos of civil war.[75] It is used to describe the motivation of Dido's brother, Pygmalion, to murder her husband, Sychaeus (*auri caecus amore*)[76] – the first act in the sequence of events that ends in Dido's tragic fate, and a precursor to the *amor caecus* that will seize her. Fanshawe's lovers are repeatedly described as *caeci* (III.i.325-6, IV.iii.21). Linked to this trope throughout is the play's imagery of *phantasmata* or illusions and delusions – a particularly negative inversion of *umbra*. The night is full of such 'Somnia vana', as Amoret calls them (III.i.98), trying to convince herself that goblins and fairies are mere 'fables' as she roams the woods alone (3.1.99). She uses the language of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, on inept and indecorous mixtures in literature: *velut aegri somnia, vanae / fingentur species* (7), translated in Florio's Montaigne as 'Like sick men's dreams, that from a troubled brain / Phantasms create, ridiculous and vain'.[77] This language was also prevalent in contemporaneous discourse which compared, and causally linked, theatre with domestic agitation and civil war. The royalist Edmund Gayton, for example, writes in 1654 that stage-plays should be permitted because, like romances, they diverted those who otherwise might become 'troublesome':

> For want of these chimera's (which had no more harm in them, than their impossibility) reall phantasmes, and strong delusions have succeeded and possessed not a few, who … doe not write Romances, but act them, and fill the world with substantial Tragedies.[78]

Fanshawe's chimera – his mixed play full of theatrical 'phantasmata' – does not offer harmless, preventative diversion with theatrical impossibilities, but instead shadows the real delusions that have recently possessed the nation. The 'phantasmata' of *La Fida Pastora* act as negative,

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[75] See Gary B. Miles, *Virgil's Georgics* (Berkeley, 1980), 200.

[76] 'Blinded by his lust for gold', 1.349.

[77] Michel de Montaigne, *The Essayes*, trans. John Florio (London, 1578), Cv.

[78] Gayton, in Potter, 108.

destructive, metatheatrical versions of the kind of positive doubling that the play provides of recent events through its chimeric form. The impulses which affect the characters are *vanae species*, but the play itself is a realistic *species* ('likeness') or *umbra* of the nation. The parallels between these delusions and those that possessed Rome at multiple moments in its history are underlined when Fanshawe translates the Satyr's comment, 'Yet more blood, / Sure these wanton Swaynes are wood' (4.4.182-3), as 'Plus dum sanguinis? Audeam Nerones / Istos dicere saucios cerebro' (IV.iv.173-4).[79]

Around this point in the action, as the bloodiness is still present but beginning to recede, *La Fida Pastora* has a cluster of four images in common with Fanshawe's 1630 'Ode'. Three of these are found in Fletcher – the lark (IV.iv.161-3), Virgil's Tityrus (V.ii.141-8), and the nightingale (translated as 'Philomela', V.ii.167) – and one is inserted by Fanshawe. On the cusp of the play's restoration of pastoral peace, Fanshawe's translation of 'simple' (4.4.89) as 'Columbinis … moribus' (IV.iv.81-3, literally 'with dove-like ways') to describe Amoret (who has remained consistently chaste but been a victim of continual violence) recalls the image of Cupid feathering his shafts with dove quills in order to spill 'lesse bloud' and foster a 'chaster love'. The song of the nightingale and that of the lark (which signals the coming of morning) become more self-reflexive images in translation, in light of Fanshawe's 'Ode' and his translation of the 'Note' and 'laye' of the lark (4.4.173) as 'versiculos' and 'modos' (IV.iv.163), words associated with the composition of verse. Collectively, they register a transition from the play's 'tale of rape and blood' to a more pastoral mode, which cannot fully erase the memory of bloodshed – reinforced by Perigot's self-positioning under a beech tree ('me tegmine fagi', IV.i.45) just before he injures Amoret for the last time. These tropes register the distance but also tragic proximity between the 1630s lyric's 'premonitions' and what has now played out in the 'theatre' of 1650s England.

Fanshawe's translation signals that this transition is a tragicomic reversal in a number of ways. He inserts a self-reflexive generic gesture just before the resolution begins: Amoret's references to the 'place', 'sight' and 'pitty' of her loss of her lover Perigot (4.3.25-7) become a 'Tragicum … Theatrum' and 'Scena doloris' (IV.iii.23-5). Fanshawe literalises what would have been in performance metatheatrical and metageneric gestures that might have been lost on the page in Latin translation. Fanshawe's allusion to the opening lines of the *Metamorphoses* earlier in the translation made explicit the Ovidian nature of Amarillis's transformation into Amoret's double: her grandmother's magical formula had 'potestatem formas quascunque creatas / In nova

[79] 'I would dare to call them brain-injured Neros/Neronians'.

mutanda quae corpora iusserit' (II.iii.80-81).[80] Amarillis's later prayer for an actual Ovidian metamorphosis towards the end of the play – 'Let me be made a reede, and ever mute' (5.3.86) – therefore registers more powerfully as a moment of poetic justice and reversal, as the play's doubles become one again. Whereas Ovid's metamorphoses often have a tragic atmosphere and are irreversible, the transformations of tragicomedy are temporary and reversible.

Fanshawe repeats the word *umbra* and its variations throughout the translation. When Perigot is ultimately united with Amoret, he thinks she is merely 'Umbra ejus, an una Dearum' (V.v.41; 'her spright … in her shape', 5.5.42-3). This final instance of *umbra* reminds us of its dual Virgilian associations – a peaceful, pastoral *umbra*, and a hellish darkness – signalling a transition from the latter to the former. It also suggests that the play itself has been an adumbration of the state of the nation, just as Amarillis has been Amoret's *umbra*. The merging of this 'Umbra' with Amoret herself that the play's tragicomic conclusion achieves – similarly to Helen's tragicomic merging of 'the shadow of a wife' with 'the thing' itself at the end of *All's Well that Ends Well* (5.3.309-10) – is what the play itself would like to achieve, by merging its adumbrated happy ending with the reality of the state of the nation. Fanshawe finally emphasises that this merging is a return from a state of exile by translating Perigot's description of Amoret's spirit as 'chast … in the Ayre' immediately before their reunion (5.4.6) as 'Castus in exiliis [aereis]' (V.iv.7).

Mercurius Latinus

Fanshawe's mixed Virgilianism in *La Fida Pastora* tempers what may seem like wild optimism in its happy ending, published as it was before the death of Cromwell in 1658. Burrow writes of Fanshawe's earlier translation of *Aeneid* 4 that 'Fanshawe marks a new development in the English reception of Virgil [by] suggesti[ng] that the *Aeneid* offers consoling prophecies to losing causes.'[81] In *La Fida Pastora*, Fanshawe offers a semi-consoling prophecy of a tragicomic restoration of a Caroline pastoral world which can never be as innocent and luxurious as it once was. His allusiveness makes the merging of the political moment with his tragicomic adumbrations seem inevitable. Yet *La Fida Pastora* is hermeneutically incomplete, depending on future events to confirm that Fanshawe is, in fact, not a Dido, and his *umbra* not an appalling confusion of genres, but a true image of a tragicomic state.

[80] 'Power to turn creatures into whatever new bodies it commanded'.

[81] Burrow, 'Virgil', 114.

By inciting this reversal, Fanshawe takes on the role of Mercury, a figure whom Fanshawe would inhabit in different ways throughout his life. For instance, in a speech welcoming him as ambassador to Portugal some years later, John Salter asked:

> Cum e caelo in terras allegaret Jupiter, quem ni facundum allegaret Mercurium? Cum ex Anglia a Jove Anglo amandanda legatio, quem ni Mercurium amandaret Anglum? Deorum nuncius (ut fingunt Poetae) erat alatus: est et Augusti aliger legatus.
>
> (When Jupiter was sending a messenger from heaven to earth, whom would he choose but the eloquent Mercury? When an embassy was to be sent from England by the English Jupiter, whom would he choose but the English Mercury? The messenger of the gods (as the Poets claim) was winged: the ambassador of Augustus is also winged.)[82]

The nickname *Mercurius Anglus* alludes to the common pseudonym of contemporary gazette-writers which 'could be adopted in order to write with ink brewed with vitriol and poison'.[83] Many royalist mercuries were poetic or 'literary' newsbooks,[84] some even using dramatic form – most often tragicomic. Potter calls these mercuries 'pamphlet tragicomedies'.[85] Fanshawe's mercurial role in *La Fida Pastora* combines elements of Virgil's Mercury in *Aeneid* 4 – ambassador and advisor to the exiled prince – with Plautus's tragicomic Mercury in the *Amphitryon*, who turns the same play from a tragedy into a tragicomedy, and the royalist mercuries who report on the state of the nation in tragicomic form. This 'Mercurius Latinus' uses Latin translation to achieve a diachronic significance that differs starkly from the mercurialness of newsprint. Fanshawe is neither a blindly loyal Mercury, nor is he a warning and advisory Mercury who limits the monarchy's power in a quasi-parliamentarian fashion. As Mercury warning Aeneas – the prince – he is answerable to the old 'English Jupiter' or 'Augustus' – the memory of his father, and his divine right.

In his ambassadorial role as *Mercurius Anglus* in Portugal after the Restoration, Fanshawe had a professional as well as poetic interest in the potential for a 'happy Royall Marriage' to 'unit[e] a miserably divided people', as negotiator of the marriage alliance between Charles II and the Infanta, Catherine of Braganza, which would complete *La Fida Pastora*'s narrative. 'In preparation for one of his two embassies to Portugal' at some point in the early 1660s, either before or after the wedding in May 1662, Fanshawe produced a manuscript Latin translation of selections from

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[82] Salter, in Roger Walker, '"Mercurius Anglus": Sir Richard Fanshawe's Reception as Ambassador in Lisbon', *Portuguese Studies*, 6 (1990), 130.

[83] Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper* (Oxford, 1996), 192.

[84] Ibid., 165.

[85] Potter, 90.

the famous 1639 Spanish edition of *Os Lusíadas*, including prefatory poems, canto 1 and half of canto 4, which he had Englished in 1655.[86] This *Specimen Rerum a Lusitanis*, which is clearly conceived as a diplomatic instrument, also provides 'a more lucid perception of Fanshawe's own preoccupations as he himself read the poem' than the English translation.[87] Two preoccupations come to the fore. The first is a parallel between the 1383–1385 Portuguese interregnum recounted by Vasco da Gama in canto 4, a civil war between Castile and the first kings of Portugal, and recent English history, viewed 'through the lens of Lucan's *Pharsalia* as much as the lens of traditional Virgilian epic'.[88] Fanshawe alludes to the *Pharsalia* in the *Specimen*,[89] a gesture that cannot but recall his friendship with May, and characteristically registers the losses of the Civil Wars suffered on both sides. The second is the role of marriage alliances in effecting restorations. Fanshawe's Latin translation of canto 4 breaks off after stanza 47, which describes the uniting of Portugal and Castile through a pair of English marriages, of Philippa of Lancaster to João I of Portugal and her sister Catherine of Lancaster to Henrique III of Castile, and enables the epic to return to 'the Virgilian model of conquest and imperial expansion against the Moors':[90]

> After the KING OF HEAV'N, for ever blest,
> To the *Foe-Kings* in holy marriage gave
> Of ENGLISH SISTERS an unequall'd pair,
> Illustrious, lovely, beautiful, and Fair. (II 139 [4.47.5-8])
>
> *Tunc*, *Pacis* amabile munus
> Dat *Victor*, Victis; cum, par Regale sororum
> Nupserat, Anglarum, Commissis *Regibus*: Ambae
> Oribus, et virtute, pares; *Lancastrides*, Ambae. (II 362)
>
> (Then, the victor gives the lovely gift of peace to the defeated; when a royal pair of English sisters had made a marriage uniting the kings: both equal in features and virtue; both Lancasters.)

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[86] Lockey, 251.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid., 240.

[89] 'Qualiter Emathiis socer impius, et gener, arvis' (Davidson, II, 359), translating 'Quais nas guerras civis de Júlio e Magno' ['As in the civil wars between Julius [Caesar] and Magnus [Pompey]' (Camões, *Os Lusíadas* Canto IV, stanza 32)], alluding to *BC* 1.1: 'Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos'. Tom Earle, 'Bragança Restauração and Stuart Restoration: Politics and Rhetoric in Fanshawe's partial Latin Translation of *Os Lusíadas* (1663)', paper given at 'The Dyer's Hand: Poetry and Translation', Oxford, 10 November 2022, and private correspondence.

[90] Lockey, 251.

This conclusion is followed by lines in the hand of Lyonel Fanshawe, Richard's brother, which, as Lockey suggests, 'provide crucial insight into Fanshawe's work as a translator of works by Guarini, Horace, Virgil, Camões, and Antonio de Mendoza into English, as well as of works by John Fletcher and Camões into Latin':[91]

> Quondam Hymen erit alter, et altera Regia Virgo
> Quae, vice tunc versa, Diademate laeta Britanno
> Lusa nurus fulgebit; erint etiam altera Bella
> Hesperidum: Haec eadem semper Fortuna Sequetur;
> Haec itidem Regi Rex Anglus amicus utrique
> Inter Ulysseum componet et inter Iberum.
>
> (One day there will be another marriage, and another royal virgin, who, with roles reversed, a happy daughter of Lusus, will shine in the British crown; and there will be another war of the Hesperians; the same fortune will always follow. The English king will be friend to the king in the same way, and will unite Spain and Portugal.)

This commentary, whether Fanshawe's own (as seems likely) or his brother's, either anticipates or recalls the marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, 'predict[ing] an eternal return of yet another marriage alliance between England and Portugal.'[92] Characteristically, the lines are poised between prediction and recollection. Looking back at Fanshawe's earlier translations, we can add to this series of 'happy Royall Marriage[s]' those of Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, to Catherine of Austria in 1585, and of Charles I to Henrietta Maria in 1625.

Across various translation projects, then, Fanshawe promotes an 'international order' of 'like-minded sovereigns, linked to the English crown by virtue of their personal and political values',[93] each of which go through similar moments of crisis and achieve restoration by means of marriage alliances. Latin translation is an ideal medium for communicating across that international order and expressing its unity. The narratives of Virgil, Guarini, Fletcher, Camões converge into identical structures and one language, which shares its temporal Janus-facedness with Fanshawe's historical awareness and political thought. For Fanshawe, these nations were so connected that they were almost one 'transnational entity', to the extent that 'any war within Christendom had a civil as well as foreign element'.[94] This idea justified the English intervention into the present war between Portugal and Spain, but also led to a feeling that 'other European sovereigns should have had a similar obligation towards England during its moment of crisis'.[95] This helps to explain why

[91] Ibid., 252. Lockey does not provide a reading of *La Fida Pastora*.

[92] Ibid., 253-4.

[93] Ibid., 256.

[94] Ibid., 253.

[95] Ibid., 255.

Fanshawe published *La Fida Pastora* in 1658, but not the *Specimen* in 1663: it was a cry for help across Christendom and an attempt to draw others in to England's Civil Wars. Whereas May felt that the English Parliament was better understood by international audiences than in England, Fanshawe felt abandoned by these audiences, feeling that 'there was greater need' to 'informe strangers' than to 'remember our own Countrymen' of what they were still suffering.

In this period, the surface of a Latin text seems to be especially 'encoded' with political similitudes created by fragments of other texts and 'keywords'. Whereas May tries to mitigate the risks of this effect, Marvell politicizes 'The Garden' in Latin translation, drawing an allusive connection between Cromwell and Augustus that is reliant on that 'encoded' neo-Latinity but is withheld beyond the poem's surface. The surface of *La Fida Pastora* affiliates it with the royalist tragicomic narrative of *Aeneid* 4, but Fanshawe does something more, endowing the medium of Latinization itself with political significance as the vehicle for the eternal, transnational and transtemporal return of restoration.

Part III: Latin Translation After Milton

The following chapters discuss Latin translations of Milton in two different contexts, alongside two Augustan poets. Chapter 5 situates versions of *Paradise Lost* book 1 and Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* in the literary and political context of the 'Long Restoration'.[1] Chapter 6 looks beyond book 1 and the political conspiracies that were stirring at home, following a copy of *Paradise Lost* across the Atlantic, to consider the Latinization of Milton and Pope as an imperial venture.

[1] For the 'Long Restoration' see Blair Hoxby, 'Introduction' to *Milton in the Long Restoration*, ed. Blair Hoxby and Ann Baynes Coiro (Oxford, 2016), 1-4.

CHAPTER 5

Of Plots and Disobedience: Dryden and Milton in the 'Long Restoration'

For William Law, to Latinize *Paradise Lost* is to indulge a weakness in character which, if we were to take his sanctimonious view, we might see reflected in the biographies of its translators:

> I own, when I was about *Eighteen* [c.1704], I … should have been glad to have translated the *Sublime Milton* [into Latin] … but this *Ardour* soon went off, and I think it as good a proof of the *Sublime*, to desire the death of all that is diabolical and *Serpentine* in my own nature, as to be charmed with those *Speeches* which the *Devils* make in *Milton*.[2]

By the time Law was eighteen, one complete and four partial Latin translations of *Paradise Lost* had already been published (two more complete renderings and several partial would follow in the next fifty years). Hog, translator of the ten-book *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* (1690), 'Lycidas' (1694) and 'Comus' (1698),[3] died on the streets of London in 1702. Three of the four partial translators published only the 'diabolical' Book 1,[4] suggesting that they may indeed have been 'charmed with those *Speeches* which the *Devils* make'. These are the unidentified 'J.C.', pioneer of the trend of Latinizing Milton in 1686; Thomas Power in 1691, and M[ichael] B[old] in 1702.[5]

Almost all criticism of Latin translation to date has examined the *Paradise Lost* translations, primarily key passages from Book 1. John Hale discusses versions of the opening sentence; William Porter's key example is Satan's first speech (1.84ff.); Haan, the similes comparing Satan's shield to the moon as seen through Galileo's telescope (1.283-91) and the fallen angels to autumnal leaves

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[2] Law, in Aaron Shapiro, 'Levelling the Sublime', in *Milton in Translation*, ed. Duran, Issa and Olson, 53-69; 61.

[3] *Paraphrasis Poetica in Tria Johannis Miltoni*, trans. William Hog (London, 1690); *Paraphrasis Latina, in Duo Poemata* (London, 1694); *Comoedia Joannis Miltoni* (London, 1698).

[4] Charles Blake translated part of book 5 in *Lusus Amatorius* (London, 1694), 15-20.

[5] John Milton, *Paradisus Amissa*, trans. J.C. (London, 1698); *Johannis Miltoni Paradisi Amissi Liber Primus*, trans. T[homas] P[ower] (Cambridge, 1691); John Milton, *Paradisus Amissa … Liber Primus*, trans. M[ichael] B[old] (London, 1702). Further references to these in parentheses.

(1.299-304); Hinds, the opening and 'So spake the apostate angel…' (1.125-6).[6] Case studies of one translator's choices or the most classically allusive moments in the poem give a limited impression of *Paradise Lost* in Latin translation. While Hale takes the translations as 'expression[s] of [each] translator's own personality', Porter reads one version by Dobson as representative of the exercise's inevitable failure. Broadly, what this criticism has revealed is a densely allusive style that tends towards the 'diabolical', to use Law's word, or what Emily Wilson has called 'a Satanic poetics' that 'would deny any difference between classical and Renaissance epic'.[7] Translations that perform an act of 'reverse-engineering', setting up an 'echo-chamber of Virgilian association'; that 'restore to our sense of Milton's verse its Latinity' and 'marr[y] the Miltonic to the Virgilian', potentially engage in a kind of Satanic classicism.[8] The translators are made to resemble Satan in Book 1, immersed in classical resemblances and refusing to accept change, more than the Miltonic poet who is able to make crucial distinctions: 'thus they relate, / Erring' (1.746-7); 'If true, here only' (4.251); 'Not that fair field / Of Enna' (4.268-9); 'not less, but more heroic' (9.14). These critical approaches have been essentially ahistorical, especially those of Porter and Hinds, who read the translations 'to *imagine* how Milton could – or could not – have written the same epic in Latin'.[9] Even Hale, who finds that each translator improves on his predecessors, and Haan, who positions the translations in 'the long eighteenth century', do not attend to the translators' contexts. The translations become almost virtual (explicitly so in Hinds), occupying a hypothetical, past underworld which Milton himself rejected.

This approach has given the misleading impression that Latin translation is an extremely limited medium. However, in some respects, these readings accurately reflect the Latin versions of *Paradise Lost* – especially of book 1 – which do not immediately lend themselves to the kinds of analysis I conduct elsewhere in this thesis. These versions are not usually accompanied by prefatory statements of intent (only, in some cases, by effusive dedications); they seem to lack imagined readerships; their translators, especially J.C. and Bold, are all but anonymous; they seem detached from the modern world, mired in classicism; no spirit or image of Milton seems to animate them,

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[6] Hale (n.60); William M. Porter, *Reading the Classics and 'Paradise Lost'* (Lincoln; London, 1993); Haan, 'Latinizing' (n.7); Hinds, 'In and Out' (n.68). All references to *PL* from John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler, 2nd edn (London, 2013).

[7] Emily Wilson, 'Quantum Mutatus ab Illo: Moments of Change and Recognition in Tasso and Milton', in *Epic Interactions: Perspectives on Homer, Virgil, and the Epic Tradition*, ed. M.J. Clarke, B.G.F. Currie and R.O.A.M. Lyne (Oxford, 2001), 273-300; 299.

[8] Hinds, 'In and Out', 82-3; Hale, 182; Haan, 'Latinizing', 105; Porter, 145-7.

[9] Hinds, 'In and Out', 79.

and the Miltonic narrator's assertive voice is hard to detect; there is little 'to commend them as an act of interpretation'.[10] In short, it is difficult to gain a foothold in them; they seem untethered, alienating, even inhuman. This chapter tries to resolve this critical impasse by approaching the early *Paradise Lost* translations through Latin versions of another late-seventeenth-century biblical poem. I propose that two unexamined Latin translations of *Absalom and Achitophel*, John Dryden's 1681 satire on the Exclusion Crisis, might offer a 'key' to the *Paradise Lost* translations when read alongside them. Translations of Dryden's 1681 satire on the Exclusion Crisis were published by William Coward and Francis Atterbury in 1682. In comparison with the early *Paradise Lost* translations, these translations know what they are about: they speak to a small target audience and are clear about their political meaning and intent; the translators are present in their translations, emulating the prominent, persuasive voice of their original poet; their narrative, like that of Dryden's original, is tethered to contemporary events, and these events provide an interpretative 'gloss' on the poem and its translations. Dryden's form and content are less 'classical' than *Paradise Lost* book 1, lessening the risk that the translations will seem mired in a Virgilian echo-chamber. Yet, in spite of these differences in character, I will show that Coward's and Atterbury's translations of Dryden share a specific allusive and political language with J.C.'s, Hog's, Power's and Bold's versions of Milton.

This shared language arises to a large extent because *Absalom and Achitophel* is closely modelled on *Paradise Lost* book 1, at least until line 752 of 1031.[11] After an introduction (*PL* 1.1-34; *AA* 1-149), the leading intriguer is introduced (Satan, *PL* 1.34; Achitophel, *AA* 150), then speaks with his closest associate (Beelzebub, *PL* 1.84-282; Absalom, *AA* 230-476); the intriguer gathers his followers, catalogued by the narrator and addressed by the intriguers (*PL* 1.299-669; *AA* 491-722); finally, a 'moving court' (*AA* 739) is created (*PL* 1.670ff.; *AA* 723-52). Dryden's departure from Milton's structure towards the end of the poem still achieves the dwarfing of the devils on which *Paradise Lost* book 1 ends: the narrator makes a moralizing interjection to 'foolish Israel' (753-814), then catalogues David's chief followers (815-932), ending on a triumphant speech by David (939-1025) which effects a 'restor[ation]' and begins a lawful 'series of new time' (1026-31). Dryden's Miltonic allusions stretch beyond *Paradise Lost* book 1, relating Achitophel's

[10] Hale, 178.

[11] See Leonora Leet Brodwin, 'Miltonic Allusion in "Absalom and Achitophel": Its Function in the Political Satire', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 68.1 (1969), 24-44. All references to *Absalom and Achitophel* from John Dryden, *Selected Poems*, ed. Paul Hammond and David Hopkins (Abingdon, 2007), 150-228.

seduction of Absalom to Satan's temptations of Adam, Eve and Christ, and are not only structural: Dryden scatters the poem with Miltonisms, angels, fruit and trees. A dedicatory poem claims it is 'As if a *Milton* from the dead arose, / Filed off the rust, and the right party chose'.[12]

In this chapter, I will move between the Milton and Dryden translations to make two linked arguments which concentrate on two shared motifs. First, I will briefly position the translations in the context of late-seventeenth-century Miltonic and Drydenian reception and the translators' milieux. I will then trace the Virgilian *quantum mutatus* ('how changed') motif through *Paradise Lost*, *Absalom and Achitophel* and their translations, exploring how the allusion functions differently in English and Latin, original and translation, to show that Latinization can achieve a much greater variety and depth of allusive effects than has generally been appreciated. Finally, I will illuminate the translations' political recasting of their common Miltonic original by parsing the topical vocabulary of political contract that is central to both poems in English and Latin. In *Paradise Lost*, these motifs are concentrated in passages that have been identified as moments of peril for the Latin translator: the opening of the poem, and Satan's first speech. Each section therefore begins with a 'translatorly' or interpretative 'problem' in the *Paradise Lost* translations, then considers the Dryden translators' handling of the same issue, in order to reappraise the Latinized *Paradise Lost*.

Both a Reader and a Composer

The trend of Latinizing *Paradise Lost*, taking off with J.C. only ten years after Milton's death and the twelve-book poem, is one indication among many for Hale that the poem 'gained the status of a classic', 'almost from the first'.[13] The same period saw the first, illustrated, folio *Paradise Lost* published by Tonson in 1688, and Patrick Hume's *Annotations*, the first sustained scholarly annotation of an English vernacular poem, in 1695; Addison's essays on *Paradise Lost* followed in *The Spectator* in 1711, seen by Johnson as making Milton 'accessible and familiar' to 'readers of every class'.[14] The way in which Latinization confers classic status on *Paradise Lost* is at odds with the broader process of 'domestication' in which these editions and essays participated, which made

[12] 'To the Unknown Author', in John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, 2nd edn (London, 1681), A4r.

[13] Hale, 174.

[14] Johnson, in Thomas N. Corns, 'Joseph Addison and the Domestication of *Paradise Lost*', in *Making Milton: Print, Authorship, Afterlives*, ed. Emma Depledge, John S. Garrison and Marissa Nicosia (Oxford, 2021), 54-62; 55-6.

Milton 'fit for the fireside or breakfast table' of a readership encompassing 'the nonconformist *bourgeoisie* … the backwoods gentry – and their wives and daughters'.[15]

The *Paradise Lost* translations were not quite as quick off the mark as the versions of *Absalom and Achitophel*. Dryden's poem came out in November 1681, timed to affect public opinion about the trial of Shaftesbury (Achitophel); the two Latin translations by Oxford students Coward and Atterbury appeared promptly in 1682. Like *Paradise Lost*'s cryptic allusions, Dryden's political allegory also demanded annotation, but the difficulty it posed was of a very different character. The idea of Latinizing *Absalom and Achitophel* still met imagined scorn in one satirical dialogue, in which it was represented as counter to the domesticising spirit of the age:

> B: …How impertinent is it to publish that *Absalon & Achitophel* in *Latin,* without getting it translated for the Ladies, if it be good for any Thing? What a Pox, do you think Gentlemen must be at the Slavery, like School-boys, of construing it to them in *English*? … [P]erhaps [Mr. Pope] … might be prevailed on to take a hundred Guineas to do it for you.[16]

The obscurity of Latinization *and* the dumbing-down of domestication are sent up here. The absurd image of 'Gentlemen' slaving away at back-translating the Latinized *Absalom and Achitophel* for their wives exposes the speaker's Pope-mad ignorance. His interlocutor ('C') responds, 'Sir, I presume you have seen the Poem, in its *English* Original, by Mr. *Dryden*. I doubt whether the Public would desire Mr. *Pope*'s finishing Hand to that Piece…' C defends Atterbury's translation (reprinted alongside this dialogue in Pope's correspondence) as 'inimitable by Mr. *Pope*'.[17] This joke foregrounds the familiar ideas of Latinization as back-translation and as a servile, pedagogical activity, but the contrast with domestication for a female readership and the implication (albeit hypothetical) that it is an 'impertinent' and pointless practice is new to the eighteenth century. The dialogue deliberately and parodically divorces Atterbury's translation from its context and intended readership, which would not have desired domestication – quite the opposite.

Coward's translation was completed as early as April 1682, beaten by only one of the English imitations of the poem that were published in that year. Another version by the nineteen-year-old future Jacobite conspirator and friend of Pope, Atterbury (with Francis Hickman), followed soon after. While one Oxford printer typeset both translations, it seems that the market only had space for one: Coward's was apparently 'eclipsed' by Atterbury's 'greatly superior

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[15] Christopher Hill, in Corns, 61.

[16] *Mr Pope's Literary Correspondence*, ed. Edmund Curll, vol. 3 (London, 1735), vi.

[17] Ibid., vi-vii.

version'.[18] Unlike the many Latin translations that address themselves to posterity, both versions of *Absalon et Achitophel* emphatically target the present. Coward wanted to compose something that would 'praesenti temporum inserviret scenae, et seculi genio quadraret'.[19] Atterbury's epigraph, 'Haec placuit semel: haec iterum repetita placebit?',[20] adapts the same passage of Horace's *Ars Poetica* (361-5) as Dryden's original epigraph, 'Si Propius stes / Te Capiet magis'.[21] Atterbury speaks to the same audience that read the original only a year ago, for whom his translation is a repetition. Dryden's epigraph is an instruction to read the poem closely to decipher its political allegory; Atterbury's shows not only that the translation performs a close reading of the original, but also that, for all its topicality, *Absalom and Achitophel* is not the kind of poem that only bears reading once. Reiteration in translation offers a chance to look even *more* closely. This is precisely how Atterbury's translation was read: just as Dryden's first readers made keys identifying each of the biblical characters, one reader of Atterbury marks their copy with names in the margins: 'Monmouth', 'R. Cromwell', 'Shafts', etc.[22] For Addison, a large part of the pleasure of reading *Absalom and Achitophel* was deciphering it in this way:

> …the Mind is never so much pleased, as when she exerts her self in any Action that gives her an Idea of her own Perfections and Abilities. This natural Pride … is very much gratified in the reading of a Fable; for in Writings of this Kind, a Reader comes in for half of the Performance; Every thing appears to him like a Discovery of his own; he is busied all the while in applying Characters and Circumstances, and is in this respect both a Reader and a Composer … For this Reason the *Absalon* and *Achitophel* was one of the most popular Poems that ever appeared in *English*.[23]

A large part of the pleasure of the Latin, then, would be the extra level of thin veiling it seemed to create, adding linguistic and feigned temporal distance to Dryden's allusive distance from

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[18] Dario Pfanner, 'Coward, William', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6488 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[19] 'Serve the present scene of the times and be appropriate to the genius of the age'. John Dryden, *Absalon et Achitophel*, trans. William Coward (Oxford, 1682), A2.

[20] 'This pleased once: will it please repeated again?' John Dryden, *Absalon et Achitophel*, trans. Francis Atterbury with Francis Hickman (Oxford, 1682), A1.

[21] 'It will captivate you more the nearer you stand'. John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, 1st edn (London, 1681).

[22] https://www.proquest.com/books/absalon-et-achitophel-poema-latino-carmine/docview/2240896578/se-2?accountid=13042 (accessed 18 February 2022). See Alan Roper, 'Who's Who in *Absalom and Achitophel*?', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 63.1/2 (2000), 98-138.

[23] Addison, in Roper, 99.

contemporary events, so the mind might exert herself even more vigorously, rather than taking the performance out of reading by domestication.

The target audience of Coward's and Atterbury's translations was presumably their fellow Oxford students – in Atterbury's case, the even narrower cohort of politically like-minded, elite Westminster scholars at Christ Church, among whom he was prominent. Atterbury was a staunch Tory, if not yet a fully-fledged Jacobite, and his politics were nurtured under the high Tory Subdean (later Dean) Henry Aldrich. (Forty years later, Atterbury would instigate the unsuccessful 'Atterbury Plot' of 1721-2, which aimed to put the Pretender on the throne as James III by means of a rising and invasion from Ireland.) Atterbury's collaborator, Hickman; his tutor, Aldrich, and the former headmaster with whom he was corresponding in 1681, Richard Busby, were all Christ Church 'Westminsters'. No wonder Atterbury later came to see his college life as a 'nauseous circle of small affairs'.[24] A factor in Atterbury's choice of original was likely his kinship with Dryden himself, also a 'Westminster'. Dryden's poem alludes to the Dean before Busby, John Dolben, as 'Him of the western dome' (*AA* 868), and the boys of the school as 'The prophet's sons' (870). Atterbury would inherit Dolben's dual role thirty years later when he became Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster. Atterbury does not amplify the nod to his old school when translating, so the connection is only implicit (that was probably how its most immediate readers preferred it).[25] Atterbury's close acquaintance with the subjects of Dryden's poem would only increase in his later life. The compiler of his memoirs goes as far as to say that the translation was 'a decided initiation into politics' for Atterbury, which formed the opinions that drove his career:

> In the original, Dr. Burnet, to whom [Atterbury] was to be opposed, is … Balak: in 'Sagar of Jerusalem,' he found his future diocesan, Dr. Compton, Bishop of London; and in Zadoc his primate, Dr. Sancroft … courtiers and statesmen, whose acquaintance he was to form – Rochester, Halifax, and the Dukes of Grafton and Buckingham – were introduced to him as Hushai, Jotham, Othniel, and Zimri.[26]

While Coward's and Atterbury's translations are not pitched to an exclusively Oxford-student audience, their context would have supplied a natural readership receptive to a Latinized *Absalom and Achitophel* both politically and linguistically.

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[24] Atterbury, in D.W. Hayton, 'Atterbury, Francis', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/871 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[25] The annotator of the Houghton copy has no trouble identifying Atterbury's '*Hesperii Laris Antistes*' as '*Roffens*' (33), but he does not note that the bishop was also Dean of Westminster, as two out of the 67 annotators surveyed by Roper do (Roper, 110).

[26] Folkestone Williams, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Atterbury* (London, 1869), 31-2.

The political reasons for Latinizing *Absalom and Achitophel* in 1682, when the threat posed by Monmouth and Shaftsbury was ongoing, are obvious, and align with Dryden's intentions. It is clear for which party Coward and Atterbury are drawing their pens, and their translations broadly amplify the poem's political message. Less so for *Paradise Lost* between 1686 and 1702, when Milton's politics remained a source of anxiety, and 'an obvious site for [the] contest of ideologies' that occurred across multiple political crises and three monarchies, as 'culture wars developed between the nascent Whig and Tory parties'.[27] As well as domestication, Hume's annotations contributed to a de-politicization and de-historicization of Milton, and Addison's essays confirmed a 'shift in Milton's status, from that of [a] writer embedded in a radical political and theological tradition to that of the cultural icon of a broadly conceived English Protestantism'.[28] The 'typical' reception history interprets Tonson's 1688 folio as 'an indication that the greatness of *Paradise Lost* had overcome any taint remaining from Milton's defences of regicide', but this is 'reductive' and anxieties were ongoing.[29] While some tried or feigned to depoliticise Milton, others positioned him more firmly as a pen for one party. John Toland and other republican agitators 'claim[ed] Milton for the cause of free-thinking whig radicalism',[30] but more moderate Whigs who 'made extensive use of Milton's writings' were wary of 'call[ing] upon his authority explicitly for fear of identifying themselves' with republicanism.[31] Tories manipulated this identification cleverly: '[w]hen Milton spoke to their purpose, the Tories readily made use of him to refute Whig principles through one of the Whigs' own authorities'.[32] In *The State of Innocence* (1677), Dryden's popular rhymed libretto adaptation of *Paradise Lost* – another domestication – he had already 'detune[d] the antithesis between Milton's "strenuous liberty" and Restoration libertinage [and] accommodate[d] Milton's anti-Augustan poetics to [his own] Augustan vision'.[33] In *Absalom*, Dryden's recasting of Milton to celebrate (ironically) Charles II's libertinism is even stronger. Milton's location of a rebellious,

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[27] David A. Harper, 'The First Annotator of *Paradise Lost* and the Makings of English Literary Criticism', *SEL 1500-1900*, 59.3 (2019), 507-30; 510.

[28] Corns, 53.

[29] Harper, 510.

[30] Philip Connell, *Secular Chains: Poetry and the Politics of Religion from Milton to Pope* (Oxford, 2016), 143.

[31] Brodwin, 26. See George Sensabaugh, *That Grand Whig Milton* (New York, 1967).

[32] Brodwin, 26.

[33] Matthew C. Augustine, 'How John Dryden Read his Milton: *The State of Innocence* Reconsidered', in *Texts and Readers in the Age of Marvell*, ed. Christopher D'Addario and Matthew Augustine (Manchester, 2018), 224-39; 226.

republican ideology in the figure of Satan is all too easy for Dryden to run with, requiring only minor shifts of emphasis.

A Latin version of *Paradise Lost* in the period when Milton was becoming canonized as the master of the Whig tradition was probably never going to appeal to Atterbury's target audience of university-based readers with high Tory sympathies who enjoyed exercising their interpretative talents. Nor would it draw the growing audience of readers who wanted to be taught how to appreciate the poem's aesthetic merits, especially its classical allusions. The *Paradise Lost* translations seem comparatively to lack a captive audience, other than a dedicatee or patron in some cases. Hog's extensive, effusive preface gives the impression that he has not given a thought to the purpose of his translation beyond pleasing Daniel Coxe, the Royal Society Fellow and colonial financier who commissioned it. Any interest in the idea of Latinizing *Paradise Lost* is attributed to Coxe, who apparently would have liked to translate Milton himself, if not for his business commitments. Hog was more than happy to oblige – at speed, completing *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* within two years – to relieve himself of the penury he had suffered in the fourteen years since he came to England from Scotland. It is Coxe, mediated by Hog, who imagines a readership for '*Paradise Latinized*':

> quia a Miltono Anglice scriptum fuit, antehac exteris regionibus latuit incognitum … turpe tibi fuisse videbatur … quod per omnes terras fama celebrari dignum est, tam diu inter angustos Britanniae limites delituerit (vii-viii)
>
> ([*Paradise Lost*] has remained unknown until now to foreign regions, because it was written by Milton in English … It seemed unseemly to you [Coxe] … since his fame was worthy to be celebrated throughout all lands, that it was hidden for so long within the narrow confines of Britain)

Power is the only other to speculate, at the end of the preface largely pitched at 'Anglos', that his translation 'inter exteros forsan evagentur' (A4v).[34] Of the first wave of *Paradise Lost* translators, Power's context as a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge is most similar to Coward's and Atterbury's. *Circa* 1690, Trinity was not yet the home of early Miltonism that it would become under Richard Bentley, although the Trinity manuscript was almost certainly already there. Power crossed over at Trinity as a student (from 1678) and, narrowly, as a Fellow (from 1684/5) with Daniel Skinner, Milton's amanuensis, who departed Trinity in 1685.[35] Power seems to have been a pioneer of Trinity Miltonism, and his translation, printed in Cambridge and dedicated to the

[34] 'Might perhaps roam among foreigners'. See chapter 6.

[35] See William Poole, 'Provenance' and 'Knowledge of the Manuscript', in *The Complete Works of John Milton, Vol. 11: Manuscript Writings*, ed. Poole (Oxford, 2020), 324–31.

Master, John Montagu, probably met its first audience among the fellowship. J.C. claims to be part of a group or movement to Latinize *Paradise Lost* in 1686, the context of which is elusive. He says he has nine further books to hand, in collaboration with friends; he is hesitant to bring out the rest at this stage since

> Neque enim rem me amicis gratam facturum esse putabam, si reliquos prius ederem, quam de primi fortuna jacta esset alea; quo nempe innotesceret, quid spei, quidve emolumenti inversae isti Poemata transferendi methodo apud Literatos exsurgeret (A3v)
>
> (I did not think that it would be welcome to my friends, if I put out the rest before the dice were thrown from the fortune of the first; by which it may become known, what hope, what profit should arise among the literati by this inverse method of translating poems.)

J.C. sees himself as an innovator, taking a risk by pitching Latinization to a general readership of 'Literatos', who may not have wanted a Latin *Paradise Lost*, as no further books followed. Bold makes no statements about his translation's potential readership.

While Bold's politics can be inferred from the fact that he was ejected from Trinity Hall, Cambridge following the Glorious Revolution, when he was 26,[36] only J.C. declares himself politically. Not long after James II's accession, he dedicates his translation to Thomas Mompesson, then a member of the 'Loyal Parliament'. He praises Mompesson for remaining loyal to the monarchy and his parliamentary office despite being Anglican, and for his commitment to royalist exile during the Civil Wars (A2r-v). Either the irony of dedicating a translation of *Paradise Lost* to such a man (two years before James was deposed) was lost on J.C., or he had managed to recast Milton as an 'icon of a broadly conceived English Protestantism', a loyalist supporter of a divine monarch against a Satanic rebel. J.C. evidently won over the newly reinstated licenser, Roger L'Estrange, who is named prominently on the title page. Throughout his time as censor, L'Estrange 'sought to limit the effect of Milton's works … by controverting them or by threatening to deny them license'.[37] L'Estrange's censorship rested on 'a low interpretative threshold' – mainly targeting the prose tracts – which would not have extended to analysis of a translation beyond its preface; nonetheless, Nicholas van Maltzahn considers L'Estrange's licensing of J.C.'s *Paradisus Amissa* as part of his surprising 'recovery of Milton the poet from Milton the controversialist'

[36] 'Deaths', August 1742, in *The London Magazine: and Monthly Chronologer* (London, 1742), 413.

[37] Nicholas van Maltzahn, 'L'Estrange's Milton', in *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, ed. Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch (Aldershot, 2008), 27-52; 32.

(which was still 'coloured by … lingering malice').[38] J.C.'s politics as expressed in his preface are similar to L'Estrange's, and his implicit recasting may have aided L'Estrange's *volte-face*.

How Changed?

The translations do not make Milton's and Dryden's allusions '*Easie to the English Reader*', as Hume's annotations set out to do – quite the opposite. They do, however, often set '*Parallel Places*' from Latin literature before the reader by '*Quot*[*ing*]' them. Sometimes they even '*Cite*' them: Coward gives a smattering of citations in the margins. Do they equip readers to '*Compare*' them,[39] and implicitly exercise Addisonian judgement, 'avoid[ing] being misled by similitude, and by [the Satanic] affinity to take one thing for another'?[40]

In Hume's annotations, comparisons between passages of *Paradise Lost* and Virgil are made with the phrase 'So *Virg.*', which conveys strong similitude. Differentiation is not made easier for the English reader – she must read the Virgilian passage against Milton, if she can:

> If thou beest he; but oh how fallen! how changed
> From him, who in the happy realms of light
> Clothed with transcendent brightness didst outshine
> Myriads though bright (*PL* 1.84-7)

> V. 84. *If thou beest he*; If thou beest my Companion; But how disguised, how changed and alter'd by thy fall, from him, who in the happy Region of the Day, invested with excessive Brightness, didst outshine Millions tho' bright! So *Virg.*
>
> > *Hei mihi qualis erat! Quantum mutatus ab illo*
> > *Hectore, qui redit exuvias indutus Achillis,*
> > *Vel Danaum Phrygios jaculatus puppibus ignes!* AE. 2.[41]

Satan's first words also allude to Isaiah 14:12 ('How art thou *fallen* from heaven, O Lucifer'). In fact, the Virgilian allusion serves as a diversion from the moral implications of the biblical verse, effected by Satan's self-correction from 'fallen' to 'changed'. As Burrow writes,

> [the] priority [of the biblical text] gives a powerful irony to Satan's words. … Layering the voice of the prophet Isaiah over those reverberating echoes of classical texts [this moment in Virgil being based on Ennius's meeting with the ghost of Homer] suggests that it is the prophet rather than Satan himself who really knows

[38] Ibid., 37, 51-2.

[39] P[eter/Patrick] H[ume], *Annotations on Milton's Paradise Lost* (London, 1695), title page.

[40] Joseph Addison, *The Spectator* 62, 11 May 1711, in *Critical Essays from the Spectator by Joseph Addison*, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford, 1970).

[41] Hume, 9.

> what is going on in this scene. Satan's echo of Virgil seems like an afterthought, an attempt to cover over his biblical fall with epic allusions.[42]

Hume's placement of Milton and Virgil in parallel (with the English also paraphrased) is similar to what we find in Bold's parallel-text translation:

> *Si tu forte, Ille es; sed quam mutatus ab Illo,*
> *Cujus per Lucis nuper felicia Regna,*
> *Mille (tamen claros) praeluxit Gloria Divos,*
> *Largior et Radius, quam caetera Numina, vestit*… (14-5)

Much is shared between Hume and Bold: the crucial Virgilian phrase is quoted directly, and Bold's rendering of the rest of the passage resembles Hume's English paraphrase ('invested'/'*vestit*', 'Millions'/'*Mille*'). The difference is the order of priority (Bold gives the English on the recto), and the sense in Bold that Virgil has been so fused with the translation that differentiation becomes difficult, or that the translation appears like a source rather than a true translation in this moment. Like the Virgilian line, Bold's version lacks any mention of fallenness: when placed in parallel, it is as if Bold is the classical locus Milton has radically revised by introducing 'how fallen!' If the English text were absent – as in previous *Paradise Lost* translations – that crucial differentiation might be erased.

For Porter, this is the essential Miltonic 'critical allusion' which is doomed to fail in Latin translation (and in neo-Latin poetry generally). A 'critical allusion' performs a twofold task: 'first reference, then critique', 'intimat[ing] the profound chasm between Milton's experience … and the experience embodied in the pre-text…'[43] Porter thinks this fundamental element of criticism becomes impossible to detect when the poem is Latinized, and 'the allusion is framed in Virgil's own language', because it is translation into English that 'renders the basic sense of change [in the Virgilian line] responsive to a new moral context.'[44] His view that interpretative transmutation of the Virgilian source is 'impossible to see' in Latin is based on a reading of Dobson's version, which is similar to Bold's: 'Si sis Ille Idem! verum o quam eversus, ab Illo / Quantum o mutatus'. *Eversus* ('overturned' or 'ruined') 'has none of the resonance of "fallen," and consequently … fails to invest "mutatus" with the moral depth [of] Milton's "how changed"':[45]

> neither the local pathos nor the larger context of the Vergilian passage is evoked and reconsidered, as it had been in Milton's allusion. I have found this failure to be

[42] Burrow, *Imitating*, 283.

[43] Porter, 146.

[44] Ibid., 145.

[45] Ibid., 146.

> common to all the passages in which Dobson translates what had been for Milton a critical allusion.[46]

This argument is easily refuted by comparison with other translators' more successfully 'critical' renderings of this allusion; it is worth doing so briefly to explore the varied effects of Latinization on Miltonic allusion. Hog's and J.C.'s versions offer the most obvious rebuttal: that the critical edge of Milton's allusion is not dependent on linguistic change, but on the addition of a new element – a morally loaded word or phrase – to the Virgilian echo.

> J.C.: Ille idem si sis—Sed qua de spe cecidisti!
> Quam Tibi dissimilis! quantum mutatus ab illo (4)
>
> Hog: Tune ille, ah subiti fatum miserabile casus!
> Hei mihi! qualis ades, quantum mutatus ab illo (4)

Although J.C.'s addition of 'de spe cecidisti' to 'mutatus' does not recreate the denial in Satan's self-correction of 'fallen' to 'changed', it does convey that he is fallen from grace; 'cecidisti' is the Vulgate word for 'fallen' in Isaiah. These versions pave the way for Trapp's highly effective solution, 'quam lapsus! ab illo / Quantum mutatus!' (1.86-7). On the other hand, Power might seem to have missed the allusion, if he did not show himself to be an able imitator of Virgil elsewhere (just ten lines above, he quotes a half line (*PL* 1.74; *Aeneid* 6.579)).

> Tune ille! heu! qualis facies, quantusque recessit
> Frontis honos, Dive o quondam pulcherrime Divum?
> Tune ille es… (3)

What is compelling about Power's version is Satan's utterly superficial focus on the *facies* and *frons*, which prevents him from achieving self-knowledge. Only the least definite elements from Virgil are retained, *qualis* and *quantus*; the denial of the fuller echo, *quantum mutatus*, takes Satan's denial of the implications of Isaiah even further: even the degree of transformation conveyed by *mutatus* is too much to concede. In both Hog and Power, the (semi-suppressed) allusion to *Aeneid* 2.274 (*quantum mutatus*) is inflected with another moment in the *Aeneid*, Dido's recognition of Aeneas: *tune ille Aeneas, quem … ?* (1.617). In the movement from *tune ille* to *ab illo*, the recognisee, Aeneas, becomes the recogniser, implying that the change Satan recognises in Beelzebub reflects his own changed state, while keeping this self-knowledge from Satan, who seems unaware that his words are quotations. Latin has a particular capacity to allude while keeping the significance of the allusion from the speaker: like a diligent but unreflective schoolboy, Satan has sub-consciously absorbed

[46] Ibid.

these fragments and seems to employ them unwittingly. Contrast Dryden's English revision of these lines in *The State of Innocence*, in which Satan is an unlikely master of self-reflection:

> If thou art he: but Ah! how chang'd from him,
> Companion of my Arms! how wan! how dim!
> How faded all thy Glories are! I see
> My self too well, and my own change, in thee.[47]

Through these versions we see the obvious truth that the allusion depends on a combination of recognition and change, or repetition and difference, that is equally achievable in English and Latin, to intimate a 'chasm' between the new context of the poem and that of the source. In English, recognition is achieved by close translation or imitation of one element that makes the source identifiable ('how changed'). In Latin, identity is achieved by quotation (*quantum mutatus*). Elements of difference that convey critique can be added in either language: 'qua de spe cecidisti'; 'how fallen!'; 'qualis facies'; 'I see / My self too well'.

If Bold and Dobson fail, then, it is not because they quote Virgil directly, but because they do not combine quotation with complication. Yet the *quantum mutatus* allusion has inherent 'complicating' qualities, two of which arise especially when it is quoted in Latin. The first is that, regardless of language choice, this is not just any Virgilian allusion. It is a highly self-reflexive allusion, which functions throughout the epic tradition (Virgil, Tasso, Milton, etc.) as a marker of 'how changed' epic itself is by each intervention, starting with Virgil's self-differentiation from Homeric epic.[48] It is hard to imagine a naïve instance of this topos that could register only identity with Virgil, and not difference; being *about* change, it gestures to its changed-ness. Only Satan could fail to see 'how changed' each instance of 'how changed' is from its original source. After Virgil, the phrase has a duality of reference – describing both Hector, Beelzebub, et al. *and itself* – which Satan ignores and strains, forcing it to mean both 'how changed' and 'how the same' at once. Two more complicating qualities are introduced or heightened only when it is quoted in Latin: *quantum mutatus* is 'a more "biblical" phrase than its Vergilian provenance alone would suggest';[49] it is also specifically associated with the transformation of Virgilian language by adapted quotation in post-classical Latin verse.

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[47] John Dryden, *The State of Innocence* (London, 1677), 2.

[48] See Wilson.

[49] David Currell, 'How Changed? Milton, Vida, Vergil, and a Network of Allusion', *Translation and Literature*, 30 (2021), 277–306; 277-8.

In the works of Vida, *quantum mutatus* becomes associated with both biblical transformations and the problem of quotation in post-classical Latin. For this reason, Porter's invocation of a 'principle [of imitation] expressed by Vida in *De Arte Poetica* [*DAP*]' to explain the 'failure' of critical allusions in Latin is both more appropriate and more self-defeating than he knows, especially since the late-seventeenth century was on the cusp of a 'Vida revival'.[50] Porter proposes that Latinization reduces critical allusions to 'instances of mere *imitatio*' outlined in the following passage:

> et raptus memor occule versis
> verborum indiciis, atque ordine falle legentes
> mutato; nova sit facies, nova prorsus imago,
> munere (nec longum tempus) vix ipse peracto
> dicta recognosces veteris mutata poetae.[51]
>
> (Don't forget to cover up your thefts by altering the traces of the words; deceive your readers by changing their order. By all means let your verse have a new appearance, a new image. If you have performed this task (it should not take long) you yourself will have difficulty recognising the transformed phrases of the ancient poet.)

Vida illustrates his own principle by transforming a famous Virgilian line, Dido's *agnosco veteris vestigia flammae* (*Aeneid* 4.23), so it is *vix* (scarcely) recognizable. Porter comments that 'Vida's imitation neither attempts nor achieves the depth of contextual correspondence typical of Milton's critical allusions'[52] – indeed, a lack of correspondence between Vida and Dido is part of the point. Vida's appropriation of *-gnosco veteris* recalls that fragment's immediate textual context, while paying little regard to its original Virgilian sense: even in its absence from Vida's lines, the word *vestigia* takes on a meaning alien to Dido's speech, as 'the most common of [Renaissance] commonplaces' for imitation.[53] It is conspicuously 'changed' to *mutata dicta* by Vida, showing that he is not following in Virgil's footsteps too closely. He uses a more incriminating word for 'traces', *indicia*, in keeping with his language of theft and deception. This passage has little relevance to the translators' renderings of 'how changed', except perhaps Power's, which plays with superficiality

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[50] See D.W. Hopkins and I.D. MacKillop, '"Immortal Vida" and Basil Kennett', *RES* 27.106 (1976), 137-47, and Robin Sowerby, *The Augustan Art of Poetry: Augustan Translation of the Classics* (Oxford, 2006), 7-62. Vida is 'a poet-critic whose poetry codifies and embodies the best Augustan practice', praised by Dryden and Pope (Sowerby, 9).

[51] Porter, 147. Marcus Hieronymus Vida, *Poeticorum libri tres*, ed. Agnieszka Paulina Lew (Frankfurt, 2011), 3.218-22.

[52] Porter, 147.

[53] See Pigman, 20 and passim.

and makes the Virgilian source difficult to recognise under its *nova facies*. The other translators incorporate larger Virgilian units, scarcely altering the traces of words or changing their order, rather than giving them a new face.

More relevant to the translators' allusive capacities is Vida's treatment of the *quantum mutatus* motif across his *DAP* (1527) and *Christiad* (1535). Vida adapts the Virgilian line in the *Christiad* to compare Christ during the passion to Christ entering Jerusalem: 'Heu, quam nato mutatus ab illo…'[54] David Currell argues that the allusion in *Paradise Lost* is in fact a 'window reference',[55] meaning that Milton's imitation of Virgil is mediated by Vida's in the *Christiad*. He shows that the 'connection forged by Vida between *quantum mutatus* and Christ's passion' generates a 'tradition', including a 1547 paschal hymn by Laurentius Massorillus, which laments Christ's state as 'Heu quam dissimilis, quantum mutatus ab illo' (this permutation is almost identical to J.C.'s); Alexander Ross's bestselling cento *Christiad* (1664), which incorporates the whole Virgilian line, and Addison's *Resurrectio Delineata ad Altare Magd. Coll. Oxon.*, which also inverts the motif to describe Christ's transformation from degradation to splendour. Currell also traces *quantum mutatus* beyond poetry to show that 'the dominant context to which Vergil's phrase is applied [by religious and moral authors] is the Fall'.[56] His examples are pre-Miltonic, but the trend naturally continues, as in John Bartlet's *The Practical Christian* (1670): '*Et heu quantum mutatus ab illo!* How much is Man alter'd from his first estate?'[57] In short, *quantum mutatus* reaches Milton and his translators already Christianized. In the late-seventeenth century, *quantum mutatus* inherently conveys something of 'how fallen' as well as 'how changed'. The act of Latinizing 'how changed' into *quantum mutatus* invests the English phrase with the biblical significance that it may have lacked on its own.

Yet more significant is Vida's use of the phrase to problematise the very principle of imitation discussed above. Later in *DAP* book 3, the poet looks over his draft:[58]

> tum demum redit, et post longa oblivia per se
> incipit hic illic veterem explorare laborem.

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[54] 'Oh, how changed from that son'. Marco Girolamo Vida, *Christiad*, trans. James Gardner (Cambridge, MA, 2009), 5.858.

[55] Currell, passim. On 'window references', see Colin Burrow, Stephen Harrison, Martin McLaughlin and Elisabetta Tarantino, eds., *Imitative Series and Clusters from Classical to Early Modern Literature* (Berlin, 2020), especially 'Introduction: Seeing Through Texts', 1-26.

[56] Currell, 298.

[57] John Bartlet, *The Practical Christian* (London, 1670), 152.

[58] See Philip Hardie, 'Vida's *De Arte Poetica* and the Transformation of Models', in *Apodosis: Essays Presented to W.W. Cruikshank* (London, 1992), 47–53; 50–1, and Haskell (n.66), 31–2.

ecce autem ante oculos nova se fert undique imago,
longe alia heu facies rerum mutataque ab illis
carmina, quae tantum ante recens confecta placebant.
miratur tacitus, nec se cognoscit in illis
immemor, atque operum piget, ac sese increpat ultro.[59]

The piece thrown by, the bard again reviews
The long-forgotten labours of his muse:
Lo! on all sides far diff'rent objects rise,
And a new prospect strikes his wond'ring eyes.
Warm from the brain, the *lines* his love engrost,
How in themselves their former selves are lost.
Now his own labours he begins to blame,
And blushing reads them with regret and shame.
He loaths the piece, condemns it, nor can find
The genuin stamp, and image of his mind.[60]

Although Vida does not mention his principles of imitation, they are clearly raised by his imitation of Virgil's *quantum mutatus* and by echoes of the passage above. Earlier, he advised the poet to be *memor*; now, looking at his own work, he is *immemor*. Whereas he formerly gave other poets' lines a *nova facies* and *imago*, now his own poetry appears to him with a *nova facies* and *imago*. His relationship with a *vetus poeta* has become one with his own *vetus labor*, and difficulty of recognition ('vix … recognosces') has become total lack of self-recognition ('nec se cognoscit in illis'). It is clear that this crisis is related to, even results from, the principles of dissimulative imitation that he advocated; the lines seem like they are not his own precisely because they are *not* his own. Instead of Virgil being difficult to recognise in Vida's lines, it is Vida himself who is difficult to recognise in Virgil's lines. Vida looks into the mirror of his text and sees Virgil staring back at him. Yet he cannot bring himself to admit the reason for his alienation from himself: imitation.

Quantum mutatus reaches the translators not only Christianized, but also as a marker of the loss of self and crisis of identity that can arise from incorporating the words of Virgil and other poets into Latin verse. The experience Vida describes is apparently a universal one to poetic composition, as it sounds Christopher Pitt's translation, but is in fact particular to Latinity. Post-classical Latin poetry is uniquely intertextual and combinatorial, and a large part of the pedagogical system from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries was geared towards embedding the *disjecti membra poetæ* in the Latin of its students. The possibility of adapting such units by changing word order or endings is also particular to Latin. Vida's experience is a version of the realisation Pope has while reading some verses by Atterbury: 'I am pleas'd with those latin verses extremely … I thought 'em

[59] Vida, *Poeticorum*, 3.473-9.

[60] *Vida's Art of Poetry*, trans. Christopher Pitt (London, 1725), 111.

yours, till you call'd 'em an Horatian Cento, and then I recollected the *disjecti membra poetæ*.'[61] When the translators quote *quantum mutatus* in Latin, it contains a self-reflexive excess; it speaks to the act of composing Latin verse, and the question of to whom imitative Latin verse belongs.

Quantum mutatus is used of translation, too, in the late-seventeenth century; for example, John Boys employs it in defence of his translation of *Aeneid* 6:

> although this illustrious Writer appear not in his native glory and splendour … yet there may be some weak raies and reflexions of him, by which thou mayest discern that it is *Virgils* … there is not such a
>
> *tantum mutatus ab illo.*
>
> But that some glimpses, some lines and features will discover the *Original.*[62]

In the *Paradise Lost* translations, *quantum mutatus* seems to capture the incommensurability of the act of translation and the imitative nature of Latinity – the fact that the translators are attempting to engage in two acts of repetition at once, of Milton and of Virgil (more than two, when we consider the mediation of Vida and others). The original that certain glimpses, lines and features in the translation ought to discover to the reader is Milton's; yet (with and via Vida) in this moment we see Virgil. But – crucially – the Virgilian fragment is not self-identical to its quoted source. A 'profound chasm' is opened up between the experience of the translated text and the experience embodied in the pre-text by this very self-reflexivity. This chasm is more profound when the fragment is quoted wholesale, when its identity with itself seems absolute: it conveys the experience of looking in the mirror and not seeing oneself, which Satan, Vida, and the translation itself all experience. The chasm, difference or *différance* between Satan and the meaning of his words, between original and the translation, model and imitation, text and itself – all these are contained in the excess of *quantum mutatus* when quoted in Latinization. This chasm is, paradoxically, highly Miltonic. Instead of misleading similitude, its effect is radical alienation. The tension between the simultaneous acts of translation and imitation carries over something of the 'twice made' nature of the language of *Paradise Lost*, in Gordon Teskey's terms.[63]

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[61] Pope to Atterbury, 7 August 1722. Letters between Pope, Atterbury and Swift cited from https://doi.org/10.13051/ee:bio/atterfranc000123 (accessed 26 October 2022).

[62] John Boys, *Aeneas his descent into Hell* (London, 1660), A2r-v.

[63] 'Milton … make[s] it obvious that [his] "swelling epithets" [classical allusions] have not been invented by him but forcefully dislodged from an alien context. Everywhere we have the feeling of the material of the epic being taken not from language, as it were, in the wild, from *parole*, but rather from a language that has already been cultivated by artifice, in the realm of made things. The language of *Paradise Lost* gives the

The same motif occurs in *Absalom and Achitophel*, when Achitophel describes David:

> Behold him setting in his western skies,
> The shadows lengthening as the vapours rise.
> *He is not now, as when* on Jordan's sand
> The joyful people thronged to see him land,
> Cov'ring the beach, and black'ning all the strand:
> But like the Prince of Angels from his height
> Comes tumbling downward with diminished light… (268-74, emphasis mine)

With his first image, Achitophel implies that encroaching threats ('shadows lengthening') and conspiracies ('vapours') are rising against David under the influence of his benevolent warmth in old age. He insinuates that Absalom too should *rise* as the sun sets; but the poet seems to imply (right under Achitophel's nose) that the conspirators are, like 'vapours', worthless braggarts, injurious to the health of the nation.[64] Achitophel's comparison of David to 'the Prince of Angels [falling] from his height' is part of the poem's pattern of allusion to *Paradise Lost*. The emphasis and rhyme on 'diminished light' recalls Milton's internal rhyme of 'happy realms of light' with 'Myriads though bright'. In this light, 'He is not now, as when' sounds quite like 'how changed / From him'.[65]

> Qualis nunc senior, quantum mutatus ab illo
> *Davide*, quem turba ad ripas effusa, ruebat
> Expectans reducem; cum littora fervere late
> Prospiceres, omnemque rapi *Jordanis* arenam.
> Sorte pari, Angelicae quondam iactantior Aulae,
> Desuper impulsus ruit e superis Laribus Dux:
> Sorte pari, aethereos vanescere sensit honores
> Languidus, et vastam traxit per inane ruinam. (Atterbury, 10-11)
>
> (What an aspect he has, now he is older, how changed from that David whom the crowd, having thronged to the banks, expectantly rushed to meet as he returned; when you saw the shores swarming far and wide, and all the sand of Jordan stolen away. The over-boastful leader of the angelic court once had the same fate when, thrown from above, he fell from his heavenly home; by the same fate, weakened, he felt his heavenly honours vanish, and he bore his monstrous ruin through the void.)

Atterbury takes the combination of 'He is not now, as when' and 'like the Prince of Angels' as an allusion to *Paradise Lost*, or sees that it can function as such in translation. In a temporally warped

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feeling of having been twice made.' Gordon Teskey, *Delirious Milton: The Fate of the Poet in Modernity* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 127, partially cited by Currell.

[64] *OED* 'vapours' sense 2c, 4, 3.

[65] Commentators have not taken this as an instance of the Virgilian *quantum mutatus*; Hammond and Hopkins do, however, cite Isaiah 14 for 'like the Prince of Angels'.

'window reference', his quotation of Virgil functions primarily as an allusion to Milton, complicating Currell's view that *quantum mutatus* is 'tightly bound to the Vergilian author-function'.[66] Far from collapsing Miltonism into Virgilianism, as the quotation threatens to do in the *Paradise Lost* translations, Virgil's words, although quoted verbatim, are the window through which we see the Miltonic model; the fact that it is quoted verbatim paradoxically makes the window clear and unclouded by mediation. Achitophel's comparison of David to Lucifer is clearly ironic, since the poem's allusions to *Paradise Lost* clearly identify Achitophel himself as 'Hell's dire agent', as he is described in Miltonic style shortly after this speech (*AA* 373). Achitophel lacks the self-reflection of Dryden's Satan in *The State of Innocence*, more closely resembling the Satan of *Paradise Lost*. Atterbury's allusion amplifies this effect.

Atterbury's Achitophel associates the populace with David and Lucifer in a pattern of decline: David's ruin is compared to Lucifer's *ruinam*, anticipated by the people who *ruebat* to the banks to greet him. The prideful 'aethereos … honores' of the Restoration portend the king's downfall. Atterbury increases the emotional manipulation of Dryden's Achitophel, by positioning Absalom as viewer of this scene ('Prospiceres') – an event that the historical Monmouth did not witness, since Charles did not summon him back to England until summer 1662. The use of *quantum mutatus* to make a political point is not unprecedented either. The royalist Cimelgus Bonde employed it in 1662 to decry the change to the nation brought about by the regicide.[67] In 1694, James II himself would use the phrase in a strikingly similar way to Achitophel in the *Eikon Basilike Deutera*: '*Heu quantum mutatus ab illo!* What Difference is there betwixt a King newly inthron'd or restor'd, and one who has reign'd till his People are weary of him?'[68] *Quantum mutatus* does not seem to have any special Stuart valence that Atterbury and the *Paradise Lost* translators might wish to evoke, however: in 1692 it was used in a collection of state tracts in support of the Glorious Revolution to argue that '*Ireland* should be governed by an *Englishman*' because it was 'fallen' to 'Ruine': 'Whoever had seen *Ireland* four Years ago … might justly exclaim, *Heu! Quantum mutatus ab illo.*'[69]

In the passage above, as Achitophel's rhetoric snakes between images of David as the sun to people thronging the shore to the Prince of Angels falling from heaven, Atterbury's verse

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[66] Currell, 302-3.

[67] Cimelgus Bonde, *Salmasius his buckler* (London, 1662), 51, cited by Currell, 299.

[68] James II, *Eikon Basilike Deutera* (London, 1694), 245.

[69] *State Tracts … to Shew the Necessity … of the Late Revolution* (London, 1692), 317.

reproduces the dynamics of Dryden's couplets and triplet. Anaphora of 'En … ut' and a doubled exclamation pairs the first two lines in a quasi-couplet (the vapours are lost in translation):

> En, grave ut Hesperiis iam iam caput occulit undis!
> En, ut crescentes decedens duplicat umbras! (10)
>
> (Behold, how now, now he buries his head in the western waves! Behold, how, declining, he doubles his lengthening shadows!)

Then he expands Dryden's overflowing triplet ('sand … land … strand') to four enjambed lines, in which the people seem to pour far and wide over the ends.[70] Finally, the couplet-simile on the Prince of Angels is reduplicated into two, each beginning with 'Sorte pari', which amplify the force of his fall ('De*sup*er impulsus … e *sup*eris'), his weakness and despair. These effects are characteristic of Atterbury. See, for example, his final three 'couplets':

> Dixerat. Omnipotens faustum ter vertice *cano*
> Annuit, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.
> Hinc anni fluere, hinc sec'lorum nascier *ordo*
> Laetus ab integro, et magni procedure *menses*;
> Jessides iterum solio consedit *avito*;
> Et placido junctas tenuit sub foedere *Gentes*. (29)[71]

Atterbury has an exceptional ability to capture aspects of English verse, such as rhyme and allusions to Milton, in apparently perfect Virgilianism: 'quantum mutatus ab illo'; 'sec'lorum nascier ordo … ab integro' (alluding to Eclogue 4.5).[72] There is an overarching movement from Miltonism (or Virgilianism that gestures to Milton) towards Virgilianism proper in his translation, which amplifies Dryden's original allusive patterns and the poem's political narrative.

Achitophel's temptation of Absalom resembles Satan's temptation of Eve. The reaction induced in Absalom recalls the effects of the fall, by Eve's own account: 'dilated Spirits, ampler Heart … growing up to Godhead' (*PL* 9.876-7). Atterbury foregrounds the voice in Absalom's head that 'whispers [him] within, / Desire of greatness is a god-like sin', translating Achitophel's claim that 'human good depends on human will' (*AA* 255) as 'Deus est sua cuique libido' (10).[73] *Libido* then surges in Absalom:

> Desire of power, on earth a vicious weed,
> Yet, sprung from on high, is of celestial seed:

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[70] See Christopher Ricks, 'Dryden's Triplets', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Dryden*, ed. Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge, 2004), 92-110.

[71] English quoted below, 207.

[72] 'An order of ages is born from the start'.

[73] 'Each man's own will is a god'.

…
Too full of angel's metal in his frame… (*AA* 305-10)

Imperii in terris quanquam non aequa libido,
Igneus est olli vigor, et caelestis origo. …
Aemulus Angelici (12)

(Desire of power, although not advantageous on earth, has a fiery vigour and comes from a celestial source. … Emulating an angel…)

Absalom observes this dilation of spirit in himself:

I find, I find my mounting spirits bold …
Why am I scanted by a niggard birth?
My soul disclaims the kindred of her earth… (*AA* 367-70)

Fallor?—
An tumidus fervet circum praecordia sanguis?
… Quid inerti compede cingor
Semideus? parilem quid non infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet? (14)

(Am I wrong, or does the blood swell and boil in my heart? Why am I, a demi-god, constrained by immoveable shackles? Does not my mind, infused through my limbs, move an equal mass and mingle with a mighty frame?)

Atterbury combines two Virgilian moments: Nisus questioning whether the fire in men's hearts is god-given or generated by their own *cupido* (*Aeneid* 9.184-5) and Anchises's explanation of the nature of the universe (6.727) and man (6.730, seen in chapter 3).[74] Yet the repetition of *deus/semideus* makes the Virgilian language itself 'Aemulus Angelici', emulative of the language of Milton's Satan, especially his repeated claim that 'ye shall be as Gods' (*PL* 9.708). In this context, Anchises' language of *mens* and *vigor* brings to mind Beelzebub's claim that 'the mind and spirit remains / Invincible, and vigour soon returns' (*PL* 1.139-40),[75] and Satan's that 'The mind is its own place' (1.254). Both Vida and Milton use the *fallor an* motif that Atterbury uses here to describe a spiritual onset of inspiration.[76]

There is a similar Virgilian-Miltonic window reference in the character of Shimei:

Shimei, whose youth did early promise bring
Of zeal to God, and hatred to his king… (*AA* 585-6)

…Regale caput Stygiae damnare paludi
Ausus, adhuc nudis tenera lanugine malis. (22)

[74] Dryden quotes this line in the preface to *Annus Mirabilis* (*Selected Poems*, 46).

[75] Bold translates the final clause as 'Vigor Igneus ardet' (22).

[76] See Estelle Haan, 'Milton's Latin Poetry and Vida', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 44 (1995), 282-304; 295.

(He dared to damn the regal head to the Stygian swamp, when his crab apples were yet nude of tender down.)

The *mala* or apples in Atterbury's quotation from Eclogue 2.51 take on a Miltonic colour alongside the expansion of Shimei's 'hatred to his king' into a reference to the Stygian swamp. Just below, Atterbury translates the 'sons of Belial' who 'had a glorious time' during Shimei's office (*AA* 597-8) as 'Stygiis … Catervis'. Nakedness, apples, Stygian swamps – Shimei wishes a Miltonic fall upon the king. Not all Atterbury's Virgilian quotations are Miltonic, however, even in the plotters' portion of the poem; he uses the Virgilian old flame for the republican 'good old cause' (*AA* 82; Atterbury, 20). Gradually, a less insidious or Miltonic Virgilianism overtakes the poem, as the loyalists gain momentum. Atterbury quotes three lines in the elegy for Barzillai's son (32); one to introduce Amiel (34); one from the *Aeneid* (8.19) and a fragment from the *Georgics* (*fatis ora resolvit*, 4.452) when David 'revolv[es] in his careful breast / Th' event of things' (*AA* 934), associating him with Aeneas and the Sybil; two fragments at the end of David's speech, 'Nec mora, nec requires, quin ferreus ingruat imber' (29),[77] culminating in 'sec'lorum nascier ordo … ab integro'.

The stakes of classical allusions are not as high in *Absalom and Achitophel* as they are in *Paradise Lost* book 1, especially when the latter is presented on its own, without the following books to lift the reader out of a Satanic imitative hell. *Quantum mutatus* and other allusions are not loaded with such intense imitative anxiety in the Dryden translations. While Atterbury figures imitation as Satanic early in the poem and ultimately endows it with the stature of providential repetition towards the end, both versions of *Absalon et Achitophel* also endow imitation with a more light-hearted, libertine quality. The reproduction of textual *imagines*, including translation itself, is sanctioned by David's casual reproduction of his image in his many bastards:

Then Israel's monarch after Heaven's own heart
His vigorous warmth did, variously, impart
To wives and slaves; and, wide as his command,
Scattered his Maker's image through the land. (*AA* 6-10)

…Quaque erat Imperii limes, ibi messe feraci
Transcripta Archetypi *sparsim generatur imago.* (Coward, 1)

(Wide as his command, in an abundant harvest the copied image of his archetype was generated far and wide.)

Ectypa syderi brevibus transcripta tabellis
Diffundens lati vaga per confinia regni. (Atterbury, 1)

(…pouring ectypes of his star copied down in short compositions far across the limits of his broad kingdom.)

[77] 'No rest or respite, lest the iron rain fall fast'. *Georgics* 3.110/*Aeneid* 5.458/12.553 + *Aeneid* 12.284.

Atterbury's 'brevibus … tabellis' is part of a series of innuendos related to literary imitation that spans both translations, especially Coward's. Coward's translation of 'therefore in the name of dullness be / The well-hung Balaam and cold Caleb free' (573-4) amplifies Balaam's endowment with an allusion to Juvenal:

> …sis *Balaam*, cum magno elate deunce,
> Unciolaeque Tuae cum pondere frigide *Caleb*,
> Intacti Satyra (20)
>
> (Let Balaam, proud with his great eleven twelfths, and Caleb, with the cold weight of your one twelfth, be untouched by satire.)
>
> *unciolam Proculeius habet, sed Gillo deuncem,*
> *partes quisque suas ad mensuram inguinis heres.* (Juvenal 1.41-2)
>
> (Proculeius gets one-twelfth but Gillo eleven-twelfths: each heir gets a share of inheritance proportionate to the size of his penis.)

Anything but dull, Coward's claim to leave Balaam and Caleb 'Intacti Satyra' is patently ironic; the notion of being rewarded for one's performance reflects Coward's own triumphant performance of Juvenalian imitation. Atterbury chooses a simpler term for 'well-hung': 'membrosior' (22). Coward's sexualised imitation peaks in the character of Corah:

> Yet Corah, thou shalt from oblivion pass:
> Erect thyself, thou monumental brass
> High as the serpent of thy metal made (*AA* 632-4)
>
> At tenebris Te nulla tegent oblivia, *Corah*,
> Effer Te solido monumentum *erectius aere*… (22)

Coward's substitution of 'erectius' for the Horatian *perennius* makes Dryden's double-entendre – which alludes to Titus Oates's homosexuality via Horace – even more blatant. The comparative 'erectius' again conveys a sense of competitive sexual/imitative performance. In general, Coward's imitative style is less serious than Atterbury's. Atterbury reserves the self-reflexive language for Oates's Satanic nature here: 'cognati vivax *Serpentis* Imago' (24).[78]

While Coward's is the 'membrosior' version, Atterbury largely proceeds by borrowing, amplifying and improving ideas that he found in Coward, to such an extent that his imitation comes close to its more libertine or serpentine kinsman, plagiarism. Atterbury makes efforts to conceal his thefts, as in his adaptation of Coward's '*Transcripta* Archetypi … *imago*' to 'Ectypa … transcripta'. But he is frequently found lifting phrases to fill lines, and even lines wholesale. Atterbury amplifies some of Coward's more distinctive effects, such as an allusion to Virgil's Helen (*Aeneid* 2.573) to describe the Popish Plot, 'the nation's curse' (*AA* 108) as a 'patriae communis

[78] 'Living image of your kinsman the serpent'.

Erinnys', which he then repeats to translate 'who can know / How far the Devil and Jebusites may go?' (*AA* 132-3). For this reason, Coward would be somewhat justified if he thought it unfair that his version was 'eclipsed' by Atterbury's. Atterbury's free approach to imitation may have been sanctioned not only by the permissive attitude to reproduction and bastardisation in Coward's translation, but also by the fact that both were published by Leonard Lichfield. Lichfield may have published both versions because he saw the idea of a Latinized *Absalom and Achitophel* as his literary property, and Atterbury's as a revised version.

The risks of imitation in *Paradise Lost* book 1 are greater; it can seem superficial or Satanic, and the translations 'saturated in ancient grievances', to play on another Virgilian line that Bold inserts into Satan's opening speech:

> Yet not for those
> … do I repent or change,
> Though changed… (*PL* 1.94-6)
>
> At non idcirco
> … nondum Saturatus corda furorem;
> Aut piget, aut mutor, quamquam mutatus… (16) [79]

Yet, as Satan concedes, something has changed. The effect of allusion in the translations of *Paradise Lost* book 1 depends largely, to a much greater extent than in the original and in the Dryden translations, on what the reader brings to it. *Quantum mutatus* can be an extraordinary marker of the anxiety and alienation arising from an awareness of change in apparent identity, or it can be an act of Satanic resistance to change. Detecting a difference between *quantum mutatus* and *quantum mutatus* in the Satanic landscape requires an extremely fine kind of judgement, to separate 'ideas wherein can be found the least difference', and avoid being misled by similitude.[80] The *Absalom and Achitophel* translations exercise tighter hermeneutic control (albeit accompanied by an air of permissiveness and intimacy) in their approach to imitation, showing their readers how to exercise this judgement. In contrast, the reader is left to navigate the imitative hellscapes of the first book of the Latinized *Paradise Lost* relatively unguided.

The translations' respective treatments of the originals' political language are similar to their handling of allusion. In *Absalom and Achitophel*, Dryden ventriloquises the conspirators' persuasive distortions of models of governance and, particularly, their constitutive language, allowing paradiastolic rhetoric to proliferate. Ultimately, however, the poet emphatically exercises his judgement in the 'passage on governance', carefully separating different models 'wherein can

[79] Cf. *Aeneid* 5.608, *necdum antiquum saturata dolorem*.

[80] See Addison (n.40).

be found the least difference', and David finally restores and stabilises the poem's political language for all time. The translators further tighten the poet's control over political language, forging a strong interpretative alliance between poet, translator, reader and sovereign. In this respect, translation becomes an act of *foedus* – a word which, we shall see, resounds through the translation. That is, it creates a bond of association and of implicit political union between translator, original author, and reader. The *Paradise Lost* translations also repeatedly resort to the same topical and unstable word, *foedus*, but do not seem to encourage such a clear bond of association between translator, poet and audience. Instead, as the next section argues, they allow their reader to form the Milton they desire: Whig, Tory, or neither.

Of Plots and Disobedience

> [T]ranslation … would seem always to be at one and the same time an act of confederacy, and of secession[81]

'Of the first fall of Adam, and the forbidden fruit of the tree…' 'Our primeval father's theft I sing, and the sad fate of death that followed the theft…' 'The illicit fruit plucked from the forbidden tree, and the offence of our ancient forefather…' 'By what violated covenant primeval Adam offended the deity, and from what tree he plucked the forbidden fruit…'[82] Milton's memorable line-and-a-half rings in one's mind when reading J.C.'s, Hog's, Power's, and Bold's painful attempts to include all the crucial elements: man, disobedience, fruit, tree (forbidden). Absent: thievery by primeval forefathers. The most self-conscious word for the translator is 'disobedience', the translation of which is liable to become their first act of translatorly disobedience. Porter writes that

> some English words that are important to Milton simply have no Latin equivalents. The most important of these, surely, is *obedience*… *Oboedio* and *oboedientia* are found in classical prose … but are not especially common; and in most inflectional forms neither verb nor noun will fit into the hexameter[.][83]

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[81] Steven Connor, *Samuel Beckett: Repetition, Theory, and Text* (Oxford, 1988), 124-5.

[82] 'De primo Adami lapsu, fructuque negato / Arboris' (J.C., 1); 'Primaevi cano furta Patris, furtumque secutae / Tristia fata necis' (Hog, 1); 'Illicitos vetita decerptos arbore foetus, / Et patris antiqui noxam' (Power, 1); for Bold, see below.

[83] Porter, 150. Hog uses forms of *pareo* for 'obedience' elsewhere, e.g. *PL* 3.190-1 (Hog, 66), but it does not have a cognate noun.

J.C.'s *lapsus* (1; Milton's usual Latin word for the Fall) passes over the cause to the effect. Hog's opening stands out for including almost nothing that *is* in Milton's lines and much that isn't: his repetition of *furtum* (1; 'theft') seems to take the sign for the signified, failing to capture the moral significance of 'disobedience' or 'taste' (*PL* 1.3), although in his sixth line he adds *injuria* ('injury, violation of a law'). In his rendering of Milton's first two sentences (1.1-26), Hog's lines range as far as 'vidit / Phoebus ad Hesperias ab Eoo cardine metas' ('Phoebus sees at the boundary of the Hesperides from the limit of the dawn', as he figures 'the world' in line 3), featuring a burning bush and a Sophoclean buskin. Power does not fit 'disobedience' into the first line, but the reasonable substitute *noxa* ('offence') appears in the second. Although Bold sounds somewhat legalistic or pedantic ('Quo', 'Qua'), he best replicates the Miltonic sequence of man, disobedience, fruit, death:

> Quo Primaevus *Adas* temerato Foedere Numen
> Laeserit, et Vetitos qua vulserit Arbore Fructus,
> Unde Mali Labes, et saevae Mortis Origo (4)

Bold's phrase for 'disobedience', 'temerato Foedere' ('violated contract' or 'covenant'), is the most interesting, in light of recent political and literary history, and the translations of *Absalom and Achitophel*.

Milton frequently used the word *foedus* of both divine covenants and political leagues. In 'In quintum Novembris', the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland effected by the accession of James I is an 'inviolabile foedus'.[84] Walter MacKellar comments, 'By *foedus*, commonly a political agreement, treaty or compact, Milton can mean only a dynastic union … the two nations remained politically independent until 1707.'[85] In the *De Doctrina Christiana*, it means 'covenant' and 'testament' (as in the *Novum Foedus*, the New Testament) interchangeably, often simultaneously. Whether or not there was a *foedus* between Adam and God prior to the Fall, as Bold's translation suggests, is a textual issue in the *De Doctrina*. In Book 1, Chapter 11, Milton seems to assert that there *was* a covenant: 'in foedere' and in his rebellion, Adam stood and fell on behalf of the entire human race; 'si non omnes in Adamo peccarunt, cur omnium ab eius lapsu conditio facta deterior est?'[86] But, as the editors note, 'At MS 143 (I. 10) Milton denied there was

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[84] *The Complete Works of John Milton, Vol. 3: The Shorter Poems*, ed. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski and Estelle Haan (Oxford, 2012), 166-7.

[85] *The Latin Poems of John Milton*, ed. Walter MacKellar (New Haven, 1930), note *ad loc* 259.

[86] 'If it is not the case that all sinned in Adam, why was the condition of all made worse by his fall?' John K. Hale and J. Donald Cullington, eds., *The Complete Works of John Milton, Vol. 8: De Doctrina Christiana, Vol. 1* (Oxford, 2012), 414-5.

any such covenant (*foedus*): one wonders which opinion, or stratum, is the later'.[87] There he writes that, while some describe the interdiction of the tree of knowledge as a 'foedus operum' (covenant of works), it should not be called a *foedus* but an 'edictum … imperium' (declaration of authority).[88] Traces of this inconsistency are legible in *Paradise Lost*: 'the language of covenant and contract is missing from the scenes of prelapsarian life … just as it is from biblical Eden', yet postlapsarian Adam comes to see his prior relationship with God as a *foedus* when 'he complains to God that the "terms" and "conditions" of life in Eden were "too hard".'[89]

Foedus recurs in Bold's translation – and appears for the first time in J.C.'s, Hog's and Power's – fewer than 100 lines later. Satan's bond with Beelzebub is a Satanic distortion of a divine *foedus*:

> If thou beest he…
> …if he whom mutual league
> United thoughts and counsels, equal hope
> And hazard in the glorious enterprise,
> Joined with me once… (*PL* 1.84-90)

Latinization brings out the parallel between the 'two kinds of relation' that are offered to mankind in *Paradise Lost*: 'league with Satan or later, covenant with God'. 'The parallel … is clear enough even in English; in Latin, however, the same word, *foedus*, designates both.'[90] All the early *Paradise Lost* translators translate Satan's 'league' as *foedus*, with a positive epithet: J. C. has 'foedera mutua' (4), Hog 'foedere certo' (4), Power 'pacta … foedera', Bold 'mutua Foedera' (14). Hog and Power, whose translations continue past book 1, also give 'perpetui vobiscum foedus amoris' (Hog, 98) and 'vobiscum … Foedus, amicitiae nectendaque vincula'[91] for Satan's 'league with you I seek, / And mutual amity' (*PL* 4.375-6). J.C. amplifies Satan's anxious emphasis on the mutuality of his 'league' with Beelzebub by repeating 'con-': 'Consilium concors … conaminis … consimili … conjungit' (4). Power's epithet, 'pacta', conjoins the Hobbesian word for both covenant and obedience with the Miltonic *foedus* (again, Latin merges terms that are distinct in English):

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[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid., 358-9. See Victoria Kahn, *Wayward Contracts: The Crisis of Political Obligation in England, 1640-1674* (Princeton, 2004), 196.

[89] Kahn, 196-7.

[90] Julianne Werlin, 'Paper Angels: *Paradise Lost* and the European State System', *Milton Studies*, 61.2 (2019), 212-238.

[91] Trinity College, Cambridge James R.2.38, 31v, https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/R.2.38/ (accessed 18 February 2022) (see chapter 6).

> whereas some men have pretended for their disobedience [*contumaciae Pactum*] to their Soveraign, a *new Covenant* [*Pactum … novum*], made, not with men, but with God; this is also unjust: for there is no *Covenant* [*Pactum*] with God, but by meditation of some body that representeth God's person; which none doth but Gods Lieutenant, who hath the Soveraignty under God.[92]

Noel Malcolm glosses Hobbes's reference to 'some men' as referring either to 'the Scottish National Covenant of Feb. 1638 … or the Solemn League and Covenant of Sept. 1643.'[93] This is also how the annotator Hume glosses 'mutual league' in *Paradise Lost*, in a rare breach of his strategy of suppressing traces of Milton's politics. He paraphrases it as 'Solemn League and Covenant', dwelling further on the word 'league': '*League; Ligne,* Fr. *à ligando:* A Confederacy or siding of Factious Subjects against their Sovereign, of which the Holy League in *France,* and its Spawn the Solemn League and Covenant in our Country, are two abominable Instances'.[94] Hume's gloss of 'league' as '*Ligne*' suggests that a pun on *lignum* ('wood/tree') might be possible in Latin. This explains one of Hog's early expansions:

> …till one greater man
> Restore us… (*PL* 1.4-5)
>
> Terrigena donec meliorque et major Adamus
> Amissis meliora bonis, majora reduxit.
> Quosque dedit morti *Lignum* inviolabile, mortis
> Unicus ille alio rapuit de limine *ligno*. (1, emphases mine)

> (…until a better and greater Adam restore better and greater earth-born things from lost good. And them whom the inviolable tree/league gave to death, only he (Christ) will seize from the threshold of death with another tree (the crucifix or *lignum crucis*)/league.)

The word 'inviolabile' recalls the 'inviolabile fœdus' of 'In quintum Novembris'. Hog shows that the new 'league' created by the crucifixion restores the 'league' between God and man prior to the fall, and that the sign of the cross is a type of the forbidden tree. Later in Hog's version, God confirms the existence of a prelapsarian *foedus* when he calls the 'Sole pledge of [man's] obedience' (3.95) an 'imperii … foedera nostri' (63) and the 'high decree … which ordained / Their freedom' (3.126-8) an 'inviolabilis … Foedere pactus' (64).

Hume's gloss on 'mutual league' is not a crack in his picture of a depoliticised Milton but a successful act of sanitisation. Milton too thought that the Solemn League and Covenant, the agreement between the Scottish Covenanters and English Parliamentarians in 1643 during the First

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[92] Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 266-7. Latin Hobbes's own.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Hume, 9.

Civil War, was abominable.[95] What Hume fails to mention is that Milton had no problem with 'Factious Subjects [siding] against their Sovereign' – in fact, Milton's central problem with the Solemn League was that it enabled the Presbyterians to *resist* the regicide. This resistance – a betrayal in Milton's eyes – was the occasion of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), in which Milton set out his understanding of covenant theology and the revocability of political contract. The Presbyterians based their plea for mercy for Charles on one clause of the Solemn League which bound parliament to respect the king's safety. Milton 'turn[ed] the Presbyterian language of covenant and contract against the[m]', showing that 'the Covenant was no longer binding … because Charles had violated its conditions, [and] because the Presbyterians themselves had acted on this assumption by … taking up arms against the king'.[96] Victoria Kahn shows that Milton 'construes biblical covenant and political contract in similar terms': since God's covenant is conditional rather than absolute, political contracts are also 'rational, open-ended and revocable agreements that depend … on the performance of the contracting parties'.[97] But ultimately, as Martin Dzelzainis observes, while Milton 'does refer to a "bond or Covenant"', the *Tenure* eschews the term 'contract' and moves away from the language of covenant to express the relationship between people and ruler, towards the idea of a 'trust' – the 'key difference' being that 'a trustee can be dismissed at will without his having done anything wrong and without … suffering any wrong thereby.'[98] Hobbes, of course, took a different view: the covenant with God was reliant on an absolute, irrevocable contract with the sovereign, so the Solemn League, an attempt to form a covenant with God that bypassed the sovereign, was no covenant at all.

On one level, the merging of '-obedience' and 'league' in *foedus* is a reminder that Adam's disobedience is a repetition of Satan's rebellion. On another, it is a sign of Satan's self-deception in using the term for unfallen man's relationship with God for his relationship with his co-conspirator. Ultimately, however, it reveals the disturbing moral and political indeterminacy of the word itself (despite being a homonym of *foedus*, 'foul').

This indeterminacy is a problem for the translators of *Absalom and Achitophel*. Just as some readers annotated their copies of Atterbury's version with a 'key', Coward provides his dedicatee with a 'key' of sorts to decipher this crucial word in his translation:

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[95] See Victoria Kahn, 'The Metaphorical Contract in Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*', in *Milton and Republicanism*, ed. David Armitage, Armand Himy and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge, 1995), 82-105.

[96] Ibid., 83-4.

[97] Ibid., 92-4.

[98] Martin Dzelzainis, introduction to John Milton, *Political Writings* (Cambridge, 1991), ix-xxv; xviii.

> Te monitum volo, ut ubicunque *Foedus* majori charactere signatum, aut cum Epitheto expressiori (*viz.* malum, malefidum, conjuratum etc.) conjunctum occurrat, Sermone Anglicano significari *The Plot*. Et hoc eo magis cautum volui, quia nullo unico Latino verbo, quantum scio, exprimi potuerit, nisi quod forsan *Conjuratione* significetur, quod verbum carminibus Heroicis non facile inserentur. (A2-v)
>
> (I want to warn you that wherever *Foedus* occurs with a capital letter, or with a more expressive epithet (viz. 'bad', 'faithless', 'conspiring', etc.) it signifies 'The Plot' in English. I wanted to be more cautious with this, because no single Latin word that I know can translate it, apart from perhaps *Conjuratio* ('Conspiracy'), which is not easily inserted into heroic metre.)

Coward does not want 'The Plot' to be lost in translation since the word is used by Dryden eighteen times, its political referent mutating seamlessly from the Popish Plot to the next plot which rode on its back: the conspiracy to back the Exclusion Bill. 'The Plot' poses similar problems of Latinization to 'disobedience': the most appropriate word, *Conjuratio*, is hard to fit into the hexameter. Milton's words for 'plot' in 'In quintum Novembris' have clearer negative connotations than *foedus*: *dolus*, *concilium*, *insidiae*.[99] Coward must specify that *foedus* signifies 'The Plot' only when it has a capital 'F' or a negative epithet since he also uses it in a positive sense in the translation. So, we find '*Foedus*' on its own (5; 'The Plot', i.e. the Popish Plot, *AA* 134), '*fatuum Foedus*' (10; 'one poor plot', *AA* 275), 'Pagani *Foederis*' (18; 'an ethnic plot', *AA* 517), but also '*triplici* … socialia *foedera nodo*' (7; 'the triple bond' between England, Holland and Sweden, *AA* 175). Coward does manage to use *Conjuratio* and its cognates several times, too: twice in succession alongside *Foedus*, with an allusion to Helen of Troy (marked '*Virgil*' in the margin) in case the negative connotations were not clear –

> The Good Old Cause revived a plot [conjurati malefidae *Foederis* artes]
> requires;
> Plots [Conjuratio], true or false, are necessary things
> To raise up commonwealths and ruin kings.
> …
> From hence began that plot [Conjuratio], the nation's curse [*Patriae communis Erinnis*],
> Bad in itself, but represented worse…
>
> (*AA* 82-4, 108-9; Latin from Coward, 4-5)

– and again later, 'Conjuratio … Fingitur' (25), now referring to the new conspiracy of Absalom and Achitophel ('a plot is made', *AA* 751).

Coward's prefatory comment establishes an interpretative *foedus* with the reader: a mutual agreement whereby, when the translator follows his terms, the reader agrees to read 'The Plot' in

[99] Lewalski and Haan, eds., *The Shorter Poems*, 166-7.

good faith. This brings to mind the Hobbesian view that 'the definitions of words should, like the commonwealth, be a matter of irrevocable contract'.[100] Hobbes, for his part, acknowledges a limitation to his strategy for limiting linguistic indeterminacy: that, even if the meaning of a term is fixed by contract, we may disagree about whether to apply it to a particular case. This is the problem of *paradiastole*, the rhetorical redescription of virtues as vices and vice versa, made possible by the 'neighbourly' relationships between them.[101] Milton's Satan is a paradiastolic speaker. His temptations thrive on subtle redescriptions: rashness becomes 'courage', craftiness 'wisdom', pride 'nobility'. Satan's description of his 'equal', 'glorious', 'mutual league' with Beelzebub and his 'mutual amity' with Adam and Eve is paradiastolic: conspiracy is redescribed as a mutual league; in Latin, these words are fused in *foedus*. Satan's emphasis on mutuality strains the capacity of the 'expressive epithet' to fix the moral quality of a *foedus*: 'socialia foedera', which signifies an alliance in *Absalom and Achitophel* because *socialis* is a positive epithet, is synonymous with 'mutual league' (a *foedus* that is mutual and upheld can still be 'malum, malefidum, conjuratum'). Coward could have recourse to Hobbes: it depends how *socialis* is defined – or, more properly, by whom. We solve the problem of paradiastole, argues Hobbes, if we accept as virtuous actions that form 'the meanes of peaceable, sociable and comfortable living'; if defining *those* terms seems difficult, an Arbitrator must fix them: the sovereign. In *Absalom and Achitophel* no less than in the *Leviathan*, what is *socialis* is defined by sovereign's interests: a *foedus* is a plot if it is against the sovereign, an alliance if it is for the sovereign. In Atterbury's version, where 'patrii Socialia Fædera regni' (2) means 'kings and states allied to Israel's crown' (*AA* 24), this definition of *socialis* is clearer. The reader's interpretative *foedus* with the translator upholds the translator's *foedus* with the original author, who is beholden to a *foedus* with his monarch.

Achitophel shares Satan's paradiastolic rhetoric. As Quentin Skinner argues, paradiastole was felt to be a particular danger in the 1680s – for example, by Robert South, another Canon of Christ Church and Prebend of Westminster, who published a series of sermons on the subject in 1686, noting that 'by [words], Men come to know one another's Minds. By these, they Covenant and Confederate.'[102] Achitophel redescribes 'empire' as 'power in trust' (*AA* 411), rebellion and murder as 'self-defence' (458). David recognises and ultimately corrects this: 'They call my tenderness of blood my fear' (947). Atterbury, too, corrects Achitophel's paradiastolic rhetoric:

[100] Kahn, 'Metaphorical Contract', 90.

[101] See Quentin Skinner, 'Thomas Hobbes: Rhetoric and the Construction of Morality', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 76.1 (1990), 1-61.

[102] Robert South, *Twelve Sermons* (London, 1694), 452.

'tis the general cry:
'Religion, Commonwealth and Liberty'. (*AA* 291-2)

junctis feriunt clamoribus auras
Relligio et nullo constricta *Licentia* nodo. (Atterbury, 11)

Achitophel's distortion of terms is apparently too egregious to retain, so Atterbury undoes his paradiastole with paradiastolic translation, redescribing Achitophel's 'Liberty' as '*Licentia*' (contrast Coward: '*Relligio, Libertas,* et *Respublica*' (11)). Atterbury puts fidelity to the monarch above fidelity to the original. Atterbury's handling of 'The Plot' shows a little more faith in his reader's judgement. With no prefatory clarification, he fully capitalises 'FOEDUS' to signify 'The Plot', and other words that he wants to mark out as hollow appropriations of serious terms: 'CONCILIUM' (5) (5, 'plot'; *AA* 108), 'POPICOLAE' (7; the 'all-atoning name' of 'patriot' that Achitophel has 'Usurped', *AA* 179), 'REGALIA' (15; '*the remains of* kingship', *AA* 395), 'LIBERTAS' and 'CIVES' (27, in Absalom's speech to his admiring crowd).

Other than *foedus*, the word Atterbury undermines most pervasively is 'Testes', those who joined Titus Oates (contriver of the Popish Plot) as 'witnesses'. Atterbury's reader had no problem identifying Corah in the margin as 'Oats' – helped, perhaps, by an anagram that merges 'witness' and Oates into one:

This arch-attestor for the public good
By that one deed ennobles all his blood. (*AA* 640-1)

Ille ad Rostra fremens sparsa dum primus arena
TESTIS OVAT, tumido venturam in saecula famam
Detulit Haeredi, longumque nepotibus aevum. (Atterbury, 24)

(While, clamouring first to the Rostra, scattering the sand, that *witness triumphs*, he has brought fame coming in the ages for his swollen heir, and for his descendants for a long age.)

Atterbury was not the first to think of this happy anagram, which probably pokes at Oates for his well-known ignorance of Latin.[103] The first extant instance – the only one before Atterbury – is in the anonymous 'POEM upon Mr. TYTUS OATES, The first Discoverer of the late Popish Plot', a 1679 broadside featuring a portrait of Oates (Figure 12):

[103] Hammond and Hopkins, *AA* 632-77n.



Figure 12.



Figure 13.

> Fools to deny the Fact! His very Name
> Speaks the whole Truth in one short Anagram:
> While *TESTIS OVAT* in an easie sense
> Yields him the Triumph of his Evidence.
> …
> May this *Triumphing Witness* then go on,
> Till the deep Bottom of the Plot be known…

The author's true attitude to Oates is revealed in ironic lines such as 'By Acts that seem'd Illegal, [Oates] ventur'd on, / To make that Legal which himself had done', and '*Westminster* taught him, *Cambridge* bred him, then / Left him instead of Books, to study Men'.[104] The anagram clearly stuck. In 1685, another broadside was published with an image of Oates in the pillory (Figure 13), a Latin poem titled 'Titus Oates, *Anagr.* Testis Ovat.', and a parallel English version:

> *Testis ovat falsae fruitur dum Criminae linguae,*

[104] Oates attended Westminster and Merchant Taylors'; he was expelled from the latter, and two Cambridge colleges, ultimately faking a doctorate from Salamanca, as Dryden notes (*AA* 658-9).

Et referens Sceleris praemia Testis ovat. [etc.]

Paid for his Crimes the Perjur'd Witness swears,
And shews what for rewards his false Tongue dares.

While the Latin poem incorporates the anagram into its syntax, as Atterbury did, the English version puns on the name of Israel Tongue, who informed Charles of a plot to assassinate him on 13 August 1678, working in an uneasy alliance with Oates.

It seems likely that Atterbury knew of the 1679 'TESTIS OVAT' poem and originated the effect of incorporating the anagram into Latin lines. If so, he would have noted that poem's use of the Absalom and Achitophel story, which has not been listed among precedents for Dryden's poem:[105]

Crimes cease to be so, where the main Intent
Shews the whole Act religiously meant.
No more than what brave *Cushai* did long since,
'Gainst Rebel Son to Father and to Prince…

Here Oates is compared not to Corah but to Hushai (Laurence Hyde in Dryden's poem), 'the friend of David in distress' (*AA* 888) who provided him with intelligence of Absalom's plans. The allusion to Charles's 'Rebel Son' reads as an oblique nod to Monmouth's growing threat as an alternative successor in 1679 – oblique, because Oates did not inform 'Gainst' Monmouth, yet pointed, in its emphasis of the conflicting loyalties of the king's two bodies.[106] The poem is so ironic that the author may be implying that Oates would be more aptly compared to *another* figure in the story: an Achitophel, or Corah.

Dryden himself may have known of the 1679 'TESTIS OVAT' poem: the allusion to Absalom is not sufficient to suggest it, since the biblical parallel became common in 1680-1, but some of Dryden's original lines read as if they are playing on the Latin anagram. The phrase 'This arch-*attestor* … Whose *oath* …' reads as a play on Oates's name ('attestor' itself is almost an anagram: 'TTS OATE' + R), and Dryden's earlier mention of the Popish Plot 'With oaths affirmed' (*AA* 111) as '*by Oates* affirmed'. This wordplay is not reliant on the Latin anagram, but Dryden's final comment on Corah is more climactic if read (as Atterbury must have read it) in light of 'TESTIS OVAT':

What others in his evidence did join

[105] See Hammond and Hopkins, *Selected Poems*, 152; Richard F. Jones, 'The Originality of *Absalom and Achitophel*', *Modern Language Notes*, 46.4 (1931), 211-18.

[106] Only one earlier application of the biblical story to Monmouth has been noted: Aaron Baker's Guy Fawkes sermon, *Achitophel befool'd* (London, 1678), 3-4 (*Selected Poems*, 152).

(The best that could be had for love or coin)
In Corah's own predicament will fall
For witness is a common name to all. (*AA* 678-81)

Caetera Turba pares miscens in *FOEDERA* Chartas
(Quos amor admovit, pretiive insana libido)
Coraicae juncto succedent ordine Classi:
Nempe omnes uno censentur nomine *TESTES*. (26)

(The rest of the crowd, concocting just as many pages in the service of the Plot – whom love or an insane desire for payment motivated – will fall into Corah's class in a joint cohort: soon all will be called by one name, 'Witnesses'.)

The final line of the English echoes the tag '*Homo* is a common name to all men', 'common name' being the name that is applicable to a class ('Coraicae … Classi') rather than an individual. This is ironic, since a 'common name' is also a vernacular name for a class of organisms, especially contrasted with a scientific Latin name: '*Homo*' is not the common name for all men – it is 'man'. In the line 'witness is a common name to all', the common name 'witness' implicitly contrasts its 'scientific' Latin equivalent, *testis*. The line could be completed, 'witness is a common name to all *testes*' – perhaps gesturing further, to a specific species, 'TESTIS *OVAT*'.

An anagram that reveals the identity of a character is the ultimate occasion for the reader to come in 'for half of the Performance' by making 'Discover[ies] of his own'. Yet it is more coercive than the original, which, as Alan Roper has shown, left latitude for readers to decide for themselves 'who's who' in the allegory (although most agreed that Corah was Oates).[107] In 'TESTIS OVAT' the doubleness of the poem's fable converges into a single value, as allegory becomes anagram. It is an instance of Addisonian 'false wit' (which 'consists in the resemblance and congruity sometimes of single letters') that brings out the 'true wit' of the rest of the poem, the 'resemblance and congruity' of story to the political scene, binding them together.[108] This is the only moment in the translation when Atterbury 'identifies' a character or concept. Coward does so again (as he did with *foedus*), more crudely, when a marginal annotation identifies the '*Mendicam … turbam*' (33) from which David asks to be saved (*AA* 986) as 'Petitioners'. Roper, following Addison, considers it a strength of *Absalom and Achitophel* that the identities of the characters are not fixed: if Dryden had 'normally supplie[d] sufficient detail to restrict Restoration equivalents to just one per character', then he would have 'wholly created the meaning without our collusion' – but he did not.[109] Roper's metaphor for the reader's hermeneutic participation – not contract but

[107] See Roper.

[108] See Addison (n.40).

[109] Roper, 109.

collusion – renders the reader a co-conspirator or plotter in meaning. The layer of concealment in the poem makes the reader's participation in an interpretative alliance *feel* like collusion, an effect enhanced more by Atterbury's cryptic anagram than by Coward's declaration of definitions. *Foedus* (good) feels like *foedus* (bad).

The notion of an interpretative *foedus* in (the translations of) *Absalom and Achitophel* is limited by the fact that the model of government Dryden advances in the poem is not one of *foedus*, contract or covenant (as some have argued), but one based on the idea of the constitution (as Michael Conlon argues).[110] In the so-called 'passage on government' (*AA* 755-810), the poet launches his case against Exclusion by starting from a 'shared assumption' with the Whigs:[111]

> What shall we think? Can people give away,
> Both for themselves and sons, their native sway?
> Then they are left defenceless to the sword
> Of each unbounded arbitrary lord (*AA* 759-62)

Dryden dismisses an extreme Hobbesian position by affirming the native privileges of English subjects, which (being conferred by natural law) 'cannot be limited or resumed arbitrarily from one generation to the next.'[112] 'Yet', the poet continues…

> …if the crowd be judge of fit and just,
> And kings are only officers in trust,
> Then this resuming cov'nant was declared
> When kings were made, or is for ever barred (765-8)

Here Dryden 'identifies the arguments for Exclusion with a model of government associated … with [Milton's] anti-monarchical writings' (specifically the *Tenure*, which renders the king an 'officer in trust').[113] The notion that a covenant was originally 'declared' with a 'resuming' clause is absurd, since that would make kings 'tenants to their people's pleasure' (*AA* 776); in the absence of such a declaration, attempts to revoke or exclude the king's title are 'for ever barred'. Dryden's next lines bring to mind the passage from the *De Doctrina* where Milton asserts that 'omnes in Adamo peccarunt':

> If those who gave the sceptre could not tie

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[110] George R. Noyes argues that Dryden 'grounds the royal power not on *divine right*, but on a *covenant* made by the governed' (*The Poetical Works of John Dryden* (Cambridge, 1950), 962, n.759); Michael J. Conlon, 'The Passage on Government in Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*', *The Journal of English and German Philology*, 78.1 (1979), 17-32.

[111] Conlon, 20-1.

[112] Ibid., 21.

[113] Ibid., 23.

> By their own deed their own posterity,
> How then could Adam bind his future race?
> How could the forfeit on mankind take place?
> Or how could heavenly justice damn us all
> Who ne'er consented to our father's fall?
> Then kings are slaves to those whom they command (769-74)

This inverts another Miltonic argument, from the *Tenure*, that to say 'the King hath as good right to his Crown … as any man to his inheritance, is to make the Subject no better than the Kings slave'.[114] It uses 'the conventional [and Miltonic] explanation for the origins of government in "Adam's forfeit" to undermine the idea of an original contract or covenant [of governance]',[115] replacing it with the logic of inheritance and 'invoking a providential view of history … at odds with the voluntarist principles of trust, covenant and consent.'[116] Dryden then argues that no subject can be 'secure of private right / If sovereign sway may be dissolved by might' (*AA* 779-80), yet nothing can prevent the people from erring in judgement and undermining their own private rights by 'murther[ing] monarchs' (*AA* 790), an act by which 'government itself at length must fall / To nature's state' (*AA* 792-4). This leaves us where we started, 'defenceless to the sword / Of each unbounded arbitrary lord'.

Having dissociated his model of government from the Hobbesian irrevocable contract and the Miltonic revocable covenant, Dryden advances an alternative: the ancient constitution, the poem's 'primary emblem'.[117] He shifts the goalposts 'from the question of investiture' – of what determines and binds the king's power – to that of 'changing a restored or "settled Throne"':[118]

> Yet grant our lords the people kings can make,
> What prudent man a settled throne would shake?
> …
> All other errors but disturb a state,
> But innovation is the blow of Fate.
> If ancient fabrics nod, and threat to fall,
> To patch the flaws and buttress up the wall
> Thus far 'tis duty; but here fix the mark,
> For all beyond is to touch our ark.
> To change foundation, cast the frame anew,

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[114] Milton, in Hammond and Hopkins, *AA* 777-94n.

[115] Conlon, 25.

[116] Hammond and Hopkins, *AA* 765-76n. 'No man could bind his posterity by a unilateral contract or covenant, but any man could bind and unbind his sons by the laws of inheritance' which 'were thought to be consistent with the effects of Adam's forfeit on mankind' (Conlon, 25).

[117] Conlon, 30.

[118] Ibid, 28.

> Is work for rebels who base ends pursue,
> At once divine and human laws control,
> And mend the parts by ruin of the whole. (*AA* 795-808)

Dryden now positions the monarchy in the tradition of the ancient constitution, although this word is not actually used, 'in a manner that mutes the absolutist implications of divine right but retains the divine source of the king's authority.'[119] For Conlon this is highly 'effective as a conclusion',[120] yet he has emphasised elsewhere that it is also a fudge of the debates previously staged:

> the narrator believes the question a moot one as to whether or not the kingdom should be called a patriarchy or a kind of 'resuming Cov'nant' … He seems willing, in fact, to make rather liberal concessions to an academic question of this kind ('grant our Lords the People Kings can make' 795)[121]

Questions of trust and inheritance are replaced by innovation versus stability; metaphor, instead of the specific language of government, does the argumentative heavy lifting. Roper notes that 'there appear to be two distinct vehicles illustrating two aspects of a single tenor': superficial amendment of the constitution is compared to minor repair of a building; radical alteration, to the desecration of the ark.[122] Yet, for Roper and Conlon, the ark reference masterfully 'convert[s] the anonymous building of the preceding couplet' (i.e. 'the fabric of England's constitution')[123] 'into the temple', which 'holds and houses the Ark described in II Samuel',[124] merging the superficially distinct vehicles.

Dryden's recourse to analogy leaves more questions unanswered than Roper and Conlon allow, but this is also its strength. The merging of the vehicles is not as stable as Roper claims. The ark which the temple houses must represent 'the fundamental law' ('the constitutional relationship of king and people and the disposition of sovereignty') and the walls of the temple, the law's 'incidental manifestations'.[125] Yet the 'foundations' and 'frame' of the building must *also* be the fundamental law, if 'chang[ing] foundations' and 'cast[ing] the frame anew' is as impermissible as touching the ark. This inconsistency conveys the mutuality of the constitution and the law so

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[119] Hammond and Hopkins, *AA* 795-810n.

[120] Conlon, 28.

[121] Conlon, 'Politics and Providence: Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*' (PhD thesis, Florida, 1969), 35.

[122] Alan Roper, *Dryden's Poetic Kingdoms* (London, 1965), 17.

[123] Roper, *Kingdoms*, 17; Conlon, 'Passage', 29.

[124] Roper, *Kingdoms*, 17; Conlon, 'Passage', 29.

[125] Roper, *Kingdoms*, 18.

tightly that Roper and Conlon differ slightly in their allocation of tenors. For Roper, there is one overarching tenor, the constitution, which encompasses all parts of this construction; insofar as they are separable, the ark houses 'the constitutional relationship' and the temple the incidental manifestations of the law. Conlon is able to separate the Ark as the Law and the temple as the constitution. The providential frame of reference conveyed by the ark image does not establish a clear relation between 'divine and human laws' (is it merely one of analogy?), as Milton's theory of government does; nor is this providence synthesised with the earlier ideas about Adam and inheritance. The similarities and differences between covenant and constitution are ultimately muddied by the image of the ark: for what is the ark but the Ark *of the Covenant*? In Latin, the *Arca Foederis*.

Both Coward (26) and Atterbury use the Hobbesian word *pactum* for 'cov'nant' – presumably to differentiate it from all the other *foedera* – and *fidei commissum* for 'in trust':

> Quod si plebeiae fallaci examine Librae
> Vis recti steterit, Regumque vicarius Ordo
> Commissas fidei gestet de more Secures;
> Aut hoc nascentis dudum ad primordia regni
> Invaluit pactum, aut nullo vim detulit aevo. (Atterbury, 29)
>
> (If the force of rectitude stands in the fallacious balance of the people's scales, and the vicarious succession of kings passes on sovereignty committed in the manner of trust, either this covenant prevailed long since at the very beginnings of the nascent kingdom, or it did not transfer power to any posterity.)

Atterbury conveys his lack of confidence in the people's judgement and this model of succession ('fallaci', 'vicarius') more forcefully than Dryden does on this point. The suggestion of the Roman law concept of *fideicommissum* – a bequest whereby the appointed heir is committed in trust to transfer the inheritance to another – interacts uneasily with the differentiation of trust and inheritance in the lines about Adam's forfeit. In Atterbury's translation, however, a new model of government clearly emerges in place of trust, covenant, and consent. In contrast with Dryden's, this new model does have a specific term attached to it: *moles* (mass; a massive structure or building, a vast undertaking, a heavy responsibility; a burden, a danger; effort, force, strength). Coward is closer to Dryden's 'ancient fabric' with 'Fabrica … vetus', but Atterbury's 'vetus Moles' carries more weight. While the idea of the constitution draws together various images across Dryden's poem – 'temples, hills, housings … the body politic, the "pillars of the state," the crown, the houses of parliament…'[126] – *moles* marries them in one word. But, like *foedus*, *moles* has both positive and negative guises.

[126] Conlon, 'Passage', 30.

The word *moles* and its cognates occur five times in Atterbury's version of the passage on government – twice before the climactic instance, the 'vetus Moles':

> If they may give and take whene'er they please,
> Not kings alone (the Godhead's images)
> But government itself at length must fall
> To nature's state, where all have right to all. (*AA* 791-4)
>
> …sed magna fatiscet
> Imperii *moles*, et rupti machina regni
> Antiquos repetens ortus… (30)
>
> (…but the great *moles* of power and the engine of broken kingship will fall apart, returning to its ancient beginnings…)

Atterbury's two-part phrase for 'government itself' alludes to the Lucretian *moles et machina mundi* that will one day fall apart despite having been sustained over many years (*DRN* 5.95-6). This figures the end of government not as a second fall, but as a return to a physical state of chaos prior to creation.

> …whatsoe'er their sufferings were before,
> That change they covet makes them suffer more. (*AA* 797-8)
>
> …populo, quacunque gemens sub *mole* laboret,
> Intendunt duplices mutata pericula poenas. (30)

This is a more negative form of *moles* – to labour *sub mole* meaning 'to suffer' – yet Atterbury suggests that what the people perceive as 'sufferings' are not sufferings at all, but the necessary work, burden, and responsibility required to maintain the constitution.

> Siqua vetus *Moles* iam iam lapsura, cadentique
> Imminet assimilis, dubias fulcire ruinas
> Sis memor et tremulos valido tibicine postes;
> Hactenus Officii labor est: sed meta labori
> Haec stet fixa suo: siquid temerarius ultra
> *Moliris*, sanctam digito violaveris Arcam. (30, emphases mine)
>
> (If the ancient *Moles* is about to fall – now, now! – and threatens to collapse, remember to prop up the parts that may crumble and the shaky posts with a strong support; thus far is the labour of duty: but set the mark for this labour fixed here; if you exert yourself [*Moliris*] rashly beyond this, you violate the sacred Ark with your touch.)

There are two allusions to the *Aeneid* here – 'iam iam lapsura' and 'Hactenus … labor est' – and, indeed, *moles* itself is highly Virgilian.[127] As C.S. Lewis says of the ideology of the *Aeneid*, 'The

[127] 6.602; 6.129.

labour, the *moles*, is the point.'[128] Those who 'cast the frame anew' topple the *Moles* with destructive *moles* of their own, just as they have fought *foedera* with conspiratorial *foedera*.

Looking back at the previous two-thirds of the poem, we see that, like the term *foedus*, the notion of *moles* has been employed, appropriated, and distorted by various characters, signifying strength at one moment, useless encumbrance at the next. Achitophel's son, 'a shapeless lump' (*AA* 172), is an 'indigestaque *moles*' (Atterbury, 7). As discussed, when Absalom 'find[s] [his] mounting spirits bold' (*AA* 367), Atterbury alludes to the *Aeneid*, 'Mens agitat *molem*, et magno se corpore miscet?' Achitophel boasts of turning the *moles* of the 'next successor' against him, 'Turn[ing] all his virtues to his overthrow' (*AA* 403): 'Ruit ingens *mole* sua Vir' (15).[129] Absalom and Achitophel's followers 'th[ink] kings an useless, heavy load' (*AA* 505), 'gravis imperii *moles*, et inutile pondus' (19), and 'their power employ / Nothing to build, and all things to destroy' (*AA* 531-2), 'Evertisse iuvat structas ad sydera *moles*: / Nec tamen eversas iuvat instaurare ruinas' (20).[130] After the significance of *moles* has been stabilised in the image of the 'vetus Moles' as the constitution and, crucially, the *work* required to sustain it, it is strongly claimed by David and his followers. No longer in the balance, the weight of *moles* falls on their side:

> [Jotham] chose the better side;
> Nor chose alone, but turned the balance too –
> So much the weight of one brave man can do. (*AA* 885-7)

In Atterbury's translation, the 'weight' in the balance is of course 'tremulae Librae *molem*' (34). The 'plebeiae fallaci examine Librae' is no longer a threat, given the sheer *moles* on the side of monarchy. Only Barzillai's son (Thomas, Earl of Ossory) is disburdened of this earthly labour by his untimely death: 'free from earth, thy disencumbered soul…' (*AA* 850); 'fugis exuto terrenae pondere *molis*…' (32). Ultimately, the strength and work of *moles* is located in David himself:

> Kings are the public pillars of the state,
> Born to sustain and prop the nation's weight (*AA* 953-6)
> …Quorum humeris regni *moles* onerosa recumbat. (36)

David's assumption of *moles* on his shoulders restores the stability that was shaken by the fallout from his earlier, ill-advised act of *moles*, when he 'got', 'Moliretur', Absalom 'with a greater gust' (*AA* 20; Atterbury, 2).

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[128] C.S. Lewis, *A Preface to Paradise Lost* (Oxford, 1942), 34.

[129] 'The great man falls by the force of his own *moles*'.

[130] 'They delight in overturning *moles* built to the stars; but they do not delight in restoring the ruins that they have overturned'.

The weight of *moles* displaces the bonds of *foedus* as the model disrupting and sustaining society. It is surprising, then, that Atterbury's ending sees a reversion to the federal model:

> He said. Th' Almighty, nodding, gave consent,
> And peals of thunder shook the firmament.
> Henceforth a series of new time began,
> The mighty years in long procession ran;
> Once more the godlike David was restored,
> And willing nations knew their lawful lord. (*AA* 1026-31)
>
> …Et placido junctas tenuit *sub foedere* Gentes. (39)
>
> (…and he held the people joined by a peaceful alliance.)

Why does *foedus* return in the final line as the principle of David's future government? It is appropriately providential; it is also associated with the bonds between the nations of the union, particularly England and Scotland, which is gestured to in 'willing nations'. It is also Virgilian: Atterbury has quoted 'ferreus ingruat imber' from Virgil nine lines above, an assault of iron rain which signals the end of the *foedus* between the Latins and the Trojans at *Aeneid* 12.284-6, which will be resolved when Juno and Jupiter agree that they will merge in *leges et foedera* (12.822). It reflects the return of the language of 'consent', in a new guise: God's 'consent' is reflected in the 'willing[ness]' of the people, whose resistance has vanished since the rebellious forces miraculously self-destructed: 'Against themselves the witnesses [*Testes*] will swear, / Till viper-like their mother plot [*FOEDERIS*] they tear…' (*AA* 1012-3; Atterbury, 38). In the absence of conspiratorial *foedera*, a peaceful *foedus* has a better chance of stability. In the final line Atterbury finally stabilises the meaning of *foedera*, not as plots or conspiracies, which have vanished from this peaceful world, nor as merely political leagues, but as divinely sanctioned, providential alliances. Through these lines' echo of the ending of Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*, this last instance of *foedus* almost converges with the Miltonic 'obedience':

> Now peacefull order has resum'd the reynes,
> Old time looks young, and Nature seems renew'd,
> Then, since from homebred Factions ruine springs,
> Let Subjects learn obedience to their Kings.[131]

Ultimately, then, in Atterbury's translation the *moles* of government contains or is compatible with some element of *foedus*, not unlike Dryden's own precarious image of the constitution. The ambiguous associations of the Latin word enable the translator to replicate Dryden's persuasive sleight of hand.

[131] John Dryden, *Troilus and Cressida* (London, 1679), 69.

Fear of Change

Is the word *foedus* in the *Paradise Lost* translations similarly politicized? More broadly, do the translations attempt to recast Milton politically, or to depoliticize him altogether? Coward's concern that the term will lack specific political allusiveness without clarification suggests that the translators of *Paradise Lost* might be using it more innocently, as an apt Virgilian/Vulgate term, in the absence of other political signals in their translations. For other signals, a reader such as L'Estrange might look to the most politically sensitive passage of book 1: the simile comparing Satan to the sun. L'Estrange himself apparently regarded it as the poem's most subversive, anti-Stuart moment:[132]

> [Satan's] form had not yet lost
> All her original brightness…
> …as when the sun new ris'n
> Looks through the horizontal misty air
> Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon
> In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds
> On half the nations, and with fear of change
> Perplexes monarchs. (*PL* 1.591-9)

This simile is one of the many Miltonic passages that glint through Achitophel's image of the setting sun. Any potential political resonance is complex: the perplexing of monarchs is attributed, indirectly, to Satan (as the sun), so can be easily disavowed, yet the solar eclipse is ominous for 'the sun king Charles in particular'.[133]

In 1686, on the cusp of the Glorious Revolution and under the watchful eye of L'Estrange, J.C.'s translation is direct – 'Regni evertendi Reges formidine plectens' (25)[134] – echoing Milton's 'perplexes' but being more specific about the kind of 'change' kings fear. He turns the simile into an address to 'Tu, Phoebe', seeming to merge the sun with the 'Reges' rather than with Satan (who almost becomes the moon), as if Satan were threatening a sun-king, not being identified with a threatening sun. Milton's simile becomes more of a warning than a comparison, probably to James. It passes the L'Estrange test. In 1691, in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution, Power is more evasive – 'et reges et regum territat urbes' (17) – yet, following his expansive rendering of 'When Charlemain with all his peerage fell / By Fontarabbia' (*PL* 1.586-7) as 'Quum *Caroli* magni

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[132] Fowler, *PL* 1.596-9n.

[133] Ibid.

[134] 'Striking kings with fear of the kingdom being overturned'.

proceres Maurusia, et ipsum / *Gens Carolum* victrix ingenti clade cecidit' (16, emphases mine),[135] it seems to function as a memory of both the regicide and the recent fall of the 'Gens Carolum', though without any clear message. Of the early Milton translators, Power is most difficult to place on a Tory-Whig, Jacobite-Williamite spectrum. Power's continuation of his translation beyond book 1 is embedded in a different political context, as I discuss in the next chapter. Finally, in 1702, Bold is quite explicit: 'Bellum, venturaque funera Vulgus / Praesentit, regesque suis timuere coronis' (82).[136] We can assume this conveys disapproval, given that Bold was ejected from Cambridge at the Glorious Revolution.[137] There is perhaps a subtle echo of *Astraea Redux* in Bold's rendering of 'till one greater man / Restore us' (*PL* 1.4-5):

> dum …
> … Exoriens *astris* majoribus olim
> Alter *Adas*, *reduces* Nativa reponat in Arva (4)
>
> (…until a second Adam rising from the greater stars restores us, redux, to our native land)

If so, the allusion attempts to do for *Paradise Lost* what *Astraea Redux* did for Dryden himself – that is, show that it could 'change', after celebrating Cromwell. Bold repeats *astra* frequently in similar contexts throughout the rest of Book 1, perhaps hoping for another restoration. So, in both English and Latin, the 'fear of change' simile functions as memory, warning, or threat, depending on who is looking, at what time, and their impression of the author's politics.

In 1690, Hog, who shows himself to be a pronounced Whig in his later poetry,[138] had greater opportunity to develop a political narrative across the full ten-book *Paradise Lost*. Hog was backed by two patrons from a radical Scottish tradition who had participated on the conspiratorial side in the events depicted in *Absalom and Achitophel*. Daniel Coxe (son of a Parliamentarian Presbyterian), once described as 'Confederate Cox', was a Conventicler and signed the 'Monster Petition' of 1680 instigated by Shaftesbury; for this, he was arrested upon the assession of James II.[139] Hog does not refer to Coxe's politics in his preface apart from to praise his support of refugee

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[135] 'When the Maurusian victorious race killed the nobles of great Charles and Charles himself in a great calamity'.

[136] 'The people foresee war and coming death, and the kings fear for their crowns'.

[137] See n.36.

[138] See William Hog, *Victoria … Gulielmi Tertii … Namurae* (London, 1695).

[139] Marfy Goodspeed, 'Goodspeed Histories: New Jersey History and Genealogy': https://goodspeedhistories.com/daniel-coxe-merchant-investor/ (accessed 8 February 2023). See also

Huguenots (xvi-xvii), for whom Coxe planned a mass resettlement to Pennsylvania. On the back of his Milton translations, in 1695 Hog was commissioned by the Bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet (Balak in *AA*, and an enemy of Atterbury) to Latinize book 1 of Richard Blackmore's *Prince Arthur*, an allegorical epic celebrating the victory of William III. Burnet too was experienced in the various *foedera* of the last century. His father had refused to support the Solemn League and Covenant, but his mother's brother was a leader of the Covenanters. He advised Charles II on the Popish Plot (he was neither a sceptic nor fully convinced) and defended Shaftesbury from involvement in alleging treason against the Queen. In later life, he became obsessed with the threat of Jacobite invasions, but he did not live to fear Atterbury's Jacobite plot of 1721-2. He was not very good at forming *foedera* himself, however: he was apparently unable to keep a secret, so was not informed of William's plans to invade England until July 1688.[140] Book 1 of Blackmore's *Prince Arthur*, centred on 'Ambitious *Lucifer*, depos'd of late / From Bliss Divine, and high Angelick State',[141] is another politicized imitation of *Paradise Lost* 1 (incidentally, Dryden accused Blackmore of plagiarising the idea of an epic on King Arthur from him).[142] Blackmore's take on Milton certainly brings out the political potential of *foedus*. 'Th' Apostate' is 'Sent by confederate Potentates' – in Hog's translation, 'Cum varii coiere duces mihi Foedere juncti' – to 'wage Confed'rate War' against the Williamites.[143] Hog's version of Blackmore's poem, David Money argues, 'emphasizes [its] patriotic allegory'.[144]

Burnet presumably commissioned Hog because he read Hog's Latinized Milton as a grand Whig. Hog does not obviously amplify the poem's whiggish potential in book 1, although the thrust of his repetitions of *foedus* perhaps tend towards the recasting of Satan as a Jacobite that Blackmore's epic effects. As for 'fear of change', Hog, writing immediately after the monarchy had been changed, presumably to his liking, gives 'Regumque animos formidine terret' (20), which takes the political sting out of the phrase; it may be that Hog did not wish to suggest that the *new*

Michael Hunter, 'Coxe, Daniel', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37319 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[140] James Moore, 'Burnet, Gilbert', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4062 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[141] Richard Blackmore, *Prince Arthur* (London, 1695), 1.

[142] Flavio Gregori, 'Blackmore, Sir Richard', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2528 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[143] Blackmore, *Prince Arthur*, 2, 4; *Liber Primus Principis Arcturi*, trans. William Hog (London, 1700), 7.

[144] D.K. Money, 'Hogg, William', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/71044 (accessed 9 April 2023).

monarch should have any fear of change. The translator's expansive rendering of God's description of the elect and elevation of the son in book 3 (*PL* 3.183ff.; Hog, 66ff.) reads as an implicit endorsement. This is consistent with Hog's Scottish Protestant affiliations, confirming Hale's conjecture, based on the 1699 republication of the translation in Rotterdam, that it was sympathetic to Milton's radical theology. Hog would not have needed to strongly politicise his translation to confirm Milton as a grand Whig. However, his preface conveys a strong air of opportunism. It seems likely that Hog was drawn (further) into the Whig camp by the patronage of Cox and Burnet; perhaps (as some speculated about May) translating Milton made him *fall* in love with the Whig cause. For his part, Burnet harnessed the political potential of the translation, and composed a 'grand Whig' Milton from it.

Latinization is a process of remediating works to both new audiences and their original readerships. This process can widen or tighten political significances. Ultimately, the meanings of both the allusions and the politics of the *Paradise Lost* translations are largely supplied by the reader, especially when the translation is limited to book 1, as many were. They could be read politically, as Hog's was by Burnet; appease the likes of L'Estrange, as J.C.'s did, or simply contribute to the canonization of a national poet by putting his profound classicism on display. The voice and character of the Miltonic narrator can be hard to recognise in the translations' classical *facies*. The reader must become 'both a Reader and a Composer' if the translations are to reproduce the function of the Miltonic narrator in strongly differentiating the poem from its classical sources; if they do so, the effect can be profound. The Miltonic narrator does not, on the other hand, make overt political assertions: *Paradise Lost*, written within a hermeneutic of censorship, heavily masks its politic subtext. The translators do not tighten the poems' political meanings, leaving it to readers to 'come in for half of the performance'. It remains for Power (discussed in the next chapter) to advance a more strongly interpretative reading of *Paradise Lost* through Latin translation.

The reader of the Dryden translations, on the other hand, is beholden to a *foedus* with the poet/sovereign that seems to require our consent, participation, even collusion, but has all the weight and fixity of a *moles*. Atterbury's translation is particularly coercive, as we see in his instances of translatorly paradiastole. He figures translation as an act of *foedus* propped up by *moles*, the translator's labour. While *Paradise Lost* seems obviously ripe for Latinization, being so Latinate in language, form and content, it is *Absalom and Achitophel* that is less 'changed' and retains more of its dynamism in Latin. The resistance to Latinity posed by Dryden's rhymes and contemporaneous subject (coupled with his sexual imagery) brings an air of wicked defiance to the translations' lines, tempering the text's coercive march towards Virgilian resolution. This effect resembles the 'resistance offered by the native character of English to Milton's constant impulse to reform it

along classical lines', which is, contrastingly, lost in Latin translation.[145] It is ironic, given his figuration of translation as an act of sovereign-approved *foedus*, that translating Dryden arguably made a plotter of Francis Atterbury, which would see him adapting lines 12.645-7 of *Paradise Lost* in a letter to Pope from exile in 1723:

> I may call upon you at my Hearing, to say some what about my way of Spending my Time at the Deanery, which did not seem calculated towards managing Plots and Conspiracys. … I shall not part with you now, till I have clos'd this Letter, with three Lines of Milton, which you will I know, readily, and not without some degree of concern apply to
> Your ever affectionate Friend and faithful Servant
> Fra. Roffen.
>
> Some natural Tears he dropt, but wip'd them soon:
> The World was all before him, where to choose
> His place of rest; and Providence, his Guide.[146]

[145] Porter, 143.

[146] Atterbury to Pope, 21 April 1723.

CHAPTER 6

Making Traffic of English Style: Latin Translation and Empire

At sunrise on 8 August 1693, around two hundred years after Columbus's first sighting of the Americas, a ship bearing Thomas Power reached the English settlement at Bermuda. Commissioned to preach in the West Indies by the Bishop of London in March, Power had been sailing for at least a month since leaving Virginia, a pit-stop on his voyage from England. On 24 August, he wrote to James Blair, another clergyman then founding The College of William and Mary in Virginia, to inform him of his safe arrival. Back in England, as a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Power had shown some literary potential: as well as Latinizing *Paradise Lost* book 1, he contributed one satire to John Dryden's translation of Juvenal;[1] he may also have compiled the 1684 anthology of Italian neo-Latin poets that Alexander Pope later published, which is usually attributed to Francis Atterbury.[2] A copy of *Paradise Lost* must have made the voyage across the Atlantic with Power in 1693, since he went on to complete his Latin translation of the eleven remaining books in manuscript while preaching in Bermuda, Antigua, and Nevis before his death in 1698, aged only 38.[3]

Power's account of the slow, rocky approach into the harbour in his letter to Blair is reminiscent of Satan's approach to Eve in book 9:

> we were kept a good while by Southerly winds from making our latitude, and when we had gained it the wind blowing from the west we were at least a month frequently lacking sometimes north sometimes south to keep our latitude … we were conducted into the town Harbour by Captain Tucker the most skilfull pilot in the Island … [The ship] required a very able person to work and manage her in so narrow a channel for as she past she was sometimes within two foot of the shoals

[1] *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis*, trans. John Dryden et al. (London, 1693).

[2] See Robert S. Hunting, 'The "Cura Cuiusdam" of Pope's *Anthologia*', *Philological Quarterly*, 31.4 (1952), 430-31, and John Sparrow, 'Pope's *Anthologia* Again', *Philological Quarterly*, 33.4 (1954), 428-31. Atterbury's is the stronger claim, but both Hunting and Sparrow find early testaments to Power's authorship.

[3] Trinity James R.2.38 contains books 2–7, Power's letter to Blair (inserted), and miscellaneous notes; James R.2.37 is a 1692 printed copy of *Paradise Lost* with an interlinear manuscript translation of books 8–12; University of Illinois Post-1650 MS 0708 is a non-autograph fair copy of the translation and preface. See John T. Shawcross, 'A Note on T. P.'s Latin Translation of "Paradise Lost"', *Milton Quarterly*, 21.2 (1987), 66–68.

and rocks…[4]

> With tract oblique
> … sidelong he works his way,
> As when a ship by skilful steersman wrought
> Nigh river's mouth or foreland, where the wind
> Veers oft, as oft so steers, and shifts her sail… (*PL* 9.511–5)

Power's translation of 'Nigh … foreland' as 'ad flexum projectae rupis in aequor' heightens the resemblance.[5] Power's own 'skilful steersman', Captain Tucker, could boast Satanic stock: his forebear William Tucker, an earlier member of the prominent Bermuda family, concluded peace negotiations with a Powhatan village in 1623 by proposing a toast with a drink laced with poison, instantly killing 200 Powhatans and leading to the slaughter of fifty more.[6] The word that Power uses for 'steersman', *rector*, affiliates his new role as rector of various parishes in the colonies with Satan's advances (as well as being the usual Virgilian word for 'helmsman'). Although Bermuda was for some planters 'the nearest they had come to the paradise promised in early descriptions of the New World', at the time of Power's arrival there were signs to suggest the alternative view of the West Indian islands as 'tropical hells'.[7] Contrasting literary interpretations had been offered by Edmund Waller and Andrew Marvell: while Waller satirized the settlement as 'an earthly paradise spoiled by the incongruous behaviour of its inhabitants' in his mock-epic *The Battle of the Summer Islands* (1645), Marvell 'countered Waller's elaborate satire … with one of his most famous lyrics, *Bermudas*', in which 'the Bermudas figures as the Promised Land of the New World'.[8] Power arrived with the new Governor, John Goddard, who immediately drew up articles of complaint against his predecessor. This 'bid for popularity among the colonists' was conventional for Bermuda's Governors and served as 'a poisonous political recipe guaranteed to keep the place in turmoil'.[9]

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[4] R.2.38, 2r.

[5] 'At a turn of a jutting rock in the sea'. When quoting Power, I give line numbers for books 2–7, but not for books 8–12, where the translation is interlinear.

[6] William S. Powell, 'Aftermath of the Massacre: The First Indian War, 1622–1632', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 66.1 (1958), 44–75; 61–2.

[7] Virginia Bernhard, Virginia, 'Bermuda and Virginia in the Seventeenth Century: A Comparative View', *Journal of Social History* 19.1 (1985), 57–70; 58; Natalie A. Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670–1776* (Cambridge, 2010), 4.

[8] A.D. Cousins, 'Home and Nation in Andrew Marvell's *Bermudas*', in *Home and Nation in British Literature from the English to the French Revolutions*, ed. A.D. Cousins and Geoffrey Payne (Cambridge, 2015), 33-48; 33.

[9] Richard S. Dunn, 'The Downfall of the Bermuda Company: A Restoration Farce', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 20.4 (1963), 488–512; 510.

Power's first impressions are wary: 'There is no ~~orthodox~~ regular minister upon the place but my self', he writes; although 'the people seem outwardly fair and civil', 'to know their temper will be a work of time'.[10]

Discussions of Thomas Power to date have not connected the Trinity fellow who showed some literary promise to the colonial minister who died in Antigua, assuming that he completed his translation of *Paradise Lost* before he went abroad or neglecting books 2-12 entirely. Hale, Haan, and Hinds have discussed extracts from Power's published translation of book 1: Hale finds some Latinate 'felicities' in Power's lines but little 'to commend them as an act of interpretation', while Haan and Hinds locate several Virgilian intertexts;[11] I have positioned it alongside other versions of book 1 in the in the literary and political context of the 'Long Restoration' in England. Power's letter to Blair from Bermuda, now pasted into one of the manuscripts in the Wren Library, has been described as 'unrelated' to the translation.[12] However, rough material in the back of the volume containing Power's translation of books 2–7 disproves this. Dispersed among drafts of the translation are fragments of verse, letters and sermons, and notes showing that Power was translating during and after his voyage across the Atlantic. Illness is a regular theme. The letter to Blair ends with a request for a 'a small draught', and a note in the manuscript vividly describes the ineffectiveness of such draughts against seasickness: 'salsedine non ponitus detersá ventrem movet ciet quod iterata bis terve potione aliquantulum sensi'.[13] In another letter, Power asks a friend for help with stomach problems, insomnia, chills, sweats, and spinal degradation, which he blames on the climate.[14] Some fragments describe the imports, governance, and, particularly, the plants of the colony: 'Rapum Indicum cibus vilis et operarius'; 'Chrysanthemum Bermudense [is the] Marygold flower of the sea'.[15] There are also two discourses on religious topics: an argument against 'Play' (gambling) as 'an ungovernable sort of appetite of *venturing*' and 'an *imperious* and cruel mistress … *domineering over her slaves*', and a refutation of the claim that Christ did not rise from the dead on the third day exploring the doctrine of accommodation. These arguments' language and themes are

[10] James R.2.38, 2r.

[11] Hale, 178; Haan, 'Latinizing', 107; Hinds, 'In and Out', 81–2.

[12] Shawcross, 67.

[13] 'The deep inward salt taste does not go away; it makes my stomach turn and churn; even though I took the draught again six times, I hardly felt anything'. R.2.38, 127r.

[14] Ibid., 130v–1r.

[15] 'The Indian turnip is cheap food for working men'. Ibid., 127r.

reminiscent at points of the colonial language and themes of *Paradise Lost* itself.[16]

Paradise Lost is 'an epic of empire'. It is an epic '*about* exploration and colonial plantation', and, arguably, an epic of a republican ethic '*against* empire'.[17] *Paradise Lost* was not always recognised as an imperial epic by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century readers: Johnson, for example, wrote in his 'Life' of Milton that

> The subject of an epick poem is naturally an event of great importance. That of Milton is not the destruction of a city, the conduct of a colony, or the foundation of an empire. His subject is the fate of worlds, the revolutions of heaven and earth.[18]

The colonial theme was not lost on Power, however, as he voyaged across the Atlantic with his copy of *Paradise Lost*. Far from 'unrelated', an awareness of Power's Caribbean context and his paratextual notes informs a literary reading of his translation and expands our understanding of the practice of Latinization. Power's decision to begin translating book 1 into Latin in Cambridge around 1690 cannot be linked to his subsequent voyage to the 'New World'. From book 2 onwards, however, the colonial theme becomes central to Power's reading of *Paradise Lost* and, as the translation develops these themes, the significance of Latin as its medium is transformed.

Françoise Waquet has familiarised the idea that men of Power's time 'did not regard Latin solely as a language to write and speak, but as an instrument meant for other uses, as a sign invested with other meanings.'[19] Both the sign of Latin and *Paradise Lost* become invested with further meanings in Power's new context. Haan has explored the implications of Power's decision to Latinize Dryden's encomium of Milton at the end of his preface to book 1 for the benefit of potential foreign readers, since English readers are already aware of Milton's fame. In this poem, 'an original Latin encomium ([by Matteo] Selvaggi), translated into English and expanded (Dryden), has been translated back into Latin (Power), a universal language that can guarantee a shared speech community on an international front'.[20] The translation style of the earlier Power in book 1 is, I argue, increasingly hard to recognise in books 2–12. But his outlook is not so radically altered by his voyage that he gives up his project. The universalizing ethos identified by Haan

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[16] Ibid., 131v–3r, 120v–5r, my emphases. See J. Martin Evans, *Milton's Imperial Epic: Paradise Lost and the Discourse of Colonialism* (Ithaca; London, 1996) and David Armitage, 'John Milton: Poet Against Empire', in *Milton and Republicanism*, ed. Armitage, Himy and Skinner, 206-226; 216.

[17] Armitage, 215-6; passim, emphasis mine.

[18] Johnson, quoted ibid., 215.

[19] Françoise Waquet, *Latin, or, The Empire of a Sign* (London, 2001), 3.

[20] Haan, 'Latinizing', 94–5.

remains, although its meaning changes, becoming an imperial venture. Indeed, Power's epitaph in Antigua describes him as a 'Vir universalis' (Figure 14).



Figure 14.

During and after his voyage, Power continues to translate Milton's 'universal' epic into Latin, the language that came nearest to achieving universal reach since the 'one speech' that existed before Babel (Genesis 11:1). St Augustine, Power's most important intermediary when translating Milton's colonial discourse, interprets Babel as an appropriate punishment for Nimrod's imperialism because 'dominatio imperantis in lingua est'.[21] This sentiment was echoed in 1492 when the Spanish humanist Antonio de Nebrija famously noted that 'Language was always the companion [*compañera*] of empire' in the prologue to the *Gramática castellana*, the first printed grammar of a European vernacular. 'Together [language and empire] began,' Nebrija continued; 'together they fell'.[22] Nebrija is referring to Latin: having previously written a Latin grammar, he thinks that the vernacular will be the 'companion' of the next empire. The story of Latin in the

[21] 'Imperial power lies in language'. Augustine, *City of God,* 16.4.

[22] Magalí Armillas-Tiseyra, ed. 'On Language and Empire: The Prologue to *Grammar of the Castilian Language* (1492)', *PMLA* 131.1 (2016), 197–208; 197.

Americas is not so simple, however: 'in the first decades of colonisation and evangelisation' in Latin America, 'first in the Caribbean during the 1490s', Latin assumed 'similar roles and functions to those it possessed in early modern Europe' among colonizing and colonized populations.[23] Two hundred years later, however, in islands such as Bermuda, Antigua, and Nevis that had been exclusively English colonies for decades, Latin's practical function as an instrument of the colonial enterprise was limited, although its imaginative empire still held significant sway, and it could act as a vehicle for the empire of the new vernacular sign. Power was one of three ministers in Antigua who received a donation from Thomas Bray for the foundation of a library, one of several Bray founded in the colonies, with the intention of 'civiliz[ing] and convert[ing]' 'natives', straightening out delinquent settlers, and supporting ministers.[24] Bray's list of recommended books for these libraries include ten neo-Latin works and three classical—Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, under the heading 'Humanity'—out of sixty-three: a small but significant number.[25] Bray's and Power's literary endeavours share a universalising and civilising outlook, even though Power cannot have intended his translation to perform the tripartite function of Bray's books in the plantations, where Milton's original would be at least as easily understood by all populations, including ministers. More likely Power imagined himself as mediator of the message of *Paradise Lost* in his ministrations in the colonies, like Raphael in Paradise, while he translated it for a different, distant audience, like the angels who report back to heaven after the human fall.

The imperial venture of Power's translation is twofold. Imaginatively, Power embeds *Paradise Lost* in his own colonial context and accommodates it to a Latinized way of seeing, thus extending the literary empire of Latin into the New World territories covered by Milton's epic. Practically, his translation extends the literary 'empire' of *Paradise Lost* wherever Latin's linguistic empire still holds sway. In Power's translation, to borrow Haan's formula, a Latin tradition (Virgil, Ovid, Augustine), transformed by Milton and extended across space and time as far as the 'New World' (*Paradise Lost*), is translated in the 'New World' (Power), to be sent back to a Latin readership in England and Europe. As such, Power's translation completes the return voyage of

[23] Andrew Laird, Andrew, 'Latin in Latin America', in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo–Latin World*, ed. Philip Ford, Jan Bloemendal, and Charles Fantazzi (Leiden, 2014), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/9789004271296_enlo_B9789004271012_0061 (accessed 11 January 2022).

[24] Thomas Bray, *Proposals for the Encouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations* (London, 1697), and *Apostolick Charity* (London, 1698), A1v, A2v.

[25] Thomas Bray, *An Essay towards Promoting All Necessary and Useful Knowledge* (London, 1697), 17–22.

Paradise Lost's journey to the 'New World', imaginatively and, eventually, literally.[26]

'There plant eyes': Vision

Power published only three passages from his translation of books 2–12 of *Paradise Lost*. Translations by 'Mr. Power' appeared in successive editions of *The Gentleman's Journal*—a monthly miscellany, edited by Peter Motteux, which was a significant precursor to *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*—from May to July 1694.[27] The passages are taken from books 3–5, making it likely that Power reached that point in the translation in early 1694 and sent extracts back to England: 'Authoris caecitas ab ipso deplorata',[28] the second invocation (*PL* 3.1–55); 'Evae responsum', Eve's account of her creation (4.440–91); and 'Hymnus Matutinus', the morning hymn (5.153–208). These passages contain some of the effects identified in book 1 by Hale, Haan, and Hinds. There are Latinate felicities, such as 'Vos reliquae errantes Graiorum nomine dictae' for 'ye five other wandering fires that move' (5.177),[29] playing on the Latinity of the English—*stellae errantes* meaning planets—to add a new Miltonic nod to pagan errancy. Milton's allusions to Ovid's Narcissus in Eve's account of her creation offer the Latin translator plenty of opportunities for self-conscious imitation, but Power is relatively sparing, quoting only one or two words at a time. Only the addition of 're-' in his paraphrase of Ovid's *tecum venitque manetque* as 'Tecum remanetque, fugitque' suggests a self-conscious pleasure in his *re*-wording of Ovid.[30]

The key contribution that Power's translation makes to Milton's original in these passages is not stylistic or imitative but thematic. Read as a sequence, Power's carefully selected set-pieces form a sustained meditation on the centrality of vision and eyesight to *Paradise Lost* that creates new echoes and links between the passages. Power's most characteristic word, which recurs in every extract and frequently in the rest of the translation, is *species* (appearance, vision)—a word with a Lucretian flavour, bearing out Power's claim in his published preface that 'quae ex usu in hanc rem forent, ea fere omnia e Virgilii & Lucretii sacrariis deprompsi' (A4r).[31] *Species* is also a fundamental word for Augustine's theory of vision, in which the act of seeing involves a series of

[26] The James MSS were back in Trinity College, Cambridge by the 1730s. Shawcross, 67.

[27] Peter Motteux, ed., *Gentleman's Journal*, May 1694, 129–31; June 1694, 172–4; July 1694, 201–2.

[28] 'The author laments his blindness'.

[29] 'You other wandering stars called by the Greeks' names'.

[30] 'with you he comes and stays', *Metamorphoses* 3.435; 'with you he remains and flees'.

[31] 'I drew out all those things that would be useful for this work from the holy repositories of Virgil and Lucretius'.

four *species* or likenesses, each generating the next: (i) the *species* of the corporeal object seen; (ii) the *species* produced in the sense of the one seeing; (iii) the *species* produced in the memory, 'which the gaze of the soul can turn to in thought', and (iv) the *species* produced in the gaze of the one thinking, the *acies cogitantis*.[32] Power employs the word in different senses, at different levels of cognition and internality. Power translates Milton's 'Bright *effluence* of bright essence increate' (3.6) with the phrase 'simplex *species*';[33] 'Seasons return' (3.41) as 'per certas *species* variabilis anni',[34] and 'To us invisible' (5.156–7) as 'tua si *species* oculis minus obvia nostris',[35] Power's omission of 'Unspeakable' here attesting to his prioritisation of the theme of vision. When Eve looks at her reflection in the lake (4.461), she sees 'Altera … vultu *species* … eodem',[36] and Power later links Eve's Satanic dream to her reflection by adding 'per *speciem*' to Adam's reassurance 'if the night / Have gathered aught of evil' (5.206–7).[37] Power's translation also 'plant[s] eyes' (*PL* 3.53) in moments when the theme of vision is less prominent. His elaboration of 'with clouds … Or … falling showers' in the morning hymn's address to 'mists and exhalations' (5.185–90) as 'Canicie quales glauca, aut *caligine* fusca' echoes his use of *caligo* to describe the epic narrator's blindness:[38] he translated 'drop' in 'So thick a drop serene hath quenched their orbs' (3.25) with 'caligine', and 'Cloud instead … surrounds me' (3.45–6) as 'Nox aeterna oculos operit *caligine* spissa'.[39] Thus, the morning hymn reminds readers of what the epic narrator cannot see, and the word *glauca* (hoariness) becomes suggestive of glaucoma.[40] At the opening of Eve's speech, she calls Adam 'Plus oculis dilecte mihi' in Power's translation. This addition immediately likens Eve to the narrator, suggesting that Adam is to Eve what divine illumination is to the blind poet – 'dearer than eyesight', which is appropriate because Eve receives divine light second-hand through Adam. It echoes Goneril's declaration of love in *King Lear* (1.1.51),[41] calling to mind not only the theme of blindness but the 'space' and 'liberty' that Goneril also holds less dear (and foreshadowing Eve's fall from innocence into

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[32] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 11.6, trans. Susan Brewer-Towland in 'Perception in Augustine's *De Trinitate* 11: A Non-Trinitarian Analysis', *Oxford Studies in Medieval Philosophy*, 8 (2020), 41–78; 57.

[33] 'Pure *vision*'.

[34] 'Through the determined *appearances* of the changeable year'.

[35] 'If your *appearance* is less accessible to our eyes'.

[36] 'Another *figure* with the same face'.

[37] 'Through a dream'.

[38] 'Such as have grey hoariness or dark fog'.

[39] 'Eternal night covers my eyes with thick *fog*'.

[40] In the *OED* from 1643.

[41] 'Dearer than eyesight, space, or liberty'.

manipulativeness). At the end of her account, Eve's new knowledge is emphatically visual: she says, 'adeo manifestum lumine multo / Perspicitur' for 'from that time [I] see' (4.489).[42]

The theme of vision remains important to Power beyond book 5; indeed, the translation increasingly distinguishes itself from other renderings of *Paradise Lost* in advancing a strongly thematic reading of the poem, rather than focusing on more local allusive effects. From book 8 onwards, Power sets aside the informal manuscript containing his translation of books 2-7 and miscellaneous notes, composing between the lines of a copy of Tonson's illustrated *Paradise Lost*.[43] The etchings or 'sculptures' in this edition likely supported Power's visual reading of the poem, as I will show.

'Divine interpreter': Accommodation

Another theme that preoccupies Power in the first half of *Paradise Lost* is divine accommodation. A draft letter in the manuscript provides an insight into his thinking on this issue. The letter continues a dispute about the timeframe of Christ's resurrection; Power argues against *The Parents Primer* (1681) by Joseph Waite, refuting its claim that Christ did not rise on the third day. Power admits 'a controversy betwixt scripture and scripture'. Since Christ himself 'spoke the words on both sides … both are certainly true, but one must necessarily be taken in a qualified figurative sense'.[44] The arguments that Power employs to resolve this issue touch on divine accommodation. That Milton's own doctrine of accommodation was 'unusually daring and thoroughgoing' becomes apparent when it is 'compared with other contemporary versions', most of which are 'what might be called theories of social accommodation'.[45] Power advances a variation of this social theory, arguing that one must take 'consideration of the persons to whom the words were spoke' to resolve scriptural contradictions. When Christ contradicted himself, he was speaking to the Pharisees, 'malicious sanguinary hypocrites', so he did not intend them to know his meaning; it 'was to be unlockt by his own self and to other sort of persons than they were'. Likewise, when Christ 'spake to the multitude', he spoke 'in parables'. Furthermore, the timeframe that Christ gives to the Pharisees is determined by 'a type or a sign of somwhat to come', the sign of Jonah, whose 'three

[42] 'It is so manifestly perceived with great light'.

[43] John Milton, *Paradise Lost ... Adorn'd with Sculptures* (London, 1692), of which R.2.37 is an exemplum.

[44] R.2.38, 123r.

[45] H.R. MacCallum, 'Milton and Figurative Interpretation of the Bible', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 31.4 (1962), 397–415; 402.

days and three nights in the whale's belly' anticipate Christ's period buried in the earth.[46] Power sees types and parables as analogous forms of accommodation that operate through a 'relation of likeness' or 'similitude'.[47]

Milton's theory of accommodation, on the other hand, 'has nothing to do with social classes … it could be called epistemological'.[48] Power's discussion of similitude sounds more like the rhetoric of the missionary John Eliot (1604–90) who accommodated his explanations of Christian doctrine to Native Americans 'by some familiar similitude'. J. Martin Evans describes Raphael's accommodation of the narrative in books 5–7 of *Paradise Lost* as an 'extended example' of this colonial 'evangelical technique'.[49] Raphael introduces his act of accommodation in five and a half lines:

> what surmounts the reach
> Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
> By likening spiritual to corporeal forms,
> As may express them best, though what if earth
> Be but the shadow of heav'n, and things therein
> Each to other like, more than on earth is thought? (5.571–6)

Power expands this to seven longer hexameter lines:

> Ipse adeo humanos fugiunt quae altissima sensus
> Aethereasque animas tenues e lumine formas
> Tam simili vobis viva sub imagine pingam
> Ista oculis ut sueta legas quanquam aetheris alti
> Quid si terra tenens speciem solertius umbra
> Exprimit exemplo accedens propiusque figurat
> Res sibi transcriptas superum quam credere promptum est.[50]

> (Highest things that flee human senses and aethereal souls, gentle things formed of light, I myself will depict under a living image so similar to you that you can read them with your eyes as familiar, although they are of high heaven. What if earth holding an image expresses it more skilfully than a shadow, drawing near to its example, and figures things belonging to those above copied for itself more nearly and manifestly than it is easy to believe?)

Power turns Raphael's abstractions into visual images: 'what surmounts the reach / Of human sense' becomes three increasingly concrete images for angelic forms, and he adds his characteristic

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[46] Matthew 12:40.

[47] R.2.38, 120v–21r.

[48] MacCallum, 403.

[49] Evans, 76.

[50] R.2.38, 5.549-55.

lexis of sight: 'oculis', 'speciem', 'lumine'. This return to eyesight is apt since Raphael's accommodation is analogous to that of scripture, and 'Milton held that [the revelation of] Scripture … is adapted to the mind as physical light to the eye'.[51] But towards the final lines, the language of accommodation becomes more textual: 'legas', 'transcriptas', 'Exprimit', the latter meaning (as we have seen) 'expresses', 'imitates', 'copies', '*translates*'. This meaning becomes more significant when Adam calls Raphael 'Divine interpreter':

> Great things, and full of wonder in our ears,
> Far differing from this world, thou hast revealed
> Divine interpreter, by favour sent
> Down from the empyrean to forewarn
> Us… (7.70–74)
>
> Ardua conceptu nec nostro cognita mundo
> Divine interpres nobis patefacta dedisti
> Misse Dei imperio humanae dare lumina menti…[52]
>
> (Divine interpreter, you have opened up to us things that are hard to conceive of and unknown to our world, you who are sent by the power of God to give light to the human mind…)

The phrase '*Divine interpres*' recalls Power's preface to book 1: 'I have translated it not as an *interpres*, word for word: although, when it worked well with the poetic spirit intact, I did; but more attentive to the sense [*ad sensum*] of the author, I stuck fast to his sentiments and their forms, tempering the words to Latin habits [*attemperatis ad Latinam consuetudinem verbis*]…' (A4r). This moment in the translation, then, differentiates Raphael's accommodation from Power's own Ciceronian translation practice. Yet what Power described as his method is precisely translation 'By likening spiritual to corporeal forms'. He expresses the sense, the spirit, and their forms tempered 'ad Latinam *consuetudinem*' just as Raphael expresses them 'ut *sueta*'. Because it is not word for word, Power conceives of his accommodation as intersemiotic (sense/spirit to Latin verbal forms), like Raphael's (spiritual to corporeal), and Milton's in composing *Paradise Lost* itself ('things invisible' to epic poetry, 3.55).

The language of the preface also recurs in Power's letter when he describes his own biblical examples as 'express words of scripture in opposition to [Waite's] *sense*'. Power's translation of Milton's *sense* is analogous to the correct interpretation of literal ('express') and figurative scripture. One of Power's methods of rebuttal is to accuse Waite of relying on 'false and wrested translation[s]' of 'dark text[s]', demonstrating the centrality of translation to scriptural

[51] MacCallum, 413.

[52] R.2.38, 7.63–5.

interpretation; like these difficult scriptures, the essential characteristic of a parable for Power is that it is 'a dark saying'. Power's act of translation accommodates Milton's sense to his readers' understanding like physical light to the eye, Raphael's words to Adam, and parables to the multitude. Power translates 'by favour sent / Down from the empyrean' with one phrase, 'Misse Dei imperio', conflating 'favour' and 'empyrean' via a bilingual pun into *imperium*, a word that accentuates the colonial implications of 'nec nostro cognita mundo'. Power's translation of the lines surrounding 'Divine interpreter' suggests that his social theory of accommodation might be applicable to, and informed by, his colonial setting.

***Rector*, *Colonus*, *Incola*: Colonialism**

As in *Paradise Lost*, colonial discourse is pervasive in Power's translation, rendering many different figures and domains as colonizer and colonized. Evans notes that Raphael and Satan embody two sides of the colonial quest and that the similes describing their visitations to the New World overlap significantly.[53] Power emphasises this when translating the double simile for Raphael's sighting of the world. The first simile compares Raphael to Galileo; in the second comparison, to a 'pilot from amidst the Cyclades' (5.264), Power uses the word that he uses frequently of Satan, *rector* – the word that describes the translator's own role in the colonies: 'Sic ratis Aegaeum dum rector navigat aequor'.[54] What ultimately differentiates Raphael's imperialism from Satan's is that 'the imperial claims of "the sovran Planter" [*colonus*, in Power's version] are entirely justified' in *Paradise Lost* (4.691).[55] Milton's description of God in these colonial terms would surely be salient to an inhabitant of the Caribbean 'plantocracy'.

Power's translations of Satan's mercantile voyages often extend Satan's colonial ambitions into further territory. In book 9, for example, Power makes a minor adjustment to the route of Satan's worldwide search for a creature to inhabit:

> From Eden over Pontus, and the pool
> Maeotis, up beyond the river Ob;
> Downward as far Antarctic; and in length
> West from Orontes to the ocean barred
> At Darien, thence to the land where flows
> Ganges and Indus (9.77–82)

[53] Evans, 71–7.

[54] 'As when a helmsman navigates the Aegean sea'. R.2.38, 5.264.

[55] Evans, 75. R.2.38, 4.629.

In Power's translation, Satan conducts his journey westward from Orontes to Indus via Hesperium, rather than the Darien Isthmus:

> Oceanum super Hesperium metam Herculis ultra
> Auroram Gangemque sequens penetrarat ad Indos…
>
> (over the Hesperian Ocean, the boundary of Hercules beyond the dawn and, seeking the Ganges, he reaches Indus…)

For Power to claim that the Hesperides exist outside of Eden in these lines is a notable alteration, in light of Milton's assertive comparison of Edenic and Hesperian fruit, 'Hesperian fables true, / If true, here only' (4.250–1). In Milton's initial version of the Attendant Spirit's first lines in the Trinity manuscript's draft of '*Comus*', the Hesperian gardens are located on an island in 'the wide Atlantique'.[56] Since Power's Hesperium must be *en route* to India in the region of Panama, and since Milton and other writers 'impl[y] that [the Hesperides] are on an island in the Atlantic', Power seems implicitly to situate the 'Hesperian fables true' in his own location, on an island in the Caribbean Sea.[57] It is possible that Power actually examined the Trinity manuscript, which was probably already at Trinity *circa* 1690 when Power was translating Milton there. Although the manuscript was not generally 'recognized for what it was' until around 1736, Power crossed over at Trinity (as I have mentioned) with Daniel Skinner, who was probably the source of the Trinity manuscript.[58] Skinner preceded Power in travelling from Cambridge to the Caribbean in 1680-1, also living in Nevis.[59] Power's alteration of Satan's lines also facilitates an echo of the opening of Juvenal's tenth satire, *Omnibus in terris, quae sunt a Gadibus usque / Auroram et Gangen* (ll.1-2).[60] From book 2 onwards, when Power quotes from a classical author, it is usually Juvenal – this change probably reflecting the fact that he has contributed to Dryden's Juvenal translation project since book 1. Power reverses the direction of Juvenal's route, from east to west, and passes over one of its locations, Cadiz, the point of departure for Columbus's voyages. Thus, in Power's

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[56] Trinity College, Cambridge James R.3.4, 13: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/R.3.4/UV#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=10&r=0&xywh=-1163%2C-1%2C7368%2C3816 (accessed 24 August 2022).

[57] D.T. Starnes, 'The Hesperian Gardens in Milton', *The University of Texas Studies in English*, 31 (1952), 42–51; 42. Waller compares the Bermudas to 'The Hesperian garden' (*The Battle of the Summer Islands*, in *The Poems of Edmund Waller*, ed. George Thorn-Drury, 2 vols (London, 1893), I, 66-74, l.7).

[58] See Poole, 'Provenance'.

[59] See John K. Hale, Gordon Campbell, Thomas N. Corns, and Fiona J. Tweedie, 'The History of the Manuscript', in *Milton and the Manuscript of* De Doctrina Christiana (Oxford, 2007), 5–38, esp. 34–8.

[60] 'In all the lands from Cadiz as far as Ganges and the Dawn'.

translation, Satan outdoes Columbus, starting further east and passing through the West Indies to the actual (East) Indies. In Satanic fashion, the translation extends the imaginative empire of Latin beyond classical bounds, by situating the classical locus of the Hesperian gardens not in Eden but the New World and expressing a full circumnavigation of the globe in the terms of Juvenal's description of the Flavian empire. In Power's translation of Satan's 'inspection deep' (9.83) as 'exploratis … Ingeniis' and the serpent's wiliness as 'nativa fraude' (9.85), Satan's role as colonizer could not be clearer.

The themes of vision, accommodation, and colonialism come together clearly in Power's translation at the moment when Milton mentions Columbus by name, as the fallen Adam and Eve clothe themselves with fig-leaves at the end of book 9:

> Such of late
> Columbus found the American so girt
> With feathered cincture, naked else and wild
> Among the trees on isles and woody shores. (9.1115–8)

Power's translation of the passage from Adam's speech to the Columbus simile (9.1080–1118) forms a climactic set-piece. Adam asks,

> How shall I behold the face
> Henceforth of God or angel … ? Those heavenly shapes
> Will dazzle now this earthly (9.1080–83)

Power translates 'the face … of God or angel' as 'numinis alti / Angelicasque … species'. Adam fears that there will be no possibility of accommodating spiritual forms to a *species* that his eyes can bear after the fall; he feels himself beyond the reach of accommodation. Power's translation intensifies Adam's self-loathing: he calls himself 'nullus' (nothing) and 'faecem' (dregs). Later in this speech, Adam says his 'middle parts … reproach us as unclean' (9.1098). Again, Power intensifies this, describing the genitals as 'immundosque et turpes arguat index'.[61] The word *index* recalls his earlier description of the unfallen Adam's hair in book 4 as an 'Index imperii' over Eve, whose 'wanton ringlets' (4.306) are an 'Index obsequii'.[62] We begin to see Adam's fall as a fall from *imperium*.

Adam wishes that he might 'In solitude live savage' (9.1085). Power translates this as 'versarer agrestis … Incola'.[63] *Agrestis Incola* does not convey ferocity, but it points to a native person more specifically than Milton's adverbial 'savage'; the verb *versarer*, indicating a

[61] 'A sign that declares us dirty and foul'.

[62] 'A sign of imperium' and 'of subjection'.

[63] 'Would that I could be turned into a rustic native'.

metamorphosis, implies that the condition that Adam desires is innate ('nativeness'), rather than one that he can assume by beginning to 'live savage'. Adam and Eve then choose the fig-tree to cover their nudity. Power's description of the fig-tree used for its 'pillared shade' by the 'Indian herdsman' (9.1106-8) as 'Agresti specie nativis scena columnis' echoes Adam's depiction of the *agrestis Incola,*[64] and also the *silvis scaena* of the inlet in the coast of Libya where Aeneas lands at *Aeneid* 1.164 (echoed by Milton in a similar description in book 4: 'A sylvan scene … Shade above shade, a woody theatre', 4.140-1). The translation groups Adam's 'savage', the 'Indian herdsman' and 'the American' (perhaps even the Carthaginians) together under one imperial *species* as romanticised, unsavage *incolae* or 'Indians' (Power later omits Milton's description of 'the American' as 'wild', 9.1117). Yet when Milton describes the fig-tree as 'to Indians known', only adding 'In Malabar or Decan' after the line break (9.1102–3), Power's clearer demarcation of East from West Indies – 'celebratum Orientibus Indis'[65] – reads as a personally motivated correction, the specificity of which recalls Power's local botanical notes.

From book 2 onwards, Power's translation is not densely intertextual relative to other Latin translations. Rather than strewing his translation pervasively with 'intertextual leaves' as Haan argues the translations of book 1 do,[66] Power includes one direct citation at the moment when Adam and Eve stitch together fig leaves to cover themselves. Alongside his translation of 'together sewed [leaves]' (9.1112) as 'fecere manu campestria', Power writes 'Campestre vid. Aug.' (Figure 15).

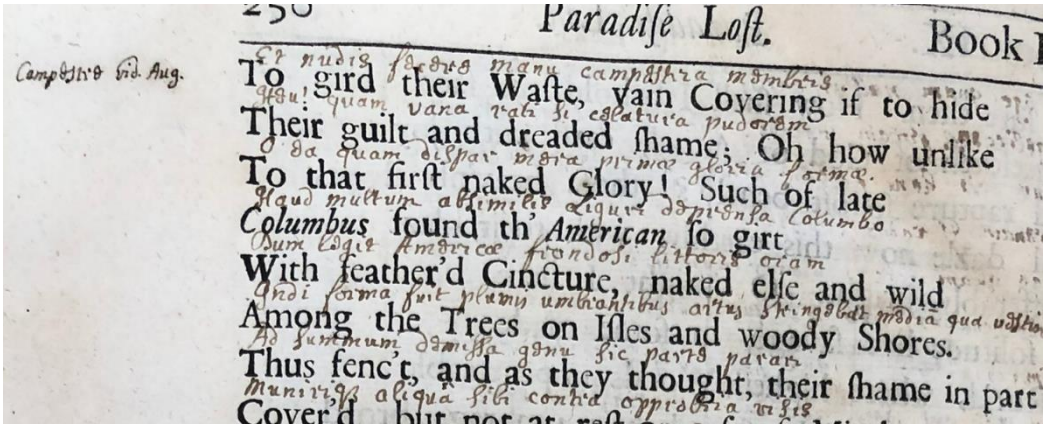


Figure 15.

Augustine discusses the word *campestria* in *The City of God*: '*consuerunt folia fici et fecerunt sibi campestria*,

[64] 'A scene with a rustic appearance and natural columns'; 'woodland scene'.

[65] 'Celebrated in the *East* Indies'.

[66] Haan, 'Latinizing', 101ff.

id est succinctoria genitalium, nam quidam interpretes 'succinctoria' posuerunt.'[67] The word *campestria*, Augustine explains, derives its origin from Roman young men (called *campestrati* by the *vulgus*) who covered their genitalia while exercising naked on the *campus* or field. Both Augustine and Power temper scripture 'ad Latinam consuetudinem' by using a word derived from a Roman practice to describe the first loincloths. As there is no term for 'loincloths' in Milton's English, Power's insertion of this translational crux is a pointed gesture to the necessity of lesser forms of accommodation after the fall for the *vulgus* – for him, a Latin readership familiar with Augustine and Roman exercise practices. This intertextual fig leaf shows the reader how translation can *cover* both scriptural and Miltonic language with secondary, fallen substitutes – 'vain covering if to hide' (*PL* 9.1113). Heeding this warning that attempts to hide one's fallenness from an original will be vain, Power owns up to his act of covering through the openness of his citation.

The relevance of Augustine's discourse 'On the nakedness of the first human beings' to Power's translation goes beyond this word. Immediately before discussing *campestria*, Augustine addresses Adam and Eve's eyesight, arguing that they were not created blind, as some commentators have supposed, since Adam saw the animals he named; 'the eyes of both were opened' figuratively when they saw their nudity as indecent.[68] Fallenness is a way of seeing that renders nudity indecent and contrasts the unmediated vision that allowed prelapsarian naming. After discussing *campestria*, Augustine engages in some comparative anthropology, arguing that the habit of concealing the genitals is ingrained in all peoples since the fall, since all are descended from the same ancestors; certain 'barbari' wash with coverings ('tegimentis') on even in the bath, and men who practice philosophy naked in the dark retreats ('solitudines') of India also use 'tegmina' for their genitals.[69] Milton's 'Indian herdsman' sheltering in 'thickest shade' and Adam's desire for savage solitude likely led Power to recall Augustine's naked philosophers in the 'the dark *solitudines* of India'. Milton's clothing of 'the American' with a 'feathered cincture, naked else', extends Augustine's conclusions into the Americas. Milton opposes the 'theory that the recently discovered inhabitants of the New World were exempt from the effects of the Fall', since, as Augustine states, all people are descended from the same original stock.[70] This point was made visually in illustrations of fallen Adam and Eve that appeared in early accounts of the Americas,

[67] 'They sewed fig leaves together and made themselves aprons, that is, loincloths, a term employed by certain translators.' Augustine, *City of God,* 14.17.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Evans, 101.

such as the engravings by Theodor de Bry in Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590) (Figure 16). The etching for book 9 in the copy of the illustrated *Paradise Lost* into which Power drafted this part of his translation is reminiscent of these images (Figure 17), showing us what Power might have expected to see when he stepped off the boat in Virginia. Power's Augustinian intertext reproduces the logic of these images and furthers his merging of the *species* of Adam's 'savage', the 'Indian herdsman', and 'the American' under one fallen, colonial gaze (*acies*) and undiscriminating name. Power's vision is of a contemplative pastoral native who might conceal his own genitals from himself in the bath.



Figure 16.



Figure 17.

Although all peoples use such coverings, only Adam and Eve wear *campestria* in Power's translation, becoming *campestrati*, implicitly affiliated with Roman *iuvenes* and elevated above the natives to whom they are compared. Just as Augustine resists calling barbarian coverings *campestria*, referring to their *tegmina/tegimenta*, Power's Native American is girt instead with 'plumis umbrantibus':

> Haud multum absimilis Liguri deprensa Columbo
> Dum legit Americae frondosi littoris oram
> Indi forma fuit plumis umbrantibus artus
> Stringebat mediam qua vestis sutilis alvum.
>
> (Not much different was the form of the Indian, detected by Ligurian Columbus when he coasted along the shore of leafy America, with feathers shading his limbs where his sewn garment restrained the stomach in the middle.)

Power's addition of the epithet 'Ligurian' displays his knowledge of Columbus's Italian origins and affiliates Columbus with the 'Tuscan artist' Galileo (1.288), whose 'glass' Power also labelled 'Hetrusc[us]' in the double simile describing Raphael's approach to the world (5.261). Like Adam and Eve, Power gives Columbus and Galileo a Roman heritage that separates them from the

indigenous peoples. In that simile, the 'Imagined lands' that Galileo observes in the moon have 'specie nemoralis agresti' like the 'Agresti specie' of the native under the fig tree (5.263).[71] Power's translation demonstrates the power of the colonial *acies cogitantis* and its centrality to the imperial enterprise, how it telescopically scales and accommodates things to its own way of seeing, and how it follows from the opening of Adam and Eve's eyes after the Fall.

Beyond Babel: The Meaning of Latin Translation

Augustine mediates Power's translation of Milton's colonial discourse again in book 12, when the archangel Michael tells Adam the story of Nimrod and Babel. Nimrod's 'empire tyrannous' culminates in the construction of the tower of Babel, punished by the confusion of tongues (12.32). Michael styles Nimrod as 'A mighty hunter … *Before* the Lord' (12.32–4, my emphasis), translating another scriptural crux discussed by Augustine. Augustine differs from Milton on this crux: he argues that the Greek ἐναντίον can mean both 'against' and 'before', and that Nimrod is a mighty hunter 'contra' the Lord, not 'ante'.[72] Just as *campestria* exemplified the indirectness of fallen language, ἐναντίον exemplifies the utter incompatibility of languages after Babel. Unlike the visibly intertextual *campestria*, Power avoids using 'ante' or 'contra', writing simply 'Domino' (contrast Hog: 'Ante Deum' (340)). Power's handling of the colonial theme of the Babel passage shares this avoidance of the implications of both Milton's and Augustine's conclusions for his own practices as a colonial settler and as a translator.

This is one of the moments in *Paradise Lost* when Milton seems to reflect on 'the betrayal of the English republic' by 'one' man (12.24), Cromwell, who, like Nimrod, 'claim[ed] second sovereignty' (12.35), and specifically on 'the failure of Cromwell's Western Design [against the Spanish West Indies] which had … brought the justness of his cause into question among many of his former supporters':[73]

> He with a crew, whom like ambition joins
> With him or under him to tyrannize,
> Marching from Eden towards the west, shall find
> … the mouth of hell (12.38-42)

David Armitage argues that 'Milton's critical treatment of territorial expansion and empire-building in [moments such as this in] *Paradise Lost* marks a stage in the gradual transformation of

[71] 'The appearance of a rustic wood'.

[72] Augustine, *City of God,* 16.4.

[73] Armitage, 220.

the strenuous classical republicanism of the 1650s into the Whig thought of the latter part of the century.'[74] Power does not present as a Whig specifically, but he presumably did not share Milton's republican ethic against empire, and specifically against colonial enterprises in the West Indies. Milton's 'most formative sources' for this view 'were classical and republican',[75] whereas the most important source mediating Power's engagement with colonial themes seems to be Augustine. Augustine's interpretation of Babel stresses the importance of language as the instrument of imperialism more emphatically than does Milton's, which places its emphasis on tyranny: since 'dominatio imperantis in lingua est', Nimrod suffered the penalty for his pride in his tongue, 'ut non intellegeretur iubens homini'.[76]

Power amplifies Milton's and Augustine's common point that Babel is a punishment for imperialism: the people whom Nimrod enslaves under his *imperium* are not simply 'men' (12.30) but 'agrest[es]', like Adam's savage. Power's first use of the word 'barbarous' occurs in the fallout of the punishment of Babel:

> [God] sets
> Upon their tongues a various spirit to raze
> Quite out their native language …
> Forthwith a hideous gabble rises loud …
> … Thus was the building left
> Ridiculous, and the work Confusion named. (12.52–62)
>
> *Vim variam imittit linguis confundere vocum*
> *Nativas species consuetaque signa loquentum*
> *… barbares linguae et farrago loquelae …*
> *Hinc confusum operi posuit discordia nomen.*
>
> (He sends upon their tongues a various power of voices to confound their native appearance and the accustomed signs of speakers … barbarous tongues and a farrago of speech … The disharmony gave the name 'confusion' to the work.)

The punishment for violent colonialism is for the imperialist to be rendered a barbarian, a term lower than *agrestis*. Augustine's interpretation of Babel has particular consequences for the meaning of Latin translation that become evident, but are not fully acknowledged, in this passage of Power's translation. Although Latin is a post-Babel language, we can see how its relative universalism can reverse Babel's effects. Words like 'various', 'native', 'language', 'Confusion', and 'name' hardly change in translation due to their Latin etymologies; Latin was, by definition, not a 'barbarian' tongue; Power has already stated that his translation accords with 'consueta … signa

[74] Ibid., 223.

[75] Ibid., 225.

[76] 'So he would not be understood when commanding men'. Augustine, *City of God,* 16.4.

loquentum' by accommodating Milton's sense 'ad Latinam consuetudinem'; Latin is understood by people 'per linguas divisae sunt gentes dispersaeque per terras' after Babel.[77] If imperial power lies in language, Latin offers a solution to the dissolution of Babel that likens the Latin translator to the imperialist Nimrod – a likeness that is only enhanced by the pertinence of Milton's reading of Babel to Power's position in the West Indies.

How are we then to read Adam's horrified reaction to Michael's story – 'Ius proprium sibi ius hominem servavit in ipsum / Nec quenquem arbitrio alterius permisit agendum' ('man over men / He made not lord … human left from human free', 12.69–71)—closely and unselfconsciously translated by Power, a settler in a colonial plantocracy founded on slavery, whose stipend as a minister likely consisted of sugar and tobacco? Evans argues that *Paradise Lost* itself presents a 'radical bifurcation' between two colonial narratives: one modelled on the Spanish conquest, in which 'a corrupt and power-hungry adventurer discovers the New World [and] enslaves its inhabitants', and one on the English settlement, in which 'a sly and treacherous Indian deceives a pair of honest and industrious planters'.[78] The third, more Miltonic imperial narrative that Armitage identifies, of Cromwell's ill-fated Western Design against the Spanish, is the synthesis of this dialectic and thus complicates Evans's reading. '[W]here do we locate the place of slavery [in *Paradise Lost*]?' Urvashi Chakravarty asks: the theological problem of 'a "voluntary service" that God "requires" … deploys the discourse of willing servitude but only tacitly evokes the specter of slavery'; by '[c]oarticulating both planting and indentured servitude with bondage, Adam and Eve's fictions of volition and rhetorics of compulsion … open up spaces for the futures of slavery.'[79] In Power's translation and setting, even more than in Cromwell's Western Design, a bifurcated colonial narrative no longer prevails. The West Indian islands that Power inhabited had been English for at least sixty years. The English not only enslaved the native inhabitants, the Caribs, and violated their own treaties allocating them reserves, but also imported slaves from Africa. In Power's translation, only Nimrod's violent, Old Testament imperialism is condemned, and is not linked to Power's own setting, as opposed to the more benign colonists who cross the Atlantic and communicate with Adam and Eve as elevated, loinclothed 'Indians'. In the latter group, even Satan's colonialism is not strongly differentiated from Columbus's, Raphael's, God's, and Power's own as colonial rector. The multi-layered nature of Milton's

[77] 'Divided by their languages and scattered through all lands'. Augustine, *City of God,* 16.4.

[78] Evans, 141.

[79] Urvashi Chakravarty, *Fictions of Consent: Slavery, Servitude, and Free Service in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2022), 153, 167.

colonial theme means that Power could doubtless find much in *Paradise Lost* to justify the ways of man to man in the colonies, by identifying with a narrative of exploration and communication befitting a rector, rather than one of violent enslavement closer to the reality of the West Indies in the 1690s. The 'specter of slavery' is avoided, despite the fact that the translation's immediate context is the very 'space' of the 'futures of slavery' that Chakravarty argues Milton opens up.

In his colonial role, Power mediates between God and the planters (perhaps also native people and slaves), through scripture; in his act of translation, Power mediates temporally and geographically between the 'New' and 'Old' Worlds through Milton's poem, accommodating the 'New' to the signs of the 'Old', thus reversing John Eliot's technique. The translation renders *Paradise Lost*'s older, more benign narratives of the New World as Roman myths or Hesperian fables to be sent across Europe, avoiding the more recent, troubling narratives pertinent to Power's own settlements. It shows how, after the fall of the *actual* empire of Latinity, its near-universal communicative power across the colonizing half of the world makes it the *compañera* of all empires. Power elides differences between colonial enterprises through his medium as well as his message. The translation is nonetheless successful. Its prioritization of Miltonic themes over classical intertextuality differentiates it from Power's own rendering of book 1 and the other complete and partial Latin translations of *Paradise Lost*. This difference was a consequence of Power's voyage across the Atlantic. Power's manuscripts were apparently sent back to Richard Bentley at Trinity for publication 'to discharge Mr. Power's debts' (their presence at Trinity was first recorded by Francis Peck in 1739).[80] Although they were read approvingly by several people in the first half of the eighteenth century,[81] the full translation was never published, and eventually disappeared from view.

Genius of the Woody Shore

Thomas Power was not the only Latin translator who composed verse on an Atlantic crossing. James Kirkpatrick (born Kilpatrick, in Carlow, Ireland in 1696) emigrated to Charleston, South Carolina around 1717, where he became a pioneer of inoculation after one of his children died in the smallpox epidemic of 1738. As David Shields has argued, he was also a 'laureate of British American mercantilism' who celebrated 'British imperial expansion upon the sea' in his five-canto

[80] Shawcross, 67.

[81] Peck, Conyers Middleton, and Thomas Newton, who describes Power's translation as 'better' than Hog's (referring specifically to the manuscript) in his 1749 'Life of Milton'. See Shawcross, 67.

Sea-Piece (1750), apparently composed during two voyages.[82] Kirkpatrick describes being at sea no less vividly than Power – 'Ourselves are pickled, and our Juices Brine'[83] – but he only starts to yearn for the shore in the fifth canto of this poem, having travelled from Ireland to the Azores to the sea-bed (in a vision), before going on to the Gulph of Mexico, and finally to Charlestown. It has not been considered noteworthy that Kirkpatrick was also the most prolific translator of Alexander Pope's works into Latin.[84]

One of Kirkpatrick's first publications was *An Epistle to Alexander Pope, Esq; from South Carolina* in 1737. This verse letter celebrates Pope

> From warmer Lands, ally'd to latest Fame,
> In gracious CAROLINE's immortal Name;
> Part of that Sylvan World *Columbus* found,
> Where GEORGE should be rever'd, and YOU renown'd…

He claims to extend Pope's poetic empire into this new domain for the first time:

> …*Phoebus*, in his Care of Wit,
> Has made thy Province, *Britain*'s Share of it,
> Thro' whole extended Colonies you shine,
> While each poetic World is amply thine;
> Those distant Worlds, and *Phoebus* too, declare,
> You're with the Empire destin'd to the Care.
> …
> O may I prove the first from *hence*, to hail,
> Tho' late, thy Empire—first—howe'er I fail.[85]

Kirkpatrick's poem is an imitation of another *Epistle* to Pope, from Rome, by George Lyttelton (a 'Patriot Whig' and 'important opposition friend' of Pope):[86]

> To thee from Latian realms this verse is writ,
> Inspir'd by memory of ancient wit;
> For now no more these climes their influence boast,
> Fall'n is their glory, and their virtue lost;
> From tyrants and from Priests the Muses fly,

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[82] David Shields, *Oracles of Empire: Poetry, Politics, and Commerce in British America, 1690-1750* (Chicago, 1990), 14, 26.

[83] James Kirkpatrick, *The Sea-Piece* (London, 1750), V.12. Further references in parentheses.

[84] See conclusion for others.

[85] [James Kirkpatrick], *An Epistle to Alexander Pope, Esq; From South Carolina* (London, 1737), 5, 16-17. Further references in parentheses. An introductory gloss is given in Austen Warren, 'To Mr. Pope: Epistles from America', *PMLA*, 48.1 (1933), 61-73; 63-7.

[86] Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Alexander Pope: The Political Poet in His Time', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 15.2 (1981-2), 123-48; 128.

…
To Thames's flow'ry borders they retire,
And kindle in thy breast the Roman fire.[87]

Lyttelton's poem, in turn, takes its cue from Pope's *Essay on Criticism*:

Learning and *Rome* alike in Empire grew,
And *Arts* still *follow'd* where her *Eagles flew*;
From the same Foes, at last, both felt their Doom,
And the same Age saw *Learning* fall, and *Rome*. (686-9)

It is hard to imagine a more explicit expression of the idea of *translatio studii/imperii* (Rome to Britain to the New World colonies) than Kirkpatrick's *Epistle*. Learning and Britain alike in empire grow, and Pope will follow where her eagles go. Whereas Lyttleton's poem is somewhat critical, with Virgil's ghost instructing Pope to turn away from 'meaner satire' (*The Dunciad* was published in 1729) and instead to 'raise / A lasting column to thy Country's praise; / To sing the land', Kirkpatrick answers these criticisms by declaring that '*Britain* [can] boast her Iliad all Divine' (6). He contrasts the sublimity and genius that emanates from Pope's grotto with his own situation battling disease in the American South:

But me, how distant! on the woody Main
A prattling Girl and smiling Boys detain;
Another Art of *Phoebus* claims my Care,
Where fiery Deaths rage high in sultry Air (11-12)

The significance of Kirkpatrick's epithet 'woody' for America's coastline becomes clearer in his invocation of the spirit of the 'God-like *Ligurian*' Columbus in the later *Sea-Piece* (V.85):

Bold was the Man, who dar'd at first to shew
From an old World the Passage to a new;
…
Who o'er extensive Seas a Journey taught,
Seas as extensive as a Poet's Thought!
O mighty Ghost, if you're permitted, shew
How the vast Secret first devolv'd to you:
Was it immediate from th' Almighty Pow'r,
And did your Slumbers paint the woody Shore? (V.29-38)

Kirkpatrick echoes Milton's description of Columbus finding America's 'woody shores'. The poet envisages his own surroundings through a Miltonic lens, also describing America's banks as 'sylvan' (V.495). This invocation of Columbus's 'mighty Ghost' also resembles Milton's opening invocation of the Holy Spirit,[88] to whom Columbus is explicitly compared in *The Sea-Piece*, being

[87] George Lyttelton, *An epistle to Mr. Pope, from a young gentleman at Rome* (London, 1730).

[88] 'Dovelike satst brooding on the *vast* abyss', *PL* 1.21; also cf. '*Immediate* are the acts of God', 7.176.

'sent, like a second Dove, to find out the vast new Continent, and to be the first Means of extending Christianity there' (V 'Argument'). Columbus is also a visionary poet like a Milton, Kirkpatrick, or Pope (or a Waller, or a Drayton).[89] Kirkpatrick had used the metaphor of discovery to describe Pope's achievements in the *Epistle*:

> Others, affecting Truth's important Coast,
> Some little Light, some small Discovery boast
> …
> While steddy You the obvious Channel gain,
> Led by a pious Mind and thinking Brain (*Epistle*, 8)

As well as an 'American Aeneas' with a 'commercial motive', Kirkpatrick's Columbus is 'the opponent of superstition (Whig cant for Catholicism)' (despite his Italian origins).[90] The other genius of Kirkpatrick's poetry, Pope, is likewise a Catholic who 'len[ds] himself to Protestant uses' in Kirkpatrick's works as a vehicle for the 'progress of empire and arts'.[91] Kirkpatrick elides this tension by using his *Epistle* to Pope to satirise not superstition but 'some Figure of a Sect, / Who is, forsooth, peculiar and elect' (14).[92] He creates a Miltonic Pope whose grotto is a site of blindness ('poetic artificial Night', *Epistle*, 11) which enables 'celestial light' to 'Shine inward' (*PL* 3.51-2).

Kirkpatrick's 1749 collection of translations of Pope had 122 subscribers, the majority surgeons (some Royal Society members), sailors, and American planters.[93] This is not to say that there was a particular appetite for a Latin Pope among this class. Kirkpatrick clearly sought the support of his peers – although one subscriber, Daniel Cox, M.D., is the grandson of the Daniel Coxe who commissioned Hog's translation. The most distinguished subscribers are the Earl of Halifax, George Montagu Dunk, president of the Board of Trade and Plantations known as 'the father of the colonies' who is depicted in *The Sea-Piece* as 'Halfanax', 'Genius' of the ocean deep (III.133-266),[94] and George Lyttelton, author of the *Epistle from Rome*. The reappearance of Lyttelton here suggests that the translation will continue his work to bring Pope over to the Patriot

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[89] In *The Sea-Piece*, the Americas are Waller's 'Empire' as well as Columbus's, Milton's, and Pope's: 'The Summer Isles shall bloom and flourish long / In *Waller*'s lofty Style, and tuneful Song' (V.343-4). I discuss Drayton below.

[90] Shields, 29-32.

[91] Ibid., 31-2.

[92] Cf. 'Some I have chosen of peculiar grace / Elect above the rest' (*PL* 4.183-4)

[93] *A. Popii Excerpta Quaedam* [*Essay on Man, Essay on Criticism* (previously printed 1745)*, Eloisa to Abelard, Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady, Messiah*, *The Universal Prayer* and *The Dying Christian to his Soul*], trans. Jac. Kirkpatrick (London, 1749).

[94] See Andrew D.M. Beaumont, *Colonial America and the Earl of Halifax, 1748-1761* (Oxford, 2014).

Whig cause. Kirkpatrick introduces the translation with nautical language, using the verb 'transfretare' for translation and wishing that his *navicola* may 'abeat … secure in portum!'[95] His most characteristic theme also crops up (perhaps originates) in his translation of the *Essay on Man*:

> Who bid the stork, Columbus-like, explore
> Heavens not his own, and worlds unknown before? (III.105-6)
>
> Unde, COLUMBI instar, fit docta ciconia coelos
> Haud proprios tentare, novosque ascendere in orbes? (*Excerpta*, 31)

Translating the *Essay* clearly influenced Kirkpatrick's thought deeply. The ideology of the utopian sea-world society that Halfanax describes in *The Sea-Piece* originates in Pope's *Essay*. While Shields does not discuss Kirkpatrick as a translator, he notes that the 'economic ideal' of 'competence, the economic counterpart of moderation' that Halfanax sets out is also 'expounded' by Pope: 'Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of sense, / Lie in three words – Health, Peace, and Competence'.[96] In fact, all Halfanax's sentiments derive from Pope's poem, almost parodying its conclusion that 'Virtue only makes our bliss *below*' (IV.397; emphasis mine). The underwater dwellers are 'Known to ourselves, who ne'er attempt to rise / Past the clear Limits of our Faculties' (*Sea-Piece* III.158-9); 'Reason' and 'Sense' reign (204), 'Pride sinks' (193); 'none for Heaps of glitt'ring Metal pine' (166); 'Virtue and Wisdom [are the] … sole Riches' (186-7); 'We stop at Spirit—certain ne'er to find / The Pow'r, that shews all other things, the Mind' (253-4).

Kirkpatrick easily appropriates the *Essay on Man*'s 'system of ethics' to the Board of Trade and Plantations.[97] But how radical an appropriation is this? The *Essay* itself was originally dedicated to Henry St John Bolingbroke, negotiator of the Peace of Utrecht which included the Asiento de Negros, or slaving monopoly, awarded by Queen Anne to the South Sea Company. Pope's attitude to imperialism and slavery has been a subject of polarised critical debate.[98] One balanced view finds that his work is characterised by 'unease', 'muted protest' and 'euphemistic avoidance' of the slave trade. Pope's wish that 'Slavery be no more' in *Windsor Forest* (1714) is unambiguous in itself, but,

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[95] 'Go safely into the port!' Kirkpatrick, *Excerpta*, xii.

[96] Shields, 28; *Essay on Man*, IV.79-80.

[97] Pope, 270.

[98] See Laura Brown, *Alexander Pope* (Oxford, 1985), esp. chapters 1 and 4, who reads Pope as complicit in the British imperial project, and Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Pope and Slavery', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 91 [*Alexander Pope: World and Word*] (1998), 27-53, who sees Brown's reading as 'shallow' and argues that Pope vigorously denounces slavery.

John Richardson notes, couched in important qualifications (and undermined by Pope's investments in the South Sea Company):[99]

> The time shall come, when free as seas or wind
> Unbounded Thames shall flow for all mankind,
> …
> Earth's distant ends our glory shall behold,
> And the new world launch forth to seek the old.
> Then ships of uncouth forms shall stem the tide,
> And feathered people crowd my wealthy side
> …
> Oh stretch thy reign, fair Peace! from shore to shore
> Till conquest cease, and slavery be no more;
> Till the freed Indians in their native groves
> Reap their own fruits, and woo their sable loves,
> Peru once more a race of kings behold
> And other Mexicos be roofed with gold. (398-412)

'It is Indians who are to be freed, or Peruvians, or Mexicans – anyone except the Africans enslaved by the British. What is at work … is not blindness but closed eyes … recognition glimpsed and refused.'[100] In this poem (as in 'Comus') a reference to the Atlantic is deleted. Pope removes the couplet '[To] those green iles, where headlong Titan steeps / His hissing chariot in th'Atlantick deeps', which Richardson reads as 'a version of the mythologized Caribbean of seventeenth-century literary tradition, Edmund Waller's "happy island" of Bermuda … emphatically not the real Caribbean, where slaves work in sugar plantations'. The effect is to 'make *Windsor Forest* conform to the vague, euphemistic geography of the South Sea Company', whose 'name obscures the fact that most of its business was in the Atlantic'.[101]

Halfanax's vision of an equal society shares its 'euphemistic avoidance' and selective geography with Pope's in *Windsor Forest* – more so, as his focus is on meritocracy rather than freedom:

> None dreams of Lineage here, as all the Kind
> Stream from one boundless comprehensive Mind;
> Whence, born alike, Distinctions only flow,
> As our Endowments shine, our Virtues grow:
> Nor boots it aught where first a Brother shone,
> We deem each Member of the Form our own;
> Whether beneath your *Caspian* first he grew,

[99] John Richardson, 'Alexander Pope's *Windsor-Forest*: Its Contexts and Attitudes Towards Slavery', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 35.1 (2001), 1-17; 1, 3.

[100] Ibid., 3.

[101] Ibid., 5.

Or in the Sea that terminates *Peru*. (III.215-222)

While Kirkpatrick is describing a fantastical race of underwater creatures, it is striking that he too elides the Atlantic. 'South Sea' was in normal usage the South Pacific, i.e. Kirkpatrick's 'Sea that terminates *Peru*', so a '[m]ore accurate, if less attractive' name for the South Sea Company would have been the Atlantic Company.[102] 'Distinctions only flow' in this utopia – not a transatlantic trade in fellow 'Brothers'. In translating the *Essay on Man*, Kirkpatrick encountered another of Pope's qualified anti-slavery sentiments:

> Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind
> Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;
> … simple nature to his hope has given,
> Behind the cloud-topped hill, an humbler heaven;
> Some safer world in depth of woods embraced,
> Some happier island in the watery waste,
> Where slaves once more their native land behold,
> No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold!
> …
> [He] thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
> His faithful dog shall bear him company. (99-112)

Erskine-Hill argues that the words 'once more' suggest that Pope is 'thinking about transported slaves, as well as Indians', but this is oblique, and again an image of an idealised Indian seems to divert the gaze from the realities of transatlantic slavery, as it did for Power. Kirkpatrick's translation 'repetant capti patriam' is even vaguer and more euphemistic (6).[103] It avoids the terms *vernae*, *servi*, and *mancipia*, which both Ainsworth's *Thesaurus* (which Kirkpatrick used)[104] and contemporary Latin poetry celebrating the Peace of Utrecht show are more direct terms for 'slaves'.[105] Kirkpatrick himself uses 'verna' and 'mancipia' in less pertinent contexts, when Pope is talking of a slavery *of the mind* (Pope, I.68, III.248; Kirkpatrick, 5, 37). In the wish that 'no Christians [should] thirst for gold', 'Neve rapax aurum sitiit veneratus IESUM!' (6),[106] the translator has an

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[102] Ibid., 5-6.

[103] 'Captives return to their homeland'.

[104] Kirkpatrick cites Ainsworth in *Excerpta*, 22. See Robert Ainsworth, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, 2 vols (London, 1736), vol. 1, 'slave', Xx2r.

[105] For example, John Maynard, 'Assiento, sive Commercium Hispanicum' (1713), in John T. Gilmore, '"Sub Herili Venditur Hasta": An Early Eighteenth-Century Justification of the Slave Trade by a Colonial Poet', in *Latinity and Alterity in the Early Modern Period,* ed. Yasmin Haskell and Juanita Feros Ruys (Tempe, 2010), 221-239; 233-7.

[106] 'Nor should the rapacious worshipper of Jesus thirst for gold!'

opportunity to temper his own desire for Christian expansion into the Americas with the economic ideal of competence that Halfanax advances. In this, Christians should imitate the Indian himself, who is 'nudus' in 'nummis' as well as 'Doctrina et … artibus', yet imagines he will be admitted to his 'aequum … Olympum' by 'Coelicolas … justos' (6).[107] While Kirkpatrick is 'a typical Whig mercantilist [in] that he could not divorce the consideration of commerce from [that] of religion', he also clearly imagined that an utopian ideal of equality and meritocracy might be achieved in the New World by 'refusing to treasure items of marginal utility' (tea, tobacco, silk…). This attitude is characteristic of the 'class of gentleman to which [he] belonged – the college educated professional man of modest birth'.[108] Yet his translation avoids making the link between Christians thirsting for gold and the transatlantic slave trade. And the idealism of the image of the Indian is tempered when it returns in the form of an insult later in the *Essay*:

> Weak, foolish man! …
> Go, like the Indian, in another life
> Expect thy dog, thy bottle, and thy wife. (IV.177-8)
>
> Stultus, inanis homo! …
> Vah! minime dispar Indo, cui scena futura
> Ampullam, nuptam atque canem sponderet; inepte… (48-9)

While Pope's attitude to slavery has been debated, Kirkpatrick's scientific writings show that he had very direct contact with the transatlantic trade, making his euphemistic approach more striking. In his *Essay on Inoculation* (1743), he writes that 'the Small-Pox was imported into *South-Carolina* early in the Year 1738 … by a Ship with Slaves from some Part of *Africa*'.[109] Kirkpatrick himself inoculated 'a thousand … Persons of different Colours', of whom 'only six Whites, and two Negroes died' – these unnamed slaves identified only as 'a Negro Wench of Mrs. *Blakewey*'s, and another of Mrs. *Hext*'s'.[110] Inoculation was valuable to slaveholders and a way of dealing with problems that arose from the slave trade. In this essay, Kirkpatrick 'play[s] up the unusual nature of his experimental subjects [Africans and other colonial Creoles] to the point of exoticizing' and, indeed, degrading them.[111] He writes that 'Mrs. *Blakewey*'s Wench who died … was in truth very irregular in the Disease … from … a Sullennness too common to the Colour', also claiming that she he had been drunk ('I thought, to be impartial, I could not omit these Circumstances'). 'A

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[107] 'Nude' of 'money', 'doctrine and arts'; 'equal Olympus', 'just heavenly dwellers'.

[108] Shields, 28-31.

[109] James Kirkpatrick, *An Essay on Inoculation* (London, 1743), 32.

[110] Ibid., 34.

[111] Claire Gherini, 'Rationalizing Disease: James Kirkpatrick's Atlantic Struggles with Smallpox Inoculation', *Atlantic Studies*, 7.4 (2010), 421-46; 438.

Gentleman of my Acquaintance in *Charles-Town* … entering a Room … which some Slaves had lain down in, complained of a particular Stink, and … was taken down about eight Days after'.[112]

Why did James Kirkpatrick the imperialist poet and Charlestown doctor direct so much of his energy towards Latinizing Pope, and to what extent is the activity of Latinization itself a vehicle for the ideology that he expresses so clearly elsewhere? In *The Sea-Piece*, Kirkpatrick declares that, whereas Drayton charted Britain in 'his *Albion*', he will instead 'seize' the 'boundless Realm' of the sea (II.1-11). To adapt Raphael Lyne's comparison of Drayton and Ovid, 'Drayton aimed for a map of Britain, while [Kirkpatrick] sketche[s] out a map of his whole world'.[113] In his Pope translations, Kirkpatrick takes on another 'Draytonian' task, one which Drayton urged upon George Sandys in 'To Master George Sandys *Treasurer for the English Colony in* Virginia' (1622):

> Let's see what lines *Virginia* will produce;
> Goe on with Ovid
> …
> And doe much honour to the *English* tongue:
> Intice the Muses thither to repaire,
> Intreat them gently, trayne them to that ayre
> …
> I should like it well to be the first,
> Whose numbers hence into *Virginia* flew…[114]

Kirkpatrick imitated these lines when he identified himself as 'the first from *hence*, to hail, / Tho' late, [Pope's] Empire'. But he takes the opposite approach to honouring the English tongue to Sandys by *Latinizing* Pope. Kirkpatrick has the confidence of a mid-eighteenth-century perspective on literary history, having a firm English canon (Drayton, Milton, Waller, Pope) to promote, and probably considering the task of translating the classics to have been completed by the likes of Sandys, Dryden, Pope ('*Britain* [can] boast her Iliad all Divine'). Latinization satisfies the desire for originality that is apparent in *The Sea-Piece*. His adulation for Pope is clearly personal, but he also shows the desire of the marginalised, second-rate writer to hitch his wagon to Pope's fame. Although Pope 'non suos solum apud Britannos, quinetiam apud exteros ubique gentium, quotquot sermonem anglicum calluerunt, meritissimus inclaruit' (including the English colonies), Kirkpatrick believes he must still be Latinized to reach educated readers 'anglice nescientibus' (in

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[112] Kirkpatrick, *Essay*, 40-1; 37.

[113] Raphael Lyne, *Ovid's Changing Worlds: English Metamorphoses 1587-1632* (Oxford, 2001), 199.

[114] *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. William Hebel, Kathleen Tillotson and Bernard H. Newdigate, 5 vols (Oxford, 1961), vol. 3, 206-8; ll.38-9, 42, 106-7.

the Old *and* New Worlds).[115] He cannot be confident that Britain will not go the way of Rome, or that the English language will not change beyond recognition.[116] Latin, still having 'universal' coverage, is paradoxically an apt medium for his deeply nationalistic universalising ethos: a means to make traffic of English style, and train English muses to new airs.

Claire Gherini's discussion of Kirkpatrick's writings on inoculation offers another dimension to the imperial ideology of his Latinizations. When Kirkpatrick returned to Britain in the early 1740s, where he published all his works after the *Epistle* (and began to style himself M.D. despite not having a medical degree),[117] he made efforts to 'translate his colonial experiences to suit the expectations of metropolitan readers' and 'recast himself as a colonial savant in London'.[118] Publishing a Latinization of Pope endorsed by both major colonial agents and friends of Pope was clearly part of Kirkpatrick's efforts to 'translate' his colonial experience into a more prestigious British context and to recalibrate the 'universalist paradigm' that had been challenged (Gherini argues) by the adverse conditions of the 'specific locale of Charleston'.[119]

Paul Davis has argued that placing too much weight on the metaphor of the translator as imperialist adventurer can be 'reductive' and even amount to 'critical malpractice', since it 'occurs for the most part in commendatory poems or other forms of publishing advertisement' characterised by 'panegyrical decorum' (as in Kynaston's dedicatory poems, and May's preface).[120] But these case studies show that the metaphor becomes inescapable when it is literalised by the course of a translator's life, and that Latinization is a particularly apt medium for its expression.

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[115] 'Is most deservedly famous not only among the British, but also everywhere among foreign races where they know the English tongue'; 'ignorant of English'. Kirkpatrick, *Tentamen,* A2r.

[116] See conclusion.

[117] Deborah Brunton, 'Kirkpatrick [Kilpatrick], James', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/55901 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[118] Gherini, 424, 436.

[119] Ibid., 434.

[120] Davis, 9.

CONCLUSION

Copper Chains: Currency, Counterfeiting, and Confinement

At nine o'clock on Monday 20 February 1749, Usher Gahagan, aged about 36, stood on the gallows at Tyburn. He had been conveyed along the two-mile journey across London from Newgate Prison facing backwards on a sledge, the vehicle reserved for those convicted of high treason. His servant, Terence Connor, was with him, also awaiting execution for 'diminish[ing] the Current Coin of Great Britain'.[1] Gahagan took no comfort in the companionship: he deeply regretted that Connor, whom he had 'frequently declared to be innocent, averring that he was only his Servant … and … never filed a Guinea in his Life', was to share his fate. During five months of confinement in Newgate, both men had written short poems to princes, duchesses and judges who might intercede on their behalf. Their most substantial hope lay in the publication of Gahagan's Latin translation of Pope's *Temple of Fame* and *Messiah*, with a dedication to the Prime Minister, the Duke of Newcastle, signed 'E cellis *Novae Januae*, Feb. 16°. 1748/9', just four days before the execution (Gahagan had published a translation of Pope's *Essay on Criticism* prior to his imprisonment in 1747).[2] Both Gahagan and Connor 'continued in Prayer' upon the execution cart – perhaps praying for an eleventh-hour reprieve for two sons of the muses, for, as Connor put it, 'Nor be it ever said, in British Land, / That a poor Bard was mercilessly hang'd.' No final reprieve was coming, however, from the crowd; no Prime Minister was rushing to Tyburn on receipt of Gahagan's translation. Gahagan and Connor were turned off the cart and hanged, 'with their last Breath calling on God, and Jesus Christ to have Mercy on them, and pardon their Transgressions'. Why did Usher Gahagan pin his last hopes of survival on a Latin translation of two poems by Pope? One answer to this question lies in Gahagan's personal history. But this is simply a version *in extremis* of the question that this thesis has attempted to answer throughout all its chapters: why Latin translation?

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[1] *THE ORDINARY of NEWGATE'S ACCOUNT of the Behaviour, Confession, & Dying Words Of the SIX MALEFACTORS Who were executed at TYBURN On Monday the 20th of FEBRUARY, 1748-9* (London, 1749), *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?name=OA17490220 (accessed 9 April 2023). Further details of the scene and Gahagan's and Connor's dedicatory poems are quoted from this source.

[2] *Mr. Pope's Temple of Fame. And his Messiah*, trans. Usher Gahagan (London, 174[9]), vii; *Tentamen De Re Critica* (London, 1747). Further references to Gahagan's *Tentamen* in parentheses.

Three central themes of Gahagan's life story, which are topical in literature around 1749 – currency, counterfeiting, and confinement – are ideas that have been important to the framing and justification of Latin translation throughout the previous 170 years. Is this merely a biographic coincidence? Confinement is central to the biography and works of another major Latin translator of Pope's poems, Christopher Smart, who was confined in mental asylums from 1757 to 1763, and ultimately died in a debtors' prison in 1771; he was committed to that prison by Lord Mansfield, who had originally introduced Smart to Alexander Pope.[3] Smart's translations of Pope were published in 1743 (*Ode for Music*) and 1752 (*Essay on Criticism*),[4] before the 'turning point' in his work precipitated by an illness around 1756.[5] The translations are therefore remote from the context of his confinement and the great works of that period (*Jubilate Agno*, *A Song to David*) – prime examples, surely, of what Robert Browning called 'the void and null' of Smart's career before his productive period of madness.[6] Yet confinement was a theme of Smart's poetry before his illness and, I argue, the Latin translations of Pope were formative for Smart's language and his later poetics of translation, music, and even confinement. As Karina Williamson claims, 'The crisis of 1756 did not produce an instantaneous transformation of Smart's poetry, but rather precipitated a change for which he had been long preparing.'[7] Smart's Latin translations, I will show, also speak to this chapter's other two themes, currency and counterfeiting. For all the pathetic similarities of their shared poetics of confinement, Gahagan and Smart emerge as very different Latin translators. Smart's striking declaration in the *Jubilate Agno* that '*the Greek and Latin are not dead languages, but taken up and accepted for the sake of him that spake them*' represents a distinctively 'charitable' classicism that manifests itself in his translations and differs from Gahagan's more conservative approach – 'charitable' in the sense in which Smart uses it in the same poem: '*I have translated in the charity, which makes things better and I shall be translated myself at the last'*.[8]

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[3] Chris Mounsey, *Christopher Smart: Clown of God* (Lewisburg, 2001), 272.

[4] *Carmen Cl. Alexandri Pope in S. Caeciliam*, trans. Christopher Smart (Cambridge, 1743), and Alexander Pope, *De Arte Critica*, trans., Smart in *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1752), 33-99. Further references to Smart's *DAC* in parentheses. Smart also produced 'A Latin Version of Milton's L'Allegro' (*Several Occasions*, 178-93).

[5] Williamson, in *Jubilate Agno* ('Introduction', n.13), xxi.

[6] *The Poetical Works of Robert Browning: Volume XV*, ed. Stefan Hawlin and Michael Meredith (Oxford, 2009), 100.

[7] Williamson, in *Jubilate Agno*, xxiv.

[8] Smart, *Jubilate Agno*, B645, B11. Further references in parentheses.

Gahagan and Smart were not the only Latin translators of Pope's works in the first half of the eighteenth century. Gahagan was preceded in translating Pope's *Messiah* by the 19-year-old Samuel Johnson in December 1728.[9] Although this was only a Christmas tutorial exercise, completed in two days, it became his first published work and brought him early 'applause, which echoed even outside the university'.[10] The Lutheran theologian Johann Joachim Gottlob Am Ende published a version of the *Essay on Man* in Wittenburg in 1743.[11] As discussed in chapter 6, Gahagan's fellow London-Irishman (via South Carolina) James Kirkpatrick published translations of the *Essay on Criticism* in 1745 (two years before Gahagan) and other works by Pope in 1749.[12] Richard Onely (London, 1749), Thomas Tyrwhitt (Oxford, 1753) and William Bermingham (Naples, 1760) also produced translations of the *Messiah*;[13] further beyond the chronological bounds of this thesis, Giovanni Costa translated the *Essay on Man* in 1775. These translators are a mixed bag, representing several of the kinds of interest that I have shown Latin translations can offer when they are read in their contexts (passing over, for now, the intrinsic literary interest of Latinization). None of Pope's translators (apart from Kirkpatrick, to an extent) clearly politicise his works, an important motive for many Latin translators (Dove, Fanshawe, May, Atterbury); indeed, apart from the *Messiah*, works which display Pope's Catholicism or hint at his Jacobitism are less popular than those which (seemingly) adopt a politically neutral, 'philosophical' idiom, such as the *Essay on Man*. Pope's translators do, however, use their translations to take stances on current literary issues, particularly that of linguistic change. Gahagan is the example *par excellence* of the 'unfortunate' Latin translator, whose translations offer interest and often intrigue for the part they played in a less-than-illustrious, forgotten life and literary career;[14] these personal failures speak to a wider story of the decline of Latin translation itself in the eighteenth century. Johnson's and Smart's translations are significant because their authors are now canonical literary figures. Unlike Marvell's 'self-Latinizations', however, these are early works which provide insights into

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[9] The only extant eighteenth-century text is in J. Husbands, ed. *A Miscellany of Poems By several Hands* (Oxford, 1731), 111-17, annotated in *The Latin & Greek Poems of Samuel Johnson: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, ed. Barry Baldwin (Duckworth, 1995), 26-33.

[10] *Samuel Johnson: Selected Poetry and Prose*, ed. Frank Brady and William Wimsatt (Berkeley, 1978), 2.

[11] Alexander Pope, *Commentatio de Homine Poetica*, trans. Johann Joachim Gottlob Am Ende (Wittenberg, 1743).

[12] Alexander Pope, *Tentamen de Modis Criticis*, trans. Jac. Killpatrick (London, 1745); Kirkpatrick, *Excerpta*. Further references to Kirkpatrick's *Tentamen* in parentheses.

[13] See *The Poems of Samuel Johnson*, ed. David Nichol Smith and Edward L. McAdam (Oxford, 1974), 44.

[14] See introduction.

the poetic development and range of two literary careers which reach their heights in the vernacular. As in every chapter of this thesis, these Latin translations had a role in the early reception of an English poet that has not been noted – a role in which Pope himself took an unusual interest.

Pope reportedly praised Johnson's translation of the *Messiah* in *c.*1731, commenting that its translator would 'leave it a question for posterity, whether his or mine be the original'.[15] It was brought to his attention by Charles Arbuthnot (son of Pope's good friend John), an Oxford student who must have heard of the acclaim that the translation met across the university.[16] The translation had been printed first by Johnson's father Michael, a bookseller, against Johnson's will, then by the Pembroke tutor John Husbands in *A Miscellany of Poems* (1731), a collection with a large number of subscribers.[17] In addition to the published translations mentioned, in the 1730s a small industry of young men and correspondents of Pope was employed in producing Latin translations of the *Essay on Man* (1733-4) that have largely not survived. Pope seems to have scouted out likely candidates for the job at Winchester College. On a visit to Winchester in 1733 with Lord Peterborough, Pope chose a theme for students to compose verses upon (Peterborough himself), and the prize was taken by the 18-year-old future Poet Laureate, William Whitehead. Pope was sufficiently impressed to engage Whitehead to translate the first epistle of *Essay on Man* into Latin verse.[18] This translation (if it was completed) does not survive, and three years later Pope was still on the lookout for a translator. Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, pursued the idea and, around 1736, engaged William Dobson, who had successfully translated Matthew Prior's *Solomon* at Winchester, to do it for a hundred guineas. Joseph Spence reports that Pope said, 'if any man living could do it Dobson could'.[19] Johnson recalls that Dobson spent time at Pope's villa while working on the translation. When Johnson asked Dobson what 'learning' he found Pope to possess, Dobson gave the eyebrow-raising response 'more than I expected' (Pope's editor Joseph Warton

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[15] According to John Hawkins (Walter Jackson Bate, *Samuel Johnson* (New York, 1977), 92). One figure from posterity, William Meickle, did take Johnson's poem to be the original, publishing *The Messiah, a Poem translated from the Latin of Dr. Johnson* in 1834, apparently in ignorance of Pope's original (Johnson, *Poems*, ed. Nichol Smith and McAdam, 44).

[16] Charles Arbuthnot died, aged 26, at the end of 1731.

[17] Bate, 92.

[18] Rosemary Scott, 'Whitehead, William', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29294 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[19] Spence, Johnson and Pope are quoted from Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters* (Cambridge, 2015), 179-80 and 475.

comments that Dobson was 'by no means qualified to [make such a] pronounce[ment]').[20] A combination of literary frustration and financial incentive seems to have led to Dobson's abandonment of the translation. Spence recounts that the politician, architect, and literary critic William Benson offered Dobson £1000 to Latinize *Paradise Lost* – an extraordinary sum, comparable to what Dryden made for his translation of Virgil (between £910 6*s*. 8*d*. and £1075) and what Pope himself was paid by Bernard Lintot for his *Iliad* (£1275, before subscriptions)[21] – so Oxford and Pope released him from their arrangement. Benson was attacked by Pope in *The Dunciad* for his Miltonolatry: as the note on 'bold Benson' says (IV.110), he 'endeavoured to raise himself to fame by erecting monuments, striking coins, setting up heads, and procuring translations, of Milton'. Pope may have been angry that Benson had stolen his own translator; the claim that Benson commissioned the translation in the service of his own fame undermines the impression that Dobson's large fee implied that such a translation was very saleable. Warton, on the other hand, who 'knew [Dobson] well', interestingly claims that Dobson relinquished his task 'on account of the impossibility of imitating [the *Essay*'s] brevity in another language'.[22] It seems that Pope was aware of this difficulty: he commented that 'The French translation of my Essay on Man, gives the sense very well, and lays it more open: which may be of good service to Mr. Dobson in any passages where he may find himself obliged to enlarge'.[23] Warton also attributed to Dobson's verses a 'monotony … occasioned by translating a poem in rhyme' which he 'avoided … in his Milton'. A specimen of Dobson's translation of the first two epistles is printed by Spence's editor, but the full manuscript has apparently been lost from Spence's papers.[24] Four years later, on 24 June 1740, Pope wrote to William Warburton that he was 'obligd greatly to you, for what you have projected at Cambrige in relation to my Essay': to procure a good translation into Latin prose;[25] but this does not seem to have materialised either.

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[20] Warton, quoted in Pope, *Works*, ed. Bowles, vol. 5, 274-5.

[21] See John Barnard, 'Dryden, Tonson, and Subscriptions for the 1697 "Virgil"', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 57.2 (1963), 129-151; Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Pope, Alexander', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22526 (accessed 9 April 2023).

[22] Warton, quoted by Bowles (n.20).

[23] Depending on the precise date of this remark, Pope may refer to the 1736 prose version by Silhouette or the more popular 1737 verse translation of Du Resnel.

[24] Spence, *Anecdotes*, 475-8.

[25] Pope to Warburton, 24 June [1740], in *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, Vol. 4: 1735-1744*, ed. George Sherburn (Oxford, 1956).

By the time Christopher Smart wrote to Pope in November 1743 putting himself forward for the task, Pope seems to have lost interest in the idea:

> I would not give you the trouble of translating the whole Essay you mention; the two first Epistles are already well done, & if you try, I could wish it were on the last, which is less abstracted, & more easily falls into Poetry & Commonplace … I believe the Essay on Criticism will in general be the more agreable, both to a young writer, & to the Majority of Readers. What made me wish the other well done, was the want of a right Understanding of the Subject, which appears in the foreign Versions in 2 Italian 2 French & 1 German. There is one indeed in Latin Verse [by Am Ende] printed at Wirtembergh, very faithful, but inelegant, & another in French prose; but in these the Spirit of Poetry is as much lost, as the Sense & System itself in the others.[26]

In the same letter, Pope praises Smart's translation of his *Ode for Music* as 'so exact' that he 'could see little or Nothing to alter'. Smart was so proud of this response that the letter appears in his portrait at Pembroke College, Cambridge (Figure 18).

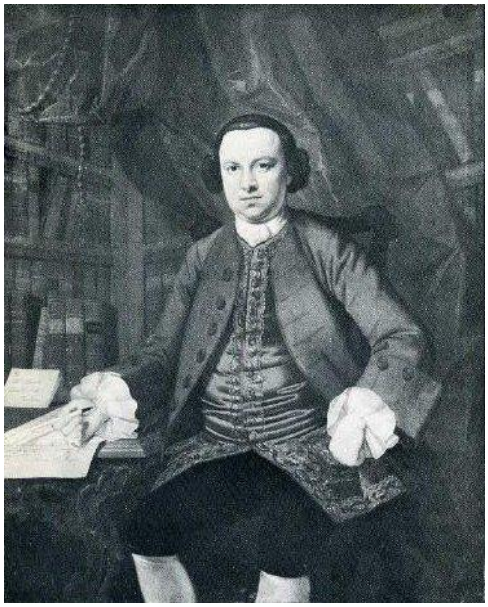


Figure 18.

Pope must be referring to Dobson's version when he says that 'the two first Epistles are already well done'. It cannot be strictly true that it was the deficiencies of the 'foreign Versions' that first led Pope to seek out a Latin translation of the *Essay*, since he commissioned Whitehead in 1733, the year of the *Essay*'s publication, long before the translations he mentions. Pope's reasons for

[26] Pope to Smart, 18 November 1743, in *Correspondence.*

discouraging Smart after ten years of seeking a Latin version of the poem are not apparent. Perhaps he had simply seen too many people fail, or he enjoyed the specimen from the *Essay on Criticism* that Smart sent him enough to change his preference. The overall tone of the letter seems oddly conciliatory and less encouraging than one might expect, given how pleased Smart was with it: Pope seems to be saying, *if you really must*… ('I would not give you the trouble'; 'if you try, I could wish…'; 'A few lines … will be sufficient for a Trial, whether you yourself can like the task, or not'; '[I am] afraid of engaging you in an Art so little profitable, tho' so well deserving, as good Poetry'). Pope seems to have come to see Latinization as a troublesome, unlikeable, perhaps even unprofitable task for the translator: Spence reports that he once said, cryptically, 'I should not choose to employ some that could do it, to translate some of my poems into Latin, because, if they did it as they ought, it would make them good for nothing else.'[27] It is conceivable that Pope thought that the prodigious undergraduate Smart might be good for something else.

In this letter, Pope talks of Latinization as just like any other kind of translation – Italian, French, German – but elsewhere, as in his comment on Johnson's *Messiah*, recognizes its different role and relation to originality and posterity. It is notable that it was Latin translation that brought Pope into contact with two of his major acolytes, Johnson and Smart. Pope did not, it seems, commission or comment on any other Latin translations. All three translations of the *Essay on Criticism* (1711) were published after Pope's death in 1744; indeed, Kirkpatrick's of 1745 was likely prompted by the fact that 'POPIUS noster' was 'caelicola nuperrimus' (*Tentamen* A2).[28] It is not clear why Smart's version, which was advertised as being 'prepar[ed] for the Press' in the second edition of his translation of the *Carmen in S. Caeciliam* in 1746,[29] did not appear until the edition of his *Poems* in 1752 (Smart had revised the *Carmen* itself extensively before publication;[30] he may also have become aware of competitor versions on the market). The following section will consider the translations of the *Essay on Criticism* and the relation between Latinization and currency.

More Lasting Than Bronze? Currency

Back in 1730, Usher Gahagan had dedicated an imitation of Pope's pastorals, *Palaemon*, to Jonathan Swift, declaring, 'Be hush'd ye Winds! And still'd each murm'ring Spring! / Whilst POPE I copy,

[27] Spence, *Anecdotes*, 293.

[28] 'Very recently a dweller in heaven'.

[29] Christopher Smart, *Carmen Cl. Alexandri Pope in S. Caeciliam … Editio Altera* (Cambridge, 1746), 37.

[30] See Alexander Lindsay, 'Christopher Smart as Reviser: Prepublication Texts of Two Early Poems', *Library* 17.4 (1995), 349-54.

and to SWIFT I sing.' In it, he hailed Swift as '*Ierna*'s pride … Whose Pen prepar'd on each Occasion stands, / To banish dire Incroachments from our Lands'.[31] The particular encroachment that must have been on Gahagan's mind in 1730 is the patent granted to William Wood to produce copper coinage for use in Ireland in 1722, which 'Drapier' (one of Swift's many pseudonyms) 'banish[ed]' with a series of letters in 1724-5. As Pope would put it in *The Dunciad*, Swift's intervention succeeded in 'unbind[ing]' his 'grieved country' from the 'copper chains' of Wood's debased currency (I 24). Gahagan's implied support for Swift's stand against 'these HALFPENCE, [which] will soon be COUNTERFEIT, because it may be cheaply done, the *stuff* is so *base*' is ironic, given his later conviction.[32] Swift later republished the Drapier's letters in the fourth volume of his 1735 *Works*. The frontispiece of this volume represents Swift as the Drapier, sitting on his Dean's chair in front of St Patrick's Cathedral, on top of a figure, presumably Wood or Fraud, whose coins are scattered below (Figure 19). Swift passes a document to the crowned Hibernia, identifiable by her harp, as a nursing mother looks up at him with a coin in her palm. The motto reads 'Exegi Monumentum Ære perennius': I have made a monument more lasting than bronze.[33] This is 'a wonderful literalization of Horace's idea', as Henry Power observes: '[t]he republication of Swift's work allowed him to say without contradiction that his words are *aere perennius* – especially since Latin *aes* can also signify a copper coin.'[34] Swift has made a monument more lasting than Wood's halfpence or, read another way, a permanent monument to Ireland, if 'Ære' is read as a pun on the Irish *Éire*.



Figure 19.

Swift's Horatian motto draws a contrast between the permanence of his literary achievement and the impermanence of copper coins that is 'underlain by the ancient connection

[31] U.G., *Palaemon; or, a Pastoral in Imitation of Mr. Pope's First Pastoral* (Dublin, 1730).

[32] Jonathan Swift, 'Drapier's Letters I', in *Major Works*, ed. Angus Ross and David Woolley (Oxford, 2003), 422-30; 425.

[33] *The works of J.S, D.D, D.S.P.D.*, vol. 4 (Dublin, 1735), 1.

[34] Henry Power, '"Mackarel a Week after the Season": Swift and the Durability of Epic', in *Epic into Novel: Henry Fielding, Scriblerian Satire, and the Consumption of Classical Literature* (Oxford, 2015), 45-64; n.42.

of words and money through the shared discourse of currency'.[35] As Henry Power shows, the gold standard of durability for Swift was Homer:

> From *Homer* to *Plutarch* are above a Thousand Years; so long, at least, the Purity of the *Greek* Tongue … last[s] … [It] received many Enlargements [in the interim]; yet the former Author was probably as well understood in *Trajan*'s Time, as the latter.[36]

This narrative of the durability of Homeric Greek is false; nonetheless it was the standard against which Swift contrasted the changeability of English, which, he felt, made it impossible to produce a durable work of literature. 'Attempting something monumental in so fickle a language is, says Swift, like "employing an excellent Statuary to work upon mouldring Stone"'.[37] It did not have to be this way, Swift argued (against Horace):

> What *Horace* says of *Words going off, and perishing like Leaves, and new ones coming in their Place*, is a Misfortune he laments, rather than a Thing he approves: But I cannot see why this should be absolutely necessary, or if it were, what would have become of his *Monumentum aere perennius*.[38]

Horace's defence of neologisms and linguistic change in *Ars Poetica* 48-69 undermines his claim for the durability and monumentality of his own verse. In this passage, neologisms are figured as coinages, among other metaphors:

> ego cur, adquirere pauca
> si possum, invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni
> sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum
> nomina protulerit? licuit semperque licebit
> *signatum praesente nota* producere nomen.
> ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
> prima cadunt; ita verborum …
> mortalia facta peribunt,
> nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.
> multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque
> quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
> quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi. (emphasis mine)

> (And why should I be grudged the right of adding, if I can, my little fund, when the tongue of Cato and of Ennius has enriched our mother-speech and brought to light new terms for things? It has ever been, and ever will be, permitted to issue words *stamped with the mint-mark of the day*. As forests change their leaves with each year's decline, and the earliest drop off: so with words … mortal acts shall perish, much less let the glory and glamour of speech endure and live. Many terms that have fallen

[35] Sophie Read, 'Dryden's Debts: Criticism, Commerce, and the Value of Wit', in *The Places of Early Modern Criticism*, ed. Gavin Alexander, Emma Gilby and Alexander Marr (Oxford, 2021), 219-31; 219.

[36] Swift, quoted by Henry Power, 52.

[37] Ibid., 51-2.

[38] Swift, quoted ibid., 63.

> out of use shall be born again, and those shall fall that are now in repute, if Usage so will it, in whose hands lies the judgement, the right and the rule of speech.)

Both of Swift's usages of the Horatian declaration *Exegi monumentum aere perennius* establish an opposition between currency and monumentality with regard to linguistic change. Currency is, by definition, current, not lasting. New coinages, *signatum praesente nota*, only have currency in their particular time and place. Coins, as Horace says of words, go off, and new ones come in their place, as had happened dramatically in the Great Recoinage of 1696. Some new coins, such as Wood's, are debased and lack true value. While Usage is the arbiter of linguistic change, the Bank of England is the arbiter of currency. Language which is like currency is subject to change and must eventually be *exchanged* by various means – translation, adaptation, imitation – to have value beyond its time and place. On the other hand, language that transcends currency and coinage creates monuments more lasting than bronze that endure across time and have value beyond a particular place. Swift produced his 1712 *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* to help the language achieve a fixity that could produce literary monuments, and his 1735 *Works* declared that he himself had done just that.

Swift's arguments participated in a debate about linguistic change which was raging in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, intersecting with the wider quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns. His comments about Homer and Horace are reactionary responses to the arguments and editorial practices of Richard Bentley in particular, who believed that 'Every living Language, like the perspiring Bodies of living Creatures, is in perpetual motion and alteration'.[39] Bentley's Homer (*contra* Charles Boyle's and, later, Swift's) was not an example of durability: 'where Swift was to use the stability of Homeric Greek as a counterpoint to the fluidity of English, Bentley used the instability of English to demonstrate the instability of Greek'.[40] Bentley's Horace was similarly destabilised: his inflammatory 1711 edition was full of conjectures and outlandish emendations that undermined the wholeness and monumentality of Horace's text by subjecting it to a widely parodied 'restoration'.[41]

The Latin translations of Pope's works by Gahagan, Smart and Kirkpatrick participated in this debate. Before becoming a coiner, Gahagan was an editor of classical texts, like Bentley, producing his own edition of Horace in 1744. Before comparing Gahagan's editorial philosophy to Bentley's and positioning the Pope translations in contemporary debates about currency and

[39] Bentley, quoted by Henry Power, 54.

[40] Henry Power, 53.

[41] See Kristine Louise Haugen, *Richard Bentley: Poetry and Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA, 2011).

monumentality, I will briefly rehearse the events of Gahagan's life prior to his alleged involvement in a coin-filing conspiracy. These events are recorded in an account of Gahagan's life composed, 'in his own Words', on the day before his execution.[42] Gahagan delivered it 'to the Printers of the Dying Speeches, with a strict Charge, neither to add to it, or diminish from it', being anxious to 'prevent any Counterfeit and ungenuine Details, which probably may be published of my Life and Family, after my departure from this World' (ironically again). There are indeed two other accounts of his life, one written by the Ordinary of Newgate (O),[43] and another in the Newgate Calendar (C),[44] which deviate from Gahagan's as to his character and crimes and patch up some ill-concealed holes in the autobiography. The story can be pieced together as follows.

Gahagan was born into a reputable family in Westmeath, Ireland and received an 'extraordinary' (O), 'genteel and liberal' education on which 'no expenses' were spared (G), 'particularly in classical Learning' (O). Gahagan felt he had given 'publick Proofs' of this education 'since [his] coming to London, and even [his] Confinement', and the Ordinary agreed that his education could be 'seen by his Translations of some of Mr. Pope's Pieces' and his classical editions. Gahagan may have been educated for a time at Trinity College, Dublin (C, *ODNB*),[45] but there is no record of his attendance and Gahagan does not say so himself. He was 'brought up and educated in the Protestant Religion, his Father intending him for the Bar' (O), a family profession (G, C). Gahagan's first mistake was to convert to Catholicism, the 'principal obstacle to his future advancement' (C) which, under the Penal Laws, prevented him from practising law. While the Newgate Calendar (which often editorialised with an anti-Catholic stance) claims he 'f[ell] into company with some priests of the Romish persuasion [who] converted him', Gahagan says he had a crisis of conscience after 'reading polemical Writings'. His family, especially those who had invested in his education, were appalled and cut him off financially (G, C). He then 'sought to relieve his circumstances by a matrimonial scheme' – so the Calendar claims – marrying a gentlewoman (Gahagan says she had only a 'slender' fortune, but the Calendar claims it was 'good'). Gahagan does not name his wife because he 'think[s] it improper to draw Ignominy upon [her family]'; more likely, he is unwilling to admit that he 'treat[ed] her with undeserved severity, [so] she was compelled to return to the protection of her relations' (C). While Gahagan was still

[42] 'ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF Usher Gahagan', in *THE ORDINARY*.

[43] Also in *THE ORDINARY*, beginning '4 Usher Gahagan, about 36'.

[44] William Jackson, *The New and Complete Newgate Calendar*, vol. 3 (London, 1795), 180-83.

[45] Sidney Lee, rev. M.J. Mercer, 'Gahagan, Usher', *ODNB*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10279 (accessed 9 April 2023).

living in Ireland, he published two poems under his initials, *Palaemon*, and *An Epithalamium* (Dublin, 1737) in celebration of a marriage that would be even uglier than his own: that of Robert Rochfort, later Baron Belfield and Earl of Belvedere, also of Westmeath, and Mary Molesworth. Rochfort notoriously imprisoned Mary for 31 years after suspecting her of adultery with his brother, whom he also eventually had gaoled in debtors' prison.[46] Rochfort and Gahagan were friends: in the *Epithalamium* Gahagan writes that 'Friendship was my Muse';[47] Belfield would later sign a 'Testimonial' from Ireland for Gahagan's trial, stating that he came from a 'genteel and reputable Family' (G).[48] It is possible that the expensive education Gahagan refers to was at the celebrated classical school of Thomas Sheridan, friend of Swift, where Rochfort was educated.[49]

After the failure of his marriage, 'Necessity obliged [Gahagan] to try Fortune in London' (G), and he 'engaged himself as a Corrector of the Press to several Printers … to whom he gave entire Satisfaction' (O). While 'that Employment [did not bring] in a Sufficiency to support him in the Manner he chose to live' (O), Gahagan produced five classical editions for John Brindley, including his Horace in 1744. In general, Gahagan rejects Bentley's emendations in his edition, but occasionally he further alters a Bentleian alteration. Gahagan does not follow Bentley's 'renowned and wholly unconvincing change of *siccis oculis* to *rectis oculis*' at Ode 1.3.18,[50] nor *aura* to *cura* at the end of 2.8, or *moribus* to *moenibus* and *facta* to *fata* at *Epistles* 2.1.2 and 6, etc.[51] The most relevant crux to this discussion is in the passage on neologism, where Bentley amends 'signatum praesente nota producere nomen' to 'procudere nummum', making the coinage metaphor more explicit; Gahagan retains 'producere nomen'.[52] At 3.11.18, though, where Bentley

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[46] On the marriage, see http://www.belvedere-house.ie/Explore/The,Belvedere,Story/ (accessed 26 October 2022). In *Ulysses*, Father Conmee thinks 'of the book that might be written about … Mary Rochfort, daughter of lord Molesworth, first countess of Belvedere', 'the jealous lord Belvedere' and 'the hands of a bride and bridegroom, noble to noble, [being] impalmed' (James Joyce, *Ulysses*, ed. Hans Walter Gabler (London, 1984), 183-4).

[47] Usher Gahagan, *An Epithalamium* (Dublin, 1737), 15.

[48] The river Brosna, which Gahagan cites as 'A River in *Westmeath* the Author's Place of Birth' (*Palaemon*, 6), runs through Lough Ennell, where the Belvedere seat was built in 1743, close to their previous seat in Rochfortbridge.

[49] George Augustus Rochfort, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, https://www.dib.ie/biography/rochfort-george-augustus-a7763 (accessed 26 October 2022). See also Thomas Sheridan *DIB*.

[50] J.T. Christie, 'On Enjoying Bentley's Horace', *Greece & Rome* 15.1 (1968), 23-32; 26.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.; *Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera*, [ed. Usher Gahagan] (London, 1744), 214.

changes *caput eius atque* to *caput exeatque*, Gahagan gives the further change of *caput aestuatque*.[53] And Gahagan follows Bentley's 'famously literal-minded emendation to Ode I. 23':[54] Bentley corrects *mobilibus veris inhorruit / adventus foliis* to *mobilibus vepris inhorruit / ad ventum foliis*;[55] Gahagan has *mobilibus vitis inhorruit / Ad ventum foliis*.[56] While Gahagan's edition makes no major intervention in the cultural debate outlined above, it seems he was not adverse to outdoing Bentley with the occasional innovation of his own. Gahagan's, Smart's and Kirkpatrick's Latin translations of Pope's works participate more explicitly in the contemporary debates about linguistic change, coinage, and currency. Their versions of the *Essay on Criticism* are prefaced with shared Horatian and Lucretian *loci* on this theme.

Lucretius complains often of the poverty of his mother tongue in the *De Rerum Natura*. The novelty of his subject matter compels him to coin new words:

> Nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta
> difficile inlustrare Latinis versibus esse,
> multa novis verbis praesertim cum sit agendum
> propter egestatem linguae et rerum novitatem (1.136-9)
>
> (Nor do I fail to understand that it is difficult to make clear the dark discoveries of the Greeks in Latin verses, especially since we have often to employ new words because of the poverty of the language and the novelty of the subject-matter)

Kirkpatrick first alludes to this Lucretian theme in the preface to his *Tentamen de Modis Criticis* in 1745: 'Si LUCRETIUS ipse de latini sermonis egestate rite conquestus erat, quantum hodiernis indulgendum est, in latinam transfundentibus ex lingua, vix, aut ne vix Graecae quidem copia cedenti?' (viii-ix).[57] Kirkpatrick does not say here whether his solution to this problem will be to innovate and coin new words in Latin. In the longer preface to his 1749 selection, he states his Swiftian positions more clearly. First, he bewails the state of contemporary Horatianism, because 'hodierni hoc moris est, plures fragmenta Horatii passim eructare, qui mentem animumque ejus

[53] Christie, 27-8; [Gahagan, ed.], *Horatii Opera*, 60.

[54] Henry Power, 62.

[55] 'The arrival of spring terrifies with its rustling leaves'; 'the branch terrifies with its leaves rustling in the wind'. Ibid.

[56] [Gahagan, ed.], *Horatii Opera*, 18.

[57] 'If Lucretius himself bewailed duly the penury of the Latin tongue, how much indulgence is to be given to those of today, transfusing into Latin from a language, scarcely, or not even yielding to the Greek in copiousness?'

nihil expiscati, hunc judicem gravissimum … duntaxat frustillatim sapient'.[58] This might seem to be a general comment about contemporary writers alluding in a fragmentary, shallow way, but the gustatory language, particularly the final phrase, *frustillatim sapient*, is reminiscent of the reaction to Bentley's Horace. As Henry Power notes, *sapere*, as in Bentley's well-known motto *per te sapere aude*, 'has a gustatory as well as an intellectual application' which Pope exploits in the *Dunciad*: 'In ancient Sense if any needs will deal, / Be sure I [Bentley] give them Fragments, not a Meal' (IV 229-30). Kirkpatrick then deals more directly with the Lucretian issue he raised in the 1745 *Tentamen*, this time via Horace. He asks to be excused for using 'Verba quaedam … non aureâ forsitan latinitate, scriptoribus autem sequioribus et dialecticis persaepe usurpata' by citing the passage on neologism in the *Ars Poetica*:[59]

> *si fortè necesse est*
> *Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,*
> *Fingere cinetutis non exaudita Cethegis*
> *Continget; dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter.*
> *Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si*
> *Graeco fonte cadant, parcè detorta.* Art. Pöet. [48-53][60]

> (If one must explain abstruse things by novel terms, you will have a chance to fashion words never heard of by the kilted Cethegi, and licence will be granted, if used with modesty; while, words, though new and of recent make, will win acceptance, if they come from a Greek source and are altered sparingly.)

These lines are conservative and couched in qualifications relative to the stronger endorsements of neologism that follow them (*licuit semperque licebit*, etc.). Kirkpatrick's examples – *Ens*, *Pathema*, *Philautia* – abide strictly by the Greek rule, are not coinages, and certainly do not derive from the vernacular. Such words are only used because Pope's argument demanded it.[61] Kirkpatrick argues for a fundamentally conservative approach to the upkeep of Latinity, similar to Swift's for English. In general, he says,

> castitatem et severitatem latinam pro meo modulo sum assecutus. Atque hoc equidem ab omni recentiori latinè scribenti, cuiuscunque demum regionis, sedulò nitendum opinor: Neque ex solâ purssimae latinitatis ostentatione, quanquam puri sermonis amor laudis est; ut verò lingua perelegans, literatorum communi consensu,

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[58] 'It is a feature of the custom of today that the majority of people vomit out fragments of Horace here and there and, rather than fishing in his mind and spirit, only understanding this most grave judge in bits and pieces'. Kirkpatrick, *Excerpta,* v.

[59] 'Certain words, perhaps not *golden* Latin, but often used by later/inferior writers and philosophers'.

[60] Kirkpatrick, *Excerpta*, vii-viii.

[61] Ibid., vii.

> stabiliatur et minimè fluctuet, in literatorum diversis linguis sempiternum commercium, et in scientiae, artium, ac ingenii emolumen tum et participationem.[62]
>
> (I have followed the chastity and severity of Latin to the best of my ability. And this, indeed, I think every modern Latin writer, whatever region he may belong to, should strive for diligently: not just for mere display of the purest Latinity, although the love of pure speech is praiseworthy; but so that this extremely elegant language, by the common consent of the literate, may be stabilised and fluctuate as little as possible, for eternal exchange between the different languages of the literate, and the profit and sharing of knowledge, arts and talent.)

Despite claiming to Latinize Pope for foreign readers and viewing Latin as a contemporary *lingua franca*, for Kirkpatrick it is a language which 'dicimus defunctum' and is in a state of 'longâ desuetudine',[63] by which he must mean that it is not *spoken*, so can remain fixed. Latin translators should not destabilise Latin by tackling 'untranslatable' features or words of the vernacular with innovation; this defeats the point of Latinization, which is both to speak to the international community of *literati* in a universal language, and to 'durabilissimum in illius memoriam monimentum extruere' (*Tentamen* v).[64]

Gahagan and Smart are less argumentative on this subject but allude to the same sources. Gahagan's epigraph to his 1747 *Tentamen*, 'Tentavit quoque, rem si digne vertere possit', reads as a generalised Horatian comment on translation, playing on his title.[65] But the surrounding lines in Horace's second *Epistle* (161-3) suggest both a parallel between contemporary English-to-Latin and Roman Greek-to-Latin cultural translation, as Kirkpatrick's preface does, and a nod to one of Pope's most familiar lines, 'The last and greatest Art, the Art to blot'.[66] Gahagan includes a dedicatory poem to the Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (and Johnson's patron), celebrating his arrival at '*Eblanae* veteris' (ancient Dublin). This poem also has an epigraph, from the Horatian passage on neologism: '*Ego cur, acquirere pauca / Si possum, invideor?*' (*Tentamen* iii). Although this poem strongly domesticates classical tropes to Gahagan's 'indigenum' (indigenous) context, contrary to his epigraph he seems to take care *not* to coin new words in the process. He identifies Dublin with the ancient city *Eblana*, refers to the '*Hybernum … Strymona*' (although later he does use the well-established *Liffius*), and describes fireworks in the most classicizing terms:

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[62] Ibid., viii.

[63] 'We call dead'; 'long disuse'. Ibid., i, ix.

[64] 'To construct a most durable monument in [Pope's] memory'.

[65] 'He also made essay, whether he could worthily translate'. *Epistles* 2.164.

[66] Pope, 'Horace Imitated: Epistle I of Book II', ll.280-1; *sed turpem putat inscite metuitque lituram,* 2.167 ('in ignorance, deeming it disgraceful, he hesitates to blot').

'micat ignibus aether / Mechanicis rutilans' (*Tentamen* ix-xi).[67] Smart, on the other hand, uses the Lucretian passage on neologism quoted above as his epigraph to *De Arte Critica*, removing the reference to the 'dark discoveries of the Greeks' to appropriate it to English-to-Latin translation without further comment (33). As Smart translates the lines elsewhere, 'Nor does it escape me, that it will be difficult to illustrate (my philosophy) in *Latin* verse, especially as many things must be handled in new forms of speech, on account of the POVERTY of the language, and the NOVELTY of the subject.'[68]

The *Essay on Criticism* itself addresses these themes, although not directly in terms of currency. When Pope quotes the Horatian passage on neologism, via Roscommon's translation, words are like leaves, but not like coins, and the subject has shifted from neologism to verbosity: 'Words are like leaves; and where they most abound, / Much fruit of sense beneath is rarely found' (309-10).[69] But, as James Engell notes, 'the two images' – '[w]ords as coins, words as leaves' – 'connected through good usage guided by "sense," are embedded in Pope's associations and language'. The relationship between words and money is clearer in Pope's 'Epistle to Bathurst', '*Of the* Use *of* RICHES'. When the image of leaves recurs here, it refers to paper money, a new medium (introduced by the Bank of England in 1694) of which Pope was deeply distrustful:[70]

> Blest paper-credit! last and best supply!
> That lends corruption lighter wings to fly!
> Gold imped by thee, can compass hardest things…
> A single leaf shall waft an army o'er…
> A leaf, like sibyls, scatter to and fro
> Our fates and fortunes, as the winds shall blow… (39-47)

Although language is not explicitly figured as currency in the *Essay*, linguistic change is discussed directly in two passages.

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[67] 'The Irish [river] Strymon'; 'skies lighten and redden with mechanical flashes', quoting *Aeneid* 1.90.

[68] Eddy, ed., *Visiter* (n.11), 7.

[69] Cf. Roscommon's translation:

> Men ever had, and ever will have, leave
> To coin new words well suited to the age.
> Words are like leaves, some wither ev'ry year,
> And ev'ry year a younger race succeeds.

In James Engell, 'Wealth and words: Pope's "Epistle to Bathurst"', *Modern Philology* 84.4 (1988), 433-446; 434.

[70] Ibid.

The phrase 'Words are like leaves' (309) is followed a few lines later by a discussion of archaism and neologism (324-36), showing that it has not been fully wrested from its Horatian context. Pope characteristically assumes a sensible middle ground:

> Some by old words to fame have made pretence,
> Ancients in phrase, mere moderns in their sense:
> Such laboured nothings, in so strange a style,
> Amaze th' unlearned, and make the learned smile.
> Unlucky, as Fungoso in the play,
> These sparks with awkward vanity display
> What the fine gentleman wore yesterday;
> And but so mimic ancient wits at best,
> As apes our grandsires, in their doublets dressed.
> In words, as fashions, the same rule will hold;
> Alike fantastic, if too new, or old;
> Be not the first by whom the new are tried,
> Not yet the last to lay the old aside.

Different levels of purism are evident at a glance in the translations. Smart is happy to retain Pope's English note on 'Fungoso in the play', 'Ben Johnson's Every Man in his humour' (*DAC* 60), whereas Kirkpatrick Latinizes it to slightly ridiculous effect, 'In comoedia *Johnsoni*, cui titulus, *Quisque pro suo more*' (19), and Gahagan dispenses with it altogether (25). The passages from Quintilian that Pope footnotes here (*Orator's Education* 1.6.20-1; 40-1), citations retained by Kirkpatrick and Smart, supplement the Horatian perspective on coinages with a more balanced approach, equating excessive neologism with excessive archaism. Some writers revel in linguistic change, rather than trying to moderate or halt it, either by coining new words or employing old ones; both are faults. 'Golden' Latin occupies the middle ground that Pope idealises: it is not subject to 'fashion'; it is 'old' but not archaic, current but not novel; it makes an English text both 'ancient in phrase' and 'modern' – but not *merely* 'modern' – 'in sense'. While Latin translation has acted as a solution to the problem of excessively archaic texts (such as *The Shepheardes Calender*) which seemed to *ege[re] interprete*,[71] in Quintilian's words, excessive novelty might pose a problem for Latin translation. The *Essay on Criticism*, however, is not excessively novel in this way: Pope's words and content are not 'too new' and so generally have established Latin equivalents; where these are not properly golden, the translators take care to 'Be not the first by whom the new are tried'. The only 'novel' element in this passage (as is generally the case throughout the *Essay*) is the proper noun, 'Fungoso', which all three translators retain, although we will see that Gahagan takes a different approach to other names in the text.

[71] 'Need an interpreter' (1.6.41).

Kirkpatrick and Smart translate this passage quite straightforwardly and closely in 'golden' Latin, but Gahagan is more experimental. He alludes to the Horatian passage on neologism to translate the couplet on 'mimic[king] ancient wits' as 'imitantur scripta *Priorum*, / Simii ut antiquos cincuti veste *Cethegos*' (25).[72] This shows that neologism and archaism are two sides of the same coin, and one generates the other: whereas in Horace it is permitted to *invent* words *unheard of* by the Cethegi, here writers *imitate* the ancient Cethegi's words. Rather than showcasing a Latinity that is not subject to these principles, Gahagan mimetically dresses his text like the ancient Cethegi by employing Latin archaisms:

> *Famine* si prisco famam meruisse *potessent*,
> Pars certant, verbis *Veteres*, ratione *Moderni*;
> Sudantesque stylo *peregri*, cassoque labore… (25)
>
> (If they *strive* to deserve fame with archaic *speech*, some contend, *ancients* in words, *moderns* in sense; sweating with *foreign* style and empty labour…)

The annotator who contributes English notes on Gahagan's translation comments on

> *Famine, potessent, moderni, peregri*, Words so obsolete, that I was surprised at the Use of them here, when there were other authentic and classical Words to be had: but, upon due Reflection, find they were industriously introduced in order to conform the diction to the subject Matter; a Method usual with Mr. POPE… (72)

…although Pope does not employ it here, preferring to model best practice. The annotator does not note that some of these words are not merely archaisms but have undergone a Horatian *palingenesis* to become neologistic again. *Moderni*, in particular, which is not in the *OLD*, is a common late Latin word; *famine* is also vulgar Latin. Gahagan's annotator is so conservative (as he demonstrates continually) that he considers these words purely as archaisms, relative to classical Latin; Gahagan's phrase 'stylo *peregri*', however, is suggestive of neologism, too. Gahagan's version destabilises the idea of the stability of Latinity, revealing that Latinity is not absolutely unchanging, but undergoes a slow and cautious rate of change. Latinity, we should perhaps conclude, should not 'sweat with foreign style', in order to retain the standard of universal intelligibility that Kirkpatrick strives for, but might evolve to accommodate modern texts by a process of *palingenesis* of its own native materials.

The second passage in the *Essay* which discusses linguistic change is even more pertinent to Latin translation:

> No longer now that golden age appears,
> When Patriarch-wits survived a thousand years;
> Now length of fame (our second life) is lost,

[72] 'The writings of our predecessors are imitated, apes girt in clothes like the ancient Cethegi'.

> And bare threescore is all ev'n that can boast;
> Our sons their fathers failing language see,
> And such as Chaucer is, shall Dryden be. (478-3)

Kirkpatrick cites this passage alongside Horace and Lucretius in his preface as an expression of the very problem that Latin translation attempts to fix:

> nostra … eius transferendo carmina, … monimentum extruere saltem nititur; quandoquidem, ut ipse sequenti carmine vernacule cecinit, ob fluctuantem et mutabilem linguam vernaculam,
>
> > Verba effoeta licet proli decernere partum,
> > Nobis quod CHAUCER, series fieritque DRYDENUS. (*Tentamen*, v)
>
> (At all events it rests upon me, in the act of translating his poem, to construct a monument, on account of the fluctuation and mutability of the vernacular language, as [Pope] himself sang in the following vernacular poem: [etc.])

The recurrence of 'Aurea' in Kirkpatrick's translation of 'that golden age' continues the association of golden Latinity with durability, implying that Pope's works will now become part of lost Latinate 'Aurea … secula' which will have a 'vita secunda' (28). The phrase that Smart uses for 'failing language', 'dispendia linguae' (*DAC* 75), is an economic metaphor: *dispendia* is an expense, cost, or loss resulting from a transaction.[73] Gahagan takes a different approach again:

> Carmina, quae summa, qua possumus, arte coluntur,
> Heu! quam non-multis annis oblita silescunt. (36)
>
> (Poems which are cultivated with as much art as we are able to produce, alas! in how few years they fall silent and are forgotten.)

Gahagan's annotator comments,

> As you have dressed Mr. Pope's Essay in *Latin*, a Language that we do not improve, but rather decline in, it would be improper to have translated the last Distich of this Passage, which relates only to the *English* Language, and its constant changing from Century to Century[.] (83)

In the service of a joke, the annotator surprisingly implies that the 'constant changing' of English is a process of improvement, in contrast with declining Latinity; Gahagan's lines still do not ring true as a statement about Latinity, as Latin poems have *not* become 'oblita' after thousands of years. Gahagan's change is motivated more by his reluctance to mention Chaucer and Dryden than by a desire to adapt the statement to Latinity. Whenever Pope mentions Dryden, Gahagan avoids the name or substitutes *Maro*.[74] He also replaces Waller with *Naso*, Denham with *Maro* (Pope 361; Gahagan 27), and an extended allusion to Dryden's 'Alexander's Feast, or the Power

[73] As Varro notes (*On the Latin Language* V.183).

[74] As in 'Pride, Malice, Folly against Dryden rose' (458; Gahagan, *Tentamen*, 35).

of Music' with one to Virgil's Dido (Pope 374; Gahagan 28-9), while Kirkpatrick and Smart retain the original references. According to the annotator, this is because 'the Design of translating this Poem … ought to be, to make it intelligible to foreign Readers', making it 'improper to refer to Mr. Dryden, of whom foreign Readers may know but little' (80); elsewhere he gives other reasons: 'first, because *English* Names sound uncouthly in the *Latin*; 2ndly, because it seems not very consistent in a *Latin* poem delivering Rules for *Latin* Poetry (for such is now the *Latin* Translation) to cite English Poets' (80).

Comparing Kirkpatrick's and Gahagan's renderings of Pope's passage on versification shows Gahagan to be more concerned with this kind of decorum or 'consisten[cy]'. The two translators imitate Pope's unity of sound and sense in different ways:

> [Poor critics] equal syllables alone require,
> Though oft the ear the open vowels tire;
> While expletives their feeble aid do join;
> And ten low words oft creep in one dull line;
> While they ring round the same unvaried chimes,
> With sure returns of still expected rhymes.
> Where-e'er you find 'the cooling western breeze,'
> In the next line, it 'whispers through the trees;'
> If crystal streams 'with pleasing murmurs creep,'
> The reader's threatened (not in vain) with 'sleep.'
> …
> A needless Alexandrine ends the song,
> That, like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along. (344-57)

Gahagan translates these prosodic effects into classicized substitutes, using elision, for example, rather than monosyllables, to fit ten words into one line (26). Kirkpatrick does not manage this, so adds a note explaining that the line has ten monosyllables in English (21). For the 'unvaried chimes … of still expected rhymes', while Kirkpatrick gives 'praevisi rhythmi' (21), the usual substitute for 'rhymes',[75] Gahagan has 'praevisa *Notatio* rerum' (26), meaning a trite representation of an idea in pictorial terms. It follows, then, that Gahagan only picks up Pope's clichéd descriptions in his translation of the following four lines, not the predictable rhyme words, whereas Kirkpatrick employs some lively leonines: for example, 'Murmure si currat rivus, dum dulce susurrat, / Nec frustra est somnis lector conterminus omnis' (21).[76] Kirkpatrick adds a note explaining that he has used these 'leonini' or 'cantilenae' for their awkward and monotonous effect and, 'in exterorum gratiam', that these words, although 'haud eadem latine consonantia',

[75] As Dove uses it (see above, 48).

[76] 'If the river flows with a murmur, as it sweetly creeps, every reader is close – not in vain – to sleep.'

'anglice rhythmo consentiunt'.[77] He then renders the same lines in end-rhymed Latin, rather than mid-rhymed leonines; unlike the leonines, though, these lines do not capture the triteness of Pope's rhyme words, since Latin does not have a bank of 'still expected rhymes' to draw on. Kirkpatrick calls the overlong line 'Alexandri … sub nomine' (22), whereas Gahagan substitutes the more classical '*Sesquipedale … carmen*', 'syrmate *spondaeorum*' (77).[78] Smart does not substitute classical for distinctively English effects, but nor does he experiment with rhyme. For his clichés, he lifts phrases from Claudian and Ovid ('Quacunque aspirat *clementior aura Favoni*, / Mox (nullus dubito) *graciles vibrantur aristae*') (63),[79] and he expresses 'Alexandrine' with the acceptably English *or* Latin 'Hypermeter' (65).

Gahagan is not, however, wholly consistent in 'classicizing' the *Essay on Criticism*. He does retain the names of post-classical figures who are naturalised or native to the Latin language, such as Raphael and Vida (53). Gahagan also names both '*Boilus*' and '*Roscomnus*' in the *Essay*'s final section on modern poetry, but Walsh is replaced by a periphrasis and his name consigned to a footnote (54-5). The underlying rationale seems to be a narrow notion of Latinate decorum, with sound being a factor in whether an alien modern or English effect is carried over: *Fungoso*, *Boilus* and *Roscomnus* can stay, but 'Walshius', which stands out in Kirkpatrick's (41) and Smart's (97) Latin, must go. Although sound might be the key concern, the effect on the *sense* of the poem is profound. Any distinctively English features are removed; what remains is a Latin poem that could have been composed as an original *Ars Poetica* in any time or place (for the majority of the poem, this could very well be the classical world). While Gahagan's other poems domesticate classical influences to an Irish setting – his imitation of *Palaemon* is located on 'Brusnah's shores',[80] his translation of Horace 3.1 ends with an address to Chesterfield to 'go visit *Banvia's* [Ireland's] Shore'[81] – his Latin translations eschew local colour to render Pope's work timeless.

While Gahagan's experimentation with the changeability of Latin seems less conservative than Kirkpatrick's desire for linguistic fixity, it is in fact consistent with a conservative, broadly

[77] 'Often-repeated refrains'; 'for foreign readers'; 'not sounding like the same Latin'; 'accord with English rhyme'.

[78] 'Sequipedalian verse in a cloak of spondees'.

[79] Claudian, *Panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius*, 272; Ovid, *Heroides*, 39. The full line in Ovid is *ut leni Zephyro graciles vibrantur aristae*, so the joke is that 'the cooling western breeze' really does 'whisper through the trees' (or corn), even in Latin poetry.

[80] Gahagan, *Palaemon*, 6.

[81] Usher Gahagan, *The First Ode of the Third Book of Horace* (London, 1745), 8.

classicizing Latinate decorum, in that it excludes alien influences. By comparison, Kirkpatrick's 'golden Latin' emerges as genuinely pragmatic rather than ideological: a means to 'make traffic' of English ideas and, in some moments (such as his use of rhyme), English style.[82] Kirkpatrick's *Tentamen* is, to use Gahagan's phrase, 'Sudan[s] stylo *peregri*' – sweating with *English* style – although not on the verbal level, to maximise the translation's communicative potential. The result is a poem that is true to Pope's *Essay*, which uses a normative vocabulary to convey current literary ideas.

What, then, of Smart – the more celebrated figure, whose translation, in this account, occupies an unremarkable middle ground between Kirkpatrick's and Gahagan's? If Smart had difficulties rendering the novelty of Pope's material in Latin, as his Lucretian epigraph suggests, it is not obvious what material he found particularly stubborn, and he did not have recourse to neologism to resolve them. The epigraph would be more appropriate for another of Smart's Latin translations: 'Part of the First Canto of *Hudibras* [ll. 1-104] Translated into Latin Doggrel', first published in *The Student* in September-October 1750.[83] There is much in this extract from Samuel Butler's poem that would be *difficile* to render in Latin verse (for Sir Hudibras, '*Latin* was no more difficile, / Than to a blackbird 'tis to whistle').[84] As Lucy Munro notes, 'Butler's language is multi-temporal, balancing archaisms such as "wight" against more recent coinages such as "pother" and neologisms such as "amphibious"'; the poem is 'Janus-faced', as Latin translations are.[85] This is the challenge and the attraction of translating *Hudibras* into Latin, and what makes Smart's translation so enjoyable. Smart's couplets are frequently ingenious:

> For *Hebrew* roots, although th' are found
> To flourish most in barren ground,
> He had such plenty, as suffic'd
> To make some think him circumcis'd;
> And truly so [he was perhaps,
> Not as a Proselyte, but for Claps.][86]
>
> Hebræas etiam radices
> In solo sterili felices.
> Tot habuit ut plerique eum
> Curtum crediderint Judæum,
> Et forsan fuit, Veneris ergo,

[82] See chapter 6.

[83] In *The Poetical Works of Christopher Smart, Vol. 4: Miscellaneous Poems English and Latin*, ed. Karina Williamson (Oxford, 1987), 6-10. Further references give line numbers in parentheses.

[84] Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. John Wilders (Oxford, 1967), ll.53-4. Further references in parentheses.

[85] Munro, *Archaic Style,* 238.

[86] This not Wilders's chosen text, but it is clearly the variant that Smart was translating.

Judæus factus a chirurgo. (68-73)

He'd run in Debt by Disputation,
And pay with Ratiocination. (77-8)

Deberet disputatione,
Et solveret—solutione— (88-9)

In this translation, Smart does have recourse to post-classical coinages: he uses 'elastica', for example, to render the ludicrous rhyme of 'ecclesiastic' with 'a stick' ('And Pulpit, Drum Ecclesiastick, / Was beat with fist, instead of a stick', 11-12; 'Et manu tusum ecclesiastica / Pulvinar movit vi elastica', 17-18). For Butler's '[Never] put up blow, but that which laid / Right Worshipful on shoulder-blade' (19-20), Smart revises 'Nec ictum æqua tulit mente, / Nisi ab honorario *ense*' to 'honorario *ente*' (25-6). This revision sacrifices an explication of the ceremony of dubbing for a 'mock-heroic use of the philosophical term' *ens* – the same post-classical word that Kirkpatrick justified using in the *Essay on Man*.[87]

This playful poetic exercise has an unexpectedly close, and potentially uneasy, relation to Smart's later and better-loved works. It is disarming, in light of Smart's later 'MAGNIFICAT' on his cat Jeoffrey in the *Jubilate Agno*, to read his expansion of Butler's lines on Montaigne's cat, which read as something like a source:

As *Mountaigne*, playing with his Cat,
Complains she thought him but an Ass,
Much more she wou'd Sir *Hudibras* (38-40)

Nam sic MONTAGNUS vacans otio,
Omnique liber a negotio,
Dum lusit molliter cum fele,
Fudisse fertur hoc querelæ;
'Quis scit, quin felis hæc (proh facinus!)
Si putat, putat quod sum asinus.'
Sed quid mehercule censeret,
Thrasonem nostrum si videret… (42-9)

> (For thus Montaigne, at his leisure, and free from all business, while he played gently with his cat, poured out this complaint: 'Who knows, this cat (what a crime!) might think that I am an ass.' But what – my god! – would he think if he saw our Thraso…)

The poet of *Hudibras* describes the language of Sir Hudibras as 'A Babylonish dialect': 'English cut on Greek and Latin', 'three parts in one', as if he had 'heard three labourers of Babel' (93-102). In Geoffrey Hartman's analysis, Smart himself employs a comparable multilingualism in the

[87] Williamson *ad loc.*

Jubilate Agno. In fact, the early Smart's description of Sir Hudibras's language is very like Hartman's description of the later Smart's:

> Locutio fuit perturbata,
> Dum Babel stetit, usurpata.
> …
> Anglo-Latino-Græca fuit
> Lingua, quæ tanta copia fluit,
> Et tam promiscue, fu distinguas
> In uno ore trinas linguas.
> Hinc quoties voluit effutire
> Putaret quisque se audire
> Tres Babylonios colonos
> Confusos edidisse sonos (106-117)

> (His speech was disturbed; while Babel stood, it was usurped. His language was English-Latin-Greek, which flowed with such *copia*, and so promiscuously, fie! you could distinguish three forks to the tongue in his one mouth. Whenever he wanted to babble, anyone who heard him would think that he had learnt the confused sounds of three Babylonian farmers.)
>
> Smart composes as if … he were writing a Hebrew-English or Hebrew-Greek-Latin-English. Something of this is certainly in his mind, since he shares in the pentecostal aim to reconcile Babel to a universal code of worship.[88]

Smart's Lucretian epigraph and his experiment in translating Butler's cant seem, however, to represent a linguistic philosophy which is irreconcilable with the anti-Horatian position that Smart takes in a footnote to his 1767 translation of Horace:

> The understanding of Horace was so benighted, that he supposed language to be gradual, and of human invention—nevertheless The Lord is the WORD, and all good words proceed from him, as sure as nonsense and cant are derivable from the Adversary.[89]

This position, 'an *idée fixe* with Smart',[90] is somewhat Swiftian, and indeed Williamson cites Swift: 'To introduce and multiply Cant Words … is the most ruinous Corruption in any Language.'[91] I will return to the problem of reconciling Smart's Latin translations with his later corpus in my discussion of confinement.

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[88] Geoffrey H. Hartman, 'Christopher Smart's Magnificat: Toward a Theory of Representation', *ELH* 41.3 (1974), 429-54; 448.

[89] *The Poetical Works of Christopher Smart, Vol. 5: The Works of Horace, Translated Into Verse*, ed. Karina Williamson (Oxford, 1996), 179.

[90] Williamson, in *Jubilate Agno*, B85n.

[91] Cited ibid.

The section of *Hudibras* that Smart translated figures language in economic terms ('rich', 'bounty', 'afford', 55-7), which Smart retains. The metaphor becomes more explicit just beyond the end of Smart's extract:

> For he could coyn or counterfeit
> New words, with little or no wit:
> Words so debas'd and hard, no stone
> Was hard enough to touch them on.
> And when with hasty noise he spoke 'em,
> The Ignorant for current took 'em (109-14)

The metaphor of currency is used to describe both the act of Latin translation, and the language of English poets who are being Latinized, throughout the period covered by this dissertation. In 1627, Drayton described how 'That noble *Chaucer* … The first inrich'd our *English* with his rimes', by 'delving into the Mine / Of perfect knowledge' to find material to 'refine, / And coyne for currant'.[92] Yet Chaucer's coin fell out of currency and – as Samuel Cobb describes, looking back from 1700 – when Spenser started using it again, Ben Jonson exposed him as a counterfeiter:

> The Coin [Spenser thought] must sure for currant Sterling pass,
> Stamp'd with old *Chaucer*'s Venerable Face.
> But *Johnson* found it of a gross Allay,
> Melted it down, and flung the Scum away.
> He dug pure Silver from a *Roman* Mine,
> And prest his sacred Image on the Coin.[93]

Atterbury takes a similar view of Spenserian language:

> it is a surprising reflection, that between what Spenser wrote last, and Waller wrote first, there should be not much above twenty year's distance; and yet the one's language, like the money of that time, is as currant now as ever; whilst the other's words are like old coins, one must go to an antiquary to understand their true meaning and value.[94]

This sense of linguistic change must surely have influenced Atterbury's decision to become a Latin translator himself – but he speculates that Waller, and 'the Augustean age', may have reached a literary and linguistic 'end of history':

> I question whether in Charles the Second's reign English did not come to its full perfection; and whether it has not had its Augustean age, as well as the Latin. It seems to be already mixed with foreign languages as far as its purity will bear, and,

[92] Drayton, in Hopkins and Mason, *Chaucer*, 37.

[93] Ibid., 41.

[94] *The Second Part of Mr. Waller's Poems*, ed. Francis Atterbury (London, 1690), A4v–A5r.

> as chemists say of their menstruums, to be quite sated with the infusion. But posterity will best judge of this.[95]

Posterity has, to an extent, proved Atterbury right; the Latin translations of post-Restoration poetry now seem more futile than those of Chaucer's and Spenser's works. Waller himself did not agree, however: he wrote the (ironically durable) lines 'Poets that lasting Marble seek, / Must carve in *Latin*, or in Greek'.[96]

Latin translation itself strives for both currency and monumentality, at different points, in different proportions. Kynaston delved into what he saw as the 'divite & copioso Latinae linguae Thesauro' to give Chaucer's poem renewed currency and monumentality in equal measure: he wanted 'illum nova lingua donare, & novato rythmi & carminis genere decorare; eumque perenni Romani eloquij columna fulcire, & per omnia secula … stabilem & immotum reddere'.[97] In so doing, Kynaston recast the currency and enriched the treasury of Latinity itself yet retained its stabilising power. The richest Latin translations, I argue, tend to be those that 'Tentare … quid Lingua Latina posset', in Kynaston's words,[98] against some resistance offered by the English – whether that resistance is rhyme, archaism, or novel and topical material. I differ from Warton's conclusion about Dobson's attempt to translate Pope (see above): that the translation suffered from a monotony 'occasioned by translating a poem in rhyme'. Far from monotony, the resistance offered by rhyme brings a variety and hybridity to Latin translations that often speaks to concerns of the original texts. Even when efforts to express this resistance in Latin ultimately fail, as in Dove's translation of Spenser, traces of the attempt remain: this sets Dove apart from Bathurst's editor Dillingham, who sees Latin translation as smoothing out Spenserian faults.[99] Indeed, justifications of Latin translation are often advanced in Horatian and Lucretian terms. Dillingham cites Horace's *Ars Poetica*; as I have discussed, Fanshawe writes to Evelyn praising the latter's translation of *De Rerum Natura*, a poem that is 'rugged … through the stubbornesse of the stuffe and povertie of words as [Lucretius] himselfe confesses', comparing it

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[95] Ibid.

[96] Waller, *Poems*, II, 197-8; ll.13-14.

[97] 'The rich and copious treasury of the Latin language'; 'to give him a new tongue and to adorn him with a new kind of rhythm and poetry, and to strengthen him with the perpetual support of Roman eloquence, and make him stable and immovable for all ages'. Kynaston, *Amores*, †v-†2r.

[98] 'Test what Latin can do'. Ibid.

[99] See chapter 1.

to Bathurst's Spenser: 'if Mr Bathurst by that exported commoditie doe more honour to England Abroad: You, by this imported, will more inrich it at home'.[100]

This image of trading and account-keeping is echoed many years later by the young Pope, discussing his 'borrowing' of material for his *Pastorals*: 'a mutual commerce makes Poetry flourish; but then Poets like Merchants, shou'd repay with something of their own what they take from others; not like Pyrates, make prize of all they meet'.[101] Latin translation is a special, double means of repayment: to the international commonwealth of learning, in a direct trade of textual wares, and to Latinity itself, and everything it gave English poetry, by giving 'something of their own' back to it. We might expect this mutual exchange to happen more often on the verbal level, with Latinization rebalancing the process of appropriation of words that occurs in Englishing.[102] This is the exception rather than the rule, however; Latin translators generally seem to follow Kirkpatrick's principle: Latin is a *universal* currency that 'flows across otherwise uncrossable distances' of time and place;[103] although it may be cautiously recast, it must not absorb so many new coins that it loses this universal function. Some Latin translators, however, see Latinization as purely monumentalising, rather than making current. Gahagan seems to be one such translator. When, in his translation of *The Temple of Fame*, the line 'Bellum opus, & memori quocunque perennius aere' translates 'A work outlasting monumental brass' in Pope's tribute to Horace (*TF* 227),[104] it reads as a statement of what Gahagan has done for Pope. The potential irony of Gahagan's dual role as Latin translator and coiner is not activated in his translations, although Gahagan does use coining metaphors elsewhere in his work.[105] But a desire for timelessness in a Latin translation often has the effect of seeming to undercut the original poem temporally – an effect that tends towards counterfeiting.

Returning to the idea of Swift collecting his works into a 'Monumentum Ære perennius', Pope makes a similar, darker comment when he comes to do the same thing: 'in this office of

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[100] See above, 147.

[101] 2 July 1706 to William Walsh, in *Correspondence.*

[102] As Dryden describes translating Virgil: 'what I bring from Italy, I spend in England: Here it remains, and here it circulates; for if the Coyn be good, it will pass from one hand to another.' Quoted by Read, 228.

[103] David Landreth describing money, in Read, 231.

[104] Gahagan, *Pope's Temple*, 29. Further references in parentheses.

[105] 'How the whole Man reviv'd, how brighten'd then, / Like a tarnish'd Coin reminted o'er again!' Gahagan, *Epithalamium*, 13.

collecting my pieces, I am altogether uncertain, whether to look upon my self as a man building a monument, or burying the dead'.[106] He might ask, along these lines, whether Latin translation is 'coyn[ing] for currant', or 'building a monument'; giving a text its 'second life', or 'burying the dead'. The answer is that it is all four. The activities for which Pope mocks William Benson in *The Dunciad* – 'erecting monuments, striking coins … procuring [Latin] translations' – turn out to be one and the same.

Coyn or Counterfeit? Forgery

Usher Gahagan was only the second most notorious forger associated with Latin translation in the late 1740s. William Lauder was not a coin-filer but a literary forger.[107] Although he was looked upon 'in no other light, than that of a criminal … open to conviction',[108] literary forgery was not, in fact, a crime. Nonetheless, in the public imagination, Lauder had committed no less a treason against the nation than those who filled the cells of Newgate by accusing Milton, who 'had been in effect canonized as the giant original of the English Whig poetic tradition',[109] of plagiarism. An embittered Scottish Jacobite, Lauder published a series of letters in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1747 (compiled in 1749 as *An Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns*), in which he argued that 'Milton had taken much of *Paradise Lost* from the *Adamus Exsul* of Hugo Grotius, as well as from other Neo-Latin poems by Andrew Ramsay, Caspar Staphorstius … and others'.[110] Although 'Lauder had in fact come upon what modern Milton scholarship knows as the Celestial Cycle, that massive body of works … which provide the direct analogues and most immediate literary context for Milton's Christian epic', as Michael Marcuse argues,[111] he had also 'spiced up the evidence' by inserting extracts from Hog's translation of *Paradise Lost* among the alleged

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[106] Pope, in David Wheeler, '"So easy to be lost": Poet and Self in Pope's "The Temple of Fame"', *Papers on Language & Literature*, 29.1 (1993), 3-27; 20.

[107] The most thorough account of the Lauder affair is a series of articles by Michael J. Marcuse, the latest of which is '"The Scourge of Impostors, the Terror of Quacks": John Douglas and the Exposé of William Lauder', *HLQ* 42, 3 (1979), 231-61. See also Burrow, *Imitating*, 344-7; Paul Baines, *The House of Forgery in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, 1999), 81–102, and Nick Groom, 'Forgery, Plagiarism, Imitation, Pegleggery', in *Plagiarism in Early Modern England*, ed. Paulina Kewes (Basingstoke, 2003), 74–89.

[108] John Bowle, one of Lauder's detractors, in Marcuse, 'Scourge', 247.

[109] Burrow, *Imitating*, 344.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Marcuse, 'Scourge', 254.

sources.[112] As Burrow states, 'Unsurprisingly these Latin translations of *Paradise Lost* closely resembled passages from *Paradise Lost*. Lauder's opponents had a field-day with a forger who was claiming someone else was a plagiarist.'[113] Lauder's forgery, exposed chiefly by John Douglas,[114] caused a massive stir, and was held up as 'a fraud not to be paralleled in the annals of literature'.[115] The scandal brought the Latin translations of *Paradise Lost* to wider public attention, which came too late for Hog, who had long since 'died in extreme Necessity in the Streets of London':[116]

> Man's loss of *Paradise*, by *Milton* sung,
> Past, by translation, into many a tongue;
> From these may lines be borrow'd, on pretence
> The bard stole all his grandest strokes from thence:
> These to the *British* nation one might quote
> As great originals e'er Milton wrote:
> To put the thing beyond all reach of doubt,
> Proposals to reprint 'em should come out[117]

In this anonymous parody, this passage is spoken by Satan, who nominates Lauder as his 'fiend inferior', who 'perhaps assum'd that name / To feed his pride with endless hope of fame [*laudis*]'.[118] Satan detects the Satanic potential of the Latin translations to act as false originals and uses it to frame Milton himself as a Satanic thief. Although Satan notes that *Paradise Lost* has 'Past, by translation' into other tongues, the success of Lauder's fraud relies on the depth of Milton's own 'pre-translated' Latinity and the effect of anteriority created by Latinization.

One of Pope's translators, Samuel Johnson, was implicated in the Lauder affair. Johnson put his name to the project at a point when it seemed potentially worthy – at least from the perspective of one politically opposed to Milton – before the seriousness of Lauder's allegations was clear. Johnson's sympathy for Lauder, 'a poor, crippled scholar who deserved help', may have been as significant a factor in winning his support as his antipathy to Milton.[119] But Johnson continued his support as the objections rolled in, when Lauder was still making plausible defences.

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[112] Burrow, *Imitating,* 346.

[113] Ibid.

[114] John Douglas, *Milton Vindicated from the Charge of Plagiarism* (London, 1751), 8.

[115] Hester Thrale Piozzi, in Jack Lynch, 'Samuel Johnson's "Love of Truth" and Literary Fraud', *SEL* 42.3 (2002), 601-618; 606.

[116] Thomas Birch, in Marcuse, 'Scourge', 245.

[117] Anon., *Pandaemonium; or, A New Infernal Expedition, Inscrib'd to a Being Who Calls Himself William Lauder* (London, 1750), in Marcuse, 'Scourge', 234.

[118] In Marcuse, 'Scourge', 234.

[119] James L. Clifford, 'Johnson and Lauder', *Philological Quarterly*, 54.1 (1975), 342-56; 344. See also Lynch.

Johnson wrote 'Proposals' for publishing a new edition Grotius's *Adamus Exsul* to support Lauder's project, later refashioned by Lauder into a preface to *Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns*, perhaps with Johnson's permission. Johnson also contributed a new postscript urging support for Milton's granddaughter, who was in financial difficulties, declaring that he had not yet managed to read Lauder's book.[120] However partial the endorsement, Johnson's position quickly became untenable, and he convinced Lauder to confess his guilt. Lest Johnson's intentions seem purely charitable and these misjudgements simply 'the indiscretions of a feckless young author', Nick Groom reminds us that Johnson's association with Lauder is not out of character. He falls just short of suggesting that Johnson is 'an example of "the poet as fraud"', gathering many examples of his flirtations with fraudulency. These include his continued endorsement of Lauder's claim that Milton had libelled Charles I with plagiarism (confessed by Lauder to be 'a master-piece of fraud') in his 1777 *Life of Milton*; his acceptance of George Steevens's false attributions in their edition of Shakespeare; 'less-than-objective definitions' in his *Dictionary*; his defences of the 'Macaroni Parson' William Dodd, imprisoned in Newgate for financial forgery (sound familiar?), and accusations that he plagiarised his writings about plagiarism in the *Rambler*.[121] Burrow argues that 'slight adjustments to [his] language of imitation' that Johnson made after the Lauder affair were his 'guilty responses to [it]'. Johnson 'positions the act of literary imitation within a landscape of natural commodities which are ready for use, but which might prompt questions about property and propriety if they were culled with excessive vigour.'[122] Burrow has revealed the impact of the Lauder affair on eighteenth-century ideas of imitation and literary property and on Johnson's later career. What interests me is what the Lauder affair tells us about Latinization, and whether Johnson's first publication, his translation of Pope's *Messiah*, might be an early indication that he was a writer who tended to skirt around the edges of forgery.

The Lauder affair exposes a connection between Latin translations and counterfeiting that existed since its inception. It offers a heightened version of the fraudulent potential of original neo-Latin composition, which Vida felt when he looked back at his own lines and '[could not] find / The genuin stamp, and image of his mind'.[123] Latin translations, like the actual neo-Latin

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[120] Clifford, 344.

[121] Nick Groom, 'The Poet as Fraud', in *The Oxford Handbook of British Poetry, 1660-1800*, ed. Jack Lynch (Oxford, 2016), 227-246; 228.

[122] See Burrow, *Imitating*, 348.

[123] See chapter 5, n.60.

forgeries which were common in the Renaissance,[124] or the many English poems that claimed to be translated from a recently discovered ancient manuscripts,[125] resemble temporally prior, often classical, sources for the English poems that they translate. As one of Kynaston's dedicatory poets wrote, the translation 'become[s] / Th'Originall' to an exceptional degree.[126] Fanshawe presents both Evelyn's Lucretius and Bathurst's Spenser as disguised imposters or 'divine Counterfett[s]'. However, while we shall 'knowe Lucretius' through his English disguise, Bathurst's Spenser will, 'where it's true origine shall be unknowne, passe for a Native of ould Rome'.[127] This image turns the typical toga image which is associated with Latin translation – both Kynaston's Chaucer and Bathurst's Spenser are 'dressed in a Roman toga'[128] – into a fraudulent disguise. John Courtenay's characterisation of Johnson's Latin verse uses similar imagery, but he attributes to Johnson's Latinity a depth and authenticity that other counterfeiting Latinizers lack:

> And with like ease his vivid lines assume
> The garb and dignity of ancient Rome.
> Let college *verse-men* trite conceits express,
> Trick'd out in splendid shreds of Virgil's dress:
> …
> Then with mosaic art the piece combine
> …
> Johnson adventur'd boldly to transfuse
> His vigorous sense into the Latin muse;
> Aspir'd to shine by unreflected light,
> And with a Roman's ardour *think* and write.
> …
> Hesperia's plant, in some less skillful hands,
> To bloom a while, factitious heat demands:
> Though glowing Maro a faint warmth supplies,
> The sickly blossom in the hot-house dies:
> By Johnson's genial culture, art, and toil,
> Its root strikes deep, and owns the fost'ring soil;

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[124] See Katrina B. Olds, 'Neo-Latin Forgeries', in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, ed. Craig Kallendorf: http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2197/10.1163/9789004271296_enlo_B9789004271029_0149 (accessed 23 October 2022).

[125] For example, Pope's 'A Tale of Chaucer. Lately found in an old Manuscript', in *Swift's Miscellanies: The Last Volume* (London, 1728), 44-5.

[126] Kynaston, *Amores*, *4v.

[127] See above, 147.

[128] See chapter 2, n.5; Dillingham in Bathurst, *Calendarium*, A3v.

… And grows a native of Britannia's plains.[129]

The imagery reverses mid-way through this passage: first, Johnson transfuses himself into the Latin muse, becoming authentically Roman, then he transports the Latin muse (in the form of a plant) to his own place and time, and it becomes authentically British. Although Johnson assumes the 'garb' of Rome, the images of transfusion and cultivation ultimately outweigh the imagery of clothing, which comes to be associated with theft and disguise. Johnson himself is rather more modest when he recounts a moment in 1783 in which, coming round from a 'paralytick stroke', he composed some Latin verses to 'try the integrity of [his] faculties', and 'concluded [him]self to be unimpaired' when he could make them 'easily' but 'knew them not to be very good'.[130]

Some Latin translations seem to 'pass for originals' more than others, when the original text already has a counterfeit quality: May's *Supplementum* poses as a lost ending to Lucan's *Pharsalia* (to an extent); the versions of *Absalom and Achitophel* affect a biblical antiquity that makes them seem almost prophetic.[131] Pope's *Messiah* is the ultimate example of an already-counterfeit original. The *Messiah* (1712) is a poetic rendering of the prophecies of Isaiah on the model of Virgil's fourth, 'Messianic' eclogue. The poem was accompanied by an Advertisement so disingenuous that Clifford Ames calls it 'false advertising'.[132] Pope writes that, 'reading several passages of the prophet Isaiah', he 'could not but observe a remarkable parity between many of the thoughts and those in the Pollio of Virgil',[133] implying that the traditional association of Eclogue 4 with the Messianic prophecy in Isaiah 'occurred to him as a spontaneous revelation'.[134] He then goes on to say, with feigned artlessness and without qualification, that this is not surprising, 'when we reflect that the Eclogue was taken from a Sibylline prophecy on the same subject'.[135] 'Virgil did not', however, 'copy it line by line, but selected such ideas as best agreed with the nature of Pastoral Poetry, and disposed them in that manner which served most to beautify his piece'.[136]

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[129] Courtenay, in *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, rev. L.F. Powell, 6 vols (Oxford, 1934), vol. 1, 62.

[130] *Boswell's Life*, vol. 4, 230.

[131] See chapters 3 and 5.

[132] Clifford R. Ames, 'False Advertising: The Influence of Virgil and Isaiah on Pope's *Messiah*', *SEL* 28 (1988), 401-426.

[133] *Messiah*, in Alexander Pope, *Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism*, ed. E. Audra and Aubrey Williams (New Haven, 1961), 97-122; 111.

[134] Ames, 401.

[135] First argued by Lactantius in the late third/early fourth century.

[136] Pope, *Messiah*, 111.

This method serves as the model for Pope's own imitation of Isaiah. Pope claims that his own function is merely editorial – he has selected ideas from Virgil and Isaiah 'without admitting anything of my own' – and that his purpose is to show 'how far the images and descriptions of the Prophet are superior to those of the Poet'.[137] The methodology is 'immediately reminiscent of the architects of the Virgilian centos',[138] whose refiguration of Virgil as a Christian prophet was sanctioned by the 'Messianic' eclogue. The poem presented itself as a prophecy which predicts (and thus antedates) the birth of Christ, in the voice of an inspired Virgilian bard:

> YE Nymphs of Solyma! begin the Song:
> … O Thou my Voice inspire
> Who touch'd *Isaiah*'s hallow'd Lips with Fire!
> Rapt into future Times, the Bard begun:
> A *Virgin* shall conceive, a *Virgin* bear a Son![139]

It will be clear already that a Latin version of this poem might pose as an original poem composed just prior to the birth of Christ – an authentic Virgilian prophecy in which the bard decided to stay closer to his 'Sybilline' source, and thus a divinely sanctioned substitute for Eclogue 4 – and that the spirit of 'false advertising' in Pope's preface might sanction such imposture. 'Pope sets an ancient composition to modern music',[140] whereas the Latin versions set the ancient composition to ancient music. Gahagan's translation style in the *Essay on Criticism* tends towards counterfeiting; Johnson very nearly qualifies as an example of 'the poet as fraud' (although Courtenay offers a different view). The attraction of crafting a plausible, decorous Virgilian prophecy was bound to appeal to both poets. This is Latin translation at its closest to the Virgilian cento tradition.[141]

Pope included quotations from Virgil and citations from Isaiah in notes accompanying the poem, to ensure that the reader, 'comparing the several thoughts', could judge Isaiah superior.[142] The detail in the *Messiah* is taken almost entirely from Isaiah, whereas the framing and diction is Virgilian. Unsurprisingly, both translators, especially Johnson, incorporate Virgilian fragments into their lines, which make Virgilianism more prominent on the level of content. Gahagan introduces the poem with the epigraph '*Paulo Majora canamus*' (65). 'The mossy fountains'

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137 Ibid.

138 Ames, 402.

139 Pope, *Messiah*, ll.1-8.

140 Ames, 406.

141 See Scott McGill, *Virgil Recomposed: The Mythological and Secular Centos in Antiquity* (Oxford, 2005).

142 Pope, *Messiah*, 111.

become Virgilian *muscosi fontes* (*Eclogue* 7.45) in both Johnson's and Gahagan's openings.[143] Johnson renders 'All crimes shall cease, and ancient fraud shall fail' as 'Irrita vanescent priscae vestigia Fraudis' (112), outdoing Virgil's *Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis* (*Eclogue* 4.31),[144] which now seems like a pale, pagan imitation. Johnson repeats 'DEUS, *ecce* DEUS' (113; *Aeneid* 6.46) for 'a God, a God appears',[145] and opens the prophecy with the addition 'Qualis rerum mihi nascitur ordo!' (111; *Eclogue* 4.5)[146] – 'mihi' seeming to stress that the poem is delivered in Virgil's own voice. Like the *Sortes Virgilianae*, this quotation has the effect of transforming these into prophetic fragments, originating in this prophecy, which were scattered across the works of the pagan poet. The fragments are not overly dense in either translation, however, and do not push out biblical imagery. Gahagan often quotes the Vulgate, which, as a Catholic, he may have had with him in his cell or known from memory: for example, 'Concipiet virgo' (111); 'Vox hilarat, clamantis *Io*!' (67); 'saecli pater ille futuri' (71).[147] While Pope cites the Authorised Version in his notes, he seems to have been working from the Douai Rheims version, which is closer to the Vulgate, so Gahagan's Vulgate diction accords with that of the original *Messiah*. The Latin versions invite consideration of whether Pope was thinking of the Latin at points, such as when he seems to fuse Isaiah 7:14 ('Concipiet *virgo*') and 11:1 ('Et egredietur *virga* de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet') in a pun on *virgo*/*virga* in the lines 'A *Virgin* shall conceive, a *Virgin* bear a Son! / From *Jesse*'s Root behold a Branch arise'.[148]

Translating the *Messiah* demands a slightly different Latinity to that which Courtenay describes (referring primarily to Johnson's original Latin verse). A greater degree of 'mosaic art' with 'splendid shreds of Virgil's dress' is called for; there is no need to cultivate Hesperia's plant in Britannia's plains. Both translators attempt 'boldly to transfuse / [The] vigorous sense [of Isaiah] into the [Virgilian] muse' and to express Virgilian *thought* beyond the scattered shreds of dress. If they succeed, their 'light' might pass as 'unreflected' – but this is of course an illusion, since the translations are profoundly reflective, of Pope's original and multiple other sources. Critical opinion as to whether Johnson's translation succeeds on this front has been divided. Pope himself reportedly praised the translation for 'passing' as an original and seeming to undercut his

[143] Gahagan, 65; Johnson, trans., *Messia*, 111. Further references in parentheses.

[144] 'Yet a few traces of ancient sin will live on'.

[145] Pope, *Messiah*, l.30.

[146] Cf. Atterbury in chapter 5.

[147] Isaiah 7:14, 40:3 ('Vox clamantis in deserto'), 9:6.

[148] Pope, *Messiah*, ll.8-9.

own poem.[149] Yet many critics have found that it does not 'pass': it has been described as 'Un-virgilian' and 'wooden'.[150] Maurice O'Sullivan defends it and argues that it illuminates 'its author's development as a poet and critic' in three main ways. Firstly, there emerges 'in his syntax and thought … an organising principle based on the heroic couplet'; if this is true, Johnson then does cultivate Hesperia's plant in Britannia's plains. Secondly, he adds 'clarifying and concretising detail'. These two traits account for Johnson's expansiveness, in spite of the relative compression of Latinity, and the accusations of un-Virgilianism. Thirdly, 'some of the first indications of Johnson's work as an apologist for orthodox Christianity appear in his corrections of Pope's potentially heterodox theology'.[151]

O'Sullivan is perhaps over-eager to read Johnson's later critical views into this immature work, which was famously completed in 24 hours. While it is possible to identify moments when the couplet, particularly the enjambed couplet, 'asserts itself' in Johnson's translation, his impulse to add detail frequently overrides this pattern. Even when Johnson does observe the couplet form, he tends to split two details into a tricolon, and his most characteristic technique is to reverse or reorganise the order of Pope's thoughts. The couplet is the 'organising principle' to a much greater degree in Gahagan's translation, which imitates the concision and starkness of both Pope and the Vulgate: for example,

> The SAVIOR comes! by ancient Bards foretold!
> Hear him, ye Deaf, and all ye Blind, behold![152]
>
> En! quem Turba diu cecinerunt enthea, Vates,
> En! SALVATOR adest; vultus agnoscite Caeci
> Divinos, surdas sacra vox permulceat aures. (Johnson, 113)
>
> En! Salvator adest, celebrant quem carmina prisca,
> Vos audite ipsum, surdi; vos cernite, caeci (Gahagan, 69)

The sparseness of Gahagan's translation and its closeness to Pope and the Vulgate (Isaiah 42:18: 'Surdi, audite, et caeci, intuemini') may be partially accounted for by his constrained circumstances, as I discuss below, but it throws the expansiveness of Johnson's version into relief. Although O'Sullivan thinks Johnson's detail is 'concretising', it is hard to see how this brings advantage to a poem that is already a long list of particulars; Johnson seems rather to indulge in

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[149] See above.

[150] Joseph Warton, and E.L. McAdam Jr. and George Milne, in Maurice J. O'Sullivan, Jr., 'Ex Alieno Ingenio Poeta: Johnson's Translation of Pope's *Messiah*', *Philological Quarterly*, 54.3 (1975), 579-91; 580.

[151] O'Sullivan, 579-80.

[152] Pope, *Messiah*, ll.37-8.

the virtuosic decadence that is also a feature of many of Pope's lines ('He from thick Films shall purge the visual Ray, / And on the sightless Eye-ball pour the Day').[153] O'Sullivan is right, however, about Johnson's treatment of Pope's classicized theology. Johnson pares back the role of pagan deities, and makes Pope's Virgilian, pastoral vision much more apocalyptic. This is most obvious at the beginning and end of the poem:

> The Dreams of *Pindus*, and th' *Aonian* Maids,
> Delight no more…[154]
>
> Valete
> Aonidesque Deae, et mendacis somnia Pindi (111)
>
> The Seas shall waste, the Skies in Smoke decay,
> Rocks fall to Dust, and Mountains melt away;
> But fix'd *His* word, *His* saving Pow'r remains:
> Thy *Realm* for ever lasts! thy own *Messiah* reigns![155]
>
> TU secura tamen Confusa Elementa videbis,
> Laetaque MESSIA semper dominabere Rege,
> Pollicitis firmata Dei, stabilita ruinis. (117)
>
> (You [Salem], however, will witness the confused elements free from anxiety, and you will always rule joyfully with the Messiah as king, confirmed by the promises of God, and stabilised on ruins.)

Johnson's replacement of 'Delight no more' with 'Valete' and addition of 'mendacis' turn the introductory lines into a 'less qualified rejection' of the classical world; the striking decision to reverse the order of the final lines and end the poem on 'ruinis' rather than 'reigns' emphasises dissolution rather than peace.[156]

Johnson's poem is even more thundering and ecstatic than Pope's, whereas Gahagan's reads as more restrained, conciliatory and redemptive. The lines 'In adamantine chains shall Death be bound, / And Hell's grim tyrant feel th' eternal wound' ('Captivam cingent adamantina vincula *Mortem*, / Vulnus et aeternum Regnator sentient *Orci*', 69)[157] must have had a desperate appeal to one bound in chains and awaiting death himself, whose unfortunate path to this fate arguably began with his conversion to the religious convictions he shared with Pope. Ultimately, while both translators, like Pope himself, are attracted to the counterfeit nature of this pseudo-Virgilian prophecy, their respective religious convictions lend authenticity and legitimacy to the exercise,

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[153] Ibid., ll.39-40.

[154] Ibid., ll.4-5.

[155] Ibid., ll.105-8.

[156] O'Sullivan, 585-7.

[157] Cf. Lucretius 1.34 (*aeterno devictus vulnere amoris*), where the poet asks Venus to support his song.

as Pope's do. There is nothing 'fake' to them about the vision itself, although Johnson has to work harder to deny the potentially mendacious 'priscae vestigia fraudis';[158] the un-Virgilian aspects of Johnson's immature style seem involuntarily to amplify this differentiation.

The Captive Muse: Confinement

In the seventeenth century, Latin translation offered a solution to the confinement of English literature within Britain's cramped prison. Kynaston presented his translation as liberating Chaucer from a long incarceration: 'infra limites huius nimis angustae … Insulae per tot secula incarceratus delituit, iam emancipatus liberiori caelo fruatur'.[159] In his dedicatory poem, Dudley Digges mixes the metaphors of confinement and burial: '*Britannia* / *Arctum sepulchrum est*',[160] with a pun on *Arctos* pointing to Britain's isolated northernness,[161] so Latin translation gives Chaucer a '*vitam posthumam*' in two senses (both posthumously, and beyond the enclosed grave of Britain).[162] Fanshawe, May's dedicatory poet John Rutter, and Hog all also describe Britain's confines as *angustae*.[163] In the eighteenth century, these confines do not feel quite so narrow, as Kirkpatrick can write that Pope shines 'Thro' whole extended colonies', and Smart that '*the ENGLISH TONGUE shall be the language of the WEST*' in the *Jubilate Agno*.[164] Yet the idea of confinement still holds to an extent. As discussed in the previous chapter, Pope must still be Latinized to reach educated readers 'anglice nescientibus'.

Gahagan's and Smart's personal experiences of confinement were extreme and utterly distinct from these models. Both experienced imaginative confinement before their physical confinements began. Gahagan writes in his *Epithalamium* of the confinement he experienced in Ireland, and his attempts to transcend it through poetry:

> Fate malignant plac'd me in an Isle,
> Where most the Fop applaud, the Learn'd revile;
> Where Sober Sense is deem'd a clownish Load,
> And Wit is to be vicious *Alamode*.

---

158 'Traces of the old fraud'.

159 'He who had lain imprisoned within the limits of this too confined island throughout the ages may now be set free to enjoy the broad skies of freedom'. Kynaston, *Amores*, †v.

160 'Britain is an enclosed grave'.

161 Cf. Catullus 11; Virgil Eclogue 1.66.

162 In Kynaston, *Amores*, *r.

163 Fanshawe, ed. Davidson, I, 240; May, *Supplementum*, *8v; Hog, *Paraphrasis Poetica*, viii.

164 See chapter 6, n.85 and 'Introduction', n.13.

A Stranger therefore to poetick Bays,
Vainly I strive a bolder Note to raise;
Barren myself, as is my native Clime,
Fled by the Muse, and void of genuine Rhyme[165]

Kirkpatrick writes in his *Epistle to Pope* of 'the Prison that infects the Mind': 'Detraction', 'Envy', 'Resentment'.[166] Gahagan experiences Ireland as a prison that infects the mind with philistinism and barrenness. Imitation of Pope and Swift seems to offer some escape (Swift being a temporary escapee from Ireland himself), whereby 'the weak Wren may tow'r it up the Skies, / When close conceal'd in *Eagle*'s wings he lyes', as Gahagan writes of Swift's influence in *Palaemon*, a poem in imitation of Pope.[167] Indeed, in the passage above, Gahagan climbs upon Milton's 'wing' in his attempt to 'raise' a 'higher argument' and escape his 'cold / Climate' (*PL* 9.42-5). Imitation, especially translation, is an exercise in confinement that paradoxically enables one to assert their freedom within constraint. In poems composed in Newgate, Gahagan returns to the theme of the limitations of confinement on his ability to 'raise' a 'bolder Note'. His confinement is now all too real:

I now would launch into a nobler strain;
But see! the captive Muse forbids the lays
…
Cramp'd hand and foot, while I in gaol must stay,
Dreading each hour the execution-day.
…
So when a sickly snake attempts to creep,
Or climb some slippery rock, or ditches steep,
Scarce half her length advanc'd, she backwards falls,
And in slow volumes languishingly crawls.[168]

Gahagan's image of the 'sickly snake' imitates a very inapposite image from the *Essay on Criticism* discussed above: 'A needless Alexandrine ends the song, / That, like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along', translated by Gahagan two years earlier as 'It lento, aegra ut serpens…' (*Tentamen* 27). Again, Gahagan, the weak wren or the sickly snake, struggles to raise a bolder note via imitation.

Gahagan introduces his translations of *The Temple of Fame* and *The Messiah* with a poem addressed to the Prime Minister (iii-vii):

Ille ego; *Pieridum* quondam qui raptus amore,

[165] Gahagan, *Epithalamium*, 15-6.

[166] Kirkpatrick, *Epistle*, 13.

[167] Gahagan, *Palaemon*, 4.

[168] Usher Gahagan, 'To his Royal Highness, Prince GEORGE', in *THE ORDINARY*.

Felices *Popei* numeros et carmina Vatis
… pedibus cum libera laxis
Arva peragrarem, latia modulabar avena,
Angliam in *Ausoniam* portans musasque penates.

(I am he who once, seized by love of the muses, when I traversed the free fields, the happy numbers of Pope and songs of the poet with loose shoes, played a Latin reed, carrying the muses and the household gods from England to Ausonia…)

Gahagan now sees his former state as one of liberty. With the phrase 'Ille ego', Gahagan presents his career as a tragic distortion of the Virgilian model, progressing from happy pastoral to brutal confinement; through his epigraph, 'Da mihi Maeoniden, et tot circumspice casus, / Ingenium tantis excidet omne malis', he also identifies with Ovidian exile.[169] Next, Gahagan expresses dread of his impending execution and blames those who gave evidence against him, especially his former friend and alleged co-conspirator Hugh Coffey, who appears as 'perjuri … *Sinonis*'.[170] It is not clear from the legal records whether Gahagan maintained his own innocence throughout his imprisonment (as he did Connor's): the Ordinary claims 'he did not deny his Guilt', but elsewhere he vehemently defends himself; in this volume of translations he present himself as a scapegoat. The poet then thinks of an idea: 'tam vatis opus tibi trader, Roma, / Ignotura tamen naevis, vinctaeque Camoenae'.[171]

Non peto *Castalios* latices …
haec nemo sibi carcere commoda speret:
Sufficiet nostram *Thamesis* …
Caenosus sedare sitim, lutulentaque tetro
Gurgite captivae nostrae dare pocula Musae

(I do not seek the Castalian springs; no one would hope for these conveniences for himself in prison: the muddy Thames will suffice to assuage my thirst, and to give a muddy cup from the disgusting flood to my captive Muse)

The poet conveys the limitations set on his poetic inspiration, vividly locating himself in Newgate, close to the Thames. After praising the Prime Minister at length, Gahagan again excuses his translation:

…mea se vestro duntaxat nomine iactet
Pagina, ne minimum sumens aliunde mereri,
Nec meruisse valens; cum sit perarata, fatebor,
Et sine librorum Doctique iuvamine quovis,

[169] 'Bring [Homer] and cast as many dangers about him; all his genius will fall away amid such great ills', *Tristia* I.I.47-8.

[170] 'A perjured Sinon'.

[171] 'To hand over a work of such a king of poets to you, Rome, who are to forgive its flaws and confined Muse'.

Marte sed heu! proprio, pedicisque dolente peracta;
… nec inficior, te dexteriore *Thalia*
Posse cani, modulisque gravi mage principe dignis,
… si musa superstet,
Ipseqe dimittar, vinclisque his eximar, artus
Quae strinxere meos

(…may my page at least boast of your name, not assuming the least of desert from another source, nor strong enough to deserve it; since it is completed, I confess, without any aid of books or learned man, but alas! completed by one alone, under his own power and suffering chains. I do not deny that you can be sung of with a more able Muse, and in measures more worthy of a grave prince, if my muse survives, and I am released and relieved of these chains, which have constrained my limbs.)

A 'poetics of confinement' consistent with the conditions described here is legible in the translations that follow: Gahagan's style is simple and sparse, compared to other Latin translators' and to his own previous translation. Finally, he begs for a reprieve for himself and especially his servant Connor and asks Newcastle's protection for his temple of fame/*Temple of Fame*.

In *The Temple of Fame*, 'we find [Pope] reconstructing a mythology of immortality, of "honest fame", and failing to recognise the impossibility of coalescing that mythology with the reality of rumour-ridden London'.[172] 'Honest fame' is the compromise between true poetic immortality and ephemeral fame that Pope's speaker reaches in the final lines, when he analyses his vision in a personal reflection: 'Unblemished let me live, or die unknown; / Oh grant me an honest fame, or grant me none!' (523-4). David Wheeler argues that, 'if there is permanence here, it resides not in fame … but in the highly ordered temple, in the poetry itself'.[173] Pope's *Temple* is also an exercise in building one's own fame and poetic monument upon those of others: in addition to all the poets memorialised in the temple itself, Pope reworks Chaucer's *House of Fame*. This enables Pope to give Chaucer a less-fickle version of the 'second life in others' breath' which the speaker disparages (505), and to eternize himself in the process. It is obvious why this poem would appeal to Gahagan: Pope's dream-vision is a fantasy space in which he can defeat those who have slandered him, clear his name, stop time, and build his own fame upon Pope's, which his translation secures. The poem offers mutually assured survival.

In Gahagan's translation, a young poet first encountering fame becomes a defamed poet making one last effort to secure it. The translation continues the dedicatory poem's images of confinement. Blind, fickle Fortune currently reigns over the world, 'Vincula, non ullo discrimine,

[172] Wheeler, 'Easy', 20.

[173] Ibid., 22.

sceptraque donans' (37) ('And, undiscerning, scatters crowns and chains', 297). Truths and lies are blasted out of vents, inseparable and 'contending for the way', so it is 'doubtful … Which first should issue' 'Carcere ab angusto' (59) ('thro' the narrow vent', 490-2), just as Gahagan cannot be certain whether truth or lies will issue from his narrow cell. But the temple offers a chance to inflict this confinement upon Time instead: engraved on the temple, over the seats of 'The sage historians', 'the form of Time was found, / His scythe reversed', 'pennasque in terga revincti' (19) ('and both his pinions bound', 146-8). Gahagan presumably identifies with the third 'crowd' that comes to supplicate Fortune,

> The constant tenor of whose well-spent days
> No less deserved a just return of praise.
> But straight the direful trump of slander sounds… (328-32)

Gahagan translates 'constant tenor' as 'Innocuo … stabilique tenore' (41), implicitly attributing to his life the stability which the poem aspires to – yet he must fear that he is one of those condemned by slander ('foeda calumnia', ibid.) to have '[their] statues mouldered, and [their] names unknown' (350-3): 'monumenta superstent / Nulla (43).[174] Gradually, however, the translator raises a bolder note. When Fame declares that it is her 'greatest pride / To blaze those virtues which the good would hide. / Rise! Muses, rise' (368-70), Gahagan's translation, 'postscaenia pandere vitae, / Surgite *Pierides*' (45), seems to command the translator to raise himself out of his cell, by echoing his dedicatory poem ('Ille ego; *Pieridum*…'). The Lucretian phrase *postscaenia vita* (*DRN* 4.1186) looks towards the 'posthuma … Vita' (61), the 'second life' which the poet dismisses in his final speech (505). The poem confers not mere second life but the durability of a monument, which makes things 'eternal, through the length of days' (275), 'in extremi durabile tempora secli' (33). In the 1736 edition of *The Temple of Fame*, Pope changed some of the pronouns from 'we' and 'our' to 'they' and 'their', including 'our enemies' in the lines 'The great man's curse … Be envied, wretched, and be flattered, poor, / All luckless wits our enemies professed…' (509-11). It seems that Gahagan was working from the earlier edition, whereas his printer supplied the later edition as the parallel text: the resulting effect is to affiliate the translator more closely with Pope's speaker in the final lines. Gahagan ends as follows:

> Vita sit, aut obeam sine nomine, *criminis expers*,
> Quin famam donate bonam, donateve nullam. (63, emphasis mine)
>
> (May my life or death pass without a name, *free from crime*; either grant me an honest fame or grant me none.)

[174] 'No monuments survive'.

When we turn the page to find 'Paulo Majora canamus' introducing the *Messiah*, the translator finally, fully 'launch[es] into a nobler strain'. The volume as a whole offers a coherent, redemptive narrative of liberation from confinement, vanquishing death first by literary, then by spiritual means.

In Smart's later work, the *Jubilate Agno*, translation offers the same possibility of liberation and salvation: '*For I have translated in the charity, which makes things better and I shall be translated myself at the last*' (B11). I have said that we should be wary of reading Johnson's later critical views into his early Latin translation, yet I have also noted unexpected congruities between Smart's *Hudibras* and the *Jubilate Agno*. Smart's poetics of confinement in the *Jubilate Agno* shares some traits with Gahagan's. The poets' limited access to resources affects their poetics: whereas Gahagan's style becomes stark, '[t]he range of reference in *Jubilate Agno* is astonishingly wide … [given] that Smart's access to books in the asylum must have been severely limited'; unusual sources, such as Ainsworth's *Thesaurus* and obituaries, become prominent due to their relative accessibility, giving the poem its distinctive character.[175] Smart's poem is known for its animal imagery (or, more properly, advocacy), and animals, especially birds, often share in the poet's confinement:

> Let Elizur rejoice with the Partridge, who is a prisoner of state and is proud of his keepers. *For I am not without authority in my jeopardy, which I derive inevitably from the glory of the name of the Lord.* (B1)

Smart's use of this trope predates his physical confinement: in 'On an Eagle confined in a College-Court', composed between 1744 and 1746, 'the caged eagle with its "clipt ... wing" symbolizes [classicism, and] the "fall of Greece and Rome" amidst "Discipline and Dulness" and "the oppressors of the mind"':[176]

> Imperial bird, who wont to soar
> High o'er the rolling cloud
> … what barbarous hand
> … Has plac'd thee in this servile cell
> Tho' dim'd thine eye, and clipt thy wing,
> So grov'ling! once so great!
> The grief-inspired Muse shall sing
> In tend'rest lays thy fate.[177]

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[175] Williamson, in *Jubilate Agno*, xxviii-xxix.

[176] Ross King, 'Insolent Women and Crest-Fallen Men: Christopher Smart, *The Midwife*, and Literary Transvestism', *The Glasgow Review* 2, https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/aboutus/resources/stella/projects/glasgowreview/issue2-king/ (accessed 24 October 2022).

[177] Smart, *Miscellaneous Poems*, 90-1.

Is it possible, then, that Smart's translation of Pope's 'Ode for Music on St. Cecilia's Day' also shares this poetics of confinement, and anticipates Smart's astonishingly singular later work in this and other ways?

Smart's translation of Pope's ode is an exercise in the art of the echo. Pope's poem, in the tradition of odes on music, is full of sound effects which come together to form a verbal orchestra. Smart imitates and enhances these effects, playing with repetition and rhyme quite beautifully:

> *In a sadly-pleasing strain,*
> *Let the warbling lute complain:*
> *Let the loud trumpet sound*
> *Till the roofs all around*
> *The shrill echoes rebound:*
> *… Till by degrees, remote and small,*
> *The strains decay,*
> *And melt away,*
> *In a dying, dying fall.*
>
> Discat fundere *s*uaviter *s*ever<u>a*s*</u>
> Testudo numerosa *c*antilen<u>as</u>:
> *C*ava *d*assi*c*a *d*angoribus aur<u>as</u>
> *Re*pleant, *re*sonant tremebund<u>arum</u>
> Laquearia convulse dom<u>orum</u>
> … Iam liquefact<u>a</u>,
> Iam moritur<u>a</u>,
> Murmura languent,
> Murmura dulci
> Leniter attenuate casu.[178]

Smart is interested in how the English and Latin imperfectly echo each other, in harmony at some points, dissonant at others. When the poem retells the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, Eurydice's name echoes through five lines in a row in both the English and the Latin, as if bouncing between them. Smart's publication of a second edition accompanied by his own 'Ode on S. *Cecilia*'s Day' reveals that this exercise in echo also became an exercise in confinement and liberation. Smart's act of translation seems to have led him to a critique of both Dryden's and Pope's odes on music, which are 'not without their blemishes':

> There is in them both an exact unity of design, which … is an impropriety in the *Pindaric*, which should consist in the vehemence of sudden and un-look'd-for transitions … In the first stanza of *Dryden* and in the fifth of *Pope* there is an air, which is so far from being adapted to the majesty of an Ode, that it would make no

[178] Pope's poem is quoted from the text given in Smart, *Carmen*, 2-5 (emphases mine). Further references to English and Latin are taken from this edition.

considerable figure in a Ballad. And lastly, they both conclude with a turn which has something too epigrammatical in it.[179]

Looking back at the translation three years earlier, one can see Smart straining against these limitations. Smart changes the 'air' of the stanza that is too ballad-like, with terse, breathless, asyndetic Virgilian echoes:

A conquest how hard and how glorious!
Tho' fate had fast bound her,
With Styx nine times round her,
Yet music and love were victorious.

Vatemque mira insigniunt victoria!
Fata obstant – novies Styx circumfusa coercet –
Nequiquam – vincit musica, vincit amor. (12-13)[180]

(…and they distinguish the bard with wondrous victory! Though fate withstands – Styx holds her fast within his ninefold circles – nonetheless – music and love are victorious.)

Smart manages to stay 'fast bound' to Pope's lines here, while utterly transforming the tone and introducing new allusions. In fact, Smart revises his own translation of this passage, replacing one Virgilian phrase ('noviesque Palus inamabilis unda') with another ('novies Styx circumfusa coercet'),[181] seemingly to get closer to the original.[182] Smart also tries to eliminate the 'epigrammatic' nature of the final 'turn':

His numbers rais'd a shade from hell,
Her's lift the soul to heav'n.

Ille vix umbram revocavit orco;
Illa sublatas super astra mentes
Inserit caelo, superisque miscet
Carmine Divis. (16-17)

(…she sows in heaven minds which she has lifted above the stars, and her song mingles them with the divine beings above.)

Smart begins to unshackle himself from Pope in this ending: his addition of 'vix' denigrates the achievement of Orpheus relative to that of St. Cecilia, and he expands Pope's final line to two and a half to further tip the epigrammatic balance in her favour. Smart will continue to liberate

[179] Smart, *Carmen Editio Altera*, C2v-3r.

[180] Cf. *Aeneid* 4.440; *Georgics* 4.480; Eclogue 10.69.

[181] *Georgics* 4.479-80: *tardaque palus inamabilis unda / alligat et noviens Styx interfusa coercet*.

[182] Lindsay, 353.

himself from Pope in his own ode, in which he uses 'the vehemence of sudden and un-look'd-for transitions' to celebrate Cecilia more enthusiastically:

> Attend—he sings *Cecilia*—matchless Dame!
> 'Tis She—'tis She—fond to extend her fame,
> On the loud chords the notes conspire to stay,
> And sweetly dwell into a long delay,
> And dwell delighted on her name. (35)

The constraints of producing an elegant and correct translation seems to have impressed upon Smart that Pope's ode was, in fact, too 'elegant and correct' more thoroughly than a reading alone could have done.[183] It was partially the constraints of translation that convinced him that the musical ode required a wilder approach.

Williamson notes that Smart's original *Ode for Music* and his prefatory comments anticipate his later use of the figures of Orpheus and David in poems such as 'On the sudden Death of a Clergyman' and *A Song to David*.[184] I wish instead to draw attention to the lasting effect that translating into Latin seemed to have on Smart, and the ways in which the translations resurface in his great poem of confinement, the *Jubilate Agno*. The sound effects of the paired English and Latin versions of Pope's ode seem to echo through some sections of the poem:

> Let Secundus rejoice with Echeneis who is the sea-lamprey.
> *For ECHO is the soul of the voice exerting himself in hollow places.*
> Let Eutychus rejoice with Cnide – Fish and honeycomb are blessed to eat after a recovery.–
> *For ECHO cannot act but when she can parry the adversary.* (B235-6)

> *For the spiritual music is as follows.*
> *For there is the thunder-stop, which is the voice of God direct.*
> *For the rest of their stops are by their rhimes.*
> *For the trumpet rhimes are sound bound, soar more and the like*… (B582f.)

> *For languages work into one another by their bearings.*
> *For the power of some animal is predominant in every language.* (B624-5)

The notions of echo needing to '*parry the adversary*' and languages '*work[ing] into one another by bearings*'; the sense that particular English rhymes (such as the '*trumpet rhimes*' in Pope's first stanza) express '*spiritual music*'; the revelation of the profoundly different '*powers*' of different languages – all these seem to emerge from Smart's Latin translation. In fact, Smart seems to have his translation of Pope's 'Ode' in mind in one of the poem's most famous 'Let' and 'For' pairs:

> Let Jubal rejoice with Caecilia, the woman and the slow-worm praise the name of the Lord.

[183] Smart, *Carmen Editio Altera*, C3r.

[184] Williamson, in *Miscellaneous Poems*, xxviii-xxiv.

For I pray the Lord Jesus to translate my MAGNIFICAT into verse and represent it. (B43)

Hartman traces the series of identifications in these lines, from 'the first, relatively easy relation of words (Jubal and Caecilia being well-known patrons of music)', to 'progressively more allusive and distant' ideas: 'Caecilia and the worm are linked by … the Latin for the slow- or blind-worm (Caecilian, from *caecus*)'; woman and worm are connected with Mary's Magnificat

> through 1. the identification of Jesus as the seed of the woman who bruised the serpent's head (slowworm/Caecilia: serpent/Eve); 2. the idea of 'translation,' i.e. transformation, as from low to high, or from one species to another; and 3. the pun on Magnificat which turns the word into a compound (Magnifi-cat) and so establishes fully the relation between the 'Let' and 'For' verses through the paired opposition of lowly worm and magnified creature.[185]

An additional, simpler element of Smart's progression of thought from Caecilia to translation would seem to be his own memory of translating the 'Ode on S. Cecilia's Day', which perhaps resembles the act of divine representation-by-translation that Smart seeks for his own poem. I wish to suggest that Smart's Latin translations are part of his poetics of confinement because they are some of the limited resources that Smart could draw on in the asylum: the intensive labour involved in translating and representing poems means that the poems stay with him, and form part of the world that he magnifies. Smart's statement in the *Jubilate Agno* that '*the Greek and Latin are not dead languages, but taken up and accepted for the sake of him that spake them*' offers a completely original justification for the use of Latin in the modern world, and a singular way to liberate the eagle from its confinement in the 'College-Court'.

Several impulses lie behind Latin translation in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. They drop off and recur by palingenesis throughout the period. They fall into three main categories: the geographical, the temporal, and the political. The geographical impulse is to extend the reach (and, often, dominion) of English literature beyond its spatial bounds. The temporal impulse is to extend the longevity of English literature beyond its potential expiration date, into a limitless futurity; sometimes this is achieved, paradoxically, by translating English literature 'back' into the past, to make it conform with classical models that have proven to last. The political impulse is to reveal and encode political meanings in English literary texts, usually to a particular community or coterie of readers; these meanings often emerge through the particular

[185] Hartman, 448.

resources of Latinity, a language 'encoded' with politically significant fragments of ancient texts and history. Most translators are motivated by two or more of these ideas – as are the English authors who commission Latin translations or 'self-Latinize' their works.

I have explored three broad phases of Latin translation between 1580 and 1750, in which these motivations vary in prominence. In the first phase, c.1580-1635, the temporal impulse dominates: Latin translation is primarily framed as a response to rapid changes in the English language that have rendered or may soon render Chaucerian and Spenserian language unintelligible. Latin was thought to be immutable, endowing texts with fixity and permanence; however, the translators' efforts to render what was distinctive or untranslatable about English as a poetic language in fact transform and modernize Latin as a medium. Dove's translation also encodes political messages, and Kynaston introduces the geographical impulse to Latinization through the 'transmarine' outlook of his Chaucer. In the second phase, c.1635-1680, translators create English and Latin versions of the same text to explore changes to or dualities in their own, and the texts', political identities during the Civil Wars and Restoration. The temporal impulse becomes less prominent, while the geographical impulse varies in scale. Fanshawe sees himself as an exporter of both English literature and political ideals across Europe, although some of his translations emerge more specifically from bilateral diplomatic relationships; May envisages a community of sympathetic international readers for his self-translation, whereas Marvell's are more private productions. In the third phase, c.1680-1750, all three motivations are important. The geographical impulse evolves with England's changed position and status as an imperial power. While some translators still see English as relatively marginal, others renew the capacity of Latin translation to operate as an imperial venture, in a world in which Latin's practical function as an instrument of empire is limited, and English has an increasingly 'universal' reach. Closer to home, translators contend with the 'problem' of Milton's republicanism in Dryden's political moment. As I have shown in this chapter, renewed anxieties about linguistic change led to a particularly strong resurgence of the temporal impulse. In this respect, the third phase of Latin translation seems recursively to mirror and return to the concerns of the first.

The endurance of the temporal impulse behind Latin translation reveals how contingent the 'rise' of the vernacular from Chaucer to Pope continued to feel as it happened. But why did the threat of linguistic change seem especially pressing again in the early eighteenth century? The 1590s-1610s had been a period of rapid expansion for the English language, and Spenser's revival of obsolete Chaucerian words was a particular spur for anxieties about linguistic change. But the rate of expansion started to slow in the late seventeenth century, and some writers speculated that English had reached a literary and linguistic 'end of history'. The *OED*'s timeline for the rate of

new words shows a peak in 1590-99, nearly maintained in 1600-19; there is a significant lull in the 1630s, before another, lesser peak in the 1650s; after 1660, the rate of expansion continues to decline until it reaches a 200-year low in the 1730s and 40s (not to be met again until the 1990s).[186] While this is not a perfect measure, this picture roughly bears out Atterbury's speculative narrative about the English language and accords with critical accounts of the Augustans' 'prevailing taste for neo-classical decorum in language'.[187] Yet Pope still thinks that 'such as Chaucer is, shall Dryden be.' One reason may be that anxieties about the ephemerality of contemporary verse's intense topicality – the *Dunciad* phenomenon – were displaced onto debates about linguistic change and instability. Another is that the modernizing engagements with Chaucer by the likes of Dryden and Pope, while not revivalist like Spenser's, brought the issue to the fore again. Contemporary writers (such as Swift) also drew a link 'between linguistic and national stability' which 'intensified in the turbulent decades of the mid-seventeenth century'.[188] The normative linguistic impulses of the early eighteenth century both renewed the temporal impulse behind Latin translation and created the conditions for its futility, ensuring that English, not Latin, would prove more lasting than bronze.

Three publications of the 1740s and 50s invite the alternative conclusion that Milton's poetics might have been the *ne plus ultra* point for Latin translation. In an untimely gamble, Joseph Trapp published his two-volume Latin *Paradise Lost* at his own expense in 1741 and 1744, and lost heavily on it; Lauder used Hog's translation to frame Milton of plagiarism in 1747; Dobson's translation of *Paradise Lost*, for which he was paid £1000, was published in 1750-53, yet Dobson died in penury. These events offer a compelling narrative: Milton's intensely Latinate style made Latin translation seem counterfeit, plagiaristic, Satanic, above all redundant; Latinization was at odds with the broader, Addisonian process of 'domesticating' Milton. Yet the translations of Dryden and Pope tell a different story, showing that there was a lively future for Latin translation after Milton, although the Miltonic narrative may have had a delayed onset around 1750. Latin translation did not end in 1750, however: as mentioned above, Giovanni Costa translated the *Essay on Man* in 1775; Ludwig Bertrand Neumann translated an abridged *Paradise Lost* in Vienna in 1768, and R.C. Brownell Latinized James Thomson's *The Seasons* in 1795. As Florian Schaffenrath notes, 'This period saw the composition of a significant number of Latin translations of vernacular epic poems [across Europe],' which must be seen in the context of

[186] https://www-oed-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/timelines (accessed 31 January 2023).

[187] Munro, *Archaic Style,* 240.

[188] Ibid.

> the 'battle of the languages' (*contentio de primatu linguarum*), a war in which Latin's last victories were won in the 18th century. … Before the breakdown of the production of Neo-Latin literature and its retreat into small niches in the 19th century, Latin poets of the late 18th century tried to appropriate vernacular epics to themselves via translation[.][189]

This picture of a late-eighteenth-century swansong for Latin translation across Europe is not wholly reflected in the English context – that swansong came in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. The sheer numbers of translations of works by Milton and Pope was not to be mirrored for any author publishing after 1750, with the exception of a single poem by Thomas Gray, *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* (1751) – a natural choice, given its classicizing form (Horatian-style quatrains) and content (including prominent imitations of Latin poets).[190] The role of Latin translation in literary careers changed in late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century Britain: those who pinned their hopes on Latin translation met with very little commercial success, with surprisingly tragic results, and Latin translation became more firmly a youthful exercise for those who later succeeded in vernacular writing (Johnson, Smart) or other walks of life (Atterbury).

An unexpected lineage may be traced from eighteenth-century Latin translators to English proto-Romantic poetry. I have already argued for the influence of Latin translation on Smart's 'proto-Romantic' works, particularly the *Jubilate Agno*. Another figure worthy of mention in this regard is Vincent Bourne (1694-1747), a Westminster schoolmaster, who published his *Poematia* in 1734 (it went through many subsequent, expanded editions).[191] This volume begins with Latin translations of seven popular English ballads, songs and odes,[192] in which Bourne displays his skill

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[189] Schaffenrath (n.12), 163.

[190] Thirteen versions appeared between 1762 and 1805, including one by Giovanni Costa: see https://www.thomasgray.org/texts/poems/elegy/ (accessed 3 October 2022), and Donald Gibson, Peter Williamson, and Stephen Freeth, eds., *Thomas Gray: Elegy in a Country Churchyard; Latin Translations 1762-2001* (Orpington, 2008).

[191] On Bourne, see Estelle Haan, *Classical Romantic: Identity in the Latin Poetry of Vincent Bourne* (Philadelphia, 2007). Haan does not discuss Bourne's translations of English poems.

[192] Of Nicholas Rowe's 'Colin's Complaint', the ballad 'William and Margaret', Walter Pope's 'The Wish', John Gay's 'Sweet William's Farewell to Black-Eyed Susan', the Scottish song 'What beauties does Flora disclose', and Matthew Prior's 'Love Disarmed' and 'Chloe Hunting'. Vincent Bourne, *Poematia* (London, 1734), 2-69.

in rendering popular and regional poetry in Latin. This sparked some copy-cat collections,[193] and, in fact, Smart's first Latin translation (one of his earliest poems) is a Latin version of the Welsh song 'Fanny, Blooming Fair' 'in the manner of Mr. Bourne'.[194] Translating these simple English songs seems to have influenced the style of Bourne's original Latin verse, which had a significant impact on William Cowper (one of Bourne's pupils) and Charles Lamb, both of whom translated Bourne. Bourne's original Latin poetry depicts human and animal subjects from contemporary life, such as fishwives, ballad singers, nightwatchmen, snails, sparrows and jackdaws; the animal poems, selected particularly for translation by Cowper,[195] share Smart's universal tenderness towards non-human life. Leicester Bradner argues that Bourne's work 'shows the final and complete emancipation of the eighteenth-century Latin poet from the theory of imitating the classics which had dominated the Renaissance.'[196] Bourne's and Smart's Latin translations bear out one of the central claims of this dissertation: that the relationship between Latin and English was not unidirectionally absorptive, but profoundly reciprocal. Although eighteenth-century pedagogical practice focused on the production of original rather than translated Latin verses, so Bourne probably did not use his translations as examples, his dual role as Latin translator and schoolmaster anticipates the future of the practice, which would be confined largely to the nineteenth-century classroom.

Outside Britain, one Romantic poet whose works were Latinized in the nineteenth century was Goethe. His reaction to a Latin translation of his epic poem *Hermann und Dorothea* (composed in German hexameters) exemplifies a fourth impulse behind Latin translation, which is more constant than the geographical, the temporal or the political:

> I felt quite strange … I saw [the poem] like in a mirror which as we know has its own magic power. Here I recognized my mind and my muse in a much more learned language, both identical and different … I don't want to think about that any longer, for such a comparison would take me too deeply into the text.

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[193] For example, Gilbert Wakefield's *Poemata Latine Partim Scripta, Partim Reddita* (Cambridge, 1776) translates Francis Fawkes's 'Ode on Winter', William Shenstone's 'Winter', Josiah Relph's 'Celia Singing', Prior's 'A Song' and 'To Chloe Weeping', and Gray's 'Elegy'.

[194] Smart, *Miscellaneous Poems*, 4-6.

[195] See Appendix 4 in *The Life, and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper*, ed. William Hayley, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 2014), 345-80.

[196] Bradner, *Musae* (n.108), 272.

> I love [the poem], especially in its Latin translation … it seems nobler to me, as if it had, by its form, come home to its origin.[197]

Latin translators are motivated by a desire to turn English poetry into a language that is uniquely identical and different to it, in an act of translation that feels like a homecoming and takes the translator and the reader very deeply into the text. Yet English texts never fully converge with their origins in Latin translation, and the resistance of the English text against Latinity is often where the translations' 'strange' power lies.

[197] Glei (n.66), 4.

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