

"AM'ROUS CAUSES": A STUDY OF THE LOVE-MELANCHOLY

TRADITION AND ITS ROLE IN

THE EARLY WORKS (1700-1714) OF ALEXANDER POPE

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ALEXANDER POPE AND LOVE-MELANCHOLY

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TITLE: "Am'rous Causes": A Study of the Love-Melancholy
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ABSTRACT

A study in the history of one idea, this thesis traces the development of the medical and literary concept of love-melancholy and its role in the early works of Alexander Pope. Although my ultimate purpose is to shed new light on The Rape of the Lock, a direct application of the idea of love-melancholy to a reading of the poem cannot be attempted before determining the historical milieu of the malady itself. This background must be defined in order to place in their proper context Restoration and early Augustan treatments of the disease. By so doing the necessary critical perspective will have been established. It is within this perspective that the significance of Pope's achievement may be more fully understood.

The study begins with an extended introduction dealing with the historical concept of love-melancholy. Attention is given to Classical, Medieval, Renaissance, and early Restoration treatments. Although I focus primarily on the medical writers (Galen, Avicenna, Bernardus, Burton, and Harvey), I develop my argument through allusions to contemporary literary adaptations (Ovid, de Lorris, Chaucer, and Donne). As this chapter makes clear, melancholic love is not to be confused with the sweet sadness brought on by unrequited love; it was regarded, rather, as a real and dangerous disease affecting the victim's body, mind, and

soul. The concept was easily adapted by artists for purposes of satiric characterization and soon became a familiar tradition complete with an elaborate system of causes, symptoms, prognoses, and cures.

By the early eighteenth century love-melancholy had been long regarded as an emblem of human frailty, folly, and delusion. Its sexual basis, moreover, lent itself to satirical and scatological treatments. Chapter II argues that while many of the more graphic pieces of the period may appear the product of the vulgar imagination, such works reflect a calculated and deliberate working within the love-melancholy tradition. Emphasis is placed on selected numbers of the Tatler and Spectator, poems by Gay and Swift, and certain episodes from the Memoirs . . . of Martinus Scriblerus.

Chapter III is an analysis of Pope's knowledge, understanding, and use of this tradition in the early imitations, juvenalia, and translations. I then turn to the Pastorals themselves, Pope's first "independent" adaptation of the love-melancholy concept. In Chapter IV I deal exclusively with The Rape of the Lock. Aspects of the disorder are here shown to form an integral aspect of Pope's overall satiric design.

Although the love-melancholy tradition varies drastically at points (compare, for example, Swift's "Strephon and Chloe" with Gay's The Fan), in each case it provides a

storehouse of images, paradigms, metaphors, even plots, all perfectly adaptable to the purposes of Augustan moral satire. By re-viewing certain eighteenth century works in light of traditional writings on this disease I believe we may better understand some of the techniques and meanings that have hitherto been misconstrued. And by so doing, we may better note the inner workings of a vital and fascinating tradition.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
A NOTE ON REFERENCES AND TRANSLATIONS	ix
I LOVE-MELANCHOLY: THE HISTORICAL TRADITION	1
II THE AUGUSTANS AND LOVE-MELANCHOLY	64
III POPE AND LOVE-MELANCHOLY: <u>JUVENALIA AND PASTORALS</u>	116
IV BELINDA, THE BARON, AND THE <u>BEAU MONDE</u> : LOVE-MELANCHOLY IN <u>THE RAPE OF THE LOCK</u>	175
V CONCLUSION: <u>ELOISA</u> AND AFTER	224
BIBLIOGRAPHY	235

A NOTE ON REFERENCES AND TRANSLATIONS

Quotations from Pope's poetry are taken from the standard Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. John Butt. These are indicated in the text by line references in parentheses following quoted material. Full bibliographical information is provided below in the appropriate section.

Quotations from Robert Burton are taken from the Everyman edition of The Anatomy of Melancholy, intro. Holbrook Jackson. These are indicated in the text by abbreviated title (AM), partition, section, member, and where applicable, subsection references in parentheses following quoted material.

For translations of classical sources I have generally relied on The Loeb Classical Library Series. Exceptions are noted in the apparatus. Where reliable translations have been unavailable I have provided my own; in this latter case I include the original source along with the English version.

LOVE-MELANCHOLY: THE HISTORICAL TRADITION

Love, according to Ambrose Bierce, is anything but sweet. In The Devil's Dictionary (1911) he comments:

Love, n. A temporary insanity curable by marriage or by removal of the patient from the influences under which he incurred the disorder. This disease, like caries and many other ailments, is prevalent only among civilized races living under artificial conditions; barbarous nations breathing pure air and eating simple food enjoy immunity to its ravages. It is sometimes fatal, but more frequently to the physician than to the patient.¹

However apropos of Biercean wit, the concept of a love-disease hardly originates in the early twentieth century. From the fables of Aesop, through Burton's mammoth Anatomy of Melancholy, to the fitful songs of our own time, love-melancholy has been used to depict an essential human frailty. A particularly graphic illustration of man's niggling slavery to his own sexuality, the image of the melancholic lover has spawned hordes of moral (and not so moral) satires. My intention in this study is to offer a detailed examination of the love-melancholy tradition and its role in the early works of Alexander Pope.

Certain scholars, indeed, have recognized Pope's debt to the vast, chaotic concept of melancholy, or, as George

Cheyne defines it, "The English Malady".² Lawrence Babb and, more recently, John F. Sena have provided sound and interesting treatments of the relevant medical and literary backgrounds.³ To date, however, no one has yet attempted a systematic historical analysis of the love-melancholy tradition and its function in works like the early imitations, the translations, Pastorals; or The Rape of the Lock.⁴ By studying the historical development of the medical tradition, as well as its place in works of imaginative literature, I hope to clarify the extent to which Pope's early writings, especially The Rape of the Lock, depend on this complex and readily adaptable, intellectual tradition.

* * *

To Samuel Johnson, the concept of love-sickness suggested at once psychological disorder and physical lassitude. He writes in his Dictionary:

Lovesick. [adj. love and sick] Disordered with love; languishing with amorous desire.⁵

Albeit brief, Johnson's definition pinpoints the essential qualities long associated with the love-melancholy disease. Known variously as love or erotic-melancholy, love-sickness, heroical or Knight's melancholy, the affliction was viewed by physicians and theorists from Plato onwards as a real medical disorder. Generally regarded as a violent and fractious passion, love-melancholy was thought to be caused principally by the lover's unrestrained contemplation of

the beloved's beauty. A tyrannical obsession, it soon proved detrimental to the body, the mind, and ultimately, the soul itself.

Physically, this passion disrupted the stability of the bodily humours, resulting in an unhealthy pallor, loss of weight, fevers, and an assortment of serious illnesses. Psychologically, it overthrew right reason and corrupted the understanding, the imagination, and all capacities for rational thought. The lover frequently suffered from depression, anxiety, delusions, and melancholy. Since an idolatrous fixation on the mistress supplanted devotion to God, these conditions were assumed to expose the lover to the ultimate dangers of eternal damnation. Cures ran the gamut from altered diet, to exercise, to the exposure and vilification of the mistress, to copulation itself. Prognostics for the disease were singularly gruesome: if untreated, the love-melancholic suffered either insanity or uncontrollable desires for death.

By definition, then, love-melancholy was tantamount to madness, physical upset, and spiritual decay. A vivid reminder of human depravity, the disease was not only a matter of concern for physician or divine, but was a readily adaptable source for the moralist's castigation of human folly, impiety, and frailty. Richard Steele, for example, uses the tradition in his presentation of Will Honeycomb and his infamous encounter with a modern-day Pict -- a woman

who paints her face, who wears "borrowed Complexions".⁶ Captivated by the lady's cosmetic charm, Will is, in short order, enslaved, exploited, and spurned. Desperate to regain the coquette's affections, he bribes a waiting-maid and is concealed within the lady's dressing-room; here, like Swift's Strephon, Will discovers the true cause of his amorous infatuation:

[Will] stood very conveniently to observe, without being seen. The Pict begins the Face she designed to wear ~~that~~ Day, and I [Mr Spectator] have heard him protest she had worked a full half Hour before he knew her to be the same Woman. As soon as he saw the Dawn of that Complexion, for which he had so long languished, he thought fit to break from his Concealment . . . The Pict stood before him in the utmost Confusion, with the prettiest Smirk imaginable on the finish'd side of her Face, pale as Ashes on the other. HONEYCOMB seized all her Gally-Pots and Washes, and carried off his Handkerchief full of Brushes, Scraps of Spanish Wool, and Phials of Unguents. The Lady went into the Country, the Lover was cured. (Spectator 41, I, 175-76)

Admittedly, Steele's parody of contemporary foibles relies heavily on certain topoi characteristic of much Restoration and early Augustan satire. The naive lover, the predatory coquette, fraudulent cosmetics, the surprise discovery -- all are conventional techniques which allow the author to celebrate a code of human behaviour based on honesty, good humour, natural beauty, and basic common sense. Of particular interest to our discussion, however, is his satiric portrayal of erotic love as a type of curable disease.

The situation itself is indebted to classical

precedents; both Lucretius and Ovid advocate the sudden exposure of the lady's toilet as a remedy for love-sickness. In the case of Will Honeycomb, the lady's cosmetic beauty affects him to such an extent that he is deluded with respect to her varied and many faults (i.e. ill-nature, vanity, falsehood, and inconstancy). In short, her "beauteous Form" distorts the lover's perception; he suffers a mental aberration, a corruption of his capacities for rational judgement. For Steele, then, the tradition of love-melancholy provides a store of images, patterns, and examples -- all perfectly adaptable to the purpose of moral satire. As a victim of the disease, Will Honeycomb illustrates graphically the human propensity to folly, the common tendency to squelch reason in favour of emotional desires.

As a basis for moral satire, love-melancholy plays a prominent role in the Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus (written 1714-27). A joint project of the Scriblerus Club -- Swift, Gay, Pope, Arbuthnot, Parnell, and Harley -- the Memoirs focus on the quixotic beliefs and adventures of their fictional author, Martinus, an obtuse and pedantic scholar. In the episode under consideration, usually attributed to Pope, Martinus encounters a young nobleman suffering a unique brand of love-sickness: the object of his passion is none other than himself; "one", Martinus explains, "of the most common cases in the world".⁷

The victimized lover exhibits all the standard symptoms (qualified, in this case, by the identity of the beloved); he continually talks of himself, praises himself, and writes billet-doux to himself; he constantly dreams, ogles, smiles, kisses, and embraces himself; he even gives expensive gifts to himself. He grows affected, whimsical, and retiring; and, by Martinus' arrival, the lover is "enchanted, bewitch'd, and almost past cure" (Memoirs, p.136). Martinus diagnoses immediately the cause and nature of the ailment and, in a virtual paraphrase of Ovid and Burton, prescribes traditional cures:

Let him surprize the Beauty he adores at a disadvantage; survey himself naked, divested of artificial charms, and he will find himself a forked stradling Animal, with bandy legs, a short neck, a dun hide, and a pot-belly. It would be yet better if he took a strong purge once a week, in order to contemplate himself in that condition; at which time it will be convenient to make use of the Letters, Dedications, &c. abovesaid. (Memoirs, p. 136)

In addition, Martinus recommends for the lover, travel, the avoidance and vilification of himself, the counsel of concerned friends, and ultimately marriage itself: "Let him marry himself, and when he is condemn'd eternally to himself, perhaps he may run to the next pond to get rid of himself, the Fate of most violent Self-lovers" (Memoirs, p. 136).

A brilliant adaptation of the medical tradition, the Memoirs episode ironically punctures the egotistic follies

of the court fop, as well as the learned sagacity of Martinus Scriblerus. More importantly, though, Pope's satire castigates the irrational basis of human pride. For to Pope, a deluded melancholic self-love indicates not only an individual case, but a universal condition of mankind. The recommended cures work, as they do in Ovid and Burton, to undermine the precarious foundation of human vanitas, to uncover the pathetic reality underlying man's illusory belief in his own importance.

To writers like Steele and Pope, then, the historical tradition of love-melancholy provided limitless resources for imaginative satire. Associated as it was with insanity, disorder, and confusion, the tradition furnished imagery, metaphors, even plots -- all easily adaptable to literary purposes. The concept of disease complemented the age old figure of the satirist-physician, a figure popular throughout the Restoration and Augustan periods.⁹ Finally, in its role as a physical, psychological, and spiritual affliction, the tradition of love-melancholy supplied moralists with a sound basis for an intellectual anatomization of the individual, the society, and the species of man himself.

In the remainder of this chapter I will examine the historical development of this interdisciplinary tradition of love-melancholy. Attention will be given to 1) the classical precedents established in medical, literary, and historical writings; 2) the medieval adaptations of the

tradition; and 3) Robert Burton's synthesis of medicine, psychology, philosophy, and literature in his Anatomy of Melancholy (first published 1621). This historical background must be defined in order to place in their proper context Restoration and early eighteenth century treatments of love-melancholy. By so doing the necessary critical perspective will have been established, a perspective within which the significance of Pope's achievement may be more fully considered.

1. The Lion in Love:
Classical Precedents of Love-Melancholy

By the time of Galen's death in 199 A.D., intemperate sexual desire had been long regarded by physicians and artists alike as a serious malady afflicting mind, body, and soul. Hippocrates (born c. 460 B.C.), in his Aphorisms, acknowledges the severity of melancholic disorders and refers to satyriasis as a real and recognizable disease.¹⁰ As a metaphor of human weakness and imprudence, the idea of love-melancholy proved a versatile aid to literary representations of human misbehaviour. Horace, for example, uses the notion of erotic love to epitomize the universal folly of man.¹¹ Not limited to satiric writings, however, the concept appears in virtually every genre of classical literary art. Similarly, the classical love-melancholic was a malleable figure; it recurs frequently in comic, satiric, and tragic writings, in works as diverse as

Euripides' Hippolytus (412 B.C.), the Idylls of Theocritus (fl. 270 B.C.), the verses of Catullus (c. 84-54 B.C.), Virgil (70-19 B.C.), Horace (65-8 B.C.), Ovid (43 B.C. - A.D. 18), and Apuleius (c. 120-180 A.D.), as well as in certain apocryphal texts of the Bible (witness Holofernes' condition in the book of Judith [written c. 100 B.C. - A.D. 70].)¹²

While it is beyond my purpose to treat in detail love-sickness throughout the corpus of classical literature, it is appropriate to consider momentarily two classical portrayals of the love-melancholic: Theocritus' Simaetha (Idyll II) and Virgil's Dido (Aeneid, IV). Underlying each work is the assumption that excessive love constitutes a medical distemper: a "malady" (Theocritus), a form of "madness" (Virgil).¹³ In both works the passio of love is grounded in the sight and contemplation of the beloved. Both authors conform to the conventional "process" of love: initial desire precedes dire psychological and physical effects which, in turn, develop into insanity or violent behaviour.¹⁴ In each case the lover undergoes a distortion of reason and sound judgement; she seeks an unattainable illusion, suffers first from anxiety or depression, then eventually from outright melancholy.

Theocritus' Simaetha, an early precursor of Gay's Hobnelia (The Shepherd's Week), first sees, then contemplates the physical beauty of Delphis, an athlete. Her heart is

smitten; she loses colour, contracts a parching fever, and is bed-ridden for ten days and nights. Her only remedy is sexual intercourse with the beloved. Following her cure and subsequent betrayal by Delphis, she is left casting spells and bitterly plotting ^{the} murder of her faithless lover. In a similar manner, Virgil's Dido is kindled to madness, first by the sense of sight (I. 657-663); contemplation of Aeneas leads to restlessness, dreams, frenzies, stammering, obsessive behaviour, and neglect of everyday business. Ultimately, she is outworn with anguish and, at Aeneas' departure, she resolves to die. Of utmost importance in both presentations is the sharp dissimilarity in authorial tone.

Although both works depend on identical archetypes of love-melancholy (sight-contemplation-desire-melancholy), each adapts to its own literary purpose love's causes, symptoms, and prognosis. Theocritus uses the concept as a means of comic characterization. Simaetha is essentially a female Touchstone: as her soliloquy clearly (but unwittingly) reveals, her "malady" is little more than an uncomfortable assertion of biological need. In this sense, "love-melancholy" is but an ironic euphemism for Simaetha's desires for a sexual partner. In contrast, Dido's affliction is a divinely imposed eros: it invests her with a genuine tragic pathos. Like Euripides' Phaedra, Virgil's Queen is a victim of the gods; love-melancholy is used to provide a

profound psychological portrayal of human passion and despair. It amplifies the very contours of the human mind. In both cases, then, the love-melancholic suffers the pangs of a deluded judgement. However, the two characters are entirely different: one comically emphasizes the tyranny of physical impulse; the other tragically presents individual victimization by an uncontrollable passion.

Such an amalgamation of medical lore, literary adaptation, and moral commentary characterizes the earliest extended consideration of "the madness inspired by love".¹⁵ The Platonic dialogues, however diffuse and, at times, inconsistent, contain the primal attempt to determine the causes, symptoms, and nature of the erotic disease. Although hardly a medical tractus, Plato's theories on desire, sight, and beauty constitute the principal codification of this archetype or pattern of love, a pattern which was to become standard in medical and literary writings for the next two thousand years. It is proper, then, at this point, to note the basic tenets of this love archetype.

Desire, Socrates explains in the Phaedrus, results in every instance from the sight or perception of earthly beauty. The stream of beauty, originating in the beloved object, enters the lover's eyes, fosters the wings of his soul, and effects either philosophical love (i.e. a pure intellectual desire for good), or wanton love (i.e. a crude desire "to go after the fashion of a four-footed

beast, and to beget offspring of the flesh" [Phaedrus, 250e].)¹⁶ The pattern or archetype continues with the lover's contemplation of the beloved's beauty, in his description of the virtuous lover Socrates comments:

When one . . . beholds a godlike face or bodily form that truly expresses beauty, first there come upon him a shuddering and a measure of awe which the vision inspired, and then reverence as at the sight of a god, and but for fear of being deemed a very madman he would offer sacrifice to his beloved, as to a holy image of deity. (Phaedrus, 251a)

Following this response (reminiscent of Pope's *Belinda*), the lover suffers such physiological symptoms as fevers, irritation, and sleeplessness; he experiences psychological reactions like perplexity, frenzy, and madness. He loses all interest in worldly possessions, rules of conduct, and the graces of life. Ultimately, his only consolation rests in the company of his own beloved; for as Socrates points out, the beloved is "the only physician" able to alleviate this "grievous suffering" (Phaedrus, 252b).

A milestone in the Platonic canon, Socrates' discussion in the Phaedrus is important for a number of reasons. First, in its description of desire and beauty the dialogue articulates the basic archetype of the progress and process of love. As will be seen subsequently, it is precisely this pattern of perceived beauty followed respectively by desire and contemplation which underlies medical and literary writings from Lucretius to Robert Burton. Second,

Plato's use of religious imagery accentuates both the idolatrous nature of the lover's passion as well as the "mystical" nature of a spiritual eros. His further addition of medical terminology reinforces the point that this type of love (as opposed to physical desire) cures rather than causes spiritual pain or sickness.¹⁷

Of particular interest in the Phaedrus is Plato's use of love as a vehicle for both moral and literary satire. As reported by Phaedrus, Lysias' speech (231a-234c) undoubtedly illustrates the Platonic device of fallacious argument.¹⁸ Here, the fallacy is based on a false concept of love; Lysias ignores the distinction between the blessed madness of philosophical eros and the bestial insanity of simple carnality. Rather, he substitutes for a "definition" of love his own feeble alternative of lust. Socrates' later palinode, beginning at 243e, contrasts sharply with Lysias' rhetorical extravaganza (as well as with Socrates' own first speech.) In this sense, the retraction constitutes a satiric comment not only on Lysias' rhetorical techniques, but on their basic premise itself (i.e. that a non-lover is the best lover). Medical images throughout the dialogue reinforce the overall attitude to love as a passion -- either sacred or profane -- at odds with rational judgement. For despite its potential for divine revelation, love, to Plato, is essentially a form of insanity. As Socrates remarks to Phaedrus, "he that loves beauty is touched by such

madness he is called a lover . . . men charge it upon him that he is demented" (Phaedrus, 249e).¹⁹

Plato's concern with love-madness and its potential for physical and mental distress was shared by Lucretius and Ovid, the two most influential classical writers on love-melancholy. Throughout the De Rerum Natura of Lucretius and the amatory tracts of Ovid, love is described as a wound, a sore, a madness, a disease, a malady, something to be healed -- the list is extensive.²⁰ Both authors distinguish the healthy lover from the love-sick "patient". Whereas the former delights in the joys of Venus with a modicum of agitation, the latter is doomed to a life of continual frustration. For Lucretius explains, the desires of the love-melancholic are insatiable. The sick lover, because of an excessive contemplation of the beloved's beauty, develops a maniacal desire to possess, "to cast the fluid from body to body" (De Rerum Natura IV, 1084-1090). Once infected, the sick lover is condemned to eternal frenzy, to a state of eternal desiring.

Lucretius' portrayal of love corresponds directly to the Platonic archetype outlined above. Following the initial perception of earthly beauty, the lover first desires then contemplates on "images" of the beloved (De Rerum Natura IV, 1061). Most noteworthy in Lucretius' (and Ovid's) portrayal of love is their emphasis on the lover's deluded belief in the mistress' supposed perfections. A principal cause of love, physical beauty is regarded as the primary

cause of this psychological derangement. Under the influence of his mistress' appearance, the lover subjects rational judgement to the passionate demands of physical desire. As a result, he develops a distorted vision of what actually is; like Will Honeycomb and Swift's Strephon, he ascribes to his mistress qualities which, in reality, she does not possess.²¹ Such continual reflection leads to a "concentrated passion" which, in turn, increases the lover's anxiety. A "sore [that] becomes inveterate by feeding", the love-malady causes bodily weakness, pallor, insomnia, oppressive dreams, and torments of conscience; it results inevitably in melancholy, depression, and fearfulness (De Rerum Natura IV, 1068ff).²² Left untreated, the disease develops into a severe madness.

Written to "crush . . . the baneful seeds of sudden disease" (RA, 81), Ovid's Remedia Amoris constitutes the earliest attempt to analyze systematically the many and varied cures for this type of maddening love. It firmly established an identifiable paradigm -- a genre of sorts -- which would exert considerable influence on medical and literary works well into the early eighteenth century. The final volume in Ovid's elaborate investigation of love (it culminates the series which includes the Amores, Heroides, De Medicamine Faciei Liber, and Artis Amatoriae), the Remedia is Ovid's contribution to the prevention of suicides and the alleviation of "slighted youths" (RA, 41).

As moral physician, the poet rails against such incitements as idleness, ease, and luxury.²³ In the process he prescribes either complete removal of the lover from the scene of his temptations or, if the lover must remain where he is, Ovid recommends deliberate pre-occupation within his familiar environment. Minor cures of the first sort include travel, soldiering, husbandry, law, hunting, fishing, or snaring; one should eschew all lovers (including one's own mistress, her family, servants, and friends), destroy all letters, pictures, and souvenirs of the beloved; above all, one should pursue new friends, new diversions, and new mistresses. Regardless of where the lover is situated, he must refrain from leisure, excessive sleep, gambling, and drunkenness; avoid solitariness, theatres, music, dance, and erotic poetry; in some instances the lover should either entertain two or more mistresses, or sicken himself with the charms of only one. For, to both Lucretius and Ovid, the evacuation of semen lessens the intensity of the affliction and, in this way, the lover may escape the dangers of serious infatuation. In either case, the basic intention is to discourage an obsessive fixation on a single beloved (De Rerum Natura IV, 1068-72; RA, 135 passim).

To this end, Ovid's principal cure involves the deliberate, calculated exposure of the beloved's many deformities (both real and imagined). Based on the assumption

that love is strengthened by sight and contemplation of beauty, Ovid's remedy, like that of Lucretius, is to emphasize the mistress' essential biological ugliness. Since sight is the efficient cause of the lover's delusions, it is precisely this sense which Ovid most ferociously attacks. The sick lover is advised to "anatomize" his beloved from head to toe; he should dwell on her faults, blemishes, and ungainly habits; he should vilify her continually and should study carefully her "obscene parts" directly following either copulation or excretion. Such physical derogation complements what should be an unceasing itemization of intellectual foibles and moral imperfections. ²⁴

Since cosmetic preparations might easily deceive an ardent admirer, Ovid strongly advises the exposure of those physical defects underlying the mistress' superficial veneer. The patient must surprise his lady "of a sudden, when she has not prepared herself for anyone." Ovid continues:

Arrive unexpectedly: safe yourself, you
will catch her unarmed: she will fall,
hapless woman, by her own defects . . .
Then too, when she is painting her cheeks
with concoctions of dyes, go (let not
shame hinder you) and see your mistress'
face. Boxes you will find, and a
thousand colours, and juices that melt
and drip into her warm bosom. (RA 343-54)²⁵

This ultimate panacea, recommended by both Lucretius and Ovid (and used to good effect by Will Honeycomb and Swift's Strephon), is a landmark in the historical development of

the love-melancholy tradition. Most important, it epitomizes classical beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions concerning love-sickness. Ovid's "exposure cure" establishes a definite topos which, it will be shown, recurs throughout Medieval and Renaissance treatments of the disease. The poet emphasizes that the lover's major problem rests in the corruption of his rational faculties. To be cured, he must be shocked into a recognition of his beloved's faults and then into a realization of his own irrational folly. Second, Ovid's presentation of cosmetics accentuates both the importance and role which artificial allurements have within the medical and literary traditions. Finally, Ovid's depiction of synthetic beauty as armour or a "love-weapon" integrates into the concept of love-melancholy the conventional view of love as a form of sexual warfare -- a motif underlying myriad representations of human love.

* * *

The classical treatments of love-melancholy created necessary paradigms for succeeding generations of medical and literary writers. Lucretius and Ovid, in particular, continued to exert considerable influence on diagnostic methods; in addition, their portrayals of a sexual obsession furnished ample resources for sententiae on human folly. Both Plutarch and Appian, for example, in the Lives and the Roman History, use the story of Stratonice and the

lovesick Antiochus to illustrate the virtues of wisdom and selfless benevolence. In both works love-melancholy is described as a "malady" (Roman History), a disease caused by "inordinate desires" (Lives).²⁶ Antiochus, in the presence of his step-mother, Stratonice, suffers the pangs of love; he subjugates reason to emotional desires and, in his guilt, betrays conventional symptoms of love-melancholy: "stammering speech, fiery flushes, darkened vision, sudden sweats, irregular palpitations of the heart, and finally, as his soul [is] taken by storm, helplessness, stupor, and pallor."²⁷ Only by careful observation of his patient's wildly erratic pulse is Erasistratus, the attending physician, able to diagnose both the disease and its cause; his wisdom results in Antiochus cured of his affliction, Stratonice wedded to her lover, and Seleucus (Antiochus' father), a relieved and benevolent ruler.

One final illustration of the classical view of love-melancholy is found in the extant writings of the physician Claudius Galenus (c. 129-199 A.D.). Writing in his De praenotione ad Posthumum, he acknowledges the perspicuity of Erasistratus in the latter's diagnosis of love, a passion Galen considers to be a real and serious disease. Like Lucretius and Ovid, he recognizes that "corpus propter animi affectus pati consuevit [the body tends to suffer on account of a disposition of the mind]."²⁸ Following the lead of Erasistratus, he cites the case of a woman afflicted with

love. Sleepless, restless, and afebrile, she reacts strongly only to the mention of her beloved's name; at this point "mutatus enim ipsius visus est et faciei color: quod ego contemplatus manu mulieris brachiali injecta pulsum deprehendi inaequalem, subito ac multis modis agitatum, qui animam turbatam esse indicat [her look and the colour of her face were changed: and having given attention with my hand to the woman's arm which had been taken up, I [Galen] discovered that her pulse was uneven, and agitated in many ways, which indicates that her mind was disturbed]." ²⁹ Through continued observation Galen diagnoses her ailment as love -- a conclusion verified in the following days.

A medical triumph, Galen's experience confirmed a recognizable method of diagnosis for Medieval physicians and theorists. His realization that love-sickness is a psycho-physiological affliction, his use of experimental stimulation, and his dependence on clinical observation, all laid ground for men like Avicenna, Arnaldus of Villanova, and Bernardus of Gordon. ³⁰ To conclude, it must be noted that although Galen's brief episode corroborates the classical vision of love-melancholy as an unruly and destructive passion, his portrayal of impaired judgement and bodily languour recalls an earlier fable of the sickness inspired by love. As Aesop remarks:

A lion fell in love with a farmer's daughter and wooed her. The farmer could not bear to give his girl in marriage to a wild beast; yet he

dared not refuse. So he evaded the difficulty by telling the importunate suitor that, while he quite approved of him as a husband for his daughter, he could not give her to him unless he would pull out his teeth and cut off his claws, because the girl was afraid of them. The lion was so much in love that he readily submitted to these sacrifices. But when he presented himself again, the farmer treated him with contempt and cudgelled him off the premises.³¹

2. A Humour Malencolik: Medieval Hereos

Throughout the Middle Ages love-melancholy was no less a recurrent subject in both medical and literary writings. Known chiefly as hereos or heroic-love (because, as Arnaldus of Villanova explains, it "dominates . . . by subjecting the mind and commanding the heart of mankind"), the affliction was widely considered to be a severe psychophysiological malady.³² As in the classical prototypes, the disease, based on desire rather than virtue, was used by artists primarily to indicate either outright folly or blasphemous corruption of moral and spiritual values. The influence of Ovid in particular is evident in the perseverance of the "love-archetype" outlined above: the passio of love results first from sight and then irrational contemplation of the beloved. As the God of Love himself points out: "Sight is the grease that swells the amorous flame".³³

The foolish lover of Guillaume de Lorris illustrates precisely the medieval concept of irrational hereos. Cupid's

arrow of "Beauty" enters his eye, injures his heart, and sets into motion the passions and desires which result ultimately in his condition of love-melancholy (VIII, 6ff.) Destined to suffer pangs of loneliness, fevers, insomnia, and trances, Amant faces a career of heroic discomfort. He must endure "tremblings, agitations, shivers, chills" (X.119); he will be pallid and lean, and will be plagued continually by the "shape and semblance" of the Rose (X. 124).

D. W. Robertson and, more recently, John Fleming have argued convincingly that Guillaume here uses standardized topoi of the love-process to depict ironically Amant's less than enviable state of sinful luxuria.³⁴ An obvious example of what was by now a recognized medical distemper, Amant's condition is hardly designed to elicit serious sympathy. His malady, rather, undercuts continually any pretensions he may have to virtue or rational behaviour. As a physical, psychological, and, most importantly, moral defect, Amant's affliction functions in the Romance as the central controlling method of ironic characterization.

Such ironic application of the love-melancholy tradition underscores Chaucer's presentation of Arcite in "The Knight's Tale". Initially "hurte" by the "sighte [of Emelye's] beautee", Arcite, like Amant, first meditates on his beloved's many qualities, then gives way to an overpowering sense of woe.³⁵ He ignores "his slep, his mete, his drynke"; he waxes "lene . . . and drye as is a shaft";

his eyes become "holwe, and grisly to biholde" -- the list goes on to include such symptoms as pallor, love of solitariness, weeping, sensitivity to music, and a general feebleness of "spiritz" (1361-69). Eventually, Arcite falls prey to an oppressive "humour malencolik" -- a disease the speaker likens to "the loveris maladye/Of Hereos" (1373-74).

To an audience familiar with Chaucer's intellectual background, Arcite is in an inherently sinful predicament. Based as it is on an immoral idealization of deceitful woman (significantly Emelye, like Eve, is first discovered in a "gardyn" [1067]), the love-disease reveals immediately to the reader the fallen, disordered state of Arcite's body, mind, and soul. His physical disruptions correspond directly to the mental and moral disorders caused by his own carnal desires. As in Guillaume's Romance, the malady here exists principally as a means to forward satiric characterization. Arcite's "heroic love" undermines ironically his aspirations to knightly morum probitas. In this way, it tempers drastically the reader's response to Arcite who is essentially a "comic" character, a sombre but nonetheless ridiculous poseur.³⁶

Chaucer's comparison of Arcite's sickness with melancholic disorder accords with common assumptions of contemporary medical theorists. European physicians and writers, thanks to the efforts of Arabic doctors, translators, and composers of medical compendia, had been kept informed

of the classical association of melancholy sorrow with the love-disease.³⁷ Researchers studied men like Rhasis (born c. 850), Haly Abbas (died c. 994), Abulkasim (c. 912-1013) and, in particular, Avicenna (c. 980-1037) -- all of whom considered hereos to be a type of melancholic alienatione. To each of these physicians, love-melancholy was a form of mental illness attended by severe physiological symptoms.

Rhasis, in his encyclopedic Continens (translated late in the twelfth century), is unequivocal in his definition: "hic morbus est in capite [this disease is of the head]".³⁸ In a similar definition, Haly Abbas emphasizes the lover's prolonged contemplation of the beloved: "Amor autem est animae sollicitudo in id quod amatur et cogitationis in id ipsum perseverantia [Moreover, love is a disquiet of the mind in that that which is loved is dwelt on continually]".³⁹ Common to Rhasis' Continens, Haly Abbas' Liber and Abulkasim's Tesrif is a mixture of conventional and original symptoms: weak sight, dry and hollow eyes, yellow complexion, pustules on the tongue, hard and dry bodies, and a propensity to sorrowful melancholy.⁴⁰

Most influential of Arabic physicians, however, is Abn Ali el-Hosein ben Abdallah Ibn Sina, or Avicenna. Like his predecessors, he treats heroic love in the context of various mental illnesses. Appropriately, his chapter on love-melancholy, De Ilisci, follows immediately on treatments of "mania et dispositione canina", "melancholia", and

"insania lupina, aut canina, vel de lycanthropia".⁴¹ To

Avicenna, then:

Haec aegritudo est sollicitudo melancholica
similis melancholiae, in quo homo sibi iam
induxit incitationem seu applicationem
cogitationis suae continuam super pulchritudine
ipsius quarundam formarum, et gestuum
seu morum, quae insunt ei.

[This illness is a melancholic disquiet
similar to melancholy in which a man now
exhibits the tendency or inclination of
his own thoughts to run continuously on
the beauty of a certain form, as well as
on the gestures and customs which are
within it.]⁴²

Like Ovid and Lucretius before him, Avicenna stresses the intimate relation between a lover's obsessive contemplation and a variety of physiological disorders. Among recurring signs of the disease, he cites dryness of the eyes, sobbing, sensitivity to music, moodiness, and palpitations of the heart and pulse. His cures, which strongly recall Ovid's Remedia, include standard antidotes like purges, copulation with others, marriage, avoidance of idleness, bathing, travel, occasional drunkenness (a favourite of the Arabic physicians), and the good counsel of concerned friends.

Above all, however, Avicenna recommends the use of a vetula, or old hag, to discourage the lover's deluded adoration of female beauty. Relying on the horrible appearance of a disfigured old woman, he insists on the efficacy of aged ugliness and crotchety persuasion as a swift remedy for love-sickness. As will be seen presently,

it is Avicenna's dependence on the vetula figure which influenced most forcefully physicians and literary artists for the next five hundred years.⁴³

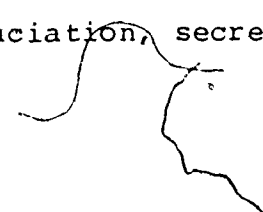
A gigantic compendium, Avicenna's Liber Canonis Medicine (c. 1000) represents a virtual axis in the development of Western medicine. Translated into Latin during the twelfth century, the Canonis exerted incalculable influence on practically every medieval treatment of amor hereos. Most important of these subsequent considerations is Bernardus of Gordon's equally mammoth work, the Lilium Medicine (written c. 1303-05). Referred to with reverence and awe by both Jacques Ferrand and Robert Burton, Bernardus was a leading physician at Montpellier during the early fourteenth century.⁴⁴ Like Ovid and Avicenna (both of whom he quotes frequently), Bernardus views love-sickness as an affliction of the mind accompanied by physical discomforts. Heroic love is, to Bernardus, a "sollicitudo melancholica propter mulieris amorem [a melancholy disquiet arising from the love of a woman]".⁴⁵ His explanation of love's causes follows a complex, but highly important process:

Causa huius passionis est corruptio existimativae propter formam et figuram fortiter affixam. unde cum aliquis philocaptus est in amore alicuius mulieris: ita fortiter concipit formam et figuram et modum quoniam credit et opinatur hanc esse meliorem. pulchriorem. magis venerabilem. magis speciosam. et melius dotatam in naturalibus et moralibus quam aliquam aliarum: et idea ardentem concupiscit eam. et sine modo et mensura

opinans si posset finem attingere quod haec esset sua felicitas et beatitudo. et intantum corruptum est iudicium rationis: quod continue cogitat de ea: et dimittit omnes suas operationes. ita quod si aliquis loquatur cum eo vix intelligit aliqua alia. et quia est in continua meditatione: ideo sollicitudo melancolica appellatur.

[The cause of this passion is a corruption of the virtus aestimativa [the rational judgement] on account of a firmly fixed form and figure. Thus when anyone is overcome by love [philocaptus], with reference to any woman, he so conceives her beauty and figure and manner, that he thinks and believes that she is more beautiful, more respectable, more attractive, and more gifted in nature and conduct than any other; and thus he ardently desires her without method or measure, thinking that if he could attain his end it would be his felicity and blessedness. And the judgement of the reason is corrupted to such an extent that the lover continually thinks of her and neglects his natural operations, so that if anyone speaks to him, he hardly comprehends anything. And because he is in a continuous meditation, he is said to have a melancholy solicitude.]

As Robertson explains, Bernardus' formulation of the love process suggests immediately the disordering nature of the original passion. The virtus aestimativa controls the virtus imaginativa which, in turn, controls the concupiscible function. (The concupiscible controls the irascible and the irascible controls the muscles of the body. So, like an elaborate house of cards, the entire bodily structure collapses into disorder at the slightest disruption.⁴⁷ Bernardus' signs of the disease continue this notion of chaotic disorganization: the lover is thought to suffer from insomnia, loss of appetite, emaciation, secret and



profound thoughts, sorrowful sighs, sadness, and an irregular and fluctuating pulse. The prognosis is unambiguous: untreated, lovers "in maniam cadunt aut moriuntur [fall into a madness or die]".⁴⁸

In addition to conventional remedies -- mental and physical activity, love of other women, travel, music, exhortations -- Bernardus suggests a more flexible (though by no means less rigorous) approach than hitherto outlined. He advises the cure be adapted to the nature of the victim himself: if the lover is young, tractable, and rational, friends and parents should reason him out of his affliction; if, on the other hand, the lover is young, incorrigible, and irrational, it is up to friends and parents to whip the victim into sanity. Failing these traditional methods, Bernardus, like Avicenna, resorts to the brutal administration of an aged vetula:

Finaliter autem cum aliud consilium non habemus: imploremus auxilium et consilium vetularum. ut ipsam dehoneſtent et difament quantum possunt. ipsae enim habent artem sagacem ad hoc plus quam viri. cum dicit Avicenna. quod aliqui sunt qui gaudent in audiendo fetida et illicita. Quaeratur igitur vetula turpissima in aspectu cum magnis dentibus et barba: et cum turpi et vili habitu: et quod portet subtus gremium pannum menstruatam et adueniens philocapta quod incipiat dehoneſtare camisiam suam dicendo: quomodo est tignosa et ebriosa; et quod mingit in lecto; et quod est epileptica et impudica; et quod in corpore suo sunt excrescentiae enormes cum fetore anhelitus. et aliis omnibus enormibus in quibus vetulae sunt edoctae. Si

autem ex his persuasionibus nolit
 dimittere: subito extrahat pannum
 persuasionibus nolit dimittere: subito
 extrahat pannum menstruatam coram facie:
 portando dicendo clamando: talis est
 amica tua talis. Et si ex his non
 dimiserit: iam non est homo sed diabolus
 incarnatus. Fatuitas igitur sua ulterius
 secum sit in perditione.

[Finally, however, when we have no other
 counsel, let us employ the counsel of old
 women, who may slander and defame the girl
 as much as they can, for they are more
 sagacious in this than are men. However,
 Avicenna says that there are some who
 delight in hearing smelly and illicit
 things. Let there be sought a most
 horrible-looking old woman with great teeth,
 a beard, and evil and vile clothing who
 carries a menstruous napkin in her lap.
 And, approaching the lover, let her begin
 to pull up her dress, explaining that
 she is bony and drunken, that she
 urinates in bed, that she is epileptic
 and shameless, that there are great
 stinking excrescences on her body, and
 other enormities concerning which old
 women are well instructed. If the lover
 will not relent on account of this
 persuasion, let her suddenly take out the
 menstruous napkin before his face and
 bear it aloft saying with a loud cry,
 'Such is your love, such!' If he
 doesn't relent on account of these things,
 he is a devil incarnate. His fatuousness
 will be with him finally in perdition.]⁴⁹

At all costs, the victimized lover must be "separated from
 his false imagination" and be reminded of "the perils of
 the world, the Day of Judgement, and the Joys of Paradise".⁵⁰
 Theoretically, at least, the vetula inspired this shocked
 state of monastic asceticism.

✓ In their treatment of "de amore qui hereos dicitur",

Arabic and European physicians established an elaborate and authoritative study of the nature, causes, signs, and cures of love-melancholy. Encyclopedists like Rhasis, Haly Abbas, Abulkasim, and Avicenna preserved classical doctrines of the Greek and Roman physicians; men like Gerhard of Cremona, Arnaldus of Villanova, and Bernardus of Gordon both refined and expanded upon this received tradition. Their medical accomplishment alone is astounding: virtually every Medieval and Renaissance theorist who treats love-melancholy -- John of Gaddesden, Gerardus de Solo, John of Tornamira, Valescus, Jacques Ferrand, Burton -- all subscribe to the paradigms outlined by these earlier authorities.⁵¹

In addition, medieval medical theorists provided unending resources for moral and literary sententiae on the follies of human passion. The primitive psychiatry of Bernardus or Avicenna might be applied ironically to create elaborate parodies on the false values of passionate excess -- witness, for example, Andreas' tongue-in-cheek praise of that "certain inborn suffering derived from the sight of and excessive meditation upon the beauty of the opposite sex, which causes each one to wish above all things the embraces of the other and by common desire to carry out all of love's precepts in the other's embrace".⁵²

In this way, the diaphanous world of courtly love is, in part, a literary variation on what ^{had} become a standard medical phenomenon.⁵³ In its integration of medical belief with moral and literary intentions, Andreas' Art of Courtly

Love epitomizes the medieval synthesis of disparate shards to create a moral, aesthetic whole. And so it is that when Absolon kisses Alisoun's "naked ers", he fulfills all the standardized requisites -- both literary and medical -- designed to cure a foolish young lover. After his unsavoury experience, "Of paramours he sette nat a kers;/ For he was heeled of his maladie" ("The Miller's Tale", 3756-57).

3. A Monster of Nature: Robert Burton and Renaissance Theory

Chaucer's concept of love-sickness as a type of mania -- something hostile to morum probitas -- underscores what is perhaps the most comprehensive Renaissance treatment of the disease: partition three of Robert Burton's The Anatomy of Melancholy. An elephantine work, comprised of four sections, fourteen members, and thirty subsections, Burton's discussion of love-melancholy is descriptive rather than prescriptive. He proposes little that is new or original, but rather synthesizes ideas, attitudes, rumours, superstitions, and half-beliefs already in existence. Through continual allusion to virtually every known theorist on the topic, Burton provides an epitome of Renaissance beliefs concerning love-melancholy.⁵⁴ The Anatomy, as prolix and chaotic as it is, is the unparalleled compendium on the subject of erotic madness.

Burton's third partition is exhaustive. Proceeding from a general consideration of love's "Beginning, Object, Definition, [and] Division", he resolves that "universally taken, [love] is defined to be a desire, as a word of more ample signification" (AM III, 1, 1, 2). What follows is a colossal investigation of desire in all its manifestations -- noble and bestial, moderate and excessive, intellectual and sexual, sacred and profane. Burton is meticulous. Girding his loins, he advances point by point, listing in their myriad forms, the causes, symptoms, prognoses, and cures of heroic or melancholic love. He admits trepidation to begin, rationalizes his fears, and ultimately justifies his explanation in Horatian terms:

Mine earnest intent is as much to profit as to please, non tam ut populo placerem, quam ut populum juvenam; and these my writings, I hope, shall take like gilded pills, which are so composed as well to tempt the appetite and deceive the palate, as to help and medicinally work upon the whole body; my lines shall not only recreate but tectify the mind. (AM III, 1, 1, 1)

Now to Burton, human love may be socially and religiously sanctioned so long as it is untainted by obsessive carnal desire. This "pure love" functions as a cohesive bond, contributing to both personal and social harmony (AM III, 1, 3). However, when love rages, when it transcends boundaries of Christian piety and moral decency, Burton is quick to castigate as immoral this excess of sexual passion:

It is no more love, but burning lust,
 a disease, frenzy, madness, hell . . .
 a vehement perturbation of the mind,
 a monster of nature, wit, and art . . .
 It subverts kingdoms, overthrows
 cities, towns, families, mars, corrupts,
 and makes a massacre of men; thunder
 and lightening, wars, fires, plagues,
 have not done that mischief to mankind,
 as this burning lust, this brutish
 passion. (AM III, 2, 1, 2)

Unquestionably a "species of melancholy", Burton's love-madness is essentially a psycho-physiological affliction which has dire moral effects.⁵⁵ Evident among gallants, noblemen, and those who lead idle and pampered lives, the disease is primarily "a passion of the brain, as all other melancholy, by reason of corrupt imagination" (AM III, 2, 1, 2). Left untreated, the malady results in either insanity or desires for death (AM III, 2, 4).⁵⁶

As both an Anglican divine and a scientific collector of disparate elements, Burton here pinpoints the essential accoutrement of the love-disease. Most pertinent is the lover's disordered imagination -- his obsessive contemplation of the desired object.⁵⁷ For, obsession leading to insanity or death is the underlying factor -- the humoral nomenclature -- which characterizes love-melancholics from Phaedra to Arcite to Will Honeycomb. It is precisely this aspect of an intellectual disharmony coupled with moral corruption which fascinates Renaissance theorists of the affliction. Compare, for example, Jacques Ferrand's description in his Erotomania, or a Treatise discoursing

of the Essence, Causes, Symptomes, Prognosticks, and Cure of Love, or Erotique Melancholy (first published 1612):

"Love, or this Eroticall Passion is a kind of Dotage, proceeding from an Irregular desire of enjoying a lovely object; and is attended on by Feare and Sadnesse".⁵⁸

According to most Renaissance theorists, antecedent causes of the disease are legion. Burton lists such fabulous and varied factors as astral influence, intemperate diet, climate, idleness, a strong imagination, opportunities of time and place, discourses with the beloved, music, singing, dancing, amorous tales, lascivious objects, familiarity, gifts, bawds, philtres and promises (AM III, passim). Most powerful, of course, is the apprehension of beauty: "the most familiar and usual cause of love is that which comes by sight, which conveys those admirable rays of beauty and pleasing graces to the heart" (AM III, 2, 2, 2). Burton considers at length the relative merits of natural and cosmetic beauty and concludes that artificial beauty is by far the greater temptation:

When you have all done, veniunt a veste sagittae, the greatest provocations of lust are from our apparel; God makes, they say, man shapes . . . A filthy knave, a deformed quean, a crooked carcass, a maukin, a witch, a rotten post, an hedge-stake may be set out and tricked up that it shall make as fair a show, as much enamour, as the rest; many a silly fellow is so taken. (AM III, 2, 2, 3)

In each case, these agents are thought either to heat or engender excessive blood in the body. This action produces

a superfluity of semen which, according to both Ferrand and Burton, is an important cause of amorous dispositions (AM III, 2, 2, 1).⁵⁹ The eventual results are singularly gruesome: Burton alludes to an autopsy on one "that died for love": "his heart was combust, his liver smoky, his lungs dried up . . . his soul was either sod or roasted through the vehemency of love's fire" (AM III, 2, 3).

Like Ferrand, though, Burton identifies carnal desire as the principal cause of the lover's malady (AM III, 2, 1, 2). Inspired first by the sight of the beloved's beauty, love enters the body through the eyes which are "the conduits by which it is conveyed into our hearts, and most secret parts".⁶¹ Although primarily a vexation of the mind, the disease causes physical decay as well as psychological degeneration. The passion progresses to the liver (where it imprints an ardent desire for the beloved object. This desire, inflamed through constant meditation, presently infects both the spirits and the blood (AM III, 2, 2, 2). This process contaminates the heart and, by means of corrupt animal spirits, incends the brain. By so doing, it overthrows reason and all of its "noble forces".⁶²

Since desire is a hot passion, the blood is heated excessively. This produces an overabundance of "seed" (believed to exist in both men and women). Unless evacuated through coition, or mitigated by exercise or other vigorous diversions, this glut of spermatic fluid has serious mental

and physical effects. Bodily symptoms include pallor, dryness, leanness, lack of appetite, insomnia, hollow eyes, weeping, sighing, palpitations of the heart and pulse, blushing, and shortness of breath (AM III, 2, 3).

"Symptoms of the mind", Burton remarks, "are almost infinite, and so diverse that no art can comprehend them" (AM III, 2, 3). Interestingly enough, he admits that occasional good can arise when a slovenly lover will suddenly gain courage, learn music, singing, dancing, or poetry to please his mistress, take care with his appearance, and attempt to refine rough manners. For the most part, though, symptoms are malignant and like Ferrand, Burton numbers Fear and Sorrow among the chief mental signs. The lover's physical breakdown complements a gradual degeneration of his mind and he is soon overwhelmed by anxiety, doubts, peevishness, ill passions, and various discontents. He meditates continually on his mistress and soon develops a distorted impression of her supposed perfection (AM III, 2, 3).

Least among the lover's worries is an irresistible urge to compose sonnets, ditties, songs, and ballads -- a habit mercilessly satirized on the Renaissance stage.⁶³ More serious is the fact that the senses fail to convey clear impressions to the brain. Reason is disturbed, imagination depraved, and the lover suffers anxiety leading to ultimate insanity. His spiritual state, little enhanced by such conditions of mind and body, is equally as bleak;

as Burton somewhat hotly remarks, "that feral malady . . . crucifies the soul in this life and everlastingly torments in the world to come" (AM III, 2, 1, 2).

To redeem lovers from this hell-fire of illicit passion, Burton recommends virtually every known cure for love-melancholy. He suggests conventional stand-bys like withstanding the beginnings of love, avoidance and vilification of the beloved, coition with others, marriage, travel, business, athletic recreation, pleasant walks, exhortations of concerned friends, and various forms of innocent merriment (AM III, 2, 5, 1-5). The influence of Ovid's Remedia, in particular, is evident in Burton's suggestion to cure lovers by applying remedies opposite in nature to the very causes of the disease.⁶⁴ For example, since idleness and a fulsome regimen heat the blood and lead to melancholic love, the lover should engage in continual activity and should diet on cooling foods like cucumbers, melons, lettuce, and the like (AM III, 2, 5, 1).

Such administration of mighty opposites underscores Burton's suggestion that the lover "anatomize" metaphorically the mind and body of his beloved. Like Ovid (from whom the cure ultimately derives), Burton resorts to this panacea only when less violent methods have failed. Since love arises from the sight and contemplation of beauty, and since the beloved may use cosmetics, the lover is advised to

visualize and meditate on his mistress' bodily defects, mental flaws, and moral shortcomings:

Take her skin from her face, and thou shalt see all loathsomeness under it, that beauty is a superficial skin and bones, nerves, sinews; suppose her sick, now rivelled, hoary-headed, hollow-cheeked, old; within she is full of filthy phlegm, stinking, putrid, excremental stuff; snot and snivel in her nostrils, spittle in her mouth, water in her eyes, what filth in her brains . . . Or take her at best, and look narrowly upon her in the light, stand near her, nearer yet, thou shalt perceive almost as much, and love less . . . [the lover] shall find many faults in physiognomy, and ill colour: in form, one side of the face likely bigger than the other, or crooked nose, bad eyes, prominent veins, concavities about the eyes, wrinkles, pimples, red streaks, freckons, hairs, warts, naeves, inequalities, roughness, scabridity, paleness, yellowness, and as many colours as are in a turkey-cock's neck, many indecorums in their other parts. (AM III, 2, 5, 2)

Burton's tendency toward an outright scatological exposure represents more than a simplistic misogyny. It accords, for one thing, with traditional remedies involving outright exposure (i.e. Ovid's toilet scene and Bernardus' vetula -- an experiment advocated by Burton himself.)⁶⁵ In addition, Burton's recommended cure is but one example of how the love-melancholy tradition was used as a grisly instrument of satiric castigation. Like Swift throughout his scatological writings, Burton here offers an uncompromising exposure of the filthy reality behind antiseptic forms of human civilization. A moral emblem of human pretension,

Burton's painted ladies encapsulate the moralist's portrayal of fallen man: a corrupt and sinful reality which lurks beneath a glittering, but ever-deluding appearance.

* * *

As a compendium of knowledge both classical and modern, aesthetic and scientific, Burton's Anatomy furnished limitless information to medical and satiric writers over the next two centuries. Burton himself, a synthesizer and collector of disparate theories on mental illness, was not unlike Freud in our own time. He provided an eclectic warehouse of psychiatric and cultural materials available to virtually any educated member of the general public. By quoting, alluding, paraphrasing, and adapting, he articulated and gave order to the vast body of beliefs concerning melancholy in general and love-melancholy in particular.

Well into the eighteenth century Burton's concepts of love-sickness continued to exert considerable influence. Medical writers alluded to the Anatomy as a source-book of symptoms, prognoses, and cures; they consistently viewed the disease as a psycho-physiological affliction. As early as 1664, for example, Everard Maynwaring comments in his Tutela Sanitatis: "Love & desire being inordinate and impetuous, seldom goes [sic] alone, but is attended with fear, anger, melancholy, dispaire, one or more for its

consorts, with which the minde is racked and torn, and variously affected as the sexual passions acts [sic] their parts by turns." ⁶⁶

In 1713 Robert Pierce still speaks of the virgin disease -- a pubescent sexual desire curable only by respectable marriage. ⁶⁷ By 1742 John Atkins, in his The Navy Surgeon, refers to love as "a long and intense Passiön on one object [causing] Convulsions, Madness, Melancholy, Consumption, Heckticks, or such a Chronical Disorder, as has wasted their Strength and their Flesh." ⁶⁸ Eight years later, Lewis Southcomb's Peace of Mind and Health of Body (1750) deals with a variety of mental illnesses (including love) and advises readers to consult Burton for more detailed explanations. ⁶⁹ Finally, as late as 1788, William Rowley (a notorious quack) defines love as "that fiery flame, [which] when lighted up in the human breast, consumes its votary, if not gratified with the object of mental attraction. It is a passion the least of all, perhaps, governable by reason." ⁷⁰

Most detailed of subsequent medical treatments, however, is Gideon Harvey's Morbus Anglicus (first published 1666). Like Burton, Harvey sees love-melancholy as little more than "brutish dotings [which] prove so efficacious in impelling bodies into a Marcour." ⁷¹ He defines an amorous disposition as a "Bastard Consumption" which "extenuates" the body and is an enemy to both physical and mental

stability. Because of his depiction of mental and physical symptoms alone, Harvey is worth quoting at length:

Where it doth fasten, [love] immediately causes a very sensible falling of the countenance, it being a common remarque, when Maids suddenly grow thin-jawed and hollow-eyed, they are in Love. Neither is there cause wanting for so subitous an alteration, where there is such a lingering, sighing, sobbing, and looking for the return of the absent object, the thoughts so fixed, that they are employed upon nothing but the past Vision; and the mind all that while so disturbed and perplex'd with hopes, doubts, feares, possibilities and improbabilities, that the heart strikes five hundred sorts of Pulses in an hour; and hunted into such continual palpitations through anxiety and distraction, that fain would it break if it could. By means of all which alterations, violent motions, frights, fears, and other passions, the Animal and Vital spirits suffer such losses and dispersions, that we see its ordinary for young Wenches to be reduced to faintings, swoonings, and extreme weaknesses.⁷²

As in Burton's Anatomy, physical breakdown complements mental deterioration in Harvey's schemata of the love-disease. The lover suffers an overabundance of "blood and Spirits" which overwhelms and overworks the ailing heart. The blood, in turn, "grows thick and muddy for want of motion, and so acquires an ill quality." As a result, the spirits grow "dull and stupid, do not perform their office in draining the blood to the several parts, which must necessarily add very much to the wasting of the body."⁷³ Without treatment, mind and body continue in a revolt against order

until "that doting passion happens to terminate into a mortal Syncope".⁷⁴ Varying only slightly, Harvey's prognosis derives directly from those historical precepts outlined by Burton, Bernardus, Avicenna, and Galen.

Burton's literary significance, not unlike his medical importance, is practically incalculable. Janus-like, the Anatomy faces both backward and forward in time -- synthesizing and anticipating respectively. Aesop, Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare among others, all contribute to Burton's vast codification of unruly elements in an amorphous tradition. Burton's achievement, on the other hand, looks ahead to works as diverse as Milton's "Il Penseroso" (1632), Sterne's Tristram Shandy (1760), Keats' "Lamia" (1819), and most recently, Anthony Powell's Books Do Furnish A Room (1971). Here again the Burton-Freud parallel holds true: both men articulated thoughts, beliefs, and assumptions intrinsic to human consciousness. In each case, both provided materials readily adaptable to literary purposes. Finally, in their amalgamation of historical materials, Burton and Freud furnished their own times with an enormous referential source, a storehouse of ready-made psychological metaphor.

The Anatomy of Melancholy is eclectic rather than inventive, synthetic rather than analytic. Burton's discussion breaks little new ground, but in this way he provided a comprehensive source for Pope and the Scriblerians in

particular, and for Restoration and Augustan satirists in general. Authoritative, accessible, and perversely "readable", the Anatomy, like Freud's Interpretation of Dreams, proved a boon to literary artists of contemporary and succeeding generations. As Dr Thomas Herring remarked of Burton: "the wits of Queen Anne's reign, and the beginning of George the first's were not a little beholden to him."⁷⁵

While it is beyond my purpose to examine much Renaissance literature using the love-melancholy tradition, it is appropriate to conclude this chapter with at least one example of satiric adaptation: John Donne's "The Comparison". The elegy is particularly useful at this point, for it indicates not only the ironic tone with which writers might invest the love-melancholy tradition, it illustrates the extent to which literary artists might adapt the medical tradition for purposes of both moral satire and literary parody. Moreover, although Donne's writing pre-dates the Anatomy by over thirty years, it nonetheless intimates the currency of that ideology articulated by Burton himself. Donne's imagery alone prefigures Burton's own vocabulary in his description of the anatomization process, a fact which accentuates the very real prevalence of the tradition during the later Renaissance.

Although generally regarded as a grotesque parody of Petrarchan love poetry, Donne's elegy may be viewed in the context of traditional cures for excessive love.⁷⁶ Written

in the 1590s and first published in 1633, "The Comparison" anticipates Swift in its ferocious denigration of female beauty. Like Swift, Donne adapts the rhetorical techniques, imagery, and tone developed by the medical theorists. Throughout the poem he provides a highly detailed vilification of the reader's mistress -- a virtual catalogue of scatological realities which make up "thy" own beloved. In effect, Donne's speaker sets out deliberately to anatomize his reader's beloved and, by so doing, cure him of his obsessive carnal passion for earthly (and therefore transitory) beauty.

As shown above, medical men from Lucretius to Burton prescribe a violent inversion of the sexual gratification which the lover derives from his mistress' body. Each sense is to be inundated with unpleasant aspects of the beloved, thereby destroying the lover's deluded adoration. Hence, the excrescences, blotches, smears, scars, and odours emphasized by the physicians are here found in the "Ranke sweaty froth" (7), "spermatique issue of ripe menstruous boiles" (8), and "skumme" (9) which defile the mistress' brow. From start to finish Donne's victim is portrayed as a conglomerate of sores and deformities: her head is "like a rough-hewne statue of jeat" (19); her skin is like "rough bark'd elmboughes, or the russet skin/Of men late scurg'd for madnes, or for sinne" (29-30); her hands "like a bunch of ragged carrets stand" (33). Point by point, sense by sense, Donne's speaker assaults the reader's sensibility --

all the while chipping at the foundation of female bodily beauty.

Like the physicians, Donne follows an established rhetorical pattern throughout his speaker's metaphorical anatomization. The description constitutes a detailed examination of the entire female body: the narrator proceeds from brow to head and face (7-22), to breasts (23-26), arms (27-28), skin (29-32), hands (33-34), to conclude ultimately with the vagina itself (35-42). In each case the initial statement of bodily imperfection or decrepitude is followed by a set of qualifying similes which reinforce the original rhetorical intention of discouraging carnal obsession. So, when Donne's speaker disparages the mistress' brow, he compares it subsequently to running "boiles", parboiled "skumme", cheap artificial "stones in saffrond tinne" (13) and to "warts, or wheales, [that] hang upon her skinne" (14).

Although such offensive deformities were used by physicians to emphasize physical ugliness, Donne complicates the moral significance of these defects by incorporating into his similes overt mythological allusions:

Round as the world's her head, on every side,
Like to that fatall Ball which fell on Ide,
Or that whereof God had such jealousie,
As, for the ravishing thereof we die. (15-18)

Significantly, the speaker here alludes to two occasions where sexual misbehaviour has had catastrophic results:

the Trojan War and the Fall of man himself. The moral connotations of such similes are lost only on the obtuse, for Donne's spokesman continues this negative interpretation of sexuality in his vilification of the mistress' body. Her face is like "the first Chaos, or flat seeming face/Of Cynthia, when th'earths shadowes her embrace" (21-2); her bosom is "like worme eaten trunkes . . . Or grave, that's durt without, and stinke within" (25-6); and above all, "her best lov'd part" is

like the dread mouth of a fired gunne,
Or like hot liquid metallis newly runne
Into clay moulds, or like to that AEtna
Where round about the grasse is burnt away (39-42)

In each description Donne's similes relate sexuality with notions of either distortion, disorder, mutability, corruption, death or sterility. As a cure for carnal desire the portrayal works inevitably toward revolting the attentive reader. Having piled filth upon filth, sore upon sore, and evil upon evil, Donne's speaker culminates his diatribe with the shocking image of diseased and violent copulation:

Are not your kisses then as filthy, and more,
As a worme sucking an invenom'd sore?
Doth not thy fearefull hand in feeling quake,
As one which gath'ring flowers, still fear'd a snake?
Is not your last act harsh, and violent,
As when a Plough a stony ground doth rent? (43-48)

Again the speaker emphasizes the "vanity of human wishes", the mutability of all things earthly; the "worme", the "envenom'd sore", "the stony ground" suggest the barren nature of worldly love, a love characterized by filth, fear,

disease, and violence. The cure complete, the speaker articulates at last his moral and rhetorical intentions: "Leave her, and I will leave comparing thus/She, and comparisons are odious" (53-54).

Most striking, ~~however~~, in Donne's "The Comparison" is his satiric use of point-of-view. From beginning to end his speaker has been as guilty as the reader he condemns in his own amorous obsession with earthly beauty. The poem opens with a typically Petrarchan idealization of the speaker's mistress -- the standard against which the reader's beloved is to be compared. As might be expected, she is sweet, perfumed, lustrous, and beautiful. Significantly, though, the speaker betrays his own deluded sense of his lady's perfections: his set of qualifying similes emphasize not the diseased stench of mortality, but the healing scents of his mistress's skin. Her perspiration is compared to "the Almighty Balme of th' early East" (3), the morning dew which was believed to possess unique medicinal powers.⁷⁷ In addition, her sweat glistens pleasingly upon her skin, forming a "pearle" necklace that enshrines her face, a direct contrast to the reader's mistress whose metaphorical necklace is made up of "skumme", "boiles", and "warts" (13-14). Donne's speaker, then, is the butt of an elaborate literary joke: in need of his own cure, he complements unconsciously the poet's ironic examination of love-melancholy. As much a victim as the unwary reader, Donne's

speaker unwittingly illustrates the delusive and corrupt nature of an obsessive, diseased love.

A particularly complex example of literary adaptation, Donne's poem anticipates Augustan usage of the love-melancholy tradition. Admittedly, his ironic stance may differ from either the sombre gloom of the physicians, the ferocity of a Swift, or the whimsy of an Addison or Gay. However, in its deliberate application of medical rhetoric for literary purposes, "The Comparison" prefigures the essential nature of this latter poetry, poetry which will be discussed next in Chapter II.

NOTES

Chapter I

1

Ambrose Bierce, The Devil's Dictionary (1911), (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), p. 81.

2

George Cheyne, The English Malady: or, a treatise of nervous diseases of all kinds, as spleen, vapours, lowness of spirits, hypochondriacal, and hysterical distempers, &c. . . With the author's own case at large (London: Strahan and Leake, 1733), pp. i-ii.

3

Both Lawrence Babb and John F. Sena have directed attention to important aspects of Pope's use of the melancholy tradition. See Lawrence Babb, "The Cave of Spleen", RES, XII (1936), 165-176; John F. Sena, "Belinda's Hysteria: The Medical Context of The Rape of the Lock" (Paper delivered before the McMaster Association for XVIII Century Studies, December 7, 1977). Admirable treatments of melancholy in the literature of the Restoration and early eighteenth century include Lawrence Babb, "The Background of 'Il Penseroso'", SP, XXXVII (1940), 257-73; Oswald Doughty, "The English Malady of the Eighteenth Century", RES, II (1926), 257-69; Cecil A. Moore, "The English Malady" in his Backgrounds of English Literature: 1700-1760 (1953), (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), pp. 179-235; and John F. Sena, "The English Malady: The Idea of Melancholy from 1700-1760" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1967); "Melancholic Madness and the Puritans", Harvard Theological Bulletin, LXVI (1973), No. 3, 293-311; "Melancholy in Anne Finch and Elizabeth Carter", YES, I (1971), 108-19; "Smollett's Persona and the Melancholic Traveler: An Hypothesis", ECS, I (1968), 353-69.

4.

Love-melancholy has received two fine studies, however: John Livingston Lowes, "The Loveres Maladye Of Hereos", MP, XI (1914), 491-546; and John F. Sena, "Swift as Moral Physician: Scatology and the Tradition of Love-Melancholy", JEGP, LXXVI (July 1977), No. 3, 346-62.

5

Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language (1755), Vol. II (New York: AMS Press, 1967).

6

Richard Steele, Spectator 41 (17 April 1711), in Donald F. Bond, ed., The Spectator, Vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 174. All subsequent references to the Spectator are taken from this edition and are indicated in the text by title, volume, and page numbers in parentheses.

7

Alexander Pope, et al., Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus, ed. Charles Kerby-Miller (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), p. 134. For discussion of authorship see pp. 60-61, 277-78. All subsequent references to the Memoirs are taken from this edition and are indicated in the text by title and page numbers in parentheses.

8

Kerby-Miller lists a number of specific parallels to Ovid and Burton; see Memoirs, pp. 278-80.

9

Able treatments of the satirist-physician include U. C. Knoepfelmacher, "The Poet as Physician: The Epistle to Arbuthnot", MLQ, XXXI (1970), 440-49; Mary Claire Randolph, "The Medical Concept in English Renaissance Satiric Theory", SP, XXXVIII (1941), 125-58; and John F. Sena, "Smollett's Matthew Bramble and the Tradition of the Physician-Satirist", PLL, 11 (Fall, 1975), No. 4, 380-97; cf. Alvin Kernan, The Cankered Muse (New Haven: Yale 1959), pp. 14-30.

10

Hippocrates, Aphorisms III. 26 in The Genuine Works of Hippocrates, trans. Francis Adams (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1939), p. 301.

11

Horace, Satires II, iii, 247-80 in Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica, The Loeb Classical Library, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard, 1966).

12

Of prime interest in Euripides' portrayal of Phaedra is the latter's conformation in virtually every way to traditional presentations of the love-melancholic. She keeps to her bed, is pale, suffers from fevers, and loss of appetite; she is moody, her body is racked and wasted; the Chorus itself points out that her illness affects both mind and body. Cf. Hippolytus, lines 131-40, 170-97, 273-83. in Euripides, The Loeb Classical Library, trans. Arthur S. Way, Vol. IV (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard, 1958).

Cf. also Theocritus, Idylls II, X, XI, XXIII (doubtful authorship), and XXX; Catullus, poem nos. LXIV (86 ff), LXXVI, XCI, and C; Virgil, Eclogues III, VIII, and X; Aeneid, IV; for Ovid, in addition to the amorous tracts see Metamorphoses, passim, but especially I. 470ff. (Apollo); III. 354ff. (Narcissus); IV. 235ff. (Clytie); IV. 285ff. (Salmacis); VI. 455ff. (Tereus); VII. 7ff. (Medea); X. 524ff. (Venus and Adonis); XIII. 744ff. (Polyphemus and Galatea)

13

Theocritus, Idyll II, 90-100 in The Greek Bucolic Poets, The Loeb Classical Library, trans. J. M. Edmonds (London: Heinemann, 1960); Virgil, Aeneid I. 657-60 in Virgil, The Loeb Classical Library, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Vol. II (London: Heinemann, 1965). Unless otherwise specified subsequent references to the Aeneid are from this edition and are indicated in the text by line numbers in parentheses.

14

Compare the traditional "steps of love": visus, colloquium, contactus, osculum, factum. This concept is discussed in Lionel Friedman, "Gradus Amoris", Romance Philology, 19 (1965), 167-77. Cf. AM III, 2, 2, 2.

15

Plato, Phaedrus 253C, in Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, eds., Plato: The Collected Dialogues, Bollingen Series LXXI (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton, 1973), 499. All subsequent references to the dialogues are taken from this edition and are indicated in the text by title and section numbers in parentheses.

16

Socrates' distinction between a sacred and profane love follows from Pausanias' dichotomy in the Symposium between twin "Loves" -- the Heavenly and Earthly Aphrodites (Symposium, 180d-e). Both types are inspired first by the sight of earthly beauty. The devotee of Heavenly Aphrodite proceeds from his initial perception of this beauty, then, through Memory, recollects the original Form of the Beautiful and the Good apprehended during the soul's original vision of the Forms. Hence, this virtuous love leads to a continual contemplation of the eternal realities behind the varied, mutable phenomena of the sensual world (to Plato, the world of semblance). Such love represents the true philosophical nature described by Socrates in Republic VI, 485b: "the philosophical nature . . . is ever enamored of the kind of knowledge which reveals to them something of that essence which is eternal, and is not wandering between the two poles of generation and decay."

In contrast to such ideal desire, Earthly Aphrodite is directed toward the body rather than the soul, the transitory rather than the permanent, the witless rather than the wise (Symposium, 181a-b; 183d-e) Cf. also Republic I, 329e; Laws VIII, 837b-d. Burton discusses the twin Venuses in AM, 1, 1, 2; more recent commentators are Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology (1939), (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 142-52, 160; and Kenneth Clark, The Nude (1956), (London: John Murray, 1973), pp. 64-161.

17

Cf. R. Hackforth, Plato's Phaedrus, The Library of Liberal Arts, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1952), p. 98. Also, see F. M. Cornford, "The Doctrine of Eros in Plato's Symposium" in Gregory Vlastos, ed., Plato: A Collection of Critical Essays, Vol. II (New York: Doubleday, 1971), 119-31; Thomas Gould, Platonic Love (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), pp. 1-17; Robert G. Hazo, The Idea of Love, Concepts in Western Thought Series, (New York: Praeger, 1967), pp. 183-97; and Irving Singer, The Nature of Love (New York: Random House, 1966), pp. 49-90.

18

Cf. R. K. Sprague, Plato's Use of Fallacy (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1962). On Lysias' speech in particular, see Herman L. Sinaiko, Love, Knowledge, and Discourse in Plato (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 26-28; and Hackforth, Plato's Phaedrus, pp. 136-37.

19

Throughout the dialogues love is represented as such; cf. Republic III, 403a-b; IX, 573a-c; Symposium, 207b; and especially Timaeus 86c-d: "He who has the seed about the spinal marrow too plentiful and overflowing . . . is for the most part of his life deranged because his pleasures and pains are so very great; his soul is rendered foolish and disordered by his body . . . The truth is that sexual intemperance is a disease of the soul due chiefly to the moisture and fluidity which is produced in one of the elements by the loose consistency of the bones."

20

Cf. Artis Amatoriae II, 519-20; Remedia Amoris 43-44, 75-78, 81-82, 91-92, 131-34, 504, 795ff.; De Rerum Natura IV, 1068-72. References to Lucretius are taken from the De Rerum Natura, The Loeb Classical Library, trans. W. H. D. Rouse, rev. M. F. Smith (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard, 1975); references to Ovid's "De Medicamine Faciei Liber" (DMFL), Artis Amatoriae (AA), and Remedia Amoris (RA), are taken from The Art of Love and Other Poems, The Loeb Classical Library, trans. J. H. Mozley (Cambridge,

Massachusetts: Harvard, 1962); references to the Heroides and Amores are taken from Heroides and Amores, The Loeb Classical Library, trans. Grant Showerman (London: Heinemann, 1925); references to the Metamorphoses are taken from the Metamorphoses, The Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols., trans. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard, 1971). Subsequent quotations from both authors are indicated in the text by title and line numbers in parentheses.

21

Cf. Plato, Republic V, 474d-e; Lucretius, De Rerum Natura IV, 1160-70; Horace, Satires I, iii, 43-54; Ovid, Artis Amatoriae II, 657-62.

22

Cf. also De Rerum Natura IV, 1113-40; Ovid, Amores I, ii, 1-8; and Artis Amatoriae I, 729ff.

23

Cf. Plato, Laws VIII. 835d-e: "severe menial labour . . . does more than anything else to damp the fires of wantonness."

24

Cf. De Rerum Natura IV, 1149-54.

25

Cf. Lucretius, De Rerum Natura IV, 1174ff.: "The truth is [a beautiful woman] does all the same things as the ugly woman does, and we know it, fumigating herself, poor wretch, with rank odours while her maid-servants give her a wide berth and giggle behind her back. But the lover shut out, weeping, often covers the threshold with flowers and wreaths, anoints the proud doorposts . . . but if he is let in, once he gets but one whiff as he comes, he would seek some decent excuse for taking his leave; there would be an end of the complaint so often rehearsed, so deeply felt, and he would condemn himself on the spot of folly, now he sees that he has attributed to her more than it is right to concede to a mortal."

26

Appian, Appian's Roman History, The Loeb Classical Library, trans. Horace White, Vol. II (London: Heinemann, 1912), XI, X, 61; Plutarch, Lives, The Loeb Classical Library, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, Vol. IX (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard, 1959), "Demetrius", XXXVIII, 1-4.

27

Plutarch, Lives, "Demetrius", XXXVIII, 4-5.

28

Galen, Claudii Galeni: Opera Omnia (1827), ed. C. G. Kühn, Vol. XIV (Hildesheim: George Olms, 1965), 634. (my translation).

29

Galen, Ibid., 632.

30

Lowes, in his "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos", 28-30, treats briefly subsequent theorists who associated love with various forms of mania or melancholy: Caelius Aurelianus, Oribasius, Paul of Aegina, Vincent of Beauvais and Raymond Lully.

31

Aesop, Fables of Aesop, trans. S. A. Handford (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), p. 20.

32

Arnaldus of Villanova, Tractatus de amore qui heroycus nominatur, f. 215, cited in Lowes, "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos", 497:

Dicitur autem amor heroycus quasi dominalis non quia solum accidat dominis: sed quia aut dominatur subijciendo animam et cordi hominis imperando aut quia talium amantium actus erga rem desideratam similes sunt activus subditorum erga proprios dominos. quemadmodum etenim hi timent domini maiestatem offendere et eisdem fideli subiectiōe seruire conantur vt gratiam obtineant at fauorem: sic ex parte alia proportionatur circa rem dilectam heroyci afficiuntur amontes.

[Moreover, heroic love is called heroic not only because it happens to heroes: but because it rules either by subjecting the mind and commanding the heart of mankind, or because the acts of lovers of such a kind with respect to the desired thing are similar to the acts of subjects with respect to their particular masters. For truly, just as these men fear to offend the dignity of the master and try to serve him in faithful subjugation so that they

might obtain grace and favour, thus from another part heroic lovers are placed around the loved object and are affected.]

Beside providing access to rare medical documents, J. L. Lowes supplies an admirable etymological study of the term, "hereos". Cf. also his "Hereos Again", MLN, 31 (1916), 185-87.

33

Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, The Romance of the Rose, ed. C. W. Dunn, trans. H. W. Robbins (New York: Dutton, 1962), X, 59. Subsequent references to the Romance are taken from this edition and are indicated in the text by book and line numbers within parentheses.

34

See D. W. Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton, 1963), pp. 91ff., 457; John V. Fleming, The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton, 1969), pp. 99-103.

35

Chaucer, "The Knight's Tale" in The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), lines 1114 ff. Subsequent references to Chaucer are taken from this edition and are indicated in the text by line numbers in parentheses.

36

Cf. Robertson, Preface to Chaucer, pp. 466-68.

37

On the question of influence see Lowes, "The Lovers Maladye of Hereos", 495-520; M. M. Mesulam and J. Perry; "The diagnosis of love-sickness", Psychophysiology, 9 (1972), 546-51; Stanley Rubin, Medieval English Medicine (London: David and Charles; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1974), pp. 194ff.; and C. H. Talbot, Medicine in Medieval England (London: Oldbourne, 1967), pp. 64-71.

38

Rhasis, Continens Rasis (Venice, 1509), Tract. XX, cap. I, cited in Lowes, "The Lovers Maladye of Hereos", 508.

39

Haly Abbas, Liber totius medicinae necessaria continens (Lugd., 1523), IX, cap. vii cited in Lowes, "The Lovers Maladye of Hereos", 510.

40

See Lowes, ibid., 507-11.

41

For a detailed consideration of the term, "ilisci", see Lowes, ibid., 512n.

42

Avicenna, Liber Canonis Medicine (Venice, 1555), Facsimile Reprint, Collectaneis Medicine Historiae (Brussels, 1971), Liber III, fen. 1, tract IV, cap. 23.

43

A complex and important figure, the vetula is treated well by John V. Fleming, The Roman de la Rose, pp. 171-84. Cf. also John F. Sena, "Swift as Moral Physician", 351-52.

44

Talbot, Medicine in Medieval England, pp. 104-106.

45

Bernardus, Lilium Medicine (1491), Part. II, cap. XX, cited in Lowes, "The Lovers Malady of Hereos", 499.

46

Ibid. I have based my translation on that of D. W. Robertson, Preface to Chaucer, p. 458. Cf. also Arnaldus of Villanova, Liber de parte operativa, ff. 123-40, cited in Lowes, "The Lovers Malady of Hereos", 496:

Alienatio quam concomitatur immensa concupiscentia et irrationalis: et graece dicitur heroyis, idest domina rationis. nam heroyis est corrupta scientiatio qua iudicatur apprehensum delectabilius aut excellentius esse quam sit: quapropter excitat vehemens desiderium ad quaerendum rem illam: et suam cogitationem in ea frequentius: cum haec species manifestatur in concupiscentia indiuidui humani: qua indiuiduum unius sexus complexionari desiderat indiuiduo sexus alterius. Et vulgariter dicitur amor: et a medicis amor heroycus. id est immensus; et irrationalis.

[There is an alienation accompanied with an immense and irrational longing: and in Greek it is called heroyis, that is, the mistress of reason. For heroyis is a corrupt knowledge which is judged to be more agreeable or more excellent than it

is: on account of which it arouses a vehement desire to see a certain thing: and frequently it has its own way of thinking: when this kind of alienation is described it is by showing a longing for an individual human: by which an individual of one sex desires to be embraced by an individual of the other sex. And it is commonly called love: and by doctors heroic love. It is immense: and irrational.]

47
Robertson, Preface to Chaucer, p. 458.

48
Bernardus, ibid., cited in Lowes, "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos", 501.

49
Bernardus, ibid. I have borrowed D. W. Robertson's translation, Preface to Chaucer, pp. 459-60.

50
Bernardus, ibid.

51
Lowes, "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos", 502-07, provides extensive quotations from Gaddesden, Gerardus de Solo, John of Tormamira, and Valescus.

52
Andreas Capellanus, The Art of Courtly Love, trans. John Jay Parry (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1959), p.28.

53
Compare, for example, Andreas' long description of the "gradus amoris", or steps of love. Not unlike Amant's reactions in the Roman de la Rose, the portrayal parallels contemporary medical explanations of the love process:

For when a man sees some woman fit for love and shaped according to his taste, he begins at once to lust after her in his heart; then the more he thinks about her the more he burns with love, until he comes to a fuller meditation. Presently he begins to think about the fashioning of the woman and to differentiate her limbs, to think about what she does, and to pry into the secrets of her body,

and he desires to put each part of it to the fullest use. Then after he has come to this complete meditation, love cannot hold the reins, but he proceeds at once to action; straightway he strives to get a helper and to find an intermediary. He begins to plan how he may find favour with her, and he begins to seek a place and a time opportune for talking; he looks upon a brief hour as a very long year, because he cannot do anything fast enough to suit his eager mind This inborn suffering comes, therefore from seeing and meditating. Not every kind of meditation can be the cause of love, an excessive one is required. (Art of Courtly Love, p.29)

54

Burton's comprehensive allusiveness is dealt with by Paul Jordan-Smith in his Bibliographia Burtoniana (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1931), Chap. II passim. Cf. also Lawrence Babb, Sanity in Bedlam (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1959), pp. 43-56.

55

Burton offers a revealing analogy in his discussion of love's symptoms: "That impression of her beauty is still fixed in his mind . . . as he that is bitten with a mad dog thinks all he sees dogs, dogs in his meat, dogs in his dish, dogs in his drink, his mistress is in his eyes, ears, heart, in all his senses" (AM III, 2, 3).

56

See AM III, 2, 4: "'For if this passion continue' saith Aelian MONTALTUS, 'it makes the blood hot, thick, and black; and if the inflammation get into the brain, with continual meditation and waking, it so dries it up that madness follows, or else they make away with themselves.'"

57

Cf. AM I, 3, 3: "Why students and lovers are so often melancholy and mad, the philosophers of Coimbra assign this reason, 'because by a vehement and continual meditation of that wherewith they are affected, they fetch up the spirits into the brain, and with the heat brought with them they incend it beyond measure: and the cells of the inner senses dissolve their temperature, which being dissolved, they cannot perform their offices as they ought.'"

Jacques Ferrand, Erotomania, or a Treatise discoursing of the Essence, Causes, Symptomes, Prognosticks, and Cure of Love, or Erotique Melancholy (1612), trans. Edmund Chilmead (Oxford, 1640), p. 31. Quotations from this edition of Erotomania are used by courtesy of the Trustees of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (London). Cf. Peter Forestus, Observationum et curationum medicinalium libri tres (1590), pp. 227-28, cited in Lowes, "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos", 535:

Mentis quoque malum est in amore furere, et ita amorem inter affectus cerebri annumerant medici: qui plerumque tragico luctu, in maniam aut melancholiam definit. Vocatur autem Graecis eros, Romanis Amor. Unde morbus hic amoris dicitur, a Barbaris et Avicenna Iliscus vocatur. ab Arculano Passio divina. Pars igitur affecta est cerebrum ipsum, uti in melancholia vel mania, in quos morbos facile transit . . . Amantes quoque tristes sunt, demissi et insomniculosi, longisque suspiriis de amore cogitant, facie pallente, et obliti cibi cupidinis tabe intereunt.

[It is, moreover, bad for the mind to rage in love, and thus the doctors reckon love to be among the effects of the brain: they who, for the most part, set limits to mania and melancholy as a tragic grief. Moreover, it is called eros by the Greeks, Love by the Romans. Whence this sickness is said to be of love, by Barbaris and Avicenna it is called Iliscus, by Arculanus divine passion. Therefore, part affects the brain itself, as in melancholy or mania, into which diseases it easily passes . . . Lovers are also sad, dejected, and sleepless; they think about love with long sighs; with a pale face; and they perish in the consumption of desire, forgetful of food.]

Cf. Ferrand, Erotomania, p. 332; and Lawrence Babb, The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642 (East Lansing: Michigan State

College Press, 1951), pp. 129-33.

60

Cf. Ferrand, Erotomania, pp. 31, 38.

61

Ibid., p. 19; Cf. also AM III, 2, 2, 2. A particularly strong parallel exists between Burton's and Ferrand's portrayal of the sight-love motif and an emblem found in Cesare Ripa's Iconologia or Moral Emblems (London, 1709). In his discussion of beauty and its effect on the lover, Burton remarks, "The more he sees her, the worse he is . . . as in a burning glass the sunbeams are re-collected to a centre, the rays of love are projected from her eyes". (AM III, 2, 2, 2). An almost uncanny similarity occurs in Ripa's icon, "The Original of Love":

A young Beauty with a round Miroir,
expos'd to the Sun, whose Reflexion
sets Fire on the Flambeau in the other
Hand; underneath is a Label inscrib'd
SIC IN CORDE FACIT AMOR INCENDIUM.
The Sight of her confirms our Belief
of her Beauty, represented by the Sun
and Glass, just as the Rays of a
Miroir, expos'd to the Sun, light a
Torch; so Mens Eyes, meeting with those
of a beautiful Woman, a Flame is soon
kindled in the Heart.

[Quotation from Cesare Ripa, Iconologia: or, Moral Emblems (1709) in Stephen Orgel, ed., The Renaissance and the Gods, A Garland Series, Vol, XXXI (New York: Garland, 1976), fig. 213]

62

Ferrand, Erotomania, pp. 678; cf. AM I, 3, 3.

63.

See Bridget Lyons, Voices of Melancholy, pp. 24-26, 77; the whole question of love-melancholy in Renaissance drama is a vast topic still in need of an overall examination. It is beyond my purpose to discuss in detail the lover's malady on the Elizabethan stage; however, it is appropriate to note some pertinent studies of Melancholy and its role in Renaissance dramatic literature. In addition to Lily B. Campbell's standard work, Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion (Cambridge, 1930), see Lawrence Babb's "Love Melancholy in the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Drama", Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 13 (1943), 117-32;

"The Physiological Conception of Love in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Drama", PMLA, 56 (1941), 1020-35; these last articles were revised to form part of Babb's The Elizabethan Malady (1951). Also, John Draper, "The Melancholy Duke Orsino", Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 6 (1938), 1020-29; G. B. Harrison, "Essay on Elizabethan Melancholy", appended to Nicholas Breton's Melancolike Humours (London, 1929), pp. 49-89; and George F. Sensabaugh, "Ford's Tragedy of Love-Melancholy", Englische Studien, 73 (1938), 212-19.

64

The influence of Ovid is evident throughout the erotic poetry of the Renaissance, Restoration, and early Augustan periods. The Remedia, especially, inspired both Overbury and Beaumont to compose verse precis; it is also the foundation of Lyly's "A Cooling Card for Philautus and All Fond Lovers" in Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit (1578), ed. M. W. Croll and Harry Clemons (New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), pp. 91-107. Cf. also Sir Aston Cokayne's "A Remedy for Love" (1658) in Richard Morton, ed., The Poems of Sir Aston Cokayne (Hamilton, Ontario: Cromlech Press, 1977), pp. 78-91.

65

Scatological cures were hardly uncommon; Ferrand advises lovers to inhale the fumes of burning excrement which has been pilfered from the beloved's chamber pot (Erotomania, pp. 316-17). Simion Grahame, in his Anatomie of Humours (1609), recalls Swift, in particular "The Lady's Dressing-Room"; his advice fits squarely into an established paradigm:

When some women in a sluttish estate
 have their bed-chamber like a swines-
 stie, ill-favoured (and unscoured)
 Pispot, their combs and brushes full
 of loose haire and filth, their foule
 smocks ill laid-up, their knotty phlegme
 and spettling on the walls and floore,
 the black and slaverie circle on their
 lips, sweating, smoaking, and broathing
 in their uncleane-sheetes; that if any
 would hold their head within the bed, I
 thinke the strong smell were an excellent
 preservative against the Pest, and none
 like it, except it be the jumbling of a
 Jakes.

(Cited in Paul Jordan-Smith, Bibliographia Burtoniana, pp. 51-52).

66
 Everard Maynwaring, Tutela Sanitatis (London, 1664), pp. 53-4. Cf. AM III, 2, 3.

67
 Robert Pierce, Bath Memoirs (1697), (London, 1713), p. 191. Cf. AM I, 3, 2, 4.

68
 John Atkins, The Navy Surgeon; or Practical System of Surgery (London, 1742), p. 282.

69
 Lewis Southcomb, Peace of Mind and Health of Body (London, 1750), pp. 39-40.

70
 William Rowley, A Treatise on Female, Nervous, Hysterical, Hypochondriacal, Biliou, Convulsive Diseases, Apoplexy, and Palsy; with Thoughts on Madness and Suicide (London, 1788), p. 287. According to one "C. R.", Horace Walpole observed that Rowley was "a great fop, and a great quack". (Anonymous marginalia in contemporary hand: back leaf of Rowley's A Treatise on Female . . . Diseases housed in The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London.)

71
 Gideon Harvey, Morbus Anglicus, or, the Anatomy of Consumption (London, 1666), p. 21.

72
Ibid., p. 20.

73
Ibid., p. 22.

74
Ibid., p. 23.

75
 Cited by Holbrook Jackson in his Introduction to The Anatomy of Melancholy, p. xiii.

76
 See in particular Helen Gardner, ed., John Donne: The Elegies and The Songs and Sonnets (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 119-21. All subsequent references to "The Comparison" are taken from this edition and are indicated in the text by line numbers in parentheses. As a parody of Petrarchan convention, see also A. J. Smith, ed.,

/ John Donne: The Complete English Poems (Harmondsworth:
Penguin, 1971), pp. 421-23.

77

Smith, John Donne: The Complete English Poems,
p. 421n.

II

THE AUGUSTANS AND LOVE-MELANCHOLY

Throughout the early eighteenth century the concept of love-melancholy exerted considerable literary influence. Aspects of the medical tradition -- definitions of love, causes, symptoms, cures -- were adapted constantly for the purposes of literary satire. Unlike melancholy which gradually came to be seen as the "wise disease", an affliction of the sensitive and gifted, love-melancholy underwent no such fashionable metamorphosis.¹ It continued, rather, to be used as a graphic emblem of misjudgement, error, folly, and the like. Admittedly, one transformation did occur: as Augustan satirists slowly took over the tradition from the preserve of medical theorists, the latter's sombre tone gave way to the former's more boisterous stance toward love-melancholy. Although moral intentions continued to motivate the majority of literary writers, not all chose to emphasize the more serious aspects of the love disease. For the most part, rather, humour emerged as the key-note and the tradition was used to entertain as much as to instruct (witness Gay, Steele, or even D'Urfey). Similarly, although the love-melancholic did elicit occasional pity or sympathy (e.g. some of Rowe's tragic heroines or Lillo's George Barnwell), the victim of love was unequivocally

a victim of fatuity or moral imprudence. Love-melancholy, then, was usually regarded as a laughable disease, a subject fit for ridicule and not compassion.

Most remarkable in the love-melancholy literature of the time were satiric adaptations of various cures designed for melancholy lovers. More often than not these medical remedies were scatological in nature: extreme, brutal, and bawdy. In this way, they were particularly suited to satiric castigations of human misbehaviour. The fact that love-melancholy was a recognized disease, that literary artists were using medical cures for satiric purposes, and that love-melancholy had been associated traditionally with madness or intellectual folly -- all augmented the satirist's role as a moral or spiritual physician. Such a complex blending of medical belief, literary assumption, and historical association underlines most Augustan writings found in the love-melancholy tradition.

Admittedly, such scatological material had fascinated medical and literary writers since Lucretius -- its rhetorical potential being virtually unlimited. Not only could it induce disgust and revulsion among readers (as in the case of Swift), but it might also inspire laughter, amusement, and outright merriment (as in the Scriblerian case of the young nobleman at court).² As such, scatological cures for love lent themselves most readily to popular songs,

riddles, drolleries, and anthologies of musical ditties.

Because of their very nature scatological cures appealed to the lowest common denominator of public taste. By 1719, for instance, Thomas D'Urfey's Pills to Purge Melancholy contained a fair number of songs dependent not only on the concept of melancholic love, but also on specific remedies reminiscent of Donne, Burton, Bernardus, and Ovid.³ A prime example of such popular adaptation, one particularly suited to preface consideration of love-melancholy in Augustan satire, is an anonymous lyric first published in the 1719 edition of D'Urfey's collection: "The Hide-Park Frolick".

As S. A. J. Bradley points out, the song is a common example of Town-Country satire.⁴ Based on well-established comic situations, it describes a rural booby's first encounter with a town beauty -- a delightful "Arm full of Sattin" (IV, 140). Ensnared in the whore's bed, the gallant awaits the arrival of his new found love. Appropriately, she retires to her closet for a cosmetic touch-up, leaving her lover alone in the chamber. What follows strongly foreshadows Swift's far superior scatological masterpiece, "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed" (first published 1734).

Peeping at the keyhole, the eager lover discovers the real nature of his novel mistress; the song is worth quoting at length:

She took off her Head-tire, and shew'd her bald Pate!
 Her Cunning did very much grieve me,
 Thought I to my self, if it were not so late,
 I would home to my Lodgings believe me.
 Her Hair being gone, she seem'd like a Hag,
 Her bald-pate did look like an Ostrich's Egg,
 This Lady (thought I) is as right as my Leg,
She hath been too much at Tan-tivee!

The more I did peep, the more I did spy,
 Which did unto amazement drive me;
 She put up her Finger, and out dropt her Eye,
 I pray'd that some Power would relieve me.

* * *

I peep'd, and was still more perplex'd therewith,
 Thought I tho't be Midnight I'll leave thee;
 She fetch'd a yawn, and out fell her Teeth,
 This Quean had intents to deceive me:
 She drew out her Handkerchief as I suppose,
 To wipe her high Fore-head, off dropt her Nose,
 Which made me run quickly and put on my Hose,
The Devil is in my Tan-tivee.

She washt all the Paint from her Visage, and then
 She look'd just (if you will believe me)
 Like a Lancashire Witch of Four-score and Ten,
 And as the Devil did drive me:
 I put on my Cloaths, and cry'd Witches and Whores,
 I tumbl'd down Stairs, broke open the Doors,
 And down to my Country again to my Boors,
Next morning I rid Tan-tivee. (IV, 140-41)

Most evident, of course, is the fact that the lover's discovery of cosmetic delusion destroys all desire for sexual coition. As is obvious, the song depends for its comic success on traditional cures for excessive love. Like the medical writers, the anonymous lyricist concentrates primarily on the beloved's face, examining in detail each of its physical shortcomings. And, like the medieval vetula, the lover's lady (who "seem'd like an Angel by Candle-light" [IV, 140]), exhibits a variety of horrible

defects: among them venereal disease, physical corruption, ugliness, and decrepit old age. Like Will Honeycomb, Swift's Strephon, and Scriblerus' young nobleman, the country lover has been cured of his delusive desires by the shocking discovery of human mortality hidden within folds of cosmetic beauty. And like these former lovers', his discovery is a most fortuitous detection.

A rollicking bawdy tune, "The Hide-Park Frolick" illustrates how the love-melancholy tradition informed even the most popular art forms of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. A tangible image of human folly, the concept of the love-malady played an important role in Augustan satiric writings. In the remainder of this chapter I wish to examine in closer detail how the tradition functions in selected literary works immediately relative to Alexander Pope. I will attend to 1) specific numbers of The Tatler and The Spectator; 2) selected poems of Gay and Swift; and 3) two Scriblerian productions: Three Hours After Marriage and the "Double Mistress" episode in the Memoirs . . . of Martinus Scriblerus.

1. A Set of Sighers: The Tatler and The Spectator

In their efforts to inculcate a code of human behaviour, one based on civilized values and Christian virtues, Addison and Steele adapt for rhetorical purposes the tradition of love-melancholy. In both the Tatler and Spectator the malady functions as an identifiable

humour -- a visible dramatic metaphor which reveals the inner nature of the characters concerned. Consistently in both papers love-melancholy is regarded as a comic folly, a laughable disorder associated with intellectual or creative dullness, sexual immorality, and spiritual vacuity. Inevitably it is contrasted with a wise and virtuous conjugal love based on mutual affection, reciprocal desires, and Christian piety.⁵ As such, it is used regularly to depict an "incorrect" or wayward type of life divorced from common sense and moral integrity. Throughout both journals, then, the concept of love-melancholy works as an ideal device by which to satirize the foibles of an excessive and self-conscious age.⁶

From its opening number on 12 April 1709 the Tatler employs the satiric figure of the melancholy lover. Under the heading of White's Chocolate House ("All accounts of Gallantry, Pleasure, and Entertainment --"), Steele/Bickerstaff discusses "The deplorable condition of a very pretty Gentleman".⁷ Steele's fop is smitten with love at his first and only sight "of a young lady who looked up at him" (I,3). Following this initial vision he falls silent for hours and quickly develops a melancholy disposition.⁸ He loses all his money through carelessness; he loses all his arguments through indifference. As Steele is careful to point out, the love-sick beau becomes obsessed with an image of his unknown beloved:

All the ensuing winter he went from church to church every Sunday and from play-house to play-house every night in the week; but could never find the original of the picture which dwelt in his bosom. In a word, his attention to any thing but his passion, was utterly gone. (I, 3)⁹

The victim dwindles rapidly, suffering a severe loss of mental and physical vivacity: "this passion has so extremely mauled him, that his features are set and uninformed and his whole visage is deadened, by a long absence of thought" (I, 3). A "grim" illustration of love's tyranny, Mr. Bickerstaff's fop is of great instruction to all who actually are, or who ever shall be in love.

A whimsical parody of contemporary affectations, Steele's essay sets the tone for subsequent uses of love-melancholy throughout the Tatler and Spectator. Most significant for our purposes is the fact that Steele early connects love-melancholy with intellectual folly, with a listless and uninformed mentality. The malady functions as a base or foundation upon which broader satiric commentary may be developed. The essay, then, at once diverting and instructive, thrusts not only at the pretences and emotionalism of fops and beaux, but at their very real neglect of common sense and moral probity. In this way, Steele's very pretty gentleman illustrates a "wrong" approach to human life, an incorrect modus vivendi. By so doing, he anticipates the later melancholic caricatures

of both periodicals, as well as the more intricate Scriblerian figures of Gay, Swift, and Pope.

If Steele's early presentation of love-melancholy established a pattern, his later numbers may be viewed as more complex variations on a single theme. Tatler 44 (2 July 1709), for example, develops this initial association between love-melancholy and intellectual obliquity; the elderly physician, Aesculapius, has fallen in love with his client, the beautiful young Hebe. As Pacolet informs Mr. Bickerstaff, the doctor's "fortune was the same with that of the statuary, who fell in love with the image of his own making; and the unfortunate Aesculapius is become the patient of her whom he lately recovered" (I, 261). Steele's allusion to the Pygmalion myth accentuates the lover's distorted obsession with his own cherished idea -- an aspect of love-melancholy continually emphasized throughout the periodical writings.

As late as November 1711 Addison was comparing the "Phrenzy" of love to "that which is produced by the biting of a mad Dog" (Spectator 227, II, 384).¹⁰ And, in Spectator 30 for 4 April 1711, Steele develops this notion of the lover's monomaniacal devotion to an idea of the perfect mistress: members of the "Amorous Club" "separate themselves from all other Company because they will enjoy the Pleasure of talking incoherently" (I, 124). In addition:

When a Man comes into the Club he is not obliged to make any introduction

to his Discourse, but at once . . .
 speaks in the Thread of his own
 Thoughts, "She gave me a very
 obliging glance, She never looked
 so well in her life as this
 evening" or the like Reflection. (I, 124)

Significantly the Club's Patron is none other than Don Quixote -- a character whose "Phrenzy" differs little in nature from this "set of Sighers" (I, 124-125).

Of principal interest in both the Tatler and Spectator, though, is Addison's and Steele's parodic use of classical remedies for love. As the episode of Will Honeycomb and the Pict, mentioned in Chapter One, suggests, the tradition of love-melancholy cures provided not only a concept of intellectual disorder, but also a store of situations, images, patterns -- even plots -- all readily adaptable to literary purposes. Tatler 47 (28 July 1709) and 107 (15 December 1709) illustrate this comic integration: both numbers operate within the area established by the classical paradigms.

Tatler 47, for example, derives ultimately from Plutarch's tale of Stratonice and Antiochus, a tale repeated in both Tatler 185 (15 June 1710) and Spectator 229 (22 November 1711). Here in Tatler 47 Bickerstaff advises that "you are not to chuse your physician for his knowledge in your distemper, but for having it himself" (I, 281-82). Hence, when called to treat an irrational lover, the narrator turns immediately to Aesculapius, the love-sick physician introduced earlier in Tatler 44:

Aesculapius, as soon as he saw the Patient, cries out, It is Love! Oh! the unequal pulse! these are the symptoms a Lover feels; such sighs, such pangs, attend the uneasy mind; nor can our art, or all our boasted skill, avail -- Yet, O Fair! for thee . . . All I can advise, is marriage: Charms and beauty will give new life and vigour, and turn the course of Nature to its better prospect. This is the new way; . . . my friend followed the prescription, and married youth and beauty in its perfect bloom. (Tatler 47, I, 282)

The speech itself recalls that of Erasistratus in Plutarch's tale where "fiery flushes", "sudden sweats", and "irregular pulse" all point toward marriage as the necessary cure for Antiochus.¹¹ A recognized remedy, it satisfies the latter's desperate sense of longing, thereby leading to the peaceful and harmonious resolution of Plutarch's story.

Most detailed in its uses of classical remedies, however, is Steele's Tatler 107. A virtual paraphrase of Ovid's Remedia Amoris, the entire number strongly anticipates Pope's episode of the melancholy self-lover in the Memoirs . . . of Martinus Scriblerus. Like Martinus, Bickerstaff appears in the role of medical physician called to attend a love-sick young gentleman. The patient is marked by "a deep sorrow, mixed with a certain ingenuous complacency"; he stares and betrays "an absence of thought"; he is in "distress" and considers himself "the most unhappy of all men" (II, 299). To top things off he displays "a kind of melancholy pleasure" and "can neither eat, drink, nor

sleep"; for friends he keeps only fellow lovers -- all similarly affected with love-melancholy (II, 303).

Bickerstaff employs the traditional diagnostic methods of observational psycho-physiology, a technique already traced from Erasistratus, through Galen and Avicenna, to Burton himself:¹²

I . . . turned to my common-place-book, and found his case under the word Coquette; and reading over the catalogue which I have collected out of this great city of all under that character, I saw at the name of Cynthia his fit came upon him. I repeated the name thrice after a musing manner, and immediately perceived his pulse quicken two thirds. (II, 299-300)

Jilted by a fickle coquette "in the full tyranny of her charms" (II, 300) the lover betrays conventional symptoms of mental and physical disorder. His eyes are wild, his soul doats, he sighs, and above all, he grows extraordinarily affected: "I have called a cave a grotto these three years, and must keep ordinary company . . . before I can recover my common words" (II, 300-01). Aware of his own folly the lover begs for advice on "how to cure myself of this passion of an ungrateful woman" (II, 300).

Having experienced a similar amorous "wound", Bickerstaff proceeds to prescribe virtually every cure in Ovid's Remedia. In his list of "rules" to be followed he attempts to "turn a desperate disease into one we can more easily cure". Like Ovid, he cautions that love is best treated in its early stages for, like any other evil, it

grows stronger in time; indeed, a stricken lover "is often averse even to his recovery" (II, 301).¹³ Bickerstaff then prescribes as "wholesome remedies" such antidotes as travel, soldiering, business, hunting, and exercise. The lover should avoid both the beloved and everything associated with her for "there is an infection in all that relates to her: You will find, her house, her chariot, her domestics, and her very lap-dog, are so many instruments of torment" (II, 302).¹⁴

In addition, Bickerstaff advocates such traditional panaceas as vilification and contemplation of female imperfections:¹⁵

The means which I found most effectual for my cure, were reflections upon the ill-usage I had received In the next place, I took pains to consider her in all her imperfections; and that I might be sure to hear of them constantly, kept company with those, her Female friends, who were her dearest and most intimate acquaintance. (II, 302)

Above all, Bickerstaff advises the transformation of the lover's passion away from the beloved toward a new object of desire. The lover must transcend the restrictions imposed by his love through the deliberate exercise of both intellectual and physical energy. Hence, this "new object" might be another woman, a business venture, a campaign -- anything so long as it replaces the old mistress as the object of the lover's devotion. His cures complete, Bickerstaff then takes his leave; his patient . . .

resolves "to get all things ready for entering upon his regimen the next morning" (II, 304).

Steele's elaborate adaptation of Ovidian material indicates the extent to which classical concepts of love-melancholy were known and used by literary artists of the early eighteenth century. As Tatler 107 makes clear, the tradition was used not solely to provide comic diversion for the reading public, but to inculcate a variety of moral and intellectual truths. Like this tale of Bickerstaff's young lover, subsequent essays that used love-melancholy were inevitably moralistic, albeit wonderfully diverting. Addison's later essays on the Lover's Leap (Spectator 223 and 233), for example, in addition to being a literary forum for Philips' translations of Sappho, are an ironic examination of how passional excess leads not to the palace of wisdom, but rather toward outright insanity or death. Ostensibly studies of Sappho and her poetry, Addison's two numbers are stern reminders of the folly of amorous excess, the folly of human unreason.

* * *

In numbers 275 (15 January 1712) and 281 (22 January 1712) the Spectator dissects a beau's head and a coquette's heart respectively. In number 377 (13 May 1712) Addison uses the love-melancholy tradition to anatomize the absurdities of the entire beau monde. The essay is devoted "to a Phrase which is made use of by all the melting Tribe,

from the highest to the lowest, I mean that of dying for Love" (III, 416). In this exquisite number Addison provides a "Bill of Mortality" listing "those several Places where there is most Danger, and those Fatal Arts which are made use of to destroy the Heedless and Unwary" (III, 417). Among the deceased are: "Lysander, slain at a Puppet-Show on the 3rd of September"; "Tim. Tattle, killed by the tap of a Fan on his Left Shoulder by Coquetilla"; "Sylvius, shot through the Sticks of a Fan at St. James's Church"; "Damon, struck through the Heart by a Diamond Necklace"; "Musidorus, slain by an Arrow that flew out of a Dimple in Belinda's Left Cheek"; and "Charles Careless, shot flying by a Girl of Fifteen, who unexpectedly popped her Head upon him out of a Coach" (III, 417-418).

Like Pope's war of beaux and belles in The Rape of the Lock (V, 35ff.), Addison's haut obituaire is meant to expose the folly of "all the melting Tribe" -- of all who affect, pretend, and dissemble. Most significant, however, Addison's list functions in much the same manner as Ovid's exposure cure; as Mr. Spectator remarks:

If a Man considers that all his heavy Complaints of Wounds and Deaths rise from some little Affectations of Coquetry, which are improved into Charms by his own fond Imagination, the very laying before himself the Cause of his Distempers, may be sufficient to effect the Cure of it. (III, 417)

Like the Ovidian physician, Addison then proceeds to reveal

the unvarnished truth lurking beneath a cosmetic veneer. Not simply parodic, his list constitutes a psychological "cure", an exposure of those delusions nurtured by one's own wayward imagination.

An incomparable piece of writing, Addison's essay is significant for several reasons. First, it epitomizes the satiric manner in which the love-melancholy tradition was adapted by periodical writers known to and read by Pope. Second, it accentuates the moral basis of such adaptations. Third (and by no means least notable), it re-affirms the tremendous potential for whimsy contained within the tradition itself. In its use of love-melancholy to anatomize the beau monde -- the world of Belinda and the Baron -- Spectator 377 identifies unequivocally the ironic, bemused tone which would permeate most Augustan satire in general, most Scriblerian satires in particular.

2. The Wailings of a Maiden: Gay and Swift

The poetry of John Gay and Jonathan Swift occupies a central position in this survey of early Augustan satire. Their treatments of the love-melancholy tradition are particularly significant -- not only in their own right, but in their relative importance to Alexander Pope. Fellow Scriblerians, the three men shared something of an intellectual symbiosis; ideas, attitudes, plots, or imagistic patterns developed by one would at once exert influence on each of

the other two. With Gay in particular, Pope often acted as editorial proof-reader, a role which further complicates questions of inter-influence and shared authorship.¹⁶ As such, the poetry of Gay and Swift is most important for the light it sheds on Pope's knowledge of, attitudes toward, and use of the love-melancholy tradition.

Both Gay and Swift sometimes use the trappings of love-melancholy to embroider, to provide a smattering of traditional colour. Swift's "Louisa to Strephon" (1724-30?), for example, an unexceptional love-ditty, uses the conventional epithets: love is "a pleasing Pain" which the lover "cure[s] with Ease and with Delight".¹⁷ Gay, in his early songs and pastoral elegies, likewise uses such standard motifs. "Panthea", which first appeared in Steele's Miscellany in 1713, differs little from its classical prototypes -- Theocritus' bucolics and Virgil's eclogues. Rejected by the faithless Alexis, Panthea experiences "Love's secret Smart"; she fluctuates between "Hope and Fear"; she retires from the light into darkness; and she asks to be lead "to some melancholy Cave, / To lull my Sorrows in a living Grave" (89-90). Similarly, in his "Daphnis and Chloe" (1720), Gay employs for purposes of popular entertainment the conventional icon of the love-melancholic:

DAPHNIS stood pensive in the shade,
 With Arms a-cross, and Head reclin'd;
 Pale looks accus'd the cruel Maid,
 And Sighs reliev'd his love-sick Mind:
 His tuneful Pipe, all broken lay,

Looks, Sighs, and Actions seem'd to say
 My CHLOE is unkind. (1-7)

The portrait is a familiar one: it recalls not only Dürer's famous engraving of Melencolia I, but also Burton's figure of the Inamorato engraved on the frontispiece of The Anatomy of Melancholy. Arms crossed, pensive and shaded, Burton's love-melancholic is surrounded by books (presumably romances and novels), sheet music, and a neglected lute.¹⁸

As in the Tatler and Spectator, however, love-melancholy is usually subordinated by both Gay and Swift to the larger concerns of moral satire. Varying drastically in emphasis, both men nevertheless adapt the tradition for similar purposes: to reduce to laughter the absurdities of either an individual, a group, or a society itself. Significantly, both men employ the concept principally in their parodic works, particularly in their mock versions of pastoral love-poetry. Their literary burlesques, then, are directed toward both form and content: their parodic versions mock the traditional genres; their substitution of love-melancholy for "heroic" passion ridicules the inflated concept or illusion of sexual love upon which the genre itself is based.

Swift, of course, is the sterner moralist of the two poets. His adaptations from the love-melancholy tradition derive almost wholly from the vast body of scatological cures. As in the case of Donne's "The Comparison", he exploits to the fullest the rhetorical power of

scatological deprecation. As will be seen presently, however, there is the vital difference of tone, one which distinguishes the literary jest from the impassioned moral homily. Gay, on the other hand, ignores these scatological aspects of love-melancholy. More the laughing satirist, he adapts symptoms and prognostics of the disease to reinforce a less acerbic exposure of human foibles and follies.

To evaluate fully Gay's and Swift's uses of love-melancholy, I wish to examine in closer detail specific poems in the tradition. Attention will be given to Gay's The Fan (1713; revised 1720), The Shepherd's Week (1714), and The Toilette (1716); and to Swift's scatological trilogy of 1734: "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed", "Strephon and Chloe", and "Cassinus and Peter".

* * *

First published on 8 December 1713 (the same day Pope said he "finished The Rape of the Lock"), The Fan represents Gay's early experimentation with the mock-epic form. As Vinton A. Dearing points out, the poem "not only belongs to the same genre as The Rape of the Lock but it echoes it in several places." It possesses an epic proposition and invocation; it recounts a long-continued battle and the hero's appeal for divine aid; and it includes a digression, a consultation of the gods, and a description of the ornamentation of arms. A sophisticated literary piece, The Fan belongs to the same tradition as Le Lutrin, The Dispensary, and

The Dunciad, a tradition "in which the upward pull of the style predominates over the downward pull of the content, so that the tension, though still comical, is more refined." ²⁰

Within these contexts of the mock-epic, Gay uses the concept of love-melancholy as one of his principal means of parodic representation.

Like Pope in The Rape of the Lock, Gay uses the love-malady as an integral aspect of his overall satiric design. Conventional motifs -- cosmetics, love as delusion or warfare, the effects of beauty -- all are used to elucidate and to satirize the attitudes of both Strephon and the beau monde. The portrayal of love as a disease, a distortion of reason and health, complements Gay's larger satire on a disordered, dissolute, and sadly unheroic age. He contrasts with the awesome passion of classical gods or heroes the miserable contemporary equivalent of a whimpering fop niggled with melancholic desires. As a means of characterization, then, love-melancholy performs a dual function: not only does it help mock a specific literary genre, it also directs ironic commentary against the perversion of those ideals and virtues which originally supported that genre itself.

From the outset Gay establishes love-melancholy as his central or controlling metaphor. His epigraph, taken from Homer's Iliad (XIV, 215-18), refers to both the deluding nature of artificial allurements, as well as the insidious nature of an excessive and unthinking passion. ²¹ Subsequently,

in his presentation of Strephon -- itself a framing device for the adventure of Venus -- Gay depends on the reader's successful identification of conventional symptoms of love-melancholy. Strephon is plagued with "am'rous Pain" (I, 39); "in broken Words he sigh'd his Care" (I, 41); at the sight of his beloved he is pale and tremulous (I, 42); he dresses, laughs, sings, rhymes, and dances to please her (I, 44); he even complies with Ovid's advice and bribes Corinna's maid (I, 46).²² Above all, he employs "Smooth Flatt'ry . . . /The surest Charm to bind the force of Pride" (I, 47-48). A veritable courtier of disaster, Strephon fails in every attempt and finally retires to seek "Relief in Solitude" (I, 53). By the end of the poem Venus returns from Olympus only to find him "in a melancholy Grove" (III, 141), his "down-cast Eyes" betraying his "desponding Love" (III, 142). Like Orlando in As You Like It (III, ii, 1ff.), Strephon has carved his passion in the "wounded Bark" (III, 143); and like Burton's inamorato, he lies in a "Shade . . . with folded Arms" (III, 145). In each case, then, Gay's Strephon fulfills traditional requirements for the snubbed and melancholic lover.

Not only is Strephon parodied, he himself unwittingly reveals the unheroic nature of both his own and his society's ideals. Like Pope's Baron in The Rape of the Lock, he offers a desperate plea for divine intervention: in this case a direct appeal to the Goddess of Love (I, 57-90). Throughout the speech religious terminology serves not only as an ironic

comment on this mock invocation, but serves moreover to indicate the moral values which both Strephon and his world unthinkingly parody. This inversion of religious ceremony permeates the poem: Strephon alone mentions "a thousand Altars" (I, 61), "curling Clouds of Incense" (I, 62), "O beauteous Goddess" (I, 63), "Inspire my Tongue" (I, 64), "Godlike Figure" (I, 66), "Shrine" and "Virgin Vows" (I, 72).

Appropriately, Strephon subordinates each religious concept to an explicitly erotic purpose -- just as he reduces the entire invocation to the purposes of "some bright Toy [that] can charm her Sight" (I, 89). Strephon's prayer, then, as a mock-rite, suggests the corruption of both reason and imagination as they are subjugated here to the whimsical quest for sexual control.

Of principal importance in Gay's presentation, of course, is his reliance on the classical models of religious invocation. Such a paradigm exists within The Fan as a standard of simple heroic dignity against which Gay ironically measures the degeneracy of Strephon and his decadent age. Unlike an Achilles, Odysseus, or Aeneas, Gay's hero invokes divine attention not because of any cosmic disaster, but because of an unrequited amorous trifle. Strephon's own self-comparisons with Acontius and Hippomenes (I, 75-76) similarly undercut any pretensions to heroic valour; such allusions, rather, only accentuate the corrupt, even squalid nature of the contemporary world when held up to the plain virtues of a past Golden Age.

Such heroic measures permeate the presentation of Venus' Cave, a passage most important in our discussion of love-melancholy. Describing the manufacture of cosmetics and female toys, Gay compares such labour with a more famous kind of divine toil:

Here busie Cupids, with pernicious Art,
Form the stiff Bow, and forge the fatal Dart;

* * *

A diff'rent Toil another Forge employs;
Here the loud Hammer fashions Female Toys,
Hence is the Fair with Ornament supply'd,
Hence sprung the glitt'ring Implements of Pride;
Each Trinket that adorns the modern Dame,
First to these little Artists ow'd its Frame.

(I, 103-04; 112-116)

As Gay himself points out in a letter to Fortescue, the passage derives ultimately from Virgil's Aeneid VIII, 416-53 -- the description of Vulcan's armoury on the island of Hiera.²³ Such an allusion is hardly gratuitous, for thereby Gay continues his elaborate mirroring of ancient and modern virtues. In place of Zeus' thunderbolt, Mars' chariot, Athene's aegis, and Aeneas' own arms, he here outlines the divine creation of the love-weapon extraordinaire -- the fan itself. As in the case of Strephon's invocation, the classical model casts an ironic censure over modern frippery: through Gay's implicit allusion, it renders pitiful the shrunken modern equivalents of ancient achievements.

Most interesting for our purposes is Gay's emphatic description of the Cupids' "pernicious Art". In each case

they manufacture objects which delude, cosmetic objects which perpetuate distorted visions of female beauty. Significantly, the fan itself is ultimately the product of metamorphosed Cupidean materials -- feathers, shafts, and arrow tips (I. 175-90). In this sense, the fan, which has been requested by a melancholic lover, emerges as the ne plus ultra of modern amorous warfare. At this point one need only recall Burton's infamous diatribe against artificial allurements to appreciate fully Gay's militaristic presentation of "bright Beauty's Arms" (I, 128).²⁴

A brilliant mock version of the classical paradigm, Gay's portrayal epitomizes the "downward pull" of the poem's trivialized contents. Moreover, the presentation of Venus' Cave indicates Gay's fusing of various literary strands to create a single, unified whole. The concept of love-melancholy, the tradition of mock-epic, the idea of love as warfare, the image of Art as dissemblance -- all are blended to form an ornate parody of what Gay and the Scriblerians regarded as incorrect and, despite its comic aspects, immoral human behaviour. In this sense, The Fan marks an early honing of a distinct aesthetic technique, one which Gay develops more fully in subsequent literary burlesques.

Most notable of these later works is the transitional Shepherd's Week (first published 1714). A prime agent in the great pastoral war, the poem is an elaborate parody of both classical and modern examples of "realistic" pastoralism.

Gay employs names like Lobbin Clout, Cloddipole, Sparabella, and Hobnelia; he draws imagery and descriptions from common rustic sources; and he always grounds his material in mundane activities of the rural world. And, as in The Fan, he uses love-melancholy as an integral part of his entire satiric design. Throughout, this concept of love as a delusive, sweaty business consistently and comically undermines the poem's ostensible purpose to represent a pure and innocent pastoral wonderland.

"Tuesday", for example, describes the "yearning Love" (17) of Marian, the parson's maid. Rejected by Colin Clout in favour of Cic'ly, she retires, as might be expected, to "a dreary Shade" where "mixt with Sighs [she] wails in plaining Song." (23-24). Appropriately enough, Marian sets forth a detailed comparison between her own loving fidelity and the boorish callousness of both Colin and Cic'ly. Following her description of rural homelife, she then unknowingly provides an ironic self-exposure:

Where-e'er I gad I cannot hide my Care,
 My new Disasters in my Look appear.
 White as the Curd my ruddy Cheek is grown,
 So thin my Features that I'm hardly known;
 Our Neighbours tell me oft in joking Talk
 Of Ashes, Leather, Oatmeal, Bran and Chalk;
 Unwittingly of Marian they divine,
 And wist not that with thoughtful Love I pine. (39-46)

Marian's plaintive song is particularly revealing. First, she admits her melancholic condition and points out her conventional symptoms: she is fretful, anxiety-prone, pale,

and thin. What follows, however, ironically explodes her idealistic interpretation of her own malady. For while she denies her neighbours' knowledge of either the cause or nature of her affliction (46), they (in lines 43-44) jokingly refer to her case of "green-sickness" -- a form of love-melancholy known to affect passionate and lustful young women.

Known as "green-sickness" since the late Renaissance, the malady is defined as "an anemic disease which mostly affects young women about the age of puberty and gives a pale or greenish tinge to the complexion" (OED, 1a). As early as 1583, the affliction is associated explicitly with sexual desires and, when these are denied, with a morbid appetite for such absorbents as ashes, oatmeal, chalk, and wax. Robert Greene, in his Mamillia (1583), speaks of a young woman who "Fall[s] into the green sickness for want of a husband."²⁶ Shakespeare's Capulet refers to Juliet's "green-sickness carrion" (Romeo and Juliet, III. v. 157). Similarly, Burton remarks in his symptoms and signs of love-melancholy that "the green-sickness therefore often happeneth to young women" (AM III, 2, 3).

By the early eighteenth century the disease is mentioned frequently by both physicians and wits. Robert Pierce, in his Bath Memoirs (rev. ed. 1713), speaks of the green-sickness or "virgin Disease" which is best prevented by "giving [the girl] to a good husband."²⁷ Almost needless

to say, such an affliction bred endless parodies, the best of which is Spectator 431 (15 July 1712). Discussing the miserable affair of one "Sabina Green", Steele records that she "devour'd" everything from oatmeal, pipe-stems, chalk, and wax, to stones, coals, and most of the garden wall. Only following her marriage does she regain her "former Health and Complexion, and [become] as happy as the Day is long" (IV, 15-16).²⁸

Gay's irony, of course, lies in the fact that Marian most desires such a traditional cure for her own love-sickness. Underlying her lament for a lost domesticity, she is actually bewailing the loss of a more fundamental human activity. Precisely such an "activity" is demonstrated in Gay's primitive version of the objective correlative:

Thus Marian wail'd, her Eye with Tears brimfull,
When Goody Dobbins brought her Cow to Bull.
With Apron Blue to dry her Tears she sought,
Then saw the Cow well serv'd, and took a Groat. (103-06)

Gay's use of the green-sickness, then, establishes an important ironic distance between character and reader; it punctures, for one thing, the false idealism of Marian's self-portrait. In addition, it implicitly explodes the sexless "purity" in both classical and modern representations of an artificial "golden age". Gay's concluding couplets, then, culminate this ironic perspective for they illustrate at once the "real" nature of both Marian and her rural environment.

By the time of The Toilette in 1716 Gay displays a more sophisticated, more complex handling of the love-melancholy tradition. As in The Shepherd's Week and The Fan, the malady is still used as a means of satiric characterization: Lydia, like Marian, Strephon, and others, betrays her own folly by exhibiting conventional symptoms of an excessive and irrational love. As in these early poems, the disease is regarded as laughable, and thereby provides a stringent parody in itself of social game-playing and foppish behaviour.

In his shift from country pastoral to town eclogue, however, Gay uses this concept of a deluding, insane passion less to draw external portraits than to create a profound psychological portrayal of a diseased, unstable mind. Admittedly, Lydia first impresses the reader as comic -- she is after all the stock superannuated belle who is at once pettish, vain, and vituperative. She is also, Gay emphasizes, quite pathetic; she is on the brink of outright despair.

Essentially a disordered monologue, the poem represents the erratic ramblings of the "love-sick Lydia" (99). As Gay informs us, his "speaker" suffers a melancholic discomposure: like Dürer's Angel she is found in a revealing iconographic posture:

Reclin'd upon her arm she pensive sate,
And curs'd th'inconstancy of youth too late. (20-21)

In addition, Lydia is past the fashionable age, is no longer the most popular coquette, has been abandoned by her lovers.

and (like an elder Belinda), is reduced to using cosmetics to disguise the evidence of approaching middle-age.²⁹

Like Pope in The Rape of the Lock, Gay mirrors his protagonist's inner nature and values in the external world she chooses to inhabit. Hence, Lydia's distortion of natural virtues, her desperate fascination with only the appearance of things, are developed continually through Gay's emphasis on grotesque metamorphoses, illusion, deception, outer clothing, artificial surfaces, and cosmetic dissemblance. From the outset nature is subordinated to the demands of cheapened artifice: seasons "cloath'd" the Park (1), "Shocks, monkeys and mockaws/ . . . fill the place of Fops" (9-10), Lydia even substitutes the squawking of her parrot for the whispers of her ex-lover, Damon (13-14).

As the poem progresses Gay incessantly emphasizes these notions of dissemblance, perversion, and disguise. Lydia's toilette, similar to that of Belinda in The Rape of the Lock, is a religious "devotion" (12) -- one which perpetuates self-deception and social pretence: Lydia, for instance, believes that "youthful dress gives youthful airs" (18; my italics). Similarly, Gay describes cosmetic rites in terms of a "gloss" (101), a "look" (103), and an "air" (104) -- terms which might well be applied to Lydia's conception of religious activities as a form of social ritual (43-50). Throughout her monologue Lydia herself speaks of "perfume" (34), artificial "stays" (36), and eyes that "deceive" (42); she repeatedly

mentions her own "dress", ogles "the rich brocade" (55) and "burnish'd gold" (56), and, most appropriately, alludes to the theatre -- the very home of calculated illusion (27ff., 106).

As a reflection of Lydia's psychological condition, Gay's portrayal is a complex and penetrating representation. On one hand it offers a succinct comment on the trivial pre-occupations of a vain and supercilious coquette. Her world is made up of fops, cosmetics, games and rivals, china plates, pets, and amorous intrigues. However, as a rambling monologue of an aging, love-sick spinster, Gay's poem touches on some fundamental problems of human experience. Not only does the work expose Lydia's hypocrisy, it also exhibits in painful detail her loneliness, despair, and fears; witness, for example, her weak attempts to rationalize her own feelings:

Why are those sobs? and why these streaming eyes?
Is love the cause? no, I the sex despise;
I hate, I loath his base perfidious name.
Yet if he should but feign a rival flame? (93-96)

Despite the potential for comedy here, these lines explore the very workings of desperation, itself. Lydia's love-melancholy, as a profound mental disorder, accounts in part for her searing introspection, for such rapid-fire fluctuations. In this way, then, the tradition provides a psychological paradigm with which Gay might explore the complexities of an Augustan coquette fraught with anxiety, desires, and despair.

Most disturbing to Gay in all the above is the fact, that Lydia is not simply a typical or familiar figure of the beau monde. Rather, in her values, attitudes, and melancholic ravings, she is seen as a virtual microcosm. Her psychological make-up not only is mirrored, but actively mirrors the outer world in its madness and despair. In the character of the love-sick Lydia, then, Gay indicates his world's love of foppish triviality, as well as its "devotion" to all that is transient, insignificant, and worldly. As such, The Toilette marks Gay's successful blend of a personal and social satire, one which depends in great part on the tradition of love-melancholy.

* * *

Although radically different in both form and content from the congenial satire of Gay, Swift's scatological verse shares a common basis in the love-melancholy tradition. Such a reading is possible thanks to modern scholars -- Maurice Johnson, Irvin Ehrenpreis, Jae Num Lee, to name a few -- who have rightly dismissed the cranky and puritanical criticism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³⁰ No longer must one put up with tales of the Dean's neurotic misogyny, misanthropy, misogamy, or whatever; attention, rather, can be and is placed on Swift's rhetorical, moralistic, and structural intentions. His scatological poetry may now

be approached as poetry and not as a mess of psychological documents.

The most recent piece of such "new" criticism (and one most pertinent to our discussion) is John F. Sena's fine study: "Swift as Moral Physician: Scatology and the Tradition of Love-Melancholy." Concentrating on "The Lady's Dressing-Room" and "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed", the essay traces Swift's denunciation of female beauty back to the savage imagery, strategies, and tone developed by medical writers in their cures for excessive love.

To Professor Sena, Swift fulfills three principal functions in his use of these scatological remedies. First, as a satirist, Swift strips away the illusions of romantic love; like Ovid and Burton he exposes the earthy reality beneath the haze of sentimental trumpery. Second, as a moralist, he attacks the sins of the flesh: by anatomizing false female beauty, he can emphasize the real universal ugliness of carnal sin. Finally, as a conservative Anglican divine, Swift's powerful attack on bodily filth brutally refutes that idealization of the body espoused by Shaftesbury and the Deists. By viewing the Dean's "obscenity" in such contexts, Professor Sena argues, "we may better understand the techniques, imagery, and tone of the poems which even Swift's admirers have found difficult to accept."³¹

Such a poem is the infamous "Strephon and Chloe".

First published in 1734, it appeared together with "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed" and the "tragical elegy", "Cassinus and Peter" ("Celia, Celia, Celia, sh--"). A trilogy of sorts, each poem may be read in terms of traditional scatological cures of excessive love. Like Donne's "The Comparison", each poem relies for its dramatic effect on the exaggerated exposure of female faults and imperfections. Each sets out to destroy the illusory nature of an obsessive and idealizing love; to do so, each poem offers an intense and unflattering vision of human depravity. Like the traditional medical cures from which they derive, all three poems stress throughout the cloacal reality lurking always beneath the well-perfumed surface of the flesh.

"Strephon and Chloe", in particular, depends on Swift's deft handling of such "fecal" or "excremental rhetoric". Divided roughly into three parts, the poem represents an almost baroque version of Ovid's exposure cure. First, it traces Strephon's infatuation with the over-idealized, quasi-divine Chloe; in great detail it describes Strephon's subsequent enlightenment regarding Chloe's all-too-human imperfections; Swift then follows directly with a long moralistic sententia complete with biblical allusion. Throughout the poem Swift consistently punctures established, socially accepted delusions concerning physical beauty, love, the body, and the possibilities of human perfectability. He builds continually on the central experience of Strephon's sudden edification: each section of the poem looks either

forward or backward, either anticipating or recalling - Strephon's less than apocalyptic revelation of human corruption and mortality.

Swift immediately establishes Chloe as the idealized female, the unreal Petrarchan embodiment of beauty, virtue, and perfection. She is "beautiful" (3), "faultless" (6), and "graceful" (7); spotless in both body and appearance, she is "of no mortal Race" (8). So "divine a Creature" (19), she neither sweats, stinks, nor excretes. As Swift succinctly points out, her body is in perfect humoral harmony:

Such Cleanliness from Head to Heel:
No Humours gross, or frowzy Steams,
No noisom Whiffs, or sweaty Streams,
Before, behind, above, below,
Could from her taintless Body flow. (10-14)

Appropriately, Strephon regards his beloved as a "Nymph" (73), a "Goddess" (85), "Venus-like" (87), a "Deity" (89), a "heav'nly Wife" (104). Fearful to offend so ideal a Nymph, he is initially anxious, uncertain, and perplexed.

Throughout his description Swift uses the human body as an emblem of frailty and imperfection. Indeed, his early bodily imagery fulfills a dual function: 1) it ironically reveals human delusion and pretence; and 2) it ironically foreshadows Swift's central shattering of this said delusion. For example: Swift emphasizes Chloe's "taintless Body" (14), a body the town agrees "Nature form'd with Nicest Care" (5), a body whose "fragrant skin/Exhal'd

Ambrosia from within" (87-88). On one hand Swift's portrayal emphasizes man's virtually blasphemous adoration of a fallen and corrupt earthly beauty. As an Anglican Dean, he ironically accentuates the corrupt interior of fallen man disguised by a pleasing and delusive exterior. Finally, Swift's ironic idealization anticipates his coming exposure of precisely those scatological realities which make up the human body itself; it anticipates, in effect, his brutal examination of Chole's subsequent (and somewhat less than ambrosial) exhalations.

Having established his idyllic vision of the divine Chloe, Swift begins a remorseless vilification, a virtual demolition of the very illusion he himself has created. Following closely traditional scatological remedies, he recalls not only Ovid's advice "to harp continually on your mistress' faults" (RA, 315), but also recollects the medieval vetula of Bernardus who "urinates in bed".³² For as Swift points out: "Carminative and Diuretick,/Will damp all Passion Sympathetick" (133-34).

Significantly, then, just such a cure liberates Strephon from his own amorous illusions. On the heels of marriage, Chloe, oppressed by both wind and kidneys, fulfills one of the principal requisites of the medieval vetula:

The Nymph opprest before, behind,
As Ships are toss't by Waves and Wind,
Steals out her Hand by Nature led,
And brings a Vessel into Bed..

* * *

STREPHON who heard the fuming Rill
 As from a mossy Cliff distill;
 Cry'd out, ye Gods, what Sound 'is this?
 Can Chloe, heav'nly Chloe -- ?
 But, when he smelt a noyson Steam
 Which oft attends that luke-warm Stream;
 (Salerno both together joins
 As sov'reign Med'cines for the Loins)
 And, though contriv'd, we may suppose
 To slip his Ears, yet struck his Nose:
 He found her, while the Scent increas'd
 As mortal as himself at least. (169-72; 175-86)

As in the medical writings, Swift takes especial care to emphasize the malodorous smells and revolting sounds produced by the flatulent Chloe. The "fuming Rill", the "noyson Steam", the "luke-warm Stream", and Chloe's "Scent" all conspire to assault the nose and ears of both the dismayed Strephon and the surprised reader. In addition, Swift's ironic allusion to Salerno (181-82) sets up a delicate, complex double entendre: not only do the lines translate a recognizable medical belief (urination is healthful for the body), but they also intimate precisely how excretions are "sov'reign Med'cines" against psychological diseases which are based on the demands of the "Loins". The cure complete, Strephon abandons all illusions of romantic love; like Chloe, he gives free reign to his bodily needs: "And as he fill'd the reeking Vase, / Let fly a Rouzer in her Face" (191-92). Appropriately at this point, Swift envisages a total dismantling of those elaborate icons associated traditionally with romantic infatuation:

The little Cupids hov'ring round,
 (As Pictures prove) with Garlands crown'd,
 Abasht at what they saw and heard,

Flew off, nor evermore appear'd.
 ADIEU to ravishing Delights,
 High Raptures, and romantick Flights.

Like the medical authors, Swift uses the image of excrement as the great equalizer -- the lowest common denominator of all men.³³ Following Strephon's enlightenment, he uses the image as his central symbol in a long homiletic sententia; the passage is worth quoting at length:

O Strephon, e'er that fatal Day
 When Chloe stole your Heart away,
 Had you but through a Cranny spy'd
 On House of Ease your future Bride,
 In all the Postures of her Face,
 Which Nature gives in such a Case;
 Distortions, Groanings, Strainings, Heavings;
 'Twere better you had lickt her Leavings,
 Than from Experience find too late
 Your Goddess grown a filthy Mate.
 Your Fancy then had always dwelt
 On what you saw, and what you smelt;
 Would still the same Ideas give ye,
 As when you spy'd her on the Privy.
 And, spight of Chloe's Charms divine,
 Your Heart had been as whole as mine. (235-50)

From Ovid to Jacques Ferrand, the beloved's excrement is recognized as one of the ultimate cures for love. In his Remedia, Ovid advises his "patients" to "mark well in your mind every blemish her body has" (417-18); he cites examples of those cured who "saw the obscene parts exposed" (429), another who "when the woman arose from the business of love, saw the couch . . . soiled by shameful marks" (432), and one "who lurked in hiding while the girl performed her obscenities, and saw what even custom forbids to see" (437-38). Similarly, Ferrand advises lovers as the ultimate

cure to inhale the fumes of the beloved's burning excrement.³⁴

Most significant in Swift's prognosis, however, is his "psychological" emphasis on the lover's Fancy and its role in his own infatuation. Like Bernardus of Gordon, in particular, Swift advises that the lover be separated from his deluding imagination and be made aware of the pains of Hell and the joys of Paradise.³⁵ He assaults the lover's (and the reader's) imagination. And, as moral physician, he attempts to substitute the object of affection with another which will drive out any possibility of relapse. Interestingly, Swift again concentrates on two specific senses: smell and sight. Not only does this recall Strephon's original catastrophe, but also Swift's own concluding couplets in "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed": "Corinna in the Morning dizen'd/Who sees, will spew; who smells, be poison'd" (73-74).

As if to belie his psychological critics, Swift concludes his scatological diatribe with a direct biblical allusion:

A PRUDENT Builder should forecast,
 How long the Stuff is like to last;
 And, carefully observe the Ground,
 To build on some Foundation sound;
 What House, when its Materials crumble,
 Must not inevitably tumble?
 What Edifice can long endure,
 Rais'd on a Basis unsecure?
 Rash Mortals, e'er you take a Wife,
 Contrive your Pile to last for Life;
 Since Beauty scarce endures a Day,
 And Youth so swiftly glides away;
 Why will you make yourself a Bubble
 To build on Sand with Hay and Stubble? (293-306)

Apropos of his own peculiar perspective, Swift alludes to Christ's parable of the two foundations in Luke 6: 47-49:

Every one who comes to me and hears my words and does them, I will show you what he is like: he is like a man building a house, who dug deep, and laid the foundation upon rock; and when a flood arose, the stream broke against that house, and could not shake it, because it has been well built. But he who hears and does not do them is like a man who built a house on the ground without foundation; against which the stream broke, and immediately it fell, and the ruin of that house was great.

Particularly apt, the allusion draws together various strands permeating the entire poem. First and foremost, it identifies Swift's moralistic distinction between a true and a false love, between a healthy, solid conjugal love based on "sense" and "wit" (307), "prudence" and "good nature" (308), and an unhealthy, melancholic love based solely on physical beauty. In addition: by alluding to the two foundations Swift culminates his satire on a delusive, groundless way of life based on the mutable values of a transitory world. Finally, the inclusion of Christ's parable underlines the Dean's religious motivations to discourage a sinful obsession with the flesh, the world, and the devil. Like Christ himself, Swift offers a direct warning -- a scatological homily -- which, if heeded, leads to an intellectual and spiritual salvation.

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In his Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift (1754) Patrick Delany comments of Swift's scatological poems: "they are the prescriptions of an able physician, who had, in truth, the health of his patients at heart, but laboured to attain that end, not only by strong emeticks, but also, by all the most nauseous, and offensive drugs and potions, that could be administered."³⁶ Such a moralistic panacea, "Strephon and Chloe" typifies both the form and content of Swift's major scatological poetry.

Like "The Progress of Beauty" (written c. 1719), "The Lady's Dressing Room" (1732), "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed", and "Cassinus and Peter", it shares the common rhetorical application of traditional scatological cures for love-melancholy. Also, "Strephon and Chloe" characterizes the essential intention of Swift's scatology: to dissuade "patients" from an obsession with something intrinsically worthless. In all these poems the reader is ultimately transformed into a Swiftian target: like Swift's own characters, he or she is anatomized, examined, and declared morally unfit. Throughout the ordeal Swift, at all times, fulfills his role as the Scriblerian physician: to teach, to delight, and above all, to cure.

3. In the utmost Inquietude: Three Hours after Marriage and the "Double Mistress" Episode

As in the poetry of Gay and Swift, the concept of

love-melancholy plays a prominent role in the satiric writings of the Scriblerus Club -- most notably in Three Hours After Marriage and the "Double Mistress" episode in the Memoirs of . . . Martinus Scriblerus. These two works are particularly important to our survey: both were written by the triumvirate of Gay, Pope, and Arbuthnot; both were written at approximately the same time (Spring 1717); and both share a common concern with intellectual dullness, with the misapplication or perversion of intellect, talent, energy, and creativity.³⁷

In both works the Scriblerians use similar methods to elucidate their satiric intentions: an overall farcical mood, ironic allusions (topical and classical), and, as a central satiric symbol, the figure of the pedantic virtuoso. Fossille and Martinus respectively are the very embodiments of bad thinking. As such, the editors' remarks in Three Hours After Marriage may well be applied to both pieces: "The satire . . . is not a lampoon so much as a moral essay."³⁸

Of utmost interest in both works is the Scriblerians' highly particularized, highly original adaptations of the love-melancholy tradition. The concept is used to indicate not only the folly of excessive amorousness, but also the folly of monomaniacal obsession, pedantic delusion, sick desire, and intellectual degradation. As Charles Kerby-Miller comments of Martinus' infatuation with Lindamira/Indamora, the Siamese-twin beloved:

The "passion" of the virtuosi for monsters and abnormalities was frequently ridiculed

in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. However, in translating that "passion" into actual amorousness, as they do both here and in the case of the Spanish lady's phenomenon, the Scriblerians open up an entirely original vein of humor. (Memoirs, p. 305)

Not only a comedic technique, such a "translation" of passions fulfills definite satiric and moral purposes. Like the Jonsonian humour, this Scriblerian passion is an identifiable dramatic "handle", a label that satirizes the virtuoso's vitiating of his own intellectual capacities. As a type of love-melancholy, this characterizing passion works as a powerful moral censure of precisely such an intellectual degeneration. Throughout both works, then, love-melancholy is closely associated with the idea of dullness or duncery -- a larger concept which later plays a dominant role in Pope's major satires.

From the opening scene of Three Hours After Marriage Fossille is established as the foolish love-melancholic, the doting bachelor-lecher. As Richard Morton and William M. Peterson rightly point out, he is a "conventional comic type -- the old, jealous husband, the niece-watching pantaloons, with a riotous house tumbling about his ears."³⁹ Continual allusions to Fossille's age, to his January-May relationship with Townley, and to his excessive (though warranted) jealousy all hilariously underline his own case of love-melancholy -- the kind Burton condemns as virtually intolerable:

What breach of vows and oaths, fury, dotage,
madness, might I reckon up! Yet this is more

tolerable in youth, and such as are still in their hot blood; but for an old fool to dote, to see an old lecher, what more odious, what can be more absurd? and yet what is so common? Who so furious? . . . Some dote then more than ever they did in their youth. How many decrepit, hoary, harsh, writhen, bursten-bellied, crooked, toothless, bald, blear-eyed, impotent, rotten old men shall you see flickering still in every place? One gets him a young wife, another a courtesan, and when he can scarce lift his leg over a sill, and hath one foot already in Charon's boat, when he hath the trembling in his joints, the gout in his feet, a perpetual rheum in his head, a continuâte cough, "his sight fails him, thîck of hearing, his breath stinks," all his moisture is dried up and gone, may not spit from him, a very child again, that cannot dress himself, or cut his own meat, yet he will be dreaming of, and honing after wenches; what can be more unseemly? (AM III, 2, 1, 2).

Ironically, Fossille is unaware of just how accurate he is when he remarks early in Act I: "Love and Jealousy are often Companions, and Excess of both had quite obnubilated the Eyes of my Understanding" (p. 13).

Most obnubilating, however, is Fossille's "translation" of his passions -- the inter-mingling of erotic desire and scholarly curiosity. Throughout the farce Tawnley is referred to as a type of oddity, an abnormality acquired for the doctor's collection. She is the "best of [his] Curiosities" (p. 6); Fossille soliloquizes: "Couldst thou not divert thyself still with the Spoils of Quarries and Coal-pits, thy serpents and thy Salamanders, but thou must have a living Monster too!" (p. 9); and in Act III Nautilus salutes Fossille accordingly: "Much Joy to the Learned Dr. Fossille. To

have a Mummy, an Alligator, and a Wife, all in one Day, is too great Happiness for Mortal Man!" (p. 45).

In each case Townbey the Courtesan is transformed into Townley the Monstrosity -- a particularly significant metamorphosis. Both "objects" are essentially illusory: they depend for their success on deluding the beholder; both are corrupt; and both constitute a prostitution of what, in itself, is basically innocent. In this sense Fossille's transformation of his new wife defines, in part, the perverse nature of his own intellectual activities. The Scriblerians' use of love-melancholy aspects consistently reinforces this overall impression of Fossille's delusions, abnormal desires, and, above all, his intellectual distortion of the desired object.

Such a "distortion" or misapplication of creative talent characterizes Fossille's niece: the poetess, Phoebe Clinket. Whereas Fossille is used to parody the shortcomings of bad scientific thinking, Phoebe is used to embody the follies and pretensions of the poetic dunce. Again the Scriblerians use the concept of a perverted love to portray a form of intellectual dullness: in this case, a deformed longing to create.

Phoebe, like Fossille, is portrayed in terms of a "translated" passion. Throughout the play she confuses erotic and literary passion, sexual and aesthetic creation. A chaste virgin, she "conceives" ideas (p. 8); she identifies

her works as either an "Issue of my Muse" (p. 14), an "adopted Child" (p. 14), a "Child" (p. 56), or an "offspring" (p. 56); and, most dramatically pleasing, she couches her literary discussions in the verbiage of sexual coition:

Sir Tremendous. Ah Madam! there is that Justness in Notions!

Clinket. I am so charm'd with your manly Penetration!

Sir Tremendous. I with your profound Capacity!

Clinket. That I am not able--

Sir Tremendous. That it is impossible--

Clinket. To conceive--

Sir Tremendous. To express--

Clinket. With what Delight I embrace--

Sir Tremendous. With what Pleasure I enter into--

Clinket. Your Ideas, most learned Sir Tremendous!

Sir Tremendous. Your Sentiments, most divine Mrs. Clinket.

2d Player. The Play, for Heaven's Sake, the Play. (p. 18)

As in the case of Fossille, Phoebe's idiosyncratic craving fulfills a number of specific purposes. On one hand it accentuates the farcical mood of the play: Phoebe's unintentional puns reinforce the general tone of ridiculous bawdy. In addition: as an hysterical desiring female, Phoebe Clinket functions as an arch parody of blue-stocking wits: her plays are seen by the Scriblerians as little more than the spontaneous overflow of vapourish feelings.⁴⁰ Finally, Phoebe's confusion of sexual and aesthetic energy serves as a moralistic (albeit hilarious) indicator of literary

pretension in general, and of poetic dullness in particular. Her "translation" of passions represents an essential perversion, one which, to Pope and the Scriblerians, is inexcusable.

By far the more sophisticated work, the "Double Mistress" episode adapts, like Three Hours After Marriage, this concept of a perverted or transformed passion. Like Fossille's, Martinus' scholarly devotion is portrayed in terms of a melancholic love -- a sick desire for an over-idealized beloved. The satire is pungent throughout. The Scriblerians parody not only the stock themes and styles of the romantic novels, but in the figure of Martinus -- scientist, poet, lover, critic, psychologist, savant -- they satirize dullness in all of its human manifestations.

From Martinus' first encounter with Lindamira/Indamora, the Scriblerians emphasize the twisted nature of his own affections:

How great is the power of Love in human breasts! In vain has the Wise man recourse to his Reason, when the insinuating Arrow touches his heart, and the pleasing Poison is diffused through his veins. But then how violent, how transporting must that passion prove, where not only the Fire of Youth, but the unquenchable Curiosity of a Philosopher, pitch'd upon the same object! For how much soever our Martin was enamour'd on her as a beautiful Woman, he was infinitely more ravish'd with her as a charming Monster. What wonder then, if his gentle Spirit, already humaniz'd by a polite Education to receive all soft impressions, and fired by the sight of those beauties so lavishly expos'd to his view should prove unable to resist at once so pleasing

a⁴¹ Passion, and so amiable a Phaenomenon?
 (Memoirs, pp. 146-47)

The result is predictable: Martinus returns home in a "pensive" mood; he flings himself onto his couch; and he passes away "the tedious hours of the night in the utmost Inquietude" (p. 147). Contemplating Ovid's Remedia, he fails to find a cure for his distemper and is reduced to sighing away "the Melancholy Night" (148).

Following his initial sight of the beloved object, Martinus displays the conventional symptoms of the melancholy lover. He passes a sleepless and restless night; he rises in the morning, "but Melancholy, the companion of his slumbers, rose and wak'd with him"; he amuses himself "with gawdy Ornaments of the body"; and "with secret pleasure he contemplate[s] his Face, and the symmetry of his limbs in a looking-glass" (p. 148). Martinus subsequently follows Ovid's advice to pace to and fro in front of the beloved's door; like Gay's melancholy lovers, he is portrayed "with folded arms"; and he hums a "low melancholy tune". When denied entry to his beloved's presence he takes recourse in "Stratagem" (p. 148): he bribes the Dwarf to convey a billet-doux which Martinus writes in a bizarre imitation of Ovid (pp. 148-49).

Throughout the "Double Mistress" episode the Scriblerians use extensive, ironic allusions to elucidate more fully this satiric characterization of Martinus. Significantly, most allude to classical instances of excessive passion which

result in disastrous consequences for the lovers concerned. At his encounter with the Raree show, for example, Martinus sees "the portrait of two Bohemian Damsels, whom Nature had as closely united as the ancient Hermaphroditus and Salmacis" (p. 143). The comparison is hardly gratuitous: it recalls, rather, the catastrophic rape of Hermaphroditus which resulted in the grotesque creation of the hermaphrodite.⁴² Similarly, subsequent allusions to Aurora and Tithonus (p. 148), Pyramus and Thisbe (p. 150), Lucrece (p. 152), and Helen of Troy (p. 153) all ironically reflect on Martinus' own preposterous affair with the Lindamira/Indamora monstrosity.

As an emblem of intellectual and moral imprudence the historical concept of love-melancholy plays an important role in both Scriblerian satires on false learning, bad thinking, and irrational behaviour. Indeed, as such an emblem, the concept of a deluding and foolish love can be detected in a large number of major Augustan writings. Addison and Steele, Gay and Swift, the Scriblerians themselves, all knew and used the tradition. In my next two chapters I will consider the extent to which Pope himself understood and adopted this tradition in the early works of 1700-14. Following a treatment of the juvenalia and Pastorals, I will examine in detail the role and significance of love-melancholy as it is used in The Rape of the Lock.

NOTES

Chapter II

1

C. A. Moore, "The English Malady", p. 228.

2

See Chapter One, pp. 5-7.

3

References to D'Urfey's collection are taken from Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to Purge Melancholy, 6 vols. (London: W. Pearson et al., 1719). These are indicated in the text by volume and page numbers in parentheses. In addition to the scatological, sexual cures were particularly popular in comic songs of the period. Consider, for example, "The Tunbridge Doctors" (published anonymously in 1671). The song alludes to the sexual services provided by various fops and gigolos who frequented the medical spas. According to the lyricist, they provide a beneficial "physic" ideally suited to "maidens and wives and young widows":

No Bolus nor Vomit,
 No Potion nor Pill,
 Which sometimes do Cure,
 But oftner do Kill,
 Your Taste nor your Stomach
 Need ever displease,
 If you'll be advised
 But by one of these.

For they've a new Drug
 Which is called the Close Hug,
 Which will mend your Complexion,
 And make you look smug,
 A sovereign Balsom
 Which once well allay'd,
 Tho' griev'd at the Heart
 The Patient ne'er Dy'd. (IV, 163)

As a disease, love dominates many of the ribald lyrics found in D'Urfey's Pills to Purge Melancholy. Cf. also "The Jolly Miller" (I, 185); "A Scotch Song" (I, 294); "The Nurse's Song" (I, 308); "Tom Tinker" (VI, 265); "A Song" (VI, 285).

4

S. A. J. Bradley, ed. Sixty Ribald Songs from Pills to Purge Melancholy (London: André Deutsch, 1968); p. 192.

5 Cf. Tatler 4 and 24; Spectator 41 and 71.

6 In addition to those numbers treated below, cf. Tatler 5, 22, 34, 35, 85, and 98 (Steele); Tatler 32 (Swift); Spectator 4, 52, 366, and 431 (Steele); Spectator 7, 170, 171, 243, and 558 (Addison).

7 Richard Steele, Tatler I (12 April 1709), in The Tatler; or, Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., Vol. I (London: C. Bathurst et al., 1774), 3. Subsequent references to the Tatler are taken from this edition and are indicated in the text by title, volume, and page numbers in parentheses.

8 Cf. AM III, 2, 2, 2: "Such lovely sights do not only please, entice, but ravish and amaze"; and AM III, 2, 3: "many lovers confess, when they came in their mistress' presence, they could not hold off their eyes, but looked wistly and steadily on her . . . with much eagerness and greediness."

9 Cf. Lucretius, De Rerum Natura IV, 1061 where the lover dotes on "images" of the beloved in his mind. Cf. also Spectator 281 where Addison portrays the image of a tiny beau hidden at the center of a coquette's heart (described below in Chapter IV).

10 Cf. AM III, 2, 3 for an identical use of such an analogy.

11 See Chapter One, pp. 18-19.

12 See M. M. Mesulam and J. Perry, "The diagnosis of love-sickness", 546-51; and above, Chapter One, pp. 19-20.

13 Cf. Ovid, Remedia Amoris, 81ff.: "Crush, while yet they are new, the baneful seeds of sudden disease, and let your steed at the outset check his pace. For delay gives strength, delay matures the tender grapes, and makes what is grass into lusty crops . . . Resist beginnings; too late is the medicine prepared, when the disease has gained strength by long delay."

14

Cf. Remedia Amoris, 609ff.: "A youth had performed whate'er my Muse commanded, and was nearly within the haven of his safety; he fell back, when he came among eager lovers, and has resumed the arms he had put away. If you love, nor wish to love, see that you shun contagion . . . Love steals in all unseen if you go not from your lover . . . Another also was already cured: neighbourhood proved his bane: meeting his mistress was too much for him. The scar ill-healed relapsed to the old wound . . . Bid farewell to mother and sister, and to the nurse her confidant, and to whoever will be any part of your mistress."

15

See Chapter One, pp. 16-18, 25-6, 28-9, 37-39.

16

For a brief but perceptive discussion of this question, see Vinton A. Dearing, ed. John Gay: Poetry and Prose, Vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 497-99. All references to Gay's poetry are taken from this edition and are indicated in the text by Canto number (where applicable) and line numbers in parentheses.

17

Jonathan Swift, "Louisa to Strephon" (lines 12, 14) in Harold Williams, ed., The Poems of Jonathan Swift, 2nd edition, Vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 924. Subsequent references to Swift's poetry are taken from this edition and are indicated in the text by line numbers in parentheses.

18

See William R. Mueller, "Robert Burton's Frontispiece," PMLA, LXIV (1949), 1074-88.

19

Pope was referring to the enlarged edition; see "Pope to Swift, 8 December 1713" in George Sherburn, ed., The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, Vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 201.

20

Dearing, John Gay: Poetry and Prose, Vol. II, 499.

21

As Dearing points out (ibid.), the epigraph describes Aphrodite's embroidered girdle which she gives Hera to divert "Zeus's attention from the current Greek success on the battlefield by luring him to lie with her, when she might put him to sleep." Dearing translates the epigraph as

follows: ". . . in which are shaped many kinds of attraction; in it is love, desire, dallying -- enticement to rob even wise ones of their wits. She placed it in her hands."

22

Cf. Artis Amatoriae II, 251ff.: "Blush not to win over handmaidens, as each stands first in rank, nor blush to win over slaves . . . even to a slave . . . offer some small gift . . . make the humble folk your own; let the gatekeeper ever be one of them, and him who lies before her chamber-door."

23

See Dearing, John Gay: Poetry and Prose, Vol. II, 500-01.

24

Cf. Chapter One, p. 34.

25

For Pope's feelings toward Gay's pastoral "gesture of defence", see "Pope to Caryll, 8 June 1714", Correspondence I, 229.

26

Cited in OED under "Green sickness".

27

Pierce, Bath Memoirs, p. 190-91.

28

Cf. Gay, Pope, and Arbuthnot, Three Hours After Marriage, eds. Richard Morton and William M. Peterson, Lake Erie College Studies, Vol. I (Painesville, Ohio: Lake Erie College Press, 1961), p. 11: "there is Miss Chitty of the Boarding-School has taken in no natural Sustenance for this Week, but a Halfpeny-worth of Charcoal, and one of her Mittins." All references to Three Hours After Marriage are taken from this edition and are indicated in the text by page numbers in parentheses.

29

Gay consistently emphasizes the melancholy suffered by town maids as opposed to their rural counterparts; cf. Rural Sports II, 410-425; and "Araminta: A Town Eclogue", passim.

30

See Maurice Johnson, The Sin of Wit (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1950); Irvin Ehrenpreis, The Personality of Jonathan Swift (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard, 1958),

pp. 29-49; and Jae Num Lee, Swift and Scatological Satire (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971).

31

Sena, "Swift as Moral Physician", 359-62.

32

Bernardus, Lilium Medicine II, cap. xx, cited in Lowes, "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos", 501.

33

Witness the infamous "Cassinus and Peter": "Nor wonder how I lost my Wits;/Oh! Caelia, Caelia, Caelia sh--" (117-18).

34

Ferrand, Erotomania, pp. 316-17.

35

Bernardus, Lilium Medicine II, cap. xx, cited in Lowes, "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos", 501.

36

Patrick Delany, Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift (London, 1754), p. 198, cited in Sena, "Swift as Moral Physician", 362.

37

Relationships between the two works are discussed by Richard Morton and William M. Peterson, Three Hours After Marriage, pp. ix-x; and Charles Kerby-Miller, Memoirs, pp. 297-99.

38

Morton and Peterson, ibid., p. v.

39

Ibid., p. iv.

40

For poetical vapours, consider the episode of Tom Spindle in Tatler 47 (28 July 1709); cf. of course, Pope's famous portrayal of the Goddess spleen who gives either "th' Hysteric or Poetic Fit" (ROL IV, 60).

41

Cf. AM I, 3, 3: why students and lovers are so often melancholy; cited in Chapter One, note 57.

42

Ovid, Metamorphoses IV, 288ff.

III

POPE AND LOVE-MELANCHOLY: JUVENALIA AND PASTORALS

As early as in his "Imitations of English Poets" (written 1700-1710), Pope exhibits a knowledge and understanding of the love-melancholy tradition. Admittedly, the poems of this period are derivative for the most part; they approach neither the complexity nor the originality of later works in which Pope plainly adapts salient aspects of the love-melancholy concept. These early works, however, are important to this survey in that they illustrate unequivocally Pope's initial experiments with what had become a standard, recognizable tradition. A prime example -- and one particularly suited to preface consideration of love-melancholy in The Rape of the Lock -- is Pope's farcical imitation, "Chaucer" (written c. 1709).

Typical of contemporary satires on women, the poem depends on crude slapstick machinery. Pope's protagonist, Cousin John, is surprised suddenly while filching "the gray Ducke fro the Lake" (6). Hiding the stolen fowl in his "Trowzes" (9), he confronts an aunt and two female cousins whose dalliance results in a conventionally lewd exposé:

But, as he glozeth with Speeches soote,
The Ducke sore tickleth his Erse Roote:
Fore-piece and Buttons all-to-brest,
Forth thrust a white Neck, and red Crest.
Te-he cry'd Ladies; Clerke nought spake:
Miss star'd; and gray Ducke crieth Quaake.

'O Moder, Moder,' (quoth the Daughter,)
 'Be thilke same Thing Maids longen a'ter?
 Bette is to pyne on Coals and Chalke,
 Then trust on Mon, whose yerde can talke.' (17-26)

As a satire on female folly Pope's "Chaucer" fulfills a number of traditional requirements. Women are portrayed as hypocritical and secretive; moreover, they are believed to be "full of Ragerie" (1) -- lustful creatures bereft of any and all modes of rational control. Appropriately, then, Pope alludes directly in lines 23-26 above to the concept of green-sickness, a disease which, in turn, reinforces his initial portrayal of irrational female depravity. As in Gay's The Shepherd's Week, the idea here fulfills both a literary and moral function: it provides at once a comic situation accompanied by an implicit comment on the victim's lack of moral or intellectual probity.

Most important for our purposes, of course, is the fact that Pope here uses a definite aspect of the love-melancholy tradition. Even at this early date he adapts for literary intentions the medical concept of an excessive and unhealthy sexual affliction. In the following two chapters I wish to examine the extent of Pope's uses of love-melancholy in the works of 1700-1714. Attention will be given to both satirical and non-satirical writings. In Chapter III I will consider 1) the Imitations of Waller; 2) the translations of Ovid; 3) the translation of Chaucer's "The Merchant's tale"; and 4) the Pastorals. I will treat The Rape of the Lock separately in Chapter IV.

1. Who flies the tyrant: Imitations of Waller

Pope's ~~earliest~~ recorded use of the love-melancholy tradition is found in his "Verses in imitation of Waller, by a Youth of thirteen". Written circa 1701, these six poems derive mostly from the love ditties addressed by Waller to various ladies of the court, most notably Dorothy Sidney (otherwise known as the merciless Saccharissa).¹ As used herein, the term, "imitation" refers not only to the emulation of specific poems or couplets, but also to an adaptation of the "spirit" of the original poem; as Dryden remarks in his "Preface to the Translation of Ovid's Epistles" (1680): "imitation . . . where the translator (if now he has not lost that name) assumes the liberty, not only to vary from the words and sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion."²

Waller's verse exists here as a verbal foundation upon which Pope freely constructs his own particularized version of a conventional idea, image, or genre. At various points throughout his text Pope deviates from both the sound and sense of his source, sometimes conflating two images to form a third, sometimes abandoning completely his original in favour of a new, more personal poetic voice. In each case, however, Pope's allusions fulfill a complex role: by relating his poetic representation to Waller's pre-established model, they simultaneously qualify, amplify, and complicate the essential meaning of Pope's own verse.

Throughout Waller's original and Pope's imitation the love-melancholy tradition functions as an informing idea, a storehouse from which both poets derive their central ideas, images, and situations. Love is portrayed variously as a type of war, death, slavery, or tempest; the beloved is a cooing goddess whose eyes conquer and subdue; the lover himself is a victimized slave, a languorous wretch who suffers sleeplessness, sighs, tears -- the gamut of traditional amorous wounds. In both poets, melancholy love is portrayed as a debilitating monomania, a state of obsessive desiring in which the lover entertains grandiose hopes of alleviation.

From the outset of his imitations, "Of A Lady Singing To Her Lute", Pope concentrates on the coquette's power to manipulate and control her love-sick admirer -- in this case, Pope's own speaker. The poem derives ostensibly from Waller's "Of My Lady Isabella, Playing On The Lute", a poem concerned with precisely the same themes of sexual warfare, deluding beauty, and cosmetic embellishment. Significantly, Waller represents his lady as something of a sexual artist who, through "art", exercises wilful control over her lovers:

What art is this, that with so little pains
 Transports us thus, and o'er our spirits reigns?

* * *

Music so softens and disarms the mind,
 That not an arrow does resistance find.
 Thus the fair tyrant celebrates the prize
 And acts herself the triumph of her eyes.

(Waller, "Of My Lady Isabella", 3-4, 11-14)

Taking his hint from Waller, Pope creates an elaborate representation of what he sees as perverse female wilfulness (a concept to which Pope returns continually in the later poetry).

Throughout this first imitation, then, the beloved is viewed as a Circean "charmer" who aggressively deludes her love-sick (and therefore vulnerable) victim. Singing to her lute, Pope's lady is at once a "Fair charmer" (I, 1), a "heav'nly" singer (I, 6), an "angel" (I, 6), who croons "enchanted lays" (I, 5). Most significant, she is regarded as an active destroyer who deliberately manipulates her "killing charms" to "contrive" her "lover's death" (I, 7). Appropriately, Pope complements through militaristic imagery this idea of an active sexual/psychological combat. The lady's voice and eyes are types of superlative love-weapons (I, 1-2); the speaker's own heart is "resigned" (I, 2), "threaten'd" (I, 3), and "assail[ed]" (I, 4).

Pope compares his lady to Orpheus himself, an allusion which ironically underscores her controlling or manipulating "art":

Orpheus could charm the trees, but thus a tree
Taught by your hand, can charm no less than he;
A poet made the silent wood pursue;
This vocal wood had drawn the poet too. (I, 9-12)

Most important here is the fact that Pope's lady is actually a "cosmetic" artificer, one who embellishes nature by art in order to exercise dominion over the male species.³ Not unlike Belinda in The Rape of the Lock, Pope's lady unwittingly

parodies the true artist who, among other things, leads man toward understanding, intellectual clarity and moral probity. As Pope's final image ironically makes clear, the lady is little more than a mock "artist", one who breeds melancholic love, who leads devotees toward confusion, intellectual turpitude, and moral laxity.

If Pope's first imitation establishes a pattern, his subsequent poems in the series may be viewed as more detailed developments on a single theme. Each verse derives either in whole or in part from an original of Waller; each uses classical allusion to intimate ironically the lover's idealizing perception of his own beloved; and finally, each poem is firmly grounded in conceits, imagery, and assumptions which stem ultimately from the medical concept of love-melancholy.

In "Of The Lady Who Could Not Sleep In A Stormy Night", for example, Pope punctures the coquette's smug neglect of her many ardent admirers. Again, he adapts his basic plot and imagery from one of Waller's amorous tributes: in this case, from "Of The Lady Who Can Sleep When She Pleases". A panegyric to Saccharissa, Waller's poem revels in conventional excessive praise of the unattainable feminine ideal:

No wonder sleep from careful lovers flies
 To bathe himself in Saccharissa's eyes.
 As fair Astraea once from earth to heaven,
 By strife and loud impiety was driven;
 So with our plaints offended, and our tears
 Wise Somnus to that paradise repairs;

Waits on her will, and wretches does forsake,
To court the nymph for whom those wretches wake.

(Waller, "Of The Lady Who Can Sleep When She Pleases," 1-8)

In keeping with his own poetic purpose, Pope maintains Waller's original conceit of the beloved being the only rightful domicile of the god, Sleep:

As gods sometimes descend from heav'n and deign
On earth a while with mortals to remain,
So gentle sleep from Serenissa flies,
To dwell at last upon her lover's eyes. (II, 1-4)

In addition to such obvious verbal borrowings Pope retains Waller's identification of the lady as a type of tyrannical informing deity, a concept reinforced by an implicit comparison of Serenissa with the god, Jove: "Jove with a nod may bid the world to rest, / But Serenissa must becalm the breast." (II, 13-14).

Pope's allusion draws together a number of disparate threads running throughout the poem. Structurally, it culminates the implications set up in both the opening image of "gods" who "sometimes descend from heav'n", and in the subsequent portrayal of Serenissa as a coquettish "tyrant" (6). Second, Pope's implied comparison of Serenissa and Jove as types of informing deities intimates, above all, the lover's exaggerated perception of his own deified beloved. As Burton remarks in The Anatomy: to a lover, the beloved is "his morning and evening star, his goddess, his mistress, his soul, his everything" (AM III, 2, 3). Finally, as ironic hyperbole, Pope's image functions as something of a sly social comment: here is a pathetic coquette who deliberately

masquerades in and is accepted by her society as a Jovian deity, a "divinity" who exercises virtually limitless power.

Most interesting in this imitation, however, is Pope's use of what T. S. Eliot would later define as the "objective correlative" -- what Pope himself would hint at in his discussion of "great and little worlds" in his "Discourse on Pastoral".⁴ Pope's speaker comments of Serenissa:

Let her whom fear denies repose to take,
Think for her love what crowds of wretches wake.
So us'd to sighs, so long inur'd to tears,
Are winds and tempests dreadful to her ears? (II, 9-12)

The lines depend on the concept of love-melancholy as a kind of psychological upheaval, a tempest of the mind and heart. So it is, then, that Serenissa's physical situation corresponds directly to that mental condition suffered by her admiring "crowds of wretches". Pope's description emphasizes aspects of the love disease which by this time had become standard literary fare. Serenissa's "eyes" are the direct cause of all this amorous disharmony: they give rise to enslavement (I, 6), insomnia (II, 8), restlessness (II, 7-8), and outright wretchedness (II, 10). Significantly, Pope here recognizes and adapts the central paradox of the love-melancholy tradition: the beloved, although she causes disorder, sorrow, and strife in the world around her, is, at the same time, the only one able to provide hopes of contentment, peace, and harmony. Serenissa alone both excites and calms the troubled breast.

As a coquette par excellence, Pope's lady is a relatively complex figure throughout the Waller imitations. In each poem Pope is careful to maintain her double-edged nature: she is at once a blend of deception and reality, a blend of what the lover thinks she is and of what the reader, in fact, knows she is. On one hand, Serenissa appears as the embodiment of female charm and beauty. She is a "Fair charmer" (I, 1), a "nymph" (III, 1), and "fairer shade" (III, 9); she is "the goddess we adore" (IV, 7); her eyes are "unclouded" (V, 3); her "glorious charms eclipse the day" (V, 19); her incense-like sighs inspire gods and encourage lovers to "seek her breast" (VI, 6).

In contrast to such virtues, however, Pope juxtaposes a variety of features which undermine this initial vision of Serenissa. Indeed, she emerges gradually as something of an Amazonian warrior whose way of life Pope is careful to define as inherently perverse. "Of Her Sickness", for example, is unequivocal in its condemnation of Serenissa as a woman whose continual refusals amount to pretentious foolery; Pope's speaker observes:

Sickness, its courtship, makes the fair
 As pale as her own lovers are.
 Sure you, the goddess we adore,
 Who all coelestial seem'd before,
 While vows and service nothing gain'd,
 Which, were you woman, had obtain'd. (IV, 5-10)

As the embodiment of feminine coquetry, Serenissa causes only disharmony in the world around her. Significantly, Pope portrays such effects in terms of the amorous disorder she occasions in others. The natural world itself languishes

in her presence: the sun "Veils his fair glories" (V, 2); the "vanquish'd roses lose their pride" (V, 6); myrtles lose "their balmy smell" (V, 8); and so on. Human reactions vary little, Serenissa has crowds of "pale" lovers (IV, 6); Pope's speaker, in particular, suffers profound psychological anxiety due to his melancholic admiration: "I languish when her charms draw nigh, / But if she disappears, I dye" (V. 23-24).

Of utmost importance throughout this portrayal of Serenissa is Pope's interest in the concept of "good humour" or personal merit. Like Belinda whom she prefigures, Serenissa is characterized by an unflinching wilfulness, an inflexibility which, to Pope, represents the ultimate anathema of feminine behaviour. Hence, in "Of Her Picture" Pope outlines what he feels to be the zenith of feminine perfection and female virtue:

The nymph her graces here express'd may find,
 And by this picture learn to dress her mind;
 For here no frowns make tender love afraid,
 Soft looks of mercy grace the flatt'ring shade,
 And, while we gaze, the gracious form appears
 T'approve our passion and forbid our fears. (III, 1-6)

Most striking in these lines is Pope's emphasis on the concept of "grace" as a synonym for good humour or good sense. Like Addison, Steele, and a host of Augustan commentators, Pope here envisages the perfect female as a type of compliant companion, a complacent creature whose principal function is to accept passively "virtuous" male desires.⁵ Interestingly enough, Pope celebrates qualities explicitly associated with passivity or resistless vulnerability:

the graceful nymph does nothing to disquiet; she has "no frowns" (III, 3); by implication she inspires and responds to "tender love" (III, 3); she is marked by "Soft looks of mercy" (III, 4) [my italics]; and, in contrast to the real coquette whose wilfulness breeds only melancholic adoration, this ideal woman "approve[s] our passion" and "forbid[s] our fears" (III, 6). Appropriately, the perfect lady cures rather than causes melancholic self-absorption, an idea which Pope develops fully in his concluding image:

Narcissus here a different fate had prov'd,
Whose bright resemblance by himself was lov'd;
Had he but once this fairer shade describ'd,
Not for his own, but hers, the youth had dy'd (III, 7-10)

Pope's "Verses in imitation of Waller" are important to this survey for a variety of reasons. First and foremost, they reveal not only his knowledge of the love-melancholy tradition, but also his earliest attempts to integrate this tradition into a sophisticated literary framework. As his characterization of Serenissa makes clear, the traditional concept of the love-disease lends itself ideally to Pope's presentation of egocentric wilfulness and its effects in one's immediate world. In addition, Pope's imitations contain his earliest handling of ideas, themes, and concepts which would recur continually in his poetry over the next forty years. Again in the characterization of Serenissa, Pope adumbrates a concern with women and their role in society, with the nature of true and false virtue, and with the necessity of a code of living which is based less on

deception and pretence than on good humour, "grace", and personal merit. Such concerns are at the base of virtually all his subsequent writings. In each case love-melancholy plays an integral role in Pope's presentation and in each case he develops this initial experimentation with the tradition, particularly in the Ovidian translations of the early 1700s.

2. My Own Disease: Translations of Ovid

To both Emile Audra and Aubrey Williams, Pope's early translations are of considerable scholarly interest. Written during the first decade of the 1700s, they represent Pope's initial attempts as translator, a role which would account in large part for his future fortune and fame. In addition, these juvenile works contain "the most striking evidences of the formation of his style and art, and of his progress from translation to imitation, from imitation to creation."⁶ As a means of self-improvement, moreover, a method of self-education on his return to Binfield, Pope's early classical translations taught him not only the language of the ancients, but also the cultural ideas and traditions underlying their literature itself.⁷

Of prime interest to our own study are two of Pope's Ovidian translations: "Polyphemus and Acis" from Book XIII of the Metamorphoses (written c. 1702, but not published until 1749), and the later "Sapho to Phaon" (written c. 1707 and published in Tonson's revised Ovid's Epistles, 1712).

As well as illustrating Pope's rapid development as a literary translator, these poems represent two major classical sources available to Pope which deal explicitly with the theory and tradition of melancholic love. Significantly, both pieces are by Ovid himself and share many of the ideas and images used in the Amores, the Artis Amatoriae, and above all, the Remedia Amoris. Hence, in the characters of Polyphemus and Sapho, Pope found two detailed characterizations of the love-melancholic, two characterizations based on an elaborate and complex medical system of causes, symptoms, prognoses, and cures. In a very real sense, then, these two minor works are most important in this survey of Pope and his knowledge of the love-melancholy tradition. Like the Waller imitations, they prove unequivocally Pope's familiarity with and early use of what had become, by 1700, an age-old literary convention.

In both poems Ovid portrays love-melancholy as a catastrophic affliction, a malady which results in dire physical and psychological disorder. Admittedly, his tone is not the same in both works: Polyphemus, chiefly because of his grotesque disproportion, emerges as an absurd, comic buffoon; Sapho, in contrast, is more psychologically convincing: her intense monologue accentuates the pathetic poignancy of her own excessive passion. In both cases, though, love-melancholy is portrayed as a radical deviation from rational behaviour and upright moral probity. Throughout both works love follows the traditional process: entering

the lover's eyes, it disrupts the heart and mind, causing profound psycho-physiological distress. The lovers exhibit conventional symptoms like fear, sorrow, obsession, jealousy, and despair. Both take recourse in music or poetry; both idealize their beloved object; and both ultimately suffer for their amorous folly.

Throughout "Polyphemus and Acis" Pope's Cyclops corresponds closely to the Ovidian model. A veritable paradigm of the classical love-melancholic, he fulfills virtually every major requirement for amorous insanity. Entranced first at the sight of Galatea ("a charming female stole that eye" [34]), Polyphemus undergoes a startling (and for him, drastic) alteration:

Now all neglected, he forgets his home,
His flocks at random round the forest roam:
While nice, and anxious in his new disease,
He vainly studies every art to please:
To trim his beard, th'unwieldy scythe prepares;
And combs with rakes, his rough, disorder'd hairs:
Adjusts his shapes; while in the crystal brook
He views and practises a milder look.
Love makes him all his cruelty forego,
And ships, in safety, wander to and fro. (19-28)

Most striking, of course, is the fact that love initially softens, then refines the savage lover -- a concept voiced as early as the Artis Amatoriae and repeated down to and throughout The Anatomy of Melancholy.⁹ In addition, Polyphemus displays standard symptoms: he is absent-minded; he neglects both home and business; he is uncharacteristically fastidious; he is anxious to please his beloved; and, like Martinus Scriblerus, he becomes ridiculously obsessed with

his own cosmetic appearance.¹⁰

Polyphemus' "amorous pains" (51) have the usual predictable results. Turning for relief, like Sapho, to music and song, he first idealizes his beloved in terms of what he himself deems ideal (53-65); unsuccessful, he then curses the lady's hardness of heart (66-67), switches track abruptly and offers a variety of gifts (68-94); he praises himself extravagantly (95-113), offers violence to his rival (114-31), and finally, "frantick with his pain" (132), lapses into frenzied jealousy and outright violence (132-164), the result of which is murder, agony, and despair.

Sapho, although hardly as berserk as her Cyclopiian counterpart, suffers precisely such disorientation in her amatory obsession with Phaon. From the outset of her monologue she reveals both her own love-sick passion and its overall disordering influence:

I burn, I burn, as when thro' ripen'd Corn
By driving Winds the spreading Flames are born!
Phaon to AETna's scorching Fields retires,
While I consume with more than AETna's Fires!
No more my Soul a Charm in Musick finds,
Musick has Charms alone for peaceful Minds:
Soft Scenes of Solitude no more can please,
Love enters there, and I'm my own Disease. (9-16)

With the shift from third to first person narrative, from Galatea's report of Polyphemus to Sapho's report of herself, Ovid and Pope are both able to delineate more closely the psychological conditions of the melancholic lover. Whereas Polyphemus expresses psychological rage only through blundering violence, Sapho, by means of her epistolary art,

articulates point by point to the reader her own perceptions of her own inner upheaval.

Like Polyphemus, though, Sapho is portrayed in terms conventionally associated with classical love-melancholy. She is tearful, weebegone, and violent (129-138); she idealizes (even deifies) her beloved (24, 221), begs him to return (106-110), and wanders disconsolate through "lonely Plains" and "the silent Grove" (160). In addition to such external attributes, Ovid (and Pope) provide an extended psychological portrayal. "Stung with . . . Love, and furious with Despair" (139), Sapho, like Eloisa whom she prefigures, develops a monomaniacal obsession with the very idea of her lost beloved.¹¹ She comments to Phaon:

My daily Longing, and my Dream by Night:
O Night more pleasing than the brightest Day,
When Fancy gives what Absence takes away,
And drest in all its visionary Charms,
Restores my fair Deserter to my Arms!
Then round your Neck in wanton Wreaths I twine,
Then you, methinks, as fondly circle mine. (144-50)

Significantly "Fancy" replaces reason and Sapho falls victim to her own distorted visions. In a complete reversal of Ovid's cure to abandon all reminders of the beloved, Sapho surrounds herself with objects and visits places associated with the absent Phaon: she dwells on past love-making (150-154), she visits "the Grotto, once the Scene of Love" (163), she seeks out "the Shades that veil'd our Joys before" (167), she "kiss[es] that Earth which once was prest" by Phaon (171).¹² Ultimately she projects her own state of mind onto the natural

world itself and egotistically imagines a type of universal primal sympathy:

For thee the fading Trees appear to mourn,
 And Birds defer their Songs till thy Return:
 Night shades the Groves, and all in Silence lye,
 All, but the mournful Philomel and I:
 With mournful Philomel I join my Strain,
 Of Tereus she, of Phaon I complain. (173-78)

Enduring such a psychological crisis, Sapho resolves to attempt the lover's leap: a desperate last resort to extinguish her unbearable "Lover's Fires" (241).¹³

In their discussion of Pope's translations the Twickenham editors remark that despite attention to specific detail, despite attempts to maintain "the sense and spirit of his author", Pope heightens his own version by the addition of a new detail, an alteration of Ovid's sequence, or a condensation of an Ovidian image.¹⁴ Most pertinent of these stylistic changes is Pope's use of wholly original words which accentuate the psychological afflictions of both Sapho and the Cyclops. Not only does Pope translate literally his Latin original, but, understanding the love-melancholy tradition and its implications, "improves upon" or embellishes Ovid's principal characterizations.

In "Polyphemus and Acis", for example, the word "disease" replaces Ovid's less particularized descriptions of a "mighty desire" or "a power of love". In "Sapho to Phaon": Pope introduces the following unprecedented couplet:

Soft Scenes of Solitude no more can please,
 Love enters there, and I'm my own Disease. (15-16)

Comparable additions include Polyphemus' cosmetic "art" (22), his "amorous pains" (51), and his "fear" (115) of the beloved Galatea. Similarly, Pope's Sapho speaks of "deluding eyes" -- a conceptual image which calls to mind the entire process (and moral implications of self-delusion) -- associated with melancholic infatuation.

Pope's Ovidian translations, then, would suggest not only a knowledge of classical definitions, symptoms, and cures of love-melancholy, but also an active understanding of how such a tradition might be used for the most complex of literary purposes. Taking Ovid as his raw material, Pope adds, refines, and builds upon this original source to create what is essentially a distinct psychological portrayal of melancholic love. Such a fine line between imitation and independent creation underlies Pope's later translation of a work which also has as its basis the tradition of love-melancholy: "January and May, or, The Merchant's Tale from Chaucer" (written c. 1704).

3. Ev'ry Lively Part: Pope's "The Merchant's Tale"

In his discussion of Pope's medieval translations Geoffrey Tillotson rightly observes: "Pope was not simply presenting Chaucerian japes to the unscholarly or the lazy. He wished to make original variations on Chaucer's theme."¹⁵ As in the Ovidian translations, Pope uses Chaucer's "Merchant's Tale" primarily as a source from which he might distil his own essential, highly individual poetic work. Now as a

ribald sexual romp, the tale provided Pope with a flamboyant parody of human delusions, desires, and values. Furthermore, as a satiric treatment of earthly mutability -- of man's misplaced valuation of ephemeral things -- "The Merchant's Tale" was appropriate prentice material for the future author of the Pastorals, The Temple of Fame, and The Rape of the Lock. As Tillotson remarks, even at this early stage of translation "Pope takes every opportunity for contributing satiric portrait and comment of his own."¹⁶ Finally, and most important for our purposes, Chaucer's poem -- an elaborate, moralistic fabliau -- provided Pope with what was perhaps the most ample, most detailed literary adaptation of love-melancholy available to the young poet.

Throughout Chaucer's tale the concept of love-melancholy is used as one of the principal means of satiric characterization. An emblem of distorted judgement, of an insane desire for what is ultimately worthless, the disease undermines each of the major characters' pretences to probitas or Christian virtue. January, Damian, May herself all suffer the pain of melancholic sexual desire; all are therefore branded with the stigmata of self-delusion, depraved values, and debilitated reason. As in "The Knight's Tale", Chaucer's portrayal of love-melancholy derives mostly from Ovidian writings and functions as a defining attribute or "humour" -- a quality which identifies (and simultaneously satirizes) the fallen nature of the character concerned.

From the outset of his translation Pope embellishes

January's unruly and excessive passion. In place of Chaucer's "worthy knyght" who "folwed ay his bodily delyt/On wommen" (1246, 49-50), Pope provides a detailed ironic portrayal in which January is a "wise and worthy Knight" (2) who has "gentle Manners" (3), is "of gen'rous Race" (3), and is blessed with "much Sense, more Riches, and some Grace" (4). By the time of the tale, however, January is a reformed rake, a sixty-year-old profligate who rejects his past behaviour when he was "led astray by Venus's soft Delights", when "He scarce could rule some Idle Appetites" (5-6). Only appearing to abandon his past, he decides to embrace "the Pleasures of a lawful Bed" (14), to "pass his inoffensive Hours away,/In Bliss all Night, and Innocence all Day" (39-40).

Although ostensibly the same character, Pope's January is, rather, a more complex, more intricate variation of the Chaucerian model. Pope continually amplifies Chaucer's ideas or hints of character, often expanding a single couplet to form a detailed psychological portrait. A case in point occurs with January's decision to marry. In Chaucer he dreams of various women:

Many fair shap and many a fair visage
Ther passeth through his herte nyght by nyght. (1580-81)

Taking Chaucer's intimations as his base, Pope expands this initial couplet and develops an elaborate description of January's mental state, his obsession with physical beauty, and his overwhelming irrational carnality. A fearful blend of monomania and lust, January is portrayed as unstable and

peculiarly single-minded. He employs "all his Soul" only on the "Charms of Wedlock" (220); yet various "Nymphs" "by turns his wav'ring Mind possest/And reign'd the short-lived Tyrant of his Breast" (230-31). Significantly, January is here controlled by "Fancy" which, as is typical of love-melancholy, replaces moral reason with an immoral obsession: hence January's "Fancy" "pictur'd ev'ry lively Part" (232) and "each bright Image wander'd o'er his Heart" (233).

A conventional elderly lecher, Pope's January, like Chaucer's, fulfills a number of necessary requisites. He first "fixes" upon the "youthful May" (243), ignores her faults ("Love is always blind" [244]); contemplates her beauty ("ev'ry Charm revolv'd within his Mind" [245]), and languishes over "Her tender Age, her Form divinely Fair" (246), "her easie Motion, her attractive Air" (247), and so on. Directly following his marriage, January's Pinchwifean jealousy is hardly unexpected:

The Rage of Jealousie then seiz'd his Mind,
For much he fear'd the Faith of Womankind.
His wife, not suffer'd from his Side to Stray,
Was Captive kept; he watch'd her Night and Day,
Abridg'd her Pleasures, and confin'd her Sway. (485-489)

As Robert Burton comments in the Anatomy: jealousy is a bastard branch or kind of love-melancholy which usually follows on the heels of marriage (AM, III, 3, 1, 1). He continues that it is often most violent in old men and ex-rakes. (January is both); Burton also counsels that old men should never marry beautiful young women, for jealousy is always the

inevitable outcome; such inamoratos will "swear and belie, slander any man, curse, threaten, brawl, scold, fight . . . impatient as he is, rave, roar, and lay about him like a madman . . . no man shall see [his] wife, salute her, speak with her, she shall not go forth of his sight, so much as to do her needs" (AM III, 3, 2).

Just as Pope expands Chaucer's implicit delineation of January, so in his presentation of Damian and May he creates a detailed variation (as opposed to translation) which accentuates and embellishes Chaucer's most pertinent points. Damian, for example, is indentified immediately as the classic love-melancholic. In Chaucer the Squire is "ravysshed on his lady May" (1774) and subsequently suffers great "peyne" (1775) from the "perilous fyr" (1783); he also "swelte and swowned" since "Venus hurt hym with hire brond" (1776-77). Chaucer's brief depiction undergoes considerable alteration in Pope's version where Damian is portrayed in terms strongly reminiscent of the classic "love-process":

Damian alone, of all the Menial Train,
 Sad in the midst of Triumphs, sigh'd for Pain;
Damian alone, the Knight's obsequious Squire,
 Consum'd at Heart, and fed a secret Fire.
 His lovely Mistress all his Soul possest,
 He look'd, he languish'd, and cou'd take no Rest:
 His Task perform'd, he sadly went his Way,
 Fell on his Bed, and loath'd the Light of Day. (357-64)

Appropriately Damian is marked by the all-revealing (monomania, the obsession with physical beauty; he first sees, then contemplates, and subsequently suffers the pain of melancholic

love which results in the traditional insomnia and aversion to light. Damian's health dwindles rapidly and by May's wedding he is well on the road to catastrophe: "anxious Cares the pensive Squire opprest" (392);¹⁷ he is insomniac, restless, and anxiety-prone (393-95); finally, giving in to demands of both romance and desperation, Damian composes the required "Sonnet" (397) and then, like Belinda's Baron, prays for divine assistance. Significantly May is love-struck at once and suffers a similar fate:

Whatever was the Cause, the tender Dame
Felt the first Motions of an infant Flame;
Receiv'd th' Impressions of the Love-sick Squire,
And wasted in the soft, infectious Fire. (430-33)

In keeping with traditional theory both Pope and Chaucer offer the same prognosis: if untreated (and if May were somewhat sturdier) she would surely commit suicide (Pope, 436-37; Chaucer, 1994).

As an underlying metaphor -- a controlling or informing signifier -- the idea of love-melancholy permeates "The Merchant's Tale". Not only does it intimate January's distorted judgement -- his bad values, his misplaced priorities -- but more importantly, as a disease affecting each of the major characters, it satirically reflects a general way of life, a universal modus vivendi based on the transitory, the superficial, the illusory. Love-melancholy, an affliction of the body, mind, and soul, is used as the principal means of moral satiric commentary.

Whereas Waller provided Pope with a relatively modern

use of love-melancholy in the beau monde, and Ovid with two pristine classical examples, Chaucer here furnished the most integrated work, the most cohesive blending of orthodox medical theory, literary technique, and broad moral intention. Put simply, Pope found in Chaucer the ultimate lesson: the best adaptation of love-melancholy for literary purposes. Taken together, then, these three authors -- Waller, Ovid, and Chaucer -- supplied the young Pope with a wide and powerful view of how love-melancholy might be used by the literary artist. Such a view Pope developed and subsequently refined in the Pastorals (written c. 1704).

4. The sole Disease: Pastorals

With the appearance in 1961 of Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, Emile Audra and Aubrey Williams instituted a new era in the criticism of Pope's pastoral poetry. For the Pastorals, since their initial publication in Tonson's Miscellanies in 1709, had been acclaimed traditionally more for their technical virtuosity than for philosophical and intellectual content.¹⁸ Dr. Johnson, for example, in his "Life of Pope", commends the latter's metrical prowess, but implicitly dismisses the possibility of any serious thematic study:

Pastorals admit no subtle reasoning or deep enquiry To charge these Pastorals with want of invention, is to require what was never intended. The imitations are so ambitiously frequent, that the writer evidently means rather to shew his literature

than his wit. It is surely sufficient for an author of sixteen not only to be able to copy the poems of antiquity with judicious selection, but to have obtained sufficient power of language, and skill in metre, to exhibit a series of versification, which had in English poetry no precedent, nor has since had an imitation.¹⁹

The Twickenham editors, in their efforts to establish Pope's meaning as well as style, performed no small number of critical services. Concentrating on Pope's own theory of the pastoral genre, they clarified the achievement of the Pastorals within the definitions, limitations, and intentions set out by the poet himself. Not simply a pretty "glitter of words" (as Elwin had remarked), the Pastorals, rather, were regarded as a complex series of verses based on the theme of time and its role in human affairs.²⁰ Through careful textual criticism Audra and Williams revealed Pope's intensely methodical construction of his poems, a revelation that belied any assumption that this poetry was a spontaneous overflowing of youthful exuberance. Finally, the Twickenham editors undercut traditional charges of unoriginality ("the description and sentiments are trite and common" according to Warton).²¹ Anticipating Earl Wasserman's fine study of The Rape of the Lock, both men argued that far from being unoriginal, Pope's very allusions constituted a creative act in themselves. By integrating external sources into the essential fabric of his poetry, Pope was able to achieve a more complicated, more contoured, and ultimately more original

meaning.²²

Building on the Twickenham foundation, subsequent critics have focused on Pope's humanistic meaning, his intellectual design as opposed to his metrical accomplishment. Men like Georgio Melchiori, Martin Battestin, David Durant, and most recently Harry Prest, have identified the moral basis of Pope's Pastorals, the underlying ethical concern with man's place in the temporal world.²³ Martin Battestin, in particular, elucidates Pope's over-riding concern with human mortality and its cosmic ramifications:

In the movement of the year from spring to winter is implicit not only the idea of mortality, the troubled descent of man from youth to the grave, but also the mythic pattern of history, tracing mankind's sad decline from the Golden to the Iron Age, from Eden to the present moment.²⁴

Within this overall superstructure Pope deals with a variety of topics. The Pastorals are not merely four poems about time; they are, rather, an organic quartet in which Pope explores attitudes toward time, mutability, mortality, harmony, disharmony, nature, art, appearance, reality, and above all, human passion.

Each topic inter-relates to form a vast multi-levelled set of subjects. That is, each of Pope's topoi functions synergistically with each of the rest in order to create an elaborate inter-locking set of poems. For example: love exists in the Pastorals as an isolated subject, one of Pope's thematic concerns. However, it is also but one part

of a larger, more extensive pattern in which a variety of ideas mingle and join together thereby amplifying, incrementing and expanding Pope's own essential meaning. The Pastorals then, constitute a complex humanistic document which explores simultaneously various aspects of human nature. Progressing from the Golden Age morning of life-giving "Spring" to the Iron Age midnight of death-giving "Winter", Pope offers an elaborate moral commentary on the destiny of man himself. Within the mythical structure of cosmic degeneration he is able to examine closely "the several ages of man, and the different passions proper to each age."

As a vehement passion of the mind, "a monster of nature, wit, and art" (AM III, 2, 1, 2), love-melancholy plays a prominent role throughout Pope's Pastorals. On one hand the concept of a degenerate love complements ideally Pope's structure of inevitable decay. Aspects from the love-melancholy tradition are used to depict the gradual deterioration of passion from the innocent ideal of "Spring", through the frustration and despair of "Summer" and "Autumn", down to the death of love itself in the "Winter" pastoral. Moreover, as a philosophical concept, one traditionally suggesting notions of mutability, critical misjudgement, irrationality and the preference of appearance over reality, love-melancholy supplements perfectly Pope's treatment of the same themes throughout his four pastorals.

A logical choice in light of his recent translations of Ovid and Chaucer, the concept of love-melancholy is used

not only to characterize Pope's poet-shepherd-lovers, but also to comment directly on the characters themselves. Love-melancholy functions as something of a Jonsonian humour, a dramatic label that defines immediately the moral, intellectual, and spiritual condition of the character involved. In this way, the concept of melancholic love operates in the Pastorals as one of Pope's chief means of establishing a moral-humanistic position. To appreciate fully this use of the love-melancholy tradition it is necessary to consider the Pastorals in some detail, particularly "Summer", the love-complaint of Alexis.

* * *

In his presentation of "Spring" Pope creates an ideal emblem of "what they call the Golden Age."²⁵ The poem is based largely on Virgil's Eclogue III and VII, thereby establishing in its very structure an allusion to the classical Age of Gold where justice prevailed, men lived a blissful life of otium, and human creativity existed in harmony with its natural environment.²⁶ Throughout this first pastoral, then, Pope emphasizes the timelessness, balance, and harmony of his "Spring" world. As in his remaining poems, he manipulates specific allusions (and their contexts) to reinforce these dominant ideas. For example, by alluding to Sir William Trumbull, Pope creates not only a poignant tribute to an older friend, but also

a calculated emblem of the pastoral impulse itself.²⁷ "To Wise for Pride, too Good for Pow'r" (7), Trumbull has retired from the corrupt external world of court and state, returning like the classical beatus ille to the "Native Shades" of a pastoral Windsor Forest. In this sense, Pope's dedication sets the tone of his first pastoral: here is the ideal world of peace, harmony, nature, virtue -- the list continues ad infinitum.

From the outset of his fable per se Pope establishes human love as one of the principal subjects of "Spring" in particular, and of the Pastorals in general. Both Strephon and Daphnis are "kept wakeful" by Love and the Muse (18); Daphnis' opening speech echoes a well-known love lyric of Waller's (25);²⁸ and, under the brightening influence of Phosphor (Venus) (27), both swains begin praising their own beloved (45ff.). Appropriately, Strephon invokes Phoebus to inspire him "With Waller's strains, or Granville's moving Lays!" (46) -- poets known primarily for courtly love lyrics. Daphnis, like Belinda's Baron, addresses himself directly to "Love" (49), offering in return his own victimized "Shepherd's Heart" (52).

Most significant in Pope's portrayal of love is the fact that in the Golden Age love never laps⁵ into melancholy, never dwindles into madness, obsession, or despair. Neither a disorder nor a disordering influence, love is portrayed as an organic healthy aspect of life. In direct contrast with

the passion of "Summer" and "Autumn", it is here always requited, reciprocal, mutual; innocent and enlivening, it inspires an exuberant (but ordered) creative expression through art as opposed to the disordered complaints of traditional lovesick courtiers (viz. Alexis' lamentation in "Summer"); it breeds joy rather than sadness, vivacity rather than despondency. As such, it complements the universal order of things so characteristic of "Spring".

At first sight love in the Golden Age would seem to involve a modicum of coquetry. Daphnis mentions Sylvia's "victorious . . . Eyes" (50) -- a direct reference to the tradition of warring love entering and vanquishing through eyesight.²⁹ Similarly, Strephon and Daphnis both allude to their beloved's aggressive teasing:

STREPHON

Me gentle Delia beckons from the Plain,
Then hid in Shades, eludes her eager Swain;
But feigns a Laugh, to see me search around,
And by that Laugh the willing Fair is found.

DAPHNIS

The sprightly Sylvia trips along the Green,
She runs, but hopes she does not run unseen,
While a kind Glance at her Pursuer flies,
How much at variance are her Feet and Eyes! (53-60)

On one hand the ladies' behaviour is atypical of Golden Age innocence: words like "beckons", "hid", "eludes", and "feigns" intimate negative qualities like temptation, seduction, and coquettishness, qualities that are definitely anomalous in Arcadia or Windsor Forest. The "variance" between Sylvia's feet and eyes likewise suggests a wanton

ambivalence, one reminiscent of Belinda who might well run, "but hopes she does not run unseen".

At this point, however, Pope's classical allusion dictates a different reading altogether. As Pope himself points out, his portrayal of Sylvia's behaviour derives ultimately from Virgil's Eclogue III.³⁰ There, Galatea playfully teases the amorous Damoetas in an idyllic world of easy dalliance -- a literal Golden Age. In addition, Pope is careful to direct his reader's response by means of a subtle but revealing characterization: unlike the host of coquettes and "Idols" found in eighteenth-century poetry and prose, "gentle Delia" allows herself to be "found"; she is a "willing Fair".³¹ Similarly, sprightly Sylvia casts "a kind Glance at her Pursuer", thereby intimating not only an "affectionate" glance (OED, 6), but one that is "natural". . . in accordance with nature or the usual course of things" (OED, 1A). In this sense, then, the ladies' behaviour, far from being coquettish, is actually an unaffected form of play, a type of flirtatious fun totally in accord with the ways of Idyllium.

In Pope's subsequent presentation of the perfect pastoral world love continues as an emblem of order, unity, harmony and the like. His ladies, for example, continue in direct contrast with the hard-hearted coquettes of "Summer" and "Autumn". At no time do they inspire the proverbial "fear and sorrow"; their love, rather, breeds happiness,

health, and joy. Appropriately, both Strephon and Daphnis stress their beloveds' "regenerative" qualities for, unlike any coquettish counterparts, both women reciprocate the love offered them; both are in perfect harmony with their surrounding natural world. In a passage bereft of any irony whatsoever Delia is described in terms of a Ceres-like goddess: at her smile "Flow'rs begin to spring, / The skies to brighten, and the Birds to sing" (71-72). Sylvia likewise seems to embody this creative impulse of the natural world: "like Autumn ripe, yet mild as May" (81), she perpetuates for her lover the values, fertility, and energy of this spring world: for "blest with her, 'tis Spring throughout the year" (84).

Having established this visionary world where the love seems opposite to love-melancholy, Pope concludes his first pastoral with a highly significant passage:

DAMON

Cease to contend, for (Daphnis) I decree
 The Bowl to Strephon, and the Lamb to thee:
 Blest Swains, whose Nymphs in ev'ry Grace excell;
 Blest Nymphs, whose Swains those Graces sing so well!
 Now rise, and haste to yonder Woodbine Bow'rs,
 A soft Retreat from sudden vernal Show'rs;
 The Turf with rural Dainties shall be Crown'd,
 While opening Blooms diffuse their Sweets around.
 For see! the gath'ring Flocks to Shelter tend,
 And from the Pleiads fruitful Show'rs descend. (93-102)

First of all, Damon's fiat ("Cease to contend") intimates the harmony and balance of the Golden Age: the absence of even musical discord. His equation of not only the shepherd's songs, but also of their prizes (an engraved bowl and a

young lamb [33-40]), suggests at once a balance between the human and the natural, between art and nature herself. Such an equation is continued in Pope's following portrayal of nature in terms of "artificial" ritual: "The Turf with rural Dainties shall be Crown'd" (my italics). Significantly, Nature here appears as a vast body of harmonious forces all of which join to create a womb-like, sympathetic world offering man "opening Blooms", "gath'ring Flocks" and "fruitful Show'rs".

Second, and of utmost interest in Damon's speech, is his distinctly "religious" address to the poet-shepherd-lovers (95-96). Most striking is Pope's brilliant quibble on the word "grace". In one sense the term underlines, along with "blest", the sacred or holy way of life found in the Golden Age. A "divine influence which operates in men to regenerate and sanctify, to inspire virtuous impulses" (OED, 11B), the word complements Pope's portrayal of Delia and Sylvia who inform and inspire the virtuous world of "Spring". In addition, however, the term "Grace" is, like "dullness" or "coxcomb", ubiquitous in writings of the early eighteenth-century and is used to depict a more "secular" quality altogether. A "pleasing quality . . . of producing favourable impressions; attractiveness, charm" (OED, 1), the term is used recurrently to define the Augustan ideal of femininity (witness, for example, the saccharine-sweet "Graces" who populate the pages of the

33

Spectator). On this level, "Grace" complements Pope's overall portrayal of the two ladies as perfect women who return willingly a pure and virtuous (in terms of the Golden Age) type of love. Significantly, in both cases "Grace" inspires art ("whose Swains those Graces sing so well"), thereby amalgamating Pope's three over-riding subjects: love, art, and natural order. In this sense, Damon's speech, while bringing "Spring" to a quiet and decorous close, simultaneously dovetails Pope's various thematic strands into one harmonious conclusion to his ideal Golden world.

* * *

If "Spring" aspires to present an Age of Gold, "Summer" introduces an Age of Silver. Whereas "Spring" in every way typified the otium-filled world of the Golden Age, "Summer" marks the first step downward in Pope's overall mythical structure of cosmic and human decay. Following the timeless, harmonious -- almost fairy-tale like -- world of Strephon and Daphnis, the reader now enters a world in which the presence of time and possibility of death are overwhelmingly real; the natural world, although still a macrocosmic mirror of the "little world" of man, here begins actively to oppress and afflict its human inhabitants; similarly, art is no longer a harmonious mimesis of a harmonious outer world: in place of Daphnis' and Strephon's precise and orderly amoebaeal strains we now have a "disorderly", rambling complaint of a melancholic swain. Filled with abrupt shifts,

sudden revelations, and unnatural imagery, Alexis' very structure complements Pope's larger thematic concerns. "Summer", furthermore, in its many and various hints of irony, signals Pope's artistic movement away from the pastoral cast of the Golden Age toward the satiric and elegaic tones which follow in "Autumn" and "Winter" respectively.

Of chief interest to this survey is the considerable change undergone by love. In contrast to the pure and virtuous eros of "Spring", we now have an almost classic case of love-melancholy, a disease that infects, disrupts, and eventually destroys. Pope's dedication to Garth (9-12), for example, explicitly identifies love as this "sole Disease", (the pun is deliberate) and in this way, like Pope's earlier inscription to Trumbull, establishes the key-note or mood which will underline the ensuing poem as a whole. As the Twickenham editors point out, the address recalls immediately Theocritus' Idyll XI, a pastoral love-complaint which firstly, is dedicated to a physician; secondly, deals primarily with love as a maddening disease; and thirdly, exposes the rage of the innamorato (the Cyclops, Polyphemus) as a type of ridiculous folly.³⁴ By this address, then, Pope establishes at once the tradition in which "Summer" operates. Also, by referring to Garth the physician Pope delineates nicely love's change from an ordering harmony in "Spring" to the disordering noxious "Disease" of "Summer" (12). Finally, by implicating into his poem the image of Theocritus' grotesque

buffoon, Pope implicitly suggests the ironic tone which is to dominate his subsequent portrayal of Alexis.

Pope himself points out, in his annotations to "Spring", that "Summer" opens in a direct allusion to Spenser's "Januarye" (lff.): "A Shepheard's boye (no better doe him call)".³⁵ As Audra and Williams observe, Pope also alludes to the same poem in his subsequent portrayal of Alexis, (lines 22, 54-58).³⁶ Such Spenserian allusions are hardly gratuitous, for Spenser perhaps more than either Theocritus or Virgil, serves as Pope's principal model for the "Summer" pastoral. Not only does Pope glean words, phrases, even image patterns from his Spenserian archetype, but Spenser's technique itself, (he "at once exposes to his readers a view of the great and little worlds, in their various changes and aspects"), is metamorphosed into Pope's own Augustan version.³⁷ Because of this importance, then, it is worth considering briefly the significance of this prime allusion.

Initially, Pope's reference reinforces "Summer" as part of a larger, historical tradition stretching back to Spenser, through Virgil, ultimately to Theocritus himself. In this way the allusion corroborates Pope's earlier claims to be the modern poetic heir of these three pastoral mentors.³⁸ Most significant, though, is the fact that Pope here alludes to an eclogue based entirely on the concept of love-melancholy. From Spenser's opening lines Colin

Clout anticipates in both personality and situation Pope's hapless love-sick shepherd. Like Alexis, he fulfills the standard requisites: being "very sore traveled" by an "unfortunate Love" (Argument), he is "pale and wanne" ("Januarye", 8) as if "he lov'd, or else some care he took" ("Januarye", 9); he is something of an accomplished artist ("Januarye", 10); he prays to the "Gods of love" for divine aid ("Januarye", 13); and, like all love-melancholics, interprets his external environment in terms of his own psychological condition:

Thou bafrein ground, whome winters wrath
hath wasted,
Art made a myrrhour, to behold my plight:
Whilome thy fresh spring flowrd, and after
hasted
Thy sommer prowde with Daffadillies dight. ("Januarye", 18-21)

In addition, Colin exhibits the conventional symptoms: depressed and fretful, he loses all interest in duty and occupation:

Thou feeble flocke, whose fleece is rough and rent,
Whose knees are weake through fast and euill
fare:
Mayst wnesse well by thy ill gouernement,
Thy maysters mind is ouercome with care.
Thou weake, I wanne: thou leane, I quite
forlorne:
With mourning pyne I, you with pyning
mourne. ("Januarye", 43-48)

Ultimately Colin is rejected by Rosalind who "of [his] rurall musick holdeth scorne" ("Januarye", 64); moreover, Colin's psychological upheaval, like Alexis', is figured metaphorically in terms of an impotent, inert "art":

Both pype and Muse, shall sore the while aby.
So broke his oaten pype, and downe dyd lye.
("Januarye", 71-72)

As in both Theocritus and Virgil, the disease is here

regarded as a prime example of human folly -- an affliction which both robs one of "all former pleasannc and delights" (Argument) and leads finally to lonely despair. Most pertinent to "Summer" is the fact that Spenser here provides not only a continuation of classical tradition, but a compact and serviceable set of images, concepts, and plot all easily adaptable to Pope's moral and literary purposes.

Throughout Alexis' song (13-84), then, Pope amplifies, expands, and complicates the themes initiated in this opening network of allusions, contexts, and meanings. First and foremost, Alexis is established as the typical melancholic lover: contrasting at virtually every point with Strephon and Daphnis, his Golden Age counterparts, he emerges as an Augustan variation of Theocritus' Polyphemus (Idyll XI), Virgil's Corydon (Eclogue II), or Spenser's Colin Clout ("Januarye"). Discovered solitary and despondent, he poetically laments his amorous fate to the listening hills and rocks. He is chagrined, obsessed, and depressed, he "pines in hopeless love" (24); and like Colin Clout's, his song is punctuated with words like "mourn" (15), "doleful" (17), "Complaints" (19), "pines" (24), "hopeless" (24), and "the Serpent love" (68), words that suggest at once an utter, irredeemable despair.

Alexis, moreover, fulfills additional "requisites" essential to the love-melancholic: he accuses his muse of betrayal (23-26), like Polyphemus (and Martinus Scriblerus)

he becomes fastidious concerning his appearance (27-30), he neglects his duty and occupation in favour of being with his beloved (35-38), he abandons his art in despair (43ff.), makes wild and extravagant wishes (45-58),³⁹ offers his beloved an idealized version of the possible future, begs her to return (49ff.), idealizes her in hyperbolic description (73-6), and then simply continues to want. For, like the inamorato that he is, Alexis is condemned to a state of frustrated need, a condition of perpetual, unfulfilled desiring:

On me Love's fiercer Flames for ever prey,
By Night he scorches, as he burns by Day. (91-92)

As a disease of the body, mind, and soul, Alexis' love-melancholy fulfills a complex role throughout both "Summer" in particular and the Pastorals themselves in general. At its simplest, it works as a convenient method of characterization, one which completes Pope's intentions to write a conventional pastoral love-complaint. Moreover, as a traditional emblem of folly -- an icon of unreason -- the disease supplements Pope's ironic presentation of a foolish, love-sick victim whose delusions undermine any and all pretences to rational behaviour. Here, Pope's allusions to Polyphemus, Corydon, and Colin Clout among others accentuate Alexis' own folly in "loving" to excess.⁴⁰ Most striking, however, is the fact that love-melancholy complements Pope's larger intellectual design, his general "moral" structure of decay or degeneration. As a degenerate disease, a sickness inherent in the very soul of man, love-melancholy functions

synergistically with Pope's other topoi to illustrate that cosmic deterioration. In this way the concept of a melancholic love fulfills an important role in "Summer": as Pope's principal or controlling metaphor, it inculcates not only a literary image of degeneration, but also a moralistic evaluation of human experience.

As mentioned above, Pope uses the concept of love-melancholy to complement or complete his thematic design. Dovetailing a number of subjects, a variety of imagistic patterns, he creates a far richer form of art in which an assortment of ideas work together to achieve a unified intellectual end. A prime example of such thematic amalgamation, one particularly dependent on the concept of love-melancholy, occurs in the following lines from Alexis' pastoral complaint:

Ye shady Beeches, and ye cooling Streams,
Defence from Phoebus', not from Cupid's Beams'
To you I mourn; nor to the Deaf I sing,
The Woods shall answer, and their Echo ring.
The Hills and Rocks attend my doleful Lay,
Why art thou prouder and more hard than they?
The bleating Sheep with my Complaints agree,
They parch'd with Heat, and I inflam'd by thee.
The sultry Sirius burns the thirsty Plains,
While in thy Heart Eternal Winter reigns. (13-22)

On one hand the song accentuates the singer's disordering affliction. His vocabulary, like that of Polyphemus, Corydon, or Colin Clout, abounds with morose, funereal imagery: he mourns, sings a "doleful Lay", complains, and so on. In addition, Pope here bases his lines on Virgil's Eclogue X: an ironic treatment of Gallus, a love-sick buffoon.⁴¹ Hardly superfluous, the allusion introduces the notion of a pathetic

but laughable folly, thereby intimating Alexis' overt lapse from rational behaviour. In this sense, then, the concept of love-melancholy performs a number of services: 1) as a means of characterization it establishes Alexis as the stock melancholic swain and thereby makes clear the degeneration which has occurred since the close of "Spring"; 2) it emphasizes the individual character's own folly; and 3) it illustrates Pope's increasing use of irony in the Pastorals -- an increase which prepares for the later tone of the "Autumn" and "Winter" pastorals.

Of utmost interest in Alexis' song is Pope's use of external nature as a type of "objective correlative" -- a tangible outer mirror of Alexis' inner self. The technique is not unduly original; it is, however, exceedingly important. For not only does the natural world reflect Alexis' moral, physical, and psychological condition, but by so doing it accentuates in its own state the general degeneration following the Golden Age. No longer a harmonious "Spring" balance of art, love, and innocence, nature (like its human counterpart) now suffers the pangs of a disordering melancholic desire: it appears as a mish-mash of furious appetites, unfulfilled needs, and violent oppression. Hence, while nature might answer, echo, attend, and agree, with Alexis' doleful lay, it also oppresses (man now needs "Defence" [14] against Phoebus' beams), is "parched with Heat", "burns", and is "thirsty" -- a state of affairs suggesting not only

desire, but a desire which, up to this point, has been left irksomely unfulfilled. Appropriately, Pope complements his design by means of highly particularized allusion; "sultry Sirius", for example, suggests traditional ideas of heat, sickness, and plagues.⁴² In addition, Pope's adjective, "sultry", amplifies the image to include notions of intemperate emotion, as well as lust itself (OED 1, 2A, 2B).⁴³ Pope's allusion, then, works alongside the tradition of love-melancholy to reinforce further the overall intellectual pattern of the "Summer" pastoral.

Most striking, of course, is Pope's use of the love-melancholy tradition to establish a moral-humanistic position in the world of "Summer". Alexis' passion, as a form of folly or unreason, contrasts sharply with the "rational passion" of Strephon and Daphnis. Whereas this latter love was based on virtue, innocence and reciprocity (leading to order, beauty, and peace), Alexis' passion is based on lust, corruption, and one-sidedness, (leading to disorder, disease, and disruption). Alexis' lady, furthermore, reinforces this overall design of deterioration: a virtual inversion of Sylvia and Delia, she lacks precisely those "Graces" so essential to genuine perfection. Recalling Serenissa and anticipating Belinda in her coquetry, she inspires only destruction and chaos. Alexis himself is lovesick, obsessed, and wretched; he abandons his art for passion, falls prey to the Serpent love, and ultimately is completely self-deluded; witness, for

example, the arch irony of "Summer": "All things flourish where you turn your eyes" (76; my italics). Appropriately, Alexis' lady is portrayed in terms suggesting an unnaturalness or debilitation: she suffers the "deadly sin" of pride, she is inflexible, and, in the midst of Summer's heat, she is associated with "Winter", thereby anticipating Pope's theme of death, sorrow, and poetic impotence in his last pastoral.

Finally, Alexis' "love" works in direct relation with Pope's other major topoi. As in the case of "Spring", love performs a mirror-like function, indicating the "moral" excellence or corruption of the characters' general endeavours. So, where the passion of Strephon and Daphnis intimated a balanced and harmonious nature, art, and innocence, Alexis' love-melancholy points toward an imbalance, a disorder, an upheaval in man's relationship with nature, his aesthetic expression, and his moral condition. As Pope's principal or controlling metaphor, the concept of a melancholic love not only reinforces his overall structure of cosmic degeneration, but also inculcates a moralistic evaluation of human experience as it stands in what is now a corrupt (and corrupting) world.

* * *

Although hardly as central as in "Summer", the tradition of love-melancholy plays a considerable role in

Pope's two remaining pastorals, "Autumn" and "Winter". Aspects from the tradition are adapted into Pope's larger poetic concern and the concept is here made to serve a number of poetic purposes. First, as in "Summer", the disease functions as an ironic emblem of human folly, a dramatic indicator of an incorrect or foolish way of life. Moreover, the image of love continues to work with Pope's additional patterns of imagery: the condition or quality of love reflects the condition or quality of life as led by the lover himself. Finally, as a tradition based firmly on the motif of mutability and human mortality, the imagery here of love-melancholy strengthens Pope's presentation of a decaying world, a universe dwindling slowly toward silence, immobility and death.

"Autumn", in particular, depends on Pope's successful adaptation of the love-melancholy tradition. He immediately establishes the disease as one of his principal points of reference, a central topos in his third pastoral. For, as the Twickenham editors point out, the poem is based largely on Virgil's Eclogue VIII and Theocritus' Idyll II and III -- poems in which love appears as a violent and fractious passion leading to madness, depression, and suicide.⁴⁴ Hardly coincidental, such an "allusion" not only establishes Pope's historical contexts, but intimates at once yet another change that has transformed the world of the Pastorals: the "Sole Disease" of "Summer" has now become an outright madness, a

sickness of the mind, body and soul which recalls Burton's stern dictum: love-melancholy, if uncured, results in either madness or a self-inflicted death.

From the outset, Pope identifies both swains, Hylas and Aegon, as victims of melancholic love. Like Alexis in "Summer", both are radically obsessed with their own mistress: both display sick obsessions which lead in one case to unequivocal delusion (51-54), in the other to suicidal despair (93-96). Significantly, Pope punctuates his characterization with funereal imagery: "This mourn'd a faithless, that an absent love" (3; my italics); similarly, Hylas, bewailing the absent Delia, sings with a "melodious Moan" (15), teaching rocks to "weep" (16), and mountains to "groan" (16). His song is filled with sighs, "forlorn" tears (22), and visions of a deadening, enervated nature alleviated only by the "sight" of the long-gone Delia (23ff.). Appropriately Aegon likewise exhibits the conventional "signs": he sings a "mournful strain" (57), "dying" he "complain[s]" (58). His lament is based on an image pattern of exhaustion and darkness, a state of mirroring his own inner condition: oxen are "spent with Toil and Heat" (61), "fleet shades glide o'er the dusky green" (64); finally cursing his fickle Doris, Aegon inverts the traditional "soft" emblem of a cherubic Cupid and substitutes the image of a "hard" and oppressive form of love:

I know thee Love! on foreign Mountains bred,
Wolves gave thee suck, and savage Tygers fed.

Thou wert from AETNA's burning Entrails torn,
 Got by fierce Whirlwinds, and in Thunder-born!
 (89-92)

As a melancholic love -- an affliction, a distortion of mental, physical, and spiritual balance -- Hylas' and Aegon's love follows a relatively traditional route. Inspired by sight, followed by contemplation, and leading to obsession, this mania, when unfulfilled, results in ultimate breakdown. Aegon, for example, rejected by Doris, lapses into mournful song (57), neglects his duty (79), views himself as bewitched (81), compares his love to an evil eye (82), seeks out a solitary environment (86) and finally threatens suicide as his only desperate release from the pain of love (95). The actual outcome is irrelevant: what is important is the fact that the threat has, in fact, been made, that Aegon has lapsed so far because of an insane and, what to Burton, is a monstrous aberration of nature.

Such a passion establishes unequivocally Hylas' final delusion of consummate love:

Ye Pow'rs, what pleasing Frensie soothes my Mind!
 Do Lovers dream, or is my Delia kind?
 She comes, my Delia comes! -- Now cease my Lay,
 And cease ye Gales to bear my Sighs away! (51-54)

The questions are, of course, rhetorical. Hylas has lapsed into amorous insanity and here suffers the conventional hallucinations of the melancholic lover. The passage virtually culminates the gradual development of Hylas' amorous disease: he has idealized beyond reason the absent Delia (23ff); like Alexis in "Summer" he has interpreted the natural world in

terms of his own condition: Nature appears as an enormous victim of love-melancholy who droops in depressed resignation: birds "neglect their song" (24), limes "their pleasing Shades deny" (25), "the Lillies hang their heads and dye" (26), flowers "droop" (27), and so on. Significantly, Pope neatly incorporates a temporal sequence -- a progression from "Spring" (27) to "Summer" (28) to "Autumn" (29) -- thereby emphasizing the rapid encroachment of time into the fast crumbling pastoral world, a point developed subsequently in Hylas' remaining stanzas.

Moreover, any ambiguity as to whether Hylas does in fact "see" Delia may easily be dismissed by considering the following three points.⁴⁵ First, as Burton comments in the Anatomy, lovers do dream:

O happy day that shall restore thee to my sight! In the meantime he raves on her; her sweet face, eyes, actions, gestures, hands, feet, speech, length, breadth, height, depth, and the rest of her dimensions, are so surveyed, measured, and taken by that astrolabe of phantasy, and that so violently sometimes, with such earnestness and eagerness, such continuance, so strong an imagination, that at length he thinks he sees her indeed: he talks with her, he embraceth her, Ixion-like, pro Junone nubem, a cloud for Juno, as he said. Nihil praeter Leucippen cerno, Leucippe mihi perpetuo in oculis et animo versatur, I see and meditate of naught but Leucippe. Be she present or absent, all is one. (AM III, 2, 3)

Second, Hylas dwells in no Golden Age of "Spring" wherein women are conveniently "kind": they are, rather, as "Summer" has shown, disease-breeding coquettes indifferent to their

lover's fate. And third, Pope himself identifies his allusion to Virgil's Eclogue VIII, line 108: An qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt? -- a line dealing specifically with lover's fancy and idle dreams.⁴⁶ In this sense, then, Hylas, like Aegon, is established as a victim of love, a victim of uncontrolled "Frensie".

As an emblem of folly, love-melancholy works here in much the same way as it had for the previous two thousand years. Hylas and Aegon are boobies, albeit pathetic ones, but boobies nonetheless in the tradition of Virgil's Corydon, Theocritus' Polyphemus, even Aesop's love-sick lion. In this sense they mark a definite decline from the world of "Spring", thereby complementing Pope's intentions to delineate an overall degeneration, to depict "the several ages of man".

Most important at this point in the Pastorals, however, is how Pope integrates the love-melancholy tradition into his general pattern of inter-locking topoi. For here, perhaps more than even in "Summer", the concept of a degenerate love complements Pope's conceptual design of human and natural descent, a disintegration of nature, art, and passion from Eden to the present moment. Consider, for example, Aegon's plaintive cry:

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful Lay!
Beneath yon Poplars oft we past the Day:
Oft on the Rind I carv'd her Am'rous Vows,
While She with Garlands hung the bending Boughs:
The Garlands fade, the Vows are worn away;
So dies her Love, and so my Hopes decay. (65-70)

Initially, the song suggests only a bittersweet love frolic

recalling perhaps Shakespeare's Orlando who scrawled similar vows among the trees of Arden. Aegon's speech, however, accentuates an overwhelming awareness of time: a knowledge of decay unknown in the Golden Age of "Spring". Appropriately, the word "dies" establishes a correct ominous tone, marking, in one sense, Pope's major transitional point between "Spring" and "Winter", between birth and death itself. The concept of love-melancholy here acts in direct relation with Pope's additional topoi and in Aegon's image we encounter a decay of nature, art, and love all mingled perfectly in the hieroglyphic of a coquette's vow ("I carved her Am'rous Vows"). In this way, then, Pope uses the notion of a degenerate love to complement his thematic and stylistic structure: in both cases the love-melancholy tradition works to amplify his essential meaning throughout "Autumn". By so doing, it lays the necessary ground work for "Winter", Pope's final poem in the pastoral cycle.

* * *

Following the direction established in "Summer" and "Autumn", "Winter" constitutes a denouement of sorts, a conclusion to Pope's vast poetic design of cosmic deterioration. Based on classical elegies like Virgil's Eclôgue V and Theocritus' Idyll I, Pope's poem represents in the death of Daphne a virtual cessation of the pastoral impulse, an earthly termination of the pastoral world.⁴⁷ For in Daphne,

Pope embodies those virtues enjoyed in the world of "Spring" -- innocent love, beauty, pleasure, music, sweetness and so on. Indeed, as a variation of Virgil's Daphnis,³ Pope's Daphne comes to represent something of a cosmic idea, an informing Orphic voice whose presence embodies natural order, aesthetic balance, and virtuous love. As such, Daphne's death illustrates more than an individual passing; it illustrates, rather, the close of an entire age.

Significantly, Pope again uses the love tradition to further his overall thematic design. When Thyrsis begins his lament, for example, he envisages a world bereft of human and divine love:

Ye gentle Muses leave your Crystal Spring,
 Let Nymphs and Sylvans Cypress Garlands bring;
 Ye weeping Loves, the Stream with Myrtles hide,
 And break your Bows, as when Adonis dy'd;
 And with your Golden Darts, now useless grown,
 Inscribe a Verse on this relenting Stone:
 "Let Nature change, let Heav'n and Earth deplore,
 Fair Daphne's dead, and Love is now no more!" (21-28)

A virtual inversion of "Spring", Thyrsis' song is a carefully honed series of allusions all of which intimate a cessation of poetic and cosmic order. First is the invocation to the Muses (21-22) which superficially is little more than a traditional address to the pastoral deities. As the Twickenham editors point out, however, the lines recall the refrain of Oldham's Bion:

Come all ye Muses, come, adorn the Shepherd's Hearse,
With never-fading Garlands, never-dying Verse.⁴⁸

The suggestion is sound and can be considerably strengthened

if one considers that Oldham is writing a pastoral elegy on the death of both "England's Orpheus" and "all the Art of Graceful Song".⁴⁹ By recalling Oldham's refrain, then, Pope implicitly suggests an association of Daphne and Orpheus thereby intensifying his own elegy on the demise of true poetic order. The point is reinforced in the second allusion of the section: as Pope himself points out, Thyrsis' instructions to the "weeping Loves" (23ff) is in deliberate imitation of Virgil's Eclogue V, 40, 42:

-- Inducite fontibus umbras --
Et tumulum facite, & tumulo superaddite carmen.⁵⁰

The ascription of Daphnis' rites to Daphne further develops the latter's significance as this principle of both cosmic and poetic order. And, in this way, Pope integrates into his design his portrayal of the love topos begun with Strephon and Daphnis in "Spring".

Of utmost importance to our survey is the fact that Pope concludes his pastoral cycle with an image of melancholic love: Following Daphne's splendid apotheosis -- her entry into a heavenly "Spring" -- Lycidas comments to Thyrsis:

How all things listen, while thy Muse complains!
 Such Silence waits on Philomela's Strains,
 In some still Ev'ning, when the whisp'ring Breeze
 Pants on the Leaves, and dies upon the Trees.
 (77-80)

As a response to Thyrsis' lamentation, the remark constitutes a most complex passage which serves a number of different purposes. Initially, it provides an appropriately mournful gloss on Thyrsis' elegy: the Muse "complains", the nightingale

sings, and nature is respectfully silent. More important, however, is the fact that Pope uses the classical name of "Philomela", a name which recalls immediately the myth of Tereus and Philomela -- a myth dealing with the catastrophic results of an outrageous melancholic love.⁵¹ Here Pope's explicit sexual terminology comes into play and Thyrsis' delicate song is followed by a grotesque emblem of sordid, aggressive desire (79-80).

Why does Pope introduce at this point such an emblem of melancholic love? On one hand the image stands in sharp contrast with Daphne's condition: therefore unfulfilled earthly desire implies the fulfillment experienced by the dead shepherdess in Elysium where "Eternal Beauties grace the shining scene/Fields [are] ever fresh, and groves forever green" (71-72). Moreover, Lycidas implicitly reveals the condition of life in the Iron Age of "Winter": his image of a sordid desire contrasts not only with this Elysian purity of Daphne, but with the virtuous love of Strephon and Daphnis in "Spring". Love is now unfulfilled, a frustrating disease that permeates the natural world.

In this way, then, Pope's image of a melancholic love works with his related topoi throughout "Winter". As a disease, an emblem of folly, a reminder of mutability, and a mental, physical, and spiritual disorder, this love is the modus vivendi of the "Winter" world. As such, it confirms perfectly Pope's portrayal of an Iron Age diametrically.

opposed to the Golden Age of "Spring", -- an age wherein man is out of tune with himself, his neighbour, and his world, an age wherein nature is "unwholesome", "noxious", and aggressive, where "Time conquers all, and We must time obey" (88).

NOTES

Chapter III

1

Most notable of Waller's poems used by Pope are "On my Lady Dorothy Sidney's Picture", "At Penshurst"; "Of the Lady who can Sleep when she Pleases", "The Apology of Sleep", "A La Malade", and "Of my Lady Isabella, Playing on the Lute". References to Waller's poetry are taken from The Poetical Works of Edmund Waller and Sir John Denham, ed. Rev. George Gilfillan (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1857). These are indicated in the text by line numbers in parentheses.

2

John Dryden, Essays of John Dryden, ed. W. P. Ker, Vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900), 237.

3

A similar theme underlies Pope's "Waller: On a Fan of the Author's design, in which was painted the story of Cephalus and Procris" (first published in 1712). Cf. 7-10:

In Delia's hand this toy is fatal found,
Nor could that fabled dart more surely wound:
Both gifts destructive to the givers prove;
Alike both lovers fall by those they love.

4

T. S. Eliot, "Hamlet" (1919), in Frank Kermode, ed., Selected Prose of T. S. Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), pp. 48-49; Pope, "A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry" in E. Audra and Aubrey Williams, eds., Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism (London: Methuen, 1961), p. 32.

5

Cf. Spectator 41, I, 176, where Steele is describing the "perfect woman": "Her Features are enlivened with the cheerfulness of her mind, and good Humour gives an Alacrity to her Eyes. She is Graceful without Affecting an Air, and Unconcerned without appearing Careless. Her having no manner of Art in her Mind, makes her want none in her Person."

6

Audra and Williams, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 329.

7

On Pope's early translations as a means of self-improvement -- a form of "exercise" -- see George Sherburn,

The Early Career of Alexander Pope (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 40; cf. also Audra and Williams, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 329-32.

8

Audra and Williams rightly point out Ovid's debt to Theocritus' Idyll II where Polyphemus is no longer the dread figure of the Odyssey, but rather an absurd, somewhat grotesque, innamorato. (Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 334).

9

See Chapter One, p. 36.

10

Cf. AM III, 2, 3: "'Is this no small servitude for an enamorate to be every hour combing his head, stiffening his beard, perfuming his hair, washing his face with sweet waters, painting, curling, and not to come abroad but sprucely crownéd, decked and apparelled?'"

11

See Chapter One, pp. 14-15.

12

Cf. RA, 723-30: "If you can, get rid of her pictures also: why does a mute image affect you? . . . Mute places too are harmful; avoid places that know the secret of your unions; they hold the seed of sorrow. 'Here was she, here she lay; in that chamber did we sleep; here did she give me wanton joys at night! Love brought to mind is stung to life, and the wound is rent anew.'"

13

The Lover's Leap had been discussed previously in Spectator 223 (15 November 1711), 227 (20 November 1711, and 233 (27 November 1711).

14

Audra and Williams, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, pp. 339-46.

15

Geoffrey Tillotson, The Rape of the Lock and other Poems (London: Methuen, 1972), p. 8.

16

Ibid., p. 11.

17

Pope's line anticipates his later depiction of Belinda: "But anxious Cares the pensive Nymph opprest"

(ROL IV, 1). Both portrayals, of course, derive ultimately from Dryden's translation of Aeneid IV, I: "But anxious Cares already seiz'd the Queen". Significantly, Virgil here describes the love-sick Dido who reluctantly pines for her beloved Aeneas.

18

Harry V. Prest provides a brief but representative survey of critical opinion in his "Alexander Pope's Pastorals: A Study of Their Genesis and Evolution" (Ph.D. dissertation, McMaster University, 1977), pp. 1-25.

19

Sámuel Johnson, "Pope" in his The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets: With Critical Observations on Their Works, 2nd edition (London: C. Bathurst et al., 1781), IV, 174-75.

20

Rev. Whitwell Elwin, ed., The Works of Alexander Pope, Vol. I (London: Murray, 1871), 1

21

Joseph Warton, An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope (London: M. Cooper, 1756), pp. 2-3.

22

Audra and Williams, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, pp. 37-55.

23

Georgio Melchiori, "Pope in Arcady: the Theme of Et in Arcadia Ego in his Pastorals" in Maynard Mack, ed., Essential Articles for the Study of Alexander Pope, Rev. ed. (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1968); Martin Battestin, The Providence of Wit: Aspects of Form in Augustan Literature and the Arts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 58-78; David S. Durant, "Man and Nature in Alexander Pope's Pastorals", SEL, XI (1971), 469-85; Harry V. Prest, "Alexander Pope's Pastorals: A Study of their Genesis and Evolution", pp. 179-390.

24

Battestin, ibid., p. 62.

25

Pope, "A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry" in Audra and Williams, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 25.

26

Audra and Willaims, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, pp. 42-4, 59-70.

27

See Harry V. Prest, "Alexander Pope's Pastorals", pp. 187-93.

28

See Audra and Williams, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 62n.

29

Cf., for example, Serenissa in the 1701 "Imitations": "Fair charmer cease, nor make your voice's prize/A heart resign'd the conquest of your eyes" (I, 1-2).

30

See Audra and Williams, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 66n.

31

Addison and Steele continually refer to the obtuse wilfulness of female "Idols" -- women motivated by vanity. See Spectator 73, 79, 87, 155, 534.

32

Cf., for example, Serenissa's infectious effect on both her lover and environment throughout the early "Imitations" (I, 7-8; II, 7-10; IV, 5-6; V passim).

33

See Spectator 41 in particular; cf. also Pope, "Imitations" III: "Of Her Picture" and Clarissa's speech in The Rape of the Lock (V. 9-34), discussed below in Chapter IV.

34

Audra and Williams, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, pp. 44-45.

35

Audra and Williams, ibid., p. 60n.. All subsequent references to The Shepherdes Calender are taken from J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt, eds., Spenser: Poetical Works (London: Oxford University Press, 1965). These are indicated in the text by line references in parentheses.

36

Audra and Williams, ibid., pp. 73n, 76n.

37

"A Discourse on Pastoral" in Audra and Williams, ibid., p. 32.

38

39

Alexis laments, "O were I made by some transforming Pow'r, / The Captive Bird that sings within thy Bow'r!" (45-6). Hardly an original sentiment, Pope here uses a traditional image of the innamorato's insane desire. Cf. AM III, 2, 3: One lover "wisheth himself a saddle for her to sit on, a posy for her to smell to, and it would not grieve him to be hanged, if he might be strangled in her garters . . . Ovid would be a flea, a gnat, a ring; Catullus, a sparrow . . . Anacreon, a glass, a gown, a chain, anything."

40

For such allusions, see Audra and Williams, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, pp. 71-79n.

41

Pope himself points out his debt to Eclogue X, 8ff.: "Non canimus surdis, respondent omnia sylvae" (Audra and Williams, ibid., p. 72n).

42

Audra and Williams, ibid., p. 73n.; cf. also Dryden, Aeneid X, 382-83: "So SIRIUS, flashing forth sinister lights, / Pale humankind with plagues and with dry famine frights."

43

Pope's use of the word "sultry" in this context calls to mind a similar usage in his later Windsor Forest. Describing Pan in pursuit of Lodona, he presents a powerfully compact icon of insane sexual desire:

PAN saw and lov'd, and burning with Desire
Pursu'd her Flight; her Flight increas'd his Fire.

* * *

Now fainting, sinking, pale, the Nymph appears;
Now close behind his sounding Steps she hears;
And now his Shadow reach'd her as she run,
(His Shadow lengthen'd by the setting Sun)
And now his shorter Breath with sultry Air
Pants on her Neck, and fans her parting Hair.

(183-84, 191-96)

Significantly, Pan's role as an emissary of chaos is here reinforced by Pope's dependence on obvious conventional signs derived from the tradition of love-melancholy. Although only one part of Windsor Forest, the love-melancholy concept does complement Pope's overall design to present a threatening, oppressive energy in contrast with the cosmic harmony represented by Lodona. Cf. Earl Wasserman, The Subtler Language: Critical Readings of Neoclassical and Romantic Poems (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968), pp. 101-68.

44 Audra and Williams, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, pp. 45-46.

45 Harry V. Priest dwells on the "ambiguity" of Pope's lines; see "Alexander Pope's Pastorals", pp. 309-12.

46 Audra and Williams, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 84n.

47 Cf. Audra and Williams, ibid., pp. 46-47.

48 Ibid., p. 90n.

49 Oldham, "Bion", 33, 22, in The Works of Mr. John Oldham Together with his Remains, 7th ed. (London, 1710), p. 147.

50 Audra and Williams, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 90n.

51 Metamorphoses VI, 520ff.

IV

BELINDA, THE BARON, AND THE BEAU-MONDE:
LOVE-MELANCHOLY IN THE RAPE OF THE LOCK

What dire Offence from am'rous Causes springs,
What mighty Contests rise from trivial Things,
I sing.

(ROL I, 1-3)

To say that Pope's epic proposition is "appropriate" would constitute understatement of the worst kind. For although hardly as explicit as in either the translations, imitations, or "Summer" pastoral, the concept of melancholic love plays a considerable role in Pope's ironic encomium to Belinda. Conventional motifs from the tradition -- cosmetics, love as delusion, warfare, or false religion, the effects of beauty -- are integrated into Pope's larger design and are used to elucidate and to satirize both the values and motivations of Belinda, the Baron, and the beau monde in general.

As in the Pastorals, the concept of love-melancholy here serves a threefold purpose: 1) a traditional emblem of folly, it continually reinforces Pope's satiric characterizations; 2) as a moral affliction of fallen man, it enables Pope to comment directly on the less than perfect natures of his characters; and 3) as one part of Pope's network of allusions, images, and motifs, the concept works throughout the poem.

continually incrementing, complicating and complementing Pope's many and varied themes. For The Rape of the Lock is not only about a minor gaucherie in the upper echelons of Augustan society; it is also a poem about delusion and mutability and human love; it deals with the eternal war of the sexes, with coquetry, and with the roles of women; it is a poem about beauty and its effects, the importance of good humour, and also about the very necessity of inner merit over veneered appearance. In this sense the love-melancholy tradition, a tradition dealing with precisely such themes, fits organically (and nicely) into Pope's overall intellectual plan.

Most striking is Pope's use of the concept of love-melancholy as a principal mock-heroic image. He contrasts with the agony of an Aeneas or the pathos of a Dido the shrunken modern equivalents of a love-sick fop or the pet of an outraged coquette. As a disease, a distortion of reason, health, and spirit, love-melancholy here complements Pope's general satire on a disordered, corrupt, and miserably unheroic age. The tradition is contained within Pope's mock-epical structure and throughout the poem love-melancholy -- whatever else it may do -- always serves this ultimate parodic function.

To suggest the extent and method of Pope's uses of love-melancholy in The Rape of the Lock I wish to consider in some detail certain passages of the poem. In the interests

of clarity I will treat in order the early portraits of Ariel and Belinda (Cantos I and II), the presentation of the Baron (II), aspects of Umbriel's katabasis (III and IV), and finally, Clarissa's speech (V).¹

1. An arrant Ramp and a Tomrigg: Belinda

If spate and variety of critical discussion are any indication, Belinda is the least understood, least agreed-upon of Pope's fictional creations. Since Dennis' cranky remarks in 1728 -- "She appears an arrant Ramp and a Tomrigg" --, Belinda has been viewed alternately as demonic or divine, malignant or benign.² She has been praised as "an artist" and an emblem of beauty; has been condemned as a proud coquette par excellence; she has also been pitied as a victim of hysteric psychoses.³

Underlying Pope's complex presentation, however, is one aspect of utmost relevance to our own study, an aspect of Belinda over which even the most diverse critics agree: there exists a striking discrepancy between her conscious, external, social behaviour and her unconscious, internal, private desires. Earl Wasserman, in his seminal essay "The Limits of Allusion in The Rape of the Lock", remarks of Belinda: "beneath the outrage over the social offense and a determination to avoid love and marriage, Belinda . . . feels a reluctant desire for the man, a passion hidden from her conscious mind Despite [her] conscious social

artfulness Belinda is flesh and blood, not a sylph, and in the Nature of her heart lurks unconscious yearning for a mortal lover."⁴ Wasserman's comments, albeit brief, pinpoint the essential nature of Belinda who is unable to recognize or to cope with her own confused sexual desires. The observation is perceptive and provides one of the few major clues to Belinda's "real" personality.

Not only is Wasserman's analysis indebted to our post-Freudian assumptions regarding the unconscious, but historically his idea derives from traditional medical theories of female melancholy, an affliction which Robert Burton is careful to define as "a particular species of melancholy" (AM I, 3, 2, 4). Most pertinent here are the facts that such a "disease" was recognized and accepted as real and that, in its prognosis and cure, "maids' melancholy" was virtually indistinguishable from love-melancholy. Both disorders were related species of a larger genus. This medical concept persisted well into the eighteenth century and is of special importance to our understanding of Belinda in particular, and The Rape of the Lock in general. To appreciate fully the complexity of Pope's Belinda (and to run the risk of painting too dark a satire), I wish to begin this section by considering traditional theories of women's melancholy and their possible influence on Pope's portrayal; I will then discuss Belinda's morning dream, the Rites of Pride section and to a lesser degree, the voyage on the Thames.

Apropos of Belinda, "women's melancholy" refers to the wide variety of splenetic disorders afflicting women in general and "maids, nuns, and widows" in particular (AM I, 3, 2, 4). Robert Burton, in his Anatomy of Melancholy, defines the disease in terms of women's traditional inconstancy and changeableness; it is, he argues, "a vexation of the mind, a sudden sorrow from a small, light, or no occasion, with a kind of still dotage or grief of some part or other." Women "are sometimes suddenly delivered, because it comes and goes by fits, and is not so permanent as other melancholy" (AM I, 3, 2, 4).

Symptoms of the disease are myriad: mental, physical, and spiritual, many recall either Belinda before and after her rape, the Goddess Spleen with "Pain at her side, and Megrim at her Head" (ROL IV, 24), or even the splenetic belles to whom "each new Night-Dress gives a new Disease" (ROL IV, 38). Burton, as usual, provides the most inclusive treatment; he cites the following symptoms: women so afflicted suffer a beating about the back, rough skin, palpitations of the stomach and heart, hysterical fits, "a great pain in their heads, about their hearts and hypochondries", sore breasts, a tendency to swoon, inflamed and red faces; they are dry, thirsty, flatulent, and insomniac, they suffer from terrible dreams in the night, bashfulness, perverse conceits and opinions, dejection, discontent, and preposterous judgement; victims loathe, dislike, disdain, and are weary :

of every object; everything is tedious; they pine, weep, and tremble; they become timorous, sad, and wish to be left alone; many become inarticulate and suffer generalized discomfort; many think they see visions and that they confer with spirits and devils; they become fearful, distracted, and if uncured, prone to suicide. (AM I, 3, 2, 4).

This concept of women's melancholy is integrally connected with traditional assumptions regarding women's physical and mental frailty, their inconstancy and intellectual instability, and above all, their mysterious biological process of menstruation.⁵ One of many names -- de melancholia virginum, furor uterensis, the virgin disease, the mother, green-sickness, hysteria -- women's melancholy differs little in overall form from the concept of love-melancholy. As in this latter case, enforced chastity, a lack of sexual intercourse, is regarded as the root of any and all female neuroses; by remedying this disturbance in the sexual impulse one might cure the external manifestations of the problem.⁶

The disease is engendered by "those ~~vicious~~ vapours which come from menstous blood". These vapours offend "by that fuliginous exhalation of corrupt seed, troubling the brain, heart, and mind" (AM I, 3, 2, 4). As in the case of love-melancholy, retention of this blood or seed through celibacy leads to the variety of disorders outlined above. Burton himself draws something of a Cave of Spleen when he comments:

universa enim hujus affectus causa ab utero pendet, et a sanguinis menstrui maluita [sic], for, in a word, the whole malady proceeds from that inflammation, putridity, black smoky vapours, etc.; from thence comes care, sorrow, and anxiety, obfuscation of spirits, agony, desperation, and the like, which are intended, or remitted, si amatorias accesorit ardor [should the amatory passion be aroused], or any other violent object or perturbation of mind. (AM I, 3, 2, 4)

Since idleness contributes to a weakening of the fibres, the disease mostly affects women of Belinda's station, women who sleep to excess (I, 15ff.), who indulge in "rich Repasts" (III, 112), and who live a life of luxury, self-indulgence, and ease; as Burton remarks:

Seldom should you see an hired servant, a poor handmaid . . . a coarse country wench, troubled in this kind, but noble virgins, nice gentlewomen, such as are solitary, and idle, live at ease, lead a life out of action and employment, that fare well, in great houses and jovial companies, ill-disposed per-adventure of themselves, and not willing to make any resistance, discontented otherwise, of weak judgement, able bodies, and subject to passions . . . such for the most part are misaffected, and prone to this disease. (AM I, 3, 2, 4)

Essentially an overwhelming unconscious desire for coition (recall Wasserman's "unconscious yearning for a mortal lover"), women's melancholy, like love-melancholy, is best cured by fulfillment of the victim's needs. Significantly, Burton emphasizes the unnaturalness of undue continence, the perversity of a Belinda-like chastity (AM I, 3, 2, 4). He recognizes the reality of desire and encourages a modest but natural acceptance of one's own sexual nature: "the

best and surest remedy of all is to see them well placed and married to good husbands in due time, hinc illae lachrymae [hence those tears], that's the primary cause, and this the ready cure, to give them content to their desires" (AM I, 3, 2, 4).⁸

As might well be expected, the concept of women's melancholy was regarded throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as prime satiric material. Beneath the glitter and pomp of the beau monde the satirist might expose this earthy, uncontrollable craving thereby belying any pretence to élégance, savoir vivre, or suavité. As C. A. Moore has shown, the reign of Anne inspired more than its share of female splenetics or victims of the Vapours; the disease gathered something of a cult following and it soon became de rigueur, in fact, for the snobbish and aspiring to suffer public fits of the spleen.⁹

In this sense, then, the Augustan satirist might use the disease to ridicule not only the shortcomings of his victims, but also these victims' perverse pride in these shortcomings themselves. As such, the concept of women's melancholy, blending as it does with love-melancholy, forms a powerful ideology or system most suitable for purposes of moral satire. An icon of folly, a psychological hypothesis, and a satiric tool, the tradition enables Pope to create a convincing psychological portrait of his heroine while placing her simultaneously under the most stringent glare of

critical scrutiny. With this background firmly in mind we can now approach the poem in a new light, in particular the dream sequence (I, 19-114).

* * *

From Ariel's deluding disguise as a "Birth Night Beau" (I, 23) to the "Midnight Masquerades" of the beau monde (I, 72), the concept of melancholic sexual desire underlies the whole of Belinda's dream. The scene is a complicated one, setting into motion Pope's various themes, motifs, and tones. He emphasizes the mock-epical nature of his poem, introduces his protagonist, and provides a scathing glimpse of that protagonist's shallow and acquisitive environment. The love-melancholy concept works within this governing structure, developing and amplifying the salient features of Pope's satire. Microcosmic in one sense, the dream reflects in miniature the ambiguity, moral attitudes, and intellectual ideology controlling the entire poem.

Now Ariel, from one point of view, does appear (it must be admitted) as a benevolent figure, a typical guardian of the epic hero. He communicates through dreams and apparitions, offers advice, encouragement, and flattery, and above all, suggests a strategy by which his charge might better survive the rigours of coming adventures. Since Belinda's wars are likely to take place in the fields of love -- she must survive in a world of masculine predators

-- Ariel carefully represents mortal society in terms of melancholic and frustrated desire. In contrast with the freedom and purity of sylphan virginity, he envisages a world of victimization and manipulation, a world in which sexual vampires exploit for their own purposes the unconscious desire of mindless and tractable women:

What guards the Purity of melting Maids,
In Courtly Balls, and Midnight Masquerades,
Safe from the treach'rous Friend, the daring Spark,
The Glance by Day, the Whisper in the Dark;
When kind Occasion prompts their warm Desires,
When Musick softens, and when Dancing fires? (I, 71-76)

Ironically, Ariel, himself an ex-coquette, continues his portrayal by condemning the flirtatious deceptions of young women. He depends first on traditional notions of female vacuity and mutability ("gay Ideas crowd the vacant Brain" [I, 83]; "They shift the moving Toyshop of their Heart" [I, 100]), and then, recalling Burton's censure of the "rolling, adulterous eye", castigates those who would

Teach Infant-Cheeks a bidden Blush to know,
And little Hearts to flutter at a Beau. (I, 88-90)¹⁰

Within this whirligig of deception, sexual fraud, and male domination, Ariel's advice to reject mankind -- "Beware of all, but most beware of man!" (I, 114) -- although extreme, seems nonetheless understandable. His proposal, given these particular circumstances, takes on the appearance of only pragmatic self-defense. As readers (and as dreamer), we and Belinda are meant to over-look the unnaturalness of such a rejection and are encouraged in every way to applaud a

monomaniacal celibacy which masquerades under the guise of "Honour".

More rhetorician than moralist, however, Ariel is anything but a divine philosopher. As mentioned above, his misanthropic advice is essentially perverse; he does not encourage sacred rays of chastity devoted to God (which, from the Roman Catholic standpoint, would be admirable), but an unnatural, aggressive virginity dedicated to Ariel and Reputation (which, from any standpoint, is absurd). Professor Tillotson has shown, moreover, that Ariel -- as a Rosicrucian sylph -- has a vested sexual interest in Belinda himself.¹¹ As the Abbé N. de Montfaucon de Villars, author of the Comte de Gabalis, points out: the Rosicrucian spirits are in constant search for chaste men and women, for

a Nymph or Sylphid becomes immortal and capable of the Beatitude to which we aspire when she is so happy to marry a Sage: and a Gnome or a Sylph ceases to be Mortal the moment he espouses one of our Daughters.¹²

Compounding these less than immaculate implications are intimations that Ariel is in fact an incubus, a demonic spirit who copulates with sleeping women. Burton had given much space to the phenomenon and had resolved that spirits

can assume other aerial bodies, all manner of shapes at their pleasures, appear in what likeness they will themselves . . . and so likewise transform bodies of others into what shape they please, and with admirable celerity remove them from place to place [they] use sometimes

carnal copulation . . . with women
and men. (AM I, 2, 1, 2)

Pope himself added fuel to such speculation in 1736 when he annotated the line, "The busy Sylphs surround their darling Care" (I, 145), as follows:

Ancient Traditions of the Rabbi's relate,
that several of the fallen Angels became
amorous of Women, and particularize some;
among the rest Asael, who lay with
Naamah, the wife of Noah, or of Ham;
and who continuing impenitent, still
presides over the Women's Toilets.¹³

Associated as he is with rapacious and lascivious company, Ariel's claims to sylphan "purity" and "guardian" status begin to ring hollow at best. His ulterior motives surrounding Belinda render ironic his use of love-melancholy imagery to condemn the beau monde for Ariel himself is a victim of melancholic sexual desire. He seeks not Belinda's but his own salvation. To accept his speech as rational, then, as an example of Popean sententia, constitutes misreading of the worst sort. As Earl Wasserman rightly comments, "However exquisite the sylphan machinery, it must also be recognized as demonic."¹⁴

At this point we would do well to reconsider certain aspects of Belinda's vision. Ariel first prolongs her "balmy rest", summons the "Morning Dream that hovered o'er her head" (I, 22), then appears in a most calculated guise:

A Youth more glitt'ring than a Birth-night Beau,
(That ev'n in Slumber caus'd her Cheek to glow)
Seem'd to her Ear his winning Lips to lay,
And thus in Whispers said, or seem'd to say.
Fairest of Mortals, thou distinguish'd Care
Of thousand bright Inhabitants of Air!

If e'er one Vision touch'd thy infant Thought,
 Of all the Nurse and all the Priest have taught,
 Of airy Elves by Moonlight Shadows seen,
 The silver Token, and the circled Green,
 Or Virgins visited by Angel-Pow'rs,
 With Golden Crowns and Wreaths of heav'nly Flow'rs,
 Hear and believe! thy own Importance know,
 Nor bound thy narrow Views to Things below. (I, 23-36)

* ~~~~~ *

Know farther yet; Whoever fair and chaste
 Rejects Mankind, is by some Sylph embrac'd. (I, 67-68)

. * * *

Beware of all, but most beware of Man! (I, 114)

Pope's description establishes immediately Belinda's sexual desires which eventually surface much to Ariel's melancholic chagrin (III, 139-146). As Burton neatly remarks in the Anatomy: people "dream of that they desire" (AM L, 3, 3, 3). Asleep, neither inhibitions nor affectations mask the real feelings of Belinda who, at the imaginary approach of a young beau, "naturally" blushes. Appropriately, Ariel's lips are described as "winning", a term that implies not only the theme of sexual warfare running throughout the poem, but more specifically the very appeal for Belinda of Ariel's coquettish advice.

Most striking in these lines above, however, is the irony of Ariel's each and every movement. Asserting a doctrine of chastity, abstinence, and divine order, the former coquette deliberately attempts to entrap the sleeping Belinda. Recalling the theorists' emphasis on the delusive effects of beauty, he first offers a cosmetic illusion, a "glittering" dream of beauty calculated to mesmerize and to attract the chosen

beloved. Furthermore, in light of Gabalris and Burton's Anatomy, Ariel can no longer be regarded as a genuine guardian spirit: in this sense his quibble on "Things Below", his particular use of the word "embraç'd" (a euphemism for sexual intercourse [OED, 1]), and his directive to "Beware of Man" all take on secondary venereal connotations.

Significantly, Pope casts the entire sequence in terms of demonic seduction. Underlying Ariel's dream-speech to Belinda, his appeal to feminine curiosity, and his encouragement of human Pride, is Pope's implicit allusion to yet another seduction: Milton's Satan "close at the ear of Eve":

Assaying by his Devilish art to reach
 The Organs of her Fancy, and with them forge
 Illusions as he list, Phantasms and Dreams,
 Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint
 Th' animal spirits that from pure blood arise
 Like gentle breaths from Rivers pure, thence raise
 At least distemper'd, discontented thoughts,
 Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires 15
 Blown up with high conceits engend'ring pride:

As an informing, integral part of his text, Pope's allusion asserts unequivocally the demonic nature of Belinda's "watchful sprite". Such a quality is accentuated most forcefully in Ariel's nonchalant equation of Christian mystery and fairy-lore (I, 29-34) and in his advice not to "bound thy narrow Views to Things Below". Earl Wasserman argues convincingly that Ariel here encourages a demonic pride of curiosity. He contrasts Raphael's refusal to explain to Milton's Adam the motions of the stars in Paradise Lost

and views Ariel's speech as little more than "a Satanic inversion of humble self-knowledge."¹⁶

In addition, like Satan, Ariel here advises his female victim in a course of action leading not only to a metaphorical "Destruction of Mankind" (II, 19), but to the actual psychological destruction of woman herself. Ariel's elaborate conjuration constitutes a demonic "spiritual seduction", an attempt to restrict Belinda for himself. Such an act, if successful, depends on the repression and ultimate denial of her own desires, the result of which would be a life of melancholic frustration, a life fraught with loneliness, anxiety, and splenetic anger. In effect, a life of female love-melancholy.

Through a combination of three separate image patterns (cosmetic, religious, and military), Pope establishes in the dream sequence the major features of his satire. Each motif works organically with the remaining two to form a complex, multi-faceted portrayal of both Ariel and the sleeping Belinda. Not content to create flat, linear emblems of the love-melancholic, Pope uses the tradition, rather, to achieve subtleties of mind and attitude unrivalled in Augustan poetry. In Ariel's "cosmetic" delusion of Belinda, his inversion of religious sanctity, and in his militaristic visitation, Pope sets into motion a vast array of meanings, innuendoes, and themes to be developed in subsequent sections of his poem. In each case aspects from

the love-melancholy tradition are adapted, refined, and recast for the ultimate purposes of moral satire. One such section most relevant to our own study is Belinda's narcissistic Rites of Pride (I, 121-48).

* * *

Seated amidst mirror, combs, cosmetics, and toys, the figure of Belinda constitutes an uncommonly suggestive icon. On one hand Pope's configuration recalls traditional emblems of pride, luxuria, and vanity.¹⁷ From Narcissus to Snow White the lone character before a glass intimates at once prideful self-love coupled ironically with a pathetic lack of self-knowledge. In this sense, Belinda, as an impressionable "pious Maid" (I, 112), fulfills the prime requirement of Ariel's demonic imperative, "Thy own importance know" (I, 3).

More significant, however, is the fact that Belinda here initiates the sacred rites of cosmetics. Such an activity, since the time of Lucretius and Ovid, has attained the status of archetype. From Ovid's unnamed beloved to Evelyn Waugh's Miss Thanatogenos, from Robert Burton to the redoubtable Nero Wolfe, from Hogarth's "The Countess's Morning Levee" (c. 1743), through Seurat's "Jeune Femme se Poudrant" (1889/90), to Carlos Bady's more recent "Mado se Maquille" (c. 1920), the concept of women using artificial allurements has become part and parcel of our universal

collective unconscious.¹⁸

The activity itself reverberates with connotations suggesting immediately various notions of delusion, disguise, mutability, attraction, repulsion, idleness and so on.¹⁹ Theorists of love-melancholy have continually identified the action as the donning of sexual armour. The painted face, the curled hair, the sparkling gown are all regarded, ultimately as types of insidious love-weapons. Effecting a deluded vision of the beloved, they at once entrap and control the hapless lover. It is precisely these notions that underlie Robert Burton's fulminations on the topic of artificial allurements. Because of his importance in this instance I take the liberty of quoting at length.

"Natural beauty", Burton argues, "is a stronger loadstone of itself . . . a great temptation, and pierceth to the very heart; forma verecundae nocuit mihi visa puellae [I am smitten with the beauty of a modest maid whom I have seen.]" "But much more," Burton hastens to add, "when those artificial enticements and provocations of gestures, clothes, jewels, pigments, exornations, shall be annexed unto it . . . I am of opinion that, though beauty itself be a great motive . . . yet, as it is used, artificial is of more force" (AM III, 2, 2, 3). Quoting from John Lerius the Burgundian, Burton continues to argue the superiority of artificial beauty as an allurement to melancholic obsession:

I [John Lerius] dare boldly affirm . . .
that those glittering attires, counterfeit

colours, headgears, curled hairs, plaited coats, cloaks, gowns, costly stomachers, guarded and loose garments, and all those other accoutrements wherewith our country-women counterfeit a beauty, and so curiously set out themselves, cause more inconvenience in this kind [love-melancholy] than that barbarian [nakedness], although they be no whit inferior unto them in beauty.

(AM III, 2, 2, 3 [my brackets])

By now Burton himself waxes lyrical and provides a diatribe of his own:

beauty is more beholding to art than nature, and stronger provocations proceed from outward ornaments than such as nature hath provided . . . when those curious needle-works, variety of colours, purest dyes, jewels, spangles, pendants, lawn, lace, tiffanies, fair and fine linen, embroideries, calamistrations, ointments, etc., shall be added, they will make the veriest dowdy otherwise à goddess, when nature shall be furthered by art. (AM III, 2, 2, 3)

At this point we may do well to recall the basic "process" of love-melancholy as outlined by the theorists. The lover is first smitten by the sight of the beloved. Love, entering through the eyes, then infects vital parts of the body and mind, thereby effecting a variety of disorders. If untreated, these lead ultimately to either insanity or desires for death. Above all, then, it is the eyes, which are accounted most responsible for the lover's dilemma. As Burton remarks: "the most familiar and usual cause of love is that which comes by sight, which conveys those admirable rays of beauty and pleasing graces to the heart" (AM III, 2, 2, 2).

Appropriately, Pope derives his concept of Belinda's cosmetics from the same ideology as Burton. As in the host

of writings dealing with love-melancholy, "Cosmetic Pow'rs" are viewed throughout The Rape of the Lock as a method of both deception and entrapment. Significantly, Belinda "adores" first, not her own "heav'nly Image", but rather the cosmetic materials themselves:

First, rob'd in White, the Nymph intent adores
With Head uncover'd, the Cosmetic Pow'rs.
A heav'nly Image in the Glass appears,
To that she bends, to that her Eyes she rears;
Th'inferior Priestess, at her Altar's side,
Trembling, begins the sacred Rites of Pride. (I, 123-128)

Belinda's devotion to such Burtonian love-weapons is important for a number of reasons. Apparently in agreement with Ariel's credo, her behaviour at this point marks her first steps towards a coquettish control of the male species, a control which, in reality, comprises rejection of the worst sort. Pope's exaggerated use of the cosmetic and religious motifs featured in the dream sequence likewise amplifies those various themes running throughout the poem: sexual warfare, the egocentricity of the coquette, and most importantly, the power of artificial beauty to effect both delusion and desire in the minds of Belinda's many admirers.

As in the case of Ariel, religious terminology here serves not simply as an ironic comment on petty social rituals, but serves rather to indicate the moral values which both Belinda and her world parody in their behaviour. The inversion of liturgical ceremony pervades the poem for while recalling Ariel's parodic comparisons (I, 30-34), Belinda's cosmetic

altar prefigures such icons as her own "sparkling Cross" (II, 7) and "sacred Hair" (III, 153), the Baron's altar to Love (II, 37-46), the beau monde's "Altars of Japan" (III, 107), the "unrival'd Shrine" of Honour mentioned by Thalestris (IV, 105), the Baron's "sacrilegious Hands" (IV, 174), as well as the later "blest Lover" (V, 135). More specifically, then, Belinda's toilet, as a sexual version of true religious rites, suggests the corruption of both reason and imagination as they are subjected here to the quest for coquettish control.

Pope continues this satiric reduction of the outer world as Belinda advances through successive stages of cosmetic preparation. Hardly gratuitous, his grotesque diminishment of geographic and animal magnitude recalls in particular Burton's treatment of the coquette's excessive embellishments. Pope's narrator observes:

Unnumber'd Treasures ope at once, and here
 The various Off'rings of the World appear;
 From each she nicely culls with curious Toil,
 And decks the Goddess with the glitt'ring Spoil.
 This Casket India's glowing Gems unlocks,
 And all Arabia breathes from yonder Box.
 The Tortoise here and the Elephant unite,
 Transform'd to Combs, the speckled and the white.
 (I, 129-136)

Again, Burton is worth quoting at length; he asks of coquettes:

Why do they adorn themselves with so many colours of herbs, fictitious flowers, curious needleworks, quaint devices, sweet-smelling odours, with those inestimable riches of precious stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, emeralds, etc.? Why do they crown themselves with gold and silver, use coronets and tires of several fashions, deck themselves with pendants, bracelets, earrings, chains, girdles, rings, pins, spangles, embroideries, shadows,

rabatoes, versicolour ribands? Why do they make such glorious shows with . . . the strength of metals, stones, odours, flowers, birds, beasts, fishes, and whatsoever Africa, Asia, America, sea, land, art and industry of man can afford? . . . why is it but, as a day-net catcheth larks, to make young men stoop unto them? (AM III, 2, 2, 3)²⁰

Significantly, Burton views such female machinations as a sign of melancholic self-love; he cites specifically in his discussion of love-melancholy coquettes who overestimate their own worth and who "take a pride to prank up themselves, to make young men enamoured, captare viros et spernere captos [to bring men to their feet and then spurn them], to dote on them, and to run mad for their sakes" (AM III, 2, 5, 5).

Interestingly enough, Burton predicts that such "lovers" turn out old, lonely and scorned.

John Dennis, in his Remarks on Mr. Pope's Rape of the Lock (1728), notes that Belinda's beauty is seen here to be mainly the result of her toilet.²¹ Her efforts, in fact, are designed principally to call forth "all the Wonders of her Face" (I, 142), to raise a "purer Blush" (I, 143), to quicken "keener Lightnings . . . in her Eyes" (I, 144), -- in effect, to create the penultimate weapon of Beauty by which she may achieve those coquette's aims outlined in Burton's Anatomy. In short, Belinda's religious and militaristic donning of cosmetic armour is both the major cause of the Baron's love-melancholy and the first major step in her efforts to fulfill what, to Pope, is the natural, feminine "love of

Sway".²² An integral aspect of Belinda's "sacred Rites", this concept of sexual triumph or warfare is reinforced through Pope's mock allusion to the arming of the epic hero:

Now awful Beauty puts on all its Arms;
The Fair each moment rises in her Charms. (I, 139-40)

* * *

Launched finally on the "Bosom of the Silver Thames", Belinda appears a virtual embodiment of that Beauty described by the medical theorists of love-melancholy:

Her lively Looks a sprightly Mind disclose,
Quick as her Eyes, and as unfix'd as those:
Favours to none, to all she Smiles extends,
Oft she rejects, but never once offends.
Bright as the Sun, her Eyes the Gazers strike,
And, like the Sun, they shine on all alike.
Yet graceful Ease, and Sweetness void of Pride,
Might hide her Faults, if Belles had Faults to hide:
If to her share some Female Errors fall,
Look on her Face, and you'll forget 'em all.
(II, 9-18)

In addition to her unfixed mind, Belinda's unfixed eyes recall Burton's "wandering, wanton adulterous eyes, which . . . lie still in wait as so many soldiers" (AM III, 2, 2, 2).

Similarly, her indiscriminate smiles recall such "artificial allurements" as "those counterfeit, composed, affected, artificial, and reciprocal, those counter-smiles . . . which inveigle and deceive" (AM III, 2, 2, 3). At lines 13-14 Pope's echo of Matthew 5:45 (God "makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust"), underscores ironically Belinda's role as both an informing goddess and a cosmological centre -- a concept

developed later in the Canto, "Belinda smil'd and all the world was gay" (II, 52).²³

Throughout the opening passage in Canto II, Pope's emphasis on both visual activity and Belinda's effects on others parallels the theorists' discussions of Beauty and its influence on the sense of sight. Belinda, for example, in her infamous misuse of the crucifix --

On her white Breast a sparkling Cross she wore
Which Jews might kiss, and Infidels adore, (II, 7-8)

-- inspires a type of venereal religion. Pope's coupling of "kiss" and "Adore" emphasizes this inversion of liturgical ritual which literally breeds through the eyes ("sparkling") a perverse sexual desire in the minds of Belinda's admirers.

As Jacques Ferrand remarks in his Erotomania:

Beauty is nothing else, but a false flash of Raies, which dazle [sic] our eyes, when it appears from among the clouds of so great variety of Allurements. Whence we may conclude, that the purest and most excellent Beauties that are, are not such indeed, as they seeme to be; but onely appear to be so, through the sole defect of the beholders, and through the weaknesse of their Eyes.²⁴

Burton, likewise, recollecting Plato's conception of Beauty as a shining brightness, corroborates this standard motif. In a curious anticipation of Pope's Belinda, he comments of beautiful women: "Faults in such are no faults . . . we do not readily suspect baseness in those whom we love, for [our] mind and all our senses are captivated" (AM III, 2, 2, 2).

Belinda's face, however, is but one aspect of her

contrived, deluding beauty. The "sacred Hair" itself is the outstanding feature of her artificial allurements. "Nourish'd" (II, 20), "graceful" (II, 20), "equal" (II, 21), "well-conspir'd" (II, 21), and in "shining Ringlets" (II, 22), Belinda's locks are a work of art designed to ensnare quite literally the eyes, hearts, and minds of her many admirers. Pope's deliberate repetition of the word "graceful" (15, 20) is hardly an oversight as Tillotson supposed.²⁵ Rather, in light of our earlier consideration of female grace, the repetition may be read as an ironic comment on Belinda's less than "graceful" form of coquetry. The religious connotations, moreover, when placed alongside Belinda's earlier parodic behaviour, increase the already pungent irony of the description. Pope's subsequent use of hunting and fishing imagery likewise reinforces the predatory nature of Belinda in her role as Arielian disciple:

With hairy Sprindges we the Birds betray,
Slight Lines of Hair surprize the Finny Prey,
Fair Tresses Man's Imperial Race insnare,
And Beauty draws us with a single Hair. (II, 25-28)

Echoing traditional sentiments regarding cosmetic coiffures, the lines recall in particular Burton's remark that ladies "hairs are Cupid's nets, to catch all comers, a brushy wood, in which Cupid builds his nest" (AM III, 2, 2, 2).²⁶ A victim of Belinda's nets, the Baron expectedly falls prey and conforms in every way to the traditional figure of the melancholic lover.

2. A Lover's Toil: The Baron

In keeping with his plan to create a mock-epical world Pope continually parodies classical military imagery in his portrayal of the love-sick Baron. As Professor Tillotson has so aptly shown, Pope uses his epical sources in a wide variety of ways.²⁷ He alludes either directly by means of a word, a phrase or a speech (e.g. "By Force . . . or by Fraud" [II, 32]; "What Time wou'd spare, from Steel receives its date" etc. [III, 17lff.]), or indirectly, by basing an entire scene (e.g. the Baron's altar to love [II, 35ff.]) on one or a combination of heroic sources. In each case the result is the same: through parodic allusion Pope elevates an amorous fop to the level of heroic conqueror, an act which by its very incongruity paradoxically diminishes the Baron even further. Throughout the portrayal, heroes from the Iliad, Odyssey, Aeneid, and Metamorphoses form an imposing military background against which both the Baron and his world may be ironically measured.

Now, coupled as it were with the Baron's sexual designs for Belinda ("Who sought no more than on his Foe to die" [V, 78]), Pope's militaristic motif elaborates the pervasive theme of sexual warfare, a theme developed most explicitly in the game of Ombre (Canto III) and the war of belles and beaux (Canto V). Pope's martial allusions, moreover, reinforce his characterization of the Baron as a somewhat ridiculous miles amoris, or soldier of love. Primarily a mock technique derived from Ovid, the characterization contrasts by implication the manly virtues of the

soldier with the ludicrous vices of the deluded lover.²⁸ As in the Rites of Pride scene, Pope here effects a complex integration of disparate image patterns to achieve an overall satiric presentation.

Most striking in this respect is Pope's initial portrayal of the stricken lover. Varying little in detail from standard literary and medical conventions, Pope stresses that through the sight of Belinda's beauty the Baron has become enslaved:

Th' Adventrous Baron the bright Locks admir'd,
He saw, he wish'd, and to the Prize aspir'd:
Resolv'd to win, he meditates the way,
By Force to ravish, or by Fraud betray;
For when Success a Lover's Toil attends,
Few ask, if Fraud or Force attain'd his Ends. (II, 29-34)

As an obvious echo of Caesar's Veni, vidi, vici, the lines accentuate the ubiquitous theme of sexual conflict here cast in the mould of epical warfare.²⁹ As a depiction of a psychological process, however, Pope's presentation of the Baron's reaction accords precisely with the patterns established in medical theories of love-melancholy. His passio of love results first from the sight of Belinda's artificially prepared beauty; he then "meditates" on the fantasy fixed within his mind; and finally, from this contemplation of the beloved, he proceeds to immoderate desires for possession. Not surprisingly, Burton here provides an apropos remark on melancholic lovers:

Generally they undertake any pain, any labour, any toil, for their mistress' sake . . . her dog, picture, and every-

thing she wears, they adore it as a relic . . . If he get any remnant of hers, a busk-point, a feather of her fan, a shoe-tie, a lace, a ring, a bracelet of hair . . . he wears it for a favour on his arm, in his hat, finger, or next his heart. (AM III, 2, 3)

Finally, the Baron's resolution to use either force or fraud is hardly unexpected; it may be traced not solely to the anathesis common in the epic, but also to Ovid's Artis Amatoriae where the poet endorses forceful rape when subtle shifts fail to conquer a woman:

You may use force; women like you to use it; they often wish to give unwillingly what they like to give. She whom a sudden assault has taken by storm is pleased, and counts the audacity as a compliment. But she who, when she might have been compelled, departs untouched, though her looks feign joy, will yet be sad. (AA I, 673-78)

Within these contexts the Baron meditates his way, resolving to claim by force, not fraud, the "sacred Hair" of Belinda (III, 153).

3. Secret Passions: Belinda and The Cave of Spleen

Following directly the Baron's use of Force, Umbriel's descent to the Cave of Spleen constitutes an intricate epiphanic moment for both Pope and his ideal reader. Based largely on both classical and mock-epical paradigms, the katabasis represents not only a descent into the underworld of Belinda's psyche, but also, as in the classical models, a symbolic prophesy of her future destiny. In either case,

the image of a repressed or frustrated sexual desire governs the section as a whole. Consistent with her coquettish, cosmetic weaponry, Belinda consciously wishes to attract only in order to repel; unconsciously she continually resists complying with her inner sexual desires, a denial which threatens a future life of lonely and melancholic sterility.

While it is beyond my purpose to examine in detail the entire descent episode, I wish to consider three aspects in Pope's presentation of Belinda's desires which, I believe, cast new light on the Cave of Spleen in particular and on The Rape of the Lock in general. I will discuss 1) Belinda at the moment of Ariel's desertion; 2) Pope's stanza describing those "Unnumber'd throngs" (IV, 47-54); and 3) a hitherto unidentified source for Pope's overall presentation of Umbriel's journey.

* * *

Just prior to the Baron's attack, Pope describes Ariel's despair over Belinda's hidden "Ideas":

Just in that instant, anxious Ariel sought
The close Recesses of the Virgin's Thought;
As on the Nosegay in her Breast reclin'd,
He watch'd th'Ideas rising in her Mind,
Sudden he view'd, in spite of all her Art,
An Earthly Lover lurking at her Heart.
Amaz'd, confus'd, he found his Pow'r expir'd,
Resign'd to Fate, and with a Sigh retir'd. (III, 139-46)

Initially, Pope's portrayal derives from contemporary exposés that present comically the contents of fops, beaux, jilts, and assorted coquettes. Spectator 281, for example, dissects

a coquette's heart which, like Belinda's, conceals at its core the figure of a tiny beau.³⁰ In light of Gabalus, however, Pope's lines take on a highly particularized connotation. Betrayed by Belinda's natural yearning for an earthly, as opposed to sylphan, lover, Ariel's shocked dismay is due not to Belinda's feelings so much as to his own. For not only has Ariel lost a "beloved", he is now deprived of his one ticket to immortality. Understandably so, he lapses immediately into melancholic depression; amazed, confused, and resigned, Ariel retires from the poem not with a bang but a whimper.

Most revealing is the fact that Belinda here does indeed possess natural desires for sexual coition. Beneath the glitter and the frippery, she is an earthly woman who desires the companionship of an earthly man. Now in terms of the theorists, these impulses must be fulfilled for, if untreated, they will lead inexorably toward that female melancholy outlined above. At this point Pope hammers home this true nature of Belinda by means of an implicit allusion to Dryden. The desertion scene is based on a passage from the Annus Mirabilis:

Our Guardian Angel saw them where he sate
 Above the Palace of our slumbering King,
 He sigh'd, abandoning his charge to Fate,
 And, drooping, oft lookt back upon the wing. ³¹

The verbal echo effectively (and comically) substitutes the victimized Belinda for the besieged city of London. Significantly, the metropolis is here assaulted mercilessly "with inrag'd

desire . . . [and] threatenng fire" (886, 888), a state of affairs resulting in the near apocalyptic destruction of London during The Great Fire of 1666. The fact that Dryden's Angel is horrified by the "ghosts of Traitors" (889) accentuates Ariel's shocked discovery of what he sees as Belinda's traitorous sexual desires. Pope's allusion to Dryden, then, underlines the unconscious sexuality of Belinda's experience, ~~em~~phasizes the mock-heroic nature of the poem, and complicates the essential irony of Ariel's amazed confusion.

This discrepancy between Belinda's conscious rejection of mankind and her subconscious stirrings of desire is developed most forcefully in Umbriel's descent to the Cave of Spleen. The scene itself depends heavily on conventional theories of melancholy, the rationale being ^{that} Belinda's rejection of the Baron (and all that he represents) precipitates an outright fall into melancholic depression.

Most striking in Pope's presentation is his subtle emphasis throughout on the sexual basis of the disease. Not all his portrayals are as explicit as those bottled maids calling aloud for corks, however; each of the major figures displays attributes readily identifiable with symptoms of erotic melancholy. Consider, for example, the triad (all female) introducing the Cave of Spleen. The wayward Queen herself is found "in a Grotto, sheltered close from Air" (IV, 21); she is "screened in Shades from Day's detested Glare" (IV, 22); she sighs languorously on her bed (IV, 23),

suffers from megrim and hypochondriacal pain (IV, 24), and is later portrayed "discontented" and weary with Umbriel's elaborate requests (IV, 79-80). Ill-Nature and Affectation are similarly presented: out-of-sorts, anxious, and enervated.

Not only are these symptoms related to general melancholy (as Babb and Tillotson point out), but more specifically with those manifestations traditionally associated with melancholic women whose repressed desires result in hysterical fits, pain about the head and sides, a tendency to swoon, dryness and insomnia, dejection, discontent, and preposterous judgement, as well as loathing and weariness of every object, timidity, sadness, and a desire to be left alone. As Burton remarks, "Venus omitted produceth a peculiar kind of melancholy in stale maids, nuns, and widows, Ob suppressionem mensium et venerem omissam, timidae, anxiae, verecundae, suspiciosae, languentes, consilii inopes, cum summa vitae et rerum emliorum desperatione, etc., they are melancholy in the highest degree, and all for want of husbands" (AM I, 2, 2, 4).

Pope's implicit emphasis here on the theme of sexual repression is made explicit in the celebrated passage dealing with the sexual transformation of men and maids:

Unnumber'd Throngs on ev'ry side are seen
Of Bodies chang'd to various Forms by Spleen.
Here living Teapots stand, one Arm held out,
One bent; the Handle this, and that the Spout:
A pipkin there like Homer's Tripod walks;
Here sighs a Jar, and there a Goose-pye talks;
Men prove with Child, as pow'rful Fancy works,
And Maids turn'd Bottels, call aloud for Corks.
(IV, 47-54)

Initially, Pope's description appears as merely one more example of the hallucinatory transformations undergone by victims of melancholic madness. Burton attributes such delusions to the disordered imagination and cites as common metamorphoses, men turned into women and women turned again into men; both sexes may imagine themselves changed into a variety of objects; Burton says "one supposeth himself to be a dog, cock, bear, horse, glass, butter, etc. He is a giant, a dwarf . . . some think they are beasts, wolves, hogs, and cry like dogs, foxes, bray like asses, and low like kine" (AM I, 2, 3, 2; I, 3, 1, 2-3).

Pope's presentation of obvious sexual wishes, moreover, recalls the theorists' insistence that love-melancholy is essentially an enraged desire for coition. As a reflection, then, of Belinda's own psyche, the passage relies on common literary metaphors to indicate unfulfilled sexual desires. The reversal of gender, developed in Belinda's ironic cosmetic armour, in her becoming the Ombre, and here culminated in the image of pregnant men, underscores her unnatural appropriation of the male role.³³ In addition, the explicit connotations of female vessels calling aloud for corks emphasizes her frustrated unconscious desires for sensual fulfillment and an earthly lover. As part of a supernatural prediction, the lines intimate unequivocally Belinda's inauspicious rejection of Clarissa's advice and her continued distortion of what Pope regards as the proper feminine role.

As such, the description above augurs a life of frustrated needs and lonely spinsterhood -- a state of being which characterizes uncured victims of female melancholy and therefore appropriately typifies contemporary literary portrayals of the aged coquette.³⁴

Of utmost interest in this above portrayal is Pope's combination of various sources to create an ornate vision of melancholic insanity, a vision of psychic and social madness. Taking Belinda's repressed sexuality as his basis Pope builds meticulously outward, integrating an array of foreign materials, to construct an incredibly variegated satiric mosaic. Scholars like Lawrence Babb, Geoffrey Tillotson, and William Frost have identified disparate sources among the traditions of melancholy, among classical and mock epics, down to contemporary periodicals like the Tatler and Spectator. More recently Aubrey Williams has drawn attention to the poem's vessel imagery and its role in Pope's presentation of these splenetic metamorphoses.³⁵

A hitherto unidentified source, however, one which complements Pope's overall emphasis on illusion, transformation, and melancholy is an essay by Joseph Addison in the Guardian: Number 154 for Monday, 7 September 1713. This essay falls mid way between two of Pope's own Guardian pieces: No. 132, "On Sickness", and No. 173, "On Gardens".³⁶ It predates by approximately six months the revised edition of The Rape of the Lock which appeared on 2 March 1714.³⁷ Like Pope in

the Cave of Spleen, Addison here describes the entry of a demonic figure into the underworld of the beau monde. Most significant, the essay depicts a confusion of illusion and reality, appearance and nature -- a confusion that typifies Pope's own "fantastick Band" (ROL IV, 55).

As Nestor Ironside, Addison presents a fictional letter describing events at a recent masqued ball. "Lucifer", anonymous author of the letter, has attended and here offers his own remarks on Masquerades. As in The Rape of the Lock, social conventions are portrayed in ritualistic terms: Lucifer attends in the guise of a "Devil"; he is curious about "the odd fantastical Dresses which were made use of in those Midnight Solemnities"; he is "impatient to be initiated in these new Mysteries"; and above all, he wishes to be "led into the Secrets of the Masquerade".³⁸

When "the long wished for Evening" finally arrives Lucifer, like Pope's Umbriel, enters a muddled Hell of transformed identities and deceptive appearances:

I repaired to the Place appointed about
ten at Night, where I found Nature
turned top-side turvy, Women changed into
Men, and Men into Women, Children in
Leading-strings seven Foot high, Courtiers
transformed into Clowns, Ladies of the
Night into Saints, People of the first
Quality into Beasts or Birds, Gods or
Goddesses; I fancied I had all Ovid's
Metamorphoses before me. Among these were
several Monsters to which I did not know
how to give a Name;

--- -- -- -- -- worse
Than Fables yet have feigned, or fear conceived, 39
Gorgons and Hyda's, [sic] and Chimera's dire. Milton.

Appropriately, Addison's motto reinforces this nightmare vision of altered shapes. Adapted from Virgil's Georgics, it alludes to Proteus' deliberate transformations of his outward appearance: "Omnia transformant sese in miracula rerum" (II, 260).⁴⁰

As his evening progresses Lucifer confronts intimidating Quakers, male shepheresses, homosexual parsons, coquettish nuns, and such apocalyptic monstrosities as a "Chimney Sweeper made up of black Crape and Velvet, (with a huge Diamond in his Mouth) making Love to a Butterfly" (II, 262). Mingling with the crowd, Lucifer comes "among a Flock of Batts, Owls, and Lawyers", only to be interrupted by "the famous large Figure of a Woman hung with little Looking-glasses. She had a great many that followed her . . . [not] so much to look upon her as to see themselves" (II, 263). There follows a variety of equally extravagant transformations, not the least of which is Lucifer's beloved Leonora in the costume of an "Indian King" (II, 263-64). He relates that he was first shocked by her appearance, he then recovered his senses, and next morning married his mistress. In his final remarks Lucifer bids the guardian to discourse of masquerades in general; he then offers a striking parallel to Pope in his closing vignette:

I have heard of two or three very odd
Accidents that have happened upon this
Occasion, as in particular, of a
Lawyer's being now big-bellied, who was
present at the first of these Entertainments;

not to mention (what is still more Strange) an Old Man with a long Beard, who was got with Child by a Milk-Maid; but in Cases of this Nature, where there is such Confusion of Sex, Age and Quality, Men are apt to report what might have happened, than what really came to pass. (II, 264)

Like Pope in The Rape of the Lock, Addison uses fantastic allegory to comment directly on the foibles of Augustan society. Lucifer's masquerade, like Umbriel's Cave of Spleen, represents an elaborate parody of the values, priorities and behaviour found in the real world. Through the vehicle of "masquerade" Addison satirizes a variety of contemporary concerns: the perversion of love and sexuality, the affectations of fops and coquettes, and especially the mistaken acceptance of appearance over nature and reality. As in the Cave of Spleen episode, metamorphosis is the dominant metaphor in each case, defining from the outset various defects in Addison's fashionable world.

As a source of Pope's Cave of Spleen, Addison's masquerade is important for a number of reasons. Initially, Guardian 154 continues the conventional attacks on the immorality attending costume balls. The Tatler the Spectator, and the Guardian are all unequivocal in their ridicule: as Addison remarks in Spectator 8, "the whole Design of this libidinous Assembly seems to terminate in Assignations and Intrigues" (Spectator 8, I, 37).⁴¹ In this sense, Pope's adaptation of Addison's essay corroborates the sexual atmosphere of Belinda's psychological underworld,

as well as Pope's earlier hints of sexual indiscretion in his use of the masquerade motif (ROL I, 72; II, 108).

In addition, Addison's essay suggested to Pope both a general metaphor and a specific imagistic pattern. The former's "demonic" narrator, sexual transformations, mistaken identities, and grotesque images of pregnant men are refined, recast, and ultimately integrated into Pope's ornate icon of human delusion, pretence, and folly. Although Addison's portrayal is hardly the original of the parodic katabasis, it was one of the closest and most accessible of Pope's contemporary examples.

Finally, Addison presents a world gone mad, an insular and insane world that accepts appearance, distortion, and confusion as a rational modus vivendi. Significantly, Lucifer is identified early in the passage as a melancholy demon: "The Magician said I was a Spirit of an adust and dry Constitution; and desired that I might have another refreshing Glass, adding withal, that it ought to be a Brimmer" (II, 263).⁴² Like Pope's Umbriel, "a dusky melancholy Spright" (ROL IV, 13), Addison's fictional narrator is part of an enormous hallucination, a massive melancholic-splenetic delusion. To Addison (as to Pope), the masquerade is a prime example of a society at once depraved, affected, and on the brink of moral exhaustion. It is in this role as emblem -- as representation of melancholy madness -- that Addison's masquerade amplifies and informs Pope's fundamental

meaning in his portrayal of Umbriel's Cave of Spleen.

4. The First in Virtue: Clarissa

In his "De Medicamine Faciei Liber" Ovid counsels young women as follows:

Love of character is lasting: beauty
will be ravaged by age, and the face that
charmed will be ploughed by wrinkles.
The time will come, when it will vex
you to look at a mirror . . . Goodness
endures and lasts for many a day,
and throughout its years love securely
rests thereon. (DMFL, 45-48)

Richard Steele, in his portrayal of Will Honeycomb and the Pict (Spectator 41), restates such traditional sentiments. Using elements from the love-melancholy tradition to create a satiric foil to probitas, Steele proffers in contrast with the painted Pict, the exemplary character of Statira:

As a pattern for improving their
Charm let the Sex study the agreeable
Statira. Her Features are enlivened
with the Chearfulness of her Mind, and
good Humour gives an Alacrity to her
Eyes. She is Graceful without Affecting
an Air, and Unconcerned without appearing
Careless. Her having no manner of Art
in her Mind, makes her want none in her
Person. (Spectator 41, I, 176)

Nature, Good Humour, Grace, and Merit. In both works such qualities mark the zenith of feminine elegance. In both works such qualities are the only possible compromise against the irresistible forces of time. And in both works, such qualities constitute the only available means by which women may survive intact in a male dominated, male oriented society.

As a moral spokesman for his poem, Pope's Clarissa echoes precisely these established precepts (V, 9-34). Despite the ambiguity surrounding her prudishness, her motivations, and her attitudes, Clarissa's speech is based on sound traditional theories of feminine behaviour, a fact which attests to the validity of accepting her advice as the moral standard of Pope's poem.⁴⁴ As the one true modus vivendi, Clarissa's speech emerges as the one reasoned proposal in the chaos of the beau monde. Her recommendations epitomize, moreover, not only traditional views of feminine elegance, but encompass rather the moral implications of writings on love-melancholy from Lucretius through Avicenna to Burton.

Significantly, Clarissa reveals both the fatuity of a love based on cosmetic beauty, as well as the mutable nature of this beauty itself. As such, her speech contrasts glaringly with both Belinda's and Thalestris' confusion of appearance with reality, reputation with virtue itself:

How vain are all these Glories, all our Pains,
Unless good Sense preserve what Beauty gains. (V, 15-16)

* * *

Oh! if to dance all Night, and dress all Day,
Charm'd the Small-pox, or chas'd old Age away;
Who would not scorn what Huswife's Cares produce,
Or who would learn one earthly Thing of Use? (V, 19-22)

* * *

Curl'd or uncurl'd, since Locks will turn to grey,
Since painted, or not painted, all shall fade,
And she who scorns a Man, must die a Maid.

What then remains, but well our Pow'r to use,
And keep good Humour still whate'er we lose? (V, 26-30)

Appropriately, like Steele's Statira, Clarissa champions a rational mode of life based on "good Sense" (16), "Virtue" (18), "good Humour" (30), and "Merit" (34). The fact that her speech is a "parody of the speech of Sarpedon" presents no real difficulty for throughout the passage neither the classical world nor its values are ever mocked. Rather, as in the entire Rape of the Lock, the shadow of epical integrity here functions as a noble past standard by which one might measure the triviality of the modern world.

Finally, to accuse Clarissa of sexual opportunism, as some modern critics have done, is to ignore the realities of Augustan England.⁴⁵ Given the circumstances of women in the early 1700s, given the attitudes of men, and given the susceptibility to disease of both sexes (Lord Petre died of small-pox at 23), Clarissa's speech contains for Pope the only legitimate substitutes for the frenzy of Belinda, the forwardness of Thalestris, or the ill-nature and affectation of the Goddess Spleen. Clarissa's advice offers the one true alternative to melancholic self-indulgence, the only viable option open to the estranged Belinda.

* * *

In his discussion of love Robert Burton follows the traditional Platonic distinction between sacred and profane "loves", Heavenly and Earthly Venuses. Both types are

inspired by beauty, for "beauty is the common object of all love, 'as jet draws a straw, so doth beauty love'" (AM III, 1, 2, 2). However, depending on the nature of one's attraction, depending on the nature of one's "beauty", love either redeems or condemns, liberates or enslaves; quoting Ficino, Burton argues:

The one rears to heaven, the other depresseth us to hell; the one good, which stirs us up to the contemplation of that divine beauty for whose sake we perform justice and all godly offices, study philosophy, etc.; the other base, and though bad to be respected; for indeed both are good in their own natures: procreation of children is as necessary as that finding out of truth, but therefore called bad, because it is abused, and withdraws our soul from the speculation of that other to viler objects.
(AM III, 1, 1, 2)

Taken in this context, the concept of love-melancholy derives its principal satiric power by means of implied contrast. Juxtaposed implicitly with the disorder, mutability, and pain of melancholic desire is the order, immortality, and reward of divine love.

Belinda, the Baron, and the beau monde, of course, direct their desires toward the mutable, the tangible, the sexual, the Earthly Venus. From Belinda's morning dream to the final apotheosis, this idea of love-melancholy functions as one of Pope's central metaphors, his controlling or informing signifiers. As such, not only does it intimate the Baron's critical misjudgement or Belinda's Venus-like personality (Pope's comparison's are hardly gratuitous), but

more importantly, as a disease permeating the world of The Rape of the Lock, it satirically reflects a universal way of life based on the illusory, the transitory, and the superficial. Love-melancholy, as the over-ruling passion of the poem, is used as Pope's principal method of satiric, moral commentary.

Admittedly, neither Belinda's nor the Baron's afflictions are as conspicuous as that of the young nobleman at court (Memoirs), or of Sapho in her agonized isolation (Sapho to Phaon), or of Alexis in the "Summer" pastoral. Rather, love-melancholy in The Rape of the Lock is contained within Pope's mock-epical structure. Conventional aspects of the disease are amalgamated, altered, recast, and developed for the ultimate purposes of moral satire. It is through such an enlargement and revision of a medical and literary tradition that Pope establishes in the poem a profound ironic vision of the delusions, distortions, corruptions, and disorders of his age.

NOTES

Chapter IV

1

Treatments of The Rape of the Lock are diverse, running the gamut from mythopoeic criticism to metrical analyses. Studies which I have found most helpful are as follows: Lawrence Babb, "The Cave of Spleen", RES, XII (1936), 165-76; Cleanth Brooks, "The Case of Miss Arabella Fermor", Sewanee Review, LI (1943), 505-24 (reprinted in his The Well Wrought Urn [1947]); Patricia Brückmann, "Pope's Shock and the Count of Gabalis", ELN, I (1964), 261-62; J. S. Cunningham, Pope's The Rape of the Lock (New York: London and Woodbury, 1961); William Frost, "The Rape of the Lock and Pope's Homer", MLQ, VIII (1947), 342-54; Ian Jack, "A Complex Mock-Heroic: The Rape of the Lock", in his Augustan Satire: Intention and Idiom in English Poetry 1660-1750 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952); Murray Kreiger, "The 'Frail China Jar' and the Rude Hand of Chaos", Centennial Review of Arts and Sciences, V (1961), 176-94; Barry M. Kroll, "The Relationship of the Supernatural Machinery to Humoral Doctrine in The Rape of the Lock (1714)", Thoth XIV (1974), 45-50; Maynard Mack, "Wit and Poetry and Pope: Some Observations on his Imagery", in James Clifford and Louis Landa, eds., Pope and His Contemporaries (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949); Rebecca Price Parkin, "Mythopoeic Activity in The Rape of the Lock", ELH XXI, (1954), 30-38; Hugo M. Reichard, "The Love Affair in Pope's The Rape of the Lock", PMLA, LXIX (1954), 887-902; John F. Sena, "Belinda's Hysteria: The Medical Context of The Rape of the Lock", (Unpublished paper delivered before the McMaster Association for XVIII Century Studies, 7 December 1977); Geoffrey Tillotson, ed., The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems, pp. 81-124; John Trimble, "Clarissa's Role in The Rape of the Lock", TSSL, XV (1974), No. 4, 673-91; Earl R. Wasserman, "The Limits of Allusion in The Rape of the Lock", JEGP, LXV (1966), 425-44; Aubrey Williams, "The 'Fall' of China and The Rape of the Lock", PQ, CLI (1962), 412-25; W. K. Wimsatt, "The Game of Ombre in The Rape of the Lock", RES, N.S., I (1950), 136-43.

2

John Dennis, Remarks on Mr. Pope's Rape of the Lock (1728), in John Dixon Hunt, ed., Pope: The Rape of the Lock, A Casebook (London: MacMillan, 1968), p. 53.

3

Cleanth Brooks, "The Case of Miss Arabella Fermor";

Robert McHendry "Belinda" (Unpublished paper delivered before The Samuel Johnson Society of the Northwest, Royal Roads Military College, Victoria, B. C., 28 October 1978); Hugo M. Reichard, "The Love-Affair in The Rape of the Lock"; John F. Sena, "Belinda's Hysteria: The Medical Context of The Rape of the Lock".

4

Wasserman, "The Limits of Allusion in The Rape of the Lock", 439, 441.

5

See H. R. Hays, The Dangerous Sex: The Myth of Feminine Evil (New York: Pocket Books, 1965), pp. 29-34 and passim; cf. also John F. Sena, "Melancholy in Anne Finch and Elizabeth Carter", YES, I (1971), 108-19; see Richard Browne, Medicina Musica (London, 1674), p. 71-72: "It is true, we may observe the Fair Sex more frequently labouring under [melancholy] than the Men, and more violently afflicted with Convulsive Disorders and Confusion of the Spirits . . . since in the Fair Sex, a peculiar Weakness, Tenderness, and Delicacy is observable in the Frame and Texture of their Fibres; it may with just Reason be suppos'd, that hence it is that they are more liable to this Disease, and more severely suffer under a sad Complication of Symptoms." As late as 1750, Lewis Southcomb was still writing: "it must be confess'd that where one Man is oppress'd [with melancholy], many more of the other Sex are laden with it . . . because they are of a finer Frame and Make than Men are" (Peace of Mind and Health of Body, p. 32).

6

Cf. John F. Sena, "Belinda's Hysteria: The Medical Context of The Rape of the Lock", passim.

7

Cf. Gideon Harvey, Morbus Anglicus, p. 45: "And what makes so many hundreds of Women run mad, but that which they call Love? by oft stirring those inflamed and putrid Spermatick fumes, which not being vented through their natural passages, are preternaturally forced up into the pores of the Brain, whereby its temperment is subverted, and a venene quality subsequent to it, depraves the Phansie into a Madnesse. Now had these females not been interrupted with Wooers, those parts would have remained dormant, and consequently not attracted or generated such a quantity of Sperm, which otherwise Abounding and being oft stirred with their Love-visions without evacuation, must necessarily putrefie."

8

Burton's theories of women's melancholy continued

virtually unchanged over the next seventy years. Robert Pierce, whose Bath Memoirs first appeared in 1697 and was reprinted in 1713, discusses the case of one Lady Berisford's daughter, aged 19, who was sorely troubled with the green-sickness. His comments strongly echo Burton:

For (besides other Symptoms, that usually accompany this Virgin Disease) she had a great Weakness in her Arm-wrists. This the modest young Lady easily acknowledg'd to me, but would admit of no farther Discourse; I was fain therefore to apply my self to my Lady her mother, from whom I understood that she had her Catamenia very early . . . and that they seldom wholly failed her . . . Besides the usual Discolour of the Face, Want of Appetite, Spirits, and Strength, &c. . . . She was more than ordinarily troubled with Vapours, and strange Fits, (doubtless Hysterical).

(Bath Memoirs, pp. 190-91)

Although Pierce eventually cured his young patient with spa-waters, he closes his discussion as follows: "I hope my Lady, her Mother, (by giving her to a good husband) prevented a relapse" (p. 191).

9

C. A. Moore, "The English Malady", p. 192.

10

Feminine mutability and vacuity strike the key-note in Pope's later Epistle to A Lady; consider for example:

Come then, the colours and the ground prepare!
Dip in the Rainbow, trick her off in Air,
Chuse a firm Cloud, before it fall, and in it
Catch, ere she change, the Cynthia of this minute.

(17-20)

11

Tillotson, The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems, p. 380.

12

Abbé N. de Montfaucon de Villars, The Count of Gabalis; or, The Extravagant Mysteries of the Cabalists, [trans., Philip Ayres] (London, 1680), p. 34.

13

Geoffrey Tillotson, The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems, p. 157n. Interestingly enough, the duties of Pope's sylphs are almost exclusively cosmetic. Cf. ROL II, 91ff. Cf. also Burton, AM III, 2, 1, 1: "the devil hath . . . carnal copulation with women 'God sent angels to the tuition of men; but whilst they lived amongst us, that mischievous all-commander of the earth, and hot in lust, enticed them by little and little to this vice, and defiled them with the company of women.'"

14

Wasserman, "The Limits of Allusion in The Rape of the Lock", 433.

15

John Milton, Paradise Lost IV, 801-09, in Merritt Y. Hughes, ed., John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose (New York: Odyssey Press, 1957).

16

Wasserman, "The Limits of Allusion in The Rape of the Lock", 431.

17

Cf. Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer, p. 190-91.

18

See Evelyn Waugh, The Loved One (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), p. 88; Rex Stout, Before Midnight (New York: Viking, 1955), p. 68; William Hogarth, "The Countess's Morning Levee" (National Gallery, London); George Seurat, "Jeune Femme Se Poudrant" (Courtauld Institute Galleries, University of London); Carlos Bady, "Mado Se Maquille" (Greco Galleries, Toronto, Ontario).

19

Cf. Artis Amatoriae III, 133; AM III, 2, 2, 3-4; Erasmus, Praise of Folly (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 88-89; Ferrand, Erotomania, p. 56; Pills to Purge Melancholy, "A Scotch Song"; Pope, Sapho to Phaon, 81-87; Gay, The Toilette; Swift, "The Journal of a Modern Lady", "The Progress of Beauty", and, of course, "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed" and "The Lady's Dressing Room".

20

Cf. Also AM III, 2, 3 where Burton uses a similar image to describe how women will wheedle their wealthy paramours: "one whole city served to dress her hair, another her neck, a third her hood."

21
Dennis, Remarks on Mr. Pope's Rape of the Lock,
ibid., pp. 52-53.

22
Epistle to A Lady, 210.

23
See also Belinda's divine fiat in III, 46: "Let Spades be Trumps! she said, and Trumps they were." Cf. also Epistle to a Lady, 21-22; "Rufa, whose eye quick-glancing o'er the Park, / Attracts each light gay meteor of a Spark." Pope's presentation recalls Ovid's advice in the Artis Amatoriae III, 425ff.: "Let her that is eager to please be always everywhere, and give all her mind's attention to her charms. Chance everywhere has power; ever let your hook be hanging; where you least believe it, there will be a fish in the stream."

24
Ferrand, Erotomania, p. 225.

25
Tillotson, The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems,
p. 160n.

26
Cf. AM III, 2, 2, 2: "So beauty commands even kings themselves; nay, whole armies and kingdoms are captivated together with their kings"; AM III, 2, 2, 3: artificial beauty is "but a springe to catch woodcocks"; and Ovid, Artis Amatoriae III, 133-36: "'Tis with elegance we are caught: let not your locks be lawless: a touch of the hand can give or deny beauty. Nor is there but one form of adornment: let each choose what becomes her, and take counsel before her own mirror."

27
Tillotson, The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems,
pp. 161-207n.

28
The miles amoris is traced briefly but well in Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer, pp. 408-10.

29
Caesar's assertion was recorded by Suetonius, an author known and studied by Pope. Cf. "Pope to Cromwell, 24 June 1710": "Some may mistakenly imagine that it was a sort of Rondeau which the Gallic Soldiers sung in Caesar's Triumph over Gaul -- Gallias Caesar Subegit, &c. as it is recorded by Suetonius in Julio" (Correspondence I, 90).

30

Cf. also Spectator 275 and Guardian 106.

31

John Dryden, Annus Mirabilis, 893-96 in George R. Noyes, ed., The Poetical Works of Dryden, Cambridge Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950), p. 45. Subsequent references to Dryden's poetry are taken from this edition and are indicated in the text by line numbers in parentheses.

32

Both Geoffrey Tillotson in the Twickenham Edition and Lawrence Babb in his "The Cave of Spleen" have provided sound, thorough backgrounds on Pope's medical imagery in the Cave of Spleen episode. I have thought it unnecessary to repeat their findings and at this point wish only to record my debt to their original research.

33

An interesting parallel to Pope's reversal of gender is found in Aeneid VI itself; in Dryden's translation Aeneas enters the "Mournful Fields", an area of Hades inhabited by those who died for love. These characters dwell in "secret solitude" and "myrtle shades" (599), they "make endless moans, and, pining with desire, / Lament too late their unextinguish'd fire" (600-01). Significantly, Aeneas here sees the transformed Caeneus, "a woman once, and once a man, But ending in the sex she first began" (608-09).

34

In addition to The Toilette, cf. Tatler 210 and Pills to Purge Melancholy, "A Song" (I, 178).

35

See Babb, "The Cave of Spleen"; Tillotson, The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems, pp. 183-88n; Frost, "The Rape of the Lock and Pope's Homer"; and Aubrey Williams, "The 'Fall' of China and The Rape of the Lock".

36

Pope's contributions to the Guardian are discussed in detail by Norman Ault in his The Prose Works of Alexander Pope, vol. I (Oxford, 1936), lvi-lxxii.

37

Tillotson, p. 103.

38

Joseph Addison, Guardian 154 (7 September 1713) in Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, et al., The Guardian,

Vol. II (London: Tonson, 1714), 261. Subsequent references to the Guardian are taken from this edition and are indicated in the text by volume and page numbers in parentheses.

39

Not surprisingly, Addison quotes from the description of Hell: Paradise Lost II, 626-28.

40

Georgics IV, 441: "omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum: [Proteus] changes himself into all wondrous shapes", in Virgil, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, The Loeb Classical Library, vol. I (London: Heinemann, 1965), 226-7.

41

Cf. also Tatler 146; Spectator 14, 22, 101; Guardian 142; and Gay, Rural Sports (1713), 424-25. As late as mid-century Fielding was using this notion; at a masquerade Tom Jones receives as many "kind Answers as he could wish" (Book XIII, chapter 7).

42

Cf. AM I, 2, 5, 2: "Montaltus . . . will have 'the efficient cause of melancholy to be hot and dry, not a cold and dry distemperature, as some hold, from the heat of the brain roasting the blood, immoderate heat of the liver and bowels, and inflammation of the pylorus.'"

43

Pope continually praises such feminine virtues; cf. "Epistle to Miss Blount, With the Works of Voiture", 57-68; Dedication to Arabella Fermor; and Epistle to a Lady, 249-92.

44

Cf. John Trimble, "Clarissa's Role in The Rape of the Lock", 690: "Judging from [Pope's] own scattered comments on the value of good sense and good humor, he quite clearly wished us to attend seriously to Clarissa's moralizing. At the same time, however, he wished to prevent us from fully relaxing our critical sense lest we confuse her with a dramatically implausible Athena. Muting Clarissa's motives accomplished both ends at a stroke: the careful reader is always aware of her prudery, but not so much that it interferes with his receptivity to the merit of what she is saying. This allows her to function simultaneously as a surrogate for Pope and as yet another object of ironic diminution."

45

Robert McHendry, "Belinda".

CONCLUSION: ELOISA AND AFTER

In his introduction to the Twickenham edition of Eloisa to Abelard Geoffrey Tillotson remarks: "Pope cared [little] for the kind of originality that invents new things. The originality he does care for is that which re-creates older things."¹ Such a comment is singularly apropos of this study which has traced the continual recreation of an ancient idea. From Aesop's amorous lion down to Pope's coquettish Belinda, the concept of melancholic love underwent every conceivable variety of metamorphosis, adaptation, and recreation. A medical sign of intellectual disorder brought on by sexual desire, the disease soon became a recognized literary emblem of human frailty, folly, and impiety.

As this survey has shown, the concept of love-melancholy played a vital role in many works of the early eighteenth century. Complete with an elaborate system of causes, symptoms, prognoses, and cures, the concept functioned in much the same manner as iconographic traditions during the Renaissance: a comprehensive body of thought, it provided contemporary artists with established images, plots models, and psychological archetypes, all readily adaptable to purposes of literary characterization. Although aspects of the tradition were used to portray pathetic heroines

victimized by tragic passion, the idea of love-melancholy was used, for the most part, to satirize. A particularly graphic emblem of distorted judgement and misplaced priorities, the image of love-melancholy helped to deflate any and all pretences to human perfectability, to drag any and all pretenders down to the "Things below". The young fops of Addison and Steele, the nymphs and coquettes of Gay and Swift, and particularly the wonderful freaks of the Scriblerus Club are but a small indication of the extent and degree to which love-melancholy appears in works of the Augustan period.

For Pope the tradition of melancholic love exists not so much as an end in itself, than as a means by which he might create a more intricate, more complicated moral commentary on the nature of human foibles and folly. As early as the "Imitations of English Poets" love-melancholy is present in the poetry -- but only insofar as it serves this, ulterior moral purpose. To Pope, moreover, love-melancholy suggests not only notions of excessive infatuation, but in its distortion of the judgement, its deluding of the individual, its dependence on mutable beauty, and its basis in unruly sexual desire, the concept possesses an array of connotations suitable to a vast range of satiric perspectives. Even in his juvenile translations of Ovid and Chaucer, Pope displays Tillotson's tendency to revise or reform, to recreate the love-melancholy tradition in the interests of an overall intellectual design.

In both the Pastorals and The Rape of the Lock this tendency develops into a full-fledged systematic methodology. Neither of these poems, of course, is completely about love-melancholy; both works, however, use the tradition -- manipulate, recreate, and apply it -- to increase the power and subtlety of Pope's poetic achievement. Never overwhelmed by his sources, Pope consistently avoids slavish reproductions of traditional emblems in favour of transformed raw material subordinated to larger intellectual plans, greater literary structures. "Synergy" best describes the process: Pope exploits the love-melancholy tradition, its imagery, its meanings, and its significance always in order to complement, to enhance his own unique and highly complex intentions.

Although my ultimate purpose in this study has been to shed new light on The Rape of the Lock, it would be misleading to conclude without some mention of Pope's subsequent use of both the love-melancholy and melancholy traditions. For as an emblem of folly -- an icon of mental, physical, and spiritual disorder -- either the disease of melancholy or aspects of it appear throughout the later poetry. In his Epistle to a Lady (1735), for example, Pope depends on such conventional topoi as rolling eyes, flirtatiousness, and cosmetic preparation to inculcate and to satirize notions of female deceit, inconstancy, and mutability.²

Most evident among subsequent works using the love-melancholy tradition, however, is Pope's heroic epistle,

Eloisa to Abelard. Based as it is on John Hughes' translation of the Abelard-Eloisa letters (1713), and indebted ultimately to the Ovidian Heroides, Pope's epistle recreates many of the conventional archetypes; aspects of the love-disease, its symptoms, prognosis, even cures, play a prominent role throughout his detailed characterization of Eloisa.

From the outset Pope's heroine is a prime candidate for the disease of love-melancholy. She is young, beautiful, noble, and female. She has also been violently bereft of her lover, imprisoned in a nunnery, and left to a life of unwilling celibacy. Let us consider momentarily Burton's opinion on such monastic isolation (a topic discussed in his treatment of women's melancholy):

How odious and abominable are those superstitious and rash vows of popish monasteries, so as to bind and enforce men and women to vow virginity, to lead a single life, against the laws of nature, opposite to religion, policy, and humanity so to starve, to offer violence, to suppress the vigour of youth! by rigorous statutes, severe laws, vain persuasions, to debar them of that to which by their innate temperature they are so furiously inclined, urgently carried, and sometimes precipitated, even irresistibly led, to the prejudice of their souls' health, and good estate of body and mind! and all for base and private respects, to maintain their gross superstition, to enrich themselves and their territories, as they falsely suppose, by hindering some marriages, that the world be not full of beggars, and their parishes pestered with orphans! Stupid politicians!

(AM I, 3, 2, 4)

Significantly, eye imagery runs throughout the poem, recalling traditional theories of the love-process; this is evident

in Eloisa's continual references to Abelard's eyes:

When Love approach'd me under Friendship's name;
My fancy form'd thee of Angelick kind,
Some emanation of th' all-beauteous Mind.
Those smiling eyes, attemp'ring ev'ry ray,
Shone sweetly lambent with celestial day. (60-64).

* * *

Still on that breast enamour'd let me lie,
Still drink delicious poison from thy eye: (121-22)

* * *

Oppose thy self to heav'n; dispute my heart;
Come, with one glance of those deluding eyes,
Blot out each bright Idea of the skies. (282-84) ³

Eloisa also displays what by now are familiar symptoms of female erotic melancholy. At the sight of Abelard's written name her dormant passion is instantly aroused; physically, she suffers excitation of the blood (4-5), fevers (5-6), irregular pulse (27), tearfulness (28), trembling (29), sighs (32), and blushes (56); psychologically she has wandering thoughts (5), her Fancy overcomes rational judgement and idealizes beyond reason the person of Abelard (61), she falls victim to melancholy followed soon after by desires for death (171ff.), and finally she has explicitly sexual dreams in which she dwells on the "phantom" of Abelard (223ff.). Appropriately enough, Eloisa continually fluctuates in her passion and at one point rejects the absent Abelard, ordering him away forever; the passage is particularly noteworthy:

No, fly me, fly me! far as Pole from Pole;
Rise Alps between us! and whole oceans roll!
Ah come not, write not, think not once of me,
Nor share one pang of all I felt for thee.

Thy oaths I quit, thy memory resign,
 Forget, renounce me, hate whate'er was mine.
 Fair eyes, and tempting looks (which yet I view!)
 Long lov'd, ador'd ideas! all adieu! (289-296)

One need only review Pope's debt to Ovid to recognize his subtle integration here of traditional cures for love-sickness; in his Remedia Amoris, for example, Ovid had advised stricken lovers to travel, avoid the beloved, abandon all memories and reminders of her (including letters), and above all to learn to hate all aspects connected with her (RA, 723-30).

Most striking, of course, in Eloisa to Abelard is Pope's use of the love-melancholy tradition to dramatize his heroine's internal struggles between "grace and nature, virtue and passion" (Argument). Recalling such tragic antecedents as Phaedra, Dido, or Sapho, Pope emphasizes throughout his poem Eloisa's uncontrolled contemplation on the idea of Abelard as it exists within her mind.. Pope juxtaposes her fantasies of man with those of God, intimating at once Eloisa's vascillations between her rightful Divine spouse and a fallen, earthly lover:

Hide it, my heart, within that close disguise,
 Where, mix'd with God's, his lov'd Idea lies. (11-12)

* * *

Yet then, to those dread altars as I drew,
 Not on the Cross my eyes were fix'd, but you. (115-116)

* * *

Fill my fond heart with God alone, for he
 Alone can rival, can succeed to thee. (205-68)

* * *

I waste the Matin lamp in sighs for thee
 Thy image steals between my God and me. (267-68)

Not only does the weight of medical and literary tradition condemn such behaviour as insane, the fact that Eloisa threatens to supplant God with her sexual obsession undermines at this point the certainty of her eternal vows. However awesome the passion of Eloisa, however pitiful her sorrow, it is nonetheless an overwhelming melancholic obsession, a misplaced passion leading in itself only to frenzy, madness, and death.

As a means of characterization the concept of love-melancholy complicates the essential meaning of Eloisa. It adds not only depth and texture to Pope's psychological portrait of a haunted woman, implications of the tradition also increment Pope's moral commentary on the problem of choosing between virtue or passion, nature or grace, a problem inseparable from even day-to-day human experience.

Throughout his later career, indeed, Pope displays an abiding interest in this question of choice: the intellectual choice between order and disorder, truth and error, reality and illusion, and above all, creation and uncreation. Significantly, throughout this later poetry, Pope continues to use aspects of the melancholy tradition to delineate all the more closely the nature of misjudgement, the essential folly of intellectual error. In The Dunciad Variorum (and in the 1742-43 versions also), for instance, he uses love-

melancholy to depict one example of duncical madness. At the opening of Book III, Tibbald slumbers in the lap of Dulness, "a position of marvellous virtue, which causes all the visions of wild enthusiasts, projectors, politicians, inamorato's, castle builders, chymists and poets" (Argument to Book III [my italics]). Juxtaposed with the "Fool's paradise", the "Statesman's scheme", the "air-built Castle", the "Golden Dream", the "Chymist's flame" and the "Poet's vision of eternal fame", the "Maid's romantic wish" functions as a subtle emphasis on the dunces' inversion of the creative process, their outright perversion of intellectual and moral energy.

Most striking in these later adaptations of the melancholy tradition is the fact that Pope continually recollects -- recreates as it were -- the structural patterns, imagery, and stylistic motifs first developed in the early works. One need only recall Umbriel's Cave of Spleen (ROL IV, 17-54) or the Baron's altar "Of twelve vast French Romances, neatly gilt" (ROL II, 38ff.) to appreciate Pope's reapplication of such icons in his Cave of Poverty and Poetry (Dunciad Variorum I, 27-32) or in Tibbald's vast altar of "twelve volumes, twelve of amplest size" (Dunciad Variorum I, 135). In each case Pope recreates an older emblem for newer purposes, an emblem consistently associated with melancholy, intellectual disorder, and insane desire. One final example will suffice. Compare, for example, Ariel's demonic advice to Belinda with the following dictum from

An Essay on Man:

In Pride, in reas'ning Pride, our error lies;
 All quit their sphere, and rush into the skies.
 Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes,
 Men would be Angels, Angels would be Gods,
 Aspiring to be Gods, if Angels fell,
 Aspiring to be Angels, Men rebel,
 And who but wishes to invert the laws
 Of ORDER, sins against th' Eternal Cause. (I, 123-30)

Not only blasphemous, such overwhelming curiosity is also, as we have seen in our discussion of Belinda, indicative of demonic pride as well as a melancholic desire to know. As Burton comments in his discussion of causes leading to melancholic insanity:

To these tortures of fear and sorrow may well be annexed curiosity, that irksome, that tyrannizing care. . . an itching humour or a kind of longing to see that which is not to be seen, to do that which ought not to be done, to know that secret which should not be known, to eat of the forbidden fruit . . . Quod supra nos nihil ad nos [what is above us does not concern us] Thus through our foolish curiosity do we macerate ourselves, tire our souls, and run headlong, through our indiscretion, perverse will, and want of government, into many needless cares and troubles . . . Nescire velle quae Magister maximus/Docere non vult, erudita inscitia est. [Humbly to be contented not to know/What the Great Master hath not deigned to show/Though ignorance, is learning quite ehow.] (AM I, 2, 4, 7)

* * *

As this study has shown, the historical tradition of melancholic love provided Pope with limitless resources for a moral, humanistic art which evaluated the various qualities

of human life. However, as The Dunciad Variorum and An Essay on Man make clear, love-melancholy -- as a specific type of disease -- is developed in the later works into the more comprehensive idea of general melancholy, an ideology still more indicative of intellectual error. In this sense, the concept supplies Pope with a perfect tool with which to portray a fallen and corrupt nature, man, and society. And as such, the idea of melancholic disorder furnished the Age of Pope with a singularly potent metaphor, uniquely dynamic and endlessly fascinating.

NOTES

Chapter V

¹
Tillotson, The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems,
p. 308.

²
Cf. for example, Epistle to A Lady, 21-28:

Rufa, whose eye quick-glancing o'er the Park,
Attracts each light gay meteor of a Spark,
Agrees as ill with Rufa studying Locke,
As Sappho's diamonds with her dirty smock,
Or Sappho at her toilet's greazy task,
With Sappho fragrant at an ev'ning Mask:
So morning Insects that in muck begun,
Shine, buzz, and fly-blow in the setting-sun.

³
Cf. "Sappho to Phaon", 21-2:

Whom wou'd not all those blooming Charms surprize,
Those heav'nly Looks, and dear deluding Eyes?

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