

THE METAMORPHOSES IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

THE METAMORPHOSES IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND:
A STUDY OF THE REPUTATION AND INFLUENCE OF THE MORALIZED
TRADITION OF OVID'S METAMORPHOSES IN THE CRITICISM,
HANDBOOKS AND TRANSLATIONS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND,
WITH A READING OF SELECTED POEMS IN THE TRADITION

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THESIS ABSTRACT

This study examines the reputation and influence of Ovid's Metamorphoses in Augustan England in order to show the persistence of the allegorical reading of the poem. Although the ultimate purpose of the study is to shed light on the interpretation of Restoration and eighteenth-century poetry, such a direct application of the metamorphic tradition to the reading of the verse cannot be undertaken before the critical position of the Metamorphoses in the intellectual and artistic milieu of the period has been determined. Because it is my contention that Ovid's poem continued to be read in the Augustan age in much the same way that it had been in the Renaissance, the study begins with an analysis of the relationship between classicism and Renaissance humanism and the way in which this relationship affected Restoration and early eighteenth century thought and writing. From there, the study briefly reviews the sixteenth and seventeenth century thought on the Metamorphoses and, then branches into Augustan criticism, prefaces, translations, editions and handbooks which discuss Ovid's poem and which are written by British authors and continental writers who influenced British thought. It has sometimes been assumed that the Metamorphoses died an early death in the Augustan age because of the travesties of the poem and because of Addison's seeming disavowal of allegorization; therefore, I have tried to correct this assessment by a comprehensive analysis of the materials of the period.

The study shows that while the critics have been correct in their belief that science and antiquarianism, along with a certain hatred of heathenism and narrowly defined sexual mores, caused the popularity of the Metamorphoses to wane in the eighteenth century, the poem still held a considerable prestige among writers and artists until 1750. Garth's 1717 Preface to the Metamorphoses, from which authors borrow freely until Boyse's New Pantheon (1753), is the seminal essay on Ovid's poem for the early eighteenth century, and his allegorical reading of the poem and appreciation of Ovid's wit are representative attitudes toward the poem. By 1750, however, Ovid's classic began to be questioned by men like Spence because it deviated from the true picture of the heathen mythology, and, consequently, the Metamorphoses in the later eighteenth century become the sole realm of schoolboys. While historians like Banier and Boyse believe the Metamorphoses to be significant in the early century, by 1750 the historians, too, sought more authentic materials, but writers clung to Ovid as a poetical model and moral teacher at least until that time. Allegory justified the continued usage of Ovid artistically and morally, and ubiquitous use of the Metamorphoses in Augustan poetry testifies to its popularity and significance.

A careful examination of the comments on the Metamorphoses indicates that the truths that critics may gather about the scientific progress of an age are not always applicable to the artistic situation of the times. Furthermore, to confirm a thesis, one must go beyond the mere perusal of a few works of the period. In the case of Ovid, Addison's disparaging comment on the allegorization in Ross's Mystagogus Poeticus has been taken as the damaging evidence against the allegorical

reading of the Metamorphoses, whereas Addison intends his criticism mainly for "mystical" allegory. By a careful study of a number of eighteenth-century works a clearer and more valid picture emerges. The importance of such a study for literary purposes lies in its applicability to the poetry of the period. As I have tried to argue in the last chapter of this thesis, Ovidian matter is not a mere window-dressing for frivolous poems, but an integral part of the structure and meaning. By applying the moralized reading of the Metamorphoses to allusions in poems such as Astraea Redux or The Dunciad and to the metamorphic patterns in such poems as Claremont, The Fan and "Eloisa to Abelard", I have discovered in Augustan verse a moral texture which the well-read poets submerged in subtle allusions, not immediately apparent from a casual reading of the poems. Although travesties and burlesques of Ovid's Metamorphoses were published in the eighteenth century, his master work continued to be regarded a major poetic document, and even those poets who used his work for the purpose of travesty often did so to make a serious point.

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The translations of the passage from Shrevelius p. 54, from Mattaire pp. 149 and 150, and from Burmann, pp. 152-153 and 154 are essentially those of Dr. Donald Shepherd of the Classics Department of McMaster University. I have incorporated his revisions of these translations into my original efforts, and I am sincerely grateful for his help.

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I

THE METAMORPHOSES AND ITS CLASSICAL CONTEXTS IN AUGUSTAN ENGLAND

My aim in this thesis is to offer a re-evaluation of the reputation and influence of Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Augustan age in order to establish the existence of a persistent allegorical tradition which extends at least until the mid-eighteenth century. Some students of the period have argued that individual poems use mythology in a moralized fashion, but other than these intimations of allegorization which men like Earl Wasserman and David Hauser have perceived in the poems themselves, no one has yet provided the necessary proof to validate their arguments.¹ By studying a cross-section of critics, editors, translators, mythologists and poets, I hope to show that what previous scholars have hypothetically suggested about the allegorization of the Metamorphoses is indeed true.

Physics, chemistry, biology, certainly all sciences, make use of a principle of preservation of matter effected through a kind of metamorphosis. Ecologists probably would not acquiesce to the scientific validity of Pythagoras's speech (Metamorphoses, XV, 482), but they would recognize the similarities of their own theories to the Pythagorean philosophy which he expounds concerning the interrelationship and interdependence of nature and its creatures through metamorphoses. So metamorphosis, while it denotes change, transformation and flux, also implies a continuity; essential matter is immortal, only its forms or containers change.

By definition, then, metamorphosis is synonymous with certain chemical and biological processes, but besides being applied to science, it has continuously found a place in imaginative literature. James Joyce, for example, uses the Dedalus-Icarus myth in A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man as the central motif of his work. Stephen, the artist-hero of the novel, progressively identifies with his mythical father, Dedalus, the arch-forgery of Crete and the creator of the labyrinth. This growing relationship with his archetypal parent leads Stephen to accept his vocation as an artist and to fulfill the prophetic epigraph to the novel which Joyce chose from Metamorphoses, VIII, 188: "Et ignotas animus dimittit in artes . . ." [And he [Dedalus] sets his mind to work upon unknown arts]. Like Dedalus, Stephen allows his mind free play among "unknown arts", changing white and red roses to green, and transforming the remains of the ancients and the scholastics into an esthetic system. It is also significant that the climax of Stephen's development in A Portrait involves a metamorphosis: when he gazes upon the girl bathing in the sea, she is transformed before his eyes:

She seemed like one whom magic had changed into the likeness of a strange and beautiful seabird. Her long slender bare legs were delicate as a crane's and pure save where an emerald trail of seaweed had fashioned itself as a sign upon the flesh. Her thighs, fuller and soft-hued as ivory, were bared almost to the hips where the white fringes of her drawers were like the featherings of soft white down. Her slate-blue skirts were kilted boldly about her waist and dovetailed behind her. Her bosom was as a bird's soft and slight, slight and soft as the breast of some dark-plumaged dove.²

By luring Stephen into the priesthood of art and beauty, the girl on the beach leads him away from religion, home, and country, performing a treasonous function like that of the bird-woman Scylla (Metamorphoses,

VIII, 32-151) who betrayed her father and homeland because of her passion for Minos. For Stephen the metamorphic moment is a moment of creation, the instant when "In the virgin womb of the imagination the word was made flesh."³ Metamorphosis signifies the Coleridgean action of the primary imagination in which intuition clearly perceives an event or an emotion and through the action of the secondary imagination transforms it into language. For Joyce in A Portrait of the Artist, metamorphosis is analogous to the action of the creative imagination.

In The Waste Land metamorphosis serves as a metaphor for the shifting, constantly elusive personality of modern man represented in the persona, Tiresias. The transformations of the classical hermaphrodite, ". . . I Tiresias have foresuffered all/ Enacted on this same divan or bed,"⁴ shapes the poem mythically, illustrating by the constant flux in the character of the speaker the inability of man to define himself sexually or morally. What is seen and experienced by Tiresias in his various forms -- Madame Sosostriis, Mr. Eugenides, the Phoenician sailor -- these visions constitute the substance of The Wasteland. Eliot's choice of Tiresias, a man-woman whose honesty won him blindness and the gift of prophecy, draws heavily upon Ovid's account (Metamorphoses, III, 322 ff.) and also depends on the classical soothsayer's presence during the tragic fall of the house of Thebes, both of which suggest Tiresias's importance as a symbol of continuity through change, even if the change proves sterile. Eliot also uses the Philomela-Procne story (Metamorphoses, VI), conventionally the poetic expression of forced innocence, but in The Waste Land the representation of a debased sexual tragedy:

Above the antique mantel was displayed
 As though a window gave upon the sylvan scene
 The change of Philomel, by the barbarous king
 So rudely forced; yet there the nightingale
 Filled all the desert with inviolable voice
 And still she cried, and still the world pursues,
 'Jug Jug' to dirty ears.⁵

No longer does the transformation of Philomela produce art, the song of the Nightingale which fills the desert with song; in the modern world, the tale is no more than an obscenity, a story to tease and titillate with its luridness. Thus the Metamorphoses provides Eliot with his speaker Tiresias, an emblem of the protean character of modern man, and the decorative myth of Procne and Philomela, one symbolic manifestation of his theme of sexual degradation. For Eliot, metamorphosis, like the month of April, is a cruel form of purgatory which no longer renews man but reminds him of his dark night of the soul.

To modern writers like Eliot and Joyce the concept of metamorphosis provides an artistic metaphor, a psychological mask and a mythical analogue for emotion as well as one answer to the question of transience.⁶ In one sense metamorphosis functions as a kind of mythical wish-fulfillment, projecting man's deepest desires to become or experience other forms.⁷ Ovid's Metamorphoses has provided these forms and given men the stories upon which to exercise their imaginations.

Why has Ovid's Metamorphoses continued to inspire literary artists? One answer might be its compendiousness, but for modern man, Ovid's collection of myth cannot compare with precise mythological dictionaries and religious and anthropological accounts of the fables of antiquity. If the Metamorphoses was nothing more than an anthology of myths, then it certainly would not have held the attention of men

for so many centuries. Ovid's masterpiece is presented in an impressive manner and in an enthralling style which has interested readers and has drawn them into the fabulous tales "of bodies changed into new forms" (Metamorphoses, I, 1).

In the Metamorphoses Ovid employs a number of genres and adapts his style to each: in the debate of Ajax and Ulysses he exercises his oratorical skills; in the story of Cadmus and later in his description of the battle of the Centaurs, he develops his epical expression; in the love tragedies of Cephalus and Procris, Ceyx and Alcyone and others, he utilizes his aptitude for drama and pathos; in the comic episodes of Midas and Tiresias, he allows his wit to blossom; and, finally, in his encomium to Augustus he shows that he can praise his emperor in the high style. By showing us his many faces in the Metamorphoses, Ovid proves his versatility and skill, interspersing pathetic scenes with those of high comedy, combining a panegyric of Augustus with philosophical disquisition. From the start we recognize that the Metamorphoses is not a theodicy but, rather, a literary attempt to order the stories of the gods, heroes and men, showing not only their admirable strengths but also their amusing weaknesses. Although the Metamorphoses is an unfinished poem, one circulated before the poet had the opportunity to polish and revise it, yet it still manifests a gradually unfolding plan of universal history to us, a device which unifies the diversified fabric of Ovid's mythical tapestry.⁸

Often, the most crucial problem which a contemporary reader faces in coming to the Metamorphoses is his lack of facility in the Latin tongue. In addition to this handicap, most of those who read the

Metamorphoses in the original read it in snatches, picking up bits and pieces of the poem in introductory Latin texts. Because it is encountered on this elementary level, and only in distinct mythical episodes, lacking Ovid's ingenious linking devices, the Metamorphoses is often regarded either as a childish piece or as a mythological handbook to be consulted in a pinch. Once the Metamorphoses is read as a whole, as a poem in its own right, its artistry becomes immediately evident, revealing the reasons why writers have been intrigued by its subject matter and style for so many years.

The Augustan age, an era well-educated in the Latin language, understood and appreciated the varied character of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Men enjoyed the wit implicit in many of the stories of transformation (witness the comic metamorphoses which Pope, Gay and Arbuthnot incorporate in their Three Hours After Marriage); they also discovered the serious moral wisdom of numerous episodes in the poem. While I do not deny that the Augustans often chose to imitate this witty side of Ovid, as Fielding did in Tom Thumb the Great, yet, as I will try to show, it is often a serious, moralized Ovid which emerges from the works of Augustan critics, mythologists and poets alike, Ovid the wit-writer existing side by side with Ovid the moralist.

Before I proceed to discuss the reputation and influence which the Metamorphoses had in Restoration and eighteenth-century England, I wish to look at the attitudes of the Augustans toward the entire body of classical literature. The humanist ideals of the Augustans prompted them to borrow material from the classics, to imitate them, and to allude to them in their writings. The moralized interpretation of the

Metamorphoses is directly related to the continued efforts of the major Augustan writers to perpetuate the values of Renaissance humanism. In general, classical writings influenced all areas of literary production, providing subject matter for prose, poetry and drama, but study of the ancients was not confined to literary circles; rather, it formed an integral part of the development of an educated Augustan gentleman.

In the remainder of this chapter I will explore three areas in which Augustan writers tried to continue the ideals of Renaissance humanism: 1) the consistently high respect they paid rhetoric and language as civilized values; 2) their attitudes toward use and abuse of the classics in education and writing; and 3) their attempts to adapt the classical traditions to their own particular mode of expression. This common outlook toward the classics must be defined in order to place the Metamorphoses in its proper context and to develop a critical perspective within which the importance of Ovid's poem can be considered.

1. The Augustan Connection: Language, Morals and the Classics

Recent studies of Restoration and eighteenth-century literature argue that many of the traditions normally labelled "Renaissance" continue to influence literary production until the mid-century. Kenneth Hamilton and Phillip Harth, for example, in attempting to place the poetry of John Dryden within its complex milieu have not only reasserted the "originality" of Dryden's style but have also fortified the case for seeing his poetic as a product of Renaissance theory.¹⁰ Hamilton claims that Dryden's poetry

. . . belongs to the rhetorical tradition that had dominated medieval and Renaissance attitudes to poetry, and Dryden

writes very much as the public orator, 'armed with the power of verse'. Closely associated, too, with this rhetorical tradition is the acceptance of a moral and didactic function for poetry, derived ultimately from the Ars Poetica of Horace.¹¹

Although Hamilton refers explicitly to Dryden, his statement, which acknowledges the combination of Renaissance ideas and classical sources in Restoration writing, provides us with a starting point for the study of Augustan literature. Ian Jack reconstructs the climate of ideas which, from the union of Renaissance rhetoric and Horatian and Juvenalian sources, produced the idiom and meaning of Augustan satire. In a vein similar to Hamilton he argues that

For the literary historian 'the silver age of the . . . European Renaissance' is the period between the civil wars and the middle of the eighteenth century. It was in these years that the ideals produced by the interaction of medievalism and the vigorous classical and Continental influences of the new age last afforded the background of critical theory which supported poets in their endeavours.¹²

Jack's conception of the Restoration and eighteenth century as the "silver age" of the Renaissance underlines the derivation of the period's thought: the seeds of classical scholarship sown in the Renaissance germinated in the eighteenth century to produce a harvest of poetry allusive to the classics.

Augustan writers preserved two major classes of Renaissance ideas -- those of humanism and those of classicism. Augustan humanism involved attitudes applicable not only to man's proper conduct and his vocation on earth but also to his formation of an ethical literature, relevant to his life. Appearance, eloquence and deportment all combined to form the complete man: how a person expressed himself reveals his character as much as what he says or how he appears. For example, just

as Spenser's Braggadochio shows his knightly incompetence by his overuse of language as much as by his overdone apparel, so too Dryden's Achitophel communicates his perversity by misusing rhetoric as well as by his bodily malformations. Aubrey Williams shows that this integration of character and expression, which Dryden had advocated in his writing, became for Pope one of the focal points of his satirical attack in The Dunciad:

The importance, for the Augustan argument as well as for our own understanding of the Dunciad, of the connection between taste and character, art and morals, cannot be overstressed. Taste was considered by the Augustans (as by poets and writers for centuries before them) to be an index to character, a visible sign of an inner and more fundamental condition.¹³

Taste reveals itself through diction and composition: if a nation encourages and applauds bad writing, it also advocates an evil or, at least, mediocre mode of behavior.

For Pope, the schoolmaster Busby in The Dunciad (1742) exemplifies human degradation in both speech and appearance. Busby arrives at the Court of Dulness as a ghostly executioner:

When lo! a Spectre rose, whose index-hand
Held forth the Virtue of the dreadful wand;
His beaver'd brow a birchen garland wears,
Dropping with Infant's blood, and Mother's tears.¹⁴

Pope emphasizes here the cruelty inherent not only in the system of birchen education, but also in the very lives of the men who administer learning to youth. Surely Busby with his sanguinary crown and fearsome sceptre represents iconographically the inhumanism of grammar-school education in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Although grammar-school tradition dictated the mode of learning by the rod (a mode which lasted until the twentieth century) and rationalized it as a character builder, educators, as early as Ascham and Elyot, realized that

enforcement by pain only cultivated a distaste for learning.¹⁵ Busby's language reinforces his cruel aspect, epitomizing Pope's conception of the progressive barbarization of man:

. . . Since Man from beast by Words is known,
 Words are Man's province, Words we teach alone.
 When Reason doubtful, like the Samian letter,
 Points him two ways, the narrower is the better.
 Plac'd at the door of Learning, youth to guide,
 We never suffer it to stand too wide.
 To ask, to guess, to know, as they commence,
 As Fancy opens the quick springs of Sense
 We ply the Memory, we load the brain,
 Bind rebel Wit, and double chain on chain,
 Confine the thought, to exercise the breath;
 And keep them in the pale of Words till death.

(Dunciad, IV, 149-160)

In his speech Busby defines man as a word-monger: language in its most niggling forms lays down the boundaries of human activity. Busby's students become progressively incarcerated within the "pale of Words". First, a forced choice narrows their way; then, as if to tempt them to go farther into the labyrinthine prison of language, the "door of Learning" opens just enough for them to see the possibilities of pedantry, but not those of wisdom. The ministers of learning torture the brains of their pupils, loading them with chains and confining their thoughts within the jail of superficiality. So Busby's students suffer physical punishment, as symbolized by the schoolmaster's grim outfit, and undergo mental strangulation, as outlined in his speech. Classical learning, which ideally should stimulate and develop human potential, is reduced to a cacophony of nonsense syllables (Dunciad, IV, 219-220). How far Busby's program lies from the proper study of mankind! Busby's rhetoric, his obsession with definition, his travesty of traditional attempts to separate man from beast, all create a grotesque contrast to his

frightening appearance. What both Dryden and Spenser argued in their poetry, Pope reiterates: he condemns the individual who threatens the community of humanists and unmasks him as an enemy, despicable both in manner and in matter.

According to Pope, then, Busby embodies the stifling alternative which education was offering to humanistic wisdom. It is important to see Busby as a satiric inversion of the tradition of Renaissance humanism which Pope believed to be deteriorating in his world. In The Rhetorical World of Augustan Humanism, Paul Fussell notes that Pope's reaction to changes in culture, like Johnson's after him, illustrates "a more or less constant warfare with the 'official' assumptions of [his] age, assumptions held by most of [his] contemporaries".¹⁶ The hopes and dreams of Augustan writers, which are distorted in the Jabberwocky world of The Dunciad, are, in their reactionary response to the transformation of society in the Augustan age, an attempt to reassert the values of the Renaissance which were in peril:

The dependence of the Augustan humanists on Shakespearian and Miltonic figures and motifs bespeaks their close alliance with a conservative literary past . . . which is perhaps as justly termed 'Renaissance' as 'classical'. Their cause was beginning to look thoroughly old-fashioned even by the early years of the eighteenth century, and by Johnson's time the English humanist found it quite natural to conceive of himself as a small fortified city besieged by Goths.¹⁷

Eighteenth-century writers espoused the judicial and serious side of the Renaissance; they regarded More, Erasmus, and Hooker as humanist scholars worthy of emulation.¹⁸ Shock at civil war and horror at the execution of a monarch by a radical "enthusiastic" element in an otherwise "civilized" society confirmed the desire of these writers for stability, order and

morality -- three qualities advocated by classical and Renaissance humanists alike. Use of the warfare metaphor indicates the desperate situation into which writers such as Pope and Swift believed their society to have fallen. Titles, such as "The Battle of the Books", or subjects, like the war of rival kingdoms in The Dunciad, emphasize the defensive literary maneuvers which the Augustans felt obliged to execute in order to maintain the cultural level they believed necessary for the humanistic existence.

To defend the good life, the Augustan writers rally at the cry of "sweetness and light": Swift certainly agrees with his Bee that

. . . I am obliged to Heaven alone for my Flights and my Musick; and Providence would never have bestowed on me two such Gifts, without designing them for the noblest Ends. I visit, indeed, all the Flowers and Blossoms of the Field and the Garden; but what ever I collect from thence, enriches my self, without the least Injury to their Beauty, their Smell, or their Taste . . . which, by an universal Range, with long Search, much Study, true Judgment, and the Distinction of Things, brings home Honey and Wax.¹⁹

In metaphorical terms Swift expresses an attitude toward learning similar to that which Sir Francis Bacon voiced early in the seventeenth century, that is, that gaining knowledge involves a process like that of the bee who extracts useful products from the flowers and fruits of the earth without injury to them.²⁰ In fact, the Bee participates in a delicate balance of nature which corresponds to the balance of culture and civilization: just as the cyclical reciprocity of insect and flower allows both to flourish, so, too, in culture, the give and take of man and his literary past provides nourishment for the modern and respect for the ancient. The essential conflict, then, in "The Battle of the Books" is the confrontation between humanism and the modern mind.

It is apparent that the literary warfare which we know as the Quarrel of Ancients and Moderns had roots in much older controversies about learning and civilization in which the central issue had always been whether man has progressed in his time on earth. In order to seek his roots or to chart his improvement man continually compares his own civilization with the great civilizations of the past. So Restoration and eighteenth-century Englishmen conceived of themselves as Augustans, relating their endeavors to those of the Golden age of Rome. The questions of progress and innovation were central to the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns, and, in line with this, the phase of the controversy which pitted Swift and Temple against Bentley and Boyle concerned the moderns' improvement of criticism. The humanist revered the classics and refused to call a truce with men who, because of overweening pride, claimed superiority to their ancient forbears. In Swift's fable, neither Spider nor Bee rejects the ancients, so that the difference between the two creatures lies in the use each makes of the classics. Swift's Bee uses the flowers, forming from them products beneficial to man; his Spider, on the other hand, rejects the blossoms and simply spins a filthy web from his own body. In just such a fashion do the scholarly methods of those who favored the ancients and used them reverently oppose those who believed the ancients to be excuses for vainglorious display of their own talents. Swift draws the fabulous character of his Spider as an icon of pride and envy comparable to Pope's picture of the schoolmaster Busby and the students that he applauds. The Modern who determined rules by hindsight was a true Neo-Classicist who could create works more classical than the

first Augustan age. But the true humanist still questioned whether the new classicism's equation of literary value and regularity was valid.

Augustan writers shared with the Renaissance humanists a belief that classical learning embodied moral value. Recognition of the ethical import of the classics is the major tenet of the eighteenth-century humanist's creed. Writers such as Virgil, Horace and Ovid had shown them that poets could delight with elegance of phrase as well as teach with depth of moral wisdom. Classicism involved, however, not only the reading and appreciation of the styles and ideas of the ancients, but also the criticism and emendation of texts. Against such "critical" scholars as Bentley and Boyle, the Augustan writers Pope and Swift aimed their invectives.

2. Classicism: Contrasting Augustan Views

In his definition of "classicism" James Johnson clarifies the relationship between the theory and practice of ancient studies in the Augustan age.

Between 1660 and 1800, a 'classicist' was the man who saw within preserved Greco-Roman literature a total and applicable world. He was concerned with all of that literature as manifestation of a total world, geography as well as epic, history and philosophy as well as satire. His fundamental introit was through a study of syntax and etymology, but once inside classical literature, the scholar's frame of mind was not simply 'literary' but utilitarian. In time, a 'classic' came to mean a masterwork of any period, though usually an ancient one, which exerted a cultural influence or which contained permanent, archetypal qualities. The 'realities' of the contemporary world -- whether social, political, military, literary, or moral -- became more attainable through reading the 'classics'.²¹

Providing an "introit" into classical literature consumed the major part of a textual scholar's time: he located texts, studied their language

in relation to grammatical principles, and then produced viable editions for study. Renaissance editors and commentators like Erasmus also went beyond this basic task and established the relevance of their scholarship for their culture, and therefore, as Johnson states, their efforts were at once erudite and utilitarian. But in the eighteenth century, the textual critics, at least the ones against whom Pope and Swift reacted, concerned themselves with antiquarian curiosities or grammatical intricacies which were understood only by those as learned as they.

Although noted as the foremost English scholar in the eighteenth century, Richard Bentley (1662–1742) now derives his literary reputation more from his curious emendations of Milton's poetry than from his extensive classical criticism.²² John Sandys characterizes him as an influential eighteenth-century scholar both in England and abroad:

. . . during the first half of the[eighteenth]century [Dutch] Scholarship owed an incalculable debt to the healthy and invigorating influence of Bentley. As a scholar, Bentley was distinguished by wide and independent reading. He absorbed all the classical literature that was accessible to him, either in print or in manuscript; but, unlike the humanists of Italy, he was not a minute and scrupulous imitator of the style of the Latin Classics. In textual as well as historic criticism, he had a close affinity with the great Scaliger. His intellectual character was marked by a singular sagacity. Swift and keen to detect imposture, he was resolute and unflinching in exposing it. His manner was, in general, apt to be haughty and overbearing, and his temper sarcastic and insolent.²³

Bentley's scholarly contemporaries respected his endeavors in the study of Cicero, Horace, Lucretius and Lucan.²⁴ In his Latin and Greek works Bentley is a descendant of the Dutch polymaths for he carried on the practice of emendation and annotation of the classics using the Dutch mode of verbal criticism. It is interesting that Sandys compares him to

"the great Scaliger" -- James Johnson comments that Bentley "overtly identified" himself with J. J. Scaliger and adds further that Samuel Johnson's comments on Bentley's errors in construing Horace again link the eighteenth-century critic with Scaliger: "Mallem cum Scaligero errare quam cum Clavio recte sapere",²⁵ which may be translated as "it is better to make a mistake with Scaliger than to discern [it] correctly with a Key". Evidently, Bentley found precedents in Scaliger's character for both his haughty temper and his linguistic practice.

As a pioneer in modern academia, Bentley's pre-eminence cannot be contested, but the value of his work to his contemporaries outside the university is open to question. Maynard Mack sees him as "[the] one scholar of Pope's day who might have altered the traditional picture of Homer . . . but his theories never got beyond the note stage, and in any case, came after Pope's translations were finished".²⁶ Bentley sought to establish a historical and scientific validity in classical commentary, but although his grammatical rules for the reconstruction of texts seemed flawless, his reasons for the emendation of his editions of Horace and Milton were often arbitrary. The conjunction of eccentric learning and peevishness did little to raise Bentley's popularity among other Augustan writers: his "passion for truth" thrust him headlong into the Phalaris controversy and his misplaced asides on Pope's Homer earned him a seat in the kingdom of the Dunces.²⁷

Why were Pope and Swift so vehement against Bentley and others of the scholarly profession? R. R. Bolgar offers an answer in The Classical Heritage:

[The Humanists] had brought classical studies into the schools, but only at the price of compromising on all their original aims. Rabelais had dreamt of a Humanist discipline which would use time-saving methods and yet develop the whole man, body and soul, giving him a grasp of ancient and modern knowledge, but training him above all in judgement and the power to act. Seventy years later, there was a Humanist curriculum in every grammar school, but the dream was as far from fulfilment as ever. These new apparently Humanist schools were devoted to an outworn rhetoric and were, at the best, breeding-grounds for textual scholars. They had not the purpose or the power to train supermen perfect in all they undertook and capable of setting the world to rights.²⁸

In obtaining control over the grammar schools, the Humanist scholar-teachers lost sight of their original goals. Bentley's concern with the use of the Greek digamma must have appeared trivial to his contemporaries when they considered the elder Lily's composition of a Latin Grammar in order to educate a Prince.²⁹ Because the eighteenth-century academic dealt in speculative matters, his discoveries offered no practical suggestions to put the world back in its proper course. Likewise, because his work was often specialized, the classical scholar, through his own choice, became ostracized from the mainstream of his culture. While English scholars like Bentley maintained their cosmopolitan reputations, in their own nation they lost contact with the Humanistic vision of their Renaissance forbears.

Pope and Swift ridiculed Bentley's preoccupation with language and antiquities as pedantry; they belittled his verbal criticism for many of the same reasons that Addison condemns false wit. For Addison, anagrams, puns, and other forms of verbal quibbles depend on shifting letters or words and not on the thought the words should express; true wit, on the other hand, clarifies meaning and underlines sense.³⁰ In Lagado, the developers of the language machine are purely verbal scholars,

intoxicated by the probabilities of the arrangements of letters, and not at all concerned with their ultimate significance.³¹ Like Busby's pupils, the Lagadan scientists amuse themselves with inane tasks; their linguistic efforts serve as busy work to fill empty lives. But besides deploring the individual's waste of time and mental energy, both Pope and Swift reject verbal criticism because it levels rather than uplifts taste.

In The Dunciad Pope charges that men like Busby or Bentley write not to aid man's self-understanding but to inflate their own editorial prowess. Pope represents biased editorial choice as a kind of popular starvation:

For me, what Virgil, Pliny may deny,
Manilius or Solinus shall supply:
For Attic Phrase in Plato let them seek,
I poach in Suidas for unlicens'd Greek.
In ancient Sense if any needs will deal
Be sure I give them Fragments, not a Meal;
What Gellius or Stobaeus hash'd before,
Or chew'd by blind old Scholiasts o'er and o'er.

(Dunciad, IV, 225-232)

Bentley, the speaker here, advises that the academician neglect the venerated classical author like Virgil or Pliny in favor of one more suitable as an ingredient for his critical recipe. The aspiring scholar should choose inferior materials such as the unlicensed Greek poached from Suidas and present it with the fragments of toughened Scholastic critics. In resigning the search for "Attic Phrase" to "them" (i.e., the classical humanist), Bentley casts out simplicity and ancient wisdom from his work. What the critic offers his partakers, then, is a ragout of the undigested and the undigestible which looks appetizing but lacks nourishment. Pope reinforces this metaphorical attack on perverse

textual scholarship in his note to the passage. He says that "[s]ome critics having had it in their choice to comment either on Virgil or Manilius, Pliny or Solinus have chosen the worse author the more freely to display their critical capacity" (Dunciad, note, IV, 226). Pride motivates the verbal critic to exercise his scholarship upon an unworthy author: he thus displays his learning in negative commentary, in eccentric expression which reflects his angular character.

When the academician entangles himself in this forest of language, he rejects his moral obligation to educate and elects instead to "mislead the sense".³² In An Essay on Criticism, Pope posits pride as the chief antagonist of intelligence:

Of all the Causes which conspire to blind
Man's erring Judgment and misguide the Mind,
What the weak Head with strongest Byass rules,
Is Pride, the never-failing Vice of Fools.
Whatever Nature has in Worth deny'd,
She gives in large Recruits of needful Pride
Pride, where Wit fails, steps in to our Defence,
And fills up all the mighty Void of Sense

(ll. 201-206; 209-210)

Pride breeds boasting in the critic and bombast in the artist: because he does not accept his limitations, the critic tries to surpass his personal bounds and fill the abyss of his ignorance with useless facts. So, too, in expression: the turgid, oblique style of verbal criticism as well as the hyperbolical style of poetry attempts to conceal mental vacuity with language. Hence the critic decorates and inflates insubstantial materials with rhetorical ornaments, waiving the simple directness of the Attic phrase. That it looks at the word rather than

the sentence, the part rather than the whole -- these are the objections that Pope and Swift raise to the new academic classicism as well as to poor art.

We must not assume that Pope and Swift repudiated all editing of the classics; on the contrary, these writers esteemed humanistic editing and imitated and used such editions in their works. For example, in his translation of Homer, Pope and his associates collated many medieval and Renaissance annotations of the Iliad and the Odyssey, but they found Mme. Dacier's French prose translation and commentary on the Greek epic poet the most useful work for their purposes. Mme. Dacier's conflation of traditional commentary and her insistence on the utilitarian value of the Homeric poems continues the humanistic methods of the encyclopedic editors of the Renaissance.³³ Although he did not wholly concur with the theological allegories which the French woman found in Homer, Pope did adopt her ethical readings of the poems and added his own estimation of Homer's pre-eminence as a poet of 'the sublime imagination.'³⁴ In addition to his use of Mme. Dacier's Homer for his annotation of his own translation, Pope also used editors of and commentators on Horace, principally André Dacier, to create the distinctly ethical tenor of his Horatian imitations.³⁵ Commentators on the classics were important to Augustan writers because they asserted that literature has moral value, and although Augustan writers themselves dabbled but little in editing,³⁶ their interest in literature and classicism lay in trying to transform ancient materials into an integral part of their artistic program.

3. The Augustan Dream: A Classical Age

With all of its avowed dedication to classical ideals, it is unusual that Robert D. Hume should conclude that in the Augustan age

. . . a great deal in literature is distinctly nonclassical. The novel and heroic drama are modern developments, only occasionally (as in Tom Jones and Amelia) influenced directly by the classics. Cato is classical to be sure, but The Fair Penitent and The Conscious Lovers are not. Pope's Horatian imitations and Johnson's Juvenalian ones are satires of the classic sort, but the burlesque satires that we find most typical of the age (Mac Flecknoe, The Dunciad) have little classical precedent.³⁷

Quoting Fussell earlier, I noted that the classicism of the major Augustan writers, Pope, Swift, and Johnson, was an anachronistic rebellion against the progressive, scientific spirit of the Restoration and eighteenth century. As Hume suggests, generic literary innovations, such as the novel and sentimental drama, are products of the experimental bias of the age, but while the Augustans wrote in nonclassical genres, the content of their works, indeed the very language of them is imitative of the classics. Because a work lacked a distinct "classical precedent", it does not necessarily follow that the work is "nonclassical". Instead, poems like Mac Flecknoe and The Dunciad, while they lack a precise classical source, certainly embody an undeniable classical spirit. In order to clear Dryden and the succeeding age of the charges of a coldly-formal neoclassicism, Hume limits classicism in Augustan works to those that were directly influenced by ancient writings, and he does not seem to recognize the all-pervasive classical spirit of Restoration and early eighteenth-century literature. Hume is correct in saying that the Augustan writers rejected formulaic classicism which on one level meant that they repudiated the new academic editing, and on another level,

showed that they realized that the mechanical imitation of ancient forms did not produce an equally good or better classical work. A poet may compose a poem in twelve books and follow epic formulas, but if his production lacks the classical heroic spirit, it is not an epic. For this reason Pope sports with Blackmore's Prince Arthur as a bathetic failure and shows in "A Receipt to Make an Epic Poem" the ludicrous results which epic writers obtain when method overrides genius and meaning.³⁸

Augustan writers tried to immerse themselves and their writings in the classical spirit, but they did not attempt either to lay down or to follow slavishly any classical "rules", a sentiment which reveals itself most often in discussion of the art of translation. The Augustan translator made his first rule of translation "Catch the individual genius of the author":

Each poet with a different talent writes
 One praises, one instructs, another bites.
 Horace did ne'er aspire to Epic bays,
 Nor lofty Maro stoop to Lyric lays.
 Examine how your humour is inclin'd
 And which the ruling passion of your mind;
 Then, seek a poet who your way does bend,
 And choose an author as you choose a friend,
 United by this sympathetic bond
 You grow familiar, intimate, and fond;
 Your thoughts, your words, your styles, your souls agree,
 No longer his interpreter, but he.³⁹

Both Pope and Dryden agreed that a translator must familiarize himself with the spirit of the author and the age in which he lived. Dryden mentioned numerous times in his prefaces the closeness that he felt to the spirited elegance of Ovid and the fierceness of Homer.⁴⁰ Likewise he understood the individual genius of Persius, Horace and Juvenal, as

he illustrated in his Essay on the Original and Progress of Satire.⁴¹

Pope, like Dryden, recognized the difference between the sophistication and polish of Virgil and the naturalness and fierceness of Homer.⁴²

Dryden made this intimacy with the author one of the general rules for the art of translation:

No man is capable of translating poetry, who, besides a genius to that art, is not a master both of his author's language, and of his own; nor must we understand the language only of the poet, but his particular turn of thoughts and expression, which are the characters that distinguish, as it were individuate him from all other writers. When we have come thus far, 'tis time to look into ourselves, to conform our genius to his, to give his thought either the same turn, if our tongue will bear it, or, if not, to vary but the dress, not to alter or destroy the substance.⁴³

Dryden reveres the individuality of classical authors but admits that often a work must be adapted to the language and customs of one's own age. The critical imperative is the retention of the substance, or more generally, the "spirit" of the author. Even in their most original poetry Augustan writers use classical models, that anthology of ancient works, charged with meaning, in which the words and phrases impel a reader beyond the literal level of a poem or prose work to compare a given idea against centuries of appreciation and commentary.

In Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion Reuben Brower illustrates the pervasive influence of classicism:

Dryden's most valuable gift to Pope was the creation of his generously allusive mode with all of its wider cultural implications Pope realized the principle within the mode, and possessing a finer responsiveness to the poetry of the past, both Classical and English, he enriched his satire with more subtle and more various kinds of reference. His obvious imitations of epic in the Rape of the Lock and the Dunciad are of less importance than his blending of the heroic with other literary styles and non-literary idioms into the complex modes appropriate to his two very different 'mock-

epics'. Although some single traditional style or genre is dominant in each of Pope's major works, from the Pastorals and the Rape of the Lock to the satirical epistles and the Dunciad, his poetry is freshly and variously allusive to poets of many traditions and many periods.⁴⁴

According to Brower the allusiveness of Pope's poetry refers not only to verbal echoes but also to the complex of ideas which these words represent. Influence among Augustan writers denoted not simply a direct borrowing from the classics or a close imitation, but rather a general dispersion of attitudes and language patterns which had attached themselves to classical works. Not only are Homer and Virgil the sources of language and machinery in The Rape of the Lock, but also the humanist interpretations of these classical authors provide the ethical norms for this poem. Not only Virgil, but also Spenser and Ovid provide the background for Windsor-Forest. For example, the transformation of Lodona has an obvious relation to Ovid's narration of the metamorphosis of Syrinx, but it also has distinctly English links with Spenser's Mulla in Colin Clout's Come Home Againe and her sister Molanna in the "Mutabilitie Cantos", both changed to Irish streams.⁴⁵ Spenser uses these inset stories both as decorative pieces and as moral fables, and Pope's use of the Lodona incident likewise serves to embellish the poem and to teach the lesson of maintaining behavioral bounds. Pope's audience, educated in the classics and English poetry, recognized the nuances of meaning which the poet incorporated into his seemingly "nonclassical" poems. For the Augustan reader, then, classicism offered a body of knowledge, which, with its informing humanism, gave a depth and seriousness to writings.

With this classicism ubiquitous in Augustan writing, we must evaluate original forms of Augustan poetry within the contexts of their classical spirit. The dramatized conversation between the deceased Pope and Boileau in Lyttleton's Dialogues of the Dead (1760) clearly shows this combination of the unique and classical in early eighteenth-century literature. Pope compares his works favorably with the French Neo-classicist's and continues:

We both of us carried the Beauty of our Diction, and the Harmony of our Numbers, to the highest Perfection that our Languages would admit. Our Poems were laboured and polished to the utmost degree of Correctness, yet without losing their Fire, or the pleasing Appearance of Freedom and Ease. The Spirit of the Ancients seemed to animate all of them; and we both borrowed much from those excellent Masters: though You perhaps more than I: but our Imitations had still an Original Air.⁴⁶

According to Lyttleton's character, Pope, Augustan writers tried to mold English into a versatile and elegant vehicle of expression: an author contributed to British prestige by correcting his native tongue and expressing himself elegantly. Lyttleton's Pope also asserts the finely balanced principle of freedom and law which underlies so much Baroque and Rococo art -- what may at first sight appear fanciful and exuberant, like Pope's Rape of the Lock, upon further study shows seriousness and rigorous control. Finally, the "Original Air" which Pope speaks of as infusing even the strict imitations of the Ancients, illustrates my claim that the Augustan humanist recognized his individuality as well as that of his age.

The Augustan derived originality from a unique Augustan myth which he expressed as the search for a hero who combined the classical and humanist ideals into a comprehensive view of life and the cosmos.

Directly or indirectly, Augustan writers tried to define this heroic myth for their age in terms of classical values. Characters, like those in Johnson's The Vanity of Human Wishes and Pope's Epistle to Bathurst, serve as illustrative moral examples, making their ethical point by the depiction of the great deeds and disasters of Charles XII of Sweden and the minute domestic details of the miserly Cotta.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Pope's picture of the saintly Man of Ross affords a pseudo-biographical lesson on the virtue of charity in a dedicated and cultivated individual.⁴⁸ We can readily see the type of hero whom the Augustan writers sought: he embodied humanistic ideals and he could equal the heroes of the past. Restoration and eighteenth-century writers believed such men could come forth in a civilization in which "Old English" values flourished, but they feared their extermination in the modern scientific culture.

In Windsor-Forest and The Rape of the Lock we can discern the Augustan myth in operation. Reuben Brower and Earl Wasserman have proven that these poems have classical analogues in the works of Virgil and Ovid.⁴⁹ Neither poem is an imitation of a classical author in the strict sense, but both poems do use classical themes such as metamorphosis, classical ideas like the "happy man" or phrasing that alludes to classical expression. Pope integrates these classical elements with his poetic message, using them as traditional allusions in original ways. For example, in Windsor-Forest the underlying georgic structure with its praise of the land unifies the triumvirate of the retired poet-speaker, Pope, the heroic statesman-poet, George Granville and the all-powerful sovereign, Queen Anne. Each of these three participates in the celebration of the historic Forest through language.

Granville is the hero of Windsor-Forest; he is the liaison between court and song, past and present. Both Anna and he rule by the word: he harmonizes the Forest into "Immortal Greens" by transforming them into poetry just as Anna silences discord by her imperial Word (Windsor-Forest, ll. 283-288; 327-328). By birth and genius Granville ennobles the aristocratic station; "To sing those honours" he deserves to wear, he paints the history of his blood in heroic and elegiac strains (Windsor-Forest, ll. 289-290; 299-326). From the collective memory of the Forest, Pope gleans parallels, like Sidney and Surrey, poet-warriors both, whom Granville can praise as equals and then surpass (Windsor-Forest, ll. 291-298). Finally, Pope, in his humble pastoral guise, pays the ultimate compliment to Granville by resigning to him the epic task of depicting England's future in trade and empire (Windsor-Forest, ll. 423-434).

Pope praises Granville as a total man, cultured, active and highly literate, an example of the humanistic ideal as well as the classical "happy man". Pope found Granville and Queen Anne figures deserving of praise and used them as prophetic examples of England's glorious future, the heroic emblems of the Augustan myth. Ironically, in spite of all Pope's expressed hopes, Windsor-Forest was the last unequivocal encomium on England and Englishmen that he was to write.

When Pope searches for a hero in The Rape of the Lock, no one emerges. Belinda, performing her trivial "rites of pride", and the Baron, worshipping at a mock-altar of French romances and billets-doux, cannot qualify for praise because of their shallowness. The Baron lacks the graces of language and shows himself a barbarian like Spenser's

Scudamour who seizes Amoret in the Temple of Venus by force rather than wooing her by persuasive rhetoric.⁵⁰ Like Scudamour, the Baron loses his beloved by an act of rape rather than winning her by words of conciliation. Belinda's potency, too, only extends over her own little world; she possesses an almost magical knowledge of cosmetic powers, and she has the verbal prowess to command, "'Let spades be trumps!' and trumps they were" (III, 46). At the rape of her cherished lock Belinda becomes a veritable Amazon in her shrieks and execrations. Yet all her powers are diminutive when they are compared to those of Queen Anne in Windsor-Forest whose very Word brings tranquillity to the nation. (Even Clarissa, whose speech in Canto V, 9-34 seems to put her in linguistic and moral command of the situation, acts the bawd in Canto III, 127-130 when she conveys the maleficent "little engine" to the Baron.) The verbal and physical violence which ensues from the rape ceases only when the poet intervenes: only the poet's word has the power to return peace and stability to the little world of the poem (V, 123-124). In fact the very triviality of the metamorphosis of the lock into a star reflects the inability in word or deed of any character in the poem to achieve heroic status, and with the repeated allusions to the epic which undercut these unheroic people and their actions, this brings the final adverse judgment of the poet upon the combatants.

The mythical search for a hero, whether achieved, as in Windsor-Forest, or futilely striven after, as in The Rape of the Lock, serves as the humanistic yardstick against which we must measure language and character. Likewise, the classicism which informs the mood and expression of both poems provides a mirror to reflect the age's problems and

aspirations. Continuing the humanistic traditions of the Renaissance, the Augustans believed that language and rhetoric were a gauge of taste and morality. The uses to which they put the classics were functional: the ancient poets and philosophers acted as mentors and taught the Augustan writers how they could best instruct delightfully. As we have seen in Windsor-Forest and The Rape of the Lock, the conventions of Renaissance humanism relating to Virgil and Ovid persist as informing principles in much of Augustan poetry. The values of Renaissance humanism, however, inspired the general culture of Restoration and eighteenth-century England. Critics like Addison, prose writers like Swift, and poets like Dryden, all espoused the classical principles which had been generated by the Renaissance humanists. When they adopted this ideology, the Augustans likewise assumed a special attitude toward classical poems -- they believed that they were serious instruments of instruction. Because of the repeated commentaries it inspired, Ovid's Metamorphoses provided the Augustans with a metaphorical blueprint for change, one that implied moral truth through the conventional allegorizations of myth.

If we study the Metamorphoses, then, as a part of the Augustans' inheritance of classicism, we can see that it holds a central place in their estimation along with the Aeneid of Virgil and the Satires and Odes of Horace. One problem arises, however, with the kind of allegorization which is applied to this classical author. Traditionally, allegory had religious implications; for example, reading Book VI of the Aeneid, exegetes found an allegorical prophecy of the birth of Christ. Augustan writers as a whole rejected this "mystical" sense of allegory both in

the Aeneid and the Metamorphoses. Unlike their continental humanist kinsmen, the English poets, even those of the Renaissance, had difficulty in adapting pagan myth to Christian doctrine, even by allegorical means. Spenser's attempted use of the hermaphrodite myth at the end of Book III of The Faerie Queene and its condemnation as bawdry by Elizabeth's minister, Burleigh, is only one of many notorious examples of the problems which English poets faced in transforming their poetic sources to suit their readers' tastes and comprehensions.⁵¹ It is mainly in prose commentary like that of Henry Reynolds in Mythomystes that the Christian or overtly "mystical" sense of the classical poets like Ovid or Virgil takes precedence over their ethical common sense.⁵² The Augustan writers were secular preachers concerned with peace in this world. As Pope says in The Essay on Man, "Know then thyself, presume not God to scan./ The proper study of Mankind is Man."⁵³

For Pope, Swift, Gay and Prior, the Metamorphoses held a place of renown among ancient poetry and to them, as I will demonstrate, it was an allegorical and moral poem. We have already briefly noted the importance which the theme of metamorphosis plays in Windsor-Forest and The Rape of the Lock, but before we can determine the significance of the Metamorphoses we must establish the way in which the century read the poem. In the following chapters I will follow the course of the reputation of Ovid and his master work in the criticism (Chapter II), and the mythological treatises and critical editions (Chapter III) of Restoration and eighteenth-century England in order to show that the Metamorphoses continued to be read as an allegorical poem at least until the mid-century. In my final chapter, I will attempt to illustrate the

way in which poets used this allegorical metamorphic tradition in their works, and I will conclude with an analysis of Eloisa to Abelard, demonstrating the way in which the Metamorphoses helps us to read that poem. Of course, the Augustans were anachronistic in clinging to the old Ovidian commentaries, but their reactionary tendency in this respect was but a small part of their greater dedication to the ideals of Renaissance humanism.

NOTES

Chapter I

¹Both David R. Hauser and Earl R. Wasserman have argued that Pope's mythology can be fruitfully studied in relation to the tradition of the moralized Ovid. See Wasserman's chapter on Windsor Forest in The Subtler Language, Critical Readings of Neoclassical and Romantic Poems (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), pp. 101-168; his Introduction to Pope's Epistle to Bathurst: A Critical Reading with an Edition of the Manuscripts (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960), esp. pp. 19-21 and passim; and, "Pope's Ode for Music", ELH, XXVIII (1961), 163-186. Also see Hauser's "Medea's Strain and Hermes' Wand: Pope's Use of Mythology", MLN, LXXVI (1961), 224-229 and his "Pope's Lodona and the Uses of Mythology", SEL, VI (1966), 465-482. For modern views which disagree with Wasserman and Hauser on the significance and interpretation of the Metamorphoses in the English Augustan Age, see my synopsis of modern criticism of the Metamorphoses in Appendix A.

²James Joyce, A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (New York: The Viking Press, 1964), p. 171.

³A Portrait of the Artist, p. 217.

⁴T. S. Eliot, The Wasteland in Selected Poems (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1954), ll. 243-244.

⁵The Wasteland, ll. 97-103.

⁶For a fuller discussion of metamorphosis as a theme and metaphor in modern poetry, see Sister M. Bernetta Quinn, The Metamorphic Tradition in Modern Poetry, Essays on the Work of Ezra Pound, Wallace Stevens, William Carlos Williams, T. S. Eliot, Hart Crane, Randall Jarrell and William Butler Yeats (1955; New York: Gordian Press, Inc., 1966).

⁷Chapters I and II of Lillian Feder's Ancient Myth in Modern Poetry (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971) offer a more comprehensive explanation of the psychological aspects of mythology and their relation to modern literary expression.

⁸Brooks Otis in his Conclusion to Ovid as an Epic Poet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 306-374 outlines several possible plans implicit in the structure of the Metamorphoses which are over and above Ovid's mechanical unification of the poem by witty transitional devices.

⁹For an illuminating discussion of the comic metamorphoses in the play, see the Introduction to John Gay, Alexander Pope and John Arbuthnot, Three Hours after Marriage, eds. Richard Morton and William M. Peterson, Lake Erie College Studies, Vol. I (Painesville, Ohio: The Lake Erie College Press, 1961), x-xvi.

¹⁰See especially Chapters V and VI of Kenneth Hamilton, John Dryden and the Poetry of Statement (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1967) and Phillip Harth, Contexts of Dryden's Thought (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), passim.

¹¹John Dryden and the Poetry of Statement, pp. 7-8.

¹²Ian Jack, Augustan Satire: Intention & Idiom in English Poetry 1660-1750 (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 1.

¹³Aubrey Williams, Pope's Dunciad, A Study of its Meaning (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955), p. 13.

¹⁴Alexander Pope, The Dunciad, ed., James Sutherland, The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, gen. ed., John Butt, Vol. V, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1953), IV, 139-142. Subsequent quotations from Pope's poetry will be taken from this edition of the Works and cited by line number in the text unless other annotation (such as volume number, publication date, or editor) is required.

¹⁵See Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster (1570; facsimile rpt., New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), pp. 6^r-6^v; 10^v-12^v, and Sir Thomas Elyot, The Boke Named the Governour (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1907), p. 33. For a discussion of discipline in the schools of the Augustan age see W. A. L. Vincent, The Grammar Schools, Their Continuing Tradition, 1660-1714 (London: Cox and Wyman Ltd., 1969), pp. 60-71.

¹⁶Paul Fussell, The Rhetorical World of Augustan Humanism, Ethics and Imagery from Swift to Burke (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 20-22.

¹⁷Fussell, p. 20.

¹⁸See Fussell's discussion of Humanism in Chapter I, especially pp. 11-12 where he discusses the eighteenth-century humanists' admiration of the ethical traditions of the Renaissance.

¹⁹Jonathan Swift, The Battle of the Books in A Tale of a Tub with Other Early Works, 1696-1707, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1938), pp. 149-150.

²⁰Irvin Ehrenpreis, Swift: The Man, His Works and the Age, Vol. I (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1967), p. 334 suggests that the origin of the Spider and Bee portraits can be found in the Novum Organum where, with the addition of the Ant-empiricist, the Spider represents the dogmatist and the Bee (as Temple also notes in "Of Poetry") is the seeker after knowledge who gathers its materials and digests them by his intellect. See Sir Francis Bacon, The New Organon, Book I, Sect. XCV, in Francis Bacon, A Selection of his Works, ed., Sidney Warhaft (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1965), p. 360.

²¹James William Johnson, The Formation of English Neo-classical Thought (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 29.

²²For a discussion of Bentley's edition of Milton's Paradise Lost and the reception of the edition see Ants Oras, Milton's Editors and Commentators from Patrick Hume to Henry John Todd, 1695-1801, A Study in Critical Views and Methods (1931; New York: Haskell House, 1964), pp. 50-99.

²³John Edwin Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), II, 409.

²⁴Sandys, II, 406-407.

²⁵The Formation of English Neo-classical Thought, p. 145.

²⁶Introduction to The Iliad of Homer Books I-IX, eds., Maynard Mack, and others, Works, VII (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1967), note, p. lxxiii.

²⁷Note Pope's criticism of Bentley's editions of Horace and Milton in Dunciad, IV, 209-214:

Mistress! Dismiss that rabble from your throne:
Avaunt -- is Aristarchus yet unknown?
Thy mighty Scholiast, whose unweary'd pains
Made Horace dull, and humbled Milton's strains.
Turn what they will to Verse, their toil is vain,
Critics like me shall make it Prose again.

For Bentley's participation in the Phalaris controversy see Sandys, II, 403-405, and for his problems with Pope, see Sandys, II, 407-408, and,

also, Sutherland's notes to Dunciad, IV, 209-236 in Works, V and Johnson, The Formation of English Neo-classical Thought, pp. 86-90.

²⁸R. R. Bolgar, The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries from the Carolingian Age to the End of the Renaissance (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 366.

²⁹For a discussion of William Lily see G. K. Hunter, "Humanism and Courtship" in Paul J. Alpers, ed., Elizabethan Poetry, Modern Essays in Criticism (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 18-27.

³⁰See especially the definitions of true and false wit in Spectator No. 62 in Joseph Addison, Richard Steele and others, The Spectator, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), I, 263-270.

³¹Swift, Gulliver's Travels, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1941), pp. 163-170.

³²Pope, An Essay on Criticism, eds., E. Audra and Aubrey Williams in Works, I (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1961), l. 4.

³³See Callan's comments in The Iliad, Works, VII, xxxviii-xlii.

³⁴Norman Callan notes in his Introduction to The Iliad, Works, VII, lxxix that "Madame Dacier in her determination to exalt Homer, tries to present him as a Christian moralist. Pope, though he is gentle with her views, perceives that this is a falsification of Homer's greatness. For him Homer is the supreme poet of Manners -- that is, of human nature presented in terms of action"

³⁵See Thomas E. Maresca, Pope's Horatian Poems (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1966), pp. 14-15 and passim for a comprehensive discussion of the relationship between the Renaissance editions of Horace, including Dacier's, and Pope's Horatian Imitations.

³⁶Pope edited Shakespeare's Works and suffered criticism in Lewis Theobald's Shakespeare Restored (1726) which exposed Pope's incompetence as an editor and was "in the main justified". See Sutherland's Introduction to The Dunciad, Works, V, xi-xii.

³⁷Robert D. Hume, Dryden's Criticism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 163.

³⁸See Alexander Pope, "Peri Bathous" in Bertrand A. Goldgar, ed., Literary Criticism of Alexander Pope (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), pp. 84-87 and passim.

³⁹Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, "An Essay on Translated Verse" in Dr. Samuel Johnson, ed., The Works of The Poets of Great Britain and Ireland with Prefaces Biographical and Critical, Vol. XV (London, 1779), ll. 89-100.

⁴⁰Dryden expresses his feeling of affinity with Homer in his Letter to Charles Montague, 1699, No. 65 in Charles E. Ward, ed., The Letters of John Dryden (Durham: Duke University Press, 1942) and his Preface to the Fables in W. P. Ker, ed., Essays of John Dryden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), II, 251. For his attitude toward Ovid, see his Preface to Ovid's Epistles (1680) in Ker, I, 233-234.

⁴¹See Dryden's "A Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire" in Ker, II, 68-91 where he gives a detailed comparison of the three satirists by summarizing the opinions of Heinsius, Dacier, Scaliger and Casaubon.

⁴²See Pope, Preface to The Iliad, Works, VII, 11-12.

⁴³Preface to Ovid's Epistles in Ker, I, 241.

⁴⁴Reuben A. Brower, Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 12-13.

⁴⁵For the Mulla incident see Edmund Spenser, Colin Clouts Come Home Again in The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, ed., R. E. Neil Dodge (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908), ll. 100-155. For Spenser's narration of the Molanna story in which he refers to Colin Clout, see "Two Cantos of Mutabilitie", Canto VI, xxxviii-lv. Both Mulla and Molanna are nymphs of Diana who break the proper bounds of behavior and are transformed into streams.

⁴⁶George Lyttleton, Dialogues of the Dead (1760; facsimile rpt., New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1970), p. 115.

⁴⁷See Samuel Johnson, The Vanity of Human Wishes in Poems, ed., E. L. McAdam, Jr. and George Milne, The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson, Vol. VI (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), ll. 191-222, and Alexander Pope, "To Allen Lord Bathurst. Of the Use of Riches" in Epistles to Several Persons (Moral Essays), ed., F. W. Bateson, Works, Vol. III-ii (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1951), ll. 179-218.

48 "To Allen Lord Bathurst", ll. 250-290.

49 For Windsor Forest see Brower, The Poetry of Allusion, pp. 40-62; Earl Wasserman, The Subtler Language, pp. 101-168, and for the source of individual lines see the Introduction and notes to the poem by Aubrey Williams, Works, I, 125-194. For The Rape of the Lock, see Brower, pp. 142-162 and the Introduction and notes to The Rape of the Lock, ed., Geoffrey Tillotson, Works, II (1940; London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1962), 81-212.

50 Scudamour's story of his "glorious spoyle of beautie" (IV.ix.58) is found in The Faerie Queene, Book IV, Canto x where he describes his conquest of Amoret as a feat of force similar to that of Hercules' theft of Cerberus from Hades rather than a victory by language like Orpheus's retrieval of Eurydice from the kingdom of the dead. The Baron's offering in The Rape of the Lock, II, 35-36 is a mute one, and that his only speech is one that boasts of his victory in III, 161-178.

51 Spenser's "Proeme" to The Faerie Queene, Book IV, 1, suggests why he omitted Book III, xii, 43-47, the section in which he described the sexual union of Scudamour and Amoret:

The rugged forehead that grave foresight
 Welds kingdomes causes and affaires of state,
 My looser rimes (I wote) doth sharply wite,
 For praising love, as I have done of late,
 And magnifying loves deare debate;
 By which fraile youth is oft to follie led,
 Through false allurement of that pleasing baite,
 That better were in vertues discipled.
 Than with vaine poemes weeds to have their fancies fed.

The "rugged forehead" that "welds kingdomes causes and affaires of state" obviously refers to Queen Elizabeth I's minister of state, Lord Burleigh, who complained that the immorality of the poet's "looser rimes" would lead youth into "follie". But Spenser makes clear in the following stanza that "Such ones ill judge of love, that cannot love." And so Burleigh has misunderstood Spenser's meaning, and the minister, by his power of censorship, has forced the poet to replace the offensive stanzas by the flight of Amoret (The Faerie Queene, III, xii, 43-45), a sequence which thwarts Spenser's planned union of the two lovers.

52 See Henry Reynolds, Mythomystes, Wherein a Short Survay is taken of the Nature and Value of True Poesy and Depth of the Ancients Above our Moderne Poets (1632) in Edward Taylor, ed., Literary Criticism of Seventeenth-Century England, from The Borzoi Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Literature, gen. ed., Joseph A. Mazzeo, Vol. IV (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 225-258.

⁵³Alexander Pope, An Essay on Man, ed., Maynard Mack, Works, III-i (1950; London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1970), II, 1-2.

II

THE METAMORPHOSES IN AUGUSTAN CRITICISM

In this chapter I will try to show that Restoration and eighteenth-century critics of the Metamorphoses to a large extent encouraged certain types of allegorical readings of the poem. To discover Augustan critical opinion about the Metamorphoses it has been necessary to travel not only the main roads of criticism, such as Addison's Spectator and Dryden's Essays, but also the side trails like the encyclopedias and critical dictionaries.¹ We must recognize from the outset that when an Augustan critic speaks about myth, as Gildon does in The Complete Art of Poetry, he often refers to the fables as they were known from the Metamorphoses, which still provided the early eighteenth century with the most comprehensive collection of ancient myth in readily-available form. While I do not contend that every time an Augustan writer mentions mythology that he has the Metamorphoses in mind (for such a claim is unfounded), what I do wish to assert is that at many points in their discussions of myths and the reading of them, Augustan critics make important comments which can help us to understand the way in which they interpreted the Metamorphoses.

Among Augustan critics, the Metamorphoses had a divided reputation: on the one hand, it exhibited all the worst attributes of unenlightened poetry -- gothic superstition, unnatural happenings, and a conceited style; on the other hand, Ovid's poem contained the most elegant marks of the Silver age of Rome -- dramatic pathos, ingenious

patterning, and witty expression. Credibility and style were the two central points of contention about the Metamorphoses in the Restoration and early eighteenth century. The interpretation of the Metamorphoses, however, underwent a major revolution between the Renaissance and the mid-eighteenth century as the control which Renaissance allegory exercised on the eighteenth-century mind loosened, and allegory itself became identified with personification of virtues. Following the example of the Renaissance humanists, Augustan critics applied the Horatian test of instruction and delight to the Metamorphoses, and those of them who continued to play with the enigmas of language also found pleasure in uncovering the hidden meanings of Ovidian myth. Theologians and philosophers, however, discovered the pernicious influences of enthusiasm and heathen fakery in ancient mythology (and hence in Ovid), and therefore, they rejected myth as an obstacle to truth. But at least until the middle of the eighteenth century the major writers such as Pope, Swift, Gay, and Prior continued to use the allegorized Metamorphoses as a moral handbook.²

Since the Augustan Age inherited the major part of its allegorization of the Metamorphoses from Renaissance editions and translations of the poem, it will be necessary to look at a few of these Renaissance works, particularly those written in English by Goldyng, Sandys and Ross in order that we may see the types of allegorization which were current in England prior to the Restoration.³ Before I proceed, then, to my discussion of the Augustan criticism of the verisimilitude and style of the Metamorphoses and its relationship to the moralized Ovid, I will briefly review the attitudes of the Renaissance critics towards the

poem -- attitudes which led to the discovery of philosophy, ethics, and, at times, theology in Ovid's masterpiece.

1. Renaissance Allegorizations of the "Metamorphoses": A Prelude to the Augustans

The Renaissance allegorizations of the Metamorphoses were based on late medieval moralizations of the classic. Works like the Ovide Moralisé and the De Genealogia Deorum, which drew their materials from earlier authors like Fulgentius, tried to show that under the guise of Ovid's fable lay hidden truths waiting for the astute reader to unveil.⁴ Medieval commentators propagated this allegorical interpretation of the Metamorphoses and, to a certain extent, reconciled it to Christian doctrine. In his Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain Schevill notes that by the late Middle Ages,

. . . the mythology of the ancients had gradually come to be regarded as symbolical, thus admitting comparison with symbolical tales employed in Christian teaching; and the Metamorphoses, looked upon as an allegory of the mysteries of the true Faith, could be read in school and convent without prejudice to the regular theological studies. In this way hidden meanings were found in Ovid, giving him, even with the Church, a certain unwarranted and illogical authority, which was to last through the Renaissance. Thus the many gods of the ancients became demons, while the personae of the myths were compared with characters in the Bible or other sacred writings. The moral of each tale, on the other hand, was carefully explained, making Daphne and the laurel, for example, the symbols of chastity, Midas, of insatiable avarice; Actaeon, devoured by his dogs pictured self-indulgent young men consumed by their own vices⁵

This identification of Ovid's myths with Biblical parables enlivened Christian interest in the Metamorphoses. It is important to notice that Schevill distinguishes between the religious application of myths and their moral interpretation: in exegetical reading these distinctions

represent two levels of meaning, the tropological or moral and the anagogical or spiritual. This separation of meanings and the ability to balance interpretations became the major occupation of Renaissance commentators who continued to elucidate the Metamorphoses in terms of Ovidius Theologus and Ovidius Ethicus.⁶ Especially in the Neo-Platonic Florentine school the treasure house of the Metamorphoses was plundered for mystical meanings that would bring together Apollo and Christ.⁷

Although the English did not generally concern themselves with the mystical implications of the Metamorphoses, they did perpetuate the medieval belief that the poem was related to Scripture. Like the medieval commentaries, Goldyng's introductory epistle to his translation of the Metamorphoses (1567) associates Ovid's description of creation and Deucalion's flood with the analogous stories in Genesis. Looking at the first 437 lines of the Metamorphoses, we can easily see why such a connection was made: Ovid's story of creation, the four ages of men, the battle of the giants, and the flood, do, to a certain extent, echo the early stories of Scripture. Goldyng asserts that Ovid

. . . tooke the ground of all his cheefest fables out
Of Scripture: which they shadowing with their gloses went about
To turne the truth too toyes and lyes

(Goldyng, "Epistle", ll. 529-531)

Goldyng writes at length on the "darke philosophie" found in Metamorphoses I, a philosophy derived ultimately from the Bible (Goldyng, "Epistle", ll. 339-531). This exposition directs the reader to look for the deeper meanings of the myths in the remaining books of the poem:

If Poets then with leesings and with fables shadowed so
The certeine truth, what letteth us to pluck the visers fro
Their doings, and too bring ageine the darkened truth too light,

That all men may behold thereof the cleereness shining bryght?
 The readers therefore earnestly admonisht are too bee
 Too seeke a further meaning than the letter gives too see.
 The travell tane in that behalf although it have sum payne
 Yit makes it double recompence with pleasure and with gayne.
 With pleasure, for varietie and straungeness of the things,
 With gaine, for good instruction which the understanding brings.

(Goldyng, "Epistle", ll. 537-546)

As translator and editor, Goldyng's duty has been to explain selected fables and give their moral interpretations, now the reader must unveil the rest of Ovid's "darkened truths".⁸ Goldyng appreciates the pleasing quality of Ovid's wit and recognizes the "straungeness" of the myths, that almost Gothic, magical character which Addison later enjoyed.⁹ Goldyng's estimation of Ovid's Metamorphoses follows the tradition of the Italian editor, Raphael Regius, who comments that Ovid's masterwork "was eagerly read wherever the Latin language was understood."¹⁰ Furthermore, Regius "calls it an exemplartotius humanae et civilis vitae, the work of a poeta facundissimus. It comprehends not only ancient history, under the guise of myth, but geography and astrology, and music and oratory, and moral and natural philosophy."¹¹ Both Goldyng and Regius revered Ovid's poem as a compendium of all knowledge and although his comments on individual parts of the work are philological, Regius's prefatory comments show him to be a defender of the practical morality of the Metamorphoses.

In 1616 M. Nicholas Renovard published a French prose translation of the Metamorphoses with fifteen discourses on the fables. While it is uncertain whether this work had a direct influence upon English literature, it was republished at least five times before 1637, and it served as a basis for later French commentators who, in turn, were translated into

English. Finally, because it has a notable formal similarity to Sandys's monumental translation, Renovard's is an important and interesting text for my study. Renovard's discourses on the fables contain both ethical and religious commentary, a combination which often makes his explication de fable an excuse for Christian meditation. For example, Renovard ends his explanation of the myth of creation with a pessimistic outburst on the vileness of man:

Les fables anciennes ne sont donc pas tousiours fables, puis qu'elles symbolisent avec la verité, & qu'elles apprennent à l'homme, aussi bien que les lettres sacrées sa vile & basse naissance. Pauvre homme, d'où te vient tant de presumption, veu que ton corps n'est que limon? Où fondes-tu ton orgueil? sur ta bouë? Tu n'as pas de quoy t'esleur pour ce sujet. Tu es sorty de terre, la terre te nourrit comme les autres animaux, & elle mesme doit encore te recevoir un iour en son sein, pour reduire ton corps a son premier estre. Represente-toy que Promethée t'a formé de poussiere mouillée, & mesurant ta presumption à ta vile foiblesse, ne te laisse point transporter a une vaine opinion qui te face presumer d'estre autre qu'un fragile vaisseau sujet a mille infirmités.

(Renovard, "Discours I", p. 14)

Renovard's comments are a baroque mixture of praise and blame for the paradoxical animal, man. His interpretation of the Promethean myth is in line with the Augustinian concept of man's innate physical corruption; indeed, his words conform to the contemptus mundi tradition which deflates the proud and presumptuous aspirations of man. Man was created from the clay of the earth and to the dust of that earth he will return at death -- in body he is a frail creature, subject to a thousand disorders. Renovard's soul-searching questions deal with the same subject matter as Jacobean tragedy: Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois, for example, voices similar misanthropic statements about the precarious state of man's condition.¹³ Renovard's gloomy outlook represents the Christian

other-worldly mood which continued along side of the Renaissance optimism about man's state. Thus, Renovard uses the Promethean myth to reinforce the Christian message of man's humble beginnings on earth, and from the pagan materials, he extracts a message like that which the Patristic exegetes found in the creation of Adam in Genesis.¹⁴

Although later than Goldyng's, and hence presumably further from the medieval Christianizing of myth, Renovard's reading finds greater theological possibilities in the myth than the Englishman had. The discovery of "religious" implications may, to some extent, be traced to Ovid's rendering of the story of creation, for the passage offers an authorial interpolation which might have suggested the Christian commentary:

Sanctius his animal mentisque capacius altae
 deerat adhuc et quod dominari in cetera posset:
 natus homo est, sive hunc divino semine fecit
 ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo,
 sive recens tellus seductaque nuper ab alto
 aethere cognati retinebat semina caeli.
 quam satus Iapeto, mixtam pluvialibus undis,
 finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta deorum,
 pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram
 os homini sublime dedit caelumque videre
 iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus:
 sic, modo quae fuerat rudis et sine imagine, tellus
 induit ignotas hominum conversa figuras.

(Metamorphoses, I, 76-88)

[A living creature of finer stuff than these, more capable of lofty thought, one who could have dominion over all the rest, was lacking yet. Then man was born: whether the god who made all else, designing a more perfect world, made man of his own divine substance, or whether the new earth, but lately drawn away from heavenly ether, retained still some elements of its kindred sky -- that earth which the son of Iapetus mixed with fresh, running water, and moulded into the form of the all-controlling gods. And, though all other animals are prone, and fix their gaze upon the earth, he gave to man an uplifted face and bade him stand erect and turn his eyes to heaven. So, then, the earth, which had lately been a rough and formless thing, was changed and clothed itself with forms of men before unknown.]

(Miller, trans., Metamorphoses, I, 9)

Ovid represents man as a mixture of clay and stars: he is molded from the clay of the earth, but inspirited by the seed of heaven. Because of this paradox, man is pulled between the two poles of his origins; his upward gaze, his aspiration towards the heavens, separates him from the grosser beasts. Ovid's description of man's formation from earth in the image of the gods could easily have been seen as a corrupt account of the creation of man in the image and likeness of God, the story found in Genesis. Goldyng glosses the passage as follows:

In theis same woordes, both parts of man the Poet dooth expresse
 As in a glasse, and giveth us instruction too adresse
 Our selves too know our owne estate: As that wee bee not borne
 Too followe lust, or serve the paunch lyke brutish beasts forlorne,
 But for too lift our eyes as well of body as of mynd
 Too heaven as too our native soyle from whence we have by kynd
 Our better part: and by the sight thereof to lerne too know
 And knowledge him that dwelleth there

(Goldyng, "Epistle", ll. 458-465)

Goldyng finds in Ovid the same other-worldly message as Renovard did: man's better part resides in the after-life; his present time on earth should be spent in contemplation of his future state and not in the brutish satiation of his animal passions. Although Goldyng's interpretation is essentially the same as Renovard's, his tone is quite different. Goldyng writes dispassionately, perhaps because of the confinement of his rhyme, or perhaps because of his less ethereal temper; but, whatever the reason, Goldyng's style differs greatly from the abstract metaphysical examination which Renovard offers. Goldyng makes practical, matter-of-fact observations which are theologically sound and directed to the betterment of man's moral life. Goldyng eschews, therefore, the questioning, probing quality of Renovard's analysis without sacrificing the message of his remarks.

In Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished (1632) George Sandys does not indulge in the oratorical excesses of Renouard.¹⁵ Although the format of his work resembles that of the French translator and his mythical interpretations agree with Renouard's on many points, yet Sandys remains reserved in his treatment of Ovidius Theologus.¹⁶ The tone of Sandys's remarks is learned: he is the compiler and communicator of opinion and not the preacher of dogma. We can study Sandys's handling of the Prometheus myth as an example of his mythographical method, a method which contrasts with that of Renouard:

Lastly man was made with an erected looke to admire the glory of the Creator. What Theologian could have spoken more divinely? Alone deceived in the name of the Artificer. Error is full of contradiction as truth of conformity. A man to make the first man, and he Prometheus the son of Japhet. Lactantius writes that he lived in the daies of Jupiter, when Temples and Idols began to be erected, and was the first that ever made Statues. S. Augustine reports him for a man of great wisdome, who informed the rude and earthly minds of men with knowledge and understanding, and therefore was fained to have made them of clay: others, in that he taught the doctrine of Creation. Hee is said to have fetcht fire from the Chariot of the Sun by the Counsell of Minerva; because he first erected the mindes of men to celestiall speculations. But to conforme the fable to truth: Prometheus signifies Providence, and Minerva Heavenly Wisdome: by Gods providence therefore and wisdome Man was created. The celestiall fire is his soule inspired from above: which the Philosophers themselves by the light of nature could discover.

(Sandys, Ovid, p. 58)

Sandys treats the material as historical as well as allegorical: following the lead of Lactantius and Augustine, he identifies Prometheus as an historical figure and finds in his story elements of distorted truth. In his introductory remarks Sandys comments on man, the great amphibian, whom the Creator concocted from the mixture of dust and stars,

a beauty-directed being "as the Platonists hold". This problem of man's estate which elicits the oratorical queries of Renovard is only slightly elevated by Sandys through repetitive phrasing in order to establish the importance of the concept. But Sandys's momentary rhetorical flourish gives way to aphoristic and explanatory statements. Sandys first establishes the allegorical possibilities of the myth: he interprets it in terms of its moral, theological, historical and physical meanings. Yet, in the end, he uses the mythical figure to symbolize a particular abstract quality (Providence), an interpretation of the famous Titan much like that of Bacon in the De Sapientia Veterum.¹⁷ To do justice to Renovard, we must admit that he, too, believes that Prometheus was an historical personage based on evidence from the writings of Lactantius and Augustine and, like Sandys, he adds to Ovid's tale of creation the correlative story of the Promethean theft of fire which he interprets as the teaching of divine wisdom to man.¹⁸

Sandys clarifies his purpose in translating Ovid in his Preface to the Reader. He says he has attempted

. . . to collect out of sundrie Authors the Philosophicall sense of these fables of Ovid, if I may call them his, when most of them are more antient then any extant Author, or perhaps then Letters themselves; before which, as they expressed their Conceptions in Hieroglyphickes, so did they their Philosophie and Divinitie under Fables and Parables: a way not un-trod by the sacred Pen-men, as by the prudent Law-givers, in their reducing of the old World to civilitie, leaving behind a deeper impression, then can be made by the livelesse precepts of Philosophie.

(Sandys, Ovid, p. 8)

By this train of reasoning Sandys finds within the fables moral and theological verities, kernels of truth within the husks of fiction.

The relationship between the ancient method of "Hieroglyphickes" and the Scriptural mode of parables which Sandys mentions here echoes the findings of the Patristic writers and foreshadows the arguments which eighteenth-century critics like Charles Gildon used to make the Metamorphoses acceptable.¹⁹ Sandys is a thorough worker who searches through both medieval and Renaissance sources for his commentary.²⁰ And his discovery that the ancients possessed corrupt versions of Scriptural truths is not far from Dryden's reasonings in Religio Laici about the partial truths with which natural religion provided the ancient philosophers, nor is it much removed from Goldyng's assertion that classical mythology was a debased form of Holy Writ.²¹ The writings of Sandys, Goldyng and Renovard show that the Ovidian analogues to Holy Scripture were too many and too obvious to be overlooked by a Renaissance reader. Sandys's translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses is the only one of its kind written by an Englishman, and the fact that his book was republished eight times by 1690 suggests that its influence lasted at least until the turn of the century.²² Sandys, however, is the last significant English exegete, because with the exception of Alexander Ross's Mystagogus Poeticus (3rd ed., 1653), the Ovidius Theologus tradition was defunct among English men of letters.

Ross's Mystagogus Poeticus illustrates the most extreme theological position concerning myth which English mythographers assumed. The full title of the third edition of the work reflects Ross's extravagant mythological interpretations: Mystogogus Poeticus or the Muses Interpreter: Explaining the historical Mysteries, and mystical Histories of

the ancient Greek and Latine Poets. Here Apollo's Temple is again opened, the Muses Treasures the third time discovered, and the Gardens of Parnassus disclosed more fully, whence many floweres of useful, delightfull, and rare Observations, never touched by any other Mythologist are corrected. As the title clearly shows, Ross's approach to allegorization makes use of his utmost ingenuity: he attempts to produce as many interpretations as can be wrenched from the myths. Certain constants, like the identification of Apollo and Christ (although any other god can be interchangeably Christ or Satan as needs be), make Ross's comments tedious and predictable. Although Hardin compares this work to the mythological dictionary of Natales Comes, Ross's heavy-handed spiritualization of the whole of the Metamorphoses comes across to a reader more as a handbook for preachers than as one for poets and painters. We do not find in Ross the coordination of pictorial illustration and explanation offered by Comes; instead, we discover an alphabetical listing of the gods, heroes, and men of antiquity whose fabulous lives and actions are wrung and twisted for Christian meaning.²³

For example, Ross's treatment of the fable of Atalanta in Calydon typifies his interpretive procedure:

Here we have the picture of a whore, who runs swiftly in the broad way that leadeth to distruction: if any thing stay her course, it is wise counsell and admonition; for wisdom is presented by gold. It is shee that kills the Boars, that is, wanton and unruly youths, wounding both their bodies, souls and estates; and therefore hath a sharp spear, to draw water out of rocks; because many who at first were senselesse like stones, being deeply wounded with remorse for their former folly and stupidity, fall to repenting, to weeping and lamenting, considering what they have lost; and as Atalanta defiled Cybeles temple so doth a whore pollute her body, which is the Temple of the Holy Ghost; so doth the Whoremaster make his body all one with the body of the harlot; and so doth degenerate from humanity and participates of the cruelty and lasciviousnesse

of Lions, and by this means become miserable slaves and drudges to Cybele, mother earth, that is, to all earthly affections and lusts.

(Ross, Mystagogus Poeticus, pp. 48-49)

Like Goldyng, Ross compares Scripture to Ovidian myth; he associates Atalanta with the whore of Babylon and the woman of pleasure who led the prodigal son astray. He begins rather mildly, simply paraphrasing biblical language in his comment on "the broad way that leadeth to distruction". But as he proceeds to elucidate the fable he converts all of the sexual connotations of the myth into a sermon on the debasing character of lust. Although this relationship between the metamorphosis of man into beast and the state of man brutalized by his lower passions is a common connection made by Renaissance mythologists and emblem writers, Ross's intense reaction to Atalanta's and Hippomenes' desires of the flesh is a decidedly English puritanical addition to the interpretation. Ross works like a preacher who enunciates his text and then draws forth from it all of its worst possibilities.

The Mystagogus Poeticus and the Christian florilegium Mel Heliconeum or, Poetical Honey gathered out of the Weeds (1642), both published during the Commonwealth period, were designed by Ross for the proper instruction of youth and as a guide for those who desired to partake of the classics outside the schoolroom. His works are recognizably of his time: his approach, which treats the myths as hieroglyphics of spiritual and moral concepts, although more pedantic, resembles the method of Quarles, the emblematiser, or the forced ingenuity of conceits and puns which we associate with the worst absurdities of Clevelandism.²⁴ Ross neglects the artistic merits of the Metamorphoses in favor of the "useful,

delightfull and rare observations" that he can derive from the tales. In this manner he conformed his interpretations to the sober temper of the Commonwealth and stood his ground with Sandys during the more sexually liberal Restoration and provided a schoolboy's introduction to the tradition of mythical allegorization.

Besides the translations and commentaries of the Metamorphoses there were a number of seventeenth-century editions of the poem which continued to annotate the text in the Renaissance manner.²⁵ One of these, an edition of the complete works of Ovid in three volumes (1662) edited by D. Cornelius Shrevelius, is interesting because Alexander Pope owned a copy.²⁶ Like the commentaries of Sandys, Shrevelius's notes are based upon the collective gleanings of earlier editors and ancient mythographers.²⁷ Although his explanations are not as voluminous as Sandys's or Renovard's, Shrevelius's annotations are a variorum of opinions about myths, ranging from the Greeks to the late Renaissance writers.

Commenting on Metamorphoses, I, 78 which comprises part of the description of the creation of man, "Divino semine fecit" (made from the divine substance), Shrevelius notes

. . . Hoc ex Academia & Stoa, quibus anima humana est
scintilla coelestis, & divinae particula aerae. Farn.
. . . Cur ultimo loco, post omnia reliqua conditus sit
homo, causam edit Philo de mundi opificio: Haud prius
regem advenire oportebat, quam ei domicilium & palatium
& quibus indigebat essent praeparata. Quemadmodum & herbas
Deus ante animalia condidit, ut mox pabulum reperirent.
Et Homo rerum dominus & finis quodammodo ob quem procreata
caetera: itaque ante illum procreanda fuerunt . . .
Significat nos mentes e divina mente delibatas habere.
Ita & Lucret. lib. 2.

(Shrevelius, ed., II, 10)

[This [is] from the Academy and the Stoa, to whom the human spirit is a divine spark and a small portion of the divine breath. Farnaby . . . Philo revealed the reason why, at the creation of the world, man was formed in the last place after all the rest of creation: Because it is not fitting that the king come forth before his palace and dwelling-place and whatever he needed has been prepared. For the same reason God made the grass before the animals so that they could soon find nourishment. And in a certain measure, man is the lord and limit of creation, on account of whom other things were first created. And so they had to be created before man It signifies that our minds have a bond with the divine mind. Thus Lucretius. Book 2.]

Shrevelius links the explanations of Farnaby, a contemporary editor of the Metamorphoses, the comments of Philo, the Greek philosopher who tried to reconcile Hebrew Scriptures with Platonic philosophy, and his own gloss derived from Lucretius. In substance all three agree that man holds a central place on the chain of being because he is "created from the divine substance". Man rules the animal world and partakes of the divine: he is the lord and consummation of the whole of creation. Or, as Shrevelius would have it, the myth signifies that our minds are bound to the divine mind because of the source of their creation and reflect it, though in a diminished way. Although he does not explicitly identify Ovid's description of the creation of man with the account in Genesis, yet Shrevelius's commentary on the passage gathers together the classical analogues of the biblical narration and is in accord with the interpretation of Sandys.

When he glosses Ovid's treatment of the four ages of man, Shrevelius does include commentary which makes a direct comparison between the Metamorphoses and Scripture. Quoting Pontanus²⁸ and Farnaby he says in his note on Metamorphoses, I, 89 that:

. . . Ex variis hominum moribus quatuor aetates factae videntur, quibus pro morum qualitate, a metallis nomina imposita fuere . . . Pont Fabulae hujus originem acceptam relatam volunt Sibyllis, nec non Hebraeis, a quibus forte inaudierant Graeci quaedam de statua per somnum oblata Nabuchodonosori, cui caput aureum, humeri argentei, & c. quam interpretatus est Daniel de quatuor imperiis. Refert Hesiod. 5 . . . Farn.

(Shrevelius, II, 11)

[The four ages seem to have been drawn from the various customs of men according to the character of their morals, on which names were placed from metals according to the nature of their characters . . . Pontanus . . . they want the source of this tale to be acknowledged as owed to the Sybils, and also to the Hebrews from whom perhaps the Greeks had heard certain things about a statue that appeared to Nebuchadnezzar in his sleep (during a dream which had a head of gold, shoulders of silver, etc., which Daniel interpreted as referring to four empires. Hesiod takes up the topic in Book 5 . . . Farnaby]

Pontanus says that the four ages of men are symbolized by metals whose qualities reveal the characters of the men of that age. If we recognize gold, silver, brass, and iron as emblematic of the various tempers, then we can understand how these metals correspond to the various historical periods which Ovid describes. Farnaby, however, contends that Ovid derived the myth of the four ages from both the Sibylline Oracles and the Greeks by way of Hesiod. He traces the Hellenistic source to the Book of Daniel 2:36-45 where the prophet reveals the import of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the statue, variously constructed of gold, silver, brass and iron, as the future of the king's own reign and the three following kingdoms of the Babylonians. Like Goldyng, Farnaby believes that Ovid's account is a corrupt form of Scriptural history, and by his inclusion of the gloss, Shrevelius tacitly ascribes to the interpretation.

In a later passage Shrevelius uses Lactantius to identify Prometheus, the father of Deucalion (Metamorphoses, I, 363), in order to achieve the same historical effect as Sandys who used it to comment on the creation of man. Shrevelius notes that

. . . Prometheus fingitur hominum imagines e lutes finxisse, atque has igne coelitus surrepto animasse; vel quia rudes homines ad civilem vitam revocarit, artibusque inventis instruxerat; an quod primus artem invenerit statuas & simulachra figendi. Lactantius. 2. div. inst. de orig.

(Shrevelius, ed., II, 33-34)

[Prometheus is imagined to have shaped the figure of man from clay, and thus to have endowed him with life by means of fire stolen from heaven; either because he recalled men from savagery to civilized life, and, after he had discovered arts, he taught them; or because he first invented the way to fashion statues and portraits. Lactantius. 2. The Divine Institutes.]

According to Lactantius and Shrevelius, we should not attempt to read the Promethean myth literally; instead, we should regard it as an allegorical story of the way in which man was civilized by society and art. Certainly this interpretation lends historical credence to the Promethean fable, just as the identification with the Book of Daniel allows a measure of veracity to the myth of the four ages.

Along with these euhemeristic and scriptural interpretations Shrevelius often gives a moral gloss to individual myths when he explains Ovid's language in the Metamorphoses. For example in the myth of Daphne (Metamorphoses, I, 456-567), Shrevelius glosses the word "sterilem" (l. 496), which Sandys translates "barren" (Ovid, p. 39), and offers the synonym "vanum" and continues "ex quo nullam voluptatem est habiturus" [empty, from which he is likely to have no pleasure]. The fire which burns Apollo (Metamorphoses, I, 495) makes manifest the

emptiness of sensual pleasure, "voluptatem", and it teaches men to avoid the pleasurable pursuits whose joys are unsatisfying. Shrevelius finds in Ovid's language a covert morality which his commentary brings to light. In this way he uncovers the ethical meaning of a variety of passages and shows his understanding of the connotative values of the individual word.

Shrevelius's use of mythological and philological commentary in his edition of the Metamorphoses illustrates the typical manner of the late Renaissance editions of the poem. These works represented an encyclopedic gathering of knowledge about the Metamorphoses which they passed on through their annotations. That Pope owned a copy of Shrevelius's Ovid makes it seem likely that the poet had at least some acquaintance with a variety of interpretations of the Metamorphoses, including the allegorical.

Although Ovidian burlesques flourished in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and on into the eighteenth, the works of Sandys and Ross continued as standard supplements to the various editions of the Metamorphoses such as Shrevelius's. But because of the factors outlined by Wilkinson,²⁹ complete faith in the allegorical method was undermined in the later eighteenth century and supplanted by a desire for truths expressed in plainer dress, a wish voiced at least by philosophers and novelists. In their early education, however, we can assume that the Augustan writers were exposed to allegorical interpretations of the Metamorphoses which in their later years they were free to accept or reject. Indeed, as I will show in my next section,

numerous eighteenth-century writers of criticism showed their acquaintance with the allegorical method of reading Ovid in their comments on the Metamorphoses and mythology.

2. The Problem of Verisimilitude in the "Metamorphoses"

Most Augustan critics accepted the ethical import of the Metamorphoses and spent their time in evaluating the artistic merits of Ovid. According to eighteenth-century criticism, the defects of the Metamorphoses were its lack of verisimilitude and its extravagant style; the beauties of the poem were its dramatic treatment of unruly passion and its graceful poetical turns.³⁰ Understandably, an age that often designated its fictions as history (like Tom Jones) or autobiography (like Moll Flanders) might look askance at what appeared to be the marvellous fabrication of an overwrought brain in the Ovidian transformations.³¹ Yet the Restoration and eighteenth century respected the Latin classics, and Ovid, one of the last writers of the Silver Age of Augustus, maintained this eminence. While they could not deny the basic falsehood of the pagan myths, the Augustans appreciated them as moral, historical or physical allegories or enjoyed them as an expression of witty art in their own right.

Addison's much-quoted rejection of allegorization of the Metamorphoses exemplifies the Augustan attempt to put Ovid in the proper artistic perspective. To a certain extent, Addison seeks to mitigate the extravagance of interpretation to which commentators like Ross had subjected Ovid:

There are few books that have had worse Commentators on them than Ovid's Metamorphosis. Those of the graver sort have been wholly taken up in the Mythologies, and think they have appeared very judicious, if they have shewn as out of an old author that Ovid is mistaken in a Pedigree, or has turned such a person into a Wolf that ought to have been made a Tiger. Others have employed themselves on what never entered into the Poet's thoughts, in adapting a dull moral to every story, and making the persons of his poems to be only nicknames for such virtues and vices; particularly the pious Commentator, Alexander Ross, has dived deeper into our Author's design than any of the rest; for he discovers in him the greatest mysteries of the Christian religion, and finds almost in every page some typical representation of the World, the flesh, and the Devil.

("Notes on Ovid's Metamorphoses", pp. 134-135)

To rebut the many Ovidian commentaries Addison assumes the extreme position of a "modern" critic: his annotations try to seek out Ovid's beauties rather than to discover new meanings from allegorical shadows. Twentieth-century critics like Bush and Hardin have read Addison's statement as an Augustan declaration of independence from the moralized Ovid and a signal of the death of the poetic imagination. It is important to notice, however, that it is the spiritualized commentaries and pedantic source-hunting to which Addison most objects, and considering the extremes to which Ross often carries his interpretations, Addison's remarks seem justified. We must not hastily conclude, though, that Addison rejected all allegorization; instead, as his comments reveal, he disdained overt moralizing and forced identification of the gods with abstractions because both kinds of interpretation violated the spirit of the Metamorphoses and made the Roman poet a Christian theologian and schoolman. In the same note Addison commends the method of the Dauphin editor of the Metamorphoses whose annotations and prefatory matter

suggest the allegorical meaning of the myths ("Notes on Ovid's Metamorphoses", p. 135). Addison proposes that his notes complement this edition and turn the balance away from arcane criticism of the Metamorphoses.

As Earl Miner has shown in his discussion of The Hind and the Panther, Augustan readers and writers alike were familiar with discontinuous allegory and valued its ethical and didactic implications.³² Addison himself in Spectator No. 419 places Ovid and Spenser among those who cultivated the "fairy way of writing". He does so not only because Ovid creates a magical world of transformation in the Metamorphoses but also because he uses the device of personification, giving physical shape to Hunger and Envy, imaginary beings which represent passion or appetite, virtue or vice.³³

The most important thing to notice about Addison's early comments on the Metamorphoses is his need to make them at all. If the moralized and spiritualized reading of the Metamorphoses had fallen into the diminished status that twentieth-century critics like Bush and Hardin would have us believe, then why would Addison have to justify his own method of criticism which differs from the traditional commentary on the poem? Sources which provided information for the general reader such as Pierre Bayle's Dictionnaire Historique and the English Biographica Classica synthesized the comments of the allegorical critics.³⁴ Although most eighteenth-century writers after Addison lacked the compulsion of the Renaissance commentators to set the Ovidian opus vibrating with Christian strains, they did recognize in the Metamorphoses certain ethical verities readily comprehensible to the communis sensus: for them metamorphosis still bore elements of philosophical wisdom.

One of the major eighteenth-century criticisms of the Metamorphoses is that it lacks verisimilitude. Addison's rejection of highly allegorical commentaries like Ross's is a part of the larger argument of whether the Metamorphoses contained factual matter or pure whimsy. The Renaissance annotators performed an important service for Ovid when they attributed a measure of reality to his poem, grounding it in the truths of philosophy and religion. Addison, to some extent, challenged this basis of reality when he decided to study the poem for its artistic merits alone, although he did not actually ignore the importance of judicious allegory. In his Dedication to the Aeneis Dryden approaches the problem in a different manner: he defends the anachronism of the love affair of Dido and Aeneas and also offers another rationale for the acceptance of Ovidian myth:

Nothing is to be called a fault in poetry, . . . but what is against the art; therefore a man may be an admirable poet without being an exact chronologer. Shall we dare . . . to condemn Virgil for having made a fiction against the order of time, when we commend Ovid and the other poets, who have made many of their fictions against the order of Nature? For what else are the splendid miracles of the Metamorphoses? Yet these are beautiful as they are related, and have also deep learning and instructive mythologies couched under them.

(Ker, ed., II, 194)

Dryden offers here an important argument against denigrators of the act of metamorphosis -- not only does myth instruct by the learning couched under it, but it also manifests the freedom which the poet has by nature of his very art. Dryden upholds poetic licence: the poet may perform "miracles" which are beautiful in their relation and meaningful in their unravelling. We can see in Dryden's paraphrase of Segrais's comment a plea for the imaginative freedom of the poet and we can understand from

it the reason why Addison felt confident in merely acknowledging the "deep learning" of the Metamorphoses and then proceeding to uncover its poetic beauties. Unlike drama or prose, poetry allows a greater scope to the enthusiastic imagination, and whether divinely inspired or not, the poet shapes his material to conform to philosophical and moral truth and not necessarily to "the order of Nature". Thus Dryden agrees that poetry like that in the Metamorphoses can communicate truths in a more subtle and pleasing manner than is possible in the straightforward, cold productions of philosophical prose.

In the Complete Art of Poetry Gildon concurs with Dryden that the importance of poetry lies in teaching truth pleasantly. He ends his debate on the values of the fictive nature of poetry with the conclusion that men

. . . will hear with Satisfaction and Pleasure, nay, perhaps with Transport, the Tales of Hercules, Achilles, Cyrus, Aeneas and the like, and these they cannot hear, without hearing at the same Time, the Description of Wisdom, Valour, Justice, &c. which, if they had been treated as barely, that is, Philosophically, they wou'd begin soon to yawn, and at last declare, that by this Means they were brought again to School.

(Gildon, Complete Art of Poetry, I, 59)

In defending poetry as a teacher of philosophical truths, Gildon echoes Aristotle's Poetics and Sidney's "Defense of Poesy", works which stress the power of poetry to instruct in an imaginative way. His comparison of the dry philosophical style with the philosophical interpretation of poetic fables allows Gildon to comment favorably on the more pleasing instruction which poetry imparts. Although Gildon does not specifically mention the Metamorphoses, the heroic tales that he notes here, with the exception of Xenophon's story of the Persian Cyrus, all come from

the Metamorphoses.³⁵ Gildon, then, whom Pope considered a "modern" hack,³⁶ shows that he continues to accept the philosophical allegory of pagan fables and that he recognizes the ethical value of such imaginative tales as those found in Ovid's Metamorphoses.

Rather than totally excluding the Ovidian mythology from poetry, the eighteenth-century critic desired that it be tempered and that it serve rational ends. In Granville's Essay Upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry (1701), the judicious critic replies to the condemner of all lying fables with these words:

. . . No Figures I exclude,
 And but forbid intemperance, not Food.
 Who would with care some happy Fiction frame,
 So mimicks Truth, it looks the very same;
 Not rais'd to force, or feign'd in Nature's Scorn,
 But meant to grace, illustrate, and adorn.
 Important Truths still let your Fables hold,
 And moral Mysteries with Art unfold.
 Ladies and Beaux to please, is all the Task,
 But the sharp Critick will Instruction ask.

(Granville, Essay, ll. 25-34)

Granville's advocacy of caution in the use of fictions illustrates the tendency of eighteenth-century critics to allow the marvellous to be used if it has instructional merit. Fables serve "to grace, to illustrate, and adorn", and when they are used properly in metaphors or similes they impart artistic excellence to poetry. To please the courtly reader the fanciful world of romance suffices, but to teach him the poet must base his marvels upon truth. Like Addison and Gildon, Granville divorces poetic truth from theology but reasserts the moral validity of fable.

Perhaps the most illuminating argument explaining why the eighteenth-century rejected the theological implications of the

Metamorphoses and yet subscribed to its ethical import occurs in Dennis's Preface to his translation of "The Passion of Byblis". Dennis says of her metamorphosis that

The Transformation of Byblis might do very well in the time of Augustus Caesar. For at that time those Transformations were a part of the Roman Religion, and the Poets may be said to be the secular Priests, who transmitted its Mysteries to the People. But those transubstantiating Doctrines which were taught in those times by that Harmonious Clergy of the credulous Church of Old Rome, would look as absurdly to us as the Chimerical Metamorphosis, which is pretended to be acted at the very time it is sung in our modern Roman Churches.

(Dennis, Preface, p. dl^r)

Dennis mocks the religious beliefs which initially generated stories which Ovid retells in the Metamorphoses, and he compares this ancient dogma to what he considers the papist inanities of the doctrine of transubstantiation. It is obvious from the tone of ridicule in the passage that Dennis reckons that a belief in metamorphosis threatens Protestantism which outlaws such shifts in substance as improbable and superstitious. To some extent, then, Dennis's condemnation of the magical fictions of metamorphosis arises from an English prejudice toward things suggestive of Roman Catholicism. Its papist overtone, however, is not the only reason for Dennis's objection to metamorphosis, for besides this he finds that the action exceeds the bounds of poetic verisimilitude. Unlike Dryden, Dennis does not distinguish between the liberties of poetry and the demands of drama; instead, he contends that poetry, like drama, must use language and actions which conform to reality. Because of this, Dennis revises the metamorphosis of Byblis to heighten the dramatic effect of the tale: "Now the Catastrophe was absolutely necessary that the story at ending might make a deeper impression: I

have therefore contracted it in the last five lines, but at the same time I have alter'd it. For to make it moving it was necessary to make it credible" (Preface, p. d1^r). Dennis demands pathos as a response to the narration, and to achieve this emotion he has used methods similar to those of sentimental tragedians like Rowe. Yet he summarizes the "deeper impression" which his fable will make by means of the reader's passionate response, compressing it into a two line moral lesson: "Bright Nymphs, the Objects of Mankind's Desires,/From Byblis learn t' avoid incestuous Fires" (Dennis, "The Passion of Byblis", p. d5^v). From these lines we can see that Dennis is trying not only to excite the passions of his readers, to move them by his artistic rendering of the tale, but also to lay before them a graphic example of unnatural lust. Thus, while Dennis dissociates religious ideas from metamorphosis, he establishes an ethical basis for Byblis's fable and increases its dramatic potential by making its lesson more poignant.

Joseph Trapp's Lectures on Poetry (1742) offers an indictment of pagan fable that is at once similar to Dennis's Protestant indignation at heathen fakery and dissimilar in its lack of concern for psychological pathos. Trapp's denunciation of myth follows the lead of Augustine, Jerome and Origen, writers whose attacks upon the idolatrous implications of pagan myth were renowned and legion.³⁷ During the Middle Ages these accusations of heathenism resulted in the moralization of the Metamorphoses and other works of Ovid; during the English Commonwealth period and after, the rigorous attacks of the anti-fabulists, represented by Cowley's famous Preface to his Poetry [1656]³⁸ and Milton's noted rejection of pagan learning in Paradise Regained (IV, 285-364), renewed efforts either

to purify poetic myth for use by Christian poets or to create a new mythology based upon the Christian system. It was difficult for Protestant Englishmen to institute a Christian mythology because many of them had rejected the more marvellous aspects of religion such as guardian angels as papist superstitions, and it was these supernatural agents that could have formed the basis for the Christian myth that Dryden proposed to use in his epic on the Black Prince.³⁹ As we have seen, Dennis objects to the idea of metamorphosis because of its metaphysical implications and its connections with Roman Catholicism, and his reproach can be seen as a corollary to the anti-fabulist charges of Trapp. Trapp, too, believes that poetry must aim at truth, and so that it can fulfill its purpose, he demands that the writer keep his poetry within the realms of psychological verisimilitude, by which he means the literal and metaphorical bounds of reformed Christianity. Trapp ridicules the absurdities of paganism and the futile efforts of mythologists who try to rationalize them; he, as a critic, tries to reconcile poetry and truth:

I have no Inclination to spend my Time in examining into the Fables which have long since become an Appendage to Poetry, nor to search out the hidden Meaning of them: I leave that Task to those whom we call the Mythologists; let them, if they please, explain the Allegory of the two Tops of Parnassus, of the Number Nine among the Muses, the Mystery of the Wings of Pegasus, and of the Fountains arising at the Stroke of his Hoof. These I would only observe are the Stains of Poetry, contracted from the Corruption of Heathenism, which infected religion no less with its trifling Puerilities; and it is but just that we, upon whom the clearer Light of Truth has shone, should at length learn to despise such ridiculous Tales, which by Repetition, are now grown nauseous; and to refine Poetry, as well as true Religion, from the Dross and Alloy of Falshood.

(Trapp, Lectures on Poetry, p. 33)

Trapp suggests that the reformation of poetry must follow the reformation of religion: just as Anglicanism had delivered itself from the relics of paganism inherent in Roman Catholicism, so, too, poetry must divest itself of the remains of superstitious generations. Like Addison, Trapp criticizes the outlandish profundities that mythologists sought in the pagan fables. In one of the strongest statements of the anti-fabulists of the eighteenth century, Trapp abandons the "Corruption of Heathenism" which he believed had insidiously ingratiated itself into the poetic craft. Other eighteenth-century critics, like Samuel Johnson, scoff at the puerility of a new metamorphosis,⁴⁰ but none raises the significantly religious objection to mythology that Trapp does.

When he awards mythology a place in certain parts of poetic practice, Trapp somewhat softens his earlier charges against its heathenism. Like Granville, Trapp believes that poetry should be based on reality and that mythology should be used as a metaphorical device:

. . . all these ingenious Devices must be built upon something that has an Existence in Nature, and that it is absurd to make Fiction the Basis, and the Superstructure too; as they do, more especially, who from the Heathen Mythology supply us with Fable in great abundance. The antiquated Stories of the Heathen Gods ought to afford Matter only for Comparison and Allusion, and ever ought to be brought in with Caution, and to be mention'd only as Beings once suppos'd to have an Existence.

(Lectures on Poetry, p. 112)

Trapp modifies his former denigration of mythology and recommends that the ancient fables be used cautiously as Milton had done in Paradise Lost. Almost anticipating Trapp's dictum, Milton qualified his use of mythological reference by comments such as "thus they relate/erring"⁴¹ and

Groves whose rich Trees wept odorous Gums and Balm,
 others whose fruit burnisht with Golden Rind
 Hung amiable, Hesperian Fables true,
 If true, here only⁴²

Milton's Paradise Lost afforded the eighteenth century a model of the decorous use of mythology because by relegating the myths of pagan monsters to similes and allusions, Milton removes their viciousness. Yet in spite of this overt skepticism of the verisimilitude of the Metamorphoses, Milton, as D. W. Harding has shown, uses Ovidian mythology as the basis of his treatment of the satanic force⁴³ and gives an ironically apt turn to the Patristic accusation that the pagan gods were devils. Trapp commends Milton's discreet use of mythology and that of any poet who places the heathen fables in their proper relation to the "truths of nature". Although he accepts the commonsensical meaning of myth and its value as an allusion, Trapp still argues against the fallacious foundations of mythology -- that it lacks contact with the truth of the real world and of Christian theology. Finally, it is important to remember that when we consider Trapp's stringent restrictions on heathen myth in modern poetry that his Lectures on Poetry are ostensibly lessons on poetic matter and method derived from the ancients and first written in Latin.⁴⁴ Thus while he denounces pagan myth as irreligious, he praises the ancient authors who used it and he cites them as the exemplars of poetic correctness.

John Hughes's "On Allegorical Poetry" (1715) offers the most systematic account of the nature of allegory and its mode of interpretation in the early eighteenth century. Unlike Trapp, Hughes does not concern himself with the religious problems of ancient mythology and

allegory, neither does he worry himself with the problem of verisimilitude as Dennis does. Instead, Hughes defines allegory as a

Fable or Story, in which, under imaginary Persons or Things,
is shadow'd some real Action or instructive Moral
It is a kind of Poetical Picture, or Hieroglyphick, which
by its apt Resemblance conveys Instruction to the Mind by
an Analogy to the Senses; and so amuses the Fancy, whilst
it informs the Understanding. Every Allegory has therefore
two Senses, the Literal and the Mystical

("On Allegorical Poetry", p. 88)

Hughes interchanges the mystical sense and the "moral sense", using both of them to construct an ethical interpretation of fable akin to the tropological level of the medieval exegetes ("On Allegorical Poetry", p. 90). Although he reiterates Addison's censure of Milton's inclusion of the allegory of Sin and Death and the Paradise of Fools in Paradise Lost, Hughes agrees with Gildon that allegory serves a valuable function by embodying truth in the "agreeable forms" of fiction.⁴⁵ Again like Gildon and Dryden, Hughes makes a distinction between the function of poetry and the function of philosophy and concludes that the allegorical mode of poetry provides an excellent way of teaching delightfully. Hughes recognized that the fictive powers of the poet were the germs of the allegorical method -- the poetic maker fashions an imaginative fable which has "a License peculiar to itself" ("Of Allegorical Poetry", p. 92). In order to teach its lesson, poetic allegory grants the poet the freedom to create creatures and situations at will; indeed, the very anti-naturalism of stories like those of Circe and Hercules raises our curiosity and artfully leads us to moral truth by holding our interest.

Because he is trying to establish the validity of a tradition by which to evaluate The Faerie Queene, Hughes bases his arguments for

allegorical reading upon the authority of classical authors like Virgil and Plutarch, but he makes no mention of Ovid or his Metamorphoses. He remains generally skeptical of pagan mythology because of its great confusion:

· It must be confess'd, that many of the antient Fables appear to us at this Distance of Time very perplex'd and dark; and if they had any Moral at all, it is so closely couch'd, that it is very difficult to discover it. Whoever reads the Lord Bacon's Wisdom of the Antients, will be convinc'd of this. He has employ'd a more than ordinary Penetration to decypher the most known Traditions in the Heathen Mythology; but his Interpretations are often far fetch'd and so much at random, that the Reader can have no Assurance of their Truth.

(Hughes, "On Allegorical Poetry", p. 101)

In spite of this seeming rejection of the "perplex'd" state of mythological interpretation, Hughes does believe that myth can be read allegorically, and he even uses the Circe myth from Homer and the Hercules myth from Xenophon to illustrate his definition of allegory. Like Addison and Trapp, however, Hughes refuses to involve himself in the intricacies of mythological interpretation which appeared to him as mere riddles to be twisted by every interpreter who wished to turn them to his own purposes. He insists that in pagan myth, as well as in original allegorical poetry, the poet must conceal his moral and yet give it an immediate clarity so that the poetic meaning (the Truth) at once enlightens us while the fabulous creature of the tale captivates us. At many points, such as in the recitation of the tale of Narcissus and Echo, ethical lessons arise naturally from the Metamorphoses, and in spite of the numerous fantasies it relates, Ovid's masterpiece does in large part conform to the operational definition that Hughes prescribes for allegorical poetry.⁴⁶

Certainly Hughes's argument for the special licence of imagination

in allegorical poetry not only repeats Dryden's plea for proper poetic freedom but it also foreshadows the later developments of imaginative allegory in the poetry of William Collins.⁴⁷ Hughes responds to Trapp's uneasiness with allegorical interpretations by devising "rules" for the genre of allegorical poetry, yet he also dislikes the ingenious allegorization of much of ancient mythology, not on religious grounds, but on those of critical common sense. Gildon's Complete Art of Poetry wrestles with Trapp's charges against mythology in their own arena -- that of religion. Gildon's debaters argue both sides of the mythological dilemma in much the same manner as it had been debated since the time of the Church Fathers and conclude that

The wisest Part of the World were always pleased with Fables, as the most delightful Means to convey Instruction, and leave the strongest Impression on our Minds. Nay, the sacred Prophets of old, could not invent any thing to heighten the Character of the future Messiah more, than that he should speak all in Parables.

(Gildon, Complete Art of Poetry, I, 35)

Gildon's debaters accept poetic fable as long as it is allegorical and instructive. The comments paraphrase those of the Patristic interpreters, Origen and Lactantius; the speakers ennoble myth by attributing to it a correspondence with Christ's parables just as Goldyng and his medieval predecessors had done. Gildon's statement reflects the curious tenacity of the remnants of medieval and Renaissance allegorical apologetics which persisted in response to the Protestant condemnation of the heathenism of mythology.

As late as 1782 Samuel Musgrave still attributes a critical importance to the allegorical reading of myth as a way to uncover the "real" facts which are at the heart of the fable. After interpreting

the Hercules, Circe and several other myths, Musgrave summarizes his observations by an appeal to the Classics:

Of the explanations of ANCIENT MYTH, here given, no inconsiderable number has been handed down by the Ancients themselves, and therefore may be considered as standing upon some ground of evidence furnished by authors and records now lost; the remainder are merely conjectures, upon which criticism has its full scope. Considering the fable as an AEnigma, the thing required is, to find some probable fact, bearing such a resemblance to it, as that the fable shall appear only a natural and easy allegory of the truth. The compleat analogy between them is the only evidence of which the case will admit.

(Two Dissertations, pp. 116-117)

Musgrave describes the classical fables as emblems; like the Renaissance commentators, he conceives of the various myths as "AEnigmas" or intellectual puzzles to be unraveled. In both their retellings and their pictorial representations the myths shadow forth truths about the moral or physical universe in "hieroglyphick" form. If we remember that Addison complained chiefly against the excessive ingenuity of the mythologists' readings of the Metamorphoses and that Trapp rebelled against the commentators' zealous involvement with picayune detail, then we can well understand Musgrave's qualified response to allegorization of myth. It is important to note that Musgrave demands that the analogy of the mythical tale and its "truth" be both "natural and easy" -- for he uses key words of eighteenth-century poetics. Like Gildon and Hughes before him, Musgrave tries to retain the benefits of allegory by adapting it to the requirements of contemporary taste, and moving beyond them, he shows the growing tendency of eighteenth-century commentators to place the classical mythology within a historical and religious perspective through comparative methods.

In opposition to these moderate views of Musgrave, Pemberton criticizes the use of classical fable as indecorous, and although he writes much earlier than Musgrave,⁴⁸ Pemberton's Observations on Poetry Especially the Epic (1738) is representative of the opinion of the later eighteenth century. Pemberton believes that the heathen superstitions can no longer delude the enlightened eighteenth-century man: such fantastic tales amuse only young or weak minds. He asserts that an educated man realizes the fact that

. . . the fabulous ages are now past, and if a poet must not at present pretend to amuse us with stories of gigantic cannibals or of sorceresses, who can transform men into the shape of beasts; neither must he expect us to indulge him in affected imitations of any incredible marvels, wherewith ignorant and superstitious ages were seduced.

(Pemberton, Observations on Poetry, p. 161)

Pemberton's indignant tone reveals his unwillingness to accept the marvels of ancient mythology as more than fantastic outpourings about unnatural happenings which appeal to man's craving for the wonderful and betray him by their falsehood. He belittles the gothic taste of past generations and discourages the poet from choosing such fabulous themes for his verse. Like Trapp, however, Pemberton recommends that the poet use myth judiciously for poetic adornment:

. . . in the way of similie, which is not inventing new tales of those divinities, but merely alluding to the old. As these subjects make a great figure in the authors, we read during the course of education, and as the impressions we receive in that early part of life are very strong and lasting, we cannot but feel pleasure from the recalling such images upon any new occasion. We find Milton himself has made use of such allusions in this way, even while writing on a subject, which constantly presents before our minds the absurdity of those ancient stories.

(Observations on Poetry, p. 161)

Pemberton relates the appreciation of pagan myth to the pleasurable memory of early reading: when the adult comes across a myth in the course of reading a work, he recalls the past enjoyment he experienced and this rekindles a feeling of pleasure at the recognition of an old tale in new guise. Because it was taught in the schools, the Metamorphoses afforded a wealth of material for such allusive reminiscences. It is interesting that Pemberton chooses Milton as the exemplar of mythological decorum, because, as we noted before, the writer of Paradise Lost handled the mythology of the Metamorphoses in a deft and subtle manner. Most of the major poets of the early eighteenth century also tried to use mythology in a discreet fashion: although Gay and Pope recognized that metamorphic incidents were incredible, that they lacked verisimilitude, they also realized that the myths had scientific and philosophical validity in their allegorized form.⁴⁹ By the second half of the century, however, men such as Pemberton were offended by mythological marvels, and despite their recommendations that the myths might be used cautiously, they relegated the "divine miracles" of the Metamorphoses either to the confined sphere of fanciful childhood stories or to the studied remembrance of judicious adulthood.

Because the eighteenth-century writers produced no major mythological poems such as Venus and Adonis nor any masques of the quality of Comus, twentieth-century critics have assumed that the influence of the Metamorphoses must have waned in the century.⁵⁰ We have seen, however, that eighteenth-century critics for the most part accepted mythology, most of it derived from the Metamorphoses, as a

necessary accoutrement of poetry. Indeed, these men, following the course outlined by Bossuet and Dryden, concluded that the higher genres such as epic required the embellishment of myth:

Machines in Epic Poetry are contrary to those of the Stage. In Tragedy we are to use them but upon Necessity In Epic Poetry a Machine, says Bossu, is the Presence of a Deity, and some supernatural, extraordinary Action, which the Poet inserts into almost all the incidents of his Work, to make it look the more majestic and surprising, and to give his Reader a Lesson of Piety and Virtue.

(Manwaring, An Historical Account, p. 341)

In the classical epic the excitation of wonder by the use of supernatural agents leads the reader to ethical wisdom. Ironically, myth, with its tendency toward fantasy, serves as a teacher of piety. While opinions about mythology varied widely in the early eighteenth century, a belief in the philosophical truths or at least the historical truths implied by the classical fables continued. The strongest objections to the use of mythology came from the religious and philosophical writers who abhorred the heathenism and superstition inherent in myths.⁵¹

We must remember, however, that Milton was not the first person to identify the pagan gods with the devils and that the Patristic execrations against paganism had to be dealt with before acceptance of the Metamorphoses could be won. In the same way the persistent association of Ovidius Magus with witch covens and the cult of Diana undermined attempts to make the Metamorphoses with all its magical transformations respectable.⁵² But in spite of this opposition poets used the Ovidian tales not only for allusive references but also as the inspiration for entire poems. As the frequent condemnation of the intricacies of mythographical interpretation suggests, the Metamorphoses was taught in

the grammar schools in essentially the same way as it had been during the Renaissance, that is, as a series of moral and physical allegories. At least in the schools, then, the verisimilitude of the Metamorphoses presented few problems, and the appeal of the poem to young students helped the poem to maintain a measure of acceptance among learned men.

3. The Augustan Response to Ovidian Style

By rationalizing his myths as allegorical tales of a higher nature, critics who favored Ovid's Metamorphoses could answer their opponents' charges against the poem's lack of verisimilitude. Defences of Ovidian style, however, presented a greater problem. On the one hand, echoing the judgment of Quintilian, critics eschewed the luxuriance of Ovid's fancy and deplored his inability (or unwillingness) to correct his mistakes; on the other hand, following Raphael Regius and the Renaissance commentators, they commended his turns and tropes and imitated his variations of expression.⁵³ Critics expressed both of these attitudes toward Ovid and his Metamorphoses in their discussions of the proper use of wit.

Although Dryden generally sympathizes with Ovid's use of wit, he deals honestly with the problems that it presents. In his Preface to the Examen Poeticum (1693) he remarks that Ovid

. . . is certainly more palatable to the reader than any of the Roman wits; though some of them are more lofty, some more instructive, and others more correct. He had learning enough to make him equal to the best; but as his verse came easily he wanted the toil of application to amend it. He is often luxuriant both in his fancy and expressions, and, as it has lately been observed, not always natural. If wit be pleasantry, he has it to excess; but if it be propriety, Lucretius, Horace, and, above all, Virgil, are his superiors.

(Ker, II, 9)

Dryden distinguishes between witty turns (the double entendres so admired by French wits) and the rhetorical heightening of verse by means of decorous plays on language. He finds Ovid's verse overflowing with the first, giving an almost forced "arty" quality to his expression. Rather than allowing it to emerge naturally from an apparently artless texture, Ovid's artistry blazons forth in intricate word play. Of course, Dryden, and Pope after him, enjoyed this ability to play with language and put it to good use in the surprising poetical turns in their satires.⁵⁴ In this essay, however, Dryden cites Ovid's facility of composition as the poet's bane, and he finds the poet's wit faulty both in its construction of marvellous fables and in its expression of a luxuriant style. Dryden has mixed feelings about Ovid: the Roman poet had the learning and talent to compete with the greatest of the classical writers, yet he produced poetry far inferior to Virgil and Horace because "he wanted toil of application to amend it" -- he failed to make use of the eraser.

Dryden further reveals his divided feeling toward Ovid in his Dedication to the Aeneis (1697). Comparing Virgil's and Ovid's use of poetical turns, Dryden says that

Virgil is never frequent in those turns, like Ovid, but much more sparing of them in his Aeneis than in his Pastorals and Georgics [Dryden here inserts an example from Ovid of his chiasmatic word order, semi virumque bovem, semi bovumque virum which also puns on the words bull and man.] The poet found it [the excessive figure] before his critics, but it was a darling sin, which he would not be persuaded to reform.

(Ker, II, 219)

Virgil adapted his poetic figures to the epic genre; to obtain tonal majesty in the Aeneid he refrained from word play which would have

detracted from the heroic theme and would have called attention to the poet. Ovid's ease of composition led him astray from the path of Virgilian decorum into the devious way of poetic embroidery; even in his Metamorphoses (from which Dryden quotes) Ovid's attempts at elevating his subject matter often decends into bathos because of his excess. Thus Dryden contrasts the poetic turns of Virgil and Ovid in order to illustrate the latter poet's lack of self-control. Yet, because Ovid recognized his extravagance of temper -- his sin of wit -- he reveals a remarkable self-awareness which Dryden is forced to praise.

In his Preface to the Fables (1700) Dryden offers an assessment of Ovid's style and again manifests his mixed attitude toward the poetic turns used by Ovid. Dryden criticizes Ovid's excessive use of figurative language in his retelling of the Narcissus myth and the error of the critic who judges the style of the story an example of proper wit. He says that

The vulgar judges, which are nine parts in ten of all nations, who call conceits and jingles wit, who see Ovid full of them, and Chaucer altogether without them, will think me little less than mad for preferring the Englishman to the Roman. Yet, with their leave, I must presume to say, that the things they admire are only glittering trifles, and so far from being witty, that in a serious poem they are nauseous, because they are unnatural. Would any man, who is ready to die for love describe his passion like Narcissus? Would he think of inopem me copia fecit, and a dozen more of such expressions, poured on the neck of one another, and signifying all the same thing? . . . On these occasions the poet should endeavour to raise pity; but, instead of this, Ovid is tickling you to laugh.

(Ker, II, 256-257)

Dryden suggests here that true wit surpasses the mere word play for which Ovid is noted: Wit is a faculty of the mind which makes the

appropriate connections between words and things and forms a bond, whose striking quality impresses a reader with its unexpected aptness.⁵⁵ For Dryden the faculty of wit is subject to discretion; the situation or subject to be described dictates whether the poet should indulge his wit. Ovid seems to have lacked this ability to discriminate between the times when he should use poetic figures freely and those when he should use restraint; even in the most passionate of situations, like the death of Narcissus, Ovid can not refrain from being witty. The Roman poet exhibits poor taste in allowing free reign to his copiousness without considering the psychological demands of the situation. In making Narcissus engage in word play in the face of imminent death Ovid offends against decorum, treating a serious event in a light and almost comic way. Dryden does recognize Ovid's strong point as a stylist, however, that he was an expert manipulator of language. In the Preface to the Fables (in which Dryden translated several myths from the Metamorphoses), Dryden pays Ovid his due honors as a stylist:

As for the turn of words, in which Ovid particularly excels all poets, they are sometimes a fault, and sometimes a beauty, as they are used properly or improperly; but in strong passions always to be shunned, because passions are serious, and will admit no playing.

(Ker, II, 257)

For Dryden the most important quality of poetry is propriety -- passions must be expressed in appropriate language. And although he pays tribute to Ovid's facility with language, he withholds his unqualified praise because he recognizes the poet's many faults as well as his beauties.

In his Preface to "The Passion of Byblis" Dennis echoes Dryden's pronouncements on Ovid's style in the Metamorphoses and explains in

eighteenth-century psychological terms why critics deemed such witticisms unnatural. Considering Byblis's speech after her brother's rejection of her incestuous lust, Dennis comments that

Simile in this place could not be moving, because it could not be natural; it being by no means the Language of great grief. For to be in a capacity to make a good similitude, the mind must have several qualifications and two more particularly First the soul must be susceptible of a great many Ideas and the imagination capacious of a great many Images (I know very well, that the Soul on those occasions acts with that prodigious celerity, that it is itself insensible of the degrees of its own motion.) Now it is the Nature of Grief to confine the Soul, and straiten the Imagination, and extremely to lessen the number of their Objects. And indeed if the Passion is very violent, a man is incessantly thinking of the cause of it.

(Dennis, Preface, pp. c6^R-c6^V)

Like Dryden, Dennis descrites Ovid's inappropriate use of poetic turns at critical moments of passion, in this case, Byblis's outburst at her brother's refusal to return her love. Just as he judged the final metamorphosis of Byblis indecorous by dramatic standards, so too, Dennis asserts that Ovid's use of wit is improper for the psychological demands of the stage. In dramatic terms Ovid should have exchanged his copiousness for the simple, direct language of rejected love. Like Narcissus's death speech, Byblis's allegorical response to her brother's message is unsuitable to the seriousness of the situation. Rather than portraying the paralyzed and traumatized condition of the soul under stress of great passion, Ovid, indulging his poetic faculty, makes his characters exhibit a quickness of mind incompatible with their psychological state. Dennis objects to the production of tropes and figures under stress because such word play demands a free play of the mind which the person immobilized by passion does not possess. Hence, Dennis finds that Ovid

wants the proper language to portray the psychological reality of Byblis's circumstance, and that the poet almost defeats the tragic possibilities of his tale by inserting unnecessary witticisms at a crucial point in the story.

Addison's comments on the style of the Metamorphoses also illustrate this divided sentiment which critics felt toward Ovid's wit. In his introductory note to the story of Cadmus from Book III of the Metamorphoses, Addison says that "There are so great a variety in the arguments of the Metamorphoses, that he who would treat of 'em rightly ought to be a master of all stiles, and every different way of writing" ("Notes on Ovid's Metamorphoses", p. 139) . Addison suggests that the diversity of styles and tales which Ovid includes in his masterwork demands a poet-translator with a remarkable facility of expression to express Ovid's variety in his native tongue. But while he commends the beauty of Ovid's catalogues in the Metamorphoses he deplores many of his turns of phrase as a "very low kind of wit" ("Notes on Ovid's Metamorphoses", p. 137) . His translation of the story of Narcissus and Echo gives him the opportunity to reinforce Dryden's judgments on Ovid's unnatural extravagance:

Ovid is very justly celebrated for the passionate speeches of his Poem. They have generally abundance of Nature in them, but I leave it to better judgements to consider whether they are not often too witty and too tedious. The Poet never cares for smothering a good thought that comes in his way, and never thinks he can draw tears enough from his reader, by which means our grief is either diverted or spent before we come to his conclusion; for we cannot at the same time be delighted with the wit of the Poet, and concerned for the person that speaks it. . . . Would any one in Narcissus's condition have cry'd out -- Inopem me Copia fecit? Or can anything be more unnatural than to

turn off from his sorrows for the sake of a pretty reflection? . . . None, I suppose, can be much grieved for one that is so witty on his own afflictions. But I think we may every where observe in Ovid, that he employs his Invention more than his Judgment, and speaks all the ingenious things that can be said on the subject, rather than those which are particularly proper to the person and circumstances of the speaker.

("Notes on Ovid's Metamorphoses", pp. 145-146)

Addison finds that Ovid's defect originates in a conflict between nature and art: Ovid exhibits his own artistic fertility rather than confining himself to the natural expression of the passions. Instead of using his "Judgement" to define the proper way to express a great passion like Narcissus's, Ovid indulges his "Invention" and detracts from the dramatic effect which he originally set out to create. Like Dryden, then, Addison judges Ovid's ingenuity excessive, and because of his delight in exercising his wit, Ovid constantly draws attention to himself as poet and does not fully develop the dramatic potential of the narrative situation that he has chosen.

In his notes to the Metamorphoses and later in Spectator No. 62 Addison places Ovid among those writers who use "mixt wit". He defines this form of expression as a

Composition of Punn and true Wit, [which] is more or less perfect as the Resemblance lies in the Ideas or in the Words: Its Foundations are laid partly in Falsehood and partly in Truth: Reason puts in her Claim for one Half of it, and Extravagance for the other. The only Province therefore for this kind of Wit, is Epigram, or those little occasional Poems that in their own Nature are nothing else but a Tissue of Epigrams.

(Spectator No. 62, Bond, I, 267)

Addison submits that the kind of wit that we associate with Ovid's writings is suitable only for whimsical poetry. He treats Ovid as a

poet who concerned himself more with the play of language than with the proper relationship between words and ideas. When he speaks of Ovid again in Spectator No. 417, however, Addison says that

Ovid in his Metamorphosis, has shown us how the Imagination may be affected by what is Strange. He describes a Miracle in every Story, and always gives us the Sight of some new Creature at the end of it. His Art consists chiefly in well-timing his Description, before the first Shape is quite worn off, and the new one perfectly finish'd; so that he every where entertains us with something we never saw before, and shews Monster after Monster, to the end of the Metamorphosis.

(Spectator No. 417, Bond, III, 565-566)

Addison cites the "strange" atmosphere of the Metamorphoses as an example of one of the three-fold pleasures of the imagination. He appreciates Ovid's skillful narration; indeed, he commends the Roman's storytelling ability and discriminates between the eighteenth-century interpretations of "wit" regarding his poetry. On the one hand wit is an aspect of style which denotes a use of language new and striking and often metaphorical. On the other hand, wit is a faculty of the mind which in its lighter and inventive strain the critics associated with fancy, but which in its more serious vein had kept its Renaissance identification with intelligence. Addison only half-heartedly consents to what he sees as triviality in Ovid's mixed wit, for he praises Ovid's power of invention, a power which indicates the Roman poet's strength of imagination. As Gerald Chapman points out, this equation of wit and intelligence was obsolete by the time that Johnson finished his Dictionary, but the continued use of the word "wit" in this context in the early eighteenth century gave a critic like Addison the opportunity to evaluate Ovid's Metamorphoses candidly without totally condemning the work to the fanciful amusement of children.⁵⁶

Because he is more concerned with discovering poetic beauties than with evaluating dramatic potential or understanding the psychological basis of the pleasures of the imagination, Trapp offers a more moderate view of Ovid's style. For him, a poet's variety of expression is a proof of his elegance, and he illustrates this point by comparing Virgil's style with Ovid's:

Poets have in this Particular a greater liberty allow'd them, than any other Writers . . . because their Works consist more in Ornament and Decoration. But the Exercise of this Liberty ought to be conducted with great Judgment and Caution; lest by an ill Use of it, the Style grow too luxuriant. The just Medium and the vitious Extremes cannot be better learnt than by making a Comparison between Virgil and Ovid. Both of them . . . express the same Thought different Ways; the one never fails of Beauty, the other falsly aims at it. Ovid tells you the very same Thing in many Words, and sometimes with very little Difference between them: Virgil illustrates one thing in general, by distinguishing its several Species or Adjuncts, and his Description of each is perfectly new.

(Trapp, Lectures on Poetry, p. 54)

Like Dryden, Trapp grants the poet a special liberty to use figures because of the decorative nature of verse. He advocates a middle way in poetic licence -- a path which Ovid, with his excessive tendency toward poetic decoration, fails to follow. Again like Dryden, Trapp finds the source of this defect in Ovid's lack of discretion; by permitting linguistic redundancy, Ovid proves not only that he has verbal facility but also that he has faulty judgment. It is important to notice that it is not the play of the imagination that Trapp criticizes (indeed he defends imaginative play as poetic licence); rather, it is Ovid's want of restraint which places him beneath Virgil.

In a later section of the Lectures on Poetry, Trapp mitigates

his condemnation of Ovid's style. By studying the poet's works more closely, he often finds in Ovid's thoughts a kind of "delicacy" whose

Excellence does not consist in their Acuteness, but in an artful and agreeable Turn; which don't strike the Imagination at once with Wonder, but move it gently, with a more even Tenor. In this soft Strain Phaedra begins her Epistle to her dear Hippolytus

Qua, nisi Tu dederis, caritura est ipsa, salutem
Mittit Amazonio Cressa puella viro (Ep. IV. 1)

That Health, Hippolytus, from me receive,
Which to the Writer you alone must give.

I could easily have excus'd Ovid making use of so beautiful a Turn twice, if he had kept to it without any Variation. For in his Metamorphoses, Byblis writes to her brother almost in the same Terms:

Quam, nisi Tu dederis, non est habitura, salutem,
Hanc tibi mittit amans (Met. IX. 309)

But here, for the want of the Word ipsa, the Elegance is quite lost, and the Emphasis spoil'd.

(Trapp, Lectures on Poetry, pp. 140-141)

Trapp uses these examples from Ovid to illustrate the methods of composing "beautiful turns"; although Ovid does not always approach the sublime majesty of Virgil, he does often express a delicacy of phrase whose beauty is unique. He criticizes the style of Ovid's revision of the second set of lines from the Metamorphoses, but in doing so, Trapp shows that he, as a teacher of poetry, considers Ovid as a master of certain stylistic effects. In an earlier lecture, Trapp uses Ovid as an example of the proper construction and use of antitheta, one of the favorite devices of poetic balance in eighteenth-century poetry (Trapp, Lectures on Poetry, pp. 129-130). Therefore, while Dryden, Dennis or Trapp could censure Ovid's exuberance, they still reckoned him a stylistic mentor worthy of imitation.

Crusius's "Life of Ovid" offers the most complimentary estimation of Ovid's wit in the early eighteenth century. Crusius bases his

stylistic criticism of the Roman poet upon the fuller comments found in Garth's Preface to his edition of the Translation of the Metamorphoses by Several Eminent Hands and those of Dryden in his Preface to the translation of Ovid's Epistles and also his Preface to the Fables.⁵⁷

Crusius's use of these master-critics shows that he was making a serious attempt to establish the importance of Ovidian wit for Augustan classicism by consulting well-known and respected authorities. Crusius attributes to Ovid

. . . a most extensive wit, supported by a quick and lively fancy, a just conception, which he discover'd in a tender and agreeable [manner], and when he wou'd be at the pains, a sublime and noble expression. We find in him that charming way of relating a story in verse, that we so much admire in Livy's prose: both make it agreeable, by inserting in their due place, those little circumstances, which are essential to the well telling of it, and so insensibly attach our attention to it. We may even venture to say, that he was a perfect master of his art, in all its branches; but that the natural indolence of his temper, and the gaiety of his youth, together with the misfortunes that clouded the latter part of his life prevented his aspiring to the title of a sublime heroic Poet. But so long as easy wit, nature and delicacy are valued, all persons of good taste will allow him to have been, if not the most correct, at least one of the most agreeable and instructive Poets that ever wrote.

(Crusius, "Life of Ovid", I, 297-298)

Crusius's general commendation of Ovid's wit praises the poet's art of narration, the weaving of tale within tale by the forging of intricate and ingenious links between the myths, the same skill which Addison admired in Spectator No. 417 on the pleasures of the imagination. Although Ovid's narrative technique is more apt to be appreciated by a culture, like that of seventeenth-century France, which enjoys the interlocking stories of romance, Crusius's comments show that in spite of their rejection of the romance, some Restoration and eighteenth-century

English critics still admired Ovid's skill as a story teller.⁵⁸ Crusius repeats the common criticism about Ovid's Poetry -- that he was lax in revision and that he was immature in composition. Without any qualification, however, Crusius recommends Ovid to men of taste as an "agreeable and instructive" poet, one who fulfills the dictates of the Horatian artistic formula.

In his Preface to the translation of Ovid's Epistles Dryden asserts that it is Ovid's gentility that makes his style appealing to men of taste. A Dissertation on Reading the Classics and Forming a Just Style echoes Dryden's comment on the courtliness of Ovid's expression when Felton, the author, compliments his patron's gentlemanly style:⁵⁹

Ovid was all over a Man of Breeding, and perhaps, if I may be allowed to make a conjecture, the Copiousness of his Expressions was owing in some measure to the Civility of his Breeding, as well as the Luxuriance of his fancy This preceedeth I believe, from their [the gentlemen's] daily Complaisance, which runs them into a Variety of Expressions on the same Subject; whereas Your Scholars are more close, and as if their Learning were as narrow as their Fortune, they are frugal of their Words, and not willing to let go for Ornament, if they will not serve for Use. Some People may call this a small Piece of Criticism; all that I would prove by it . . . is that Ovid was a man of Breeding; and though Virgil and Horace were Courtiers too, yet they fell short of him in Courtliness of Expression however they exceeded him in Majesty of Thought, in Closeness and Exactness of Style.

(A Dissertation, p. 51)

Felton contrasts the genteel ease of Ovid's verse with the niggardly expression of scholarly writing. He suggests that copiousness of language, like Ovid's, manifests a courtly attitude toward conversation and expression which does not seek simply to say so many things in an equal number of words, but which attempts to make the presentation of

ideas enjoyable through their decoration and figurative development. His comparison of Ovid and Virgil produces different conclusions from those of Trapp, Dryden or Addison. While proper taste requires Felton to prefer the "Majesty" and "Exactness" of the elder Roman poet, yet, it also allows him to commend Ovid's natural courtliness over the artificially cultivated gentility of either Horace or Virgil.

Although Trapp justly condemns Ovid's redundancy and verbosity, he nevertheless believes the poet's stylistic beauties should be emulated. Whether Ovid's decorativeness offends good taste is a problem whose solution lies in the degree of poetic licence which a critic will allow the narrative poet, and the manner in which the critic defines a "polished" and "natural" style. R. F. Hardin's "Ovid in the Seventeenth Century" traces the rejection of the Roman poet by the Restoration and eighteenth-century writers to the more general Augustan condemnation of poetic exuberance, ornate habits of style and uncontrolled imagination.⁶⁰ While he acknowledges the fact that early eighteenth-century critics translated, edited, and, indeed, appreciated Ovid's Metamorphoses yet Hardin contends that Addison's indictment of the mythographers (which I discussed before) sounded the death knell for the century's acceptance of Ovid as a serious writer. This discovery leads Hardin to the conclusion that the so-called Neo-classical "distrust of the imagination" knocked Ovid from his pedestal early in the eighteenth century.⁶¹ I have tried to illustrate, however, that while the eighteenth-century critics chastized Ovid for his verbal errors and negligent revision, they still recommended his Metamorphoses as a poetic model. And, more

importantly, the "imagination" which the eighteenth century was supposed to have feared was in fact distrusted only by religious, philosophical and political writers; whereas, as Donald Bond has shown, the poetic imagination continued to be allowed liberties beyond the prosaic pale.⁶²

To the early eighteenth century Ovid was still an important classical poet, and his Metamorphoses a serious poetic document. Because of the educational training of readers and writers, it was considered important to be acquainted with the gods and heroes of the Metamorphoses so that they might understand the classical allusions in other Latin poets as well as in the English poets. Late in the eighteenth century John Steadman writes: "We are for the most part acquainted with the characters of the heathen deities; that of Jupiter, Apollo, Mercury; of Juno, Venus, Pallas, as well as of the rest, being all distinct and familiar to us, their introduction in a poem, like that of the heroes, becomes interesting" (Laelius and Hortensia, p. 108). But once he makes this statement, Steadman proceeds to dismiss the Metamorphoses, the poem which taught men the stories of the gods, as a "kind of composition particularly captivating to young minds" (Laelius and Hortensia, p. 110). So Steadman suggests that by the late eighteenth century, that like the fairy tale which began as an amusement for adult nobility, the stories of the gods and heroes had become little more than moralized fables for the instruction of children. Yet at least in the first half of the century, critical pronouncements about Ovid were frequent, and all of them made some evaluation of the verisimilitude of his Metamorphoses through comments on the relationship of the "natural" and the "marvellous"

and the proper use of poetic licence. Also the critics either praised or blamed Ovid for his copious style -- his sin or gift of wit.

Since we have now seen that the critics deemed Ovid worthy of inclusion in their writings, in the next chapter we will examine the interpretations of the mythologists and editors of the Metamorphoses in the Augustan age to show the way in which they, like the critics, found moral instruction through allegory and stylistic models for imitation in Ovid's master poem. Like the critics, the Augustan editors and mythologists treated the Metamorphoses as an allegorical poem, one which could both instruct and delight.

NOTES

Chapter II

¹For ease of reference, I list here the primary sources which I will discuss in Chapter II and the editions of them which I have used. All subsequent quotations from these works will be taken from these editions and noted in the text.

Joseph Addison, "Notes on Ovid's Metamorphoses [1693]" in A. C. Guthkelch, ed., The Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Addison, Vol. I (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1914), 133-147; Spectator No. 62 in Bond ed., I, 263-270; and, Spectator No. 417 in Bond, ed., III, 562-566.

Lewis Crusius, "The Life of Ovid" in The Lives of the Roman Poets, (1726; facsimile rpt., New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1971), I, 266-298.

John Dennis, Preface to "The Passion of Byblis" in Miscellany Poems, with Select Translations of Horace, Juvenal, Mons. Boileau's Epistles, Satyrs, &c. and Aesops Fables in Burlesque Verse. To which is Added, the Passion of Byblis . . . 2nd ed., (London, 1697). Cited as "Preface".

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² See Chapter IV for a discussion of their uses of Ovid's Metamorphoses.

³ For a discussion of the medieval and Renaissance conceptions of the Metamorphoses as an allegorical poem with special emphasis on its influence on English poetry, see L. K. Born, "Ovid and Allegory", Speculum, XI (1934), 362-379; Wilemon Brewer, Ovid's Metamorphoses in European Culture (Boston: The Cornhill Publishing Company, 1933);

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⁴See Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods, pp. 103-109 for a discussion of the development of the allegorical tradition.

⁵Rudolph Schevill, Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain (1913; Hildesheim: George Olms Verlag, 1971), pp. 13-14.

⁶Rand, Ovid and his Influence, pp. 131-137.

⁷Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods, pp. 96-99.

⁸See Goldyng, "Epistle", ll. 67-297.

⁹See Joseph Addison, Spectator No. 419 in Smith, III, 296.

¹⁰Quoted in Coon, "The Vogue of Ovid since the Renaissance", 280.

¹¹Coon, p. 280.

¹²See the listing for Renovard's translation in the Catalogue Général Des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Vol. 28, Columns 638-641, "Ovide", Nos. 521-534.

¹³George Chapman, Bussy D'Ambois in The Plays of George Chapman: The Tragedies, ed., Thomas Marc Parrot. Vol. I (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1961), see Act V, IV, 84-89 for example.

¹⁴See Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer, pp. 288-317; and Bernard Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1959).

¹⁵For a discussion of the publication history and quality of Sandys's translation see Douglas Bush's Forward to Ovid, pp. vii-xii.

¹⁶For an explanation of Ovidius Theologus, Ovidius Ethicus and Ovidius Magus, see Rand, Ovid and his Influence, pp. 131-141.

¹⁷See "Prometheus, or the State of Man" in Sir Francis Bacon, The Wisdome of the Ancients, trans., Sir Arthur Gorges (1619; facsimile rpt., New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), pp. 119-144.

¹⁸Compare Renovard, "Discours I", p. 17.

¹⁹See section 2 of this chapter for a further discussion.

²⁰Sandys acknowledges his dependence on earlier editors and commentators at the beginning of his commentary, Ovid, p. 48:

I am much indebted to Plato, the poeticall Philosopher: not a little to Palaphates, Appollidorus, Aratus, Strabo, Diodorus, Pausanias, Plutarch, and Lucian: among the Romans chiefly, to Cicero, Higinus, Pliny, and Macrobius. Neither have I beene sparingly supplied by those antient Fathers, Lactantius, Eusebius, St. Augustine, and Fulgentius. Of moderne writers, I have received the greatest light from Geraldus, Pontanus, Ficinus, Vives, Comes, Scaliger, Sabinus, Pierius, and the Crowne of the latter, the Vicount of St. Albans: assisted though lesse constantly, by other authors, almost of all Ages and Arguments.

²¹See John Dryden, Religio Laici in The Poems and Fables of John Dryden, ed., James Kinsley (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), ll. 70-84.

²²A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland 1475-1640 (1926; London: Oxford University Press, 1956), Nos. 18964-18968 lists four editions of Sandys by 1640: 1628, 1632, 1638 and 1640. Donald Wing, A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland . . .

1641-1700 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), Nos. 684, 686-688 adds five more printings: 1656, 1664, 1669, 1678, 1690.

²³For Richard F. Hardin's comparison of Ross and Comes see "Ovid in Seventeenth-Century England", Comparative Literature, XXIV (1972), 44. See also Natale Conti, Mythologiae Sive Explicationis Fabularum Libri Decem (Venice, 1690). For a discussion of the work of Conti, also known as Natales Comes, see Sez nec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods, pp. 229-256.

²⁴Ross's biographer in Alexander Chalmers, The General Biographical Dictionary: Containing an Historical Account of the Most Eminent Persons in Every Nation, Vol. XXVI (London, 1816), 388 assesses Ross's Mystagogus Poeticus as "an attempt to spiritualize the Greek and Roman mythology, in moral and metre it resembles Quarles."

²⁵Besides Shreve lius' three-volume edition of Ovid's Works (1662) already cited, the following offers a selective list of other seventeenth-century editions of Ovid's works: Daniel Heinsius, ed., Publii Ovidii Nasonis Opera . . . Accedunt Breves Notae ex Collatione codd. Scaligeri et Palatinis Jani Gruteri, 3 Vols. (Leyden, 1629); Nicholas Heinsius, ed., Operum Ovidii Nasonis Editio Nova, 3 Vol. (Amsterdam, 1652); Daniel Crispinus, ed., Publii Ovidii Nasonis Opera . . . ad Usum Delphini (Leyden, 1689). Also, the Metamorphoses was published as a single work by Thomas Farnaby, ed., Pub. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseων Libri XV (Paris, 1637) with copious annotations.

²⁶I am indebted to Mr. Leonard Greenwood, librarian of Hartlebury Castle for the information that Pope owned this edition of Ovid's works. According to Mr. Greenwood, the copy in Hartlebury Castle library bears Pope's name in the flyleaf but contains no annotations. Volume II of the edition contains the Metamorphoses.

²⁷For example, Shreve lius includes notes of Raphael Regius, Pontanus and refers to Plato's Phaedrus, to Lactantius, Natales Comes and many others whom Sandys acknowledges as his mythographical sources.

²⁸John Jovian Pontanus (1426-1503) was an Italian poet-scholar and preceptor to Alphonsus, King of Aragon. See Chalmers, General Biographical Dictionary, XXV, 149.

²⁹Wilkinson, Ovid Recalled, pp. 440-443; see my discussion of Wilkinson's points in Appendix A.

³⁰See for example the opinions of Trapp, Lectures on Poetry and Dennis, Preface to "The Passion of Byblis".

³¹The full title of Fielding's work is The History of Tom Jones a Foundling, and Defoe's: The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders, &c. . . . Written from Her Own Memorandums. In the first case the novelist defines his work as history and in the second case, he makes it an editorialized autobiography -- both narrative ploys to lend some realistic basis to the stories the novelists tell.

³²Earl Miner, Dryden's Poetry (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1967), pp. 144-175 discusses Dryden's use of fable, allegory and Biblical typology.

³³See Spectator No. 419 in Smith, III, 299-301.

³⁴See the "Ovid" entry in Pierre Bayle, A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical: In Which a New and Accurate Translation of that of the Celebrated Mr. Bayle, with the Corrections and Observations Printed in the Late Edition at Paris, eds., and trans., John Peter Bernard and others, Vol. VIII (London, 1739), 86-111; and, Biographica Classica: The Lives and Characters of the Classic Authors (London, 1750), pp. 256-260.

³⁵For the most famous treatment of Cyrus, the Persian emperor, see Xenophon, Cyropedia, trans., Walter Miller, 2 Vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960). In the eighteenth century, Xenophon's work served as the basis for Alexander Ramsay's The Travels of Cyrus. In Two Volumes. To which is Annex'd, A Discourse upon the Theology and Mythology of the Ancients, 3rd ed. (London, 1728) which illustrates how closely associated the story of the ancient emperor was with allegorized mythology. Ovid relates the story of Hercules in Metamorphoses, IX, that of Achilles in Metamorphoses, XIII, and the narration of Aeneas's voyage occupies most of Metamorphoses, XIV.

³⁶See Pope, The Dunciad, I, 295-298 and III, 173-176.

³⁷See Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods, pp. 87-89 and Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer, pp. 337-343.

³⁸See Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods, pp. 89-99 and Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, pp. 15-19. For a seventeenth-century opinion see Abraham Cowley, Preface to Poems (1656) in J. E. Spingarn, Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, Vol. II (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1908), pp. 86-99.

³⁹See Dryden, "Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire" in Ker, ed., II, 30-36 and also Letter to Dennis, March, 1694 in Ward, ed., The Letters of John Dryden, p. 71.

⁴⁰Samuel Johnson says that "The story of Lodona is told with sweetness; but a new metamorphosis is a ready and puerile expedient; nothing is easier than to tell how a flower was once a blooming virgin, or a rock an obdurate tyrant". "Life of Pope" in Lives of the English Poets, ed., Arthur Waugh, Vol. II (1906; London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 31.

⁴¹Paradise Lost, I, 746-747.

⁴²Paradise Lost, IV, 248-251.

⁴³Harding, Milton and the Renaissance Ovid, pp. 54-92.

⁴⁴Trapp's Lectures on Poetry was first published as Praelectiones Poeticae (Oxford, 1711).

⁴⁵Hughes says that "a very ingenious Writer calls these Characters Shadowy Beings [Joseph Addison, Spectator No. 273] and has with good reason censur'd the just employing of them in Epick Poems: of this kind are Sin and Death, which I mention'd before in Milton; and Fame in Virgil", from "On Allegorical Poetry", p. 95. See also Hughes's paraphrase of Plutarch's defense of fiction p. 90 in which he discusses the pleasure that fables induce by using fiction to adorn "useful Morals and Doctrines".

⁴⁶See Ovid's comments on Narcissus's plight, Metamorphoses, III, 417, 430-436. Also, the story of Baucis and Philemon, Metamorphoses, VIII, 611-724 is told in answer to the blasphemous outburst of Pirithous, Ixion's son, and the suggestive comments which Ovid makes on Niobe's proud defiance of Latona, Metamorphoses, VI, 146-312.

⁴⁷The title of Collin's most significant collection of poems, Odes on Several Descriptive and Allegoric Subjects (1746) suggests the poet's self-conscious use of allegory in his famous odes. The "Ode on the Poetical Character" and "The Passions. An Ode for Music" both deal allegorically with the poetic faculty. See Roger Lonsdale, ed., The Poems of Gray, Collins and Goldsmith (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1969), pp. 408-414, 427-435, 477-485. For a discussion of Collin's use of personification as allegory see A. S. P. Woodhouse, "The Poetry of Collins Reconsidered", in F. W. Hilles and H. Bloom, eds., From Sensibility to Romanticism: Essays Presented to F.A. Pottle (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 93-137.

⁴⁸Pemberton's work was published in 1738, forty-five years before Musgrave's Two Dissertations. Pemberton's work, as its title suggests,

is almost an exclusively literary treatment of myth as it relates to epic poetry while Musgrave's work is more concerned with mythology and its relationship to the history of religion.

⁴⁹ See my treatment of The Fan and Windsor-Forest in Chapter IV.

⁵⁰ See Bush's comment in Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, pp. 32-33.

⁵¹ For a discussion of the conflicts of mythology and poetry in the late seventeenth century see Basil Willey, The Seventeenth-Century Background: Studies of the Thought of the Age in Relation to Poetry and Religion (London: Chatto & Windus, 1934), pp. 224-240, 296-297.

⁵² Consult Rand, Ovid and his Influence, pp. 138-141.

⁵³ See Wilkinson, Ovid Recalled, pp. 116, 149 and Coon, "The Vogue of Ovid Since the Renaissance", pp. 284-285.

⁵⁴ Dryden's inveighing against poetical turns in Ovid relates principally to his overuse of the figure. As a poet himself, Dryden makes use of "turns" in his triplet structure in many of his poems, the third line playing on (and often reversing) through rhyme and meaning the thought built up in the lines preceding. See, for example, Mac Flecknoe, ll. 87-89; 57-59 or Religio Laici, 311-313. Pope also uses these "turns"; see, for example, the triplet in Essay on Criticism, ll. 341-343. Turns, however, are not confined to triplets and may involve plays upon language like those which Pope uses throughout his satires. See George Williamson's discussion of Restoration and Augustan Wit in The Proper Wit of Poetry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 84-134 and especially 117-125 where he comments on the relation of Ovidian Wit and Augustan poetry.

⁵⁵ See Preface to Annus Mirabilis in Ker, I, 14-16 where Dryden defines poetry as "Wit writing" and compares Ovid's and Virgil's "invention" or "variation" and finds Ovid more delicate than Virgil in his creation of "tender strokes".

⁵⁶ Gerald Chapman, Literary Criticism in England, 1660-1800 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1966), pp. 153-154.

⁵⁷ Crusius, "The Life of Ovid", I, 286 cites Sir Samuel Garth's Preface to The Metamorphoses. Translated by Several Eminent Hands (London, 1717) as a more extensive treatment of Ovid's use of comparisons and similes and he comments on Dryden's Preface to Ovid's Epistles (1680),

Ker, ed., I, 230-243 and his Preface to the Fables, Ker, II, 254-258. See, also, my discussion of Garth's Preface in Chapter III.

⁵⁸For example see Trapp's comments on Ovid's art of narration in Lectures on Poetry, p. 135.

⁵⁹Compare Dryden, Preface to Ovid's Epistles (1680), Ker, ed., I, 233 with this comment of Felton's. Also, see the commentary in Biographica Classica, p. 256 which echoes Felton's remarks.

⁶⁰Hardin, "Ovid in the Seventeenth Century", especially pp. 53-62.

⁶¹See Hardin's comments on Garth and the later allegorists, "Ovid in the Seventeenth Century", p. 52, and also his survey of Addison's criticism of Ovid, pp. 54-56.

⁶²See Donald Bond, "Distrust of Imagination in English Neo-classicism", Philological Quarterly, XIV (1935), 54-69 and his "The Neo-classical Psychology of the Imagination", ELH, IV (1937), 245-264.

III

THE METAMORPHOSES IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MYTHOLOGICAL HANDBOOKS AND TRANSLATIONS

The mythological handbooks and translations of the Metamorphoses provide an excellent indicator of the degree to which Ovid's master poem maintained the favor of readers during the eighteenth century.¹ By determining to what extent Ovid's Metamorphoses was a source for handbooks, and by evaluating the mythologists' methods of interpreting the myths, we can readily discern if the Metamorphoses was an important document for the eighteenth-century writer and if its stories were handled in a serious manner. The study of the editions and translations of the Metamorphoses in the eighteenth century, especially their prefaces, notes and appendices, can help us to comprehend the way in which Augustan readers understood the poem and to assess their attitudes toward the work. In this chapter I will examine the Augustan handbooks and translations of the Metamorphoses in order to show that eighteenth-century man persisted in his allegorical reading of Ovid's poem at least until the mid-century when the burgeoning of historical knowledge and the blossoming of empirical method brought the Metamorphoses into a questionable position. Before I proceed to my analysis of the handbooks and translations, it is necessary to review the reputation of the Metamorphoses in relation to Ovid's other poems to show that the poem had a minor renaissance in early eighteenth-century England.

In his article, "Ovid in Seventeenth-Century England", R. F. Hardin comes to the following conclusion about the Metamorphoses:

Ovid's principal work had traditionally been read for its allegory, the "Italianate" non-allegorical Ovid never really having won acceptance into the culture. In the later seventeenth century a dissatisfaction with the old methods of allegory and allegorization set in, along with a demand for verbal restraint in poetry, both of which movements resulted from the changing view of the imagination in the later seventeenth century.²

Hardin makes an important connection here between the waning interest in allegorization and the fading of Ovid's reputation. When he traces Ovid's general influence in seventeenth-century England, he finds that Sandys and Ross offer the last serious treatment of the poet, but he acknowledges that allegory persists in the works of Garth and several other eighteenth-century writers, works which he dismisses as anomalies, hang-overs of an older and, by then, outmoded Renaissance humanism.³ While I agree that the continual questioning of the allegorical mode, in addition to the call for stylistic decorum, brought eventual disaster to Ovid's reputation, I believe that the vogue of allegorization died much later and much harder than Hardin has argued. As Fussell has suggested, many of the traits and theories that we designate as "Augustan" or "Neo-classical" spring from a reactionary form of humanism, a pattern of thought which included the allegorization of ancient poetry.⁴ If we do not understand the history of thought in eighteenth-century England as a series of dialectical tensions, reactionary and progressive, then how can we reconcile The Chronology of the Ancient Kingdoms Amended with the other works of that modern scientist who wrote the Principia Mathematica and the Optics?⁵ Surely the early eighteenth century contains many complex strains of

thought, some of them modern, but many more Elizabethan. Thus, while Hardin finds the esteem of Garth and Pope for the moralized Ovid an exception to the general trend of eighteenth-century thought on the classical poet, we must recognize that their respect for the Metamorphoses arises from a common critical theory that still sought the truths that were concealed in ancient poetry.

At the outset of this investigation we must distinguish among the three groups of Ovid's works, the amorous poems, the elegies and the Metamorphoses, because each of them elicited a different reaction from eighteenth-century writers. Concerning the elegiac epistles, particularly the Heroides, Dryden says that "they are generally granted to be the most perfect piece of Ovid, and that the style of them is tenderly passionate and courtly," and Trapp and the English editors of Bayle's Dictionary agree.⁶

When we consider the amorous works of Ovid, a different critical picture emerges. Both Hardin and Rand note that among seventeenth and eighteenth century court poets in Italy and France -- poets who acquired a sophisticated mastery of Ovidian wit -- the amorous works (De Arte Amandi, Amores, and the Remedia Amoris) enjoyed renewed popularity.⁷ In England, however, these witty love poems (more often than not obscene) lost their audience with the demise of the Restoration court. In the more chastened atmosphere of the courts of William and Mary and Queen Anne, the wit reappeared only for a brief time in the pleasantly suggestive poems of Prior.⁸ Like the seventeenth and eighteenth-century attacks on the immorality of the stage, the censures of Ovid's amorous poems reflect a desire on the part of the English to purge licentiousness

from their creative endeavors because of their strong belief in the moral value and obligations of literature. Just as Collier and Steele denounce the lasciviousness of Restoration dramatic wit, so, too, critics condemn the "obscenity" of Ovid's double entendres.⁹ In Bayle's Dictionary the English translator comments that

The love compositions of this Poet are the most obscene of all those of the antients now extant. 'Tis not that we find the loose expressions, which are in Catullus, Horace and Martial; nor the infamous practices of the unnatural sin which those three poets mention so openly; but the delicacy and choice of the terms, in which Ovid prided himself, make these works still more dangerous, since, by that means, they represent in a very plain and most elegant manner, all the artifices and most lascivious impurities of love.¹⁰

The critic condemns the books of love not only because of their language and subject matter, but also because of their tantalizing courtly manner, a style which is common in Roman poets but not so perniciously presented as in Ovid. Could a poet who made immorality as appealing as Ovid did be a moral man? This question puzzled Ovid's critics and biographers in the eighteenth century and eventually brought his poetry, as a whole, into disrepute because of its alleged immodesty.¹¹

In spite of this harsh criticism, or perhaps because of it, Ovid's apologists quickly asserted the allegorical prerogative of the amorous poems. For example, William King, translating from a French edition of The Art of Love, advocates reading the books of love as an allegory on "the passion we ought to have for the sciences."¹² Furthermore, he suggests that his readers can apply Ovid's precepts to married love, and he stresses the usefulness of The Art of Love and its acceptance by scholars as a serious work:

Notwithstanding all that has been said against these Books of the Art of Love, by some overscrupulous Persons, whose Discretion has too much of Affectation in it; they are not only necessary for the Knowledge of the Latin Tongue, and the Roman History, concerning which they contain several things very particular; but for the noble Sentiments we find in them, which the Gravest and Learnedest Writers have thought worthy to be quoted for Authorities.¹³

King charges that Ovid's detractors affect overscrupulousness; when they reject the de Arte Amandi for its wantonness, they also deny its usefulness as a teaching medium. King, therefore, counters their censures by pointing out that the poem has a wider meaning and has prestige among learned men, and hence, challenges their objections to some extent. Interestingly, King cites scrupulosity and affectation as the attributes of Ovid's censors, and in the mid-eighteenth century it is Henry Fielding, the arch-deflator of human pretensions, who saw fit to translate two of the books of The Art of Love.¹⁴ Despite their continued appeal to men of catholic tastes, the amorous works were largely neglected by the early eighteenth-century writers who generally ruled in favor of the Metamorphoses.

After reading as little as five-hundred lines of the Metamorphoses, we realize that Ovid is concerned with many of the same stories of passion that he treats in his amorous works and elegies.¹⁵ But because the Metamorphoses has a more overtly philosophical and sententious character than the youthful books of love, it more readily lends itself to abridgement and glossing in those passages offensive to public taste. Even in an unglossed edition, the fables, supplemented by a mythological handbook, took on a protective moral covering which made them respectable enough for the innocent schoolboy. By condoning the metamorphic punishment

meted out for evil actions like those of the cannibalistic Lycaon, or by praising the transformation to immortality granted for good actions like those of the chaste Daphne, critics emphasized the ethical wisdom which these events represented allegorically.

At least during the first half of the eighteenth century, the publication of English editions and translations of the Metamorphoses, as well as mythological handbooks and dictionaries, indicates the renewed interest which the English took in Ovid's major poem. Within twelve years two major mythological treatises were published: Andrew Tooke's The Pantheon (1699) and William King's An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes (1710). Based on previously published French handbooks, both works served an essentially didactic purpose: they tried to introduce the common reader to the matter of ancient fables and the meanings ascribed to them.¹⁶ From the fact that printers republished these works in revised and enlarged editions many times during the century, we can conclude that they were thought important and necessary aids to the study of ancient myth.¹⁷ Published at approximately the same time, Dryden's Fables (1700), Nahum Tate's abortive Metamorphoses (1698)¹⁸ and Addison's Metamorphoses, Books II and III, (1693) show that English poets valued Ovid's masterwork. Within four years two complete poetical translations of the Metamorphoses were published: Garth's in 1717 and Sewell's competitive edition in 1721. Both works were compiled from translations "by the most eminent hands", among whose numbers were Dryden, Addison and Pope.¹⁹ Garth's edition, which became a standard work for the century, went through four editions by 1740 and served in 1732 as the English text for the Abbé Banier's

historical annotations.²⁰ At least two Latin editions of Ovid's Works appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century: the Oxonian Michael Mattaire's re-edited Heinsius text (1713) and the Dutch scholar Peter Burmann's edition of an Ovid variorum (Amsterdam, 1727; London, 1729). These many editions, translations and commentaries on the poem, prove that the Metamorphoses reawakened serious interest in the first forty years of the eighteenth century.

More important than the number of editions of the Metamorphoses which reached the eighteenth-century reading public are the ideas about the poem that the editors expounded. For mythographer and editor alike, Ovid's Metamorphoses provided the moral and historical knowledge which they believed to be the goal of all study. For these men, as for the eighteenth-century critics I discussed in the previous chapter, Ovid was a serious classical author, the last writer of the Augustan age of Rome, and, although his poem contained stylistic errors, it also taught ethical lessons. In spite of its fantastic trappings, the Metamorphoses conveyed a serious message to eighteenth-century writers, so that, in their explanations of the myths and in their considerations of style, they consistently put forth the concepts of the Renaissance allegorical tradition.

With few exceptions, mythographers and editors of Ovid's Metamorphoses agreed on a number of key points which are decidedly part of the Renaissance conventions of allegorized myth. First, they believed that pagan theology was grossly inferior to its Christian counterpart because it was unenlightened by Christ's teaching. The eighteenth-century writers, therefore, attacked heathenism with a ferocity similar to that

of the patristic writers Jerome, Augustine and Origen. In spite of this objection, however, the Augustans conceded that the knowledge of mythology was necessary for a proper understanding of the classical authors that constituted the curriculum of an educated Christian gentleman. To render mythology acceptable, they subjected it to allegorical interpretation on three levels: 1. the physical, which included the astronomical and natural knowledge revealed by the myths; 2. the historical, which suggested that the mythical figures were once real men whose stories illustrate the progressive civilization of the world; and, 3. the moral, which purported that the fables taught ethical lessons readily grasped by the communis sensus. Critics, editors and translators repeat this tripartite explanation of allegorization throughout the eighteenth century when they discuss the classical myths, and it is only when the religious objections to the pagan mythology are removed that allegory disappears and personification takes its place.

To illustrate this persistence of allegory, we must first look closely at Tooke's and King's handbooks and then analyze the permutations of The Pantheon, the handbook that continued to be published in some form until the early nineteenth century. Secondly, we must look briefly at the antiquarians, Montfauçon, Pluche, Spence and Bryant because these authors, too, express interest in the allegorical interpretations of ancient myth and their works illustrate the way in which the handbooks were fragmented, broken up into works serving more and more specific purposes. As the antiquarians venture into the specialized fields of cultural history, religious history, and linguistic history,²¹ Ovid's Metamorphoses loses its central significance and becomes a children's

classic. Finally, in order to discover to what degree these allegorical ideas were applied to the Metamorphoses itself, we must examine the editions of Garth, Sewell, Banier, and Bailey.²² With the exception of Sewell's, each of these editions has a direct relationship to Garth's, which, as we shall see, explains why the allegorization of Ovid remained a standard pastime of the English schools long after it suffered disfavor among the critics.

1. From Allegory to Personification:
The "Metamorphoses" and the Handbooks

In some sense Tooke's Pantheon and King's History of the Heathen Gods and Heroes are English substitutes for the Italian handbooks of Comes, Cartari and Boccaccio.²³ Provided with excellent indexes (though not so complete as Comes's index), these two works offer an encyclopedic knowledge of ancient mythology and iconography in an easily accessible form. Because both works rely heavily on the Metamorphoses for the substance of the fables that they relate, we can discern the way in which the eighteenth-century reader probably interpreted Ovid's poem from the attitudes which these mythographers showed toward their material.

While Master of Charterhouse School, Tooke wrote his handbook to supplement the classical study which formed the basis of the grammar school curriculum. In his Preface, Tooke acknowledges that he is translating a well-known work and that he undertakes the task at the request of

Persons of Known skill in the Art of Teaching, who, tell us that Go[o]dwin in his Antiquities has done very well indeed in the whole, but in this point he is too short; that Ross also deserves

commendation for his Mythology, but is tedious and as much too large; and that Galtruchius as D'Assigny has translated and dished him out to us, is so confused and artless in his Method, as well as unfortunate in its Correction, that 'tis not so useful as may be desir'd: and hereupon this work was recommended to be translated, being first well approv'd . . . by learned Gentlemen . . . for its easie Method and for its agreeable Plainness. Besides it having been written by so learned a Person, and so universally received in our Neighbor Nation . . . we can hardly doubt of its being well accepted here.

(The Pantheon, pp. A3^r-A3^v)

Tooke's list of unacceptable competitors includes Alexander Ross's Mystagogus Poeticus, which, as the corroborating evidence of Addison proves, the Augustan reader still consulted for aid in interpreting mythology. But, like Addison, Tooke finds Ross tiresome and verbose. Likewise he rejects L'Histoire poetique pour l'intelligence de poetes e des auteurs anciens, written by Galtruchius (Le Père Pierre Gaultruche, S. J., 1602-1681) and translated into French by De Assigny, because it lacks the clarity of Father Pomey's Pentheum Mythicum.²⁴ Designed to supplement the Dauphin edition of the classics, the Pentheum Mythicum (which had undergone five French editions by 1698) deserved Tooke's confidence at least for its breadth of appeal.²⁵ Like so much of the critical theory which appeared during the English Augustan age, Tooke's Pantheon took its inspiration, and certainly its form and substance, from a French source.

Tooke employs the dialogue form in The Pantheon and he gives it a dramatic turn by leading his characters, Mystagogus and Palaeophilus, through the Roman Pantheon and by allowing them to discourse upon the origins, characters and representations of the gods as they confront them in effigy. Instead of an actual discussion or Socratic dialogue,

the conversation of the characters often reverts to catechistic instruction. Since Tooke designed The Pantheon to be used by students, this question-and-answer form provides a useful tool for easy memorization and it accomplishes its educational aims quite well. Although this didactic form may at first sight appear offensive to the more sophisticated adult reader, the wealth of information which Tooke provides makes it worthwhile to scrutinize his Pantheon.

To organize his work, Tooke divides The Pantheon into four distinct parts: the first explains the history of idolatry from classical and Christian sources, and the second part describes the mythical acts of the gods, heroes and men of antiquity. When he discusses the origin and dissemination of paganism, Tooke concentrates his attack upon the vain desires of men for divinity, desires which led them to reject truth in order to pursue absurdities. What men sought, Tooke believes, was a justification for their own folly and vainglory, and to achieve this end, they flattered their princes, raising them to the status of gods, a ploy which enriched their status in life and gained them immortal fame after death. Among the Greeks and Egyptians Tooke finds that these superstitious notions were rampant and from these peoples he traces many of the later fables of the gods and heroes (The Pantheon, pp. 1-4). Although he judges the "noble Romans" to be above the vain worship of Greek and Egyptian idols, he admits that the majority of them "reckoned among their Gods, and adored, not only beasts and things void of all sense; but which is far greater madness, they worshipped also murderers, adulterers, thieves, drunkards, robbers, and such like pests of mankind" (The Pantheon, p. 6). Whether he actually feared that one of his

young charges might be converted to heathenism or whether he was simply repeating the conventional arguments to assert his own dislike of paganism, Tooke's denunciation conforms to the anti-libertine sentiments of the early eighteenth century. As the basis for his remarks, he chooses The Book of Wisdom, Eusebius, Lactantius, Clement, and Augustine from among the Christian writers, and Cicero, Plutarch, Plato, and Diodorus Siculus from among the ancients, all of whom denounced the pride and immorality which they contended were at the root of man's creation of anthropomorphic gods and the myths that surround them (The Pantheon, pp. 1-10). In order to keep his treatise in line with his scathing comments on the sources of myth, Tooke refuses to indulge in the kind of allegorization which would make pagan theology a handmaid to Christianity.

When he considers the fables of the gods and heroes, Tooke firmly opposes ingenious and idiosyncratic interpretations, which, in this case, are the neo-Platonic and mystical readings of myth. Of the mythologists' explanations he says that

There is in these kind of things such a vast diversity of Opinions among them; and, which yet is worse, the Accounts that many of them give are so witless and impertinent, so incongruous to the very Fables which they pretend to explain, that I think it better to write nothing from them, than to trouble the Reader with those things which will not probably satisfie him: which when I cannot effect, I will pass the Business over in silence and leave it to every ones discretion to devise his own Interpretations Yet, whenever the place requires, that I give my Expositions of these Fables, that I may discover some Meaning that is not repugnant to common Sense, I shall not be so far wanting to Duty.

(The Pantheon, pp. 30-31)

As Addison does in his Notes to the Metamorphoses, Books II and III, Tooke distinguishes the "witless and impertinent" explanations from

those which the individual understanding dictates and those which the author believes to be amenable to "common sense". Like the Restoration anti-dogmatists, he rejects the mythologist's personal interpretations as devised by "private spirit", and he urges that the reader use his discretion to guide him to the ultimate explanation. Tooke says that it is his "duty" to give certain important explanations, and in these he again discriminates between the tortuous and incongruous readings of the mythologist and those clear and implied senses which the myths contain. Ironically, by disposing of the mythologists Tooke prepares a trap for himself; in spite of all his assertions to the contrary, his approach allows him to legislate meanings just as the mythologists he despised had done. To see the way in which Tooke accomplishes his task and the way in which his readings affect the interpretations of Ovid's Metamorphoses, we must look more closely at a few of his explanations.

The story of Phaethon, in particular, illuminates Tooke's method. In the Metamorphoses the well-known tale links Books I and II and it gives Ovid the opportunity for a dazzling description of the Palace of the Sun and a virtuoso catalogue of the countries consumed in Phaethon's fiery downfall (Metamorphoses, I, 747-779 and II, 1-328). From the Middle Ages on, men read this myth as an allegory on the fate which undercuts rash ambition. In the early Renaissance tragedy Gorboduc (1561/1562), for example, Sackville and Norton use the fable to foreshadow the downfall of the contentious twin kings who rashly sought to rise too high.²⁶ Using highly charged moral language, Tooke recites the story of Phaethon's reckless desire to drive the chariot of the Sun, a desire which his doting father unwisely granted. When he explains that "A

great Fire that happened in Italy near the Po, in the time of King Phaeton, was the occasion of this Fable. The Ambitious are taught hereby, what event they ought to expect, when they soar higher than they ought" (The Pantheon, p. 55), Tooke comments on the story in a fashion both historical and moral. The "historical" King Phaeton, inordinately desired knowledge of the heavens, and the fire which ensued from his heedless actions was interpreted as a punishment for his attempt to fly beyond the bounds of human learning (The Pantheon, p. 55). Tooke's moralization of the fable sounds remarkably like that of Sandys who also treats the myth as an amplification of historical fact as well as an allegorical tale that conveys a moral message. According to Sandys, the story of Phaethon "presents a rash and ambitious Prince, inflamed with desire of glory and dominion: who in that too powerful attempts what so ever is above his power: and gives no limits to his ruining ambition" (Sandys, Ovid, p. 106). Because he used Sandys's translation of the Metamorphoses in The Pantheon, we can conclude that Tooke knew Sandys's commentary and made many of his own explanations conform with those already established by the seventeenth-century writer. Thus Tooke interprets the Phaethon myth from the Metamorphoses in the same manner that Sandys and numerous other Renaissance and medieval mythologists did -- as a moral parable.

At times, as for example when he comments on the adulteries of Jupiter, Tooke's language becomes highly sententious. Discussing the rape of Danae, he asks

. . . what place is there so fortified and guarded into which Love cannot find a passage? Is there any Heart so heard and

Iron-like which Money cannot soften? What Way, what Passage, what Undertaking is not open and safe (Converso in pretium Deo, Horat.) to a God who turns himself into Money to make the purchase.

(The Pantheon, pp. 17-18)

These rhetorical questions establish an ironic equation between money and the power to corrupt virtue, and they suggest that the god lucre can destroy honour. When he discusses the deflowering of Clitoris by Jupiter in the shape of an ant, he caps the story with the adage: "And many times indeed it happens, that great Mischiefs arise from very small Beginnings" (The Pantheon, p. 18). Finally, when he describes the rape of Europa, he offers a general moral assessment of Jupiter's transformations: "See how many several Beasts a person resembles, who hath once put off his Modesty! And by how many various Fables is this one Truth represented, that the very Gods, by practices of impure Lust, become Brutes" (The Pantheon, p. 19), Tooke interprets the cycle of Jovian metamorphoses as an allegory on the way in which man is bestialized by lust, an explanation that he finds not at all adverse to the common sense which he is confident his readers possess. Rather than trying to discover some "mystical" sense in the fables, Tooke contents himself with expounding on their negative ethical connotations. Unlike the Medieval allegorist who would have read these myths both in bono and in malo, Tooke settles for a single point of view, usually one in which he exerts moral judgment.²⁷

Although he is singleminded in his moral explanations, Tooke's overall approach shares in the multi-level reading of allegory. For example, he reads the Bacchus myth on three levels: the literal, the historical and the moral. He begins with the recitation of the literal

myths about the wine-bringing god, and then he shows the way in which Bacchus resembles the historical figures Nimrod and Moses (The Pantheon, pp. 79-82). At the end of his explanation he states the moral meaning of the fable and the various threads of the myth are woven together to form an allegory on the pernicious effects of wine:

When I imagine Bacchus in Jupiters Thigh, and Jupiter limping therewith, it brings to my mind the Image of a Man that is burthened and overcome with Drink; who not only halts, but reels and stumbles, and madly rushes where-ever the force of Wine carries him But Bacchus is an eternal Boy. And do not the oldest Men become Children by too much Drink? Does not Excess deprive us of that Reason which distinguishes Men from Boys?

(The Pantheon, pp. 82-83)

Although his tone and method of allegorizing the Bacchus fable are like those of Ross, Tooke keeps his interpretation in line with that of Sandys in Metamorphoses, III:

Yet for this [the invention of wine], and other behoveful inventions, hee was honoured by men with Temples and Altars: in himselfe made up of all contrarities; valiant and effeminate, industrious and riotous, a seducer to vice, and an example of vertue: so variously good and bad are the effects of wine according to the use or abuse thereof.

(Sandys, Ovid, p. 161)

If we compare Tooke's and Sandys's statements we notice a significant difference in interpretation. While both men emphasize Bacchus's role as the wine-god, Sandys is readier to accept wine as a paradoxical agent that can benefit or debilitate man, depending on its usage. Besides its power to debauch men, wine also gives courage to the soldier and inspiration to the poet according to Aristotle's Problem XXX.1.²⁸ In the seventeenth century Milton's Latin Elegy VI and in the eighteenth century Gay's Miltonic inversion, Wine, express these common ideas on

the positive effects of wine.²⁹ But Tooke's reading, which concentrates on the adverse consequences of drinking, simplifies the allegory into a straightforward moral parable which tacitly rejects the "mystical" and enthusiastic effects of wine.

When he discusses the meaning of the icon of Pan, Tooke again simplifies the "physical" meaning of the image, as he has already done with the moralization of the Bacchus myth:

Pan . . . is a Symbol of the Universal World In his upper part he resembles a Man, in his lower part a Beast, because the superior and Celestial part of the World is beautiful, radiant, and glorious; as is the Face of this God, whose Horns resemble the Rays of the Sun and the Horns of the Moon. The redness of his Face is like the Splendour of the Sky; and the spotted Skin that he wears, is an Image of the starry Firmament. In his lower parts he is shagged and deformed, which represents the Shrubs, and wild Beasts, and the Trees of the Earth below. His Goats Feet signifie the Solidity of the Earth; and his Pipe of seven Reeds, that Celestial Harmony which is made by the seven Planets. He has a Sheep hook, crooked at the top, in his hand, which signifies the turning of the year into it self.

(The Pantheon, p. 223)

As mythologists before him had done, Tooke describes Pan as an emblem of the physical world, an iconographical representation of the unity of the cosmos as observed by man. If we look at Sandys's explanation of the depiction of Pan in Metamorphoses, XIV, we are at once struck with the similarities to Tooke's comment:

[Pan's] . . . body and habit expresseth Universall Nature, as his name importeth. The hornes on his head expressing the rayes of the Sun and Moone. (So Moses for the radiancy of his face was said to be horned) the upper part of his body, like a mans, representing the heavens; not only in regard to the beauty thereof, but of his reason and dominion: His goatish nether parts carrying the similitude of the earth; rough, overgrowne with woods and bushes; his feet cloven in regard of the earth's stability. . . . The browes

of Pan are crowned with Pine branches, because those trees adorne the tops of the Mountaines: his mantle the skin of a spotted Panther representing according to Probus, both starres and flowers; . . . or rather the rare diversity of things. The sevenfold pipe which he blowes on, the variety of the winds, with their inconstant changes . . . and lastly he follows the Nymphs with insatiate lust, for that the world doth continually procreate, wherein moisture is chiefly requisite, as a matter most fit and proper for generation; Man being the greater worlds exact epitome.

(Sandys, Ovid, p. 658)

Except for his interjected comments, his notation of sources, his interpretation of the reed pipe and his final comment on Pan as the symbol of the generative force of the earth, Sandys's reading of the physical meanings of the Pan icon is quite like Tooke's. These similarities, and the concepts of iconography to which they refer, definitely link the seventeenth-century commentator on Ovid and the eighteenth-century writer of The Pantheon. The exceptions I have pointed out, however, (especially that of the meaning of the reed pipe and of Pan's generative associations, as well as Sandys's suggestion that Pan is related to the idea of man as a microcosm) illustrate the way in which Tooke attempts to simplify his explanation by establishing a consistency in the physical interpretation. Because these "scientific" readings had caused contention from the time of Plato onward, Tooke tries to give his interpretation an indisputable balance which Sandys, who wishes to be as complete as possible, never attempts. It is significant, however, that Tooke inserts this natural allegory in his interpretations because it shows that not only he assented to such explanations but also that the serious and reputable men who asked him to translate the Pentheum Mythicum believed them to be credible. Thus, despite the

advance of modern science in the early eighteenth century, men still found the curious natural knowledge of ancient mythology intriguing.

As we have seen, Tooke disavows the intricacies of the mythologists at the same time as he uses their materials and methods in a simplified and supposedly rational manner. Nowhere does he explicitly condone allegory, but Tooke does interpret the myths of gods and heroes allegorically. From the many historical, moral and physical explanations which he assigns to the myths, we can reasonably assume that Ovid's Metamorphoses, the source of these stories, meant more to him than the literal escapades of the heathen pantheon. Although he condemns heathen idolatry, he nevertheless treats pagan mythology as a serious subject. Tooke, therefore, believes the Metamorphoses to be an important resource tool from which to glean his myths, as well as a moral poem whose fables teach ethical wisdom. In addition to his similarities to Sandys, his estimation of the Metamorphoses establishes Tooke as an heir of the Renaissance allegorical tradition.

Dr. William King, one of the writers for Swift's Tory Examiner, published An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes as an improved and accurate translation of Father Pomey's Pentheum Mythicum. In spite of his assertion to the contrary, King borrows much of his text from Tooke's Pantheon, but the changes which he makes in the allegorizations proved to be significant for subsequent writers during the rest of the century.

Like Tooke and the eighteenth-century critics, King indignantly states his aversion to idolatry in the Preface of his work:

The Mind of Man having, through Folly, and Perverseness, and Ignorance, fallen from the Worship of the True and Only God, ran into a various Maze of Error, and through vain Fear and Superstition framed to itself an innumerable Company of Deities. The Devil, who took all Occasions of perverting Mankind, and improved every Method that might tend to their Destruction, succeeded most by flattering their Pride; and therefore finding in great and powerful Princes and Tyrants, an extravagant Love of Immortality, he made them persuade themselves that they might attain it by leaving behind them the Notion of their being translated into the Number of the Gods; and by setting up their Statues in Brass and Marble, most commonly much bigger than the Life, cause themselves to be adored by their Subjects.

(An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods, pp. A6^r-A6^v)

King's analysis of the origins of paganism echoes Tooke's comments on the topic. Like the earlier mythographer, King postulates that idolatry began when Noah's progeny rebelled against the Truth and deified themselves to prolong their memories among men. King also believes that many of the gods were once real men, historical figures whose statues and legends were depicted by artists on a super-human scale that appeared so marvellous that men worshiped them as deities. But as we have already noted about The Pantheon, this perfunctory condemnation of heathenism recedes before the important philosophical ideas which the pagans communicated through their mythology.

An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes offers no exception to the general course of handbooks, because King's rancor toward idolatry has vanished when he says that:

The Mythology of the Fables is the Application of them to a Divine, Moral, or Physical Sense; but in these sort of Interpretations, Authors have been so various and fanciful, and even contradictory, that it were in vain to pretend to enumerate them: But however, in the following Treatise they are not wholly neglected, and there is room left for the Ingenuity of the Readers; for it is a well-grounded Opinion

of learned Men, that many Principles of Morality and Policy may be gathered from the ancient Fables.

(An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods, p. A5^v)

Although he does not unequivocally agree with the various modes of the mythologists, he does affirm their importance in rendering the ethics and "Policy" from the ancient fables. Like Tooke and Addison, he leaves it to his readers to analyze minor points because he believes that, with proper direction, the inherent morality of the myths will emerge for men of common sense. Significantly, King explicitly states the three types of allegory that mythologists have discovered in the fables: divine, moral and physical. While he shies away from the divine readings which often bore Roman Catholic connotations,³⁰ King follows the methods of allegorical exegesis to make the myths yield their moral and physical treasures.

King omits Tooke's aphoristic moralizations in his readings of the myths, and he makes the language itself carry the burden of the moral sentiments. For example, in the myth of Phaethon, the lesson comes through by the use of pejorative diction:

The Father's Surprize and Grief were inexpressible; however, being obliged to submit to his Son's Obstinacy and Rashness, he put him into the Chariot with all the most necessary and tender Precautions imaginable; but the Horses not finding their usual Conductor, took Head and the Charioteer became dazled with the Light above, and frighted with the Abyss that he saw beneath him, and terrify'd by the Scorpion, let go the Reins, lost his Way, and had burnt one half the World, and froze up the other, if Jupiter had not struck him with a Thunderbolt into the River Eridanus.

(An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods, p. 88)

An ingenious reader quickly realizes that Phaethon's "Obstinacy and Rashness" and Apollo's "tender Precautions" imply the same moral

criticism that Tooke describes: "that the ambitious are taught hereby what event they ought to expect when they soar higher than they ought" (The Pantheon, p. 48). King's narration suggests yet another meaning, best expressed by Sir Samuel Garth in his Preface to the Metamorphoses (1717): "how the too great tenderness of the Parent proves a cruelty to the Child" (p. xvi). Like the Augustan poets, King loads his language with moral implications and discloses his meaning by narrative rather than by mere statement. Thus the language of the passage communicates an ethical lesson to readers conversant with such interpretations.

Although he assumes that his readers can usually form their own moral judgments from the linguistic tone of the narration, when an historical or physical meaning of a myth is in question, King develops the interpretation himself because he believes that these readings demand a more specialized knowledge than the common reader possesses. Regarding the Phaeton myth, King explains that mythologists agree "that Phaeton was an astronomer, and spent much time observing the Course or Motion of the Sun" (An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods, p. 88). He also tells of Phaeton's early death and connects it with the great fire that Tooke described. While common sense could discover the moral of Phaeton's story, it is insufficient to discern the historical basis of the fable. When the myth demands a physical explanation, King restates the meaning: for example, the metamorphosis of Hyacinthus yields an etiological interpretation. To King, as to previous mythologists, the story of Hyacinthus signifies that "Flowers are blasted and dry with cold Winds, but bud and flourish with the Sun" (An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods, p. 73). Likewise the story of Venus and Adonis,

interpreted as an allegory on seasonal change and its effect on vegetation, reveals the agricultural knowledge of the ancients couched within myth.³¹ Without proper direction, such meanings as these might escape a reader, and hence King tries to offer complete explanations of these topics.

As we have previously noted about The Pantheon, An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes often explains the images of the gods in terms of physical allegory. The icon of Pan which we have already studied in Tooke and Sandys offers a good example:

Orpheus says, that Pan signifies the universal Nature, proceeding from the divine Mind and Providence, of which the Heaven, Earth, Sea, and the eternal Fire, are so many Members: Some would have him the same as the Sun, by whom all Things are governed and directed. The common Mythologists are of this Opinion, that his upper Parts are like a Man, because the superior and celestial Part of the World is beautiful, radiant and glorious; his Horns denote the Rays of the Sun, as they work upwards, and his long Beard signifies the same Rays as they have an Influence upon the Earth; the Ruddiness of his Face resembles the Splendour of the Sky, and the spotted Skin that he wears is the Image of the starry Firmament: His lower Parts are rough, hairy and deformed, to represent the Shrubs, wild Creatures, Trees and Mountains here below; his amorous complexion which causes him to pursue the Nymphs, is the desire of Generation, which spreads itself through all Beings, who attract Matter proper for that End, from the Moisture which is represented by the Nymphs: his Goat's Feet signify the Solidity of the Earth, and his Pipe of seven Reeds, that celestial Harmony that is made by the seven Planets, and lastly, his Sheephook denotes that Care and Providence by which he governs the universal World.

(An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods, pp. 152-153)

If we compare King's description of Pan with that of Tooke, we recognize at once the similarities of expression arising from their translation of a common source. As we noted in the discussion of Phaeton, King does not simply copy Tooke, but the differences between the two men's

explanations delineates their variant attitudes. When Tooke explains the Pan icon, he omits the god's "amorous complexion" and the divine significance of the sheepphook from the discussion because he considers these concepts either too erotically suggestive or too complex for his school-boy readers. King trusts the intelligence of his audience, and he discusses the Pan icon more fully than Tooke, relating Pan to the generative processes of the earth in phrases similar to those in Sandys's explanation. Thus, King knows the Renaissance icon of Pan which denoted the plenitude of nature, and he conforms his commentary to the traditional readings of allegorized mythology. Because he writes for a youthful audience, Tooke does not divulge the sexual meanings of the myths, unless, as in the fables of Jupiter, they can be turned to a moral use, and so his readings are often more confined and simplified than those of the less inhibited King.

Besides these differences in editorial purpose which affect the completeness of their commentary, Tooke and King use different formats to organize their works. In An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes King employs a straightforward essay style which give his treatise a wider appeal than Tooke's catechetical anthology. Instead of imitating Tooke's hierarchical arrangement, proceeding from gods to heroes to men, King gives his work an historical shape, as his title implies. This structure, which treats the figures of the mythological past as they arise from their creation out of chaos to Roman times, follows a formal chronology established by a classical poem -- Ovid's Metamorphoses. Although King never acknowledges Ovid, except as the source for the various fables he recounts, his adherence to the Ovidian

pattern -- the sequence of the Four Ages, the ages of the heroes, the quest for the golden fleece, the Trojan war, and Aeneas's founding of the Roman colony -- proves that he has copied, though perhaps unconsciously, the design of the Metamorphoses. Besides King, at least one other eighteenth-century scholar, the Abbé Banier, whom I shall discuss later in this chapter, considered the Metamorphoses to be a covert history of antiquity. Thus King's possible adoption of the Metamorphoses as a structural model for his work is not so unreasonable as it may at first appear.

The methods used by King and Tooke in their handbooks proves that the allegorization of mythology persisted at least during the first half of the eighteenth century. If schoolmasters employed these interpretations to instruct their pupils (as Tooke's Pantheon suggests that they did), then the reading of Ovid's Metamorphoses would necessarily be affected. As King says, it is "a well-grounded Opinion of learned Men, that many Principles of Morality and Policy may be gathered from the ancient Fables" (An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods, p. A5^v). Because Ovid's Metamorphoses recorded the majority of these myths, we can assume that the eighteenth-century man could derive many ethical lessons from an informed reading of the poem. These two Augustan mythographers tried to give their readers the information they needed to make a wise assessment of ancient mythology. Their works provided the key to the serious meaning which the witty Ovidian verse conceals, and by doing so, they raised the Metamorphoses from a simple history of pagan debauchery and from an exercise in verbal promiscuity to a delightful poem replete with moral, historical and natural wisdom.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the increased demand for scientific studies of classical life curbed the spread of mythography and determined the directions it would follow during the remaining years of the century. The Pantheon, which offered simplified and chastened versions of allegory, continued to be popular in the schools, but King's An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes, which contained fuller and more sophisticated readings of the myths, faded from prominence after 1740. Because The New Pantheon borrows many of King's interpretations, Boyse's work keeps the older mythologist's ideas current in spite of the popularity of the newer, more rational studies which eventually undermined the allegorical method altogether. Montfauçon's Antiquities and Pluche's History of the Heavens incorporate the innovative methods which the eighteenth century used to study classical life. In each of these works we discover how radical an effect the empirical method had upon the study of mythology, and hence, Ovid's Metamorphoses.³²

Montfauçon, for instance, doubts the validity of mythology and its science, mythography. Concerning the argument that ancient myth covertly agrees with Scripture, he contends that such ideas are "mere Conjecture, and of very little Importance" (Antiquity Explained, I, Cl^V). Likewise Montfauçon denounces the allegorization of myth as a vain afterthought of philosophers:

The Greeks and Romans represented their Gods in Painting, Statue, and Bass-Relief, and expressed their Histories in them, as we shall see in the course of this Work. They ascribed to their Gods all sorts of Crimes, Rapes, Violations, Adulteries, infamous Vices, Robberies, Murders; and these infamous Actions were represented in Painting, or Bass-relief, in their Temples and in

private Houses. The Gods they adored, and to whom they offered Sacrifice, were the most pernicious Examples to Mankind. There was no Vice which was not authorised by some God. I am persuaded, that at first, the ignorant People conceived all these Actions of their Gods, as plain Matters of Fact, without imagining anything of Allegory in the Account. The wonderful Manner of performing these Actions, seemed in some Degree to take from the Turpitude of them. But the Philosophers reasoning upon the Nature of the Gods, found so many Absurdities in this Theology, that they plainly saw the only way to make it tollerable, was to have recourse to Allegory, and explain it in such a manner, however forced, as would make the several Deities mean the several parts of Nature and the World. But the great Diversity of their Interpretations shews that they were laterly invented, and that the vulgar gross Ideas were the real and original notions.

(Antiquity Explained, I, K2^V)

Montfauçon reaches this conclusion from his empirical study of the extant physical evidence of medals, statues, and monuments -- artefacts embellished with what he considers to be the original stories of the gods. Because he thinks that allegorization is a pagan sleight of hand which attempts to render outrageous crimes invisible, he devotes his first volume of Antiquities to an unadorned narration of the known facts of mythology without philosophical embellishment. Although King and Tooke censure idolatry, they nowhere show the acute scepticism of Montfauçon which excludes the possibility of artistic compromise. If pagan mythology contains nothing more than obscene and murderous actions whose explanations are mere philosophical fabrications, then no modern can justify its study. But if mythology can be put back into its proper historical and scientific context, then it can benefit men by teaching them about the ancient past. Montfauçon proposes to redeem mythology by returning to the visual retellings of myth; as he says,

I did not think it proper to heap together all the Scholiasts had said of the ancient Deities, nor to collect all the scatter'd Passages in Profane or Church-Writers about Mythology; this would carry me too wide; I content myself with what was more generally receiv'd in Fable, concerning which the Monuments teach us a great many things not mentioned by Authors.

(Preface, Antiquity Explained, I, b2^v)

With the increasing interest in archeological discoveries of statues and artefacts, the knowledge of ancient history and classical civilization became a more descriptive science based not only on ancient manuscripts but also on ancient remains. As this scientific study of the ancients progressed, writers, such as Montfauçon, searched for more dependable sources which were unhampered by the imprecision of the poetical imagination, and they rejected questionable sources like the Metamorphoses.³³

Unlike Montfauçon, Pluche does not totally dispense with allegory; instead, he tries to penetrate its veils to discover the truths of cosmogony it contains. The History of the Heavens (1740), however, diverges from the common course of mythography because of Pluche's attempt to disperse the "multitude of errors that still tyrannize over the major part of mankind" (History of the Heavens, I, iv). Not only does he explain the true meanings of the myths, he also shows that the poetic renderings of mythology, like those found in the Metamorphoses, have no basis in fact. Although Montfauçon's work is essentially historical and Pluche's is scientific, both use empirical data to present their arguments. Pluche censures those mythologists and commentators who have associated metamorphoses with sacred and profane events in history (History of the Heavens, I, 2). For his own part, he believes that

. . . Idolatry did not supply the names made use of by astronomy: but astronomy invented the names, the characters and the figures, which ignorance and lust converted into powers deserving our respect and reverence. In a word, the heaven of poets, or the primitive ground of the whole heathen mythology, is in its origine nothing more than a harmless and innocent way of writing, but stupidly mistaken, and grosly understood in the sense offered to the eye, instead of being taken in that it was intended to offer to the mind.

(History of the Heavens, I, 2)

From studying the Egyptian hieroglyphics as astronomical symbols and showing their relationship to the Greek and Roman pantheon, Pluche contends that he has discovered the real key to the covert meaning of mythology. Because the classical peoples misunderstood the Egyptian astral emblems which were created to describe the seasons of flood and drought, they created their own fables to explain these figures, stories which often had no relation to their original purpose. Although Pluche respects the mode of allegorical representation,³⁴ the only meanings which concern him are those which further his astronomical argument. Thus by making the classical myths subservient to Egyptian symbology, he reduces their meaning to a single scientific purpose, that is far different from the "natural" allegories explained by Tooke and King.

The History of the Heavens had a profound impact on the work of mythologists who wrote after the mid-century, especially Samuel Boyse. At the same time that it propounds a theory of the origins of myth that is radically different from any previous English mythologist, Boyse's New Pantheon (1753) subscribes to the conventional principles of mythological allegorization. Boyse sounds typical when he states the overall purpose of his work:

Some Acquaintance with the Heathen Gods and the ancient Fables, is a necessary Branch of polite Learning, as without this it is impossible to obtain a competent Knowledge of the Classics, impossible to form a Judgment of Antique Medals, Statues or Paintings; or even to understand the Performance of the Moderns in these polite Arts.

(New Pantheon, p. iv)

Like his predecessors Tooke and King, Boyse understands and supports the relationship between mythology and the sister arts. While he adequately retells the myths, Boyse spends much of his time arguing his thesis that the Hellenic gods originated in Egypt and were "carry'd by the Phœnicians over all the Coasts of the Mediterranean" (New Pantheon, p. v). Boyse believes that by a series of transformations and linguistic misunderstandings, these gods, who were originally Egyptian emblems of proper conduct, became divinities representative of certain virtues. In Boyse's theory we witness a variation of Pluche's ideas, and indeed, Boyse uses the Frenchman's readings as an alternative explanation of the meaning of many fables. As further authority for his conjectures, Boyse cites yet another Frenchman, the Abbé Banier, whose euhemeristic Mythology argued an Egyptian origin for the classical deities.³⁵ In spite of his novel explanations, the Metamorphoses remains the single most important source of fable for Boyse. As a mosaic of traditional and innovative mythography, The New Pantheon shows the way in which the allegorization of myths coexisted with the newer and more scientific studies of mythology.

In his explanation of the Phaethon myth Boyse illustrates the way in which the traditional and the novel ideas of mythography were mingled:

Phaeton was the Son of Apollo, and the Nymph Clymene. Having a Dispute with Epaphus the Son of Jupiter and Io, the latter upbraided him, that he was not really the Son of his Father, and his Mother only made use of that Pretence to cover her Infamy. The Youth fir'd at this Reproach, by his Mother's Advice carried his Complaint to his Father Phoebus who receiv'd him with great Tenderness and to allay his Disquietude swore by Styx to grant whatever he requested, as a Mark of his acknowledging him for his Son. Phaeton boldly ask'd the Direction of the Solar Chariot for one Day. The Father at once griev'd and surpriz'd at the Demand, us'd all Arguments in vain to dissuade him from the Attempt; but being by his Oath reduc'd to submit to his Obstinacy, he gave him the Reins, with the best Directions he could how to use them. The Ambition of our young Adventurer was too fatal to himself. He lost his Judgment and Way together, and Jupiter, to prevent his setting the World on Fire, was oblig'd with his Thunderbolts to hurl him from his seat into the River Eridanus, or Po This story makes a very considerable Figure in Ovid, who has outdone himself on this Subject.

A late Author [Pluche] offers an ingenious Conjecture, with Regard to this Fable Linnen-Cloth was the great Manufacture of Egypt, and the Bleaching of it consequently of great Importance. The Horus, or Image, expos'd for directing this, was a Youth with Rays round his Head, and a Whip in his Hand, seated on an Orb, to which they gave the Name of Phaeton and Ben-Climmah. Probably the Months of May, June, and July, were the three Sisters of Phaeton, because during these Months they washed the Linnen white, of which Cycnus, or the Friend of Phaeton is a further Symbol. Now as the Word Albanoth applied to these Months signifies also Poplar Trees, it gave Rise to this Metamorphosis.

(New Pantheon, pp. 79-80)

In the first part of his interpretation, Boyse follows the conventional reading of the myth as an allegory of rash ambition; in the second part, he launches into a scientific exploration of the fable's possible origins. He grafts the views of Pluche onto those of King and Tooke to create a hybrid commentary on the myth. When he narrates the story of Phaeton, he carefully integrates its moral meaning into his text. Like King's, Boyse's language manifests his moral judgment on the story by words like

"boldly" and "Obstinacy" and by phrases like "the Ambition of our Young Adventurer" and "lost his Judgment and Way together." Such expressions enable the reader to discover the moral sentence implied by the fable. In his emphatic final paragraph Boyse develops Pluche's hypothesis on the origin of the Phaethon fable from the Egyptian manufacture of linen, a theory which incorporates linguistic and iconographical evidence to reach its curious conclusions. In this fashion Boyse handles each of the fables, acknowledging their derivation from the Metamorphoses, suggesting their moral, historical and physical meanings, but ultimately linking the myths to some practice of ancient Egypt.

From the assured tone of his argument in the first part of The New Pantheon, it is evident that Boyse believed that he had found the key to mythology in his Egyptian-Phoenician theory. In a later chapter, "A Dissertation on the Mythology of the Heathens," however, Boyse admits that it is difficult to establish mythological archetypes, and like Tooke and King, he criticizes the diverse and contradictory backgrounds of fables:

Fables are indeed a very ancient Method of Conveying Truth, and are therefore to be considered as Veils of so fine a Texture, as not wholly to conceal the Beauties that lie beneath them.

(New Pantheon, p. 231)

But notwithstanding the Difficulty of discovering the Origin of Fables, when some are founded on Tradition, others on History, others on the Strength of a warm and lively Imagination; and others, perhaps, on a Mixture of all these together: Yet it must be confessed, that they are generally fill'd with the noblest Sentiments, and the Morals which the Poets intended to be convey'd are frequently convey'd to the meanest Capacities. Virtue is Painted in the most beautiful Colours.

(New Pantheon, pp. 255-256)

For Boyse the ultimate purpose of myths is an ethical one: all fables of whatever origin teach principles by which men should conduct their lives. He pays high tribute to mythical poetry because its "Colours", the poetic embellishment of myth, provide a delightful and perspicuous mode by which moral wisdom may be taught. While he is sceptical about the verisimilitude of the fables produced by "a warm and lively Imagination", Boyse nevertheless finds them valuable as an instructional tool because they encourage virtue.

In the "Dissertation" Boyse discusses the Aristotelian doctrine of the way in which the "strength of fancy" renders morality more palatable than does "long and Labour'd Discourse". From Ovid's Meta-
morphoses he cites a series of stories to exemplify his point:

The Story of Deucalion and Pyrhha teaches, that Piety and Innocence will always insure the divine Protection.

That of Phaeton, that a too excessive Fondness in the Parent is Cruelty to the Child.

That of Narcissus, that inordinate Self-Love, which renders us cruel to others, is sure to be its own Tormentor.

That of Pentheus, that Enthusiasm is frequently more cruel than Atheism, and inordinate Zeal destroys the Effects it would produce.

That of Minos and Scylla, the Infamy of selling our Country; and that even they who reap Advantage from the Crime, detest the Criminal.

(New Pantheon, p. 256)

Boyse next enumerates the lessons taught by the fables of Cippus, Tereus and Midas. Unlike his explanations in the first part of the treatise, Boyse here explicitly states the morals implied by the myths in order to illustrate the serious intentions of classical poetry. Significantly, the Metamorphoses is the poetic model for these moralizations, and this suggests that Boyse believes that Ovid's compendium of myth has a moral

purpose. Since critics like Montfauçon repeatedly charged that mythology was obscene, a charge that brought the Metamorphoses under direct attack, it is important that, at least in this instance, Boyse stresses the moral seriousness of Ovid's work.

In his earlier "Dissertation on the Theology of the Ancients," however, Boyse somewhat tempers this enthusiastic espousal of the didactic potential of mythological poetry. Although he praises the poet who delightfully adorns morality, he also chastises him because he clouds truth by his innumerable fictions:

It is the Province of Poetry to change the Face of Nature, to give Life and Activity to inanimate Beings, Substance and Form to Thought; to deify the Passions, and to create a World of its own. The Poet is not bound by the same Laws as other Men; he has a Power that enables him to create and destroy at Pleasure, and with the same Ease he forms Gods, Heroes, Men, and Monsters. He makes quick Transitions from Reality to Fiction; from Fiction to Reality, and from those Gods which he believes to those of his own creating; and from hence arises a principal Source of that Confusion which has given such different Interpretations to, and which renders it so difficult to explain, the ancient Mythology. The Greek and Roman Poets have carried this License to the most extravagant Length, as they have almost always preferr'd the Marvellous, the Gaudy, and the Sparkling to the Simplicity of Naked Truth. If a Princess died of Grief for the Loss of her Husband, or her Child, she was changed into a Rock or Fountain; instead of saying Cephalus rose with the Sun, Aurora must be in Love with the Youth, and force him abroad.

(New Pantheon, p. 235)

When he describes the poetic faculty, Boyse echoes Dryden's discussion of poetic licence and Addison's explanation of the "strangeness" and marvels found on the enchanted ground of poetry. Unlike Dryden and Addison, though, Boyse comes to the conclusion that the poet's imaginative powers are not always the best means of discovering truth. The poet

has freedom to mediate between the world as it is and the world as he would like it to be, but Boyse suspects that the poet often distorts or confuses reality by using his special liberty of imagination. In mythical stories, especially those rendered in poetry, things as they are are transformed into surrealistic landscapes of things as we wish them to be, locales where the poet actualizes the human desires for fame, glory and immortality, if only through language. Boyse, therefore, expresses a dualistic attitude toward poetry typical of the later eighteenth century. Like the eighteenth-century critics, Boyse believes that poetry is an important instrument of moral instruction, but a questionable source of truth because it distorts reality. Because mythological poetry as a whole seemed to have limited worth, the Metamorphoses, an individual example of the genre, was given only cursory consideration by writers in the latter eighteenth century. As we have seen, Boyse acknowledges that the Metamorphoses contains moral wisdom, and he freely uses the work for source material, and even commends Ovid's deftness in narrating particular fables. In the end, however, Boyse finds himself reverting to his Egyptian hypothesis in order to explain the real truth which the poet's warm fancy has so ingeniously adorned.³⁶

As Boyse's introduction indicates, The New Pantheon signals a major change of intention from the earlier publications of Tooke and King. Whereas The Pantheon and An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes simply communicated the accrued mythographical knowledge about each myth, The New Pantheon constantly seeks the origins of these fables. Because works like Pluche's History of the Heavens, Montfauçon's Antiquities and Banier's Mythology had made eighteenth-century men aware

of the possibility that myths were based upon historical or agricultural facts, and these works induced later mythologists to reexamine their traditional positions. Boyse's treatise shows the way in which these works influenced the English mythological writer, and from about the time of the publication of The New Pantheon, classical handbooks and classical dictionaries begin to exhibit an original strain of English antiquarianism which varies in emphasis from writer to writer. In Spence's Polymetis (1747), Tindal's Polymetis Abridged (1760), Bryant's A New System or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology (1774, 1776), Bell's New Pantheon (1790) and finally, Baldwin's Pantheon (1809), there is a shift from allegorization toward pure report, a change which conforms to the empirical methods of the French mythographers already mentioned.

When he published Polymetis with its fine engravings of ancient statues in an oversized folio edition, Spence intended his work to be a research aid for poets and artists. In his work he wished to illustrate that there "is a natural connection between all the polite arts: and consequently, they may rather seem to meet one another, than to have been brought together by any contrivance" (Polymetis, p. iii). With this thesis ever in mind, he brings together ancient poetry and ancient sculpture, frescoes and bas-reliefs, medals and coins -- all the well-known tools of the antiquarian to show the sisterhood of the arts in classical civilization. In his Preface, Spence contends that his work is fundamentally a descriptive one:

The Plan, that I at first designed for this work, lay much wider; but I found myself obliged to contract it; and therefore confined myself solely to the consideration of the Imaginary or Allegorical Beings; as received among the

Romans, in the better ages of their State. Strictly speaking, I have nothing to do with their Theology: my subject, being the Descriptions and Representations of their Deities; and not the doctrines they held, in relation to them. However, in some more material points, I could not forbear touching now and then on their Philosophical Belief in one true God only; and that peculiar regard that was generally paid by them, to three of their nominal deities above the rest.

(Polymetis, p. v)

Although Spence dismisses classical theology as a subject extraneous to the plan of Polymetis, he can not resist the opportunity to point out the analogies between pagan philosophical monotheism and Christianity, and between the pagan trio of supreme deities and the Blessed Trinity. For the major part of the work, however, Spence adheres to his design of iconographical description of the classical pantheon.

In spite of the advancements made in the study of Greek in the eighteenth century, Spence chooses to limit his research to "the Roman writers only, or such of the Greeks that were quite Romanized" (Polymetis, p. v). To find trustworthy guides for his commentary Spence prefers to seek among the Augustans than to consult the early Greek writers such as Hesiod or Nicander because he believes that the Roman retellings of myth were more stable and consistent and, hence, more reliable than were their Greek counterparts. Of course, Spence is forced to use Ovid's Metamorphoses and Fasti as authoritative guides because of their full treatment of mythological material, but he relegates Ovid's contributions to a secondary place behind the "sacred writ" of the Aeneid because Ovid's authority

. . . is but of a mixt kind: for tho' he enjoyed the same advantage of writing in the Augustan Age, and of living much in Augustus his court, the luxuriance of his fancy and

the incorrectness of his manner of writing may render what he says more doubtful and uncertain.

(Polymetis, p. 44)

Regardless of his association with the civilized and cultured court of Augustus, Ovid allowed his fancy to carry him beyond the pale of poetic decorum. Significantly, Spence uses this common charge against the delinquency of Ovid's wit to discredit the integrity of the poet's narrative production in much the same way that earlier critics had used the immorality of his amorous poems to voice suspicions against his personal conduct.

Earlier, in his brief history of Roman poetry, Spence makes the following severe comments on Ovid's poetic skill and on the relative merits of his various poems:

Ovid endeavoured to shine in too many different kinds of writing at the same time. Besides, he had a redundant genius; and almost always chose rather to indulge, than to give any restraint to it. If one was to give any opinion of the different merit of his several works, one should not perhaps be much beside the truth in saying, that he excels most in his *Fasti*; then perhaps in his love-verses: next, in his heroic epistles; and lastly, in his *Metamorphosis* which . . . has more instances of false wit in it, than perhaps all his former writings put together. One of the things I have heard him most cried up for in that piece, is his transitions from one story to another. The ancients thought differently of this point; and Quintilian, where he is speaking of them, endeavours rather to excuse than to commend him on that head.

(Polymetis, p. 23)

Spence echoes the censures that Trapp and Dryden voiced about Ovid's redundancy, and he repeats Addison's criticism of the mixed wit of his poetry, thus demolishing the edifice of praise which has dignified the Metamorphoses for so many years. Certainly Boyse had already weakened the poem's credibility by his castigation of poetic fancy and mythical

fabrication, two culprits that impeded the progress of mythological study. Because Virgil renders his descriptions of the gods and pagan rites in less fanciful terms than his younger contemporary, Spence readily accepts his pronouncements in mythological matters.³⁷ It is understandable that for Spence's purpose the more factual Fasti would prove of greater service than the Metamorphoses because it is less witty and, therefore, more truthful. Ironically, although he questions the veracity of the Metamorphoses, at many points in Polymetis Spence must rely on Ovid's poem to explain the complex symbols which adorn the statues and paintings that he describes.

Spence's criticism of modern poets and painters reflects this distrust of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Spence intended that Polymetis should serve as a handbook for aspiring artists, and so he tries to show his readers where respected figures -- the poets, Dryden and Spenser, the painters, Rubens and Dominiquin, and emblematisit, Ripa -- have erred because of their imprecise representations of allegorical figures in word or image. Although Spence offers no explicit reason why they made their mistakes, he does suggest that their errors arise because they consulted misleading and outdated sources and because they were too lax to search for the best authorities among the ancients.³⁸ The Metamorphoses, supplemented by the Renaissance mythological handbooks, had served these poets and painters as an important research tool, a guide to the allegories of the ancients. Indirectly, then, Spence again levels criticism at Ovid by censuring the moderns who imitated him.

Spence's Polymetis is both analytical and descriptive, and it not only gives an exact picture of a mythical figure with its allegorical meanings, but it also demonstrates the decorous use of these representations in poetry and paintings. Spence decides that the faults of the moderns show that they misunderstood the purposes of ancient allegories:

Our modern poets, in general, seem not to have had any right ideas of the antient scheme of machinery, till long after the restoration of poetry; not till about the middle of the last century; and even now, very imperfect ones. As they had not the same general plan, nor the same doctrines to go upon, they ran into several errors, in relation to it; both in their own practice, and in their notions of the antients: and several of these continue, in a great degree, to this day. The chief of these mistakes were: first, that machinery was generally used of old only to make a poem look more strange and surprising; and secondly, that the poets were too apt to introduce machines, (or supernatural causes,) where they could not account for events, so naturally as they should: whereas in reality, in the works of the antients, nature and machinery generally go hand in hand; and serve, chiefly, to manifest one another.

(Polymetis, p. 317)

Spence suggests here that modern poets have fallen into two errors concerning the ancients, that classical writers used "machinery" either as mere decoration to embellish their thoughts or as a deus ex machina to resolve their dramatic difficulties. A lengthy example from the Aeneid proves that machinery arises naturally from the dramatic situation in the best poets. Spence asserts that neither of these charges against the ancients is true; for the classical writers, the gods are allegorical representations of natural actions, and the moderns have misunderstood the affinity between Jupiter and lightning, Neptune and storms at sea, and numerous other correspondences (Polymetis, pp. 317-318). Through his analysis of the remains of antiquity, Spence attempts

to rectify these modern deficiencies; he verifies the allegorical representations of the classical artists by the writings of classical authors. To exemplify the decorous use of mythology among the moderns, he inserts a poem, Lowth's "The Choice of Hercules", which recounts the story of Hercules at the crossroads, derived from Xenophon.³⁹ Spence's method of iconographical interpretation establishes a simplified allegorical system of mythology for the modern artist comparable to the clear and easy mode of representation that he discovered among the ancients.⁴⁰

Significantly, Spence not only inspired such moralistic mythological poems as Wilkie's Epigoniad,⁴¹ but he also contributed indirectly to the climate of ideas which encouraged the creation of new mythological systems like Blake's and Shelley's. Spence's Polymetis illustrates the antiquarian phase of the newer and more specialized handbooks produced in the second half of the eighteenth century. Like Boyse, who exploits every opportunity to repeat his thesis on the Egyptian origins of the pagan gods, Spence cultivates every chance to exercise his antiquarian skills to show that there was a correspondence of meaning and form in the ancient arts. Like The New Pantheon, Polymetis shows a change in intention from the earlier mythographical studies: rather than reporting accepted interpretations, Spence investigates his personal hypothesis and tries to show that it is the key to mythological meaning. Tindal's abridgement of Polymetis for the use of schools retains Spence's iconographical and antiquarian discussion intact and excises only the art prints and the "artistic" dialogue form that Spence had employed to make his study of antiquities more interesting and lively.⁴² But Tindal's

work is simply a less costly and more popular form of the "essential Spence" which probably helped to disseminate Spence's ideas to a wider audience.

From the evidence we have derived of the historical, scientific and antiquarian intentions of Boyse and Spence, it is fair to say that Pluche's History of the Heavens, Banier's Mythology, and Montfauçon's Antiquities triggered the shifts in English mythographical studies. The scientific and linguistic approach of Pluche, the historical emphasis of Banier, and the empirical methods of Montfauçon impressed the English common sense and guided it into germinal courses of modern mythological study based on cross-cultural analogies. As part of the new mythographical emphasis, Jacob Bryant's A New System, or An Analysis of Ancient Mythology anticipates the linguistic study of myth and folklore which the Germans were to dominate in the nineteenth century. Although Bryant's treatise now appears to be more of a pedantic curiosity piece than a scholarly document, the attitudes that he expresses toward mythology indicate once more the reasons for Ovid's declining reputation in the later eighteenth century.

In an attempt to solve the dilemmas of the chronologists Le Clerc, Usher and Newton, Bryant tries to establish the origins of the ancient myths and legends by their concordance with the Biblical stories of the creation and the flood (A New System, I, xi-xiii). To accomplish this task he uses the tools of etymology and he illustrates the way in which the corruption of language among post-deluvian men resulted in a misunderstanding of its roots in the Hebrew tongue, an error which

fostered the creation of a pantheon of deities and a plethora of fables in order to explain itself. Bryant purposes in A New System

. . . to give a new turn to ancient history; and to place it upon a surer foundation. The mythology of Greece is a vast assemblage of obscure traditions, which have been transmitted from the earliest times. They were described in hieroglyphics, and have been veiled in allegory: and the same history is often renewed under a different system, and arrangement. A great part of this intelligence has been derived to us from the Poets; by which means it has been rendered still more extravagant, and strange. We find the whole, like a grotesque picture, blazoned high, and glaring with colours, and filled with groups of fantastic imagery, such as we see upon an Indian screen: where the eye is painfully amused; but whence little can be obtained, which is satisfactory, and of service. We must however make this distinction, that in the allegorical representations of Greece there was always a covert meaning, though it may have escaped our discernment. In short we must look upon ancient history as being yet in a chaotic state: where the mind of man has been wearied with roaming over the crude consistence without ever finding out one spot, where it could repose in safety.

(A New System, I, xvii)

Like the mythographers and antiquarians we have previously discussed, Bryant desires to find the true system of mythology by searching through the massive remains of ancient writers. Although he admits that the ancient poets provide the greatest amount of information on the topic, he also charges that because of their fanciful technique, they have rendered mythology "still more extravagant and strange." By means of his linguistic methods, Bryant attempts to pierce the veil of poetic metaphor and simplify the chaos of mythology. He believes that his etymological method explains the analogies between Scripture and myth which had perplexed earlier scholars and had led them into widely divergent interpretations. Relying more heavily on Greek writers than Roman, Bryant chooses his authorities from Lycophon, Callimachus and

Apollonius Rhodius rather than from the common mythological sources, Virgil and Ovid.⁴³ In order to avoid the excrescences of the later poets who transformed and corrupted the remembrances of Scriptural truth concealed in the early mythology, Bryant consistently bases his analyses upon the earliest possible sources he can find. Because the purest sources of mythology were Greek, Bryant utterly rejects the authority of the classical Romans. Whereas Spence had concentrated on the Roman poets because of their civilized and stable descriptions, Bryant, like most religious reformers, contends that the best sources are the most ancient, for these approximate most closely the Biblical stories.

In spite of his interesting participation in the Hellenism of the later eighteenth century, Bryant uses such an eccentric method in his work that it is almost unreadable for the modern student. To refute Bryant's often outlandish system of Hebrew word-roots, Samuel Musgrave reasserts the historical view of mythology, a view which provides a less tortuous way of understanding the meaning of classical theology.⁴⁴ Although both Musgrave and Bryant establish their research upon a Greek foundation, the more conservative view, based upon the Roman mythologists, continued to be more popular. In the mythological dictionary of John Bell, published as A New Pantheon (1790), the views of Tooke, King and Boyse coexist with the antiquarian notions of Spence. Like Polymetis, Bell's New Pantheon advertizes itself as a work from which "ARTISTS OF EVERY PROFESSION, and SCHOLARS of ALL DENOMINATIONS, may hence derive an abundance of information from the best of sources" (Bell's New Pantheon, I, A2^r). This prefatory comment suggests that Bell intended his

dictionary for mature readers, and in addition to this statement, the size of the book, along with its fine art prints engraved for the edition, would make the work financially prohibitive for the average schoolboy. As we shall see, the "best of sources" are none other than the earlier eighteenth-century mythographers, principally King and Boyse. Thus Bell's dictionary conforms to the mythographical principles of the early century at the same time that it interpolates the findings of the later writers.

Let us look once more at the description of Pan as Bell renders it in A New Pantheon:

Orpheus reports, that Pan signifies the universal nature, proceeding from the divine mind and providence, of which the heaven, earth, sea, and the eternal fire, are so many members. Some will have Pan to be the same with the Sun, by whom all things are governed and directed. Mythologists are of opinion that his upper parts are like a man, because the superior and celestial part of the world is beautiful, radiant, and glorious: his horns denote the rays of the Sun, as they beam upwards, and his long beard signifies the same rays, as they have an influence upon the earth; the ruddiness of his face resembles the splendour of the sky; and the spotted skin which he wears is the image of the starry firmament: his lower parts are rough, hairy, and deformed, to represent the shrubs, wild creatures, trees, and mountains here below; his amorous complexion, which impells him to pursue the Nymphs, is the desire of generation, which spreads itself through all beings, who attract matter for that end from the moisture, which is represented by the Nymphs: his goat's feet signify the solidity of the earth; and his pipe of seven reeds, that celestial harmony which is made by the seven planets; lastly, his sheephook denotes that care and providence by which he governs the universe.

(Bell's New Pantheon, II, 155)

Except for a few minor revisions, Bell's explanation repeats that of King quoted earlier in this chapter. This similarity shows that the eighteenth-century mythographers were reluctant to change an interpretation,

even one so complicated as that of Pan, unless their innovations could be reconciled to the traditional scheme.

Where an interpretation of any given myth might raise questions, Bell quickly cites an "authority", usually Banier, Spence or Pluche. For instance, when he describes the variety of figures of Pan discovered among ancient remains, he bases his discussion on the authority of a direct quotation from Polymetis (Bell's New Pantheon, II, 155). In his consideration of the Phaeton myth, Bell borrows freely from Boyse for the basic story without acknowledging him, but when he explains the agricultural theory of the myth's origins, he names Pluche as its author (Bell's New Pantheon, II, 172). In his concluding comments on the myth, Bell says that "Other writers, in conformity with the more obvious meaning of the fable, have limited its import to the rash presumption and obstinacy of young people, who refuse to be guided by those whose wisdom and authority ought to comfort them" (Bell's New Pantheon, II, 172). This statement reveals the double standard used by Bell; for the traditional commentary, which men of common sense have already accepted, he offers no specific source, but for the more novel hypotheses like Pluche's, he provides the authorial origin of the notion. Of course to cite the entirety of "other writers" who subscribe to the conventional meaning of the Phaeton myth would probably prove impossible for Bell, but he does copy the bulk of his text without acknowledging any source (even when it is possible), except when he treats newer speculations on the myths.

Although published in the late eighteenth century, Bell's cautious and conventional handbook exhibits the conservative features

of the Augustan Age. Its publication, however, had a more immediate cause -- the critical reaction against Lempriere's Classical Dictionary (1788). At once more scholarly and less conventional than Bell, Lempriere provides his reader with bibliographies of classical works in which to find the myths, but he resists making direct allegorical comments beyond the iconographical.⁴⁵ While he has obviously used the earlier mythographers to facilitate his researches, he remains independent of them to a greater degree than Bell whose work reads like an encyclopedic compilation of the earlier writers. Perhaps because critics attacked Lempriere for his repeated impreciseness and many errors, Bell believed that to reissue the older materials would prove a more popular and acceptable alternative.⁴⁶ Ironically, it is A Classical Dictionary and not Bell's New Pantheon that continues to be revised and republished during the nineteenth century both in England and in America, making Bell's work the last major attempt to assert an "Augustan" view of mythology.⁴⁷

Because he no longer fears that mythology will lead youth into the paths of heathenism, Baldwin's reworking of The Pantheon (1809) illustrates the nineteenth-century enlightened ideas of the way in which the religious beliefs of the ancients should be taught to young students. According to Baldwin, the Grecian gods are beautifully suited to poetic expression because

They appear to have been scarcely ever contemplated with those deep emotions which render the mind incapable of yielding to the flights of fancy; at the same time that, as partaking of the seriousness and magnificence of a polished religion, they were in no danger of ranking among the unsubstantial creation of a fairy region.

(The Pantheon (1809), p. v)

As characters who mediate between the extremes of sublime awe and childish fancy, the Greek gods can be adapted to the uses of the poet who seeks to express the magnificence of imagination without plunging into the trivialities of goblins, fairies and witches. By retelling the stories of the Hellenic deities and by describing their icons, Baldwin tries to redeem the Greek pantheon from the "elaborate calumny" in the "coarsest thoughts and words" which he has found in Tooke's Pantheon (The Pantheon (1809), pp. v-vi). Because of Tooke's objectionable methods, Baldwin feels compelled to reassert the beauties of classical religion in order to create a more "agreeable" text for his young readers.

Significantly, Baldwin writes his work with a new conception of what parts of mythology a young student needs to know. First, he reduces the number of commentaries by concentrating on the Greek gods and by simply retelling their stories. Avoiding the involved interpretations of the previous mythographers, he organizes his material into a more unified whole. Yet, although Baldwin often treats the myths as allegories, his definition of that form is quite different than Tooke's or King's. For Baldwin, allegory is "the personifying, or giving visible forms, to abstract ideas [W]hen Homer introduces Minerva as checking the sudden rage of Achilles, he may very well be understood as meaning that the Wisdom or Prudence of Achilles' own mind on second thoughts produced this effect" (The Pantheon (1809), p. 9). Like Spence, Baldwin defines allegory as the personification of abstractions which he exemplifies by the calming of Achilles' rage in the Iliad. Instead of the complex moral, historical, and physical meanings which the earlier mythologists found in the myths, Baldwin gives only the most limited

rendering of allegory, such as the identification of a god with a certain virtue or group of virtues. When we read the name of Apollo we substitute "eloquence", or when we read Athena we think immediately of "wisdom", and so on for the other gods, with little further moral comment.⁴⁸ This method takes him farther afield from the classical sources than any previous mythologist and moves him closer to the nineteenth-century story-book myths recounted by Hawthorne in The Wonder Book.⁴⁹

How did the Metamorphoses fare amidst all this change? Obviously, with the growing demand for older and more dependable materials, its authoritative position as a mythological source became increasingly tenuous. Because of the earlier critical censures of Ovid's warm fancy, Spence, as early as 1747, questions its reliability for descriptive purposes. Although he cites the Metamorphoses many times in his bibliographies, Lempriere includes it only as one of many ancient treatments of myth. Finally, since Bryant and Baldwin concentrate their researches on the less complicated Hellenic cycle of gods and heroes, they avoid the Metamorphoses altogether. As its authority decreased, so did the respect which critics paid the poem. Certainly, as we have seen, the transformations of allegory -- from the multi-leveled Renaissance conception used by Tooke, King and Boyse and copied by Bell, to the simple theory of personified abstraction held by Spence and Baldwin -- had a profound effect on the interpretation of the Metamorphoses. As long as men of common sense agreed on the deeper meaning of the fables, the Metamorphoses could be read as a work infused with moral and philosophical wisdom. When scholars such as Spence, however, dismiss it as poetic reverie, then it quickly loses its prestige and becomes

associated with the more fantastic aspects of the fairy-story. As we have already seen in Steadman's comments on mythology in the previous chapter, by the last part of the eighteenth century, the Metamorphoses had become a classic relegated to children's study.

2. Editions and Translations of the "Metamorphoses":
The Persistence of the Allegorical Method

In their shifting emphases, the editions and translations of the Metamorphoses in the eighteenth century reflect the changing attitudes toward allegory that we have already traced in the works of the eighteenth-century mythologists. Indeed, the very idea of metamorphosis underwent revision from the "divine miracles" which Dryden describes in his Preface to the Aeneid, to the "puerilities" which Johnson condemns in his "Life of Pope". When we study the prefaces and annotations of the three major translations of the century, Garth's (1717), Sewell's (1721), and Bailey's (1748), we discover how persistently eighteenth-century men held to the notion of the allegorized Ovid. Yet, as the century progresses, we find editions of the Metamorphoses issued solely for the use of students, a fact which parallels the belief that, except in its most specialized aspects, the study of mythology was a pastime appropriate only for children.⁵⁰ However profoundly Ovid's reputation changed by the end of the century, the early eighteenth-century editions of the Metamorphoses confirm the existence of the allegorized Ovid and the interest which authors, both major and minor, took in the poem's translation.

Before looking at the English translations of the Metamorphoses, we should briefly consider two Latin editions of the poem published in

the early eighteenth century: Michael Mattaire's (1715), based on Heinsius's text, and Peter Burmann's (1727), a new edition which remained the standard text until the late nineteenth century. 51

Mattaire issues his small, unannotated, three-volume collection of Ovid's Works as part of an ambitious project to publish popular-priced duo-decimo editions of all the classical poets. In his Dedication he indicates the value of a poet such as Ovid whose style brings pleasure while his argument instructs:

Hoc est Ovidio peculiare, quod cuilibet discipulorum aetati se accommodet; quippe cujus stylus pro ea, quam tractat, materia, & qua usus est forte, varius; ubique purus; aliquando humilior est & demissior paulo, nunquam languidus; alias alacrius & laetius se erigit, nunquam tumidus: eo denique vultu a natura ad omnem fortunarum habitum formatur, ut non secus adsit flentibus humanis, quam ridentibus arrideat: sui semper aequae ac suae fortunae similis. Authores plerique alii hujus vel illius Classis proprii sunt: Naso autem ab infima ad summam praelegi solet; & singulis suppeditat, quod, ut est discentium captus progressusque, placere possit & intellegi.

(Mattaire, Metamorphoses, p. A5^F)

[It is a special characteristic of Ovid that he adapts himself to any age-level of student; for his style is varied according to the subject matter he treats and whatever fortune (good or bad) he experienced; everywhere plain; sometimes a little too colloquial and low, but never feeble; at other times it rises to a quite excited and joyful level, but is never bombastic; in short it is always adapted to every condition of fortune so that it is no less comforts weeping mortals as it laughs with men who laugh; it is always equally appropriate to itself and its circumstances. Most authors are appropriate either for this or that level; Nasco, however, is usually lectured on from the lowest class to the highest. And he generously supplies to individuals what can please and be understood, according to the capacity and development of those learning.]

Mattaire's comment stresses the liveliness of Ovid's style and its naturally emotive quality. He considers the variety of the poet commendable because it creates a wide range of interest among students of different ages. Because of his universal appeal and his qualities of quickness, strength, and ease, the qualities which distinguish the Ovidian manner, Mattaire rates Ovid as a classical author of singular merit. A teacher himself, Mattaire emphasizes the importance of several of Ovid's poems in the school curriculum instead of discussing their merits for the non-academic reader. Concerning the study of the Metamorphoses, he states

Deinde postquam molestam illam Grammaticae satis digesserit cramben, & ad Poesin se converterit, qualem quantisque & quot miraculis sparsum, ubi pede jam certo exultet & se exerceat, campum aperiunt Metamorphoses, quibus nil artificiosius & jucundius; quodque puerilem, qui in horas mutatur animum plus recreet; novitatisque avidum novis subinde illecebris moretur.

(Mattaire, Metamorphoses, p. A5^v)

[Thereafter when he has digested the stale cabbage of Grammar by sufficient repetition and turned to poetry, what sort of plain does the Metamorphoses reveal, sprinkled with so many wonderful things, a plain where he can surely kick up his heels and stretch himself. For nothing is more artful or joyous (than the Metamorphoses) for it refreshes the youthful spirit which changes every hour, and it entertains the mind greedy for novelty with constantly fresh delights.]

According to Mattaire, the Metamorphoses has a special appeal for youth: just as the young change from hour to hour, so, too, the poem proceeds rapidly from transformation to transformation. By means of its kaleidoscopic wonders, the Metamorphoses amuses the young student and beguiles him into useful study. Although he describes the poem as one particularly appropriate to the interests of the young, he nevertheless

asserts the technical skill of Ovid in the Metamorphoses, and he recommends it as a poetic model. Mattaire concentrates on the usefulness of the Metamorphoses, an emphasis which follows from his stated purpose to provide a text for schools and universities. Because he concerns himself with textual matters rather than commentary, Mattaire keeps his remarks brief, limiting them to his Dedication. While he does not explicitly impute allegorical meaning to Ovid, the guidance of the instructor or the use of handbooks would put such interpretations before the student. Significantly, Mattaire encourages youth to read the Metamorphoses and he does not criticize Ovid's wit nor does he condemn his paganism, a more open attitude toward the Metamorphoses than even King manifests.

Whereas Mattaire's edition of Ovid's Works shows his continued popularity as an author in the schools, Peter Burmann's 1727 edition of the Works confirms that scholars still took an interest in the Roman poet. Furnished with the variorum notes of the editors of Ovid from the Renaissance to his own time, Burmann's edition of the Metamorphoses shows the way in which scholars had studied the poem. Mattaire's edition attempted to justify the study of Ovid's works by students, but Burmann's work tried to establish a scholarly text which limits the bulk of his argument to philological problems. Because he includes the prefaces, vitae, and testimonia from all the editions of Ovid published before his own, Burmann's work is an encyclopedic collection of learned opinion on the Roman poet.⁵²

Burmann's own Preface deals with the problems which he faced as an editor and contains scathing comments on his more recent competitors

in the field, but it offers little evidence of his attitudes toward Ovid's Metamorphoses. When he performs his editorial duties, he collects materials, emends and annotates where he thinks it necessary, but he makes no overt attempt to define meaning or to judge Ovid's competence as a poet. In a way, he epitomizes the Neo-classical scholarship of the "word" which Pope satirized in The Dunciad.⁵³ The magnificent four-volume variorum edition of Ovid's Works, however, in which Burmann invested at least twelve years of his life, attests to a certain value which he placed upon Ovid.⁵⁴

Although philology predominates in the notes collected from Raphael Regius, Hercules Ciofanis, Nicholas Heinsius, and others, in certain annotations, such as those of Micyllus and Farnaby, we find interpretations that go beyond the simple meaning of the Latin word. In the note to Metamorphoses, I, 236, for example, Burmann includes Micyllus's gloss on the transformation of Lycaon:

Pausanias autem in Arcadicis, Lycaonem & Cecropem coetaneos fuisse scribit. Verumtamen quod ad res divinas attineret, alterum altero sapientiozem. Nam Cecropem primum omnium Jovem vocasse summum, & iis, quaecunque animata forent, abstinuisse, placentas autem & bellaria altaribus consecrasse. Contra autem Lycaonem, ut immaniozem, infantem altaribus adductum mactasse, Jovique Lycaeo immolasse. Quamobrem statim eundem inter sacrificandum in Lupum conversum. Idque etiam credibile vult videri, propterea quod prima illa aetate Dii atque homines promiscue inter se versati sint, nec dum tanta malitia in terris fuerit. Proinde, etiam deorum mensis homines fuisse adhibitos & siquis impie agere coepisset, coram ac statim punitum. Sic Lycaonem hunc in lupum, sic Nioben in saxum postea conversa.

(Burmann, Ovid's Works, II, 40-41)

[Pausanias, however, in the Arcadian section (of his Description of Greece, Book 8) writes that Lycaon and Cecrops were of the same age. However, the one was more wise where the gods were concerned. For Cecrops was the first to call Jupiter "Highest" and to dedicate cakes and desserts at the altars to the service

of the gods. On the other hand, Lycaon, being less civilized, was brought to the altar as a babe, slaughtered (a victim) and offered it to Jupiter Lyceus. Therefore, even as he was sacrificing he was straightway turned into a wolf. And he also wants it to seem credible that in that first age gods and men mingled freely together, and that wickedness was not yet present on earth. Accordingly men were invited to the tables of the gods, and if any one began to act impiously, he was openly and immediately punished. That (is) why Lycaon was transformed into a wolf and later Niobe into a rock.]

Micyllus accepts Pausanias's belief in the historical existence of Lycaon, supposedly a contemporary of Cecrops, the eponymous founder of Athens, but he also employs the myth as an example of the way in which men fell away from the Arcadian life into tyranny, murder, and impiety because of the practice of human sacrifice. Micyllus's comment shows his acquaintance with the recondite materials of mythography, a knowledge which enriches his reading and gives the fable a credibility as ancient truth. Although Burmann includes only excerpts of Micyllus's notes because of their length, the fact that he does use certain of the earlier mythologist's interpretations, including ones such as that on the flood of Deucalion which draws parallels to the Biblical deluge,⁵⁵ demonstrates that such readings played some part in the total picture of the Metamorphoses which Burmann wished to present to his readers.

In the testimonials and prefaces which Burmann appends to his edition of Ovid's Works, he included important material which is indicative of the early eighteenth-century's esteem for the Metamorphoses. One of the testimonials, taken from Borrichius's de Poetis Dissertatione I, Burmann believed significant enough to print twice: first, in his

shorter 1714 edition of Ovid's Works in which he announced his intention to print the variorum, and later, in the completely annotated edition of 1727.⁵⁶ Since the comment is Borrichius's general estimation of Ovid's poetry, it is, of course, quite succinct. Concerning the Metamorphoses, Borrichius states

non illo quidem stylo sublimi Epico, sed, tamen decoro,
arguto, numeroso exarati, & hoc ipso, ut caeterae virtutes
praetereantur, ingeniosissimi, quod miro artificio omnes
propemodum veterum fabulas ab initio orbis, ad sua usque
tempora perpetua serie, & velut catena quadam amabili
connectant.

(Burmann, Ovid's Works, IV, 227)

[They are written, not it is true, in that lofty epic style, but still in a decorous, lively, melodious style, and to pass over all their other excellencies, they are most clever in this respect, that with marvellous skill, almost all the tales of the ancients, from the beginning of the world up to his own time entwine in an unbroken succession, by a kind of love chain.]

Although he recognizes that the Metamorphoses does not achieve the sublime style of the epic, yet Borrichius credits the poem with a proper, sagacious and various manner suitable to its argument. When he praises the skillful connections of the stories, he provides a scholarly authority for the appreciation which the Augustans showed toward Ovid's technique. Interestingly, Borrichius concentrates on Ovid's poetic skill in the Metamorphoses, the art which enabled the poet to weave the fables into a unified poem covering the period from the creation of the world to his own time. Borrichius does not hint that there is any deeper meaning in the poem, even though he notes the "wisdom" of its style. Generally the prefaces and testimonials in Burmann's Appendix enlarge upon one or another aspect of the style and character of Ovid's Metamorphoses;

they stress its exhibition of poetic facility, or its learning or they argue for the usefulness of the poem as a document of classical wisdom.⁵⁷

As R. H. Coon has shown, Burmann's edition records the development of Ovid's reputation from the Renaissance through the eighteenth century, and, by doing so, proves the continued value placed upon the Metamorphoses by scholars.⁵⁸

In these Latin prefaces and notes we find some of the materials from which the Augustans drew their critical opinions about Ovid. By and large, however, Sir Samuel Garth's Preface to the translation of the Metamorphoses (1717) is the most important specimen of Ovidian criticism in the early eighteenth century. The fact that eminent Augustan poets such as Congreve, Rowe, Pope, Addison, and Gay contributed translations to the volume, adds to Garth's remarks the authority of common assent among the cultured literary men of his time.⁵⁹ Later writers such as Crusius, and the English translators of Bayle's Dictionary, borrow from Garth's Preface and refer their readers to it as the most comprehensive discussion of the Metamorphoses in English.⁶⁰ Likewise, as I will show, Nathan Bailey, a later English translator of the Metamorphoses, paraphrases the Preface in many of his remarks about the poem. This continued reference to the Preface shows how significant it was to Ovidian critics in the first part of the century.

Within the brief scope of his prefatory comments, Garth deals with the two major problems that had perplexed critics of Ovid's Metamorphoses. First, he justifies the poet's style by a detailed comparison with Virgil, and secondly, he elucidates his meaning by a lengthy explanation of his allegories. In the Augustan criticism which

I discussed in Chapter II, we saw that both these topics were crucial and required further explanation in order to strengthen the position of the Metamorphoses as a serious literary work. Importantly, Garth's comments on these two subjects not only reflect the attitudes of the early eighteenth century, but also set the tone of criticism for at least the next thirty years.⁶¹

When he examines Ovid's style, Garth tries "to take Notice of some of the Beauties of the Metamorphoses, and also the Faults" (Garth, Preface to Metamorphoses, p. i). By assessing the poem honestly, Garth believes that he can rectify the inconsistencies that have hindered a just estimation of the poet's talents. Because he believes that the "critical Spirit of the Nation" (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xv) has treated Ovid with a harshness beyond what he deserved, Garth explains in the Preface that his own position is neutral:

I shall not pretend to impose my Opinions on others with the magisterial Authority of a Critic; but only take the Liberty of discovering my own Taste. I shall endeavour to show our Poet's Redundance of Wit, Justness of Comparisons, Elegance of Descriptions, and peculiar Delicacy in touching every Circumstance relating to the Passions, and Affections; and with the same Impartiality, and Frankness, I shall confess the too frequent Puerilities of his luxuriant Fancy, and the too great Negligence of his sometimes unlabour'd Versification.

(Preface to Metamorphoses, p. i)

As an impartial critic, Garth speaks in the character of a man of taste who discusses with, rather than dictates to, his peers. The topics that he is concerned with here are similar to those found in the comments of Addison, Dryden and Trapp. As we have already noted, Dryden mentions Ovid's redundancy and his immature wit, and furthermore, he praises

his competent descriptions of dramatic scenes of passion in the Metamorphoses. Likewise the beauties and defects which Garth outlines here parallel those which Addison treats in his notes to the translation of the Metamorphoses, I and II. Because Addison's translation, with several fables added specifically for the occasion, comprises Book II of Garth's edition, we can reasonably conclude that not only does Addison know Garth's criticism, but also that Garth was well aware of Addison's attitudes toward the Metamorphoses. While he admits that Garth's censures partake of the mixed criticisms of the eighteenth-century critics, Hardin's recent article curiously passes over his stylistic comments in order to study his ideas of allegory.⁶² I believe that these remarks deserve to be looked at more closely because they modify somewhat the derogatory view of Ovid that emerges from that "magisterial . . . Critic", Trapp.⁶³

Following Trapp's example, as well as Dryden's, Garth analyzes the various aspects of Ovid's style in the Metamorphoses by comparing them with those of Virgil in the Aeneid. When he places Virgil's description of the death of the stag which precipitated the war between the Trojans and the Retulians (Aeneid, VII, 483 ff.), alongside Ovid's picture of the stag accidentally slaughtered by Cyparissus (Metamorphoses, X, 108 ff.), Garth concludes that, at least in this instance, Ovid's descriptive powers produce an image "not of less Dignity" than Virgil's (Preface to Metamorphoses, pp. iv-v). Again, when he compares the use of similes in the two poems, he rules in favor of the younger poet's manner, stating that in Ovid's similes, "There is . . . a Simplicity, and a Confinement to the present Object; always a Fecundity of Fancy,

but rarely an Intemperance: nor do I remember he was err'd above once by an ill-judg'd Superfluity" (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. vii).

Concerning Virgil's similes, Garth says that

Tho' the Poet be justly celebrated for a most consummate Judgment, yet by an Endeavour to imitate Homer's Similie's [sic], he is not only very long, but by introducing several Circumstances, he fails of an applicable Relation betwixt the principal Subject, and his new Ideas. He sometimes thinks fit to work into the Piece some differing Embroidery, which, tho' very rich, yet makes at best but glorious Patch-work.

(Preface to Metamorphoses, p. viii)

Although this remark might be dismissed as an indication of Garth's ignorance of the internal logic of Virgil's and Homer's methods of drawing similes, it can be observed that it also diverges from the normal praise which eighteenth-century critics lavished on Virgil at Ovid's expense.⁶⁴ Garth agrees that Ovid too frequently "expatiates on the same Thought, in different Words" (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. vii), but he also believes that in his similes the poet has restrained his fancy to a greater degree than Virgil.

Aside from his succinct and precise similes, Garth contends that Ovid displays his talent most in his compliments, in his artful transitions and in his treatment of the passion of love. Garth can only praise the compliments to Augustus in Metamorphoses, XIV which have "a great Sublimity, and [are] worthy the Grandeur of the Heroes, and the Wit of the Poet" (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. ix). Furthermore, he judges them to be as good as the compliments in "the Georgicks of Virgil, which also strike the Imagination by their agreeable Flattery" (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. ix). When he discusses Ovid's narrative

skill in the Metamorphoses, Garth commends "with how much Ease" the poet moves "into some new Circumstance, without any Violation of the Unity of the Story" (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. viii), and he offers no comparative illustration from Virgil because he expects that most men will agree that Ovid artfully unified the diverse threads of his narrative, as indeed, even Trapp does.⁶⁵ Finally, he recognizes that Ovid has a special genius for creating scenes which express the passion of love, and, like Dennis, Garth emphasizes the naturalness of these dramatic episodes using the passion of Byblis as an example:

This last Fable shows how touchingly the Poet argues in Love Affairs, as well as those of Medea and Scylla. The last two are left by their Heroes, and their Reflections are very Natural, and Affecting. Ovid seem'd here to have had Virgil's Passion of Dido in his Eye, but with this difference; the one had convers'd much with Ladies, and knew they lov'd to talk a great deal: The other consider'd no less, what was natural for them to say, than what became them to say.

(Preface to Metamorphoses, p. x)

Although Garth believes that both Ovid and Virgil depict scenes of love with a realism that affects their readers, he realizes that each produces this effect by different means. As a courtier, Ovid draws the dialogue of his female melancholics from experience, and, therefore, because he is knowledgeable of the habits of the gentler sex, he has them expound upon their passion at great length. Virgil's dialogue arises from the imaginative scene itself rather than from life, and so he confines Dido's recriminations and passionate rejoinders to the situation at hand. Thus while both poets arouse similar sentiments in their reading audience, they do so by antithetical means.

Speaking as a man of taste who voices not only his own preferences but also those of his distinguished contributors, Garth does for Ovid's Metamorphoses what Addison did for Milton's Paradise Lost⁶⁶ -- he popularizes the work by criticizing it fully, pointing out its beauties and its flaws. Several of the early eighteenth-century critics admired the "beauties" of the Metamorphoses, but the poem needed a complete and impartial critique dealing with the thorny points of Ovid's exuberant style, a critique which would evaluate the poem and give a just estimation of its merits in relation to other classical works. In order to remain unbiased, Garth does not indulge in the idol worship which critics such as Trapp did; he does not posit Virgil's art as the stylistic yardstick against which to measure Ovid's poetic acumen. Instead of this dogmatic approach, he concedes to Virgil maturity and judgment but he notes that Virgil, too, has his excesses. Garth then illustrates the way in which Ovid shared a qualified poetic success like that of his elder contemporary:

As I ought to be on this Occasion an Advocate for Ovid, whom I think is too much run down at present by the critical Spirit of this Nation; I dare say I cannot be more effectually so, than by comparing him in many Places with his admir'd Contemporary Virgil; and tho' the last certainly deserves the Palm, I shall . . . show how much [Ovid] is honoured by the Contention But the Sun has its Spots; and if amongst Thousands of inimitable Lines, there shou'd be some found of an unequal Dignity with the rest, nothing can be said for their Vindication more, than, if they be Faults, they are the Faults of Virgil.

(Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xv)

Ovid's errors are also Virgil's errors, and if the critics have forgiven the elder poet for his faults, then they ought to likewise absolve the younger writer. Garth says that because Ovid abandoned

the Metamorphoses when he went into exile, the poem was transmitted to later generations in a relatively unfinished state. On the other hand, although Virgil protested that his work was imperfect and asked that the poem be burned at his death, Virgil's Aeneid, Garth contends, was a complete and polished poem.⁶⁷ Thus Garth excuses Ovid's poetic faults in the Metamorphoses:

It must be granted, that where there appears an infinite Variety of inimitable Excellencies, it would be too harsh, and disingenuous to be severe on such Faults, as have escap'd rather thro' want of Leisure, and Opportunity to correct, than thro' the erroneous Turn of a deprav'd Judgment.

(Preface to Metamorphoses, p. i)

While Garth admits that Ovid is at times redundant and verbose, errors resulting from his failure to revise the Metamorphoses, at the same time, he praises those poetic virtues, which, as we have seen, he believes compare favorably with Virgil's.

From the evidence of the poem itself, Garth absolves Ovid from all of the immorality of which critics accused him. Concerning the poet's character, he remarks that "through the whole Texture of this Work, Ovid discovers the highest Humanity, and most exceeding good Nature. The Virtuous in Distress are always his Concern; and his Wit contrives to give them an Immortality with himself" (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xi). For Garth, Ovid's treatment of the perils of virtue reveals true morality: in a real and human manner he handles situations of passion which have often, like the story of Hecuba in Metamorphoses, XIII, provided materials for tragedy. When Dryden and Dennis praise Ovid's dramatic sense of expression, it is this heightened manner with which he deals with tragic events to which they refer. As

Dennis admits in his analysis of the passion of Byblis and as Dryden allows in his discussion of the Medea episode, the Metamorphoses reveals that Ovid had a potential talent for dramatic writing, a lively eloquence and a feeling for human problems which adds force to his instructive allegories.⁶⁸ When he transforms the raw materials of legend and life into poetry, Ovid bestows a kind of immortality upon his "Virtuous in Distress". Just as Ovid predicted his name would live as long as men read the Metamorphoses, so, too, would his characters be eternal with the drama of his poem.

In this sane and deliberate criticism of the Metamorphoses, Garth answers the charges of stylistic immaturity and personal immorality which critics had made against Ovid and his poem. In the same controlled manner, Garth defines the inherent meaning of the Metamorphoses. While he agrees that the poem contains a wealth of interesting stories told in an engaging style, yet he realizes that these fables of the ancient gods and heroes communicate moral lessons to their readers.

Like King's An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes, Garth's Preface classifies allegory in the traditional Renaissance way. Garth completes his dissertation on Ovid by "taking Notice of the Justness, and Perspicuity of his Allegories; which are either Physical, or Natural; Moral; or Historical" (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xv). Garth then exemplifies what he means by these various types of allegories:

Of the first Kind is the Fable of Apollo, and Python;
in the Explanation of this all the Mythologists agree;
Exhalations and Mists being the constant Effects of
Inundations, are here dissipated by the Rays of the Sun.

Of the Second Kind, are Actaeon torn to Pieces by his own Pack of Dogs, and Erisichthon starv'd by the Disease of Hunger. These two Allegories seem to signify, that Extravagance and Luxury end in Want.

Of the Third, is the Story of the Rape of Europa. History says, she was the Daughter to Agenor, and carry'd by the Candians in a Gally, bearing a Bull in the Stern, in order to be marry'd to one of their Kings nam'd Jupiter.

(Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xv)

In his explanations of the three types of allegory operative in the Metamorphoses, Garth echoes not only King's An Historical Account but also Bacon's De Sapientia Veterum, one of the hallmarks of late Renaissance mythography. Garth makes no attempt to extend his search for allegorical meaning into the field of religion, but rather, like Tooke and King, he confines his interpretations to those which avoid the "mystical" sense. Garth devotes only a paragraph to "divine" allegories, by which he means the explanations of the Proserpine and Vertumnus myths (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xvi). For such theological explanations, he refers his readers to Sandys, who "by a laborious Search amongst the Mythologists, [has] been very Full. He has annex'd his Explanations to the end of each Book, which deserve to be recommended to those, that are Curious in this figurative Learning" (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xvi). Ironically, this comment which Hardin finds outdated parallels Pope's boyhood affection for Sandys's Ovid and Dryden's praise of the translation.⁶⁹ The agreement of these three writers confirms that while the concept might be reactionary, Augustan men had not lost their taste for allegory. Indeed, we have already seen that although they rejected the absurdities of the neo-Platonic or

religious explanations because they bore the marks of papism, yet they agreed with Garth that the Metamorphoses contained worthwhile ethical instruction.

As a man of taste, Garth expects allegory to follow certain rules:

Allegories should be obvious, and not like Meteors in the Air, which represent a different Figure to every different Eye. Now they are Armies of Soldiers; now Flocks of Sheep; and by and by, nothing.

Perhaps the Criticks of a more exalted Taste, may discover such Beauties in the antient Poetry, as may escape the Comprehension of us Pigmies of a more limited Genius. They may be able to fathom the Divine Sense of the Pagan Theology; whist [sic] we aim at no more, than to judge of a little common Sense.

(Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xvi)

Like Hughes's "On Allegorical Poetry", Garth's Preface demands that allegory be immediately comprehensible and that it bear a universal meaning.⁷⁰ Whimsical allegories, like those which Swift satirizes in his explanation of "Merlin's Prophecy" in the Bickerstaff Papers, elicit eccentric interpretations.⁷¹ Spawned by a falsely ingenious explanation of an historical event, these poems or fables are meaningful for the moment, but quickly become obscure. When stories deal with general truths, as those in the Metamorphoses do, they can readily be understood by the community of readers. Both Garth and Hughes agree that allegory must be clear in order to be comprehensible, and in a flourish of ironic understatement Garth parries a thrust at modern mythographers who profess to understand the arcane truths of pagan theology. Echoing, to some extent, Temple's "Essay on Ancient and Modern Learning", he scoffs at those "Critics of a more exalted Taste" who think they have discovered

the "divine" key to ancient mythology, while he and the "Pigmies of more limited Genius" seek only those meanings which are plain to common sense.⁷² Thus perspicuity and obviousness are the primary requisites for the proper use of allegory -- two qualities which Garth describes as being characteristic of the Metamorphoses.

Although he must answer an objection against Ovid's loose pictures of the gods to support his claim, Garth regards the Metamorphoses as "an excellent System of Morality" (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xv). As we have already seen, rapes, adulteries, and murders characterize the stories of the pagan gods and provide the basis for the critical attack on the immorality of the pagan theology. While Garth admits that Ovid shares in this common error of the Ancients, he pleads mitigating circumstances for his fables:

One must consider, that what appear'd an Absurdity in Ovid, is not so much his own Fault, as that of the Times before him. The Characters of the Gods of the old Heroick Age represented them unjust in their Actions; mutable in their Designs; partial in their Favours; ignorant of Events; scurrilous in their Language.

(Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xv)

The depiction of the gods as brutal, arbitrary manipulators of men in earlier poetry, like the Iliad, proves to Garth's satisfaction that Ovid did not originate this blasphemous treatment of divinity in the Metamorphoses. Because he chose to retell an inherited series of well-known fables, Ovid had to narrate them in their conventional form in order to meet his reader's expectations. Later in this section of the Preface, Garth observes that Ovid "takes commonly an honourable care of the Decorum of the Godhead, when their Actions are consistent

with the Divinity of their Character" (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xvi). This comment suggests that Garth recognizes a satirical tone in Ovid's treatment of the escapades of the gods, particularly in a story such as that of the bi-sexual Tiresias who was called upon to answer Juno's questions and was struck blind when he responded honestly (Metamorphoses, III, 316-337). Garth also realizes, however, that when the gods engage themselves in godlike actions and not in petty deeds, Ovid describes them in a divine light as he does in the story of Philemon and Baucis.

Once Garth has dealt with this objection against the scurrility of Ovid's gods, he then considers the Metamorphoses as a series of moral tales and offers twenty-two examples of the "excellent Lessons of Morality Ovid has given us in the course of his Fables" (Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xvi). If we look at a few of these "Lessons", we will notice that they are similar to the moralizations from Boyse's New Pantheon:

The Story of Deucalion, and Pyrrha teaches, that Piety and Innocence cannot miss of the divine Protection, and the only loss irreparable is that of our Probity, and Justice.

That of Phaeton; how the too great tenderness of the Parent proves a cruelty to the Child; and that he, who wou'd climb to the Seat of Jupiter, generally meets with his Bolt by the way.

The Tale of Baucis and Philemon is most inimitably told. He omits not the minutest Circumstance of a Cottage Life; and is much fuller than Virgil, where he brings in his contented old Man Corycius. Ovid represents a good old Couple; happy, and satisfy'd in a cleanly Poverty; hospitable, and free of the few things, that Fortune had given them; moderate in Desires; affectionate in their conjugal Relation; so religious in Life, that when they observ'd their homely Cabbin rising to a Temple, all the Bounty they ask'd of the Gods they had entertain'd, was, that they might do the Office of Priesthood there; and at their Death, not survive one another.

The Stories of Lycaon, and Pentheus, not only deter from Infidelity, and Irreverence to the Gods; but the last also shows, that too great Zeal produces the same Effects, as none at all; and that Enthusiasm is often more cruel, than Atheism.

The Story of Minos and Scylla represents the Infamy of selling our Country; and teaches, that even they who love the Crime, abhor the Criminal.

(Preface to Metamorphoses, pp. xvi-xvii)

Garth concentrates on the moral explanations of the various fables as Boyse does later in The New Pantheon. Specifically, Garth's interpretation of the Phaeton myth expresses the conventional reasoning about the story that we have seen before: it is a lesson to doting parents and a warning to ambitious men who seek to rise above their proper station. Like the remarks of Tooke and King, Garth's comments are consistent with the Renaissance interpretation of the myth found in Sandys. Because they are part of longer prefatory comments on the poem, Garth keeps his allegorizations succinct, but even in their brevity, they clearly express the moral meaning which men of common sense found in Ovid's fables. Thus Garth dwells on these ethical explanations, almost to the exclusion of the other levels of allegorical reading, a concentration which suggests that he believed that this type of interpretation best fulfilled the requirements of clarity and easy comprehension, the qualities by which he characterized good allegory.

Garth's Preface, then, presents a critical review of the Metamorphoses which stresses not only the stylistic excellence of the poet but also his moral rectitude. Garth illustrates the ethical meaning of the poem by means of the conventional allegorical interpretations of the myths, a mode of criticism which definitely links him with the previous translators of the Metamorphoses, Goldyng and Sandys. From

the impartial attitude and the forthright tone of the Preface, it is difficult for me to agree that Garth was merely paying lip-service to an outdated critical mode.⁷³ Certainly when we find quotations from Garth's Preface placed alongside such traditional Ovidian criticism as King's Preface to The Art of Love and Dryden's Preface to Ovid's Epistles in the English translation of Bayle's Dictionary, we must conclude that the translators respected Garth's comments and thought them neither idiosyncratic nor polemical. As I have tried to show in Chapter II and earlier in this chapter, many early eighteenth-century men, besides Garth, agreed that it was valid to read the fables of the Metamorphoses as moral allegories. Garth himself, although he acts as an apologist for Ovid against the stylistic censures of critics like Trapp, presents his allegorical interpretations as the consensus of men of taste. Finally, it bears repeating that the group of poetic contributors that Garth speaks for in the Preface are the most distinguished men of letters in the early eighteenth century, and because of their importance, as well as his own unbiased approach, Garth's Preface continued to influence the interpretation of the Metamorphoses during the remainder of the century.

In 1724 George Sewell published a rival translation of the Metamorphoses "in opposition to the edition of Garth".⁷⁴ Sewell's is a composite translation like Garth's: he reprints the labors of the "most eminent hands", translations which include those of Addison, Dryden and Pope. In his Dedication to the edition, he offers a short criticism of the Metamorphoses in which he makes general comments about Ovid and his style in the poem.

Evaluating Ovid as a poet, Sewell affirms that "if he is not the best, he is certainly the most universally entertaining and improving Poet of Antiquity" (Dedication to Ovid's Metamorphoses, p. ii). Concerning the Metamorphoses he states "great Masters in Criticism, and all Men of delicate Taste, have confirm'd . . . Horace's Odes, and Ovid's Metamorphoses . . . their Master-pieces" (Dedication to Ovid's Metamorphoses, p. iii). In these words of praise Sewell makes two important critical points about Ovid: first, he believes that Ovid's poetry fulfills the Horatian dictum that poetry should both please and instruct; secondly, he contends that critics and men of taste (among whom he numbers himself) agree that the Metamorphoses is an excellent poem. Although he here subscribes to the instructive aspects of Ovid's poem, Sewell does not discuss the way in which Ovid improves his readers nor does he emphasize the methods the poet uses to delight his audience. This omission ignores the censures of the critics; nowhere does Sewell mention the attacks on Ovid's redundancy or verbosity, nor does he consider the poet's loose handling of the pagan divinities. Instead, when he discusses the verbal facility of the poet, he compliments his fecundity:

The first Thing to be consider'd in our Poet, is, his Imagination; which is wonderfully extensive and fruitful, comprehending the greatest Variety of Subjects, and working upon all in the most natural and agreeable Manner. As he was a Master of an inexhaustible Fund of Images, he sometimes pours them upon his Reader a little too thick, and allows not Room enough for one to display itself, before it is follow'd and lost in a second and third. If this be a Fault in the Poet, it is a Fault the Reader ought to thank him for, who is left at Choice to select and improve any one which affects him most The shadowy Beings, as they have been lately very properly term'd, which abound in Spenser, Milton, (and I might go back to Chaucer) are mostly owing to Ovid.

(Dedication to Ovid's Metamorphoses, p. iii)

Echoing Spectator No. 419 on the pleasures of the imagination, Sewell commends the infinite variety which Ovid's fancy produced. Sewell voices no distaste for poetic invention; he even judges Ovid's excesses lightly because they give the reader more images to imitate, to improve, and from which to cull their favorites. Sewell also notes that Ovid is important in the development of allegorical figures in poetry, the "shadowy Beings" which personify abstractions like Hunger and Envy. Furthermore, he recognizes that these figures depicted in the Metamorphoses relate directly to the allegorical personages drawn by English poets. As we previously noted in our discussion of Hughes's essay on allegory, among the eighteenth-century poets, especially Gray, Collins and Shenstone, this allegorical mode of characterization became prominent later in the century. Of course, Addison had already shown the connection between Ovid and the earlier English poets, and this, in fact, lends critical authority to Sewell's comment.

Like other commentators on the Metamorphoses, Sewell praises the naturalness of Ovid's descriptions of transformations and of the passion of love:

As to that Part of Description which is peculiar to this Book of Ovid's, that relates to the gradual Progress, or different Manner of the Changes and Transformations of Persons, every Story in his Book is a convincing Instance of the Exactness of his Judgment.

(Dedication to Ovid's Metamorphoses, p. iv)

Later, in praise of his patron Sewell states,

I have heard you, SIR, often observe, that tho' the Fancy of Ovid is in most Places full of Beauty and Variety, yet it is most conspicuous in the Number of Love-Stories dispers'd in the Metamorphoses. They are all natural,

and yet finely diversify'd; so that out of so many upon the Subject, where the same Thoughts and Images would occur, there are not any two which have the same Air and Colouring. He was, indeed, a perfect Master of that Passion, and knew all the Differences, both of its Cause and Effects, so well, that he must be qualify'd the give to [sic] most moving and exact Description of it.

(Dedication to Ovid's Metamorphoses, p. v-vi)

Sewell detects three distinct types of description in the Metamorphoses: first, the picture of a person or place like that of the Palace of the Sun in Book II; secondly, the description of an action, particularly that of transformation, like Daphne's metamorphosis in Book I; and, finally, the depiction of an emotion revealed through dialogue like the passion of Byblis in Book IX. Ovid excels in these three kinds of description and Sewell's conclusions concerning Ovid's powers agree with those of Dryden, Garth and Dennis, critics who also praise Ovid for his naturalness in drawing his poetic sketches, especially those of amorous passion. Because of their vividness and precision, Ovid's descriptions have a close affinity to the plastic arts; indeed, "The Masters of Painting know this so well, that hardly any of them attempt a Story of his, without consulting the Poet; and some of their best Pieces of this Kind, are only so far beautiful and natural, as they come near the Descriptions of Ovid" (Dedication to Ovid's Metamorphoses, p. iv). Sewell's recognition of Ovid's relation to the other arts recalls Dryden's comments on the interdependence of the sister arts in his essay "A Parallel of Poetry and Painting", and it anticipates Spence's method of interpreting poetry by its relation to art objects. Of course, we can also trace Sewell's statement to Addison's Spectator essays on the

pleasures of the imagination, which, are his favorite source for his orthodox observations.⁷⁵

Except for his final evaluation of the previous English translators of the Metamorphoses, Sandys, Dryden, and Addison,⁷⁶ Sewell's comments on the poem are brief and generalized. Perhaps because Garth had previously established the instructive value of the Metamorphoses, Sewell leaves his initial comment on the "improving" nature of Ovid's poem undeveloped. Like Addison's Notes to the Metamorphoses, II and III, Sewell's Dedication presumes that the reader knows the critical dilemmas which surround the poet's masterpiece, and so it builds on these by a series of positive declarations in favor of the poet's stylistic and descriptive powers. Thus, Sewell escapes the normal arguments over Ovid's ability to instruct and he concerns himself with Ovid's potential to delight.

Sewell's was not the last English edition of the Metamorphoses to appear in the first forty years of the eighteenth century. Translated into English in 1732, Banier's Preface and notes to the Metamorphoses provided the incentive for yet another edition of Ovid's poem. From the format of the edition, Burmann's Latin text and Garth's English text printed in parallel columns, we can see a transitional movement toward the Latin-English edition of Bailey (1748). Like Boyse's New Pantheon, Banier's edition of the Metamorphoses appeared in English as a hybrid, grafting the conventional literary comments of Garth onto the somewhat innovative historical remarks of Banier.

In his Preface, as well as in his notes, Banier uses an euhemeristic method of mythical interpretation: behind the fanciful

mask of ancient fable he finds "the Treasuries of History in the Young World" (Banier, Preface, p. ***2^r). Despite his preference for historical interpretation, Banier does admit that

Fables may be considered in different Lights; and it is easy to see that divers Meanings are couched in them. Hence it is that Mythologists have spoken so differently of them one from another; every one choosing out the sort of Allegory that was most conformable to the Plan of his Studies, or agreed best with his particular Way of Thinking. And as the Veil, with which the Poets have cover'd the Truths contained in their Fictions, has shed a kind of mysterious Obscurity over them, all Arts and Sciences have been found in them: Morality, Natural-Philosophy, Physic and Chymistry.

(Banier, Preface, p. ***2^r)

While Banier appears open-minded in this statement, he believes, nevertheless, that any approach other than his own is idiosyncratic and therefore inferior. The variety of allegorical interpretations which priests, scientists and philosophers have discovered in the ancient fables, gives mythology a complexity incompatible with its simple relation to historical truth. Whereas other mythologists try to make mythological commentary conform with their private interests, Banier claims to have found the universal truth behind mythology which is to every man's interest.

Like the majority of Renaissance mythologists, Banier contends that mythical history originates from a corruption of Biblical history:

Since they [fables] are founded on Truth . . . I am persuaded, that God's Intercourse with the Patriarchs, which was known by Tradition to the Pagans, might have been the First Source of that continual Medley of Gods and Men which makes the Marvellous part of all those ancient Fictions.

(Banier, Preface, p. **2^r)

Banier believes that although they were cut off from access to the true God after the dispersion of the families of Ham and Japhet, the ancient peoples maintained a kind of racial memory of the early intercourse of God with man. Later, in his notes, Banier draws a lengthy parallel between the Biblical deluge and the flood of Deucalion and Pyrrha, a parallel which confirms his analogy between Scripture and myth.⁷⁷ Significantly, he finds the source of the mythical interaction of gods and men in the early Genesis stories where men walked with angels and talked with God. The ancient peoples remembered these early times when God intervened directly to reward or punish men, but they corrupted these memories into analogous stories which praised their heroes and kings by making them immortal gods, or they tried to conceal the heinous crimes of their royalty by attributing the acts to these divinities. Thus, according to Banier, myth arises from the distortion of Scriptural truth.

Although Banier enumerates several sources for these variations and productions of myth, he concludes that the poets'

. . . yielding too far to the Heat of their Imagination has been of all others the most fertile Source of Fable; and their gaining the Applause of Posterity so as to grow into an invariable Standard in Works of Poetry, has put the last Stroke to what had already been carried to such a Height. 'Tis in their Works chiefly that Truth is sacrificed to Wit, and Realities must give place to the Offspring of Fancy.

(Banier, Preface, pp. **2^r-**2^v)

Just after this comment Banier defines fable as any situation in which the poet raises a real person or episode to a supernatural level, as when he calls amorous shepherds, satyrs, or charming shepherdesses, nymphs, and describes their actions in terms of these mythical beings.

By means of poetic fancy, the poet raises the situation from the realm of reality and truth, and using mythological analogies, he makes the action identical with the fabulous figure. In panegyric such mythical compliments are common: for instance, in the Proeme to Faerie Queene, I, Spenser identifies Elizabeth with Apollo because as a monarch she is like the sun. In the epic, characters of myth exchange their decorative roles for ones of participation, for the epic poets "introduce the Gods themselves for the Unraveling of their Plots" (Banier, Preface, p. ***2^v). Like Plato in the Republic, Banier suspects the truthfulness of the poets who, because of the fame of their predecessors in the art, have continued to indulge their readers' love of marvels, and in many cases, have sought praise more for their fertility of imagination than their adherence to truth. Banier, therefore, believes that he must decipher the poetic corruptions of an already perverted system of fables in order to reveal the historical truths which they conceal.

Because he transcribes the ancient myths but does not originate them, Ovid escapes Banier's condemnation of the lying poets. Like Garth, Banier accepts Ovid's function as a transmitter and unifier of an already established tradition in the Metamorphoses. With the exception of the usual censures of Ovid's verbosity and redundancy, Banier, on the whole, has praise for the Metamorphoses:

Instead of a dull, tasteless Compilation, or at most but a dry Narration of these wonderful Events: he chose to reduce them into a Kind of unified Poem, for which the whole Universe furnished him Scenes, and which included the Ages elapsed from the Beginning of the World to the Time in which he writ. How skilful a Hand must he have had to furnish out such a Variety of Paintings? Yet in spite of their Number each of them is a finished Piece; and the same Delicacy of Touches

is kept up thro' the whole Groupe Uniform in his Narrations, pathetic in his Monologues, elevated in his Harangues, Ovid leads the Reader imperceptibly from one Fable to another, by Incidents which he artfully throws in; and notwithstanding the Obscurity of his Subject, has observed a Kind of Chronology from the Chaos down to Julius Caesar's Death, with which he concludes his work.

(Banier, Preface, pp. **2^v-***1^r)

Like Dryden and Garth, Banier admires the skill with which Ovid transforms the materials of ancient myth into a unified work of art; furthermore, he praises his expression which he judges at once various and delicate. Also, he commends Ovid's artistry in weaving together the disparate fables of the ancient world, that art of transition which men from the middle ages through the eighteenth century praised and imitated. Significantly, Banier recognizes Ovid's chronological arrangement in the Metamorphoses as a historical genre, similar to the universal histories popular at least until that of Sir Walter Raleigh, and which continued in a disguised form in the work of the chronologists like Burnet, Newton and even Vico. Because of this pseudo-historical format, the Meta-
morphoses affords Banier with an excellent field in which to exercise his euhemeristic talents.

Banier contends that the historical meanings of the Metamorphoses are more difficult to uncover than its moral implications, and for this reason, he chooses to explain these harder concepts, leaving the reader free to discover the ethical meanings for himself. After he discusses the rise of allegory, he dissociates himself from the train of Ovidian translators who have indulged in these allegorical interpretations:

The Morality, for Instance, that may be drawn from him, is very often arbitrary; or if it do naturally flow from his Subject, why shou'd I snatch it from my Reader and rob him of the Self-Complacency which the Discovery of it might give

him? In a Word, who does not perceive at first Sight, that the Story of Phaeton represents a hot-headed young Fool, who forms an Enterprise beyond his Force: That Narcissus is an Example of the Weaknesses of Self-Love: That Ulysses's Companions changed into Hogs, are an Emblem of the beastly Condition those Men are reduced to, who abandon themselves to a voluptuous Life.

It is quite otherwise with the History contained in those ancient Fictions; which, along with Moral Instructions often convey to us very important Facts. As the Knowledge of these Facts requires very tedious Researches; men easily excuse themselves from the Drudgery. It is for this Reason, that I have left to my Reader the Pleasure of finding out Allegories, and Lessons of Morality; and reserved to my self the toilsom and embarrassing Discussions that necessarily attend a Subject so full of Obscurity and Confusion: With this Comfort, however, that the Part that I have Chosen will not readily embroil me with Competitors.

(Banier, Preface, p. ***2)

Although he does not develop the topic at length, Banier does suggest that the "Fictions" of the Metamorphoses teach moral lessons. Because Ovid's allegories are lucid, a man with common sense can immediately recognize their ethical import. As in the examples of Phaeton, Narcissus and Ulysses which Banier cites, the morality of the metamorphic fables arises naturally from the myths and it is unnecessary for an editor to demonstrate their ethical value to a man of cultivated taste. Banier believes that the elucidation of the historical allegories is a more arduous task than writing moral commentary, and because this research into the historical meaning of the fables has been undertaken by few scholars, he concentrates his analysis of the Metamorphoses on this type of interpretation. Banier's historical method is at least as old as Euhemerus's work in the third century before Christ, and it still appears sporadically in those modern mythological dictionaries which argue for the historical character of figures like Hercules, Creon or

Ulysses.⁷⁸ Thus, while the greater part of Banier's work has been superceded by modern anthropological studies of mythology, yet in the classical dictionary we find certain of his historical assumptions still employed.

In spite of Banier's condescending attitude toward allegory, he does ascribe a moral meaning to the fables of the Metamorphoses. Against Banier's historical and scientific enquiry into the origins of myth, the printer of the 1732 English edition juxtaposes the literary and moral criticism of Garth's Preface. Thus this edition of the Metamorphoses contains both the traditional and the innovative: it encourages the conventional interpretation of the fables as moral allegory through the medium of Garth's Preface at the same time that it urges the newer historical explanations of the myths by means of Banier's annotations.

Later editors, like Nathan Bailey, continue to annotate the Metamorphoses in a manner that combines Banier's historical readings with the earlier moral commentary. In the Preface to his prose translation of the poem (1748), Bailey borrows liberally from both Garth and Banier. This combination which continues in his notes reveals the shift in opinion toward the conventional interpretations of the poem.

From Garth, Bailey copies the "lessons of Morality" almost verbatim. Because of the "veil" of "mysterious obscurity" which the poet casts over myth, Bailey offers several interpretations to aid his readers:

Who, for instance, can help perceiving, that the story of DEUCALION AND PYRRHA implies, that piety and innocence meet with the Divine protection, and that the only loss which is irreparable, is that of our probity and justice.

The story of PHAETON shews the rashness of an inconsiderate youth, in presuming to engage in an enterprise above his strength; and that the too great tenderness of the parent frequently proves a cruelty to the child.

The tale of BAUCIS AND PHILEMON represents a good old Couple, so happy, and so satisfied with the few things the gods had given them, that the only thing they desired more was, that they might not survive one another.

The fable of MINOS AND SCYLLA teaches us what an infamous thing it is to sell our country; and that even they who love the treason, hate the traitor.

(A New Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, pp. v-vi)

If we compare these interpretations, especially those of Phaeton and of Minos and Scylla, with those of Garth and Boyse, we discover immediately the relation among these three writers.⁷⁹ Like Boyse who copies freely from Garth without acknowledgment, Bailey condenses Garth's remarks, changes a few phrases, and presents them as his own. Certainly this borrowing shows the influence of Garth's Preface even though it remains an unacknowledged source.

Besides appropriating eight moralizations, Bailey also employs certain of Garth's critical remarks, specifically those on love and the longevity of the poet's fame.⁸⁰ In the comments on love, he qualifies somewhat the praise that was lavished on Ovid for the naturalness of his descriptions in the Metamorphoses:

Ovid never excels so much as when he touches on the passion of love; and while every reader seems sensible of the same emotions, which the poet would excite, the doctrines that he sets forth are to be read with caution, lest forgetting the fable, the foundation of our virtue might be endangered by the blandishments of what is merely fiction.

(A New Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, pp. vi-vii)

Instead of applauding Ovid's dramatic depiction of the passion of love, Bailey praises and blames at the same time. According to him, Ovid describes passionate actions so naturally that a youthful reader may

forget that he is reading fiction and allow the sexual innuendoes to corrupt his virtue. As I noted at the opening of this chapter, critics objected to Ovid's amorous poems on moral grounds but not to the Metamorphoses. Bailey, however, draws Ovid's master poem within this ethical indictment, and at least one later edition of Bailey's translation (Philadelphia, 1795) excises the amorous adventures of men in Metamorphoses, VIII, IX and X, and leaves only those of the gods which Bailey's notes gloss as historical or moral allegories, leaving the stories sexually pure.

From Banier, Bailey summarizes the historical rise of allegory and concentrates on Ovid's contribution to its development:

From poets yielding to the heat of their imagination arose the fertile source of fable, and the applause of posterity which they have gained, has not a little contributed to have their works esteemed invariable standards for poetry.

In their works wit often takes the place of truth, and realities give way to fancy; for the amorous temper and successful intrigues of a shepherd, turn him into a satyr; and the charms of a shepherdess entice the poet to represent her as a nymph or a naiad.⁸¹

We recognize at once the echoes of Banier's Preface; with only a minor change of language, Bailey repeats the elder mythologist's statements on the relation of poetry, truth and the desire for fame that seduces the artist from realities into fancy. When Bailey assesses Ovid's narrative technique, he again depends on Banier's Preface for his comment that "instead of a dull, tasteless, dry narration, fresh images, and an agreeable variety of new beauties rise to view . . . in short, they seem to make a chain from the Chaos to the death of Julius Caesar, with which he concludes his work."⁸² Here once more we see the way in which Bailey borrows passages that he weaves into his own Preface. Because he combines

the comments of the traditional Garth with those of the innovative Banier, and inserts some statements from Crusius, Bailey's Preface comprises an anthology of early eighteenth-century criticism on the Metamorphoses. This mixture illustrates in miniature the divisions between the older allegorical mode of reading mythology and the newer "enlightened" view of its historical interpretation.

Bailey's notes repeat this divided attitude; they include Renaissance comments on stylistics, statements on moral allegory, and most frequently, observations on the historical sources of the myth. Bailey writes two important notes in which he explains the meaning of "metamorphosis". When he introduces Book I, he says:

The Metamorphoses of Ovid may be considered as a Collection of the chief of those Fables which Epic and Dramatic Poets had introduced into their works in order to gain attention from their Readers, and raise their Admiration. These Fables are for the most part founded in History. How they came to be chang'd in their Circumstances, so remote from credibility, will be taken Notice of in the Remarks upon each Fable in the Course of the Work. It is sufficient to observe at present, that Poets, to give their Subjects a greater air of Dignity, affected to relate every Thing with extraordinary Circumstances, and make the Gods interpose in all that concern'd their Heroes. This Humour of the Poets join'd to the superstitious Notions of those Times, produc'd an infinite Number of Fables, which Ovid has here connected together in one continued Poem of which the whole Universe is the Scene, and that takes in all the Times from the Beginning of the World to the Age in which he wrote.

(A New Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, n. 1, p. 1)

After a brief comment on the flight of Medea (Metamorphoses, VII, 350),

Bailey offers a variation on this opening annotation:

I shall . . . establish some general Principles which may serve as a Key to these ancient Fictions.

When anyone escap'd an evident and threatening Danger, it was given out that he was chang'd into a Bird; or if, to escape Pursuit, he took Refuge in a Cave, he must be a

Serpent. When Sorrow gave cause for many Tears, the Person dissolv'd into a Fountain; or if a Virgin was lost in a Wood, she became a Nymph or Dryad. A Resemblance of Name too, oft gave occasion to these Fictions; thus Cycnus was said to be transform'd to a Swan, and so of many others.

(A New Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, n., p. 253)

In both of these notes Bailey searches for the common denominator of truth which the poetic fictions have obscured, and in both he proposes an historical answer which suggests his debt to Banier. In many of his notes he recommends Banier's Mythology (which Banier used in annotating his edition of the Metamorphoses) to those readers who want further information on an individual fable. As these notes indicate, Bailey interprets "metamorphosis" as the poetic transformation of an actual event into a marvellous situation. His derogatory tone proves that he believes such creations to be unnecessary departures from unadorned truth. Although this criticism appears to cast a censorious eye upon poetic flights, Bailey nevertheless forgives Ovid because he reports myths and does not create them.

In order to fulfill his avowed purpose "to make Ovid plain", Bailey ransacks Banier for the historical truths couched in the fables; he finds the key to the metamorphoses by stripping away the fictions. But Bailey's method not only follows Banier's historical procedure but it also repeats the traditional linguistic explanations of "metamorphosis". For instance the fable of Cycnus has a linguistic meaning derived from the name itself (Cycnus: ΚΥΚΝΟΣ: cygnus: swan); so, too, has the fable of Lycaon (Lycaon: ΛΥΚΑΩΝ: wolf). Bailey, like the Renaissance commentators, explains the transformations by etymology, the method which Jacob Bryant belabors in his three-volume study of the way in which

paganism originated from debased linguistic roots. Of course, Bailey also emphasizes the conventional moral lesson of the myths: Phaeton's rash ambition, for example, or Narcissus's perverted self-love. Thus the school-boy, for whom Bailey designed his work, would learn the historical bases of Ovid's stories as well as their moral implications.

Bailey's criticism of Ovid's portrayal of sexual experience and recommendation of moral allegory most closely approaches the moralized Metamorphoses of Joseph Jouvency (1726).⁸³ Jouvency's bowdlerized version, however, appends a treatise on pagan mythology and theology which is remarkably similar to that of Boyse's New Pantheon. Whether Bailey got his idea for the Latin-English edition of the poem from comparable French publications, educators of both countries shared a single-minded determination to censor immoral passages in the Metamorphoses and to collect pertinent critical interpretations of the various fables.

After Bailey's translations of the Metamorphoses in eighteenth-century England reach an impasse. Unlike Garth (1717) and Banier (1732), Bailey translates the Metamorphoses into prose serviceable as a crib, and prints a Latin ordo, which like the Clavis Ovidiana (1714)⁸⁴ puts the poet's words into prose order to simplify the construction for the aspiring scholar. While Garth's moral parables and Banier's historical arguments persist in the Preface and notes of Bailey's translation, the Metamorphoses has become the property of youth, and this relegation seems to imply a concurrent decrease in Ovid's appeal to adult readers.

3. Conclusion

What, then, can we say of the reputation of the Metamorphoses in the eighteenth century? First, we can conclude that the distaste which some critics contend that eighteenth-century writers manifested toward mythology in general and the Metamorphoses in particular is not a consistently held attitude throughout the century. As the evidence of the handbooks and translations illustrates, the early eighteenth-century writers judged the poem a significant poetic document which teaches delightfully. Although Tooke, King and Boyse censure heathen idolatry, they deem mythology, like that of the Metamorphoses, to be a necessary part of classical education as well as a pleasing way of inculcating morality. Of course, these men do not evaluate Ovid's poetic efforts in the same way as Garth and Sewell do, but their interpretations of the fables and their attitudes toward allegory explain why Garth and Sewell believed the Metamorphoses to be a poem worth editing and translating. Eighteenth-century men despised a display of imagination for its own sake, yet as writer after writer affirms, they believed that the Metamorphoses contained imaginative tales with a moral purpose, and this morality, which they derived by allegorical methods amenable to common sense, covers the multitude of Ovid's stylistic sins.

The real culprit that instigated the eighteenth-century dislike of mythological allegory can be found among the neo-Platonic and mystical allegorists. Censured by the mythological handbooks, and mentioned by Garth and Bailey, the mystical allegorists created obscurities and eccentricities in their interpretations which brought them under reproach throughout the century. As long as allegory was

perspicuous and easy to comprehend, eighteenth-century writers accepted it as a valid mode; when it became the province of idiosyncratic interpreters like Ross, they could only judge it as ridiculous. Basically the eighteenth-century reader wanted to know the universal meaning of mythology and not whimsical speculations, and he found these catholic meanings in the moral, physical, and historical allegories which appealed to his common sense. As we have seen the mythologists and translators found these types of allegory readily applicable to the Metamorphoses as their Renaissance predecessors had.

In the early century the concept of "metamorphosis" still retains the ethical connotations that it had in the Renaissance. As Garth suggests in his Preface, the mythical transformations in Ovid's poem serve both to compliment virtue and to chastise vice -- hence, the Metamorphoses represents an "excellent System of Morality". Certainly the mythologists base their moral commentary on the principle that the change of a human being into an animal, plant or heavenly body implies an ethical judgment on that individual. Even our own tendency to tag our friends and enemies with bestial epithets or animal similes carries over certain elements of moral judgment. As Banier says, when we see Ulysses's men changed to swine, our common sense and years of moral associations tell us that this metamorphosis represents an adverse judgment on the sailors. In the next chapter I will try to show the way in which Augustan poets used this concept of metamorphosis either to imitate Ovid or to create new transformations, and I will also illustrate that this idea shapes the meaning of these poems.

Yet, the reputation of the Metamorphoses suffered greatly in the course of the century. Although Ovid's poem enjoys a minor renaissance of favor at the beginning of the century, by the time that Spence writes his Polymetis, the Metamorphoses has reached the nadir it will occupy for the remainder of the century. Whereas Garth praises the poem and Sewall judges it Ovid's masterpiece, Spence believes it to be the worst of Ovid's endeavors. This shift in feeling toward the Metamorphoses arises from two sources: first, the conflict of critical attitudes toward poetry and the poet; and secondly, the debate about whether poetic sensuousness is a praiseworthy or a damnable quality. In the first instance, critics failed to reconcile the Horatian value of the poet as a delightful moral teacher with the Platonic condemnation of the poet as a liar, one who represents reality as an image twice-removed from its original form. Like Garth, the early critics circumvent this argument by stressing the moral rectitude of the Metamorphoses. But in his edition of the Metamorphoses Banier makes this general charge against the mythological poets and Boyse and Bailey repeat it. Of course, Banier absolves Ovid from his criticism, as Bailey does in his Preface, but his notes on the origins of the metamorphic concept reveal that Bailey's mind is divided on the topic. With Spence no division occurs; he does not trust Ovid's representations in the Metamorphoses because the poet's fancy rather than his judgment shapes the fables. In Bryant, too, we find this utter distrust of the poets, and because of their corruptions, he dispenses altogether with the Roman poets and concentrates on the Hellenic writers. It is only when we reach the Romantic mythologist, Baldwin, that the situation rights itself, and then, even he resolves

the argument by describing the beauties of Greek mythology to the exclusion of the Roman. In the midst of such controversy over the nature of poetry we can readily see why later eighteenth-century critics believed the Metamorphoses to be a child of fancy, and why they thought it to be reading suitable only for children and women.

After Bailey's translation of the Metamorphoses, the problematic character of Ovid's sensuousness surfaces as his inexcusable trait. Garth's and Sewell's translations treat the naturalness of the poet's descriptions of love as his most praiseworthy quality. In Bailey, however, we discover only mixed praise, influenced perhaps by the contradictions raised by critics who condemned in the amorous poems the same stories that they praised as moral parables in the Metamorphoses. Certainly Bailey fears that Ovid's realistic portrayal of love might raise vicarious desires detrimental to youthful virtue, a fear which controls his moralizations of the text. To remove its sexual sting later translators contrive to delete offensive stories and to dilute the epical character of the poem.

Finally, the simplification of the meaning of allegory to personification by Spence, Lempriere and Baldwin, and the search for older sources undertaken by Bryant and his followers, dealt the death blow to the consideration of the Metamorphoses as a serious poem. Although distinguished continental writers like Voltaire in his Essay on Fable and Fontenelle in his prose translation of the poem, continue to treat the Metamorphoses as an adult poem, English writers after the mid-century banished the work to the lower schools. If allegory was simply personification, then critics could hardly apply it consistently

to the Metamorphoses because the poem changes its narrative direction so frequently. In much the same way, the enlightened study of mythology drew its practitioners into a hunt for more and more precise materials than the eclectic Ovid could offer. The explosion of knowledge in the eighteenth century and the development of a greater facility in Greek, enabled researchers to read the archetypes of Ovid's myths in their original form. Even the critics in the later century thought that Ovid's personifications changed their emphasis too frequently and, hence, were inept. Besides the censures of its immorality, and the question of its poetic truthfulness, these two factors drove the Metamorphoses from its position as an important adult poem to one fit only for schoolboy's exercises.

It is only with the third generation Augustans that the condemnation of Ovid's major poem begins. In the next chapter I will discuss those second generation poets, Pope, Gay and Prior who still retain faith in the moral connotations of transformation.

NOTES

Chapter III

¹For ease of reference, I list here the primary sources which I will discuss in Chapter III and the editions of them which I have used. All subsequent quotations will be taken from these editions and cited in the text.

Edward Baldwin, The Pantheon: or, Ancient History of the Gods of Greece and Rome . . . For the Use of Schools, and Young Persons of Both Sexes (London, 1809). Hereafter cited as The Pantheon (1809).

Samuel Boyse, The New Pantheon, or, Fabulous History of the Heathen Gods, Heroes, Goddesses, &c. (London, 1753). Hereafter cited as New Pantheon.

Jacob Bryant, A New System, or, an Analysis of Ancient Mythology: wherein an Attempt is Made to Divest Tradition of Fable; and to Reduce the Truth to its Original Purity, 3 Vols. (London, 1774-1776). Cited as A New System.

William King, An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes; Necessary for an Understanding of the Ancient Poets . . . 4th ed. (London, 1727). Hereafter cited as An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods.

Bernard de Montfauçon, Antiquity Explained and Represented in Sculptures, trans., David Humphreys, 10 Vols. (London, 1721-1725). Hereafter cited as Antiquity Explained.

P. Ovidius Naso, A New Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses into English Prose . . . with the Latin Text . . . and Notes, [trans. and ed., Nathan Bailey], 3rd ed. (London, 1759). Hereafter cited as A New Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses.

P. Ovidius Naso, Ovid's Metamorphosis in Fifteen Books, Translated by the Most Eminent Hands, ed., Sir Samuel Garth (London, 1717). Hereafter cited as Preface to Metamorphoses.

P. Ovidius Naso, Opera Omnia IV voluminibus comprehensa: cum integris J. Micylli, H. Ciofani, et D. Heinsii notis, et N. Heinsii curis secundis . . ., ed., Peter Burmann (Amsterdam, 1727). Hereafter cited as Burmann, Ovid's Works.

P. Ovidius Naso, Opera tribus tomis comprehensa, Vol. II: Metamorphoseon, ed., Michael Mattaire (London, 1713). Hereafter cited as Mattaire, Metamorphoses.

Ovid's Metamorphoses in Latin and English With Historical Explications of the Fables . . . Written in French by the Abbot Banier (London, 1732). Cited as Banier, Preface.

Ovid's Metamorphoses . . . Made English by Several Hands, ed., George Sewell (London, 1724). Hereafter cited as Dedication to Ovid's Metamorphoses.

Noel Antoine Pluche, The History of the Heavens Considered According to the Notions of the Poets and Philosophers Compared with the Doctrines of Moses, trans., J. B. Freval, 2 Vols. (London, 1740). Hereafter cited as History of the Heavens.

Joseph Spence, Polymetis: Or, an Enquiry Concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets and the Remains of the Ancient Artists, 2nd ed. (London, 1755). Hereafter cited as Polymetis.

Father Pomey, The Pantheon, Representing the Fabulous Histories of the Heathen Gods and Most Illustrious Heroes by Way of Dialogue . . . with Cuts, trans. and ed. Andrew Tooke 3rd ed. (London, 1701). Hereafter cited as The Pantheon.

²Hardin, "Ovid in Seventeenth-Century England", 61-62.

³Hardin, "Ovid in Seventeenth-Century England", 49-52.

⁴Fussell, The Rhetorical World of Augustan Humanism, p. 20.

⁵Sir Isaac Newton did not only publish Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica (London, 1687), he also wrote such works of theological interest as Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of Saint John (London, 1733) and The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended (London, 1728).

⁶Compare Dryden, "Preface to Ovid's Epistles" in Ker, I, 236 with the comments of Trapp, Lectures on Poetry, pp. 118-119 and Bayle, A General Dictionary Historical and Critical, trans., Bernard and Birch, VIII, 88-89.

⁷See Hardin, "Ovid in Seventeenth-Century England", 46-47 and Rand, Ovid and his Influence, pp. 156-163.

⁸See the discussion by George Sherburn and Donald F. Bond, in Albert C. Baugh, ed., A Literary History of England, Vol. III: The Restoration and Eighteenth Century (1948; New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, Inc., 1967), pp. 908-912.

⁹ See, for example, the arguments of Jeremy Collier, A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage (London, 1698) and those of Sir Richard Blackmore in his Preface to Prince Arthur (London, 1695) and George Merriton, Immorality, Debauchery, and Profaneness Exposed (London, 1699). These charges are reiterated by William Law in The Absolute Unlawfulness of the Stage Entertainment Fully Demonstrated (London, 1726). For a modern account of the Collier controversy see Joseph Wood Krutch, Comedy and Conscience after the Restoration (1944; New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 89-149, and Sister Rose Anthony, S. C., The Jeremy Collier Stage Controversy 1698-1726 (1937; New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1966).

¹⁰ Bayle, A General Dictionary Historical and Critical, Note A, VIII, 86-87.

¹¹ See Crusius's treatment of the problem in "Life of Ovid", I, 284 and the comments in the Biographica Classica, I, 248-249.

¹² William King, Preface to The Art of Love in Imitation of Ovid De Arte Amandi with a Preface Containing the Life of Ovid (London, 1709), p. 62. King's French source for his explication of The Art of Love was the discourse of Michel De Marolles, L'Art D'Aimer Et De Remedes D'Amour . . . E Tout Rendu Fort Honneste, avec des Nottes & des Observations Necessaires, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1660). Like King, Marolles interprets Ovid's Art of Love as an allegory (p. 433) "pour les Sciences & pour les Vertus representees".

¹³ King, Preface to The Art of Love, p. 39.

¹⁴ Henry Fielding, The Lover's Assistant, or New Art of Love (1760), ed., Claude E. Jones, Augustan Reprint No. 89 (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1961).

¹⁵ See Rand, Ovid and his Influence, pp. 55-56 and Wilkinson, Ovid Recalled, p. 144.

¹⁶ The titles of King's and Tooke's works indicate that they were intended as didactic pieces. Both use Le Père Françoise Antoine Pomey, Pentheum Mythicam; seu fabulosa Deorum Historia . . ., 5th ed. (Paris, 1697) as their source. Tooke admits (The Pantheon, p. A2¹) that his handbook is essentially a translation of Father Pomey's work, but King is less vocal about the source of his work.

¹⁷ As the British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books, Vol. 240, Column 53 indicates, Tooke's Pantheon underwent at least thirty

reprintings in England in the eighteenth century. British Museum Catalogue, Vol. 123, Column 405 lists seven printings of King's An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods by 1761.

¹⁸Nahum Tate, and others, Ovid's Metamorphosis. Translated by Several Hands, Vol. I Containing the first Five Books (London, 1697); John Dryden, Fables Ancient and Modern; Translated into Verse, from Homer, Ovid, Boccace & Chaucer: With Original Poems (London, 1700); Joseph Addison, The Metamorphoses, Books II and III in Guthkelch, pp. 62-147.

¹⁹Garth's title page lists the following contributors: "viz. J. Dryden, J. Addison, L. Eusden, A. Mainwaring, S. Croxall, N. Tate, J. Gay, W. Congreve, and the editor Sir Samuel Garth".

²⁰Garth's folio edition of the Metamorphoses was reissued in a two-volume duodecimo format in 1720, 1727, 1736 and 1751. Garth's "eminent" translators provide the English poetic text for Banier's 1732 Latin-English version of the poem, an edition which also includes Garth's "Preface", printing it immediately after Banier's exposition of the origins and importance of Ovid's mythology.

²¹See Burton Feldman and Robert D. Richardson, The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), pp. 165-167 for a brief introduction on the changing style of mythography in the later eighteenth century. In their study of the history of mythology these editors come to many of the same conclusions that I do concerning Spence's Polymetis, Bryant's A New System and Lempriere's Dictionary, that these works marked the direction of mythology and allegory for the nineteenth century.

²²I have not dealt with John Clarke's prose translation of the Metamorphoses, Metamorphoseon libri XV, cum versione Anglica, ad Verbum, quantum fieri potuit, facta: or Ovid's Metamorphoses with an English Translation (London, 1735), because it makes no critical comments on either the poet or the poem.

²³See Sez nec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods, pp. 219-323 for a discussion of the growth and influence of the Renaissance handbooks. Sez nec studies the interpretations of the mythographers chronologically from Giovanni di Boccaccio, Genealogia deorum Gentilium (Venice, 1472); to Natales Comes (Natale Conti), Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri X and Vincenzo Cartari, Le Imagine Colla Spozione Degli Dei Antichi (Venice, 1556).

²⁴Le Père Pierre Gaultruche, L'Histoire Poétique pour l'intelligence de Poètes et des Auteurs Anciens, trans. M. De Assigny, 6th ed. (Paris, 1671).

²⁵For a sampling of the publication history of the Pentheum Mythicum see the listing "Le P. François-Antoine Pomey" in Catalogue General Des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Vol. CXL, Columns 350-352. Gaultruche produced his commentary earlier than Pomey and it had undergone six editions by 1671 (Catalogue General . . . de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Vol. LVIII, Cols. 397-399). Because of its early translation, numerous editions, transliterations and abridgements, L'Histoire Poétique provided a popular mythological source.

²⁶See Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, Gorboduc; Or of Ferrex and Porrex, ed., Irby B. Cauthen, Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), II, i, 203-208.

²⁷For a discussion of the principle of contraries in Medieval exegesis, see Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer, pp. 297-298.

²⁸Aristotle, Rhetorica ad Alexandrum, ed. and trans., T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1937), p. 163.

²⁹See John Milton, "Elegia Sexta, Ad Carolum Diodatum Ruri Commorantem" in Merritt Hughes, ed., Complete Poems and Major Prose (New York: Odyssey Press, 1957), pp. 5-53, and John Gay, Wine in G. C. Faber, ed., The Poetical Works of John Gay (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 1-8.

³⁰We have seen the suggestions of "papism" in Dennis's Preface to the "Passion of Biblis", p. D1^r.

³¹See also Sandys, Ovid's Metamorphosis, p. 482 for a similar reading of the fable as an illustration of the effects of the sun. For King's reading of the Venus and Adonis myth, see An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods, p. 113.

³²For remarks similar to mine about the importance of Pluche see Feldman and Richardson, The Rise of Modern Mythology, pp. 118-119.

³³See Wilkinson, Ovid Recalled, p. 442.

³⁴Pluche, History of the Heavens, I, 19.

³⁵ See Banier, ed., Metamorphoses, n. p. 11 for a discussion of the Egyptian origin of myth which parallels that of Pluche and Boyse.

³⁶ See, for example, Boyse's interpretation of the Arachne-Minerva contention (New Pantheon, pp. 116-119) from which he concludes (p. 119) that "All these Emblems [of the Egyptian linen manufacture] transplanted to Greece, by the Genius of that People, fond of the marvellous, were converted into real Objects, and indeed afforded Room enough for the Imagination of their Poets to invent the Fable of the Transformation of Arachne into a Spider."

³⁷ Spence says in Polymetis, p. 44 that "the poets of the Augustan age are on all accounts the most to be depended upon; and Virgil more than any of them. His Aeneid must be the sacred writ in this sort of enquiry. His taste, and judgment, and exactness, give him this pre-eminence over all the poets of the happy age he lived in."

³⁸ See especially Polymetis, pp. 292-320 where Spence discusses the defects of modern artists, allegorists and translators.

³⁹ See Polymetis, Dialogue X, where Spence includes the poem as an example of the allegorical figure of Hercules at the crossroads.

⁴⁰ Spence, for example, describes the iconographical representation of Apollo (Polymetis, pp. 85 ff.). He delineates each of Apollo's features and explains its meaning in terms of the myths connected with the god from poetry, painting and sculpture.

⁴¹ William Wilkie, The Epigoniad, A Poem [1757] in Alexander Chalmers, ed., English Poets, XVI (London, 1810), 123 ff.

⁴² The full title gives an adequate description of the scope and intention of Tindal's work: A Guide to Classical Learning: or, Polymetis Abridged. Containing [I. By Way of Introduction, the Characters of the Latin Poets and their Works. The usefulness of Antiques towards explaining the Classics. A true Idea of the Allegories of the Ancients and of their whole Scheme of Machinery, or Interposition of the Gods; with Remarks on the Defects of our best Allegorists and Artists for Want of such an Idea. II. An Inquiry concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets and the Remains of the Ancient Artists, in order to illustrate them mutually from one another.] Being a Work absolutely necessary, not only for the Right Understanding of the Classics, but also for forming in Young Minds a true Taste for the Beauties of Poetry, Sculpture, and Painting. (London, 1760).

⁴³See, for example, Bryant's discussion (A New System, I, 37-48) of the Phoenician "radical" Oph which he believed to be an emblem of the Sun as well as of time and eternity. From this radical he derives the names of the gods Osiris and Apollo, and to prove his assertion, he quotes Callimachus as an authority on the subject. Bryant wants to base his New System upon the linguistic roots of the Greek and Latin tongues, and so he chooses the earliest expression of the names of the heathen deities.

⁴⁴Samuel Musgrave, Two Dissertations, which I discussed in Chapter II, is designed to refute Bryant as well as to resolve the question of ancient chronology, the dilemma which led Bryant to develop his system of mythology.

⁴⁵John Lempriere, A Classical Dictionary Containing a Copious Account of All the Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors, 5th ed. (London, 1804), in his description of Pan not only enumerates the sexual exploits of the god, but he also delineates the image of Pan in the following manner (p. 4K₃^k):

Pan was monster in appearance, he had two small horns on his head, his complexion was ruddy, his nose flat, and his legs, thighs, tail, and feet, were those of a goat His statues represented him as a goat, not because he was really such, but this was done for mysterious reasons. He was the emblem of fecundity, and they look upon him as the principle of all things. His horns, as some observe, represented the rays of the sun, and the brightness of the heavens was expressed by the vivacity and the ruddiness of his complexion. The star which he wore on his breast, was the symbol of the firmament, and his hairy legs and feet denoted the inferior parts of the earth, such as the woods and plains.

Lempriere follows this description with a list of the classical authors (Ovid, Virgil, Orpheus, Juvenal, Homer, Lucian) who mention Pan. Lempriere's account of the god echoes that of King and Tooke, but he has greatly simplified their commentaries, devoting the major part of his explanation to the myths connected with the figure of Pan.

⁴⁶In the 1809 edition of A Classical Dictionary, published in New York, the introductory material to the book includes Lempriere's prefaces to the first six editions of the work which give a running account of the criticism which the Dictionary incurred. Lempriere offers the following explanation, p. vii: he apologizes "for his errors, which in a composition so voluminous and so complex, it is not possible for the most minute attention to avoid."

⁴⁷British Museum Catalogue, Vol. 134, Cols. 572-573 lists editions of Lempriere's A Classical Dictionary published until 1818 as well as the many editions, abridgements and revisions of the work in the later century. In the twentieth century, there was an edition of the Dictionary by F. A. Wright (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948), whereas British Museum Catalogue, Vol. 14, Col. 379 lists only one edition of Bell's New Pantheon.

⁴⁸See, for example, Baldwin's description of Minerva and Apollo, pp. 43-50 or that of Pan, p. 83 which concentrates upon the iconographical details of the earlier descriptions to elucidate Pan's role as the god who presides over animate nature. Because he eliminates the other meaningful items, Baldwin's description in The Pantheon (1809) is more pictorial than iconographical:

Pan is represented under the figure of a man in his superior parts, with horns on his head, and a long beard which covers his breast; his skin is dark-coloured, and his form vigorous and muscular; he is clothed with the skin of a leopard; and his lower parts have the figure of a goat: this mixed and discordant appearance . . . to represent that universal nature of which he is the symbol; his upper parts are harmonious and majestic as the heavens; his horns express the beams of the sun, or the figure of the new moon: his rubicund face is the image of the orb of day: the Leopard's skin he wears is emblematical of the starry heavens: and the shaggy appearance of his lower members is expressive of the fertility of the earth, which is usually covered with shrubs, corn and grass.

Baldwin stresses here the symbolic nature of the god and the representational quality of his picture.

⁴⁹See Nathaniel Hawthorne's treatment of the myths in A Wonder Book for Boys and Girls, Vol. XIII of The Complete Writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1900).

⁵⁰John Clarke and Nathan Bailey translate the Metamorphoses to enable student readers to properly construe the poem and to achieve accurate and elegant translations.

⁵¹See the bibliography in P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphoses, trans., Frank Justus Miller, I, xiii.

⁵²See Burmann, ed., "Appendix Ovidiana, Quae continet Vitam Ovidii A Variis Conscriptam et Dedicaciones et Prefationes Virorum Doctorum," in Ovid's Works, IV, 1-263.

⁵³See Dunciad, IV, 211-238 for Pope's attack on the pedantry of such textual editors in which he mentions Burmann, l. 237.

⁵⁴See Burmann, Prefatio in Ovid's Works, I, *2^r-***3^v.

⁵⁵See the notes to the fable in Burmann, ed., Ovid's Works, II, 41-55.

⁵⁶P. Ovidii Nasonis Opera Petrus Burmannus ad fidem veterum exemplarium castigavit, 2 Vols. (Amsterdam, 1714), I, **9^v quotes Borrichius, de Poetis Dissertatione, I, 21. Burmann intended this edition of Ovid's Works as an announcement of his plans to publish the later (1727) variorum edition of the poet.

⁵⁷See especially the comments of Raphael Regius in his Preface to the Metamorphoses, Burmann, Ovid's Works, IV, 185-188, and the various testimonials, Burmann, IV, 228-235.

⁵⁸Coon, "The Vogue of Ovid since the Renaissance", 277-290.

⁵⁹For a listing of contributors to Garth, ed., Metamorphoses see "Contents", pp. f1^r-f2^v.

⁶⁰See Bayle, A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical, trans. and ed. J. P. Bernard, and others, Note F, pp. 91-92 which paraphrases Garth's comments on Ovid's use of similes and the perspicuity of his allegories and Note G, p. 98 on the validity of Ovid's scientific concepts. See also Crusius, "Life of Ovid" in The Lives of the Roman Poets, I, 280-281 where he agrees with Garth's stylistic criticisms of the Metamorphoses as well as its allegorical worth. As Crusius says, I, 281, "we may acknowledge the Metamorphoses to be a work of infinite use to his and our times, that deserves to be look'd upon as the porch to the great temple of the Heathen Mythology, or as a master key to all the antient poets, and the best rudiments of modern poets."

⁶¹I suggest this time period so that I can include Crusius, The Lives of the Roman Poets (1726); Nathan Bailey, A New Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses into English Prose (1748); Bayle, A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical (1739); and Boyse, New Pantheon (1753) -- all of which use Garth's arguments on style and allegory. After 1760 we might consider the attitude of Samuel Johnson, "Life of Garth" in The Lives of the Poets, I, 387 as typical: "Garth then undertook an edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses, translated by several hands; which he recommended by a Preface, written with more ostentation than ability: his notions are half-formed, and his materials unmethodically confused."

⁶²Hardin, "Ovid in Seventeenth-century England", 51-52.

⁶³See my discussion of Trapp's attitude toward Ovid's style in Chapter II of this thesis.

⁶⁴See, for example, Trapp, Lectures on Poetry, pp. 60-67.

⁶⁵For fuller comment, see my discussion of Ovid's style in Chapter II of this thesis.

⁶⁶See Joseph Addison's Spectator series on Paradise Lost which began in Spectator No. 267 and was published every Saturday thereafter until Spectator No. 369.

⁶⁷As Garth Admits in his Preface, p. vi:

The Metamorphoses must be consider'd as is observ'd before, very incorrect; and Virgil's Works as finish'd: tho' his own Modesty wou'd not allow the Aeneids to be so. It seems it was harder for him to please himself, than his Readers. His Judgment was certainly great, nor was his Vivacity of Imagination less; for the first with the last is too heavy, and like a Dress without Fancy; and the last without the first is too gay, and but all trimming.

⁶⁸See Dryden, Preface to Annus Mirabilis in Ker, I, 15-16 and "An Essay of Dramatic Poetry" in Ker, I, 53, and Dennis, Preface to "The Passion of Byblis", pp. C3r-C3v.

⁶⁹See Hardin's comment on Garth in "Ovid in Seventeenth-century England", 50-51. In Preface to the Fables (1700), Ker, II, 247, Dryden praises "the ingenious and learned Sandys, the best versifier of the former age" Joseph Spence in Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men, Collected from Conversation, ed., James Osborne (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), I, 14 records that after reading Ogilby's Homer, Pope said, "This led me to Sandys Ovid, which I liked extremely" Joseph Warton, An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope (1782; facsimile rpt., New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1970), I, 81 also records Pope's affection for Sandys's Ovid: "The Ovid of Sandys fell next in his way; and it is said, that the raptures these translations gave him were so strong, that he spoke of them with pleasure to the period of his life."

⁷⁰Compare Hughes's comments in "On Allegorical Poetry" in Durham, ed., Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century, p. 101.

⁷¹See Jonathan Swift, "A Famous Prediction of Merlin the British Wizard, Written above a Thousand Years ago, and relating to the Year 1709" in Bickerstaff Papers, ed., Herbert Davis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), pp. 165-170.

⁷²See Sir William Temple, "An Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning" in Five Miscellaneous Essays by Sir William Temple, ed., Samuel Holt Monk (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), p. 51.

⁷³In Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, Douglas Bush says that "Without citing the opinions of Dryden, Pope, Addison, Garth, and many others, one may say that of the Augustan writers some ignored allegory entirely, some gave it a half-hearted, conventional endorsement, and only a few still appealed to it seriously." In a note, p. 25, Bush says that "in his preface to the chief Augustan version of the Metamorphoses, Garth endorsed with apparent sincerity the allegorical interpretations of George Sandys"

⁷⁴Chalmers Biographical Dictionary, XXVII, 360.

⁷⁵See Dryden's "A Parallel of Poetry and Painting" in Ker, II, 115-153; Spence, Polymetis, passim; and, Addison, Spectator, Nos. 411-421.

⁷⁶Sewall, Dedication to Ovid's Metamorphoses, pp. vi-ix.

⁷⁷See Banier, "The Explication of the Eighth Fable", Metamorphoses, pp. 18-19.

⁷⁸For a discussion of the background and development of euhemerism from antiquity through the Renaissance see Sez nec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods, pp. 11-36. See also the entries for these mythological figures in the Oxford Classical Dictionary for an example of the modern tendency to historicize them.

⁷⁹Compare Bailey, A New Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, p. vi with Garth, Preface to Metamorphoses, p. xvii and Boyse, New Pantheon, p. 256.

⁸⁰Compare Garth, Preface to Metamorphoses, pp. x, xviii with Bailey, A New Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, pp. vi-viii.

⁸¹Compare Bailey, A New Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, pp. iii-iv with Banier, Preface, p. **2r.

⁸²Compare Bailey, A New Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, p. v with Banier, Preface, pp. **2r-***1r.

⁸³See Joseph Jouveny's ed., Publii Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon Libri XV Expurgati, & Explanati, Cum Appendice de Diis, & Heroibus Poeticus (Venice, 1726).

⁸⁴Clavis Ovidiana, A Numerical Key to Ovid's Metamorphoses . . . Together with the Argument of Each Fable in English (London, 1714).

⁸⁵See M. Fontenelle, Nouvelle Traduction Des Metamorphoses D'Ovide, 2 Vols. (Paris, 1777) and Voltaire, "Fable" in A Philosophical Dictionary, Vol., VIII, The Works of Voltaire, ed., Tobias Smollett, et al., trans. William F. Fleming (Akron, Ohio: The Werner Company, 1905), pp. 311-322.

⁸⁶See Warton, An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, I, 378-381 for his criticism of the poets of the earlier eighteenth century who neglected the full beauties of Greek literature.

IV

THE METAMORPHOSES IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POETRY

In Ovid's Metamorphoses Augustan poets found a series of instructive tales to which they could allude and from which they could borrow incidents for their own poetry. Rather than treating the metamorphic tradition as moribund or stagnant, Restoration and eighteenth-century critics and poets alike redefined and adapted the fables of the Metamorphoses to the cultural demands of their age. While a scientific writer might challenge the factual content of a myth, he could not deny its instructive moral truth. Augustan poets continued to allude to the Metamorphoses, demanding that their audiences recognize the accrued meanings of the myths in the allegorical tradition. Because the poets used myths from the Metamorphoses in this ethical fashion, their poetry shows the persistence of the tradition of Ovidian moralization.

The types of Augustan poetry which refer to or use the Metamorphoses are legion. One drawback of at least two of the previous studies of the Ovidian tradition in eighteenth-century English poetry is that they have confined their criticism to the Augustan mythological poem alone.¹ Three misconceptions have arisen because of this narrowly generic approach to the use of the Metamorphoses in Augustan poetry: first, the assertion that serious mythological poetry of the period is too moralistic to be instructive; secondly, the claim that parodic mythological poetry tends to be either "good fun" or obscenity; and

thirdly, the suggestion that mythological allusions are purely decorative.² Each of these statements is partially correct, but none of them completely characterizes the Ovidian metamorphic tradition in Restoration and early eighteenth-century poetry because each is based upon limited evidence. Augustan men read the Metamorphoses as a moral poem-- critics, translators and editors wrote of and assented to its presentation of ethical verities. Augustan schoolboys of all levels were introduced to Ovid's master poem and, with the help of the handbooks, learned that it was a serious and important poem whose fables taught moral lessons through allegory. Augustan poets, too, having been weaned on the poem, found the Metamorphoses a significant model both in its witty style and instructive morals. In this chapter I will try to show the range of Augustan poetry which used Ovid's Metamorphoses by studying various poems that employ myths as moral allegory.³ I will then discuss Pope's "Eloisa to Abelard", a poem which illustrates the way in which an understanding of the allegorical meaning of the Metamorphoses can help a modern reader to solve some of the thorny problems of interpretation with which Augustan poetry abounds.

Before I proceed to my analysis of the Metamorphoses in Augustan poetry, I must first distinguish the morality of allegory (its ethical meaning) as the eighteenth century interpreted it, and moralism, that moralistic tone which Douglas Bush finds offensively present in much of the mythological poetry of the eighteenth century.⁴ Augustan men were followers of Horace in esthetics; they based their artistic principles upon the requirement that a poem must both teach and delight. Later mediocre poets such as Robert Lowth ("The Choice of Hercules") or

William Wilkie (The Epigoniad) might surrender the delight of the narrative to emphasize the moral meaning of the tale, and, hence, become moralistic.⁵ Both of these poets, however, write in the waning of the Augustan age, and, in fact, Lowth's poem turns up as an example of the proper use of myth as personification in Spence's Polymetis, a work which had little use for Ovid's Metamorphoses. Earlier Augustan critics believed that all poetry is morally based, the seriousness of a poem's ethical lesson depending upon its genre. For example, Dryden's Preface to Troilus and Cressida postulates that

The first rule which Bossu prescribes to the writer of an heroic poem, and which holds by the same reason in all dramattick poetry, is to make the moral of the work; that is, to lay down to yourself what that precept of morality shall be which you would insinuate into the people; as namely Homer's . . . was, that union preserves the commonwealth, and discord destroys it It is the moral that directs the whole action of the play to one centre; and that action or fable is the example built upon the moral, which confirms the truth of it to our experience.⁶

Dryden agrees with Bossuet that the epic, the highest genre, bases its fable and characters upon a moral principle. Forty years later, Pope's "Observations on the Iliad" (XXIV, 519) reaffirm the morality of the epic poet's art:

I think it necessary to take notice to the Reader that nothing is more admirable than the conduct of Homer throughout his whole Poem, in respect to morality. He justifies the character of Horace, "who tells us what is fair, what is foul, what is helpful, what not, more plainly and better than Chrysippus or Crantor" (Epist. I, ii, 3-4). If the Reader does not observe the Morality of the Iliad, he loses half, and the nobler part of its Beauty: He reads it as a common Romance and mistakes the chief Aim of it, which is to instruct.⁷

These poet-critics praised the great epics, the Aeneid and the Iliad, because of their unified development of a single moral theme. Certainly,

both poems contain numerous minor moral lessons, as Pope notes, but this general ethical principle which unifies the classical epics was what most impressed these writers.

While neither Pope nor Dryden wrote an epic of his own, each extended this moral esthetic into his writings in the lesser genres. Even in their most didactic moments neither poet succumbs to the moralistic pitfall because they integrate these discursive matters into their poetry: their poems are not sermons. Their appreciation of such philosophical poetry as The Essay on Man, Night Thoughts, and The Seasons makes it apparent that the eighteenth-century reading audience enjoyed moral poetry. Although the readers liked the philosophy of these poems, they also demanded poetic entertainment which the writers gave them in the narrative and descriptive sections of their poems. How well a poet like Dryden, Pope or Gay imparts his moral lesson in a poem determines the degree of his artistic success. So, the key to esthetic appraisal of Augustan poetry lies in its balance, the deftness with which a poet orders his verse to convey his message. For an Augustan reader a good poem must both please and delight, and the classical myths, particularly those of the Metamorphoses which both poets and readers understood as ethical allegories, afforded the poets a source from which to make moral points without preaching.

In the Restoration and early eighteenth century poets express the metamorphic tradition morally: whether a poem imitates the Metamorphoses directly, alludes to it casually (as many do), or uses it tangentially in the production of an original piece, its mythical apparatus has an ethical meaning. Augustan poets are aware of the iconographical

and iconological interpretations of myths for they not only include metamorphic motifs in their poems but also manifest the "specific themes and concepts" of iconography as well as the "essential tendencies of the human mind" which the iconological description of these themes and concepts expresses.⁸ As we shall see, Pope, Swift, Gay and others still treat the problems of providence, fame and immortality, using the frame of metamorphic allegory as the vehicle for artistic expression. The respect for and decorous imitation of classical morality and civilization shaped the basic outlook of the Restoration and eighteenth-century poets and established their predilection for the Metamorphoses with its accrued tradition of iconological meaning.

We find the allegorization of the Metamorphoses displayed in three kinds of poetic writings of the Augustan age: translations and parodies of Ovid's masterwork, poems that make specific allusions to the Metamorphoses in similes, and longer poems which adopt metamorphic patterns. By looking at selected poems of the Restoration and early eighteenth century we come to realize the way in which the moral meaning of the myths helps to explain Augustan poetry.

1. The "Metamorphoses" in Burlesque

In his Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition Douglas Bush finds English satires of classical themes as early as the sixteenth-century prose retellings of myths by Pettie and Whetstone and the mythological burlesques of Marston and Nashe.⁹ Bush admits that the burlesque of classical themes coexists with the respectful imitation of classical myth in the English Renaissance, illustrating that the serious and

comic impulses can live amicably in one age and culture.¹⁰ Albert West says that every classical epoch develops "la protestation du bon sens commun contre les subtilités de langage, les raffinements trop recherchés et les respect excessif pour l'antiquité. Il y a toujours eu, comme contrepoids à ces excès, des interprètes dont l'esprit fin et raisonneur est animé par le besoin du vrai et la passion du réel."¹¹ West suggests that low satirical forms arise as a realistic and commonsensical reaction against the excessive deification of the Ancients or even the Moderns. Surely we can trace this impulse to deflate human pride by parodying respected figures and forms at least as far back as Aristophanes's Old Comedy and the pseudo-Homeric Batrachomyomachia, which Fielding cites as an authority for his burlesque in the Preface to Joseph Andrews.¹² These ancient works did not attempt to destroy what they burlesqued; rather, they sought to douse idolatry with a cold shower of common sense.

During the Augustan period in England, encouraged by the continental successes in classical travesties, writers translated and created burlesques of classical works.¹³ Perhaps the most notorious of the pure travesties is Charles Cotton's Scarronides, a translation-imitation based on the Virgile Travesti of Scarron.¹⁴ According to Bush, Scarron "established the travesty as a popular form, and dozens of lesser men, without Scarron's talent and taste, set about debasing traditional idols and ideals with the zest of modern biographers."¹⁵ Bush, however, does not seem to recognize that a man can travesty a classical author, and that his reading public can find amusement in his production, and still, the reputation of the writer burlesqued may not necessarily suffer. In the case of Virgil, for example, the burlesques enhanced his worth

by inspiring responses in his defence. As one later writer in the Dublin Journal says, "Virgil Travesty may often come into an ingenious Man's Head, when he reads the Original, and make him uneasy with impertinent Interruptions; but will never diminish his Admiration for Virgil."¹⁶ Dryden's momentous translation of the Aeneid, as well as the translations of the Eclogues and the Georgics, show that neither the French Scarron nor the English Cotton did much to diminish Virgil's star.¹⁷ If the Augustan classical saint, Virgil, endured travesty, so, too, did Ovid.

During the period 1660-1700 burlesques of Ovid's Epistles were more common than those of the Metamorphoses.¹⁸ Because of the numerous translations by Dryden and the members of the Court, these travesties probably show as much a Whiggish denunciation of the Tory court poets as they do a critical questioning of Ovid's poetry.¹⁹ Despite this preponderance of epistolary burlesques of Ovid, the Restoration did witness some comical imitation of Ovid's masterwork.

As with the burlesques of Virgil, English writers had continental precedents for their travesties of Ovid. For example, in France the Metamorphoses was burlesqued by Richer in Ovide Buffon and by D'Assoucy in Ovide in Belle Humeur, works which exploit the verbosity and obscenity suggested by the original.²⁰ In England in 1672, a "lover of antiquity" published Chaucer's Ghoast: or, a piece of antiquity. Containing twelve pleasant fables of Ovid penn'd after the ancient manner of writing in England. Which makes them prove mock-poems to the present poetry. Quoting from Lounsbury (Studies in Chaucer III, 118-119), Bush comments that rather than borrowing directly from Chaucer,

"this precious lover of antiquity should have been haunted by the ghosts of both Chaucer and Gower, for the tales are lifted from the Confessio Amantis 'with few slight modernizations, but enough to render them easily intelligible'." It is interesting that the poet-editor of Chaucer's Ghoast should choose to travesty a classical poet by means of his own "ancient" language. More importantly, to consider such obvious plagiarism of poems in one's own language as "mock-poems", reveals a modern attitude toward language which measures artistic worth by linguistic progress and sophistication. Working on the principle that strangeness incites laughter, the lover of antiquity mocks the gothic roots of his own language more than he parodies the stories of the Metamorphoses. Like other Restoration English travesties, Chaucer's Ghoast excited only ephemeral literary interest. As Douglas Bush concludes,

It is clear that while a few paid lip service to Scarron, and while Scarron must have encouraged the growth of travesty in England, no English writer had the talent, or perhaps the desire, to emulate his real cleverness. Besides, the simple tricks which the English writers relied upon -- anachronism, coarseness, general vulgarizing of theme and characters -- were, as we have seen, being practiced before Scarron wrote. Even the continental travesties need not be taken too seriously as a reaction against idolatry of the ancients, since it is only in an age of faith that a feast of fools can be enjoyed, and the English pieces were mostly hasty scribbling of pot-poets.²²

After 1700, when Dryden's Fables which included several translations of tales from the Metamorphoses were published, a number of travesties of individual myths appeared. Richmond P. Bond gives a general estimation of the waning of travesty in the eighteenth century:

The travesty contained within itself the seeds of decay. Its extreme diction and 'modernization' of the classics were destined to tire an age growing in general culture. The rise of the opposing burlesque, which adopted the heroic method for small themes, contributed in a large way to the waning of the travesty vogue. All classical material . . . had not been turned into doggerel, but the field had received sufficient cultivation.²³

Bond suggests that the increasingly sophisticated taste of readers for poems in the "higher" comic genres announced the demise of the "travesty vogue", however, he names several works of burlesque, published after 1700, which pertain to Ovid's Metamorphoses:

The travesty did not die but it did decline. In the years from 1700 to 1750 Homer and Ovid received attention from waggish poets . . . Books of the Metamorphoses, in part or whole, were used by William King, Orpheus and Eurydice, 1704; Swift, Baucis and Philemon, 1709; Breval, Ovid in Masquerade, 1719; Meston, Phaeton, 1720; an anonymous poet, Story of Cinyras and Myrrha, 1720; and Forbes, Ajax his Speech to the Grecian Knabbs, 1742.²⁴

Bond distinguishes travesty, which debases a "particular work by applying a jocular, familiar, undignified treatment," from parody, which mimics an author or poem, and burlesque, which adopts a heroic method for small themes.²⁵ All the works which Bond cites, then, are eighteenth-century variations on the travesty which use the Metamorphoses as their basis. From the publication dates of the six travesties listed, we can surmise that at least three, Breval's, Meston's and the anonymous Story of Cinyras and Myrrha, are attempts to cash in on the Ovid "market" created by the publication of Garth's edition of the Metamorphoses in 1717. Of the three, only Meston's, which retells the story of Phaeton as a child's tale, was reprinted; the other two, because of their crudeness and obscenity, passed into oblivion.²⁶ King's and Swift's travesties,

along with two works of Prior, The Ladle and Daphne and Apollo, offer important examples of the way in which Ovid was treated in the comic mode.

Interestingly, William King's Orpheus and Eurydice provides us with a travesty of a different cast than those which depended solely on anachronism and common crudities for comic effect. Rather than simply burlesquing the Orpheus myth from the Metamorphoses in travesty form, King incorporates an original story of Orpheus's visit to fairyland in the classical tale. Concerning King's effort, Bond says that "Such a travesty is easily unique, for, while the Ovid story is utilized and a burlesque attitude well maintained, there is a great addition to the regular story, and the account of Orpheus' stay in Fairy Land . . . is a strange medley of droll and pure poetry."²⁷ This combination of the classical myth with fairy elements suggests that King may have been familiar with the medieval tale, Sir Orfeo, which places the mythical poet in a fairy setting, or that he possibly conceived his tale from a remembrance of the operatic combination of myth and fairy-tale on the English stage of the 1690's.²⁸ Whichever was his source of inspiration, we have already seen in Chaucer's Ghoast that medieval retellings of myths such as those of Gower seemed crudely ridiculous to the sophisticated Augustan audience because of their uncouth language.

Swift's Baucis and Philemon exists in two states, a coarser, initial version and a more refined version revised by Addison for publication. Bond chooses to comment on the Addisonian-influenced poem:

In one of Swift's most admirable poetic efforts and one of the most popular poems of that day we see the spirit and method of travesty wonderfully toned down but still manifesting a satiric intent. The verse is smooth, but there are sufficient evidences of droll versification. Swift very likely had no intention to ridicule Ovid's story, though he could use it to point a lesson against uncharitable humanity.²⁹

Swift's earlier treatment of the story, however, is not as smooth as the second version, and this smoothness is one of the qualities that Bond finds noteworthy. Before Addison improved the poem for public presentation, it exhibited the rugged but witty versification, the preoccupation with ordinary language and detail which are the hallmarks of Swift's poetry. For example, in the first version of Baucis and Philemon Swift describes the treatment of the two hermits in graphic detail:

Thus in the Strolers usuall Cant
 They beg'd Relief which none would grant;
 No Creature valu'd what they se'd:
 One Family was gone to bed;
 The Master Bawl'd out half asleep
 You Fellows, what a Noise you keep!
 So many Beggers pass this way,
 We can't be quiet Night nor day;
 We can not serve You every One,
 Pray take your Answer and be gone,
 One swore he'd send 'em to the Stocks,
 A third could not forbear his Mocks,
 But bawl'd as loud as he could roar,
 You're on the wrong side of the Door.
 One surly Clown lookt out, and said,
 I'll fling the P--pot on your head;
 You sha'n't come here nor get a Sous
 You look like Rogues would rob a House
 Can't you go work, or serve the King?
 You blind and lame! tis no such Thing
 That's but a counterfeit sore Leg:
 For shame! two sturdy Rascalls beg;
 If I come down, I'll spoil your Trick
 And cure You both with a good Stick.

(Baucis A, ll. 23-46)

In the second version this passage of colloquial dialogue is excised and the gods' rejection by the villagers is simply described in a four-line summary (ll. 11-14). In both versions, however, Swift reminds us of our mortality by emphasizing the destruction of the arboreally metamorphosed parson and his spouse, drastically changing Ovid's story, and indeed, questioning the philosophical basis of the Metamorphoses, where nothing is destroyed but simply transformed into another shape. Because of innovation, the repairing of his barn, the new Parson indiscriminately destroys the symbol of the old beliefs and values, and when the tree is cut down,

. . . 'tis hard to be believ'd
How much the other Tree was griev'd,
Grew Scrubby, dy'd a top, was stunted:
So, the next Parson stub'd and burnt it.

(Baucis B, ll. 175-178)

Certainly the metamorphosed Baucis and Philemon represent values analogous to those symbolized by Lord Munodi's estate on Balnibarbi, and like the aged trees, Lord Munodi's home will be destroyed by the projectors.³⁰ Although Gulliver's Travels may seem far afield from Baucis and Philemon, yet the same moral views of society inform both pieces.

Because Swift chooses to show the rewards of charity, he reduces Ovid's major point in the myth -- the deluge -- to three lines:

But for that Pack of churlish Boors
Not fitt to live on Christian Ground,
They and their Village shall be droun'd.

(Baucis A, ll. 86-88)

For the remainder of the poem he concentrates on the miraculous transformation of the homely cottage and its objects into a church. Rather

than accentuating the punishment of mankind's inhumanity, Swift focuses on the comic changes of chimneys, kettles, jacks and chairs, and the final astounding metamorphosis of Baucis and Philemon into yew trees. His final stanza reveals the impermanence of these rewards for the aged couple's charity. Although the villagers remember the pair when they see the trees outside the church, once the new Parson destroys the yews, he obliterates the memory of their goodness. In the Metamorphoses, VII, 11, Lelex believes that the existence of these metamorphosed trees is enough to silence Ixion's son's atheistic outburst. Dryden translates the passage in his Fables (1700):

Thus Achelous ends: His Audience hear,
 With admiration, and admiring, fear
 The Pow'rs of Heav'n; except Ixion's Son,
 Who laugh'd at all the Gods, believ'd in none:
 He shook his impious Head, and thus replies:
 'These Legends are no more than pious Lies:
 You attribute too much to Heavenly Sway,
 To think they give us Forms, and take away.'

 Then Lelex rose, an old experienc'd Man,
 And thus with sober Gravity began:
 'Heav'ns Pow'r is Infinite: Earth, Air, and Sea,
 The manufactur'd Mass, the making Pow'r obey:
 By Proof to clear your Doubt; in Phrygian Ground
 Two neighb'ring Trees, with Walls encompass'd round,
 Stand on a mod'rate Rise, with wonder shown,
 One a hard Oak, a softer Linden one:
 I saw the Place and them, by Pittheus sent
 To Phrygian Realms, my Grandsire's Government.'

(11. 1-8; 11-20)

Because Lelex has seen Baucis and Philemon in their transformed state, he believes that he can witness to the providential and creative power which the gods have over forms, and by doing so he can silence the scoffing son of Ixion. Sandys interprets the joint metamorphosis of the aged couple as a tribute "that the memory of the good might have a

sacred respect, and be never forgotten: whereon the religious hang garlands; that is, celebrate their praises; reverencing their memories, who had so revered the immortals" (Ovid, p. 394). As Ehrenpreis suggests, Swift transferred the story of Philemon and Baucis into a Christian setting, and, because of this, he rejects the history and the endurance of the trees, and he converts the pagan gods into pre-Reformation Saints.³¹ In spite of these revisions he retains the moral which Sandys and Ovid emphasize -- he contradicts the deistic god in much the same way that Ovid refutes the careless Epicurean deities and proves that the gods intervene purposefully in the affairs of men. But unlike Ovid, Swift recognizes that man is dust, and so must pass away like the earthly memory of the trees. Thus, the destruction of the trees yields at least three meanings: the comic twist on the conclusion of the original; the criticism of the breakdown of social values; and finally, a Christian reminder of the mortality of man and the transience of his earthly fame.

Like Dryden and Swift, Prior also treated the myth of Baucis and Philemon in The Ladle (1703). Dealing jocosely with the problem of whether the gods intervene in the lives of men, Prior decides that they do so daily -- in plays, poetry, and painting. After debating the question, he asks,

Is it Equilibrio,
 If Deities descend or no?
 Then let th' Affirmative prevail,
 As requisite to form my Tale:
 For by all Parties 'tis confest,
 That those Opinions are the best,
 Which in their Nature most conduce
 To present Ends, and private Use.

(ll. 45-52)

In a flourish of pragmatic mockery, Prior dispenses with the philosophical debate which divided the Deist from the traditional eighteenth-century Christian and launches into his tale. From the Metamorphoses Prior retains the visit of the classical deities, Hermes and Jove, but he changes the aged Philemon and Baucis to a simple farmer and his wife Corisca. In the fairy-tale vein, Prior substitutes a comical chain of three wishes for the pious desire of Ovid's couple. When the first two wishes are unwittingly used with the bawdy result of the posterior placement of the wished-for ladle, the third must be employed to extricate Corisca from her ill-placed desire. In his attached moral, Prior admonishes man to be satisfied with what he has, but admits that

Against our Peace We arm our Will:
Amidst our Plenty, Something still
For Horses, Houses, Pictures, Planting,
To Thee, to Me, to Him is wanting.
That cruel Something unpossess'd
Corrodes, and leuens all the rest.
That Something, if We could obtain,
Would soon create a future Pain:
And to the Coffin, from the Cradle,
'Tis all a WISH, and all a LADLE.

(ll. 161-170)

Prior's sententious tag conforms to the method of overt moralizing used in the fable and in the fairy tale. After the opening debate on Providence which he enlarges from the Metamorphoses, Prior sets out to test

If all the Favours they [the gods] bestow
Could from our own Perverseness ease Us;
And if our Wish injoy'd would please Us.

(ll. 56-58)

From this query, Prior develops his story and draws his moral.

Although the metamorphic story serves as an introit to The Ladle, Prior treats the actual myth loosely. He omits the motif of the turned-away guests with supernatural power and the episode of the flood to punish the inhospitable, and, finally, he exchanges the transformations of Ovid's story for three magical wishes. Using just enough of Ovid's story to make it recognizable in his poem, Prior illustrates the way in which the classical tale provided a basis for travesty, a skeletal story upon which the poet could graft his comic material. In his Observations on Ovid's Metamorphoses, Prior shows that he understands the serious import which interpreters had attached to the Baucis and Philemon story. He believes that "The Deluge is plainly Noah's Flood, and some part of the Description looks as if Ovid had seen the Books of Moses." Later, he continues "Jupiter and Mercury coming down to Baucis and Philemon has a good deal of the Angels being entertained by Lott. And the Neighboring Country destroyed for the wickedness of the people answers to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha."³² Both these comments echo Sandys's interpretation of the incident. In The Ladle Prior seems to mock the entire episode by first reducing it to a perversely logical argument on divine Providence and, then, converting it to a mildly bawdy tale of the granting of three ill-fated wishes. Yet, in his prose comments he considers the story a serious adjunct to the Biblical account of the flood. Although this double attitude may seem profane to the modern sensibility which likes to separate the serious and the comic, the view is at least as old as Chaucer's "Miller's Tale" where the divine flood motif serves a bawdy, comical end.³³ So Prior wittily reconstructs

the metamorphic story in travesty but at the same time recognizes its serious Scriptural analogies.

Besides its use in The Ladle, Prior also burlesqued the Metamorphoses in Daphne and Apollo. Faithfully translated from Ovid's Metamorphoses Book 1st: Nympha, Precor, Penei, mane, &ca. Of course Prior's statement that he "faithfully translated" Ovid's story becomes recognizably ironic after we read the first six lines. In the poem Apollo's language mimics the subtle flatteries and promises of a courtier, and it echoes Dryden's translation of the myth in the Examen Poeticum. Compare the plea of Prior's Apollo,

Abate Fair Fugitive, abate thy Speed
Dismiss thy fears, and turn thy beauteous head,
With kind regard a Panting Lover view,
Less Swiftly fly, less swiftly I'll pursue.

(Daphne and Apollo, ll. 1-4)

with Dryden's god, "Abate thy speed, and I will bate of mine" (Metamorphoses, I, 688 in Examen Poeticum). The relationship between these lines is obvious, and Prior's readers would have recognized the allusion to Dryden which Prior's parody suggests. Prior's Daphne is strikingly different from either her Latin or English sister, however, because her replies contrast sharply with the original, and her language mocks Apollo's sophisticated eloquence. Like the realistic shepherdesses of Gay's pastorals she speaks a colloquial and rustic English:

- A. What is to come by certain Art I know.
- D. Pish Partridge has as fair pretence as Thou!
- A. Behold the Beauties of my locks--[D.] a Fig
That may be counterfeit a Spanish Wigg.
Who cares for all that Bush of curling hair
Whilst your Smooth Chin is so extreamly bare.

A. I sing--[D.] that never shall be Daphne's choice.
 Syphacio had an Admirable Voice.

(11. 15-22)

Like Ovid's nymph, Prior's distrusts Apollo's advances, but she does so in a comic exchange which ends in her forcing Apollo into a proposal of marriage. Her anachronistic reference to the astrologer Partridge and to the castratus Syphacio, as well as her use of the unladylike vulgarities, "Pish" and "Fig", transform her from the classical follower of Diana into an eighteenth-century pastoral hoyden.³⁴ Richardson's Pamela is a demurer version of this type of eighteenth-century emancipated woman, but where she succeeds in enforcing her marriage ultimatum, Daphne does not. Prior, like Fielding in Shamela, disbelieves the authenticity of such virtue.

As he did in The Ladle, Prior omits the actual metamorphosis from his tale, but in Daphne's final vow, he suggests its ironic accomplishment:

Now Love or leave, my Dear, retreat or follow.
 I Daphne, this premis'd, take Thee Apollo,
 And may I split into ten thousand Trees
 If I give up on other Terms than these.

(11. 85-88)

Daphne's marriage proposal to Apollo, which includes her rash vow, gives an ironic turn to Ovid's account of the creation of the laurel. Rather than a reward for her chastity, Daphne's transformation becomes in Prior's handling a proof of her corruption. In typically bawdy fashion, Prior leaves this conclusion to his audience, in the end he adopts the stance of a naive storyteller who cannot continue because "By Ratts alas the Manuscript is eat/ O Cruel Banquet which we all regret" (11. 90-91). In spite of this avowal of ignorance we know the conclusion of the

story: Daphne undergoes a metamorphosis into a laurel tree. And Prior turns this knowledge to an ironic comment on woman's constancy.

Although Bond does not mention The Ladle or Daphne and Apollo as classical travesties, we can readily see that they embody the traits of this form. They rely on anachronisms, droll rhymes and bawdy touches -- the keynotes of the English travesty. Interestingly, The Ladle uses mythology playfully and satirically in the manner of Gay, Swift and Pope: adapting a classical motif and allusions, the poet then creates his own story upon this basis. Thus, as in Baucis and Philemon, the serious moral implications add a level of deep meaning to what at first appears a superficial jeu d'esprit. Rather than criticizing Ovid, these travesties of the Metamorphoses satirize translators like Dryden and his fellows, or Garth and his associates, and they partake of the general comic spirit of the early eighteenth century. Both Chaucer's Ghoast (1674) and Ajax his Speech to the Grecian Knabbs (1742) use unfamiliar dialects for comic purposes: the former poem relies on Middle English for humorous effect, and the latter exploits the Scottish Broad Buchans as farce.³⁵ To an age which respected elegant English and laughed at dialects portrayed on the stage, such as the low Irish drawl of the Irish priest in The Beaux Stratagem or the Polish accent of Lubomirski in Three Hours after Marriage, such a mode of travesty is understandable.³⁶ But alongside Swift's, King's and Prior's efforts, Forbes's work is only a curiosity piece displaying a Scottish dialect, and Chaucer's Ghoast appeals mainly to those who want to trace the influence of Chaucer and Gower. All these burlesques are important, however, because they prove that the Metamorphoses was read and had enough admirers to merit travesty.

2. Augustan Allusions to the "Metamorphoses":
Their Structural and Moral Functions

Eighteenth-century critics recognized the moral implications of the Metamorphoses, and because of this belief, not all poems that allude to the Metamorphoses are burlesques or travesties. Rather, the Augustan poets used the Metamorphoses both as a source for allusions and as a model for poetry. Although some modern critics have condemned much of the mythical allusion of the Augustans as cold and lacklustre, yet, when we understand its various uses in a poem, we can see the way in which it enhances the poet's intended meaning. The poems which use the Metamorphoses as a model take on the moral dimensions of the mythological interpretations of Ovid's master work.

Although it is impossible to study thoroughly the use of mythological allusions in the Restoration and eighteenth century, the analysis of a few poems is sufficient to show the way in which the Augustan poets used mythological allusions to develop their intended meanings. Earl Wasserman and David Hauser have shown that what first appears as incidental mythical allusions in some of Pope's poems, when read with an eye to the Ovidian commentators, yields novel meanings which complement the poems and resolve many querulous interpretations.³⁷ Pope did not originate this mode of poetic allusion; rather, as Reuben Brower contends, we must look to Dryden as his mentor for the practice of functional mythical allusion.³⁸

From Dryden's poetry we can discern the characteristic use of allusion in Augustan poetry. Throughout the corpus of Dryden's works we find numerous references to classical myth, many of which function

not merely as decoration but are used to reinforce the themes of the poem in a moral fashion. Such allusions occur in Astraea Redux, his first public poem in praise of Charles II, and he continues to use them in his later career in such a poem as the Anne Killigrew Ode.

Although Astraea Redux is a Virgilian poem as it announces in its titular allusion to Virgil's Pollio and its epigraph, at least in two instances, Dryden alludes to Ovid's Metamorphoses.³⁹ When he draws his portrait of Charles II as a storm-tossed Aeneas and a long-suffering King David (a type of Christ), we can not mistake the Virgilian and Biblical influences. We must recognize, however, that, at least at the beginning of the poem, Charles has attributes comparable to Jove's and that the English nation has acted like the most notorious of classical rebels -- the Titans.

In an extended simile, Dryden focuses on the Jovelike qualities of the exiled king and court in the midst of the Titanic revolution:

Nor could our Nobles hope their bold Attempt
 Who ruin'd Crowns would Coronets exempt:
 For when by their designing Leaders taught
 To strike at Pow'r which for themselves they sought,
 The vulgar gull'd into Rebellion, arm'd
 Their blood to action by the Prize was warm'd.
 The Sacred Purple then and Scarlet Gown
 Like Sanguine Dye to Elephants was shown.
 Thus when the bold Typhoeus scal'd the Sky,
 And forc'd great Jove from his own Heaven to fly,
 (What King, what Crown from Treason's reach is free,
 If Jove and Heaven can violated be?)
 The lesser Gods that shared his prosp'rous State
 All suffer'd in the Exil'd Thund'ers Fate.

(ll. 29-42)

Dryden compares the harrassment and exile of the Royalists with that of the Olympians during and after Typhoeus's rebellion. In the commentary

to the California edition of the poem, the editors identify Typhoeus or Typhon as the "prodigious, deformed monster, son of Terra, and of the race of the giants," and they support this observation by reference to The Great Historical, Geographical & Poetical Dictionary (1694).⁴⁰ The editors offer a misleading impression about the myth, however, because they base their interpretation solely upon Alexander Ross's Mystagogus Poeticus and Bacon's De Sapientia Veterum, works which only connect the myth with rebellion. Bacon views it as a hieroglyph on the uprising of the oppressed common people against tyrants, and Ross, concentrating on the figure of Typhoeus, suggests that ". . . surely bloody Tyrants are no better than the foster-children of Dragons, & the Sons of earth, & of the race of Gyants, and Scourges or plagues sent by God to punish a people as they write that Typhon was."⁴¹ As the editors note, Ross's comment seems to identify Typhoeus and Cromwell, a suggestion put forward by W. C. Abbott in Conflicts with Oblivion, 1935.⁴² Another interpretation, that of Sandys, serves to reinforce this identification, and corrects the problem created by Bacon's interpretation of the myth as a justification for civil war, an explanation which laid the responsibility for insurrection at the feet of the common people.

When he alludes to Typhoeus, Dryden draws the story from Metamorphoses, V where it is a part of the poetic contest between the Pierides and the Muses. Sandys discovers two meanings in the myth:

Typhon is the type of Ambition; ascending, as all other vices, from hell: and therefore the son of the Earth and Erebus. He is said to have reached Heaven with his hands, in regard of his aspiring thoughts; to have feets unwearied with travaile; as expressing his industry in accommodating all things to his own designes But better this horrid figure of Typhon agrees with rebellion: having a

hundred heads in regard of his divided forces; fiery mouthes, of his inflamed intents; a girdle of serpents for his pestilent malice, and sieges; iron hands, best suting with slaughter; Eagles talons, with rapin; and a body covered with feathers, in regard of perpetuall rumors, secret intelligences, feares and suspitions. By such rebellions not seldome princes are chased out of their countries, inforced to hide themselves in some obscure angle: as here the Gods, pursued by Typhon, fly into Aegypt; concealing themselves in the shapes of unreasonable creatures.

(Sandys, Ovid, pp. 250-251)

Sandys interprets the figure of Typhoeus as both the satanic force of private ambition and the hellish energy of rebellion, and he suggests that his power causes the exile of princes. Immediately we recognize the similarities between Sandys's commentary and Dryden's simile. Manipulating the myth's private and public meanings, Dryden attacks the "designing Leaders" (l. 31), those men who conceived and executed the rebellion against Charles I, and he damns their ambition. Both meanings, that of ambition and that of rebellion, complement each other in the passage and serve to criticize both the rebels and the civil war. Abbott's suggestion that Typhoeus represents Cromwell makes Sandys's comment doubly meaningful, for Dryden's readers would have recognized this indirect reference to the famous rebel and would have understood the implied moral judgment of the simile. Although the Declaration of Breda absolved the English populace of guilt in the overthrow and execution of Charles I, it did not forgive the instigators of the rebellion, the most culpable of whom was Cromwell.⁴³ In mythical fashion, therefore, Dryden passes sentence on the Typhon of the English revolution.

Dryden's mythical allusion not only illustrates the way in which Charles I, his son and his nobles succumbed to fates similar to

those endured by Jove and the Olympians, but it also shows the end suffered by all rebellions. By doing so, Dryden raises the sufferings of Charles and his nobles to the godlike plane of the classical pantheon, a first step in the successive association of Charles II with pius Aeneas, David and finally Christ. In the lines immediately preceding this simile, Dryden enumerates the sufferings of his generation which had never known the blessings of a peaceful and stable government (ll. 26-29). People, nobles, and Monarch, have all suffered punishment. What king is exempt from treason if Jove can fall to a rebel, Dryden asks, and the common people "gull'd" by monstrous leaders, meekly follow their treacherous commands (ll. 31-34). Happily, because we know that Jove at length punishes Typhoeus by burying him beneath Mount Aetna (as the Muses reply to the Pierides' irreligious tale), with Dryden's readers we realize that Jove-Charles's conquest over Typhoeus-Cromwell signifies a return to order and stability -- the return of Astraea.

Sandys relates the following about Typhoeus's end:

The Muse proceeds with the punishment of Typhon, struck Jove with lightning, and thrown under that Iland [Sicily]. The destiny of audacious Rebellion; which though it rage and raigne for a season, supported by popular fury; yet falls in the end under the arm of vengeance, and the waight of a reunited kingdome.

(Sandys, Ovid, p. 251)

Encouraged by "designing Leaders", popular fury arises for a time, but when the people reject this ambitious guidance, the power of the monarch returns to balance and temper the land by the "waight" of kingship which reunites it under its dominion. Although Dryden hopes that his readers will apply the outcome of the myth to their own situation, he does not mention Jove's ultimate punishment of Typhon. By leaving the story

incomplete and depending on his audience's knowledge of the myth and its meanings, he can create an implied contrast between the methods of the avenging "Thund'rer" and those of Charles II who finds "Revenge less sweet than a forgiving mind" (l. 261). This initial reference, then, emphasizes the historical and political similarities of the mythical rebellion of the giants and that of the English Commonwealth, and it commends the moral rectitude of Charles II's activity in the affair. Not only is Charles a type of Jove who slays his enemies in just vengeance, but he is also a type of David-Christ who forgives his wayward people. Not only has Justice returned, but also Mercy.

Dryden's allusion to the blind Cyclops, Metamorphoses, XIV, further illustrates the way in which the poet integrates the accepted moral readings of the myths with his intended poetic meaning. When he speaks of the liberty of the people under the Commonwealth, Dryden says

The Rabble now such Freedom did enjoy,
As Winds at Sea that use it to destroy:
Blind as the Cyclops, and as wild as he,
They own'd a lawless salvage Libertie,
Like that our painted Ancestours so priz'd
Ere Empires arts their Breasts had Civiliz'd.

(ll. 43-48)

Quoting Waller's To the King, upon His Majesties Happy Return (1660), Denham's "The Progress of Learning" and Alexander Ross's Mystagogus Poeticus (1653) as authorities, the California editors surmise that "the blind Cyclops, or Polyphemus, was by this time closely associated with Puritans and the Commonwealth."⁴⁴ Certainly, Ross supports this interpretation: he says that "A Commonwealth without a King, is like great Polyphemus without an eye"⁴⁵ Blind Polyphemus, who represents "the folly of barbarous strength, infeebl'd by vices,"

suffered his fate at the hands of Ulysses, a figure of "wisdom" and a prototype of Virgil's Aeneas (Sandys, Ovid, p. 650). Possibly Dryden wishes his audience to read this reference to Ulysses on a deeper level of mythical typology, and the reference to destructive winds conjures up images of Aeolus's harassment of the ships of both Ulysses and Aeneas.⁴⁶ If we look more closely at Sandys's description of the Cyclops, we can better understand why Dryden compares the people's pernicious freedom to the monster's wildness: the Cyclops

. . . were a salvage people given to spoyle and robbery; unsociable amongst themselves, & inhumane to strangers: and no marvaile; when lawlesse, and subject to no government, the bond of society; which gives to every man his owne, suppressing vice, and advancing vertue, the two main columnes of a Common-wealth, without which it can have no supportance. Besides man is a politicall and sociable creature: They therefore are to bee numbred among beasts who renounce society, whereby they are destitute of lawes, the ordination of civility. Hence it ensues, that man, in creation the best, when averse to justice, is the worst of all creatures. For injustice, armed with power, is the most outrageous and bloody. Such Polyphemus, who feasts himselfe with the flesh of his guests.

(Ovid, p. 649)

Ross's comment has shown that the blind Cyclops Polyphemus provided the Restoration with an icon of a monarch-less nation, and Sandys's explanation reveals that the monster's antisocial attitude gave them an icon of the effects of "lawless salvage Libertie" (l. 46). Lacking civilized society with its values of virtue and justice, Polyphemus acts like an animal, practicing cannibalism instead of showing hospitality to his guests. In Dryden's "lawless" rabble we find an analogue to the bestial Cyclops, "destitute of lawes", for as Sandys suggests, freedom requires law to insure peace and stability in the kingdom. Without law

man debases himself to bestiality, and he sacrifices civility, the virtue which helps man to deal with man in an orderly way. So the "lawless" mob in Astraea Redux regresses to the primitive state of their "painted Ancestours". To obtain the benefits of total liberty man must renounce his manhood and ally himself with injustice and barbaric savagery.

The California editors offer both Hobbes's description of the state of nature and Virgil's account of primitive society (Aeneid VIII, 417-434) as sources for Dryden's description of the nasty brutishness of life without law.⁴⁷ The poet may also have drawn his picture from Sandys's commentary on the Polyphemus passage to which he alludes. Although Dryden may have Hobbes and Virgil in mind when he depicts the primitive and uncivilized condition of man without society, it is also possible that he could be extending the implications of the Cyclops myth to include this parallel of the rabble to their "painted Ancestours". In this way, Dryden uses the simile to condemn the libertine desires of the mob: he censures their savagery by comparing it to Polyphemus's cannibalism; he damns their uncivilized qualities, those that reject law and justice, and finally, he lowers them to the level of beasts. Only by the return of law in the person of the rightful monarch, can man find peace and justice within the society. Dryden uses the various meanings of the myth to reinforce his picture of the unhappy state of the English people before the return of Charles II. Furthermore, because Sandys says that Polyphemus's eye represents Prudence (Ovid, p. 650), therefore the restoration of the King returns prudent vision to his sightless people.

It is significant that Dryden uses two myths which commentators traditionally apply to man's social and political situation. Augustan poets use mythology not as an end in itself but as a foundation upon which to build their social myth. In Astraea Redux Dryden adapts two myths from the Metamorphoses, exploits their conventional interpretations and then, places them into the scheme of classical and Biblical allusions in order to construct his larger myth of the renewal of time in England through the agency of Charles II's restoration. The metamorphic stories introduce the first movement of the poem, the period of suffering and atonement which the entire kingdom -- king, nobles, and commoners -- has undergone. In John Dryden's Imagery, Arthur Hoffman shows the way in which Dryden patterns the allusions in Astraea Redux and transmutes historical action into poetry:

There is, first, a titular myth -- the return of the goddess of justice, Astraea brought back. In this case the titular myth is classical. Second, the content of the myth as it is developed in the poem is both classical and Christian, or biblical The return of the goddess to earth will occur when, in the revolution of time, the golden age returns. Such a renewal of time had been attributed to the reign of Augustus, and Dryden completes the cycle in his poem by presenting the return of Charles as the beginning of a new Augustan age. The mythical fabric is enhanced with a variety of classical material, much of it fairly close to the myth of Astraea. So, for example, Charles' exile is compared to the flight of Jove, and the English rebellion becomes the revolt of the Titans in which "bold Typhoeus" violated heaven and forced Jove to flee. "The rabble" are compared, in their blindness, to the Cyclops, another of the giant brood. These classical materials are drawn principally from Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, or Pollio, from the sixth book of the Aeneid, from the first and thirteenth books of Ovid's Metamorphoses, and possibly from Hesiod's Theogeny.⁴⁸

As Hoffman indicates, Dryden combines classical materials traditionally associated with the Christian Fall and Redemption with Biblical allusions

to Adam, David and Christ. Although Hoffman's references to the Meta-
morphoses are partially incorrect (he cites the story of Typhon as
 Book I, but it occurs in Book V, and the story of Polyphemus blinded by
 Ulysses takes place in Book XIV, not XIII), he does stress the importance
 of these allusions for the mythical structure of the poem and shows the
 way in which Dryden shapes his materials to develop his total meaning.
 But, most significantly, Hoffman reveals that Dryden uses allusions
 functionally, not decoratively: like his references to figures of
 Roman history -- Cato, Augustus, or Caesar -- his mythical allusions
 carry a burden of meaning beyond the literal level. Dryden incorporates
 metamorphic fables as emblems of praise and blame, and expects that his
 reader will recognize the various implications which commentators like
 Sandys had attributed to them.

Dryden's To the Pious Memory of the Accomplisht Young Lady Mrs
Anne Killigrew, Excellent in the two Sister Arts of Poesie and Painting.
An Ode. (1686) again makes a number of allusions to stories in the
Metamorphoses whose conventional allegorical meanings enrich and extend
 his compliment to poetry and painting and the deceased poetess who
 personifies their most excellent qualities. Since Arthur Hoffman has
 discussed the imagery of the Ode in detail, I will confine my remarks
 to stanzas IV and V where Dryden makes explicit reference to metamorphic
 materials.⁴⁹

Stanza IV of Dryden's Ode inveighs against the corruptions which
 have crept into contemporary poetry, especially that of the stage, and
 concludes with his exclamation:

What can we say t'excuse our Second Fall?
 Let this thy Vestal, Heav'n, attone for all!
 Her Arethusian Stream remains unsoil'd,
 Unmixt with Forreign Filth, and undefil'd,
 Her Wit was more than Man, her Innocence a Child!

(ll. 66-70)

Hoffman offers this interpretation:

Thy Vestal, Heav'n is an interesting case of the possibility of identity between Christian and classical terms; Vestal is a term used of nuns, and this application of the term is here enforced by the connection with Heav'n as well as by the fact that the first stanza of the poem uses imagery that refers to Anne Killigrew unequivocally as a nun. The classical significance of Vestal, however, cannot be ignored, especially with Arethusian following in the next line. Vestal, in the classical sense, refers to a virgin consecrated to tending the sacred fire in the temple of Vesta, and the image is employed here in the general sense of one consecrated to the sacred fire, a moral guardian and symbol, extended to include the preservation of poetry by Arethusian in the following line.⁵⁰

According to Hoffman, the reference to Arethusa transforms Anne into a heavenly vestal whose virginal nature, when depicted as a stream, has the baptismal power to wash away the impurities and filth of the age. In the allusion he also detects a Miltonic echo from Lycidas, a poem which like Anne Killigrew celebrates a young poet's passing. The adjective "Arethusian" supports the atonement imagery in the poem, and it provides a classical analogue to Anne's ideal virginity. Commenting on Stanza V, Hoffman says that "The image of Diana's Stream, is another way of saying Arethusian Stream and has, of course, the advantage of introducing the major classical emblem of virginity."⁵¹ While "Diana's Stream" and the "Arethusian Stream" are not quite as interchangeable as Hoffman would have it, the relationship of Arethusa, Vestal and Diana which he discovers, illuminates the sacredness of Anne's state of

virginity both in terms of the Christian and the classical tradition. If we look to the allegorical interpretation of the Arethusa myth (Metamorphoses, V), we discover another possible interpretation which is in accord with Dryden's portrait of the virginal redemtrix of poetry. The myth relates that Arethusa, an Arcadian huntress and nymph of Diana's train, was transformed into a river to escape the lustful pursuit of Alpheus who eventually united with her by means of his own watery metamorphosis. Sandys explores two philosophical meanings of the myth:

By this fable of Alpheus and Arethusa the ancients expressed the divine affection of the soule, and excellency of virtue. For as the matter seeks after her forme, as her proper and only good, without which she is idle and uselesse; even so is vertue pursued by the Soule. Alpheus which signifies heats and imperfections, is therefore said to follow Arethusa, which is by interpretation Virtue. But Fulgentius more fully, that Alpheus is the light of Truth, and Arethusa the excellency of equity, what can truth more affect then equity; or light then excellency? Alpheus runs unmixt through the sea: because illustrious truth, although invironed with vices, can never be disseasoned with their bitternesse, but unpolluted falls into the bosome of Arethusa, or noble integrity.

(Ovid, pp. 261-262)

Sifting through Sandys's commentary, we discover that Arethusa represents two general moral categories -- virtue and integrity. If we look once more at Dryden's handling of the image in Stanza IV of the Ode, it is possible that the "unsoil'd" state of Anne's "Arethusian Stream" represents the virtue and integrity which will serve to cleanse the polluted arts. So the reference to Arethusa compliments Anne's virginity, and adds the moral qualities of virtue and integrity to her sainted character.

The "Arethusian Stream", the wholeness of unsullied virtue, links this stanza with Dryden's description (Stanza VI) of the art, vigor and Stoic morals of Anne's works. In Stanza VI Dryden develops particular aspects of the integrity of her "Arethusian Stream", her superhuman wit, and her childlike innocence, and settles at last on her treatment of love:

Ev'n Love (for Love sometimes her Muse exprest)
Was but a Lambent-flame which play'd about her Brest:
Light as the Vapours of a Morning Dream,
So cold herself, whilst she such Warmth exprest,
'Twas Cupid bathing in Diana's Stream.

(ll. 83-87)

Hoffman perceives a direct relation between the "Arethusian Stream" and "Diana's Stream", but he also suggests that

Anne's muse has given chaste expression to love. Once again the connection of art and life is emphasized. Love expressed in her poetry is imaged as a Lambent-flame that plays about the breast of the virgin poetess. She herself is cold while her poetry expresses the Warmth of love; this situation is imaged in classical metaphors: 'Twas Cupid bathing in Diana's Stream' (l. 87; I, 462K) Diana's Stream images the coolness and restraint of the virgin poetess; the line invokes classical figures to express the restraint exercised by a Christian poetess.⁵²

Hoffman again connects the classical and Christian images of the poem. Associated with the myths of Callisto and Acteon, "Diana's Stream" represents a place of cool refreshment, and like the "Arethusian Stream", it is a site of unsullied chastity, as the goddess's unflinching punishment of those who attempt to pollute her stream illustrates. Paradoxically, Dryden represents Cupid bathing in Diana's stream, an image used to express the reconciliation of profane love, eros, with chastity. In contrast to the bestial change of Acteon who gazes on

the virgin huntress while bathing, Dryden's simile suggests that Diana's stream tempers and transforms Amor, chastening his lustful nature while encouraging the warmth of his love. Thus, when love becomes her subject, Anne's "Arethusian Stream" prompts her to treat the boy-god warmly yet virtuously.

Stanza IX of the Anne Killigrew Ode describes a metamorphosis, an analogue to the tale of Callisto (Metamorphoses, II), the change of the Pliades whom Anne joins in her transformed state. Daughters of Atlas, the Pliades "were virgin companions of Artemis, and, together with their mother, were pursued by the hunter Orion in Boetia; their prayer to be rescued from him was heard by the gods, and they were metamorphosed into doves (πελειάδες), and placed among the stars."⁵³ The story of the Pleiades is an Hellenic myth, "one of the few stories in all mythology which we may definitely trace to an astronomical source for the constellation in Orion, which maintains a somewhat erratic connexion with the hero, is in the neighborhood of the Pleiades."⁵⁴

Although Ovid does not include this story in the Metamorphoses, the transformation of the daughters of Atlas is analogous to metamorphic fables, like Callisto's, which include this sort of change into a star. Like Ovid's transformation of Caesar into a star in Metamorphoses, XV, Dryden transfers the virginal poetess from the earth into the heavens, giving her a place among the stars of a recognized constellation. Significantly this transformation not only compliments the memory of Anne Killigrew, but because Artemis is the Greek equivalent of Diana, it also reinforces Anne's association with the train of the Virgin Goddess. Thus Dryden weaves together a number of myths overtly connected

with Diana, myths whose meanings form the moral fabric of encomium as well as establishing a theory of the virtue, integrity, and rewards of the good poet.

As we have seen, Dryden uses allusions in Astraea Redux and the Anne Killigrew Ode as functional vehicles of meaning, drawing on his readers' knowledge of the conventional interpretations of the myths. Because of the classical orientation of his audience, Dryden can assume that they will recognize the various levels of moral judgment rendered by the political, social and philosophical wisdom contained in the metamorphic fables. Of course Dryden adapts the Ovidian references to the needs of the poem; he uses the Typhon and Polyphemus myths which have political and social connotations to introduce the moral themes of Astraea Redux, and he combines the fable of Arethusa and the various conventions of the Diana cult to compliment the epitome of a poetess. Furthermore, in The Hind and the Panther II. 535-537, he uses the storming of heaven by the "Gyantbrood" as a metaphor for the "insulting rage/ Of Hereticks" (ll. 533-534). When we look to Sandys's commentary on the Giants' rebellion in Metamorphoses, I (Ovid, p. 260), we discover the myth had traditionally been interpreted as a rebellion against God by heretics. Such meaningful uses of allusions to the Metamorphoses occur throughout Dryden's poetry and plays, and from him other poets learned to integrate mythological references artistically.

Mythological allusions occur especially in the occasional poems of welcome and farewell and panegyrics for births and funerals. For example, William King's Britain's Palladium: or; Lord Bolingbroke's

Welcome from France has a mythological frame; it is set in the court of Neptune and the major part of the poem consists of a prophecy spoken by Nereus. Besides this central mythology which he derives from John Hughes's "The Court of Neptune; or King William's Return from Holland, 1699," and more remotely from Spenser's marriage of the Thames and Medway,⁵⁵ King also makes the following allusion to Metamorphoses, II:

Who shall hereafter British annals read,
But will reflect with wonder on this deed?
How artfully his conduct overcame
A Stubborn race, and quench'd a raging flame;
Retriev'd the Britons from unruly fate,
And overthrew the Phaeton's of State!

(ll. 143-148)

Immediately we recognize the conventional use of the Phaeton myth as a moral example of the vice of ambition: by means of Bolingbroke's Jovelike power, the Whigs, to whom the reference alludes, will cease their ambitious struggle for power which has opened England to "raging flames" like those with which Phaeton's chariot scorched the earth. Like Dryden's use of the Typhon myth in Astraea Redux, King's incorporation of the Phaeton myth serves a political purpose, and it imparts an ethical judgment upon the "Phaeton's of State." Although King's poem is one of the lesser lights of eighteenth-century poetry, it nevertheless illustrates the way in which metamorphic allusions still had moral applications.

George Stepney's funeral elegy on the death of Queen Mary uses allusion in a complimentary fashion. Stepney's elegy shows that Mary's regal attributes are similar to those of the mythical deities. For example, her humility keeps her lustrous power hidden:

So Gods, of old, descending from their sphere
 To visit men, like mortals did appear:
 Lest their too awful presence should affright
 Those whom they meant to bless, and to delight.

(ll. 21-24)

In this simile Stepney recalls the visit of Jove and Hermes to Baucis and Philemon (Metamorphoses, VIII) and the death that follows from Semele's rash request to see Jove adorned with his ensigns of divinity (Metamorphoses, III), both allusions which compliment Queen Mary's concealed potency. Besides making this general comparison of Mary to the high gods, Stepney also refers to her as "the Queen of Love" (ll. 49-57) and "Pallas" (ll. 66-70), both referring to her role as guardian of Mars-William. These mythological allusions praise the complementary and mediating role which Mary enacted during her reign with William: she is both the goddess of beauty who curbs William's martial force and the goddess of wisdom who guides him. As is usual in these poems, Mary undergoes transformation, but her apotheosis conforms to Christian tradition because she becomes the guardian angel of William, a heavenly being who "Hovering round him with her heavenly shield,/ Unseen protects [him] in the doubtful field" (ll. 112-113). Although Stepney tries to correlate his myths and invest his compliments with a certain moral purpose, he fails to achieve the artistic patterning which Dryden attains in his Anne Killigrew Ode, and his allusions often render only bald compliments unrelated to his poetic structure. These flaws of Stepney are the very faults that have incited some modern critics to unfairly attack Augustan poems which rely heavily on mythology for their inspiration.⁵⁶ Lacking a centralized controlling theme, and structureless,

except for the barest form of the funeral panegyric, Stepney's elegy on the death of Queen Mary dissipates the energy of the allusions by an over-ambitious attempt at compliment.

Following Dryden's lead and ancient practice, Pope developed mythological allusions into artistically functional metaphors. Even more often than Dryden, Pope reduces allusions to words or phrases, mythological names or suggestive references that are pregnant with meaning. Pope had read Sandys's translation of the Metamorphoses, and what is more, some of the earliest attempts at poetry which he presented for publication were translations of three myths from Ovid's masterwork.⁵⁷ The Pastorals, especially the woodland fables which inspire "Summer" and the final metamorphic tribute to Mrs. Tempest in "Winter", illustrate Pope's early skill for using Ovidian materials functionally.

In "Summer", dedicated to Samuel Garth (later the translator-editor of the Metamorphoses), Pope assumes the voice of the complaining pastoral poet who pleases all the woodland crew except his mistress, Rosalinda, the one whom he desires to charm with his song. Almost crowding his canvas with conventional pastoral figures, Pope, "the Shepherd's Boy", recalls the mythical pleasures of the forest:

See what Delights in Sylvan Scenes appear!
 Descending Gods have found Elysium here.
 In Woods bright Venus with Adonis stray'd
 And chaste Diana haunts the Forest Shade.
 Come lovely Nymph, and bless the silent Hours,
 When Swains from Sheering seek their nightly Bow'rs;
 When weary Reapers quit the sultry Field,
 And crown'd with Corn, their thanks to Ceres yield.
 This harmless Grove no lurking Viper hides,
 But in my Breast the Serpent Love abides.

(ll. 59-68)

Trying to convince his "lovely Nymph" to respond to his love, the shepherd reverses the myth of Venus and Adonis which he cites here as an example of the "Delights" of the forest. The general allusion to "descending Gods" finding "Elysium" in the "Sylvan" shades constitutes a rather mild metaphor for the heaven of sexual fulfillment, but considering the numerous setbacks which Pan, Jove, Mercury and Apollo suffered at the hands of their virginal amours, the presence of "chast Diana" portends an ironic defeat for the shepherd-singer. Although Pope's own notes cite a Virgilian source for these lines, their content shows that he is aware of the Ovidian commentary on the myths that he uses.

Assuming the role of a Venus wooing her lover, the poet-shepherd tries to convince his pastoral sweetheart of his love by his description of the forest's serenity and fertility. Ironically, we know that Venus did not succeed with Adonis, and as Sandys states in his interpretation of the myth in Metamorphoses, X, "Men of excellent beauties have likely beene subject to miserable destinies . . ." (Ovid, p. 492). Sandys further explains Adonis's metamorphosis into an anemony as "a beautifull, but no permanent flower: to expresse the fraile condition and short continuance of Beautie" (Ovid, p. 493). Hence, the transience of Adonis's beauty symbolizes the quick passing of Spring, and indeed, the reference to "Ceres yield", the productive aspect of the Proserpine myth, which ends the local description, reinforces this seasonal interpretation of the brevity of vernal glory. The conventional agricultural meanings of the myth anticipate the failure of the poet's compliment: Venus

will not enjoy Adonis, the nymphs of "chast Diana" will defeat the descending Gods, and the serpents within and without the poet will doom him to failure.

In the poet's final attempt to win his love, he compliments her on her Orphic powers: "And would you sing, and rival Orpheus' Strain/
The Wand'ring Forests soon should dance again" (ll. 80-81). But this ploy fails because we know it is the distressed Orpheus, bereaved of Eurydice, who in Metamorphoses, X causes the trees, mountains and streams to respond to his song. The poet has already shown that he can move the forest by his song which suggests that his own power of praise derives from the archetypal pastoral singer, Orpheus. But, as Ronald Paulson argues,

. . . the speaker Alexis, associated by name with Pope, is the young poet trying to write poetry to his beloved in a world from which the muses have fled (to the fashionable poets of Oxford and Cambridge); the beloved is not to be found, and the only harmony that remains is between the poet and his own rural setting Only in the poet's complaint itself is there an art, already prefigured in the bowl inscribed with the Four Seasons in 'Spring,' that cures in a way that Garth's medicine cannot.⁵⁸

Certainly the inherent irony in the mythical allusions reinforces Paulson's point. Even when the poet begs to be transformed into "The Captive Bird that sings within . . . [Rosalinda's] . . . Bow'r" (ll. 45-46), his plea goes unheeded, and his sole consolation lies in his own song which converts his despair into poetry. Reuben Brower defines part of this transformational power as a mythographical sense:

But though we feel hardly at all the ancient power of Venus and Adonis to influence the physical world, still 'something moves'. Behind the painter's eye and the choreographic eye is the mythological eye that sees

life in trees and mountains and streams. This is not only a kind of seeing but a power of dramatizing, of catching the dramatic aspect of events in the natural world. For all his sophistication, Pope leaps back to the naive view of Nature that underlies all myths⁵⁹

According to Brower, Pope vivifies nature, an action which in Ruskin's terms constitutes the pathetic fallacy. When we think of a natural setting, composed of metamorphosed objects such as Adonis, however, it should not surprise us to find flowers and trees responding to poetic song. This "naive view of Nature" allows Pope to exploit his role of the despairing Venus as well as a forlorn Orpheus, both of whom had the power to move nature but who failed to affect particular men. Thus the conventional meanings and the studied ironies of the mythical allusions in "Summer" reinforce the ineffectual stance of the poet-singer.

The mythological references in "Summer" conform to the Pastoral traditions of the lyric: Pope uses them to reflect his persona's ironic hopes as well as the condition of the sympathetic landscape. In "Winter", however, Pope weaves a series of myths into a wreath of praise, at once following the conventions of pastoral elegy and imitating Dryden's functional use of myth in the Anne Killigrew Ode.

Ronald Paulson says that "Winter" is a "lament for what was, the 'You' of 'Summer' no longer missing but declared dead, with an Ovidian apotheosis in the afterlife but no hope of restitution in this world."⁶⁰ Although he stresses the hopelessness of the poetic complaint, Paulson is also aware of the pattern of Ovidian metamorphosis which Pope incorporates into his elegy. Like the transformation of Dryden's Anne Killigrew, and like the apotheosis of Julius Caesar described by Ovid and Virgil, Mrs. Tempest assumes a place in the heavens: "But see!

where Daphne wondring mounts on high,/ Above the Clouds, above the Starry Sky" (ll. 69-70). This transformation contains a classical compliment for Mrs. Tempest, who, like Andromeda, represents "innocent Virtue" (Sandys, Ovid, p. 219) and is transferred to the stars, but Mrs. Tempest's ascension into the heavens also implies the heavenly reward of Christian salvation.

In the dirge of Thyrasis Pope includes allusions to other myths which delineate the moral standards of the "nymph", Mrs. Tempest. First, Pope calls her Daphne, a name which recalls the myth of Daphne and Apollo (Metamorphoses, I), a story famed in sculpture, painting and poetry. Concerning this nymph, Sandys relates that "Daphne affects Diana, which is chastity: preserved by solitarinesse, labour and neglect of Curiosity [She] is changed into a never-withering tree, to shew what immortall honour a virgin obtaines by preserving her chastity" (Ovid, pp. 73-74). By assigning her this name, Pope attributes to Mrs. Tempest those qualities which the myth implies -- the "immortall honour" of chastity, an actively cultivated virtue which adds to her praise. Like Anne Killigrew, Mrs. Tempest possesses the moral virtues that accompany virginity and, furthermore, she has the power to move nature to rejoice with her in life and to mourn with her in death. Because of the meanings inherent in "Daphne", Pope's naming of Mrs. Tempest serves as a metaphor for the goodness and integrity of a now-lost ideal.

Besides referring to the myth of Daphne, the beautiful nymph transformed to preserve her virginity, Pope also alludes to the Adonis fable when he summons the "Nymphs and Sylvans" to bring garlands for Mrs. Tempest "as when Adonis dy'd" (l. 24). As well as a seasonal myth

celebrating the death of the year, a meaning which is in accord with the elegiac "Winter", the story of Adonis also represents the fleeting quality of beauty, an ironic comment on the transience of youth.⁶¹

Mrs. Tempest's likeness to the Adonis myth associates "Daphne" with "Rosalinda" of "Summer". In the earlier eclogue the tragic outcome of Venus's love was a potential danger whose occurrence lay outside the poem; in "Summer" Pope mentions only the moment of infatuation in the Forest. In "Winter", however, Adonis has died and so has the possibility of love. Of course, Adonis, in so much as he is a type of Christ, revives yearly (as Keats portrays him in Endymion II), and Mrs. Tempest, who is to be mourned as he was, will also partake of the resurrection because she shares in the drama of Christianity. Her final transformation to the stars suggests an other-worldly revival but it in no way implies the earthly restoration to life and beauty which her mythical counterpart enjoyed.

As an example of her effect on nature, Pope cites Mrs. Tempest's control of "loves" whose "Golden Darts, [are] now uselesse grown" (l. 25). As Ovid portrays him in the story of Daphne and Apollo, Cupid carries two types of arrows, one of lead and one of gold. According to Sandys, the latter arrows are ". . . tipt with gold, the metall of the Sunne, who heats our blood and fills us with alacrity" (Ovid, p. 72). Besides this vivifying power, "Gold also is the symbol of Plenty, which nourisheth love . . ." (Sandys, Ovid, p. 72). At the death of Mrs. Tempest, heat, sun and plenty depart from the earth; at her passing the earth dresses in its winter shroud. Possibly, Pope may also mean that when the "loves" take up their leaden arrows, the cold metal of Hades,

they encourage the melancholic state which befits the doleful condition of Thyrsis and his natural surroundings in the poem. The golden arrows of Cupid, which act as a catalytic agent in the myths of Daphne and Adonis and which thematically connect the stories in the Metamorphoses, provide a model for Pope's use of their mournful consequences in his elegy. Besides offering the consolation of transformation, the interlocking meanings of the myths remind man of the transience of beauty and life, thus, serving as functional allusions to forward the moral lesson.

In the Pastorals Pope uses myths from the Metamorphoses as analogues for the persona's state of mind, for the conditions of nature, and finally, he uses them to praise individuals. Just below the surface of any of Pope's allusions, we can find an ironic suggestion of the obverse interpretation of the myth, and just like Dryden's use of the Typhoeus myth, the knowledge of the final outcome of the myth is meant to guide and enlarge our reading of a particular poetic statement. Pope's allusions, therefore, allow him to express the maximum concentration of irony or of compliment with the minimum usage of words.

Pope's reference to Phaethon in the "Epistle to Bathurst" (ll. 11-12) is a good example of the way in which the poet concentrates his meaning in an allusion: "But when by Man's audacious labour won,/ Flam'd forth this rival to, its Sire, the Sun." Earl Wasserman explicates this passage at length:

The basis of the metaphor to be sure is the sun's golden color and the ancient belief that gold is generated by the sun's rays. But this is only the ground for Pope's extension of the metaphor into a function of his theme. Although the myth is suppressed and folded in, the line

recreates the legend of Phaethon, whose name means "shining" or "radiant" . . . in the Ovide Moralisé Phaethon's ambitious attempt to usurp his father's place was Christianized as Lucifer's revolt against God. The analogy is an obvious one, and almost all other commentators read the myth as an allegory on audacity, pride, and unnatural ambition. That this classical Christian allusion to Phaethon immediately succeeds the line on man's audacious labor in uncovering gold tends to support this reading of the implied myth: man's unnatural ambition has released Pride itself into the world and violated the paradisaical pre-economic state. Through his unnatural sin man has subverted the plan required of Nature as God's second cause and let loose the evil of gold. Only by organizing the new economic man into spendthrift and miser could Heaven, in its loving care for creation reconstitute an order in this post-lapsarian world.⁶²

Wasserman's comment astutely shows the way in which Pope reduces allusions to their smallest kernel of meaning. While we immediately recognize the relationship between gold and sun, the reference to Ovid's Phaethon communicates itself only after a deeper concentration on the suggestiveness of the literal situation. To some extent "Man's audacious labour" should make us suspect the facility of the literal comparison of the sun to its rival, gold. Without involving himself in the possible Christian meanings of the myth, Pope clarifies the moral interpretation of the word "audacious". As I have shown in Chapter III, by the mid-eighteenth century the Phaethon myth had become an ethical equivalent for the youthful boldness and rash action which leads to conflagration and destruction. As Wasserman argues, the allusion to Phaethon projects a destructive conclusion for man's golden ambitions, a catastrophe which the heavens avert to some extent by regrouping men into spendthrifts and misers (ll. 13-14). Pope uses the myth and its foregone conclusion to establish his rhetorical position. At the opening of the poem he answers Bathurst's "classical misanthropy"⁶³ by an apparently

misanthropic concession of his own, because the mythological reference suggests that man's ambition and subsequent fall are events which are repeated throughout his history. In this "Epistle" Pope's opening allusions to the Golden Age, the Sun, Phaethon and the consequent fiery destruction establish the speaker's moral position as one who understands the concealed truths of economic life. These allusions also show his relationship to the adversarius, Bathurst, and they turn in judgment against "general" man whom the poet will particularize as he proceeds in his argument. Thus Wasserman's explanation illustrates the way in which Pope compresses meaning by means of allusions, especially those he makes to the Metamorphoses which had taken on an ethical import from the commentators.

Through metamorphic allusion Pope also shows the way in which art has become defiled. In the Dunciad, during his prophetic vision of the invasion of Dulness into the theatres, Settle describes the farcical action induced by Faustus the "sable Sorc'rer":

All sudden, Gorgons hiss, and Dragons glare,
 And ten-horned fiends and Giants rush to war.
 Hell rises, Heav'n descends, and dance on Earth
 Gods, imps, and monsters, music, rage, and mirth,
 A fire, a jugg, a battle and a ball,
 'Till one wide conflagration swallows all.

(III. 235-240)

In this conglomeration of disparate, unnatural beings, Pope has included two references to the Metamorphoses: the "Gorgons" whom Perseus slew (Metamorphoses, IV), and one to the "Giants" who fought against the gods (Metamorphoses, I). I have already discussed the Giants in relation to Dryden's description of rebellion in Astraea Redux and the unreasonable

and enthusiastic destruction of society which ensues from it. By linking the ten-horned fiends, an enlarged form of the great beast of Revelations, with the classical rebels, Pope portrays in miniature an image of the forces of destruction, the forces which debased playwrights summon forth to glut their audiences. This catastrophic rebellion also implies a cultural destruction, however, because the monsters are the vanguard of Dulness, reproducing in the theatrical world the disintegration of the cultural world. Indeed, it is the "Giants" and "ten-horned fiends" that bring heaven and hell to earth, just as they do in their classical and Biblical sources. Furthermore, the creatures of the heights and depths engage in a confusing dance of death which one wide conflagration consumes. Unlike the cleansing destruction of the Apocalypse or that of Phaeton's fall, the Dunciad fire produces no order but creates "a new World to Nature's laws unknown" (III, 241). Instead of a restoration of rational man to his proper stability and peace, the Giants, "prone to intemperance, wrath and injustice . . . supporting Rebellion, tyranny & impieties" (Sandys, Ovid, p. 6), inherit the earth, and they come to represent the inversion of social and ethical order which reigns in Dulness's kingdom.

In much the same manner, Pope's initial allusion to the hissing Gorgons and the glaring Dragons alludes to the myth of Perseus which traditionally represented the victory of reason over passion.⁶⁴ Sandys offers an involved explanation of Perseus's slaying of Medusa, the mortal member of the Phocides, and of the theft of her sister Gorgons' eye:

Perseus is also taken for the reasonable soule: the Graeae, for that knowledge and wisdome which is acquired by experience; without whose eye or conduction, Medusa, lust and the inchantments of bodily beauty, which stupifies our senses, make us altogether unusefull, and convert us as it were into marble, cannot be subdued. Perseus is furnished with the sheild [sic] of Pallas, the helmet of Pluto, the fauchion and wings of Mercury; because in all great difficulties, perspicacity, policy, a quicknesse of wit, and deepe apprehension is required; without which no glorious action can be atchieved. Thus provided, Perseus kills Medusa, reason corporall pleasure: yet lookes not on her, but only sees her deformity in the shield of Pallas . . . since it is not safe to behold what our hearts are so prone to consent too. From this subduing of our affections, an honest fame, our winged Pegasus, is produced.

(Ovid, p. 221)

Sandys explicitly labels the slaying of Medusa by Perseus as a moral allegory on the conquest of corporal desires by the rational soul. In this light the Gorgons, especially Medusa, represent all the unbridled and uncivilized tendencies of man which paralyze his positive action; whereas, Perseus, equipped with the gifts of the gods, is the man of wisdom, deliberation and eloquence, the hero who can control the demonic forces and conquer them.

Besides defeating the Gorgons and killing Medusa, Perseus also slew a dragon to rescue Andromeda, bound and left to be devoured as a punishment for her mother's (Cassiopea) proud contention with the Neriads.

Concerning this fable Sandys says

By this the ancient reprov'd their pride and ambition,
 who would be thought more then mortall when all humane
 beauty is worse than deformity, and all glory despicable,
 compared with the coelestiall: declaring besides that
 the offences of Princes are not seldome punished in
 their subjects and posterity. Yet Andromeda, innocent
 Virtue, whall never miss of that sacred succour, which
 will not only deliver her from the present danger, but
 match her to Perseus, that is, unto Honour and Felicitie:
 both after converted into glorious constellations.

(Ovid, pp. 219-220)

Sandys considers the fable to be an emblem of the punishment of princes who attempt to extend themselves beyond their human limitations and who suffer from the dragon-like scourge, and, hence, mete out fatal judgment on those they meant to protect. The intervention of heroic honor retrieves innocence, personified by Andromeda, from destruction. In both myths the common denominator is the hero Perseus, who can slay gorgons and dragons, redeem innocence and restore the proper balance of reason and passion in man. Acting as a classical savior, Perseus rids society of its unruly elements and releases Pegasus, the winged horse, who not only connotes just fame but also represents poetical inspiration. When Pope alludes to the myth in Dunciad, III, 235, he mentions only the unleashing of the destructive forces, the gorgon and the dragon, and ironically, he omits the virtuous powers, Perseus, Andromeda and Pegasus, just as he leaves out Jove's final conquest of the "giants" in line 236. In both cases the classical hero who redeems the disastrous situation is glaringly absent, probably because in the inverted Dunciad world Dulness would chain these heroes, as she does the muses, arts and sciences in Book IV. The microcosmic world of theatrical farce gives a foretaste of the final consummation of culture when "Art after Art goes out, and all is Night " (IV. 640). The Dunciad world banishes heroes so that the demonic forces can work unmolested. By excluding the redeeming figure from the fables, Settle's prophecy negates all of the positive moral values which these myths imply. Because we recognize the importance of rational control over sensual licence, and the necessity of social order over rebellious liberty, the virtues which the "new world" of Dulness rejects, we realize that these imbedded

mythological references contain a serious indictment of the perversion of culture over and above their literal satire of the stage farces.

As we have seen, an Augustan poet, such as Dryden or Pope, used metamorphic allusions as functional vehicles of moral meaning. Although the literal reference may involve no more than mere naming or a passing mention, yet the mythical connotations, the iconographical significance, extend and develop its importance beyond the literal level. Besides its allusive function, the Metamorphoses also provided the Augustan poets with a model of transformation. We have already seen this in funeral elegies where apotheosis or metamorphosis is a metaphor for the transference of the soul from earth to heaven. But the Augustans showed their wit and ingenuity in the various ways in which they modelled their poetry upon the Metamorphoses.

3. The Pattern of Metamorphosis in Augustan Poems

Many Augustan poets use metamorphosis as a controlling metaphor in their poems. Sometimes transformation functions as a metaphor for the restoration of the Golden Age as it does in Annus Mirabilis, Windsor-Forest, and Claremont. At other times it serves as an image of the poet's power to change objects from the real world into art. Finally, metamorphosis lavishes praise or blame upon a figure as it does in The Rape of the Lock and The Fan. This variety of functions to which poets put the Metamorphoses illustrates how widely the poem was known and how seriously its morality was considered.

Dryden's Annus Mirabilis uses a metamorphic image to describe the rebuilding and rebirth of London. In a recent article Bruce A. Rosenberg

linked this transformation with the alchemical transmutation process in which philosophers sought the essence of gold by the change of baser metals:⁶⁵ "The fates of London and of England, Dryden is arguing, are linked with that of the King, who is Jove ascending, the Phoenix rising, the Philosopher's Gold perfected -- all suggestive of London reborn, like the New Jerusalem, into an age of unparalleled prosperity."⁶⁶

Rosenberg shows that the interconnection of the astrological and alchemical language of the poem conveys symbolic meaning. Interestingly, philosophers and astrologers had read the Metamorphoses as an allegorical source for their theories, and we find many interpretations with an alchemical and astrological emphasis in Sandys. As Rosenberg argues, the equation of the concepts of metamorphosis and transmutation imparts an important meaning to the change of London, the movement of the city from its ravaged state to its perfection.

When he envisions the changes beginning in the city, Dryden rejoices:

The utmost malice of their Stars is past,
 And two dire Comets which have scourg'd the Town,
 In their own Plague and Fire have breath'd their last,
 Or, dimly, in their sinking sockets frown.

New frequent Trines the happier lights among,
 And high-rais'd Jove from his dark prison freed:
 (Those weights took off that on his Planet hung)
 Will gloriously the new laid work succeed.

Methinks already, from this Chymick flame,
 I see a City of more precious mold:
 Rich as the Town which gives the Indies name,
 With Silver pav'd, and all divine with Gold.

Already, Labouring with a mighty fate,
 She shakes the rubbish from her mounting brow,
 And seems to have renew'd her Charters date,
 Which Heav'n will to the death of time allow.

More great then humane, now, and more August,
 New deifi'd she from her fires does rise:
 Her widening streets on new foundations thrust,
 And, opening, into larger parts she flies.

(ll. 1161-1180)

In typical astrological fashion Dryden regards the comets as portents of fire and plague which presage total disaster, a catastrophe which the atoning King and patient people avert. In the same way the appearance and conjunction of the planets in a more favorable position, the "frequent Trines", prophesy the success of the city project. The "Chymick flame" (l. 1169) can refer either to the transmuting alchemical flame as Rosenberg suggests or to the work of the chemists of the Royal Society as the California editors would have it. Although Dryden's language in the poem overtly suggests these astrological, alchemical and scientific processes, his meaning, at least in this description of the transformation of London, parallels similar metamorphoses in Ovid.

For example, the "dire Comets" and the deification of the city are comparable to Ovid's description of Julius Caesar's death and apotheosis at the end of the Metamorphoses. At Caesar's death a blazing star mounts into the heavens. Sandys explains that "Such Meteors are said to portend warre, pestilence, and famine, and this then foreshewing the divine displeasure for his [Caesar's] murder" (Ovid, p. 720).

Furthermore, he notes that the

. . . deification of Caesar was a custome, which had beene discontinued from the daies of Romulus . . . but maintained long after, the succeeding Prince first setting fire to the funerall Pile; when an Eagle was let out of the highest turret to carry his soule into heaven . . . reputed and adored for a god ever after.

(Sandys, Ovid, p. 721)

Dryden's personification of the death and rebirth of London includes a vision of future peace, prosperity and empire comparable to Ovid's description of Rome after Julius Caesar died to redeem Roman greatness. In reaction to contemporary sects who feared that the malign heavenly omens of 1666 portended the Second Coming, Dryden incorporates the metamorphic pattern of death and rebirth and he converts evil portents into beneficent stars.⁶⁷ Rather than levelling the metropolis, the fire transforms London into a greater city whose inhabitants, now purged of disease by fire, will share in the new Augustan age. Because Dryden stresses the Roman virtue of the Britains throughout both parts of Annus Mirabilis, such a metamorphosis of their city contributes to their praise.

We can also see a second parallel to the Metamorphoses in this description: the city arises from the flames like a Phoenix, the fabulous bird described by Pythagorus in Metamorphoses, XV. Sandys interprets this well-known symbol in the following manner:

By this narration, how ever fabulous, and example of the Phoenix, the ancient fathers, Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Ambrose, goe about to illustrate the immortality of the soule, and resurrection of the body. These are said to be such who excell in piety and vertue: rare, if any, and renewed but once in five hundred yeares with the Phoenix: Indifferent things are common; but the excellent are valued for their rarity.

(Ovid, p. 707)

In this comment Sandys compares the revival of the Phoenix to the resurrection of the body -- in Christian terms it functions as a symbol of the soul's immortality. We can also see here an analogous concept; just as the Phoenix is transformed and renewed, so, too, are

those who "excell in piety and vertue". This second interpretation is particularly relevant to Dryden's description. Because the people have shown patience and trust in providence, they will participate in the renewal of the city. Since London will be a new "Augusta", the citizens will be Augustans because they experience the transformation of the city and its ensuing peace and riches.

Finally, although the allusion in line 1166 to "high-rais'd Jove from his dark prison freed" suggests the planet Jupiter's astronomical position in the heavens, it also refers to the return of Jove from his banishment after quelling the revolt of Typhoeus. Having already discussed the meanings of this myth at length, I only wish to mention that its use here reinforces Dryden's interpretation of the London fire as a transforming agent sent to cleanse the city of the last vestiges of civil rebellion. Because London was the center of sectarian revolt during the rebellion and, to a large degree, retained its independent status after the restoration, its scourging by plague and fire could be interpreted by Royalists as an appropriate punishment for its sins against the monarchy.⁶⁸ As Dryden shows in the first part of the poem, the patriotism of the city merchants provided fleets for the Dutch Wars, and, as he says in the second part, the intercession of Charles miraculously saved the people from the fire. Although it was necessary to force Typhoeus into his prison under Mount Aetna by fire in the form of lightning, Jove regained his proper seat in the heavens, and peace and order will supplant the war and lawlessness of rebellion. London, then, with its own Jove now restored, will regain its stability and arise from its ashes to become a more glorious center of empire and culture than Rome.

The metamorphic model enables Dryden not only to draw simple parallels to certain aspects of fabulous history but also to evaluate current history within the context of myth. For Dryden metamorphosis links England's immediate history with the wider political and cultural events which signified regeneration in the past. When Pope wished to create a picture of the glorious future of England in Windsor-Forest, he also chose to integrate the metamorphic pattern with Virgil's vision in the Pollio, a poem which deals with transformation. Thus, Pope, following Dryden's example, exploited the ethical significance which Ovid's fables of change implied.

Earl Wasserman, Aubrey Williams and David Hauser have all demonstrated the ways in which Pope used metamorphosis and mythographical lore to arrange and reinforce the themes of Windsor-Forest. Because of the scope of their studies of the Ovidian material of the poem, I will limit my discussion to a general summary of their arguments in order to look more closely at Dr. Garth's Claremont, a poem which is contemporary with Windsor-Forest, and which employs many of the same mythographical techniques.

In Windsor-Forest the pursuit and transformation of Lodona is a transitional phase between the two hunts of the poem's opening and the description of the retired life of the poet and the statesman. Because of her excessive concern with the chase, Lodona, a nymph of Diana, strays beyond the protective limits of Windsor Forest and exposes herself to an assault by Pan, who symbolizes the chaotic forces that live outside the forest bounds. After she is ravished, Lodona prays to be restored to her native shades, and Diana's power returns her to her native haunts in

the metamorphosed form of the slow-moving Loddon River. Hauser identifies four interconnected Ovidian analogues to Pope's inset story: the stories of Syrinx, Arethusa, Daphne and Callisto, myths about Diana's nymphs whose conclusions signify natural concord and harmony.⁷⁰ At the same time these fables bear a mythological relation to the ability of the poet to foresee the ideal situation which the cyclical nature of history assures. Therefore, Hauser claims that these myths suggest that the "transforming power of poetry can reveal the transformation of society."⁷¹

Wasserman (upon whose commentary Hauser's argument is constructed) interprets the Lodona myth on four levels: the political, the ethical, the esthetic, and the cosmic. First, Wasserman reads the myth as a political allegory of the cessation of war by Queen Anne in the Treaty of Utrecht, and he contends that Lodona's excessive activity, which takes her beyond the bounds of the Forest (England) exposes her to the approaches of Pan who signifies a falling back into chaos, or, by extension, foreign war.⁷² Queen Anne, the Diana-Astraea of the poem, cannot restore Lodona to her original state of virginity, but she can return the nymph to the Forest in the changed state of the Loddon River, whose motion reflects the peace and stability which the Queen has purchased for England.⁷³ On the cosmic level, Lodona, "as a mirroring river", reflects the "cosmic order that the world symbolizes".⁷⁴ She copies in watery form the concordia discors of the Thames, the river into which she flows. Ethically, Lodona symbolizes that extravagant activity "careless of order and bent only on action" which has passed beyond the Forest, that is the "proper and protective sphere of human conduct".⁷⁵ The myth of Lodona stands in moral contrast to William I's destructive hunt

(ll. 61-86) which ravaged the cosmic scene, the plane of existence which Lodona disregarded and from which she stood apart. Lodona's metamorphosis forces a certain moral resolution -- the chase metaphor becomes a river metaphor -- just as war is transformed to peace on the political level, so, too, excessive activity is changed into reflection on the moral level. Queen Anne controls both actions by her miraculous transformation of Lodona.

Wasserman ultimately suggests (as Hauser proves from the commentators) that the myth of Lodona has an esthetic meaning:

The . . . similarity . . . of the poet's request of the Muses and of Lodona's plea to Cynthia is not casual or superficial, but functional in establishing the parallelism of the meanings of the two passages. For, just as the 'sacred Muses', through the mediation of the 'God-like' poets, metamorphose Nature by reflection into an essential and heightened reality whither man may retreat, so the goddess Cynthia, who is the mythical representative of the 'earthly goddess' Anne, metamorphosed the extravagant spirit of Lodona into a river in which the entire range of Nature may be seen mirrored by the shepherd in his 'musings'. Indeed, although the immediate relevance of the Lodona episode is political, the image of the mirror that reflects Nature is a metaphor belonging to esthetics; and to this degree the transformation of Lodona and the transforming action of poetry are parallel events.⁷⁶

As both Hauser and Wasserman show, the transformation of Lodona serves to integrate on a mythical level the thematic threads of political, ethical and esthetic meaning in Windsor-Forest. In his vision of the "Golden Days" (ll. 355-422) when England will flourish under Queen Anne (whose metamorphic power parallels that of the poet and of Granville), Pope emphasizes the important part which poetry should play in transforming Britain's successes and prosperity into lasting monuments of admiration. Like Dryden in Annus Mirabilis, Pope fittingly employs the

metamorphic model in Windsor-Forest to envision this transformation of the land into a paradise. As it did for Dryden, the act of metamorphosis suggested many powerful meanings to Pope which he places in poetic counterpoint in Windsor-Forest.

Garth's Claremont, which praises the country seat of the Earl of Clare,⁷⁷ acknowledges both Windsor-Forest and Cooper's Hill as its poetical forbears, and like them, it is ostensibly a locus poem. Garth departs from many of the conventions of his predecessors, however, notably in his opening section (ll. 1-46) where he satirizes the despicable state of English poetry in terms not unlike Pope's later attacks on wielders of the "venal quill" and on "noble" poets who seek praise through patronage in the Epistle to Arbuthnot.⁷⁸ Because he believes that the poet is a hero who needs good, honest men to praise, Garth chooses to retire to the lands of Claremont, where a villa designed by Vanbrugh in Amfion fashion ordered the chaos of the locale (ll. 75-84), the Arcadian setting for the poem.

At his removal from London to Claremont, Garth begins to describe the mores of the ancient inhabitants of the place. Unlike the "painted Britons" of Astraea Redux, Claremont's ancient men were an individualistic, nationalistic people whose women were modest and uninterested in fashion and whose male counterparts

. . . appear'd a rough, undaunted race,
 Surly in show, unfashion'd in address;
 Upright in actions, and in thought sincere;
 And strictly were the same they would appear.
 Honour was plac'd in probity alone;
 For villains had no titles but their own.

None travel'd to return politely mad;
 But still what fancy wanted, reason had.
 Whatever Nature ask'd, their hands could give;
 Unlearn'd in feasts, they only eat to live.

(11. 104-113)

Instead of a conventional picture of the Golden Age, Garth's depiction of these men in the "days of innocence" sounds remarkably like Locke's description of men in the state of nature: "Men living together according to reason, without a common Superior on Earth with Authority to judge between them, is properly the State of Nature." In the state of nature exists a natural law, and reason, "which is that Law, teaches all Mankind who will but consult it, that, being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his Life, Health, Liberty or Possessions."⁷⁹ The admirable sense of personal morality which governs Garth's ancient men seems to arise from their rational self-control and from nature, for, indeed, "what fancy wanted, reason had". These ancient men of Claremont contrast with the literary fops and fools which Garth satirizes at the beginning of the poem. Although they lack the polish and sophistication of the modern city dwellers, their language and appearance bespeak their honesty and forthrightness, virtues in which Garth finds his contemporaries deficient. Besides its moral criticism of modern life, Garth's description also offers political criticism. Dedicated to the Earl of Clare, the newly-made Duke of Newcastle and a member of George I's Court, Garth's poem channels the Tory praises into Whig panegyric.⁸⁰ Appropriately, Garth adapts the Whig apologist Locke's definition of the state of nature to the conventional Arcadian scene, showing his approval of the Hanoverian succession which will bring the good upright men like Newcastle from their country retirement to the

court where they will use their probity to regenerate the kingdom. In Claremont, as in Pope's later satires, literary decadence signifies cultural and political decline and religious indifference, as Garth's idealistic picture of the Druidic worship and pastoral care (ll. 139-169) suggests.

Despite the grave differences he finds between the aborigines of Claremont and modern men, Garth discovers in the Druidic teachings a reincarnation of hope for England's immediate future:

They hold that matter must still be the same,
And varies but in figure and in name;
And that the soul not dies, but shifts her seat,
New rounds of life to run, or past repeat.
Thus, when the brave and virtuous cease to live,
In beings brave and virtuous they revive.
Again shall Romulus in Nassau reign;
Great Numa in a Brunswick prince, ordain
Good laws: And Halcyon years shall hush the world again.

(ll. 188-196)

The religious precepts of Garth's Druids echo the Pythagorean theory of change which provides the philosophical basis of the Metamorphoses. In Book XV, 252-258 instructing Numa and the people of Rome on the nature of things, Pythagoras says

'Nec species sua cuique manet, rerumque novatrix
ex aliis alias reparat natura figuras:
nec perit in toto quicquam, mihi credite, mundo,
sed variat faciemque novat, nascique vocatur
incipere esse aliud, quam quod fuit ante, morique
desinere illud idem. cum sint huc forsitan illa,
haec translata illuc, summa tamen omnia constant.'

['Nothing retains its own form; but Nature, the great renewer, ever makes up forms from other forms. Be sure there's nothing perishes in the whole universe; it does but vary and renew its form. What we call birth is but cessation of a former state, though, perchance, things in their sum total remain unchanged.']

(Miller, trans., Metamorphoses, Vol. II, 383)

Because of transformation there obtains a certain immortality to matter which Ovid has verified by weaving his series of metamorphoses from the creation of the world to his own time (Metamorphoses, I, 1-4). Garth capitalizes on this concept as a vehicle of praise for the Hanoverians; he makes George I a reincarnation of Numa, the great law-giver of Rome, by a form of metamorphic metempsychosis. The heroic values which Garth sought at the beginning of his poem are now located in the figure of the king.

Like Pope's Windsor-Forest, Garth's Claremont uses the metamorphic model as a frame for a mythological inset story which describes the locale of the villa. In his Preface, Garth says that

The situation is so agreeable and surprising, that it inclines one to think some place of this nature put Ovid at first upon the story of Narcissus and Echo. It is probable he had observed some spring arising amongst woods and rocks, where echos were heard; and some flower bending over the stream, and by consequence reflected from it.⁸¹

Garth bases his story of Montano, sired by Faunus and mothered by a Naiad, "darling daughter of the bounteous Thames" (l. 210), in the myth of Narcissus and Echo, a fable whose moral connotations warned against the evils of self-love.⁸² While his poetic complaint and appearance paraphrase those of Ovid's Narcissus, Garth's Montano does not share his model's total concern with self. Rather, like Endymion, he seeks an ideal love and mistakes the retired Echo for "some fair daughter of the distant skies" (l. 253) whom he beseeches to leave her "crystal sphere". Playing the "tyrant virgin", Echo flees from Montano, leaving him to die of grief like Narcissus, but in his dying words Montano curses Echo to

"Fall a just victim to an injur'd shade" (l. 270). Faunus and the rural powers effect a change in Montano's grave:

For him the Graces their sad vigils keep;
 Love broke his bow, and wished for eyes to weep.
 What Gods can do, the mournful Faunus tries;
 A mount erecting where the Sylvan lies.
 The Rural powers the wondrous pile survey,
 And piously their different honours pay.
 Th'ascent with verdant herbage Pales spread;
 And nymphs, transform'd to laurels, lent their shade,
 Her stream a Naiad from the basis pours;
 And Flora strews the summit with her flowers.
 Alone Mount Latmos claims pre-eminence,
 When silver Cynthia lights the world from thence.

(ll. 273-284)

By the metamorphic cooperation of nature, the funeral mound of Montano becomes the beautiful mount of Claremont. In death Montano's transformed beauty vies with Mount Latmos for the love of Cynthia, and although the ancient Mount "claims pre-eminence", yet Garth suggests that Montano gains his beloved Diana. Thus, Garth invests the environs of Claremont with an ideal beauty which creates an appropriate setting for Newcastle's retirement, the man whose "example must reclaim a graceless age" (l. 315).

The complementary myth of Echo's transformation, however, imparts a political and moral meaning to the fable. When he describes Echo's grot in Claremont, Garth imitates Ovid's description of her haunt in Metamorphoses, III, 393-394: "spreta latet silvis pudibundaque frondibus ora/ protegit et solis ex illo vivit in antris." ["Thus spurned, she lurks in the woods, hides her shamed face among the foliage, and lives from that time on in lonely caves." (Miller, trans. Metamorphoses, Vol. I, 153)]. Garth expands this to

A grot there was, with hoary moss o'ergrown,
 Rough with rude shells, and arch'd with mouldering stone,
 Sad silence reigns within the lonesome wall,
 And weeping rills but whisper as they fall;
 The clasping ivies round the ruin creep,
 And there the bat and drowsy beetle sleep.

This cell sad Echo chose, by love betray'd,
 A fit retirement for a mourning maid.

(11. 235-242)

Garth adds gothic details to Ovid's generalized picture of Echo's grot; whereas, in his later description of her withering away to pure sound, he almost directly translates Ovid's portrait, Metamorphoses, III, 295-401.⁸³ These additions in the above passage increase its melancholy tone and emphasize Echo's isolation, a condition which suggests possible political connotations. Sandys interprets the myth in the following manner:

This fable likewise presents the condition of those, who adorned by the bounty of nature, or enriched by the industry of others, without merit, or honour of their own acquisition, are transported with self-love, and perish, as it were, with that madness. Who likely sequester themselves from public converse and civil affairs, as subject to neglects and disgraces, which might too much trouble and deject them: admitting but of a few to accompany their solitariness; those being such as only applaud and admire them, assenting to what they say, like so many Echos.

(Ovid, p. 160)

In the myth of Echo and Narcissus Sandys finds an admonition for political ostriches, those who refrain from participation in political life because of their fear of criticism. Possibly Garth's emphasis on the ruinous habitation of Echo and her secluded state purports to be a similar message to the noblemen and writers of his time. With George I's succession to the throne the new Whig ministry needed the full support of its followers, and certainly Garth slants both the message of the

myth and his praise of Newcastle to encourage involvement in the affairs of the new government. Also, the pursuit of praise which Sandys mentions, recalls the lordly writers of the opening of the poem who gather admirers to feed their narcissistic appetites. Instead of fulfilling their duties to the state, these noblemen waste their lives by satisfying their own desires, and in contrast to the probity of the ancient men of Claremont, these moderns exemplify the wickedness of over-sophistication.

Though at first appearance decorative, the inset story of Montano and Echo teaches a moral lesson which connects the satirical matter of the opening of the poem with Garth's culminating praise of George Augustus, the Perseus-like hero who rescues the maid Liberty and brings Justice back to England. From the beginning of the poem, Garth has searched for a hero worthy of poetic praise, who, like the Claremont aborigines, "strictly were the same they would appear" (l. 107). In the persons of the King and Newcastle Garth finds two such men worthy of poetic compliment. Indeed, the final vision of England's reclamation through the example of George I and Newcastle arises from their positive political activity, the reverse of the selfish sequestration of the English Narcissuses. Just as Pope uses the metamorphic model in Windsor-Forest as a metaphor for political, moral and esthetic meanings advantageous to the Tory cause, so, too, Garth adapts the pattern for similar purposes, simply changing his thematic allegiance to the Whigs. While Garth's poem is not as successful as Pope's because of its intrusive satirical passages, yet Claremont illustrates the way in which Augustan writers used the Metamorphoses functionally in their poetry.

Especially in Windsor-Forest and to a lesser degree in Annus Mirabilis and Claremont, we have seen the recurrent theme of the poet as the agent of transformation, the man who performs the miracle of metamorphosis upon the raw materials of men, history and landscape to create a lasting poetic monument. These poems, however, have as their primary aim the celebration of historical and political matters rather than the explanation of poetic powers. Certain other Augustan poems, above all the pindaric odes, often deal with the metaphysical nature of the poet and his productions. When they delineate the powers of poetry, Augustan writers stress two myths: first, that of Orpheus, the mythological poet who figures prominently in Metamorphoses, X and XI; and secondly, the story of creation, treated by Ovid in Metamorphoses, I and received by commentators as a direct parallel to the Genesis story.⁸⁴

For example, in the Ode for Music on Saint Cecilia's Day Pope juxtaposes the myth of Orpheus marshalling the Argonauts and the story of his failure to rescue Eurydice from Hell against the legend of St. Cecilia's successful conversion of Valerian. Pope concentrates the major part of his poetic skill on these Orphic myths because as Wasserman argues,

The pattern of ascent and descent in the Orpheus and Eurydice myth is exactly that of [his] first stanza, which outlines man's life as it is seen in its human, earthly perspective. The analogy identifies Orpheus as man's natural condition, including the possibility inherent in that condition of man's sharing in the incarnate God and being Christ-like. Just as even secular music is more than earthly because it can correct the mind's, breast's and soul's disorders that are the consequence of the Fall, so Orpheus's earthly love of Eurydice is more than earthly since it can raise the soul above the world of sin and mortality. But in the end his failure shows, not that his is wrong, but that this heroic much is

not enough and must conclude in the answerless despair
of the human condition, must conclude with Orpheus
'Despairing, confounded".⁸⁵

According to this interpretation of the Orphic fables, the Ode for Music demands an alternative for man, one that empowers him to "lift the Soul to Heaven" as Cecilia did. Wasserman believes that this overriding religious theme, the search for the spiritual value that exalts man, contributes to the poem's inadequacy because Pope tries to load too much meaning onto the musical metaphor. Although it is true that "Pope's world is not truly musical in the sense that it was to Shakespeare or Herbert or Milton,"⁸⁶ yet the relationship among the sister arts -- music, poetry, painting -- remained valid for the Augustan age.⁸⁷

Wasserman's interpretation of Pope's development of the encomium musicae in the religious theme is certainly valid, but there is also in the Ode for Music a use of the Orpheus myth with esthetic meanings.

Orpheus, the poet-singer, was traditionally identified as the arch-poet and a type of David; his music signified the concord that had brought wild peoples to civility.⁸⁸ The central part of Pope's Ode for Music retells the story of the harmonious change which Orpheus rendered upon Hell:

But hark! he strikes the golden Lyre;
And see! the tortur'd Ghosts respire,
See shady Forms advance!
Thy stone, O Sisyphus, stands still;
Ixion rests upon His Wheel,
And the pale Spectres dance!
The Furies sink upon their Iron Beds,
And Snakes uncurl'd hang list'ning round their Heads.

(ll. 62-70)

No other hero, not even Hercules, Ulysses or Aeneas could so transform the "Sullen Moans" and "Hollow Groans" of Hades. Whereas their heroic

visits gained them a prophetic vision of their future, Orpheus's journey to the underworld puts him in control of Hell and its inhabitants for the period of his song and he can transform these hellish terrors into the ecstatic peace of Elyzium. Although Orpheus's human desires (his concupiscence in Wasserman's terms) foredoom the loss of his beloved, yet the dramatic effect of his song on the Shades of Hell remains unchanged. Certainly Pope means to suggest here that the earthly poet has a similar power to temper, to assuage and to enliven men's passions, effects which he attributes to music in Stanza II (ll. 22-47). These powers refer not only to the mastery that Orpheus wielded over the Argonauts (ll. 36-47) but also to his conquest of the spirits of Hell. By extension, these powers apply to the poet himself whose skill transforms language and legend in a manner that moves and enlivens men. Thus, Orpheus, as an emblem of the earthly poet, brings concord to the most desperate of places, the underworld, and even in death he continues to sing about the fame of his love. He, indeed, is the supreme example of the metamorphic agent who can transform his own despair into art.

Of course we must agree with Wasserman that one of Pope's aims in portraying the Orpheus myth was to show the way in which the failure of natural man is surmounted by the spiritual man, embodied in the saint and martyr Cecilia. In spite of Pope's artistic preparation for the Saint, she still come off as more of a functional antithesis to fulfill the demands of the genre than as a viable or a desirable alternative to Orpheus. Like Cecilia in Alexander's Feast, she arrives as a deus ex machina to resolve the poetic dilemma in religious terms, but she cannot outdo Orpheus in Pope's poem just as she does not really surpass Timotheus

in Dryden's poem. Despite his moral failure, Orpheus's commanding transformation of Hell remains the most potent example of poetic power in the Ode for Music.

In Alexander's Feast Dryden uses an alternate Orpheus-figure, Timotheus, as the master musician who raises and quells his master's (Alexander's) passions through the power of his song.⁸⁹ Timotheus possesses both a descriptive and an affective talent: he can portray the scene of the dragon-disguised Jove as he rapes Olympia, and through his fiction he has "rais'd a Mortal to the Skies" (l. 169). The shifting scenes of Bacchic revelry, Darius's defeat, the Venus-like Thais's conquest of the Mars-figure, Alexander, and the final enthusiastic ascent of the Furies that incite Alexander to revenge emphasize the extent of Timotheus's dominion. John Hollander explains that

. . . all of 'Alexander's Feast' has gone to praise not only the power and glory of earthly, affective music, but it has gone to praise poetry as well. It is Timotheus the mythmaker, the forger of fictions, who is commended at the beginning of the poem and at the end; and throughout its course the ode seems to depend upon almost bootlegged poetic reference, such as the 'Measures' of line 97 and the argument about War and Love in the lines following. It is at any rate the 'goddess PERSUASION', who, as Shaftesbury put it, 'must have been in a manner the mother of poetry, rhetoric, music, and other kindred arts,' that triumphs at the conclusion of the celebration of music.⁹⁰

Hollander argues that the triumph of "Divine Cecilia", the "sweet Enthusiast" who "drew an Angel down" (l. 170), is a concession to the occasional function of the Ode, and that it is actually the powers of Timotheus who controlled the major part of the poem which Dryden wishes to praise. As a "mythmaker and forger of fictions", Timotheus's roles suggest the parallel functions of the poet -- he can render poetic the

tragic fate of Darius, recreate the Bacchic revels, and instigate the passions of revenge and love. As an Orphic figure, Timotheus can transform the scene and exhibit the tremendous changes that the poet can effect.

In his earlier poem, A Song for St. Cecilia's Day, 1687, Dryden makes an explicit comparison between Orpheus and Cecilia:

Orpheus cou'd lead the savage race;
And Trees unrooted left their place;
 Sequacious of the Lyre:
But bright CECILIA rais'd the wonder high'r;
When to her ORGAN, vocal Breath was giv'n
An Angel heard, and straight appear'd
 Mistaking Earth for Heaven.

(ll. 48-54)

Like Pope's Orpheus, Dryden's poet-musician gets unfavorable press when compared to Cecilia and her miraculous organ. But, as Wasserman reminds us about Pope's poem, Orpheus is human whereas Cecilia is a saint and a martyr.⁹¹ Because he is merely a man, operating only on the finite plane of nature, Orpheus's ability to civilize the savagery of men and to move trees and rocks seems remarkable indeed. Like that of Timotheus, his music both enlivens and assuages, and like poetry it has a positive ethical and affective function on earth which is surpassed only by the spiritual inspiration of religion which raises the soul heavenward and which commands angels which occupy a higher rung on the chain of being than either trees or savage men. In all three St. Cecilia's Day Odes, however, it is the Orphic figures that encourage men to great deeds on earth and civilize their savagery through the tempering effect of music: like the mirroring-river Loddon in Windsor Forest, they transform nature, myth and experience into concordant art through reflection.

In A Song for St. Cecilia's Day Dryden describes the musical

creation and destruction of the world, the "Universal Frame" of his poem. The act of creation to which Ovid devotes ninety-five lines of Metamorphoses, I, the great transformation of chaos into an ordered universe, is truly the greatest of all metamorphoses except, perhaps, for the final dissolution of order at the apocalypse. Dryden's poem encompasses both events: music which ended the discord of "jarring Atomes" (l. 4) at creation will "untune the sky" (l. 63) when the final trumpet sounds. In the metaphor of music Dryden suggests that the poet has the ability to metamorphose dissonant particles into a concordant work of art which imitates on the secular scale the action of God as Creator. Collins' "Ode on the Poetical Character" takes this topic of creation to an even greater length in the description of the poetic cestus which confers a "godlike gift". According to Collins, the poet's adornment

Was wove on that creating day
 When He, who called with thought to birth
 Yon tented sky, this laughing earth,
 And dressed with springs and forests tall,
 And poured the main engirting all

(ll. 24-28)

The poetical character is both a product of Creation and an imitation of it: "the imaginative act of creation by which God, through the embodiment of his 'Fancy', became the supreme type of the Poet."⁹² Although Dryden does not explicitly mention this concept of the poet as creator in the Song for St. Cecilia's Day, yet he harmonizes and transforms the world from chaos to destruction within a tightly controlled sixty-three lines, and in so doing, imitates the Creator by metamorphosing cosmological history into art.

Just as Christian dogma teaches that the Creator's act added to

his glory, and just as commentators held that Orpheus's transformation of Hell gave him immortal fame, so, too, the poet's individual act of metamorphosis gains him and his subject either praise or blame. Writing in a lighter vein, William Walsh points this out in his "Elegy, The Power of Verse":

Riches and titles with your life must end;
Nay, cannot ev'n in life your fame defend:
Verse can give fame, can fading beauties save,
And, after death, redeem them from the grave:
Embalm'd in verse, through distant times they come,
Preserv'd, like bees within an amber tomb.
Poets (like monarchs on an Eastern throne,
Restrain'd by nothing but their will alone)
Here can cry up, and there as boldly blame,
And, as they please, give infamy or fame.

(11. 7-16)

By his powers of praise and blame, the poet can preserve

. . . one, who all the absence of her lord
Had her wide courts with pressing lovers stor'd
Yet, by a Poet grac'd, in deathless rhymes,
Stands a chaste pattern to succeeding times.

(11. 22-25)

So the poet grants immortality: his transformation of the materials of reality into art creates an artefact which transcends the limits of time. Ironically, Walsh includes these lines on the encomiastic powers of poetry in what is essentially a proposition to his mistress; thus, his offer of fame to her is also an offer of infamy. But the connection of transformation and fame still remains.

If we look at Pope's The Rape of the Lock, we discover a similar connection of metamorphosis and fame:

Then cease, bright Nymph! to mourn thy ravish'd Hair
Which adds new Glory to the shining Sphere!
Not all the Tresses that fair Head can boast
Shall draw such Envy as the Lock you lost.

For, after all the Murders of your Eye,
 When, after Millions slain, your self shall die;
 When those fair Suns shall sett, as sett they must,
 And all those Tresses shall be laid to Dust;
This Lock, the Muse shall consecrate to Fame,
 And mid'st the Stars inscribe Belinda's Name!

(V, 141-150)

Pope's metamorphosis of the lock into a star, and the simultaneous transformation of the quarrel into concord by his intervention (V, 111-112), gives a poetic fame to Belinda which will outlast her coquettish "Tresses" and "fair Suns". But those that "envy" the lock -- the "Beau-monde" (l. 133), the "blest lover" (l. 135) and "Partridge" (l. 135) -- are all characters of ill-repute which implies that Pope offers his praise ironically. Certainly the final reference to Belinda's death, with her tresses "laid to Dust", gives a sobering effect to his fanciful encomium and recalls the admonition of the Ash Wednesday liturgy which reminds us of our final humble transformation: "Remember man that thou art dust and unto dust thou shalt return." This somber analogy draws attention to Pope's role as a metamorphic agent because his conversion of the Petre-Fermor argument into art creates an artistic piece which will outlast the individuals celebrated. Because the power of the poet transforms the moment of time into art, it counteracts the ravages of time which reduce the actors to dust. In his recent article "Satire, Poetry, and Pope" Ronald Paulson summarizes this esthetic principle:

For Pope there is always a final transformation into art: in the Pastorals it was art that ordered fallen nature, as in his own transformation of the quarrel in the 1712 Rape of the Lock; in the satires it is the gesture, after the dunces have metamorphosed filth into false art, of the poet himself metamorphosing this into the true art of his poetry, so that the ending of Dunciad IV, however hopeless a sublunary world it evokes, by a kind of enveloping action represents another apotheosis of the fallible into something permanent and beautiful.⁹³

For Pope, then, as for Dryden, metamorphosis serves as an analogy of poetic creation which converts the chaos of the mundane world into art.

In The Rape of the Lock (1714) metamorphosis comprises not only the final encomiastic gesture and the esthetics of the poet's stance, but it also provides the mythical background of Belinda and the Baron.⁹⁴ To begin with, Belinda's affiliation with the sylphs represents a perverted form of the Diana cult, and Pope previously in his career had exploited the moral implications of the myths associated with Diana -- Daphne, Callisto, and Arethusa -- in the Pastorals and Windsor-Forest. Like Lodona in Windsor-Forest, Belinda lets her pride lead her beyond the bounds of propriety, but unlike the nymph of Windsor who becomes a mirror for her surroundings, the nymph of Hampton Court descends in a downward spiral of transformation from a sylph into a gnome which strips her of the possibility of artistic praise. Anne-Diana redresses Lodona's moral laxity to some extent, but only the poet can correct Belinda's impropriety. When he metamorphoses her to the gnomonic state, he judges her actions adversely. Indeed, the final transformation of the lock into a star carries ironical implications which reinforce these earlier judgments on the heroine. If Belinda is conceived to be a Lodona or a Daphne, then the Baron logically becomes either a Pan or an Apollo, a figure whose unlicensed action violates her sylph-like virginity and corrects her pride. With its overt comic texture, Pope's The Rape of the Lock uses metamorphosis as a moral yardstick by which to measure the actions of Belinda and the Baron. Rather than being simply an accomplished jeu d'esprit, The Rape of the Lock makes a serious moral evaluation of both the Petre-Fermor squabble and the society which produced it.

When we read a poem like The Fan which contains metamorphic elements and uses the mock-heroic form of The Rape of the Lock with less success, we can surmise that Gay, like Pope, chose his mythical materials to illustrate moral points. As Sven Armens contends of Gay's poetry in general,

A poet, such as John Gay, considered too long to be a 'mere elegant trifler', may also be explored for the indirect manifestation of this classical idealism, because as a satirist, we may assume that he holds to certain standards which are being violated Gay's burlesque and satire point out the actual social and moral motives which impel society to delude itself; his purpose is to hold these improper motives up to rightful scorn and to advocate the necessity of a transformation of values.⁹⁵

Because of his belief in the classical idealism which inspired Swift and Pope to satire, Gay produces poetry which contains serious criticism of the moral and social values of his age. As it did for Dryden and Pope, Ovid's Metamorphoses served Gay as a source for myths to point moral truths, a classical reference from which he could draw parallel stories to illustrate the defects that he saw in his own society.⁹⁶

Usually critics comment on The Fan to emphasize the superiority of The Rape of the Lock, and certainly, Pope's poem far surpasses Gay's in artistic unity and wit. William Irving's criticism of The Fan is typical:

The Fan was Gay's most ambitious and least effective effort of the year [1713]. Like the Shield of Achilles, high engine for the fall of Troy, the fan is raised to its commanding place in woman's hand, a weapon for the fall of man. Strephon loves long but unsuccessfully; in answer to his prayer, Venus at the smithy of the gods produces a new toy, has it inscribed with proper legends to remind woman of her weaknesses, and brings it to Strephon, who in the end wins his suit. The lines are good wherever Gay touches social frivolities or has an opportunity to

register the carefully detailed descriptions at which he was presently to show his peculiar power. The Momus episode is a welcome change of tone. Too much of the poem, however, retells the stories from Ovid rather aimlessly; the narrative pattern is insufficiently marked, and often lost completely in a mass of pointless decoration. It is nothing but machinery.⁹⁷

To some extent, Irving's criticisms are justified: Gay's story of Strephon's unrequited love for Corinna provides but a slight narrative structure for the poem. To say that the poem is "nothing but machinery", however, is to misunderstand why Gay includes the Ovidian stories that he does. When we look at the myths in relation to their moral implications, we discover that they function purposefully within the poem.

As in The Rape of the Lock, one of the central metaphors of The Fan is the battle of the sexes. For example, the construction and use of the fan which echoes the creation of the Shield of Achilles, provides one of the principal armaments in the woman's store. Formed on the model of Juno's peacock, an emblem of pride as well as foresight, this weapon affords one of the contrasts between the modern fair and her "ancient" sisters:

Unhappy lovers, how will you withstand,
 When these new arms shall grace your charmers hand?
 In ancient times, when maids in thought were pure,
 When eyes were artless, and the look demure,
 When the wide ruff the well-turn'd neck enclos'd,
 And heaving breasts within the stays repos'd,
 When the close hood conceal'd the modest ear,
 E'r black-lead combs disown'd the virgin's hair;
 Then in the muff unactive fingers lay,
 Nor taught the fan in fickle forms to play.
 How are the Sex improv'd in am'rous arts,
 What new-found snares they bait for human hearts!

(I, 195-206)

What follows, a comparison between the "less destructive arms" of ancient war and the "wide-wasteful death" of the new "thundring cannon",

illustrates Gay's earnest purpose in the poem. Looking to an earlier era, Gay decides that not only was war potentially less dangerous then, but women were also more modest and less dependent on batteries of coquetry to achieve their amorous ends. Ironically Gay suggests that "am'rous" arts have "improv'd" the fair sex: progress has added new weapons to their stores, specifically, "patches", "tortur'd ringlets", "panting beauties" of the bosom, and the "resistless glances" of the eye. Their "new-found snares" identify them as huntresses -- militaristic followers of the cult of Diana, or, perhaps more properly, the wily Venus disguised as Diana who greets Aeneas in the forest before Carthage. Certainly, though, the ironical tone of Gay's compliment on women's progress suggests his dissatisfaction with their Amazonian tendencies. In Gay's mythological material, a pattern of moral ascent offers a variety of choices for women's behavior and settles on a single set of principles that the poet offers as a peace treaty to quell the battle of the sexes.

In The Fan, I, 57-90 Strephon's prayer to Venus to aid his love contains references to three myths: Venus and Adonis, Acontius and Cydippe, and Hippomenes and Atalanta. In each case, the myth which Strephon recalls entails a chase of some sort, and the latter two involve the use of a stratagem to win a maiden dedicated to Diana. Strephon views his own plight in terms of the hunt and sees its resolution through an artful device: "If only some bright toy can charm her sight,/ Teach what present may suspend her flight." (I. 89-90). By citing the Atalanta myth, Metamorphoses, X, as an analogue of his affair, Strephon shows that he recognizes Corinna's triviality because according to Sandys, "This fable deciphers . . . the unconstante minde of a woman; diverted

by gold, or pleasure, from her intended course, and obedience to the heavenly Oracle, to her fore-known and assured destruction" (Ovid, p. 491). That Corinna is inconstant to her "ideals" will be proven if she can be diverted by "some bright toy" (I, 89). Indeed, Venus commands Cupid's workshop to produce not simply a plaything but another "implement of pride" to add to the plethora of armaments of the toilette (I, 151-174), those fashionable engines which have helped Corinna to outdistance Strephon in the chase. Although the hunt of Venus and Adonis and the race of Atalanta and Hippomenes have tragic consequences, the ploy which aids Acontius to capture Cydippe ends in marriage, the honorable conclusion which Strephon seeks from his "charmer". These three myths in The Fan I characterize the initial narrative situation of Gay's cosmopolitan pastoral lovers.

As Book II begins, Venus displays the newly-made fan to the assembled gods and advises for its decoration a rococo pastoral scene of "unresisting nymphs and amorous swains", a "glowing picture . . ./To melt slow virgins with the warm design" (II, 47-48). Diana, Momus and Minerva, however, object to Venus's rather licentious picture and disagree with her that it is the proper decoration to adorn the novel "machine". Instead, each of them offers a series of mythological scenes which he or she believes teach proper conduct to the maiden. Diana, who functions not only as the archetype of virginity but also as the emblem of the cold, unfeeling female, recommends the myths of Theseus deserting Ariadne, Aeneas abandoning Dido, and Paris leaving Oenone as examples of "some chaste story . . ./To speak the Virgin's joy and Hymen's woe" (II, 81-82). By means of these fables Diana hopes to teach the nymph the "true colours"

of "perfidious man" (II, 124). Her misanthropic bias, however, is as unbalanced as Venus's sensuality.

Momus's response offers a corrective to the false dichotomy of female behavior which Venus and Diana have proposed. In keeping with his function as the god of mirth and mockery, Momus ironically suggests that "Rather let heav'nly deeds be painted there,/ And by your own examples teach the fair" (II, 131-132). Then he proceeds to recount "chaste Diana's" ravishment of Endymion and her immodest behavior which incited Acteon's lust. His moral point? "Virgins are virgins still -- while 'tis unknown" (II, 142). Using the myth of Aurora's seduction of Cephalus, he again blames woman for her own downfall. He accuses women of assuming hypocritical masks under which virgins such as Diana and Aurora try to conceal their clandestine affairs, or of attempting that deception which Diana and Aurora practice when they charge Jove with rape but enjoy the solicitation of their affection by appeals to pity and by golden gifts (ll. 161-166). Momus next shifts his attention to a droll tale of "sage" Minerva's rejection of the pastoral pipes because they distorted her countenance when she played them. This fable warns ". . . beauty not to cherish pride;/ Nor vainly in the treach'rous bloom confide" (II, 167-168). Ultimately he decides that Venus's example should teach the nymph "the virtuous duties of a wife" (II, 182).

Whereas Diana's choice of myths ascribes the tribulations of the fair sex to male exploitation, Momus's collection of stories redirects the criticism back at the woman as a source of her own trouble, either by means of force and wiles as Diana and Aurora illustrate or by opening themselves to deception as Danae and Leda show. When he mockingly names

Venus as an emblem of marital virtue, he shatters the idealistic picture of pastoral lovemaking which she had previously suggested as the decoration which would win the fair Corinna for Strephon. Momus emphasizes the fact that Venus's illusory respectability is only a disguise for adultery and illicit love and does not represent a true ideal. Even Minerva suffers beneath the lash of Momus's satire: the goddess of wisdom, too, succumbs to the vanity common to her sex. Because he is exclusively a railer Momus destroys the illusions of Diana and Venus but he cannot offer a positive alternative to their suggestions. His satire illuminates the hypocrisy of the goddesses, but it leaves the question of the appropriate decoration of the fan unresolved.

In order to redeem her honor from Momus's mockery, Minerva, both the goddess of wisdom and a virgin warrior, produces the proper adornment for the fan by painting on it the myths of Niobe, Procris, Camilla, and Narcissus. Minerva directs each myth at the correction of some vice in the fair sex. In the first place, she chooses the story of Niobe, who was transformed into stone after watching her children slain, to teach women to avoid haughty pride: "Ye haughty fair, your painted fans display, / And the just fate of lofty pride survey" (III, 75-76). This myth is appropriate because Sandys says that Niobe "exceeded Arachne in insolency" (Ovid, p. 292). Secondly, the tragic tale of the jealousy of Cephalus and Procris instructs wives to ". . . bid vain suspicion cease, / Lose not in sullen discontent your peace" (III, 93-94).⁹⁸ Thirdly, the story of Camilla's disastrous attraction to Chloris shows the nymph Corinna that the lures of the fashionable fop who entices her to love him by his outward display are false. Finally, the myth of Narcissus warns

That beauty's but a transient good at best
 Like flow'rs it withers with th'advancing year,
 And age like winter robs the blooming fair.⁹⁹

(III, 128-130)

Minerva's recommendations settle the debate concerning the decoration of the fan which owes its creation to the goddess of love but derives its meaning from the goddess of wisdom. Certainly Corinna's transformation from a frivolous and heartless nymph into Strephon's dedicated bride when she receives the instructive fan proves Pallas's sagacity.

Although Gay's lengthy retelling of myths may seem gratuitous at times, yet, as we have seen, they add a direct, functional meaning to The Fan. Rather than a simple "gods-in-aid" story, The Fan conveys a serious moral message about feminine decorum and about love. As in the religion of the sylphs, love wears the metaphorical trappings of war and the chase in The Fan I -- courtly attributes which demand the aid of deceptive tricks to accomplish their ends. In addition, the fashionable martial engines of the modern female, the weapons manufactured in Cupid's workshop, contrast with the modest adornments of her ancient counterparts and reveal the questionable nature of the love commonly presented in the pastoral. The myths of Book II express three more attitudes toward love: Venus's idealistic equation of love and eroticism, Diana's misanthropic rejection of married love, and Momus's misogyny which negates the possibility of love. Minerva's instructive decoration of the fan, however, provides a picture of feminine behavior appropriate to a realistic concept of love which recognizes the pitfalls that the other gods have introduced and which builds on humility, trust and the realization that persons are more than outward spangles or pretty faces.

Like Pope's The Rape of the Lock, Gay's The Fan includes a somber note on beauty's transience which suggests that a lover must seek qualities in his beloved which are more lasting than those of the mortal physical body. As his conclusion confirms, Gay finds love's decorous expression in the submission of wife to husband in marriage. Thus, the mythology of The Fan points the proper moral resolution to the poem, and the fan itself which began as a weapon in the battle of the sexes becomes, in the end, the instrument of concord. While the extensive tale-telling and explicit moralizing make The Fan artistically inferior to The Rape of the Lock, yet, Gay, like Pope, emphasizes an important moral lesson in his poem: both poets wish to offer men and women a pattern of behavior based on realistic expectations, and both poets use the Metamorphoses as a means to this end.

4. The Metamorphic Solution of "Eloisa to Abelard": An Analysis of Pope's Use of the "Metamorphoses" in the Poem

Since the publication of "Eloisa to Abelard" and especially in the past twenty years, critics have time and again sought to discover whether or not Eloisa is saved. Their findings, based either upon close reading or upon comparison with source materials, fall into three categories. In the first group, critics like Rebecca Parkin, Reuben Brower, G. Wilson Knight, Barrett Mandel and, to some extent, Geoffrey Tillotson, believe that Eloisa remains true to her passion and, hence, by Christian standards suffers damnation. Because the antitheses of love and religion are unresolved, there can be no "higher synthesis" of Eloisa's passion, only the fluctuation from one pole to another.¹⁰⁰ Tillotson remarks that "having made religion into an erotic experience, she ends

by making death one too."¹⁰¹ To Knight Eloisa is an objective dramatic creation, akin to Lady Macbeth, whose passion and determination we admire but whose actions we condemn.¹⁰² According to Brower, Eloisa follows the tragic course of all Ovidian heroines, but with a more bitter prospect than her pagan counterparts -- the loss of her soul.¹⁰³

The second group, Robert Kalmey, E. C. Pettit and Brendan O'Hehir, offer hope for Eloisa's salvation. Pettit, for example, believes that she struggles with and finally triumphs over the dualism of her situation, and O'Hehir sees the antithetical poles drawing closer together and uniting in her vision of death. He argues that "since for Eloisa the struggle between Nature and Grace had been fought out in terms of a choice she was attempting to make between Abelard and Christ, her vision of Abelard as priest presenting to her the Cross of Christ is a revelation that with Christ both Nature and Grace, Passion and Virtue are one."¹⁰⁴ Returning to Pope's source, John Hughes's translation of the "celebrated letters" that passed between Eloisa and Abelard, Kalmey elucidates the basic Christian fabric of the poem and shows that "Pope's characteristic method . . . is to use scenes and phrases from Hughes's translation to sharpen by contrast and antithesis the dramatic conflicts that make up Eloisa's suffering" in order to effect "an intensified and tightly-knit drama of suffering and redemption."¹⁰⁵ In a subsequent article Kalmey suggests that the structure of the poem parallels the preparation for and reception of the sacrament of Penance, the sacrament in which nature and passion surrender to grace and virtue.¹⁰⁶

Finally, Murray Krieger stands alone in the third position; he contends that critics have had divided responses to "Eloisa to Abelard"

because Pope has created an internally confused poem of incompatible purposes.¹⁰⁷ On the one hand, Krieger finds a conscious rhetorical structure based on the modulation of the imperative verb "come" in the poem, an antithetical ordering which works toward the "virtuous resolution of Eloisa's ardor for Abelard, as it becomes submerged in her ardor for God."¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, the metaphorical patterns suggest a continuation of her sexually-oriented affections, so that even in the apotheosis which should end the conflict, the metaphorical language of love and death reflects her desire for orgasm.¹⁰⁹ Krieger concludes that Pope unconsciously wrote two poems in "Eloisa to Abelard": "There is the poem that Pope seems rhetorically to have meant to write, and there is the poem that tried to come to life under his hand in response to the existential demands of the persona's situation and of a language striving for plasticity."¹¹⁰

I believe we can resolve this three-fold division by studying "Eloisa to Abelard" within the contexts of its classical analogues in the Metamorphoses, an approach which Brower and Tillotson suggest but do not completely develop.¹¹¹ If we view the poem through the perspective glass of the Metamorphoses, we can better understand the esthetic conclusion and moral resolution which Pope reaches in his poetic treatment of "those celebrated letters".

Reuben Brower and Geoffrey Tillotson have enumerated the affinities which "Eloisa to Abelard" shares with the witty and antithetical form of the Heroides, especially Pope's own translation of the "Sappho to Phaon" epistle.¹¹² Brower says, and Paulson has recently agreed, that the poetic speech of Pope's unhappy vestal also parallels the vocal distress

of such metamorphic heroines as Galatea, Scylla, Myrrha,¹¹³ and as I would further suggest, Byblis. Each of these characters participates in "the dark terribleness of many scenes of love and death in the Metamorphoses;"¹¹⁴ each shares a fatal passion which cannot or will not be returned; and each struggles internally to disentangle herself from her sinful desires.

By defining the general nature of the Ovidian heroine, we can discern Eloisa's kinship with these tragic victims of ill-begotten loves, and by applying the implications of these various fables, we can discover the way in which they color and control the meaning of the numerous transformations in the poem. Brower describes the characteristic Ovidian heroine in the following terms:

More often than not they are wicked, either in a light and amusing way, like Helen, or grandly and terribly wicked, like Dido and Phaedra and Medea. 'Culpa' and 'crimen' and 'pudor' are familiar words on their lips and they sound very much like the criminal heroines of Seneca. They keep reminding us of the close bonds between conflicting feelings or states of mind, between love, sorrow, and innocence on the one hand, and hate, jealousy, guilt and the will to die on the other. These women . . . delight equally in the closeness and the conflict.¹¹⁵

Although Brower's description relates specifically to the female characters of the Heroides, it applies equally well to the myths of Scylla, Myrrha and Byblis in the Metamorphoses. All three figures are "terribly wicked" women who recognize the criminality of their loves but who try to rationalize their immoralities and convince themselves of their innocence by an appeal to pity. The epistle of Byblis is typical:

"quam nisi tu dederis, non est habitura salutem,
hanc tibi mittit amans: pudet, a, pudet edere nomen,

et si quid cupiam quaeris, sine nomine vellem
posset agi mea causa meo, nec cognita Byblis
ante forem, quam spes votorum certa fuisset.

.
'ipsa tamen, quamvis animo grave vulnus habebam,
quamvis intus erat furor igneus, omnia feci
(sunt mihi di testes), ut tandem sanior essem,
pugnauitque diu violenta Cupidinis arma
effugere infelix, et plus, quam ferre puellam
posse putes, ego dura tuli. superata fateri
cogor, opemque tuam timidis exposcere votis.

.
'conueniens Venus est annis temeraria nostris.
quid liceat, nescimus adhuc, et cuncta licere
credimus, et sequimur magnorum exempla deorum.
nec nos aut durus pater aut reverentia famae
aut timor impedit: tamen ut sit causa timendi,
dulci fraterno sub nomine furta tegemus.

.
' . . . miserere fatentis amores,
et non fassurae, nisi cogeret ultimus ardor,
neve merere meo subscribi causa sepulchro."

(Metamorphoses, IX, 530-534; 540-546; 553-558; 561-563)

"A health to you, which if you give it not to her, she will not have, one sends to you who loves you. Shamed, oh, she is ashamed to tell her name. And if you seek to know what I desire, I would that nameless I might plead my cause, and not be known as Byblis until my fond hopes were sure Yet, though my heart was sore distressed, though full of hot passion, I have done everything (the gods are my witness) to bring myself to sanity. Long have I fought, unhappy that I am, to escape love's cruel charge, and I have borne more than you would think a girl could bear. But I have been overborne and am forced to confess my love, and with timid prayers to beg help of you But love is compliant and heedless for those of our age. What is allowed we have not yet discovered, and we believe all things allowed; and in this we do but follow the example of the gods. You and I have no harsh father, no care for reputation, no fear to hold us back. And yet that there may be cause for fear, beneath the sweet name of brother and sister we shall conceal our stolen love Pity her who confesses to you her love, but who would not confess if the utmost love did not compel her; and let it be written on my sepulchre that for your sake I died."

(Miller, trans., Metamorphoses, Vol. II, 41, 43)

In her incestuous proposition to Caunus Byblis reveals her inner conflict;

she confesses shame, "pudet", at her illicit desires, yet she tries to absolve herself of guilt by pleading ignorance of the laws, "quid liceat, nescimus adhuc". Furthermore, Byblis's most potent argument is a blasphemous one ("sequimur magnorum exempla deorum"), that following the example of the mighty gods, their mutual love can transcend the laws which nature commands. For Sandys, Byblis's story affords "neither allegory nor historical allusion: but lively displaying the impoetency [sic] of Passion, and of a wicked affection: justifying her owne vices by the example of the great ones who corrupt the world with a fatall contagion" (Ovid, p. 445). Although Byblis's story contains no physical or historical allegory for the commentator, it does provide a moral lesson on the paralyzing effect of sensuality. After Caunus's rejection and flight from his sister, Byblis's deranged wandering through the wilds ends fittingly with her transformation into a stream, consumed by her own tears (Metamorphoses, IX, 365-665).

Like Byblis, Myrrha (Metamorphoses, X, 298-502) suffers from an unnatural lust for her father and is even more reticent in declaring her "hellish passion" until encouraged and abetted by her nurse. After her disgrace and banishment she is changed into a tree "by the compassionate Gods, who accept of her repentance: and although insensitive, sheds bitter teares . . . for her former transgressions" (Sandys, Ovid, p. 489). While Byblis's metamorphosis occurs simply as a cessation of her meanderings, Myrrha's results as a release from her tortured repentance.

Like these "wicked" Ovidian characters, Eloisa uses the terms "sin", "crime", "shame", "fault" and "offence" to describe her past relations with Abelard and her present desires for sensual satisfaction.

She, too, keeps reminding us of the "close bonds between conflicting feelings",¹¹⁶ her sentiments towards her opposed roles as a bride of Christ and as the mistress-wife of Abelard. Her inner conflict, which Pope describes as the "struggles of grace and nature, virtue and passion",¹¹⁷ is played out in the tension between the rigidity of the outward forms of conventual piety and the liberty of her inner feelings on the doctrine of true love.¹¹⁸

Her initial portrait of the convent, for example, is in direct contrast to her description of the emotional state of love. She describes the convent in the following manner:

Relentless walls! whose darksome round contains
Repentant sighs, and voluntary pains;
Ye rugged rocks! which holy knees have worn;
Ye grotts and caverns shagg'd with horrid thorn!
Shrines! where their vigils pale-ey'd virgins keep,
And pitying saints, whose statues learn to weep.

(11. 17-22)

In her heightened address, Eloisa depicts the environs of the Paraclete as a prison, one which actively incarcerates her with its melancholic atmosphere of "rocks", "grotts" and "thorns", objects which she associates with penance, prayers and sainthood, the ends of her religious vocation. This picture of the convent enclosure is rendered in a manner antithetical to her discussion of the condition of love:

Oh happy state! when souls each other draw,
When love is liberty, and nature, law:
All then is full, possessing and possest,
No craving Void left aking in the breast:
Ev'n thought meets thought ere from the lips it part,
And each warm wish springs mutual from the heart.
This sure is bliss (if bliss on earth there be)
And once the lot of Abelard and me.

(11. 91-98)

In the state of love Eloisa finds release, fulfillment and an earthly equivalent of heaven qualified only by the sceptical "if" which parenthetically questions whether total enjoyment is possible on earth. Obviously, a woman whose memory and fancy can recreate such vivid emotional remembrances will suffer the pains of confinement and separation. The chasm which separates Eloisa's two vocations seems the more unbridgeable because Abelard's castration and her own irrevocable vows make that "once" blissful lot irretrievable. So Eloisa's desires, like Byblis's, must go unfulfilled physically, leaving her to "dream the rest" (l. 124), the same course of uninhibited fancy which allowed to Byblis contact with Caunus. Although Eloisa's dreams frustrate her "unholy joy" (l. 224) and abandon her to discover ". . . the same sad prospect . . ./And wake to all the griefs I left behind" (ll. 247-248), yet, they, along with her daytime musings, partially restore "what vengeance snatch'd away" (l. 226). Thus, the duties of her religious vocation which demand total physical and mental dedication to the Divine Spouse violently conflict with her desires for her earthly spouse. And Eloisa bitterly despises the hypocrisy of her position: "Ah wretch! believ'd the spouse of God in vain,/ Confess'd within the slave of love and man" (ll. 177-178).

As both O'Hehir and Kalmey note, Eloisa's inability or unwillingness to distinguish between the images of Abelard and God generates much of the tension in her struggle between the life of nature and the life of grace.¹¹⁹ Even at her profession she acts out of obedience to Abelard and does not pledge herself voluntarily to God:

Yet then! to those dread altars as I drew,
 Not on the Cross my eyes were fix'd, but you;
 Not grace, or zeal, love only was my call,
 And if I lose thy love, I lose my all.

(11. 115-118)

Abelard distracts Eloisa from the Cross at the moment when she should dedicate her "all" to God, and her earthly lover can claim even this moment. Again, in the throes of remorse for her passion, she begs Abelard to teach her to "Fill my fond heart with God alone, for he/ Alone can rival, can succeed to thee" (11. 205-206). If the lot of the two lovers was "once" a heaven on earth, then, Eloisa conceives of Abelard as both angel and man, her master and her teacher upon whom she depends for providential and omniscient guidance on earth.

Abelard assumes the dimensions of a surrogate god for Eloisa and, at the same time, he takes on the role of an Orphic figure. Although she nowhere mentions Orpheus by name in the poem, Eloisa's depiction of Abelard's actions at many points recalls those of the ancient poet. While she is still an innocent, Abelard's song wins her affection:

Guiltless I gazed; heav'n listen'd while you sung;
 And truths divine came mended from that tongue.
 From lips like those what precept fail'd to move?
 Too soon they taught me 'twas no sin to love.

(11. 65-68)

Like the hymns traditionally attributed to Orpheus, Abelard sings "truths divine", and his songs possess such potency that by them he not only converts Eloisa to his cause but also charms heaven. When she attempts to restrain her vagrant fancy and return to God, Eloisa entreats Abelard: "With other beauties charm my partial eyes" (1. 126). Like Orpheus, Abelard can incite Eloisa to profane love or he can charm her into the

delights of the Divine. He is also a creator who, like Orpheus, tames nature: "You rais'd these hallow'd walls; the desert smil'd,/ And Paradise was open'd in the Wild" (ll. 133-134). As Tillotson remarks, "the sudden oasis -- 'beauty lying in the lap of horror' -- had been strongly presented in Par. Lost, IV, 133 ff. (cf. Isaiah, 13)."¹²⁰ The magical transmutation of the desert can also illustrate Abelard's power of metamorphosis, a power which, like Amphion's, can raise cities and transform a wilderness into an Eden. For a moment Eloisa identifies Abelard with the arch-poet and healer, Apollo, because he acts like the sun shedding light on the dark recesses of the convent (ll. 141-146). It is not only Abelard's outward form but his voice as well which Eloisa finds "charming" (l. 281) enough to deflect her from God. In her thwarted apotheosis she envisions him assisting the "Fiends" to tear her from God. In the end, it is Abelard in his role as priest whom she calls upon to rescue her from the demons and smooth her "passage to the realms of day" (l. 323). Just as Orpheus's ". . . Numbers rais'd a Shade from Hell" (Ode for Musick, l. 133), so, too, Abelard's words rescue Eloisa from her hellish torments, and if we believe that she is saved, Abelard, like the divine Cecilia, also lifts a "Soul to Heav'n" (Ode for Musick, l. 134). In Eloisa's eyes, Abelard possesses the Orphic powers to save or to damn her, to transform her into a heavenly or hellish existence in the afterlife in much the same manner that he changed her earthly life by his "charming" potency.

Eloisa's conflict pits love against authority, and her depiction of Abelard as the Orphic agent of both perdition and salvation is an example of her confused state of mind. In her heightened state of reality,

Eloisa sees her fate swinging between these two poles which she defines in metamorphic terms. On the one hand, Eloisa, like Byblis, threatens at many points in the poem to melt away in her tears; on the other hand, she often feels herself hardening into stone. Her alternation between these antithetical transformations and their final mingling forms the internal structure of Eloisa's epistle. Rebecca Parkin has pointed out certain antithetical patterns of metaphor in "Eloisa to Abelard": in the opposing configurations of the symbolic metaphors of "heat-light-life" against those of "cold-darkness-death", she finds a traditional system of images which parallels Eloisa's conflicts between Christian asceticism and pagan passion.¹²¹ In his epistle Pope has submerged these metaphors in Eloisa's expression of her transformation into stone or into tears and has made them representative of her fear of succumbing to the cold, death-in-life of the convent or simply of dissolving away in the impotency of her own tears.

Besides revealing her attitudes toward the convent as a prison, Eloisa's opening description of the Paraclete also introduces the personified landscape which mirrors her potential change to stone or to stream:

Relentless walls! whose darksome round contains
 Repentant sighs, and voluntary pains;
 Ye rugged rocks! which holy knees have worn;
 Ye grotts and caverns shagg'd with horrid thorn!
 Shrines! where their vigils pale-ey'd virgins keep,
 And pitying saints, whose statues learn to weep!
 Tho' cold like you, unmov'd, and silent grown,
 I have not yet forgot my self to stone.
 All is not Heav'n's while Abelard has part.
 Still rebel nature holds out half my heart.
 Nor pray'rs nor fast its stubborn pulse restrain
 Nor tears, for ages, taught to flow in vain.

(11. 17-28)

Within the convent where "contemplation dwells" and "evermusing melancholy reigns", Eloisa finds a gothicism sympathetic to her own dark night of the soul. Melancholy transforms the landscape into a ghostly force which induces her "rebel nature" and "stubborn pulse" to continue the progressive reduction to tears and to see in the statues of saints, individuals who weep out of pity for her plight as though they, too, had melted away. Contemplation also exercises change, dimming and hardening and eroding the landscape -- the "shrines", "grotts" and caverns have all been touched by the petrifying force of religion. Although she has "not yet forgot" herself to stone, Eloisa feels a change within herself for she is "cold", "unmov'd and silent grown". She realizes that her conformity to the vita contemplativa has transformed her outwardly but inwardly she still refuses to assent to a religion which would harden her mind against the past. So she stands at the opening of the poem, rejecting both the unfeeling transformation into stone and the tearful melting away into watery oblivion.

In addition to this first shrine, Eloisa recalls two more shrines in the course of her epistle which influence her final metamorphosis. She feels a growing kinship with the weeping statues at present just as she saw them undergo a sympathetic transformation at her profession:

Canst thou forget that sad, that solemn day,
 When victims at yon' altar's foot we lay?
 Canst thou forget what tears that moment fell,
 When, warm in youth, I bade the world farewell?
 As with cold lips I kiss'd the sacred veils,
 The shrines all trembled and the lamps grew pale.

(ll. 107-112)

While making her vows, Eloisa changes from "warm youth" to a "cold" acceptance of the "sacred veil": she feels herself at once overcome by

the weeping, which she associates with the warmth of passion, and by the petrification that she fears from "frozen chastity"(l.181). In response, "The shrines all trembl'd and the lamps grew pale." Even the stony images of the saints appear to react to Eloisa's transformation from an earthly into a heavenly spouse; their motions reflect their pity and their fear. Of course, as O'Hehir has shown, the trembling shrines and the weeping saints of the opening of the poem have equally plausible natural explanations -- Eloisa sees the shrines through her tears and the dampness causes the saints to "weep" with moisture.¹²² These physical interpretations of Pope's lines function as the realistic basis for the metamorphosis which Eloisa endures, because trembling shrines, like weeping saints, picture for her the inflexible state of being into which religion would transform her, and at her vows she foresees her future change into stone. Significantly, Eloisa twice asks Abelard, "Canst thou forget" and echoes her initial "I have not forgot my self to stone" (l. 124). Like the portrait of Daphne -- half tree, half woman -- Eloisa wavers between the petrification of religion and the tearful memory of love. She fears the oblivion of transformation into stone, a change which would make her condition comparable to Abelard's life: "A cool suspense from pleasure and from pain/. . . a long, dead calm of fix'd repose" (ll. 250-251). Eloisa must force Abelard to recall the past because his unresponsiveness to her pleas seems to suggest that he has become stone, physically by his castration and mentally by his resignation to the religious life. To Eloisa such a transformation equals death.

Ironically, the death which "can break the lasting chain" (l. 173) and release her from her stony prison, Eloisa represents as a transformation

into "cold dust" (l. 174), a variation on her own metamorphosis as well as the Christian symbol of the end of man which Pope had used in The Rape of the Lock. For her, the still-burning flames of love are "cold", ". . . like those that burn/ To light the dead, and warm th' unfruitful urn" (ll. 261-262). While the "unfruitful urn" suggests her unproductive womb, it also implies her internal death and reminds us of the freezing flame of Milton's Hell.¹²³ Eloisa fears the change which spiritual death would inflict upon her, the fate of stony oblivion which also awaits her in physical death, so that the "peace" of death offers no real answer to her conflict.

At her sudden ascent from the torture of the fiends (ll. 285-288), however, Eloisa renounces Abelard and appears to resign herself to her future:

No, fly me, fly me! far as Pole from Pole;
 Rise Alps between us! and whole oceans roll!

 Thy oaths I quit, thy memory resign,
 Forget, renounce me, hate whate'er was mine.

(ll. 289-290; 293-294)

Eloisa enlists Alps and oceans, grander forms of the polar transformations within herself, to separate herself from Abelard. As before, she views these structures as agents of forgetfulness which furnish macrocosmic emblems of her internal metamorphosis and reflect her progressive hardening to the world. Indeed, the "blameless Vestal" can survive and flourish in religious life simply because she has spurned the past: "The world forgetting, by the world forgot" (l. 208). But Eloisa has so far refused to partake of the convent's Lethean draught. She begins with a declamatory "I have not yet forgot my self to stone" (l. 24),

proceeds to a questioning "Canst thou forget" (ll. 107, 109), then, exclaims "'Tis sure the hardest science to forget!" (l. 190), and, finally, commands, "Forget, renounce me . . ." (l. 294). By this last order to Abelard, Eloisa accepts "grace serene", the "Divine oblivion of low-thoughted care!" (l. 298), but she still equates this reception of faith and hope as a resignation to "eternal rest" (l. 301). Throughout her epistle Eloisa has shown that she fears the hardening and decay of death because it obliterates the memory of her love. Thus, although she welcomes the dawning grace that will save her soul, yet she omits charity altogether from the theological virtues which grace bestows upon her, an omission which suggests that she shrinks from the total loving commitment to the Divine spouse and still refuses to forget herself to stone.

It is the third transformed shrine that teaches Eloisa to reconcile herself to her metamorphosis. In a vision of her future, reclining amidst the tombs, Eloisa hears the spirit of a "shrine" calling to her:

Come, sister come! (It said, or seem'd to say)
 Thy place is here, sad sister come away!
 Once like thy self, I trembled, wept, and pray'd,
 Love's victim then, tho' now a sainted maid:
 But all is calm in this eternal sleep;
 Here grief forgets to groan, and love to weep,
 Ev'n superstition loses ev'ry fear:
 For God, not man, absolves our frailties here.

(ll. 309-316)

Unlike the impotent pity of the weeping, trembling shrines that Eloisa encountered before, this speaking tomb offers positive consolation because its inhabiting spirit has suffered like she has. Its call to

calm forgetfulness reminds Eloisa of the final cold metamorphosis which has terrorized her and driven her to melting tears. The shrine insists that it was her own transformation into stone that brought her peace and surcease of grief, but Eloisa recognizes that in the ambiguity of "Love's victim, then, tho' now a sainted maid," there exists a possibility to propagate her own memory beyond death. Certainly, love has tortured Eloisa with "restless passions" (l. 82), and she has seen herself and Abelard as "victims" (l. 108) at the altar of religion. Because of Abelard's castration and her religious vows, however, Eloisa's proper course has been clear from the beginning: she must physically and mentally resign herself to the stony conventual existence. Like Byblis, she has struggled futilely to actualize her impossible desires, but in the message of the third shrine she finally realizes that the transformation into stone would metamorphose her from a victim into a saint. The dead sister reveals that her forgetting to stone did not destroy the memory of her love, only its pains and its griefs. Thus, Eloisa can willingly accept the metamorphosis by "death all-eloquent" and even instruct Abelard in the art of dying (l. 328).

By means of death Eloisa can achieve her desired union with Abelard, and as she finally sees, the memory of their love will endure. With this recognition, she hopefully says,

May one kind grave unite each hapless name,
 And graft my love immortal on thy fame.
 Then, ages hence, when all my woes are o'er,
 When this rebellious heart shall beat no more;
 If ever chance two wandring lovers brings
 To Paraclete's white walls, and silver springs,
 O'er the pale marble shall they join their heads,
 And drink the falling tears each other sheds,

Then sadly say, with mutual pity mov'd,
 Oh may we never love as these have lov'd!
 From the full quire when loud Hosanna's rise
 And swell the pomp of dreadful sacrifice,
 Amid that scene, if some relenting eye
 Glance on the stone where our cold reliques lie,
 Devotion's self shall steal a thought from heav'n,
 One human tear shall drop, and be forgiv'n.

(ll. 343-358)

Eloisa sees that it is their monument which will eternalize their love and end their separation. Ironically, the very metamorphosis which caused Eloisa so much apprehension becomes the source of her imperishability; it releases her from a monstrously hypocritical state of being as Scylla's does when she undergoes her stony transformation from her half-human state (Metamorphoses, XIV, 59-74). While Eloisa has joined the cold hardness of Abelard, has changed into stone, she has certainly not passed into oblivion. Surely the mingling of the "human tear" with the cold stone signifies the continuance of Eloisa's spirit, and as she has hoped, her story has lasted to influence lovers, "ages hence". Their shrine, "the stone where [their] cold reliques lie," provides a moral lesson to future lovers: it moves them to pity and it advises them to avoid a love such as that of Eloisa and Abelard. When she is transformed into stone, the environs of the Paraclete likewise change from the melancholy obscurity of caves and grotts to the serenity of "white walls", "silver springs" and "pale marble". Although it is colorless, hard and cold, like the strict religious forms that it encloses, the convent has lost its forbidding and threatening darkness because Eloisa has ascended from the melancholy inferno which clouded her vision. Now she recognizes that death and transformation terminate her earthly

incarceration and that the polar metamorphoses which divided her, the external hardening to stone and the internal melting to tears, are reconciled by the shedding of the "human tear" upon the immortal stone.

Eloisa defines the lovers' union in the "kind grave" as the grafting of "my love immortal on thy fame" (l. 344). Earlier in the poem, as she reads Abelard's letter, she remarks,

Line after line my gushing eyes o'erflow,
Lest thro' a sad variety of woe:
Now warm in love, now with'ring in thy bloom,
Lost in a convent's solitary gloom!
There stern religion quench'd th'unwilling flame,
There dy'd the best of passions, Love and Fame.

(ll. 35-40)

When Abelard enters the religious life, his spiritual dying to the self, he seems to destroy his love and his desire for fame. As Eloisa's repetitions and variations on the verb "forget" prove, she does not as willingly relinquish her own claims to these "best of passions". Twice she ranks love higher than the desire for fame: "Fame, wealth, and honour! what are you to Love?" (l. 80); and again, ". . . if I lose thy love, I lose my all" (l. 118). Since fame renders love immortal, Eloisa knows that she needs both passions: Abelard's fame will grant immortality to her love. Eloisa desires to be remembered, and by her metamorphosis to stone she perpetuates her love by means of Abelard's fame.

In this respect, the word "reliques" has three connotations: first, the latinized meaning of "remains" which signifies the literal corpses that the tomb contains; secondly, the sense of reminiscences which suggests that the ashes of Eloisa and Abelard are to be cherished and remembered; and finally, the religious meaning, that promises that their relics, like those of the saints, will have miraculous potency.

Certainly Pope, the poet-controller, exploits all three meanings, but to Eloisa, whom "immortal love" has transformed into a state like that of the "sainted maid", the "cold reliques" have a commemorative function, a reminder to later lovers of her earthly dedication to the "best of passions".

By means of her metamorphosis Eloisa immortalizes love and fame and saves herself from oblivion. Her transformation into monumental stone is only one of the poem's metamorphoses, for at his death Abelard undergoes an apotheosis:

In trance extatic may thy pains be drown'd,
Bright clouds descend, and Angels watch thee round,
From opening skies may streaming glories shine,
And Saints embrace thee with a love like mine.

(ll. 339-342)

Like Dryden's Anne Killigrew, Abelard is assumed into the heavens. His metamorphic transference from earth to heaven is a Christian parallel to the changes of Caesar and of Hercules, stellified in the Metamorphoses, and it confers sainthood on him as a just reward for his earthly heroism. Significantly, it is Eloisa who foresees Abelard's future transformation and who memorialized it in her epistle. Like Belinda's lock which is the artistic representation of her fame, Abelard undergoes a heavenly transformation, while Eloisa, like Belinda herself, becomes dust and stone. Eloisa's immortality, the future remembrance she so desires, arises from the metamorphic structures of love and fame, but as is Belinda's, Eloisa's is a kind of ill-fame, a notoriety which she believes will offer a prohibitive lesson to future generations of lovers.

Eloisa is aware of her depravity, and, certainly, on the religious plane of sin and damnation, Eloisa's is a serious problem. She has a

double outlook on death: on the one hand, she views it with a pagan, elegiac irony; on the other hand, she sees it as a Christian who experiences joy at the rebirth into the new life of heaven.¹²⁴ Her Christian conversion is inevitable, and she retreats into the conventual forms and is metamorphosed into stone, but as Ronald Paulson argues, "the intensity of her yearning for Abelard outweighs her final resolution."¹²⁵ This is not to say, as Murray Krieger does, that Pope is writing two poems but rather that Eloisa seeks a solution on two levels.¹²⁶ She desires both a heavenly reward and an earthly remembrance, and her transformation into stone fulfills both of these aspirations.

Yet, there is one more major metamorphosis in "Eloisa to Abelard" which serves to memorialize the fame of the medieval lovers -- the transformation of "those celebrated letters" into the artifact of the poem. The coda to the poem, although spoken by Eloisa, is obviously Pope's self-conscious statement about the process of poetic creation. Through Eloisa he says:

And sure if fate some future Bard shall join
 In sad similitude of griefs to mine,
 Condemn'd whole years in absence to deplore,
 And Image charms he must behold no more,
 Such if there be, who loves so long, so well;
 Let him our sad, our tender story tell;
 The well-sung woes will sooth my pensive ghost;
 He best can paint 'em, who shall feel 'em most.

(ll. 359-366)

The poet's identification with Eloisa's griefs and his separation from the charming "image" creates a tension which he transforms from inner suffering into art. Ronald Paulson suggests that, as her "future bard", Pope bears a direct relation to Eloisa:

The poet is someone who has suffered as she has and therefore will properly memorialize her, present her as she was, order her writing-to-the-moment into heroic couplets, so to speak. It does not matter whether Lady Mary was indicated or not in these last lines; the point is that Pope himself comes in to explain what he is doing, and he makes it clear that his situation as a human is parallel to Eloisa's, though as an artist it is quite distinct.¹²⁷

As a human being, Pope can suffer and sympathize with Eloisa privately, but, as a poet, he can gain a wider audience for her story. He cannot grant her salvation for he is not a divine Cecilia nor is he God, but, like Orpheus, he can raise her soul from Hell to save it from oblivion. By resurrecting her from the Lethean shades, Pope metamorphoses the reality of her inner battle and creates an artistic monument to her passionate struggles with the absolute and the temporal. Pope presents her mad passion sympathetically, but his ultimate judgment concurs with Eloisa's: future lovers should shun such frenzied and impotent infatuation (l. 352). While he denounces her desires, as he did Orpheus's powers, they are the matter of his art, the raw materials that he transforms into poetry. And, truly, "He best can paint 'em, who shall feel 'em most" (l. 366).

5. Conclusion

These Augustan poems have shown that Ovid's Metamorphoses was more than a mere vehicle for parody and burlesque or a source for cold, uncritical allusions. Ovid's master poem served a positive poetic function: the Metamorphoses gave the Augustan poet stories which expressed esthetic and moral truths which could be used as classical analogues to his own historical, social and artistic situation. As Virgil had done earlier, Ovid showed that the comparison of man with the

gods in the stories of mythical history was not a trivial compliment, but that such a comparison carried with it a recommendation of the ideal codes of behavior which the stories implied. The Augustan poets imitated and echoed the classical bards in their own productions and employed their moral framework to comment on their own civilization.

Even in their burlesques of Ovid's Metamorphoses writers like Prior and Swift still treat the myths with a certain moral decorum. Apart from the purely mythological poetry of the age which directly imitated the Metamorphoses and which I have only glanced at in its travestied form, the use of Ovidian metamorphic materials is ubiquitous in Augustan poetry. By demonstrating the pattern of physical changes from the creation of the world through the periods of the gods and heroes and concluding in Ovid's own time, the Metamorphoses afforded the Augustan poets, as it had earlier writers, classical counterparts for contemporary figures and events as well as a repository of myth whose accrued moral meanings poets could exploit for allusive purposes. The brief selection of poems that I have analyzed is only a sampling of the poems written in this vein, but they show the continued understanding of the allegorical nature of the Metamorphoses, a way of looking at the poem which commentators and handbooks encouraged. To avoid sermonizing in their poems, writers used allusions to the Metamorphoses or metamorphic models as a shorthand method of expressing ethical ideas. The most moralistic poem I have discussed, Gay's The Fan, has a light-hearted tone and a witty interweaving of myth which makes its ethical principles more palatable and its serious message more acceptable. The Augustans disdain to use myth in a sermonizing

fashion, and they also dispense with purely decorative use of the fables. Even the most succinct allusions to the Metamorphoses, as we have already seen in the discussion of the gorgons and giants in The Dunciad, carry a deeper meaning, either moral or esthetic which expands the frame of reference of the literal line.

Metamorphosis also served the Augustans as a pattern for their poetry and as a metaphor for their poetic creation. Annus Mirabilis, Windsor-Forest, Claremont and "Eloisa to Abelard" illustrate the way in which Augustan poets based their poetry upon events which suggest transformations analogous to certain stories in the Metamorphoses. Furthermore, these poems, along with the Pindaric odes, reveal that the poem itself was conceived of as a kind of metamorphic event. Indeed, the poet considered himself to be a metamorphic agent, like Ovid, who rendered a change upon the dross materials of reality and transformed them into art by means of his metamorphic talent.¹²⁸ In spite of Johnson's charge of puerility and Spence's distaste, the Metamorphoses retained a significant position in the verse of the earlier Augustan poets.¹²⁹ Handbook writers and translators and editors helped to keep the allegorical tradition of the Metamorphoses alive at least until the middle of the eighteenth century when newer more scientific methods began to transform mythography. Critics continued to praise Ovid's wit (at the same time that they damned his verbosity!) and to recommend his politeness and variety. But, most importantly, the Augustan poets persisted in imitating Ovid's Metamorphoses, and in doing so, they perpetuated an allegorical tradition which if the scientific spirit of the age had had its say would have died out a century earlier than

it did. The concept of the poet as a metamorphic agent is an important one because it suggests that cultured literary men still believed that the poet wielded an important power over language and life: the poet was a transformer, a creator who made beauty from mundane reality.

Pope's Dunciad can be seen as the final apocalyptic moment of the poetic expression of the morality of the Metamorphoses for in it Pope describes the great transformation of culture into chaos, the ultimate change of civilization into barbarity. Although its allegorical force diminished greatly after the mid-century, in the works of the poets, critics, editors and translators of the Restoration and early eighteenth century, Ovid's Metamorphoses provided powerful examples of moral and esthetic truth.

NOTES

Chapter IV

¹Douglas Bush in Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, pp. 290-298 considers the travesties of the Restoration, and in Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, pp. 3-50, while he does review some of Lord Chesterfield's critical attitudes (pp. 8-10) and Joseph Trapp's (p. 8) toward poetry, he characterizes the Augustan age as an age of prose (pp. 4-5). As he says,

It is quite natural and inevitable, then, and only superficially paradoxical, that the neoclassical age, instead of yielding a harvest of mythological poems, is almost completely barren, at least of good ones. The fundamental reason, as usual, is that the right kind of genius did not happen to be born.

Hardin in "Ovid in the Seventeenth Century" seeks a critical rationale for Bush's interpretation and finds one in the Augustan attitudes towards imagination (pp. 59-62), but he avoids the possibility that Ovid may had had an influence outside of translations and direct imitations of his poem.

²Because of the generalized survey of the subject that he makes, Bush is especially prone to generating this sort of critical platitude. See Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, pp. 3-50.

³For ease of reference, I list here the poems that I will discuss in this chapter and the editions from which I have taken them. All subsequent quotations from these poems will be taken from these editions and noted in the text.

Chaucer's Ghoast: or, a Piece of Antiquity Containing Twelve Pleasant Fables of Ovid Penn'd after the Ancient Manner of Writing in England (London, 1672).

William Collins, "Ode on the Poetical Character" in Roger Lonsdale, ed., The Poems of Thomas Gray, William Collins, Oliver Goldsmith (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1969).

John Dryden, Astraea Redux; Annus Mirabilis; "To the Pious Memory of the Accomplisht Young LADY Mrs Anne Killigrew, Excellent in the two Sister Arts of Poesie and Painting. An Ode."; Song for St. Cecilia's Day (1687); The Hind and the Panther; Alexander's Feast (1697); Examen Poeticum; "Baucis and Philemon" in James Kinsley, ed., The Poems of John Dryden 4 Vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1958).

Robert Forbes, Ajax his Speech to the Grecian Knabbs, From Ovid's Metam. Lib. XIII . . . Attempted in Broad Buchans (1742; Edinburgh, 1754).

Sir Samuel Garth, Claremont: Addressed to the Right Honourable The Earl of Clare, afterwards Duke of New Castle in Dr. Samuel Johnson, ed., The Works of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XX.

John Gay, The Fan in The Poetical Works of John Gay, ed., G.C. Faber.

Joseph Gay [John Durant Breval], Ovid in Masquerade, Being a Burlesque upon the xiii Book of His Metamorphoses, Containing the Celebrated Speeches of Ajax and Ulysses. Designed for the Entertainment of those who had rather Laugh and be Merry, than be Merry and Wise (London, 1719).

William King, Orpheus and Eurydice (1704) and Britain's Palladium: or, Lord Bolingbroke's Welcome from France (1712) in Dr. Samuel Johnson, ed., The Works of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XX.

William Meston, Phaeton: or the First Fable of the Second Book of Ovid's Metamorphoses Burlesqu'd (Edinburgh, 1720).

Alexander Pope, "Summer" and "Winter" from Pastorals and Windsor-Forest in Pastoral Poetry & An Essay on Criticism, eds., E. Audra and Aubrey Williams, Works, I.

-----, The Rape of the Lock and "Eloisa to Abelard" in The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems, ed., Geoffrey Tillotson, Works, II.

-----, "To Allen Lord Bathurst. Of the Use of Riches" in Epistles to Several Persons (Moral Essays), ed., F. W. Bateson, Works, III-ii.

-----, The Dunciad (B) in The Dunciad, ed., James Sutherland, Works, V.

-----, Ode for Musick on St. Cecilia's Day in Minor Poems, ed. Norman Ault and John Butt, Works, VI (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1954).

Matthew Prior, The Ladle and Daphne and Apollo in The Literary Works of Matthew Prior, eds., H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears, Vol. I (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

"The Story of Cinyras and Myrrha, in Burlesque" in A New Miscellany of Original Poems, Translations and Imitations By the Most Eminent Hands (London, 1720).

George Stepney, "A Poem, Dedicated to the Blessed Memory of her Late Gracious Majesty Queen Mary" in Dr. Samuel Johnson, ed., The Works of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XII.

Jonathan Swift, The Story of Baucis and Philemon (1706) and Baucis and Philemon, Imitated From the Eighth Book of Ovid (1708-1709) in The Poems of Jonathan Swift, ed., Harold Williams, Vol. I (1937; London: Oxford University Press, 1958).

William Walsh, "Elegy. The Power of Verse. To his Mistress" in Dr. Samuel Johnson, ed., The Works of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XII.

⁴ See especially Bush's comments in Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, pp. 30-31 and 36-37.

⁵ In both Lowth, "The Choice of Hercules" in Spence, Polymetis, pp. 155 ff., and William Wilkie, The Epigoniad, a Poem (1757) in Alexander Chalmers, ed., English Poets, XVI (London, 1807), the mythological story serves as an excuse for moral statement and homiletic development, that is, the myth functions as the text for a sermon.

⁶ Preface to Troilus and Cressida, Ker, II, 213.

⁷ "Observations on the Iliad" in Literary Criticism of Alexander Pope, ed., Bertrand A. Goldgar, p. 135.

⁸ Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art" in Meaning in the Visual Arts (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1955), p. 41. Panofsky's argument stresses the interrelationship of the traditions of literature, philosophy, art and science and tries to point out the way in which these traditions elucidate the symbolic values of conventional subject matter. Since he deals directly with myth as icon, his discussion reveals not only the intricacies of meaning of the visual arts of painting, drawing and sculpture, but also the verbal arts of poetry, drama and prose narrative. These sister arts integrate mythology meaningfully rather than using it as mere window-dressing.

⁹ Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, p. 288.

¹⁰ Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, pp. 287-299.

¹¹Albert H. West, L'Influence Francaise dans la Poesie Burlesque en Angleterre Entre 1660 et 1700 (Paris: Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931), pp. 10-11.

¹²See Henry Fielding, Preface to Joseph Andrews, ed., Martin C. Batestin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961), p. 7.

¹³For a list of travesties and parodies in France from 1644-1825 and in England from 1650-1825, see West, L'Influence Francaise dans la Poesie Burlesque en Angleterre, pp. 186-193. Richmond P. Bond, "Register of Burlesque Poetry" in English Burlesque Poetry, 1700-1750 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), pp. 235-453 locates and gives annotated descriptions of the poems, as well as giving a sampling of their contents and making critical comments on them. Bond's information for the period that he covers in his book is much more complete than West's. Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, pp. 322-323 lists and annotates briefly the Restoration burlesques published to 1680, and in Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, he provides a chronological listing of the mythological poems published from 1680 until 1936. Because of the scope of his effort, Bush's list, which he admits to be incomplete (pp. 539-545), should be supplemented by West and Bond.

¹⁴Cotton's Scarronides; or Virgil Travestie being the First Book of Virgil's Aeneis in English Burlesque (London, 1664) acknowledges in its title its debt to Paul Scarron Virgile Travesti (Paris, 1648). The popularity of his first attempt induced Cotton to produce his 1665 Scarronides; or Virgil Travestie. A Mock-Poem in Imitation of the Fourth Book of Virgil's Aeneis in English Burlesque (London, 1665). In the same year R. Mounsey adapted the title for his own effort in burlesque: Scarronides, Being the Second and Seventh Books of Virgil's Aeneis Translated into English Burlesque (London, 1665). In 1670 Cotton's two texts were joined and republished, and according to West's list (p. 190), this combined Scarronides went through seven editions by 1807.

¹⁵Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, p. 287.

¹⁶Quoted in Bond, English Burlesque Poetry, p. 45.

¹⁷For a study of Dryden's translation of Virgil and his methods of translating see L. Proudfoot, Dryden's Aeneid and its Seventeenth-Century Predecessors (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1960) and William Frost, Dryden and the Art of Translation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955).

¹⁸West, L'Influence Francaise dans la Poesie Burlesque en Angleterre, p. 190 lists four burlesques of Ovid in this period, only one of which explicitly chooses the Metamorphoses as its target, namely, Chaucer's Ghost; or, a Piece of Antiquity Containing Twelve Pleasant Fables of Ovid, Penn'd after the Ancient Manner of Writing (1672). The other three direct their ridicule at Ovid's epistles, the Heroides: Scarronomimus, Ovidius Exulans; or, Ovid Travestie (London, 1673); Alexander Radcliffe, Ovid Travestie. A Burlesque upon Ovid's Epistles (London, 1680); and, The Wits Paraphrased. A Travesty of a Recent Translation of Ovid (London, 1680). Bush, however, adds three more burlesques of the Metamorphoses: P. K., The Conquest of Eloquence: Containing Two Witty Orations, the First Speech by Ajax: the Second by Uliesses . . . Metamorph. Lib. 13 (London, 1690); and "Acteon, or the Original of Horn-Fair (1691)" and "The Story of Orpheus Burlesqued (1692)" in Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany Poems, ed., Elijah Fenton (London, 1708). It is interesting that these three travesties were produced in the last decade of the seventeenth century when Dryden, Dennis and Addison were all translating and publishing parts of the Metamorphoses in English, a fact which shows that burlesque poetry is extremely sensitive to the market created by serious imitations and translations.

¹⁹See Douglas Bush's comment that the burlesques of the Heroides were a reaction to Dryden's edition of Ovid's Epistles (London, 1680), Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, p. 293.

²⁰See Louis Richer, L'Ovide Buffon, ou les Metamorphoses Burlesques (Paris, 1649) and C. D'Assoucy, Ovide en Belle Humeur (Paris, 1650).

²¹Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, p. 323.

²²Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, p. 293.

²³Bond, English Burlesque Poetry, p. 143.

²⁴Bond, English Burlesque Poetry, pp. 143-144.

²⁵Bond, English Burlesque Poetry, p. 4.

²⁶Bond, English Burlesque Poetry, p. 296 lists a second edition of Breval's Ovid in Masquerade in the Daily Post, Feb. 6, 1721, after which time the poem sinks into oblivion. "The Story of Cinyras and Myrrha in Burlesque" was never reprinted (p. 306) while Meston's Phaeton . . . Burlesqued was republished as the ninth tale in Old Mother Grims Tales in William Meston's collected Works of 1767 (p. 305).

²⁷ Bond, English Burlesque Poetry, p. 250.

²⁸ For "Sir Orfeo" see William Hay French and Charles Brockway Hale, eds., Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1964), I, 321-342. See Montague Summers, The Restoration Theatre (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1934), pp. 229-239 for a description of the lavishness of the Restoration stage productions like The Faerie Queene (1692) and The Tempest (1674) which brought fairies as well as divine beings onto the stage. See also the listing of plays, pp. 373-532 in William Von Lennep, ed., The London Stage 1660-1800, Pt. I: 1660-1700 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), and the comments on "Musical Drama" in the Introduction to the volume by Emmett L. Avery and Arthur H. Scouten, pp. cxxvi-cxxx. John Genest, ed., Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830 (1832; New York: Burt Franklin, 1964), I, 475-499 and I, 1-178, gives an account of the plays performed in the 1690's and also makes some comments on the productions of those plays, noting the machines which brought gods onto the stage and the use of mythology in dramatic poetry. See also Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Restoration Drama 1660-1700 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), pp. 44-49 and 161-162.

²⁹ Bond, English Burlesque Poetry, p. 262.

³⁰ For the account of Lord Munodi, and the Projectors' dislike for the ordered beauty of his estate, see Swift, Gulliver's Travels, ed., Herbert Davis, pp. 174-178.

³¹ Irvin Ehrenpreis, Swift the Man, His Works, and the Age, Vol. II: Dr. Swift (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1967), pp. 243-248.

³² The Literary Works of Matthew Prior, eds., Wright and Spears, I, 666.

³³ See Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer, pp. 385-386.

³⁴ For commentary on Daphne's language and an elucidation of the anachronistic details of Daphne and Apollo see the notes to the poem in The Literary Works of Matthew Prior, eds., Wright and Spears, II, 939-940.

³⁵ Forbes depends upon the strangeness of the Scottish dialect and meter to create a burlesque effect, and the modern reader's impression of the poem is one of having been privy to an eighteenth-century tavern brawl.

³⁶ See George Farquhar's treatment of the character of Foigard in The Beaux Stratagem, A Comedy in The Complete Works of George Farquhar, ed., Charles Stonehill, Vol. II (1930; Gordian Press, 1967) and the characterization of Dr. Lubomirski, the Polish Physician-alchemist, in Three Hours after Marriage, Act II.

³⁷ See Wasserman's analysis of Windsor-Forest in The Subtler Language, pp. 101-168, his interpretation of the "Epistle to Bathurst" in Pope's Epistle to Bathurst: A Critical Reading with an Edition of the Manuscripts, passim, and his "Pope's Ode for Musick" in Maynard Mack, ed., Essential Articles for the Study of Alexander Pope (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1968), pp. 159-184. Hauser's two articles, "Medea's Strain and Hermes Wand: Pope's Use of Methology", and "Pope's Lodona and the Uses of Mythology", both use a mythological approach to explain the meanings of the poems that they discuss.

³⁸ Brower, The Poetry of Allusion, p. 1.

³⁹ Astraea Redux, ll. 37-40 and l. 45.

⁴⁰ The Works of John Dryden, Vol. I: Poems: 1649-1680, ed., Edward Niles Hooker, H. T. Swedenberg, Jr., and others (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), p. 221.

⁴¹ Ross, Mystagogus Poeticus, p. 322.

⁴² Cited in The Works of John Dryden, eds., Hooker and others, I, 222.

⁴³ For a description of the events surrounding the Declaration of Breda and its aftermath, see Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution 1603-1714 (1961; London: Sphere Books, Ltd., 1972), pp. 171-176.

⁴⁴ The Works of John Dryden, eds., Hooker and others, I, 222.

⁴⁵ Ross, Mystagogus Poeticus, p. 87.

⁴⁶ See Homer, The Odyssey, Book V and Virgil, Aeneid, Book I.

⁴⁷ The Works of John Dryden, eds., Hooker and others, I, 222.

⁴⁸ Arthur W. Hoffman, John Dryden's Imagery (1962; Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1968), pp. 13-14.

⁴⁹Hoffman, John Dryden's Imagery, pp. 98-129 discusses the Anne Killigrew Ode and tries to show the unity of the poem by means of a new-critical reading. He believes that the poem has a circular structure (p. 116) which is reinforced by the imagery of transmigration, imagery which suggests that Anne is at once like Sappho (p. 104), a supreme poetess, and like Christ (p. 102), a redeemer and a mediator between heaven and man. According to Hoffman, Dryden's local elegy for the dead young poetess gains a universal meaning in the same way that Milton's Lycidas does (p. 116) -- by showing the similarities of the moral and esthetic ideals of the classics and the religious ideals of Christianity. Through his analysis of the mythology and imagery of the Ode, Hoffman illustrates Dryden's belief in the significance and sacredness of the poet and the closeness of the Christian and classical ideals of art (p. 123).

⁵⁰Hoffman, John Dryden's Imagery, pp. 100-101.

⁵¹Hoffman, John Dryden's Imagery, p. 109.

⁵²Hoffman, John Dryden's Imagery, p. 109.

⁵³W. H. Bleakney and John Warrington, Smaller Classical Dictionary Revised from Sir William Smith (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1958), p. 230.

⁵⁴H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology Including Its Extension to Rome (1928; London: Methuen & Co., 1965), p. 116.

⁵⁵The Faerie Queene, IV, X. It is interesting that John Hughes, author of "The Court of Neptune" in Dr. Samuel Johnson, ed., The Works of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XXII, also wrote Apollo and Daphne, A Masque in which the nymph is transformed into a laurel tree on stage.

⁵⁶See Bush's criticism of the lifeless mythology of neo-classical poetry in Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, pp. 20-40.

⁵⁷Spence's Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men, I, 14 records that when Pope read Sandys he liked him greatly. He also notes that Pope admitted that "in the scattered lessons I used to set myself about that time, I translated above a quarter of the Metamorphoses" (Anecdotes, I, 14). Pope printed three of these early translations from the Metamorphoses: "Polyphemus and Acis Out of the Thirteenth Book of Ovid's Metamorphoses"; "Vertumnus and Pomona From the Fourteenth Book of Ovid's Metamorphoses"; and, "The Fable of Dryope From the Ninth Book of Ovid's Metamorphoses." For commentary on his

translations see the Introduction of E. Audra and Aubrey Williams in Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, Works, I, 329-339, and Austin Warren, Alexander Pope as Critic and Humanist (1929; Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1963), pp. 192-193.

⁵⁸Ronald Paulson, "Satire, Poetry, and Pope" in English Satire, Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar, January 15, 1972 (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1972), p. 60.

⁵⁹Brower, The Poetry of Allusion, p. 24.

⁶⁰Paulson, "Satire, Poetry, and Pope", p. 61.

⁶¹See Sandys, Ovid, p. 493.

⁶²Wasserman, Pope's Epistle to Bathurst: A Critical Reading with an Edition of the Manuscripts, pp. 20-21.

⁶³Wasserman, Pope's Epistle to Bathurst: A Critical Reading with an Edition of the Manuscripts, p. 19.

⁶⁴See Seznec's account in The Survival of the Pagan Gods, p. 223.

⁶⁵Bruce A. Rosenberg, "Annus Mirabilis Distilled", PMLA, LXXIX (1964), 255.

⁶⁶Rosenberg, "Annus Mirabilis Distilled", 257.

⁶⁷For a commentary on Annus Mirabilis which discusses the significance of the portents and predicted calamities of 1666 as the occasion for Dryden's poem see Edward Niles Hooker, "The Purpose of Dryden's Annus Mirabilis" in Richard C. Boys, ed., Studies in the Literature of the Augustan Age, Essays Collected in Honor of Arthur Ellicott Case (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The George Wahr Publishing Co., 1952), pp. 120-139.

⁶⁸See Hooker, "The Purpose of Dryden's Annus Mirabilis", pp. 132-134.

⁶⁹See Wasserman, The Subtler Language, pp. 101-168; Hauser, "Pope's Lodona and the Uses of Mythology", 465-482; and Aubrey Williams, Introduction and Notes to Windsor-Forest in Works, I, 125-194.

⁷⁰Hauser, "Pope's Lodona and the Uses of Mythology", 467-468.

⁷¹Hauser, "Pope's *Lodona* and the Uses of Mythology", 473.

⁷²Wasserman, *The Subtler Language*, pp. 135-137.

⁷³Wasserman, *The Subtler Language*, pp. 138-139.

⁷⁴Wasserman, *The Subtler Language*, pp. 138-139.

⁷⁵Wasserman, *The Subtler Language*, p. 142.

⁷⁶Wasserman, *The Subtler Language*, p. 153.

⁷⁷Garth says in his Preface that:

. . . they that have seen those two excellent poems of Cooper's Hill and Windsor Forest; the one by Sir John Denham, the other by Mr. Pope; will shew a great deal of candour if they approve of this. It was written upon giving the name of Claremont to a Villa now belonging to the Earl of Clare." Dr. Samuel Johnson, ed., *The Works of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*, XX, 91.

⁷⁸Pope's description of the Parnassian madness of the poets in "An Epistle from Mr. Pope, to Dr. Arbuthnot", ll. 1-108 is very much like Garth's lines: "What frenzy has of late possess'd the brain?/ Though few can write, yet fewer can refrain" (ll. 1-2).

⁷⁹John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed., Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), II. 3. 19 and II. 2. 6.

⁸⁰For a discussion of Thomas Pelham Holles, First Duke of Newcastle, and his significance in the court of George I, see Stebelton Henry Nulle, *Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle; His Early Political Career, 1693-1724* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931) and Basil Williams, *Carteret and Newcastle; a Contrast in Contemporaries* (London: Frank Case Ltd., 1966).

⁸¹Garth, *Claremont* in Dr. Samuel Johnson, ed., *The Works of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*, XX, 91.

⁸²See, for example, Tooke, *The Pantheon*, p. 224.

⁸³ Placing Garth's and Ovid's descriptions together we notice their similarities. First, Garth, Claremont, ll. 287-296:

Her flesh to sinew shrinks, her charms are fled;
 All day in rifted rocks she hides her head.
 Soon as the evening shews a sky serene,
 Abroad she strays, but never to be seen.
 And ever, as the weeping Naiads name
 Her cruelty, the Nymph repeats the same:
 With them she joins, her lover to deplore,
 And haunts the lonely dales he rang'd before.
 Her sex's privilege she yet retains;
 And, though to nothing wasted, voice remains.

This passage is very close to Ovid, Metamorphoses, III, 395-401:

sed tamen haeret amor crescitque dolore repulsae;
 et tenuant vigiles corpus miserabile curae
 adducitque cutem macies et in aera sucus
 corporis omnis abit; vox tantum atque ossa supersunt:
 vox manet, ossa ferunt lapidis traxisse figuram.
 inde latet silvis nulloque in monte videtur,
 omnibus auditur: sonus est, qui vivit in illa.

[But still, though spurned, her love remains and grows on grief; her sleepless cares waste away her wretched form; she becomes gaunt and wrinkled and all moisture fades from her body into air. Only her voice and her bones remain: then, only voice; for they say that her bones were turned to stone. She hides in woods and is seen no more upon the mountain-sides; but all may hear her, for voice, and voice alone, still lives in her.]

(Miller, trans., Metamorphoses, Vol. I, 153)

⁸⁴ For a mid-eighteenth century account on the relationship of Ovid's story of creation to that found in Genesis, see Samuel Boyse, New Pantheon, pp. 241-242.

⁸⁵ Wasserman, "Pope's Ode for Musick", pp. 176-177.

⁸⁶ Wasserman, "Pope's Ode for Musick", p. 180.

⁸⁷ See Jean Hagstrum, The Sister Arts, The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

⁸⁸See, for example, Sandys's interpretation of the Orpheus myth in Ovid, pp. 476-478.

⁸⁹John Hollander, The Untuning of the Sky, Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500-1700 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 157.

⁹⁰Hollander, The Untuning of the Sky, pp. 163-164.

⁹¹Wasserman, "Pope's Ode for Musick", p. 176.

⁹²Roger Lonsdale, ed., The Poems of Gray, Collins and Goldsmith, n. p. 432.

⁹³Paulson, "Satire, Poetry and Pope", p. 63.

⁹⁴The ideas presented here are similar to those of Ronald Paulson in "Satire, Poetry, and Pope", pp. 64-67. Besides Professor Paulson's comments on the relationship between the Metamorphoses and The Rape of the Lock, and Geoffrey Tillotson's comments in his Introduction and Notes to the poem in Works, II, and Reuben Brower's acknowledgement of the metamorphic patterns in the poem, The Poetry of Allusion, pp. 149-162, there is also an unpublished paper of Dr. James King which deals with the topic of Metamorphoses in The Rape of the Lock. Because of the comprehensive nature of the discussion of the topic in relation to this poem, I have chosen to discuss Gay's The Fan, a poem which Pope encouraged Gay to write and which is written in the same mock-heroic style.

⁹⁵Sven Armens, John Gay Social Critic (New York: King's Crown Press, 1954), p. 9, 10.

⁹⁶William Henry Irving, John Gay, Favorite of the Wits (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1962), p. 12 recalls Gay's early attachment to Ovid: "Horace and Ovid were his first literary enthusiasms, and he never lost his liking for them. His 'Story of Arachne' from Ovid was published among his earliest poems in Lintot's Miscellany of 1712, and his translations from Book IX of Ovid's Metamorphoses found a place in that most popular book of the eighteenth century, Garth's Ovid."

⁹⁷Irving, John Gay, Favorite of the Wits, p. 75. See also Patricia Meyer Spacks, John Gay (New York: Twayne Publishing Inc., 1965), pp. 29-30 for a similar dismissal of The Fan.

⁹⁸Sandys, Ovid, p. 350 interprets the myth in a similar fashion: "The fable was devised to deterr from ill-grounded jealousy, and to show how execrable they be who sow suspitions among the married; whose events are ever bitter, and not seldom tragical."

⁹⁹Sandys, Ovid, pp. 160-161 offers a similar explanation of Narcissus's metamorphosis: "Narcissus is therefore converted to a flower of his name, which signifies stupid: flourishing onely in the Spring, like those who are hopefull in the first of youth . . . Narcissus, now a flowre, instructs us, that wee should not flourish too soone, or be wise too timely, nor overlove, or admire ourselves"

¹⁰⁰See Rebecca Price Parkin, The Poetic Workmanship of Alexander Pope (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), pp. 16; 99-102, and Barret John Mandel, "Pope's Eloisa to Abelard", Texas Studies in Literature and Language, IX (1967), 57-59.

¹⁰¹Geoffrey Tillotson, Introduction to "Eloisa to Abelard" in The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems, Works, II, 310.

¹⁰²G. Wilson Knight, "The Vital Flame: An Essay on Pope" in The Burning Oracle, Studies in the Poetry of Action (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 150.

¹⁰³Brower, The Poetry of Allusion, pp. 74-84.

¹⁰⁴Brendan O'Hehir, "Virtue and Passion: The Dialectic of Eloisa to Abelard" in Maynard Mack, ed., Essential Articles for the Study of Alexander Pope, p. 346. See also Henry Pettit, "Pope's Eloisa to Abelard: An Interpretation" in Maynard Mack, ed., Essential Articles for the Study of Alexander Pope, pp. 324-328.

¹⁰⁵Robert P. Kalmey, "Pope's Eloisa to Abelard and 'Those Celebrated Letters'", Philological Quarterly, XLVII (1968), 174.

¹⁰⁶Kalmey, "Rhetoric, Language, and Structure in Eloisa to Abelard", Eighteenth-Century Studies, V (1971), 316-318.

¹⁰⁷Murray Krieger, "'Eloisa to Abelard': The Escape from Body or the Embrace of Body", Eighteenth-Century Studies, III (1969), 28-48. See also his reiteration of his position in "Reply to Robert Kalmey", Eighteenth-Century Studies, V (1971), 318-320.

¹⁰⁸Krieger, "'Eloisa to Abelard': The Escape from Body or the Embrace of Body", 31.

109 Krieger, "'Eloisa to Abelard': The Escape from Body or the Embrace of Body", 44.

110 Krieger, "'Eloisa to Abelard': The Escape from Body or the Embrace of Body", 45.

111 Brower, The Poetry of Allusion, pp. 74-84 discusses the Ovidian character of Eloisa's emotions and Tillotson in his Introduction to "Eloisa to Abelard", Works, II, 293-311 explains the Ovidian "geometric" design of the epistle.

112 Brower, The Poetry of Allusion, pp. 75-77; Tillotson, Introduction to "Eloisa to Abelard", Works, II, 300-301. See also Paulson, "Satire, Poetry, and Pope", p. 71.

113 Brower, The Poetry of Allusion, p. 82; Paulson, "Satire, Poetry, and Pope", pp. 69-71.

114 Brower, The Poetry of Allusion, p. 73.

115 Brower, The Poetry of Allusion, pp. 71-72.

116 Brower, The Poetry of Allusion, p. 72.

117 "The Argument" from "Eloisa to Abelard", Works, II, 318.

118 For a discussion of the rationale of Eloisa's position as discerned by a modern theologian, see Etienne Gilson, "The Ethics of Pure Love" in Heloise and Abelard, trans., L. K. Shook (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), pp. 47-65.

119 See O'Hehir, "Virtue and Passion: The Dialectic of Eloisa to Abelard", p. 341 and Kalmey, "Pope's Eloisa to Abelard and 'Those Celebrated Letters'", 177.

120 See Tillotson, ed., Works, II, n.p. 330.

121 Parkin, The Poetic Workmanship of Alexander Pope, p. 44.

122 O'Hehir, "Virtue and Passion: The Dialectic of Eloisa to Abelard", p. 334 - 337.

123 Paradise Lost, II, 596-603.

¹²⁴Parkin, The Poetic Workmanship of Alexander Pope, p. 44.

¹²⁵Paulson, "Satire, Poetry, and Pope", p. 70.

¹²⁶Krieger, "'Eloisa to Abelard': The Escape from Body or the Embrace of Body", p. 45.

¹²⁷Paulson, "Satire, Poetry and Pope", p. 71.

¹²⁸In "Satire, Poetry, and Pope", p. 63 Paulson argues the point in the following manner:

Metamorphosis is a fiction with which satirists are not usually concerned. Satire exposes or reveals evil, or perhaps the knave transforming evil into false good and trying to convince others that no transformation has taken place For Pope there is always a final transformation into art: in the Pastorals it was art that ordered fallen nature, as in his own transformation of the quarrel in the 1712 Rape of the Lock; in the satires it is the gesture, after the dunces have metamorphosed filth into false art, of the poet himself metamorphosing this into the true art of his poetry, so that the ending of Dunciad IV, however hopeless a sub-lunary world it evokes, by a kind of enveloping action represents another apotheosis of the fallible into something permanent and beautiful.

Although Paulson's argument concerns Pope primarily, his concept of the poet as metamorphic agent may be more generally applied to eighteenth-century English poetry.

¹²⁹Johnson, "life of Pope", The Lives of the Poets, ed., Waugh, II, 31, and Warton, An Essay on The Genius and Writings of Pope, II, 25.

APPENDIX A

THE METAMORPHOSES AND THE MODERN CRITICS

Twentieth-century scholars of Ovid's reputation and influence in the eighteenth century have often been overly concerned with Ovidian burlesques and the influx of Puritan ideas, ideas which they contend killed the strain of Renaissance allegory. With the death of allegory it has almost become a critical platitude to mourn the waning of the serious consideration of Ovid's Metamorphoses by the poets and critics of the Augustan age. Douglas Bush's Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry and his Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry, which analyzes the growth of these anti-Ovidian sentiments, locates their source in the Augustan age.¹ Other critics, such as Richard Hardin, L. P. Wilkinson, and John Wain have tried in their own studies to verify Bush's hypothesis.²

Bush cites Neo-classicism itself as one of the arch-villains in the plot against the Metamorphoses:

The same rationalism, the same unblinking intelligence, made satire and burlesque the dominant strain in Augustan literature. Classical travesty was especially popular from about the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century. Apart from travesties proper, which are only too numerous, the majority of mythological poems of the period move on various levels of facetiousness, from that of Prior to that of the scurrilous pot-poets Obviously the wide-spread spirits of satire and burlesque, a matter of the head rather than the heart, acted as a corrosive agent upon the mythological imagination.³

While it is true that there are few serious mythological poems written in the Augustan age, the writers of the age use mythology seriously even in their "comic" efforts such as Pope's Rape of the Lock. Bush, though, finds another "corrosive agent" of eighteenth-century culture which diminished its respect for mythology, and hence, for the Metamorphoses -- the religious objections to fable:

In the later sixteenth century many puritans, Catholics and Protestants, continental and English, had objected to fables about pagan and immoral deities. In England, especially from the middle of the seventeenth century through the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, pagan tastes were frowned upon by both the Nonconformist conscience and the more easy-going Anglican conscience. Thus we have many religious complaints, shrill or sober, against the use of pagan myth.⁴

As both William King and Andrew Tooke show, this aversion to the heathenism of mythology is real, but is sacrificed in order to study the inherent morality of the myths. But, finally, Bush charges that the Augustans had lost the allegorical understanding of myth and with it the ability to put it to significant use in their poetry.

During Milton's lifetime the allegorical conception of myth had been dwindling from an accepted and inspiring orthodoxy into an insignificant gloss on the poetic creed. Without citing the opinions of Dryden, Pope, Addison, Garth and many others, one may say that of the Augustan writers some ignored allegory entirely, some gave it a half-hearted, conventional endorsement, and only a few still appealed to it seriously.⁵

The significant phrase here is "only a few"; the major writers of the Augustan age, who are the ones that Bush puts aside, contributed greatly to making that "few" an important part of the literary culture because they all read the Metamorphoses as an allegory as well as an anthology of witty stories.

The opinions of Dryden, Pope, Addison and Garth are taken up by modern critics and used to explain Ovid's decline in the eighteenth century. With the exception of Edward Rand, recent critics of the Metamorphoses agree that the poem's reputation was in eclipse in the Augustan age.⁶ John Wain, for example, contends that "the eighteenth century took over, with evident relish, the task of dissolving the tradition of respect for the myths."⁷ Wain's study, which is on the whole conventional and designed for the general reader, does not offer any convincing proof of his assertions about the historical fate of Ovid in English. On the other hand, L. P. Wilkinson's Ovid Recalled traces Ovid's reputation through the centuries in a scholarly fashion, but, following Bush's conclusions, his study stops at Milton and the "end" of the Renaissance, and its Epilogue enumerates the reasons for Ovid's decline in the Augustan age and thereafter.⁸ In the most recent article on the reputation and influence of Ovid in the Augustan age Richard F. Hardin summarizes Wilkinson's points:

(1) The post-Renaissance shift in interest and taste saw the Metamorphoses less in demand as a mythological handbook or as a collection of erotic tales, the latter need having been filled by an increasing number of vernacular works of fiction. (2) Ovid suffered by comparison with recently discovered classical literature of much better quality, pre-eminently that of Greece. (3) Classical literature began to lose its hold on the Moderns. (4) A Christian reaction against paganism had set in, which devalued mythology in the schools and salons.⁹

Besides Wilkinson's list of the causes of Ovid's decline, Hardin adds two of his own. He contends that the eighteenth century loss of the allegorical perspective and its reformed attitude toward the place of imagination in poetry brought the Metamorphoses into disrepute.¹⁰ This

contention of Hardin's, that the Augustans distrusted the imagination and hence distrusted poetry which made free use of the imaginative faculty, is partly true and partly false because the eighteenth-century man did fear enthusiastic outbursts in religion and politics, but he believed imaginative expression and presentation the "delightful" part of his poetry.

The burlesques, fear and hatred of paganism, the loss of the appreciation of allegory, the distrust of the imagination -- these are the proof which modern critics have offered to reinforce their arguments of the decline of the Metamorphoses in the Augustan age. Used properly, however, in the spirit of Renaissance humanism, mythology and Ovid's Metamorphoses are significant factors in Augustan poetry and poetics.

NOTES

Appendix A

¹Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932), pp. 287-298 and Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), pp. 3-50.

²See John Wain, "Ovid in English" in Preliminary Essays (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1957), pp. 36-77; L. P. Wilkinson, Ovid Recalled (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), pp. 439-444; and, Richard F. Hardin, "Ovid in Seventeenth-Century England", Comparative Literature, XXIV (1972), 44-62.

³Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, p. 23.

⁴Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, pp. 23-24.

⁵Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, pp. 24-25.

⁶See Edward Kennard Rand, Ovid and His Influence (London: George G. Harnap & Co., Ltd., 1928), pp. 165-166. Because of the scope and purpose of his study, Rand's comments are cursory and general: for example, the Restoration and eighteenth-century use of Ovid merits only a paragraph.

⁷Wain, "Ovid in English", p. 64.

⁸Wilkinson, Ovid Recalled, pp. 439-444.

⁹Hardin, "Ovid in Seventeenth-Century England", 44.

¹⁰Hardin, "Ovid in Seventeenth-Century England", 45.

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