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ALEXANDER POPE'S PASTORALS

ALEXANDER POPE'S PASTORALS:
A STUDY OF THEIR GENESIS AND EVOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

The following study describes the evolution of Alexander Pope's Pastorals from their embryonic state in the earliest extant manuscript of them, the Houghton holograph, to their final resting place in the last authorized version of them, the posthumous 1751 edition of the poet's Works edited by his friend and literary executor, Rev. William Warburton. During this period the four poems -- "Spring", "Summer", "Autumn" and "Winter" -- and the brief critical treatise that accompanied them underwent hundreds of alterations, from single words to entire stanzas. A careful examination of the earliest extant version, in conjunction with a close study of the many changes and additions Pope made during his lifetime, provides a considerable amount of information concerning precisely what Pope endeavours to accomplish in creating this cycle of poems. A xerox copy of the Houghton holograph, together with a diplomatic transcript of it and a list of all subsequent authorized alterations to the text has been included to facilitate the study. Though some of the variants of this holograph have been cited (with varying degrees of accuracy) in previous editions of Pope's poetry, the manuscript itself has never before been reproduced in its entirety.

This study concentrates particularly upon the evolution of the Pastorals primarily because a comparison of the final version of any given passage with earlier versions often makes the poet's intentions clearer. Pope himself would seem to have been aware of this fact

since he includes a number of variant readings from manuscripts and earlier printed texts in the notes he appends to these poems in the 1736 edition of his Works. Likewise, an examination of the sources of Pope's allusions to other poems in the pastoral tradition -- some though by no means all of which he also records in his 1736 notes -- sheds additional light on the poet's meaning. Though the vast majority of these allusions have been identified by previous scholars, their function in the poems themselves has to date been, for the most part, ignored. Yet, as this study demonstrates, these allusions and their contexts form an integral part of the poet's design, frequently providing an oblique, but highly pertinent comment upon what is actually taking place.

This study leads ultimately to a new reading of the Pastorals, one that focuses upon the numerous alterations and additions to them between 1704 -- the supposed date of the Houghton holograph which may be regarded as their first limited "edition" -- and 1751. Particular emphasis is placed on the major additions -- the dedicatory stanzas inserted into the first three poems in 1709, the revised version of the prose treatise added in 1717 and the apparatus of notes appended in 1736. For, in each of these Pope would appear to be providing his readers with the necessary direction to comprehend precisely what he is endeavouring to accomplish. To study Pope's creation without reference to these and the other factors previously mentioned is to miss much that is of the utmost importance in them. Only through a reconstruction of their evolution can the Pastorals be fully understood and appreciated.

PREFACE

The Houghton holograph, the autograph manuscript containing the earliest extant version of Alexander Pope's Pastorals, is presently owned by Mr. Arthur A. Houghton Jr. On his kind invitation, I personally examined the holograph under natural light conditions at his private library on the Wye Plantation in Queenston, Maryland in July 1975. Mr. Houghton generously provided me with a xerox copy of the manuscript which has been reproduced along with an annotated diplomatic transcript in Chapter III of this study. At the same time I also examined the other extant holograph of the Pastorals, entitled "Alterations to the Pastoralls", which is likewise owned by Mr. Houghton. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Houghton for his kind hospitality and generous assistance. I would also like to express my gratitude to McMaster University for providing the funds to travel to Maryland and to New York City where I examined Jonathan Richardson the Younger's annotated copy of the 1717 edition of Pope's Works in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library.

I would like to thank Mr. Roy L. Davids of Sotheby Parke Bernet and Co. and Mr. Robert Nikirk, Librarian of the Grolier Club of New York, for their assistance in providing me with copies of auction catalogues as well as other valuable information concerning the provenance of the two holographs. I would also like to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Maynard Mack and Aubrey Williams and Dr. James M. Osborn for their prompt and informative replies

to my inquiries. I would also wish to thank the library staffs at the Robarts Research Library of the University of Toronto, the Berg Collection of the New York City Library, the Huntington Library, and the Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University for their courtesy and help while I was completing the research for this study.

Special thanks are due to my advisory committee members, Professors Richard Morton and Anthony Hammond, and particularly to my supervisor, Professor James King, for their direction and advice during the course of this study.

Finally I am most indebted to my wife, Patricia, for her patience, understanding and support during what at times appeared an endless task.

The following study is dedicated to the memory of my father, the Rev. John Prest, who died in the service of God and his fellow man on 28 June 1975:

Time conquers All, and we must Time obey.

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I

INTRODUCTION

Young, yet judicious; in your verse are found
Art strength'ning Nature, sense improv'd by sound.
Unlike those Wits, whose numbers glide along
So smooth, no thought e'er interrupts the song:
Laboriously enervate they appear,
And write not to the head, but to the ear:
Our minds unmov'd and unconcern'd they lull,
And are at best most musically dull:
So purling streams with even murmurs creep,
And hush the heavy hearers into sleep.
As smoothest speech is most deceitful found,
The smoothest numbers oft are empty sound.
But Wit and Judgment join at once in you,
Sprightly as youth, as age consummate too:
Your strains are regularly bold, and please
With unforced care, and unaffected ease,
With proper thoughts, and lively images:
Such as by Nature to the Ancients shown,
Fancy improves, and judgment makes your own:
For great men's fashions to be follow'd are,
Altho' disgraceful 'tis their clothes to wear.

So wrote William Wycherley of his young friend Alexander Pope's Pastorals when they first appeared in Tonson's Miscellanies.¹ Considering that the poem from which these lines were taken was designed as a recommendatory piece to precede the Pastorals themselves in their first appearance in print, it is hardly surprising that they are highly

¹"To Mr. Pope, on His Pastorals", lines 5-25. The poem first appeared with the Pastorals themselves in 1709.

complimentary. Nevertheless, they offer a shrewd analysis of the poems, one that explores two of the most difficult problems that critics have had to deal with ever since when evaluating the Pastorals: the relation between sound and sense and Pope's extensive use of the classics. It seems ironic that though Wycherley pointedly contrasted Pope's poems with those whose authors "write not to the head, but to the ear", the Pastorals have most often been regarded as specimens of the kind of writing that Wycherley deplored. Moreover, it seems doubly ironic that Pope himself may have inadvertently been responsible for this state of affairs.

Until relatively recently, the bulk of criticism of Alexander Pope's Pastorals has followed a remarkably consistent pattern. Pope himself probably first established the pattern with the opening note he appended to "Spring", the first of the four poems that comprise the cycle, in the 1736 edition of his Works:

Notwithstanding the early time of their production, the Author esteem'd these as the most correct in the versification, and musical in the numbers, of all his works. The reason for his labouring them into so much softness, was, that this sort of poetry derives almost its whole beauty from a natural ease of thought and smoothness of verse; whereas that of most other kinds consists in the Strength and fulness of both.²

²See The Works of Alexander Pope Esq. (London: Bernard Lintot, 1736), I, 28-29. Since all of the notes are conveniently recorded in the Twickenham edition (see Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, ed. A. Williams and E. Audra (London: Methuen, 1961), pp. 59-95), I have not thought it necessary to document them throughout this study.

Taking their lead from the author himself, critics have tended to argue that these poems ought to be valued, if at all, for the undeniably considerable technical skill their young creator demonstrates in his handling of language and versification. In doing so they have generally tended to undervalue the content of the Pastorals, implying "no thought e'er interrupts the song".

The first major critic to offer a detached and objective view of these poems,³ for example, Joseph Warton, remarked that "the principal merit of the PASTORALS of POPE consists, in their correct and musical versification; musical to a degree of which rhyme could hardly be thought capable".⁴ On the other hand, he decried what he considered Pope's lack of originality in these compositions, observing that it "is something strange that in the pastorals of a young poet there should not be found a single image that is new", and concluding that, though they are beautifully expressed, "the descriptions and sentiments are trite and common".⁵ Thus Warton's chief quarrel with the Pastorals concerns their

³The 1713 Guardian articles ascribed to Thomas Tickell which, while never referring directly to the Pastorals of Pope, may yet be considered a comment upon them have not been included in this brief survey of criticism. Instead, they will be treated separately, and in greater depth, in the body of the study itself (see below pp. 396-99) because of their significance in the evolution of the prose treatise that accompanies the Pastorals.

⁴An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope (London: M. Cooper, 1756), p. 10.

⁵Ibid., pp. 2,3.

author's extensive borrowing from classical sources.⁶

Dr. Johnson tried to defend Pope's compositions, yet his defence ultimately followed a similar tack. He began by excusing them on the grounds of the extreme youth of their author (Pope claimed to have first composed the Pastorals at the age of sixteen):⁷

It seems natural for a young poet to initiate himself by pastorals which, not professing to imitate real life, required no experience, and exhibiting only the simple operation of unmingled passions, admit no subtle reasoning or deep enquiry.⁸

At the same time, he shrewdly pointed out that Warton's main objection to them may have been based upon an incorrect assumption regarding Pope's purpose in composing them.

To charge these Pastorals with want of invention is to require what never was intended. The imitations are so ambitiously frequent that the writer evidently means rather to show his literature than his wit.⁹

⁶Professor J. E. Congleton has pointed out that Warton's position marks the beginning of what might be termed a "romantic" conception of the pastoral genre (see Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England 1684-1798 (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1952), pp. 117 ff.).

⁷For a discussion of the actual date of composition, see below, pp. 43-54.

⁸See "Pope" in The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets: With Critical Observations on Their Works (Second edition; London: C. Bathurst et al, 1781), IV, 174.

⁹Ibid., p. 175.

However, though he indicated that the Pastorals contain a modicum of "close thought",¹⁰ Dr. Johnson, like Warton, commended them primarily for the remarkable beauty of their versification:

It is surely enough for an author of sixteen not only to be able to copy the poems of antiquity with judicious selection, but to have obtained sufficient power of language and skill in metre to exhibit a series of versification which had in English poetry no precedent, nor has since had an imitation.¹¹

As Professors Aubrey Williams and Emile Audra, who edited the poems for the Twickenham edition, have observed, "Praise such as this, generous though it is, tends to reduce Pope's achievement to something approaching the level of mere technical virtuosity".¹²

To a large extent, the positions held by these two major eighteenth century critics defined the perimeter of the critical debate on the Pastorals for the following century and a half. Those who endeavoured to defend Pope's cycle, like Rev. William Roscoe¹³ and Bonamy Dobrée¹⁴

¹⁰Ibid., p. 174. As examples of Pope's "close thought" Dr. Johnson noted that the Pastorals have "reference to the day, the seasons of the year, and the periods of human life" and mentioned the last poem in the cycle specifically, which "turns the attention upon age and death". However, he did not elaborate upon Pope's treatment of any of these.

¹¹Ibid., p. 175..

¹²Op. cit., p. 50.

¹³The Works of Alexander Pope Esq., ed. Rev. William Roscoe (London: Longman, Brown, 1847), II, 46-48. Roscoe cited Dr. Johnson specifically, claiming his answer to Warton was a sufficient defence of the poems.

¹⁴See Alexander Pope (London: Sylvan Press, [1951]), p. 23.

argued, as Dr. Johnson had, that the poems' merit lies in their versification rather than their content. As late as 1959, Professor Reuben Brower provided a similar evaluation:

...what we respond to actively is exquisite poetry for the eye and ear....though the lines are pictorially vivid, they come close to sheer delightfulness of sound for its own sake, an English equivalent for Theocritean sweetness. Pure sound very nearly holds the place of sense.¹⁵

On the other hand, those who wished to find fault with these poems, like Rev. William Lisle Bowles¹⁶ and Rev. Whitwell Elwin,¹⁷ tended to follow Warton's example in attacking their author's lack of originality.

Elwin must be given a place of distinction because the introduction he provides for the Pastorals in his edition of Pope's Works is without a doubt the most consistently hostile piece of criticism on these poems to date. Like Warton, he condemned Pope's want of

¹⁵See Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 23 (reprint of the Clarendon Press edition of 1959). Although Professor Brower was referring specifically to "Summer", he suggested that this poem is indicative of what transpires in the other three as well.

¹⁶See The Works of Alexander Pope Esq., ed. Rev. Lisle Bowles (London: J. Johnson et al, 1806), I, 58,62-63n. In addition to Warton's objection to the lack of originality, Bowles found the versification "deficient" in "variety" (ibid., X, 376).

¹⁷See The Works of Alexander Pope, ed. Rev. Whitwell Elwin (London: Murray, 1871), I, 233-56.

invention, arguing that

Had he drawn his materials from the English landscape before his eyes, from the English characters about his doors, and from the English usages and modes of thought in his own day, he would have discovered a thousand particulars in which he had not been anticipated by Greeks and Romans.¹⁸

He regarded Pope's ideas as "stale, vapid and often paltry", his imagery as "frigid and hyperbolical" and his overall performance as "little better than a medley of unnatural compliments and unmeaning mythology".¹⁹ Even the poet's highly acclaimed skill in versification was dismissed as a mere "trick of metrical harmony".²⁰ Elwin would seem to have been unable to appreciate Pope's efforts primarily because of his own profoundly romantic bias which effectively precluded such appreciation. The very definition of poetry -- "the image of man and nature"²¹ -- by which he evaluated the Pastorals and found them wanting was, as he freely admitted, taken not from the most logical source, Pope's own Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, but from William Wordsworth, a poet and critic who developed his theory of nature poetry in direct

¹⁸Ibid., p. 243.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 244 and 251.

²⁰Ibid., p. 248.

²¹Ibid., p. 244.

opposition to the school of Pope.²² It is little wonder then that he found so little to charm and satisfy him in these poems, despite his close reading of them. For him the content of the Pastorals remained a closed book, mainly, it would seem, because they so little resembled the nature poems of the romantics -- Wordsworth and Crabbe -- and their precursors -- Thomson and Cowper²³ --

²²Wordsworth's fundamental antagonism to the school of Pope is neatly capsulized by the motto he appended to the title-page of the 1800 edition of his "Preface to the Lyrical Ballads" -- "Quam nihil ad genium Papiniana, tuum" [this is not for your taste, follower of Pope] (see The Literary Criticism of William Wordsworth, ed. Paul M. Zall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, [1966]), p. 15. In his introduction to this edition Professor Zall briefly outlined the nature of Wordsworth's opposition to Pope's poetry; see pp. ix-xi). Writing specifically about Pope's Pastorals Wordsworth later observed in his "Essay Supplementary to the Preface" (see ibid., pp. 171-72) that Pope

bewitched the nation by his melody, and dazzled it by his polished style, and was himself blinded by his own success. Having wandered from humanity in his Eclogues with boyish inexperience, the praises which these compositions obtained tempted him into a belief that nature was not to be trusted, at least in his pastoral Poetry.

²³It is significant that, in his attack on Roscoe's defense of Pope's apparent lack of originality, Elwin specifically mentioned these four poets, arguing that

rural scenery and rural life had furnished abundant novelty to Thomson, Cowper, Wordsworth, and Crabbe, whose pictures are as fresh and un-hackneyed as if Theocritus and Virgil had never lived.

(See op. cit., p. 243). Confusion between romantic nature poems and poems within the pastoral genre per se was effectively eliminated once and for all by Sir Walter W. Greg, who remarked in his definitive work on the genre that

pastoral literature must not be confounded with that which has for its subject the lives, the ideas, and the emotions of simple and unsophisticated mankind far from the centres of our complex civilization.... the pastoral tradition lies in its essence as far from the human document of humble life as from a scientific treatise on agriculture or a volume of pastoral theology.

(See Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama (New York: Russell and Russell, 1959), p. 3).

Pope's fantastic superlatives....never approximate to the exaggeration of fervid passion, but both grief and love are without the semblance of genuine feeling, and only excited the derision of those who looked for meaning beneath the glitter of words. ²⁴

Prior to the publication of the Pastorals in the Twickenham edition, probably the single most important event thus far in the history of the criticism of these poems, ²⁵ only one study stands out as contributing something new and significant to the understanding of them -- an as yet unpublished study by Patricia L. Bruckmann entitled "Fancy's Maze: a Study of the Early Poetry of Alexander Pope". ²⁶ Professor Bruckmann endeavoured to prove that Pope's pre-occupation with form in his early poems should be regarded as "the basis for, and the greatest single achievement of, Pope's humanism". ²⁷ To this end, she examined in some detail a number of Pope's early compositions including the Pastorals and the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry. Unlike Elwin, who measured Pope's achievement against

²⁴Op. cit., p. 244.

²⁵For a discussion of the significance of this edition, see below pp. 12-13.

²⁶Unpublished dissertation, University of Toronto, 1961.

²⁷Ibid., p. 1.

Wordsworth's criteria for nature poetry, Professor Bruckmann attempted to evaluate it in terms of his own theory of the pastoral genre as outlined in the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, a theory based largely upon the writings of Rene Rapin and his English disciples Knightley Chetwood and William Walsh, the young poet's friend and mentor.²⁸

Indirectly, Professor Bruckmann provided a most effective rebuttal to Elwin's charge that Pope ignores nature in his pastorals, pointing out that

To follow nature in Rapin's sense was not equivalent to being naturalistic. The ancient position [that is, in the Ancient and Modern controversy with respect to the pastoral genre] was, as all of Pope's argument suggests, rooted rather in an effort to achieve a precise form and to put proper words in proper pastoral places.²⁹

She argued that in the Discourse Pope's argument "centres upon form and design and especially upon formal and designed language" and concluded that in the Pastorals themselves, "Pope translates the critical principles of the Discourse into poetic action".³⁰ To support this contention, she provided a brief examination of the intricate rhetorical

²⁸Ibid., pp. 16-41. To date the most comprehensive study of Pope's pastoral theory is J. E. Congleton's Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England 1684-1798, pp. 79-84.

²⁹Op. cit., p. 32.

³⁰See ibid., pp. 40 and 1 respectively.

patterns in each of the four poems.³¹ At the same time, she also attempted to account for the numerous alterations Pope made in these poems (unfortunately she would appear to have had access to these only through the incomplete and occasionally misleading list of them in Elwin's edition),³² primarily in terms of Pope's preoccupation with appropriate form.³³ Moreover, unlike virtually all of her predecessors, Professor Bruckmann even suggested that in the Pastorals Pope is concerned not only with sound but with sense as well, arguing that

In each poem, he views in various lights,
his theme of harmony (or discord). His
characters are metamorphosed from creative
spring to desolate winter; his sequence
concludes with a final metamorphosis to
a world whose spiritual harmonies replace

³¹See ibid., pp. 47-59. According to Professor Bruckmann, the rhetorical devices of antithesis, anaphora and an incremental refrain predominate in "Summer", "Autumn" and "Winter" respectively.

³²Elwin was selective, choosing to exclude those variants he judged to be "utterly insignificant", though never adequately defining this category (see op. cit., p. xix). In addition, he incorrectly located the original position of a number of manuscript readings and failed to note where stanzas had been added or reordered.

³³See ibid., pp. 59-64. Though she suggested some changes were made for thematic reasons, she emphasized those made for reasons of pastoral decorum and to improve the relationship between sound and sense. These changes were listed under appropriate categories, but the significance of individual changes was not analyzed.

and control the cyclical patterns of
the world below.³⁴

It is unfortunate that this study, which anticipated much that would be said about the Pastorals in the following decade, has never been published.

With the exception of Professor Bruckmann, the first to disturb the predominating pattern of Pastorals criticism -- to search for meaning "beneath the glitter of words" -- were the editors of the volume of the Twickenham edition that included these poems, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, Emile Audra and Aubrey Williams. In their critical introduction which preceded the poems themselves,³⁵ Professors Audra and Williams went beyond their predecessors in trying to explain what Pope is attempting to accomplish in his pastoral cycle. Not content merely to praise the beauty of the versification, they attempted to relate this aspect of the poems to Pope's own theory of the pastoral genre,³⁶ as outlined in his Discourse on Pastoral Poetry which accompanies

³⁴Ibid., p. 1. It is interesting to note that Professor Bruckmann's brief reference to the theme of harmony in the Pastorals anticipated a more detailed discussion of it by Martin C. Battestin (see below pp.15-17).

³⁵See op. cit., pp.37-55; this introduction included a discussion of the date of composition (pp. 37-42), a survey of the literary background and a study of Pope's major sources (pp. 42-47) and a discussion of what Pope was trying to accomplish along with a brief examination of some of his revisions (pp. 48-55).

³⁶See ibid., pp. 48-53. The critical introduction to the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry (pp. 13-20) provides a fuller account of Pope's theory and its origins.

the poems in all editions of the poet's Works from 1717 onward. At the same time, they studied, albeit briefly, the considerable process of revision that the Pastorals underwent prior to their first publication in 1709, thereby demonstrating that much of their beauty, far from being a mere "trick of metrical harmony", was the result of considerable labour over a period of up to six years.³⁷ Not unduly disturbed by the supposed lack of originality in the Pastorals, they pointed out occasions where Pope uses his classical sources creatively not merely to embellish his art but also, through significant allusion, to provide a revealing commentary upon his own meaning.³⁸ Finally they drew attention to a central theme informing the cycle as a whole -- that of time and mutability³⁹ -- and suggested that

Slight though one may find the Pastorals
to be in some respects, they are yet the
proper starting point for a study of Pope's
later development.⁴⁰

The appearance of the Twickenham edition of the Pastorals in 1961 heralded a new era in the criticism of the poems. Within a

³⁷ See ibid., pp. 37-42 and 49-53. In the latter passage the significance of eight alterations is discussed.

³⁸ See ibid., pp. 42-47.

³⁹ See ibid., pp. 52-54.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 54.

decade three studies of them appeared which concentrated on their meaning rather than their technical merit. The first of these, an article by Georgio Melchiori entitled "Pope in Arcady: the Theme of Et in Arcadia ego in His Pastorals",⁴¹ would seem to have developed directly from the ground work established by Audra and Williams in their critical introduction. Building upon their discussion of the centrality of the theme of time and mutability in the Pastorals, Professor Melchiori argued that Pope's final vision in the cycle is the inevitability of death since it is the predominant theme of "Winter", the last of the four Pastorals.⁴² Because "Time conquers All, and we must Time obey",⁴³ man cannot escape his ultimate fate even in the pastoral world depicted in these poems. Professor Melchiori further posited that

...the closest model of Pope's Pastorals is not Virgil, or Theocritus, or Spenser, but rather the art of Poussin; especially that painting of which there exist several versions, representing a group of classical shepherds in a stylized twilight landscape, near a tomb with the inscription Et in Arcadia

⁴¹This article, which first appeared in English Miscellany: A Symposium on History, Literature, and the Arts, XIV (1963), 83-93, was reprinted in Essential Articles for the Study of Alexander Pope, revised edition, ed. Maynard Mack (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1968), pp. 149-58.

⁴²See ibid., pp. 151-52.

⁴³"Winter", line 88.

ego: "Even in Arcady, I [Death] hold
sway".⁴⁴

Though he was unable to offer any evidence to connect Pope directly with this particular painting at the time he was first composing "Winter",⁴⁵ Professor Melchiori nevertheless provided a serviceable analogue to explain the thematic significance of the poem in the overall design of the Pastorals. Like the tomb in Poussin's pastoral scene, "Winter" functions as a momento mori for the reader, reminding him that death reigns supreme even in the pastoral world Pope has created.

The second study, an article by Martin C. Battestin entitled "The Transforming Power: Nature and Art in Pope's Pastorals",⁴⁶ was broader in scope than the first, dealing as it did with all four Pastorals. As Professor Melchiori had done before him, Professor Battestin centered his discussion on the significance of the theme of time in the poems, revealing his debt to the Twickenham editors.

⁴⁴Op. cit., p. 152.

⁴⁵Professor Melchiori suggested Pope "may well have seen the earlier version of Poussin's 'Shepherds of Arcady', painted about 1630 and now at Chatsworth" yet produced no biographical evidence to support this conjecture (see ibid., p. 153).

⁴⁶This article, which first appeared in Eighteenth Century Studies, II (1969), 183-204, was reprinted without alteration under the title "Pope: Art and Time in the Pastorals" in Professor Battestin's full length study, The Providence of Wit: Aspects of Form in Augustan Literature and the Arts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 58-78.

Like Professors Audra and Williams he argued that any study of the meaning and significance of the Pastorals themselves must take into account Pope's own theory of the genre, suggesting that particular attention should be paid to Pope's insistence that a pastoral poem ought to be an image of the Golden Age.⁴⁷ However, unlike his predecessors, Professor Battestin interpreted the Pastorals as a species of Christian allegory in which the idea of the Golden Age is inextricably connected with man's fall from grace in the Garden of Eden:

In the movement of the year from spring to winter is implicit not only the idea of mortality, the troubled descent of man from youth to the grave, but also the mythic pattern of history, tracing mankind's sad decline from the Golden to the Iron Age, from Eden to the present moment.⁴⁸

Moreover, locating Pope firmly within the Christian humanist tradition that largely informed the art of the previous two centuries, Professor Battestin contended that Pope saw his art as an attempt to create an image of that ideal nature that God the Creator originally established. Indeed, according to Professor Battestin, Pope views his role as a

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 60-61. Professors Audra and Williams had also stressed the importance of this concept in Pope's theory (see op. cit., pp. 48-50).

⁴⁸Op. cit., p. 62.

pastoral poet as analogous to that of the God of Creation. Since the ideal of harmony and order has been lost forever from the world because of man's fall from grace, only the poet through the medium of his art can restore an image of that lost ideal.⁴⁹ Hence, he argued, the remarkable beauty of the language and the versification in the Pastorals serves a larger thematic function, to convey to the reader in the very style of the poems as well as their content the harmony and order of the Golden Age.

Professor Battestin's study, the most comprehensive treatment of the Pastorals to date, effectively destroys once and for all the interpretation that in these poems "sound very nearly holds the place of sense". His argument is cogent and generally well substantiated.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ See ibid., pp. 58-60. Battestin argued that

To Pope, as to countless philosophers and divines of the Christian humanist tradition, the poet of the creation, of history, is the Deity himself, the Word who brought Order out of Chaos....Of this creative function of the Logos, the imitator and surrogate in the fallen, sublunary realm of flux and decay is -- or should be -- the poet himself, whose words and numbers have the transforming power to restore to us a measure at least of grace and harmony, the power, as it were, to remind us of the identity of Art and Nature that once obtained in Eden, in the Golden Age. (Ibid., p. 60)

⁵⁰ This is particularly true of the study in 1974 where the chapter that preceded it (pp. 1-57) laid the necessary groundwork for Professor Battestin's contention that Pope is a part of the Christian humanist tradition that preceded him.

His reading of the poems, though brief, is perceptive. If there is a flaw in the study, it would seem to center around Professor Battestin's insistence that Pope intends his readers to perceive immediately that the Pastorals are a species of Christian allegory. In doing so, he ignored the fact that Pope, in the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, pointedly attacks this particular use of the pastoral genre by Spenser, contending that the latter in his Shepherd's Calendar "is sometimes too allegorical, and treats of matters of religion in a pastoral style as Mantuan had done before him".⁵¹ As a result, Professor Battestin failed to note the care and circumspection Pope employs in conveying his meaning in the Pastorals, which though ultimately informed by the Christian conception of time is nonetheless never expressed through overt allegory.

In addition, Professor Battestin would appear to have misinterpreted the relationship between these poems and Pope's Messiah, the sacred eclogue modelled on Virgil's Eclogue IV and the prophesies of the Book of Isaiah, which in 1717 and all subsequent editions of the poet's Works is placed immediately following them. He contended that

⁵¹See The Discourse on Pastoral Poetry in Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 31 (subsequent citations of the Discourse refer to this text). This particular criticism of Spenser does not appear in the manuscript version of this prose treatise, "An Essay on Pastoral" (see below, p. 414, n. 63.)

the Messiah by virtue of its position and its subject matter -- it describes the Golden Age which will be restored at the end of time -- must be regarded as an integral part of the poet's design:

Taken together, Pope's poems on the seasons and his "Messiah" comprise a unified, carefully developed paradigm of the relationship between Art and Nature in the context of Christian time.⁵²

Yet the Messiah was not only composed at a different time than the Pastorals but with a significantly different end in view, being an imitation of a specific classical eclogue rather than an original composition involving the use of numerous traditional sources, both classical and modern.⁵³ Consequently, its appearance with the Pastorals should be regarded as an analogous one to that of the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, also added in 1717. A significant composition in its own right, it nevertheless serves to clarify the meaning of the poems that precede it, emphasizing the significance of the Pastorals' underlying allegory as the Discourse explains their form and structure.⁵⁴

⁵²Op. cit., p. 61.

⁵³See, for example, Professor Audra and Williams, op. cit., pp. 100-01. For a fuller account of the differences between them, see below, pp. 331-32, n. 2.

⁵⁴See below Chapter VIII.

The last study, an article by David S. Durant entitled "Man and Nature in Alexander Pope's Pastorals"⁵⁵ offered another reading of the poems, albeit a highly idiosyncratic one. For Professor Durant set out to prove that Pope "shaped his Pastorals to explain his future, non-pastoral career", arguing that in the poems Pope "evolves a theory of the relationship between nature and art which helps to explain his subsequent abandonment of that genre".⁵⁶ He contended that though the Pastorals begin in "Spring" with the assumption that "art simply reflects natural beauty" the following three poems "gradually reverse this process".⁵⁷ To prove this contention, Professor Durant demonstrated that the poet-shepherds of "Summer", "Autumn" and "Winter" employ nature in an increasingly sophisticated manner to examine their own predicament, ultimately reducing it to a "poetic device to depict man".⁵⁸ He then reasoned that for Pope "the next logical step is to omit nature as a device, replacing the study of man through nature with the study of man through man".⁵⁹ The gist of his argument then is that Pope writes

⁵⁵The article appeared in Studies in English Literature, XI (1971), 469-85.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 469.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

his Pastorals to demonstrate that the pastoral genre is ultimately inadequate to serve the poet in his primary concern of studying mankind, concluding that

Before we presume to castigate him for writing poems whose substance is only a world of flowers and trees, we must at least investigate Pope's attitude towards his subject matter. Before we dismiss the Pastorals for their lack of substance, we must inquire whether that was not Pope's point. ⁶⁰

Professor Durant's reading of the Pastorals was often perceptive. His discovery, for instance, that each of the last three poems has a different poetic device which is predominant,⁶¹ implying as it does that as the cycle progresses the poet-shepherds become increasingly sophisticated in their use of nature to explain their condition,⁶² is an extremely valuable one. For, as he argued, Pope thus demonstrates to his readers that, as man's problems become more difficult to handle and as his predicament becomes increasingly desperate, the poet must refine his art to deal adequately with the situation that confronts him. Professor Durant also pointed out that the relationship between art and nature is as central to the meaning of the poems as the theme

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 485.

⁶¹These devices are personification in "Summer", metaphor in "Autumn" and the imperative mode in "Winter".

⁶²See ibid., pp. 469, 474-83.

of time and mutability. However, a biographical interpretation of any work of literature runs the risk of confusing the characters the author creates with the author himself, of assuming that the opinions expressed by the former are identical with those held by the latter. Professor Durant's argument suffers from this flaw. In his reading of "Summer" and "Autumn", for example, he incorrectly concluded that the growing distrust of nature and the increasing sense that their art is inadequate to serve their own needs voiced by the characters in these poems reflects Pope's own questioning of the efficacy of the pastoral genre as a vehicle for his examination of man's condition in the real world.⁶³ Failing to distinguish adequately between the poet-shepherds and their creator, he missed the predominantly ironic tone of these two poems.⁶⁴ Consequently, he did not perceive that, far from proving the inadequacy of the pastoral genre, the Pastorals, taken as a whole, demonstrate that in the hands of an artist of sufficient skill and self-knowledge pastoral poetry can be employed to capture an image, however fleeting, of that Golden Age harmony which all art, not merely the pastoral, must strive ultimately to recreate.

⁶³See ibid., pp. 475-83.

⁶⁴See below Chapters V and VI.

One further study ought to be mentioned at this point, Ronald Paulson's "Satire, Poetry, and Pope",⁶⁵ which though not treating the Pastorals in any great detail nevertheless offered an interesting interpretation of their significance in the overall canon of the poet's works. One of the main purposes of Professor Paulson's study was to demonstrate that the origins of Pope's satiric muse were located

not so much in the models of Horace and Dryden as in his own early non-satiric poetry written during those years he was making his Virgilian ascent from pastoral, georgic, and heroic epistle to epic, before settling in the 1730's in the foothills of the Horatian sermo and epistola.⁶⁶

Consequently, he examined various early works including the Pastorals in this light. Building upon Professor Battestin's contention that Pope limits his depiction of the Golden Age per se to "Spring" and in the last three pastorals describes a progressive decline from that ideal or "unfallen" state, he argued that the latter poems "offer indications of representative satiric modes",⁶⁷ that is, that they contain the seeds of concepts and devices which Pope subsequently develops more fully in his mature satires. He suggested, for instance, that the concept of an absent or even irrevocably lost ideal and that

⁶⁵ See English Satire: Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar, January 15, 1972 (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1972), pp. 55-106.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 59.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

of the power of the verse itself to cure or at least console mankind, which are present in both "Summer" and "Winter", also play an important role in the later satires.⁶⁸ Interestingly enough, he considered "Autumn", despite its overtly satiric nature, to be less representative of Pope's characteristic approach to satire than "Summer". For, unlike Swift, whose prose satires often involve total ironic inversion, Pope always maintains an authorial "voice" in his poetic satires which guides and directs the reader:

In his poetic satires we are always aware
of the "voice" and presence of the poet.
It may be a poet of many impersonations,
or accompanied by other voices or felt presences,
but his voice remains normative, encompassing
the dramatic scene.⁶⁹

According to Professor Paulson, in "Summer" Pope directs the reader through the speaker Alexis, who, bearing Pope's name, serves as the poet's explicator and apologist. In "Autumn", on the contrary, Pope rigorously excludes authorial comment, forcing the reader to perceive the satire entirely on his own.⁷⁰ The problem with such an interpretation

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 60-61.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 60.

⁷⁰Ibid.

is that it does not sufficiently take into account Pope's subtle satiric technique in either poem. With regard to "Summer" Professor Paulson would appear to have fallen into the same trap as Professor Durant, that of assuming in spite of the underlying tone of self-satire that the poet and the character he creates to depict his own adolescence are identical. In the case of "Autumn", on the other hand, while avoiding this trap of equating creator and character, he has nonetheless failed to detect the considerable amount of authorial direction that Pope affords his reader.⁷¹ Despite the two apparent flaws in Professor Paulson's analysis, his contribution to the criticism of the Pastorals was extremely important. By connecting the tone and content of them to the rest of Pope's poetic canon, he has underlined their significance as poems to be appreciated for their content as well as their style.

Professor Butt, the general editor of the Twickenham edition, has suggested that the most fruitful area for research on the poetry of Alexander Pope probably lies in a close examination of the poet's poetical manuscripts.⁷² However, as yet very little has been done in this field, primarily, it would seem, because of the relative

⁷¹See below Chapter VI.

⁷²See "Pope's Poetical Manuscripts", Warton Lectures on English Poetry for 1954, published in Proceedings of the British Academy, XL (1954), 23-39. This article was reprinted in pamphlet form as Pope's Poetical Manuscripts (Folcroft Library Editions, 1972), pp. 1-19 and four plates.

inaccessibility of manuscript material. The Twickenham editors have generally excluded manuscripts from their edition of Pope's poetry on principle.⁷³ To date the manuscripts of only four poems have been published, those of An Essay on Criticism, Windsor-Forest, An Essay on Man and the Epistle to Bathurst, edited by R. M. Schmitz, Maynard Mack the late E. R. Wasserman.⁷⁴ In addition, Professors Audra and Williams have printed a transcript of a four-page paper of possible emendations to the Pastorals which Pope submitted to his friend and mentor, William Walsh, as an appendix to their edition

⁷³ John Butt pointed out in his general preface to the edition that "adequate treatment of all but a few of the surviving autograph manuscripts has been precluded on the grounds of space" (see Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. vii.)

⁷⁴ See R. M. Schmitz, Pope's Essay on Criticism: a Study of the Bodleian MS text with facsimiles, transcripts and variants (St. Louis: University of Washington Press, 1962); and Pope's Windsor-Forest 1712: a Study of the Washington University Holograph, Washington University Studies, N.S. Language and Literature No.21 (St. Louis, 1952); Maynard Mack, Alexander Pope's An Essay on Man: a Reproduction of the Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library, with the Printed Text of the Original Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); and E. R. Wasserman, Pope's Epistle to Bathurst: a Critical Reading with an Edition of the Manuscripts (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960).

of the poems.⁷⁵ They have discerned the considerable significance of this holograph, not only reproducing it but also employing it as a useful tool to explicate the author's meaning and to demonstrate his meticulous art of revision.⁷⁶ However, they failed to reproduce an equally important document for the study of the Pastorals, the earliest extant holograph of all four poems and the accompanying prose treatise, first composed up to six years prior to the first appearance of the poems in print. This manuscript, currently owned by Mr. Arthur A. Houghton Jr. (hereafter referred to as the Houghton holograph),⁷⁷ has in fact never been published though some of its variants have been recorded, with varying degrees of accuracy, by Pope himself and subsequent editors including Rev. William Warburton, Gilbert Wakefield and Rev. Whitwell Elwin.⁷⁸ This present study will rectify that situation, producing a xerox copy of the

⁷⁵See op. cit., Appendix A, pp. 477-82; all subsequent citations of this manuscript, often abbreviated as the "Alterations...." manuscript, are from this source. For a discussion of the significance of this manuscript in the evolution of the Pastorals, see below pp. 59-67.

⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 51-53.

⁷⁷The significance of this manuscript is discussed below pp. 38-58.

⁷⁸The use of this manuscript made by these editors is discussed below pp. 55-56, 89-94 and above p. 11, n. 32.

manuscript and a transcript of it, along with a list of variants not only between the holograph and the earliest printed text but also all subsequent textual alterations up to and including the last authorized version of the Pastorals, published in the first posthumous edition of Pope's Works edited by Warburton.⁷⁹

The following study attempts to describe the evolution of Alexander Pope's Pastorals from their embryonic state in the Houghton holograph to their final resting place in Warburton's first edition of Pope's Works. During this period, these four short poems and the brief critical treatise that accompanied them underwent hundreds of substantive alterations, ranging from the minutiae of prepositions and articles to entire stanzas and verse paragraphs. A careful examination of the earliest extant version, in conjunction with a close study of the many changes and additions Pope made during his lifetime, provides a considerable amount of information concerning precisely what Pope endeavours to accomplish in creating this cycle of poems. Time and again the results of such investigation reveals a poet striving to make his poems not only more artful but ultimately more meaningful and more readily comprehensible. Moreover, the process of revision and addition does not end in 1709 but continues throughout the poet's

⁷⁹The various stages of the evolution of the Pastorals are outlined in Chapter II.

life, almost to the moment of his death.⁸⁰

As this study will show, a comparison of the final version of a passage with earlier versions often makes the poet's intentions clearer. Pope himself would seem to have realized this. In 1736 he includes a number of variant readings from manuscripts and earlier printed texts in the notes he appends to the Pastorals. Many of these discarded readings tend to shed light upon those that eventually replaced them. Likewise, Pope's recording of the sources of some, though by no means all, of the allusions made to other poems must be viewed in a similar light, as a functional device designed to guide and direct the reader. Almost without exception these allusions and the contexts from which they are drawn serve to illuminate the poet's meaning. Though a vast number of these allusions have been identified -- by Pope, Wakefield, Elwin and the Twickenham editors⁸¹--

⁸⁰ Though in his Epistle to Arbuthnot Pope portrays his early poetry in rather disparaging terms, observing that

...not in Fancy's Maze he wandered long,
But stoop'd to Truth, and moraliz'd his song

(see An Epistle from Mr. Pope, to Dr. Arbuthnot in Imitations of Horace with An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot and The Epilogue to the Satires, ed. John Butt (second edition; London: Methuen, 1953), p. 120, lines 340-41), his care with the 1736 notes would seem to belie this indifference with respect to the Pastorals, as would the subsequent alterations that appear in the posthumous edition of William Warburton.

⁸¹ The Twickenham editors have listed all pertinent allusions so far uncovered, except those pertaining to discarded manuscript readings. These have generally been recorded by Elwin.

their function and significance in relation to Pope's overall design have never been adequately explained. Dr. Johnson, it may be recalled,⁸² suggested that in them Pope "means rather to show his literature than his wit". However, this study will endeavour to prove that in the Pastorals Pope frequently shows his wit to best advantage in his creative use of traditional sources, both classical and modern.

The following study leads ultimately to a new reading of the Pastorals. Focusing on the numerous alterations and additions Pope made to them between 1704 and 1751, it attempts to explain precisely how and why these poems evolved as they did. Professor Williams has employed a similar method in his examination of the Dunciad,⁸³ as has Bruno Peutzer Jr., in his brief article on the Rape of the Lock.⁸⁴ They, however, have only dealt with printed texts, whereas this present study places considerable weight upon the value of manuscript texts as well. To date the manuscripts have been largely ignored in studies devoted to the explication of Pope's works. Professor Wasserman, for example, made no reference whatsoever to the manuscripts of the

⁸²See above p. 4.

⁸³See Aubrey Williams, Pope's Dunciad: a Study of its Meaning (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955).

⁸⁴See "The Rape's Progress 1711-36: a Study of Pope's Revisions", Thoth, XI (1970), 3-15.

Epistle to Bathurst in his critical reading of the poem, even though he meticulously reproduced all of them in his edition.⁸⁵ In contrast, Professor George Sherburn made more extensive use of the Essay on Man manuscripts in an article entitled "Pope at Work", revealing that in composing this poem Pope often first jotted down his thoughts in prose, converting them to poetry at a later date.⁸⁶ In the most significant application of manuscript materials to date Professor Schmitz compared the Bodleian manuscript of An Essay on Criticism with succeeding printed versions of the poem. Concentrating particularly upon those passages excised from the printed text, he endeavoured to account for their disappearance, concluding that Pope's "poetical surgery" resulted in "better articulation" and "greater precision, neatness and harmony".⁸⁷ In his study of the Washington University holograph of Windsor-Forest he followed a similar procedure. Here he dealt specifically with the problem of that poem's supposed lack of unity, citing the many changes made between the manuscript and printed versions to disprove the theory that the latter was no more than a patch-work of incompatible elements -- a loco-descriptive poem with a panegyric on the Peace of Utrecht tacked

⁸⁵The critical reading is completely separate from the edition of the manuscripts.

⁸⁶See Essays on the Eighteenth Century Presented to David Nichol Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945), pp. 44-64. Maynard Mack has also discussed this matter in his introduction, op. cit., pp. xxiv-xxxvii.

⁸⁷See Pope's Essay on Criticism 1709, pp. 9-13.

on.⁸⁸ With the exception of Schmitz's work these studies made little or no use of the manuscripts in explicating the printed text, perhaps because in each case the manuscripts belonged to what Professor Butt termed "the partially formed, pre-natal history of the poems... provisional only, liable to rejection, and frequently in fact rejected".⁸⁹

Such, however, is not the case with the Pastorals. As this study will demonstrate, these poems as they appear in the Houghton holograph cannot be regarded as "provisional only". On the contrary, they are already highly polished, designed for the perusal and criticism of a small yet discerning audience.⁹⁰ Consequently, this manuscript represents, in a very real sense, the first limited edition of these poems, one in which the poet's design is already clearly discernable. Therefore, its place in the history of the Pastorals is an extremely important one, roughly analogous to the earliest printed version of the Rape of the Lock or the Dunciad. Pope's procedure in all three is similar. Having initially created a relatively finished work of art, he subsequently revises and reshapes it, adding much that is new as well as

⁸⁸ See Pope's Windsor-Forest 1712, pp. 5-14, 50-68. The late E. R. Wasserman has also demonstrated this poem's unity of design through a close reading of it without recourse to manuscript evidence (see The Subtler Language: Critical Readings of Neoclassic and Romantic Poems (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), pp. 89-168.

⁸⁹ See his preface to the Twickenham Edition in Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. vii.

⁹⁰ See below pp. 40-43, 57-58.

refining what is already there. As the machinery and Scriblerian notes add new dimensions to the Rape of the Lock and the Dunciad respectively, so the dedicatory stanzas inserted in 1709, the 1717 version of the prose treatise and the 1736 apparatus of notes add to the Pastorals. To study these poems without reference to the significance of these and the many other changes, as Professors Battestin, Durant and Paulson have done,⁹¹ is to miss much that is extremely important in them. Only through a reconstruction of their evolution can the Pastorals be fully understood and appreciated.

To conclude, the following study examines the poetic cycle Pope has created in his Pastorals and traces the evolution of that poetic cycle, the deletions, additions and alterations that occurred over a period of some forty years -- roughly the span of the poet's creative life. Studying these two movements, distinct yet never entirely separable, inevitably leads to the question -- which version of the Pastorals, if any, should be considered definitive? If one wishes to read the cycle does one turn to the earliest manuscript version, the first published version, the last authorized posthumous edition's version, or a version from one of the authorized editions that intervened? Should the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry added in 1717 and the editorial notes

⁹¹"Professor Bruckmann and the Twickenham editors, while examining some of the manuscript material available, make only extremely limited use of it.

added in 1736 be considered an integral part of the text, as has been the case in every edition of the poems since 1736? Since Pope's handling of his Pastorals was by no means unique -- he constantly revised and added to his poetic creations -- such questions must be asked of much of the poet's canon and are consequently of the utmost critical importance for students of Pope. Regarding the Pastorals specifically this study endeavours, at least partially, to answer them, by demonstrating that at each stage in their development Pope's revisions -- his additions, deletions, and alterations -- contribute further to the reader's overall understanding and appreciation of these poems. Even the 1736 notes, on the surface so obviously unpoetic, nevertheless serve to illuminate the poetic text. In approaching the poetry of Pope one must put aside the notion of poetry as being exclusively the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings".⁹² Pope, it would appear, rarely if ever composed poetry in this manner; he certainly did not do so in his Pastorals.⁹³ Instead, it would seem,

⁹²William Wordsworth, "Preface to the Lyrical Ballads" in op. cit., p. 19.

⁹³J. R. Sutherland has commented upon this essential difference in approach to the creative process exhibited by Pope and Wordsworth in his Warton Lecture on English Poetry entitled "Wordsworth and Pope" (read 9 February 1944; the lecture is reproduced in the Proceedings of the British Academy, xxx (1944), pp. 1-18), drawing attention to Pope's apparent inability to create spontaneous verse of the kind Wordsworth most appreciated.

the process of creation was a slow and painstakingly careful task. Never quite satisfied with what he had composed he constantly strove to improve it, forever pursuing the elusive goal of perfection. Thus, unless we would impose a Romantic criterion of poetry upon the work of a most emphatically non-Romantic poet, we must accept the latest version of his poems in general and of his Pastorals in particular as the one most closely approximating the status of being definitive.

CHAPTER II

THE STAGES OF EVOLUTION

Between 1704 and 1751 the four Pastorals and accompanying prose treatise passed through a number of significant stages of development. Roughly speaking, there are seven separate and distinct stages:

- (1) The original conception (around 1704);
- (2) first version of the Houghton holograph (around 1705-06);
- (3) revisions surviving in manuscript, including Houghton and "Alterations...." holographs and "Variations" listed in notes in 1736 edition (around 1707-08);
- (4) first appearance of poems in Tonson's Miscellanies (1709);
- (5) first appearance of Discourse with poems in print in Pope's Works (1717);
- (6) addition of notes in Pope's Works (1736);
- (7) final appearance of poems and Discourse in an edition authorized by Pope, the posthumous Works edited by William Warburton (1751).

In the following chapter each of these stages, excepting the first of which no evidence whatsoever remains, are examined in some detail and their respective contributions to the overall genesis assessed. Five of them represent what might be termed unique "editions" of the Pastorals, that is, versions which the poet felt worthy of an audience's perusal:

- (2) the Houghton holograph, containing all four poems and an accompanying prose treatise entitled "An Essay on Pastoral"; submitted to a limited audience;
- (4) 1709 -- the four poems without the prose treatise; over 130 changes including the addition of dedicatory stanzas to the first three poems and the reordering of stanzas in all four; submitted to the general reading public;
- (5) 1717 -- minor changes to the poems and the reinstitution of the prose treatise in a completely revised form (over 50 changes), now entitled Discourse on Pastoral Poetry;
- (6) 1736 -- major revision to "Autumn"; minor revisions to the other three poems and Discourse; the addition of an apparatus of explanatory notes composed by the author or under his direction;
- (7) 1751 -- minor revisions to the poems and Discourse; the addition of further notes by the poet's literary executor, William Warburton.

1. The Houghton Holograph

The earliest extant version of the Pastorals of Alexander Pope is a holograph of all four poems and an early version of his Discourse on Pastoral Poetry entitled an Essay on Pastoral. In its present state the holograph consists of a russia-bound quarto volume of 32 leaves. It was first bound in September 1812 by its sixth owner, John Disney.¹ The first six and last six leaves, not a part of the original manuscript, were apparently added at this time, probably as binder's end papers. These leaves bear the watermark of J. Whatman, a late eighteenth century English manufacturer of paper.² The holograph per se consists of leaves seven to eleven and thirteen to twenty-six (the twelfth leaf, which is blank, has no watermark but seems also to be a binder's end paper). At least one page of the original holograph is missing, and has been so for at least 180 years,³ that which contained the conclusion of the Essay (the original twelfth leaf). These nineteen leaves

¹For a discussion of the provenance of this manuscript, see below pp. 54-57.

²See Edward Heawood, Watermarks, Hilversum, Holl.: Paper Publication Society, 1940, I, 277; and W. A. Churchill, Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc. in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries and Their Interconnections (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1935), p. 40.

³Gilbert Wakefield first noted the missing leaf (see below p. 55).

bear the watermark of Elliston and Basket, who manufactured or at least sold paper in England as early as the last decade of the seventeenth century.⁴ The cut dimensions of the quarto volume, approximately 4 3/4 inches by 7 3/4 inches, suggest that a foolscap-sized paper was used.⁵ The contents of the manuscript are as follows:

leaves 1 to 6 -- various notes made by John Disney,

sixth owner of the MS. (binder's end papers);

leaf 7 -- recto -- title "First Copy / of the / Pastoralls."

verso -- note in Pope's hand (original MS.);

leaves 8 to 11 -- Essay on Pastoral (incomplete, original MS.);

leaf 12 -- blank (binder's end paper);

leaves 13 to 16 recto -- "Spring" (original MS.);

leaves 16 verso to 19 verso -- "Summer" (original MS.);

leaves 20 to 22 verso -- "Autumn" (original MS.);

leaves 23 to 26 recto -- "Winter"; 26 verso -- blank

(original MS.);

leaves 27 to 32 -- blank (binder's end papers).

Initially the most striking feature of the holograph is the beauty and remarkable regularity of the young poet's hand. As R. M.

⁴See Heawood, op. cit., I, 27 and fig. 455; and Churchill, op. cit., p. 41. Churchill refers to manuscripts with this watermark which date as early as 1693 and 1697.

⁵See R. B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 105.

Schmitz has observed, Pope "penned the Pastorals manuscript as if he had learned the art of lettering in the best scriptorium. That manuscript might well have passed for a printed book..."⁶ Jonathan Richardson the Younger, a friend of the poet and the first owner of the holograph after Pope himself, was so taken with the manuscript's calligraphy that he described it at some length in a note in his 1717 quarto volume of Pope's Works:

The manuscript title of the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, viz., An Essay on Pastoral, and the title of the Pastorals, are written by Mr. Pope in printing capitals so perfectly beautiful, and so exactly imitated, that one can hardly believe they are not really from the press; the same of all the words which would have been printed in italics throughout the whole, which are in common printing character, the general being in italics, beautifully formed, so as in all to imitate a printed book, but in a fine taste of type, and form of the page and margin.⁷

John Butt has conjectured, I think correctly, that the manuscript was thus executed "partly with an eye to the appearance of the poem in print".⁸

Moreover, this meticulously-penned manuscript would seem to have had another equally important purpose, as the following excerpt

⁶Pope's Windsor-Forest 1712: A Study of the Washington University Holograph, Washington University Studies, N. S. Language and Literature, No. 21, (St. Louis, 1952), p. 7.

⁷Cited by Elwin op. cit., p. 239. This copy is presently owned by the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library.

⁸Op. cit., p. 8.

from a note, written on its fly-leaf by Pope in a later hand, indicates (the note is reproduced in its entirety in Appendix A):

This Copy is that wch past thro ye hands of Mr Walsh, Mr Congreve, Mr Mainwaring, Dr. Garth, Mr Granville, Mr Southern, Sr H. Sheers, Sr W. Trumbull, Ld. Halifax, Ld Wharton, Marq. of Dorchestr., D. of Bucks. &c.⁹

Thus, it apparently served the aspiring young poet as a kind of literary letter of introduction to some of the most important and talented men of the day. More significantly, for the purposes of the present study, it would seem to have been written with such a select and highly sophisticated audience in view.¹⁰ Hence it may be assumed that Pope at that time must have considered the Pastorals to be in a relatively finished state, sufficiently polished to meet the critical eye of an extremely discerning, if limited public.

It would appear, moreover, that at least some of this elite audience did more than merely peruse the holograph. For Pope also noted, in the aforementioned fly-leaf memorandum, that "The Alterations from this Copy were upon ye Objections of some of these, or on my own".¹¹ William Walsh, for example, actively participated in

⁹When Pope printed a similar list in his 1709 edition of the poems he added Wycherley and Lord Somers and left out Congreve, Southern, Sheers, Wharton, Dorchester and Buckingham though adding the inclusive phrase "and others". For a discussion of this point see Dr. James M. Osborn's "Who read Pope's Pastorals" in his edition of Joseph Spence's Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), II, 616-18. (Subsequent citation of Spence's Anecdotes... will be from this edition).

¹⁰See John Butt, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

¹¹See Appendix A.

the revision of the poems, as a surviving manuscript of Pope's proposed alterations, with Walsh's opinions of their merits appended, reveals. Moreover, that manuscript (discussed in greater detail, later in this chapter) also indicates that others were lending a hand as well. For in discussing a possible amendment to line 8 of "Summer", Pope mentioned that "the word consented is doubted by some to whom I have shown these Verses".¹² Such minute criticism suggests a careful reading indeed! Hence, it would seem the holograph served a third important function, whether originally intended or not, that of a completely legible early draft which could be revised, quite thoroughly as it turned out, at least partly on the advice of those members of the select first audience who were prepared to offer their suggestions and criticisms. The large number of interlineations (many subsequently erased)¹³ would seem to indicate some of the process of revision took place on this manuscript itself. Thus, it represents not only a "fair copy" of the Pastorals at the date the manuscript was first written, but also a working draft upon which a

¹²See Audra and Williams, op. cit., p. 479. It might also be noted that in a reply to Pope's query concerning the possibility that he has borrowed too much from the Ancients Walsh suggests that some who have read the manuscript have indeed voiced this objection (see The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. George Sherburn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), I, 21. Subsequent citations of Pope's correspondence will be taken from this edition, hereafter referred to as Correspondence.)

¹³All erasures are recorded in the transcript of the manuscript (see below Chapter III).

number of revisions were recorded.

There is as yet considerable confusion concerning the precise date of the original composition of the holograph. Much of it stems from Pope's unfortunate practice (from a biographical and bibliographical, if not a moral point of view) of antedating and otherwise re-arranging his correspondence for publication, which has resulted in a general mistrust of any date for which we have only Pope's unsubstantiated authority. The holograph per se bears the date "anno 1704. -- AEtat. meae, 16" in the fly-leaf note with the accompanying explanation, "Only ye 3rd Eclog was written since some of these [the original audience amongst whom the MS. was circulated] saw ye other 3 wch were written as they here stand wth. ye Essay".¹⁴ This explanation is supported by the evidence of the manuscript itself that "Autumn" was indeed added at a later date. Pope apparently left insufficient room in the manuscript for what became his third eclogue and was forced to crowd its last page considerably.¹⁵ In addition, he employed "swash" capitals,¹⁶ "U", "M", and "N" in this eclogue's title page.¹⁷

¹⁴See Appendix A.

¹⁵Twenty lines of verse are crammed into one page. On no other does the count exceed eighteen. Moreover, while throughout the manuscript Pope leaves a line between verse paragraphs, here he leaves none, even though the page actually has four separate verse paragraphs which normally would have required three extra blank lines (see below Chapter III p. 139).

¹⁶"Swash", though properly a typographical designation (see McKerrow, op. cit., p. 295), seems appropriate here because of Pope's obvious attempt to duplicate type.

¹⁷See below Chapter III p. 129.

None of the other title pages have them, nor does the catch-word "AUT." at the end of "Summer".¹⁸ Moreover, the title of this eclogue, like that of "An Essay on Pastoral", is followed by a period (.), not a colon (:), as in the other three eclogues.¹⁹ A letter from Walsh to Pope dated 9 September 1706 provides further proof that "Autumn" was composed later than the other three eclogues. In it Walsh mentions that he hopes, by the time he arrives in London for the re-convening of Parliament, "you will have finisht your Pastorals as you would have them appear in the world, and particularly the third of Autumn which I have not yet seen".²⁰ Thus, Walsh would appear to be one of those who saw the "other 3" before "Autumn" was added.

There is no such conclusive evidence to support Pope's contention that he composed the holograph in 1704, at the tender age of sixteen. The fly-leaf note which bears the date "anno 1704" is not a part of the original text, but rather has been added by Pope at some later date as its less careful penmanship and the gist of its content -- that the note was made some time after the holograph

¹⁸ See below Chapter III pp. 101, 115, 141 and 127.

¹⁹ See below Chapter III pp. 129 and 155; 101, 115 and 141.

²⁰ Correspondence, I, 22.

had been circulated -- indicate. The evidence of the paper upon which the holograph was composed merely supports any date after 1693, the earliest recorded appearance of its distinctive watermark in England.²¹ Moreover, the holograph contains no obvious allusions to contemporary affairs from which it might be dated more precisely. Nor does the correspondence of Pope and his circle of acquaintance noticeably clarify the picture. For here Pope's questionable veracity as an editor of his own letters and of those written to and about him further complicates the issue. Faced with the ultimate cynicism of a reflection like that of the Rev. Whitwell Elwin's on the 1704 date -- "The poet would have departed from his usual practice if he had not falsified dates to exaggerate his precocity"²² -- one feels the need to move with care and circumspection.

Only one piece of correspondence, pertinent to the question of the date of the holograph, has survived in the original manuscript form, a letter dated 20 April 1706 from Jacob Tonson, the publisher, to Pope. Commencing "I have lately seen a pastoral of yours in mr. Walsh's & mr Congreves hands, which is extreamly ffine & is generally approv'd off by the best Judges in poetry", Tonson offered the services

²¹See above p. 39, n. 4.

²²See op. cit., I, 240.

of his establishment "if you design your Poem for the Press".²³ It seems entirely possible that Tonson had seen the Houghton holograph or at least a portion of it since both Walsh and Congreve were among those who received it, according to Pope's fly-leaf note.²⁴ Likewise, the vague phrase "generally approv'd off by the best Judges in poetry" may well indicate that Tonson had also spoken to others mentioned in that note. Norman Ault has argued that the word "pastoral" being singular indicates Tonson saw only one, either because as yet only one eclogue had actually been composed or because the other three "were so far from being finished that Pope could not even mention them to his friends".²⁵ However, as Emile Audra and Aubrey Williams have pointed out,²⁶ Tonson might be using "pastoral" as a collective noun, referring to several eclogues, or they might have existed on separate sheets, of which Tonson saw only one. A third admittedly

²³The letter, Homer MSS. Add. 4807, is reproduced in Correspondence, I, 17.

²⁴See Appendix A.

²⁵See his introduction to the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry in The Prose Works of Alexander Pope, (Second impression; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968), I, cxvi (this is a reprint of the Basil Blackwell edition of 1936).

²⁶See op. cit., p. 38 n. 1.

remoter possibility is that by the word "hands" Tonson might be referring to copies of one of the eclogues made by Congreve and Walsh, perhaps with the express intent of showing Tonson Pope's ability.

A letter from Walsh to Pope dated 9 September 1706 would seem to throw more light on the issue. In it Walsh reveals that he has still not seen "Autumn":

...I do not design to be in London till towards the Parliament: then I shall certainly be there; and hope by that time you will have finisht your Pastorals as you would have them appear in the world, and particularly the third of Autumn which I have not yet seen. ²⁷

Although we have only Pope's unsubstantiated authority for the date of this letter, there seems little reason to doubt it in this case. In admitting that after two years he was still revising his poems and had perhaps only recently completed "Autumn", Pope could hardly be accused of exaggerating his "precocity", or, for that matter, his spontaneity. Moreover, Walsh's reference to a later date of composition for "Autumn" is borne out by the witness of the holograph itself, as previously noted. Thus, if this letter can be accepted as authentic, regarding both its contents and date,²⁸ it appears

²⁷Correspondence, I, 22.

²⁸Neither Dilke nor Elwin question its authenticity.

safe to assume that at least three eclogues — "Spring", "Summer", and "Winter" -- existed in manuscript form, in a state sufficiently polished to be viewed by Walsh, if not as yet exactly as Pope "would have them appear in the world" (by which phrase Walsh probably meant ready for publication), some time prior to September, 1706.

A letter from George Granville, subsequently the Lord Lansdowne of Windsor-Forest fame, to an unidentified friend, lends further support to the theory that a manuscript of the Pastorals not only existed, but was in fact in circulation among Pope's friends at this time. In it Granville promised to introduce his friend to William Wycherley, the noted Restoration dramatist, and also

...a young Poet, newly inspir'd, in the Neighbourhood of Cooper's-Hill, whom he [Wycherley] and Walsh have taken under their Wing; his name is Pope; he is not above Seventeen or Eighteen Years of Age, and promises Miracles: If he goes on as he has begun, in the Pastoral way, as Virgil first try'd his Strength, we may hope to see English Poetry vie with the Roman, and this Swan of Windsor sing as sweetly as the Mantuan....²⁹

Though the letter itself bears no date, the reference to Pope's age indicates it was written in either 1705 or 1706. The effusive allusion to Pope's gift for pastoral poetry suggests that Granville

²⁹From Lansdowne's Works (1732), I, 436-37, as cited by George Sherburn, The Early Career of Alexander Pope (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 52.

must have seen at least one eclogue, perhaps more, in a reasonably finished state.

However, proving that the eclogues actually existed in manuscript form prior to Tonson's letter, or indeed that they were first composed in 1704, as Pope claimed, is another matter altogether. The only real evidence, aside from the fly-leaf note already mentioned, consists of several references to the Pastorals and accompanying prose treatise in letters edited and published by Pope with no surviving manuscripts to corroborate them. The earliest on record is a self-deprecatory allusion to "my green Essays", in a letter to Wycherley dated 25 March 1705, which, Pope explains, denotes "His Pastorals, written at 16 Years of Age".³⁰ Less than a month later, on 20 April 1705, William Walsh, apparently as yet unacquainted with the young poet, supposedly wrote Wycherley:

I return you the Papers you favour'd me with, and had sent them to you yesterday morning, but that I thought to have brought them to you last night myself. I have read them over several times with great satisfaction. The Preface is very judicious and very learned; and the Verses very tender and easy. The Author seems to have a particular Genius for that kind of Poetry, and a Judgment that much exceeds the years you told me he was of....I shall take

³⁰ Correspondence, I, 5; the explanation occurred first in a footnote to Pope's edition of Wycherley's correspondence in The Posthumous Works of William Wycherley in 1729.

it as a favour if you will bring me
acquainted with him....³¹

Here again Pope has identified "the Papers" as an allusion to his
Pastorals.

Charles Wentworth Dilke³² suspected that Pope antedated this
letter from Walsh one year, that is, that Walsh actually wrote it
around the time that he and Congreve were showing Pope's work to
Tonson in April 1706.³³ Yet Dilke offered no proof for his conjecture,
except that the first recorded piece of correspondence between Pope
and Walsh -- a letter dated 24 June 1706³⁴ -- seemed to suggest to
him that their acquaintance was of a relatively recent date. Elwin,³⁵
accepting Dilke's hypothesis without question, argued that Walsh's
admission in the latter letter that he was still reading the Pastorals
rendered Pope's date for the former letter impossible. However, as

³¹Correspondence, I, 7; this letter first appeared in the
1735 edition of Pope's correspondence with an accompanying footnote
identifying "the Papers".

³²In a letter to the Athenaeum dated 26 September 1857; repro-
duced in The Papers of a Critic (London: Murray, 1875), I, 223 ff.

³³See above p. 45.

³⁴See Correspondence, I, 18.

³⁵Op. cit., p. 240.

George Sherburn³⁶ subsequently pointed out, the Elwin argument is not sound since we know that Walsh read the Pastorals a number of times. Hence his reading them in 1706 in no way invalidates an assertion that he was also reading them a year earlier. He was still reading them in the fall of 1706 according to his letter to Pope dated 9 September of that year.³⁷ Indeed, the entire Dilke-Elwin hypothesis concerning the supposedly "antedated" letter is weak, for it rests primarily on the rather questionable reading of the 24 June 1706 letter previously mentioned. Walsh's opening remark:

I receiv'd the favour of your Letter,
and shall be very glad of the continuance of
a correspondence by which I am like to be
so great a gainer...³⁸

may as readily be explained by a lapsed acquaintanceship as a recently instituted one. As Sherburn has noted:

The slow progress of the friendship in 1705 could easily be explained by the fact that soon after April 1705 [the date of the letter from Walsh to Wycherley] Walsh went to the north to stand for his new seat in the general election of that year. He was during the summer returned as a member for Richmond (Yorkshire), and may have been fairly busy with politics during the year.³⁹

³⁶The Early Career of Alexander Pope, p. 51.

³⁷See above p. 44 and 47.

³⁸Correspondence, I, 18.

³⁹The Early Career of Alexander Pope, p. 55.

Besides, it seems unlikely that Walsh would show Pope's "pastoral" to Tonson prior to having met or even corresponded with the young poet. For Walsh to take upon himself such a considerate and significant step would seem to indicate that at least some degree of familiarity if not intimacy existed between them before he did so. It seems safest, then, to follow the lead of George Sherburn⁴⁰ in accepting the evidence of the correspondence, including dates, as the basis for a working (though not ultimately proveable) hypothesis, unless some irrefutable evidence to the contrary has come to light.

Thus it seems reasonable to assume that Pope commenced work on his Pastorals as early as 1704 and that by the Spring of 1705 versions of as many as three eclogues and the prose treatise existed and were actually read by Walsh. Norman Ault has suggested that the treatise was written later, arguing that "the Essay, in a passage excised in 1717, confesses itself to have been written after the completion of the four Pastorals; and on this view it is possible that it dates as late as 1706 or even 1707".⁴¹ In the passage in question Pope claims to have copied the Shepherd's Calendar of Edmund Spenser "in Miniature, and reduc'd his Twelve Months into Four Seasons".⁴² If

⁴⁰In his edition of the Correspondence Sherburn has accepted Pope's dating for the various letters under consideration. Likewise in The Early Career of Alexander Pope he follows a similar course in tracing out the complexities of Pope's biography (see, for example, pp. 50-56).

⁴¹Op. cit., I, cxvi.

⁴²See below Chapter III p. 175.

this passage refers to four completed Pastorals, then Ault's conclusion regarding the date of the composition of the treatise must be correct, since as late as 9 September 1706 Walsh had not yet seen "Autumn". Furthermore the entire authenticity of the 20 April 1705 letter from Walsh to Wycherley would be suspect, since in it Walsh had supposedly stated that he had seen a copy of the prose "Preface" as well as the "Verses".⁴³ However, as Audra and Williams have pointed out,⁴⁴ it may be argued with equal validity that Pope referred in his treatise to three completed eclogues and one, as yet incomplete, or even to the four eclogues, all still in the planning stage. Hence the passage cited by Ault neither proves nor disproves the authenticity of the evidence provided by the letter from Walsh to Wycherley that the prose treatise existed, along with up to three of the eclogues, in manuscript form some time prior to 20 April 1705. However, the previously-mentioned note on the fly-leaf of the holograph indicates a chronology for the composition of the four poems and the treatise which, though not at all in keeping with Mr. Ault's hypothesis, is entire compatible with that inferred from the letter from Walsh to Wycherley. Pope there admitted that the "Essay" was completed prior to the addition of "Autumn" to the holograph:

⁴³See above p. 49 and Correspondence, I, 7.

⁴⁴Op. cit., p. 14.

Only ye 3rd Eclog was written since some of these [the list of names was, of course, headed by Walsh's] saw ye other 3 wch were written as they here stand wth. ye Essay, anno 1704.⁴⁵

Even if 1704 is considered questionable as a completion date, there would seem to be no good reason not to accept the note's implied chronology -- "Spring", "Summer", "Winter", and the "Essay" written and circulated some time before the completion of "Autumn" -- as a working hypothesis for the order in which the five pieces were composed. It is entirely consistent with the evidence provided by the holograph itself and the pertinent correspondence. Neither Tonson's reference to a "pastoral" nor Pope's own allusion to poems on "Four Seasons" precludes it. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, I have accepted it.

Tracing the provenance of the Houghton holograph has proved a somewhat less difficult task than that of establishing its precise date of composition. While not all the stages of its descent from Pope to its present owner, Mr. Arthur A. Houghton Jr., are known, the broad outline is clear. Some time prior to his death in 1744, Pope gave this manuscript, along with a number of others including the Washington University holograph of Windsor-Forest,⁴⁶ to his close

⁴⁵See Appendix A, and above p. 43.

⁴⁶See R. M. Schmitz, Windsor-Forest 1712, p. 13.

friend, Jonathan Richardson the Younger (1694-1771), in return for what the latter termed "the pains I took in collating the whole with the printed editions, at his request".⁴⁷ This collation, which is discussed in detail later in the chapter,⁴⁸ was used in the preparation of the notes for the 1736 edition of Pope's Works. The manuscript was again consulted, by the Rev. William Warburton, for the posthumous edition of Pope's Works published in 1751.⁴⁹ Although the bulk of the Popean manuscripts possessed by Richardson was left to Dr. Charles Chauncey,⁵⁰ Richardson bequeathed the Houghton holograph to his nephew, Mr. William Gregson. Gregson, in turn, gave it to Thomas Brand-Hollis, F.R.S., F.S.A. (1719-1804), an antiquarian of some note and friend of Gilbert Wakefield, the editor of a volume of Pope's Works in 1794 and another volume of assorted Observations on Pope in 1796. Wakefield apparently consulted the holograph,⁵¹ noting among other things, that the last leaf of the "Essay" was missing.⁵²

⁴⁷Richardsoniana: or Occasional Reflections on the Moral Nature of Man (London: J. Dodsley, 1776), p. 264.

⁴⁸See below pp. 80-81.

⁴⁹See below pp. 89-92.

⁵⁰See Schmitz, Windsor-Forest 1712, p. 13.

⁵¹See Elwin, op. cit., p. 239.

⁵²See Norman Ault, op. cit., p. cxv.

Brand-Hollis left it to his friend and principal heir, the Rev. John Disney, who, in turn, passed it on to his son, John Disney, D.D., F.S.A., another antiquarian. So much is certain from a note of Disney's (reproduced in Appendix A), dated 25 September 1812, written on one of the end papers added by the binder when the holograph was bound in September of that year. Subsequently, Disney added several quotations on Pope's calligraphy and the composing of the Pastorals, gleaned from Johnson's Lives of the Poets, Bowles' Memoirs of Pope, and Roscoe's Life of Pope -- the earliest dated 31 December 1813 and the latest, December 1843.

From the latter date until 1922 the precise whereabouts of the holograph is unknown. Although Elwin used it extensively⁵³ while editing the Pastorals for the first volume of his edition of The Works of Alexander Pope, published in 1871, he referred to it merely as being "preserved among the Richardson papers".⁵⁴ However, some time between 1843 and 1922 it became part of the Burdett-Coutts Library which was sold at Sotheby's on 15-17 May 1922. The holograph, item 361 on the second day of the sale (the sale catalogue description is reproduced in Appendix B), apparently sold for £700. Sotheby's were unable to supply me with the name of the purchaser. Some time

⁵³ His notes to the Discourse contain two not-previously-cited manuscript variants; those of "Spring", five; "Summer", two; and "Winter", three.

⁵⁴ Op. cit., p. 239.

later in the 1920's Mr. Houghton acquired it. Unfortunately, he was unable to recall where, when, or from whom he purchased the holograph, although he thought it was a private sale rather than a public auction. Most recently Professors Audra and Williams have consulted the holograph in preparing their volume of the Twickenham edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope,⁵⁵ published in 1961. However, unlike Elwin, Wakefield, and Warburton, they have excluded, on principle, all manuscript variants not included in printed editions authorized by Pope.⁵⁶

In conclusion, the Houghton holograph is a document of central importance to this study. It is the earliest extant version of the four Pastorals and the accompanying prose treatise. However, it represents not a rough draft, but a "fair copy". Thus, though it is the earliest surviving version, it is certainly not a particularly "early" version in terms of the overall genesis and evolution. It was apparently circulated among a select audience of acquaintances whose criticisms were welcomed or even invited. The meticulous care taken with the appearance of the holograph text indicates it was indeed penned with that select audience very much in view. In a very real

⁵⁵ See, for example, op. cit., p. 13, n. 5 and p. 38, n. 2.

⁵⁶ See ibid., p. vii.

sense, then, the Houghton holograph represents the first "edition"⁵⁷ of the Pastorals and treatise -- albeit an extremely limited one (though not, of course, in the usual sense of a printed text offered for public sale). Consequently, even at this relatively early stage in their development, all five pieces appear to be relatively finished, well-crafted pieces of art. Evidence suggests they took up to three years to reach this stage, having been begun as early as 1704 and "Autumn" not viewed by Walsh until some time after 9 September 1706. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that even at this point they had already received considerable revision and refinement.

⁵⁷ James Thorpe's distinction between "potential" and "actual" works of art might well be of use here. Professor Thorpe has argued that in the case of authorial revision any version

remains a "potential" work of art -- it is in process, it is becoming -- so long as the author is still giving it shape, in his mind or in successive drafts or interlineations or in whatever manner he suspends those works which he is not ready to release to his usual public. On the other hand, the "actual" work of art is a version in which the author feels that his intentions have been sufficiently fulfilled to communicate it to the public....

(see Principles of Textual Criticism (San Marino, Cal.: The Huntington Library, 1972), pp. 37-38.) Moreover, he has suggested that the "nature of the public differs for different authors", observing that for poets like William Blake and Emily Dickinson their "usual public" consisted of a number of close friends (*ibid.*, pp. 38-39). Thus, in this instance, the term "edition", signifying nothing more than a version released to a limited public -- the one to whom Pope usually submitted his works prior to 1709 -- roughly corresponds with Professor Thorpe's definition of an "actual" work of art. It bears no connection with the strictly bibliographical definition of "edition" (see McKerrow, op. cit., pp. 175 ff.)

2. Revisions in Manuscript

The Houghton holograph provides far more than a "fair copy" of the poems and treatise at a relatively early stage in development. For a close examination of the holograph itself indicates that Pope has revised its text considerably, changing not only individual words and phrases, but also entire lines and even stanzas. In many cases, because the original version has been completely erased and another version written where the erasure took place, only the revision remains. Yet it appears that Pope often inserted the revised version above the original merely drawing a line through the latter or even leaving it untouched. Unfortunately, a large number of these interlined revisions have been erased -- whether by Pope or someone else, there is no way of determining -- and are therefore no longer visible. However, whoever carried out this excision was neither systematic nor thorough, leaving a larger number of them completely untouched, and others still faintly visible though partially erased. Thus the Houghton holograph also yields a mine of information concerning the transformation from "fair copy" to printed text.

Of like importance in this regard is another extant holograph, comprised of a single sheet of paper folded in quarto, which bears the title "Alterations to the Pastoralls" and the added information in parentheses that "The Solutions of the Queries are written by Mr. Walsh".⁵⁸ As its title implies, this holograph contains proposed

⁵⁸"Alterations....", op. cit., pp. 477-82.

emendations for a number of passages in the four poems -- fourteen in all, five from "Spring" and "Summer" respectively, three from "Winter" and lastly one from "Autumn" -- with which Pope was as yet not satisfied. It would seem reasonable to assume that the manuscript was given or sent to Walsh for his perusal and comment some time after 9 September 1706, since according to his letter to Pope of that date,⁵⁹ he had still not seen "Autumn". Yet the bulk of the manuscript (excluding Walsh's replies, of course) may have been composed some time prior to this date. The passage from "Autumn" is out of chronological order, following rather than preceding the "Winter" passages on the last page. Therefore, the possibility certainly exists that the "Autumn" passage was tacked on to an otherwise completed holograph some time after the completion of that eclogue. Since Walsh died 16 March 1707/8, the holograph must have reached him some time prior to that date.

Professors Audra and Williams⁶⁰ have attempted to pin-point the date of composition more precisely by internal evidence, regarding the revision of Daphnis' riddle in "Spring". In the original version

Say Daphnis say, what Region canst thou find
In which by Thistles, Lillies are outshin'd?

⁵⁹See above p. 44.

⁶⁰See op. cit., pp. 39-41.

Pope probably chose "Thistles" to symbolize the forces of Queen Anne, because she had revived the Order of the Thistle in 1703. By the same token "Region" probably referred to Blenheim, Bavaria, the site of Marlborough's and Prince Eugene's victory over the "Lillies" of France on 13 August 1704. If a date between 1704 and 1706 may be accepted for the composition of this version, such a topically suitable interpretation seems most reasonable. However, in the revised version submitted to Walsh

Nay tell me first in what more happy Fields
The Thistle springs to which the Lilly yields?

the Twickenham editors have detected what appears to be a pun on "Fields", for Pope has explained that he is "Alluding to ye Arms of Scotland and France". As a result of the Act of Union between England and Scotland, which officially took place on 1 May 1707, the "Lilly" of France was supplanted by the "Thistle" of Scotland in the positions of honour (the first and fourth quarters) on the heraldic fields of the Royal Arms of England. Even though this change had been recommended as early as April 1706 by the Commission planning the Union, Audra and Williams suggest that the pun would more likely have occurred to Pope after the new version of the Royal Arms had made its official appearance in the spring of 1707.

Little is known of the provenance of this manuscript from the time Walsh returned it to Pope until the present. It was probably among the papers given to Richardson, since Elwin, who used it extensively, referred to it as being "in the Richardson collection".⁶¹

⁶¹Op. cit., p. 240.

Unfortunately Elwin failed to mention its owner at that time or anything of its previous history. A photographic reproduction of it was published in A Catalogue of the First Editions of the Works of Alexander Pope by the Grolier Club of New York in 1911.⁶² At that time it was probably owned by Mr. Beverley Chew, a founder of the Club. It was sold as part of his estate by the Anderson Galleries on either 8 or 9 December 1924 (the sale catalogue description is reproduced in Appendix B), apparently for \$2000. The holograph is presently owned by Mr. Arthur A. Houghton Jr. Unfortunately, Mr. Houghton was not able to recall the circumstances of its acquisition.

The "Alterations..." holograph would seem to have been composed in close consultation with another manuscript containing all four Pastorals, since Pope identified each passage by a precise line reference, e.g., Past. 1. lin. 1. It is quite possible that Walsh had this other manuscript by him to refer to, in order to ascertain the correct context of each passage, though it could be argued that Pope's marginal explanation of "more" in "more happy Fields" -- "This Epithet refers to something going before"⁶³ -- would seem to

⁶²The facsimile is inserted between pp. 42 and 43.

⁶³"Alterations....", op. cit., p. 479.

be unnecessary if Walsh had a copy of the poem before him. However whether Walsh had the manuscript or not is immaterial for the purposes of this study. A far more important question concerns what manuscript Pope referred to when compiling the "Alterations..." holograph: was it the Houghton holograph or a later manuscript which has since vanished?

Audra and Williams have cautiously concluded that it was "a MS. different from the one we know,"⁶⁴ a rather ambiguous phrase which could be interpreted as meaning either a completely different manuscript or merely the same manuscript with a significantly different appearance. However, the drift of their argument seems to indicate that the former meaning is the one intended. Alluding to the existence of "many minor differences and some major ones"⁶⁵ they offer only one, a passage from "Spring" which, as it stands in the "Alterations..." holograph, corresponds to a passage in the printed text (lines 75-76) yet appears to have no connection with any passage in the Houghton holograph. But a closer examination of the holographs reveals that there is indeed a connection. The passage in the "Alterations..." holograph is identified as "Past. 1. lin. 57". Lines 57 and 58 in the Houghton holograph are

⁶⁴Op. cit., p. 39. Professor Williams informed me that though he "finds it impossible to recall which view of the manuscript I actually held" when he edited the Pastorals, he tends now to "lean towards a manuscript completely different rather than the same MS, with a significantly different appearance" (private communication from Professor Aubrey Williams).

⁶⁵Op. cit., p. 39.

part of a two stanza passage (lines 52-58) omitted from the printed text. It would seem obvious that at some point prior to the penning of the "Alterations..." holograph, Pope replaced these two stanzas with two others, but, not yet satisfied with lines 57 and 58 as revised, he asked the advice of Walsh about them. However the question remains: where did this revision take place, on the Houghton holograph or on a later manuscript? The Houghton holograph itself appears to provide the answer, for there the two stanzas in question bear unmistakable signs of a complete revision which has subsequently been erased (perhaps to preserve the pristine beauty of the original copy). Faint lines run through all eight verses and above each verse a sizable interlineation has been erased. Consequently, it is entirely possible that Pope referred to this passage in the Houghton holograph when writing his "Alterations..." holograph. In this case at least, the "MS. different from the one we know" could quite conceivably have been the manuscript we know in a revised state which has not survived.

In fact, in every instance but one, the passage queried by Pope in his "Alterations..." holograph can be traced, with the help of the line references he included, either to an identical passage in the Houghton holograph (in six instances) or to a passage that bears some trace of an interlined revision which has been erased (in seven instances). However, that one passage⁶⁶ -- identified as lines 67 to 71 of "Summer"

⁶⁶"Alterations....", op. cit., p. 480.

in the "Alterations..." holograph (which corresponds exactly to the position of the same lines in the printed text, without the four-line dedication stanza to Garth added later) -- requires further examination. A comparison of the respective passages clearly shows that the version cited in the "Alterations..." holograph was not taken from the Houghton holograph, where the two couplets in question are separated by ten verses (lines 59-60 and 71-72)⁶⁷ with no indication that the first couplet was to be moved. Therefore, it can be concluded that in the case of this particular passage, Pope must have worked from some other manuscript, though, whether it contained all of "Summer" or merely this extensively revised portion of it,⁶⁸ it would seem impossible to determine.

However, it would be premature to assume from this one contrary piece of evidence that Pope consulted some manuscript other than the Houghton holograph throughout the composition of the paper of "Alterations...". Evidence drawn from a comparison of the two holographs and the 1709 printed text fails to support such an assumption. Some time after the composition and revision of the Houghton holograph, but prior to the first printing of the poems in 1709, Pope rearranged his stanza or verse paragraph order not only in "Summer", but in the

⁶⁷ See below chapter III pp. 123, 125.

⁶⁸ Lines 59 to 72 of the Houghton holograph were completely reordered and extensively revised prior to 1709.

other three eclogues as well (e.g., lines 77 to 84 of "Spring", lines 47 to 52 of "Autumn", and lines 45 to 52 in "Winter" were originally lines 59 to 66, 37 to 42, and 37 to 44 respectively in the Houghton holograph).⁶⁹ In each case the revision would have necessitated the rewriting of the passages involved or perhaps even the entire eclogue. Yet the previously-noted passage in "Spring",⁷⁰ identified as "Past. 1. lin. 57" in the "Alterations..." holograph, indicates that such a rewriting had not yet taken place, since the passage would then have been designated as line 65 (the dedicatory stanza having not yet been added). Likewise, a passage from "Winter" designated "Past. 4. lin. 39" corresponds in position with the Houghton holograph, not the 1709 version. If it is assumed that Pope worked from a manuscript other than the Houghton holograph throughout the composition of the "Alterations..." holograph, it must likewise be concluded that both "Spring" and "Winter" were rewritten twice, since the conjectured "lost" manuscript used there could no more have served as a printer's copy than, as Audra and Williams⁷¹ argued, could the Houghton holograph itself. A simpler yet equally viable theory would

⁶⁹For a study of the nature of and the reasoning behind these alterations, see below pp. 205-11, 268-72, 305-12, and 370-71.

⁷⁰See above p. 63-64.

⁷¹Op. cit., p. 41; they argued that the absence of the dedications and "many other differences" preclude the Houghton holograph being the printer's copy in 1709. But the manuscript consulted for the "Alterations...." holograph also lacked dedications and had many other differences, including stanza positions in "Spring" and "Winter" (though not in "Summer").

be that in the case of "Summer" Pope revised his stanzas and consequently rewrote his eclogue (or a large portion of it) prior to composing his list for Walsh; in the case of "Spring" and "Winter" he revised his stanzas and rewrote the eclogues after its composition. Regarding "Autumn", either chronology is possible, since he unfortunately did not include in his list any passage within the perimeters of the rearranged stanzas which would indicate whether the revision preceded or followed the list's compilation.

Among the notes added by Pope to the four poems in the 1736 edition of his Works are a number of variant readings, apparently gleaned by Jonathan Richardson the Younger, as previously noted.⁷² Of the variants not taken from any earlier printed text, six (three from "Spring", one from "Summer", and two from "Autumn") are identical with comparable passages in the Houghton holograph. Four more (two from "Spring" and two from "Winter"), though different, can nonetheless be accounted for by the presence of erased interlineations. Only two, both in "Summer" (lines 23 to 25 and 77 to 78 in the Houghton holograph, 27 to 29 and 79 to 80 in the printed text), are unaccountably altered. Here again, evidence would seem to suggest that some revised version of "Summer", other than a printer's copy which may well have been destroyed, and the Houghton holograph itself, may have existed.

⁷²See above p. 55; for a discussion of the significance of the inclusion of these notes, see below pp. 82-83.

Dr. James M. Osborn has indicated that another Popean holograph exists. In his edition of Spence's Observations he mentions, in addition to the two holographs already examined, one containing "parts of the Pastorals" with "notes by Walsh"⁷³ which he apparently found in the Huntington Library. However, the Huntington Library has informed me that it has no record nor knowledge of possessing such a manuscript. Dr. Osborn was himself unable to provide any explanation for the apparent anomaly, which for the present must remain an unsolved mystery.⁷⁴

The three extant sources of alterations in manuscript -- the Houghton holograph itself, the "Alterations..." holograph, and the pertinent 1736 notes -- all provide a fascinating glimpse of the intermediary stage between "fair copy" and final revision for the press. Particularly useful in this regard is the "Alterations..." holograph, which shows not only the revision itself, but also, in the queries addressed to Walsh, a brief explanation of what the alteration was meant to accomplish. For the purposes of this study, such information has often proved most useful in determining why as well as how these poems evolved as they did.

⁷³James M. Osborn, op. cit., I, note to item 72, p.32.

⁷⁴Professor Maynard Mack of Yale University, currently engaged in preparing an edition of Pope's manuscripts, informed me that he was unaware of the existence of such a holograph (private communications from Dr. Osborn and Professor Mack).

3. 1709: The First Printed Edition

On 2 May 1709 the four eclogues were first published under the title "Pastorals. by Mr. Alexander Pope" in Poetical Miscellanies: the Sixth Part,⁷⁵ the last volume of a six-volume set variously known as Dryden's or Tonson's Miscellanies. Pope's first publisher, not entirely unexpectedly, was the same Jacob Tonson who had seen one or more of the Pastorals and offered the services of his establishment in April 1706.⁷⁶ Two of Pope's other early poetic efforts -- a modernized rendition of Chaucer's Merchant's Tale entitled "January and May" and a translation of portions of Books Twelve and Sixteen of Homer's Iliad entitled "Episode of Sarpedon" -- also appeared in the same volume, though, unlike the Pastorals, not acknowledged by their author. The six Pastorals of Ambrose Philips which Pope

⁷⁵See The Poetical Miscellanies: the Sixth Part, Containing a Collection of Original Poems with Several New Translations, by Most Eminent Hands (London: Jacob Tonson, 1709) pp. 721-51; second and third editions appeared in 1716 and 1727, neither with any significant alteration. Each of the printed editions discussed will be identified by the number assigned it by R. H. Griffith in his standard bibliography, Alexander Pope: a Bibliography in two parts (London: Holland Press, 1968; a reprint of the University of Texas edition of 1922). Thus, for example, the three Miscellanies have Griffith Nos. 1, 61, and 195, respectively.

⁷⁶See above p.45-46.

later satirized in Guardian 40⁷⁷ were also included. Indeed, Philips' poems opened the volume, while Pope's Pastorals concluded it. According to a receipt dated 4 March 1707/8 and signed "A. Pope",⁷⁸ Pope received ten guineas from Tonson for his Pastorals and "January and May", while the "Episode of Sarpedon" netted him an additional three guineas.

The text of the poems appears to have undergone a most careful scrutiny resulting in what can only be termed a thorough-going revision prior to its submission to Tonson. A comparison with the text of the Houghton holograph even in its revised state reveals over 130 further changes, not only to single words, but also to verses, couplets, and even entire stanzas. Over half the verses in "Spring" and "Summer" and more than a third of those in "Autumn" and "Winter" have been emended. Moreover, as noted previously,⁷⁹ the very stanza order has been rearranged in every poem.

Probably the most important change, besides the reordering of each poem, was the dedication of each eclogue to a different person,

⁷⁷ The connection between the satire and the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry is discussed below pp. 399, 405 and 411-12.

⁷⁸ A photocopy of the receipt is reproduced by George Sherburn in The Early Career of Alexander Pope, facing p. 85. The original receipt is in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

⁷⁹ See above p. 65-66.

involving as it did the insertion of dedicatory stanzas into the main body of "Spring", "Summer", and "Autumn".⁸⁰ These poems were addressed to Sir William Trumbull, a retired statesman, Dr. Samuel Garth, a physician and author of the satiric poem, the Dispensary, and William Wycherley, the dramatist, respectively. "Winter", dedicated to the memory of a "Fair Young Lady", for the moment nameless, but identified in 1717 as a "Mrs. Tempest", had no dedicatory stanza added. (Mrs. Tempest had also been the subject of "Delia", a pastoral elegy written in 1704 by William Walsh, who as early as 9 September 1706 suggested to Pope that "Your last Eclogue being upon the same subject as that of mine on Mrs. Tempest's Death, I shou'd take it very kindly in you to give it a little turn, as it were to the Memory of the same Lady, if they were not written for some particular Woman whom you wou'd make immortal".)⁸¹ Whether Pope decided to dedicate his fourth eclogue to the memory of Walsh's late friend, or anyone else for that matter, at this comparatively early date is not known. The Houghton holograph, probably still the working draft for the Pastorals in autumn 1706, bears no evidence to suggest that he did. The idea may have developed during his stay

⁸⁰For a discussion of the significance of these inserted stanzas see below pp. 187-93, 238-42, 283-92, and 333-37.

⁸¹Correspondence, I, 22.

with Walsh at Abberley in the summer of 1707.⁸² Be that as it may, by the fall of that year he would appear to have made up his mind to add some form of dedication to each eclogue, informing the Rev. Ralph Bridges, nephew of Sir William Trumbull, of his decision when they chanced to meet in London. Bridges wrote his uncle that Pope "designs in the spring to print his...Pastorals. They are to be inscribed each to some Patron, one of which you are to be..."⁸³ By the following February Pope had also informed Wycherley of his intention, as appears from the latter's reference to being "pleas'd with the good News of your going to print some of your Poems, and proud to be known by them to the Publick for your Friend..."⁸⁴ in a letter dated 28 February 1707/8. Wycherley would seem to have in mind specifically the last couplet of the added stanza Pope was to address to him in the 1709 version of "Autumn":

Attend the Muse, tho' low her Numbers be,
She sings of Friendship, and she sings to thee.

It would seem reasonable to conclude then that by this time Pope had already added the dedicatory stanzas and had shown Wycherley the one pertaining to him.

⁸²See The Early Career of Alexander Pope, pp. 55-56.

⁸³From Hist. MSS. Comm.: Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire, I, ii, 853, as cited by Audra and Williams, op. cit., p. 41.

⁸⁴Correspondence, I, 41.

As regards this study, the significance of the 1709 version of the Pastorals can hardly be over-estimated. For if the Houghton holograph in its earliest state can be regarded in some ways as the first "limited edition", the 1709 version must be acknowledged as the first edition intended for the public at large, and not merely for a select group of kindly-disposed friends. It marked Pope's first venture beyond the sheltered confines of his own immediate circle into the exhilarating, yet frightening world at large, where one's reception depended on the largely indiscriminate taste of the majority, not merely the discerning few. It was the culmination of almost five years of careful preparation. The memory of the immense amount of effort devoted to the Pastorals during this period was to remain vivid to him for the rest of his life. Shortly before his death in 1744 he recalled to Joseph Spence that there was "scarce any work of mine in which the versification was more laboured than in my Pastorals".⁸⁵ The great bulk of the labour on the "versification" was completed by 1709. However, the evolution of the Pastorals was still far from over.

⁸⁵ Op. cit., I, item 400, p. 175. The note is dated 5-7 April 1744; Pope died on 30 May 1744.

4. 1717: The First Edition of Pope's Works

Between 1709 and 1717 Pope's skill as a poet grew rapidly, as did his reputation.⁸⁶ After his initial publication of his Pastorals, he produced An Essay on Criticism (1711), Messiah (1712), Windsor-Forest (1713), The Rape of the Lock (in two cantos 1712, revised to five cantos 1714) and The Temple of Fame (1715). With the appearance of his translation of Homer's Illiad (by 1717 three of six volumes had already appeared), his place as a leading poet of his time was well established. The time seemed auspicious⁸⁷ for a collected volume of his writings and accordingly on 3 June 1717 Bernard Lintot published a single volume edition of The Works of Mr. Alexander Pope⁸⁸ which included virtually every poem in print heretofore acknowledged by Pope and a number of new poems including Verses to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady and Eloisa to Abelard. The Pastorals opened the volume, preceded by a brilliant Preface, penned specifically for the

⁸⁶ As early as 20 December 1711 Addison singled Pope's Essay on Criticism out for praise in the highly influential Spectator (see Spectator 253).

⁸⁷ Precisely when Pope first decided upon an edition of his Works is not known. In a letter to Thomas Parnell which Sherburn has dated in March or April of 1717, Pope notes "I will very soon print an entire collection of my own madrigals...." (See Correspondence, I, 396).

⁸⁸ The Works of Alexander Pope (London: printed by W. Bowyer for Bernard Lintot, 1717); the Pastorals occupy pp. 11-35; the Discourse, pp. 3-10 (Griffith No. 79).

occasion, and another piece entitled A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry. The latter was, of course, a revised version of the prose treatise, "An Essay on Pastoral", that originally accompanied the poems in the Houghton holograph.

The Pastorals themselves had again been revised, though in comparison with the alterations occurring in the 1709 text, those made in 1717 must appear slight. There are less than ten changes, five in "Autumn", the least altered eclogue in 1709. Most involve single words. However, one significant feature is apparent; Pope must have referred to the Houghton holograph during the process of revision, unless it is assumed he could recall individual words written eight or even ten years earlier. Thus, for example, in line 13 of "Autumn" the 1709 version, "The setting Sun now shone...", has been replaced by "Now setting Phaebus shone...", which would seem to have derived from a combination of the 1709 reading and the earlier manuscript version, "Now Golden Phaebus sett..." (Houghton holograph, "Autumn", line 7). Likewise, in line 75 of the same eclogue "fertile Grove" has been replaced by the manuscript version, "yellow Grove" (Houghton holograph, "Autumn", line 67). It may be noted that Pope apparently followed the same practise in preparing these poems for the later editions of 1736 and 1751.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ See below pp. 84-85, 90.

By far the most significant change to the Pastorals occurring in the 1717 edition, however, must be the reinstatement of the accompanying prose treatise which had been omitted from the 1709 edition, either by Tonson's decision or Pope's own choice. Pope may well have considered the inclusion of such a didactic piece ill-advised, considering that the publishing of the Pastorals marked his debut in print. A lecture on the origins and characteristics of pastoral poetry, no matter how well written or profound, might be regarded by the public as presumptuous, coming from a virtually untried poet, particularly one seemingly offering his own eclogues as ideal examples. However, coming from the celebrated author of An Essay on Criticism, the generally-acknowledged perpetrator of the Guardian 40 satire of the pastorals of Ambrose Philips, such a treatise would seem highly appropriate for inclusion in his Works. Such was most likely the rationale behind its appearance for the first time in print in 1717.

The treatise itself has been thoroughly revised from its original Houghton holograph version. There are nearly 50 changes in all, many of them significant. A new paragraph has been inserted at the beginning, as a kind of preamble, and the paragraph third from the last -- an assessment of Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar -- has been completely revised, not just in terms of style, but also in terms of the drift of the argument itself.⁹⁰ The overall tone of the original version was far more

⁹⁰For a study of the nature and significance of this change, see below pp. 410-16.

deferential, as befitted a fledgling poet addressing friends and patrons several times his age. However, by 1717, Pope could safely discard such obsequious qualifications as "Perhaps a Word of those Poets [Theocritus and Virgil] in this place may not be impertinent."⁹¹ Probably for a similar reason Pope also dropped the elaborate footnote apparatus of the "Essay", since it was most likely originally employed, not primarily to acknowledge indebtedness, but to bolster the argument with citations from authorities. The more assertive tone of the Discourse is very much in keeping with Pope's established position as a leading poet and critic.

Just when Pope revised the treatise is as difficult to pinpoint with any degree of precision as the date of its original composition. If Pope's own account, as recorded on the fly-leaf of the Houghton holograph can be accepted, the "Essay" was first composed some time prior to the completion of "Autumn", suggesting a date some time in 1705 or 1706.⁹² If so, it was most likely written in conjunction with the Pastorals, a reflection of sorts in prose upon what he was trying to accomplish, at roughly the same time, in the poetry. I suspect that the bulk of the revision of the "Essay" did not take

⁹¹See below Chapter III p. 166.
is discussed below pp. 403-06.

The change in tone

⁹²See above pp. 43, 49-54. It should be recalled that, according to Walsh's letter to Wycherley, the prose treatise was composed by 20 April 1705.

place until after the first publication of the poems in 1709. Unlike the manuscript of the poems, that of the "Essay" bears very few signs of intensive revision. Since neither Pope nor Tonson seem to have shown any particular interest in publishing it at that time, Pope had little reason to devote time to its revision, when he had An Essay on Criticism and Windsor-Forest to revise as well. Moreover, I believe that Pope's stand against Philips' pastorals in Guardian 40 (issued 27 April 1713), which necessitated an attack on Philips' chief model, Spenser, is reflected in the revision, where Spenser is treated far more severely than in the original version.⁹³ Thus, I tend to think that the main revision of this treatise took place no earlier than 1713, and perhaps as late as 1717.

If so, the Discourse as revised represents something quite different from the original "Essay", for it reflects what the poet believed had been accomplished in his Pastorals in their printed form. To a much greater extent, it is an explanation of his own evolving "pastoral" theory, as expressed in his eclogues, and a justification of it and them against any detractions from Philips or his supporters. Unlike the "Essay", the Discourse was a polemical tract of sorts, and, as such, had its place in the overall "Ancients and Moderns" controversy of the day.⁹⁴ In 1717, then, Pope added a key to the reading

⁹³This point is discussed in greater depth below pp. 410-416.

⁹⁴See J. E. Congleton, op. cit., pp. 76-77 and below pp. 410ff.

of the poetic text itself, in the form of a prose instrument which, if used properly, would allow the reader to understand more fully what Pope had done, and to evaluate the poems by a measuring-stick of the poet's own creation -- his own personal interpretation of the "pastoral" tradition.

5. 1736: An Edition with Notes

By the mid-1730's Pope's dominant place in English letters was virtually unrivalled. Since the first volume of his Works had appeared in 1717, his literary and critical output had included the completion of the Illiad translation (by 1720), an edition of Shakespeare (1725), a translation of Homer's Odyssey (1725 and 1726 with the collaboration of Fenton and Broome), The Dunciad (1728, Variorum edition, 1729), "epistles" To Burlington (1731), To Bathurst (1733), To Cobham (1734), and To Arbuthnot (1735), imitations of Horace's Satires I i and I ii (1733 and 1734, respectively), An Essay on Man (1733-34), and Of the Character of Women (1735). The time would seem to be ripe for another edition of the poet's Works -- one more up-to-date and, at the same time, more in keeping with his august position. Consequently, there appeared early in 1736 (14 January according to an advertisement in the Daily Post)⁹⁵ the first

⁹⁵See Griffith, op. cit., II, 331.

volume of a new four-volume edition of The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq published by Bernard Lintot⁹⁶ with "Explanatory Notes and Additions never before printed". As in 1717, it commenced with the Pastorals, preceded by the Preface and A Discourse of Pastoral Poetry.⁹⁷

Certainly the most visible and probably the most significant change, regarding the Pastorals themselves, was the addition of some 52 "Explanatory Notes". These fell roughly into three general categories: "Imitations" (26), "Variations" (14), and "Remarks" (12).⁹⁸ The idea for the addition of these notes would seem to have originated with Pope's friend, Jonathan Richardson the Younger, who, according to his own account, first proposed to the poet the

⁹⁶The publishing of the four volumes involved a complicated collaboration between Bernard Lintot (and, after his death early in 1736, his son Henry) and Gilliver. Though there are two variant issues of this edition -- Variant a (Griffith No. 413) and Variant b (Griffith No. 414) -- I have referred only to the former, since the latter involved no further alteration to the poems or Discourse.

⁹⁷See The Works...., I, 27-52 and 19-25, respectively.

⁹⁸The specific designations "Remarks" and "Imitations" are used in "Spring" but not elsewhere in the 1736 edition. All three are used throughout the 1751 edition to distinguish the three different types of notes. Audra and Williams have noted that these three categories correspond exactly with those in the Boileau edition which Richardson recommended, that is "Changemens, Remarques, & Imitations" (see op. cit., p. xvii).

"making of an edition of his works in the manner of Boileau's".⁹⁹

Moreover, his collation of the text with earlier editions and manuscripts apparently provided the foundation for the "Variation" notes.¹⁰⁰

Helen Koon has argued that the addition of the variant readings to the 1736 edition was made largely, if not entirely, at the instigation and through the labour of Richardson (with some assistance from his father, Jonathan the Elder, another close friend of Pope's).¹⁰¹ John Butt has suggested that the younger Richardson, considering his role in the 1736 edition, "might be regarded as Pope's first editor, or, if that term seems too bold to describe the self-effacing manner in which he performed a menial task [the collation], Pope's first editorial assistant".¹⁰² Be that as it may, Richardson's contribution to the 1736 edition was a highly significant one.

⁹⁹Richardsoniana, p. 264.

¹⁰⁰See ibid.; apparently Richardson's procedure was to transcribe the variant readings into his own personal copy of the 1717 edition of Pope's Works (see Elwin, op. cit., pp. 323-24 and Schmitz, Windsor-Forest 1712, p. 10).

¹⁰¹See "Pope's First Editors", Huntington Library Quarterly, XXXV (1971-72), No. 1, 19-27. Professor Koon supported her contention with considerable evidence from Huntington Library MSS.

¹⁰²Op. cit., p. 4.

Although the idea for the inclusion of variant readings did not originate with Pope himself, the question remains why he found the idea sufficiently appealing to incorporate it into his edition of 1736. John Butt has argued¹⁰³ that, like the handsome 1717 quarto edition of his Works, it is an indication of Pope's view of his own poetry as a kind of "modern classic", which ought to be preserved for the enlightenment of not only his own age but of future generations as well. In effect, then, Pope sensed (quite correctly, as such studies as this one testify) that posterity would be concerned with the process of evolution through which his poems had passed. That Pope himself was interested in the study of this process in the works of others as well is indicated by the note he appended to the end of his copy of Sir John Denham's Cooper's-Hill,¹⁰⁴ the poem on which he modelled his own Windsor-Forest.¹⁰⁵ Noting that in the first version of the poem (1642) "a great number of verses are to be found, since entirely omitted, and very many others, since corrected and improved" in the later version (1668), he suggested that it "might

¹⁰³Ibid., pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁴The note is recorded by Spence, op. cit., I, item 454, pp. 194-95. The annotated copy of Denham's poems has since disappeared.

¹⁰⁵See Audra and Williams, op. cit., pp. 132-35 and E.R. Wasserman, Poetry: The Subtler Language, pp. 101-02 for discussion of Pope's use of Denham's poem in Windsor-Forest.

be a very useful lesson for a poet to compare those two editions more exactly, and to consider at each alteration, how and why it was altered...". He then proceeded actually to list 21 such passages. The note also contained a couplet cited from Edmund Waller which perhaps suggests one other reason for including the previously discarded variants:

Poets lose half the praise they should have got
Could it be known what they discreetly blot. 106

In providing his readers with at least a small portion of what he had omitted or altered, he may well have hoped to impress them with his ability to revise his own poems, and thus garner the other half of the praise he "should have got".

He may well have included the notes which identified his "Imitations" at least partly for the same reason -- to draw attention to his skill in imitating passages from the classics in the pastoral tradition. According to Joseph Warton, these passages were provided by "the accurate and learned Mr. Bowyer the Printer, and given to Pope at his desire..."¹⁰⁷ (Bowyer printed the first volume of the 1736 Works). Yet Pope may have had another reason besides vanity for

¹⁰⁶ See "Upon the Earl of Roscommon's Translations of Horace" in The Poetical Works of Edmund Waller and Sir John Denham, ed. George Gilfillan (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1867), p. 101, lines 41-42.

¹⁰⁷ See The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq., ed. Joseph Warton (London, 1797), I, 59 n.

inserting the variants gleaned by Richardson and the imitations found by Bowyer. It should not be forgotten that these, as well as the "Remarks" were all lumped together under the general heading "Explanatory Notes" on the title page. The "Remarks" clearly were "Explanatory", providing the reader with such useful information as the date of composition, the setting of each eclogue, the meaning of the riddles in "Spring" and of the last lines in "Winter", and, of course, the identity of Trumbull, Garth, and Mrs. Tempest, names no longer current. Likewise, the "Variations" and "Imitations" also provided additional information for the reader, concerning what various passages originally looked like and what various passages were alluding to. Moreover, as I shall prove subsequently,¹⁰⁸ the notes also provided another guide or key, like the Discourse added in 1717, concerning the proper way to approach the Pastorals -- what to look for, and, in a sense, how to read them.

The revisions to the four poems were somewhat more extensive in this edition than in that of 1717 -- nineteen in all, of which eleven involved single words or phrases, eight, the complete recasting of a line or couplet. As in 1717, Pope reinstated a number of manuscript readings (six in all), including the opening two lines of

¹⁰⁸ See below pp. 406 ff.

"Summer", an imitation of the first verses of Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar.¹⁰⁹ The most significant alteration occurred in "Autumn", where the absent person mourned by Hylas is changed from a male "friend", Thyrsis, to a female "lover", Delia. Professors Audra and Williams¹¹⁰ have suggested that the change may have resulted from a fastidious desire to remove the hint of homosexuality, citing Walsh's censure of similar relationships in the poems of Theocritus and Virgil¹¹¹ and Pope's own reference to the "criminal Passion" of Corydon for Alexis depicted in Virgil's second Eclogue in his Guardian 40 article.¹¹² Yet it should be recalled that the entire Guardian article is a satire, much if not all of it ironic, and that the passage in question is part of a reductio ad absurdum proving that virtually none of the pastoral poetry written by the ancient masters of the art, Theocritus and Virgil, can be actually included in the genre. It would seem strange that Pope would regard seriously in 1736 an argument he had advanced in jest and presented in a ridiculous light in 1713. As for the censure of Walsh, it was made in 1692, some

¹⁰⁹ See Edmund Spenser, Januarie, lines 1-4, in The Shepheardes Calender in Spenser's Minor Poems, ed. E. de Selincourt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, [1910], p. 14).

¹¹⁰ Op. cit., p. 46.

¹¹¹ See Walsh's preface to Letters and Poems, Amorous and Gallant (1692), reproduced in The Works of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, ed. Samuel Johnson (London, 1779), XII, 305.

¹¹² See The Prose Works of Alexander Pope, I, 97.

44 years before Pope chose to revise his poem. Walsh's influence might reasonably account for a change occurring in 1709, but hardly one in 1736, some 28 years after his death. It seems more logical to me to suggest that Pope made the change on thematic rather than moral grounds, altering Hylas' relationship from one of friendship to one of heterosexual love, like all the others depicted in the Pastorals.¹¹³ The revisions to the Discourse were negligible.

In conclusion, then, Pope revised his Pastorals somewhat more thoroughly in 1736 than in 1717. He reinstated several manuscript readings and altered the nature of the relationship depicted in the first part of "Autumn", bringing it more in line with those in the other eclogues. He added over 50 "Explanatory Notes" including "Imitations", "Variations", and general "Remarks". The ostensible function of these notes, besides providing information concerning topical references no longer generally known, would seem to have been similar to that of the Discourse, as added in 1717, i.e., to direct the reader concerning how he should read and what he should look for.

¹¹³ This question is studied at greater length below pp. 290-92.

6. 1751: The Last Authorized Edition

Some seven years after Pope's death in 1744, his friend, commentator, and literary executor, the Rev. William Warburton, finally brought out his own edition of The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq.,¹¹⁴ in nine volumes, commencing in June 1751. On the title page the editor proudly proclaimed that it contained the poet's "Last Corrections, Additions, and Improvements; as they were delivered to the Editor a little before his Death: Together With the Commentaries and Notes of Mr. Warburton". Warburton reiterated and expanded upon this claim in the "Advertisement" which preceded the first volume:

The First Volume, and the original poems of the Second are here printed from a copy corrected throughout by the Author himself, even to the very preface: Which with several additional notes in his own hand, he delivered to the Editor a little before his death.¹¹⁵

Unfortunately this annotated copy has not survived. As in 1736, the Pastorals, preceded by the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, led off the first volume.

As early as September 1741 Pope was apparently planning "a

¹¹⁴The Works of Alexander Pope, in Nine Volumes Complete.... With Notes and Commentaries of Mr. Warburton (London: printed for P. Knapton et al, 1751). (Griffith No. 643).

¹¹⁵Ibid., I, v.

General Edition of all my Verses"¹¹⁶ which would also include commentary by Warburton. In fact, he would seem to have devoted considerable time, when not too ill to work, to the task of revising his poems one last time for this definitive collection from that time until his death. He referred specifically to the preparation of the Pastorals in a letter to Warburton dated 28 December 1742:

I shall forthwith give Bowyer [William Bowyer, his printer] the Essay [on Man] to print with your Commentary; after which the Pastorals & Essay on Crit: &c. ¹¹⁷

Unfortunately the reference is somewhat ambiguous; it is impossible to tell whether he has completed work on the Pastorals or is about to begin. In a letter, again to Warburton, dated 12 January 1743/4 he spoke once more of the work of revision, still carried on despite rapidly failing health:

My present Indisposition take up almost all my hours, to render a Very few of them supportable: yet I go on softly to prepare the Great Edition of my things with your Notes, & as fast as I receive any from you, I add others in order....I determind to have published a small number of That Essay [on Man] and of the other on Criticism, e're now, as a Sample of the rest; but Bowyer advised to delay.... ¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ See Correspondence, IV, 362.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 434.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 491.

If he was following still the plan outlined in the previously-mentioned letter, the Pastorals would also be completed by this time, though they were not included in the edition of the two Essays¹¹⁹ released shortly thereafter.

There has been some question concerning the authenticity of the "alterations" introduced into the text of various poems in the 1751 edition, despite Warburton's claim to have worked from a "copy corrected by the author himself". John Wilson Croker,¹²⁰ for example, who commenced work on the great nineteenth-century edition of Pope's works completed by Elwin and ultimately Courthope, suspected that they were the work of Warburton, not Pope. On the other hand, his successors Elwin and Courthope,¹²¹ were convinced of their authenticity, for two main reasons. First, the evidence of extant manuscripts generally (though not, as they thought, invariably)¹²²

¹¹⁹Griffith, No. 590.

¹²⁰See Elwin and Courthope's edition, op. cit., I, xvii-xviii.

¹²¹See ibid., I, xviii-xix; A. W. Evans, a latter-day apologist for Warburton, essentially repeats the arguments of Elwin (see Warburton and the Warburtonians (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), pp. 176-77).

¹²²See, for example, R. M. Schmitz, Pope's Windsor-Forest 1712, p. 12, and his Essay on Criticism 1709, p. 21, and John Butt's preface to Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, pp. v-vi.

indicates that some of the alterations attributed to Pope did exist in his hand. Secondly, a proviso of Pope's will that Warburton not alter the text, on pain of forfeiting the bequest of the publishing rights (valued at £4000), supposedly kept him honest, particularly since Bolingbroke, an inveterate foe, was one of the executors of the will. The Twickenham editors,¹²³ at least in the case of the Pastorals, have concurred with Elwin and Courthope in this matter. With no evidence to the contrary, it would seem the safest course to follow.

The alterations to the text of the poems themselves were fewer in number (eight in all) and generally of a less significant nature than those of the 1736 edition. In fully half of them Pope returned to the original manuscript version. The Discourse, on the other hand was more thoroughly revised, with sixteen alterations in all. Here again, Pope consulted the manuscript, for seven of the changes involve the restoration of previously-rejected manuscript readings. Eleven footnotes, designated "P.", to indicate they were the author's rather than the editor's, were also added, all taken from the Houghton holograph. However, whether the idea to add them to the 1751 edition came from Pope or from Warburton after Pope's death, it is impossible to determine. It would seem reasonable to expect that Pope, if he had wanted to include the footnotes from the manuscript, would have

¹²³See op. cit., pp. 22 and 58.

done so in 1736 when he was adding explanatory notes to the four poems. That he did not do so at that time would tend to suggest he did not consider them particularly useful or necessary to the reader. Why then should they appear in the 1751 edition? One suspects Warburton may have added them himself, first because they were Pope's, secondly because they were convenient to hand (he obviously had the manuscript to consult, for he quotes from it in the notes to the poems), and thirdly because they saved him the trouble of adding further annotations of his own (he in fact added none).

The notes to the four poems were essentially those of the 1736 edition, with a few alterations and omissions and a number of additions. Virtually all of the "Imitations" were reproduced verbatim,¹²⁴ with a "P." appended identifying them as Pope's. Of the 1736 "Variations", ten were similarly carried over (the majority designated with a "P."), while four were omitted. Again, it is impossible to determine if the omissions were authorized by Pope or not. Warburton added six new variant readings, all apparently taken from the Houghton holograph, in each case identifying it as coming from "the original MS.". There is no evidence that the addition of these variant readings was author-

¹²⁴The only changes in the 26 citations were: (1) the silent correction of Pope's Latin "habebis" to "habeto" in the note to "Spring", line 90, and (2) the unnecessary addition of a note to "Winter", line 1, identifying it as an imitation of the opening of Theocritus' first Idyllium (unnecessary because the note to "Spring", line 1 had already done so).

ized by Pope, even though their inclusion among the earlier authorized "Variations" of the 1736 edition, with no distinction drawn, misleadingly convey that impression. Of the 1736 "Remarks", ten were reproduced in an unaltered state. Two more received minor additions in the form of quotations from Pope's published correspondence.¹²⁵ A criticism of Spenser's reference to wolves in England was appended to an otherwise unchanged manuscript variant, originally cited in 1736.¹²⁶ The 1736 note on Trumbull was completely revised and an entirely new one, on Wycherley, also added.¹²⁷ Warburton also added six notes of his own -- two criticizing Wycherley, three criticizing Pope, and only one explicating Pope's meaning.¹²⁸ Thus, despite Pope's high expectations, the value of Warburton's commentary, at least regarding the Pastorals and Discourse, was negligible. One suspects the controversies of the Dunciad and the Essay on Man were more to his taste.

¹²⁵See Works (1751), I, pp. 45-46 n. and pp. 69-70 n.

¹²⁶See ibid., "Summer", note to lines 79-80, p. 60.

¹²⁷See ibid., "Spring", note to title, p. 46 (the 1736 note on Trumbull, appended to line 12, was also retained), and "Autumn", note to line 7, pp. 62-63.

¹²⁸See ibid., "Autumn", notes to lines 8 and 9, p. 63; note to line 74, p. 66 and note to line 98, p. 68; "Winter", note to line 9, p. 70; and "Spring", note to line 28, p. 48.

To conclude, the 1751 edition represents Pope's last word on the Pastorals and consequently the last stage in their evolution. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to distinguish between Pope's last word and the words of his editor, Warburton. Regarding the text, lack of evidence to the contrary compels us to accept the alterations to the four poems and Discourse as Pope's. The changes to the former were slight; those to the latter, more significant. In both cases, a number of manuscript readings were restored. Regarding the notes, all those designated "P." were supposedly the work of the author, though, in the case of the Discourse, their inclusion may have been the editor's own idea. Of the rest, those citing previously unprinted manuscript variants were apparently Warburton's. Whether Pope authorized their inclusion or the exclusion of others printed in 1736 is doubtful. If the variants cited in 1736 served some purpose, it seems strange that Pope would authorize the omission of nearly a third of them (four of fourteen) in his "Great Edition". In essence, the central problem of the 1751 edition, as it relates to this study, is that Janus-like it looks two ways, both backwards and forwards. It is the last authorized edition of Pope's Pastorals, and as such must be considered to have substantive authority. Yet it is also the first posthumous critical edition, produced by a strong-minded and sometimes careless editor, who often failed to distinguish adequately between the poet's work and his own. Whatever has been added by Warburton (or deleted) without the express consent of Pope theoretically has no place in the

study. The dilemma one faces concerns precisely where to draw the line: draw it too sharply and one risks excluding a part, no matter how small, of Pope's definitive conception; draw it not at all and one risks including extraneous material which not only has no part in that conception but may actually obscure or even completely distort it. In the long run the best course would seem to be to assess each instance on its individual merits.

III

TRANSCRIPT OF THE HOUGHTON HOLOGRAPH

Anyone reproducing the text of a Popean holograph must be indebted to the work of R. M. Schmitz, Maynard Mack, and the late E. R. Wasserman in this area.¹ Regarding the problems producing the following annotated transcript, Professor Schmitz's two editions have been particularly enlightening because of the marked similarity between the Essay on Criticism and Windsor-Forest holographs and that of the Pastorals. All three, unlike those of the Essay on Man and the Epistle to Bathurst, were produced early in Pope's career. As John Butt has correctly noted:

¹See R. M. Schmitz, Pope's Essay on Criticism: a study of the Bodleian MS text with facsimiles, transcripts and variants (St. Louis: University of Washington Press, 1962); and Pope's Windsor-Forest 1712: a Study of the Washington University Holograph, Washington University Studies, N.S. Language and Literature No. 21, St. Louis, 1952; Maynard Mack, Alexander Pope's An Essay on Man: a Reproduction of the Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library, with the Printed Text of the Original Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); and E. R. Wasserman, Pope's Epistle to Bathurst: a Critical Reading with an Edition of the Manuscripts (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960).

There is a considerable difference between the manuscripts of the early and the manuscripts of the late poems. Of the early poems no rough draft is extant. Each survives only in the fair copy made to permit the poem to be submitted to friends for advice, or when it was preparing for press.²

Like problems usually beget like solutions; consequently, I have generally followed what Professor Butt has aptly termed Professor Schmitz's "excellent lead"³ in matters of methodology.

The following format has been employed throughout this reproduction: (a) a xerox copy of the MS. page facing (b) a transcript of that MS. page, to which is appended (c) appropriate annotations. Because of the length of individual pages of the Essay on Pastoral, the notes have often been, of necessity, continued on a second page. In keeping with the nature and scope of this study,⁴ the transcript itself is an attempt to reconstruct the earliest extant version of the Pastorals and accompanying treatise as embodied in the MS. Consequently all alterations to the MS. have been relegated to the notes. Occasionally, this principle has not been possible to maintain, the original MS. reading having been obliterated, as, for example,

²John Butt, op. cit., p. 6.

³Ibid., p. 9.

⁴See above p. 28.

in "Winter" l. 69.⁵ In such cases the revised MS. reading has been transcribed with an explanatory note appended.

The annotations include, not only MS. alterations, but also subsequent changes in the poems and treatise in the various authorized printed editions from 1709 to 1751. Here a distinction has been drawn between "accidental" and "substantive" variants, to use W. W. Greg's convenient designations.⁶ While all of the latter have been recorded, only those of the former occurring up to and including the earliest authorized printed texts -- the 1709 Tonson's Miscellanies text for the Pastorals and the 1717 Works text of the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry respectively -- have been recorded systematically (of course the accidentals of all substantive variants have been cited accurately). This procedure accords not only with the standard bibliographical "copy-text" theory of Greg and Fredson Bowers,⁷ but also with the editorial practice of Emile Audra and Aubrey Williams, the Twickenham editors, who have chosen the respective 1709 and 1717 texts as their copy-texts.⁸ Their justification for their own ed-

⁵ See below p. 151.

⁶ See W. W. Greg, "The Rationale of the Copy-Text", Studies in Bibliography, III (1950), 19-36, reprinted in Bibliography and Textual Criticism, ed. O. M. Brack Jr. and Warner Barnes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1969]), p. 43.

⁷ See ibid., pp. 43-44 and Fredson Bowers, "Current Theories of Copy-Text, with an Illustration from Dryden", Modern Philology, LXVIII (1950), reprinted in Bibliography and Textual Criticism, pp. 60-63.

⁸ See op. cit., pp. 22, 58.

itorial practice with respect to "accidental" variants serves as further explanation of my procedure:

The preservation of the capitals and italics of the first printed texts has seemed particularly important, for there is little doubt that Pope used these typographical devices, particularly in the Essay on Criticism, to point up elements in his couplet structures. Such devices disappear from later editions of these poems, apparently in conformity to contemporary changes in typographical fashion, but Pope certainly used them with pointed effect in his manuscripts and they have been considered a valuable part of the text of this volume.⁹

Thus while a detailed comparison of changes in "accidentals" between the MS. and the respective first printed texts forms a similarly "valuable part" of this study, revealing, as it frequently does, shifts in emphasis, a comparison of alterations in "accidentals" among subsequent editions would show little more than a chronicle of the changes in typographical fashion.

For the sake of brevity a number of abbreviations have been used in the annotations. The various texts cited have been designated as follows:

MS -- the Houghton manuscript;

1709 -- Poetical Miscellanies, the Sixth Part (Griffith #1);

⁹Ibid., p. xv.

- 1717 -- The Works of Mr. Alexander Pope (Griffith #79);
- 1736 -- The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq., Vol. I (Griffith #413);
- 1740 -- The Works of Alexander Pope Esq., Vol. I, Part I,
(Griffith #510);
- 1751 -- The Works of Alexander Pope Esq., Vol. I of 9 vols.,
edited by William Warburton (Griffith #643).

Though alterations on the MS. itself have been designated MS2 and occasionally MS3, no correlation is intended between MS2's or MS3's. MS2 simply signifies that the reading is of a later date than MS, MS3, of a later date than either MS2 or MS (i.e., all MS2's were not necessarily amended at the same time). "MS2, 1709" indicates that the alteration to the MS. has been retained with no additional changes in the 1709 text. The following words have arbitrarily been assigned rigidly limited denotations, in the interest of clarity and consistency:

"over" signifies something superimposed upon something else;

"above" signifies an interlineation between the line cited
and the preceding line;

"beneath" signifies an interlineation between the line cited
and the succeeding line;

"addition" signifies material not present in MS., or radically
altered from the material occupying the corresponding position
in the MS.;

"erasure" signifies an apparent removal of MS. material.

Here three phrases indicate the spectrum from certainty to conjecture -- "is", "appears to be", and "may be".

Likewise, identification of erased material ranges from the certainty of "is" to the tentative conjecture of "possibly".

Since throughout the MS. Pope has used roman script as we today use italic and vice versa, I have consistently reversed their use to conform with present day practice. The line numbers in the right margins are those of the MS. throughout the transcript of both the poems and the prose treatise. In the case of the former the corresponding line numbers in the 1709 text are also given in parentheses. Of course, for the latter, being prose, such a procedure has proved impossible.

SPRING:

The First Pastorall;

OR

DAMON.

First in these Fields I sing the Sylvan Strains,
 Nor blisht to sport on Windsor's peaceful Plains:
 For Thames flow gently from thy sacred Spring
 While on thy Banks Sicilian Muses sing;
 Let Vernal Airs thro' trembling Osiers play,
 And Albion's Cliffs resound the Rural Lay.

Daphnis and Strephon led their Flocks along,
 Both fam'd for Love, and both renown'd in Song;
 Fresh

 SPRING:

The First Pastorall;

OR

DAMON.

First in these Fields I sing the Sylvan Strains,
 Nor blush to sport on Windsor's peaceful Plains:
 Fair Thames flow gently from thy sacred Spring
 While on thy Banks Sicilian Muses sing;
 Let Vernal Airs thro' trembling Osiers play,
 and Albion's Cliffs resound the Rural Lay.

5 (5)

Daphnis and Strephon led their Flocks along,
 Both fam'd for Love, and both renown'd in Song;

(17)

Fresh

Sub-title] Pastorall;] Pastoral, 1709; OR/DAMON.] omitted 1717, added
 again 1751; Inscrib'd to Sir WILLIAM TRUMBULL added 1709]
 TO/ Sir WILLIAM TRUMBAL. 1717.

1] sing] try 1709.

2] peaceful] blissful 1709; erasure above "peaceful".

3] Spring] Spring, 1709.

4] "Banks" may be written over an erasure; mark beneath "Sicilian", x,
 partially erased.

5] mark beneath "trembling", +.

between ll. 6 and 7] addition: You, that too Wise for Pride, too Good for Pow'r

Enjoy the Glory to be Great no more,

And carrying with you all the World can boast,

To all the World Illustriously are lost! (10)

O let my Muse her slender Reed inspire,

'Till in your Native Shades You tune the Lyre:

So when the Nightingale to Rest removes,

The Thrush may chant to the forsaken Groves,

But charm'd to Silence, listens while She sings, (15)

And all th' Aerial Audience clap their Wings. 1709.

7-8] Daphnis.../...Song;] Daphnis and Strephon to the Shades retir'd,
 Both warm'd by Love, and by the Muse inspir'd; 1709]

Soon as the flocks shook off the nightly dew,

Two Swains, whom Love kept wakeful, and the Muse, 1736.

8] mark beneath "in", +.

S P R I N G .

fresh as the Morn, and as the Season fair,
 In flow'ry Plains they fed their fleecy Care;
 And while Aurora gilds the Mountains Side,
 Thus Daphnis spoke, and Strephon thus reply'd.

Daphnis.

Hear how the ^{Birds} ~~Larks~~, on ev'ry bloomy Spray,
 With joyous Musick wake the dawning Day;
 Why sit we mute, when early ^{Harlets} ~~Turtles~~ sing,
 When warbling Philomel salutes the Spring?
 Why sit we sad, when Phosphor shines so clear,
 And lavish Nature paints the Purple Year?

Strephon.

Sing then, and Damon shall attend the Strain.
 Where yon' slow Oxen turn the furrow'd Plain;
 There the pale Primrose and the Vⁱolet grow;
 There Western Winds on Beds of Roses blow:
 I'll stake my Lamb, that near the fountain plays,
 And his own Image from the Bank surveys.

Daph

SPRING.

Fresh as the Morn, and as the Season fair,
 In flow'ry Plains they fed their fleecy Care;
 And while Aurora gilds the Mountains Side,
 Thus Daphnis spoke, and Strephon thus reply'd.

10 (20)

Daphnis.

Hear how the Larks, on ev'ry bloomy Spray,
 With joyous Musick wake the dawning Day;
 Why sit we mute, when early Turtles sing,
 When warbling Philomel salutes the Spring?
 Why sit we sad, when Phosphor shines so clear,
 And lavish Nature paints the Purple Year?

15 (25)

Strephon.

Sing then, and Damon shall attend the Strain,
 Where yon' slow Oxen turn the furrow'd Plain;
 There the pale Primrose and the Vi'let grow;
 There Western Winds on Beds of Roses blow:
 I'll stake my Lamb, that near the fountain plays,
 And his own Image from the Bank surveys.

20 (30)

Daph.

9-11] Fresh.../.../...Side] Pour'd o'er the whitening vale their fleecy care,
 Fresh as the morn, and as the season fair:
 The dawn now blushing on the mountain's side 1736.

10] Plains] Vales 1709.

11] Mountains] Mountain's 1709.

13] Larks] Birds MS2, 1709.

14] Day;] Day! 1709.

15] Turtles] Linnets MS2, 1709; "Linnets" written over an erasure; "sing" underlined.

18] mark beneath "Purple", +.

20] Where yon'...Plain;] While yon...Plain. 1709; erasure above "Where".

21] There...grow] Here on green Banks the Blushing Vi'lets glow 1709] Here the bright crocus and blue vi'let glow 1751; erasures above "There" and "the"; faint line through "the"; mark beneath "Vi'let", +.

22] There...Beds of Roses blow:] Here...breathing Roses blow. 1709; erasures above "There" and "Beds"; faint line through "Beds"; "Beds" and "Roses" written over erasures.23] I'll...my Lamb...fountain] I'll...my Lamb...Fountain 1709] yon'...fountain 1736; entire line appears to be written over an erasure.

24] And...surveys] And from the Brink his dancing Shade surveys 1709; entire line may be written over an erasure.

P R I N G .

and as the Season fair,
 yfed their fleecy Care;
 ilds the Mountains Side,
 and Strephon thus reply'd.
 Daphnis.

on ev'ry bloomy Spray,
 wake the dawning Day;
 en, early ^{Harvest} Turtles sing,
 omel salutes the Spring?
 n Phosphor shines so clear,
 paints the Purple Year?
 rephon.

on shall attend the Strain
 urn the furrow'd Plain;
 le and the V⁺iolet grow;
 on Beds of Roses blow:
 at near the fountain plays,
 from the Bank surveys.

Daph

The First Pastoral.

Daphnis.

And I this Bowl, where wanton Ivy twines,
 and Clusters lurk beneath the curling Vines:
 Four Figures rising from the Work appear,
 The various Seasons of the rowling Year;
 And what is That, which binds the Radiant Sky,
 Where twelve fair Signs in beauteous Order lie?

Damon.

Then sing by turns, by turns the Muses sing;
 Now Hawthorns blossome, now the Daisies spring,
 Now Leaves the Trees, and Flow'rs adorn the Ground;
 Begin, the Vales shall echo to the Sound.

Strephon.

O ye Fountain Nymphs, propitious to the Swain,
 Now grant me Phæbus or Alexis Strain:
 My fairest Bull shall at your Altars stand,
 With butting Horns, and Heels y⁺spurn the Sand.

Daph.

The First Pastoral.

Daphnis.

And I this Bowl, where wanton Ivy twines, 25 (35)
 And Clusters lurk beneath the curling Vines:
 Four Figures rising from the Work appear,
 The various Seasons of the rowling Year;
 And what is That, which binds the Radiant Sky,
 Where twelve fair Signs in beauteous Order lie? 30 (40)

Damon.

Then sing by turns, by turns the Muses sing;
 Now Hawthorns blossome, now the Daisies spring,
 Now Leaves the Trees and Flow'rs adorn the Ground;
 Begin, the Vales shall echo to the Sound.

Strephon.

Ye Fountain Nymphs, propitious to the Swain, 35 (45)
 Now grant me Phaebus or Alexis Strain:
 My fairest Bull shall at your Altars stand,
 With butting Horns, and Heels yt. spurn the Sand.

Daph.

- 25] Bowl] Bowl 1709.
 26] And...Vines] And swelling Clusters bend the curling Vines 1709; mark
 beneath "lurk", --, or possibly "lurk" underlined.
 28] Seasons] Seasons 1709.
 30] fair Signs...lie] bright Signs...lye 1709] fair signs...lie 1751];
 erasure above "fair", possibly the word "bright".
 31] Muses sing;] Muses sing, 1709.
 32] Hawthorns blossome...Daisies] Hawthorns blossom...Daisies 1709.
 34] echo to the Sound] Echo to the Sound 1709] ev'ry note rebound 1736.
 35-38] Ye.../.../.../...Sand.] Inspire me Phaebus, in my Delia's Praise,
 With Waller's Strains, or Granville's moving Lays!
 A Milk-white Bull shall at your Altars stand,
 That threatens a Fight, and spurns the rising Sand. 1709.
 35] erasures above "Ye Fountain Nym" and "propitious to the Swain".
 36] erasure above "grant me Phaebus or Alexis".
 38] marks beneath "Horns", +, and "yt.", x.

S P R I N G .

Daphnis.

Pan, let my Numbers equal Strephon's Lays,
 Of Parian Stone thy Statue will I raise;
 But if I conquer, and augment my Fold,
 Thy Parian Statue shall be chang'd to Gold.

Strephon.

Me lovely Sylvia beckons from the Plain,
 Then hides in Shades from her deluded Swain.
 But feigns a Laugh, to see me search around,
 And by that Laugh the Willing Fair is found.

Daphnis.

Gay Amaryllis trips along the Green,
 She runs, but hopes she does not run unseen;
 While a kind Glance at her Pursuer flies;
 How much at Variance are her Feet and Eyes!

Strephon.

Goflow'ry Wreath, and let my Sylvia know,
 Compar'd to thine, how bright her Beauties show.

Then

SPRING.

Daphnis.

Pan, let my Numbers equal Strephon's Lays,
 Of Parian Stone thy Statue will I raise;
 But if I conquer, and augment my Fold,
 Thy Parian Statue shall be chang'd to Gold.

40 (50)

Strephon.

Me lovely Sylvia beckons from the Plain,
 Then hides in Shades from her deluded Swain;
 But feigns a Laugh, to see me search around,
 And by that Laugh the Willing Fair is found.

45 (55)

Daphnis.

Coy Amaryllis trips along the Green,
 She runs, but hopes she does not run unseen;
 While a kind Glance at her Pursuer flies;
 How much at Variance are her Feet and Eyes!

50 (60)

Strephon.

Go flow'ry Wreath, and let my Sylvia know,
 Compar'd to thine, how bright her Beauties show,

Then

- 39-42] Pan.../.../.../...Gold.] O Love! for Sylvia let me gain the Prize,
 And make my Tongue victorious as her Eyes;
 No Lambs or Sheep for Victims I'll impart,
 Thy Victim, Love, shall be the Shepherd's Heart. 1709;
 erasures above all four lines, faint lines drawn through all
 four lines.
- 39] mark beneath "let", +.
- 40] mark beneath "will I", +.
- 43] lovely Sylvia] gentle Delia 1709; erasure above "Me lovely Sylvia",
 one word of which is "wanton"; faint line through "lovely
Sylvia".
- 44] hides...from her deluded] hid..., eludes her eager 1709; erasure above
 "Then...Sw".
- 46] Willing] willing 1709.
- 47] Coy Amaryllis] The sprightly Sylvia 1709; erasure above "Coy Amaryllis tri",
 two words of which may possibly be "The" and "Sylvia"; faint
 line through "Coy Amaryllis".
- 48] unseen;] unseen, 1709.
- 49] flies;] flies, 1709; "kind" may be written over an erasure.
- 50] Variance] variance 1709.
- 51-58] these 2 stanzas omitted 1709.
- 51-52] erasures above both of these lines.

The First Pastoral.

Then dye; and dying, teach the lovely Maid,
How soon the brightest Beauties are decay'd.

Daphnis.

Fortune's Bird, that pleas'd the Woods so long;
Of Amaryllis learn a sweeter Song;
To Heav'n, arising, then her Notes convey,
For Heav'n alone is worthy such a Lay.

Strephon.

Spring
In ~~May~~ the Fields; in Autumn Hills I love;
At Morn the Plains, at Noon the shady Grove;
But Sylvia always; absent from her Sight,
Her Plains at Morn, nor Groves at Noon delight.

Daphnis.

My Love's like Autumn, ripe, yet mild as May;
More bright than Noon, yet fresh as early Day;
Even Spring displeases, when she stays not here,
But blest with her, 'tis Spring throughout the Year.

Stre-

The First Pastoral.

Then dye; and dying, teach the lovely Maid,
How soon the brightest Beauties are decay'd.

Daphnis.

Go tuneful Bird, that pleas'd the Woods so long;
Of Amaryllis learn a sweeter Song;
To Heav'n, arising, then her Notes convey,
For Heav'n alone is worthy such a Lay.

55

Strephon.

In May the Fields, in Autumn Hills I love;
At Morn the Plains, at Noon the shady Grove;
But Sylvia always; absent from her Sight,
Nor Plains at Morn, nor Groves at Noon delight.

(77)

60 (78)

Daphnis.

My Love's like Autumn, ripe, yet mild as May;
More bright than Noon, yet fresh as early Day;
Ev'n Spring displeases, when she stays not here,
But blest with her, 'tis Spring throughout the Year.

65 (83)

Stre-

51-58] addition: All Nature mourns, the Skies relent in Show'rs,
Hush'd are the Birds, and clos'd the drooping Flow'rs; (70)
If Delia smile, the Flow'rs begin to spring,
The Skies to brighten, and the Birds to sing.

Daphnis.

All Nature laughs, the Groves fresh Honours wear,
The Sun's mild Lustre warms the vital Air;
If Sylvia smile, new Glories gild the Shore, (75)
And vanquish'd Nature seems to charm no more. 1709; (73)] fresh
Honours wear] are fresh and fair 1736; (75)] smile] smiles 1717.

53-58] erasures above all of these lines.

57-58] erasure in the right margin beside these lines.

59] May...Autumn...love;] Spring...Autumn...love; MS2] Spring...Autumn...love,
1709; mark beneath "May", +.

60] Morn...Noon] Morn...Noon 1709.

61] Sylvia...absent from her Sight] Delia...forc'd from Delia's Sight 1709]
Delia...absent from her sight 1736; mark beneath "always", +.

62] Morn...Noon] Morn...Noon 1709.

63] My Love's...Autumn, ripe...May;] Sylvia's...Autumn ripe...May, 1709; erasure
above "like", possibly the word "as".

64] Noon...Day;] Noon...Day, 1709.

65] Spring...stays] Spring...shines 1709.

66] Spring] Spring 1709.

SPRING.

Strephon.

Let rich Iberia Golden Fleeces boast,
Her Purple Wool the proud Assyrian Coast;
^{Best} ~~Best~~ Thames's Shores the brightest Beauties yield.
Feed here my Lambs, I'll seek no distant Field.

Daphnis.

Celestial Venus haunts Idalia's Groves,
Diana Cynthus, Ceres Aetna loves;
If Windsor Shades delight the matchless Maid,
Cynthus and Aetna stoop to Windsor Shade.

Strephon.

Say Daphnis, say, ^{in what glad Soyle appears} ~~what Region canst thou find,~~
~~Amondrous Tree that sacred Monarchs bear?~~
~~In which by Thistles, Lillies are outshin'd?~~
~~Tell me but this, and I'll disclaim the Prize,~~
~~If all thy Skill can make the Meaning known,~~
~~I will the Conquest to thy Sylviat Eyes.~~
~~The Prize, the Victors Prize, shall be thy own.~~

Daphnis.

Nay tell me first, in what ^{more happy Fields} ~~new Grove appears~~
~~The Shishe Springs, in which the Lilly yields?~~
~~Amondrous Tree that sacred Monarchs bear?~~

And

SPRING.

Strephon.

Let rich Iberia Golden Fleeces boast, (61)
 Her Purple Wool the proud Assyrian Coast;
 Fair Thames's Shores the brightest Beauties yield,
 Feed here my Lambs, I'll seek no distant Field. 70 (64)

Daphnis.

Celestial Venus haunts Idalia's Groves,
Diana Cynthus, Ceres Aetna loves;
 If Windsor Shades delight the matchless Maid,
Cynthus and Aetna stoop to Windsor Shade. (68)

Strephon.

Say Daphnis, say, what Region canst thou find, 75 (85)
 In which by Thistles, Lillies are outshin'd?
 If all thy Skill can make the Meaning known,
 The Prize, the Victor's Prize, shall be thy own.

Daphnis.

Nay tell me first, in what new Grove appears
 A wondrous Tree that sacred Monarchs bears? 80 (90)

And

67-68] Let.../...Coast] O'er Golden Sands let rich Pactolus flow,
 And Trees weep Amber on the Banks of Po 1709.

69] Fair] Blest MS2, 1709.

70] I'll...Field] I'll...Field 1709.

72] Aetna] Hybla 1709.

73] Windsor Shades] Windsor-Shades 1709.

74] Aetna stoop...Windsor Shade] Hybla yield...Windsor-Shade 1709.

75-78] Say.../.../.../...own] Say Daphnis, say, in what glad Soyle appears:

A wondrous Tree that sacred Monarchs bears/

Tell me but this, and Ill disclaim the Prize,

& yield the Conquest to thy Sylvias Eyes. MS2, 75]

Daphnis...Soyle appears: MS2] Shepherd ...Soil appears 1709] Daphnis...soil

appears 1751; 76] Tree...Monarchs MS2] Tree...Monarchs 1709; 77] Ill MS2]

I'll 1709; 78] & yield MS2] And give 1709.

79-80] Nay.../...bears?] Nay tell me first, in what more happy Fields

The Thistle springs, to which the Lilly yields? MS2, 1709;

79] Thistle...Lilly MS2] Thistle...Lilly 1709.

The First Pastoral.

*And then a nobler Prize I will resign,
For Sylvia, charming Sylvia shall be thine.*

Damon.

*I've heard enough; and Daphnis, I decree
The Bowl to Strephon, and the Lamb to thee;
Ye gentle Swains, let this Exchange suffice,
That each may win, as each deserves the Prize.
Now haste, ye Shepherds, to my Beechen Bow'rs,
A safe Retreat from Suddain Vernal Show'rs;
The Turf with rural Dainties shall be spread,
And twining Trees with Branches shade y^r Head.
For see, the gathering Flocks to Shelter bend,
And from the Pleiads fruitfull Show'rs descend.*

S U M-

And

The First Pastoral.

And then a nobler Prize I will resign,
For Sylvia, charming Sylvia shall be thine.

Damon.

I've heard enough; and Daphnis, I decree
The Bowl to Stephon, and the Lamb to thee;
Ye gentle Swains, let this Exchange suffice,
That each may win, as each deserves the Prize.
Now haste, ye Shepherds, to my Beechen Bow'rs,
A safe Retreat from Suddain Vernal Show'rs;
The Turf with rural Dainties shall be spread,
And twining Trees with Branches shade yr. Head.
For see, the gath'ring Flocks to Shelter bend,
And from the Pleiads fruitfull Show'rs descend.

85 (95)

90 (100)

SUM-

83] I've heard enough; and Daphnis] Cease to contend, for (Daphnis) 1709.

84] Bowl...Lamb...thee;] Bowl...Lamb...thee: 1709.

85-86] Ye.../...Prize.] Blest Swains, whose Nymphs in ev'ry Grace excell;
Blest Nymphs, whose Swains those Graces sing so well! 1709.

87] haste, ye Shepherds, to my Beechen] rise, and haste to yonder Woodbine 1709.

88] safe...Suddain Vernal] soft...sudden vernal 1709.

89] spread] Crown'd 1709.

90] And...Head] While opening Blooms diffuse their Sweets around. 1709;
 erasure above "with Branches"; faint line through "twining".

91] For see,...bend] For see!...tend 1709; erasure in right margin.

92] fruitfull] fruitful 1709.

S U M M E R:

The Second Pastoral,

OR

A L E X I S.

*A Shepherd's Boy (he seeks no better Name)
 Led forth his Flocks along the silver Thame;
 There to the Winds he plain'd his hapless Love,
 And Amaryllis fill'd the Vocal Grove.
 For him, the Lambs a dumb Compassion show,
 The listning Streams forget a while to flow;*

Relentless

SUMMER:

The Second Pastoral,

OR

ALEXIS.

A Shepherd's Boy (he seeks no better Name)
 Led forth his Flocks along the silver Thame,
 There to the Winds he plain'd his hapless Love,
 And Amaryllis fill'd the Vocal Grove.

For him, the Lambs a dumb Compassion show, 5 (6)

The list'ning Streams forget a while to flow; (5)

Relenting

Sub-title] OR/ALEXIS.] omitted 1717, added again 1751; To Dr. GARTH.]
 added 1717.

1-4] A.../.../.../...Grove] A Faithful Swain, whom Love had taught to sing,
 Bewail'd his Fate beside a silver Spring;
 Where gentle Thames his winding Waters leads
 Thro' verdant Forests, and thro' flow'ry Meads 1709]
 A Shepherd's Boy (he seeks no better name)
 Led forth his flocks along the silver Thame,
 Where dancing sun-beams on the waters play'd,
 And verdant alders form'd a quiv'ring shade 1736.

5] For him the Lambs] The Flocks around 1709.

6] The list'ning Streams forget a while to flow;] There while he mourn'd,
 the Streams forgot to flow, 1709] Soft as he mourn'd, the streams
 forgot to flow 1751.

The Second Pastoral.

Relenting Naids wept in ev'ry Bow'r,
And Jove consented in a silent Show'r.

Ye shady Beeches, and ye cooling Streams,
Defence from Phæbus, not from Cupid's Beams;
To you I mourn; nor to the Deaf I sing,
The Woods shall answer, and their Echo ring.
The Hills and Rocks attend my doleful Lay,
Why art thou prouder and more hard than they?
And with my Cries the bleating Flocks agree,
They parch'd with Heat, & I inflam'd by thee.
The sultry Sirius burns the thirsty Plains,
But in thy Heart eternal Winter reigns!

Where are ye, Muses, in what Lawn or Grove,
While your Alexis pines in hopeless Love?
In those fair Fields, where Sacred Isis glides;
Or else where Cam his ~~Gaurel~~ Banks divides?
winding Vales
Oft

The Second Pastoral.

Relenting Naiads wept in ev'ry Bow'r,
And Jove consented in a silent Show'r.

Ye shady Beeches, and ye cooling Streams, (13)
Defence from Phaebus, not from Cupid's Beams; 10 (14)
To you I mourn; nor to the Deaf I sing,
The Woods shall answer, and their Echo ring.
The Hills and Rocks attend my doleful Lay,
Why art thou prouder and more hard than they?
And with my Cries the bleating Flocks agree, 15 (19)
They parch'd with Heat, & I inflam'd by thee.
The sultry Sirius burns the thirsty Plains,
But in thy Heart eternal Winter reigns!

Where are ye, Muses, in what Lawn or Grove,
While your Alexis pines in hopeless Love? 20 (24)
In those fair Fields, where Sacred Isis glides;
Or else where Cam his Laurel Banks divides?
Oft

-
- 7] Relenting Naiads wept in ev'ry] The Naiads wept in ev'ry Watry 1709.
between 11. 8 and 9] addition: Accept, O Garth, the Muse's early Lays, (10)
That adds this Wreath of Ivy to thy Bays;
Hear what from Love unpractis'd Hearts endure,
From Love, the sole Disease thou canst not Cure! 1709.
- 10] Phaebus] Phaebus' 1751.
- 13] The] Ev'n 1709] The 1736.
- 15] And with my Cries the bleating Flocks] the bleating Sheep with my Complaints
1709.
- 16] &] and 1709; "& I" written over erasure.
- 18] But] While 1709.
- 19] are ye, Muses,] are ye Muses, 1709] stray ye Muses, 1717.
- 21] glides;] glides, 1709.
- 22] Laurel Banks] winding Vales MS2, 1709; erasure above "Laurel Banks";
line drawn through "Laurel Banks".

S U M M E R .

Oft' in the Spring I cast a careful View,
 And rival'd Daphnis, if the Glass be true;
 But now those Graces meet my Eyes no more,
 I shun the Fountains which I sought before.
 Once I was skill'd in ev'ry Herb that grew,
 And ev'ry Plant that drinks the Morning Dew;
 Ah wretched Shepherd, what avails thy Art,
 To cure thy Lambs, but not to heal thy Heart!

Let those who list attend the Rural Care,
 Feed fairer Flocks, or richer Fleeces share;
 But nigh ^{that} ~~this~~ Mountain let me tune my Lays,
 Embrace my Love, and bind my Brows with Bays.
 Of slender Reeds a tuneful Flute I have,
 The tuneful Flute, which dying Colin gave;
 And said, Alexis, take this Pipe, the same
 That taught the Groves my Rosalinda's Name.

But

SUMMER.

Oft' in the Spring I cast a careful View,
 And rival'd Daphnis, if the Glass be true;
 But now those Graces meet my Eyes no more, 25 (29)
 I shun the Fountains which I sought before.
 Once I was skill'd in ev'ry Herb that grew,
 And ev'ry Plant that drinks the Morning Dew;
 Ah wretched Shepherd, what avails thy Art,
To cure thy Lambs, but not to heal thy Heart! 30 (34)

Let those who list attend the Rural Care,
 Feed fairer Flocks, or richer Fleeces share;
 But nigh this Mountain let me tune my Lays,
 Embrace my Love, and bind my Brows with Bays.
 Of slender Reeds a tuneful Flute I have, 35 (39)
 The tuneful Flute, which dying Colin gave;
 And said, Alexis, take this Pipe, the same
 That taught the Grove my Rosalinda's Name.

But

- 23-24] Oft.../...true] As in the Crystal Spring I view my Face,
 Fresh rising Blushes paint the Watry Glass 1709.
 25] But now...meet my Eyes] But since...please thy Sight 1709] But since...
 please thy eyes 1736; erasure above "meet".
 26] I shun] I'll shun 1709] I shun 1717.
 30] erasure above "not to heal thy Heart".
 31] those who list] other Swains 1709.
 32] share] sheer 1751.
 33] this] that MS2, 1709] yon' 1736; erasure above "But" and "my"; part
 of the second erasure appears to have been "my L".
 34] erasure above "Embrace"; "Love" written over an erasure.
 35-36] Of.../...gave] That Flute is mine which Colin's tuneful Breath
 Inspir'd when living, and bequeath'd in Death 1709;
 erasures above both lines; faint lines drawn through both
 lines.
 37] And said,] He said; 1709.
 38] Name.] Name-- 1709.

The Second Pastoral.

Soon the Reeds shall hang on yonder Tree,
 Once their Music found: not sweet to thee.
 Were I made by some Transforming Power
 Me pitying: God command me to be made
 The Captive Bird that sings within thy Bow!
 Bird that sings within thy secret Shade:

Then might my Voice thy willing Ear employ,
 And I those Kisses, he receives, enjoy!

And yet my Numbers please the Sylvan Throng;
 Though Satyrs dance, and Pan attends the Song;
 And Nymphs, forsaking ev'ry Cave and Spring,
 Fruits and Turtles rural Presents bring:
 As wanton Nymphs, your rural Gifts are vain;
 Amaryllis wins them all again!
 For you the Swains their choicest Flow'rs design,
 And in one Garland all their Beauties joyn:
 Except a Wreath which you deserve alone,
 In whom all Beauties are combin'd in One.

Nor

The Second Pastoral.

But soon the Reeds shall hang on yonder Tree,
 If once their Music sounds not sweet to thee. 40 (44)
 Some pitying God command me to be made
 The Bird that sings within thy secret Shade:
 Then might my Voice thy willing Ear employ,
 And I those Kisses, he receives, enjoy!

And yet my Numbers please the Sylvan Throng; 45 (49)
 Rough Satyrs dance, and Pan attends the Song;
 And Nymphs, forsaking ev'ry Cave and Spring,
 Of Fruits and Turtles rural Presents bring:
 Ah wanton Nymphs, your rural Gifts are vain;
 My Amaryllis wins them all again! 50 (54)
 For you the Swains their choicest Flow'rs design,
 And in one Garland all their Beauties joyn:
 Accept a Wreath which you deserve alone,
 In whom all Beauties are combin'd in One.

Nor

-
- 39] But soon] Yet soon 1709] But now 1717.
 40] If...thee] For ever silent, since despis'd by thee 1709; erasure above
 "sounds not sweet".
 41-42] Some.../...Shade:] Oh were I made by some transforming Pow'r
 The Captive Bird that sings within thy Bow'r! MS2;
 Oh...Pow'r MS2] O...Pow'r, 1709.
 43] willing Ear] list'ning Ears 1709; erasure above "willing"; faint line
 through "willing".
 44] Kisses, he] Kisses he 1709.
 45] Sylvan Throng;] rural Throng, 1709.
 46] attends the Song;] applauds the Song: 1709; erasure above "attends";
 "attends" appears to be written over an erasure.
 47] And Nymphs, forsaking] The Nymphs forsaking 1709; erasure above "And".
 48] Of...bring:] Their early Fruit, and milk-white Turtles bring; 1709.
 49] Ah...vain;] Each am'rous Nymph prefers her Gifts in vain, 1709; erasure
 above "your rural Gifts are"; faint lines through "your rural"
 and "are".
 50] My Amaryllis wins them all] On you their Gifts are all bestow'd 1709;
 erasure above entire line; faint line through entire line.
 51] their choicest] the fairest 1709; erasure above "their choicest"; faint
 line through "their choicest".
 52] joyn:] join; 1709.
 53] a...you] the...You 1709; erasure above "a".
 54] combin'd] compriz'd 1709.

S U M M E R.

Nor scorn a Shepherd; Heav'n's Immortal Pow'rs
 For Sylvan Scenes have left their blissful Bow'rs;
 In Woods ^{higher} fair Venus with Adonis stray'd,
 And chaste Diana haunts the Forest Shade.
 Oh deign a while to bless our humble Seats,
 Our mossie Fountains, and our Green Retreats.
 This harmless Grove no lurking Viper hides,
 But ^{in my Breast the Serpent Love} ~~Love the Serpent in my Breast~~ abides.
~~Here Tereus mourns, and Itys tells his Pain;~~
~~Of Progne they, and I of you complain.~~
 Here Bees from Blossomes sip the rosie Dew,
 But your Alexis knows no Sweet but You.

Come lovely Maid, and crown the silent Harp
 When Swains from Shearing seek their nightly Nap
 When weary Reapers leave the sultry Field,
 And crown'd with Corn, their Thanks to Ceres pay

W.

SUMMER.

Nor scorn a Shepherd; Heav'ns Immortal Pow'rs 55 (59)
 For Sylvan Scenes have left their blissful Bow'rs;
 In Woods fair Venus with Adonis stray'd,
 And chast Diana haunts the Forest Shade.
 Oh deign a while to bless our humble Seats, (71)
 Our mossie Fountains, and our Green Retreats. 60 (72)
 This harmless Grove no lurking Viper hides, (67)
 But Love the Serpent in my Breast abides. (68)
 Here Tereus mourns, and Itys tells his Pain;
 Of Progne they, and I of you complain.
 Here Bees from Blossomes sip the rosie Dew, 65 (69)
 But your Alexis knows no Sweet but You.
 Come lovely Maid, and crown the silent Hours (63)
 When Swains from Shearing seek their nightly Bow'rs;
 When weary Reapers leave the sultry Field,
 And crown'd with Corn, their Thanks to Ceres yield. 70 (66)
 While

55-56] Nor.../...Bow'rs;] See what Delights in Sylvan Scenes appear!

Descending Gods have found Elysium here. 1709.

57] fair] bright MS2, 1709.

59] Oh...Seats] Some God conduct you to these blissful Seats 1709] Oh
 deign to visit our forsaken seats 1736; erasure above "bless";
 faint line through "bless".

60] Our...our....] The...the...! 1709.

61] erasure above "lurking"; faint line through "lurking"; "lurking" appears
 to be written over an erasure.

62] But Love the Serpent in my Breast] But in my Breast the Serpent Love
 MS2, 1709; mark beneath "abides",—.

63-64] these lines omitted MS2, 1709; "dele." written in left margin with a
 vertical line beside it.

65] Blossomes] Blossoms 1709.

66] Sweet...You] Sweet...you 1709] sweets...you 1751.

67] Maid...crown...Hours] Nymph...bless...Hours, 1709; erasure above "crown"
 which may be "bless"; faint line through "crown".

68] Shearing] Sheering 1709.

69] Reapers leave] Reapers quit 1709.

70] Corn] Corn 1709.

The Second Pastoral.

While to the Groves your Presence you deny,
 Your Flow'rs are faded, and our Floods are dry;
 The withring Herbs lay dying on the Plain,
 At your Return, they shall be green again.
 In shady Forests I may waste my Days,
 I wake the Muses, and proclaim your Praise;
 Your Praise in Songs the Birds to Heav'n shall bear,
 And Wolves grow milder when the Sound they hear.
 Such magick Musick dwells within your Name,
 The Voice of Orpheus no such pow'r could claim;
 Had you then liv'd, when he the Forests drew,
 The Trees and Orpheus both had follow'd you.

But see, the Southing Sun displays his Beams;
 See Tity'rus leads his Herd to Silver Streams;
 To closer Shades the panting Flocks remove;
 O Gods! and is there no Relief for Love?

But

The Second Pastoral.

While to the Groves your Presence you deny, (73)
 Our Flow'rs are faded, and our Floods are dry;
 Tho' with'ring Herbs lay dying on the Plain,
 At your Return, they shall be green again.
 In shady Forests I may waste my Days, 75 (77)
 Invoke the Muses, and proclaim your Praise;
 Your Praise in Songs the Birds to Heav'n shall bear,
 And Wolves grow milder when the Sound they hear.
 Such magick Musick dwells within your Name,
 The Voice of Orpheus no such pow'r cou'd claim; 80 (82)
 Had You then liv'd, when he the Forests drew,
 The Trees and Orpheus both had follow'd You.

But see, the Southing Sun displays his Beams;
 See Tity'rus leads his Herd to Silver Streams;
 To closer Shades the panting Flocks remove; 85 (87)
 Ye Gods! and is there no Relief for Love?

But

71-74] While.../.../.../...again] Where-e'er you walk, cool Gales shall fan the Gl
 Trees, where you sit, shall crowd into a Shade,
 Where-e'er you tread, the blushing Flow'rs shall rise,
 And all things flourish where you turn your Eyes 1709;
 erasures above each of these lines; 72] faint line through "our
 Floods are"; erasure in the right margin which appears to be
 "Rivers".

75] In shady Forests I may waste] Oh! how I long with you to pass 1709.
 76] proclaim] resound 1709; erasure above "proclaim".

77-78] Your.../...hear] Your Praise the Birds shall chant in ev'ry Grove,
 And Winds shall waft it to the Pow'rs above 1709.

79-82] Such.../.../.../...You.]But wou'd you sing, and rival Orpheus Strain,
 The wondring Forests soon shou'd dance again,
 The moving Mountains hear the pow'rful Call,
 And headlong Streams hang list'ning in their Fall! 1709;

79] Orpheus 1709] Orpheus' 1717; erasures above all four lines
 and in the right margin beside l. 81; 79-80] faint lines through
 both lines of verse; 81] faint line through "You", "liv'd" and
 "when"; "he the Forests drew" written over erasure; 82] faint
 line through "and Orpheus both had follow'd You"; "The Trees"
 written over erasure.

83-84] But.../...Streams;] But see, the Shepherds shun the Noon-day Heat,
 The lowing Herds to murm'ring Brooks retreat, 1709;
 84] erasure above "Tity'rus"; faint line through "Tity'rus";
 "Tity'rus leads his Herd to Silver" appears to be written
 over erasure.

S U M M E R.

*But soon the Sun with milder Rays descends
To the cool Ocean, where his Journey ends;
• Me Love inflames, nor will his Fires allay,
By Night he scorches, as he burns by Day!*

A U T-

A U

T

H Y L

Beneath
Hylas

whose Con

While one his

Nymphs

Hylas and

Now Gol

and fleecy

SUMMER.

But soon the Sun with milder Rays descends
To the cool Ocean, where his Journey ends;
Me Love inflames, nor will his Fires allay,
By Night he scorches, as he burns by Day!

90 (92)

AUT-

89] Me...allay] On me Love's fiercer Flames for ever prey 1709.
90] Day!] Day. 1709.

E R.

er Rays descends
 s Journey ends;
 is Fires allay,
 urns by Day!

A U T U M N.

The Third Pastoral,

O R

HYLAS and ÆGON.

A U T-

Beneath the Shade a spreading Beech displays,
 Hylas and Ægon sung their Rurall Lays:
 To whose Complaints the listning Forests bend,
 While one his Mistress mourns, and one his Friend:
 Ye Nymphs of Thames, your kind Assistance bring,
 Hylas and Ægon's Rural Lays I sing.

Now Golden Phæbus sett serenely bright,
 And fleecy Clouds were streak'd with Purple Light:
 When

 AUTUMN.

The Third Pastoral,

OR

HYLAS and AEGON.

Beneath the Shade a spreading Beech displays,

Hylas and AEGon sung their Rurall Lays:

To whose Complaints the listning Forests bend,

While one his Mistress mourns, and one his Friend:

Ye Nymphs of Thames, your kind Assistance bring,

5 (5)

Hylas and AEGon's Rural Lays I sing.Now Golden Phaebus sett serenely bright,

(13)

And fleecy Clouds were streak'd with Purple Light:

When

 Sub-title] OR/HYLAS and AEGON.] omitted 1717, added again 1751; To W. WYCHERLEY, Esq; added 1709] To Mr. WYCHERLEY, 1717.

2] Rurall Lays:] Rural Lays; 1709.

3-4] To.../...Friend:] This mourn'd a faithless, that an absent Love,
And Delia's name and Doris fill'd the Grove. 1736;

4] "While one his", "mourns" and "one his" written over erasures.

5] Ye...bring,] Ye Mantuan Nymphs, your sacred Succour bring; 1709.between 11.6 and 7] addition: Thou whom the Nine with Plautus' Wit inspire,The Art of Terence, and Menander's Fire,

Whose Sense instructs us, and whose Humour charms,

Whose Judgment sways us, and whose Rapture warms! (10)

Attend the Muse, tho' low her Numbers be,

She sings of Friendship, and she sings to thee. 1709;

(10)] Rapture] spirit 1736; (11-12)] Attend.../...thee] Oh, skill'd in Nature! See the hearts of Swains,/ Their artless passions, and their tender pains 1736.

7] Now Golden Phaebus sett] The setting Sun now shone 1709] Now setting Phaebus shone 1717.

8] Light:] Light; 1709.

A U T U M N,

When tunefull Hylas with Melodious Moan,
Made Vales resound and hollow Mountains g.

W M O T U
Go whispring Gales and bear my Plaints and
To Thyrsis Ear the tender Notes convey:
As some sad Turtle her lost Love deplores,
And with deep Murmurs fills the sounding
Thus to the Groves, the Fields, and Floods I
Like her deserted, and like her forlorn.

W O U N D S C A T H

Go whispring Gales and bear my Plaints a
For him the Feather'd Quires neglect their
For him the Limes their pleasing Shades deny,
For him the Lillies hang their Heads and
Ye Flow'rs that languish when forsook by Spr
Ye Birds that cease when Summer's past to
Ye Trees that fade when Autumn Heats rer
Say, is not Absence Death to those that love.

AUTUMN,

When tunefull Hylas with Melodious Moan,
 Made Vales resound and hollow Mountains groan. 10 (16)

Go whispring Gales and bear my Complaints away;
 To Thyrsis Ear the tender Notes convey:
 As some sad Turtle her lost Love deplores,
 And with deep Murmurs fills the sounding Shores;
 Thus to the Groves, the Fields, and Floods I mourn, 15 (21)
 Like her deserted, and like her forlorn.

Go whispring Gales and bear my Complaints along;
 For him the Feather'd Quires neglect their Song,
 For him the Limes their pleasing Shades deny,
 For him the Lillies hang their Heads and die. 20 (26)
 Ye Flow'rs that languish when forsook by Spring,
 Ye Birds that cease when Summer's past to sing,
 Ye Trees that fade when Autumn Heats remove,
 Say, is not Absence Death to those that love?

Go

9] tunefull...Melodious Moan,] tuneful...melodious Moan 1709.

10] Made Vales and hollow Mountains] Taught Rocks to weep, and made the
 Mountains 1709.

11] whispring Gales and...Complaints away;] gentle Gales, and...Sighs away!
 1709.

12] Thyrsis....:] Thyrsis...! 1709] Delia's.... 1736.

13] her] his 1709.

15] Thus to the Groves, the Fields, and Floods] Thus, far from Thyrsis,
 to the Winds, 1709] Thus, far from Delia, to the winds 1736.

16] Like her deserted, and like her] Alike unheard, unpity'd, and 1709;
 erasure above entire line, which appears to be "Unheard, unpity'd,
 friendless, and forlorn."; faint line through entire line of verse.

17] whispring Gales and...Complaints along;] gentle Gales, and...Sighs along!
 1709.

18] him the...Song,] him, the...Song; 1709] her, the...song: 1736.

19] him the Limes...,] him, the Lymes...; 1709] her, the lymes...; 1736.

20] him the...die] him, the...dye 1709] her, the...die 1736.

21] Ye flow'rs that languish when forsook by] Ye Flow'rs that droop, forsaken
 by the 1709; erasure above "languish when forsook"; "forsook" underlined.

22] Birds that cease when Summer's past] Birds, that left by Summer, cease 1709.

23] Autumn Heats] Autumn-Heats 1709.

24] that] who 1709.

The Third Pastoral.

Go whispering Gales and bear my Plaints away:
 'Tis not the Fields that cause my Thyrsis Stay!
 Hide ev'ry Blossome, wither ev'ry Tree,
 And ev'ry Flow'r, and perish all—but he.
 What have I said?—Where e're my Friend remains,
 All Flow'rs and Blossoms purple all the Plains:
 Let opening Roses knotted Oaks adorn,
 And liquid Amber drop from ev'ry Thorn.

Go whispering Gales and bear my Plaints along:
 The Birds shall cease to tune their Ev'ning Song,
 The Winds to breath, the waving Woods to move,
 And Streams to murmur, e'er I cease to love.
 With him thro' Lybia's burning Plains I'll go,
 Or Alpine Mountains tread th' Eternal Snow;
 I'll feel no Heat but what our Loves impart,
 And dread no Coldness but in Thyrsis Heart.

Go.

The Third Pastoral.

Go whispring Gales and bear my Complaints away: 25 (31)
 Curst be the Fields that cause my Thyrsis Stay!
 Fade ev'ry Blossome, wither ev'ry Tree,
 Die ev'ry Flow'r, and perish all -- but he.
 What have I said? -- Where e're my Friend remains,
 Let Flow'rs and Blossoms purple all the Plains: 30 (36)
 Let opening Roses knotted Oaks adorn,
 And liquid Amber drop from ev'ry Thorn.

Go whispring Gales and bear my Complaints along:
 The Birds shall cease to tune their Ev'ning Song,
 The Winds to breath, the waving Woods to move, 35 (41)
 And Streams to murmur, e'er I cease to love.
 With him thro' Lybia's burning Plains I'll go, (49)
 On Alpine Mountains tread th' Eternal Snow;
 Yet feel no Heat but what our Loves impart,
 And dread no Coldness but in Thyrsis Heart. 40 (52)

Go

-
- 25] whispring Gales and...Complaints away:] gentle Gales, and...Sighs away! 1709.
 26] Curst...Thyrsis Stay!] Curs'd...Thyrsis Stay: 1709] Curs'd...Delia's stay; 1736.
 27] Blossome] Blossom 1709.
 28] Die...all -- but he] Dye...All, but He 1709] Die...all, but she 1736; "he" underlined.
 29] Where e're my Friend remains] where-e'er my Thyrsis flies 1709] where-e'er my Delia flies 1736.
 30] Let...Plains:] Let Spring attend, and sudden Flow'rs arise; 1709; "purple" underlined.
 33] whispring Gales and...Complaints along:] gentle Gales, and...Sighs along! 1709.
 35] breath] breathe 1709.
 37-40] With.../.../.../...Heart.] Thro' Rocks and Caves the Name of Thyrsis sounds Thyrsis, each Cave and ecchoing Rock rebounds.
 Ye Pow'rs, what pleasing Frensie soothes my Mind!
 Do Lovers dream or is my Shepherd kind? 1709;
 37] Thyrsis 1709] Delia 1736; 38] Thyrsis 1709] Delia 1736;
 40] Shepherd 1709] Delia 1736; 39] "but" written over an erasure; faint line through "but"; 40] "Coldness" underlined; erasure beneath "Coldness" which appears to be "Rigor".

A U T U M N,

Go whispering Gales and bear my Plaints along,
 Come Thyrsis, come, ah why this long Delay!
 Not bubbling Fountains to the thirsty Swain,
 Not balmy Sleep to Lab'ers spent with Pain,
 Not Show'rs to Larks, or Sunshine to the Bee,
 Are half so charming as thy Sight to me.
 But see, my Thyrsis comes! now cease my Song,
 And cease, ye Gales, to bear my Plaints along.

Next Egon sung, and Windsor Groves admir'd
 Rehearse, ye Mules, what yourselves inspir'd.

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful Strain
 Of perjur'd Phillis, dying I'll complain:
 While lab'ring Oxen, tir'd with Toil and Heat,
 In their loose Traces from the Field retreat.
 While curling Smokes from Village Tops arise,
 And the fleet Shades fly gliding o'er the Skies.

AUTUMN,

Go whispring Gales and bear my Complaints away: (47)

Come Thyrsis, come, ah why this long Delay!

Not bubling Fountains to the thirsty Swain, (43)

Not balmy Sleep to Lab'ers spent with Pain,

Not Show'rs to Larks, or Sunshine to the Bee, 45 (45)

Are half so charming as thy Sight to me.

But see, my Thyrsis comes! now cease my Song, (53)

And cease, ye Gales, to bear my Complaints along.

Next AEgon sung, and Windsor Groves admir'd;

Rehearse, ye Muses, what yourselves inspir'd. 50 (56)

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful Strain:

Of perjur'd Phyllis, dying I'll complain:

While lab'ring Oxen, tir'd with Toil and Heat, (61)

In their loose Traces from the Field retreat;

While curling Smokes from Village Tops are seen, 55 (63)

And the fleet Shades fly gliding o'er the Green.

41] whispring Gales and...Complaints away:] gentle Gales, and...Sighs away!
1709.

42] Thyrsis, come,...!] Thyrsis, come;...? 1709] Delia, come;...? 1736.

44] spent] faint 1709.

45] or] nor 1709] or 1717.

47] But see, my Thyrsis comes! now...Song] He comes, my Shepherd comes! --
now...Lay! 1709] She comes, my Delia comes! -- now...lay 1736.

48] cease, ye Gales, to...Complaints along.] cease ye Gales to...Sighs away!
1709.

49] and] while 1709.

50] Muses] Muses 1709.

51] Strain:] Strain! 1709.

52] Phyllis...I'll] Doris...I'll 1709] Doris...I 1717.

53] tir'd] spent 1709; erasure above "tir'd", which appears to be "spent";
faint line through "tir'd"; "lab'ring" appears to be written over
an erasure.

55] Village Tops] Village-Tops 1709.

56] fly gliding o'er the Green] glide o'er the dusky Green 1709.

THE THIRD PASTORAL.

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful Lay:
 'neath this Poplar oft we past the Day.
 On this Rind I carv'd her am'rous Vows,
 And she with Garlands hung the bending Boughs:
 The Garlands fade, the Vows are worn away;
 And dies her Love, and so my Hopes decay.

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful Strain:
 How bright Arcturus glads the teeming Grain;
 How Golden Fruits on loaded Branches shine,
 And grateful Clusters swell with floods of Wine;
 How blushing Berries paint the ^{flowing} Yellow Grove,
 O Gods! shall all things yield Returns but Love?

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful Lay:
 The Shepherds cry, Thy Flocks are left to stray:
 That avails it me my Flocks to keep,
 As lost my Heart while I preserv'd my Sheep!
 For comes & asks, what Magick works my Smart,
 What ill Eyes malignant Glances dart?

The Third Pastoral.

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful Lay:

Beneath this Poplar oft we past the Day.

Oft on this rind I carv'd her am'rous Vows,

While She with Garlands hung the bending Boughs; 60 (68)

The Garlands fade, the Vows are worn away;

So dies her Love, and so my Hopes decay.

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful Strain:

Now bright Arcturus glads the teeming Grain;

Now Golden Fruits on loaded Branches shine, 65 (73)

And grateful Clusters swell with floods of Wine;

Now blushing Berries paint the Yellow Grove,

Just Gods! shall all things yield Returns but Love?

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful Lay:

The Shepherds cry, Thy Flocks are left to stray: 70 (78)

Ah what avails it me my Flocks to keep,

Who lost my Heart while I preserv'd my Sheep!

Pan comes & asks, what Magick works my Smart,

Or what ill Eyes malignant Glances dart?

57] Lay:] Lay! 1709.

58] this...Day.] yon...Day: 1709; erasure above "this"; "this" written over erasure.

59] this...am'rous] the...Am'rous 1709: faint line through "this".

60] hung] grac'd 1709] hung 1736.

63] Strain:] Strain! 1709.

64] Grain;] Grain, 1709.

66] floods of] flowing MS2] floods of 1709; "floods of" underlined.

67] Yellow Grove,] fertile Grove; 1709] yellow grove; 1717; erasure beneath "Yellow"; "Yellow" appears to be written over an erasure.

69] Lay:] Lay! 1709.

70] Thy Flocks are left to stray:] "Thy Flocks are left a Prey -- " 1709.

71] me my] me, the 1709.

72] Sheep!] Sheep. 1709.

73] comes & asks...works] came, and ask'd...caus'd 1709; erasure above "comes & asks".

74] ill Eyes] Ill Eyes 1709.

A U T U M N,

What Eyes but hers, alas, have pow'r on me?
Oh mighty Love! what Magick is like Thee?

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful
I'll fly from Shepherds, Flocks, and flocks;
From Shepherds, Flocks, and Plains I may re-
Forſake Mankind, and all the World — but Love
I know thee Love! on deſart Mountains be
Wolves gave thee ſuck, and ſavage Tygers fed
Thou wert from Aetna's burning Entrails
Got by fierce Whirlwinds, and in Thunder born

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful
To Shades unknown Death ſummons me away
See where yon Mountains, leſſning as they
Swell o'er the Vales, and ſteal into the Skies
One Leap from thence ſhall finiſh all my Fate
No more ye Hills, no more resound my Strains

Thus ſung the Swains, while Day contended
The Skies ſtill bluſhing with departing Light
When falling Dews with Spangles deck'd the
And the low Sun had ſtretch'd out ev'ry Shade

W I

AUTUMN,

What Eyes but hers, alas, have pow'r on me? 75 (83)

Oh mighty Love! what Magick is like Thee?

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful Strains:

I'll fly from Shepherds, Flocks, and flow'ry Plains

From Shepherds, Flocks, and Plains I may remove

Forsake Mankind, and all the World -- but Love! 80 (88)

I know thee Love! on desert Mountains bred,

Wolves gave thee suck, and savage Tygers fed;

Thou wert from Aetna's burning Entrails torn,

Got by fierce Whirlwinds, and in Thunder born!

Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful Lay: 85 (93)

To Shades unknown Death summons me away:

See where yon Mountains, less'ning as they rise, (59)

Swell o'er the Vales, and steal into the Skies,

One leap from thence shall finish all my Pain: (95)

No more ye Hills, no more resound my Strain. 90 (96)

Thus sung the Swains, while Day contends with Night,

The Skies still blushing with departing Light:

When falling Dews with Spangles deck'd the Glade,

And the low Sun had stretch'd out ev'ry Shade.

WIN-

75] pow'r on me?] Pow'r on me! 1709] pow'r to move! 1717.

76] Oh...Thee?] Oh mighty Love, what Magick is like thee! 1709] And is there magic but what dwells in love? 1717.

77] Strains:] Strains! 1709.

79] Plains I] Plains, I 1709.

80] "Forsake Mankind, and all the World" written over erasure.

81] on desert Mountains bred] wild as the raging Main 1709] on foreign Mountains bred 1751.

82] Wolves...fed,] More fell than Tygers on the Lybian Plain; 1709] Wolves gave thee suck, and savage Tygers fed. 1751.

85] Lay:] Lay! 1709.

86] To...away:] Farewell ye Woods! adieu the Light of Day! 1709; erasure above "death summons me".

87] See where yon Mountains,] Here where the Mountains 1709.

88] Swell o'er the...,] Lose the low.... 1709; erasure in the left margin.

89] thence shall finish all my Pain:] yonder Cliff shall end my Pains. 1709.

90] Strain. Strains! 1709.

91] Swains, while Day contends with] Shepherds till th' Approach of 1709; line through "contends", there may be an erasure above this line.

92] still...Light:] yet...Light, 1709; "Skies still blushing" written over erasure.

93] stretch'd out] lengthen'd 1709; faint line through "stretch'd out; there may be an erasure above "stretch'd out".

M N,
 have pow'r on me
 agick is like Thee?
 ound my mournful
 Flocks, and flocks
 and Plains I may re-
 the World — but Lo-
 cart Mountains
 d savage Tygers fe-
 burning Entrails t-
 und in Thunder bo-
 und my mournful
 th summons me away
 s, leaving as they
 teal into the Skies
 ll finish all my
 resound my Strain
 hile Day conspires
 with departing Li-
 angles deck'd the
 ch'd out ev'ry Shade

W I.

W I N T E R:

The Fourth Pastorall;

O R

D A P H N E.

Melibœus.

THYRSIS, the Music of that murmuring Spring
 Is not so mournful, as the strains you sing;
 Nor those soft Streams that wash the Vale below,
 So sweetly warble, or so smoothly flow.
 Now in warm Folds the tender Flock remains;
 The Cattle slumber on the silent Plains;

While

WINTER:

The Fourth Pastorall;

OR

DAPHNE.

Meliboeus.

Thyrsis, the Music of that murm'ring Spring
 Is not so mournful, as the strains you sing;
 Nor those soft Streams that wash the Vale below,
 So sweetly warble, or so smoothly flow.
 Now in warm Folds the tender Flock remains;
 The Cattle slumber on the silent Plains;

5 (5)

While

sub-title] Pastorall;] Pastoral, 1709; OR/DAPHNE.] omitted 1717, added
 again 1751; To the Memory of a Fair Young Lady. added 1709]
To the Memory of Mrs. TEMPEST. 1717.

between sub-title and 1.1] Meliboeus] Lycidas 1709.

1] Music] Musick 1709; erasure above "that murm'ring Spring" and in right
 margin; "murm'ring Spring" may be written over an erasure.

2] mournful, as...strains...sing;] mournful as...Strains...sing, 1709;
 erasure above "as the strains you sing"; "as the strains you"
 written over an erasure.

3] Nor those soft Streams that wash the Vale] Nor Rivers winding thro'
 the Vales 1709; erasure above "those soft Streams that";
 "those soft Streams that wash" written over an erasure.

4] "sweetly" written over an erasure.

5] Now...remains;] Now sleeping Flocks on their soft Fleeces lye, 1709;
 "remains" underlined.

6] The...Plains;] The Moon, serene in Glory, mounts the Sky, 1709.

W I N T E R.

*While Sleeping Birds forget their tuneful Song,
Let us, dear Thyrsis, sing of Daphne's Praise.*

Thyrsis.

*Behold the Trees, that shine with silver Frost,
Whose Arms are wither'd, and whose Leaves are lost;
Here shall I try the sweet Alexis Strain,
That call'd the list'ning Fawns from ev'ry Plain.
Thames heard the Numbers, as he flow'd along,
And bad his Willows learn the moving Song.*

Meliboeus.

*So may kind Rains their vital Moisture yield,
And swell the future Harvest of thy Field.
Begin, This Charge the dying Daphne gave,
And said, Ye Shepherds, Sing around my Grave.
Sing, while in Tears upon the Tomb I mourn,
And with fresh Bays her Rural Shrine adorn.*

Thyrsis.

*Ye gentle
Let Nymphs*

*Ye weeping
And break ye*

*And with ye
Scribe a Y*

*Let Natur
Fair Daph*

*'Tis done,
Behold, the*

*And hung n
And cast the*

*Behold on E
With You th*

*What avo
Fair Daphn*

WINTER.

While sleeping Birds forget their tuneful Lays,
Let us, dear Thyrsis, sing of Daphne's Praise.

Thyrsis.

Behold the Trees, that shine with silver Frost,
Whose Arms are wither'd, and whose Leaves are lost; 10 (10)
Here shall I try the sweet Alexis Strain,
That call'd the list'ning Fawns from ev'ry Plain;
Thames heard the Numbers, as he flow'd along,
And bad his Willows learn the moving Song.

Meliboeus.

So may kind Rains their vital Moisture yield, 15 (15)
And swell the future Harvest of thy Field.
Begin, This Charge the dying Daphne gave,
And said, Ye Shepherds, Sing around my Grave:
Sing, while in Tears upon the Tomb I mourn,
And with fresh Bays her Rural Shrine adorn. 20 (20)

Thyrsis

-
- 7] sleeping] silent 1709; erasure above "While"; "sleep" written over erasure.
8] Let us, dear Thyrsis, sing of...Praise.] Oh sing of Daphne's Fate, and...Praise! 1709.
9] Trees, that] Groves that 1709; "Trees", "shine", and "silver" written over erasures.
10] Whose...Lost;] Their Beauty wither'd, and their Verdure lost. 1709; "Leaves" appears to be written over an erasure.
11] Alexis] Alexis' 1709.
12] Fawns from ev'ry Plain;] Dryads to the Plain? 1709.
13] Numbers, as] Numbers as 1709.
14] bad...Willows] bade...Willows 1709.
between 11. 14 and 15] Meliboeus.] Lycidas. 1709.
15] "So may kind Rains" and "vital Moisture" written over erasures.
16] thy Field.] thy Field! 1709] the field. 1740; "And swell the future Harvest of" written over an erasure.
17] Begin, This] Begin; this 1709.
18] said, Ye Shepherds, Sing around my Grave:] said, "Ye Shepherds, sing around my Grave. 1709.
19] in Tears upon the] beside the shaded 1709; "upon" underlined.

The Fourth Pastoral.

Thyrsis.

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

'Tis done, and Nature's chang'd, since you are gone,
 Behold, the Clouds have put their Mourning on:
 Now hung with Pearls the weeping Groves appear,
 And cast their faded Honours on your Bier:
 Behold on Earth the Flow'ry Glories lie,
 With You they flourish'd, and with You they die:
 What avail the Beauties Nature wore?
 Fair Daphne's dead, and Beauty ^{now} is no more!

No

Thyrsis

The Fourth Pastoral.

Thyrsis.

Ye gentle Muses, leave your Chrystal Spring;
 Let Nymphs and Sylvans Cypress Garlands bring:
 Ye weeping Loves, the Stream with Myrtles hide,
 And break your Bows, as when Adonis dy'd;
 And with your Golden Darts, now useless grown, 25 (25)
 Inscribe a Verse on this relenting Stone:
 'Let Nature change, and Heav'n & Earth deplore;
 'Fair Daphne's dead, and Love is now no more!

'Tis done, and Nature's chang'd, since you are gone,
 Behold, the Clouds have put their Mourning on: 30 (30)
 Now hung with Pearls the weeping Groves appear,
 And cast their faded Honours on your Bier:
 Behold on Earth the Flow'ry Glories lie,
 With You they flourish'd, and with You they die:
 Ah what avail the Beauties Nature wore? 35 (35)
 Fair Daphne's dead, and Beauty is no more!

No

-
- 21] Muses, leave your Chrystal Spring;] Muses leave your Crystal Spring, 1709.
 22] bring:] bring; 1709.
 27] 'Let...and Heav'n & Earth deplore;] "Let...let Heav'n and Earth deplore,
 1709.
 28] 'Fair...Love] "Fair...Love 1709.
 29] chang'd,since you are gone,] various Charms decay; 1709.
 30] Behold...on:] See gloomy Clouds obscure the chearful day! 1709.
 31] weeping Groves] dropping Trees 1709.
 32] And...Bier:] Their faded Honours scatter'd on her Bier. 1709.
 33] Behold...lie] See, where on Earth the flow'ry Glories lye 1709.
 34] You...You they die:] her...her they dye. 1709.
 36] Beauty is] Beauty's now MS2] Beauty's now 1709] beauty is 1717.

W I N T E R .

No more soft Dews descend from Evening Skies
 Nor Morning Odours from the Flow'rs arise:
 No rich Perfumes refresh the fertile Field,
 Which but for You, did all its Incense yield:†
 The balmy Zephyrs, silent since your Death,
 Lament the Ceasing of a sweeter Breath:
 Th'industrious Bees neglect their fragrant Stings
 Fair Daphne's dead, and Sweetness is no more.

For You the Flocks their Grassy Fare disdain
 Nor hungry Heyfars crop the tender Plain:
 The Silver Swans your hapless Fate bemoan,
 With sadder Notes, than when they sing their
 In ^{hollow} ~~gloomy~~ Caves sweet Echo silent lies,
 Silent, or only to your Name replies:
 Your Name wth Pleasure once she taught the Shore
 Now Daphne's dead, and Pleasure is no more.

No

WINTER.

No more soft Dews descend from E'vning Skies, (45)
 Nor Morning Odours from the Flow'rs arise:
 No rich Perfumes refresh the fertile Field,
 Which but for You, did all its Incense yield: 40 (48)
 The balmy Zephyrs, silent since your Death,
 Lament the Ceasing of a sweeter Breath:
 Th' industrious Bees neglect their fragrant Store;
 Fair Daphne's dead, and Sweetness is no more!

For You the Flocks their Grassy Fare disdain, 45 (37)
 Nor hungry Heyfars crop the tender Plain:
 The Silver Swans your hapless Fate bemoan,
 With sadder Notes, than when they sing their own:
 In gloomy Caves sweet Echo silent lies,
 Silent, or only to your Name replies: 50 (42)
 Your Name wth. Pleasure once she taught the Shore;
 Now Daphne's dead, and Pleasure is no more!

No

-
- 37] No more soft...E'vning] No grateful...Ev'ning 1709.
 38] arise:] arise. 1709.
 39] fertile] fruitful 1709.
 40] Which...yield:] Nor fragrant Herbs their native Incense yield. 1709;
 mark in right margin, +; erasure above "You, did".
 41] your] her 1709.
 42] Breath:] Breath. 1709.
 43] fragrant] Golden 1709.
 44] Sweetness] Sweetness 1709.
 45] For...disdain] For her, the Flocks refuse their verdant Food 1709.
 46] Nor...Plain:] Nor thirsty Heifers seek the gliding Flood. 1709] The
 thirsty heifers shun...1751; erasure above "Heyfars crop";
 faint line beneath "crop".
 47] Silver...your] silver...her 1709.
 48] With sadder Notes, than...own:] In sadder Notes than...own. 1709] In
 notes more sad than...own; 1736.
 49] In gloomy...lies] In hollow...lies MS2] Eccho no more the rural Song
 rebounds 1709] In hollow caves sweet Echo silent lies 1736;
 erasures above "sweet Echo" and "lies", one word of the former
 appears to be "Echoes".
 50] Silent...replies:] Her Name alone the mournful Eccho sounds, 1709]
 Silent, or only to her name replies, 1736; erasure above "replies",
 which appears to be "You reply:" "y" of "your" and "Name"
 written over erasures.
 51] Your...wth....Shore:] Her...with...Shore, 1709; "Your Name wth." written
 over an erasure beginning with "F" or "T"; "once s" and "taught
 the Shore" written over erasures; erasure above "she taught".
 52] Pleasure] Pleasure 1709; "Now" written over an erasure.

The Fourth Pastoral.

From Evening
Flowers arise:
Fertile Field,
License yield:
Your Death,
Your Breath:
Your fragrant
Fields is no more

Fare disdain,
Your Plain:
You bemoan,
You sing their
You lies,
You:
You the Shore,
You is no more.

No

No more the Wolves, when You your Numbers try,
All cease to follow, and the Lambs to fly:
No more the Birds shall imitate your Lays,
Charmed to Silence, listen from the Sprays:
No more the Streams their Murmurs shall forbear,
Sweeter Music than their own to hear;
But tell the Reeds, and tell the Vocal Shore,
That Daphne's dead, and Music is no more!

Your Fate is whisper'd by the gentle Breeze,
And told in Sighs to all the trembling Trees;
The trembling Trees, in every Plain and Wood,
Your Fate remurmur to the Silver Flood;
The Silver Flood, so lately calm, appears
Well'd with this Sorrows, and o'erflows with Tears:
The Winds, and Trees, and Floods, y^e Death deplores:
Daphne, our Grief, and our Delight no more!

But

The Fourth Pastoral.

No more the Wolves, when You your Numbers try, (53)
 Shall cease to follow, and the Lambs to fly:
 No more the Birds shall imitate your Lays, 55 (55)
 Or charm'd to Silence, listen from the Sprays:
 No more the Streams their Murmurs shall forbear,
 A sweeter Music than their own to hear;
 But tell the Reeds, and tell the Vocal Shore,
 Fair Daphne's dead, and Music is no more! 60 (60)

Your Fate is whisper'd by the gentle Breeze,
 And told in Sighs to all the trembling Trees;
 The trembling Trees, in ev'ry Plain and Wood,
 Your Fate remurmur to the Silver Flood;
 The Silver Flood, so lately calm, appears 65 (65)
 Swell'd with this Sorrow, and o'erflows with Tears:
 The Winds, and Trees, and Floods, yr. death deplore;
Daphne, our Grief, and our Delight no more!

But

-
- 53-54] No.../...fly:] No more the mounting Larks, while Daphne sings,
 Shall list'ning in mid Air suspend their Wings; 1709;
 53] erasure above "You your Numbers"; You your" underlined;
 54] erasure above "and" which may be "nor" or "or"; "and"
 appears to be written over an erasure.
 55] Birds shall imitate your] Nightingales repeat her 1709] birds shall
 imitate her 1751.
 56] charm'd to Silence, listen] hush'd with Wonder, hearken 1709.
 58] Music...hear;] Musick...hear, 1709.
 59] Vocal] vocal 1709.
 60] Music] Musick 1709.
 61] Your] Her 1709.
 63] erasure above "Plain"; "Plain" written over an erasure; "Plain"
 underlined.
 64] Your...Silver] Her...silver 1709.
 65] Silver] silver 1709.
 66] this Sorrow...Tears:] new Passion...Tears; 1709; "with this Sorrow"
 may be written over an erasure.
 67] yr. death deplore;] her Death deplore, 1709; "yr. death" written over
 an erasure; "The Winds, and Trees, and Floods" may be written
 over an erasure.
 68] Grief, and our Delight] Grief! our Glory now 1709.

W I N T E R.

∴ But ^{see where Daphne wondrous mounts on high,}
 Above the Clouds, above the Starry Sky :
 Eternal Beauties grace the shining Scene,
 Fields ever fresh, and Groves for ever green.
 There, while You rest in Amarantine Bow'rs,
 Or from those Meads select unfading Flow'rs,
 Behold us kindly, who your Name implore,
 Daphne, our Goddess, and our Grief no more!

Meliboeus.

Thy Songs, dear Thyrsis, more delight my Mind,
 Than the soft ^{musick} ~~voice~~ of the breathing Wind;
 Or whispering Groves, when some expiring Breeze
 Pants on the Leaves, and trembles in the Tree!
 When teeming Ewes increase my fleecy Breed,
 To Thee, bright Daphne, oft' a Lamb shall bleed.
 While Vapours rise, and driving Snows descend,
 Thy Honor, Name, and Praise, shall never end.
 Thyrsis

WINTER.

But see where Daphne wondring mounts on high,
 Above the Clouds, above the Starry Sky: 70 (70)
 Eternal Beauties grace the shining Scene,
 Fields ever fresh, and Groves for ever green.
 There, while You rest in Amarantine Bow'rs,
 Or from those Meads select unfading Flow'rs,
 Behold us kindly, who your Name implore, 75 (75)
Daphne, our Goddess, and our Grief no more!

Meliboeus.

Thy Songs, dear Thyrsis, more delight my Mind,
 Than the soft Musick of the breathing Wind;
 Or whisp'ring Groves, when some expiring Breeze
 Pants on the Leaves, and trembles in the Trees! 80 (80)
 When teeming Ewes increase my fleecy Breed, (82)
 To Thee, bright Daphne, oft' a Lamb shall bleed. (81)
 While Vapours rise, and driving Snows descend,
 Thy Honour, Name, and Praise, shall never end!

Thyrsis

-
- 69] see where Daphne] see! where Daphne 1709; "see where Daphne wondring
 mounts on high," written above an erasure; mark in left margin, ...
 70] Sky:] Sky. 1709; "Sky" written over an erasure; faint light through "Sky".
 72] green.] green! 1709.
 73] Amarantiné] Amaranthine 1709.
 75] kindly, who] kindly who 1709.
 between 11. 76 and 77] Meliboeus] Lycidas 1709.
 77] Thy...Mind,] How all things listen, while thy Muse complains! 1709;
 "dear" written over an erasure.
 78] Than...Wind;] Such Silence waits on Philomela's Strains, 1709; "Musick"
 written above an erasure which appears to be "whisper".
 79] Or whisp'ring Groves, when some expiring] In some still Ev'ning, when
 the whisp'ring 1709; "Or whisp'ring Groves" written over an
 erasure; erasure above "whisp'ring".
 80] trembles in the Trees!] dies upon the Trees. 1709; erasure above "in".
 81] When...increase...Breed,] If...encrease...Breed. 1709; "2" written
 in right margin.
 82] Thee...Daphne, oft'...bleed.] thee...Goddess, oft...bleed, 1709; "1"
 written in right margin.
 83] While...descend] While Plants their Shade, or Flow'rs their Odours
 give 1709.
 84] Thy...end] Thy Name, thy Honour, and thy Praise shall live 1709; "never"
 underlined.

E R.
 mounts on high,
 happy Sky :
 shining Scene,
 for ever green.
 antique Bow'rs,
 fading Flow'rs,
 Name implore,
 or Grief no more!

delight my Mind,
 soothing Wind;
 expiring Breeze
 trembles in the Trees!
 my fleecy Breed, :
 Lamb shall bleed.
 ing Snows descend,
 e, shall never end
 Thyrsis.

The Fourth Pastoral.

Thyrsis.

But see, Orion sheds unwholesome Dews,
 Life, the Pines a noxious Shade diffuse;
 Sharp Boreas blows, & Nature feels Decay;
 Time conquers all, and we must Time obey!
 Adieu ye Rivers; Plains, and conscious Groves;
 Adieu ye Shepherd's rural Lays, and Loves;
 Adieu my Flock; farewell ye Sylvan Crew;
 Daphne farewell; and all the World adieu!

The End of the Pastorals.

The Fourth Pastoral.

Thyrsis.

But see, Orion sheds unwholesome Dews, 85 (85)
 Arise, the Pines a noxious Shade diffuse;
 Sharp Boreas blows, & Nature feels Decay;
 Time conquers all, and we must Time obey!
 Adieu ye Rivers, Plains, and conscious Groves;
 Adieu ye Shepherd's rural Lays, and Loves; 90 (90)
 Adieu my Flock; farewell ye Sylvan Crew;
Daphne farewell; and all the World adieu!

The End of the Pastorals.

- 85] But see, Orion] See pale Orion 1709] But see, Orion 1751; erasure above "But see, O"; "sheds" may be written over an erasure.
 86] "the" written over an erasure, possibly the word "for"
 87] &...Decay;] and...Decay, 1709; "Sharp Boreas" and "feels" written over erasures.
 88] all...obey!] All...obey. 1709.
 89] Adieu...Groves;] Adieu ye Vales, ye Mountains, Streams, and Groves, 1709; erasure above "Rivers, Plains, and con"; faint line through "Rivers, Plains, and conscious".
 90] Lays, and Loves;] Lays and Loves, 1709; "ye" written over an erasure.
 91] Flock; farewell ye Sylvan Crew;] Flocks, farewell ye Sylvan Crew, 1709; "ye" written over an erasure.
 92] farewell; and] farewell, and 1709.
 following 1. 92] The End of the Pastorals.] FINIS. 1709.

t with past thro
 Congreve, Mr. Main-
 Granville, Mr.
 W. Trumbull
 Marg. of Dorchester
 3rd Eclog was
 I saw y^e other
 y^e here stand wth
 — Stat. mod. 10.

this copy were up-
 850, or my own.

AN
 ESSAY
 ON
 PASTORAL.

THE 'Original of Poësie is attributed to
 that Age of Innocence which succeeded
 the Creation of the World. And as the
 tending of Flocks ^{seems} ~~appears~~ to have been the
 first Employment of Mankind; the most an-
 cient sort of Poetry was probably Pastoral. (a) It is
 natural to imagine, that the Leisure of those an-
 cient Shepherds requir'd some Diversion; & none was so
 proper to that Solitary Life as Singing. These Songs
 were adapted to their present Circumstances; &
 (a) Fontanelle's Discourse of Pastorals.

in

AN
ESSAY
ON
PASTORAL.

The Original of Poesie is attributed to that Age of Innocence which succeeded The Creation of the World. And as the Feeding of Flocks appears to have been the first Employment of Mankind; the most ancient sort of Poetry was probably Pastoral. (a) It is natural to imagine, that the Leisure of those ancient Shepherds requir'd some Diversion; & none was so proper to that Solitary Life as Singing. These Songs were adapted to their present Circumstances; &

10

(a) Fontanelle's Discourse of Pastorals.

in

Title] AN/ESSAY /ON/PASTORAL] A/ DISCOURSE/ ON/ PASTORAL POETRY 1717.

between title and 1.1] There are not, I believe, a greater number of any sort of verses than of those which are called Pastorals, nor a smaller, than of those which are truly so. It therefore seems necessary to give some account of this kind of Poem, and it is my design to comprize in this short paper the substance of those numerous dissertations the Criticks have made on the subject, without omitting any rules in my own favour. You will also find some points reconciled, about which they seem to differ, and a few remarks which I think have escaped their observation. 1717.

- 1] Original of Poesie is attributed] original of Poetry is ascribed 1717.
- 2] Age of Innocence] age 1717.
- 3] Creation...World. And] creation...world: and 1717.
- 4] Feeding of Flocks appears] Feeding of Flocks seems MS2] keeping of flocks seems 1717; "of" written over erasure.
- 5] Employment of Mankind; the] employment of mankind, the 1717.
- 6] Pastoral. (a) It is] pastoral. 'Tis 1717] pastoral b. It is 1751.
- 7] Leisure] leisure 1717.
- 8] Shepherds requir'd some Diversion; & none] shepherds requiring some diversion, none 1717] shepherds admitting and inviting some diversion, none 1751.
- 9] Solitary Life as Singing. Thes Songs] solitary life as singing; and that in their songs 1717] solitary and sedentary life as singing; and that in their songs 1751.
- 10] were adapted to their present Circumstances; &] omitted 1717.
- (a)] Fontanelle's Discourse of Pastorals.] omitted 1717] b Fontenelle's Disc. on Pastorals. P. 1751.

Essay on Pastoral.

in these they took occasion to celebrate their ~~own~~ Felicity. From hence a Poem was invented, and afterwards improv'd to a perfect Image of that happy Time: which by infusing into us an Esteem for the Virtues of a former Age, might recommend the same to the present. And since the Life of a Shepherd was attended with more Tranquillity, the Poets retain'd their Persons, from whom it receiv'd the Name of Pastoral.

A Pastoral is an Imitation of the Action of a Shepherd, or One consider'd under that Character. The Form of this Imitation is Dramatick Narrative, or Mixt. (b) The Fable simple. (c) The Manners not ^{too} polite, nor yet too rustic: In order to a just Preservation of which, they are represented according to the Genius of the Golden Age. (d) Conformable to the Manners, the Thoughts are plain and pure; yet admit a little Quickness and Passion, but that short and swelling. The Expression humble, yet as pure as the Language will afford: neat, but not exquisite; easy, but yet lively. In short, the Fable, manners, Thoughts, and Expressions, are full of the greatest Simplicity in Nature.

(b) Heinſius, Not. in Theocr. Idyll.

(c) Hor. Ar. Poet. vers. 23.

Denique sit, quod vis, simplex duntaxat, & unum.

(d) Rapin, de Carm. pastor. p. 2.

The

Essay on Pastoral.

in these they took occasion to celebrate their owne
 Felicity. From hence a Poem was invented, and
 afterwards improv'd to a perfect Image of that
 happy Time: which by infusing into us an Est-
 eem for the Virtues of a former Age, might re-
 commend the same to the present. And since
 the Life of a Shepherd was attended with most
Tranquillity, the Poets retain'd their Persons,
 from whom it receiv'd the Name of Pastoral.

15

A Pastoral is an Imitation of the Action of a
Shepherd, or One considred under that Charact-
er. The Form of this Imitation is Dramatick
 Narrative, or Mixt. (b) The Fable simple. (c)
 The Manners not polite, nor yet too rustic: In Or-
 der to a just Preservation of which, they are re-
 presented according to the Genius of the Gold-
 en Age. (d) Conformable to the Manners, the
Thoughts are plain and pure; yet admit a lit-
 tle Quickness and Passion, but that short and flo-
 wing. The Expression humble, yet as pure as
 the Language will afford: neat, but not exqui-
 sit; easy but yet lively. In short, the Fable,
 Manners, Thoughts, and Expressions, are full
 of the greatest Simplicity in Nature.

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30

(b) Heinsius, Not. in Theocr. Idyll.

(c) Hor. Ar. Poet. vers. 23.

Denique sit, quod vis, simplex duntaxat, & unum.

(d) Rapin, de Carm. pastor. pt. 2.

The

11] in these they...owne] they...own 1717.

12] Felicity....Poem] felicity....Poem 1717.

13] Image] image 1717.

14] Time: which by infusing into us an Est-/eem] time; which by giving us
 an esteem 1717.

15] Virtues...Age] virtues...age 1717.

16] the same] them 1717.

- 17] Life of a Shepherd...most] life of shepherds...more 1717.
- 18] Tranquillity, the Poets retain'd their Persons] tranquillity than any other rural employment, the Poets chose to introduce their Persons 1717; "Tranquillity" and retain'd" written over erasures.
- 19] Name of Pastoral] name of Pastoral 1717; "receiv'd" written over an erasure.
- 20] Pastoral...Imitation...Action] Pastoral...imitation...action 1717.
- 21] Shepherd, or One considered under that Charact-/er.] shepherd; 1717] shepherd, or one considered under that character. 1751.
- 22] The Form...Imitation is Dramatick] the form...imitation is dramatic 1717] The form...imitation is dramatic 1751.
- 23] Narrative, or Mixt. (b) The Fable simple. (c) or narrative, or mix'd of both; the fable simple, 1717] or narrative, or mixed of both c; the fable simple, 1751.
- 24] The Manners not polite, nor yet too rustic: In Or-/der] The Manners not too polite, nor yet too rustic: In Or-/der MS2] the manners not too polite nor too rustic: 1717.
- 24-27] ...rustic: In Or-/der to a just Preservation of which they are re-presented according to the Genius of the Gold-/en Age.
(d) Conformable to the Manners, the] rustic: The 1717.
- 28] Thoughts are plain and pure;] thoughts are plain, 1717.
- 29] Quickness and Passion] quickness and passion 1717.
- 29-30] flo-/wing. The Expression] flowing; The expression 1717.
- 31] Language...afford:...exqui-/sit] language...afford;...florid 1717;
"but not exqui-" may be written over an erasure.
- 32] but....Fable] and....fable 1717; "sit; easy" may be written over an erasure.
- 33] Manners, Thoughts, and Expressions] manners, thoughts, and expressions 1717.
- 34] Simplicity in Nature] simplicity in nature 1717.
- (b)] Heinsius, Not. in Theocr. Idyll.] omitted 1717] c Heinsius in Theocr. p. 1751.
- (c)] Hor. Ar. Poet. vers. 23./ Denique sit, quod vis, simplex duntaxat, & unum.] omitted 1717.
- (d)] Rapin, de Carm. pastor. pt.2.] omitted 1717; appended to "simplicity" in l.36 (MS) as follows: d Rapin de Carm. Past. p.2. 1751;
beneath (d) a footnote appears to have been erased.

n Pastoral.

sion to celebrate their
 a Poem was invented, as
 to a perfect Image of the
 by infusing into us an
 of a former Age, might
 to the present. And since
 rd was attended with re
 etain'd their Perfor
 'd the Name of Pastoral
 imitation of the Action
 idered under that Charac
 Imitation is Dramatic.
 (b) The Fable simple. (c)
 te, nor yet too rustic: In
 tion of which, they are
 to the Genius of the G
 ble to the Manners, the
 and pure; yet admit a
 ion, but that short anti
 humble, yet as pure as
 ford: neat, but not exqui
 y. In short, the Fable
 and Expressions, are fu
 lity in Nature.

Essay on Pastoral.

The compleat Character of this Poem con=
 sists in Simplicity, Brevity, and Delicacy: the
 objects of which render an Eclogue Natural,
 and the last Delightfull.

If we design to copy Nature, it may be useful
 to take this Consideration along with us; that
 Pastoral properly belongs to the Golden Age.
 So that we are not to describe our Shepherds
 as Shepherds at this Day really are; but as
 they may be conceiv'd then to have been; w^h
 a notion of Quality was annex'd to the Name,
 and the best of men follow'd that Employ-
 ment. To carry this Resemblance yet farther,
 we shou'd not be amiss to give the Shepherds
 some Skill in Astrology, as far as it may be
 useful to that sort of Life. And an Air of
 Piety to the Gods, which is so visibly diffus'd
 thro' all the Works of Antiquity, shou'd shine
 throughout the Poem. (f) Above all, a Pasto-
 ral ought to preserve some Relish of the Anci-
 ent Way of Writing. For which Reason the
 Connexions shou'd be loose; the Narra-
 tions and Descriptions little; and the Periods
 short. (g) Yet it is not sufficient that the Sen-

heocri. Idyll.

simplex duntaxat, & unum.
 p. 2.

The

(f) Preface to the Pastorals in Dryd. Virg.

(g) Rapin, Reflexions sur l'Art Poet. d'Arist. p. 2. ref. 27.

ten-

Essay on Pastoral.

The compleat Character of this Poem consists in Simplicity, Brevity, and Delicacy: the two first of which render an Eclogue Natural, and the last Delightfull.

If we design to copy Nature, it may be useful to take this Consideration along with us; that Pastoral properly belongs to the Golden Age. So that we are not to describe our Shepherds as Shepherds at this Day really are; but as they may be conceiv'd then to have been; when a Notion of Quality was annex'd to the Name, and the best of Men follow'd that Employment. To carry this Resemblance yet farther, it wou'd not be amiss to give the Shepherds some Skill in Astrology, as far as it may be useful to that sort of Life. And an Air of Piety to the Gods, which is so visibly diffus'd thro' all the Works of Antiquity, shou'd shine throughout the Poem. (f) Above all, a Pastoral ought to preserve some Relish of the Ancient Way of Writing. For which Reason the Connexions shou'd be loose; the Narrations and Descriptions little; and the Periods short. (g) Yet it is not sufficient that the Sen-

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(f) Preface to the Pastorals in Dryd. Virg.

(g) Rapin, Reflexions sur l'Art d'Arist. p.2 refl. 27.

ten-

35] compleat Character...Poem] complete character...poem 1717.

36] Simplicity, Brevity, and Delicacy: the] simplicity, brevity, and delicacy; the 1717] simplicity d, brevity, and delicacy; the 1751; footnote (d) of MS. appended to this line, as above (see n.(d)).

37] Eclogue Natural] eclogue natural 1717.

- 38] Delightfull] delightful 1717.
- 39] design to copy Nature] would copy Nature 1717.
- 40] Consideration...us; that] consideration...us, that 1717] Idea...us, that 1751.
- 41] Pastoral properly belongs to the Golden Age] pastoral is an image of what they call the Golden age 1717.
- 42] Shepherds] shepherds 1717.
- 43] Shepherds...Day...are; but] shepherds...day...are, but 1717.
- 44] wn.] when 1717.
- 45] a Notion of Quality was annex'd to the Name,] a notion of quality was annex'd to that name, 1717] omitted 1736.
- 46] and the...Men...that Employ-ment] and the...men...the employment 1717] the...men...the employment 1736.
- 47] Resemblance] resemblance 1717.
- 48] wou'd...the Shepherds] would...these shepherds 1717.
- 49] Skill in Astrology] Skill in Astronomy MS2] skill in astronomy 1717.
- 50] Life] life 1717.
- 51-53] Piety...Gods, which is so visibly diffus'd/ thro' all the Works of Antiquity, shou'd shine/ throughout the Poem. (f)] piety...Gods should shine through the Poem, which so vividly appears in all the works of antiquity: 1717.
- 53] Above all, a Pasto-/ral] And it 1717.
- 54] Relish...Anci-/ent] relish...old 1717.
- 55] Way of Writing. For which Reason the] way of writing; the 1717.
- 56] Connexions shou'd be loose; the Narra/tions] connections should be loose, the narrations 1717] connection should be loose, the narrations 1751; "Connexions" may be written over an erasure.
- 57] Descriptions little and the Periods] descriptions short, and the periods 1717] descriptions short e, and the periods 1751.
- 58] short. (g)...Sen-/tences] concise....sentences 1717.
- (f) Preface to the Pastorals in Dryd. Virg.] omitted 1717.
- (g) Rapin, Reflexions sur l'Art Poet. d'Arist. p.2. refl. 27.] omitted 1717] e Rapin, Reflex. sur l'Art Poet. d'Arist. p.2 Refl. xxvii. P. 1751.

Essay on Pastoral.

tences^{only} be brief; the whole Eclogue should be so. For we cannot suppose Poetry in those days to have been the Business of Men, but their Recreation us'd at vacant Hours. But with a Respect to the present Age, nothing more conduces to make these Compositions natural than when some Knowledge in Rural Affairs is discover'd. (i) This may be made appear rather done by Chance than on Design, and sometimes is best shown by Inference. Lest by too much Study to seem Natural, Destroy the Delight. For what is inviting in this Poetry, proceeds not so much from the Idea of a Country Life it self, as from that of its Tranquillity.

We must therefore use some Illusion to render a Pastoral, Delightfull: And this consists in exposing the best Side only of a Shepherd's Life, and in concealing its Miseries. (k) It is not enough to introduce Shepherds dissenting together, but a Regard must be had to the Subject. First, that it contain some particular Beauty in it self, and secondly, that it be different in every Eclogue. Besides, in every one of them, a Design'd Scene or Prospect is to be presented to our Eyes.

(i) Preface to Virg. Past. in Dryd. Virg.

(k) Fontanelle's Discourse of Pastorals.

Essay on Pastoral.

tences be brief; the whole Eclogue shou'd be so too.

For we cannot suppose Poetry in those days 60
to have been the Business of Men, but their
Recreation us'd at vacant Hours. But with
a Respect to the present Age, nothing more
conduces to make these Composures natural,
than when some Knowledge in Rural Affa- 65
irs is discover'd. (i) This may be made app-
ear rather done by Chance than on Design,
and sometimes is best shown by Inference;
Lest by too much Study to seem Natural, we
Destroy the Delight. For what is inviting in 70
this Poetry, proceeds not so much from the
Idea of a Country Life it self, as from that
of its Tranquillity.

We must therefore use some Illusion to ren-
der a Pastoral, Delightfull: And this consists 75
in exposing the best Side only of a Shepherd's
Life, and in concealing its Miseries. (k) Nor
is it enough to introduce Shepherds discour-
sing together, but a Regard must be had
to the Subject. First, that it contain some 80
Particular Beauty in it self, and second-
ly, that it be different in every Eclogue.
Besides, in ev'ry one of them, a design'd Scene
or Prospect is to be presented to our Eyes;

(i) Preface to Virg. Past. in Dryd. Virg.

(k) Fontanelle's Discourse of Pastorals.

which

59] be brief;...shou'd] only be brief;...shou'd MS2] only be brief,...
should 1717.

- 60] in those days] omitted 1717] in those days 1751.
- 61] Business of Men] business of the ancient shepherds 1717] business of men 1751.
- 62] Recreation us'd at vacant Hours] recreation at vacant hours 1717;
"But..." commences a new paragraph 1717; "us'd" may be written over an erasure.
- 63] Respect...Age] respect...age 1717.
- 64] Composures] composures 1717.
- 65] Knowledge in Rural Affa-/irs] Knowledge in rural affairs 1717.
- 66] discover'd. (i)...made app-/ear] discover'd....made to appear 1717]
discover'd f....made to appear 1751.
- 67] Chance...Design] chance...design 1717.
- 68] Inference] inference 1717.
- 69] Lest...Study...Natural] lest...study...natural 1717.
- 70] Destroy the Delight] destroy the delight 1717] destroy that easy simplicity from whence arises the delight 1751.
- 71] this Poetry, proceeds] this sort of poetry (as Fontenelle observes) proceeds 1717] this sort of poetry proceeds 1751.
- 72-73] Idea of a Country life it self, as from that/ of its Tranquillity]
Idea of a country life itself, as from that of its Tranquillity 1717] Idea of that business, as of the tranquillity of a country life 1751.
- 74] Illusion] illusion 1717; no new paragraph 1717; new paragraph 1751;
"We must therefore" appears to be written over an erasure.
- 75] Pastoral, Delightfull: And] Pastoral delightful; and 1717.
- 76] Side...Shepherd's] side...shepherd's 1717.
- 77] Life...Miseries. (k) Nor] life...miseries. Nor 1717] life...miseries g. Nor 1751.
- 78] Shepherds] shepherds 1717.
- 79] together, but a Regard] together, but a regard 1717] together in a natural way; but a regard 1751.
- 80] Subject. First that] subject; that 1717.
- 81] Beauty in it self, and second-/ly,] beauty in itself, and 1717.
- 82] different] different 1717.
- 83] ev'ry one of them, a...Scene] each of them a...scene 1717.
- 84] Prospect...Eyes;] prospect...view, 1717.
- (i) Preface to Virg. Past. in Dryd. Virg.] omitted 1717] f Pref. to Virg. Past. in Dryd. Virg. P. 1751.
- (k) Fontanelle's Discourse of Pastorals] omitted 1717] g Fontenelle's Disc. of Pastorals. P. 1751.

Essay on Pastoral.

l. should be so: in those days; n, but their rs. But with thing more res natural Rural Affa- made app- on Design, nferences: Natural, ne s inviting in ch from the from that

clusion to ren- this consists f a Shepherd's series. Nor erds discour ft be had- ntain some nd second- Eclogue. ign'd Scene our Eyes;

g.

which

which should also charm by its Variety. (1) This Grace is obtain'd, in a great Degree, by frequent Comparisons, drawn from the most agreeable Objects in the Country: by Interrogations to Things inanimate, in which the Delicacy of Pastoral is chiefly compriz'd: by beautiful Digressions, but those short: sometimes by enlarging a little on Circumstances; And lastly, by elegant Turns on the Words; which render the Numbers extremely sweet and pleasing. As for the Numbers themselves, they are properly of the Heroick Measure; but the smoothest, the most easy, and flowing imaginable. (m)

It is by Rules like these, which are but Nature reduc'd to Method, that we ought to judge of Pastoral. And since the Instructions given for any Art, are to be deliver'd as that Art is in perfection, they must be deriv'd from those in whom it is generally acknowledg'd so to be. It is therefore from the Practise of Theocritus and Virgil, (the only uncontested Authors of Pastoral) that the Criticks have drawn these useful Notions concerning it. Perhaps a Word of those Poets in this place may not be impertinent.

(1) See the foremention'd Preface.

(m) Rapin, de Cérém. Pastor. T. 3.

Theo-

Essay on Pastoral.

which shou'd also charm by its Variety. (1)

85

This Grace is obtain'd in a great Degree, by frequent Comparisons, drawn from the most agreeable Objects in the Country: by Interrogations to Things inanimate, in which the Delicacy of Pastoral is chiefly compris'd: by beautiful Digressions, but those short: sometimes by enlarging a little on Circumstances: And lastly, by elegant Turns on the Words; which render the Numbers extreamly sweet and pleasing. As for the Numbers themselves, they are properly of the Heroick Measure; but the smoothest, the most easy, and flowing imaginable. (m)

90

95

It is by Rules like these, which are but Nature reduc'd to Method, that we ought to judge of Pastoral. And since the Instructions giv'n for any Art, are to be deliver'd as the Art is in perfection, they must be deriv'd from those in whom it is generally acknowledg'd so to be. 'Tis therefore from the Practise of Theocritus and Virgil, (the only uncontested Authors of Pastoral) that the Criticks have draw these useful Notions concerning it. Perhaps a Word of those Poets in this place may not be impertinent.

100

105

110

(1) see the foremention'd Preface.

(m) Rapin, de Carm. Pastor. Pt. 3.

Theo-

85] shou'd also charm by its Variety. (1)] should likewise have its variety.
1717] should likewise have its variety h. 1751.

- 86] Grace is obtain'd, in... Degree, by] Variety is obtain'd in... degree
by 1717; mark in left margin, .'. .
- 87] Comparisons] comparisons 1717.
- 88] agreeable Objects in the Country: by Interro-/gations] agreeable
objects of the country; by interrogations 1717.
- 89-90] Things inanimate, in which the /Delicacy of Pastoral is chiefly com-
pris'd: by] things inanimate; by 1717.
- 91] Digressions...short: some-/times] digressions...short; sometimes 1717.
- 92] enlarging...Circumstan-/ces:] insisting...circumstances; 1717.
- 93] And lastly, by...Turns] and lastly by...turns 1717.
- 94] Words; which...Numbers extreamly] words, which...numbers extremely 1717.
- 95] Numbers] numbers 1717.
- 96] they...Heroick] tho' they...heroic 1717.
- 97] Measure; but the...easy,] measure, they should be the...easy 1717.
- 98] imaginable. (m)] imaginable. 1717.
- 99-100] Rules...these, which are but Na-/ture reduc'd to Method, that]
rules...these that 1717.
- 101] Pastoral....Instructions giv'n] Pastoral....instructions given 1717.
- 102] Art, are...Art] art are...art 1717.
- 103] must be] must of necessity be 1717.
- 104] generally acknowledg'd] acknowledg'd 1717.
- 105] Practise] practice 1717.
- 106] uncontested Auth-/ors] undisputed authors 1717.
- 107] Pastoral...draw] Pastoral...drawn 1717; mark over "w" in "draw", -.
- 108] these useful Notions....Perhaps] these Notions...Perhaps MS2] the
foregoing notions....1717.
- 109-110] a Word of those Poets in this place may not / be impertinent.]
omitted 1717.
- (1) See the foremention'd Preface.] omitted 1717] h See the foremention'd
Preface. 1751.
- (m) Rapin, de Carm. Pastor. Pt. 3.] omitted 1717.

Essay on Pastoral.

Theocritus excels all Others, in Nature and Simplicity. The Subjects of his Idyllia are purely Pastoral; but he is not so exact in the Persons, having introduc'd * Reapers and Fishermen among his Shepherds. He is apt to be long in his Descriptions, of which that of y^e Cup in the first Idyll is a remarkable Instance.

Itali.

Itali.

In the Manners he seems a little defective, for his Swains are sometimes abusive and immodest, and perhaps too much inclining to Rusticity.†

But

'Tis enough that all others learnt their Excellences from him; and that his Dialect alone has a secret Charm in it, which no other could ever attain.

Virgil is certainly the Copy, but then he is such an one as equals his Original * In all parts where Judgment has the principal Part, he is much superior to his Master. Tho' some of his Subjects are not Pastoral in themselves, but only appear to be such, they have a wonderfull Variety in them, which the Greek was utterly a Stranger to.* He exceeds him in Regularity and Brevity, and is perfect in the Manners. And falls short of him in nothing, but Simplicity.

* Italic.

Itali.

* Italic.

* ΘΕΡΙΣΤΑΙ, Idyl. 10. And, ΑΛΙΕΥΕ, Idyl. 21.

† Idyl. 4, & 5.

* Rapin Reflex. on Arist. p. 2. ref. 27.

* Preface to the Eclogues in Dryd. Virg.

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the Fau
Language.

Among the
greatest, who
the Ancient
Genius
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men, as in hi
Epicks. But a
new sort of Po
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Essay on Pastoral.

Theocritus excells all Others, in Nature
and Simplicity. The Subjects of his Idyllia are
purely Pastoral; but he is not so exact in the
Persons, having introduc'd * Reapers and Fish-
ermen among his Shepherds. He is apt to be
long in his Descriptions, of which that of ye Cup
in the first Idyll is a remarkable Instance.
In the Manners he seems a little defective,
for his Swains are sometimes abusive and im-
modest, and perhaps too much inclining to
Rusticity. +

115

120

'Tis enough that all others learnt their Excel-
lences from him; and that his Dialect alone
has a secret Charm in it, which no other could
ever attain.

125

Virgil is certainly the Copy, but then he is
such an one as equalls his Original. ^x In all points
where Judgment has the principal Part, he is
much superior to his Master. Tho' some of his
Subjects are not Pastoral in themselves, but on-
ly appear to be such, they have a wonderfull
Variety in them, which the Greek was utterly
a Stranger to. * He exceeds him in Regularity,
and Brevity, and is perfect in the Manners.
And falls short of him in nothing, but Simpli-

130

* ΘΕΠΙΙΤΑΙ, Idyl. 10. And, ΑΛΙΕΙΙ, Idyl. 21.

+ Idyl. 4, & 5.

x Rapin Reflex. on Arist. pt. 2. ref. 27.

* Preface to the Eclogues in Dryd. Virg.

city

111] Others, in Nature] others in nature 1717; "Others" appears to be
written over an erasure.

112] Simplicity....Subjects] simplicity....subjects 1717.

- 113] Pastoral; but...the] pastoral, but...his 1717.
- 114] Persons...introduc'd * Reapers and Fish-/ermen] persons...introduced Reapers and fishermen 1717] persons...introduced reapers i and fishermen 1751.
- 115] among his Shepherds] as well as shepherds 1717.
- 116] long...Descriptions...ye Cup] long...descriptions...the Cup 1717] too long...descriptions...the Cup 1736; "Descriptions" and "Cup" underlined; "Italic." written in left margin; "long" may be written over an erasure.
- 117] Idyll...Instance] pastoral...instance 1717.
- 118] Manners] manners 1717; "Manners" underlined; "Italic." written in left margin.
- 119] Swains] swains 1717.
- 120] "inclining" may be written over an erasure.
- 121] Rusticity.+] rusticity; for instances in his fourth and fifth Idyllia. 1717; the remainder of 1.121 and another entire line beneath it appear to have been erased.
- 122] Tis...learnt...Excel-/lencies] But Tis...learnt...Excel-/lencies MS2] But 'tis...learn'd excellencies 1717.
- 123] him; and] him, and 1717.
- 124] Charm in it, which] charm in it which 1717.
- 126-27] is certainly the Copy, but then he is / such an one as equals his Original. x In] who copies Theocritus, refines upon his original: and in 1717; "Virgil is" written over an erasure; "Copy, but then he is / such an one as equals" appears to be written over an erasure.
- 128] Judgment has the principal Part, he is] Judgment has the principal part, is 1717] judgment is principally concerned, he is 1751; "Judgment" underlined; mark to the left of "Judgment", x; "x Italic." written in left margin.
- 129] Master] master 1717.
- 130] Subjects...Pastoral] subjects...pastoral 1717.
- 131] appear...such, they...wonderfull] seem...such; they...wonderful 1717.
- 132] Variety in them, which...utterly] Variety in them, which... MS2] variety in them which...1717; "Variety" underlined; "Italic." written in left margin.
- 133-34] Stranger to. *...Regularity, / and Brevity, and is perfect in Manners.] stranger to....regularity and brevity, 1717] stranger to k....regularity and brevity, 1751; "Regularity", "Brevity" and "and is perfect in the Manners" underlined; "Italic." written in the left margin; marks to the left of "Regularity", "Brevity" and "Italic.", °; "he is not so in his Eneid" written in right margin.
- 135] And...nothing, but Simpli-/city and...nothing but simplicity 1717.
- *] ΘΕΠΙΣΤΑΙ, Idyl. 10. And ΑΑΙΕΙ, Idyl. 21.] omitted 1717] ι ΘΕΠΙΣΤΑΙ Idyl. x. and ΑΑΙΕΙ Idyl. xxi. P. 1751.
- +] Idyl. 4 & 5.] omitted 1717.
- x] Rapin Reflex. on Arist. pt. 2. ref. 27.] omitted 1717.
- *] Preface to the Eclogues in Dryd. Virg.] omitted 1717] Rapin Refl. on Arist. part ii. refl. xxvii. -- Preface to the Ecl. in Dryden's Virg. P. 1751.

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rs, in Nature
his Idyllia are
o exact in the
eapers and his
He is apt to be
that of y^e Cuz
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abusive and im-
inclining to.

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Dialect alone
no other could

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k was atten-
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the Manners."
but Simpli-

yl. 21.

Essay on Pastoral.

eds and Propriety of Style: The first of which
is the Fault of his Age, and the last of his
Language.

Among the Moderns, their Success has been
great, who have most endeavor'd to make
the Ancients their Pattern. The most consi-
derable Genius appears in the Famous Tal-
so, and our Spencer. Tasso in his Aminta is said
to far excell'd all the Pastoral Poets of his Na-
tion, as in his Jerusalem he has outdone the
Epicks. But as this Piece was the Original of a
new sort of Poem, the Pastoral Comedy, in Ita-
ly, it cannot so well be thought a Copy of y^e Ancients.
~~I shall then proceed to~~ Spencer's ~~whose~~ Kaler-
der, in Mr. Dryden's Opinion, is the most com-
pet Work of this sort, which any Nation has
produc'd ever since the Time of Virgil. (n) Not
but that he seems imperfect in some few points;
his Ecloques are generally too long, Some of em
contain two hundred Lines, and others consi-
derably exceed that Number. He has employ'd
the Lyric Measure, which is contrary to the
Practise of the Ancients. His Stanza is not
still the same, nor always well chosen. This last
may be the Reason his Expression is not of-
ten concise enough: For the Tetrastich has ob-
lig'd him to spin out his Sense to the Compass

(n) Dedication to Virgil's Eclogs.

city

of

Essay on Pastoral.

city and Propriety of Style: The first of which was the Fault of his Age, and the last of his Language.

Among the Moderns, their Success has been greatest, who have most endeavor'd to make these Ancients their Pattern. the most considerable Genius appears in the Famous Tasso, and our Spencer. Tasso in his Aminta, as far excell'd all the Pastoral Poets of his Nation, as in his Jerusalem he has outdone the Epicks. But as this piece was the Original of a new sort of Poem, the Pastoral Comedy, in Italy, it cannot so well be thought a Copy of ye. Ancients. I shall then proceed to Spencer whose Kalendar, in Mr. Dryden's Opinion, is the most compleat Work of this sort, which any Nation has produc'd ever since the Time of Virgil. (n) Not but that he seems imperfect in some few points; His Eclogues are generally too long, Some of 'em contain two hundred Lines, and others considerably exceed that Number. He has employ'd the Lyric Measure, which is contrary to the Practise of the Ancients. His Stanza is not still the same, nor always well chosen. This last may be the Reason his Expression is not often concise enough: For the Tetrastic has oblig'd him to spin out his Sense to the Compass

(n) Dedication to Virgil's Eclogs.

of

- 137] was the Fault...Age] perhaps was the fault...age 1717.
 138] Language] language 1717.
 139] Moderns] moderns 1717.
 140] greatest, who...endeavor'd] greatest who...endeavour'd 1717.
 141] Ancients...Pattern] ancients...pattern 1717.
 142] Famous] famous 1717; "the Famous" appears to be written over an erasure.
 143-44] Spencer....Aminta /, as far...Poets of his Na-/tion] Spencer....
 Aminta is said / to have as far...Poets of his Na-/tion
 MS2] Spenser....Aminta has as far...writers 1717; "is said"
 may be written over an erasure.
 145] Jerusalem] Gierusalemme 1717.
 146] Epicks....Piece was the Original] Epic Poets of his country....piece
 seems to have been the original 1717.
 147] Poem] poem 1717.
 148] thought a Copy of ye. Ancients] consider'd as a copy of the ancients
 1717.
 149] I shall then proceed to Spencer whose Kalen-/der] Spencer's Kalen-/der
 MS2] Spenser's Calender 1717.
 150] Opinion...com-/leat] opinion...complete 1717.
 151] Work...sort, which] work...kind which 1717.
 152] Time of Virgil. (n)] time of Virgil. 1717] time of Virgil 1. 1751.
 153] but that he seems...points;] but he may be thought...points. 1717]
 but that he may be thought...points. 1751.
 154-156] generally too long. Some of 'em/ contain two hundred Lines,
 and others consi-/derably exceed that Number....employd]
 somewhat too long, if we compare them with the ancients.
 He is sometimes too allegorical, and treats of matters of
 religion in a pastoral style as Mantuan had done before
 him....employ'd 1717.
 157] Lyric Measure] Lyric measure 1717.
 158] Practise...Ancients. His Stanza] practice...old Poets. His Stanza
 1717.
 160] Reason his Expression is not of-/ten] reason his expression is sometimes
 not 1717.
 161] For the Tetrastic] for the Tetrastic 1717.
 162] spin out his Sense to the Compass] extend his sense to the length 1717.
 (n) Dedication to Virgil's Eclogs.] omitted 1717] Dedication to Virg. Ecl.
 P. 1751.

Essay on Pastoral.

of four Lines, which had been more closely confin'd in the Couplet.

For the Manners, Thoughts, and Character, he comes near to Theocritus himself; though withstanding all the Care he has taken, he is certainly inferior in his Dialect. The Addition he has made of a Kalendar to his Eclogues, beautiful in the highest Degree. For by this, besides the general Moral of Innocence and Simplicity, which is common to other Poets, he has One peculiar to himself. He compares the Life of Man to the several Seasons, and at once exposes to his Readers a View of the Great and Little Worlds, in their various Aspects and Conditions.

'Twas from hence I took my first Design of the following Eclogues. ^{But then} For looking upon Spencer as the Father of English Pastoral, I thought my self unworthy to be esteem'd even the meanest of his Sons, unless I bore some Resemblance of him. But as it happens not to degenerate Offspring, not only to recede from Virtues, but ^{to} dwindle from the Bulk of their Ancestors; So I have copy'd Spencer in Minature, and reduc'd his Twelve Months into Four Seasons. For his Choice of the former has either oblig'd him to repeat the same Description for three Months together; or, when it was exhausted before, entirely to Omit it.

418

Essay on Pastoral.

of four Lines, which had been more closely confin'd in the Couplet.

For the Manners, Thoughts, and Characters, 165
 he comes near to Theocritus himself; tho' not
 withstanding all the Care he has taken, he is
 certainly inferior in his Dialect. The Additio
 he has made of a Kalendar to his Eclogues, is
 beautiful in the highest Degree. For by this, 170
 besides the general Moral of Innocence and
 Simplicity, which is common to other Authors,
 he has One peculiar to himself. He compares
 the Life of Man to the several Seasons, and
 at once exposes to his Readers a View of the 175
 Great and Little Worlds, in their various
 Aspects and Conditions.

'Twas from hence I took my first Design of
 the following Eclogues. For looking upon Spe
cer as the Father of English Pastoral, I 180
 thought my self unworthy to be esteem'd even
 the meanest of his Sons, unless I bore some
 Resemblance of him. But as it happens with
 degenerate Ofspring, not only to recede from ye.
 Virtues, but dwindle from the Bulk of their 185
 Ancestors; So I have copy'd Spencer in Mini
ature, and reduc'd his Twelve Months into
 Four Seasons. For his Choice of the former
 has either oblig'd him to repeat the same Des-
 cription for three months together; or, when
 it was exhausted before, entirely to Omit it. 190

Whence

163] Lines...had] lines...would have 1717; "been more closely" underlined.

165] For the Manners, Thoughts, and Characters] In the manners, thoughts,
 and characters 1717.

166] near to] near 1717] near to 1751; "comes near" appears to be written
 over an erasure.

167] Care] care 1717.

168] Dialect. The additio] Dialect: for the Doric had its beauty and propriety in the time of Theocritus; it was used in part of Greece, and frequently in the mouths of many of the greatest persons; whereas the Old English and country phrases of Spenser were either entirely obsolete, or spoken only by people of the basest [lowest 1736] condition. As there is a difference between simplicity and rusticity, so the expression of simple thoughts should be plain, but not clownish. The addition 1717; mark above "o" in "Additio", -.

169] Kalendar...Eclogues, is] Calendar...Eclogues 1717.

170] beautiful in the highest Degree. For by] very beautiful: since by 1717.

171] the general Moral of Innocence] that general moral of innocence 1717] the general moral of innocence 1751.

172] Simplicity...Authors,] simplicity...authors of pastoral, 1717.

173] One...himself. He] one...himself; he 1717.

174] the Life of Man] human Life 1717.

175] Readers a View] readers a view 1717; "once" may be written over erasure.

176] Great and Little Worlds] great and little worlds 1717.

177] Aspects and Conditions] changes and aspects 1717.

178-88] 'Twas from hence I took my first Design of / the following Eclogues. For looking upon Spe/cer as the Father of English Pastoral, I thought my self unworthy to be esteem'd even / the meanest of his Sons, unless I bore some Resemblance of him. But as it happens with / degenerate Ofspring, not only to recede from ye./ Virtues, but [to MS2] dwindle from the Bulk of their / Ancestors; So I have copy'd Spencer in Mini /ature, and reduc'd his Twelve Months into / Four Seasons.] 'Twas from hence I took my first Design of / the following Eclogs. But I have copy'd Spencer in Mini /ature and reduc'd his Twelve Months into / Four Seasons. MS3] omitted 1717; mark above first "e" in "Spe/cer" (1.179), -; vertical line in left margin from ll. 180-85; no new paragraph 1717.

188-89] For his Choice of the former / has either oblig'd him to repeat the same Des-/cription] For his Choice of the former / has oblig'd him either to repeat the same Des-/cription MS2] Yet the scrupulous division of his Pastorals into Months, has oblig'd him either to repeat the same description in other words 1717; "either" underlined with "2" written beneath; "oblig'd him" underlined with "1" written beneath.

190] Months] months 1717.

191] it. / Whence] it: whence 1717.

Note: The next (and probably last) leaf of the MS is missing. Hence, addition: whence it comes to pass that some of his Eclogues (as the sixth, eighth, and tenth for example) have nothing but their Titles to distinguish them. The reason is evident, because the year has not that variety in it to furnish every month with a particular description, as it may every season.

Of the following Eclogues I shall only say, that these four comprehend all the subjects which the Critics upon Theocritus and Virgil will allow to be fit for pastoral: That they have as much variety of description, in respect of the several seasons, as Spenser's: That in order to add to this variety, the several times of the day are observ'd, the rural employments in each season or time of day, and the rural scenes or places

proper to such employments; not without some regard to the several ages of man, and the different passions proper to each age.

But after all, if they have any merit, it is to be attributed to some good old Authors, whose works as I had leisure to study, so I hope I have not wanted care to imitate. 1717.

IV

SPRING

Faced with the dilemma of where to begin an examination such as this, as perplexing in its own way as that confronting the White Rabbit, about to testify in the trial scene of Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, one might profit from the sententious bit of advice offered by the King of Hearts to his flustered witness:

The White Rabbit put on his spectacles.
"Where shall I begin, please your Majesty?"
he asked.

"Begin at the beginning," the King said,
very gravely, "and go on till you come to the
end: then stop." ¹

A procedure so eminently pragmatic, if a trifle pedantic, would seem the natural and consequently the most reasonable one to follow in this case as well, if the study is to avoid subjective eclecticism and maintain a certain degree of comprehensiveness. Fortunately, "Spring" lends itself to this approach, for from the outset a number of the matters which most concern Pope during the course of revision are apparent. The changes in the first two verses, for instance,

¹Lewis Carroll, Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass and What Alice Found There (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 106.

though only involving two words, indicate several of the poet's main pre-occupations, including sound, sense or meaning, tone, allusiveness and the proper relation of all of these to the central theme of the poem and of the Pastorals as a whole.

In "An Essay on Pastoral" Pope stresses the importance of the sound of the verse. Citing Rapin, he observes that the "Numbers" should be "the smoothest, the most easy and flowing imaginable".² Hence it is hardly surprizing that the effect the sound of the verse has on the reader is one of his principal concerns. In the "Alterations ..." manuscript he expresses to Walsh his apprehension that "the Letter is hunted too much -- Sing the Sylvan -- Peaceful Plains -- and that the word Sing is us'd two lines after, Sicilian Muses sing".³ He is aware that both the overly-conspicuous alliteration and the clumsy, purposeless repetition of the opening lines mar the otherwise smooth, easy, flowing effect he wishes to create. His proposed alterations, "try the Sylvan" and "happy Plains" eliminate these blemishes, though, as Walsh points out, "happy" disrupts the meter, "Ye first syllabl being short".⁴ Pope ultimately avoids this pitfall as well, substituting

²See above p. 166. It should be noted that Pope did not alter his opinion on this matter in the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, for the wording remains unchanged, though the citation of Rapin as an authority is dropped in the 1717 version.

³See "Alterations....", p. 477.

⁴Ibid. Happily Pope ignored Walsh's own proposed alternative, "Flow'ry".

"blissful" for "happy". The alliteration of this final version, "Nor blush to sport on Windsor's blissful Plains", is not obtrusive, unlike the original, being separated by four syllables. Pope draws the reader's attention to the importance he has placed on the effect of sound in his Pastorals in the opening footnote appended to "Spring" in the 1736 edition, remarking that

....Notwithstanding the early time of their production, the Author esteem'd these as the most correct in the versification, and musical in the numbers, of all his works. The reason for his labouring them into so much softness, was, that this sort of poetry derives almost all its beauty from a natural ease of thought and smoothness of verse....⁵

He goes farther still, referring his reader to a letter of his to Walsh, written "about this time" containing "an enumeration of several niceties in Versification, which perhaps have never been strictly observed in an English poem, except in these Pastorals".⁶ This last statement must be regarded as something between a boast and a dare on Pope's part, since the letter in question, which deals with a

⁵See above p. 2.

⁶It has not been thought necessary to document the 1736 notes individually. All are recorded in the Twickenham edition.

number of highly technical issues,⁷ was readily available to the reading public, having been published but one year previous in the 1735 edition of Pope's Correspondence. Any reader taking up the challenge in 1736 would have found that in the main Pope had indeed followed his own rules, scrupulously avoiding such stylistic lapses as unnecessary epithets, monosyllabic lines, repetitive rhymes and monotonous line divisions. Certainly Pope intended the reader to appreciate fully the "musicality" of his verse, the nice balance between sound and sense.

A number of critics, from Joseph Warton and Dr. Johnson down to Professor Reuben Brower,⁸ have argued that the emphasis placed upon sound in the Pastorals results in the subservience if not the total annihilation of sense. Yet an examination of the alterations, even in the first two lines, indicates that this is definitely not Pope's intention; he is as pre-occupied with refining the sense of his lines as with improving their sound. For example, in questioning

⁷The letter, dated 22 October 1706, is reproduced in The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, I, 22-25. In it Pope discusses the following: the necessity of relating sound to sense, of constantly varying the position of the "Pause" or caesura in couplets, of eliminating unnecessary expletives and other such line-fillers, of reducing the number of alexandrines and triple rhymes (reserving them only for effect), of avoiding repeating rhymes too frequently, of using monosyllabic lines only with the greatest of circumspection, and of avoiding any rigid rule about the use of vowel elision.

⁸See above pp. 1-6.

whether "Try be not properer in relation to First; as we first attempt a thing; and more modest?",⁹ Pope demonstrates his concern for precise expression. "Try the Sylvan Strains" is superior, not merely because it sounds less stilted, but because the meaning it conveys is both more precise and more expressive. The primary meaning of "try" here, "to attempt to do" or "to essay",¹⁰ conveys the young poet's position more accurately and, on the surface at least, less pretentiously. The reference to modesty suggests even at this point his concern with establishing the most effective stance or ethical position.¹¹ However, other less modest meanings of "try" -- "to experiment with", "to test the strength, goodness, value, truth or other quality of, to put to the proof" and "to refine or purify by fire"¹² may also be intended. For the young poet is clearly trying out or experimenting with the pastoral genre, testing its suitability as a vehicle for his poetic muse. Moreover he sets out to purify the genre, by refining the works of his most illustrious predecessors down to their quint-

⁹"Alterations....", p. 477.

¹⁰Oxford English Dictionary, definition 15.

¹¹For a discussion of Pope's concern for establishing the proper ethos, see Maynard Mack's "The Muse of Satire" in Discussions of Alexander Pope, ed. R. A. Blanshard (Boston: D. C. Heath, [1960]), pp. 99-106, especially pp. 102ff.

¹²Oxford English Dictionary, definitions 11, 6 and 3, respectively.

essential nature, removing any unnecessary dross from their ore. Hence, for example, Spenser's twelve eclogues are reduced to four, and a lengthy Theocritean description, to a brief stanza¹³. In four short poems, less than four hundred lines, he means to capture all that is significant in the tradition.

No less telling is the alteration to the second verse, serving, as it does, to introduce a central theme of "Spring" and by implication of the Pastorals as a whole -- the divinely-inspired harmony of the Golden Age. "Peaceful", the adjective Pope first uses to describe his pastoral setting, is so vague as to be all but meaningless. At first glance, "happy", Pope's next choice, seems scarcely an improvement, though Pope considered it

¹³Of Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar Pope observes "the scrupulous division of his Pastorals into Months, has oblig'd him either to repeat the same description, in other words, for three months together; or when it was exhausted before, entirely to omit it: whence it comes to pass that some of his Eclogues (as the sixth, eighth, and tenth for example) have nothing but their Titles to distinguish them." Likewise, of Theocritus' Idyllia he remarks "He is apt to be too long in his descriptions, of which that of the Cup in the first pastoral is a remarkable instance." Regarding his own efforts, he claims that "these four comprehend all the subjects which the Critics upon Theocritus and Virgil will allow to be fit for pastoral: That they have as much variety of description, in respect of the several seasons, as Spenser's...." (See Discourse on Pastoral Poetry in Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 32, lines 143-49, p. 29, lines 90-92 and pp. 32-33, lines 152-56.)

"properer"¹⁴ than "peaceful". However, it would be well to recall that "happy", because of its close affinities with "laetus" as employed by Virgil in similar circumstances in his Georgics, had a special significance for an eighteenth century audience (the pastoral and the rural ode or georgic, though separate and distinct genres, nonetheless shared in common the concept of the Golden Age¹⁵). As Professor Reuben Brower has observed, "laetus", used in such phrases as "laetus ager" or happy field, would invariably carry with it the connotation of "the lively happiness of land animate with divine energy", that is, that "a blessing rests on it"¹⁶. Hence, because of the apparent allusion to Virgil's Georgics, "happy Plains" are more significant than merely "peaceful" ones. However, Pope's ultimate choice, "blissful", is superior still. Its primary meaning, "full of or fraught with bliss" where "bliss" means merely "blitheness, gladness, joy, delight or enjoy-

¹⁴"Alterations....", p. 477.

¹⁵See Maren-Sofie Røstvig, The Happy Man (2nd ed.; New York: Humanities Press, 1962) I, 42, 46-47. Professor Røstvig traces the beatus ille or "happy man" theme, derived ultimately from Virgil's Georgics and a number of other classical sources, as it appears in retirement verse in English poetry from the Renaissance to the Romantics.

¹⁶See op. cit., pp. 33, 40-41.

ment"¹⁷ is similar to, though more intense than that of "happy". Moreover, it carries with it the obvious connotation of a state of "blessedness",¹⁸ one which "happy" achieves only through a tenuous allusion to Virgil's Georgics. Thus "blissful" conveys the Golden Age concept or "image" (to use Pope's own term¹⁹) without recourse to an allusion to an allied yet entirely separate poetic genre

¹⁷Oxford English Dictionary, definition 2.

¹⁸Ibid., definition 3. That Pope expected "blissful" to convey this connotation is borne out by his use of it in the manuscript version of "Summer", lines 55-56 --

...Heav'ns Immortal Pow'rs
For Sylvan Scenes have left their blissful Bow'rs

-in which it clearly represents a "heavenly" or "paradisal" state. The revised version of the corresponding lines (lines 59-60) in 1709 --

See what Delights in Sylvan Shades appear!
Descending Gods have found Elysium here

-conveys the same concept, "Elysium", the paradisal state in classical literature replacing "blissful Bow'rs". For a more detailed analysis of this latter passage, see below pp. 266-68.

¹⁹See Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, p. 25, line 39.

which might be deemed both unnecessary and confusing at this point.²⁰

The first major alteration in "Spring" is the insertion of the ten-line dedication to Sir William Trumbull into the 1709 text. At first glance, this dedicatory stanza and those of "Summer" and "Autumn" to Dr. Garth and William Wycherley respectively may appear to be unnecessary or even unfortunate intrusions into the close-knit fabric of the poems. On the surface at least, the poems seem to function as well or perhaps even better without them, particularly in the case of "Summer" and "Autumn" in which they actually interrupt the unfolding of the poem's fable. To borrow a phrase from S.T. Coleridge's criticism, they disrupt the reader's "willing suspension of disbelief"²¹ by alluding to contemporary personages in what ought to be "an image of what they call the Golden Age". The obvious question must be, what does Trumbull, or to be more precise, what do the verses which dedicate the poem to him, have to do with "Spring"?

²⁰Professor Røstvig, noting that the rural ode and the pastoral should not be confused, the former being "realistic" while the latter "idealizes", observes that Pope, unlike many predecessors and contemporaries including the influential Rapin, "knew too much to do this; his pastorals are proper pastorals and he reserved the beatus ille themes for use in odes and in loco-descriptive poetry" (I, 46-47). This assessment, while true in the main, requires a certain amount of qualification; see below pp. 190-91.

²¹Biographia Literaria, ed. J. Shawcross (London: Oxford University Press, 1907), II, p. 6, lines 5-6.

Trumbull, of course, it may be recalled, was a close friend of the young poet's at the time the Pastorals were first written, and was, in fact, one of those who viewed the manuscript version.²² Consequently, whether or not Trumbull can actually be considered a patron proper, a dedication to him would seem quite appropriate, perhaps even touching, from a biographical standpoint -- a pretty compliment to a dear friend and neighbour. Yet mere biographical facts do little to explain why such a dedication was incorporated directly into the body of the poem. That information must be derived ultimately from the poem itself. Pope provides the key himself in the note he appends to the passage in the 1736 edition:

Sir W. Trumbal was born in Windsor-Forest, to which he retreated after he resign'd the post of Secretary of State to King William III.²³

²²See above p. 41. Regarding Pope's relation with Trumbull, see George Sherburn, The Early Career of Alexander Pope, pp. 41-42.

²³In the 1751 edition another note --

Our Author's friendship with this gentleman commenced at very unequal years, he was under sixteen but Sir William above sixty, and had lately resign'd his employment of Secretary of State to King William P.

-- was appended to the title itself while that to line 12, quoted in the text, was also retained. Since this 1751 addition repeats much of the original note and adds nothing particularly pertinent to the poem's interpretation, I suspect it, like the notes to the Discourse and the redundant note to line 1 of "Winter" (see above p. 91, n. 124), is the work of Warburton not Pope, despite the "P" signature.

Here he gives the reader all he needs to know of Trumbull in the context of "Spring". For Trumbull, as portrayed in the poem, has turned his back on the busy world of the Court for its antithesis, the quiet seclusion of his native Windsor-Forest, already established in lines 1 and 2 as the idealized setting of the Pastorals themselves. Being "too Wise for Pride, too Good for Pow'r" (line 7, 1709), he has been able in a measure to recover the Golden Age, renouncing the splendour of an active life (with its ever-present temptation to corruption) for the peace and serenity of a contemplative one on "Windsor's blissful Plains". The brilliant ambiguity of line 8 reinforces the image. While to the world Trumbull has merely given up the opportunity to "Enjoy the Glory to be Great no more", to the discerning reader he has acquired something far more precious, "the Glory to be Great no more" (the emphasis, of course, is mine in both cases); exchanging a temporal pleasure for a more satisfying and lasting spiritual one.²⁴

In a very real sense, Trumbull symbolizes for Pope the "pastoral" impulse. Though not literally a shepherd, he stands

²⁴ Professor Geoffrey Tillotson has pointed out that Pope makes a similar use of the two meanings of "great" -- greatness of place and greatness of soul -- in his Epistle to Harley (see lines 10, 18-20). See Augustan Studies (London: Athlone Press, 1961), p. 177.

as a type of those shepherds of the Golden Age by both his rural habitation and his vituous mien. For, as Pope explains in the "Essay on Pastoral",

...We are not to describe our Shepherds as
Shepherds at this Day really are; but as they
may be conceiv'd then to have been; w[he]n
a Notion of Quality was annex'd to the Name, 25
and the best of Men follow'd that Employment.

It is useful to recall that Pope depicts Trumbull in a remarkably similar fashion in Windsor-Forest (lines 237-53), where, as Professor Røstvig has argued,²⁶ he is certainly meant to be a type of the beatus ille or "happy Man" because of the pointed imitation of the Virgilian portrait of the Second Georgic. The original manuscript version of this passage is of particular interest because it was probably written around the time that this dedicatory stanza itself was composed:

Happy the Man who to the Shades retires
But doubly happy if the Muse inspires!
Blest whom the Sweets of home-felt Quiet please,
But far more blest who Study joins with Ease!
His Kindred Stars he watches in the Skies,
And looks on Heav'n with more than mortal Eyes.
Or gathers Health from Herbs the Forest yields,
And of their fragrant Physick spoils the Fields.

²⁵See above p. 160.

²⁶Op. cit., II, 225.

Or wandring thoughtful in the silent Wood
 Attends the Duties of the Wise and Good
 T'observe a Mean; be to himself a Friend;
 To follow Nature and regard his End!
 Such was the Life great Scipio once admir'd
 Thus Atticus and Trumbull thus retir'd.²⁷

The portraits are almost identical -- a wise, good man, the best of his own, perhaps of any age, retiring from an active life to one of rural contemplation. He is a man in tune with nature, a poet whose best poetry would seem to be his own life.

It is significant that Pope, in his dedication to "Spring", compares Trumbull to the nightingale -- the pre-eminent natural artist. Elwin's criticism that Trumbull's "efforts as a versifier had been limited to a dozen lines translated from Martial"²⁸ is quite beside the point, for we must deal with Trumbull, not as

²⁷ See R.M. Schmitz, Pope's Windsor-Forest 1712: a Study of the Washington University Holograph, Washington University Studies N.S. Language and Literature No. 21, St. Louis, 1952, pp. 34-37. Røstvig has quite plausibly suggested that the alteration of this passage in the printed version of Windsor-Forest --

Happy the Man whom this bright Court approves,
 His Sov'reign favours, and his Country loves;
 Happy next him who to the Shades retires,
 Whom Nature charms, and whom the Muse inspires.
 Whom humbler Joys of home-felt Quiet please...

(see Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 171) which tends to negate the beatus ille concept by claiming for the courtier a more happy and rewarding life than that of the man in rural retirement resulted from the need to pay a compliment to the courtier Lansdowne to whom the poem was dedicated when it was revised from a loco-descriptive poem into one celebrating the Peace of Utrecht. See The Happy Man, II, 225.

²⁸ Op. cit., I, 267, n. 1.

an historical figure, but as he exists in and for Pope's poetry. Just as Pope was later to create a world of dunces for his Dunciad who frequently share little more than a name with the actual historical personages supposedly depicted,²⁹ here he creates an idealized "Trumbal" to serve the purposes of his poem. Like the nightingale, the poem's "Trumbal" has created that art which is his life -- "All the World can boast" (line 9) -- naturally, through wisdom and virtue. His life in his "Native Shades" of Windsor-Forest is one of complete self-harmony, devoid of those joint destroyers of the Golden Age, "Pride" and "Pow'r". It thus reflects, as Pope and his age still considered great poetry should,³⁰ that

²⁹ See Aubrey Williams, Pope's Dunciad: a Study of its Meaning, p. 5. Williams notes that "As Pope's personal enemies enter into his poem they are transformed, but the transformation is possible only by a falsification of their real personalities. The dunces are not altogether the same as they were in real life; they have been given a symbolic importance which they lacked in reality" and argues that this transformation is the "source of much of the poem's imaginative power."

³⁰ See Martin C. Battestin, The Providence of Wit: Aspects of Form in Augustan Literature and the Arts. Battestin has shown that the concept of art as a reflection of ideal nature, where the latter is literally the Providence of the Supreme Artist, the Creator, a theme previously traced in Renaissance art by Frank Kermode in his English Pastoral Poetry (London: George G. Harrap, 1952) and E.W. Tayler in his Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), still found expression in the eighteenth century, especially in the works of Pope, Gay, Fielding and Goldsmith, and, by ironic inversion, those of Swift.

greater harmony of Nature itself, which, in the words of Sir Thomas Browne, is "the Art of God",³¹ or, as Pope later expresses the concept in his Essay on Man:

All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee;
All Chance, Direction, which thou canst not see. ³²

The young poet, like the thrush, must give place to "Trumbal", for the latter through his life has achieved what Pope in his Pastorals is still striving to achieve, "an image of what they call the Golden Age". Yet through the dedicatory stanza Pope is able to fuse the dual concepts of Art and Nature in the one powerful symbol of "Trumbal", whose life is his art and whose art is his life.

Between lines 17 and 44 (lines 7 and 34, MS.), Pope introduces

³¹Religio Medici and Other Works, ed. L.C. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), I, Section 16, p. 16.

³²An Essay on Man, ed. Maynard Mack (London: Methuen, 1950), lines 289-90, p. 50.

a number of minor changes demonstrating his maturing poetic skill.³³

³³The changes in line 18 (line 8, MS.), for example, reveal a steady progression from a stilted syntax, ultimately derived from Pope's Virgilian model (Eclogue VII, lines 4-5) --

ambo florentes aetatibus, Arcades ambo,
et cantare pares et respondere parati
[both in vigorous youth, Arcadians both,
as ready to sing as to reply]

(See Virgil, The Pastoral Poems, ed. and trans. E.V. Rieu (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1954), p. 80; all subsequent citations are from this edition. The translations are mine.) and Dryden's translation

Both young Arcadians, both alike inspir'd
To sing, and answer as the Song requir'd

(See The Works of Virgil: Containing His Pastorals, Georgics, and Aeneis. Translated into English Verse in The Poems of John Dryden, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 898, lines 3-4; all subsequent quotations are from this edition.) -- to one less formal, less derivative and more natural. Similarly, line 36 (line 26, MS.), originally extremely close to Dryden's translation of Virgil's Eclogue III, lines 38-39:

lenta quibus torno facili superaddita vitis
diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos
[superimposed by his skill in turning the
lathe, a flexible vine clothes its spread-
out clusters with pale green ivy]

that is,

The Lids are Ivy, Grapes in clusters lurk,
Beneath the Carving of the curious Work.
(lines 58-59, p. 882)

becomes less derivative and more significant with the elimination of the sinister "lurk" and the addition of "swelling" and "bend" with their obvious connotations of fertility, an attribute of the Golden Age. Both "breathing Roses" (line 32) and "dancing Shade" (line 34) are more vivid than the respective original versions, "Beds of Roses" (line 22, MS.) and "own Image" (line 24, MS.). Pope may well have included the manuscript version of the latter in his 1736 notes to show the reader how well he could revise.

However, more important than these, for the understanding of the poem, are the notes added to the 1736 edition, particularly that to line 38 which draws the reader's attention to the obvious significance of Daphnis' bowl as an image of the four Pastorals themselves. Even the dullest reader would hardly fail to comprehend the import of Pope's rather arch comment -- "The subject of these Pastorals engraven on the Bowl is not without its propriety".³⁴ As in the case of the dedication, Pope seems to be pointing out to the reader that it is the art itself and not merely the ostensible fable that is important. Each part reflects the whole; all is in harmony. How better could one depict that perfect

³⁴The remainder of this note --

The Shepherd's hesitation at the name of the Zodiac, imitates that in Virgil, [Eclogue III, 40-41]

Et quis fuit alter?
 Descripsit radio totam qui gentibus orbem
 [and who was the other one? Who represented by
 signs the whole world for the nations with his
 rod?]

-- is also interesting, for in it Pope seems to be doing several things. For the duller reader, he is giving a rather obvious, but perhaps misleading answer to Daphnis' question (Professor Battestin has suggested the actual answer is God's Providence, not the Zodiac; see The Providence of Wit, pp. 66-67). He is also justifying the inclusion of the question by referring to his model, Virgil. At the same time, he is showing the reader how cleverly he has adopted that model to his own purposes, transforming Virgil's "duo signa" (line 40a) -- Conon and the other mathematician -- into his own "Four Figures rising from the Work" which represent the four seasons, the organizing principle of his Pastorals.

harmony of "what they call the Golden Age"?

The next major alteration involves the respective invocations (lines 45-52; lines 35-42, MS.) of the two competing shepherds, Strephon and Daphnis, which were originally formed by a clever combination of elements from two Virgilian models, Eclogues III and VII. In the manuscript version, Strephon, closely echoing Virgil's Corydon in Eclogue VII,³⁵ calls on the Muses, dear to poets, to grant him the poetic "Strain" of either "Phaebus" or "Alexis" (lines 35-36, MS.), offering his "fairest Bull" (lines 37-38, MS.) as a suitable sacrifice.³⁶ This initial reference to "Alexis", the love-

³⁵ Nymphae noster amor, Libethrides, aut mihi carmen
 quales meo Codro, concedite (proxima Phoebi
 versibus ille facit)... (lines 21-23)
 [nymphs of Libethrum (i.e., the Muses)
 whom I love, either let me sing like my Codrus
 (who fashions verses next to Phoebus)...]

Elwin seems to have been the first to detect the source of this imitation; see op. cit., I, 270, n.4.

³⁶ As Pope indicates in his 1736 notes, these verses are modelled on Virgil's Eclogue III, lines 86-87:

-- Pascite taurum,
 Qui cornu petat, et pedibus jam spargat arenam.
 [Give him a bull to pasture, whose horns be ready
 to butt and heels to kick the sand]

Elwin has suggested that the manuscript version most closely resembles Dryden's translation of these lines (lines 134-35)

a Bull be bred
 With spurning Heels, and with a butting Head.

Wakefield has noted an apparent echo of Dryden's translation of Virgil's Aeneid IX, 859, 862:

A snow white Steer, before thy Altar led...
 And dares the Fight, and spurns the yellow Sands.

(Cited in Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 65n.)

sick poet-shepherd of "Summer" (who in that poem clearly stands for Pope himself³⁷), would seem to be significant as regards one of Pope's original intentions in the Pastorals as a whole. Here, Alexis is inextricably linked with Phoebus, divine poet and god of poetry, since Strephon fails to draw any distinction between them.³⁸ In "Summer" Alexis traces his poetic descent from Spenser, England's great pastoral poet,³⁹ while in "Winter" he is depicted as a type of Orpheus, the mythic bard of Greece who could animate the trees and rocks of nature itself.⁴⁰ It would appear then, that Pope originally conceived of Alexis as a unifying link in the Pastorals, a type or symbol of the divinely-inspired poet of the Golden Age.⁴¹

In contrast to his rival, Daphnis invokes Pan, dear to

³⁷See below pp. 241, 245 and 255ff.

³⁸In the Virgilian model the songs of Codrus are described as being only next to those of Phoebus - "proxima Phoebi versibus ille facit."

³⁹See below pp. 255-60.

⁴⁰See below pp. 352-56.

⁴¹For a discussion of the modification of this plan, see below pp. 231-32.

shepherds, and (likewise echoing Virgil's Corydon⁴²) offers the Arcadian god of Nature a marble statue which will be changed to gold, if he should be able to out-sing Strephon. The objects offered by the two competitors correspond with the prizes each has staked at the outset -- Strephon his lamb and Daphnis his bowl. Moreover, by a clever juxtaposition, Pope reiterates a central theme in "Spring", namely the harmony existing between Art and Nature in the Golden Age. For while Strephon offers a creature of Nature to the Muses, divine patronesses of Art, Daphnis offers an object of Art to Pan, the god of Nature. Thus he implies that each is acceptable

⁴²See Eclogue VII, lines 31-32, 35-36:

levi de marmore tota
 puniceo stabis suras evincta coturno

 nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus; at tu,
 si fetura gregem suppleverit, aureus esto.
 [you shall stand, all of smooth marble, with
 purple hunting boots bound round your calves
Presently we have made you of marble for
 the time being, but if breeding time should
 fill my flock, you shall be of gold]

As Wakefield has noted, Pope is here much closer to Dryden's translation of Virgil's passage (lines 45-46, 50-51):

Thy Statue then of Parian Stone shall stand;
 Thy Legs in Buskins with a Purple Band.

 But if the falling Lambs increase my Fold,
 Thy Marble Statue shall be turn'd to Gold.

(cited by Elwin, op. cit., I, 271, n.l.)

to and worthy of the other, that in fact in the Golden Age Art and Nature are virtually interchangeable, or even that they are only different aspects of the same thing.⁴³

However, in revising these two stanzas Pope chooses rather to emphasize a central theme of the Pastorals as a whole, the relationship between Art and Love, the former being their vehicle, the latter, their subject matter. It may be recalled that this theme has already been established in "Spring" itself as early as line 18 (line 8, MS.) when Daphnis and Strephon first appear on the scene -- "Both warm'd by Love, and by the Muse inspir'd" (1709). In the 1709 version, Pope's shepherds imply from the outset in the opening lines of their respective invocations -- "Inspire me Phaebus in my Delia's Praise" and "O Love! for Sylvia let me win the Prize" (lines 45 and 49) -- that the ones they love will figure largely in their songs. Strephon now seeks to emulate, not the divine strain of Phoebus or the divinely inspired one of Alexis, but

⁴³ Of course, the connection is implicit in the choice of Phoebus and Pan themselves. Phoebus is not only the god of poetry but also the god of herdsmen, while Pan is not only the Arcadian god of nature, patron of shepherds, but also the inventor of the reed-pipe and god of pastoral poets.

the "moving Lays" of two courtly love poets,⁴⁴ Waller and Granville. Daphnis, moreover, adopts the very idiom of such poets, calling on Love in two witty, yet highly conventional love conceits, not unlike those Pope himself had earlier used in imitations of Waller.⁴⁵

In a sense, the theme that the manuscript version stressed -- the harmony existing between Art and Nature in the Golden Age of "Spring" -- is still very much present in the revised version of 1709, though no longer stated explicitly. For Strephon still offers a creature of Nature, his bull, to a divine patron of Art, Phoebus. Indeed, Pope underlines the perfect nature of the proposed object of sacrifice by altering its epithet from "fairest" to the more evocative "Milk-white" with its suggestion of innocence and

⁴⁴In his 1736 note, Pope draws his reader's attention to the fact that Waller and Granville were of the same poetic school:

George Granville, afterwards Lord Lansdown,
known for his Poems, most of which he compos'd
very young, and propos'd Waller as his model.

Spence has recorded that Pope considered the courtly seventeenth century poet Thomas Carew, Waller, and Granville to be "all of one school" (See Spence's Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men, ed. James M. Osborn, I, No. 455.).

⁴⁵The first conceit, for example, "And make my Tongue victorious as her Eyes" (line 50) is quite similar to the opening lines of an early imitation of Waller entitled "Of a Lady Singing to her Lute":

Fair charmer cease, nor take your voice's prize
A heart resign'd the conquest of yours eyes:

which Pope claimed to have composed at the age of thirteen, i.e. in 1701 (See Alexander Pope, Minor Poems, ed. Norman Ault and John Butt (London: Methuen, 1954) p. 7).

purity. Daphnis, on the other hand, offers himself, or, to be more precise, his heart, to Love as a fitting sacrifice. In the context of "Spring", Love (whether viewed as a mythic god like Phoebus and Pan or merely as an abstract concept) must be regarded as natural, since it is always requited, never thwarted.⁴⁶ Moreover, Daphnis' proffered heart, far from the object of Nature it may at first glance appear to be, actually represents an object of Art. Since Sylvia's "Eyes" have been "victorious", Love already possesses the "Shepherd's Heart", and therefore Daphnis' apparent sacrifice really amounts to nothing more than a clever quibble, in honour of Love. As the statue promised to Pan, so Daphnis' witty conceit, tendered in the service of Love, preserves the nice balance between Art and Nature in the two invocations.

The precise nature of the love relationship between the nymphs and the shepherds who praise them that Pope is portraying in "Spring" appears to evolve gradually. For in both the original manuscript version and in the proposed changes sent to Walsh there would seem to be an obvious element of coquetry or perhaps even of deceit which is removed only in the 1709 version. Thus, for

⁴⁶For the gradual evolution of man's attitude to Love in the Pastorals, see below pp. 240-41, 323-27, and 360-65.

instance, Strephon originally describes himself as being "deluded" (albeit temporarily) by his nymph (line 44, MS.); a word with unmistakable connotations of deception and frustration.⁴⁷ Moreover, in the proposed alterations submitted to Walsh, though Pope replaces "deluded" with the less disturbing "eludes",⁴⁸ he also suggests changing "lovely", the straightforward, if somewhat bland epithet with which Strephon depicts his nymph (line 43), to one he considers "more significant"⁴⁹ than the original, "wanton". It is indeed "more significant", since, when specifically applied to the character of a woman, it can be interpreted not only innocently

⁴⁷ Both of the pertinent definitions of "delude" in The Oxford English Dictionary for example -- "to play with (anyone) to his injury or frustration, under pretense of acting seriously, to mock, especially the hopes, expectations or purposes" (definition 1) and "to frustrate the aim or purpose of, to elude, or evade" (definition 4) have these connotations, as does the definition of "deluded" per se, "deceived by mocking prospects; beguiled, misled".

⁴⁸ While one definition of "elude" listed in The Oxford English Dictionary, "to befool, delude or disappoint" (definition 1) has the same connotations as "deluded", the remainder do not: for example, definition 2, "to escape by dexterity" and definition 3, "to slip away from, escape adroitly from". Thus "Eludes her eager Swain" would seem to emphasize the nymph's quickness and cleverness not her deceitfulness or her lover's temporary chagrin.

⁴⁹ See "Alterations...", p. 478. "Wanton" apparently was written in the manuscript version at one point as well (See above p. 108).

as "sportive, or unrestrained in merriment", but also more damagingly as "capricious, frivolous, giddy" or even damningly as "lascivious, unchaste, or lewd",⁵⁰ as Walsh is quick to point out.⁵¹ Here Pope probably is taking his lead from his Virgilian model for this passage:

Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella
Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.⁵²

for "wanton" captures precisely the ambiguity of Virgil's "lasciva". By 1709, however, "wanton" gives way to "gentle" (line 53), which, while avoiding the unfortunate connotations of the former, is yet more evocative than the original choice of "lovely", suggesting,

⁵⁰The Oxford English Dictionary, definitions 3, 6 and 2 respectively. Even if the latter is not intended, "wanton" suggests a certain wilfulness or laxity (e.g., definition 1, "undisciplined, ungoverned, not amenable to control") unbecoming and perhaps even morally dangerous. It seems significant that the epithet "Willing", attributed to the same nymph in line 46, is both capitalized and italicized in the original manuscript version. It is neither in the 1709 version.

⁵¹"Wanton applied to a woman is equivocal, & therefore not proper"; "Alterations..." p. 478.

⁵²[Galatea, frolicsome (or wanton) girl, pelts me with apples and flies to the willows, but hopes to be seen before] Eclogue III, 64-65. It is quite possible that Dryden's use of "wanton" in translating this particular passage -- i.e., "Then tripping to the Woods the Wanton hies" (line 98) may have initially suggested the word to Pope.

as it does, both tenderness and nobility.⁵³ Likewise, "coy", the ambiguous epithet with which Daphnis describes his nymph in the manuscript version (line 47, MS.), with its implication of coquetry,⁵⁴ becomes "sprightly" (line 57, 1709), which has an almost fairy-like air, through its association with the word "spright".⁵⁵ Thus, by 1709, Pope apparently chooses rather to emphasize the innocent playfulness of his shepherds' nymphs than the seeming coquettishness that underlies their behaviour. For despite its apparent presence in Virgil's eclogue, coquetry can ultimately have no place in the innocence of the Golden Age of "Spring". It is clearly out of character and consequently would only disrupt the overall mood of

⁵³The older meaning of "gentle", "having the character appropriate to one of good birth; noble, generous, courteous" (The Oxford English Dictionary, definition 3) was still in use in the eighteenth century -- Samuel Johnson, for example, defines it as "well born; well descended" in his Dictionary of the English Language (London, 1755) -- as well as the more recent one of "mild in disposition or behaviour, kind, tender" (definition 8).

⁵⁴The Oxford English Dictionary, for instance, nicely captures the ambiguous connotations surrounding "coy" in the following definition (2a): "displaying modest backwardness or shyness (sometimes with emphasis on the displaying)", citing Pope's own use of the word in Windsor-Forest:

As some coy Nymph her Lover's warm Address,
Nor quite indulges nor can quite repress
(lines 19-20)

⁵⁵A "spright" is a "disembodied spirit" or "fairy". "Sprightly", which developed from it, means literally "full of vivacity or animation".

the poem and undercut its central themes.

Pope's concern to create a unified mood in "Spring" which will accurately epitomize "what they call the Golden Age" probably also accounts for the next major alteration, the removal of two stanzas from the first manuscript version (lines 51-58, MS.) and their replacement, ultimately at a later point in the poem (lines 69-76, 1709),⁵⁶ by two entirely new ones. As Elwin has noted,⁵⁷

⁵⁶In the "Alterations..." holograph the stanzas which were to replace these two still occupied the same position in the poem. They were not transferred to their ultimate position until 1709 (see above pp. 63-67).

⁵⁷Op. cit., p. 272, n. 1. Elwin has also plausibly suggested that the next stanza (lines 55-58) derives from Dryden's translation of Virgil's Eclogue III, line 73:

partem aliquam, venti, divum referatis ad auris
[Let the winds carry back part of the sound to the
ears of the gods themselves]

that is,

Winds on your Wings to Heav'n her Accents bear;
Such Words as Heav'n alone is fit to hear.
(lines 113-14)

However, it should likewise be noted that one of Pope's own early poems entitled "Presenting a Lark" (one of his "Verses in Imitation of Cowley" supposedly written at age thirteen) also resembles this stanza remarkably and may have been its immediate source:

Go tuneful bird, forbear to soar
And the bright sun admire no more;
Go bask in Serenissa's eyes,
And turn a bird of paradise.

In those fair beams thy wings display
Take shorter journies to the day,
And at a humbler pitch prefer
Thy musick to an angel's ear.

(See The Minor Poems, pp. 13-14, lines 1-8.)

the first stanza of the original version (lines 51-54, MS.) is modelled on Edmund Waller's popular lyric, "Go Lovely Rose", a poem in which the speaker cleverly brings home to a reluctant mistress the folly of her coy behaviour while ostensibly complimenting her beauty. By comparing her beauty to that of the fast-fading rose, Waller indirectly conveys to one "who wastes her time and me"⁵⁸ his real theme, which is carpe diem ("Gather ye rose buds while ye may", as a fellow seventeenth century poet, Robert Herrick, expresses it⁵⁹), and his real intent, seduction. He addresses a coquette who must be cajoled from her position of false modesty, not merely by appealing to her vanity, but by awakening within her a fear of old age and the finality of death. Thus, he forces her to the realization that she must seize the moment while she is yet able, for time is her greatest enemy.

Since Pope echoes Waller's lyric not only verbally, but also structurally and consequently thematically,⁶⁰ it seems reasonable to assume that he intends the reader to notice the

⁵⁸ The Poems Edmund Waller, ed. G. Thorn Dury (London: Routledge, 1893), p. 128.

⁵⁹ See "To Virgins, To Make Much of Time" in The Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 84.

⁶⁰ Like Waller, Pope's Strephon begins by praising his nymph's beauty but ends by emphasizing the swiftness and inevitability of age and death.

allusion and to comprehend its significance. It would appear to be a logical extension of the preceding two stanzas, in which shepherds' nymphs are depicted as "wanton" and "coy". However, as Pope gradually extirpates these former references to their coquettishness, the allusion to Waller's poem loses its significance. Strephon's "gentle Delia", unlike Waller's mistress, requires no carpe diem advice; she is already the "willing Fair" (line 56; line 46, MS.), who may tease but never refuses. Indeed the carpe diem theme per se is completely unsuitable for "Spring". For in the Golden Age that Pope is depicting here, time appears to be in a state of suspension⁶¹ and death, quite inconceivable. Since the Pastorals have yet to enter the post-lapsarian world where "Time conquers all, and we must Time obey",⁶² the image of the dying wreath and what it signifies can ultimately have no place here.

⁶¹See, for example, lines 83-84 (lines 65-66, MS.) of "Spring" which seem designed to convey the impression that Time is meaningless here:

Ev'n Spring displeases, when she stays not here,
But blest with her, 'tis Spring throughout the Year.

⁶²"Winter", line 88.

In replacing the inappropriate stanza and its companion,⁶³ Pope turns once more to one of his chief models for "Spring", Virgil's Eclogue VII.⁶⁴ The earliest extant version of the revised first stanza, recorded in Pope's 1736 notes, is quite close to the Virgilian source, as Pope points out to his readers by reproducing both, most likely, it would seem for the sake of such a comparison. Yet this version, though more suitable than the manuscript stanza it supersedes, is still not entirely satisfactory, since the season it depicts in the line "Nor wasted brooks the thirsty flow'rs supply", with its image of drought, more closely resembles summer

⁶³Pope may have discarded the second stanza (lines 55-58, MS.) because it was the companion of the first (lines 51-54, MS.) which proved unsalvageable. However, its reference to heaven as a separate entity, both above and completely divorced from the sphere of "Spring", would seem to be more appropriate to Alexis' frustrated aspirations in "Summer" or Thyrsis' nostalgia in "Winter".

⁶⁴Aret ager, vitio moriens sitit aeris herba &c
Phyllidis adventu nostrae nemus omne virebit (lines 57, 59)
[The fields are dry, the grass dies of thirst,
corrupted air....The coming of our Phyllis will make
all the pasture land green].

than spring.⁶⁵ However, Pope solves this problem by substituting "the Skies relent in Show'rs" (line 69, 1709), a far more suitable image for the season being described. In altering the earliest extant version of the revised second stanza, as recorded in the "Alterations..." holograph, the poet's concern for seemingly small details is again evident. Originally, Sylvia's smile eclipses the sun and robs Nature of its charm. But, considering this image "too bold and Hyperbolical" Pope wonders if "it shou'd be soften'd with seems",⁶⁶ proposing several alternative verses using that verb, the last of which Walsh prefers and Pope eventually chooses. By adding "seems" Pope renders the image subjective rather than "Hyperbolical". The beauty of Sylvia appears to eclipse that of Nature only because it is seen through the eyes of a lover, Daphnis. For, in reality, their beauties are complementary, not competitive.

⁶⁵ Pope is generally extremely careful to differentiate between the various seasons depicted in the Pastorals. It may be recalled that he takes Ambrose Philips to task for carelessness in this regard. In the Guardian No. 40 satire he ironically praises Philips who "by a Poetical Creation, hath raised up finer Beds of Flowers than the most industrious Gardiner; his Roses, Lillies and Daffodils blow in the same Season" (See The Prose Works of Alexander Pope, ed. Norman Ault, I, 100). Pope's pride in his own achievement in his Pastorals is obvious from his ironic comment that he would not have "a Poet slavishly confine himself (as Mr. Pope hath done) to one particular Season of the Year, one certain time of the Day, and one unbroken Scene in each Eclogue" (pp. 99-100). See for example "Spring" line 100, which originally had been "And Twining Trees with Branches shade yr. Head" (line 90, MS.), but is altered in 1709 to a more spring-like image, "While opening Blooms suffuse their Sweets around".

⁶⁶ See "Alterations...", p. 478.

Sylvia, like Nature itself a creature of the Creator, can only add "new Glories" (line 75, 1709) to an already glorious world. Man does not really vanquish Nature (except within the confines of his own imagination, as the remaining three pastorals will stress), but here, in the Golden Age of "Spring" there is no need. Man and Nature are still in a state of complete harmony.

In solving the problem of the two unsuitable stanzas by replacing them with two completely new ones, Pope creates another problem for himself. While the original stanzas followed logically from what preceded them (however incompatible those themes that linked them may been with Pope's overall design in the poem per se), their replacements bear little or no relation to what has gone immediately before. The transition directly from frolicsome nymphs playing hide-and-seek with their enamoured lovers to radiant beauties whose smiles can restore fair weather or even appear to eclipse the charm of Nature itself is abrupt to say the least. Therefore, to re-establish a sense of coherence and logical development at this point in the poem, Pope finds it advantageous to revise his stanza order, inserting what were originally the penultimate speeches of the two shepherds (lines 67-74, MS.) into a position (lines 61-68, 1709) immediately preceding the newly-added stanzas (lines 69-76, 1709). These two stanzas, in which the shepherds prefer their present locale above others more exotic because of the

presence here of their fair nymphs, were originally designed to culminate their praise of those nymphs. However, they now serve equally well as a rhetorical bridge introducing that praise, while, at the same time, connecting it with what has gone before. Having firmly established in the mind of the reader the image of these innocent nymphs frolics on "Windsor's blissful Plain" with their lovers, it seems only reasonable that those "eager" lovers (line 54, 1709) should choose "Blest Thames's Shore" and "seek no distant Field" (lines 63 and 64, 1709).

However, these two stanzas do far more than merely link what has already been said with what is to follow. Taken together they create yet another image of the Golden Age -- this time in truly cosmic terms -- first negatively, by showing what it is not, then positively, by revealing what it actually entails. The theme of the first stanza might well be summed up by the maxim "All that glitters is not gold".⁶⁷ In the manuscript version, Strephon rejects both the "Golden Fleeces" of "rich Iberia" (line 67, MS.) and the "Purple Wool" of the "proud Assyrian Coast" (line 68, MS.)

⁶⁷While the precise wording is Shakespeare's -- The Merchant of Venice, II, vii, 65 -- the thought is proverbial; see M.P. Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1950), A146.

for a pastoral life beside "Blest Thames's Shore". As Professor Wasserman has shrewdly noted, Pope's reference to the Golden Fleeces of Iberia is undoubtedly an allusion not the the Spanish Order of the Golden Fleece, as the Twickenham editors had conjectured,⁶⁸ but to the classical myth in which Jason gains the Golden Fleece from Aeetes, King of Iberia, partly through the treachery of Medea, the king's own daughter. As the "boast" of "rich Iberia" the Golden Fleece would appear to be primarily a symbol of great

⁶⁸See op. cit., p. 67n. Their confusion probably stemmed from the fact that in Pope's day two entirely different geographic localities bore the name "Iberia". As Professor Wasserman pointed out in his "Review of Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism" (See Philological Quarterly, XLI (1962), 617), "Even today Iberia is the name not only of the Spanish peninsula but also of the Caucasian region of modern Georgia between the Black and Caspian Seas. The name had both senses as early as Horace, but before Pope's day it more customarily referred to the Caucasian Georgia, or Colchis, from whose King Aeetes the Golden Fleece was seized by Jason". For evidence, Wasserman offered a line from Dryden's translation of Virgil's Eclogue IV, lines 34-35:

Another Argos land the Chiefs, upon th'Iberian Shore
(line 42)

in which Dryden added the name "Iberian" to his source. Pope was, of course, quite familiar with this translation and used it extensively in his own imitation of Virgil's Eclogue, Messiah.

wealth.⁶⁹ The reference to the "Purple Wool" of Assyria may well be intended as another allusion, as Professors Audra and Williams

⁶⁹ There are a number of classical renditions of the myth perhaps the best known being in Ovid's Metamorphoses (Book VII, 1-158). According to Pope himself, he was familiar with this work, both in the original Latin and in Sandys' translation, from a very early age. He told Joseph Spence (see Observations, Anecdotes..., I, No. 30) that he read the latter at "about eight years old" and "liked it extremely". He added further that "in the scattered lessons I used to set myself about this time, I translated above a quarter of the Metamorphoses" (*ibid.*, I, No. 31). Unfortunately only a few of those translations have survived. Significantly, Sandys, his favourite translator, suggests one interpretation of the myth is that Jason makes war on the Iberians "for the thirst of King Aëta's infinite wealth" (See Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologized and Represented in Figures by George Sandys (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632), p. 333. Facsimile, with intro. by K.K. Hulley and S.T. Vandersall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, [1970])). For a discussion of Pope's use of Ovidian material in his Pastorals, see Dr. B.E. Lynn "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", unpublished dissertation, McMaster University, 1974, pp. 237-43.

have conjectured,⁷⁰ recalling, as it does, a passage in Virgil's Georgic II where the "happy man" of rural retirement is portrayed as not being corrupted by the ostentation of his times -- his simple wool garments remain white, untouched by the purple dye of Assyria. Yet the reader may comprehend much of Pope's meaning even if he should fail to detect either allusion, by paying close attention to the poet's choice of diction. For Iberia and Assyria are modified by ethically-charged epithets, "rich" and "proud", and their characteristic attitude to the rest of the world at large is an arrogant "boast". The overall impression is unmistakeable. Strephon, unlike the proud and the rich, knows where true wealth can be found -- it lies not in Golden Fleeces or Purple Wool but in the life of peace and contentment

⁷⁰Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 67n.
See Georgic II, 464:

alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno.
[Nor is his white wool poisoned with the
purple dye of Assyria.]

Dryden's translation of this passage

He boasts no Wool, whose native White is dy'd
With purple Poyson of Assyrian Pride
(op. cit., II, 953, lines 651-52)

is certainly verbally similar to Pope's line and may well have been a source. It seems obvious that their meaning here regarding the "Purple Wool" of the "proud Assyrian Coast" is essentially the same. It is interesting to note that Maynard Mack has suggested that the entire Virgilian passage from which this passage is taken (Georgic II, lines 461-74) may well have informed a number of Pope's mature works also, including "The Imitation of Donne's Second Satire", The Epistle to Cobham and The Epistle to Burlington (see The Garden and the City: Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Pope (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, [1969]), pp. 82-86).

by "Blest Thames's Shores".⁷¹ It is found only in the Golden Age of "Spring".

In revising this stanza in 1709, Pope becomes less direct but more clearly allusive. Strephon now prefers his "Blest Thames's Shores" (line 63) to both "Golden Sands" of "rich Pactolus" and the "Trees" that "weep Amber on the Banks of Po" (lines 61-62). At first glance Pope may appear merely to be tidying up; his choice of two river valleys, the Pactolus and the Po, as the alternatives Strephon rejects in favour of the "Blest Thames's Shores" is certainly superior to the original version's country and sea-coast, in terms of parallel structure at least. Likewise, the elimination of "proud" and "boast", which despite their obvious function of directing the reader's response tend to undercut the harmonious tone Pope is trying to preserve throughout, must also be considered an improvement. On the surface, then, the new images would appear to be more attractive but less significant, but surfaces can be and often are deceiving in the Pastorals. As Elwin⁷² and the Twickenham editors⁷³ have pointed out, Pope's reference to the

⁷¹It is significant that, in revising this phrase in the manuscript itself, Pope altered the neutral "Fair" to the more suggestive "Blest" which recalls the opening lines, "Windsor's blissful Plains".

⁷²Op. cit., p. 272, n.3.

⁷³Op. cit., p. 67n.

trees weeping amber by the Po is an unmistakeable allusion to the conclusion of the classical myth of Phaethon, as recounted by one of the young poet's favourite classical authors, Ovid, in his Metamorphoses.⁷⁴ Phaethon, it may be recalled, is the foolish and headstrong mortal son of Apollo the sun god who, in attempting to drive his father's fiery golden chariot across the heavens, destroys himself and almost destroys the universe itself in the process. His grieving sisters, mourning by his grave on the banks of the Po River, are ultimately turned into poplar trees weeping amber tears.⁷⁵ Likewise, the reference to the Golden sands of Pactolus would seem to be an allusion to the conclusion of another classical myth appearing in the Metamorphoses,⁷⁶ that of King Midas and the ill-fated golden touch that he receives, at his own request, from the god Bacchus. For it is in the waters of the Pactolus that the king is finally able to wash away the boon that has become his bane --

⁷⁴See Ovid, Metamorphoses, ed. and trans. F.J. Miller, Loeb Classical Library (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), I, pp. 60-85, Book II, lines 19-366. All subsequent references to this source are also taken from this edition.

⁷⁵Ibid., II, lines 364-65:

inde fluunt lacrimae, sillataque sole rigescunt
de ramis electra novis
[Thence their tears flowed, and grew hard into
amber by the sun, dropping down from the new-made
branches]

⁷⁶Ibid., XI, lines 85-145 (II, pp. 126-31).

the ability to transform all he touches into gold. In doing so, Midas transfers the power to the river itself, so that henceforth the Pactolus flows "O'er Golden Sands".⁷⁷

Both of the myths Pope alludes to in the revised version of the stanza concern a man's ultimately disastrous quest for something golden. Phaethon, aspiring to be more than a mere mortal, seeks the power of his divine father's fiery chariot. Midas desires the limitless wealth that only a truly golden touch would seem to provide. As George Sandys, the young Pope's favourite English translator of the Metamorphoses,⁷⁸ explains it, Phaethon is a type

⁷⁷ Ibid., XI, lines 142-45 (p. 130):

vis aurea tinxit
flumen et humano de corpore cessit in annem;
nunc quoque iam veteris percepto semine venae
arva rigent auro madidis pallentia glaebis.
[The power of the gold imbued the river and
went from the body of the man into the stream;
even now the golden fields, receiving the seed
of the old vein, grow hard, the clods imbued by
the golden touch.]

⁷⁸ See above p. 213, n.69.

of the "ambitious" man, Midas, of the "covetous" man.⁷⁹ As Phaethon is consumed by his pride and ambition, so Midas is all but starved by his greed. Moreover, both bring ruin to the world around them as well, Phaethon setting fire to the heavens and scorching the earth,⁸⁰ Midas turning even the fruits of Ceres to sterile gold.⁸¹

⁷⁹Op. cit., pp. 106, 522-23. In his notes "Upon the Second Booke of Ovid's Metamorphosis" Sandys interprets the myth of Phaeton politically:

This fable to the life presents a rash
and ambitious Prince, inflamed with desire of
glory and dominion: who in that too powerfull,
attempts what so ever is above his power, and
gives no limits to his ruining ambition.

He terms Midas "the image of a covetous man; who while he seeks to augment his riches, denies to himselfe the use of his owne, and starves in abundance."

⁸⁰Ovid, II, lines 201-318.

⁸¹Ovid, XI, lines 119-26. Wakefield has suggested that Pope's immediate source for the two images may have been Denham's Cooper's Hill, lines 165-68 (cited in Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 67n.):

Though with those streams he no resemblance
hold,
Whose foam is Amber, and their Gravel Gold;
His genuine and less guilty wealth t'explore,
Search not his bottom but survey his shore.

(See The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham, ed. T.H. Banks Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), p. 75). Even if Wakefield were correct, the allusion and its significance are still abundantly clear. Denham, like Pope, contrasts the "genuine and less guilty wealth" of the Thames with that of the streams from classical mythology.

The "golden ages" they institute are the very antithesis of that of which "Spring" is the image, where fertility and peace, not sterility and destruction, reign. Hence Pope's "Golden Sands" of Pactolus and "Trees [that] weep Amber on the Banks of Po" are far more than merely decorous images -- golden realms that a rather patriotic, love-struck shepherd rejects in favour of the good old English country-side where the nymph he loves resides. Because of the myths to which they allude, they serve a much more important function, representing, as they do, superficially alluring "golden age" alternatives that Strephon, joint spokesman of the "Spring" ideal, is perceptive enough to see through. Like "Trumbal", already established as a type of the Golden Age shepherd,⁸² and unlike the ambitious Phaethon or the greedy Midas, he is "Too Wise for Pride, too Good for Pow'r", preferring "Blest Thames's Shores", the realm

⁸² See above pp. 189-92.

of the Golden Age.⁸³

Having established in the first stanza that the Golden Age of "Spring" involves neither material wealth or power and prestige, Pope now proceeds in the following stanzas to define it more precisely by the qualities it epitomizes. In response to Strephon's stated preference for "Blest Thames's Shores"

⁸³The addition of the original manuscript version of this stanza in the 1736 notes would appear to be an indirect attempt by Pope to draw the reader's attention to the actual significance of the revised version. The diction of the earlier version renders its meaning clear; "Blest Thames's shores" are certainly preferable to "proud" lands that "boast" of their wealth. Moreover, the unmistakable allusion to "golden fleeces" ought to prompt the reader to question the significance of the golden sands and the trees weeping amber. Significantly, though Pope had hundreds of variants to choose from, he generally selected only those that would help the reader understand what is actually taking place in the poem. (The "Go lovely Wreath..." stanzas (lines 51-58, MS.), for instance, which, because of their disturbing tone and themes, would have confused the reader, were not cited in the 1736 notes. (Their appearance in 1751 would obviously seem to be the work of Warburton, not Pope.)

rather than those of the Po or the Pactolus, Daphnis argues⁸⁴ that "Windsor-Shade", the idealized setting of "Spring" that delights his "matchless Maid", surpasses even those places held most dear by several deities themselves -- "Cynthus and Hybla yield to

⁸⁴Wakefield has suggested (cited in Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 67n.) that Pope's model for this stanza is Virgil's Eclogue VII, lines 67-68:

saepius at si me, Lycida formose, revisas,
fraxinus in silvis cedat tibi, pinus in hortis.
[But if, beautiful Lycidas, you come to me again
more often, the ash-tree in the woods, and the
pine-tree in the garden, would yield to you.]

However, as Elwin has pointed out (op. cit., p. 272, n.4), Virgil's previous stanza (lines 61-64) is the actual model:

Populus Alcidae gratissima, vitis Iaccho
formosae myrtus Veneri, sua laurea Phoebos:
Phyllis amat corylos: illas dum Phyllis amabit
nec myrtus vincet corylos nec laurea Phoebi.
[To Alcides (Heracles) the poplar tree is most
charming, the vine to Bacchus, the myrtle-tree
to beautiful Venus, the laurel his own to Phoebus:
Phyllis loves the hazel tree. While Phyllis loves
that, neither myrtles nor the bays of Phoebus will
conquer the hazel-tree.]

Yet Elwin seems clearly mistaken in suggesting Pope's "entire speech is a parody of the lines" from Virgil (ibid., the Twickenham editors have repeated this remark with apparent approbation, op. cit., p. 67n) unless by "parody" he meant treating seriously what Virgil treats comically. The Virgilian passage would seem to be purposefully bathetic. Corydon has no reason except his Phyllis's preference for preferring the hazel to the sacred myrtle and bays. Daphnis, by contrast, has a very good reason for his claim that "Windsor-Shade" surpasses "Idalia's Groves", "Cynthus" and Hybla". For "Windsor-Shade" is not only the "delight" of the "matchless Maid", it is also the idealized setting of "Spring", the Golden Age realm wherein dwell beauty and love, purity and fertility. (see immediately below.)

Windsor-Shade" (lines 67 and 68).⁸⁵ The deities to which Daphnis refers -- "Celestial Venus", "Diana", and "Ceres" (lines 65 and 66) -- are not chosen merely at random, for they are the goddesses of beauty and love,⁸⁶ purity, and fertility. As such, they represent the essential attributes of life in the Golden Age. These attributes now all come together "If Windsor-Shades delight the matchless Maid" (line 67), for it is she who encompasses them all. "Idalia's Groves" (line 65), "Cynthus" and "Hybla" must yield to "Windsor-Shade"; they have but one such quality a piece, imparted to each by the presence of its own particular divine patroness, while the latter possesses them all, in the person of the "matchless Maid".

Pope here portrays the Golden Age of "Spring" indirectly through the characteristics of Delia and Sylvia, who, as the ostensible subjects of the poet-shepherds' songs, must be viewed as both its chief glory and its ethical standard -- one, more

⁸⁵In the original version Ceres' first love is "AEtna" (lines 72 and 74, MS.) rather than "Hybla". Since both are found in Sicily, Pope probably makes the change because the connotation of AEtna, with its volcano, is rather disturbing (see, for example, "Autumn", line 91), while that of Hybla, with its reputation for wild thyme (see Virgil, Eclogue VII, 37) and honey bees (see Virgil, Eclogue I, 54), is not.

⁸⁶As Professors Audra and Williams have noted (op. cit., p. 67n) Pope carefully distinguishes here between "Celestial Venus" (Aphrodite Urania), who stands for a higher, intellectual kind of love and Aphrodite Pandemos, who stands for common or merely sexual love. In the Golden Age of "Spring" the higher form of love obtains.

precious than worldly wealth and power, the other, the soul of purity, fertility, love and beauty. In the next four stanzas (lines 69-84, 1709), he continues to add to the portrait in like fashion, presenting the relationship these nymphs have with Nature and Time, central concepts throughout the Pastorals. Thus, if Nature should appear even temporarily moribund, the smile of Delia re-animates it (lines 71-72), and that of Sylvia adds such "new Glories" to Nature, even at its most delightful moments, as to all but eclipse it (lines 75-76).⁸⁷ Their influence would appear to extend ultimately to Time itself (lines 77-84). Delia encompasses the beauties of fields in Spring, hills in Autumn, plains at morn and the shady grove at noon (lines 77-78). Moreover, her absence robs all these of their customary delights (lines 79-80). Similarly, Sylvia,

...like Autumn ripe, yet mild as May,
More bright than Noon, yet fresh as early Day,
(lines 81-82)

epitomizes the times of day and the seasons themselves (Pope's reference here to the principal structural motifs of the Pastorals as a whole -- seasons, times and locales -- is, like the "Four

⁸⁷The refinements made in these two stanzas (lines 69-76) have already been analyzed; see above pp. 208-10.

Figures" carved on Daphnis' bowl, "not without its propriety"⁸⁸ being likewise an image of the poems themselves in miniature). Indeed, her presence suspends the very succession of the seasons, for "blest with her, 'tis Spring throughout the Year" (line 84). Of course, only in "Spring" could such an assertion be made without the slightest trace of irony; only in the Golden Age where the most cherished values are spiritual, not temporal, does Time hold no sway.

The riddles that end the friendly contest between Strephon and Daphnis add yet another dimension to the portrait of life in the Golden Age of "Spring", touching briefly on the harmonious relationship existing between Nature and earthly authority, here represented and, to a certain extent, symbolized by the ruling House of Stuart. Taken together, they convey to the reader, provided he be both British and anti-republican, the impression that, to borrow Robert Browning's phrase, "God's in his Heaven:/ All's right with the World".⁸⁹ For, as Pope himself makes clear in his 1736 notes, the riddles of Strephon and Daphnis allude to the preservation of Charles II from the republican forces at the Battle of Worcester

⁸⁸See above p. 195.

⁸⁹"Pippa Passes" in The Poetical Works of Robert Browning, (Cambridge edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), p. 133.

and the current supremacy of Britain over its greatest rival, France,⁹⁰ respectively. As with Trumbull, Waller and Granville,⁹¹ Pope here introduces into his Golden Age fiction the historical and actual, yet molds it to his own purposes. Using two quibbles (which have been called everything from "dextrous" to "wretched"⁹²), he translates political actuality into the pastoral idiom. Charles II's escape, for instance, is attributed to "A wondrous Tree that Sacred Monarchs bears" (line 86, 1709) and the struggle between Britain and France is couched in terms of their heraldic devices, the "Thistle" of the Stuart monarchs and the "Lilly" of France (line 90). Thus he renders both the House of Stuart and the British nation that it rules a part of Nature, incorporating them into the natural process through the latent fertility imagery implicit in his choice of verbs, "bears" and "springs" (lines 86 and 90). Moreover, his use of "Sacred" to characterize the British monarchs reinforces the impression that the harmonious order of the Golden Age is not only natural, but ultimately Providential.

⁹⁰ The precise nature of the allusion of the second riddle has already been discussed; see above pp. 60-61.

⁹¹ See above pp. 187-93, 200.

⁹² See, for example, Elwin's assessment (*op. cit.*, p. 274, n. 1); "This wretched pun on the word 'bears' is called 'dextrous' by Wakefield, but Warton says that it is 'one of the most trifling and puerile conceits in all Pope's works, and is only exceeded in badness by the riddle 'which follows of the thistle and the lily'".

As might be expected in the Golden Age of "Spring", where harmony rather than strife prevails, the contest between Strephon and Daphnis ends in a draw. In the original manuscript version, its arbiter Damon, closely echoing Pope's Virgilian model,⁹³ concludes:

Ye gentle Swains, let this Exchange suffice
That each may win, as each deserves the Prize.
(lines 85-86, MS.)

In revising this couplet Pope lays even greater stress on the harmonious balance he has been trying to achieve throughout the poem:

Blest Swains, whose Nymphs in ev'ry Grace excell;
Blest Nymphs, whose Swains those Graces sing so well!
(lines 95-96, 1709)

Not only the songs, but their subjects as well -- the nymphs themselves -- are equally worthy of commendation. Moreover, all four are equally "Blest", as, it may reasonably be concluded, are all those dwelling on "Windsor's blissful Plains" in the

⁹³See Virgil, Eclogue III, lines 108-09:

Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites:
et vitula tu dignus et hic
[It is not for us to settle so excellent a contest between you: Both you and this one here are worthy of the heifer]

Pope probably also has in mind Dryden's translation of this passage:

So nice a diff'rence in your Singing lyes,
That both have won, or both deserv'd the Prize.
Rest equal happy both... (lines 167-69)

Golden Age of "Spring". Significantly, at this time Pope also revises the opening words of Damon's speech along similar lines. Originally, the arbiter interrupts the two contestants with the rather perfunctory "I've heard enough" (line 83, MS.). However, in 1709, as Professor Battestin has noted,⁹⁴ his words "Cease to contend" (line 93) echo the divine fiat whereby the Creator formed the universe, bringing order out of the dark contending forces of Chaos by his "Omnific Word" (to use Milton's phrase⁹⁵). Yet, in "Spring" no contention actually exists, for Pope has been careful to avoid even the slightest hint of the bickering found in

⁹⁴Op. cit., p. 63. In Windsor-Forest Pope again echoes the divine fiat and for a similar purpose, implying Queen Anne, like the Creator, can bring peace out of strife, order out of chaos:

At length great ANNA said -- Let Discord cease!
She said, the World obeyed, and all was Peace!

(Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 181, lines 327-28). Of course the "discord" referred to in Windsor-Forest, unlike that in "Spring", is all too real.

⁹⁵Silence, ye troubl'd waves, and thou Deep, peace,
Said then th'Omnific Word, your discord end...

(Paradise Lost, VII, 216-17, in John Milton: The Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. M.Y. Hughes (New York: Odyssey Press, [1957]), p. 351). It is barely possible that Pope had these lines specifically in mind when he revised Damon's speech; he certainly did in the lines from Windsor-Forest quoted above (n.94).

the singing contests of his Virgilian models, much as he has removed all suggestions of coquetry on the part of his nymphs. Nevertheless the echo serves to emphasize the pre-lapsarian state enjoyed by the inhabitants of "Spring", conjuring up for the reader a fleeting image of the earth at the dawn of creation when the divine fiat first brought order out of chaos. Thus "Spring" ends much as it began, emphasizing the divinely-inspired nature of the harmony of its Golden Age.

V

Summer

As previously noted,¹ Pope defines pastoral poetry in his Discourse on Pastoral Poetry as "an image of what they call the Golden Age" and in "Spring" he has certainly been careful to follow this definition. Indeed, it might well be considered the controlling principle throughout his revision of this poem, both prior to its first publication in 1709, and subsequently in 1717 and particularly in the annotated editions of 1736 and 1751 where his appended notes constantly remind the reader of its importance. However, in dealing with the remaining three pastorals, it would be well to recall also that the Pastorals as a whole are organized around the calendar device borrowed from the Shepherd's Calendar of Edmund Spenser, who according to Pope, "compares human life to the several seasons, and at once exposes to his readers a view of the great and little worlds, in their various changes and aspects".² Likewise, Pope

¹See above pp. 186ff.

²Discourse on Pastoral Poetry in Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 32, lines 141-43.

claims that his own poems have been composed "not without some regard to the several ages of man, and the different passions proper to each age".³ Pope's phrase "the several ages of man", implying as it does not only the existence of Time but also its pre-eminent importance in his Pastorals, provides the reader with the necessary key to understand how the last three poems relate to the first, where the Golden Age, with all its ramifications of timelessness, still holds sway. For the concept of the Golden Age and that of a world controlled by Time are ultimately incompatible; in the former decay and death are inconceivable,⁴ in the latter, inevitable. Where one exists, the other by definition is not possible. Consequently, the reader may well anticipate that between "Spring" and "Summer" some change will have taken place, one which makes possible the final vision of the Pastorals as a whole, "Time conquers All, and we must Time obey" ("Winter", line 88, MS. and 1709). In fact, one of the main purposes of the last three poems is to reveal to the reader the nature and the extent of this change, primarily by examining the "different passions proper to each age" of man.

³ Ibid., p. 32, lines 159-60.

⁴ See above p. 207.

As expected, the opening lines of "Summer" establish a mood that differs from the "blissful" one of "Spring"; here love is no longer necessarily requited. In the original manuscript version, Pope makes the distinction fairly obvious by employing what might be called an interlocking cast of characters. His shepherd boy -- as yet unnamed, but soon to be identified as Alexis (line 20, MS.), the divinely-inspired poet whose "Strain" Strephon had begged of the Muses ("Spring", line 36, MS.) -- complains of his "hapless Love" for "Amaryllis" (lines 3 and 4). The latter, of course, has also appeared before as the nymph beloved by Daphnis ("Spring", line 56, MS.). Hence, "Summer" commences with what appears to be a love rivalry between its shepherd boy and Daphnis -- a state of disharmony entirely unthinkable in "Spring" where even the singing contest itself is all but devoid of competition. This impression of an intense love rivalry is further reinforced by Alexis' boast that his image, reflected in a nearby spring, "rival'd Daphnis" (line 24, MS.). Since both shepherds have already professed love for a nymph named Amaryllis, the implication of Alexis' choice of verb is unmistakable. However, some time prior to 1709, Pope discards this device of an interlocking cast; Alexis' name is dropped from "Spring", Daphnis' nymph becomes "Sylvia" ("Spring", line 49, 1709), and the nymph for whom Alexis pines becomes nameless. Pope's reason for doing so probably relates to his effort to render "Spring" a more perfect "image of what they call the Golden Age". The haughty disdain

"Amaryllis" exhibits in "Summer" towards shepherds in general and Alexis in particular is certainly out of keeping with her portrait in "Spring" as the epitome of the Golden Age values of love, beauty, purity and fertility.⁵ Her presence in "Summer" would necessarily undermine her role in "Spring" as a symbol of the Golden Age itself, suggesting she has undergone a significant moral decline or that Daphnis was so blinded by infatuation that he failed to discern her true nature. In either case, the reader cannot help but question the credibility of the vision of "Spring", something Pope certainly does not wish him to do. The problem with the device of the interlocking cast is that it unites the poems all too well, the vision of the second negating that of the first rather than merely supplementing it. Thus it only leads to a confusion between those "several ages of man" that Pope wishes separate and distinct.

Having discarded this device Pope tries a number of subtler ones to convey the change that has occurred between "Spring" and "Summer". Each of the two alternative versions of the parenthetical description of the "Shepherd Boy" (line 1, MS.) that he suggests

⁵ See above p. 222.

to Walsh in the "Alterations..." manuscript,⁶ for example, echoes with a significant difference a line from the initial portrait of the two shepherd-poets of "Spring". Thus, "who sung for Love, not Fame", by recalling "Both fam'd for Love, and both renown'd in Song", would indicate to the reader that an important change has taken place. In the verse from "Spring", Daphnis and Strephon appeared to have come by their fame effortlessly; it emerged naturally from the sincerity of the love of which they sing and the merit of their song. There was not the slightest hint either that fame would or could be actively sought after or that it might be gained without sincerity of passion. Here, however, since Alexis chooses to sing for love rather than fame, the reader would tend to infer that other poets exist in the "age" of "Summer" who have made the opposite choice. Hence, in "Summer", Pope implies that not only the merit of the song but also the motive of the poet that sings it and the sincerity of the passion that inspires him must now be taken into account. Poetry is no longer necessarily a reflection of Nature inspired by Nature itself.⁷ Pope's second alternative, "who fed

⁶Op. cit., p. 479.

⁷Professor David S. Durant has argued that Pope in his Pastorals moves from an initial position in "Spring" that Art reflects Nature to an ultimate one that Art only uses Nature to reflect its real subject, Man. See "Man and Nature in Alexander Pope's Pastorals", SEL, XI (1971), 469-85.

an Am'rous Flame", which recalls "In flow'ry Plains they fed their fleecy Care" ("Spring", line 10, MS.), depicts the nature of the change in a slightly different way. Alexis, Pope implies, is more concerned with his own troubles than with those of his "fleecy Care". It functions therefore as an early indication of Alexis' growing disaffection with his pastoral duties, subsequently developed more fully (see lines 31-34, MS.). In either case, however, Pope conveys to the reader that life in "Summer" is for the shepherd-poet no longer as simple or as satisfying as it was in "Spring".

In 1709 Pope creates yet another version of the opening lines, one which portrays the change more straightforwardly in terms of mood. That Alexis "Bewail'd his Fate" (line 2, 1709) immediately reveals to the reader that, for at least one inhabitant in "Summer", Windsor's plains are no longer "blissful". In the phrase "whom Love had taught to sing" (line 1, 1709), Pope again recalls a line from "Spring" -- "Both warm'd by Love, and by the Muse inspir'd" ("Spring", line 18, 1709) -- but this echo, unlike those of the "Alterations..." manuscript versions, does not seem to have any other significance than to identify Alexis with Daphnis and Strephon as a poet-shepherd. The echo of the next two lines, by contrast, is quite significant, for it establishes that Nature itself -- as epitomized by the "gentle Thames" and its fertile banks (lines 3 and 4, 1709), the generalized locale of all four Pastorals -- has

not changed appreciably for the worse. The principal change is in man and how he views Nature.

Pope, it would appear, is not yet entirely satisfied with the opening of his poem, because he alters it once more, for the last time, in 1736. Interestingly enough, Pope belatedly takes Walsh's advice⁸ and restores the original manuscript reading of the first two lines.⁹ These verses, as Pope points out to his readers in the general note appended to "Spring" in 1736,¹⁰ imitate the opening lines of Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar.¹¹ Thus, they are part of a pattern (only fully realized in 1736) in which Pope relates his Pastorals to those of the "three chief Poets in this kind, Theocritus,

⁸"Alterations...", p. 479. Walsh remarks that "The first [i.e., the manuscript version] is Spensers way, & I think better than the others".

⁹Pope's original reason for discarding these verses may well have been his fear that he had taken too much from the works of others. In a letter to Walsh dated 2 July 1706 he ponders whether he has "stretch'd this License [of "Borrowing from other Poets"] too far in these Pastorals?" (Correspondence I, 20). Though Walsh thinks not, he admits "that there are others of a different opinion, and that I have shown your Verses to some who have that objection to them" (Walsh to Pope, 20 July 1706, ibid., 21).

¹⁰See above p. 181, n.6.

¹¹A Shepheards boye (no better doe him call)

Led forth his flock, that had bene long ypent

(Januarye, lines 1 and 4, in Shepheardes Calender, in Spenser's Minor Poems, ed. Ernest de Sélincourt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, [1910]), p. 14. All subsequent references to this source are taken from this text.)

Virgil, Spenser".¹² The allusion to the Shepherd's Calendar is particularly apt because of the close affinity between the plights of Alexis and Spenser's Colin Clout, each held in disdain by the one he loves.¹³ At the same time, however, the disillusionment Alexis subsequently expresses regarding his lot as a shepherd renders the parenthetical aside, "he seeks no better name" (line 1, 1736), ironic as well.¹⁴

Significantly, Pope departs from his previous practice in the 1736 version, leaving the first overt indication that some change from the idyllic state of "Spring" has taken place until the fifth line of "Summer", rather than demonstrating it to the readers from the outset.¹⁵ Indeed, the opening four lines, on the surface

¹² See below pp. 282 and 341-43.

¹³ For a more complete analysis of the relation between Alexis and Colin Clout, see below pp. 255-60.

¹⁴ The ironic dimension would seem to be a Popean addition. Spenser's parenthetical aside "no better doe him call" is either self-deprecating or self-engrandizing, depending on the reader's evaluation of the role of a shepherd. Unlike Spenser, Pope seems indirectly to be calling into question the appropriateness of the pastoral itself as a vehicle for his own poetic muse. See also below pp. 245-48, 254-55 and above pp. 183-84.

¹⁵ Of course the more perceptive reader would hardly miss the significance of the allusion to the Shepherd's Calendar. Pope also includes the 1709 version of the first four lines, as in "Spring" (i.e., lines 17-22), for comparison, so that even the less perceptive reader need not remain long in the dark concerning the change, provided he consults his notes.

at least, now stress that there is a considerable similarity between the two settings. The "dancing sun-beams" and the "quiv'-ring shade" of the alders by the river bank (lines 3 and 4, 1736), for example, while establishing the specific locale, season, and time of day that "Summer" depicts,¹⁶ also call to mind the "dancing shade" of Strephon's lamb ("Spring", line 34, 1736).

Unlike Colin Clout, whose torpid despair in Januarye reflects the bleakness of the season itself,¹⁷ the shepherd boy of "Summer" seems strangely out of tune with his surroundings. Yet, through the evocative power of his mournful song he can temporarily tune his surroundings to fit his mood, arresting the streams in their ceaseless flow (line 5, 1709), calling forth a "dumb Compassion" (line 6) from his flocks, tears from the Naiads (line 7), and even, it would seem, a sympathetic response from Jove himself, who "consented in a silent Show'r" (line 8). Pope's choice of "consented" here -- in the "Alterations..." manuscript he considers replacing it with a more scientifically precise term, "relented", that is, "to dissolve

¹⁶Pope's note, "The Scene of this Pastoral by the River's Side; suitable to the heat of the season; the Time, Noon", also added in 1736, indicates that he wishes the reader to observe how carefully he has differentiated between the various locales, seasons and times. Such care is in keeping with his precept that in each pastoral "a design'd scene or prospect is to be presented to our view, which should likewise have its variety" (Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, p. 28, lines 69-71).

¹⁷All as the Sheepe, such was the shepeheard's looke,
For pale and wanne he was...

(Op. cit., lines 7-8)

into water"¹⁸ -- is significant because it suggests the possibility of divine concern for and perhaps even intervention in man's predicament. This latter possibility, however remote, becomes more important as "Summer" progresses.¹⁹

As in "Spring", Pope's first major alteration to his second pastoral is the insertion of a dedicatory stanza (lines 9-12, 1709) -- this one likewise addressed to "one of the first friends of the author" (note to verse 9, 1736), Dr. Samuel Garth -- following the opening lines which establish the poem's setting. Once more, the important question concerns what Garth and, more particularly, the lines that dedicate the poem to him have to do with "Summer". Pope's choice of Garth, a physician as well as a poet, is significant for two reasons. First, as the Twickenham editors have noted,²⁰ Pope is here clearly alluding to the earliest recorded

¹⁸ See The Oxford English Dictionary, definition 1. Pope may also have in mind a secondary meaning of the word, "to give up a previous determination" (definition 2b). The connotation here however would suggest that Jove is somehow responsible for Alexis' predicament. I doubt that Pope would espouse such an un-Christian view of the Fall of Man. On the other hand Pope does tell Walsh that "the word consented is doubted by some to whom I have shown these Verses" ("Alterations...", p. 479).

¹⁹ See below pp. 261, 270-71 and 277.

²⁰ Op. cit., pp. 44-45. Wakefield seems to have been the first to point out the connection, remarking that "This is a handsome compliment to the professional merit of his friend; but the original occurs in a most admirable idyllium of Theocritus xi, l. inscribed also to a physician" (cited in ibid., p. 72n). However he does not appear to have understood its significance entirely, being more concerned with originality or its apparent lack than with significant allusion.

pastoral love-complaint, that of the Cyclops Polyphemus, which its author, Theocritus, likewise dedicated to a physician. He thus places "Summer" firmly within the tradition of the pastoral love-complaint, linking it directly, through allusion, with not only Spenser's Januarye, but also Theocritus' Idyllium XI. Secondly, by choosing a man who is both a poet and a physician, Pope neatly delineates the age of man he is here depicting. Trumbal, it may be recalled, epitomized "Spring" by exemplifying its Golden Age values in his life of retirement in Windsor-Forest.²¹ But in "Summer" where the Golden Age no longer exists, Garth, the poet and physician, is best suited to comprehend an age in which love yields not ease but "Disease" (line 12, 1709).

The dedication per se is comprised of two images that together demonstrate Garth's dual role and its efficacy for "Summer". In the first, modelled on Virgil's dedication of his Eclogue VIII to Pollio,²² the young poet presents "the Muse's early Lays" (line 9),

²¹See above pp. 188-91.

²²a te principium, tibi desinet, accipe iussis
carmina coepta tuis atque hanc sine tempora circum
inter victrices hederam tibi serpere laurus.
[from you my first, for you my last will cease.
Accept this poem, undertaken at your command; let
its ivy encircle your victorious laurel.]
(lines 11-13)

the poem itself, as a "Wreath of Ivy" to be added to his more illustrious friend's "Bays" (line 10). The image of the two wreaths functions in much the same way as that of the two song birds in the dedication to "Spring"; as the nightingale surpasses the thrush, so the wreath of bays exceeds in value the one of ivy. However, the emphasis is slightly different because of Pope's choice of vehicle in each case. As noted previously, the song birds are natural artists, reflecting Nature in their songs without apparent craft or artifice.²³ The wreaths, on the contrary, though objects of Nature, are nonetheless shaped by their respective artists' skill. In "Summer" Art can no longer remain simply a reflection of Nature; it has to become to some extent artificial, creating order out of seeming disorder. The second image explains this need to redefine the role of the artist as a shaper rather than merely as a reflector of Nature. For love itself has changed; that ultimate source of harmony in "Spring" has become a "Disease" that "unpractic'd Hearts endure" (lines 11-12). Unlike Theocritus, from whom the image ultimately derives,²⁴ Pope does not claim for poetry the power to

²³ See above pp. 191-93.

²⁴ Idyllium XI, lines 1f. Creech's translation, with which Pope would seem to have been acquainted (see below p. 342), shows both the similarity and the essential difference of intent:

There is no cure for the disease of Love
Besides the Muses...

(The Idyllium of Theocritus with Rapin's Discourse of Pastorals Done into English (Oxford: Anthony Stephens, 1684), p. 62, lines 4-5).

cure the "Disease" of love. It is, indeed, the "sole Disease" (line 12) that Garth himself cannot cure, presumably in either of his capacities. Yet, because of the nature of his two vocations, he is best able to understand it. In this sense Pope's "Wreath of Ivy" has become a sort of poetic diagnosis of the "sole Disease" of "Summer" (the suggestion of a pun on "sole-soul" seems implicit here).

This image of the physician studying the effects of the "Disease" of love conveys to the reader a certain air of almost clinical detachment of the poet himself from his creation. This detachment soon becomes more significant when the reader discovers that the nameless "Shepherd Boy" is in fact "Alexis", an apparent alter ego of the poet himself. Thus the dedication provides an objective frame of reference for an otherwise intensely personal self-examination. It puts the reader, ideally a kind of poet-physician like Garth himself, on his guard, warning him that Alexis is after all one of the "unpractis'd Hearts" -- an innocent in an age where innocence is no longer necessarily a virtue nor an asset. Moreover, the specific allusion to Theocritus' poem may well cause the more discerning reader to wonder about Pope's tone, for he will no doubt recall that Polyphemus, the subject of that poem, is a clownish character who at times barely escapes the level of bathos. As a result, the question arises concerning just

how seriously the reader is intended to take the plight of Alexis, whose predicament so closely parallels that of the Cyclops.

It is from the remainder of the poem, the complaint of Alexis proper, that the reader must decide on Pope's tone, since the poet himself does not again appear in his own voice -- choosing rather to let Alexis's own self-portrait speak for itself. That self-portrait commences with a rather conventional description of the frustrated Petrarchan lover, paradoxically "inflam'd" by the cold-hearted woman he loves (lines 13-22, 1709). Pope's "Shepherd's Boy" depicts his environment in far less attractive terms than the poet himself has previously done in the opening lines, dwelling on the oppressive heat of the season when "sultry Sirius burns the thirsty Plains" (line 21, 1709; line 17, MS.). The reader, recalling that Pope's stated intent is to present "the different passions proper to each age", may well suspect the reason for this apparent discrepancy lies in the troubled state of mind of Alexis himself. Feeling out of tune with Nature, he nonetheless tries to impose on his surroundings his own sense of frustrated desire. To use T.S. Eliot's terminology, he attempts to make the season itself an "objective correlative"²⁵

²⁵ See "Hamlet and His Problems" in The Sacred Wood (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1921), p. 92. Professor Durant has argued that personifications like this one reveal an evolving attitude towards the relationship between Art and Nature since "Spring". In "Spring" Art merely reflects Nature. Here, as in "Spring", Art "still involves a reflection of nature, but nature now is largely made up of the human characteristics thrown out upon it" (op. cit., p. 475).

of his own emotion. In doing so, he makes his own state appear natural, that is, a true reflection of Nature. By the same token, that of the one he fruitlessly loves is made to appear unnatural; even in the midst of the summer's heat, "Eternal Winter" reigns within her heart (line 22, 1709; line 18, MS.).

In this initial verse paragraph Pope again stresses, by means of allusion, that the song of Alexis must be regarded as a part, perhaps even the culmination, of an important pastoral tradition, that of the love-complaint.²⁶ Having already referred to Spenser's Januarye and Theocritus' Idyllium XI in the opening line and dedication respectively, Pope now links the plight of Alexis with that of Gallus, recounted in Virgil's Eclogue X. As he points out in his 1736 notes, the lines

To you I mourn, nor to the deaf I sing
The woods shall answer, and their echoes ring
(lines 15-16, 1736)

are intended to recall the opening lines of Virgil's tribute to his love-sick friend.²⁷ At the same time, however, they also contain a

²⁶ Significantly Pope alters "And with my Cries the bleating Flocks agree" (line 15, MS.) to "The bleating Sheep with my Complaints agree" (line 19, 1709). The word "Complaints" suggests not only "the utterance of grief" (The Oxford English Dictionary, definition 1) but also "a plaintive poem" (ibid., definition 2b), that is, a formal love-complaint. Moreover, in keeping with the theme of Love as a "Disease", it also suggests "a bodily ailment, indisposition or disorder" (ibid., definition 6).

²⁷ Non canimus surdis, respondent omnia Sylvae.
[We are not singing to the deaf, the forests resound
all our words.]

(line 8)

far more disturbing allusion, for, as Pope dryly observes, the second verse is "a line out of Spenser's Epithalamion". I say "dryly" because, as the perceptive reader would no doubt realize, the line to which Pope alludes is not merely "a line out of Spenser's Epithalamion"; it is in fact that poem's refrain repeated in slightly altered form at the end of each stanza a total of twenty-three times. The refrain itself plays a crucial role in the poem, distinguishing, as it does, between the public celebration that precedes the poet's wedding and the private enjoyment of the poet and his bride that follows it. Once all the necessary ceremonies have been completed, the poet, who has till now been calling on the very woods themselves, as representatives of Nature, to echo his own joy, requests peace and quiet in which to enjoy his bride. For Alexis the allusion is highly ironic.²⁸ Since his love is unrequited he can expect neither the public celebration nor the private shared enjoyment. The only answer

²⁸The opening stanza of the Epithalamion will suffice to indicate the immense difference between Spenser's state of mind and that of Alexis in "Summer":

Ye learned sisters which haue oftentimes
 Beene to me ayding, others to adorne:
 Whom ye thought worthy of your gracefull rymes,
 That euen the greatest did not greatly scorne
 To heare theyr names sung in your simple layes,
 But ioyed in theyr prayse.
 And when ye list your owne mishaps to mourne,
 Which death, or loue, or fortunes wreck did rayse,
 Your string could soone to sadder tenor turne,
 And teach the woods and waters to lament
 Your dolefull dreriment.
 Now lay those sorrowfull complaints aside,
 And hauing all your heads with girland crownd,

he receives back from the woods is the echo of his own song of frustration and disappointment. Thus, Pope defines "Summer" through his allusions, placing it in one poetic tradition -- the pastoral love-complaint -- and juxtaposing it to another -- the epithalamium.

In his second verse paragraph, Pope's "Shepherd's Boy" -- now clearly identified as Alexis (line 20, MS.; line 24, 1709) -- reveals himself not only as a frustrated lover but also as a poet (lines 19-22, MS.; lines 23-26, 1709), who, unlike "Garth", seems disenchanted with both aspects of his dual role. Both the Muses and his healing powers have apparently deserted him in his time of need. Since his name indicates that he is in fact an alter ego of the poet himself, Alexis' reference to the Muses is particularly interesting. The reader suspects, for instance, that "Isis" and "Cam" (lines 21-22, MS.; lines 25-26, 1709), where Alexis conjectures the Muses now reside, represent more than two English rivers, chosen at random, to replace the classical ones of Pope's Virgilian and

Helpe me mine owne loues prayes to resound,
 Ne let the same of any be enuide:
 So Orpheus did for his owne bride,
 So I vnto my selfe alone will sing,
 The woods shall to me answer and my Eccho ring.

(in Spenser's Minor Poems, p. 422, lines 1-18).

Theocritean models.²⁹ It seems reasonable to conclude, as Professor Battestin has done,³⁰ that they stand for Oxford and Cambridge, the nation's two great universities -- Alma Mater to many of its greatest poets -- from which Pope himself has been barred because of his Roman Catholic faith. Indeed, his careful choice of epithets would tend to support such an interpretation. Thus that "Isis" is "sacred" certainly connects it with Oxford's long-standing High Church tradition. Likewise, the "Laurel Banks" through which the "Cam" flows in the original manuscript version would seem to refer to the many outstanding poets -- including Milton and Dryden -- that

²⁹ Quae nemora, aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellae
 Naiades, indigno cum Gallus amore periret?
 Nam neque Parnassi vobis juga, nam nequi Pindi
 ulla moram fecere, neque Aonia Aganippe.
 [Where dwelt you gentle Naiads, in what groves
 or glades while Gallus was perishing of unrequited
 love? For you were delayed neither on the ridges
 of Parnassus or Pindus nor at the Aonian Aganippe
 (i.e., the fountain of the Muses)].
 (Eclogue X, 9-12)

Where were ye Nymphs? Where did the Nymphs reside,
 Where were you then when Daphnis pin'd and dy'd?
 On Pindus top, or Tempe's open plain?
 Where careless Nymphs forgetful of the Swain?
 For not one Nymph by swift Asopus stood,
 Nor AETnas Cliff, nor Acis sacred flood.

(Theocritus Idyllium I, lines 65-69, as translated by Creech, op. cit., lines 74-79.)

³⁰ Battestin has noted that the "Muses have deserted him [Alexis], gracing the groves of Academe where Cam and Isis flow", op. cit., p. 68.

Cambridge has produced. Moreover, Pope's alteration of the latter to "winding Vales", a phrase criticized by Elwin because of its geographic inaccuracy,³¹ reinforces an allegorical interpretation of the passage. For the phrase depicts not so much the physical as the metaphysical environment of Cambridge. In contrast to "sacred Isis", it suggests the more secular outlook of Oxford's less orthodox sister institution, noted for its seventeenth century Puritans and Platonists, and more recently for its support of the Latitudinarian movement and the scientific investigations of the Royal Society.³² Finally, it may be noted that Pope considerably heightens the bitterness of Alexis' attitude to the Muses by changing the rather neutral question "Where are ye Muses" (line 20, MS.) to the far more telling "Where stray ye Muses" (line 24, 1709). The verb "stray" suggests that their behaviour is not merely

³¹According to Elwin, "Pope wrote at random. The Cam does not divide vales, but runs, or rather creeps, through one of the flattest districts in England" (*op. cit.*, p. 279, n.1). One shudders to think what his reaction to "Laurel Banks" would have been if he had studied his manuscript carefully enough to notice that this was the original reading.

³²For the attitude of the two universities to scientific studies see R.F. Jones, "The Background of the Attack on Science in the Age of Pope", in Pope and His Contemporaries, ed. James L. Clifford and Louis A. Landa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), pp. 96-113.

puzzling but ultimately wayward or even culpable.³³

This verse paragraph also contains the image of Alexis contemplating his reflection in a nearby spring. It is one that both Martin Battestin and David Durant have (for rather different reasons) regarded as central to the meaning of "Summer".³⁴ It would appear that Pope himself must have thought it important, since he revises it at least three times. In the original manuscript version, Pope seems concerned primarily with linking the fable of Alexis to that of "Spring" by implying that the woman he pines for, Amaryllis, is the same Amaryllis praised by Daphnis in the first pastoral. Thus, for example, Alexis believes his own image "rival'd Daphnis" (line 24, MS.). Moreover, there appears to be an obvious pun on the word "Spring" in the line "Oft in the Spring I cast a careful View" (line 23, MS.), suggesting that Alexis "rival'd Daphnis" in "Spring" as well as "Summer". Of course, as I have

³³See The Oxford English Dictionary, definition 1, "to wander away from a place, one's companions"; definition 3, "to wander from the direct way, deviate"; definition 4a, "to wander from the path of rectitude, to err".

³⁴Battestin, arguing that "this poem is the parable of Alexander Pope's own self-scrutiny, the expression of the young poet's hopes and frustrations, aware of both the ideals and the limits of Art" regards this image as the "emblem" of "Summer", much as Daphnis' bowl provided the emblem of "Spring" (op. cit., p. 69). Durant, on the other hand, stressing "the dominant process of personification" that he argues is the key to the interpretation of "Summer", sees this process "epitomized" in this image, since here "nature is now largely made up of the human characteristics thrown out upon it" (op. cit., p. 475).

already noted,³⁵ Pope abandons the device of the interlocking cast some time prior to 1709 and consequently must revise the passage.

A second version, which Pope records in his 1736 notes, would seem to be a transitional stage between the first and the final one of 1709. The apparent pun on "Spring" disappears, Pope adding the epithet "crystal" to remove any ambiguity there may have been before. Also missing is the nice pun on "careful" which suggested not only that Alexis is "full of care" but also that his self-scrutiny is both "painstaking" and "cautious".³⁶ Gone too is the reference to Daphnis and with it any implication of a love rivalry connected with "Spring" or its characters. Instead, Alexis now feels that his reflection "equal'd Hylas", the latter a character found nowhere else in "Summer" or "Spring" for that matter.³⁷ Indeed, by replacing "rival'd" with "equal'd", Pope indicates that Hylas represents not so much a rival as an independent measuring-stick of beauty to Alexis. At the same time Pope's choice of the name "Hylas" is an

³⁵See above pp. 231-32.

³⁶The Oxford English Dictionary, definitions 1 and 4 respectively.

³⁷"Hylas" is, of course, one of the speakers in "Autumn" where his plight is not unlike that of Alexis (see below pp. 305-06). However, anyone reading the Pastorals for the first time would have no way of knowing this. Therefore, that Hylas appears in "Autumn" has little relevance to his role in "Summer".

Indeed, Knightley Chetwood, author of the "Preface" to Dryden's translation of Virgil's Pastorals -- a work with which Pope apparently was familiar⁴² -- justifies Virgil's inclusion of the fable in the song of Silenus in his Eclogue VI in terms of its value as a warning against Narcissistic behaviour:

...what better warning could be given to hopeful young Shepherds, than that they should not gaze too much into the Liquid dangerous Looking-glass, for fear of being stoln by the Water-Nymphs, that is, falling and being drown'd, as Hylas was?⁴³

Alexis, his view no longer necessarily "careful", would seem to run the risk of equalling "Hylas" in a way quite other than the one he means. His contemplation of his own reflection in the pool suggests a personal vanity that must ultimately be considered "Narcissus-like".⁴⁴ Significantly, Pope chooses to include this version instead of the earlier manuscript one in his notes in 1736. Recalling Pope's frequent use of these notes to point out significant allusions, the reader may well suspect that the reference to Hylas, and through him to Narcissus who shares the same fate, is intended

⁴² See below p. 393, n. 7.

⁴³ See "Preface to the Pastorals, with a Defense of Virgil..." in The Works of Virgil: Containing His Pastorals, Georgics, and Aeneis, translated into English Verse by Mr. Dryden (London: Jacob Tonson, 1697), f. **** recto.

⁴⁴ Battestin has described the image in these terms; see op. cit., p. 68.

to add another dimension to his interpretation of this image. Here too, as with the allusion to Spenser's Epithalamion (also recorded in the 1736 notes), it would seem possible that Pope's tone is ironic or perhaps even mildly satiric.

Neither Hylas nor Daphnis figure in the final 1709 version of this image. Instead, Alexis quite unabashedly compliments his own beauty, openly commending the "Fresh rising Blushes" (line 28) that the pool reflects back to him. Using the verb "paint" (line 28) to depict the process of reflection, he suggests metaphorically that his own image is, in a sense, a beautiful work of art. Moreover, his reason for first contemplating his reflection would appear to have evolved significantly from the earliest manuscript version. There, he takes his "careful View" in order to compare his appearance with that of Daphnis, his rival. Even after any reference to a specific rival is eliminated in the second version, he is still comparing himself with an objective measuring-stick, the supposedly attractive Hylas. His motive again would seem to be primarily to discover why he is being rejected, to see if it is his physical appearance that displeases. Yet in the final version his motive would appear to be dangerously close to mere vanity, looking solely for the gratification of admiring those "Fresh rising Blushes". At the same time, the absence of the proviso "if the Glass be true" (line 24, MS.) suggests the possibility that Alexis may be the victim of self-delusion, particularly since that qualification

appears not only in both earlier versions of the passage, but also in Pope's Virgilian model. In a similar way, Alexis' motive for shunning his former practice has also undergone a process of evolution. In the first two versions he does so because "those Graces meet my Eyes no more" (line 25, MS.), suggesting that his rejection has resulted in some loss of self-esteem. In view of the latent Narcissistic nature of such self-contemplation, this loss may be regarded as partly beneficial, since he is acquiring the humility needed to counteract his natural vanity. But in the final version he avoids looking at his own reflection only because "those Graces please thy Sight no more" (line 29, 1709). Not considering even for a moment "if the Glass be true", he angrily or even petulantly denies himself the pleasure of admiring his own beauty. The very lack of humility in his response likewise increases the possibility that he is self-deluded in his estimate of his own charms.

Taken together, all these alterations indicate a shift in emphasis or perhaps even a major re-evaluation on the part of Pope concerning his alter ego Alexis. By 1709, he is capable of portraying, with a certain degree of detachment, the adolescent intensity of the character he has created as a reflection of himself. No longer pre-occupied by the fruitless past time of self-contemplation, he has polished the image of himself as an artist that the Pastorals represent, and has placed it before the general reading public in Tonson's Miscellany for their impartial judgement.

By 1736, indeed, he seems eager to point out to his reader the presence of an underlying tone of gentle self-satire. Citing both the Virgilian model and one of the earlier versions in his notes, he draws to the reader's attention the significant changes he has made that heighten the implication of Narcissism and the possibility of self-delusion. Hence the reader realizes that, even though Alexis reflects the author himself -- his frustrations and aspirations -- at the age of sixteen, the author of "Summer" has nonetheless been able to separate himself from his character, and to examine him clinically, much as the poet-physician "Garth" would have done. Ultimately the tone has become one of detached or perhaps even mildly censorious amusement.

Though unsure of the Muses' aid and of the efficacy of his "Art" (line 29, MS.; line 33, 1709) to alleviate his own pain, Alexis nevertheless feels compelled to follow the vocation of a poet. Indeed, in the following verse paragraph he actually renounces his shepherd's role in order to pursue it (lines 31-34, MS.; lines 35-38, 1709). Thus while further emphasizing the change since "Spring", where any separation of the two roles would have been unthinkable, he also undercuts ironically Pope's initial depiction of him as one who "seeks no better Name" than that of a "Shepherd's Boy". Aspiring to the name of "Poet", he longs to "bind [his]

Brows with Bays" (line 34, MS.; line 38, 1709),⁴⁵ a feat not even the poet of "Summer" himself necessarily considers within his own reach (if his humble stance in the dedicatory stanza -- the proffered "Wreath of Ivy" to augment Garth's "Bays" -- can be regarded as an accurate self-assessment). In an image borrowed ultimately from Virgil, of the old poet-shepherd passing on his pipe to his young heir,⁴⁶ Alexis traces his poetic lineage to Colin Clout, the alter ego of Spenser in the Shepherd's Calendar, whose plight so

⁴⁵Wakefield has correctly identified Pope's source for this passage, Theocritus, Idyllium VIII, line 53, which Creech has translated as follows:

But let me sit and sing by yonder Rock
Clap thee my Dear, and view my feeding Flock.
(lines 59, 60)

Yet he has entirely missed the point of the adaptation, merely observing that Pope's version is "a pretty, but inferior imitation of an elegant passage in Theocritus" (cited in Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 74n). Theocritus' shepherd-poet clearly sees no incompatibility inherent in his dual role, hoping to fulfil both vocations simultaneously while courting his love. Alexis, in contrast, renounces the shepherd role for that of the poet.

⁴⁶Est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis
fistula, Damoetas dono mihi quam dedit olim
et dixit moriens, te nunc habet ista secundum
[My pipe is of seven hemlock reeds joined together.
Damoetas gave it to me as a present long ago and
said as he was dying, "You are the second it has
possessed".]

(Eclogue II, lines 36-38)

closely resembles Alexis' own. Pope clearly wishes the reader to perceive the parallel, observing in his 1736 notes that Colin Clout was "the name taken by Spenser in his Eclogues, where his mistress is celebrated under that of Rosalinda". At the same time this note also reinforces the reader's belief that Alexis is indeed the poet's own alter ego. In this sense, then, Pope himself asserts his claim to be heir-apparent to Spenser, last of the three great pastoral writers. In passing, it might likewise be noted that Pope originally intended to make a similar assertion in his prose preface. In a passage from the "Essay on Pastoral Poetry" subsequently deleted (most likely because of the feud with Ambrose Philips, who also claimed Spenser as his master⁴⁷) he acknowledges his debt to Spenser for the organizing principle of the calendar in a striking filial image:

'Twas from hence I took my first Design of the following Eclogues. For looking upon Spēcer as the Father of English Pastoral, I though my self unworthy to be esteem'd even the meanest of his Sons, unless I bore some Resemblance of him. But as it happens with degenerate Ofspring, not only to recede from ye. Virtues, but dwindle from the Bulk of their Ancestors; So I have copy'd Spencer in Miniature, and reduc'd his Twelve Months into Four Seasons.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ See below pp. 399, 408, and 411.

⁴⁸ See above p. 175.

There, as in "Summer", Pope clearly aligns himself with the European pastoral tradition that has descended from Greece, to Rome, to England -- from Theocritus, to Virgil and thence to Spenser.

In revising his image of Alexis receiving his pipe from Colin Clout for the 1709 edition, Pope again shows his rapidly maturing poetic skill. The original manuscript version is highly derivative, not so much of the Virgilian passage itself, as of Dryden's translation of it,⁴⁹ employing the same awkwardly inverted word order and even the identical weak rhyme pair, "have-gave". In the "Alterations..." manuscript, Pope draws Walsh's attention to both of these faults, remarking that "the first line is too much transpos'd from the natural Order of ye. words: and that the Rhyme is unharmonious".⁵⁰ As might be expected, the alteration he proposes and subsequently incorporates into the text removes these blemishes. However, it does far more, for it clarifies the meaning of the image itself while, at the same time, broadening its significance. Originally the flute that the dying Colin gives to Alexis, though "tuneful" (the epithet is rather awkwardly repeated twice, in lines

⁴⁹Of seven smooth joints a mellow Pipe I have,
Which with his dying Breath Damoetas gave:
And said, This, Corydon, I leave to thee;
For only thou deserv'st it after me.
(lines 45-48)

⁵⁰Op. cit., p. 480.

35 and 36, MS.), is nonetheless composed of reeds that are "slender" (line 35, MS.). This latter epithet, since it not only depicts the reeds as being "small in diameter", but suggests they may also be "of small capacity", "deficient in power or strength" or even "insignificant or trifling",⁵¹ may perhaps be applicable to the reeds of Alexis' flute, but can hardly be thought suitable for those of the flute of Colin, who, after all, stands for Spenser, "the Father of English Pastoral". Pope would seem to be drawing some distinction between the flute itself, which appears to represent the pastoral tradition in English as practised by Spenser, its first master, and the reeds that compose it. He therefore suggests that while the whole may be "tuneful", the individual parts that make it up, whatever they may be, are at best "slender". The main problem would seem to be that Pope does not adequately clarify what the "reeds" represent in his image. Consequently, the image remains somewhat self-contradictory.

In the revised version, however, Pope wisely dispenses with this source of confusion, dropping all reference to the "reeds" of which the pipe is composed. Instead of describing the pipe

⁵¹The Oxford English Dictionary, definitions 2, 4, 5 and 7.

itself or its constituent parts, he concentrates on the process by which the music is created. Here, it is "Colin's tuneful Breath" (line 39, 1709) that "Inspir'd when living" (line 40, 1709) the pipe that Alexis has inherited. As the transfer of the epithet "tuneful" from the flute to Colin's breath indicates, the image now refers specifically to Spenser's unique handling of the pastoral tradition, rather than merely to the tradition per se. In clarifying the meaning of the image, Pope not only renders the implied compliment to Spenser more graceful, he also expands the significance of the image in terms of the poem and the Pastorals as a whole. His use of the verb "Inspir'd" in this particular context, for instance, provides a most happy addition. On the literal level, it portrays precisely the process by which a flute is played.⁵² Likewise, on the figurative level, it indicates the process by which the pastoral poet "infuses"⁵³ his thoughts and feelings into the minds and hearts of his readers through the medium of his verse. Moreover, it also implies that the role of the poet is analogous to that of the Creator. As the Lord God first "inspired" Man, breathing the

⁵²Ibid., definition 1, "to breath or blow upon".

⁵³Ibid., definition 4.

breath of life into Adam's nostrils,⁵⁴ so Colin "Inspir'd" or "animated"⁵⁵ his flute, the pastoral genre. Thus by analogy, Pope subtly restates the concept, already so crucial to the reader's understanding of "Spring",⁵⁶ that his Pastorals, like Spenser's, are intended to reflect "ideal Creation", that is, the Art of God, and its subsequent decay in Time. Indeed, the theme of Time's supremacy is further reinforced by the revised rhyme pair, "Breath-Death", which neatly summarizes the movement of the Pastorals as a whole. In conclusion, then, it would appear that, if Pope has initially borrowed his image from Virgil and Dryden, He has nevertheless also added much that is new in his revised version, thus following well his own precept, as recorded in a letter to Walsh:

A mutual commerce makes Poetry flourish; but then Poets like Merchants, shou'd repay with something of their own what they take from others; not like Pyrates, make Prize of all they meet.⁵⁷

⁵⁴See *Bibliorum Sacrorum*, Gen. 2, 7:

Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae et inspiravit in faciem eius spiraculum vitae, et factus est homo in animam viventem.
[Therefore the Lord God formed man from the mud of the earth and breathed into his nostrils making life, and man was made a living soul.]

⁵⁵The Oxford English Dictionary, definition 4.

⁵⁶See above pp. 192-93 and 195, n.34.

⁵⁷The letter is dated 2 July 1706; see Correspondence, I, 20.

As the verse paragraph concludes, Alexis, painfully aware that even his impressive credentials as a pastoral poet and heir of the renowned Colin have brought him no nearer his goal of embracing the one he loves, seems prepared, for the moment at least, to renounce his poetic aspirations as well as the "Rural Care" of his shepherd's vocation. Frustrated in his efforts to woo his love by his own conscious artistic endeavours, he asks for the intervention of some divine agency -- a "pitying God" in the manuscript version (line 41), a "transforming Pow'r" in 1709 (line 45) -- to change him into a bird whose more spontaneous song may be better appreciated. That Alexis should feel he requires supernatural assistance in his predicament indicates once more the great change that has taken place since "Spring", where Daphnis and Strephon invoked the gods merely to elevate their naturally-inspired strains. The image itself, which Pope derives from Dryden's translation of an Idyllium of Theocritus,⁵⁸ would seem to be intended as an allusion to "Spring", in which images of birds singing recur several times,

⁵⁸See Dryden's "Amaryllis: or the Third Idyllium of Theocritus, Paraphras'd" (op. cit., I, 366):

Some God transform me by his Heavenly Pow'r
Ev'n to a Bee to buzz within your Bow'r...
(lines 28-29)

The original is Idyllium III, 12ff. Wakefield first noted this parallel.

each time with roughly the same significance implied. It may be recalled, for example, that it is the birds' song that first prompts Daphnis and Strephon to sing ("Spring", lines 13-16, MS.; lines 23-26, 1709). The birds in that case are Nature's spontaneous artists whose songs the poet-shepherds wish to imitate. Moreover, in the dedicatory stanza added in 1709, Pope compares both Trumbal and himself to song birds -- the nightingale and the thrush respectively (lines 13-16, 1709) -- the significance being that Trumbal is, and Pope aspires to be, a natural artist, whose life is his art.⁵⁹ That Alexis too wishes to become a song bird suggests that he wishes to return to the simpler life of "Spring" where the poet's song reflects spontaneously the harmonious existence that is his in the Golden Age. The desire to escape from the complexities of the present age is, of course, a central theme that runs throughout the pastoral tradition from Theocritus to the present. However, Pope in a sense places this theme in its proper perspective by adding the sinister epithet "Captive" which, he tells Walsh in the "Alterations..." manuscript, "seems necessary to explain the Thought...".⁶⁰ This epithet indicates that such an escape

⁵⁹ See above pp. 191-93.

⁶⁰ Op. cit., p. 480.

necessarily involves some loss of freedom for the poet. For now a genuinely spontaneous reflection of Nature is no longer possible nor even desirable. Since the Golden Age has passed, and with it both the poet's own self-harmony and his consequent harmony with Nature, any attempt to recapture that age must fetter the poet's Muse, forcing it to reflect only an inately false illusion of the poet's own mind. The elegaic mood is thus tempered somewhat by irony.

What follows immediately after Alexis' expressed desire to return to a simpler existence would seem to indicate that such a return is no longer possible. For it becomes increasingly obvious that it is not only Nature itself but also the aspirations of the poet-shepherd that have changed in "Summer". Alexis is no longer content with the simple pastoral pleasures and happy rural companions that satisfied his counterparts in "Spring". Though he is both loved and appreciated in the pastoral world -- all the "Nymphs" court him (lines 51-52, 1709) and his "Numbers please the rural Throng" including Pan, the great god of Nature himself (lines 49-50, 1709) -- neither the admiration nor the praise brings him any sense of fulfillment. The only one he wishes to please, she "In whom all Beauties are compriz'd in One" (line 58, 1709), spurns his love and despises his music.

This passage concludes with another significant image, that of Alexis offering the one he loves a wreath designed from the "choicest Flow'rs" (lines 51-54, MS.; lines 55-58, 1709). In the

manuscript version of the Pastorals, this image, taken together with the one of Alexis wishing to become a song bird in his lover's bower that ends the previous verse paragraph, may well be intended as an echo of that passage in "Spring" where Strephon sends his nymph a "flow'ry Wreath" (lines 51-54, MS.) while Daphnis sends his a "tuneful Bird" (lines 55-58, MS.). However, by 1709 that particular passage has been deleted from "Spring".⁶¹ As a result, the image in question now seems designed to recall the newly-added dedicatory stanza of "Summer" in which Pope offers his poem as a "Wreath of Ivy" to adorn Garth's "Bays". This interpretation seems all the more likely because the "Captive Bird" image that precedes it has a similar connection with the image of the nightingale and the thrush in the newly-added dedicatory stanza of "Spring". Moreover, Pope draws further attention to the parallel by altering the stanza division so that the image of Alexis' wreath, like that of the "Captive Bird", now occupies the rhetorically strategic position at the end of a verse paragraph. As in the dedicatory stanza,⁶² Pope's use of the wreath as a symbol of the poet's Art once again suggests the enormous change that has taken place in the relation of Art and Nature

⁶¹See above pp. 205-07.

⁶²See above p. 240.

between "Spring" and "Summer". No longer able merely to reflect Nature spontaneously and uncritically like a song bird, the poet must now "the fairest Flow'rs design,/And in one Garland all their Beauties join" (lines 55-56, 1709). If he is to succeed in creating beauty in this less-than-Golden Age, he must select his materials carefully, excluding all but the "fairest Flow'rs" of Nature, combine them skilfully and if possible design the over-all effect more artfully than Nature itself. As Pope remarks in his "Essay on Pastoral Poetry", in order to recreate the "Tranquillity" of country life in the Golden Age, the poet must

...use some Illusion to render a Pastoral,
Delightfull: And this consists in exposing
 the best Side only of a Shepherd's Life, and
 in concealing its Miseries. ⁶³

Suspecting, like Colin Clout,⁶⁴ that it may be the rude setting in which he dwells rather than any personal lack of merit that causes the one he loves to remain aloof, Alexis now tries to depict his environment in its most favourable aspect. In the manuscript version, this passage develops as a logical extension

⁶³See above p. 163; except for accidentals (matters of spelling and punctuation) the passage is unaltered in the Discourse.

⁶⁴See Januarye, lines 61-66:

I loue thilke lasse, (alas why doe I loue?)
 And am forlorne, (alas why am I lorne?)
 Shee deignes not my good will, but doth reprove,
 And of my rurall musick holdeth scorne.
 Shepheards deuise she hateth as the snake,
 And laughs the songes, that Colin Clout doth make.

of the previous one and as such it remains part of the same verse paragraph. Having established himself as the leading pastoral poet and a general rural favourite, Alexis warns his Amaryllis not to "scorn a Shepherd" (line 55, MS.). Citing both "fair Venus" and "chast Diana" as appropriate examples, he argues that even "Heav'ns Immortal Pow'rs" have been enticed to earth by "Sylvan Scenes" (lines 55-58, MS.).⁶⁵ Indeed, by association Amaryllis becomes for him a kind of deity, one who hopefully will "deign to bless our humble Seats" (line 59, MS.). He assures her that she need not fear entering the pastoral realm; it is still virtually in a paradisaal

⁶⁵The passage is an imitation of Virgil's Eclogue II, 60 and Eclogue X, 18 as Pope points out in his 1736 notes:

Habitarunt Di quoque sylvas
 [The Gods also have dwelt in woods]
 Et formosus oves ad flumina pavit Adonis
 [And the beautiful Adonis fed sheep by a stream]

However, as Elwin has shrewdly observed, Pope is actually closer to Dryden's translation of these verses

Ah cruel Creature, whom dost thou despise?
 The Gods to live in Woods have left the Skies
 (Pastoral II, 85-86)

Along the Streams his Flock Adonis fed;
 And yet the Queen of Beauty blest his Bed
 (Pastoral X, 26-27)

than to the Virgilian original; "The last verse has nothing answering to it in Virgil, but it suggested ver. 63 of the pastoral to Pope, who copied Dryden, and not the original" (op. cit., p. 282, n.1). As usual, Elwin was so pre-occupied with Pope's supposed lack of originality that he failed to see the highly original use Pope makes of the imitation (see below p.268).

state, its only "Viper" being "Love the Serpent" who torments his own breast (lines 61-62, MS.).⁶⁶

⁶⁶Pope apparently contemplated having Alexis betray the disruptive power of the "Serpent" himself. In a couplet found only in the earliest manuscript version --

Here Tereus mourns, and Itys tells his Pain;
Of Progne they, and I of you complain
(lines 63-64, MS.)

-- Alexis compares the anguish and pain that his unrequited love for Amaryllis has caused him to that experienced by Tereus and Itys at the hands of Procne. This allusion to the conclusion of the classical myth in which Procne feeds her son to his unwitting father, Tereus, to avenge the latter's rape and mutilation of her sister Philomela (recounted by, among others, Ovid in his Metamorphoses, Book VI, lines 424-674 and mentioned in passing by Virgil in his Eclogue VI, lines 78-81), is to say the least highly disturbing. Alexis' choice of analogy seems most unfortunate. For if Itys is an innocent victim, Tereus is not, and if Procne is cruel, she nonetheless has considerable provocation. That Alexis aligns himself with Tereus, as well as Itys, suggests that like the former he is blind to his own faults. Sandys' analysis of the myth, for instance, stresses the danger involved in allowing one's passion to go unchecked:

...over-violent love is little lesse than madnesse:
which imboldens the frantick lover to rush on
whatsoever is forbidden and horrid: one wicked
deed begetting another; who violates first his
faith and her honour, and then cuts out her tongue
to conceale his offence, with as great an impiety.
(op. cit., p. 302)

Thus it would seem Alexis was originally supposed to demonstrate unwittingly to his Amaryllis how dangerous the serpent Love that he harbours in his breast could become. Elwin is certainly correct in assuming Pope discarded the allusion because of its inappropriateness to the overall tone of the passage (the image would seem more closely related to the tone of AEgon's song in "Autumn"; see below pp. 313ff). As he has observed this "horrible mythological story...had no connection with the plaintive sighs of a love-sick swain for an absent mistress" (op. cit., p. 282, n.4). However, a far more intriguing question concerns what Pope originally intended the connection to be.

By 1709, the defence of the pastoral setting has become a completely separate verse paragraph, in all likelihood because Pope realizes that it is at this point that Alexis actually shifts the direction of his argument. In the revised version, Alexis emphasizes from the outset the paradisaical nature of the "Sylvan Scenes" he commends; gods no longer merely leave their "blissful Bow'rs" (line 55, MS.), they have "found Elysium here" (line 60, 1709). As before, the one he loves is invited to follow the example of her fellow deities, "bright Venus" (line 61) and "chast Diana" (line 62). Now, however, she is linked to Ceres, being invoked as a harvest goddess to "bless the silent Hours" when shearers and reapers return from their respective harvests of Nature's bounty (lines 63-66). In the manuscript version, this invocation, in a slightly different form,⁶⁷ introduces a separate verse paragraph in which Amaryllis is depicted as a symbol of fertility (lines 67-74, MS.). On the other hand, in 1709 its function is somewhat altered. By adding Ceres to his list of descending deities -- it is her presence (or, to be more precise, that of her surrogate,

⁶⁷Originally the "lovely Maid" is asked to "crown the silent Hours" (line 67, MS.) of the harvest. By altering the verb "crown" to "bless" Pope changes the metaphor, elevating the one Alexis loves from a harvest queen figure to a type of the goddess Ceres herself. The manuscript version appears to be derived from a passage in Dryden's translation of Eclogue VII:

Come when my late Sheep, at night return,
And crown the silent Hours, and stop the rosy Morn.
(lines 56-57)

Alexis' unnamed lover) that makes the harvest possible, as the swains realize when they "their Thanks to Ceres yield" (line 66, 1709) -- Pope would appear to be alluding to Daphnis' reference to "Celestial Venus", "Diana" and "Ceres" in "Spring" (lines 65-68, 1709). There, it may be recalled,⁶⁸ the favourite earthly haunts of the three -- goddesses of beauty and love, chastity, and fertility respectively -- were forced to yield to "Windsor-Shade" which pleased Daphnis' "matchless Maid", for she it was who encompassed the virtues of all three deities. In "Summer", however, there appears to be no such certainty that the one that Alexis loves, whatever her virtues may be, will make her appearance. She, unlike Daphnis' Sylvia, is not a part of the pastoral scene, but is, on the contrary, external to it. Like a goddess she must be invoked and, like a capricious deity, she may well refuse to come.

At this point, Pope now inserts Alexis' reference to the "Viper" (lines 67-68, 1709; lines 61-62, MS.).⁶⁹ In its new location

⁶⁸See above pp. 221-22.

⁶⁹It would appear that Wakefield was correct in suggesting that Pope has taken the idea of the viper from Virgil's Eclogue III, line 93:

Frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba
[O boys, fly from there, a cold snake is concealed
in the grass.]

(cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 282, n.3). Yet he fails to point out Pope's brilliant adaptation of the line. For in "Summer" the danger lies, not outside in the grass, but within Alexis' own breast. Though Alexis dwells in a paradise he is unable to appreciate it.

it is highly ironic. It indicates to the reader that the pastoral "Elysium" that Alexis is praising has become, for him at least, a paradise lost since the "Serpent Love" in his breast prevents him from enjoying his idyllic surroundings. Pope then transfers the remainder of the fertility-symbol passage (lines 71-74, MS.) -- again in a somewhat altered form⁷⁰ -- prefacing it with another invocation. In the "Alterations..." manuscript version of the passage, the second invocation is, like the first (that is, "Come, lovely Nymph,..."), addressed to the one Alexis loves, asking her to "grace our happy Rural Seats". In 1709, however, it becomes Alexis' second request for divine intervention, his first being a plea to be transformed into a song bird. Pope also replaces "our happy Rural Seats" with the more obviously ironic⁷¹ phrase "these blissful Seats" (line 71, 1709). For Alexis at least, the environment can become "blissful" again only if she comes. The final 1736 version of this invocation would seem to be a combination of the earlier ones. Although Alexis again invokes the one he loves directly, rather than

⁷⁰See below pp. 271-72.

⁷¹As I suggested in my discussion of "Spring", line 2 (see above p. 185) "happy", especially in a phrase like "happy Rural Seats" would carry with it the connotation of a state of blessedness for the more perceptive Augustan reader, because of its frequent use in Latin poetry, particularly Virgil's *Georgics*. Thus, the irony of the phrase is also apparent in the "Alterations..." manuscript version, though it is not as obvious.

seeking the aid of some divine intermediary, he addresses her in a distinctly prayer-like fashion. Beseeching her to "deign to visit our forsaken seats", he implies that he dwells in a land from which a blessing has been withdrawn, a blessing that can only be restored by a visitation from the goddess herself.

Pope also modifies the two couplets that immediately follow this invocation (that is, lines 73-76, 1709). In the original manuscript version of these lines, which are closely modelled on a similar passage from Virgil's *Eclogue* VII,⁷² Alexis depicts his Amaryllis as a fertility figure. Proceeding logically from his initial request that she "crown" the harvest time, he argues that her absence will cause drought and sterility (lines 71-74, MS.).

⁷²omnia nunc rident:at si formosus Alexis
montibus his abeat, videas et flumina sicca.

"

Aret ager vitio moriens sitit aeris herba,

Phyllidis adventu nostrae nemus omne virebit
[everything now laughs: but if beautiful Alexis
were to leave these mountains, you might even see
dry streams.]

The fields are dry, the grass dies of thirst,
and corrupted air....The coming of our Phyllis
makes all our pastures green.]

(lines 55-57, 59)

It seems entirely possible, as Elwin has suggested, that Pope was also influenced by Dryden's translation (lines 77-78, 81-82):

But if Alexis from our Mountains fly,
Ev'n running Rivers leave their Channels dry.

But if returning Phyllis bless the Plain,
The Grass revives; the Woods are green again...

However, after the lines have been relocated,⁷³ Pope alters them, and in doing so, changes their significance. For now the one Alexis loves is portrayed, not so much as a fertility symbol, but as a visiting deity⁷⁴ whose very presence prompts Nature to outdo itself in order to please her. Her presence, then, enhances Nature. So too should the poet's Art in the fallen state of the universe since the end of the Golden Age. Thus, if the reader views the complaint of Alexis as an allegory of the aspirations and frustrations of the young poet himself, the revised passage suggests that the unnamed lady represents a kind of beauty only the greatest Art in this fallen world can attain, that in which degenerate Nature is not merely reflected but enriched by an infusion of an order and a variety it no longer of itself possesses.

Alexis ends his address to the one he loves on a note of high exaltation, envisioning the future as it would be if only she should return. Inspired once more to resume his poetic vocation, he would "Invoke the Muses and resound your Praise" (line 78,

⁷³See above p. 270.

⁷⁴The Twickenham editors, for example, have suggested the conceit may well have "originated in the mythical events following Aphrodite's birth. Shortly after emerging from the sea the goddess was wafted ashore in Cyprus, and there, at the touch of her foot on the earth, grass sprang up and flowers burst into bloom" (op. cit., p. 78n).

1709).⁷⁵ Nor would he be alone in his efforts; Nature's artists, the song birds, would partake in the general celebration. In the manuscript version (line 77, MS.), the birds themselves will carry the praise of Amaryllis "in Songs" to heaven, just as the "tuneful Bird" dispatched by Daphnis to learn a "Sweeter Song" of Amaryllis was instructed to do ("Spring", lines 55-58, MS.). Moreover, peace and security will be restored to the shepherds and their flocks as the "Wolves grow milder when the Sound they hear" (line 78, MS.). By 1709, however, this image of the wolves disappears, most likely because the chief danger for the poet-shepherd in "Summer" is not an external predator, but rather is the "Serpent Love" lodged within his own breast.⁷⁶ Instead, Pope chooses to expand and slightly alter his first image. Now it is the winds that will carry the birds' song of praise heavenward. Nature's artists must remain below in Nature's own realm. Only their song, exalted by the source of its inspiration, is pure enough to reach "the Pow'rs above" (line 80, 1709).

⁷⁵In the original manuscript version Alexis will "proclaim" her praise (line 76, MS.). By changing the verb to "resound" Pope conveys the impression that Alexis' praise is virtually involuntary, as unconscious as an echo.

⁷⁶The explanation for the alteration that Warburton attributes to Pope in the 1751 edition seems rather inadequate. I suspect it is the work of Warburton rather than Pope, since it does not appear in the 1736 edition when Pope first included the manuscript variant. If Pope thought the reader ought to know that the reference to wolves in England was an absurd one, why did he wait until his death-bed edition to tell him so? If the footnote is the work of Pope it is more likely a parting shot at Ambrose Philips than a complete explanation of the reason behind the change.

The verse paragraph concludes with a pointed allusion to classical myth. In the manuscript version, Alexis claims for Amaryllis a "magick Musick" in her very name that surpasses the "Voice of Orpheus" himself (lines 79-80, MS.). Referring to the mythical account of the Thracian poet drawing the forest behind him by the power of his song,⁷⁷ Alexis suggests that Amaryllis, had she then lived, would have drawn both the bard and the trees (lines 81-82).⁷⁸ However, since by 1709 the one Alexis loves has become

⁷⁷Virgil alludes briefly to this aspect of the myth in Eclogue III, line 46, where the scene of Orpheus drawing the trees behind him is carved by Alcimedon on the cup that Damoetas offers Menalcas as his prize in their singing contest:

Orpheaque in medio posuit silvasque sequentes.
[he placed Orpheus in the middle with the woods following.]

Ovid provides a somewhat fuller account in his Metamorphoses Book X, lines 86ff., which is summarized in the opening lines of Book XI:

Carmine dum tali silvas animosque ferarum
Threicius vates et saxa sequentia ducit...
[While with such songs the Thracian bard led
the trees and animals of the wilds with the
rocks following...]

(Metamorphoses, Loeb Classical Library, trans. F.J. Miller (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1921), II, 120, lines 1-2).

⁷⁸In a poem he claimed to have composed when he was thirteen, entitled "Of a Lady Singing to her Lute", Pope uses the Orphean myth in almost exactly the same way:

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

(See Minor Poems, p. 7, lines 9-12.)

nameless, any such specific reference to the power of her name would only perplex the reader. Instead, it is her voice that, if she should sing, would "rival Orpheus Strain" (line 81, 1709). At the same time, Pope elaborates somewhat on the myth, referring also to Orpheus' ability to move mountains and hold streams motionless in their fall (lines 83-84, 1709). In both versions Orpheus is a type of the bard, the divinely-inspired poet who through his Art is able to re-order and otherwise control Nature. However, in the final version Pope makes it clear that the one Alexis woos is likewise a bardic figure, for there it is not the mystical power of her logos but the arresting charm of her song that would allow her to rival Orpheus. Thus if the passage is to be read allegorically, the allusion to Orpheus suggests that the young poet is pursuing an ideal of beauty in his Art that will permit him to control Nature, to shape it into a more perfect "image of what they call the Golden Age" than it is capable of producing itself in its fallen condition. Moreover, it is important to recall that Alexis has already demonstrated that he himself possesses, to a limited extent, this bardic ability, though he may not yet be completely aware of his own potential. For as Pope initially informed the reader, "while he mourn'd, the Streams forgot to flow" (line 5,

1709).⁷⁹

Yet "Summer" ends not with a lofty vision of the future, but with a return to the frustration and despair of the reality of the present. Emerging from his reverie, Alexis becomes all the more painfully aware of his own isolation. While the other shepherds have wisely sought shade for themselves and their flocks, he alone remains behind. In 1709 Pope intensifies this growing sense of isolation by replacing Alexis' specific mention of the herdsman "Tity'rus" with the more general term "Shepherds" (lines 84, MS., and 85, 1709). Indeed, in the 1709 version Pope has set Alexis completely apart from his fellow men. The only other shepherds that he specifically names are the dead Colin and the mythic Orpheus. Even the one he loves no longer has a name. Moreover, Alexis realizes that his isolation is caused by an increasing alienation,

⁷⁹The manuscript version of the line describing Alexis' power, "The list'ning Streams forgot a while to flow", is remarkably similar to one used by Oldham in his imitation of Moschus' lament for Bion to describe the spell that the "Lays" of the dead Rochester were wont to cast:

For which the list'ning streams forgot to run.

(The Works of Mr. John Oldham: Together with his Remains (London, 1710), p. 75, line 40). Oldham, developing the Greek poet's reference to Bion as the Dorian Orpheus (see "The Lament for Bion", in The Greek Bucolic Poets, The Loeb Classical Library, trans. J.M. Edmonds (London: William Heinemann, 1912), p. 444, line 18), calls Rochester "England's Orpheus dead" and attributes to him the powers of that bard. Therefore, it seems significant that Pope should so closely echo Oldham in this pointedly Orphic description of Alexis.

not only from his fellow man, but from Nature itself. Even though he can escape the sun's rays if he should choose to do so, he cannot escape Love, the serpent in his breast that continues to torment him. His final invocation of the powers above -- "Ye Gods! and is there no Relief for Love!" (line 86, MS.; line 88, 1709) -- is a cry of anguish and despair, devoid of hope. He can expect no divine intervention; all his prayers have remained unanswered. He now realizes that it is he who is out of tune. Though "soon the Sun with milder Rays descends/To the cool Ocean" (lines 87-88, MS.; lines 89-90, 1709), he can find no relief from the relentless predator within him that will "for ever prey" (line 91, 1709). Unlike "Spring", "Summer" ends far worse than it began, for now all hope has gone and only despair remains.

VI

Autumn

"Autumn" is the last of the four Pastorals to be composed. Moreover, according to the fly-leaf note that Pope appends to the Houghton holograph,¹ its composition follows even that of the "Essay on Pastoral" where Pope analyzes both the pastoral tradition in general and his own poems in particular.² Therefore, it seems no mere coincidence that there are fewer alterations in "Autumn" between the manuscript version and that of 1709 than in any of the other three poems. It is, of course, only reasonable to assume that "Autumn", written last, will reflect the young poet's maturing poetic skill. Consequently it is not surprising that there are so few instances where a line need be changed because of awkward phrasing or an ineffective rhyme. Indeed, the few changes there are in these areas generally represent minor improvements, not the correction of obvious blemishes. However, it is more significant that Pope,

¹See Appendix A and above pp. 47-54.

²See below Chapter VIII.

by the time he turns to "Autumn", has his vision of the Pastorals firmly fixed in his mind, knowing not only what has happened in "Summer" but also what will transpire in "Winter". In fact, one reason he chooses to wait until "Winter" has been completed before embarking on the pastoral that should chronologically precede it may be the distinctly "Janus-like" nature of the autumn season. For if its harvest culminates the fertility of summer, so too does its cessation of growth serve as a harbinger of the coming sterility of winter, as Keats has portrayed so vividly in the natural imagery of his "Ode to Autumn".³ As might be expected, Pope points out this "Janus-like" nature of the season, not so much by vivid natural images, as by significant allusion both to what has passed in

³ The choice of diction and imagery in the first and third stanzas respectively conveys strikingly the season's two faces:

Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness,
 Close bosom-friend of the maturing sun;
 Conspiring with him how to load and bless
 With fruit the vines that round the thatch-eaves run

 While barred clouds bloom the soft-dying day,
 And touch the stubble-plains with rosy hue;
 Then in a wailful choir the small gnats mourn
 Among the river shallows, borne aloft
 Or sinking as the light wind lives or dies...

(Keats: Poetical Works, ed. H.W. Garrod (London: Oxford University Press, [1956]), pp. 218-19, lines 1-4, 25-29.)

"Spring" and "Summer" and to what is yet to come in "Winter".

From the outset Pope links "Autumn" to the pastorals that precede it through obvious verbal echoes. In the opening couplet for example the phrase "sung their Rurall Lays" (line 2, MS. and 1709) seems designed to call to the reader's mind the first stanza of "Spring" in which the poet requests that "Albion's Cliffs resound the Rural Lay" ("Spring", line 6, MS. and 1709), as does the concluding verse of the same stanza -- "Hylas and AEgon's Rural Lays I sing" (line 6, MS. and 1709). Likewise, his invocation of the "Nymphs of Thames" (line 5, MS.) to help record those "Rural Lays" recalls the image of the "Sicilian Muses" singing on the banks of "Fair Thames" ("Spring", lines 3-4, MS. and 1709).⁴ Yet it is important to note one crucial difference. While in "Spring" the assistance of the Muses would seem to have been naturally expected, now in "Autumn" it must be formally requested; for the Golden Age, in which poetic inspiration came naturally because Art was both a product and a reflection of Nature, no longer obtains.

In a similar way, Pope echoes "Summer". Referring to his two

⁴In 1709 Pope alters "Nymphs of Thames" to "Mantuan Nymphs". This latter epithet, suggesting as it does Virgil's pastoral Muses, affords an even closer parallel with the "Sicilian Muses" which refer to those of Theocritus. At the same time, the alteration of "kind Assistance" to "sacred Succour" not only emphasizes that the Nymphs referred to are indeed Muses, but also recalls the "sacred Spring" ("Spring", line 3, MS. and 1709) from which "Fair Thames" flows.

shepherd-poets, Hylas and AEgon,

To whose Complaints the listning Forests bend
While one his Mistress mourns, and one his Friend
(lines 3-4, MS., 1709, 1717)

Pope recalls Alexis, whose song made "The list'ning Streams forget a while to flow" ("Summer", line 6, MS.).⁵ Like his, their power to control Nature is Orphic.⁶ Hence the reader expects that they too, while no longer able or willing merely to reflect Nature, will nonetheless be able to shape it to their needs.⁷

⁵The echo becomes more pronounced after the "Summer" passage to which it refers is revised in 1709. Even though the epithet "list'ning" is dropped at that time, the addition of the phrase "There while he mourn'd" ("Summer", line 5, 1709) increases the parallel. So too does the replacement of "Cries" with "Complaints" ("Summer", line 15, MS.; line 19, 1709) to depict the nature of the song (see above p. 243, n. 26).

⁶Elwin has suggested that Pope's source for this verse is a line from Oldham's imitation of Moschus' Bion in an elegy on the death of the Restoration poet Rochester:

And Trees lean'd their attentive branches down...

(See "Bion" in The Works of Mr. John Oldham Together with His Remains (London, 1710), p. 75, line 41). Since Pope draws on Oldham's poem extensively for "Winter" and echoes it also in "Summer" (see below pp. 365ff. and above p. 276, n. 79), Elwin's conjecture may well be correct. However, Elwin has once again missed the significance of the verse and of its allusion (if allusion it in fact should be), commenting testily that the "extravagant idea" comes from Oldham because "There is nothing of the kind in the Greek text" (op. cit., p. 285, n. 4). The passage in Oldham's poem where the line occurs (lines 36-49) is an enumeration of the powers that Rochester, "England's Orpheus dead" (line 33), used to wield over Nature. In "Bion" the dead Rochester is depicted, like Alexis and the one he loves in "Summer" and Hylas and AEgon in "Autumn", as a bardic figure who was able to command the attention of Nature and, to a certain extent, to control it. Elwin failed to see that Pope's verse, like Oldham's, depends on the Orphean myth.

⁷See above pp. 264-65, 275-76.

At the same time, Pope also alludes to the pastoral tradition itself, echoing the opening of Virgil's Eclogue I in his first couplet, as he points out to his readers in the general note to the Pastorals appended to "Spring" in 1736.⁸ Thus he continues the pattern, established in "Spring" and carried on in the 1736 version of "Summer",⁹ of connecting his own Pastorals with those of the "three chief Poets in this kind, Theocritus, Virgil, Spenser". He takes the echo a step further in 1736, revising his second couplet so that it too alludes to the same passage.¹⁰ Now, however, the purpose would

⁸Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi
silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena
[Tityrus, reclining under the covering of a
spreading beech, you practise your rural songs
on a slender pipe]

(lines 1-2)

Wakefield has suggested (cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 285, n. 3) that Pope is also indebted to Dryden's translation:

Beneath the Shade which Beechen Boughs diffuse,
You Tit'rus entertain your Sylvan Muse.

(lines 1-2)

⁹See above pp. 235-36.

¹⁰formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.
[you teach the woods to resound lovely Amaryllis.]
(line 5)

Wakefield has suggested (cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 285, n. 5) that Pope is here again more indebted to Dryden's translation (line 6):

And Amarillis fills the shady Groves.

Pope may also recall a verse discarded from the manuscript version of "Summer" (line 4):

And Amaryllis fill'd the Vocal Grove.

seem to be modified somewhat, since the second allusion is clearly ironic. Though Hylas and AEgon, like Virgil's Tityrus, fill the grove with the names of the ones they love, their motive for doing so is antithetical. While Tityrus celebrates his felicity, Pope's shepherd-poets mourn their fate.

In "Autumn", as in "Spring" and "Summer", Pope's first major alteration is the addition of a dedicatory stanza (lines 7-12, 1709) -- this one addressed to yet another close friend of the poet, William Wycherley. Once again the central issue to consider must be what connection Wycherley and the lines that dedicate the poem to him have to do with "Autumn". In the original 1709 version of the dedication Wycherley would appear to be called on to "Attend the Muse" (line 11) primarily because of his friendship with the young poet; the Muse "sings of Friendship, and she sings to thee" (line 12). Thus, Pope implies, the connection is thematic. Since "Autumn" concerns friendship, it is fittingly addressed to one who, as the poet's friend, can well understand the concept. Yet such an interpretation is clearly misleading. As Pope points out in his 1736 notes, "This Pastoral consists of two parts". The song of AEgon obviously deals not with friendship but with "perjur'd" love (see line 58, 1709). Moreover, though Hylas mourns a "Friend" (line 4, MS. and 1709), his relationship with the absent Thyrsis seems to be more one of love than of friendship. Thus the thematic

connection is tenuous at best in the case of Hylas' song and nonexistent in that of AEgon. On the other hand, the remaining lines of the dedicatory stanza would seem to suggest that Wycherley may have been chosen for an entirely different reason. In praising Wycherley's playwriting ability -- the Muses have endowed him with the "Wit" of Plautus, the "Art" of Terence, and the "Fire" of Menander (lines 7-8, 1709) -- Pope intimates that Wycherley may well find it useful to draw on his knowledge of comic drama in order best to appreciate "Autumn". The nice balance between "Sense" and "Humour" and between "Judgement" and "Rapture" he displays in his own writings (lines 9-10) will now provide him with the proper insight to understand and evaluate the songs of the poem's two poet-shepherds.

Thus in the 1709 version, Pope puts forward two apparently unrelated reasons for selecting Wycherley, his knowledge of friendship and his discernment of the innately comic. While the two are not particularly contradictory, their presence together is somewhat confusing. In the 1736 version Pope eliminates this confusion by dropping all reference to the theme of friendship. Instead, he emphasizes that the songs of Hylas and AEgon are both love-complaints, pointing out that "This mourn'd a faithless, that an absent Love" (line 3). At the same time, Pope makes clear that the poem is dedicated to Wycherley because of his abilities as a dramatist. The latter is now invoked as one "skill'd in Nature" who will

understand "the hearts of Swains,/Their artless passions and their tender pains" (lines 11-12). The epithets "skill'd" and "artless" are certainly chosen with care. The former conveys an image of Wycherley as a brilliant craftsman whose greatest strength is the knowledge he has acquired of his subject, which is human nature.¹¹ In contrast, the latter suggests that the poet-shepherds of "Autumn" are not only "natural and "guileless" but also "devoid of art or skill".¹² The reader soon realizes, however, that this epithet has distinctly ironic overtones. Even if Hylas and AEgon are "artless" in their "passions", they are anything but "artless" in their expression of those "passions", that is, their poetry. Each composes a most "artful" love-complaint using sophisticated rhetorical devices that are quite of another order than those employed by Daphnis and Strephon or even Alexis.

A comparison of the dedication of "Autumn" as it stands in its final version of 1736 with those of the first two pastorals

¹¹See The Oxford English Dictionary, definition 1: "possessed of a skill or knowledge, properly trained or experienced". Joseph Warton questioned the epithet's propriety, arguing that "Few writers have less nature than Wycherley" (cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 286, n. 4). However, as Professors Audra and Williams have pointed out in the Twickenham edition (op. cit., p. 81n), at least one of Pope's contemporaries, his friend Lansdowne, shared the poet's appraisal of the dramatists' art. In his Character of Mr. Wycherley (in Bowyer's Letters of Wit, Politicks, and Morality (London, 1701), p. 255) he commends the playwright's "strict Enquiries into Nature" and his "close Observations upon the several Humours, Manners, Sentiments, and Affections of Men".

¹²The Oxford English Dictionary, definitions 3, 4 and 1 respectively.

reveals a significant progression. Trumbal, it may be recalled,¹³ was depicted in "Spring" as a natural artist whose life was his Art. As such, he epitomized the Golden Age of "Spring" itself. Garth, on the other hand, was portrayed as the poet-physician who, because of his dual vocation, was best able to comprehend the change that had occurred by "Summer", where love no longer brought ease but "Disease".¹⁴ Likewise, Pope's choice of images to depict the poet and his Art -- song birds in the former, wreaths in the latter -- implied the change that had taken place in the role of the artist. No longer able or willing merely to reflect Nature as a natural artist, he was forced to shape Nature and enhance it through his Art.¹⁵ Wycherley, on the contrary, is presented neither as a natural artist nor a poet-physician but as a consummate poet "skill'd in Nature". The very paradox of that phrase emphasizes that in the degenerate world of "Autumn" Nature must now be subservient to Art. Gone are the images of natural artists and objects of Nature shaped by Art. In their place Pope offers the reader a triumvirate of classical poets -- Plautus, Terence and Menander. Their individual strengths -- "Wit", "Art" and "Fire" respectively -- have all been

¹³See above pp. 189-93.

¹⁴See above pp. 238-39.

¹⁵See above pp. 240-41.

encompassed within one poet, Wycherley, to whom "Autumn" is addressed.

It is, of course, no mere coincidence that all of the poets Pope chooses are masters of satiric comedy.¹⁶ As in "Spring" and "Summer", so now in "Autumn", the role of the poet is made clear by the dedication. In an age where treachery and neglect have become the order of the day, he must follow the example of Wycherley,

Whose sense instructs us, and whose humour charms,
Whose judgment sways us, and whose spirit warms!
(lines 9-10, 1736)

He is obviously formed in the Horatian mould,¹⁷ a poet who teaches

¹⁶In a note added in 1751 and attributed to Pope by Warburton the importance of satiric comedy is again stressed:

Mr. Wycherley, a famous Author of Comedies; of which the most celebrated were the Plain-Dealer and Country-Wife. He was a writer of infinite spirit, satire, and wit. The only objection made to him was that he had too much. However, he was followed in the same way by Mr. Congreve; tho' with a little more correctness.

The attack of the last two sentences is more in keeping with Warburton's position on Wycherley (see below n. 18) than the poem's and may well have come from his pen.

¹⁷Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,
lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.
[He has gained the approval of all who has mixed
profit with pleasure by delighting the reader and
at the same time instructing him]

(Horace, Ars Poetica, line 343 in Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica, trans. H.R. Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1966), p. 478.)

while he entertains. No longer content or able merely to reflect Nature or even to shape it to his own more perfect concept of the ideal, he must now try to reform it completely through his "judgment" and his "sense".¹⁸ At the same time, as one "skill'd

¹⁸ Warburton noted that Pope was

...always very carefull in his encomiums not to fall into ridicule, the trap which weak and prostitute flatterers rarely escape. For sense, he would willingly have said, moral; propriety required it. But this dramatic poet's moral was remarkably faulty. His plays are all shamefully profligate, both in the Dialogue and the Action.

Although Elwin has pointed out the obvious inconsistency of Warburton's commendation, noting that

...if, as Warburton assumes, the panegyric in the text has reference to the plays and not to the man, it was a misplaced "encomium" to say Wycherley "instructed" the world by the "sense" and "swayed" them by the "judgment", which were manifested "in a shamefully profligate dialogue and action" (op. cit., p. 286, n. 2),

he has, like Warburton before him, allowed his own moral bias to interfere with his literary criticism. Pope, unlike his two commentators, would seem to have been well aware that though the subject matter of Wycherley's plays frequently concerned immorality their "Sense", that is, their "meaning, substance, purport or intention" (The Oxford English Dictionary, definition 23), was ultimately moral. For Wycherley, like Chaucer and Ben Jonson before him, chose to convey his moral indirectly through satire.

in Nature" he also realizes he must temper his criticism with "spirit"¹⁹ and "humour", to make the bitter pill of his satire the more palatable.

If the rather clinical nature of the dedication in "Summer" prompted the discerning reader to question Pope's tone in that poem,²⁰ the obvious emphasis here upon satiric comedy should certainly alert him to a similar situation in "Autumn". He may well suspect that Hylas and AEgon are, to a certain extent at least, to be viewed as characters in the poet's own drama, a drama in which both the comic and the satiric will have their place. Indeed, the dichotomy between Wycherley, who is "skill'd in Nature", and the characters whose "artless passions" he is to study makes such an interpretation almost unavoidable. For Wycherley, like Garth and Trumbal before him, is clearly meant to be the ideal reader for his particular age. Consequently, once again through his dedication Pope directs the discerning reader concerning how he should interpret the poem. He warns him that in "Autumn", as in all good drama, the poet distances himself from his creation. He is to be found, not within the speeches of the characters themselves,

¹⁹Pope altered "Rapture" to "Spirit" in 1736. As the Twickenham editors have shrewdly noted, it was a "happy emendation. It is possible to speak of Wycherley's sense, of his humour, of his judgment, his spirit, but hardly of his 'rapture'" (op. cit., p. 8ln).

²⁰See above pp. 241-42.

but outside them, studying and evaluating them for the benefit of his audience. As James Joyce was later to observe, regarding the essence of drama:

The artist, like the God of creation, remains within or beyond or above his handiwork, invisible, refined out of existence, indifferent, paring his fingernails.²¹

In revising the concluding couplet of the dedicatory stanza in 1736 Pope clarifies considerably its import. Juxtaposing the ideal reader's skill in Nature and the apparent lack of such skill in his characters, he sets the stage for the unfolding of an essentially comic drama in the form of two monologues with a suitable prologue and epilogue spoken by the poet himself. At the same time he completely discards the theme of friendship, not only dropping all reference to it in the dedication but even altering the gender of Hylas' absent lover, transforming Thyrsis into Delia, so that it becomes obvious that the songs of both poet-shepherds are love-complaints. It would seem that the Twickenham editors have mistaken the significance of this latter change when they argue that it is made strictly on moral grounds.²² On the contrary,

²¹ A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, [1960]), p. 215. Appropriately enough, Joyce's alter ego, Stephen Dedalus, is explaining the progression of art from lyric through narrative to its culmination in drama. In a sense Pope has followed a parallel progression from "Spring" through "Summer" to "Autumn".

²² See above pp. 85-86.

it would seem more reasonable to suggest that Pope demonstrates his moral qualms in this regard not in 1736 but in the original manuscript and 1709 versions when he insists that friendship is the subject despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary. The remarkable ease with which Pope effects the transformation in 1736 bears witness to the fact that the relationship originally portrayed is essentially one of love not friendship, as Elwin has pointed out:

When Pope made his lines commemorative of love instead of friendship, he did little more than change the name of the man (Thyrsis) to that of a woman (Delia), and substitute the feminine for the masculine pronoun.²³

It would seem that by 1736 Pope realizes that the theme of friendship not only fails to eliminate the suggestion of a "criminal Passion"²⁴ but, more importantly, actually serves as a red herring which merely confuses the relationship between "Autumn" and the Pastorals as a whole. For in spite of any reference to "Friendship", the subject matter of "Autumn" is the same as that of the other three poems, namely, Love. Thus the change in gender in 1736 is not the result of any newly-acquired moral scruple; that scruple is most apparent in the poet's initial attempt to hide a love relationship

²³Op. cit., p. 285, n. 4.

²⁴See above p. 85.

between two men under the guise of friendship. Instead, it should be viewed as an attempt to clarify the poem's theme and re-emphasize its close connection with the other three poems.

Having prepared his audience regarding the nature of the drama to be presented, Pope now sets the stage, establishing the time of day in which the scene takes place -- sunset²⁵ -- and introducing his first performer -- Hylas. Significantly the "serenely bright" beams of the setting sun (line 7, MS.; line 13, 1709) contrast markedly with the mood of the poet-shepherd. Yet, despite the apparent obliviousness of Nature, Hylas is able to convey his plight through the evocative power of his "Melodious

²⁵Pope's initial note to "Autumn" is significantly couched in the shorthand form of a stage direction: "The Scene, a Hill; the Time, at Sun-set". Again Pope's meticulous care to establish the precise time of day in each of his pastorals is evident. In the 1709 version the line (13)

The setting Sun now shone serenely bright

makes clear that the sun is still in the process of setting while Hylas speaks, a fact not entirely clear in the original manuscript version (line 7):

Now Golden Phaebus sett serenely bright.

Likewise, the final version of 1717 (line 13)

Now setting Phaebus shone serenely bright

still maintains the precision of the 1709 version, though eliminating its tongue-twisting alliteration.

Moan" (line 9, MS.; line 15, 1709). In the original manuscript version Hylas merely leaves an impression which makes "Vales resound and hollow Mountains groan" (line 10).²⁶ However, in the revised version his song evokes a sympathetic response; it "Taught Rocks to weep, and made the Mountains groan" (line 16, 1709). The very unnaturalness of Nature's response re-emphasizes the Orphic power of Hylas, comparable to that of Alexis' unnamed lover in "Summer", whose voice, would she but sing, could make forests dance, mountains move and "headlong Streams hang list'ning in their Fall" ("Summer",

²⁶ Wakefield has suggested (cited in Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, pp. 81-82n) that Pope's original source for these lines may have been either Edmund Waller's Thyrsis, Galatea (lines 45-46) --

Make the wide country echo to your moan
The list'ning trees and savage mountains groan

-- or his To My Lord Admiral (lines 11-12) --

Eyridice, for whom his num'rous moan
Makes list'ning trees, and savage mountains groan

(see The Poems of Edmund Waller, pp. 15, 125). It is interesting to note that the latter lines are part of an Orphean image.

lines 82-84, 1709).²⁷

The song of Hylas per se provides an interesting comparison with that of Alexis in "Summer". Unlike Alexis, whose loose verse paragraph structure reflected the relatively troubled state of his own mind, the "artless" Hylas manages to present his "tender pains" in a remarkably ordered fashion. His song, divided into five tightly-organized stanzas, is linked together by the use of judicious repetition and a recurring refrain -- "Go whisp'ring Gales and bear my Complaints away" in the original manuscript version, "Go gentle Gales and bear my Sighs away" in all subsequent versions -- that opens each stanza. The poet-shepherd's handling of this refrain is an indication of his poetic skill. He employs alternate rhymes

²⁷Elwin, noting the former of Wakefield's suggested sources (see above n.26) for these lines, has remarked obtusely that

The groans of the trees and mountains are in Waller's poem, the echo of the mourner's lamentations, but to this Pope has added that the 'moan' made 'the rocks weep', which has no resemblance to anything in nature

(op. cit., p. 286, n. 6; the italics are mine). He has failed to realize that the significance of the image as it stands in the revised version is precisely that it has no resemblance to anything in nature. Because of the unnaturalness of Nature's response, Hylas must be considered as an Orphic bard who can shape Nature to his own ends. Such too is the nature of the image in the other source from Waller that Wakefield noted (see above n. 26) which Elwin apparently overlooked in his commentary.

-- "away" in the first, third and fifth, "along" in the second and fourth stanzas -- to avoid unnecessary monotony. Moreover, he concludes his song with a significantly altered variation of the refrain, "And cease, ye Gales, to bear my Sighs away" (line 54, 1709), much in the way that Spenser does in his Epithalamion,²⁸ to point out the significant development that has occurred in his last stanza, the apparent return of his absent lover. It would seem, then, that Hylas is a far more conscious artist than his predecessors, including Alexis. He strives to impose a new poetic order on the chaos of the world in which he finds himself. It is a world now not only impeded by the frustrated ambition and unattainable goals that plagued Alexis but one where even his fellow man can no longer be trusted. The key to Hylas' philosophy of art and life would seem to be self-control. Where Alexis gave free rein to his passion and consequently his verse, Hylas hedges in the former in a tight poetic structure. His rationale would appear to be that if he can control his "tender passions" by controlling his mode of expression, perhaps he can exercise some control over Nature itself, particularly the recalcitrant nature of his absent lover. However, as the reader eventually

²⁸ See above p. 244.

discovers, his success in this regard is much in doubt and is perhaps ultimately illusory.

Unlike Alexis, Hylas does not, even initially, regard his natural environment as a mere reflection or extension of his own mood. Instead of naively identifying his present state of mind with the season,²⁹ he carefully selects from Nature an analogy that, though not particularly autumnal, nevertheless depicts his position both aptly and movingly. In choosing the comparison of the turtle-dove who his "lost Love deplores" (line 13, MS.; line 19, 1709), he demonstrates his ability to range over Nature to find what he requires for his poetic creation. There is a directness of approach here that is altogether missing in Alexis' discursive opening verse paragraph. Where Alexis would seem to have been groping towards some acceptable explanation for his predicament, Hylas appears to be completely aware of the precise nature of his problem, if not its remedy. His task in the first stanza is to define his state and to portray it in the most effective way possible. To this end, he employs what Elwin has termed a "time-honoured"³⁰ image of neglected love, the mourning turtle-dove. Yet his use of it is

²⁹See above pp. 242-43.

³⁰"It was a time-honoured fancy that the 'moan' of the turtle-dove was a lament for the loss of its mate" (op. cit., p. 286, n. 8).

certainly not hackneyed; the sad beauty of his conclusion that they are "Alike unheard, unpity'd and forlorn" (line 22, 1709),³¹ is movingly pathetic despite the apparent undertone of self-pity it contains.

While Hylas does not refer to the seasons in his opening stanza, he makes extensive use of them in the one that follows. In the first half of this stanza he presents three separate images of loss, those of the song of the "Feather'd Quires", of the "pleasing Shades" of the lime-trees and of the wilting of the "Lillies" (lines 18-20, MS.; lines 24-26, 1709), attributing each one to a wilful response to the absence of his lover. Then, in the second half he relates each image to the passing away of a specific season, presenting each as a metaphor of his own predicament. As he has been deserted by the one he loves, so too have the flowers, the birds and the trees been left behind by their respective seasons: spring, summer and autumn (lines 21-23, MS.; lines 27-29,

³¹This version of the line is a definite improvement over the original manuscript's version (line 16) --

Like her deserted, and like her forlorn.

In 1709 Pope eliminates the redundancy of "deserted" and extends the parallel with "unheard" and "unpitied". At the same time, the revised line is more evocative because the twice repeated "un-" syllable of negation prepares the reader for the mournful climax of the line, which is the haunting word "forlorn".

1709). In this way he indirectly comments upon his own relation to his absent lover, suggesting the latter's presence is necessary to sustain him. Without it, he will not only become mute like the song birds at summer's end, but will "fade" (line 23, MS.; line 29, 1709) like the trees as autumn departs or even die like the lilies when spring has gone. It is significant that, even though loss is a theme naturally connected with the autumn season specifically, Hylas takes a broader view, seeing it as one common to all.

It would seem that Pope intends this passage as an echo of Daphnis' and Strephon's reference to the seasons in "Spring" ("Spring", lines 59-66, MS.; lines 77-84, 1709). Indeed, the echo itself once more demonstrates the extent and nature of the change that has occurred since "Spring", for while Daphnis and Strephon celebrated the harmony of the seasons,³² Hylas now laments the inevitable loss the passing of each entails. Furthermore, the conclusion he draws from his argument that absence is "Death to those that love" (line 24, MS.; line 30, 1709) clearly foreshadows the ultimate loss that "Winter" holds for man.

³²See above pp. 223-24.

The nice balance of this stanza provides further evidence that Hylas is very much a conscious poet. He creates a climactic effect in the first half by repeating the same inverted sentence structure for each of his images of loss. Then, in the second half when he converts each image into a seasonal metaphor of his own condition, he reverses their order, building to a second climax. In the original manuscript version the sentence order of each of the metaphors in this second series is likewise identical,³³ but by 1709 Pope seems to have realized that the monotonous nature of this repeated structure outweighs the rhetorical effect of its balance. Consequently, in revising the second half he artfully varies his sentence structure in such a way that, while an overall balance is maintained, the caesura occurs in a different position in each

³³In each case the subject is followed by a noun clause consisting of the relative pronoun "that" and a verb which is in turn modified by an adverbial clause introduced by "when":

*Ye Flow'rs that languish when forsook by Spring,
 Ye Birds that cease when Summer's past to sing,
 Ye Trees that fade when Autumn Heats remove...*
 (lines 21-23, MS.; the italics are mine).

verse.³⁴ The climax in the latter half of this stanza is, of course, also reinforced by the natural order of the seasons which culminates

³⁴Ye Flow'rs that droop, // forsaken by the Spring,
Ye Birds, // that left by Summer, // cease to sing,
Ye Trees that fade // when Autumn-Heats remove...
 (lines 27-29, 1709; the italics are mine;
 "//" denotes a caesura).

The adverbial clauses of the first two lines are changed to participial phrases, the second of which is moved to a position in front of "cease", the verb of the noun clause (see above n. 33). It may be recalled that one of the rules of good versification Pope outlines in the letter to Walsh he alludes to in the opening note to "Spring" (see above p. 182) concerns this very problem:

Ev'ry nice Ear, must (I believe) have observ'd,
 that in any smooth English verse of ten syllables,
 there is naturally a Pause at the fourth, fifth, or
 sixth syllable. It is upon these the Ear rests,
 and upon the judicious Change and Management of
 which depends the Variety of Versification....
 [examples omitted] Now I fancy, that to preserve
 an exact Harmony and Variety, the Pauses of the
 4th or 6th shou'd not be continu'd above three
 lines together, without the Interposition of an-
 other, else it will be apt to weary the Ear with
 one continu'd Tone, at least it does mine; that
 at the 5th runs quicker, and carries not quite
 so dead a weight, so tires not so much tho' it
 be continu'd longer.

(Correspondence, I, 23)

In this case even though two of the three caesurae of the original version fall after the fifth syllable (lines 22 and 23), Pope obviously senses that the repetition of structure makes even a repeated medial pause monotonous. Difficult situations call for drastic measures; he discards his rules and introduces two pauses into the second line, after the second and seventh syllables.

with the indirect allusion to "Winter" in the last line.

Hylas' next stanza, like the one that precedes it and like "Autumn" as a whole,³⁵ is divided neatly in half. In the first part the poet-shepherd curses the "Fields" that keep his lover from him (line 26, MS.; line 32, 1709). Not satisfied with this, he calls forth a general blight on Nature itself. As Elwin has noted,³⁶ the line "Fade every Blossome, wither ev'ry Tree" (line 27, MS.; line 33, 1709) would seem to be an allusion to William Congreve's The Mourning Muse of Alexis, a pastoral elegy lamenting the death of Queen Mary. If so, it is a highly significant one, for it portends not only the death of Nature that must follow the passing of autumn but also indirectly the ultimate fate of man, the subject of "Winter". However, Hylas, not yet prepared to accept the inevitability of either, immediately retracts his curse and in the second half of the stanza substitutes a blessing, one which interestingly enough takes the form of a nostalgic allusion to "Spring". In the manuscript version

³⁵Pope devotes exactly 42 lines to each shepherd, including introductory material.

³⁶Op. cit., p. 287, n. 2. The pertinent line from Congreve's poem (line 80),

Fade all ye Flow'rs and wither all ye Woods

(see The Complete Works of William Congreve, ed. Montague Sommers (Soho: Nonesuch Press, 1923), IV, 41), is part of a description of Nature's response to the death of "Pastora", that is, Queen Mary.

the connection is slight; Hylas' command -- "Let Flow'rs and Blossoms purple all the Plains" (line 30) wherever his lover should go -- would seem to echo faintly Daphnis' assertion that in spring "lavish Nature paints the Purple Year" ("Spring", line 18, MS.). However, the allusion in the 1709 version of this line is unmistakable, not only because of Hylas' specific demand that "Spring attend" (line 36), but also because the image "where'er my Thyrsis [Delia, 1736] flies,/Let...sudden Flow'rs arise" (lines 36-37) clearly recalls Strephon's assertion that "If Delia smile, the Flow'rs begin to spring" ("Spring", line 71, 1709). At the same time, it also echoes Alexis' prediction in "Summer" that wherever his loved one shall tread "the blushing Flow'rs shall rise" ("Summer", line 75, 1709). Taken together the three images suggest a fascinating progression. What was fact in "Spring" and fanciful prediction in "Summer" has now become a poetic fiat. Thus the power to control and enhance Nature has passed from the loved one, the subject of the song, to the poet himself, its creator. As the world continues to degenerate, the Orphic power of the poet to reorder, if not to redeem it increases.

Hylas ends his blessing with yet another allusion; this one, to a passage from Virgil's Eclogue VIII,³⁷ is sufficiently important

37

aurea durae
mala ferant quercus, narcisso floreat alnus,
pinguia corticibus sudent electra myricae
[Let the hard oak bear golden apples, the alder
bloom with narcissus, and rich amber drip from
the tamarisk bark]

(lines 52-54)

for Pope to draw his reader's attention to it in his 1736 notes. The main reason Pope does so would seem to be that he has changed the tone of the passage. Although Pope borrows the image of roses growing on oaks and amber dripping from thorns from Virgil his use of it is antithetical. In his source the image of golden apples sprouting from oaks and amber seeping from the bark of the tamarisk is part of a general curse directed at Nature³⁸ by Virgil's poet-shepherd, Damon, whose loved one has betrayed him by marrying another. Because the one he loves has acted in an unnatural way, he now demands that all Nature should likewise become unnatural. Damon's curse, of course, is paralleled by that of Pope's poet-shepherd which forms the first half of this stanza. However, the mind of Hylas is untainted by the bitterness of betrayal that pervades and poisons that of Virgil's speaker. Damon requests the complete destruction of the world by an inundation of the sea,³⁹ but Hylas stops short, crying "perish all -- but he [she, 1736]" (line 28, MS.; line 34, 1709), thus exempting the one he loves

³⁸ Dryden, for example, begins his translation of this Virgilian passage (line 70):

Old doting Nature change thy Course anew...

³⁹ omnia vel medium fiat mare.
[or let all be in the midst of the sea.]
(line 58)

from his general curse of Nature. Moreover the tender regard he has for the one he loves immediately prompts him to retract his curse and instead to bless Nature on behalf of that person. His concluding image, far from being the bitter request that Nature turn unnatural or monstrous that it was in Pope's original Virgilian source, becomes a sincerely expressed desire to enhance Nature for his loved one. In a sense, then, the allusion itself and the 1736 note that draws attention to it are designed to point out the difference between Pope's poet-shepherd and Virgil's and thus to clarify further Hylas' state of mind.

Having demonstrated the strength and sincerity of his passion, Hylas tries in the following stanza to explain its extent. In the first half (this stanza like all but the very first in Hylas' song per se is divided into two equal parts), he argues that his love will out-last Nature itself; the birds will be mute at evening, the winds still, the woods motionless, the streams noiseless (lines 33-36; MS., lines 39-42, 1709) before he stops loving. Such images of cessation in Nature's activities are certainly highly appropriate to the autumn season. Moreover, because Hylas presents them all in strictly human terms -- the birds "cease to tune" their song, the winds "to breathe", the "waving Woods to move", the "Streams to murmur" -- they seem to suggest not only the impending death of Nature but also the ultimate fate of man. As the season heralds the former, so does it by analogy prophesy the latter. Here then Hylas

implies that his love will endure the passing of the season and perhaps of life itself.

At this point Pope makes his second major alteration in "Autumn". In the original manuscript version, Hylas concludes this stanza by professing the lengths to which he will go for the one he loves. He will accompany the latter to whatever clime he should choose, from the "burning Plains" of Lybia to the "Eternal Snow" of the Alps (lines 37-38, MS.), and

Yet feel no Heat but what our Loves impart
And dread no coldness but in Thyrsis Heart.
(lines 39-40, MS.)

This passage seems purposefully designed to recall the opening of Alexis' love-complaint in "Summer" ("Summer", lines 9-18, MS.), both by the similar extravagance of the climatic images themselves and by the identical use to which they are put as conventional Petrarchan love-conceits.⁴⁰ Yet this particular allusion to "Summer" seems not altogether appropriate since it implies that the sufferings of Alexis and Hylas stem from the same root cause, the indifference of the ones they love. In fact, because Hylas as yet only "dreads" his lover's coldness while Alexis was all too certain of his, Hylas'

⁴⁰ See above pp. 242-43.

predicament would seem to be the less serious one. However such an interpretation is quite misleading. Alexis' love was unrequited, but there is no indication that Hylas' has been so. On the contrary, the absent Thyrsis is depicted from the outset as the poet-shepherd's "Friend" (lines 4 and 30, MS.). Hylas clearly suffers from the absence of the one he loves. Although this absence may possibly be a sign of a growing indifference on the part of Thyrsis, Hylas himself provides the reader with no overt evidence that such is the case.⁴¹ Moreover, Hylas' plight is serious, not because it resembles that of Alexis in "Summer", but because it foreshadows that of the poet-shepherds in "Winter", since absence is "Death to those that love".

In revising this stanza in 1709 Pope completely eliminates the confusing allusion to "Summer", replacing it with two couplets originally part of the following stanza (lines 43-46, MS.). The alteration is a fortuitous one. Having insisted that his love will

⁴¹The one remark that suggests Hylas feels his lover is purposefully ignoring him -- "Like her deserted..." (line 16, MS.) -- is considerably toned down in revision --

Alike unheard, unpity'd and forlorn.
(line 22, 1709)

In the latter case the adjectives Hylas applies to his own condition suggest loneliness rather than an awareness of neglect. At the same time the invocation in the last stanza

Come Thyrsis come, ah why this long Delay!
(line 41, MS.; line 47, 1709)

implies that Hylas himself does not know the cause of his lover's absence.

out-last Nature itself, Hylas now explains why. Using several analogies drawn from his environment he argues that the sight of the one he loves is absolutely essential to him. He can no more do without it than labourers can exist without water and rest or all of Nature's creatures, without showers and sunshine. Once more the argument is tightly structured, moving effortlessly from the specific to the universal, from man to Nature itself. At the same time he shapes his images to serve his own particular needs. If "Bubbling Fountains" (line 43, 1709) and "balmy Sleep" (line 44, 1709) appear "charming" (line 46, 1709) to the thirsty and the weary,⁴² so too

⁴²As Pope points out in his 1736 notes the ultimate source for this comparison is Virgil's Eclogue V, lines 46-47:

Quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per aestum
 dulcis aquae saliente sitim restinguere rivo
 [like sleeping deeply on the grass when exhausted
 or quenching your hot-weather thirst from a sweet
 fountain of water.]

Since Virgil's use of the image is entirely different -- it is offered by Menalcas in praise of Mopsus' song on the death of Daphnis -- the 1736 note may have been intended primarily to show how well the poet has adopted this image into its new context. Yet, as Warton has noted (cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 288, n. 4), Pope's immediate source may have been a rather similar image in the seventeenth century Scottish poet William Drummond's Forth Feasting (lines 71-74):

To Virgins Flowres, to Sunne-burnt Earth the Raine,
 To Mariners faire Winds amidst the Maine:
 Coole Shades to Pilgrimes, which hote Glances burne,
 Please not so much, to vs as Thy Returne.

(See The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden, ed. L.E. Kastner (New York: Haskell House, 1968), I, 143). Drummond is celebrating the return of James I (James VI of Scotland).

may "Show'rs to Larks or Sunshine to the Bee" (line 45, 1709), though only through the poet's conscious personification of these creatures of Nature. Here again Nature seems to exist primarily for the poet's use, to provide serviceable analogies for his own situation.⁴³

The last stanza of Hylas' song, which heralds the apparent return of the poet-shepherd's absent lover, opens with a passionate invocation, in which Hylas begs that his lover come back. This is followed in the original manuscript version by the two couplets just mentioned (lines 43-46, MS.). There the logic would seem to be that Hylas, having invoked Thyrsis, feels the need to explain why the latter's presence is so necessary to him. Then, as if the reference to his "Sight" (line 46, MS.) serves as a cue, the missing shepherd reappears. In the final version, on the other hand, the precise nature of the return is ambiguous to say the least. Here, the passionate invocation is followed by a rather desolate image --

⁴³Professor Durant has noted this process in "Autumn":

Now nature is not only shaped to human requirements by personification, but wrought more firmly into use by comparison. If, in the first two eclogues, nature had seemed first dominant, then equal to man; now it is clearly subordinate. The speakers do not simply record nature's beauty, nor project themselves upon it, but use it as a vehicle of the expression of their own situation and emotions.

(op. cit., pp. 477-78.)

Thro' Rocks and Caves the Name of Thyrsis
[Delia, 1736] sounds
Thyrsis [Delia, 1736], each Cave and ecchoing
 Rock rebounds

(lines 49-50, 1709)

that offers not the slightest indication that the lover's return is imminent. On the contrary, in recalling the initial description of Hylas, whose song "Taught Rocks to weep, and made the Mountains groan" (line 16, 1709), it implies to the reader that nothing at all has really changed. Yet in the second half of the stanza the miracle apparently takes place, for Hylas cries "He [she, 1736] comes, my Shepherd [Delia, 1736] comes!" (line 53, 1709). Or does it? The intervening couplet

Ye Pow'rs, what pleasing Frensie soothes my Mind!
 Do Lovers dream or is my Shepherd [Delia, 1736]
 kind?

(lines 51-52, 1709)

casts considerable doubt on the issue.

As is so often the case in his revisions, here Pope chooses his words with extreme care. Yet this time he does so not to clarify his meaning but purposefully to obscure it. How should the reader interpret his use, at this point, of a strange, almost oxymoronic expression like "what pleasing Frensie soothes my Mind"?⁴⁴

⁴⁴Wakefield has suggested (cited by Audra and Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 83n) that the phrase "pleasing Frensie" may have been suggested by the phrase "amabilis insania" in Horace's *Carminum* III, iv, 5-6 (see *Q. Horati Flacci: Opera*, eds. E.C. Wickham and H.W. Garrod (Oxford: Clarendon Press, [1967]), reprint of 1901 edition).

That Hylas should consider even for a moment that he is indeed the victim of a "Frensie" or "delerium",⁴⁵ pleasing or otherwise, certainly suggests the possibility that what he sees is at best a vision, at worst, a hopeless delusion. In addition, it seems just possible that Pope is playing on two meanings of the word "kind", implying that not only the reappearing lover's "benevolence" but also his "naturalness" and with it his substantiality is open to question.⁴⁶ Likewise the note Pope appends to the passage in 1736 only contributes further to the ambiguity, since the source he cites, Virgil's Eclogue VIII,⁴⁷ ends in precisely the same confusing manner. It seems obvious, then, that in the revised version Pope intends to leave his reader in doubt, for the time being, regarding the final outcome of Hylas' song.

⁴⁵See The Oxford English Dictionary, definitions 1 -- "mental derangement, delerium or temporary insanity" -- and 2 -- "(figurative), agitation or disorder of the mind likened to madness, a state of delerious enthusiasm".

⁴⁶See ibid., definitions 5 -- "having a gentle, sympathetic or benevolent disposition" -- and 6 -- "affectionate, loving, fond" -- as opposed to definition I, 1a -- "natural, that is or exists in accordance with nature, or the usual course of things".

⁴⁷an qui amant ipsi sibi somnia fingunt
[Or do those who love imagine dreams for
themselves?]

(line 108)

At the end of Alpheisiboeus' song the lady is not sure whether her spell has really brought her wayward lover home or whether she is merely dreaming of his return.

If so, he certainly has succeeded in doing so, for the two most recent commentators on "Autumn" have expressed diametrically opposed views on the matter. While Professor Durant has concluded that the absent lover returns,⁴⁸ Professor Battestin has argued that Hylas is the victim of a "happy fantasy".⁴⁹ Since Pope has gone to the trouble of introducing the ambiguity during the course of his revisions, the former view, which accords well only with the simpler manuscript version, would seem to be the less likely. Moreover, as Battestin has pointed out,⁵⁰ the absence of any reference to the returned lover in Pope's own epilogue to the two monologues (lines 91-94; MS.; lines 97-100, 1709) also militates against the simpler interpretation. However, even if the reader should share Battestin's view of the song's ending, the problem remains whether the "pleasing Frensie" of Hylas should be regarded as a delusion or a vision. If it is the former, then Hylas, despite all the overt control of his poetic structure, has become a victim of his "artless passions". On the other hand, if the latter interpretation is the correct one, it becomes clear that the first poet-shepherd of "Autumn", by

⁴⁸According to Durant, "Hylas sings of a departed love who returns in the poem" (op. cit., p. 480).

⁴⁹Op. cit., p. 70.

⁵⁰He argues that "When the poet's voice is heard again at the conclusion, it is to assure us that Delia's return was, indeed, the soothing effect of Hylas' frenzy..." (ibid., p. 70).

controlling both his own human nature and external Nature as well through his artful verse, has achieved a consolatory vision akin to, if not of the same order as, that granted to the poet-shepherds of "Winter".⁵¹ As theirs will emerge from the permanent separation of death, his develops out of the temporary separation of absence, also a kind of "Death to those that love". Since Hylas possesses both a measure of the self-pity of Alexis and the trust and devotion of the poet-shepherds of "Winter", it would seem reasonable to assume that Pope intends the reader to find both interpretations not only possible but actually existing simultaneously.

The ecstatic Hylas now gives way to AEgon, who, like his predecessor, is presented as an "artful" poet. His song is both inspired by the Muses and admired by "Windsor Groves" themselves (lines 49-50, MS.; lines 55-56, 1709). Of course, "Windsor Groves" having known better days, the latter assertion may well carry less weight than it would have if it had been applied to Daphnis and Strephon or even Alexis. However, be that as it may, the claim that AEgon draws his inspiration directly from the Muses indicates that he is more consciously aware of the nature and extent of his

⁵¹See below pp. 379ff.

poetic gifts than Alexis, who, it may be recalled,⁵² suspected the Muses had deserted him.

AEgon is a character who literally needs no introduction since he conveniently provides his own. In his opening stanza he establishes not only his reason for singing, as did Hylas before him, but the precise time of day and even, in the 1709 version, the location (lines 59-60, 1709; originally lines 87-88, MS.). This meticulous concern for such detail from the very outset would seem to suggest that he might well be regarded as a dramatist in his own right, a talented poet-actor quite capable of setting his own stage for the virtuoso performance to follow. His skill as a dramatic poet is immediately evident. He is, for example, a master of suspense, initially informing his audience that he is mysteriously "dying" because of his "perjur'd" lover (line 52, MS.; line 58, 1709), yet withholding the actual explanation of this statement until the very end of his song. Like the artful Hylas, he adopts a tight stanza structure, bound together by a recurring refrain -- "Resound ye Hills, resound my mournful Strain" -- that neatly captures the melancholy mood of despair he wishes to convey. Indeed, the very images he selects for his opening stanza, while depicting precisely

⁵²See above pp. 245-48.

the time and setting, also reinforce this mood. For, as Professor Durant has shrewdly observed, the mountains "less'ning as they rise" (lines 59-60, 1709), the oxen retreating from the fields (lines 61-62, 1709), the "curling Smokes" (line 63, 1709) and the "fleet Shades" (line 64, 1709) are all "images of retreat"⁵³ that not only portray the imminent end of day but more importantly also suggest indirectly the fast-approaching end of the poet-actor himself. Moreover the landscape itself acquires a moral dimension. Through the distinctly treacherous connotations of the verbs AEgon employs to describe the adjacent mountains which "less'ning as they rise,/
Lose the low Vales, and steal into the Skies" (lines 59-60, 1709; the italics are mine),⁵⁴ he comments obliquely upon the perfidity of his faithless lover, who forsaking moral for social stature has left him behind and stolen away to another. In his skilled hands the setting becomes but a tool to convey his mood and dramatize his moral, to charm and instruct, to sway and warm. The hills are there only to "resound" what he wishes.

⁵³Op. cit., p. 480.

⁵⁴It is significant that when Pope moves this couplet from its original manuscript position at the end of AEgon's song to its ultimate position he changes the implicit fertility image, "Swell o'er the Vales", which is appropriate to the paradoxical sterility in the midst of plenty theme that AEgon later develops in his song (see below pp. 321-22), to one with connotations of treachery and inconstancy -- "Lose the low Vales" -- more appropriate to its new context.

This opening stanza is highly allusive, echoing "Spring" and a number of Virgilian passages. The image of oxen "spent with Toil and Heat" retreating from the field (lines 63-64, 1709), for example, recalls Strephon's opening remark that he and Daphnis should sing "While yon slow Oxen turn the furrow'd Plain" ("Spring", line 30, 1709).⁵⁵ This allusion serves to emphasize once again the change that has occurred since the end of "Spring". While Strephon's image had an almost timeless quality, that of AEgon, conversely, seems very much rooted in Time, suggesting in fact that Time is moving swiftly to its close. Likewise, the latter stresses the harsh reality of physical labour in a post-lapsarian world, a characteristic which, being quite foreign to the concept of the Golden Age, is entirely absent in the former. This image also calls to mind a

⁵⁵ It should be noted that Pope has already linked the songs of Daphnis and Hylas, the first speakers in "Spring" and "Autumn" respectively, in exactly the same way. The image of the turtle-dove with which the latter commences his song (lines 19-22, 1709) corresponds with Daphnis' initial explanation that the song of the birds has inspired him ("Spring", lines 23-26, 1709). The parallel is even more pronounced in the original manuscript version where Daphnis refers specifically to "early Turtles" (line 15, MS.).

similar one found at the end of Virgil's Eclogue II.⁵⁶ Since AEgon's predicament resembles to a certain extent that of Virgil's poet-shepherd Corydon -- both realize that the one they love loves another -- the echo may well be intentional. However the difference in their situations is equally important. While AEgon realizes from the beginning that his situation is hopeless, Corydon only reaches this conclusion at the end of his song. Hence it seems fitting that AEgon should begin where Corydon leaves off, since the former is commencing his song with all the sceptical self-knowledge

⁵⁶ aspice, aratra iugo referunt suspensa iuveni
[the young oxen return, the ploughs suspended
loosely from their yokes]

(line 66)

Strangely enough the Twickenham editors have cited Dryden's translation of the passage (lines 95-98):

See from afar the Fields no longer smoke,
The sweating Steers unharness'd from the Yoke,
Bring, as in Triumph, back the crooked Plough;
The Shadows lengthen as the Sun goes Low.

Except for the possibility that the word "smoke" in Dryden's version may have suggested Pope's line -- "While curling Smokes from Village-Tops are seen" (line 63, 1709), there seems no evidence to indicate that Pope's source here is Dryden's translation rather than the Latin original. However, since this last-mentioned image appears to derive from Virgil's Eclogue I (see below n. 57), the possibility seems unlikely.

the latter has acquired in his.⁵⁷

On the other hand, a far closer parallel exists between the plight of AEgon and that of another of Virgil's poet-shepherds, Damon, the distraught first speaker of Eclogue VIII. They, unlike Daphnis, are fully aware that they have been betrayed by the ones they love. Consequently, since Alexis has earlier echoed his pastoral antecedents -- Theocritus' Polyphemus, Virgil's Corydon and Spenser's Colin Clout⁵⁸ -- it is hardly surprising that AEgon's opening exclamation "Of perjur'd Phillis [Doris, 1709], dying I'll complain" (line 52, MS.; line 58, 1709) alludes to the impassioned

⁵⁷The stanza ends with what would appear to be an allusion to yet another Virgilian pastoral. As Wakefield has pointed out (cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 289, n. 3), the last two images suggest the concluding observation of Tityrus in Eclogue I (lines 82-83):

et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant
maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae
[and already the highest roof-tops of the
farms send up smoke and the shadows
of the mountain tops fall farther away]

Here the allusion appears to be ironic since Tityrus ends on a note of felicity quite antithetical to AEgon's mood. It seems significant that AEgon's song should begin with images drawn from the conclusions of several of Virgil's eclogues, suggesting that AEgon senses that his time is also rapidly drawing to a close.

⁵⁸See above pp. 238-39, 250 and 235-36, respectively.

cry with which Damon begins his lament.⁵⁹ The purpose of this allusion would appear to be two-fold. First, it links AEgon directly with a particular Virgilian character, thus placing him firmly within the pastoral tradition. Secondly, and more significantly, it provides the first clue regarding the song's conclusion. The ideal reader, "skill'd in Nature" like Wycherley himself, already begins to foresee, through the obvious literary parallel, precisely where AEgon's "artless passions" are leading him. For, if AEgon's plight is the same as Damon's, his despair may well drive him to the same suicidal resolution.

Like Alexis and Hylas before him, AEgon draws on Nature for images that will dramatize his mood. However, he adds to them a dimension of moral censure, converting his environment into a distinctly moral landscape. In his second stanza, for example, he offers proof of his lover's perfidity, drawing attention to a nearby poplar upon which he formerly

...carv'd her am'rous Vows,
While she with Garlands hung [grac'd, 1709; hung,
1736] the bending Boughs.
(lines 59-60, MS.; lines 67-68, 1709)

⁵⁹ coniugis indigno Nysae deceptus amore
dum queror et divos, quamquam nil testibus illis
profeci, extrema moriens tamen adloquor hora.
[while I, deceived by my love for the unfaithful
Nysa, lament and, although I have gained nothing
from those vows of hers, exhort the gods to hear
the last utterance of a dying man]
(lines 18-20)

Elwin has suggested⁶⁰ that Pope's model here may be a strikingly similar image in his friend Dr. Samuel Garth's mock-heroic poem,

The Dispensary:

Each conscious Tree a Tragick Signal bears.
Their wounded Bark records some broken Vow,⁶¹
And Willough Garlands hang on ev'ry Bough.

Significantly enough, Garth is there describing the "Mansion of disastrous Love",⁶² that part of the underworld specifically set aside for those who have died as a result of their lover's betrayal. Consequently, an allusion to that passage would seem to be not only appropriate but functional;⁶³ it serves to inform the reader of AEgon's present condition and probable fate. If Pope does model

⁶⁰Op. cit., p. 289, n.4.

⁶¹The Dispensary. A Poem In Six Cantos (fifth edition; London: John Nutt, 1703), Canto VI, lines 202-04, p. 90.

⁶²Ibid., Canto VI, line 200.

⁶³Wakefield's suggested source (cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 289, n. 4), Virgil's Eclogue X, lines 53-54 --

...tenerisque meos incidere amores
arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, amores
[and carve my love on tender trees; as they
grow, so will my love]

-- is less likely. Gallus, Virgil's love-struck poet-shepherd, carves his own vows on the barks of young trees, so that as the trees grow so will his love. His mood lacks the bitterness of AEgon's. If Pope does have this passage in mind, he certainly alters it considerably, making the tree a metaphor of the lover's unfaithfulness rather than the poet-shepherd's fidelity.

his own image on Garth's, he has taken it a step farther, for in Pope's version the tree itself has now become a metaphor of the inconstancy of AEgon's lover:

The Garlands fade, the Vows are worn away
So dies her Love, and so my Hopes decay.
(lines 61-62, MS.; lines 69-70, 1709)

The metaphor in fact implies that the tree, an object of Nature, is her silent accomplice. Its record of her vows has proved as transient and unreliable as her love. If one may be excused a quibble, neither can be trusted to keep its word.

This implication of a certain complicity on the part of Nature in man's woes, first seen in Hylas' suggestion that the fields "cause" his lover's absence (line 26, MS.; line 32, 1709), marks a significant development in man's attitude to Nature in the Pastorals. In "Spring" the poet-shepherds viewed Nature as a primary source of their inspiration, in fact, as the fountainhead of their self-harmony in the Golden Age. Even in "Summer", after man's fall from this state of felicity, Alexis never accused Nature of active malevolence. His attitude to Nature did however gradually evolve. While at the outset he considered it sympathetic, he ultimately came to realize, after a number of fruitless invocations of aid from the "Pow'rs above", that Nature was largely indifferent to his plight. In "Autumn", on the other hand, Nature is now viewed as a possible enemy to man's needs and desires.

While AEgon's image of the tree serves him as a metaphor of his lover's unfaithfulness, it also reflects his own state of mind, the despair that follows the "decay" of all his hopes. As such it is a fitting image of one side of "Janus-like" autumn, the desolation that precedes the coming death of winter. In the next stanza, by way of contrast, he explores the other side of the season, its culmination of the growth of spring and summer in the harvest. Once more he exhibits not only his poetic, but his rhetorical skill as well. If the final verse were not there, the stanza would appear as an innocent hymn in praise of the season's natural fecundity, a Georgic-like description⁶⁴ of the bounty with which Nature blesses

⁶⁴The Twickenham editors (see op. cit., p. 85n), for instance, have seen in the line (64, MS.; 72, 1709)

Now bright Arcturus glads the teeming Grain
an echo of Georgic I, lines 67-68 and 204-05:

at si non fuerit tellus fecunda, sub ipsum
Arcturum tenui sat erit suspendere sulco:
[but if the land be not fruitful, it is enough
to turn it with a shallow furrow, just before
the rising of Arcturus]

Praeterea tam sunt Arcturi sidera nobis
Haedorumque dies servandi et lucidus Anguis,
[Furthermore, we must watch the star of
Arcturus, the days of the Kids, and the
shining Serpent]

(in Virgil: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI, trans., H.R. Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (revised edition; London: William Heinemann, 1974), I, 84, 94). In addition, Pope's choice of the verb "glads" recalls "laetus" which Virgil employs on similar occasions throughout the Georgics to suggest that the land has been blessed (see above p. 185).

the earth in autumn. But, of course, the last verse cannot be disregarded, for by contrasting the sterility of his own emotional state with the fertility of Nature he effectively undercuts the entire Golden Age image he has constructed. Viewed in the light of his agonized query "Just Gods! shall all things yield Returns but Love?" (line 68, MS.; line 76, 1709), the distinctly sexual connotations of his images -- "teeming Grain", "loaded Branches", "grateful Clusters swell with Floods of Wine" and "blushing Berries" (lines 64-67, MS.; lines 72-75, 1709; the italics are mine) -- acquire an extra significance, suggesting that physical sterility further contributes to his sense of despair. By addressing his question specifically to the "Just Gods" he again emphasizes the moral dimension of his complaint. Moreover, his application of what would seem to be a pointedly ironic epithet, "Just", to these gods serves to reinforce the impression that he has suffered unfairly at the hands of not only his unfaithful mistress but also a malevolent fate as well. If Nature blesses everything else, why has he alone been singled out with the curse of sterility? The discerning reader can scarcely fail to detect the underlying note of self-pity, approaching what twentieth century psychologists might term a "persecution complex".

This note of self-pity becomes increasingly pronounced as the song draws to a close. The resulting debilitation is all too evident in the following stanza. Despite the censure of his peers

and the solicitation of the great Pan himself (lines 70, 75-76, MS.; lines 78, 81-82, 1709), AEgon either cannot or will not stir himself from his lethargy. He freely admits that he now neglects the fundamental task of the shepherd's vocation, the care and protection of his flocks (line 70, MS.; line 78, 1709). His justification of this dereliction of duty --

Ah what avails it me, my [the, 1709] Flocks to keep,
Who lost my Heart while I preserv'd my Sheep
(lines 71-72, MS.; lines 79-80, 1709)

-- closely resembles Alexis' lament:

Ah wretched Shepherd, what avails thy Art
To cure thy Lambs, but not to heal thy Heart!
("Summer", lines 33-34, 1709)

There remains, however, this important distinction; while Alexis only contemplated renouncing his vocation, AEgon has actually abandoned his. The consequences for his charges may well prove disastrous; in the manuscript version they are "left to stray" (line 70), that is, subject to error,⁶⁵ while in the 1709 version they are "left a prey" (line 78), defenseless against their enemies.

At the same time, AEgon's sense of being persecuted deepens. Love, no longer merely a self-induced "Disease", is now an active,

⁶⁵See above p. 248, n. 33.

malevolent foe, whose weapon is the evil spell cast by the eyes of the poet-shepherd's faithless lover.⁶⁶ The reference to "Magick" (lines 73, 76, MS.; lines 81, 83, 1709) provides a nice counter-point to the "pleasing Frensie" experienced by Hylas. Though Hylas had recourse to the magic of his own Art to call his lover back or at least conjure up a comforting, if delusive vision, AEgon, aware of his own helplessness, can only ask "Oh mighty Love! what Magick is like Thee?" (line 76, MS.). In the 1717 version Pope revises this rhetorical question, intensifying his poet-shepherd's attitude of sceptical fatalism:

⁶⁶As Pope indicates in his 1736 notes, he models the lines on a verse from Virgil's Eclogue III (line 103):

Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos
[I do not know what evil eye bewitches my tender
lambs]

However, as Wakefield has pointed out (cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 290, n. 2), he is probably more indebted to Dryden's translation (lines 158-59):

What magick has bewitch'd the woolly Dams,
And what ill Eyes beheld the tender Lambs?

In either case, Pope's use of the image is clever. In Virgil's poem *Menaclas* suggests that while *Damoetas*' bull suffers from love (lines 100-01) his own lambs are actually bewitched by the evil eye. Pope, on the other hand, combines the two, suggesting that the evil eye that torments AEgon is that of his faithless lover. Moreover, the verb "dart" suggests the traditional weapon of Cupid, the god of Love, and the entire image plays on the traditional Petrarchan love conceit that love enters through the eyes. Most likely it is Pope's awareness of his own cleverness that prompts him to include this particular note.

What eyes, but hers, alas have pow'r to move!
 And is there magic but what dwells in love?
 (lines 83-84)

The magic of Love is not only all-powerful, it is the only magic that exists. AEgon no longer trusts the magic of his own Art to combat it, for while it can expose evil it cannot rectify it.

In his penultimate stanza AEgon contemplates flight, prepared to abandon his flocks, his peers and even the pastoral world itself (line 78, MS.; line 86, 1709). Yet he immediately realizes there is no escape from his predicament:

From Shepherds, Flocks and Plains I may remove
 Forsake Mankind and all the World -- but Love!
 (lines 79-80, MS.; lines 87-88, 1709)

Here he pointedly echoes his fellow poet-shepherd, Hylas, who culminated his curse of the fields that separated him from his lover in much the same fashion:

Fade ev'ry, Blossom, wither ev'ry Tree,
 Die ev'ry Flow'r, and perish all -- but he [she, 1736].
 (lines 27-28, MS.; lines 33-34, 1709)

However, the allusion is clearly ironic. Love, which compelled Hylas to exempt the one he loved from his general curse and further immediately to retract that curse and substitute a blessing, is now both the reason why AEgon contemplates renouncing all the world and the reason why he rejects even this extreme measure as inadequate.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ It would appear that Pope originally intended AEgon's contemplated flight from the pastoral world also ironically to recall Hylas' similar resolve to follow his loved one "thro' Lybia's burning Plains" and the "Eternal Snow" of the Alps (lines 37-38, MS.). Whereas Hylas proposes his course out of his devotion to his lover, AEgon wishes to escape the despair that his lover's infidelity is causing him. However, the parallel is lost when the earlier passage is deleted in 1709 (see above pp. 305-06).

AEgon becomes convinced he has at last recognized the true nature of his relentless foe. In the manuscript version he personifies Love as a savage, alien predator

...on desart Mountains bred,
Wolves gave thee suck, and savage Tygers fed,
(lines 81-82)

a violent monster

...from AEtna's burning entrails torn,
Got by fierce Whirlwinds, and in Thunder born!
(lines 83-84)

Pope points out to his readers in his 1736 notes that the original source for AEgon's depiction of Love as an alien monster is a similar passage in Virgil's Eclogue VIII.⁶⁸ Because AEgon's predicament so closely resembles that of Damon, Virgil's unfortunate

⁶⁸ nunc scio quid sit Amor. duris in cotibus illum
aut Tmaros aut Rhodope aut extremi Garamantes
nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edunt.
[Now I know what Love is. That boy was born
neither of our species ~~nor~~ blood, but in the
hard rock of either Tmaros or Rhodope or far-
thest Garamantes.]
(lines 43-45)

However, as Wakefield has pointed out (cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 290, n. 5), Pope may be equally indebted to Dryden's translation (lines 60-61):

I know thee, Love; in Desarts thou wert bred;
And at the Dugs of Salvage Tygers fed.

The addition of the tiger image suggests that Dryden and perhaps Pope as well drew on Virgil's original source for the passage, Theocritus' Idyllium III, lines 15-17.

poet-shepherd, the allusion is certainly most appropriate. Moreover, Pope would appear to be preparing the reader for the threat of suicide with which AEgon ends his song, since Damon, his literary counterpart, ended his speech in that way. In the 1709 version Pope alters AEgon's portrayal of Love somewhat. Although he still retains the predatory and monstrous images, he also stresses Love's affinity with the destructiveness of elemental Nature:

I know thee Love! wild as the raging Main,
More fell than Tygers on the Lybian Plain.
(lines 89-90) ⁶⁹

In doing so he implies once more that for the poet-shepherds of "Autumn" Nature itself has become man's enemy.

AEgon's paroxysm of self-pity and despair culminates in a threat of suicide. It comes, of course, as no surprise since Pope has been carefully preparing the reader for just such an eventuality from the outset through significant allusion. In the manuscript version Pope once more emphasizes the poet-shepherd's fatalism. AEgon regards his death, though self-inflicted, as inevitable: "To Shades unknown Death summons me away" (line 86). In the 1709 version, while maintaining a similar outward calm, AEgon now takes

⁶⁹In the posthumous 1751 edition the manuscript version is inexplicably restored. We have no way of knowing if its restoration is the work of Pope or Warburton. If it was the former, we might conjecture that Pope decided to stress the predatory nature of Love instead.

his leave more formally: "Farewell ye Woods! adieu the Light of Day!" (line 94), in a manner obviously designed to foreshadow the poet's own departure from the pastoral world at the conclusion of "Winter":

Daphne farewell, and all the World adieu!
("Winter", line 92)

The very formality of AEgon's leave-taking is disconcerting after the building frenzy of the previous stanzas. What appears eminently appropriate for a poet taking leave of the golden world of the pastoral, in a sense putting away childish things, seems completely out of place for someone about to commit suicide. At the moment of ultimate dissolution and chaos AEgon attempts one final time to impose some order through his artistic form. Like Hylas he completes his song (and, it would appear, his life) with a variant of his refrain:

One leap from yonder Cliff shall end my Pains.
No more ye Hills, no more resound my Strains! 70
(lines 95-96, 1709)

⁷⁰As the Twickenham editors have pointed out (op. cit., p. 87n), Pope's couplet closely resembles one from his friend William Walsh's imitation of Virgil's Eclogue VIII,

This leap shall put an end to all my pains.
Now cease, my Muse, now cease th' Arcadian strains

(Eclogue III, Damon in "Walsh's Poems" in The Works of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, ed. Samuel Johnson (London, 1779), XII, 350, lines 63-64). AEgon's elaborate farewell may also have been suggested by the same poem (lines 57-58):

Adieu ye flocks, no more shall I pursue!
Adieu ye groves; a long, a long adieu!

Yet no amount of formality can dignify or justify his end. He remains a pathetic not a tragic figure.

AEgon's fate suggests the limitations of Art in the morally corrupt world of "Autumn". Though Art can expose vice, it cannot rid the world of it. At best it offers a temporary escape from the pain of reality; at worst it provides an unrelenting portrait of corruption that drives man to despair and even self-destruction. Ironically, though AEgon has achieved exquisite order in his song, his life remains a chaotic ruin that the self-imposed forms of Art cannot alter or amend.

At this point the poet himself re-enters his creation, providing the reader with what might well be termed an epilogue to the drama that has unfolded before him. In the manuscript version Pope concludes simply: "Thus sung the Swains, while Day contends with Night" (line 91). The reader has no reason to question that Hylas' lover has returned and that AEgon, upon the completion of his song, will do as he promises. However, in the 1709 version, the end becomes less certain. By altering slightly the time sequence -- "Thus sung the Shepherds till the Approach of Night" (line 97) -- he implies that though the songs are now ended neither event has taken place.⁷¹

⁷¹Battestin, for example, has argued that the function of the epilogue is to "assure us that Delia's return was, indeed, the soothing effect of Hylas' frenzy, and that AEgon, despite his threat of self-destruction, is still alive and moaning in Arcady: 'Thus sung the Shepherds till th'Approach of Night'..." (*op. cit.*, pp. 70-71).

Thus he suggests Hylas may well be the victim of a "pleasing Frensie" and AEgon, the perpetrator of an idle, if morbid threat.⁷² The final outcome, however, is left to the reader's imagination.

⁷²It is interesting to note that Pope's friend and mentor, William Walsh, saw both the tragic and comic potential in the suicide threat with which AEgon's literary antecedent Damon concludes his song in Virgil's Eclogue VIII. In his imitation of that poem, which, as previously noted (see above n. 70), may well have provided Pope with a model for his own poet-shepherd's threat, Damon clearly destroys himself:

Thus Damon sung while on the cliff he stood
Then headlong plunged into the raging flood.
(Eclogue III, Damon, lines 65-66)

However, in what would appear to be a parody of Virgil's poet-shepherd's song, entitled "The Despairing Lover" (op. cit., pp. 333-34), Walsh suggests that Damon might well reconsider his rash threat:

But bold, unconcern'd
At thoughts of the pain,
He calmly return'd
To his cottage again.
(lines 29-33)

Since the Latin original, like AEgon's song, ends with the threat alone, either interpretation is possible. It is however significant that AEgon's threat, particularly in the original manuscript version (line 89) --

One leap from thence shall finish all my Pain

-- closely resembles that of Walsh's parodic Damon:

But, mad with his love,
To a precipice goes
Where a leap from above
Would soon finish his woes.
(lines 8-11)

Thus it seems not unreasonable to conjecture that Pope may have had Walsh's parody in mind as a possible allusion as well.

VII

Winter

"Winter", according to Warburton Pope's "favourite Pastoral",¹ concludes the poet's design. If the Messiah, which was composed and initially published separately with an analogous yet somewhat different concept in mind,² is discounted, this poem constitutes

¹See Warburton's note to the 1751 edition. There seems to be some dispute on this point. Spence, from whom Warburton may well have received this information, thought Pope was referring to the Messiah when he described "the last" as his "own favourite of them all" (see Spence, op. cit., I, No. 400).

²First published in The Spectator No. 378 on 14 May 1712, the Messiah was "conceived and written in a rather short space of time" in the spring of 1712, according to the Twickenham editors (see Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 99). Unlike the four Pastorals, it is clearly intended as an imitation of a single classical source, as its original subtitle indicates: "A sacred Eclogue, compos'd of several Passages of Isaiah the Prophet. Written in Imitation of Virgil's POLLIO" (see The Spectator, ed. D.F. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), III, 419). Though it was placed directly following the Pastorals and the Discourse in the 1717 edition of Pope's Works, it was certainly composed under a different set of principles, as Professors Audra and Williams have pointed out:

In spite of its position [in the 1717 Works], however, there seems little reason to apply to Messiah the rules set forth by Pope in his Discourse. The Messiah does follow the precept that would have pastoral poetry be "an image" of the Golden Age, though in it of course the Golden Age is not one of the past, but of the future. At the same time, Pope was doing that for which he criticized Spenser, treating "matters of religion in a pastoral style".

Pope's final vision of the pastoral world he has created. As such it should be viewed as the conclusion of the pastoral cycle commenced in "Spring", the culmination of the various patterns and themes observable in the first three poems. The term "cycle" has been used deliberately here. While "Winter" portrays the end of the pastoral universe as it has been conceived during the course of the Pastorals, it also envisions the possibility of a new beginning in which individual man -- as represented by Daphne the nymph whose death occasions the poem -- may ultimately escape the relentless process of Time. Though still in the sublunary sphere "Time conquers All, and we must Time obey" (line 88), the apotheosis of Daphne that marks the poem's climax provides a glimpse of an eternal spring with "Fields ever fresh, and Groves for ever green" (line 72) that awaits mankind after Time has, to use Milton's paradoxical

He was also invoking the precedence and authority of an eclogue by Virgil that in Pope's own words [see Guardian 40], had been "given up" as a true pastoral by "the Criticks in general".

(op. cit., pp. 100-01). Though the argument from the Guardian 40 article is somewhat suspect since it was written after the Messiah and in a pointedly ironic vein, the other objections are well taken. Professor Battestin has argued that the Messiah is necessary to "complete Pope's larger design" because the "expectation of renewal" is implied both by Pope's calendar structure and the Christian concept of the fall of man which he sees as the teleological principle of Pope's four poems (see op. cit., p. 74). Yet since the Pastorals and the Messiah were composed at distinctly different times and to serve apparently different ends, their ultimate appearance together can hardly be considered a part of the poet's original design. Instead, its addition to the 1717 edition, like that of the Discourse added at the same time, may better be viewed as the appending of another gloss that comments on the significance of the cycle rather than becoming an integral part of it.

expression, its "greedy self consum'd".³

In "Winter", unlike the first three Pastorals, the characters must explain the poem's occasion and establish its mood themselves without the benefit of the intervening voice of the poet. Thus it would seem Pope is furthering the process first noticeable in "Summer" of allowing his characters to speak for themselves regarding the nature and gravity of their own predicaments. In the two previous poems, it may be recalled,⁴ the results were satiric, mildly so in "Summer", more pointedly so in "Autumn", particularly in the case of the last speaker, AEgon. Yet in both cases Pope provided his reader with information regarding the best way to approach each poem in the dedicatory stanza added to each in the first published version. Thus by introducing Dr. Garth as the ideal reader of "Summer" he emphasized the reader's need for the clinical detachment and sympathetic compassion of the poet-physician. Likewise, in "Autumn" the presentation of Wycherley as the ideal reader suggested that comedy and satire might well be the order of the day. Here, however, the reader would seem to be entirely on his own since "Winter", unlike its predecessors, has no dedicatory stanza.

³See "On Time", in John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose, p. 80, line 10.

⁴See above pp. 241ff. and 284ff.

It is interesting to speculate upon the reason Pope does not add a dedicatory stanza to his last Pastoral in 1709. The Twickenham editors have conjectured that Pope may originally have intended to dedicate the poem to his close friend and mentor, William Walsh.⁵ Being both a renowned literary critic⁶ and a writer of pastoral verse himself, Walsh's presence as the ideal reader of "Winter" would have been appropriate, especially since his own pastoral elegy, Eclogue V, Delia, serves as one of Pope's models.⁷ However, if this conjecture is correct, it would seem reasonable to assume that Walsh's death around the time Pope was composing the dedicatory stanzas,⁸ forced the poet to abandon this plan. While it is quite reasonable to dedicate an elegy to a dead man, it would be far more difficult to address it to him. Besides, the connotations surrounding an ideal reader who is dead are, to say the least, rather indecorous. Since the purpose of any elegy is to offer an outlet for grief and the

⁵ See op. cit., p. 47.

⁶ Dryden had referred to Walsh in his "Postscript to the Aeneis" (1697) as "without flattery...the best critic of our nation" (see The Poems of John Dryden, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), III, 1426.)

⁷ See below pp. 337 and 340, n. 25.

⁸ Walsh died on 16 March 1707/8. An obvious problem with this theory is that Walsh died approximately two weeks after Pope received a receipt from Tonson for the Pastorals, which at that time apparently already contained the dedicatory stanzas (see above p. 70).

possibility of consolation for those who remain behind -- in the Christian tradition that informs Pope's poem the dead require neither -- "Winter" must ultimately address itself not to the dead but to the living.⁹

On the other hand, it is also possible to argue that Pope may never have seriously entertained the idea of addressing his last Pastoral to any particular ideal reader. For "Winter", unlike its predecessors, does not need such a figure to orient its readers properly. Its subject matter, the ultimate fate of man in the sublunary sphere where Time holds sway, should be equally understood by all readers since it is equally applicable to all. As a momento mori,¹⁰ "Winter" requires of its reader no special knowledge other than that with which he is born, a sense of his own mortality. To comprehend and appreciate fully the song "of Daphne's Fate, and Daphne's Praise" (line 8, 1709) he need only be human.

Even though Pope adds no dedicatory stanza to his poem, he nonetheless dedicates it "To the Memory of a Fair Young Lady" in 1709. In doing so he immediately alerts the reader to the fact that "Winter" is a pastoral elegy. In the 1717 edition, the "Lady" is

⁹Pope would appear to be cognizant of this fact by 1709 if not originally. At that time he revises Thyrsis' song so that it is no longer addressed to the dead Daphne prior to her apotheosis (see below p. 367).

¹⁰Georgio Melchiori has discussed at some length the treatment of the theme of death in the Pastorals; see op. cit., pp. 149-58.

identified as "Mrs. Tempest", who, Pope's readers would likely recall, was also the subject of William Walsh's Eclogue V, Delia.¹¹ For those who might fail to see the connection, Pope appends a note of explanation in 1736:

This Lady was particularly admir'd by the Author's friend Mr. Walsh, who having celebrated her in a Pastoral Elegy, desir'd his friend to do the same. Her death happening on the night of the great storm of 1702, gave a propriety to this eclogue, which in its general turn alludes to it.¹²

The idea to connect "Winter" with the late Mrs. Tempest apparently first originated with Walsh himself who, in a letter dated 9 September 1706, suggested to Pope

Your last Eclogue being upon the same Subject as that of mine on Mrs. Tempest's Death, I shou'd take it very kindly in you to give it a little turn, as if it were to the Memory of the same Lady, if they were not written for some particular Woman whom you wou'd make immortal. You may take occasion to shew the difference between Poets Mistresses, and other Men's.¹³

Since there is no evidence whatsoever that Pope knew or had even met the lady in question (he did not meet Walsh himself until several

¹¹In his subtitle Walsh explains he is "Lamenting the Death of Mrs. Tempest, who died upon the Day of the Great Storm" (op. cit., p. 354).

¹²In the 1751 edition either Pope or Warburton has added the rather irrelevant information that the "Lady was of an ancient family in Yorkshire" and corrected the date of the storm to read 1703.

¹³See Correspondence, I, 22. In the 1751 edition either Pope or Warburton has included an excerpt from the letter to prove that the idea was Walsh's.

years after her death), it seems reasonable to assume he is primarily interested in honouring the poem dedicated to her and, indirectly, its author, "the Muse's Judge and Friend".¹⁴ Yet, as Pope's 1736 note points out, the circumstances of the lady's death and her coincidentally appropriate name combine to make the dedication to her memory a most fitting addition to the poem.¹⁵

The Twickenham editors have conjectured that in the poem's refrain (lines 28, 36, 44, 52, 60, 68 and 76) Pope "Perhaps...gave his poem the 'little turn' which linked it with Walsh's poem".¹⁶ However, since this refrain is virtually unaltered from the earliest manuscript version that Walsh had before him when he requested the "little turn" this suggestion would appear untenable. On the other hand, evidence from the "Alterations..." manuscript indicates that Pope toyed with the idea of changing the name of his nymph from Daphne to "Delia",¹⁷ the name under which Walsh lamented Mrs. Tempest

¹⁴See An Essay on Criticism, line 729 (in Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 325). The concluding lines of this poem, a glowing tribute to Walsh, dedicate the poem to him.

¹⁵Professor Battestin, for example, has observed that Pope made here "an apt decision, certainly, since in her name and in the circumstances of her death (she died the night of the great storm of November 1703), this unfortunate woman perfectly exemplified Pope's theme of mortality and his symbolism of winter weather, the climate of life in this fallen world" (op. cit., p. 72).

¹⁶Op. cit., p. 91n.; see also p. 47.

¹⁷Op. cit., p. 481.

in Eclogue V. By 1709, however, he rejects this alternative, perhaps partly because Delia has become the name of Strephon's nymph in "Spring". As noted previously,¹⁸ with the exception of Alexis, the archetypal Orphic bard of the pastoral world and the poet's alter ego, Pope completely discards the device of an interlocking cast of characters. His "little turn" would appear to be limited to the addition of the 1717 dedication to Mrs. Tempest's memory and the further note of explanation in 1736.

If the dedication added in 1709 prepares the reader for what is to follow, so too do the names Pope gives to the characters of his poem. In the original manuscript version of the poem the first speaker is "Meliboeus", a shepherd whose name is derived from Virgil's pastorals but is not specifically connected with the pastoral elegy genre.¹⁹ However, by 1709 this character becomes "Lycidas", a name that should immediately call to mind Milton's pastoral elegy of the same name. There it is Lycidas himself,

¹⁸See above pp. 231-32.

¹⁹A character named Meliboeus appears in three of Virgil's pastorals. In Eclogue I he is a dispossessed farmer driven into exile. In Eclogue II he is an owner of flocks. In Eclogue VII he narrates a singing match between two other shepherds.

revered as both Orphic bard and Christian pastor,²⁰ whose death is lamented. Moreover, the second speaker, the principal singer of "Winter", is called "Thyrsis", a name that relates him to the poet-shepherd of that name who sang the lament for Daphnis, the earliest recorded pastoral elegy, in Theocritus' Idyllium I. Most significant of all, however, is the name of the nymph whose death occasions the poem, Daphne. As the Twickenham editors have observed,²¹ Pope obviously intends his readers to associate her with Daphnis, the "legendary figure regarded as the inventor of bucolic verse" whose death is lamented by both Theocritus and Virgil. Indeed, this mythic poet-shepherd's apotheosis in the latter's Eclogue V²² prepares the reader for Daphne's similar transformation at the climax of "Winter". In addition, Pope clearly alludes to yet another classical myth, that of Daphne. In the account of the myth given by Ovid in his Metamorphoses,²³ this nymph, the daughter of the

²⁰Initially Milton depicts Lycidas as a poet-shepherd who "knew/Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme" (Lycidas, lines 10-11, in John Milton: The Complete Poems and Major Prose, pp. 120-25; all subsequent citations of this poem are from this edition). His Orphic nature is established by Milton's overt comparison of his death to that of the Thracian bard (lines 56-63). On the other hand, St. Peter's contrast between the dead Lycidas and the unfaithful shepherds marks him also as an exemplary Christian pastor (lines 113-31).

²¹See op. cit., p. 46.

²²Lines 56 ff.

²³I, lines 450-567.

river-god Peneus and a devotee of Diana the goddess of chastity, unwittingly arouses the passions of Apollo. Pursued by him, she flees and, as she is about to be overtaken, she invokes her father's aid. Immediately she is transformed into a laurel-tree. Because of his love for her, unrequited though it be, Apollo honours her by making the laurel his own.

Pope's allusion to the myth of Daphne would seem to be important for several reasons. Sandys, for example, in his commentary on Ovid's version,²⁴ has stressed the central importance of the nymph's chastity in determining her ultimate fate:

Daphne is changed into a never-withering tree,
to shew what immortall honour a virgin obtaines
by preserving her chastity.

The reader may well expect that this particular virtue will somehow be relevant to the portrait of Pope's nymph as well.²⁵ Equally significant for Pope's purposes, however, is the identity of her pursuer. Daphne is chased by Apollo, who is, among other things, the god of music and poetry, patron of the Muses. As such she

²⁴Op. cit., p. 74.

²⁵It is interesting to note that Walsh's Delia, who served as a model for Pope's nymph and whose name was for a time considered as a possible alternative for her own (see above p. 337), was commended for this trait specifically. Contrasted with others who "By indiscretion make their conquest less", Delia remained "To all obliging, yet reserv'd to all" (lines 52, 61). Likewise, in Spenser's Nouember, another of Pope's models (see below p. 381), the dead Dido is described as "vertues braunch and beauties budde" (line 88).

represents an ideal of beauty and virtue that the poet feels compelled to pursue.²⁶ Moreover, in her transformed state she becomes the laurel, the sacred tree of Apollo,²⁷ by Pope's time a traditional symbol of poetic immortality.²⁸ In "Summer", it may be recalled, Alexis longed to "Embrace my Love, and bind my brows with Bays" ("Summer", line 38, 1709). There the ideal of beauty and virtue he fruitlessly desired remained unnamed; in "Winter", on the other hand, she acquires a name that clearly defines those attributes.²⁹

Even prior to the addition of the dedication in 1709 it is obvious from the outset that "Winter" is to be a pastoral elegy. The poem's opening couplet is modelled upon the opening lines of Theocritus' Idyllium I, as Pope has pointed out to the less observant

²⁶ Sandys noted that as the "lawrell" Daphne "(expressed in her name) the image of her beauty and chastity: innobled by her lover with additions of honours" (op. cit., p. 73).

²⁷ Ovid introduced the myth of Daphne ostensibly to explain why the laurel is sacred to Apollo (lines 450-51):

nondum laurus erat, longoque decentia crine
tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phoebus.
[as yet the laurel was not, and at that time
Phoebus circled his temples, comely with flowing
locks, (with a garland) from any tree.]

²⁸ For a discussion of Pope's use of the laurel or bays as a symbol of poetic achievement elsewhere, see Professors Audra and Williams' note on line 706 of An Essay on Criticism (op. cit., pp. 320-22).

²⁹ Professor Battestin has observed that "Ideal Beauty, that unattainable abstraction which demanded Alexis' love and inspired his song in "Summer", has here been given a name" (op. cit., p. 72).

readers in the general note appended to "Spring" in 1736.³⁰ In this

³⁰Pope cites Idyllium I, line 1:

Ἄδ' ὅτε τοῦ ψιθῶρισμα καὶ ἀπινύς, αἰπὸ δὲ, γηνα

Unfortunately, because of my ignorance of Greek, I must here rely upon the prose translation of A.S.F. Gow (in Theocritus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp. 5-15) who has rendered the line as follows:

Sweet is the whispered music of yonder pinetree
by the springs, goatherd, and sweet too is thy
piping.

It would appear that Pope has actually combined this image, spoken by Thyrsis, with that spoken in reply by the goatherd (lines 7-8), which Gow translates as follows:

Sweeter, shepherd, falls thy song than yonder
stream that tumbles splashing from the rocks.

Wakefield has suggested with some justification (cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 292, n.3) that Pope may also have in mind Creech's translation of the latter (Idyllium I, lines 9-10):

And, Shepherd, sweeter Notes thy Pipe do fill
Than murmuring springs that roul from yonder hill.

However, Elwin's additional comment that "Winter"

...is professedly an imitation of Theocritus, whom
Pope does not resemble, and whose Idylls he could
only have read in translation...

(op. cit., p. 292, n.1)

based, as it is, on a misinterpretation of Pope's 1736 note -- Pope claims that the line, not the entire poem, is modelled on Theocritus' Idyllium I -- is both misleading and erroneous. For, if Professor Gow's translation is a fair indication of the Greek original, it would seem that the opening line of "Winter" is closer to Theocritus than to Creech, who in his version of the first line of the Idyllium, makes no reference at all to the "music" of Nature, as do Pope and his Greek original:

Goatherd, that Pine-tree's boughs by yonder spring
In pleasing murmurs mix, and sweetly sing.
(lines 1-2)

way, of course, Pope continues his practice of relating each of his Pastorals to those of "the three chief Poets in this kind, Theocritus, Virgil, Spenser". In this case, however, he does more. By initially alluding to Idyllium I, the first recorded pastoral elegy, Pope places his own poem firmly within the pastoral elegiac tradition. Moreover, to reinforce the impression he proceeds in the following couplet to echo the most renowned Latin poem of the same tradition, Virgil's Eclogue V. For, as Wakefield has observed,³¹ this couplet recalls lines 83-84 of that poem and particularly Dryden's translation of them.³² Thus though Pope does not appear in his own voice, he nevertheless manages to guide his readers through significant allusion.

³¹Cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 293, n.1.

³²
 nec percussa iuvant fluctu tam litora, nec quae
 saxosas inter decurrunt flumina valles.
 [they are of more delight than the shore beaten by
 the waves, or streams hastening down between rocky
 vales.]

Dryden's version (line 131) --

Nor winding Streams that through the Valley glide

-- seems to be alluded to in both the manuscript version of line 3 --

Nor those soft Streams that wash the Vale below

-- and that of 1709 --

Nor Rivers winding thro' the Vales below....

If "Autumn" appeared to be a kind of drama, so too, in its own way, is "Winter". Here, however, the chief characters must appear before their audience without the benefit of authorial prologue. In his opening stanza, the poem's first poet-shepherd sets the stage for what is to follow. By describing the "Strains" of Thyrsis as "mournful" (line 2) he immediately establishes the poem's mood as elegaic.³³ Moreover, he stresses that his fellow poet-shepherd not only rivals Nature but surpasses it:

Thyrsis, the Musick of that murm'ring Spring
Is not so mournful as the Strains you sing,
Nor those soft Streams that wash the Vales below
So sweetly warble, or so smoothly flow.
(lines 3-6, MS)

Thus he suggests in "Winter" the role of the Artist has once more changed and with it his status as a creative force in the pastoral world. No longer content to reflect Nature, nor enhance it, nor attempt to control it, nor even to impose a moral dimension upon it, he is now actually able to transcend it. The extent of this change is made even more pronounced in the 1709 text in which the revised version of the fifth line -- "Nor Rivers winding thro' the

³³ In neither Theocritus' Idyllium I nor Virgil's Eclogue V is the mournful mood readily discernable at the outset. Instead, in each case it would appear to be the poet-shepherds' mutual desire to entertain themselves that first prompts them to sing of Daphnis' death. In this respect, the opening of Pope's poem more closely resembles some of his other models, including Bion's Lament for Adonis, Moschus' Lament for Bion, Spenser's November, Milton's Lycidas, Congreve's Mourning Muse of Alexis, and Walsh's Eclogue V, Delia.

Vales below" -- ironically calls to mind the fear that Alexis expressed that the Muses had "strayed" from him and now dwelt

In those fair Fields where sacred Isis glides,
Or else where Cam his winding Vales divides.
("Summer", lines 25-26, 1709)³⁴

Thyrsis, it would seem, need have no such fears since his song is sweeter and more smoothly flowing than any that such rivers can produce.

Lycidas' claim for his companion's Art might, at first glance, appear ridiculously extravagant.³⁵ Yet his depiction of the poem's setting in the latter half of this stanza provides evidence to support it. For in "Winter" not only has the role of the Artist changed, so too has Nature itself; it has become strangely mute.³⁶ In the earliest manuscript version of this passage, for example,

³⁴It may be recalled (see above p. 247) that the latter line from "Summer" was also revised in 1709, suggesting Pope, in the course of his revisions, inserted the echo for effect.

³⁵Of course, Theocritus' goatherd had made the same claim for the song of his companion, Thyrsis (see above n. 30). Virgil's Mopsus, however, is more subjective, suggesting not that the song of Menalcas is actually superior but merely that he personally finds it more delightful (see above n. 32).

³⁶Professor Durant has shrewdly commented that in "Winter"

...nature's primary characteristic is its silence;
the artist must constrain it to art, not reflect
it....

(op. cit., p. 481)

he describes the eerie stillness and almost unnatural silence of his surroundings:

Now in warm Folds the tender Flock remains;
The Cattle slumber on the silent Plains;
While sleeping Birds forget their tuneful Lays,
Let us dear Thyrsis, sing of Daphne's Praise.
(lines 5-8)

All Nature seems enveloped in a deep sleep; even the song birds, Pope's symbol of the natural artist throughout the Pastorals,³⁷ "forget their tuneful Lays". Only the poet-shepherds themselves remain awake, aware of the need to "sing of Daphne's Praise".

Pope appears to have thought this particular passage important, since he revises it several times prior to its appearance in the first printed text of 1709. For example, in an otherwise unaltered version recorded in the 1736 notes, he considers changing the reason behind the song birds' silence. Here it results not from a Lethe-like forgetfulness but rather from a lack of initiative amounting to negligence in the performance of their natural role:

...silent birds neglect their tuneful lays.

Significantly, though Pope ultimately returns to the earlier version of this line in the 1709 and subsequent texts, he nonetheless includes the other version in his 1736 notes, suggesting to his

³⁷ See above pp. 191-93 and 261-63.

readers that, for a time at least, he contemplated making Nature's silence volitional rather than unconscious.

A comparison between the various changes in the passage that Pope suggests to Walsh in the "Alterations..." manuscript³⁸ and both the original and final 1709 versions offers once more a fascinating example of the poet's art of revision. He would seem to be most concerned to provide more precise information regarding both setting and time -- according to his 1736 notes, "a grove... at midnight" -- since each proposed variant in some way refers to the effect of moonlight on the poet-shepherds' grove:

Now while the Groves in Cynthia's Beams are drest

While Cynthia tips with silver all the Grove^s

While the bright Moon with silver tips ye gro &c.

While the first depicts the groves as merely clothed in moonlight, the latter two, echoing the description of the sunrise in "Spring" --

And while Aurora gilds the Mountain's Side

("Spring", line 11, MS.; line 21, 1709)

-- suggest that Cynthia fulfills the same role as a supernatural artist in "Winter". Yet in each variant Pope retains the impression of almost unnatural stillness of the original version:

And folded Flocks on their soft Fleeces rest;

While sleeping Birds --

³⁸See op. cit., p. 481.

And scarce the Winds the top most Branches move

And not a Breeze the quiv'ring Branches moves.

In the final 1709 version Pope combines elements from the various earlier ones to form a beautiful yet highly significant portrayal of the setting:³⁹

Now sleeping Flocks on their soft Fleeces lye,
The Moon, serene in Glory, mounts the Sky,
While silent Birds forget their tuneful Lays,
Oh sing of Daphne's Fate, and Daphne's Praise!

Here, as in the original version, Nature seems asleep; even its song birds are "silent", forgetful of their "Lays". Pope also includes a description of the rising of the moon, echoing not only the dawn of "Spring" but the sunset of "Autumn":

The setting Sun now shone serenely bright.
("Autumn", line 13, 1709)

Here, however, the moon is no longer portrayed as a benevolent power, clothing the groves or painting them silver, as in the "Alterations..." manuscript variants. Instead, like the setting sun of "Autumn", it seems oblivious to "Daphne's Fate" and man's predicament as it, "serene in Glory, mounts the Sky". Yet, of course, Pope clearly intends the rising of the moon to foreshadow

³⁹ The Twickenham editors (*op. cit.*, pp. 51-52) have noted the obvious superiority of the 1709 version, describing lines 5-6 as "one of the most original and successful couplets in all the Pastorals". However, they fail to explain precisely why it is superior, not only in terms of versification, but also in terms of content.

the apotheosis of Daphne herself which is described in almost identical terms:

Daphne, our Grief! our Glory now no more!
But see! where Daphne wondring mounts on high...
(lines 68-69, 1709)

To understand the connection it is necessary to recall that the mythic Daphne, whose name and attributes Pope's own nymph shares, gained immortality by preserving her chastity from the lustful sun god, Phoebus. Because she remained faithful to Diana or Cynthus, the goddess of chastity whose heavenly sign is the moon, she was transformed into the laurel, a "never-withering tree". In "Winter" the sun which witnessed the process of degeneration through which Love passed in the first three Pastorals has long since departed. In its place the chaste moon, "serene in Glory, mounts the Sky". Thus the reader may well anticipate that in an environment over which her divine patroness presides "Daphne's Fate" will ultimately parallel that of her mythic namesake.

Considering the nature of the mythic Daphne's fate -- she is transformed into a tree -- it would seem clear that Pope chooses a grove as his setting for "Winter" with precisely this aspect of her metamorphosis in mind. In the next stanza for instance -- the first of Thyrsis, the poem's main speaker -- Pope draws the reader's attention to the connection through his depiction of the grove itself. The relationship is conveyed in an unmistakably graphic manner in the original manuscript version where the trees

are thus personified:

Behold the Trees, that shine with silver Frost,
Whose Arms are wither'd, and whose Leaves are lost.
(lines 9-10)

The grove's inhabitants, unlike the mythic Daphne who became a "never-withering tree", must share the ultimate fate of man in the fallen universe -- the inevitable process of decay and death. On the other hand, in the 1709 version Pope makes his point more subtly. Perhaps disturbed by the disconcerting mixture of human and non-human attributes in the original version, he substitutes "Beauty" for "Arms" and "Verdure" for "Leaves". The resulting figure, though less striking, is more decorous.⁴⁰ Yet, since "Beauty" in the context is more ambivalent than the original "Arms" -- though generally regarded as a human characteristic, it is nonetheless an appropriate enough epithet for a tree -- the personification of the grove that relates it to the mythic Daphne and her metamorphosis is undeniably rendered less obvious. However, Pope's careful revision of the following couplet firmly establishes the connection in the perceptive

⁴⁰The Twickenham editors (op. cit., p. 52) offer this revision as an "example of the way in which Pope subdues his imagery to the larger purposes of an eclogue". Arguing that in Pope's poem, as in Virgil's Eclogue V, the world is involved in Daphne's death: "the death of one is mirrored in that of the other", they suggest the "wither'd Arms" image "may have seemed altogether too particular". However they fail to discern the connection Pope is making between the grove and Daphne's mythical counterpart in her transformed state, which is also important for "the larger purposes" of "Winter", prefiguring, as it does, the resurrection of Pope's nymph.

reader's mind.

In the original manuscript version, Thyrsis proposes to "try the sweet Alexis Strain,/That call'd the list'ning Fawns from ev'ry Plain" (lines 11-12). As Elwin has pointed out,⁴¹ the couplet is clearly modelled on one from Garth's Dispensary --

As tuneful Congreve trys his rural Strains,
Pan quits the Woods, the list'ning Fawns the Plains ⁴²

-- and refers, as do Garth's lines, to Congreve's pastoral elegy, The Mourning Muse of Alexis. In the latter poem, it may be recalled,⁴³ Congreve under the name Alexis laments the death of Queen Mary, there called Pastora, for whose funeral

The Fawns forsake the Woods, the Nymphs the Grove,
 And round the Plain, in sad Distractions rove. ⁴⁴

The allusion to Congreve's poem would seem to be deliberate; as Professors Audra and Williams have commented,⁴⁵ it appears purposefully designed "no doubt to make the allusion clearer". However, what both Elwin and the Twickenham editors have failed to note is that, while the manuscript version closely follows Garth's couplet, the final version of 1709 is substantially altered:

⁴¹See op. cit., p. 293, n. 4.

⁴²Canto IV, lines 215-16, p. 57.

⁴³See above p. 301.

⁴⁴Lines 143-44; Pan's reaction is depicted in lines 149-50.

⁴⁵See op. cit., p. 89n.

Here shall I try the sweet Alexis' Strain,
That call'd the list'ning Dryads to the Plain.

Neither Garth nor Congreve mention Dryads.⁴⁶ By changing "Fawns" to "Dryads" or tree-spirits Pope reinforces the implicit relationship between the groves Thyrsis addresses and the transformed Daphne. In the revised version Thyrsis sets out specifically to follow Alexis' example and awaken the groves from the death-like sleep of their environment. Though his occasion is one of death, his song must bring Nature back to life, preparing the way for the resurrection of the dead Daphne herself.

The allusion to "Alexis Strain" would seem to have two functions. First, it connects the song of Thyrsis directly with The Mourning Muse of Alexis, a highly regarded modern poem in the pastoral elegaic tradition⁴⁷ which serves as one of the poet's models for "Winter". Secondly, it recalls to the reader's mind Alexis, the poet-shepherd of "Summer", an Orphic bard in his own right vainly pursuing an

⁴⁶ Congreve, however, does ask that "ever-living Laurel, shade [Pastora's] Tomb" (line 109). It might also be noted that in Virgil's Eclogue V the Dryads are specifically mentioned as partaking of the joy after Daphnis' transformation (see lines 58-59).

⁴⁷ In Garth's Dispensary the couplet in question is located in a passage in which the Fury Disease, called up by the apothecaries to help them in their battle with the physicians, damns their execrable verse (Canto IV, lines 190-203) and offers "just examples" (line 224) by which they may improve it (lines 204-25). In this list, which includes the foremost poets of the day, Congreve's "rural Strains" are singled out for praise. No other pastoral poets are mentioned.

unnamed ideal of beauty and virtue who if only she would sing

...and rival Orpheus' Strain
The wondring Forests soon shou'd dance again.
("Summer", lines 81-82, 1709)

Moreover, as Elwin has noted,⁴⁸ Pope's couplet also echoes a passage from Virgil's Eclogue VI⁴⁹ (though only, it should be added, in its revised 1709 state) in which the poet Gallus wandering by a river sacred to the Muses is honoured by them and rewarded by Linus -- "haec illi divino carmine pastor" -- with a pipe fashioned by the Muses themselves, one that once belonged to Hesiod the poet of Ascra. In Dryden's translation, cited by Elwin, Linus describes Hesiod's pipe as that

⁴⁸See op. cit., p. 293, n.4.

⁴⁹tum canit, errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum
Aonas in montes ut duxerit una sororum,
utque viro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis;
ut Linus haec illi divino carmine pastor
floribus atque apio crines ornatus amaro,
dixerit: 'hos tibi dant calamos, en accipe, Musae,
Ascraeo quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat
cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.
[Then he sang how one of the Sisters led Gallus,
who was wandering by the flood of the Permessus,
into the Aonian hills where all the chorus of
Phoebus rose in honour to the man; and Linus, that
shepherd of divinely-inspired song, his hair adorned
with flowers and also bitter parsley, said to him:
"The Muses give you this reed-pipe, behold accept
it which long ago the poet of Ascra [Hesiod] was
accustomed to play, leading the stiff mountain-
ash trees down the hillsides.]

(lines 64-71)

With which of old he charm'd the Savage Train:
And call'd the Mountain Ashes to the Plain.⁵⁰

In the 1709 version, then, through significant allusion Pope connects Alexis with another poet of Orphic dimensions,⁵¹ whose song could animate Nature itself. Thyrsis himself now aspires to this lofty poetic stature. Since it has already been established that his song is more mournful, sweet and smoothly flowing than those of Nature itself, the goal would seem to be within his grasp.

Moreover, not only did Alexis awaken the sleeping tree-spirits. According to Thyrsis:

Thames heard the Numbers, as he flow'd along,
And bad his Willows learn the moving Song.
(lines 13-14, MS. and 1709)

As Pope points out in his 1736 notes, this couplet is modelled

⁵⁰ Lines 100-01.

⁵¹ In order to elevate his friend Gallus, Virgil traces his poetic lineage, through the vehicle of the reed-pipe, back to Hesiod, whom he depicts as an Orphic bard, and thence back to the divinely-inspired Linus and the Muses themselves. Linus, as Professor E.V. Rieu has explained (see the glossary he appends to his edition of Virgil: The Pastoral Poems, p. 183), was a "legendary poet and singer, the son of Apollo, who was reputed, like Orpheus, to have caused the trees to move after him for love of his music". J.E. Zimmerman (in his Dictionary of Classical Mythology (New York: Harper and Row, [1964]), p. 152) lists four different mythic characters of this name, each connected with music in one way or another. According to one myth he is the brother of Orpheus; in another he is the son of the Muse Urania. A third has him the son of Apollo himself, while a fourth has him teaching Heracles music.

on a passage from Virgil's Eclogue VI⁵² in which the poet claims that the song of Silenus that he has recorded was first sung by Apollo, the divine patron of the Muses. The River Eurotas overheard the song and commanded the laurels that lined his banks, trees sacred to the god of poetry, to learn it by heart. In his own couplet, however, Pope changes the Eurotas to the "Thames", the favourite haunt of the Muses throughout the Pastorals,⁵³ and the laurels to "Willows". The latter alteration would seem to have been made for two reasons. First, as the Twickenham editors have pointed out,⁵⁴ the willow, being a symbol of grief native to England, is better suited to an English pastoral elegy than is the foreign laurel which has no such mournful connotations. Secondly, and more significantly, since Daphne has not yet been transformed, the time has not yet come for a song of her fate to be learned by her own "never-withering tree".⁵⁵ Thus the willows are preferable at this point for they, like the trees of the grove Thyrsis addresses, are

⁵²audiit Eurotas, iussitque ediscere lauros
[Eurotas heard, and commanded his laurels
to learn it by heart.]

(line 83)

⁵³See above pp. 189 and 280.

⁵⁴See op. cit., p. 89n.

⁵⁵In a sense, of course, Pope has it both ways in 1736. By specifically drawing his reader's attention to the allusion, he makes even the least perceptive reader aware of the laurel, the "never-withering tree" into which the mythic Daphne was transformed.

at the mercy of the season. It might be noted here that, though Pope's Daphne is not directly descended from a river god like her mythic counterpart, she is nonetheless closely associated with the Thames, the seat of the Pastorals' Muses.

As Professor Durant has shrewdly observed,⁵⁶ in Pope's last Pastoral "Art does not follow nature; it instructs it". Reversing the situation in "Spring" where the Thames inspired the poet-shepherds to song,⁵⁷ the river now learns from the poet-shepherds. Moreover, in 1740 Pope revises the response of Thyrsis' companion to the former's statement of purpose -- to "try the sweet Alexis Strain" -- changing it from one of a prayerful benediction on his fellow shepherd's behalf (suggested by the use of the personal pronoun "thy" as an epithet for "Field") to an intimation that Thyrsis' song may even bring about the regeneration of Nature itself:

So may kind Rains their vital Moisture yield,
And swell the future Harvest of the Field.
(lines 15-16)

The song of Thyrsis, should it be as successful as that of Alexis which reintroduced the creative impulse to Nature, may provide

⁵⁶ Op. cit., p. 481.

⁵⁷ See above pp. 101-02.

Nature with the means to escape the dearth of the winter season and restore itself.⁵⁸

The song derives its power ultimately from the dead Daphne herself who not only inspired its creation but actually commissioned its composition. Lycidas instructs his companion to

Begin, this Charge the dying Daphne gave,
And said, Ye Shepherds, sing around my Grave.
(lines 17-18)

In Virgil's Eclogue V, from which Pope derives this couplet,⁵⁹ the dying Daphnis requested that a number of rites be observed including the carving of an epitaph that he himself composed upon his tomb. Here, however, Pope depicts his dying nymph as having entrusted the creation of a fitting tribute to the poet-shepherds. As the ideal of beauty and virtue, Daphne, alive or dead, inspires the Artist in his creative task. Lycidas relinquishes that task to Thyrsis -- the pre-eminent poet-shepherd of "Winter":

⁵⁸Elwin found this couplet perplexing, remarking "there is some connection implied between the 'kind rains' and the 'willows learning the song' but I cannot trace the idea" (op. cit., p. 294, n.1). The connection, it would seem, is the poet-shepherd's song itself, as Professor Durant has argued: "Thyrsis' suggestion that the poet was the ordering force behind nature is reiterated by Lycidas, who suggests that the return of life itself in spring, is somehow a product of the poet's song..." (op. cit., pp. 481-82).

⁵⁹*pastores (mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis),
et tumulum facite et tumulo superaddite carmen*
[Daphnis commanded such things to be done, shepherds; build a tomb, and add this verse above the tomb.]

(lines 41-42)

Sing, while beside the shaded Tomb I mourn,
 And with fresh Bays her Rural Shrine adorn.
 (lines 19-20, 1709)⁶⁰

Both poet-shepherds in their own way will adorn her tomb; Lycidas, with "fresh Bays" and Thyrsis, with a likewise imperishable wreath, the song he creates in her honour.⁶¹ It might be added that the inclusion of the "Bays" or laurel as an ornament for her tomb keeps "fresh" the hope that Daphne will yet share the immortal reward granted her mythic counterpart.

The song of Thyrsis per se that now follows is comprised of seven stanzas of equal length. The first six constitute an elegy in the dead nymph's honour. Each recounts a different virtue she epitomized and that, since her death, has passed from the world. The last, on the other hand, describes her apotheosis, implying

⁶⁰The original manuscript version of line 19 --

Sing, while in Tears upon the Tomb I mourn

-- recalls Walsh's even more excessive proposal in his own elegy, Eclogue V, Delia (line 92):

Let me, at least, embrace thee in the grave.

It would seem reasonable to assume that Pope tones down the original primarily for reasons of decorum.

⁶¹Here Pope may well have in mind the refrain of Oldham's imitation of Moschus' Bion (lines 23-24) --

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

-- since that is precisely what Lycidas and Thyrsis do, respectively.

that all these virtues have been enshrined above the sublunary sphere, where "Eternal Beauties grace the shining Scene" (line 71) beyond the reach of Time. Like Hylas and AEgon in "Autumn", Thyrsis links the stanzas together with a recurring refrain. However his use of this particular poetic device is clearly superior to theirs, since here the refrain is not merely an opening verse that establishes or maintains the mood of the song but rather is an integral part of each stanza and indeed in each case acts as an effective climax. Hence, the last occurrence of this refrain at the conclusion of the seventh stanza --

Daphne, our Goddess, and our Grief no more!
(line 76)

-- serves as the climax of the apotheosis and the song itself, in effect as a climax of climaxes. In view of the elevated status of the Artist in "Winter", it seems most fitting that Pope should make this poem's chief poet-shepherd the most "artful" in the Pastorals.

Thyrsis commences his song with a command to the Muses and the lesser inhabitants of the pastoral world to attend his song and mourn its occasion:

Ye gentle Muses, leave your Crystal Spring,
Let Nymphs and Sylvans Cypress Garlands bring.
(lines 21-22, MS. and 1709)

Significantly, the couplet recalls the plaintive query of Alexis in "Summer" --

Where stray ye Muses, in what Lawn or Grove,
While your Alexis pines in hopeless Love?
("Summer", lines 23-24, 1709)

-- once more emphasizing the growth in the Artist's stature between the second and the fourth Pastorals. No longer uncertain of their aid, the Artist now confidently orders the Muses to do his bidding, secure in the knowledge of his own divinely-inspired Art. As Professor Durant has observed,⁶² the "imperative mode" predominates in "Winter". Since the pastoral world lies inert before him -- blighted by the death-like torpor of the season -- the Artist himself must awaken it to a realization of its loss, the reason for its present state. Before it can possibly partake of the promised hope of the future -- the promise implied by Daphne's name itself -- it must properly mourn the past, the world that has been lost.

This stanza culminates the theme of Love in the Pastorals. No longer the all-powerful god of "Autumn", in "Winter" Love has been defeated by Time -- "Fair Daphne's dead, and Love is now no more!" (line 28). Consequently, Thyrsis now calls on the god's attendants to take part in the funeral rite:

Ye weeping Loves, the Stream with Myrtles hide,
And break your Bows, as when Adonis dy'd;
And with your Golden Darts, now useless grown,
Inscribe a Verse on this relenting Stone.
(lines 23-26)

⁶²See op. cit., p. 481.

As Pope points out in his 1736 notes, the passage is designed to recall the conclusion of Mopsus' song in Virgil's Eclogue V⁶³ in which the poet-shepherd calls on his peers to participate in Daphnis' funeral rites. However, as the more perceptive reader will observe, Pope alters his Virgilian source, changing the mourners from shepherds to "Loves", that is, attendants upon the god of Love himself. Moreover, he adds an allusion to the myth of Adonis, the mortal shepherd beloved of Aphrodite whose death caused her to mourn bitterly. As

⁶³ spargite humum foliis, inducite fontibus umbras,
pastores (mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis),
et tumulum facite et tumulo superaddite carmen
[strew the earth with leaves, make a shade covering
for the fountains, shepherds (Daphnis commanded
such things to be done) and make a burial tomb and
inscribe this verse over it]

(lines 40-42)

Wakefield has suggested (cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 294, n. 4) that Pope is perhaps more indebted to Dryden's translation, in which the fountains are hidden and not merely covered with shade:

With Cypress Boughs the Crystal Fountains hide,
And softly let the running Waters glide.

(lines 61-62)

If so, Pope appropriately alters "Cypress Boughs" to "Myrtles", which are sacred to Aphrodite, the goddess of Love and Beauty.

the Twickenham editors have pointed out,⁶⁴ Pope probably has in mind a passage from Bion's pastoral elegy on the death of Adonis, particularly as it is rendered in John Oldham's imitation, The Lamentation for Adonis:

In purple wrapt, Adonis lies in state,
A Troop of mourning Loves about him wait:
Each does some mark of their kind sorrow show,
One breaks his Shafts, t'other unstrings his Bow,
A third upon his Quiver wreaks his hate....⁶⁵

In echoing Bion's Idyllium I, Pope connects his own elegy with yet another major poem in the tradition. However, as Elwin has

⁶⁴See op. cit., p. 90n.; according to Professors Audra and Williams, Wakefield was the first to detect the echo of Bion's Idyllium I, lines 80-81. J.M. Edmunds (in his The Greek Bucolic Poets, p. 393) has translated the passage as follows:

There he lies, the delicate Adonis, in purple wrappings, and the weeping Loves lift up their voices in lamentation; they have shorn their locks for Adonis' sake. This flung upon him arrows, that a bow, this a feather, that a quiver.

Congreve employs the same image in his Mourning Muse of Alexis (lines 159-62):

Lo, Love himself, with heavy Woes oppress!
See how his Sorrows swell his tender Breast;
His Bow he breaks, and wide his Arrows flings,
And folds his Arms, and hangs his drooping Wings....

⁶⁵"The Lamentation for Adonis. Imitated out of the Greek of Bion of Smyrna" in op. cit., p. 97, lines 166-70.

noted,⁶⁶ Pope once more alters his source. While in the original the Loves act spontaneously, in sympathy with Aphrodite's plight, here they too, like Nature itself, must be stirred from their winter lethargy by the song of the Artist.

Indeed, in Pope's poem *Thyrsis* employs the Loves as the instrument through which he transforms the entire pastoral world

⁶⁶Citing Wakefield's conjecture that Pope may have been influenced here by a passage from Ovid's elegy on the death of Tibullus (see *Amores* III, ix, 7-8, in *Ovid's Amores: English Translation by Guy Lee with Latin Text* (London: John Murray, [1968]), p. 154):

Ecce! puer Veneris fort eversamque pharetram
et fractos arcus, et sine luce facem
[Behold! the brave son of Venus, his quiver shattered
and his bow broken, the funeral torch without light]

-- Elwin has argued that the supposed artificiality of Pope's passage is due to the unhealthy influence of the Roman poet:

Ovid copied Bion Idyl. I. The Greek poet represents the Loves as trampling upon their bows and arrows, and breaking their quivers in the first paroxysm of their grief for Adonis. In place of this natural burst of uncontrollable sorrow, the shepherd, in Pope, invokes the Loves to break their bows at his instigation. When their darts are said in the next line to be henceforth useless, the sense must be that nobody would love any woman again since Mrs. Tempest is dead. Such hyperboles can neither touch the heart nor gratify the understanding.

(*op. cit.*, p. 294, n.5)

Though Elwin saw the alteration that Pope has made, because of his literal-minded analysis, he was unable to see its significance in Pope's larger design. Since Daphne, the ideal of beauty and virtue that the Artist feels compelled to pursue, is dead, Love, the metaphor for that compulsion in the *Pastorals*, has for the moment ceased to exist.

into a state of universal mourning. The verse they are commanded to inscribe --

Let Nature change, and [let, 1709] Heav'n and
Earth deplore;
Fair Daphne's dead, and Love is now no more!
(lines 27-28, MS. and 1709)

-- is obviously an allusion to the divine fiat by which the world was first created.⁶⁷ In "Spring", it may be recalled,⁶⁸ Damon concluded the singing contest with a similarly intended echo. There his words, "Cease to contend" ("Spring", line 93, 1709), emphasized the harmony of the Golden Age following the Creator's first pronouncement of his "Omnific Word", a harmony between Man and Nature the source of which was Love. After "Spring", however, both Man and Nature changed as that harmony passed from the world. As a result, in "Summer" and "Autumn" Man became increasingly suspicious of Love and Nature, gradually acquiring the view that the former was his inveterate foe, the latter, its accomplice. Finally in "Winter" Man sees both these supposed enemies eclipsed by an even

⁶⁷Pope's repetition of "Let" in the 1709 version makes the allusion that much more pronounced.

⁶⁸See above p. 227. Though Professor Durant correctly identified the source of this allusion, he erroneously assumed that it was the first echo of the divine fiat in the Pastorals:

The inscription is the first of Pope's uses of the biblical "Let there be light", our knowledge of the source suggests its importance....

(op. cit., p. 482)

more formidable adversary, Time. Nature now slumbers in a death-like trance and "Love is now no more". The moment has come for the Artist to assume for himself a lesser yet analogous role. As the God of Creation first inspired the world with life, so now the Artist through the efficacy of his divinely-inspired Art must revitalize it, paradoxically by instilling within it a sense of the power of death.

Nature's response to the Artist's own "Omnific Word" is immediate. In the original manuscript version Thyrsis describes to the dead Daphne the funeral rites his command has evoked from the newly awakened pastoral realm:

'Tis done, and Nature's chang'd, since you are gone,
Behold, the Clouds have put their Mourning on.
(lines 29-30, MS.)

Here, as Wakefield has suggested,⁶⁹ Pope would seem to have in mind a couplet from one of his models for "Winter", John Oldham's imitation of Moschus' lament for Bion:⁷⁰

⁶⁹Cited by Elwin, op. cit., p. 295, n.1.

⁷⁰Lines 52-53. There seems to be a close affinity between the two poems; as in "Winter" so in Oldham's imitation and to a large extent in the Greek original, it is the poet-shepherd's command, rather than the death itself that evokes the response of Nature. Such is not the case in any of Pope's other models: e.g. Theocritus' Idyllium I, Bion's Idyllium I, Virgil's Eclogue V, Spenser's Nouember, Milton's Lycidas, Congreve's Mourning Muse of Alexis, or Walsh's Eclogue V, Delia. Moreover, as Wakefield has noted (cited by Audra and Williams, op. cit., p. 91n.), many of the "topics in this pastoral are found originally in the pathetic elegy of Moschus on the death of Bion".

For thee, dear Swain, for thee his much lov'd Son,
Does Phaebus Clouds of mourning black put on.

However, the allusion, if intentional, is hardly appropriate since Daphne, unlike Bion (that is, the late Earl of Rochester), is depicted not as the offspring of the god of poetry but as the ideal of beauty and virtue he pursues. Perhaps for this reason or because he shares the opinion of Walsh that the imagery in this version is "too conceited for Pastoral", Pope alters the couplet as follows:

'Tis done, and Nature's various Charms Decay,
See sable [gloomy, 1709] Clouds obscure the
cheerful Day!

(lines 29-30, "Alterations..." and 1709)

While the latter version may be considered in certain ways less "conceited"⁷¹ -- the personification of Nature is here again made less obvious -- it actually conveys Pope's meaning in a more striking manner through allusion. The revised line, "See gloomy Clouds obscure the cheerful Day", when combined with Thyrsis' command "Let Nature change" effectively reverses the Genesis account of Creation: "Let there be light; and there was Light".⁷² Moreover, Pope makes clear that it is the song of the poet-shepherd alone, his "uncreating

⁷¹As might be expected, Elwin, ever concerned that the poet's imagery should not violate the laws of Nature, condemned the original for its lack of such propriety, terming it a "low conceit" (see op. cit., p. 295, n.1).

⁷²Genesis 1:3.

word",⁷³ that has wrought the change, dropping the phrase "since you are gone" which in the original version tended to lessen the importance of the Artist. Granted "Nature's various Charms decay" because the one who epitomized them all is dead, yet as Professor Durant has argued,⁷⁴ "the wintry landscape is, explicitly, only the product of the poetic fiat". It is also significant that in the revised version the poet-shepherd does not directly address the dead Daphne, removing her still further from the sublunary sphere that was her home. Thus Thyrsis' elegy becomes a song not to the dead but for those who remain behind. In this way Pope subtly elevates his last Pastoral by reinforcing the impression that it has universal import and is not merely personal. For ultimately "Winter" offers the possibility of the salvation of Man and the regeneration of the pastoral world.

In his chronicle of the passing of the "various Charms" of Nature Thyrsis employs what Ruskin would later call the "pathetic

⁷³This phrase is, of course, taken from the conclusion of Pope's Dunciad (Book IV, lines 653-56, in The Dunciad, ed. James Sutherland (London: Methuen, 1953), p. 409):

Lo thy dread Empire, CHAOS! is restor'd;
Light dies before thy uncreating word:
Thy hand, great Anarch! lets the curtain fall;
And universal Darkness buries All.

In "Winter" Thyrsis' "uncreating word", unlike that of Dullness, is ultimately not destructive but redemptive. The pastoral world cannot hope to be redeemed unless it first comprehends its loss.

⁷⁴Op. cit., p. 482.

fallacy".⁷⁵ Here, however, the device of personification is not merely a poetic ornament but rather is integral to the working out of the poem's fable. Initially in "Winter" Nature is paralyzed by the season. Now, upon the Artist's command, it awakens to take its rightful part in Daphne's funeral rites. Though Time has not been overthrown, its senseless tyranny has nonetheless been partially obviated by the poet-shepherd's song. For now the death of Nature has both meaning and purpose; it dies because Daphne is dead and its death serves as a fitting tribute to her passing. Since the grove itself is essential to the poem -- it serves not only as the natural setting but also, through its connection with the mythic Daphne (because of the nature of her metamorphosis to a laurel she escaped the forces that still enthrall it, Time and Death), as a possibly ironic counterpoint to Daphne herself whose name holds a promise of immortality -- Thyrsis appropriately begins with its response. The unmistakable personification of the original manuscript version --

⁷⁵See Modern Painters, Part IV, chapter XII, sections 4-16 (section 14 specifically criticizes Pope's use of this device in "Summer", lines 73-74, 79-84), in The Works of John Ruskin (New York: J.B. Alden, 1885), III, 175-88. As Reuben Brower has argued, in reference to the Idyls of Theocritus, the term really has no relevance for pastoral poetry:

What is later called the pathetic fallacy is here no fallacy, since the ideal shepherd has genuine religious power. Nature 'really' responds. Whatever Theocritus or other poets themselves believed, the literary convention enshrined a belief that had once been active....

(op. cit., p. 19)

Now hung with Pearls the weeping Groves appear,
And cast their faded Honours on your Bier
(lines 31-32, MS.)

-- is rendered less obvious yet still operative in the final version --

Now hung with Pearls the dropping Trees appear,
Their faded Honours scatter'd on her Bier
(lines 31-32, 1709)

-- because of the poet's retention of the ambiguous periphrasis

"Honours" with its connotations of funeral rites and human hair.⁷⁶

Next come the flowers:

See, where on Earth the flow'ry Glories lye,
With her they flourish'd, and with her they dye.
(lines 33-34, 1709)

Their response is certainly predictable. Throughout the Pastorals they have been viewed as Nature's response to the presence of the poet-shepherds' loved ones.⁷⁷ In "Spring" the response was actual; thereafter it became increasingly conjectural as the loved ones became farther removed from the pastoral scene, culminating in the irrevocable removal of death in "Winter". Since the flowers' very being depends upon the presence of the poet-shepherd's loved one, Daphne's demise must signal theirs as well. Viewed in another way, the loved one represents the ideal of beauty that the Artist pursues.

⁷⁶ See The Oxford English Dictionary, definitions 5d "observance of respect usually at the burial of the dead" and 6b "an adjunct or part of anything which gives it distinction, a decoration or ornament". Pope subsequently uses the same periphrasis in his translation of the Odyssey:

The leafy honours scatt'ring on the ground
(see The Odyssey of Homer. Books I-XII, ed. Maynard Mack (London: Methuen, [1967]), p. 393, line 235.)

⁷⁷ See above p. 302.

In the Golden Age of "Spring" the ideal was readily available. However, in the fallen world of the following Pastorals, it becomes more and more elusive, ultimately vanishing completely in the last, with the death of Daphne. Without that ideal the Artist's attempt to recreate an image of the Golden Age by enhancing and reordering Nature through his Art would seem to be futile:

Ah, what avails the Beauties Nature wore?
Fair Daphne's dead, and Beauty is no more!
(lines 34-35, MS. and 1709)

For the moment he can only recreate what has passed and lament its passing.

The list of lost delights continues. In the earliest manuscript version, logically enough, the death of the flowers immediately suggests the loss of their scents as well:

No more soft Dews descend from E'vning Skies,
No Morning Odours from the Flow'rs arise:
No rich Perfumes refresh the fertile Field,
Which but for You, did all its Incense yield....
(lines 37-40, MS.)

However, in the 1709 version Pope adopts a somewhat subtler organizing principle. The response of higher forms of Nature -- originally described in a later stanza (lines 45-52, MS.) -- is now directly juxtaposed to that of inanimate Nature -- the trees and flowers. While the one has been depicted as a more or less automatic reaction, the other is shown to be entirely volitional. Indeed, this fact is emphasized in the course of revision. The original version --

For You, the Flocks their Grassy Fare disdain,
 Nor hungry Heyfars crop the tender Plain
 (lines 45-46, MS.)

-- becomes in 1709:

For her, the Flocks refuse their verdant Food,
 Nor thirsty Heifers seek the gliding Flood.
 (lines 37-38, 1709)

The change of verb -- "disdain" to the more forceful "refuse" -- heightens the wilful nature of the animals' response, as does the introduction of the element of thirst and the further alteration of "Nor...seek" to the positive "shun" of the 1751 edition. It should be noted also that Pope includes a manuscript version in his 1736 notes,⁷⁸ suggesting perhaps he wishes his readers to note the significance of these changes.

This suicidal impulse of the flocks and herds is an image

⁷⁸ The version cited in the 1736 notes --

For her the Flocks the dewy herbs disdain
 Nor hungry heifers graze the tender plain

-- is slightly less derivative than the earliest manuscript version, portions of which are taken almost verbatim from Dryden's translation of Virgil's Eclogue V:

The thirsty Cattle, of themselves abstain'd
 From Water, and their grassy Fare disdain'd.
 (lines 38-39; the italics are mine)

traditionally associated with pastoral elegies.⁷⁹ So too are the ones that round out the stanza, both deriving ultimately from Moschus' Bion:⁸⁰

The Silver Swans her hapless Fate bemoan,
In sadder Notes, than when they sing their own.
Eccho no more the rural Song rebounds,
Her Name alone the mournful Eccho sounds.
(lines 39-42, 1709)

Regarding the former image, based on the myth that swans sing just before they die, Pope's main change involves a slight embellishment. In Pope's version, the swans not only sing a death song for Daphne, as in Moschus' poem they mourn for Bion, they actually mourn in "sadder Notes" for her than they would for themselves. The couplet

⁷⁹The image is found both in classical elegies such as Moschus' Bion (line 24) and Virgil's Eclogue V (lines 25-26) and in modern ones as well, including Spenser's Nouember (line 133; it also appears in his Colin Clout Comes Home Again, line 26) and in Congreve's The Mourning Muse of Alexis (lines 67-68).

⁸⁰See lines 14-18 and 30-32. Oldham translates the former as follows:

Ye gentle Swans, that haunt the Brooks, and Springs,
Pine with sad grief, and droop your sickly Wings:
In doleful notes the heavy loss bewail,
Such as you sing at your own Funeral,
Such as you sung when your lov'd Orpheus fell.
(lines 25-29)

The latter he renders:

Sad Eccho too does in deep silence moan,
Since thou art mute, since thou art speechless grown:
She finds nought worth her pains to imitate,
Now thy sweet breath's stopt by untimely fate....
(lines 60-63)

provides a significant contrast to the opening of "Winter" where "silent Birds forget their tuneful Lays". Now as a result of Thyrsis' song those birds whose songs are traditionally associated with death have found their voices and indeed are inspired to "sadder Notes" than they naturally would produce even for their own demise. The comparative silence of echo also hearkens back to the opening scene. Serving throughout the Pastorals as a reflection of the poet-shepherd's mood and expression,⁸¹ it is now mute save for the repetition of Daphne's name. Pope employs these three images, gleaned from the pastoral elegy tradition, because of their propriety and precision. Taken together they sum up the response of animate Nature -- a response that is both conscious and purposeful. In direct response to Thyrsis' command, it mourns its loss.

Nature has good reason to mourn. As a result of Daphne's death, sweetness has vanished from the pastoral world.⁸² Gone are the pleasing scents of inanimate Nature:

No grateful Dews descend from Ev'ning Skies,
Nor Morning Odours from the Flow'rs arise.
No rich Perfumes refresh the fruitful Field,
Nor fragrant Herbs their Native Incense yield.
(lines 45-48, 1709)

⁸¹ See above pp. 243-45, 292-93, 308-09 and 314.

⁸² As noted above (p. 370), in the original manuscript version the stanza on "Sweetness" preceded that on "Pleasure" just discussed. The 1709 order is more logical rhetorically since the stanzas on "Sweetness" and "Music" both describe what was but no longer exists because of Daphne's death. On the other hand, the stanza on "Pleasure", like that on "Beauty", deals primarily with the present not the past.

The change here is largely involuntary,⁸³ since Daphne not only epitomized sweetness, she was its source in Nature. In contrast, the response of animate Nature is volitional --

The balmy Zephyrs, silent since her Death,
Lament the Ceasing of a sweeter Breath.
Th' Industrious Bees neglect their Golden Store
(lines 49-52, 1709)

-- like the flocks and herds, the bees "neglect" their usual activities, and the Zephyrs, like echo, adopt uncharacteristic silence to express their grief.⁸⁴

The "Music" of Nature has likewise departed, since Daphne not only inspired its performance but was its foremost Artist.

⁸³ Pope's alteration of the epithet attributed to the "Dews" from "soft" (line 37, MS.) to the more ambiguous "grateful" in 1709 suggests that even the response of inanimate Nature may be voluntary, since the latter denotes not only "pleasing to the mind or senses" but also "actuated by or manifesting gratitude" (see The Oxford English Dictionary, definitions 1 and 2, respectively). Likewise that the herbs withhold their "Native Incense" in this version also suggests an uncharacteristic and therefore wilful response.

⁸⁴ Dr. Johnson detected an apparent absurdity in the line in which "zephyrs are made to lament in silence" (in his Life of Pope, p. 175). Yet as the Twickenham editors have pointed out (op. cit., p. 92n.), Spenser used the same figure in Colin Clout Comes Home Again (line 24):

And all their birds with silence to complaine.

Even more pertinent is the fact that Oldham uses it in his imitation of Moschus' Bion (line 60), Pope's most probable source for the image:

Sad Eccho too does in deep silence moan....

In the original manuscript version, the power of her song is emphasized; like Alexis' Amaryllis (see "Summer", line 78, MS.), she could tame Nature's predators --

No more the Wolves, when You your Numbers try,
Shall cease to follow, and the Lambs to fly
(lines 53-54, MS.)

-- restoring, to some extent, the harmony of the Golden Age.⁸⁵

On the other hand, its arresting beauty is stressed in the 1709 version:

No more the mounting Larks while Daphne sings
Shall list'ning in mid Air suspend their Wings,
No more the Nightingales repeat her Lays
Or hush'd with Wonder, hearken from the Sprays.
(lines 53-56, 1709)

⁸⁵The image occurs in the vision of the Golden Age that Daphnis will institute upon his apotheosis in Virgil's Eclogue V (lines 60-61):

Nec lupus insidias pecori.../...meditantur;
[Nor do the wolves devise ambushes for the flocks.]

It also has distinct scriptural connotations, recalling, as it does, Isaiah 11:6, "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb", which was traditionally held to be a prophesy of the coming of Christ and the consequent salvation of Man. Pope uses the image in his Messiah (line 77):

The Lambs with Wolves shall graze the verdant Mead.

In the revised version, on the other hand, Pope chooses to drop this image, perhaps because of its obvious connections with religious allegory, since in the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry he condemns Spenser for being "too allegorical" and for treating "of matters of religion in a pastoral style" (see Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, p. 31). Instead, he alludes to his own version of the Golden Age, "Spring".

This image would seem to be designed to recall a similar one in the dedication of "Spring",⁸⁶ also added in 1709, in which Pope compares himself to a thrush and Sir William Trumbal to a nightingale:

So when the Nightingale to rest removes,
The Thrush may chant to the forsaken Groves,
But charm'd to Silence, listens while She sings,
And all th' Aerial Audience clap their Wings.
("Spring", lines 13-16, 1709)

There, it may be recalled,⁸⁷ Trumbal was portrayed as the pre-eminent Artist of Nature, who in his own life fashioned an image of the Golden Age. By echoing that passage from "Spring", Pope indicates that Daphne too was such an Artist; her song could recreate the harmony of the Golden Age in the pastoral world. Moreover in the following couplet he depicts her as an Artist of Orphic dimensions as well --

No more the Streams their Murmurs shall forbear,
A sweeter Musick than their own to hear
(lines 57-58, MS. and 1709)

⁸⁶ This passage from "Winter" would seem to have been very much on Pope's mind when he added his dedicatory stanza to "Spring", since a line from the latter is taken almost verbatim from a line of the manuscript version of the former:

Or charm'd to Silence, listen from the Sprays
("Winter", line 56, MS.)
But charm'd to Silence, listens while She sings.
("Spring", line 15, 1709)

At the same time, Pope revised the "Winter" passage, changing "Birds" (line 55, MS.) to "Nightingales" (1709), to make the connection that much more obvious.

⁸⁷ See above pp. 191-93.

-- one who, like Alexis and the nameless nymph he pursued (see "Summer", lines 5 and 83-84, 1709), could control the forces of Nature.⁸⁸ The passing of Daphne from the pastoral world, then, might likewise seem to mark the death of Art itself, an irrevocable crushing of all the poet-shepherd's aspirations:

But tell the Reeds, and tell the Vocal Shore,
Fair Daphne's dead, and Musick is no more!
(lines 59-60, MS. and 1709)

Yet such is not exactly the case. For Thyrsis has succeeded in his attempt to "try the sweet Alexis Strain". Having awakened Nature to the full sense of its loss, he now commands it to take up his lament and carry it throughout the pastoral world. In the following stanza -- the penultimate of his song for Daphne and the last of the elegy per se -- that command is obeyed.

The response of Nature might be compared to a chain reaction that ultimately engulfs the entire world:

Her Fate is whisper'd by the gentle Breeze,
And told in Sighs to all the trembling Trees;
The trembling Trees, in ev'ry Plain and Wood,
Her Fate remurmur to the silver Flood,
The silver Flood, so lately clam, appears
Swell'd with new Passion, and o'erflow'd with Tears,
The Winds, and Trees, and Floods her Death deplore,
Daphne, our Grief, our Glory now no more!
(lines 61-68, 1709)

⁸⁸ See above pp. 274-76.

Pope's artful use of the rhetorical device of anaphora -- that is, the strategic repetition of the phrases "Her Fate" (lines, 61, 64), "the trembling Trees" (lines 62, 63) and "the silver Flood" (lines 64, 65) as well as the cumulative repetition of "Winds", "Trees" and "Floods" in the penultimate verse -- lends to the passage an air of incantation which conveys the impression that all is taking place as a result of the power of the Artist's song. The young poet's considerable rhetorical skill is also evident in the manner in which he portrays the rapidly expanding and intensifying emotional response of Nature. The progression of his epithets, for example, from "gentle" to the more vibrant "trembling", from "lately calm" to the evocative "Swell'd with new Passion" and "o'erflow'd with Tears", marks the growing awareness and participation of Nature,⁸⁹ as does the increasing volume of his verbs -- from "whisper'd" and "told in Sighs" to "Swell'd" and "o'erflow'd" -- culminating in the strident "deplore". This ultimate cry wrenched from Nature by the poet-shepherd's song dispels once and for all the unnatural silence in which the pastoral world languished at the beginning of "Winter". It is, moreover, a direct response to Thyrsis' initial command:

⁸⁹ Changing "this Sorrow" to "new Passion" in 1709, Pope emphasizes the newly-awakened nature of the flood's response.

Let Nature change, let Heav'n and Earth deplore....

Even here, however, the response remains but a partial one, since only the earth has, as yet, replied.

The last stanza of Thyrsis' song, then, must be regarded as heaven's response which comes not in the form of a verbal reply but as a vision of Daphne's apotheosis accorded her faithful mourners who remain below in the sublunary sphere. Of course, the perceptive reader has been prepared for such an event from the beginning of the poem as a result of the name Pope chooses for his dead nymph. Because of its associations with the "never-withering" laurel, the name Daphne has obvious immortal connotations. Since the "Moon, serene in Glory, mounts the Sky" at the very outset, it hardly comes as a complete surprize that Daphne, who like her mythic namesake remained faithful to the goddess of chastity whose symbol is the moon, now likewise "wondring mounts on high" (line 69) and thus belies her mourners' anguished cry:

Daphne, our Grief, our Glory now no more!
(line 68, 1709)

Fittingly enough, considering her close connection with the groves throughout "Winter", she will hereafter dwell in "Groves for ever green" (line 72, MS. and 1709).

As previously noted,⁹⁰ Daphne's name also links her with the

⁹⁰See above p. 339.

poet-shepherd Daphnis, who in Virgil's Eclogue V is similarly translated above the sublunary sphere to become a god. Pope draws the reader's attention to the obvious parallel by modelling the opening couplet of the stanza that describes Daphne's apotheosis --

But see! where Daphne wondring mounts on high
Above the Clouds, above the starry Sky
(lines 69-70, MS. and 1709)

directly upon Virgil's --

Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi 91
sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis

-- as he points out in his 1736 notes. Yet, while their apotheoses are themselves similar, the consequences of them are fundamentally different. Virgil's Daphnis, upon becoming a god, restores the Golden Age to the pastoral world. Pope's Daphne, on the other hand, enters into a Golden Age in heaven where "Eternal Beauties grace the shining Scene" (line 71). The essential difference is one of theology; Pope, unlike Virgil, is working within a poetic tradition ultimately informed by Christianity. Since the realm Daphne now enters has

⁹¹ [Clothed in purest white, Daphnis at the unfrequented threshold of heaven marvelling sees the stars and clouds beneath his feet.]
(lines 56-57)

Wakefield has noted Pope's closeness to Dryden's translation (cited by Elwin op. cit., p. 298, n.1):

Daphnis, the Guest of Heav'n, with wondring Eyes,
Views in the Milky Way, the starry Skyes....
(lines 86-87)

obvious paradisaical connotations, Pope describes it in terms that recall Christian rather than classical sources. "Fields ever fresh and Groves for ever green" (line 72), for example, would seem to have been modelled on Spenser's description of the paradise where the resurrected Dido dwells at the end of Nouember:⁹²

Fayre fieldes and pleasaunt layes there bene,
The fieldes aye fresh, the grasse aye greene.

Likewise, his reference to the "Amaranthine Bow'rs" would seem to be an allusion to those "blissful Bow'rs/Of Amarantin Shade" wherein the angels dwell in Milton's Paradise Lost.⁹³ Though now invoked as a goddess --

⁹²Lines 188-89; I am indebted to a colleague, Mr. Gary Boire, for pointing out the source of this allusion. His findings will be published in early 1978 in Notes and Queries under the title "Pope's "Winter", lines 71-72".

⁹³XI, lines 77-78. According to Milton the "Amarant", which first grew in paradise, was translated to heaven after the Fall:

Immortal Amarant, a Flow'r which once
In Paradise, fast by the Tree of Live
Began to bloom, but soon for man's offense
To Heav'n remov'd where first it grew, there grows,
And flow'rs aloft shading the Fount of Life....

(Paradise Lost, III, lines 353-57)

Pope's specific allusion to the Amaranthine Bowers mentioned by Milton is an interesting one, since it implies that Daphne has been translated to heaven as it is conceived in the Christian tradition. Her resurrection thus reinforces the hope that Man may ultimately escape the consequences of his Fall and once more walk in "Amaranthine Bow'rs".

Behold us kindly, who your Name implore,
Daphne, our Goddess, and our Grief no more!
 (lines 75-76, MS. and 1709)

-- her future role in the sublunary sphere would seem to be limited primarily to one of heavenly example, like Spenser's Dido:⁹⁴

She raignes a goddesse now emong the saintes,
 That whilome was the saynte of shepheards light:
 And is enstalled now in heavens hight.

Though she may also serve, like Milton's newly-arisen Lycidas, as a kind of divine intercessor, a "Genius of the shore",⁹⁵ there is not the slightest indication that she can or will restore the Golden Age on earth like her Virgilian counterpart.

Thus ends the song of Thyrsis, per se. Though the pastoral world has not entered into a new Golden Age, it has nonetheless been accorded a vision of the ultimate defeat of Time. Through the power of the poet-shepherd's Art, Nature has been awakened not only to a sense of its present loss but to the hope of its eventual restoration at the end of Time, a hope engendered by the example of Daphne's apotheosis. Consequently, Thyrsis' companion, in his reply to the song, depicts a world once more aware of its potential

⁹⁴Nouember, lines 175-77.

⁹⁵Lycidas, line 183. It is significant that Pope's description of Daphne's apotheosis --

But see! where Daphne wondring mounts on high

-- echoes not only that of Virgil's Daphnis but also that of Lycidas, who "mounted high" (line 173) through the "dear might" of Christ (line 174).

for life and growth. In the original manuscript version he stresses the life-giving properties of the song he has just heard through his choice of imagery:

Thy Songs, dear Thyrsis, more delight my Mind,
Than the soft Musick of the breathing Wind;
Or whisp'ring Groves, when some expiring Breeze
Pants on the Leaves, and trembles in the Trees!
(lines 77-80, MS.)

The image of the "breathing Wind" recalls the divine breath with which the Creator first imparted life to his creation.⁹⁶ Moreover, the image of the "expiring" breeze that "Pants on the Leaves" and "trembles in the Trees" would seem to have sexual connotations. These are made even more explicit in the 1709 version of this couplet --

In some still Evening, when the whisp'ring Breeze
Pants on the Leaves, and dies upon the Trees...
(lines 79-80, 1709)

-- where it becomes clear that Pope is making use of the obvious sexual pun on the word "die", a standard double entendre for sexual intercourse.⁹⁷ As the "dying" breeze engenders the grove, so Thyrsis' song quickens the whole pastoral world. Pope further clarifies his meaning by altering the opening couplet to stress

⁹⁶Genesis 2:7; see above p. 260, n. 54.

⁹⁷Pope also makes use of it in The Rape of the Lock where the Baron "sought no more than on his Foe to die" (Canto V, line 78). Cleanth Brooks has explored the significance of the sexual puns in that poem in "The Case of Miss Arabella Fermor" (see The Well Wrought Urn (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, [1947]), pp. 80-104).

the expectant silence that the song of Thyrsis has created in
Nature:

How all things listen while thy Muse complains!
Such Silence waits on Philomela's Strains.
(lines 77-78, 1709) ⁹⁸

The silence of the setting, once the sign of sterility and inevitable death, has become but a creative pause, a prelude to the expected rebirth of the coming spring. By comparing the Muse of Thyrsis to the song of the nightingale, Pope connects it with the golden Age of "Spring" where the nightingale reigned, the pre-eminent Artist of Nature.⁹⁹ While Thyrsis does not restore the Golden Age to the pastoral world, he nevertheless imparts an image of it in the form of the vision of Daphne's apotheosis, thus fulfilling the role of the pastoral poet, according to Pope himself.¹⁰⁰ Of course, the image also links Thyrsis with Daphne who taught the nightingales their song (line 55, 1709), suggesting that through the power of his Muse, his poetic inspiration, he has attained that ideal of beauty and

⁹⁸ As Elwin has noted (op. cit., p. 299, n. 1), the original manuscript version of this couplet and the following one is highly derivative, parts of them being taken almost verbatim from Dryden's translation of Virgil's Eclogue V:

Not the soft Whispers of the Southern Wind
That play through trembling Trees, delight me more....
(lines 129-30; the italics are mine)

⁹⁹ See above pp. 191-93.

¹⁰⁰ See above pp. 186ff. and 229.

virtue which, since "Spring", has been the vain pursuit of the Artist.

Thyrsis' companion views Daphne's apotheosis as a sign that winter will pass and spring will return, that the continuing cycle of the seasons will not fail. In the original manuscript version he confidently asserts that

When teeming Ewes increase my fleecy Breed,
To Thee, bright Daphne, oft a Lamb shall bleed.
While Vapours rise, and driving Snows descend,
Thy Honour, Name, and Praise, shall never end!
(lines 81-84, MS.)

As the penultimate lines suggests, because of Daphne's resurrection, he now holds the winter season itself as a promise that the rebirth of Nature will unfailingly follow. In his 1709 version of the passage, on the other hand, Pope renders the response of Lycidas somewhat more sceptical, if more practical, for now his promised sacrifice has become conditional:

To thee, bright Goddess, oft a Lamb shall bleed,
If teeming Ewes encrease my fleecy Breed. ¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹Pope points out in his 1736 notes that this couplet is modelled on a passage from Virgil's Eclogue I (lines 7-8) --

illius aram
saepe tener nostri ab ovilibus imbuet agnus
[that altar a young lamb from our sheepfold
will often stain]

-- though, as Wakefield has noted (cited by Elwin op. cit., p. 299, n. 3), it resembles most closely Dryden's translation (lines 9-10):

The tender Firstlings of my Woolly breed
Shall on his holy Altar often bleed.

It would seem significant that Pope chooses to model this couplet on a passage in which Tityrus celebrates the Golden Age felicity he now enjoys because of the intervention of a god-like man:

O Meliboe, deus nobis haec otia fecit.
[O Meliboeus, a god made this peace for us.]
(line 6)

At the same time, however, he associates the risen Daphne more closely with the regenerative process:

While Plants their Shade, or Flow'rs their Odours give,
Thy Name, thy Honour, and thy Praise shall live!
(lines 83-84, 1709)

Daphne will be remembered, honoured and praised as long as the returning cycle of the seasons ensures the continued fertility of the pastoral world.

"Winter", however, does not end upon this optimistic note. In the last stanza Thyrsis abruptly returns to the harsh reality of the winter season:

But see, [See pale 1709] Orion sheds unwholesome Dews,
Arise, the Pines a noxious Shade diffuse.
(lines 85-86, MS. and 1709)

This couplet, which, as Pope notes in 1736, is modelled on a passage from Virgil's Eclogue X (lines 75-76),¹⁰² ironically undercuts the the rosy picture Lycidas has painted. If in the future Man may hope once again to enjoy the pleasant shade of the trees and odours of

¹⁰² solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra
iuniperi gravis umbra, nocent et frugibus umbrae
[The shade tends to be unwholesome for singers, the shade of the juniper is unwholesome. The shades are even noxious to fruits.]

Wakefield has noted (cited by Elwin op. cit., p. 299, n. 6) the close resemblance to Dryden's translation of the passage (lines 110-12):

...for hoarseness oft invades
The Singer's Voice, who sings beneath the Shades.
From Juniper, unwholesom Dews distill....

the flowers, he must for the present contend with the "unwholesome Dews" and "noxious Shade" that surround him. Moreover, the season itself should still serve to remind him that his life in the sublunary sphere is of limited duration. The returning cycle of the seasons notwithstanding, Man can expect no such rebirth for himself in the fallen world of "Winter":

Sharp Boreas blows, and Nature feels Decay,
Time conquers All, and We must Time obey.
(lines 87-88, MS. and 1709)

This latter verse, as Warburton points out in the 1751 edition, is an allusion to the last line of Gallus' love-complaint in Virgil's Eclogue X (line 69):

omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus Amori. ¹⁰³

Pope's alteration of his source is highly significant. While Virgil's distracted poet-shepherd, consumed by the heat of his unrequited passion,¹⁰⁴ believes that Love is unconquerable, the calmer Thyrsis takes the larger view that in the fallen pastoral world even Love itself is subject to Time. Here in the sublunary sphere death is the final victor. Ultimately the Artist must perceive not only

¹⁰³ [Love conquers all, and we must Love obey]

¹⁰⁴ See Eclogue X (line 68):

Aethiopum versemus oves sub sidere Cancrī
[I would herd the sheep of Ethiopia under the
sign of the crab (southern heat)]

the power but also the limitations of his Art. Though he can call forth a vision of the Golden Age that may yet await mankind when Time shall cease, he cannot call that Age into being. The apotheosis of Daphne must remain for the present no more than a comforting vision, a promised hope for the future salvation of Man.

It is in this somber frame of mind that Pope's poet-shepherd now takes leave of the pastoral world he has restored to life and hope through the power of his song. In the original manuscript version --

Adieu ye Rivers, Plains and conscious Groves;
Adieu ye Shepherd's rural Lays, and Loves;
Adieu my Flock; farewell ye Sylvan Crew;
Daphne farewell; and all the World adieu!
(lines 89-92, MS.)

-- Thyrsis' valediction would seem to refer specifically to "Winter" not only because of the mention of Daphne but because of the stress laid upon the "conscious Groves", the newly-awakened setting of the poem itself.¹⁰⁵ By 1709, however, the passage has taken on a greater significance. Pope's revision of the first line --

Adieu ye Vales, ye Mountains, Streams and Groves
(line 89, 1709)

-- renders the scope of the valediction all-encompassing, since it

¹⁰⁵ See The Oxford English Dictionary definition 2 of "conscious": "attributed to inanimate things as privy to, sharing in, or witnesses of human actions or secrets".

refers specifically to the locale of each of the four Pastorals -- the "Vales" of "Spring", the "Mountains" of "Autumn", the "Streams" of "Summer" and the "Groves" of "Winter", as Pope himself points out to his less perceptive readers in the final note of the 1736 edition:

These four last lines allude to the several Subjects of the four Pastorals, and to the several Scenes of them, particularized before in each.

In addition, as the note indicates, Pope here also records the major themes upon which he has touched in the course of the four poems -- the "Shepherd's Lays" or pastoral poetry per se, Love, the "Flocks" or Nature, The "Sylvan Crew" or Man in a pastoral setting, "Daphne" or the ideal of virtue and beauty that the poet pursues, and the "World" or the sublunary sphere in which Man must dwell. It is obvious that Thyrsis speaks here not only for himself but for the poet-shepherds of all the Pastorals and ultimately for the poet himself who has created them and the pastoral world to which he now bids farewell. Thus in his valediction Pope provides his reader with a

neat summary of all he has done.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶Elwin's reading of the note (see op. cit., p. 300, n.2) would seem to have been based on what I consider to be an incorrect assumption that the "Subjects" as well as the "Scenes" are "particularized before in each":

The specific character which Pope ascribes to each of his pastorals is not borne out by the poems themselves. There is as much about "flocks" in the first Pastoral as in the second; and there is as much about "rural lays and loves" in the second as in the first. The third Pastoral contains no mention of a "sylvan crew" but a couple of shepherds are absorbed by the same "rural lays and loves" which occupied their predecessors.

On the contrary, I assume that the "Subjects" to which Pope refers are the central themes that run throughout the Pastorals, the word "before" indicating that only the aforementioned "Scenes" are so "particularized".

VIII

THE PROSE TREATISE

In any study of Pope's Pastorals the importance of the prose treatise that accompanies them can hardly be overestimated. In the first place, it would appear to have been part of the poet's original design. Though it was not included in the printed version of the Pastorals until 1717, it nonetheless was composed at approximately the same time as the poems themselves and circulated in manuscript with them; indeed, it would appear to have been written prior to the completion of the pastoral cycle.¹ Thus, it would seem, Pope does not follow the example of Fontenelle, the French critic and pastoral poet, who, according to the author of the Preface to Dryden's translation of Virgil's Eclogues (now generally acknowledged to be Knightley Chetwood):

... to the disgrace of Reason, as himself ingenuously owns, first built his House, and then studied Architecture; I mean first Compos'd his Eclogues, and then studied the Rules.²

In its earliest form, then, it would seem to represent the poet's

¹See above pp. 53-54.

²"Preface to the Pastorals, with a short Defense of Virgil, Against some of the Reflections of Monsieur Fontanelle" in The Works of Virgil: Containing His Pastorals, Georgics, and Aeneis. Translated into English Verse; by Mr. Dryden (London: Jacob Tonson, 1697), f. ***2 recto. This preface was first attributed to Chetwood by Professor G.R. Noyes in his edition of the Poetical Works of John Dryden (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, [1909]), pp. 418, 519, 1009.

thoughts on pastoral poetry during the time he was actually first composing his own poems in this genre. As such, it provides valuable information regarding his original intentions. Moreover, like the poems themselves, this prose treatise undergoes a number of significant revisions from its inception till its ultimate appearance in the posthumous edition of 1751. Hence the numerous changes that occur during that period are a reflection of the poet's evolving conception of both his own poems and the genre in general, the final version constituting Pope's last word on both.

This treatise is Pope's clearest and most comprehensive statement on pastoral poetry. Indeed, if the Guardian 40 article is excepted (and its occasional nature and satiric tone render it a most ambiguous and consequently untrustworthy piece of evidence concerning Pope's actual views),³ it is the poet's only public pronouncement of any length on the subject.⁴ In it, as well as explaining his own design, he examines in some detail the origins, purpose and fundamental characteristics of the genre and evaluates the contribution of "the three chief Poets in this kind, Theocritus, Virgil, Spenser".⁵ As

³See above pp. 85-86. Pope's satiric techniques of reductio ad absurdum and total ironic inversion (like Swift in his Argument Against Abolishing Christianity, Pope creates a persona who espouses the position that the author himself wishes to attack) make it all but impossible to decide precisely what Pope's position is.

⁴Some of the correspondence between Pope and Walsh published by the former in 1735 contain passing comments on pastoral poetry (see Correspondence I, 18-22).

⁵This phrase, of course, is taken from the 1736 notes to "Spring" (see above p. 235-36).

Professor Congleton has pointed out in his thorough study of eighteenth century pastoral theory,⁶ Pope is very much a part of what is now termed the "neo-classic" school of pastoral composition. The leading exponents of this theory in England -- Knightley Chetwood, William Walsh and Pope himself -- drew their principles primarily from one source, the writings of the seventeenth century pastoral poet and critic, René Rapin. (Even a cursory study of the notes appended to the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry in the Twickenham edition will amply demonstrate Pope's personal indebtedness to this critic.)⁷ The "neo-classic" school might well be termed the 'school of imitation, its main tenets being that the pastoral itself is an imitation of the action of a shepherd of the Golden Age and that it should be composed in imitation of the genre's two pre-eminent masters, Theocritus and Virgil. As has been demonstrated throughout this study, Pope adheres to both these tenets in the actual composition and revision of his Pastorals, though in the case of the latter, he expands it to include not only Theocritus and Virgil, but Moschus and Bion from the ancients, and Spenser and Milton from the moderns, as well as such contemporary poets as Congreve and Walsh whom he perceived to be working within the same tradition. His frequent allusions to the poems

⁶ See Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England 1684-1798, pp. 79-84.

⁷ See Audra and Williams, op. cit., notes to pp. 23-33. While Pope in the manuscript version of his treatise acknowledges his indebtedness to Rapin on four occasions, the Twickenham editors have listed some twenty-seven passages that would appear to have been derived from that critic. Pope's other main "neo-classic" source is Knightley Chetwood's "Preface" from which he derives a number of his rules for pastoral composition.

of these authors in his Pastorals serve to place his own compositions within the pastoral tradition itself, as it was conceived by the "neo-classic" school.

On the other hand, those who opposed this school, whom Professor Congleton has collected together under the term "rationalists",⁸ downgraded the value of the ancient poets as useful models for modern pastoral writers. Instead, following the lead of another seventeenth century French pastoral poet and critic, Fontenelle, an ardent opponent of Rapin's position,⁹ they stressed the importance of reason in determining

⁸Op. cit., pp. 75, 85-95.

⁹The concluding remarks of his Discours sur la nature de l'éclogue (1688) serve to indicate his opposition to Rapin's position:

I have here spoken with a great deal of Freedom of Theocritus and Virgil, notwithstanding they are Ancients; and I do not doubt but that I shall be esteem'd one of the Profane, by those Pedants who profess a kind of Religion which consists in worshipping the Ancients. 'Tis true, however, that I have often commended Virgil and Theocritus; but yet I have not always prais'd them; much less have I said, like the Superstitious, that even their Faults (if they had any) were beautiful; neither have I strain'd all the natural Light of Reason to justify them; I partly approved, and partly censur'd them, as if they had been some living Authors whom I saw every Day; and there lies the Sacrilege!

(this excerpt is taken from "Of Pastorals, by Monsieur de Fontenelle, Englished by Mr. Motteux" in Monsieur Bossu's Treatise of the Epick Poem (London: J. Knapton, 1719), p. 351; this translation, which was first printed in 1695, will be cited subsequently).

the precise nature of the genre and its most appropriate form. Arguing that it is the supposed ease of pastoral life that the reader finds appealing because of his own innate laziness,¹⁰ Fontenelle had reasoned that the author working in this genre must capture this idea of tranquillity in order to please his audience:

... what makes this kind of Poetry please, is not its giving an Image of a Country Life, but rather the Idea which it gives of the Tranquillity and Innocence of that Life.¹¹

The process of composition must consequently involve the creation of an illusion:

Our Imagination is not to be pleased without Truth; but it is not very hard to please it; for often 'tis satisfied with a kind of half Truth....The Illusion, and at the same time the pleasingness of Pastorals therefore consists, in exposing to the Eye only the Tranquillity of a Shepherd's Life, and in dissembling or concealing its Meanness, as also in showing only its Innocence, and hiding its Miseries....¹²

Though Pope does not accept Fontenelle's total abandonment of the ancient models, he nevertheless accepts his description of what is most pleasing in the genre itself and in fact incorporates it into his own treatise:

¹⁰"For all Men would be happy, and that too at any easy Rate. A quiet Pleasure is the common Object of all their Passions, and we are all controuled by a certain Laziness...." (*Ibid.*, p. 325).

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 328.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 330-31.

... what is inviting in this Poetry, proceeds not so much from the Idea of a Country Life it self, as from that of its Tranquillity.

We must therefore use some Illusion to render a Pastoral, Delightfull: And this consists in exposing the best Side only of a Shepherd's Life, and in concealing its Miseries.
(lines 70-77, MS.)¹³

Pope clearly discerns that the "illusion" Fontenelle has described is not at all incompatible with his own concept of a pastoral as the image of a shepherd's life in the Golden Age. As the Twickenham editors have remarked of Rapin and Fontenelle,

... opposed as the two critics are in methods by which they arrive at their conclusions, it is possible to imagine pastorals written according to the premises of the one being very much like pastorals written according to the premises of the other.¹⁴

Throughout his own prose treatise Pope takes no particular exception to the pastoral theories of Fontenelle, unlike Knightley Chetwood, for example, who revealed his bias in the very title of his work: "Preface to the Pastorals [Dryden's translation of Virgil's Eclogues], with a short defence of Virgil, against some of the Reflections of Monsieur Fontanelle". Pope's principal quarrel is with one of Fontenelle's English disciples, the author of the series of articles

¹³ See Audra and Williams, op. cit., p. 27. To avoid confusion the references to the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry will be documented in the notes; those of the manuscript "Essay on Pastoral", in the text itself. All subsequent references to the former (henceforth abbreviated as Discourse) are taken from the Twickenham edition of it.

¹⁴ Op. cit., p. 16.

published in the Guardian in April of 1713 (Nos. 22, 23, 28, 30 and 32), now generally identified as Thomas Tickell.¹⁵ Like Fontenelle and, indeed, Pope himself, Tickell accepts the rational premise that a pastoral involves the illusion of tranquillity:

An author that would amuse himself by writing pastorals, should form in his fancy a rural scene of perfect ease and tranquillity, where innocence, simplicity, and joy abound. It is not enough that he writes about the country; he must give us what is agreeable in that scene; and hide what is wretched¹⁶

-- arguing, as his master had done, that it is man's psychological make-up that makes the illusion necessary.¹⁷ However, while Fontenelle primarily criticized the ancients themselves, particularly for their lack of a due sense of decorum -- Virgil often being too sublime for the genre; Theocritus, too clownish¹⁸ -- Tickell takes another tack,

¹⁵For a discussion of Tickell's supposed authorship see J.E. Butt's "Note for a Bibliography of Thomas Tickell", Bodleian Quarterly Record, V(1928), 302.

¹⁶Guardian 22 (6 April 1713). This and all subsequent references to Tickell's articles are taken from British Essayists, ed. Robert Lyman (London: J.F. Dove, 1827), X. See Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁷"The first reason [why we like pastorals] is, because all mankind loves ease" (Ibid., p. 88). However, as Professor Congleton has pointed out (see op. cit., p. 87), Tickell also adds two others not to be found in Fontenelle, our "secret approbation of innocence and simplicity" or "goodness in others" and our "love of the country" (see Guardian 22, p. 88).

¹⁸See Fontenelle, op. cit., pp. 333-36 and 319-22 respectively.

reserving his main criticism for those of his contemporaries who, like Pope, stress the importance of imitating the ancients:

I must in the first place observe, that our countrymen have so good opinion of the ancients, and think so modestly of themselves, that the generality of pastoral writers have either stolen all from the Greeks and Romans, or so servilely imitated their manners and customs, as makes them very ridiculous.¹⁹

In the light of Pope's own concern to avoid plagiarism and servile imitation,²⁰ it is easy to imagine the anger such a facile condemnation of pastorals written in the "neo-classic" school must have aroused within him. Tickell goes on to envision a completely English pastoral in which all those classical trappings of the genre which he deems "of a changeable kind, such as habits, customs and the like"²¹ are replaced by more indigenous ones. In the matter of theology, for example, he contends that "that part only is to be retained which is universally known, and the rest to be made up out of our own rustical superstition of hobthrushes, fairies, goblins and witches".²² He even has the temerity to cite a brief passage from Pope's own whimsical translation of Chaucer's Merchant's Tale, "January and May"²³ alongside a copious

¹⁹ Op. cit., p. 115. The citation is from Guardian 30 (15 April 1713).

²⁰ See above p. 235 and 260.

²¹ Op. cit., p. 116.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.; lines 459-64 of the poem are quoted.

quotation from Ambrose Philips' pastorals as examples of effective pastoral writing in his attack on the "neo-classic" pastoral theory upon which Pope's own Pastorals are based. He concludes his argument with a specific commendation of Ambrose Philips' pastorals, linking them with Spenser's and both in turn with Theocritus':

As far as our language would allow them; they [Spenser and Philips] have formed a pastoral style according to the Doric of Theocritus, in which I dare not say they have excelled Virgil! but I may be allowed for the honour of our language to suppose it more capable of that pretty rusticity than the Latin.²⁴

It is a measure of the distance between Fontenelle and this particular English disciple that while the former condemned Theocritus' rusticity, the latter praises it.

Pope's immediate response to Tickell's articles was the satiric and venomous Guardian 40. His more reasoned response was the inclusion of a revised version of his own prose treatise under the title A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry in the 1717 Works. Yet it is important to realize that though the Discourse first appeared after the Guardian controversy, the original manuscript version of it, entitled "An Essay on Pastoral", was written long before the controversy erupted. This fact is extremely significant in any analysis of the alterations that occur in the text of the treatise between its inception and its first appearance in print. The original "Essay" offers an explanation of Pope's Pastorals and of his own theory of the genre. The printed

²⁴Ibid., p. 117.

version, on the other hand, serves not only as an explanation but also as a defense of the poet's poems and principles against hostile criticism. This additional purpose, which enters the scene only after the Guardian controversy of 1713, accounts for the noticeable difference between the two versions in a number of areas.

Roughly speaking, the alterations to the treatise can be separated into three distinct categories: changes that involve a tightening of style or clarification of the argument, changes in the overall tone and changes in the argument itself. Those in the first category are analogous to the revisions that take place in the poems themselves. As has been noted throughout this study, Pope constantly works to improve the clarity and precision of his language and the smoothness of his style. This is no less true of his prose than of his poetry. In the original manuscript version of the treatise, for instance, he suggests that in composing pastorals a poet should make his "Narrations and Descriptions little; and the Periods short" (lines 56-58, MS.). In this context the word "little" is somewhat confusing since it can be taken to mean not only the opposite of "great", that is, "small", but also the opposite of "many", that is, "few in number".²⁵ In the 1717 version, on the other hand, he eliminates the confusion by replacing "little" with "short" and "short" with "concise": "narrations and descriptions short, and the periods concise".²⁶ Likewise, in discussing

²⁵ See The Oxford English Dictionary.

²⁶ Discourse, p. 26.

the proper mode of expression for this genre, he alters the original manuscript phrase "neat, but not exquisit" (lines 31-32, MS.) to the less ambiguous "neat, but not florid".²⁷ It is significant that in each of these cases the manuscript version has been lifted almost verbatim from one of Pope's critical sources.²⁸ Thus it would seem that here, as in the poems themselves,²⁹ Pope is both clarifying his meaning and, at the same time, lessening his verbal indebtedness in the course of his revisions.

Pope also pays close attention to his sentence structure, revising what is awkward or ambiguous. In the original manuscript version, for example, his description of Tasso is unnecessarily awkward:

²⁷Ibid., p. 25. See definition 1b of "exquisite" in The Oxford English Dictionary: "of language, expressions, terms: carefully selected, aptly chosen, choice. Hence out of the way, uncommon; in an unfavourable sense, affected, over-laboured". The meaning here may thus be either complimentary or pejorative. The word "florid", on the other hand, has obvious connotations of excessive ornamentation; see definition 2a: "of compositions, speech etc. abounding in ornaments or flowers of rhetoric; full of find words and phrases, flowery".

²⁸See Rapin, Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poesie, trans. Thomas Rymer (London, 1674), p. 135:

...its [the eclogue's] Narrations are short,
Descriptions little...

In the original manuscript version Pope acknowledges his source. See also Rapin, A Treatise de Carmine Pastoralis, trans. Thomas Creech (London, 1684) Part III, p. 51:

...the expression must be neat, but not too
exquisite, and fine....

²⁹For example, see above pp. 194, 248-54, 255-60, 266-68, 292-94, 351-52, 365-66, 375-76, and 383-84.

Tasso in his Aminta [is said to have, MS. 2], as far excell'd the Pastoral Poets of his Nation, as in his Jerusalem he has outdone the Epicks.
(lines 143-46, MS.)

In 1717 however Pope revises his sentence order to correct the fault:

Tasso in his Aminta has as far excell'd all the Pastoral writers, as in his Gierusalemme he has outdone the Epic Poets of his country.³⁰

Indeed, as late as the 1751 edition, Pope is still working to improve his style, replacing another rather inartistic sentence --

For what is inviting in this Poetry, proceeds not so much from the Idea of a Country Life it self, as from that of its Tranquillity
(lines 70-72, MS.)

-- with a more smoothly worded one:

For what is inviting in this sort of poetry proceeds not so much from the Idea of that business, as of the tranquillity of a country life.³¹

He likewise omits what is redundant³² and, more importantly, adds what is necessary to make his meaning clear. Thus, for instance, in 1717 he qualifies the assertion that "the Life of a Shepherd was attended with most Tranquillity" (lines 18-19, MS.) by pointing out that "the life of shepherds was attended with more tranquillity than any other rural employment".³³ In the 1751 edition he similarly adds to his admonition that rural affairs should be alluded to only indirectly, "Lest by too

³⁰Discourse, p. 31.

³¹Ibid., p. 27.

³²See, for example, lines 9-10, 45, 62 and 89-90, MS.

³³Discourse, p. 24.

much Study to seem Natural, we destroy the Delight" (lines 69-70, MS.), rendering his meaning more readily comprehensible:

...lest by too much study to seem natural, we
destroy that easy simplicity from whence arises
the delight.³⁴

It would seem clear, then, that revisions in this category occur throughout the history of the treatise from its first appearance in manuscript form to its ultimate resting place in the posthumous edition of 1751.

Such, however, is not the case regarding revisions in tone and in the argument itself. These take place exclusively prior to the first appearance of the treatise in print 1717. Concerning the former it is important to recall that the "Essay on Pastoral", like the Pastorals themselves, is originally composed with a highly select audience in mind, one that included many of the leading members of the nation's intelligensia.³⁵ Consequently, it is hardly surprising that the young poet adopts a tone of marked deference towards his reader. That tone is most obvious in such an obsequious comment as --

Perhaps a Word of those Poets [Theocritus and
Virgil] in this place may not be impertinent
(lines 109-10, MS.)

-- or the rather self-deprecating acknowledgement of his indebtedness to Spenser for his poems' design:

³⁴ Ibid., p. 27.

³⁵ See above p. 41.

'Twas from hence I took my first Design of the following Eclogues. For looking upon Spencer as the Father of English Pastoral, I thought my self unworthy to be esteem'd even the meanest of his Sons, unless I bore some Resemblance of him. But as it happens with degenerate Ofspring, not only to recede from ye Virtues, but [to, MS. 2] dwindle from the Bulk of their Ancestors; So I have copy'd Spencer in Miniature...

(lines 178-88, MS.)

both of which are deleted from the printed version. In fact, the entire "Essay" has a rather tentative quality about it, one that is perhaps best summed up by its title. That the young poet should choose the word "essay" to describe his critical efforts at this point in time would seem significant since the term, which derives ultimately from Montaigne's Essais, carries with it the connotations of "a want of finish"³⁶ or, as Dr. Johnson would subsequently define it, "an irregular undigested piece".³⁷

The printed version of 1717, in contrast, has a more boldly assertive tone. The revised title itself, A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry, is an indication of the change.³⁸ Pope now begins with a newly-added paragraph of introduction that would seem to be designed primarily to justify his present endeavour:

³⁶ See The Oxford English Dictionary, definition II 8.

³⁷ See Dictionary of the English Language (London, 1755), definition 2: "A loose sally of the mind, an irregular undigested piece, not a regular and orderly composition".

³⁸ Dr. Johnson defines "discourse" as follows: "A treatise; a dissertation either written or uttered" (*Ibid.*, definition 4). See also The Oxford English Dictionary, definition 5: "a spoken or written treatment of a subject, in which it is handled or discussed at length; a dissertation, treatise, homily, sermon, or the like".

There are not, I believe, a greater number of any sort of verses than of those which are called Pastorals, nor a smaller, than of those which are truly so. It therefore seems necessary to give some account of this kind of Poem....³⁹

No longer hiding behind the mask of the ironic persona of the Guardian 40 satire, he suggests the time has come for him to make his own position clear, since the whole question of the genre has become hopelessly muddled. Explaining his purpose in writing the treatise, he adopts a tone that seems both judicious and fair:

...it is my design to comprize in this short paper the substance of those numerous dissertations the Criticks have made on the subject, without omitting any of their rules in my own favour.⁴⁰

Having asserted that his arguments are based on sound critical principles, he then proceeds to establish his own credentials:

You will also find some points reconciled, about which they seem to differ, and a few remarks which I think have escaped their observation.⁴¹

The tone here is certainly more authoritative than anything to be found in the "Essay". Yet it is as much a measure of Pope's growing rhetorical skill as his increased confidence in the value of his own ideas. The entire paragraph shows a masterly handling of the ethical appeal. Throughout the Discourse Pope employs the same authoritative yet

³⁹ Discourse, p. 23.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

seemingly objective tone.⁴²

If Pope adopts a different tone in 1717, one more befitting his position as one of the leading poets and critics of the day, he also makes two significant changes in his argument. Both can be traced to the Guardian controversy. First of all, he presents the "Golden Age" concept, that cornerstone of his theory of pastoral composition, in a more cautious and precise manner. In both the "Essay" and the Discourse, for instance, he traces the origins of poetry back to that age "which succeeded the Creation of the World" (lines 2-3, MS.).⁴³ Yet in the latter he pointedly omits the epithet "of Innocence" (line 2, MS.) which would link that time directly with the "Golden Age" myth, rendering his description as compatible with Fontenelle as with Rapin.⁴⁴ Moreover,

⁴²An excellent example of this assertive tone can be found in the concluding two paragraphs of the Discourse (pp. 32-33). Unfortunately, since the manuscript leaf containing Pope's original conclusion has been lost (see above p. 55), no comparison is now possible.

⁴³Discourse, p. 23.

⁴⁴Fontenelle had argued that

Of all kinds of Poetry the Pastoral is probably
the most ancient; as the keeping of Flocks was
one of the first Employments which Men took up....

(see Motteux's translation Of Pastorals, p. 316). Rapin, on the other hand, referred specifically to the Golden Age, though he admitted that the concept was most likely mythical in origin:

though in the Discourse, as in the "Essay", he explains that the first poets were shepherds, their songs "to celebrate their owne Felicity" (lines 11-12, MS.)⁴⁵ being the first poems which were subsequently "improv'd to a perfect Image of that happy Time" (lines 13-14, MS.),⁴⁶ he now makes an important distinction regarding the creation of the pastoral genre itself. In the manuscript version he suggests there was an implicit connection between those first shepherds who invented poetry and the characters found in the pastoral poems of the ancients:

since the Life of a Shepherd was attended with most Tranquillity, the Poets retain'd their Persons, from whom it receiv'd the Name Pastoral.
(lines 16-19, MS.)

Here the clause "the Poets retain'd their Persons" argues for a degree of continuity, implying that Theocritus and his followers were merely carrying on a well-established poetic tradition dating back to the

... 'tis very plain, that as Donatus himself observ'd, Pastorals were the invention of the simplicity and innocence of that Golden age, if there was ever any such, or certainly of that time which succeeded the beginning of the World: For tho the Golden Age must be acknowledged to be only in the fabulous times, yet 'tis certain that the Manners of the first Men were so plain and simple, that we may easily derive both the innocent employment of Shepherds, and Pastorals from them.

(see Thomas Creech's translation Treatise de Carmine Pastoralis, Part I, pp. 14-15).

⁴⁵Discourse, p. 24.

⁴⁶Ibid.

"Golden Age" itself. In the Discourse, on the other hand, he makes clear that the pastoral genre per se was the invention of those classical poets, a conscious imitation of a simpler age that once was but no longer existed, by altering the manuscript clause as follows:

Since the life of shepherds was attended with more tranquillity than any other rural employment, the Poets chose to introduce their Persons, from whom it receiv'd the name of Pastoral.⁴⁷

In the revised version the phrase "chose to introduce" emphasizes the artificial nature of the genre. Thus in the theory of the pastoral, as Pope now describes it, there should be no confusion between the poems' "Persons" and the characteristics and habits of actual English rustics, as, for example, there would appear to be in the theory of Tickell and the poems of Ambrose Philips and, to a lesser extent, of Edmund Spenser, upon which the latter were apparently based.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Tickell insists that in modern pastoral compositions the superstitions and proverbial sayings of English rustics ought to be used and commends Spenser and Philips for so doing:

The reason why such changes from the ancients should be introduced is very obvious; namely, that poetry being imitation, and that imitation being the best which deceives the most easily, it follows that we must take up the customs which are most familiar or universally known, since no man can be deceived or delighted with the imitation of what he is ignorant of.

It is easy to be observed that these rules are drawn from what our countrymen Spenser and Philips have performed in this way.

(Guardian 30 (15 April 1713), op. cit., p. 117; see also Guardian 23 (7 April 1713), ibid., p. 91). As might be expected, Tickell prefers the level of style in Theocritus' Idyllium to that in Virgil's Eclogues (see Guardian 28 (13 April 1713), ibid., p. 108).

Pope likewise revises his definition of the genre itself to stress his point. In the original manuscript version he argues:

If we design to copy Nature, it may be useful to
take this Consideration along with us; that
Pastoral properly belongs to the Golden Age.
(lines 39-41, MS.)

The phrase "properly belongs to the Golden Age", which Pope lifted verbatim from Creech's translation of Rapin's Treatise de Carmine Pastoralis,⁴⁹ is unnecessarily vague. In the Discourse, on the other hand, it is replaced by a more precise one:

If we would copy Nature, it may be useful to take
this consideration [Idea, 1751] along with us,
that pastoral is an image of what they call the
Golden Age.⁵⁰

The word "image" in this context once again stresses the artificial nature of the genre.⁵¹ At the same time, the addition of the tantalizingly ambiguous qualification "what they call the Golden Age" enables Pope to escape the problem of defending the actual existence of such an age, and thus to avoid any rationalistic attack of his position

⁴⁹"Pastoral belongs properly to the Golden Age" (Part II, p. 37).

⁵⁰Discourse, p. 25.

⁵¹See The Oxford English Dictionary, definition 1 -- "an artificial imitation or representation of the external form of an object" -- and 4 -- "a thing in which the aspect, form or character of another is reproduced, a counterpart, copy".

on the grounds of historical authenticity.⁵² By begging the question whether the Golden Age be fact or myth, Pope subtly shifts his criterion from one of historicity to one of poetic propriety. The existence of the Golden Age is consequently rendered immaterial to his argument. Instead, he argues that a poet working in this genre should use the "Golden Age" concept because it has been an integral part of the tradition itself since its first inception. As such, only its propriety and usefulness need now be defended.

The other major change, also a direct result of the Guardian controversy, involves the poet's estimation of the "three chief Poets in this kind, Theocritus, Virgil, Spenser", particularly the last-named.⁵³

⁵²As Professor Congleton has pointed out (see op. cit., pp. 76-77), the dispute between the "neo-classicists" and the "rationalists" on pastoral theory was part of the larger "Ancients and Moderns" controversy of the time. Recalling the rough treatment Sir William Temple's essay "Of Ancient and Modern Learning" received at the hands of William Wotton and Richard Bentley, Pope would no doubt realize that Temple's position had been open to attack primarily on the grounds of historical authenticity (see H.W. Garrod's "Phalaris and Phalarism", in Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson, (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), pp. 360-71). Thus it is hardly surprising that Pope avoids the same pitfall.

⁵³The change involved in Pope's estimation of Virgil is minimal. In 1717 he omits the comment that he "is perfect in the Manners" (line 134, MS.), a position he had already brought into some doubt in a marginal note -- "he is not so in his Eneid". The only other changes involve improvements in style: e.g. the manuscript's awkward remark --

Virgil is certainly the Copy, but then he is such
an one as equals his Original

-- derived from Rapin's Reflection on Aristotle's Treatise of Poesie (trans. Thomas Rymer, p. 135) --

In the original manuscript version, it may be recalled,⁵⁴ Pope describes Spenser as the "Father of English Pastoral" and himself as among "the meanest of his Sons" (lines 180, 182, MS.). Tickell, however, concludes his fable on the origins of pastoral poetry with a somewhat different family tree:

Amyntas and Amaryllis [founders of the genre according to the fable] lived a long and happy life, and governed the vales of Arcadia. Their generation was very long-lived, there having been but four descents in above two thousand years. His heir was called Theocritus, who left his dominion to Virgil; Virgil left his to his son Spenser; and Spenser was succeeded by his eldest-born Philips.⁵⁵

That such a genealogy, which studiously avoids any mention of his own contribution to the genre, would pique the young poet is certainly understandable. His immediate angry response, in the anonymous Guardian 40 satire, is to create a rival scheme in which the works of Theocritus, Spenser and Philips are juxtaposed to those of Bion, Moschus, Virgil and his own:

After all, Theocritus is the Original, Virgil is only the Copy....

-- becomes in the Discourse (p. 30):

Virgil who copies Theocritus, refines upon his original.

Likewise, in the 1751 edition the statement that "in all points where Judgement has the principal Part, he is superior..." (lines 127-29, MS., and Discourse, 1717-1743) is altered to "in all points where judgement is principally concerned, he is much superior...". There is no change in the estimation of Theocritus.

⁵⁴ See above p. 404.

⁵⁵ Guardian 32 (17 April 1713), op. cit., p. 125.

After all that hath been said, I hope none can think it any Injustice to Mr. Pope, that I forbore to mention him as a Pastoral Writer; since upon the whole, he is of the same Class with Moschus and Bion, whom we have excluded that Rank, and of whose Eclogues, as well as some of Virgil's, it may be said, that according to the Description we have given of this sort of Poetry, they are by no means Pastorals, but something Better.⁵⁶

His public response in the Discourse, in contrast, is more temperate. He merely removes the direct reference to his poetic ancestry altogether, the obvious reason being that to claim Spenser as a father would necessitate his regarding Ambrose Philips as a poetic brother. At the same time, it is important to point out that he still retains a claim of kinship with Spenser in the Pastorals themselves, since he still depicts his own alter ego Alexis as the poetic heir of Spenser's alter ego Colin Clout (see "Summer", lines 39-42, 1717).⁵⁷

Pope's main point of contention with Tickell, regarding the latter's estimation of Spenser, concerns the question of language. Tickell, it may be recalled,⁵⁸ elevated Spenser and consequently Philips primarily at the expense of Virgil, arguing that in this particular regard they approached closer to Theocritus than did the Roman poet:

⁵⁶ Guardian 40 in The Prose Works of Alexander Pope, ed. Norman Ault, p. 106.

⁵⁷ See above p. 255-60.

⁵⁸ See above p. 399.

As far as our language would allow them, they have formed a pastoral style according to the Doric of Theocritus, in which I dare not say they have excell'd Virgil! but I may be allowed for the honour of our language, to suppose it more capable of that pretty rusticity than the Latin.

Pope too, in the Discourse as well as the "Essay", shares the view that in the matter of language Theocritus' "Dialect alone has a secret Charm in it, which no other could attain" (lines 123-25, MS.) and that Virgil

... falls short of him in nothing, but Simplicity and Propriety of Style: The first of which [perhaps, 1717] was the Fault of his Age, and the last of his Language.

(lines 135-38, MS.)⁵⁹

Yet his ranking of Spenser in this matter is noticeably contrary, even in the original manuscript version:

For [In, 1717] the Manners, Thoughts, and Characters, he comes near to ["to" omitted, 1717; reinstated, 1751] Theocritus himself, tho' notwithstanding all the Care he has taken, he is certainly inferior in his Dialect.

(lines 165-68, MS.)

Pope sharpens the attack on Spenser's language considerably in the Discourse, adding a further explanation that

the Doric had its beauty and propriety in the time of Theocritus: it was used in part of Greece, and frequently in the mouths of many of the greatest persons; whereas the old English and country phrases of Spenser were either entirely obsolete, or spoken only by people of the basest [lowest, 1736] condition.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Discourse, p. 30.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 32.

Moreover, he concludes his discussion of this aspect with a comment that seems indirectly to call into question his critical rival's sense of propriety:

As there is a difference between simplicity and rusticity, so the expression of simple thoughts should be plain, but not clownish.⁶¹

One might well conjecture that Tickell's own master Fontenelle would agree with this assessment of his disciple's apparent lack of taste.⁶²

The remainder of Pope's analysis of Spenser is almost unchanged. The other reservations he has -- concerning the Elizabethan's unnecessary verbosity, his inappropriate choice of verse form and the repetitiveness of the overall structure⁶³ -- are also present in the earlier manuscript

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²See above p. 397 n. 18.

⁶³See Discourse, pp. 31, 32. Pope does, however, add one other significant criticism of Spenser in 1717 which is not directly connected with the Guardian controversy, remarking that

He is sometimes too allegorical, and treats of matters of religion in a pastoral style as Mantuan had done before him ...

(ibid., p. 31. Fontenelle, though not mentioning Spenser, did voice the same objection concerning the pastorals of Mantuan; see op. cit., pp. 337-38). In the 1717 edition of his Works Pope places his own pastoral allegory, the Messiah, immediately following his Pastorals, where it serves to elucidate the theme of Christian time which is implied yet never overtly stated in them (see above pp. 331-32, n. 2).

version. Equally important, Pope also retains the high esteem he originally expresses for his countryman's contribution to the genre. Thus in both versions he cites Dryden's opinion that the Shepherd's Calendar is "the most compleat Work of this sort [kind, 1717] which any Nation has produc'd ever since the Time of Virgil" (lines 150-52, MS.)⁶⁴ and adds his own praise of its design:

The Addition he has made of a Kalendar to his Eclogues is beautiful in the highest Degree [very beautiful, 1717]. For [since, 1717] by this, besides the general Moral of Innocence and Simplicity, which is common to other Authors [of pastoral, 1717], he has One peculiar to himself. He compares the Life of Man [human Life, 1717] to the several Seasons, and at once exposes to his Readers a View of the Great and Little Worlds, in their various Aspects and Conditions [changes and aspects, 1717].⁶⁵

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 31. In the manuscript Pope cites his source as "Dedication to Virgil's Eclogs" which would seem to refer to Dryden's comments in the dedicatory letter addressed to "The Right Honourable Hugh Lord Clifford, Baron of Chudleigh":

Our own Nation has produc'd a third Poet in this kind, not inferiour to the two former [Virgil and Theocritus]. For the Shepherd's Kalendar of Spencer, is not to be match'd in any Modern Language.

(in The Works of Virgil: Containing His Pastorals, Georgics, and Aeneis. Translated into English Verse by Mr. Dryden (London: Jacob Tonson, 1697), f. Al recto). It is interesting to note that Dryden shares Tickell's high esteem for Spenser's language:

Spencer being Master of our Northern Dialect; and skill'd in Chaucer's English, has so exactly imitated the Doric of Theocritus, that his Love is a perfect Image of that Passion which God infus'd into both sexes, before it was corrupted with the Knowledge of Arts, and the Ceremonies of what we call good Manners.

(ibid.)

⁶⁵Discourse, p. 32.

He even hints at his indebtedness to Spenser, though he no longer openly acknowledges kinship, explaining his own poems

...have as much variety of description, in respect of the several seasons as Spenser's: That in order to this variety, the several times of the day are observ'd, the rural employments in each season or time of day, and the rural scenes or places proper to such employments; not without some regard to the several ages of man, and the different passions proper to each age.⁶⁶

For this description, coupled with the aforementioned reference to Spenser's own design, makes the connection implicit if not explicit.⁶⁷ Thus, it would seem, the main changes in Pope's discussion of his English predecessor are entirely due to the Guardian controversy, the only significant alteration, aside from the understandable omission of the poetic genealogy and the addition of a criticism of Spenser's use of overt religious allegory, being a further clarification of his own position in the dispute with Tickell on the matter of the propriety of Spenser's language. This matter, in turn, involves the larger issue concerning what constitutes the proper level of style in the pastoral genre itself. In attacking Spenser's choice of diction and thus indirectly that of Philips who models his own upon Spenser's, Pope defends his own more elevated language, implying that he, at least, has created characters whose speech is "plain, but not clownish".

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 32-33.

⁶⁷See above p. 229-30.

In conclusion, the most significant changes in the prose treatise, besides the numerous stylistic improvements occurring throughout its evolution from manuscript to posthumous edition, take place prior to its initial appearance in print in the 1717 edition of the poet's Works. It would appear that these changes result from a number of separate but related factors. First of all, the poet's awareness of a broader and therefore less homogeneous audience compels him to refine his argument. He defines his terms more precisely to avoid the possibility of being misunderstood, either maliciously or otherwise. Likewise, his realization of his own growing stature as a poet and critic prompts him to adopt a tone that is assertive yet apparently objective. He tries to seem both fair and judicious. Finally, in response to the Guardian controversy Pope sharpens his attack upon what he feels is the most serious flaw in Tickell's theory of the genre -- the high esteem in which the latter holds Spenser's choice of diction. In doing so, Pope indirectly reinforces his own diametrically opposed concept, taken from Rapin,⁶⁸ that in the pastoral genre the expression ought to be "humble, yet as pure as the language will afford; neat, but not florid; easy but yet lively".⁶⁹ At the same time, Pope develops

⁶⁸ See Treatise de Carmine Pastoralis, Part II, p. 35:

Let the Expression be plain and easy, but elegant
and neat, and the purest which the language will afford

and Part III, p. 51:

... the expression must be neat, but not exquisite,
and fine.

⁶⁹ Discourse, p. 25.

the explanation of his own central "Golden Age" concept more cautiously in order to avoid leaving himself open to counter-attack on the specious ground of historical authenticity. In so doing, he stresses the artificiality of the genre from its very outset, emphasizing that pastoral poetry should deal, not with the world as it is or was, but as it might be and, from an artistic point of view, as it ought to be.

IX

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of his Guardian 40 article, Alexander Pope portrays himself as a poet "whose Character it is, that he takes the greatest Care of his Works before they are published, and has least Concern for them afterwards".¹ The portrait is, of course, completely disingenuous; the satire which follows it amounts to irrefutable proof that Pope is very much concerned that his works be recognized and duly appreciated. At the same time, it is also misleading on a more fundamental level. For Pope is a poet who devotes much of his time to revising and expanding his works after their initial publication. Perhaps the most obvious examples of this practice are the expansion of The Rape of the Lock from two to five cantos and the various revisions to the Dunciad, culminating in the completely new fourth book in 1742. Yet, as this study has demonstrated, the Pastorals themselves provide another case in point.

¹See op. cit., p. 97.

It is clear that the first part of Pope's Guardian 40 self-portrait is accurate, as regards his handling of these four poems. The earliest extant version of them and the accompanying prose treatise -- the Houghton holograph, probably composed between 1704 and 1706, with "Autumn" not being inserted before September of the latter year -- is a relatively polished effort, garnering the praise of the limited audience of intellectuals among whom it circulated in manuscript form. Yet prior to their initial publication in Tonson's Miscellany in 1709, the Pastorals undergo a thorough revision. The process involved has been at least partially reconstructed in this study by examining the variants recorded in the 1736 notes of the poet's Works, the proposed changes submitted to Walsh in the "Alterations..." holograph, and the changes still visible on the surface of the original manuscript itself. There are over 130 alterations in the 1709 version including such major ones as the addition of dedicatory stanzas to the first three poems and the reordering of stanzas in all four. However, this process of revision does not end in 1709, but rather continues throughout the poet's life. As late as 1736 Pope makes major changes in "Autumn", altering the gender of Hylas' absent lover, omitting all reference to the theme of friendship and re-emphasizing the satiric tone of the poem. Even the 1751 edition, published after the poet's death, contains further revisions.

The revisions themselves may be roughly divided into two categories: refinements and major additions. Since, as Pope himself explains, he is wont to take "the greatest Care of his Works before they are published", it is not surprising that the majority of changes in the former category are made prior to 1709, though many occur in subsequent editions. As might be expected, they include the elimination of obvious stylistic blemishes, awkward phrasing, weak rhymes, and inappropriate words, phrases, images and allusions. Thus, for example, the device of the interlocking cast between "Spring" and "Summer", which tends to discredit the "Golden Age" portrait of the former, is discarded. Likewise, the allusion to Waller's "Go Lovely Rose" in "Spring" and that to the myth of Procne in "Summer" are omitted because they disturb the overall tone of their respective poems. Yet, as the term "refinement" suggests, this process is far from being an entirely negative one, merely involving the elimination of obvious flaws. For Pope also works continually to embellish and clarify what he has composed. In the course of his revisions, he is constantly striving to find the best possible word, phrase, image or allusion to serve his purpose, that purpose being to make his poems not only more expressive but also, ultimately, more readily comprehensible.

The major additions to the Pastorals would also seem to serve the same end. Each, in its own way, would appear to be designed

primarily to guide the reader. Pope's purpose in this regard is perhaps most obvious in the explanatory notes he appends to the Pastorals in the 1736 edition of his Works. The "Remarks", for instance, are clearly meant to provide additional information that the reader may not have and to point out significant matters he might otherwise overlook. In addition, the so-called "Variations" and "Imitations", though not so overtly informational in appearance, would nonetheless seem to have an analogous function. For while a few of the former merely show Pope's skill in revision, the majority indicate significant changes that have occurred in the poems' evolution. By comparing the original versions and the revised ones, the reader is often able to detect subtle changes that expand or clarify the poet's meaning. Similarly while some of the latter would seem to be included only to demonstrate Pope's skill in adopting a variety of diverse sources to his particular ends, many more serve to draw the reader's attention to allusions that comment significantly upon the passage in question, as, for example, in "Summer" where the identification of the allusion to Spenser's Epithalamion points out the irony of the words as spoken by the disconsolate Alexis. Indeed, by including some of the more obvious allusions in his notes, Pope stresses the importance of allusion in the overall design of the Pastorals. It would appear that Pope intended that Warburton's notes to the last edition would contribute further to the reader's under-

standing. However, that hope was not realized, at least as far as the Pastorals were concerned, since Warburton added almost nothing that was new.

Other major additions also help the reader to understand and appreciate the Pastorals more fully. The dedicatory stanzas added to "Spring", "Summer" and "Autumn" in 1709, for instance, serve to direct him regarding how he should interpret these poems. Each of these stanzas captures the mood of its eclogue -- the "Golden Age" harmony of "Spring", the contrastingly fallen state of "Summer" where Love yields not ease but "Disease" and the more thoroughly corrupt world of "Autumn" in which Man's failings rather than his virtues predominate. In addition, each presents an ideal reader whose particular virtues or skills are necessary for a complete understanding of the poem dedicated to him. Thus, in "Spring" Sir William Trumbal is portrayed as a man whose life of retirement in Windsor-Forest -- the setting of the Pastorals themselves -- is an image of existence in the Golden Age. Since his virtues -- goodness and wisdom -- and values -- disdain for pride and power -- epitomize those of the Golden Age shepherd, he is best able to appreciate the "Golden Age" harmony of the poem. In "Summer", on the other hand, Sir Samuel Garth is described as a poet-physician. It is this dual vocation that enables Garth to comprehend Man's loss of self-harmony in this poem. Likewise, in "Autumn" William Wycherley is depicted

as a consummate author of satiric comedy whose plays not only charm but sway and instruct as well. Being "skill'd in Nature", he can best detect the folly of the age. Finally that "Winter" has no such ideal reader suggests that no particular skill or virtue is needed to understand this poem. The reader requires nothing more than his sense of his own mortality.

Through the medium of these stanzas Pope also indicates major shifts in tone. The air of clinical detachment established by the emphasis upon Garth's role as a physician in "Summer" contrasts markedly with that of universal celebration of felicity in "Spring" in which even "th' Aerial Audience clap their Wings". By inviting Garth to examine "what from Love unpractis'd Hearts endure", Pope suggests to the reader that he too should adopt a similar approach, implying that the author himself has done so. This detached tone is particularly significant here since Alexis, the poet-shepherd of "Summer", is the poet's own alter ego. Should the reader fail to detect Pope's attitude to his subject, he runs the risk of overlooking the poet's mildly satiric treatment of his own adolescence. Likewise, in "Autumn" Pope's stress on Wycherley's background in satiric comedy prepares the reader for the largely satiric portraits to follow. The elegaic tone of "Winter", on the other hand, is established by the simple device of a prefatory dedication -- in 1709 "To the Memory of a Fair Young Lady"; subsequently,

"To the Memory of Mrs. Tempest".

Similarly, the inclusion of the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry with the Pastorals in the 1717 edition of Pope's Works also serves to guide the reader. In this treatise Pope describes his own conception of the pastoral genre. Drawn primarily from the theories of René Rapin and his chief English disciple, Knightley Chetwood, though on occasion incorporating ideas from Rapin's chief opponent, Fontenelle, as well, the Discourse provides an effective reply to Thomas Tickell, the author of the Guardian articles on pastoral poetry who, though paying lip-service to Fontenelle, would seem to have derived his conception of the genre mainly from the practice of Edmund Spenser and Ambrose Philips and his own ingenuity. In contrast to Tickell, Pope stresses the importance of imitating the ancients, of creating in one's pastorals as "image of what they call the Golden Age" and of employing a mode of expression that is at once "humble, yet as pure as the language will afford". In revealing the principles upon which his own poems are based, Pope once more directs his reader concerning how the Pastorals ought to be read. At the same time, he provides additional information about his own particular design, suggesting that his organizing principle, the seasons, is analogous to Edmund Spenser's use of the calendar in the Shepherd's Calendar. As Spenser

...compares human Life to the several Seasons,
and at once exposes to his readers a view of
the great and little worlds, in their various
changes and aspects

so Pope composes his cycle "not without some regard to the several ages of man, and the different passions proper to each age". He thus informs his reader that both the image of the "Golden Age" and the concept of the "several ages of man" play a part in the cycle of the Pastorals.

Indeed, in the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry Pope provides his reader with a most important key to the meaning and overall significance of his Pastorals. For here he enunciates with considerable care and precision the task of the pastoral poet as he conceives it to be. Though such a poet should endeavour to "copy Nature", he cannot achieve this goal by reflecting the world around him as he perceives it, since both the perceived and the perceiver are in a fallen state. Instead, he must strive to create an ideal Nature, or, as he terms it, "an image of what they call the Golden Age". In doing so, he is not in the least concerned with "the real language of men", to use Wordsworth's phrase.² For to Pope the pastoral genre ought to be "artificial" in the best sense of the term, that is, a finely wrought artistic creation drawing on the best of the past and expressed in a manner that is "humble, yet as pure as the language will afford". There is no place in his theory for

²See "Preface to the Lyrical Ballads", op. cit., p. 16.

the pretty rusticity of Ambrose Philips or his apologist Tickell.

However, in providing his definition that a pastoral ought to be "an image of what they call the Golden Age" Pope certainly has not solved all the problems of interpretation that the reader faces. For the concept of the Golden Age as it is employed in the Pastorals is an extremely complex one, modified as it is by the poet's own personal design to depict "the several ages of man" as well. It is only in "Spring" that this Golden Age per se actually exists. Thereafter, Man is in a fallen state in which he must encounter self-doubt, treachery and ultimately death. Yet the concept of the Golden Age nevertheless underlies all four poems because each of the poet-shepherds in them is a pastoral poet -- each is striving as best he can to recreate that image in his song. In this way, the Pastorals must be viewed as an exploration of the evolving role of the Artist in the pastoral world as that world moves progressively farther from its original idyllic state.

Professor Battestin has contended that in the Pastorals "Love is Pope's metaphor of life, of the way one fares in the world".³ Yet it would seem to be more valid to suggest that Love is Pope's vehicle to depict the evolving relationship between

³Op. cit., p. 71.

the Artist and his source of inspiration, that is, the ideal of beauty and virtue, the image of the Golden Age, he strives to achieve. As Pope progresses through his cycle, those his poet-shepherds love become increasingly hard to obtain as they become more detached from the pastoral world. This increasing detachment parallels man's loss of self-harmony and consequent loss of a sense of harmony with Nature. Yet while the world itself degenerates, the stature of the Artist increases as he rises to meet the ever-increasing demands upon his Art. In "Spring" he need only reflect Nature to capture its harmony, which matches that of his own. By "Summer", however, that harmony has passed for ever. Now the Artist strives to shape and enhance Nature to make it a true image of his ideal. In "Autumn" the ideal itself is brought into question since it appears, temporarily at least, to have vanished or perhaps to be completely false. Now the Artist tries to control Nature or even to judge it, but neither procedure seems a satisfactory solution. The former yields but an ephemeral vision of the ideal that may be nothing more than a "pleasing Frensie" while the latter leads to despair and perhaps even self-destruction. In either case, the Artist seems to be ultimately a victim of his Art. Finally, in "Winter" the ideal has disappeared forever. However, the Artist through the power of his Art can now perform a role analogous to that of the God of Creation. He can transcend Nature itself, recreating it to serve

his need to lament the passing of his ideal. As a result, he is afforded a vision of a future Golden Age where that ideal will be enshrined.⁴ Yet despite his triumph, the Artist realizes the limitations of his Art. Though he can call forth a vision of that future Golden Age, he cannot bring it into being. For in the fallen world of "Winter":

Time conquers All, and we must Time obey.

⁴The inclusion of the Messiah in 1717 provides the reader with a significant guide regarding the theological concept underlying this vision. Thus the Messiah, like the Discourse on Pastoral Poetry and the 1736 notes, serves as further commentary on the poet's meaning.

APPENDIX A

TWO MEMORANDA ATTACHED TO THE HOUGHTON HOLOGRAPH

The following memoranda now form a part of the Houghton holograph. The first, in Alexander Pope's own hand, is located on what appears to have been the fly-leaf of the original manuscript (in the Houghton holograph in its present state it occupies the folio 7 verso position). Its less careful penmanship and the gist of its content would seem to indicate that it was added some time after the completion of the remainder of the original manuscript (i.e., after the belated inclusion of "Autumn"), precisely when, it is impossible to determine. The second, in the hand of the holograph's sixth owner, John Disney, is located on one of the end papers added when the manuscript was bound in 1812 (presently folio 4 recto). Both of them are extremely important in tracing the history of the holograph. The latter chronicles an important segment of its provenance while the former helps to identify the members of the earliest audience of the four poems and accompanying treatise and to explain their relative order of composition. A xerox copy and a transcript of each note are provided.

Mem: This Copy is that which past thro' the
hands of Mr Walsh, Mr Congreve, Mr Hain-
waring, Dr. Garth, Mr Granville, Mr
Southern, Mr H. Sheers, Mr W. Trumbull.
D. Halifax, D Wharton, Marg. of Dorchester
D. of Bucks. &c. Only the 3rd Eclog was
written since some of these saw the others.
which were written as they here stand in
the Essay, anno 1704. — Stat. moe, &c.

The Alterations from this Copy were upon
the objections of some of these, or my own.

E

P A

T

Mem: This Copy is that wch past thro ye
hands of Mr Walsh, Mr Congreve, Mr Main-
waring, Dr. Garth, Mr. Granville, Mr
Southern, Sr H. Sheers, Sr W. Trumbull,
Ld. Halifax, Ld Wharton, Marq. of Dorchestr.,
D. of Bucks. &c. Only ye 3rd Eclog was
written since some of these saw ye other 3
wch were written as they here stand wth.
ye Essay, anno 1704. -- AEtat. meae, 16. --

The Alterations from this Copy were upon
ye Objections of some of these, or my own.

"This first copy of the Pastorals of
 "Mr. Pope, in his own fine hand writing,
 "was given to Thomas Brand Hollis
 "Esq. by Mr W^m Gregson, nephew of
 "the late Jonathan Richardson Jun^r."

Transcribed from the handwriting
 of T. B. H. by me J. D. Nov: 20.
 1005.

This M. S. was bound in Sept. 1012.
 [the above Memorandum again trans-
 scribed Sept: 25. 1012.

J. D.
 J. D. Hollis

"This first copy of the Pastorals of
"Mr. Pope, in his own fine hand writing,
"was given to Thomas Brand Hollis
"Esqr. by Mr. Wm: Gregson, nephew of
"the late Jonathan Richardson Junr."

Transcribed from the hand writing
of T.B.H. by me

JD. Nov: 28.

1805.

This M.S. was bound in Sept. 1812.

(the above Memdum again tran=
=scribed Sept: 25. 1812.

JD.

[Beneath the note "John Desney" has been added in another
hand.]

APPENDIX B

SALES CATALOGUE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE HOUGHTON AND "ALTERATIONS..."

HOLOGRAPHS

In the early 1920's both of the extant manuscripts of the Pastorals were sold at public auction -- the Houghton holograph by Sotheby's of London on 15-17 May 1922 as part of the Burdett-Coutts Library and the "Alterations..." holograph by Anderson Galleries of New York on 8-9 December 1924 as part of the estate of Mr. Beverley Chew. The following descriptions are excerpts from the respective catalogues of those sales. In each case the annotation in the left hand margin is the selling price of the holograph, the former in pounds, the latter in dollars.

- 361 POPE (ALEXANDER) PASTORALS, AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT, consisting of An Essay on Pastoral, 8 pp. (*incomplete*) and the Four Pastoralls, 26½ pp. sm. 4to, all written by the author, as a boy, in a beautiful small and regular hand, imitating italic and roman print, the title and headings in large capitals, with the words "First Copy of the Pastoralls"; a memorandum, ½ p. 4to, and some corrections in Pope's later hand; in all about 35 pp. holograph; *russia*.

900. 0. 0

* * * This interesting manuscript was originally in the collection of Jonathan Richardson, 1665-1745, the portrait-painter and author; from him it passed to his son, Jonathan Richardson, junr., 1694-1771, whose nephew, W. Gregson, gave it to Thomas Brand (Hollis), heir of Thomas Hollis, "republican," who died in 1804, leaving his estates in Dorset to the Rev. John Disney, whose son, John Disney, the collector of classical antiquities, has made several notes on the fly-leaves of the volume, including a quotation from Dr. Johnson's Life of Pope:

He first learned to write by imitating printed books: a species of penmanship in which he retained great excellence through his whole life, tho' his ordinary hand was not elegant.

2000- 309 POPE (ALEXANDER). ORIGINAL AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT, entitled "Alterations to the Pastoralls. (The Solutions of the Queries are written by Mr. Walsh.)" Containing 14 passages from the "Pastorals", carefully written by Pope, with HIS OWN OBJECTIONS TO CERTAIN WORDS AND PHRASES, HIS SUGGESTIONS AS TO POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS, AND HIS INQUIRIES AS TO WHICH OF CERTAIN ALTERNATIVE READINGS WOULD BE PREFERABLE. With William Walsh's carefully considered replies and decisions written in his own autograph underneath the particular query. A Mezzotint Portrait of Walsh by Faber after Kneller, 1735, accompanies the Manuscript. [Ca. 1706]

The four completely filled pages contain about 125 lines in Pope's wonderfully neat and legible hand, and about 25 lines of Walsh's criticism and suggestions. The whole constitutes a document of EXTRAORDINARY INTEREST AND IMPORTANCE. The Manuscript is frequently referred to in Elwin and Courthope's edition of Pope (10 vols., 1871-86), and the editors were indebted to it for readings of many stanzas of the "Pastorals" differing from all published versions, and for several pages of interesting matter throwing light on Pope's methods of working, etc.

The Manuscript was presented by the poet to his intimate friend Jonathan Richardson, the portrait painter, and is mentioned by Elwin in 1871 as being still in the Richardson Collection.

Pope, always meticulous in polishing his work, took special pains with the "Pastorals", his earliest published work, first printed in the sixth volume of Dryden's *Poetical Miscellany*, 1709. The question of the comparative merits of Pope's "Pastorals" and those of Ambrose Philips, which appeared in the same volume, immediately became an absorbing subject of discussion in the literary circles of the day.

Pope always claimed that the pastorals were written in 1704, when he was sixteen, and several letters, including some to Walsh, dated 1704 and referring to the "Pastorals", are found in Pope's own editions of his correspondence. It was no unusual thing, however, for him to place fictitious dates on some of the letters which he published, and in this case it seems certain that the letters referred to were ante-dated for the purpose of achieving a greater reputation for precocity. It does not appear that he ever met Walsh until towards the end of 1705. It is therefore not likely that he would write to him a year before about his cherished "Pastorals". However, there are other and quite authentic letters of Pope, dated 1706, referring to his work on the "Pastorals"; and as Walsh died early in 1708, it is possible to fix approximately the time at which this Manuscript was written and placed in Walsh's hands.

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