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POPE'S TEMPLE OF FAME

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I

INTRODUCTION

An examination of a poet's early work should give some clue to which influences stimulated his output and to what personal concerns existed to be developed in more creatively mature periods of his life. Pope has helpfully left us with certain "Imitations" which he composed in his artistic youth, and while only a small number of his literary masters are represented through them, we can still get a notion of the scope of the heritage he drew upon. The continuity of this heritage assumes much importance when, as we shall see in The Temple of Fame, it constitutes a lineage of talent to which Pope aspires to be attached. He is identifying himself with these poets so as to assume some of their already-proven worth and to share in the respect accorded them, perhaps as the savage hopes to acquire some of the virtues of the animal, by eating of its flesh. Pope is not content simply to cannibalize, however, and in each poem he asserts his own particular powers by pursuing his own creative ends and evolving individualized meanings and interests.

The activity of literary "imitation", while it can and does sometimes develop into burlesque, is a

serious matter for a poet like Pope. Form and content are inseparable constituents of a literary work, and a Popean "Imitation" is no exception. When a poet sets out as deliberately as Pope did to try his hand at various kinds of poetry, and with each success attempts increasingly more complex forms, it will not be surprising if the matter of the work reflects in some ways this very concern. Again, the attitude which drives the man to constantly write conscious imitations of other poems is equally likely to drive him to live and act the life of a poet. In this sense the concerns of life and literature become inseparable. Poetry is no longer an idle pastime but an intrinsic measure of its creator, the poet becomes fully 'identified' by his creations. This is especially true of Pope, whose values permeate his work, and who strives to realize the ideal fiction of the perfect poet by bringing art to life in his own person and by making his life and times the centre of his art.

This process begins at the early age of 12 with a series of lyrics in imitation of Waller and Cowley, short satires after Dorset and Rochester, and brief parodies of Chaucer and Spenser. There appear the close translations and paraphrases of Ovid, Statius, Homer, and others, along with somewhat looser versions of Chaucer. Pastorals and Georgics, Odes, Essays, and Heroic Epistles, Mock-epics and free Imitations follow. The culmination of

the process of poetical coming-to-age is the great translation of the Homeric epics. "For Pope, writing in any historically established genre was, in a broad way, imitation".¹ By the mastery of the forms of poetry, in fact by reliving the supposed historical development of the genres, the poet earns his place amongst the Poets.

Pope is studiously aware of his maturation as a poet. By reusing and echoing early phrases and lines in later works, he establishes a line of continuity in his poetry, giving it a personality, as it were, by highlighting its unity, its identity. More than any other poet, Pope creates not only a narrative voice, but one consistent from poem to poem until it becomes a living entity, recognizeable at all times. The persona develops into a person because it has a history.

By imitating, Pope strives to approach an ideal poetic state. He wishes to epitomize the past. His masters include the great Ancients of Greece, Rome, and even England, men whose works have intrinsic worth, but which require modernization, for time threatens to erase them. Classical writers are less accessible when not available in English, and the older English masters are becoming equally remote. Waller, in "Of English Verse" had written:

Poets that lasting marble seek,
Must carve in Latin, or in Greek:
We write in sand, our language grows,
And, like the tide, our work o'erflows.
Chaucer his sense can only boast,
The glory of his numbers lost!
(13-18)²

Pope is keenly aware of this, as he shows in An Essay on Criticism:³

Short is the Date, alas, of Modern Rhymes;

....
 No longer now that Golden Age appears,
 When Patriarch-Wits surviv'd a thousand Years;
 Now Length of Fame (our second Life) is lost,
 And bare threescore is all ev'n That can boast:
 Our Sons their Fathers failing Language see,
 And such as Chaucer is, shall Dryden be.
 (E on C, 476, 478-483)⁴

The figure of the ideal poet, however, by incorporating and embodying the accomplishments of the literary past, revives these "lost numbers", and perpetuates their memory. The "rougher" English poets, like Chaucer and Donne, are regularized, according to the fashion of the day.

The proper role of the translator or modernizer is expressed in Denham's praises "To Sir Richard Fanshaw upon his Translation of Pastor Fido" (c. 1643):

Whiles this great piece, restor'd by thee doth
 stand
 Free from the blemish of an Artless hand.
 Secure of Fame, thou justly doth esteem
 Less honour to create, than to redeem.

 Foording his current, when thou find'st it low
 Let'st in thine own to make it rise and flow;
 Wisely restoring whatsoever grace
 It lost by change of Times, or Tongues, ^{for} Place.
 (5-8, 25-28)⁵

Such restoration is also recreation, and the translator is thus often obliged to make changes in his author,

for it is not his busines alone to translate
 Language into Language, but Poesie into Poesie;
 & Poesie is so subtile a spirit, that in
 pouring out of one Language into another, it
 will all evaporate; and if a new spirit be

not added in the transfusion, there will remain nothing but a Caput mortuum, there being certain Graces and Happinesses peculiar to every Language which gives life and energy to the words.⁶

Both Chapman before him and Dryden after agree with this conclusion, calling for paraphrase, rather than metaphrase or imitation as the right method of translation.⁷ In fact, if translation is the goal, then a word-for-word rendering (metaphrase) wholly defeats the purpose. Those who chose this method

neither knew good verse, nor loved it; they were scholars, 'tis true, but they were pedants; and for a just reward of their pedantic pains, all their translations want to be translated into English.⁸

In translating Pope always endeavours to elucidate the "sense" of a piece. But everywhere his character is stamped on his work: as the poetry is made English, it is likewise made Popean. The comments by Audra and Williams are apropos:

In the order of time Pope was perhaps a translator before he was a poet, but in any other order he was first a poet, and therefore could not sacrifice the form and spirit of his own utterance to a literalness of meaning which was, in the last analysis, impossible to achieve.⁹

The practice of translation is in no way an obstacle to Pope's poetic development, however. By allowing him both to acquire and practice the techniques of modernity, it plays a large role in his career. Needless to say, his Homer also gave him financial security, and without his

various earlier attempts at translating, the task, if attempted at all, would probably have met with even greater difficulties and less success. All in all,

there is a sequential meaning to the various values of translation for him: first, a willingness to take the alien attitude seriously; second, an ability to bring it into living relation with all the accepted and unquestioned attitudes of his own world; and third, the flowering of a poetic maturity not possible without both these earlier steps.¹⁰

Such a "sequential meaning" is likewise evident in Pope's imitations. In the first place, he seriously pursues the skills and techniques of previous English poets which are as yet intrinsically "alien" to the untrained artist. In his own words:

My first taking to imitating was not out of vanity, but humility. I saw how defective my own things were, and endeavoured to mend my manner by copying good strokes from others.¹¹

Secondly, he reforms his older masters by putting them into the style of the times, obeying Walsh's famous advice that he make it his "study & aim" to be the first "great poet that was correct".¹² It was precisely this "correctness" the ancients lacked, though through no fault of theirs, for "had they lived now, (they) had doubtless written more correctly".¹³ Pope's goal, as he expressed it later, was not simply the pedantic retouching of his elders. Rather, he wished to be "Correct with spirit" (Essay on Man, iv, 381), that is, to invest the flawless outer form of his poetry with life, with essential vigour.

Lastly, we find that Pope used the imitation, like the translation, to become his own poet, to show forth his own originality, and to evolve his own meanings and concerns. In this he seems very much aware of Dryden's dictum, that the "imitation of an author is the most advantageous way for a translator to shew himself" even though it may be done at the expense of "the memory and reputation of the dead".¹⁴ Since Chaucer's fame seemed to be secure even if his language had become derelicted by time,¹⁵ Pope seizes the opportunity to "correct" his author, enter the ongoing dispute on the nature of fame,¹⁶ try his hand at the allegorical form, and showcase his particular poetic talents—all within the framework of his Temple of Fame. He moves beyond the scope of the "translator and Imitator as modernizer", who "normally direct their work towards an audience substantially unfamiliar with the original", and like "the more 'creative' Imitator demands familiarity with his source and believes that much of the reader's pleasure comes from an active comparison of the two texts".¹⁷ By highlighting the differences as well as the similarities between the original work and the "imitation", Pope's method in The Temple of Fame is a precursor of his masterful "Imitations of Horace". In the latter poems he goes farther to insist that "Horace and Donne are allies in his battle and, therefore reinforce his satiric mark",¹⁸ whereas in The Temple of Fame he

largely attempts to replace Chaucer's stance, though he is more thorough about this in the first than in the second half of the poem.

The poem is itself a request for fame, and a document on the basis of which such fame will or will not be granted. It shows at one and the same time a Longinian belief that "certain emanations are conveyed from the genius of the men of old into the souls of those who emulate them",¹⁹ and a more skeptical, Boethian awareness of the insubstantiality of all fame. On the one side is the undeniable achievement of certain great men, on the other a distrust of all achievement and ambition to achieve. As we shall see, Pope consciously opts for the via media, but consistently creates undercurrents to suggest the spiritual dangers involved in any quest of fame. These undercurrents loosen the foundations on which the Temple rests. If Pope's dreamer is awed by the structure of human greatness he is also uneasy about the costs of residing therein.

The task of this thesis, then, will be to compare and contrast Pope's Temple of Fame to Chaucer's House of Fame, to pinpoint where and why Pope departs from his original, and to illuminate the coherence of the "entirely altered" design²⁰ of the new work. At the same time, Pope's attitude towards literary fame in general will be examined and related to his particular ambition to enter the

poetic pantheon.

The Temple of Fame was first published in February 1715 and was altered in only a very few minor details in editions that followed. Pope had worked on the poem since about 1712 and apparently let it be made public only when it had reached a final and fully satisfactory state.

II

THE TEMPLE OF FAME

Tillotson has shown that by choosing to imitate Chaucer's Hous of Fame Pope was catering to at least "six noticeable interests of the age: the interests in imitation as a literary form; in imitation of Chaucer; in 'visions'; in temple-poems; in fame; and even in temples of Fame".¹ The poem's topicality would thus assure it of some attention from the reading public, whose interests Pope, insofar as he sought to become the writer of his age, did not look down upon.² But as Tillotson has noted elsewhere,

he imitated Chaucer's poem for the reason which, at bottom, made Chaucer invent it; he imitated it because it was about those human things, fame and rumour.³

Thus Pope directs his thoughts inwards as well as outwards; he examines his own attitudes in the light of Chaucer and of the opinions of the day.

In the Hous of Fame, Chaucer describes a struggling artist's vision of the nature of the craft he seeks to perfect, investigates traditional ideas of authority, and examines the conditions and uses of all kinds of knowledge and information, relating these to the writer's desire to tell "the truth" in his works. Because of the unreliability

of fame and the irresponsible tamperings of rumour Chaucer concludes that all reputation is unstable and all media subject to misinterpretation. Accordingly the poem, which begins with a prayer to God to "turne us every drem to goode!",⁴ ends with the coming of the "man of gret auctorite" (HF 2158) in whom one can have absolute trust.

Pope's imitation puts the lid on the diffuseness of Chaucer's poem by narrowing its subject to a unified investigation of the nature of fame. The "Advertisement" to the Temple of Fame alerts us of this:

The Reader who would compare this with Chaucer, may begin with his Third Book of Fame, there being nothing in the Two first Books that answers to their Title.⁵

Pope's poem is necessarily substantially different from Chaucer's in its emphasis. In form, the regularized, compact and symmetrical design of the Temple of Fame contrasts with its much longer, mysterious, dream-like original.

The initial change Pope makes in his re-creation of Chaucer's poem is to "normalize" the time at which the dream takes place. Instead of the ironic December setting, we are whisked back into the spring-time usually associated with the romantic dream-vision. The manner of presentation, filled as it is with borrowings from a variety of literary sources,⁶ is nevertheless most clearly identifiable as that which opens the Canterbury Tales. The effect of this is to show the dreamer as a type of pilgrim as much as to correct Chaucer. By eschewing the satiric setting of his original,

Pope also evidences the seriousness of his quest. The "disport and game" (HF 664) of the Hous of Fame is purged, though Pope sometimes injects into his poem moments of amusing satire, such as the biting presentation of the unscrupulous false lovers who ask for and are granted an undeserved reputation. The banishing of Love (TF 5) assents briefly to the purpose of Chaucer's anti-romance, but its purpose is also to highlight the fact that a new, wholly different goal is being sought. The favours of Venus will be traded for a more precarious and immortalizing end--the acquisition of Fame. There is a tacit discrepancy between the ideals of Love and Fame. The one occurs in time and is ordinarily marked by fulfillment in the flesh. It is private, emotional, and self-less, in that it focuses on another person. Fame, on the other hand is essentially public and "intellectual" (TF 10), with its reward consisting in the perpetuation of the idea of the individual's Self after its physical demise. This distinction is made clear by the depiction of the suitors in the latter part of the book. Like their descendents in the Dunciad, these figures typify the evils of "Self-love" (Dunciad, iv, 517n) by the manner in which they court Fame. The humility which some show nevertheless expresses their consciousness of a Fame which they actively seek to avoid. But self-abnegation is not therefore identified with Love, nor does it guarantee anonymity, for Fame operates as an

external force, conferring or denying honours in a largely arbitrary manner.

These characteristics of Love and Fame pose for Pope a variety of problems. Success for him was indicated early in his life to lie in the field of letters, where he excelled. The definition of this success would necessarily include public recognition and reputation. As sketched above, the acquisition of fame is fraught with uncertainty, and the obsessive pursuit of it a definite moral ill. In The Temple of Fame, Pope sets out to define the kind of fame that is valuable to possess, and the means of attaining it. He is writing to the purpose and accordingly is free to omit whatever in Chaucer is simply decorative, expansive, or immaterial to his personal considerations. There is thus very little point in describing Pope's attempt as being to "improve" Chaucer, or to clean up any apparent sloppiness in what has been shown to be a work of great coherence of theme and image, despite its incomplete state. Our task is to understand Pope by examining what he accepts and rejects of his original as he goes about creating a new work of art embodying his own ideas. Peripheral to his aim is Chaucer's long opening passage on the different kinds of dreams and of their various truth-content. Pope does not want to implant doubts in the reader's mind, the way Chaucer does, because he wishes to be straightforward. Pope's dreamer has his vision in the morning, as such dreams

"were supposed to be particularly significant",⁷ a detail borrowed from Dryden's translation of the Nun's Priest's Tale where it is likewise an addition. The "Phantoms" which join to compose the "Intellectual Scene" are categorically different from Chaucer's "fantomes" (HF 11) which, though they occur "in the uncertain halfway stage between sleeping and waking", were thought "to have a source in physical disorders such as indigestion".⁸ They are certainly not the results of "purer Slumbers" (TF 8). Moreover, a Chaucerian "fantome" "bears no intelligible relation to the dreamer's waking experience, but merely brings a crowd of fortuitously mixed and disordered images before him".⁹ Such dreams are to be feared.¹⁰ Pope believes in order and hopes to present a lucid, though unusual vision. The one thing Pope's dreamer has never been accused of is having a disorderly dream.

Pope omits entirely any reference to the first Book of the House of Fame, beginning his dream at a place corresponding to that at which Chaucer's dreamer, Geoffrey, finds himself aloft in the Eagle's talons, looking down at the earth receding quickly into the distance (HF 896-903). Even here Pope by-passes Chaucer to go straight to the classical source of the passage--Ovid's description of the House of Rumour. Ovid's House is located "Full in the midst of this created space", where earth, sky, and sea all join.¹¹ Pope separates these realms (~~out~~) so that he

is far enough above the earth as to see it hanging "self-balanc'd" (TF 13), as Milton (PL vii 242) and Ovid (Metam I, 12) had already described it. Both Chaucer and Pope flesh out Ovid's statement that it is a place "Whence all things, tho remote, are view'd around".¹² Pope's description is based more consciously on the play of oppositions than is Chaucer's. Pope invents a line ("Here naked Rocks, and empty Wastes were seen"--TF 16), to explicitly contrast with the "Tow'ry Cities and the Forests green" (TF 16). He draws a distinction between the inhabited world of men and the bare, rising rocks; between the colourful forest and the empty desert, creating a varied picture much like what we find in Windsor-Forest. Chaucer's World is less particularized. Only one adjective is used to highlight the features his dreamer remarks--the word "greet", found only twice, with reference to "bestes" and "trees", since only the largest of these could be visible. He simply sees

Now valeyes, now forestes

....

Now ryveres, now citees,

Now tounes, and now grete trees,

Now shippes seyillynge in the see.

(HF 899, 901-903)

From his high vantage point, Pope's dreamer nevertheless watches a "checquer'd scene" (W-F 17) caused by the interplay of sun and shade. The prospect of Windsor-Forest, where

Here in full light the russet Plains extend
There wrapt in Clouds the bluish Hills ascend,
(W-F 23-24)

is primarily pictorial, if not conventionally picturesque, and neutral. But from Fame's precincts one sees that

Now a clear Sun the shining Scene displays,
The transient Landscape now in Clouds decays.
(TF 19-20)

The case here is not one of concordia discors but of either/or. Either our view is clear or it is obstructed. In a poem on Fame, the mention of transience and decay is not simply decorative. This couplet establishes the opposition between remaining visible and clear to the present and being obscured by the clouds of time.

It is at this point that the dreamer first becomes aware of the "wild promiscuous Sound"(TF 22) coming from the Temple located at the "Summit" of "a glorious Pile" high above him. The most obvious characteristic of Fame is thus its indiscriminateness, its "promiscuity", giving "a sufficient hint of what is to come, and the connotations of the parallel passage in Ovid, with its stress on credulity, suspicion, and rumour, add to our awareness that the splendors of the scene are not altogether substantial".¹³

Like the Landscape below, the seat of Fame is concealed in clouds (TF 26). The perception of the true nature of the rock on which the "Structure" lies is altered by Pope. Chaucer's dreamer is at first perplexed, thinking it to be iether "alum de glas" (crystallized alum)¹⁴ or "stele", but on closer inspection he finds it to be made of ice. Pope's dreamer at once notifies us of its icy make-

up and only then says what it seemed at first to be constructed of:

The wond'rous rock like PARIAN Marble shone,
And seem'd to distant Sight of solid Stone
(TF 29-30)

The force of the comparison is not to degrade the process of memorialization but to emphasize its positive aspects. Chaucer's dreamer's first reaction is to exclaim:

This were a feble fundament
To bilden on a place hye.
He ought him lytel glorifye
That hereon bilt, God so me save!
(HF 1132-1135)

No such disclaimer comes from Pope's dreamer. While names are indeed effaced from the side of the mountain, Pope finally underlines the point that the side sheltered by the Temple is mainly reserved for the names of those deserving to be remembered. The undeserving, notably critics and "Wits renown'd" (TF 35)¹⁵ by their contemporaries, are relegated to the sunny side, alongside those, the memory of whom has been dampened by passing Time, and are doomed to be forgotten. Pope is less explicit about which names occupy the shady side, thus becoming eternalized, but the implication is that they are more worthy of the honour. Once more the ice acts like a sturdier material, in this case "Crystal", which was traditionally "supposed to be congealed water or ice 'petrified' by some long-continued natural process".¹⁶ The transmutation of the substance in which they are engraved ensures that these

names will not be subject to transience or decay, but will in fact "Spread, and grow brighter with the Length of Days". Chaucer, on the other hand, had pictured an equal but arbitrary distribution of fame and ephemerality. On the sunny side are the erased or partially-erased names of "famous folkes ... fele,

That had iben in mochel wele,
And her fames wide yblowe.
(HF 1137-1139)

To the north side, likewise, are found the names of people who had obtained great fame in their day,

and yet they were
As fressh as men had writen hem here
The selve day ryght.
(HF 1155-1157)

No differentiation is made between those who deserve or do not deserve their fame.¹⁷ Chaucer is content to let one agent, heat, do its work in removing the exposed names, though his dreamer originally believes that storms have eroded them away (HF 1150). Pope admits the agency of the storms so that he can give a special meaning to "th'Approaches of too warm a Sun" (TF 42), having it stand for decays in reputation caused by "Excess of Praise" (TF 44).¹⁸ Pope's dreamer imagines a discriminating F  me, "impatient of Extreame" (TF 43). This most unusual idea of Fame seems to be contradicted by the character of the Goddess herself which we meet later in the poem. But even there, as we shall see, Pope tempers her portrait so that

she balances her shifting attitudes. Pope's dreamer presents aspects of his ideal fame throughout his narrative, and this middle way to distinction is one such aspect.

The description of the icebergs of Zembla is now added in the interests of "Versimilitude" in order "to reconcile the Description to Probability and Nature". Pope, assuming his readers are "desirous of Truth" wishes to emphasize that his poem is not simply the product of fancy, "even if the moral Meaning atone for the Improbability". Because he very much wants to be taken seriously, he finds it necessary to undermine any tendency for his audience to dismiss his work without giving it its proper consideration. He thus justifies a traditional, literary, and iconographic description¹⁹ with a simile "that renders it not wholly unlikely that a Rock of Ice should remain forever, by mentioning something like it in the Northern regions, agreeing with the Accounts of our modern Travellers".²⁰ This passage may be more rhetorical than didactic in kind, nevertheless Pope asserts that in nature the possibility of attaining an unchanging state exists. Ironically such an assertion rests on the evidence of travellers, the veracity of whose reports is traditionally suspect, even if "it was part of the programme of the Royal Society to invite the co-operation of seamen and travellers in adding to their Natural History collections".²¹ Moreover, we may note that the Arctic Rocks are "impassive", i.e. unalive, unfeeling,

inhuman, and possess wholly different characteristics from the life and fire we will encounter in the figures of the six Worthies.

The punctuational emphasis on 'unfelt' seems to invite comparison with the opening lines of the poem, where 'Earth relenting feels the Genial Ray'. In Zembla the sun's rays are anything but 'genial'--they are neither kindly nor generative--and the 'impassive' ice contrasts sharply with the sensitivity of vernal nature. There is no 'soft Season' of Zembla, and while this emphasizes the temple's wonderful immunity to temporal process, we may wonder about the cost of such permanence.²²

At once, then, Pope presents and rejects the idea of a merely monumental immortality remote, physically and morally, from human achievement.

The ambiguity of the mountain's significance is further outlined by the manner in which it is praised as the "stupendous" foundation of the Temple. Chaucer (in a passage quoted above) insists that it is a "feble fundament", but Pope reverses this opinion. Like the church, or the Kingdom of Heaven, the Temple of Fame is "not rear'd by mortal Hands" (TF 62).²³ But by clearly introducing a scriptural source Pope also means to awaken in us the set of values associated with it. This set of values further serves to play negatively against the very terms of the description of the Temple, "which excels in size anything that Babylon, proud Rome, or artful Greece beheld". The comparison is easily made with the tower of Babel, which was built by the Babylonians to

get themselves a name, lest far dispersed
 In foreign lands their memory be lost
 Regardless whether good or evil fame.²⁴
 (PL xii, 45-47)

The pride exhibited by Rome led to its eventual downfall, as the excessive artificiality and degeneracy of the Greeks ended in the demise of their glory. The diction of the passage likewise mirrors Milton's representation of Pandemonium, as an "ascending pile" (PL i, 722), which

Not Babilon,
 Nor great Alcairo such magnificence
 Equalled in all their glories, to enshrine
 . . . their gods.
 (PL i, 717-720)

As Earl R. Wasserman has shown, such "allusive resonances are not peripheral but functional to the meaning of the artistic product",²⁵ especially in Pope. We must be aware while the magnificence of the Temple is being described that the figures therein attain an ultimately non-Christian immortality by being so remembered, and that this species of earthly perpetuation is not to be confused as being on a par with fame in heaven.²⁶ Such a reading agrees in full with the dreamer's position at the end of the poem.

The general design of the Temple, as Tillotson notes, is borrowed from a palace of Fame described in the Tatler, 81.²⁷ Its four gates, Pope makes explicit, signify "that all Nations of the Earth may alike be receiv'd into it" (ll. 65ff, n.). Of "various structure", the gates are nevertheless of "equal Grace" (TF 66), allowing for the

different manners of achieving Fame in different parts of the world. We find men of military, and artistic persuasions, men of action and men of thought brought together, identified, and indeed "animated", brought to life, by their inclusion as statues on the wall. Once more they "frown" or "think" (TF 74, 75).

The Western gate is described in such a way as to relate it both to the entrance of Milton's Pandemonium, and to the latter's model, the Pantheon.²⁸ The sumptuous, golden Frontispiece stands upon "Doric pillars of white Marble" (TF 76), and is topped with a sculptured Architrave. The Doric mode, we learn from Plato, most suitably imitates "the tones and notes of a brave man in warlike action and in all violent doings, or defending himself against fortune steadily with endurance".²⁹ Pope allows its appropriateness to extend to worthies in arts as well as arms, for as he wrote in The Preface of 1717:

The life of a Wit is a warfare upon earth;
and the present spirit of the learned world
is such that to attempt to serve it (any way)
one must have the constancy of a martyr,³⁰
and a resolution to suffer for its sake.

Since this western gate is a Frontispiece, it acts as would "an Emblem or Picture set before the Title of a Book, to shew the Design of it".³¹ The poem returns to a symbolic plane, no longer requiring the kind of empirical justification courted by the description of the rocks of Zembla. Instead the claim to fame of fighting heroes and

creative artists is emblematically highlighted and coordinated. The great exploits of Theseus, Perseus and Hercules are easily matched by the seemingly magical feats of Orpheus and Amphion, who are able to control nature itself. Interestingly, the Thebes that Amphion causes to arise is bodied forth in terms of the creation of Pandemonium, which is already a model of the Temple itself. The poet is able to create his own monument, and Pope is outrightly building himself a structure in imitation of Amphion's. The conceit can work the other way, also as a possible echo from Marvell's "The First Anniversary of the Government under O.C." seems to prove. There, the legislator, compared to Amphion and working through the Doric mood, succeeds in creating the Commonwealth, as "temples reared their columns high" in answer to his "graver notes" (ll. 63-64). However we look at it, the hero and the poet have become fused.

The Eastern gate features practitioners of "Magick and Astrology, which was in a manner almost all the learning of the ancient Asian People".³² With an exterior made of "Diamond flaming, and Barbaric Gold" (TF 94), it seems to be based on the "inimitable" Gate of Heaven in Paradise Lost.³³ But the general lack of representatives of morality (Confucius being the exception)³⁴ undermines the expressed similarity, making it resemble more Lucifer's palace, a parody of Heaven (Knight³⁵ refers to these

Miltonic echoes without comment). Again we find a juxtaposition of heroic and creative figures. Cyrus and Ninus are given a place because of their imperial successes. The various magicians are like the poets of the Western Gate in that they have power over nature, but this power seems to work largely on a different plane. Instead of building real cities, as Amphion did Thebes, they erect "visionary Fabricks" (TF 103) and call forth "th'unbody'd Shades" (TF 101). Because they deal in illusions alone,³⁶ their Science, unlike that of Confucius, is not considered "useful". The placing of "magicians" in the walls outside the Temple occurs in Chaucer's poem, where we see "jugelours" (sleight of hand artists), "tregetours" (illusionists who used mechanical devices), "Phitonesses" (fortune tellers), "charmeresses", "wicches", etc. (HF 1259-1281).

The Southern gate memorializes the Egyptian priests, worthy of the honour by virtue of their accomplishments in Geometry, Astronomy, and especially History,³⁷ whereby they preserved the fame of their kings and heroes in "long Records" (TF 112), on obelisks and with hieroglyphic inscriptions on walls. Only one such conqueror, Sesostris, strikes the dreamer's attention, probably because his statue presents him in pose familiar to the readers of Diodorus and Herodotus.³⁸ Although Warton can object that "The colossal statue of the celebrated Eastern tyrant is not very strongly imagined", and finds the word "hold" in l. 115 to be

"particularly feeble",³⁹ Pope is offering the exact diction of his sources, which contain the weak verbs "draw", "hold", and "arm'd". The only alterations he makes is to transform a "lance" into a "pointed Jav'lin" (TF 115) and dress Sesostrius in the armour of the giant Bitias, who meets a sudden death in the Aeneid. The Egyptian's fame lasts long, even if his armour is chinked.

The Northern gate is of Gothic construction, native and fitting to this more unorganized culture it represents, the "learning" of which lies "more obscure than that of the rest".⁴⁰ It is obscure as much because it is "without clearness of form or outline" as because (relative to the rest) it is "not illustrious or noted; unknown to fame".⁴¹ That its walls are "O'er-wrought with ornaments" (TF 120) contradicts the general cleanness of design and orderliness of decoration of Pope's otherwise "Palladian" temple.⁴² It also betrays a certain "Want of Art" (E on C 296), and is indicative of a "barbarous Pride", which, on a negative level, equates the Gothic to Rome, characterized by Pride (TF 63), and the "Barbaric" splendour of the Orient (TF 94). Though no martial heroes are mentioned, the dreamer sees huge statues, "Colosses" (TF 121) which are covered with the spoils of victory in war ("Trophies")⁴³ and which exist as testaments to the warlike spirit of the "Scythians". Engraved around these memorials are undeciphered "Runic

characters" (TF 122). Together the Colosses and Runes have the same function as the Egyptian Obelisks and Hieroglyphics of the Southern Gate--they preserve for posterity the great deeds of the past. The two gods, Zamolxis and Odin, are depicted as earthly imposters; the former was a slave of Pythagoras who attained the status of a deity,⁴⁴ while the latter is depicted as a "Legislator and Hero" whose credibility and power derived from inspirational "mimick Trances" (TF 124). That these names are given prominence points out the unsophisticatedness of the pagan Goths, whose only goal was victory and death in battle. Accordingly, statues of their heroes show the "horrid Forms" standing on "rude Iron Columns smear'd with Blood" (TF 125-126). The columns are rude because they represent a primitive and unrefined people, and they are made of iron:

For yren Martes metal ys
Which that god is of bataylle.
(HF 1446-1447)

The "Druids and Bards" who have commemorated these warriors are also accorded places on pillars of this kind, but their "once loud Harps" are unstrung (TF 127) because, as Tillotson notes, none of their poems survived.⁴⁵ Their principal role was to celebrate the actions of

those heroick Barbarians (who) accounted
it a Dishonour to die in their Beds, and
rush'd to certain Death in Prospect of an
After-life, and for the Glory of a Song
from their Bards.⁴⁶

But Pope is far from "admiring" such motivation, as Russo suggests he does.⁴⁷ Instead they are said to possess a "doubtful Fame" (TF 129), both in the sense that they do not stand out clearly as individuals and in the sense that they do not deserve to be remembered. Such a fame is, in reality, a distortion of their worth, rather than a reflection of genuine achievement. It is not "honest" but "Romantick", that is, it is influenced by, and appeals to, the imagination more than to the reason and tends to have "no foundation in fact".⁴⁸ The effect of the glassy walls to enlarge and multiply (TF 134) the reputation of these figures is exactly the same as that of "Fancy's Beam", which "enlarges, multiplies, Contracts, inverts, and gives ten thousand dyes" (Epistle to Cobham, 27-28). Every example of Fame that seems to be positively presented is very subtly undermined to some extent by association and allusion, and the figures we have met so far quite properly belong on the outside of the Temple, since they occupy a peripheral place in Pope's hierarchy of Fame.⁴⁹

Having completed his tour of the building's exterior, the dreamer watches as the Temple shakes, causing the massive gates to vibrate with sound and open, revealing a vast interior.⁵⁰ In detail the inside, too, resembles Milton's Pandemonium with its "Roofs of fretted Gold" (TF 138; cp. PL 717) and its rows of hanging, artificial

Lamps (TF 143-144; cp. PL 726-730). Where Chaucer has his golden walls set thick with "the fynest stones faire" as numerous "as grasses growen in a mede" (HF 1351, 1353), Pope sets his roof so full of glowing gems that they seem like the stars in heaven (TF 143). The narrative moves inward from the entrances to approach the throne of Fame set directly in the middle of the building. Immediately inside each gate sit "sage Historians in white Garments", who attend ("wait") on the Goddess and act as doormen, allowing access to the shrine. In Tatler 67 (p. 94), the historians "are appointed to conduct the several persons to their seats, and are to be made use of as ushers to the assemblies". Pope treats them with greater dignity since he gives them their own seats, above which is engraved "the Form of TIME .../ His Scythe revers'd, and both his Pinions bound", his powers nullified (TF 148).

Beyond the historians are heroes whose renown depends mostly on their deeds of arms (TF 149-150). First we are shown Alexander the Great, sitting high on a throne, laden with trophies (TF 151), like the Colossus before the Northern Gate (TF 121). Like Sesostrius, whose carriage is pulled by "scepter'd Slaves" (TF 114), he stands upon the "sceptres and Tiaras" of defeated monarchs (TF 153). Like Zamolxis and Odin, as we have seen Pope present them, Alexander claims to be related to divinity. In Chaucer, he is mentioned as belonging to

the same company as Daedalus, and Phaeton (HF 913-943), and therefore is used as an exemplum "of the overreaching worldly ambition that requires and receives some check".⁵¹ Later, he is shown not simply on a throne but carried aloft on one shoulder of the Goddess Fame herself, Hercules being supported on the other (HF 1410-1413). The latter probably appears as one who set limits beyond which one was forbidden to go (the Pillars of Hercules), while Alexander appears "as a trespasser of limits", since he was said to have journeyed beyond them.⁵² Pope uses Alexander in much the same way, portraying him as "The YOUTH that all thing but himself subdu'd" (TF 152), and contrasting him to "CAESAR, the World's great Master, and his own" (TF 156). Whereas Alexander ranks as the premier~~er~~ in battle, Caesar is graced equally with "BOTH Minervas, i.e. by Minerva in her capacities both as goddess of arms and of wisdom",⁵³ or of arms and letters.⁵⁴ Moreover, he is dispassionate in an ideal sense, "Unmoved, superior still in every State" (TF 157), much like Adam who describes himself as being

in all enjoyments else
Superior and unmoved, here only weak
Against the charm of beauty's powerful glance.
(PL viii, 532)

This glowingly described character is finally damned, however, with faint praise, being "scarce detested in his Country's Fate" (TF 158). What ever virtues can be acknowledged in him, Caesar's status is lessened by his

having come to supreme power through Civil War.⁵⁵ In An Essay on Man, both Caesar and Alexander will become outright examples of evil:

Pours fierce Ambition in a Caesar's mind,
Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind?
(Essay on Man, i, 159-160)

Instead, those who have striven not for Empire, but for "their People's Safety" (TF 159-160) attain a higher kind of Fame. The list includes Epaminondas, Timoleon, Scipio and Marcus Aurelius--all of whom subordinated their own personal interests to those of the State. Timoleon suffered his brother to die "when he affected the Tyranny".⁵⁶ The others were men of learning as well as great commanders,⁵⁷ Aurelius mixing "boundless Pow'r" and "unbounded Virtue" (TF 166), Scipio and Epaminondas being likewise scornful of riches.⁵⁸ In addition, Scipio will be seen as a type of Chastity, and thus as far superior to the ambitious men like Caesar and Catiline (Ep. to Cobham, 213-216). But even they are superseded in Honour by "Much-suff'ring Heroes.../ of less noisy, and less guilty Fame" (TF 168-170). Elwin first noted the inconsistency of having this group being "less guilty" than another led by someone of "unbounded Virtue", and also objected with some force to their being called "less noisy", since they were also active in the public sphere.⁵⁹ The objections must stand, regardless of the sources Pope is drawing on,⁶⁰ for these sources are not used

cleanly. Looking at the list of those Pope numbers among "Fair Virtue's silent Train", it is possible nevertheless to gather his design, which is to present as increasingly worthy of Fame men who are correspondingly less selfish.⁶¹ While it is true that the public-minded heroes headed by Aurelius have all made some personal sacrifice as proof of their devotion to the common weal, the "much-suffering heroes" (TF 168) were all "either executed wrongfully or committed noble suicide. Those executed jested graciously on the point of death."⁶² In other words, they have made the ultimate sacrifice, their lives. Montaigne in his essay "On Cruelty" draws a distinction between "goodness" and true "virtue". The former is the result of a "naturally good disposition" and consists in performing deeds which involve no personal danger. The latter, however, "demands a harsh and thorny road", not merely in conquering vices (for then virtue could "dispense with the assistance of vice") but in showing "itself in the struggle with and patient endurance of pain". If this is so, then an even greater virtue belongs to him who "not only despises pain but rejoices in it".⁶³ Cato and Socrates are given as examples of practitioners of this supreme virtue. Moreover, Montaigne humourously finds Socrates superior to Epaminondas, because whereas the latter "refused the riches which fortune put into his hands in an entirely lawful way, in order, he said,

that he might fight a battle with poverty", the philosopher "tried himself even more severely by keeping the shrewishness of his wife to practice on: a battle against a sharpened sword".⁶⁴ Again, Addison finds Cato to exhibit the "awful" Character of a man of justice, rather than the "amiable" character of a good-natured man. For this reason he is accounted to be superior to Caesar.⁶⁵

Thus Pope's categories are consistent with traditional notions of the hierarchy of virtue, and the "much-suffering Heroes" rightfully occupy their place closer to the centre of the Temple. It is also noteworthy that Pope planned as the subject of an epic, if he should write one, the Brutus praised by his inclusion in the list of heroes.

By now the dreamer has reached the middle of the Temple, where he finds rising in a circle, "Six pompous Columns .../ Around the Shrine it self of FAME" (TF 179-180). Together they occupy the "hallow'd Quire" of the Temple (TF 178), "that part of the church appropriate to the singers", and from which the office issues.⁶⁶ They combine their position as the "greatest Names in Learning of all Antiquity"⁶⁷ with their function as poets (except Aristotle) and are accorded a priestly status. Their columns are not only closer to the Throne than any others, they are higher, and dominate the Temple both physically and in terms of the honour and respect given them. In this they resemble "the goodly school of those lords

of highest song, which, like an eagle, soars above the rest" that Dante sees in Limbo.⁶⁸

The six Worthies are enumerated, beginning with the greatest one, Homer, Dante's "sovereign poet",⁶⁹ who stands high on a throne of "Eternal Adamant" (TF 182-183), suggesting that his fame is impervious to any force and will always be secure. How different this is from Chaucer's presentation of him, where he is included among a large group of historians of Troy, standing "Ful wonder hy", but on a column of iron; which merely signifies him to be a poet of war. Moreover, he is attacked by the others for being too partial to the Greeks, for telling lies, and for "Feynyng in hys poetries" (HF 1477-1480). Pope is unambiguous about Homer's position. He is the "Father of Verse" (TF 184) and "Poetical Diction"⁷⁰, and is shown in the "Holy Fillets" (TF 184) worn by those consecrated to the Muses.⁷¹ For all the Worthies there is a close relationship between the "Manner and Character" of their statues and that of their writings.⁷² Accordingly the "Motion and Life" which inspires Homer's work (TF 192) reappears in the way his beard "wav'd" (TF 185), as if still supple and alive, for "what he writes is of the most animated Nature imaginable; every thing moves, every thing lives, and is put in Action".⁷³ Likewise the "Boldness" (TF 186) which characterizes his appearance is a reflection of that found in his poetry (TF 193).

That he is aged but still vigorous, proves not only that he personally was untouched by Time, but that his epics have survived, "unimpaired by Years" (TF 187). The scenes carved on the column all show the great vanquished: Diomedes wounds the goddess Venus, Patroclus is slain by Hector, whose glory and triumph is extinguished immediately in his desecration by Achilles. The victor here is really Homer himself, whose lot it is never to fall, and who is thus greater than any of his heroes. The Master's "Poetical FIRE",⁷⁴ becomes manifest through his "Expression" (TF 193), which is "the strongest and most glowing imaginable, and touch'd with the greatest spirit",⁷⁵ and this Fire has the power to make us admire any part of his work that is touched by the author's occasional "brave Neglect" (TF 195).

This glowing portrait is matched by an equally long one of Virgil, the "next in Rank", who is placed on a "Golden Column". He is exceedingly precious in himself, but is clearly subordinate to Homer. Together they "stand Metaphorically for the two ends of a tradition", Homer being the original and ultimate poet of nature, and Virgil the epitome of the conscious artist:⁷⁶

Be Homer's Works your STUDY and DELIGHT,
 And let your COMMENT be the Mantuan Muse.
 (E on C 124, 140)

The contrast between them is always polar. Homer is the Muse's priest, Virgil, a worshipper gazing with "reverend

Eye" (TF 202). Homer is bold, Virgil "modest" and humble ("Great without Pride", TF 203). Homer's "brave Neglect" is opposed to the Roman's polish and perfection ("Finish'd the whole, and labour'd ev'ry Part", TF 198). The distinctions are all Dryden's:

Virgil was of a quiet, sedate temper; Homer was violent, impetuous and full of fire. The chief talent of Virgil was propriety of thoughts, and ornaments of words: Homer was rapid in his thoughts, and took all the liberties, both of numbers and of expressions, which his language, and the age in which he lived allowed him. Homer's invention was copious, Virgil's more confined, so that if Homer had not led the way, it was not in Virgil to have begun heroic poetry.⁷⁷

When Pope relates the process of Virgil's artistic coming-of-age, he finds it to consist in the realization that "NATURE and HOMER were ... the same" (E on C 135), and that one must discard unrestrained ("boundless") and ungoverned creation for that which respects the "Ancient RULES" (E on C 130-139). This view of Homer as repository of the "Ancient RULES" is wholly in keeping with the notion that he possesses infinite invention,⁷⁸ as long as we understand Invention in its primary, Latin sense-- "to find or come upon; even to discover". Accordingly, Homer's Invention lets him discover, not devise, "Those RULES of old" (E on C 88). Rules, therefore,

were perceived as forms external to the mind and as objective principles governing reality--as objective as Newton's laws. To swerve from those rules meant to destroy the relation

between cause and effect, and distort, in short, artistic probability. Such rules could not be created out of the artistic imagination or devised in any way.⁷⁹

In essence, Pope identifies more with Virgil than with Homer, although the latter is so highly praised.⁸⁰ Pope, like Virgil, is a young poet of great ambition ("boundless Mind") who wishes to design "Work t'outlast Immortal Rome" (E on C 130-131) and thus insure his own immortality.

His analysis of Homer and Virgil in the Essay on Criticism and the Temple of Fame is an attempt to work out for himself clearly those virtues which can lead one at least to the "Second Rank", Homer's position being unassailable. He learns the same lesson as Virgil, who "by reading Homer, ...was taught to imitate his invention, that is, to imitate like him."⁸¹

Pindar and Horace, the next two Worthies represented, form a pair which contrast in much the same ways as did Homer and Virgil. Both are essentially lyric poets, and hold instruments with which they accompany their song. Pindar rides in a chariot drawn by four swans emblematic "of Poetry" whose "soaring Posture intimates the Sublimity and Activity of his Genius".⁸² He appears in the posture of a "furious Prophet", labouring with "th'inspiration of God" (TF 212-213). The trance and ecstasy he experiences makes it possible for him to become not only a pure mouthpiece for his Muse, but to completely melt into

and become one with his music and poetry:⁸³

A-cross the Harp a careless Hand he flings,
And boldly sinks into the sounding Strings
(TF 214-215)

His boldness and carelessness clearly links him to Homer in Pope's mind, but Knight nevertheless makes the case, following Nietzsche, that Homer and Pindar stand respectively for Apollonian or objective, and Dionysian or subjective, schools of composition.⁸⁴ The Nietzschean perspective is not adequate to describe Pope's arrangement, for it casts Homer as a "naïve" and "self-absorbed dreamer", who is "sunk in the pure contemplation of images".⁸⁵

The lyricist, on the other hand, is styled as creating out of "pure imagination", becoming himself what he portrays.⁸⁶ More appropriate to an understanding of Pope's scheme is a passage from Dryden which states that:

The first happiness of the poet's imagination is properly invention, or finding of the thought; the second is fancy, or the variation, driving, or moulding of the thought, as the judgement represents it proper to the subject; the third is elocution, or the art of clothing and adorning that thought so varied, in apt, significant, and sounding words: the quickness of the imagination is seen in the invention, the fertility in the fancy, and the accuracy in the expression.⁸⁷

We have already seen that Homer's invention is unmatched, and thus he also claims first rank as a poet of the imagination. Pindar seems to be characterized by the fertility of his fancy, which results in the irregular greatness and distortion of the figures on his column (TF 220-221),

but like Homer, he was "a great Genius of the first Class, who was hurried on by a Natural Fire and Impetuosity to vast conceptions of things, and noble Sallies of Imagination".⁸⁸ Though Pindar does resemble Homer, his figures are still inferior to the epic poet's, for Pindar speaks of games, Homer of war. The lyricist takes second place because his subject is less elevated than Homer's, but they still belong in the same category.

Horace is to Pindar what Virgil is to Homer. Each rationalizes, in a sense, the other's poetry. Where Virgil's poetry is composed, sober, and finished, so Horace "tun'd" his lyric instrument, and "temper'd Pindar's Fire" (TF 222-223). Horace, like Virgil (E on C 131) has deliberately created art that will outlast his own time, and serve as an enduring monument.⁸⁹ Horace is characteristically graceful as the deportment of the statues around his polished column shows. His style and subject matter are hybridized. He does not tend solely towards the "manly Rage" of Alcaeus or the fury of Pindar, but softens them with the "Spirit of the Sapphick Muse" (TF 224-225). In the same way he "judg'd with Coolness tho' he sung with Fire" (E on C 659). He is a poet of Sense and charm (E on C 653-654), and Pope leans in his direction rather than Pindar's, imitating Horace extensively and patterning aspects of his life after that of the Roman.

The last two of Pope's Worthies, Aristotle and

Cicero, contrast in a similar way. Although not himself a poet, Aristotle shares with Homer and Pindar attributes of power. Like Homer he is called "mighty" (TF 233, 182), and just as Homer's statue "shone" (TF 182), Aristotle is depicted "in a Shrine that cast a dazzling Light" (TF 232). As Homer had intuitively gathered together and presented "Nature" to his followers, so Aristotle has closely examined the world about him and codified the phenomena in it.⁹⁰ In his presentation of the "rules" of literature, Aristotle had used Homer as a guide and measure of correctness, until he gained the authority to tame the otherwise barbarous domain of poetry:

He steer'd securely, and discover'd far,
Led by the light of the Maeonian Star.
Poets, a Race long unconfin'd and free,
Still fond and proud of Savage Liberty,
Receiv'd his Laws, and stood convinc'd twas
fit
Who conquer'd Nature, shou'd preside o'er Wit.
(E on C 647-652)

His "discoveries" are simply another result of "invention", as we have defined it above. Symbolized by the "Zodiack" and the various animals around him (which he had attempted to arrange by species in his works of natural history), his quest for order would seem to belie any likeness to Pindar. Yet, like that poet and Zamolxis, he is shown in a kind of trance, for his creativity and intellect are directed by inner prompting, not necessarily public concerns. His is an essentially private experience.

Cicero shines as brightly, but directs his energies toward society. As a public figure, despite certain shortcomings, he "far exceeded most of his fellow Republicans in his qualifications for symbol".⁹¹ His high reputation is attested to by Addison, who places him along with Virgil, Aristotle, Plato, Milton, and Bacon in a "second Class of great Genius's ...that have formed themselves by Rules, and submitted the Greatness of their natural Talents to the Corrections and Restraints of Art". This second class is in no way inferior to the first class of "Genius's" that included Homer and Pindar.⁹² Similarly, Pope characterizes Cicero as having the grace already associated with Homer and Virgil.

Cicero fuses his identity as political leader with that of orator, expressing his creativity in these ways. The "Civic Crowns" he is about to receive (TF 242) are rewards for his handling of the Catiline conspiracy which he uncovered, dismantled and punished. In doing so he characterized himself as "a statesman who achieved his results by words, ...(not by)... armed force".⁹³ The citizens afterwards

acknowledged to each other that the Roman people owed thanks to many commanders and generals of the time for riches and spoils and power, but for the safety and security of the whole their thanks were due to Cicero and to Cicero alone, who had delivered them from this great and terrible danger.⁹⁴

From this, his rightful place in Pope's Temple would seem clearly to be at the head of "those who not for Empire fought,/ But with their Toils their People's Safety sought" (TF 159-160). But his position at the centre of the Shrine is dependent not so much on this aspect of his character as on his function as a representative of rhetoric. While the attitude of his statue may be modelled after the engraving found at the head of "The Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero" in the 1703 edition of Plutarch,⁹⁵ that picture shows him with his right hand close to his body, clenched in a fist but for the forefinger which points at the crowd before him. Pope says, however, that he "graceful, stretch'd his Hand" (TF 241), probably since "ancient Stoic philosophers had made a distinction between the 'closed fist' of dialectic and the 'open palm' of rhetoric".⁹⁶ Moreover, it was Aristotle in his Rhetoric, who originally defined rhetoric as the counterpart of dialectic:

Rhetoric like dialectic is limited to no specific subject matter, but may be used in any consideration, and it is by that Fact opposed to the method of science and limited to questions on which variation of opinion is possible.⁹⁷

In the Temple of Fame, it is Aristotle himself who represents the dialectic of scientific investigation, and Cicero is his counterpart.

Pope's choice of the Six Worthies may have been

"necessarily determined by his age".⁹⁸ Insofar as he strove to be its foremost poet and to live up to its most cherished ideals, so he was bound to honour those figures it held in highest esteem. But it is equally clear that Pope fails to mention many names, ancient and modern, that on the basis of popular taste could with justification have been included. Pope's list is not meant to be encyclopedic, but discriminating. As we have seen, each of the Worthies is chosen for and described in terms of certain attributes which both contrast with and complement each other. Both the "fire" and "art" of creation, the rhetorical and scientific investigation of things, are celebrated. Equally important are private and public perspectives. In theory, Pope is accepting the single value of the coin even though it has two sides. Since these men have already gained unchallenged fame by virtue of the pre-eminence of their separate talents, Pope seeks to embrace them all if he can. His fame will be based on the reconciliation of opposites, clearly a main theme throughout his poetry.

Pope's general attitude is suggested by the design of the headpiece for An Essay on Criticism in the Works of 1717:

In a grove the laurelled busts of Homer
and Virgil stand on two pedestals, while
in the background Pegasus, the immortal
horse of the Muses, flies above Parnassus.
Before the altars a gowned figure bows

in homage; this can only be the youthful bard, Pope himself. At his back stands Fame, trumpet in hand, pointing him towards his great exemplars. The illustration symbolizes precisely Pope's homage to their abiding fame, and the motivation of renown which incites him to emulate them.⁹⁹

We may note that Pope bows toward both writers, despite their different characteristics. It is also significant that the men, not their works are exalted. This reverses what Chaucer imagines in the Hous of Fame, where Homer, like all the other writers on the Trojan War,

Was besy for to bere up Troye.
So hevy therof was the fame
That for to bere hyt was no game.
(HF 1472-1474)

Likewise, Virgil and Ovid both bear up the fame of Aeneas. Lucan carries on his shoulders the "fame of Julius and Pompe" (HF 1502); Claudian "bar up al the fame of helle" (HF 1510); and Josephus "bar on hys shuldres hye/ The fame up of the Jewerye" (HF 1436). Pope, however,

elevates his writers above their subjects ... Their literary works serve as the foundation of their individual fame as authors; Pope's language insists on the 'Motion and Life' (192) in all this 'living Sculpture' (204), as if the subjects' liveliness were evidence for their makers' immortality, and as if authorial fame were ultimately supreme.¹⁰⁰

In Chaucer, the columns are often composed of more than one metal, but in Pope's vision they are "massie" (TF 244), a word used to describe precious metals "wrought in solid pieces, without hollow or alloy".¹⁰¹ Whereas Pope sets

out his authors with precision, giving us a clear picture of each one, Chaucer's tableau is deliberately confused and "promiscuous":

The halle was al ful, ywys,
Of hem that writen olde gestes,
As ben on trees rokes nestes;
But hit a ful confus matere
Were alle the gestes for to here,
That they of write, or how they highte.
(HF 1514-1519)

The tumult swirls about the throne of Fame, which Chaucer describes only briefly.¹⁰² Pope, however, dwells on the "Imperial Seat", for it is not only physically but symbolically the object of his quest, and occupies the exact centre of the poem. Pope's vision of the Throne as a bejewelled source of multi-coloured light probably stems from Chaucer's indication that it was made of "rubee ...carbuncle" (HF 1362-1363) since the carbuncle was "a mythical gem said to emit light in the dark".¹⁰³ Pope's Throne likewise has rubies that "shew their sanguine Dye" (TF 251), but it is also covered in Emeralds, sapphires, and amber ("An alloy of four parts gold with one of silver"¹⁰⁴) that give off green, blue, and golden rays respectively. These beams of light are all presented as if they came forth from a source of life. It glows and appears "all on fire" (TF 255). The rubies flame, rays "stream" from the sapphires, the emeralds are "vivid" (life-giving), and the amber is "lucid" (bright, shining¹⁰⁵). Moreover they all reflect off the top of the Dome, and mingle to

form a rainbow, the sign of God's covenant with man that "the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh"¹⁰⁶. The Throne of Fame thus seems to combine the ability to generate life as well as to guarantee its continued existence. Hence the figures nearest to it display greater signs of permanence and life than do those farther away, which are illuminated by the lesser stars of jewel set in the roof (TF 143-144). But as the magnificence of these stars was dimmed by their presentation in terms of the lights of Pandemonium, so will the qualities of the sun-like Throne prove to be parodistic, for unlike the sun, Fame does not shine on all alike, and supplies only "a fancy'd life in others' breath" (Essay on Man iv, 237), a metaphorical existence.

The iconography of the Goddess herself, deriving from the "antient bards" (TF 266)--Virgil, Ovid, and Chaucer--proves that she is not worthy to be an unqualified object of adulation. In his translation of the Aeneid, Dryden describes Fame as "the great ill", as "A monstrous phantom horrible and vast", born of "vengeful Earth" when she was "Inrag'd against the gods" (Aeneid iv, 252, 260, 257). She is like Ovid's "gossiping Rumour, who loves to mingle false with true and, nourished by her own lies, grows steadily from small beginnings"¹⁰⁷,

who inspires Deianira to send Hercules the poisoned

With this literary genealogy in mind one cannot accept Knight's account of Fame as

mistress of a multitude of human tongues, eyes, ears; all the creative activity and sense-impressions of mankind are her implements; almost She is that for which man's consciousness exists.¹¹¹

She is distinctly un-human, though she intrudes in human affairs. Her activities are "creative" only in the sense that she invents false and damaging stories. Fame may be the after-effect or motivation but it is certainly wrong to call it part of the process of creation. No more can the lively "gems and colours" stand for "the richly accumulated values of the human tradition"¹¹², since these values can only be inherent in actions of men the lights illuminate. Fame itself does not contain these values. The Temple and the Goddess grow to represent as much the indiscriminate spreading of news and report (true and false) as the clarification and maturation of "the reputation of a Shakespeare"¹¹³. If the Muses attend her, it may indeed mean that the arts serve to establish and perpetuate the reputations of others but they do not therefore create "values" as Knight maintains¹¹⁴. None of Knight's claims have anything to do with Pope's (or Virgil's, or Chaucer's) idea of Fame, which is filled with "implicit irony"¹¹⁵. They might fit, however, Boethius's conception of Philosophy,

whose "height seemed to vary: sometimes she seemed of ordinary human stature, then again her head seemed to touch the top of the heavens"¹¹⁶. This Philosophy banishes the Muses of poetry from the sick-bed of the unfortunate man:

They cannot offer medicine for his sorrows;
they will nourish him only with their sweet
poison. They kill the fruitful harvest
of reason with the sterile thorns of the
passions; they do not liberate the minds
of men from disease, but merely accustom
them to it ... Get out, you Sirens: your
sweetness leads to death. Leave him to be
cured and made strong by my Muses.¹¹⁷

One thing Knight has not realized, however, is that Fame is not Philosophy. The distinction will be made perfectly clear by the character Fame exhibits as she metes out her favours.

Pope's account of the suitors of Fame generally follows Chaucer's original conception although some details are altered. Pope has his throngs rush in for the audience only when they are summoned by her trumpet, while in Chaucer they approach on their own initiative. Chaucer's Goddess acts more unconnected and aloof from all that goes on about her than Pope's does, her indifference being emphasized by the fact that she does nothing to begin proceedings in her own court.

Pope's suppliants, like Chaucer's, are made up of "all the Nations" (TF 278) and are of "all Degrees" (TF 289). Again the "promiscuity" of the crowd, and

of the noise it makes, is emphasized, reminding the reader of the chaos of tongues at Babel. Both poets compare the crowd of suitors to swarming bees, but Pope draws out the simile to epic proportions. In Virgil, the souls waiting to be reborn and crowding on the banks of Lethe are also depicted

Thick as the humming bees, that hunt the
golden dew;

.....
The winged army roams the fields around;
The rivers and the rocks remurmur to the
sound.

(Dryden's Aeneid vi, 959,
962-963)

By drinking Lethe's waters, "they long Oblivion taste,/ Of future life secure, forgetful of the past" (Dryden's Aeneid vi, 968-969). The suitors in the Temple of Fame are likewise in a state of oblivion, but they would have things otherwise. They wish not so much to know, as to be known. In contrast to the happy souls in Hades who have been purged clean of their sins and rewarded by having all consciousness of their past lives erased, the suitors to Fame ironically wish to perpetuate a consciousness of their earthly accomplishments, "Good and Bad" (TF 293).

Pope was later to rework the entrance of the suitors into his Dunciad, where they are explicitly made into objects of scorn:

And now had Fame's posterior Trumpet
 blown,
 And all the Nations summon'd to the Throne.
 The young, the old, who feel her inward sway,
 One instinct seizes, and transports away.
 None need a guide, by sure Attraction led,
 And strong impulsive Gravity of Head:
 None want a place, for all their Centre found,
 Hang to the Goddess, and coher'd around.
 Not closer, orb in orb, conglob'd are seen
 The buzzing Bees about their dusky Queen.
 (Dunciad iv, 71-80)

These courtiers of Dullness, of course, are answering to an improper notion of Fame, for they live in a world of inverted values. Their predecessors are somewhat less guilty because the Fame they worship seems at least to have an essential value and is not always associated with Dullness or vacuousness. But the positive aspects of Fame, as presented in the first half of the poem, though with sinister undertones, will become less and less dominant in the second half. Now Fame will become more like "her blind Sister, fickle Fortune", who "undiscerning, scatters Crowns and Chains" (TF 296-297). If Fortune is arbitrarily responsible for the successes of Sesostriis and Alexander, amongst others, her sister is equally arbitrary in granting fame to the worthy. The truth of these propositions is inherent in the judgments Fame delivers to the suitors.

Where Chaucer has nine companies of suppliants come before the Goddess, Pope reduces the number to eight, eliminating the group of humble men, who "han

don wel with al our myght" (HF 1694) yet desire, and are granted, anonymity. It is apparently beyond his capacity to allow the good to go unrewarded on earth, even against their will, and despite his later opinion that

What nothing earthly gives, or can destroy ,
The soul's calm sun-shine, and the heart-
 felt joy,
Is Virtue's prize.

(Essay on Man iv, 167-169)

Pope substitutes and re-arranges the remaining groups. While Chaucer has three companies of suitors distinguished by their good works, Pope has two and introduces a category from the "Learned World" (TF 298). The company of good-workers Pope drops had, like the deleted group of humble men, been accorded anonymity. The order in which the companies appear reverses the ranking of the famous personalities already ensconced in the Temple. The Goddess hears the Learned, the Good and Just, and those wearing Crowns and Armour, as we have seen the Worthies ("the greatest Names in Learning of all Antiquity"¹¹⁸), "Fair Virtue's silent Train" (TF 170) and the "Heroes who ... pursu'd Renown in Arms" (TF 149-150). This reversal serves to back us away from the centre of the Shrine, toward the gates, so that when the scene is suddenly shifted to the House of Rumour, the shock of the move is minimized.

The "Learned World", which appears first, base

their plea for Fame on the fact that they have received no reward and little thanks for their efforts, despite the religious devotion with which they applied themselves. Pale from their studies, and rendered blind by "Midnight Vigils" (TF 301), they are examples of "the dangerous fate of authors" who "must have the constancy of a martyr, and a resolution to suffer" if they would live "the life of a Wit"¹¹⁹. Their condition will be mimicked in The Dunciad to show the depths to which the "moderns" have fallen, when

pensive Poets painful vigils keep,
Sleepless themselves, to give their readers
sleep.

(Dunciad i, 93)

But these wits are the ones whose names are quickly and utterly erased from the Rock (TF 35-36). Their more worthy brethren--more worthy because they "sought t'instruct and please Mankind" (TF 300)--are granted their "just Prize" from Fame. Pope distinguishes "the Poet from the Man of Rymes" (Ep. II i 341) and rewards only the former. Appropriately, the Muses blow "The Golden Trumpet of eternal Praise" (TF 307) to symbolize, as Tillotson notes¹²⁰, "the idea, especially strong at the time of the Renaissance, that poetry conferred immortality to those whom it mentions", just as the historians were represented as able to reverse the scythe of Time (TF 146-148). These "historians" remain themselves anonymous

though their subjects attain fame. In the case of these writers, however, personal fame is achieved.

Pope describes the "progress of Fame" as a gradual process, seemingly following Chaucer, whose Goddess bids Eolus blow his gold trumpet "laude", so

That thurgh the world her fame goo
Al esely, and not to faste,
That hyt be knowen atte laste.
(HF 1674-1676)

But when Eolus does blow, the sound he makes contradicts his instructions, for

est, and west, and south,
And north, as lowde as any thunder,
That every wight hath of hit wonder,
So brode hit ran, or than hit stente.
(HF 1680-1683)

Chaucer's Fame, it seems, is not in control of her gifts, whereas Pope's Goddess gets the effect she wants:

From Pole to Pole the Winds diffuse the
Sound,
That fills the Circuit of the World around;
Not all at once, as Thunder breaks the
Cloud.
(TF 308-310)

The notes rise "By just degrees" (TF 312), as the fragrant smells associated with the "breath" of the trumpet "still grew sweeter as they wide spread" (TF 315). Real fame for Pope is diffused according to the dictates of a well-ordered world system, where "all that rises, [must] rise in due degree" (Essay on Man i 46).

The next company consists of the "Good and Just". Though they appear "awful", in the sense that their

goodness commands "profound respect or reverential fear"¹²¹, it seems that the rest of the world has not seen them in this light. Like the suffering Wits who precede them, the Good have also been abused, their "living Virtue" cursed with envy: "the best Men are treated like the Worst" (TF 320-321). Their plea is to receive recognition according to their "Merits" and "th'exact intrinsic Worth" of their deeds (TF 322, 323). Chaucer's suppliants also want "ful recompensacioun/ Of good wekes" (HF 1557-1558) but they never mention any personal sacrifices for which the fame they desire will be a substitute. Fame for them is more of an extra reward for goodness than a repayment for services. There may be some slight irony, then, in Pope's representation of the Good worshipping Fame on their knees (TF 319) and of their almost mercenary afflictions.

The Goddess responds most favourably to them, granting not just "bare Justice", but excessive praise "high above Desert". This is the first sign of the capriciousness of Fame, her tendency to act above Justice or in spite of it. Where the world neglected or vilified the Good it now applauds in amazement, labouring, like the trumpet, to render praise. The dramatic shift in attitude should undermine our evaluation of worldly fame. If it does not, the fate of the next company certainly will. A second group of the "Good and Just" come for-

ward, showing proper deference ("lowly bow'd", TF 329), and equally deserving of praise. However, they are met by the sounding of "the direful Trump of Slander" (TF 332), loud as thunder, ringing with the noise of "incessant Rumours" (TF 336), and pouring forth clouds of withering, poisonous, and "Sulphureous Flames ... Smoke ... and Vapor" (TF 330-340). This hellish instrument is designed to contrast to the horn of Glory which is reminiscent of Paradise. It will become later "the 'black Trumpet' of Glory-Vice celebrating the triumph of corruption" over Virtue in the Epilogue to the Satires (Dialogue i, 159)¹²², a victory with which Pope explicitly disconnects himself in, and by virtue of, that poem:

Yet may this Verse, (if such a Verse
 remain)
Show there was one who held it in disdain.
 (Dialogue i, 171-172)

By blotting out the skies with its noxious effluents, the slanders of Fame associate her with the very forces of oblivion she should oppose. Indeed, the truth of the "prospect" of Fame is now evident:

Now a clear Sun the shining Scene displays,
The transient Landscape now in Clouds decays.
 (TF 19-20)

The fourth company of suppliants enters, wearing "Crowns and Armour" (TF 342). Unlike the first three groups they exhibit "proud Defiance" (TF 343) instead

of respect. Yet everything they have done has been in the name of Fame:

Those Ills we dar'd thy Inspiration own,
What Virtue seem'd, was done for thee alone.
(TF 348-349)

The Goddess not only refuses to acknowledge them, she condemns them to oblivion. Even their statues, the monuments of their victories, will moulder. Their fate is lower even than the thousands "of doubtful Fame" whose warlike figures adorn the Northern Gate. This result is, as Elwin notes¹²³, a "departure from reality", for "however little they may deserve fame, they at least obtain it". But this is only one of Fame's audiences. At another time she will probably grant requests from such seekers of fame, for she has already proved herself inconsistent in her handling of the Good and Just. This point is made explicit in Chaucer, where Fame responds similarly but admits that

Al be ther in me no justice
Me lyste not to doo hyt now.
(HF 1820-1821)

The "now" is a big qualification, implying that she might, in fact, "doo hyt" later. She has done it in the past, as the presence of warrior heroes such as Alexander and Caesar in the Temple shows. Insofar as Pope's poem is a "search for just fame, for eternal virtue"¹²⁴, the rejection of amoral military success as a guarantee of fame is important. If fame is to be

won it is not necessarily won by force.

The next group of suppliants sees Fame not as a goddess, but recognizes her for what she is--the "Great idol of Mankind" (TF 258). In Chaucer there are two such companies who seek anonymity, and both emphasize that their good works were all done "for Goddys love" (HF 1697, 1711). Pope has rearranged the order of the companies' appearance to explicitly juxtapose the modest suitors with the warriors. Where the latter do all for Fame, the former do all for God, and "Virtue's sake" (TF 365). Where the latter are given the oblivion they have sought to avoid, the former, in seeking oblivion, are granted fame. Fame's motives stem from Pride, and it is pride which makes her think that her agency can prevent the truly virtuous from sleeping "in Darkness and in Death". Only a real faith in God, such as these humble suitors have, can confer a literal immortality. The irony is Boethian:

Why do proud men seek in vain to throw
this world's burden from their shoulders?
Though their fame spread to remote lands
and be sung by many voices, though their
proud families acquire high honours, still
death is contemptuous of such glory and
treats the humble and proud in the same man-
ner. Death equalizes the high and the low
....Then lie there, quite unknown, for
fame will not keep fresh your memory. If
you hope to live on in the glow of your
mortal name, the day will come at last
to take that too, and you will die a sec-
ond death.¹²⁵

It is even more ironic that Pope's Goddess is concerned

for her own fate. If the good were to follow virtue and forsake her, "who then with Incense shall adore our Name?" (TF 367). What seems to be a gift of fame is really, as in Chaucer, an exhibition of power and self-interest rather than a dispensation of justice.

The first company of "Men of Pleasure, Dress, and Gallantry" (TF 381) call out for Fame to look in their direction, thereby underlining their haughtiness and self-centeredness. The very Goddess they would sue for favours must attend on them. In their attitudes they prefigure the beau monde of the Rape of the Lock and the insubstantial Sylphs who symbolize it. Their activities are exactly mirrored by the "Heroes" who retire to Hampton

To taste awhile the Pleasures of a Court;
In various Talk th'instructive hours they
past,
Who gave the Ball, or paid the Visit last.
(Rape of the Lock iii, 10-12)

They are "The busy, idle blockheads of the Ball" (The Fourth Satire of Dr. John Donne, 203). The ceremonies of their ritualized, pretentious world are characterized by "triviality and narcissism", and are enacted in a moral vacuum". The "emphasis on ritual... suggests not only misapplied seriousness, but also 'going through the motions', a comedy of obligatory postures"¹²⁰. That they "address the Fair" (TF 385) takes on a sinister implication when we remember that Satan, inclosed in the

form of the "lovely" serpent "toward Eve/ Addressed his ways" (PL ix, 495-496) to seduce her. Their designs come to nothing, but they are able to destroy reputations "At ev'ry Word" (Rape of the Lock iii, 16) and "at each Blast" (TF 393) of the false and undeserved Fame they achieve. This Fame is a substitute for love, and (in Chaucer) for honour, neither of which can be won without the expense of the dandies' "grete ese" (HF 1753). Fame will thus "counterpese ese and travaylle" (HF 1750), enabling them to "usurp the Lover's dear-bought Praise" (TF 399). As hinted by Pope's dreamer at the start, the quest for fame entails a banishing of love (TF 6), of other-directedness. Following the "strange Success" of the troop of "Men of Pleasure", "vast Numbers besiege her with "the same Request" (TF 294-295). Fame does another about-face and sentences these suitors to "just Contempt" (TF 400), now acknowledging that those who are "Slaves to your selves" (TF 397), idle and unlearned, are unworthy of being known as lovers. The revulsion and taunts they are subject to counter to their expectations remind us of Satan's fate:

a while he stood, expecting
 Their universal shout and high applause
 To fill his ear, when contrary he hears
 On all sides, from innumerable tongues
 A dismal universal hiss, the sound
 Of public scorn.

(PL x, 504-509)

But Chaucer also makes them slightly ridiculous, as they enter

lepyng in a route,
And gunne choppen al aboute
Every man upon the crowne.
(HF 1823-1825)

Pope's villains are sinister indeed, though their evil is essentially of the same kind as the Men of Pleasure's. Both Warton and Elwin objected to the inclusion of the latter on the grounds that they are "out of place" in the Temple.¹²⁹ But where the wits "usurp" the position of lovers, the villains seek to usurp a throne (TF 407); where only "a Lady's Honour dies" (TF 393) because of the courtiers, sovereigns and friends are ruined and betrayed by the others (TF 409); "leud Tales" (TF 388) turn into "crooked Counsels and dark Politics" (TF 411). If the villains' evil fame will eventually cause Nature to tremble (TF 417) as she did at the Fall (PL ix, 1000), so the combined effect of the coxcombs will be to see Dullness conquer Virtue, until "Universal Darkness buries All" (Dunciad iv, 656). The description of the suitors to Fame shows that Pope has already developed the moral categories he will insist on in his later works. Immorality is equally deplorable and dangerous no matter in what circumstances or on what level it occurs. As for Fame, she has proved to be an idol who is incapable of judging these categories. Hit and miss is not acceptable

to Pope.

The shift to the House of Rumour brings Pope's dreamer to the heart of another kind of fame--one which precedes, not follows, events. Rumour is a replacement for knowledge while Fame establishes reputations, usually in a positive sense (when it does not, it is Slander).

In Shakespeare's words:

Rumour is a pipe
Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures,
And of so easy and so plain a stop
That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
The still-discordant wav'ring multitude,
Can play upon it.

(2 Henry IV, Induction, 15-20)

In Paradise Lost, Rumour is one of the attendants to the court of Chaos and Night, along with Chance, Tumult, Confusion and Discord (PL ii, 965-967). In Ovid's Metamorphoses, Rumour attends the court of Fame in the company of Error, Credulity, vain Joys, Suspicion, Sedition, Murmurs and Panic Fear¹³⁰. In Pope and Chaucer, Rumour's "mansion" exists in a characteristically "uncertain" location, spinning around constantly, its innumerable doors open and unattended. Tillotson objects to Pope's use of the words "Structure Fair" and "Mansion" with respect to the House, because they are too overly-suggestive of "a 'neat Modern building' to suit even an eighteenth-century Rumour"¹³¹. But Pope is simply following Chaucer, whose Eagle comments:

That sheweth hyt, withouten drede,
 That kyndely the mansioun
 Of every speche, or every soun,
 Be hyt eyther foul or fair,
 Hath hys kynde place in ayr.
 (HF 830-834)

Again, the House of Rumour is

An hous, that Domus Dedaly,
 That Laboryntus cleped ys,
 Nas made so wonderlych, ywis,
 Ne half so quentelych ywrought.
 (HF 1920-1923)

As such, it is a fair structure, though its composition is undefined or labyrinthine. A "structure" is primarily "a building or edifice of any kind, esp. a pile of building of some considerable size and imposing appearance"¹³². No implications of order are necessary to it. As in Chaucer, the House is modelled inversely on Ovid's "Cave of Sleep", and Pope borrows from Dryden's rendering of that passage, where the cave is called a "gloomy mansion" (Ceyx and Alcyone, 270)¹³³. Consequently, contrary to Tillotson's assertion, Pope does not "fail" in his description.

The House of Rumour is the final destination of "All various sounds from Earth, and Seas, and Skies" (TF 433). These sounds move through the "fluid", "undulating Air" (TF 447, 446) by the same natural process that causes the ripples made by a stone cast into a lake to radiate farther and farther outward until they reach the banks. This explanation derives from a speech by

Chaucer's Eagle in the second part of the Hous of Fame. There it serves as a comic vehicle for the Eagle's rhetoric-ridden and pompous skills in scientific explanation. It also shows the Eagle's reliance on "experience" (i.e. experimentation, HF 788) as opposed to Geoffrey's "fantasye" (HF 992). Pope prefers to offer another passage aimed at the reader's love of "verisimilitude"¹³⁴. The image itself is common enough¹³⁵, and will be used in its traditional sense by Pope in his discussion of the progress of virtuous "self-love" in the Essay on Man (iv, 362ff). In The Dunciad, however, Pope inverts the image to make it reflect the progress of Dulness and the spread of "mutation" (ii, 409):

All nonsense thus, of old and modern date,
Shall in thee centre, from thee circulate.
(Dunciad iii, 59-60)

The idea of Rumour we see in the Temple of Fame is thus a precursor to the Goddess Dulness in the Dunciad.

Because the House of Rumour attracts "all various Sounds" (TF 433) from the world, its precincts become the abode of all "various News" (TF 448). Its variety signifies not only that the News covers a broad range of subjects, but also comments on the quality of these reports. They are not uniform--"All neither wholly false, nor wholly true" (TF 457). Pope cuts roughly in half Chaucer's list "of rounynges and of jangles" (HF 1960) for the sake of economy, but keeps the emphasis on the antithet-

ical and ungovernable nature of the happenings that Rumour lives on. There is no stable point of reference here, for "fickle Fortune" is the power behind this throne, too. By paying attention only to the transitory and changeable, Rumour's minions show themselves to be unlike those who worship the God of Eternal Reason:

In thee the righteous find
Calm rest, and soft serenity of mind;
Thee they regard alone; to thee they tend.
(From Boethius, 15-17)

The House of Rumour is characterized by a perpetual lack of "Silence, Rest or Peace"(TF 435), and its multitudes are never still, but "pass, repass, advance, and glide away" (TF 460) like the tidings they bear. They are related, through Chaucer (HF 2034-2040), to the crowds in Dante's Inferno who, because "they are envious of every other lot", opportunistically vacillate from position to position, thus becoming equally "hateful to God and to his enemies":

They are mixed with that caitiff choir
of the angels, who were not rebellious, nor
faithful to God; but were for themselves.¹³⁶

Among this crew, Pope lists Astrologers, Projectors, Priests, Party-Zealots, Quacks and Lawyers (TF 462-464), types rendered redundant by good, modest, generous individuals like the Man of Ross, "who builds a Church to God, and not to Fame" (Moral Essay iii, 273-274, 285).

The progress of Rumour (TF 465-478) mirrors the

are the "wild creation" of Dulness (Dunciad i, 80-81), and symbolize Fancy gone mad (i, 70) just as truths and lies are inextricably joined in the House of Rumour (TF 489-496). In Chaucer the rumour-mongers swear they tell the truth (HF 2051). However, truth is not their primary consideration--"they are all merely adding to the general confusion and distortion of facts"¹³⁹. Pope accepts this, and is explicit about the impossibility of a mortal ever finding an "unmix'd" truth (TF 496). By coming to the same conclusion, Pope verifies, in a way, Chaucer's overall vision, even if elements are changed along the way.

Having learnt fully about the nature of Fame and Rumour, Pope's dreamer stands in intense contemplation, when he is approached by someone who demands:

What cou'd thus high thy rash Ambition
raise?
Art thou, fond Youth, a Candidate for Praise?
(TF 499-500)

This interrogator is very different from the more neutral and merely inquisitive one in Chaucer, who simply asks:

"Frend, what is thy name?
Artow come hider to han fame?"
(HF 1871-1872)

The latter seems to be simply another onlooker, whereas the former acts like a guardian who senses the dreamer's secret aspirations.

The responses elicited by the two questions are

as different as the thrust of each poem. Chaucer's dreamer, Geoffrey, makes an immediate and forthright denial, as if highly affronted by the very suggestion:

"Nay, for sothe, frend," quod y;
 "I cam noght hyder, graunt mercy,
 For no such cause, by my hed!
 Sufficeth me, as I were ded,
 That no wight have my name in honde.
 I wot myself best how I stonde;
 For what I drye, or what I thynke,
 I wil myselven al hyt drynke,
 Certeyn for the more part,
 As fer forth as I kan myn art."
 (HF 1873-1882)

The Eagle had carried him hither to give him "of Loves folk moo tydynges" (HF 675), and so far Geoffrey has seen nothing of the kind. As for fame, he cares nothing about it. He is his own best judge and his own harshest critic. It is his own relationship with his art that is all-important. His friend accepts this and points out the House of Rumour as the place where he can find the love's "tydynges" he was promised.

Pope's dreamer acknowledges that he was "not void of Hopes" of attaining fame in coming to the Temple, "For who so fond as youthful Bards of Fame?" (TF 502). The play on "fond"¹⁴⁰ undermines our acceptance of such "normal" desires as these would-be "Bards" possess. The truly learned are, unlike them, "not too fond of Fame" (Essay on Criticism 741). If Fame is a blessing, it is a "casual" one, that is, it is conferred accidentally,

haphazardly, and those few that can boast of it are not guaranteed that they will keep it. Like the "Unhappy Wit" described in An Essay on Criticism,

In Youth alone its empty Praise we boast
But soon the short-liv'd Vanity is lost!

Whose Fame with Pains we guard, but lose
with Ease

'Tis what the Vicious fear, the Virtuous
shun.

(496-497, 504, 506)

That Fame is a vain thing, "a second Life in others' Breath" (TF 505) is a sentiment that Pope will repeat in An Essay on Man (iv, 237). By outlining the pains it is necessary to endure if one follows the literary profession, Pope makes it clear that Fame so gained is costly indeed, especially since its rewards are reaped, if at all, only after Death (TF 506):

Just what you hear, you have, and what's
unknown

The same (my Lord) if Tully's or your own.

(Essay on Man iv, 239-240)

The idea of the literati's hard lot directly echoes the depositions made by the learned and the Good and Just before the Goddess. It is an idea Pope felt deeply all his life. In a letter to Bolingbroke in April 1724, he wrote:

To write well, lastingly well, Immortally well, must not one leave Father and Mother and cleave unto the Muse? Must not one be prepared to endure the reproaches of Men,

want and much Fasting, nay Martyrdom in
its Cause. 'Tis such a Task as scarce leaves
a Man time to be a good Neighbour, an useful
friend, nay to plant a Tree, much less to
save his Soul.¹⁴¹

In The Temple of Fame, the dreamer's conclusion
is to escape such a treadmill by withdrawing honourably
from the active pursuit of Fame:

Nor Fame I slight, nor for her Favours call;
She comes unlook'd for, if she comes at all.
(TF 513-514)

Pope does not adopt this Senecan stand for the conven-
ience of an ending for his poem, or because he is slav-
ishly following

conventional opinions without thought.
In other public and private statements,
he persistently laid claim to this stoic
attitude. In a letter to Wycherly of 20
May 1709, he appropriated Falstaff's words
on honour to his own view of fame: "If
it comes, it comes unlook'd for; and there's
an End on't" (Corr. I 60); in the manuscript
of the "Preface to the Works of 1717 his
apology for publishing included the same
sentiment: "As for fame, I shall be glad
of any I can get, and not repine at any I
miss."¹⁴²

This neutrality of intention vis à vis fame does not
extend into a moral indifference. Quite the contrary.
The various avenues of attaining notoriety or undeserved
fame are explicitly rejected:

But if the Purchase costs so dear a Price,
As soothing Folly, or exalting Vice:
Oh! if the Muse must flatter lawless Sway,
And follow still where Fortune leads the way;
Or if no Basis bear my rising Name,
But the fall'n Ruins of Another's Fame:

Then teach me, Heaven! to scorn the guilty
 Bays;
 Drive from my Breast that wretched Lust of
 Praise;
 Unblemish'd let me live, or die unknown,
 Oh grant an honest Fame, or grant me none!
 (TF 515-524)

This credo is repeated consistently throughout Pope's later poetry. It is the subject, as the epigraph from Cicero shows¹⁴³, of the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, where we read:

Not Fortune's Worshipper, nor Fashion's
 Fool,
 Not Lucre's Madman, not Ambition's Tool,
 Not proud, nor servile, be one Poet's praise
 That, if he pleas'd, he pleas'd by manly ways.
 (334-337)

In the Epilogue to the Satires the poet defends his attacks on those who symbolize "Folly, Vice, and Insolence" (Dialogue ii, 213), but insists that his "sacred Weapon", the pen, is used equally to praise the Good. The goddess Fame is replaced by Virtue, whose "Muse forbids the Good to dye/ And ope's the Temple of Eternity" (234-235). Rather than usurp the fame of the Virtuous his verse will stand in memorial to them:

Here, Last of Britons! let your Names be read;
 Are none, none living? let me praise the Dead.
 (250-251)

The sentiments have likewise appeared as early as in the "Ode on Solitude" (c. 1700), although they have since become more militant and committed, for

whereas in the "Ode to Solitude" he would be "innocent" (15) and "unknown", now these have become alternatives--"unblemished or unknown".¹⁴⁴

His realization of the ambiguous and inconsistent nature of fame, as revealed in his vision, does not discourage the poet's involvement in worldly affairs, but disabuses him of any false or naive expectations about the returns due to him for such involvement. If he begins as a pilgrim to Fame he ends by addressing Heaven. The quest for Fame has led him to transcend it.

III

CONCLUSION

In The Temple of Fame, as we have seen, Pope presents a careful and individualized analysis of fame. But his interest does not end with this analysis, for he continues his critical investigation of the subject in almost every work that followed. Several instances of these associated thoughts on fame have already appeared in our discussion. It will be the task of this concluding chapter to isolate out of the remaining references to fame in Pope's poetry those examples which may shed some additional light on his attitude, briefly relating them to The Temple of Fame. As our study of this one poem proves, Pope does not work in piecemeal fashion, and to follow a single thematic thread through the later works and thereby identify a homogeneity of thought still allows that each particular example is located in its own poetic context, out of which new complexities of meaning may arise.

Pope arrives at a mixed view of fame in The Temple of Fame. On the one hand it can and sometimes does preserve the memory of the virtuous and the talented. On the other hand, fame does not operate by means of firm and

necessary criteria, but through whims, chance, and accident. Thus, if one happened to achieve fame, one could not be assured that this was because of one's true merits. The pursuit of fame is, moreover, capable of deflecting the good man from what should be his primary concerns; indeed, it can invalidate good works which are not treated as ends in themselves:

Who builds a Church to God, and not to Fame,
Will never mark the marble with his Name.
(Epistle to Bathurst,
285-286)

As a poet, Pope can take it upon himself to commemorate those who, having lived charitable and virtuous lives, truly deserve fame. His portrait of the Man of Ross "substantiates the prophecy [made by Fame, TF 366-371] that fame will be given to virtue".¹ The ideal "Woman's Fame" accorded to Martha Blount in the Epistle To a Lady stems from her virtuousness, from which she earns "a Poet" to praise her. Though Pope generally reviles the courtiers and politically powerful of the day, he yet praises men such as Scarbrow (rarity though he be) "who feels for Fame,/ And melts to Goodness" (Epilogue to the Satires, ii, 64-65).

More usually Pope is in opposition to fame per se. The denigration of fame occurs often in his later works, either directly or indirectly. Thus Belinda in The Rape of the Lock is seen to burn with a "Thirst of Fame"

to enter the Ombre contest (iii, 25). As elsewhere in the poem, the object of her desire, in this case Fame, can never be truly obtained by the methods she uses. And fame forthcoming from a game of cards would be insubstantial indeed. Moreover, it is indicative of her moral malaise that she thirsts for this fame above all else. In the end her plight stems from her being protected by nothing more than a "helpless Fame" (iv, 111).

In Eloisa to Abelard the poet is more direct, and has Eloisa exclaim: "Fame, wealth and honour! what are you to Love?" (30). We may recall that when, in his quest for fame, the dreamer banishes Love from his Breast (TF 6), in doing so he pursues an inferior goal. Chaucer's dreamer never succumbs to this temptation, though his goal is only to hear "tydynges" of love, not to achieve Love itself.

In An Essay on Man Fame is explicitly found not to be a constituent of true human happiness. It is, instead, one of the members of "the false scale of Happiness" (iv, 288). The outward wealth and the trophies which serve as monuments to the rich and powerful are empty of inner significance. "The whole amount of that enormous fame" that men are wont to designate as glorious is transformed into monuments of shame when not raised by virtuous action (iv, 307-308). If Bolingbroke is rewarded with fame at the end it is because he has acted well and not sought glory. That his name becomes great is a side-

effect of his essential worth as a man.

In the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot Pope admits that he has become a "Fool to Fame" by becoming a writer, for the profession is by definition one which involves creating a reputation and being in the public eye. But he is Fame's fool not so much because he tries to project an image as that his image is created by those over whom he has no control---by those who champion him though he disavows any association with them, and by those who envy him and maliciously wound "an Author's honest Fame" in order to steal the favours of a patron. Though he had prayed for an "honest fame" or none at all (TF 524), he is subject to slander and disdain. Pope reiterates that he writes "not for Fame, but Virtue's better end" (342). He is neither "Fortune's Worshipper, nor Fashion's Fool" (334), and strives to prove this in his verse by vigorously attacking those who would undermine Virtue.

The Imitations of Horace contain a number of references to fame, almost all of which are derogatory. Though he can declare that "The World's good word is better than a Song" (Sat. II ii 102), he does so in witty contradiction of Lord Fanny. In The First Epistle of the First Book ... Imitated, Pope identifies this "Song" with empty-headed opera, an expensive box at which is the only reward of "Place and Wealth" (101ff). Good counsel, however, would advise one to "face with steady view/ Proud

Fortune, and look shallow Greatness thro' (107-108). Pope opts for stability and independence, forsaking the Court and social embellishments. He removes himself from the evil influence of those who "Lust for Gold" at the expense of virtue: "Adieu to Virtue if you're once a Slave" (117). This edict covers all kinds of slavery, including Narcissa's, who is hereby condemned for being a "slave to Fame" (To a Lady, 62).²

In Satire II, ii Pope lashes out at the fickleness of Fortune, the direct antithesis to the steadfastness he calls for. That he relates Fortune with Fame is evident from The Temple of Fame, where he makes them sisters. In Epistle I, vi he questions the value of fame directly:

And what is Fame? the Meanest have their day,
The Greatest can but blaze, and pass away.
(46-47)

This Imitation is dedicated to casting doubt on all the labour and strife of those "blind to Wit and Worth" who fight to obtain outward magnificence. Pope judges Wit and Worth to be far more valuable attributes than Fame, Riches, or Nobility (38-42). The effects of Time make all such material goals ultimately vain. The moral, then, is "Not to Admire" (1), but to be "Content with little" (Sat. II ii 137), live the virtuous life, and be "our own Masters still" (Sat. II ii 180).

Another important reference to fame occurs in

Epistle II i (To Augustus):

O you! whom Vanity's light bark conveys
 On Fame's mad voyage by the wind of Praise;
 With what a shifting gale your course you ply;
 For ever sunk too low or born too high!
 Who pants for glory finds but shory repose,
 A breath revives him or a breath o'erthrows!
 (296-302)

This is as explicit a denunciation as can be made against the pursuit of fame. Its significance for us is further multiplied by the fact that its context describes the literary profession and the "progress of poetry" up to Pope's day. Throughout the poem Pope seems to downplay the great authors of the past for lacking the essential quality of "correctness" that he imparts to his own writing. The design of the poem may suggest that

while past poets developed the tradition, they could not help breaking the rules, or falling into idiosyncrasy. Since he himself is the "latest", the ideal modern poet--that is, himself--rules from the top of a pyramid of which the base is a solid foundation of past authors and critics. Such a teleology invests Pope with the mantle of poetry.³

We have seen, however, that Pope professes a firm respect for his predecessors, men whose excellencies he copied to repair the confessed deficiencies in his work. Though Pope clearly aligns himself to his literary past and considers himself to belong in the company of the great poets as the latest addition to their ranks, he is also making a more subtle and less egotistical point in To Augustus than Russo sees. Pope presents the shortcomings of the past

English writers

as evidence for the claim that English literature still has ample potential for development. This development will be lost if the reading public's slavish veneration for the past is allowed to obliterate its commitment to the present and its obligations toward the future. The undue emphasis that he is obliged to put on the shortcomings of his favourite authors is therefore a specialized extension of his critical activity, rather than a dramatic revaluation of his cultural position....His passionate insistence that the battle for cultural survival must be fought in the present, for the benefit of the future, however good the literature of the past may have been, is his clearest articulation of the criteria implied in his own creative work throughout his career.⁴

Pope's discussion of motives for artistic creation also attacks the problem from the other side. Too many authors presently bow before popular taste when they write. In doing so they forget the excellencies of the past, the "rules" which the Ancients discovered. They turn instead to fickle audiences, "The many-headed Monster of the Pit" (Ep. II i 305), whose "Voice is odd" (Ep II i 89) and whose critical capacity is highly suspect because it is so capricious. Its arbitrary decisions concerning literary works remind us of the Goddess's arbitrary judgments in The Temple of Fame.⁵ Pope again comes to disregard the "shifting gale" of public opinion and to try to create stable, inspired, and controlled poetics which will display lasting merit by framing a firmly established, morally upstanding content.

Pope's disgust with the moderns is evident in his last great work, The Dunciad. Here Dulness conquers the nation through the agency of her scribbling Wits, frivolous Fops, and morally deficient public figures. The Prince of Dulness is Pope's counterpart, Colley Cibber, the poet-laureate, whose works are not creations but monsters, abortions, grotesques. One of Cibber's insubstantial fancies is his "Poet's vision of Eternal Fame" (iii, 12). That this vision takes place in a dream shows how unreal a desire it is, especially in Cibber's case. It also points back to Pope's early poem, perhaps to comment on the young poet's vanity and the delusion of his wishes. The Pope of The Temple of Fame, despite his questioning treatment of the subject, nevertheless finds fame desirable at one level. The mature, cynical Pope, seeing the imminent destruction of culture identifies the source of vanity and turns his back on it. Something more important than personal glory is now at stake.

Fame is no longer possible in a world over-run by the infamous. Though he mentions the worst offenders in his poem, Pope will never give even that satisfaction to the many Songsters, Riddlers, and Cygnets (birds that do not sing), all of whom constantly violate the rules of grammar and abuse the sources of inspiration. These poetic criminals, "ev'ry nameless name" of them, clamour to see "who foremost shall be damn'd to Fame" (iii, 155ff).

These false poets, along with most editors and publishers, are all slaves to Fame, and like slaves they ride on "Fame's triumphal Car" (iv, 133), usurping the glory and limelight of their betters. They are "The Pindars and the Miltons of a Curl" (iii, 164), they are the mere parodies of greatness.

These courtiers answer to "Fame's posterior trumpet" (iv, 71) and the sons of great men no longer listen to the "voice of Fame" that represents the dignity and nobility of their ancestry. Instead, their ears are filled with the "balm of Dulness" and the "empty sound" of the Opera (iv, 540ff). This distinction continues, as we have seen, from Epistle I, i. It is equally bad that the modern generation is too desirous of fame or overly neglectful of the positive examples of the past.

The vision which Pope works out in The Temple of Fame remains, then, essentially unchanged in his later works. It provides an example of Pope's originality in imitation, displays his reverence of his literary ancestry, and shows him in the mainstream of his development as a poet. Beyond that, it works as a poem--if its form and content are treated sympathetically. Like all of Pope's poems, The Temple of Fame comes alive only when seen in the twin lights of the past upon which it draws and the present to which it appeals.

IV

FOOTNOTES

Notes to Chapter I

1. Rebecca Price Parkin, The Poetic Workmanship of Alexander Pope (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), 187.
2. Quotations from Waller are from The Poems of Edmund Waller, ed. G. Thorn Drury (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968).
3. Austin Warren, Alexander Pope as Critic and Humanist (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963), 223.
4. Quotations from Pope's poetry (except where otherwise noted) are from The Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. John Butt (London: Methuen, 1965).
5. The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham, ed. Theodore Howard Banks, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), 143-144.
6. Denham, "Preface to The Destruction of Troy" in The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham, ed. Banks, 159.
7. Dryden, "Preface to Ovid's Epistles" in John Dryden, Of Dramatic Poesy and other Critical Essays, ed. George Watson (London: Everyman's, 1962), I, 268. For Chapman's opinion, see II, 163, note.
8. Dryden, "To Lord Radcliffe" in Of Dramatic Poesy and other Critical Essays, ed. Watson, II, 164.
9. E. Audra and Aubrey Williams, "Introduction to The Translations" in their edition of Pope, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 335.
10. Douglas Knight, "Translation: An Augustan Mode" in On Translation, ed. Reuben A. Brower (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 200-201.

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11. Quoted by Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), I, 21.

12. Spence, I, 32.

13. Dryden, "Defence of the Epilogue" in Of Dramatic Poesy and other Critical Essays, ed. Watson, I, 176.

14. Dryden, "Preface to Ovid's Epistles" in Of Dramatic Poesy and other Critical Essays, ed. Watson, I, 271.

15. Geoffrey Tillotson, "Introduction to The Temple of Fame" in his edition of Pope, The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems (3rd ed.; London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 222. All quotations from The Temple of Fame are from this edition, hereafter cited as Tillotson, TE II.

16. Participants in this dispute are outlined by Tillotson, TE II, 216-222.

17. Howard D. Weinbrot, The Formal Strain: Studies in Augustan Imitation and Satire (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 16.

18. Weinbrot, 17.

19. Longinus, "On the Sublime" in Classical Literary Criticism: Aristotle, Horace, Longinus, tr. T. S. Dorsch (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1965), 119.

20. "Advertisement" to The Temple of Fame, Tillotson, TE II, 250.

Notes to Chapter II

1. Tillotson, TE II, 216.

2. Cf. Douglas Knight, 198: "He wrote in order to communicate with a substantial audience, and he would judge himself a failure if he merely mystified them, or condescended to them."

Notes to Pages 10 to 17

3. Geoffrey Tillotson, Pope and Human Nature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), 65.

4. Chaucer, "Hous of Fame", line 1, in The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson (2nd ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957). All quotations from the Hous of Fame will be included subsequently in the text, designated by the initials (HF). Quotations from Pope's Temple of Fame will be designated by the initials (TF).

5. Tillotson, TE II, 250.

6. Cited by Tillotson, TE II, 253.

7. Tillotson, TE II, 253.

8. James Winny, Chaucer's Dream-Poems (London: Chatto & Windus, 1973), 27.

9. Winny, 27.

10. Cf. HF 492-494:

O Crist!...that art in blysse
Fro fantome and illusion
Me save!

11. Ovid, Metamorphoses, Book xii, 56-7. (Dryden's translation). All quotations from the poetry of Dryden are from The Poems of Dryden, ed. George R. Noyes (rev. ed.; Boston: Riverside Press, 1949).

12. Ovid, Metamorphoses, tr. Dryden, Book xii, 59.

13. Reuben A. Brower, Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 359.

14. In the edition of Chaucer that Pope would have read, this phrase is incorrectly emended to read "a lymed glass", i.e. a polished glass. See The Works of Alexander Pope, ed. Rev. Whetwell Elwin, (London: John Murray, 1871), I, 203. Hereafter cited as EC I.

15. Tillotson, TE II, 255, 217, refers the reader to the plight of the Wits against Prince Posterity and his governor, Time, in Swift's Tale of a Tub.

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16. OED, A2. For illustration, Cowley's Mistress, "Coldness", iii, is cited:

Though Heat dissolve the Ice again,
The Chrystal solid does remain.

17. Elwin's contention (EC I, 204) that in Chaucer's poem "the north side of the icy mountain bears the names of the ancients which were safe from injury. The sunny side bears the names of the moderns", etc., is without any foundation in fact whatsoever.

18. Both Warton and Elwin (EC I, 204) take great exception to this image.

19. Robinson, ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 784 (Note to HF 1130).

20. Pope's note to lines 53-60.

21. Tillotson, TE II, 410. But Cf. the inclusion in the Hous of Rumour of "shipmen and pilgrimes, / With scrippes bret-ful of lesinges" (HF 2122-2123).

22. Thomas R. Edwards, Jr., This Dark Ecstate: A Reading of Pope (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), 15-16.

23. Cp. 2 Corinthians v, 1: "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

24. This is Milton's rendering of Genesis xi, 4.

25. Earl R Wasserman, "The Limits of Allusion in The Rape of the Lock", in JEGP LXV (1966), 444.

26. See PL vi, 374-376, a passage closely related to PL xii, 45-47, quoted above.

27. Tillotson, TE II, 257.

28. The Poems of John Milton, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (London: Longmans, 1968), 503 (Note to PL i, 713-717).

29. Plato, Republic, III, 399. In Great Dialogues of Plato, tr. W. H. D. Rouse, ed. Eric H. Warm-

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ington and Philip G. Rouse (New York and Toronto: Mentor Books, 1956), 197.

30. Pope, "The Preface of 1717" in The Poems of Alexander Pope, ed., Butt, xxvi-xxvii.

31. So defined in Edward Philips dictionary (1658). Quoted by J. Max Patrick in his edition of The Prose of John Milton (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1967), 294.

32. Pope's note to lines 94-108.

33. PL iii, 505-509.

34. Pope's note to lines 93-108.

35. G. Wilson Knight, The Poetry of Pope: Laureate of Peace, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), 96.

36. In Chaucer's Franklin's Tale, 1261-1296, the clerk creates the illusion of altered lunar movement to keep the tides high and the black coastal rocks submerged.

37. See Pope's note to lines 109-118, and Tillotson, TE II, 262-263, notes.

38. See Tillotson, TE II, 262, note to lines 109-118.

39. Quoted by Elwin, EC I, 209.

40. Pope's note to lines 119-131.

41. OED 4, 6b.

42. Tillotson, TE II, 227.

43. OED 2.

44. I, 210: "They worshipped Zamolxis and thought they should go to him when they died."

45. Tillotson, TE II, 264, note to lines 127ff.

46. Pope's note to lines 127ff.

Notes to Pages 27 to 30

47. John Paul Russo, Alexander Pope: Tradition and Identity (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 151.

48. OED 1, 2, 4.

49. This is much like Swift's and Steele's treatment of "persons of great fame, but dubious existence" who they relegate to a side table at the lower end of their Chamber of Fame. See Tatler #67.

50. Chaucer's dreamer has no need to wait to enter. He simply wanders ("romen", HF 1293) up to the gate, stopping only to admire its many figures "be aventure iwrought, as often as be cure" (HF 1297-1298) before hurrying in ("But in I wente, and that anon", HF 1307).

51. Sheila Delany, Chaucer's "House of Fame": The Poetics of Skeptical Fideism (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 81.

52. Delany, 94.

53. Tillotson, TE II, 237.

54. EC I, 211.

55. Cf. Plutarch's "Life of Caesar" in Fall of the Roman Republic, tr. Rex Warner, ed. Robin Seager (rev. ed.; Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1972), 296-297: "It did not seem right for Caesar to celebrate a triumph for the calamities of his country and to pride himself upon actions for which the only possible excuse that could be made in the eyes of gods and of men was that they had been forced upon him....Nevertheless, the Romans gave way before his good fortune and accepted the bit....And certainly, in other ways, once the civil wars were over, no one could charge him with doing anything and so".

56. Pope's note to line 162.

57. Tillotson, TE II, 267.

58. EC I, 212.

59. EC I, 212-213.

Notes to Pages 30 to 34

60. See Tillotson, TE II, 268-270, notes.
61. G. Wilson Knight hints at this, 97-98.
62. Tillotson, TE II, 268.
63. Michel de Montaigne, "On cruelty" in Essays, tr. J. M. Cohen (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1958), 175-176)
64. Montaigne, 175.
65. Joseph Addison, Spectator #169, in Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, and Others, The Spectator, ed Gregory Smith (London: Everyman's, 1945), I, 511. Cp. TF 318: "the Good and Just, and awful Train".
66. OED 2.
67. Pope's note to lines 178ff.
68. Dante, "Inferno", Canto iv, in The Divine Comedy, tr. John Aitken Carlyle, Thomas Okey, Philip H. Wicksteed (New York: Modern Library, n. d.), 28.
69. Dante, "Inferno", 28.
70. Pope, "Preface to the Iliad" in Poetry and Prose of Alexander Pope, ed. Aubrey Williams (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), 445.
71. Like the poet in Dryden's Georgics II, 673-675:

Ye sacred Muses! with whose bearty
 firm
 My soul is reviv'd, and my brain
 inspir'd,
 Whose priest I am, whose holy fillets
 wear.
72. Pope's note to lines 178ff.
73. Pope, "Preface to the Iliad", 440.
74. Pope, "Preface to the Iliad", 440.
75. Pope, "Preface to the Iliad", 445.

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76. Russo, 100.
77. Dryden, "Preface to the Fables", in Of Dramatic Poesy and other Critical Essays, ed. Watson, II, .
78. Cf. Pope, "Preface to the Iliad": "Homer is universally allow'd to have had the greatest Invention of any Writer whatever", 439.
79. Russo, 101.
80. Brower, 355.
81. Dryden, "Dedication of the Aeneis" in Of Dramatic Poesy and other Critical Essays, ed. Watson, II, .
82. Pope's note to lines 210ff.
83. G. Wilson Knight, 100.
84. G. Wilson Knight, 100.
85. Friedrich Nietzsche, "The Birth of Tragedy", tr. Clifton P. Fadiman, in Philosophy of Art and Aesthetics: From Plato to Wittgenstein, ed. Frank A. Tillman and Steven E. Cahn (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 301, 302.
86. Nietzsche, 302, 303.
87. Dryden, "An Account of the Ensuing Poem, prefixed to Annus Mirabilis (1667)", in Of Dramatic Poesy and other Critical Essays, ed. Watson, I, 98.
88. Spectator #160.
89. Pope's note refers the reader to Odes III, xxx.
90. Duncan Isles, "Pope and Criticism", in Writers and their Background: Alexander Pope, ed. Peter Dixon (London: G. Bell, 1972), 258.
91. James William Johnson, The Formation of English Neo-Classical Thought (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 95.

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92. Spectator #160.
93. Plutarch, "Life of Cicero" in Fall of the Roman Republic, tr. Warner, 327.
94. Plutarch, "Life of Cicero", 333.
95. Plutarch, Lives, translated from the Greek, by Several Hands (London: Jacob Tonson, 1703), V, 290. Referred to by Tillotson, TE II, 274.
96. William K. Wimsatt, Jr. and Cleanth Brooks, Literary Criticism: A Short History (New York: Vintage Books, 1957), 222-223. They quote Cicero, Orator, xxxii as a source.
97. Richard McKeon, "Introduction to 'Rhetoric and Poetics'", in Introduction to Aristotle, ed. Richard McKeon (New York: Modern Library, 1947), 620.
98. Tillotson, TE II, 229.
99. Donald Fraser, "Pope and the Idea of Fame" in Writers and their Background: Alexander Pope, ed. Dixon, 292.
100. Fraser, 291.
101. OED 1a.
102. Hous of Fame, 1360-1363.
103. OED 1.
104. OED 6.
105. OED 1.
106. Genesis ix, 15.
107. Ovid, Metamorphoses, tr. Mary M. Innes (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1955), 207.
108. Wolfgang Clemen, Chaucer's Early Poetry, tr. C. A. M. Sym (London: Methuen, 1968), 107.
109. Russo, 154.

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110. Noyes, ed., The Poetical Works of Dryden, 1018 (Note to *Aeneis* iv, 271).
111. G. Wilson Knight, 102.
112. G. Wilson Knight, 102.
113. G. Wilson Knight, 102.
114. G. Wilson Knight, 102.
115. Brower, 358.
116. Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy, tr. Richard Green (Indianapolis: Library of Liberal Arts, 1962), 4 (Book I, prose 1).
117. Boethius, 4-5.
118. Pope's note to lines 178ff.
119. Pope, "Preface of 1717", in The Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. Butt, xxvi-xxvii.
120. Tillotson, TE II, 278.
121. OED 2.
122. Brower, 358.
123. EC I, 222.
124. G. Wilson Knight, 105.
125. Boethius, 39-40 (Book II, poem 7).
126. J. S. Cunningham, Pope: The Rape of the Lock (London: Edward Arnold, 1961), 47.
127. Referred to by Tillotson, TE II, 282.
128. Quoted from Spenser, Poetical Works, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (London: Oxford University Press, 1912).
129. EC I, 224.
130. Ovid, Metamorphoses, tr. Dryden, Book xii, 83-86.

Notes to Pages 71 to 79

143. "Do not attend to the common talk of the mob, nor place your hope in human rewards for your deeds; it is proper that virtue itself, by her own charms, draw you on to true glory. Let others talk about you as they choose, for they will talk in any case." (De Re Republica, VI, xxiii). Translation in Williams, ed., Poetry and Prose of Alexander Pope.

144. Fraser, 289.

Notes to Chapter III

1. Fraser, 306.
2. Cp. Dunciad iv, 501-502:
 First slave to Words, then vassal to
 a Name,
 Then dupe to Party, child and man
 the same.
3. Russo, 224.
4. Isles, 284.
5. Russo, 223.

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