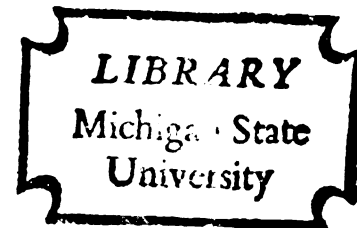


DRYDEN'S TRANSLATION OF VERGIL  
AND ITS  
EIGHTEENTH - CENTURY SUCCESSORS

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
BETTY SMITH ADAMS  
1970



**This is to certify that the**

**thesis entitled**

DRYDEN'S TRANSLATION OF VERGIL  
AND ITS  
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SUCCESSORS

**presented by**

Betty Smith Adams

**has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for**

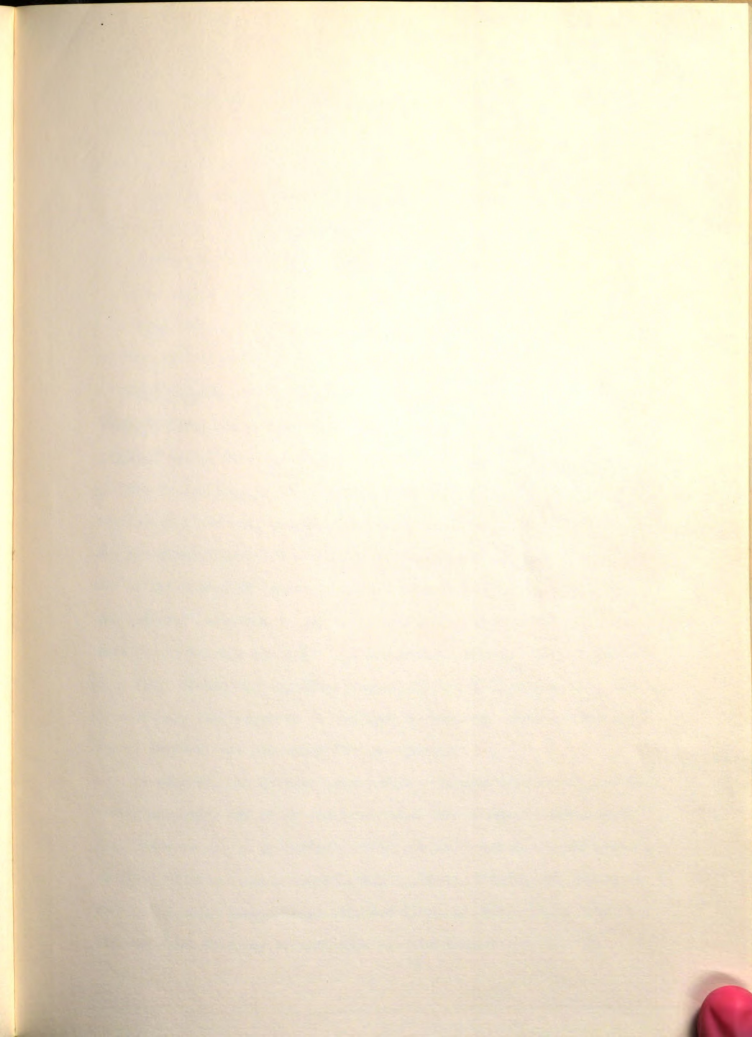
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In general, blank-verse translators were primarily interested in verbal accuracy, and those who translated into heroic couplets were most concerned about producing English poetry. Though all the writers of blank verse used many conventional epithets, images, and syntactic structures, only Joseph Trapp borrowed directly from Dryden; and he borrowed less than any of the important translators who used the

couplet. There was no trend toward the dominance of either form in eighteenth-century translations of Vergil, both continuing in use throughout the period.

ABSTRACT

DRYDEN'S TRANSLATION OF VERGIL  
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By

Betty Smith Adams

The purpose of this study is to determine the kind and extent of Dryden's influence on the eighteenth-century translators of Vergil. Translations of three passages--the fourth Eclogue, the first Georgic, and the fourth Aeneid--are compared with Dryden's translation. Similarities in lines and, where appropriate, in rhyme-words are noted, as are agreements and differences in the readings of the Latin original and in the theory of translation that informs each work. The direct and indirect influence of Dryden is traced in the work of his successors throughout the century: William Benson, Joseph Trapp, Christopher Pitt, Joseph Warton, James Beresford, and William Sotheby. Two translations that appeared in the 1760's--those of James Beattie and Robert Andrews--are discussed in the Appendix.

In general, blank-verse translators were primarily interested in verbal accuracy, and those who translated into heroic couplets were most concerned about producing English poetry. Though all the writers of blank verse used many conventional epithets, images, and syntactic structures, only Joseph Trapp borrowed directly from Dryden; and he borrowed less than any of the important translators who used the



couplet. There was no trend toward the dominance of either form in eighteenth-century translations of Vergil, both continuing in use throughout the period.

The high point of the influence of Dryden's Vergil came in the mid-century in the translations of Pitt and Warton. After that time, its importance as a resource declined, though it did not by any means cease to exist. The persistence of Dryden's influence for more than a hundred years was largely due to the fact that the most competent poets among his successors shared his principles of poetics and of translation, and his influence was attenuated in the latter years of the century as his successors came to rely not only upon Dryden's Vergil but also on those published during the interval between it and their own, as well as upon such new secondary resources as the Latin edition of Christian Gottlieb Heyne. In poetics, the eighteenth-century translators of Vergil remained essentially conservative; they neither led nor participated in a revolt against the poetic diction of John Dryden.

Submitted to

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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By

Betty Smith Adams

For my parents, George and Victoria Smith

A THESIS

Submitted to

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11

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In writing a thesis about the indebtedness of poets to their predecessors, one cannot but be aware of his own debts. Mine are extensive, and I can only acknowledge them gratefully. I owe most to the members of my committee, the knowledgeable, generous, and patient scholars on whose direction I have relied; to Professors Robert B. Anderson and Robert Uphaus, and most of all to Professor Albert J. Kuhs, chairman of the department. **For my parents, George and Victoria Smith**

No study of this kind could be made without the help of librarians. Many whose names I do not know have given of their time and energy to save mine. Among those who have been especially helpful are my good friends, Miss Ruth Erdman, Miss Jane Smith, Miss Alice Goldalager, and Mrs. Marjorie Harf, of Ohio State University; Mr. Charles W. Mann, of Pennsylvania State University; Miss Herbert G. Jameson and Mr. Donald Gratch, of the University of Michigan; and Mrs. Carolyn Hunt, of Michigan State University.

To Professor Albert J. Kuhs, Chairman of the Department of English at Ohio State, I am grateful for his encouragement and particularly for his willingness to adjust my schedule as much as possible so that I might make efficient use of the time available.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### The Purpose and Method of this Study

Chapter I.	The Purpose and Method of this Study . . . . .	1
Chapter II.	William Benson and Joseph Trapp . . . . .	21
Chapter III.	Christopher Pitt . . . . .	59
Chapter IV.	Joseph Warton . . . . .	89
Chapter V.	James Beresford and William Sotheby . . . . .	115
Chapter VI.	Dryden's Influence on his Successors . . . . .	134
Bibliography	. . . . .	144
Appendix A.	Dryden's Rhymes in Eighteenth-Century Texts . . .	150
Appendix B.	Dryden's End-Words in Eighteenth-Century Texts . .	194
Appendix C.	Derivations from Dryden . . . . .	195
Appendix D.	James Beattie and Robert Andrews . . . . .	197

The passages selected for close comparison are the fourth Elegiac, the first Georgic, and the fourth Aeneid. These choices were made for a number of reasons. They are representative of what Dryden himself believed to be his most successful renderings of Vergil; in the Dedication of the Aeneid, addressed to the Earl of Mulgrave, Dryden lists those parts of his translation by which he is most willing to be judged: the fourth, sixth, and eighth Elegiacs; the first and fourth Georgics; and the fourth, fifth, seventh, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth Aeneids. Of these, the fourth Elegiac seems to be a happy choice because its subject prompts translators to prefatory discussions of the pastoral and of the kinds of poetry and poetic devices they

value, and the discussions illumine the later poets' relation to Dryden. The first Georgic, widely regarded as the finest example of Vergil's sublime, leads them to make equally revealing observations about diction and prosody. There is, of course, a practical advantage in the selection of the fourth Eclogue, the passage often called "my greatest favourite."<sup>1</sup> His debt to the English translators who pre-

## CHAPTER I

### The Purpose and Method of this Study

The purpose of this study is to determine the extent of the influence of Dryden's translation of Vergil on the eighteenth-century translators who followed him, and possibly to provide new evidence that may be useful in the description and evaluation of eighteenth-century poetics. Sample passages from the verse translations which appeared in the early, middle, and late years of the century will be compared with the corresponding passages of Dryden's work, so that, insofar as is possible, the similarities and differences may be accounted for and the extent of any indebtedness of the later translators to Dryden may be appraised.

The passages selected for close comparison are the fourth Eclogue, the first Georgic, and the fourth Aeneid. These choices were made for a number of reasons. They are representative of what Dryden himself believed to be his most successful renderings of Vergil; in the Dedication of the Aeneid, addressed to the Earl of Mulgrave, Dryden lists those parts of his translation by which he is most willing to be judged: the fourth, sixth, and eighth Eclogues; the first and fourth Georgics; and the fourth, fifth, seventh, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth Aeneids. Of these, the fourth Eclogue seems to be a happy choice because its subject prompts translators to prefatory discussions of the pastoral and of the kinds of poetry and poetic devices they

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The criteria used in the selection of eighteenth-century texts to be examined require somewhat fuller explanation. At first, there appears to be a very large corpus from which to choose; it is a commonplace that every eighteenth-century gentleman with pretensions to learning tried his hand at Englishing the classics, and that many rendered their translations in verse. The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature lists, in addition to Dryden's, four verse translations of the complete works of Vergil by single authors: by Richard Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, published in 1718; by Joseph Trapp in 1731; by Robert Andrews in 1766; and by William Henry Melmoth in 1790[?]. Nicholas Brady in 1716-17, Christopher Pitt in 1740, Alexander Strahan in 1767, and James Beresford in 1794 published verse translations of the entire Aeneid; and William Hawkins published his

<sup>1</sup>The statement appears in a letter from Dryden to Jacob Tonson, written in the spring of 1693 and dated simply "Wednesday morning," in Charles E. Ward, ed., The Letters of John Dryden (New York, 1965), pp. 74-75.

<sup>2</sup>(Manchester, England, 1960).



rendering of Books I through VI in 1764. The complete Eclogues and Georgics were translated by Joseph Warton and published with Pitt's Aeneid as the Works of Virgil in Latin and English in 1753. Thomas Neville in 1767 and William Mills in 1780 published translations of the Georgics; and in 1725 William Benson published his Virgil's Husbandry: or, an Essay on the Georgics, translations of the first two Georgics, each with a preface devoted largely to the writer's objections to Dryden. <sup>of a whole author.</sup><sup>2</sup>

To this list, Elizabeth Nitchie adds Luke Milbourne's first Georgic in 1698, Mr. Sherbourne's fourth Aeneid in 1723, John Theobald's second Aeneid in 1736, a second edition of Strahan's first Aeneid together with Francis Atterbury's first Eclogue in 1767, J. Tytler's first four Eclogues in 1781, J. Morrison's second Aeneid in 1787, and William Sotheby's Georgics in 1800.<sup>3</sup> Raymond D. Havens also cites the first two Georgics translated by Capel Lofft in 1784.<sup>4</sup> John Conington refers to a translation of the Eclogues by James Beattie, a minor poet and author of the much admired Essay on Truth.<sup>5</sup> Both Nitchie and Havens list numerous examples of verse translations of episodes and short descriptive passages. These short works are not represented in this study because they are too brief to permit the kind of comparison used here, and also because they are often only incidentally translations, such as Joseph Addison's "Milton's Style Imitated in a Translation of a Story out of the Third Aeneid," which

<sup>3</sup>Vergil and the English Poets (New York, 1966), pp. 238-39.

<sup>4</sup>The Influence of Milton on English Poetry (Cambridge, Mass., 1922), pp. 323-58 and 627-28.

<sup>5</sup>"The English Translators of Virgil," Quarterly Review, CX (1861), 73-114.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text notes that without reliable records, it is difficult to track progress, identify trends, and make informed decisions.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It mentions the use of surveys, interviews, and focus groups to gather qualitative information, as well as statistical software and data visualization techniques for quantitative analysis. The importance of ensuring the reliability and validity of the data is stressed throughout this section.

3. The third part of the document describes the process of interpreting the results of the data analysis. It highlights the need to consider the context of the data and to be cautious about drawing conclusions based solely on the numbers. The text suggests that a combination of qualitative and quantitative insights can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the issues at hand.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the challenges and limitations of the research process. It acknowledges that there are always potential biases and errors in data collection and analysis, and that the results may not be generalizable to all situations. However, it also notes that by following rigorous research practices and being transparent about the limitations, the findings can still provide valuable insights.

5. The fifth part of the document provides a summary of the key findings and conclusions. It reiterates the importance of accurate record-keeping and the value of a mixed-methods approach to research. The text concludes by stating that the research has provided a solid foundation for further exploration and that the findings will be used to inform future decision-making.

appeared in Dryden's Miscellany Poems, Part V, in 1704. As the title suggests, the Vergilian subject matter is merely the occasion for Addison's attempt to reproduce Milton's style, the important concern of the poem. And in those works in which translating Vergil is the English poet's major interest, Dryden must be taken seriously when he points out in the Dedication of the Aeneid, "'tis one thing to take pains on a Fragment, and Translate it perfectly" and quite another to "bear the weight of a whole author."<sup>6</sup>

The Earl of Lauderdale's Vergil, though published after Dryden's, was completed before Dryden undertook his.<sup>7</sup> There was, in fact, some cross fertilization between the two translations. The Earl made use of the fragments by Dryden and others which Dryden had included in his miscellanies of 1684 and 1685. (Dryden's own works included the Nisus and Euryalus episodes from the fifth and ninth Aeneids and the fourth and ninth Eclogues.) Dryden, in his turn, made use of Lauderdale's work, especially in the Aeneid. Dryden gratefully acknowledged his debt, though it must be added that he certainly did not exaggerate it. Proudfoot has told the story of their reciprocal borrowing, and it is unnecessary to repeat all the details here, since this translation is not actually an eighteenth-century successor of Dryden's, despite the

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<sup>6</sup>The edition of Dryden used throughout this study is James Kinsley, The Poems of John Dryden, 4 vols., continuously paginated (Oxford, 1958). The remark quoted here appears on p. 1051.

<sup>7</sup>The Works of Virgil, 2 vols. (London, 1718). The preface is an elaborate justification of the publication of Lauderdale's "Correcter Copy" after Dryden's: "Our Translator has not taken the Liberty, or very rarely, to Paraphrase upon his Author, a Vice too much in use at this Day; but has endeavour'd to give you his genuine Sense and Meaning in as few Words, and as easie a Turn of Language, as the Majesty of Virgil's Stile, and the Interpretation of the Original, wou'd permit."



date of its publication. was often forced into what looks like modern

The first translation in verse of the complete Vergil to be composed and published after Dryden's was that of Joseph Trapp. He began to work on his Aeneis in 1703, though he did not publish the first volume, Books I-VI, until 1718. The second volume, containing the last six books, was published in 1720. Eleven years later, Trapp reissued the Aeneis with only a few minor revisions together with his translation of the Eclogues and the Georgics. His work thus spans most of the first third of the century. This translation and the author's explication of the critical principles that informed his work continued to be cited respectfully throughout the eighteenth century. Any study of Dryden's successors must take Trapp into account, and he has therefore been selected as a representative of the translators from the earlier part of the century to be examined here.

However, in order to minimize the risk of drawing unwarranted conclusions from a single work, at least two translators' versions will be examined for each of the early, middle, and late periods of the century. William Benson's first Georgic, published in 1725, will be used with the Trapp translation.

Two complete Vergil's appeared in the mid-century. The earlier was translated by Joseph Warton and Christopher Pitt. Pitt's Aeneid was first published in 1740, nine years after the completion of the Trapp version. It was reissued with Joseph Warton's Eclogues and Georgics in 1753 in four volumes; Warton also provided the notes and prefatory essays. Thirteen years later, Robert Andrews' line-for-line translation was published. Having assumed the awesome task of rendering Vergil's compact Latin hexameters into the same number of English

pentameter lines, Andrews was often forced into what looks like modern headline English. He labeled his verse form "iambic pentameter," a description which occasionally fits it. Rhyme he realized would have been an insuperable obstacle to line-for-line translation, as would any attempt to achieve the tone of Miltonic blank verse. Because this translation is so highly idiosyncratic, and because it received virtually no attention when it appeared and had no influence upon later Vergil's, I have not included it in my discussion of mid-century verse translations.<sup>8</sup> *the Dictionary of National Biography does not*

The only complete Vergil in English verse which appeared after Andrews' was Melmoth's. It, however, is not a late eighteenth-century translation at all but only a poor edition of Dryden. The "correction" and "enlargement" of Dryden's work promised in Melmoth's preface amounts to very little indeed. Such changes as there are appear in the arguments, and even these are minor: changes in verb tense or the substitution of an infinitive for a gerund in an otherwise unaltered sentence. There are, of course, many orthographic differences, but the verse itself is wholly Dryden's. In the fourth Eclogue, for example, there are only two substantive variants, both obvious misprints. Where Dryden has goats speeding homeward with "strutting Duggs," Melmoth has the nonsensical epithet "strutting drugs" (l. 25), and in the later publication "Travall" in "the nauseous Qualms of ten long Months and Travall" is rendered "travel" (l. 75). Such variants as occur in the Georgics and the Aeneid are comparable. The claim on the title page of an "all new translation," for which the bookseller

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<sup>8</sup> A review of this translation and of the author's prefatory essay may be found in Appendix D.

rather than Melmoth seems to have been responsible, can only have been intended to deceive the unwary.

It is perhaps indicative of the esteem in which Dryden's name was still held that the title page asserts that all previous translations, "especially Dryden's," have been "consulted." But any hope that the fraud might go undetected can only have rested on the confidence that readers were completely unfamiliar with the Dryden translation.

The Melmoth edition has rightly received virtually no attention. The Melmoth entry in the Dictionary of National Biography does not mention either the Vergil or the similarly touted Homer, nor is it mentioned in the Quarterly Review survey of eighteenth-century Vergil's. Elizabeth Nitchie dismisses it with the comment that it is "Dryden's translation 'revised and improved.'" The number of substantial eighteenth-century translations of Vergil is thus smaller than it at first appears to be.

In the absence of a complete Vergil, the last period of the century is represented here by James Beresford's Aeneid, published in 1794, and William Sotheby's Georgics in 1800. Since Tytler's translation of the Eclogues was not available to me, only the Georgics and the Aeneid have been examined for this period.

Of the remaining substantial portions of Vergil, I have examined those that were available: Milbourne's first Georgic, along with his Notes on Dryden's Virgil In a Letter to a Friend; Brady's Aeneid; Theobald's second and fourth Aeneids; and Beattie's Eclogues;<sup>9</sup> as well as the prose translations of Joseph Davidson, John Martyn, and Caleb Alexander. Of several other translators, I have read only the few

<sup>9</sup>A discussion of this work appears in Appendix D.



lines which appeared in contemporary reviews. William Hawkins' Aeneid was found to be full of faults, illustrated with thirty or forty lines of his translation. Unfortunately, the longest continuous passage quoted was only seventeen lines. William Mills' Georgics were pronounced "sufficiently faithful and close; but closeness and fidelity are but parts of a translator's province. How unanimated and prosaic!" The twenty-five lines quoted are in no way remarkable. John Morrison is identified as a precocious twelve-year-old who rhymes well enough but has a good deal to learn before he can measure up to Dryden, and the reviewer prints a few lines of parallel passages from Morrison and from Dryden without further comment. It is safe to assume that this translation exerted no influence on the course of English poetry. Thomas Nevile's Georgics are dismissed as accurate enough but lacking in "dignity of expression, and . . . harmony of . . . verse." Nor is there anything unusual or remarkable in the more than one hundred lines quoted in the review of Alexander Strahan's Aeneid. Strahan's verse, like Hawkins' and Mills', is unrhymed but usually end-stopped, distinguished from prose only by conventional poetic epithets.<sup>10</sup>

The principal concern of this study is poetic diction; prosody, however, since it affects diction, cannot be ignored here. Eighteenth-century Vergil's took two forms: the heroic couplet and blank verse. Both forms are represented in the samples for each of the three periods. Trapp used blank verse which he intended to be Miltonic; Benson wrote in couplets, as did Pitt, Warton, and Beattie. Andrews

<sup>10</sup>All the reviews cited appeared in the Monthly Review soon after publication of the works discussed in them, as follows: Hawkins: Vol. XXX(1764), 257-61; Mills: LXIII(1780), 135-36; Morrison: LXXVIII(1788), 321-23; Nevile: XXXVI (1767), 337; and Strahan: XXXVII(1767), 321-23.

described his unrhymed lines as iambic pentameter, and Beresford translated the Aeneid into more recognizable blank verse, for most of the same reasons that had motivated Trapp. Sotheby's Georgics are in heroic couplets.

The received opinion concerning the significance of form in eighteenth-century Vergil's is expressed by T. W. Harrison in his essay, "English Vergil: the Aeneid in the Eighteenth Century."<sup>11</sup> Drawing chiefly on the translators' prefaces and on contemporary theorists about poetics and only secondarily on the translations themselves, Harrison argues that during the first half of the century English men of letters were primarily interested in the political elements of the Aeneid, and in the last half that interest gave way to a search for beauties, instances of the sublime, the picturesque, or the pathetic. He cites various poets' admiration for these Romantic qualities, beginning with Trapp, and adds:

These examples could be multiplied many times, and in the translations of the period, now [i.e., the latter part of the century], of course, deserting the heroic couplet for the inevitable blank verse, and especially in those of Christopher Pitt, published in 1740, and of Alexander Strahan, completed in 1767, one can detect the poetical enthusiasm rising as it approaches the pathetic.<sup>12</sup>

This argument is misleading in two important ways. The use of blank verse and admiration for the pathos of Vergil seem to be linked, though in the examples Harrison himself cites, the link does not always hold. Trapp, Pitt, Warton, and Strahan all admired Vergil's pathos, but two of them wrote in heroic couplets and two in blank verse. And Harrison

<sup>11</sup> Philologica Pragensia, X(1967), 1-11 and 80-91.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 86-87.

also seems to suggest that translation moved steadily from rhyme to blank verse as the century progressed, though, in fact, most of the translators of Vergil, in the early 1700's as well as later, wrote in blank verse. Not only Beresford in the last decade of the century but also Trapp and Brady in the first and second decades rendered Vergil in that meter. Dryden himself is reported to have said that if he had had his translation to do over again, he would have chosen unrhymed verse for it.<sup>13</sup> The story is supported by remarks in the Dedication of the Aeneis to the same effect. Dryden criticizes the Italian translator, Hannibal Caro, for having produced a "scandalously mean" translation even "though he has taken advantage of writing in Blank Verse, and freed himself from the shackles of modern Rhime." And Dryden goes on to pronounce as a general principle that "he who can write well in Rhime, may write better in Blank Verse." As Havens points out, "notwithstanding the merited popularity of Dryden's Vergil and Pope's Homer, lovers of Greek and Latin have never been entirely satisfied with the heroic couplet as an English equivalent of the classical hexameter."<sup>14</sup> Some translators, no doubt, found translating from Latin into English rhyme simply beyond their capacities as craftsmen; and for anyone except Pope, the difficulties involved in that task would be, as Havens describes them, like those of a woman acting Hamlet, a sufficiently demanding role under the best of conditions. Others, early in the century as well as later, chose blank verse because they felt that Milton had established it as the meter of English epic,

<sup>13</sup>Recorded in Joseph Richardson's Explanatory Notes on Paradise Lost (1734), p. cxx, and reported in Havens, p. 324n.

<sup>14</sup>Influence of Milton, p. 323.





either original or translated. to be obviously acceptable; the second

The form a translation took affects the method of examination of used here, because of the importance of rhyme words as signals of borrowing. The procedure for comparison of passages in heroic couplets is based on those used by Proudfoot and by Helene M. Hooker, as outlined in her essay, "Dryden's Georgics and English Predecessors."<sup>15</sup> As evidence of borrowing, Proudfoot accepts identity of rhyme words, either one or both in a given couplet; parallel phrasing in which similar or identical words occur; and, of course, identity or near identity of lines. Mrs. Hooker rejects identities or similarities of wording within the line and accepts only identical rhymes and phrases used to render the same passage. However, she accepts such a rhyme-word, even if it has undergone functional shift: e.g., the end-word "exercise" in Thomas May's Georgics appears as a verb, whereas in Dryden's corresponding passage, "exercise" is a noun; Mrs. Hooker treats Dryden's line as derived from May's. Proudfoot points out that influence may be apparent in lines in which the end-words are not the same, and offers a number of examples, of which two are quoted here:

A. Dryden:

His words, his looks, imprinted in her heart,

(Aeneis IV, 5)

Harrington:

His words, his looks, are printed in her brest,

(Aeneis IV, 5)

B. Dryden:

To this one error I might yield again;

(Aeneis IV, 25)

Lauderdale:

To this one Frailty I perhaps might yield.

(Aeneis IV, 21)

<sup>15</sup>Huntington Library Quarterly, IX(1945), 273-310.



The first of these seems to me to be obviously acceptable; the second is less so and requires some reinforcement, such as the repetition of words not immediately suggested by the Latin line or external evidence of a connection. In this particular instance, Proudfoot believes both kinds of support may be found. The Latin line is:

Huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpae.  
(Aeneidos, IV, 19)<sup>16</sup>

If either line contained "succumb" instead of "yield," the borrowing would seem very unlikely, even though the phrase structure is similar, because the Latin line offers limited possibilities of structural variation. It would justify putting the prepositional phrase at the beginning of the line (huic uni) or at the end (culpae), since it is impossible to reproduce the dative frame of the Latin line in English. I should be especially reluctant to infer a relationship between the two English lines on the basis of verbal echoes alone, since the translations of culpae are different. (The external evidence Proudfoot cites for this line is that Lauderdale's eighteenth-century editor identifies the line as one Dryden used, though elsewhere Proudfoot labels the editor's attributions as often erroneous.)

The most I should be willing to claim concerning this line is the possibility that Dryden was influenced here by his predecessor, as is suggested by the degree of syntactic parallelism and the word choice "yield." Dryden's decision to omit forsan and to add "again" together with his use of "error" rather than "frailty" puts the matter in doubt.

<sup>16</sup> This and subsequent quotations of the Latin text are, unless otherwise identified, taken from the 1675 Delphin edition of Carolus Ruæus, the text which Dryden used and which remained by far the most popular throughout almost the entire century. Vergil's works will be identified with initials, books with Roman numerals, and lines with Arabic numbers. Translators will be identified by name.

Despite the fact, however, that Proudfoot makes some rather dubious applications of his principle, the principle itself seems generally sound: similarities within the line may attest to borrowing as well as end-words. do not really present a problem. All the translators

know Mrs. Hooker classifies evidence of borrowing under six headings:

- (1) the use of an end-word or phrase to provide the rhyme for a couplet;
- (2) the verbatim or almost verbatim use of a line or couplet;
- (3) a combination of lines, the first from one translator, the second from another;
- (4) a like combination of couplets;
- (5) a combination of phrases from two translators in order to form a line; and
- (6) the use of a French or Latin commentary for content but of an English translation for rhyme.

Headings (1) and (2) describe the noting of the number, kind, and frequency of similarities between Dryden's work and that of his predecessors. I have noted the same things with respect to his successors.

The problem of deciding which among several possible texts is exerting influence arises in this study also, though again with a difference. Benson and Trapp both show some familiarity with the work of Dryden's predecessors, but they devote so much attention to Dryden and they know his translation so well that they could not have borrowed from one of his sources without considering Dryden's use of that same source. By mid-century, however, translators were taking Trapp's Ver-  
gil into account as well as Dryden's, and Joseph Warton relied heavily upon Benson's Georgics. Proudfoot's rule of thumb, that of several possibilities, the most likely source for any given passage is the one most similar to it, seems a sensible solution to this problem. I have

accordingly compared each author with his eighteenth-century predecessors as well as with Dryden. the distribution of synthetic parti-

Except with respect to Sotheby's Georgics, the Latin and French commentaries do not really present a problem. All the translators knew the standard works, and several commented on the use Dryden had made of them and whether they considered that use defensible. However, the influence of foreign-language commentators would not be very likely to produce similar English diction in the work of two poets for the same reasons that the Latin original of the poem would not. The words of one language do not have single or exact equivalents in another. The processes of generating sentences are also different; there is no other language in which the mechanisms of accidence and of subordination are precisely equivalent to those of English. (French, of course, is more similar to English in these respects than Latin is.) The likelihood that consulting French or Latin commentaries would lead two English writers to put down the same English words in the same order is thus remote. cant is seventy-five (or about so line in every thirteen)

The differences between Latin and English also provide the rationale of the importance of rhyme-words in an influence study such as this. If the original language were really equivalent to the language into which a translation is made, we should be more surprised when translators differ than when they agree. The fact is that they differ a great deal, and this is especially apparent in translations from Latin hexameters into English couplets. End-stopping is the rule in the couplet, but the relation between the syntactic unit and the line is not the principle of line construction in Latin verse. See the chart of end-word agreements among the translations

The much freer word order of the Latin, the longer line (thirteen to



sixteen syllables as opposed to the English ten), the economy of analytic inflections as opposed to the distribution of synthetic particles—all these operating together make possible many different though equally faithful translations into English verse. The amount of variation which English permits increases the possibilities of differing translations. The usual subject-verb-complement order may be inverted, and it is often possible to place a subordinate structure in any one of two or three optional slots. In most lines translated into English verse, the Latin sentence and the Latin line do not dictate the word or even the semantic unit that must come at the end of the English line.

Nevertheless, the density of end-word agreement does appear to be one index of the literalness of a translation. Robert Andrews, whose primary aim was to reproduce Vergil's diction, word order, and line structure as accurately as possible, was able to make only 199 lines (approximately two of every seven) of his fourth Aeneid end with a reasonably literal translation of the Latin end-word. In the same book, Dryden's count is seventy-five (or about one line in every thirteen), whereas Trapp's is 150 (approximately one in six). The same may be said, with due caution, of English end-word agreements as well. In general, those translators whose work shows most other evidences of influence from Dryden's agree with his end-words more often than those who seem to have been less influenced by him. In the fourth Aeneid, Andrews uses only forty-two end-words that repeat Dryden's but not Vergil's; Trapp has sixty-three.<sup>17</sup>

As Mrs. Hooker has shown, the likelihood that two poets should

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<sup>17</sup>See the chart of end-word agreements among the translations examined in this study in Appendix B.

accidentally happen upon the same rhyme words in translating the same passage is not very great. Rhyming conventions were not so limited that, for example, the occurrence of "join" forced the rhyme-word "vine" (or "wine" or any one of a number of other possibilities). Lists such as Edward Bysshe's include from a dozen to fifty or more entries under a particular end-syllable sound sequence.<sup>18</sup> Poets could and did work within the same conventional inventory of rhymes without choosing the same pairs. Therefore, when a similar phrase occurs in a passage in which the rhyme-words also agree with Dryden's, I conclude that the later poet was influenced by his predecessor, the probability increasing, of course, with the density of such end-words in a single passage.

All this is not to say that every time two English translators end a line in corresponding passages with the same word, one is necessarily borrowing from the other. The frequency of such similarities and the degree to which syntax and diction are also similar must be taken into account. At least equal caution must be used in dealing with similarities within the line, particularly in unrhymed verse, where the frequency of end-word agreement is a somewhat less reliable check.

The conventionality of eighteenth-century poetic diction makes it important to consider other possible reasons for similarities among poems. The Gradus ad Parnassum, familiar to all English writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is more than a classical Latin lexicon. Its synonymies, cross-references, and quotations, especially of epithets, are in effect a style manual for Latin

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<sup>18</sup> The Art of English Poetry (London, 1702).

composition and, at least insofar as diction is concerned, for translation, as well.<sup>19</sup> Frequent complaints about poets who rely too heavily upon it show that critics and poets alike were thoroughly familiar with it. The popular English style books, such as Bysshe's, had neatly arranged indices of rhymes, with monosyllables, disyllables, polysyllables, and accent patterns carefully separated. Most of the rhymes in Dryden's Vergil appear in Bysshe, and the same is true of the translations of Benson, Pitt, Warton, Beattie, and Sotheby. The epithets within the line are often common currency also. John Arthos lists many examples of words and periphrases frequently used by writers of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Whether the epithets occur in poetic or in scientific writing, Arthos has been able to trace most of them to their origins as conventional translations of equally conventional Greek and Latin phrases.<sup>20</sup>

Anything colorfully decorated, for example, is likely to be described as painted. Among the Latin writers, Lucretius, Manilius, Prudentius, and Avitus as well as Vergil used pingere and its derivative forms in this way. Dryden is simply translating literally when he writes that "painted Scythians" participate in Apollo's rites (Aeneid IV, 208) and Moors "feast on painted Beds" (Aeneid IV, 301). Trapp also renders the participle describing the Scythians as

<sup>19</sup> The edition of the Gradus which was available for use for this study was published in London in 1851. It is the first edition to contain English synonyms and purports to be "thoroughly revised and corrected." Though it is valuable as a resource, it is not the work Dryden and his successors had for reference.

<sup>20</sup> The Language of Natural Description in Eighteenth-Century Poetry (Ann Arbor, 1949). The lists are arranged in the Appendices in alphabetical order under the rubrics, "Significant Words," "Periphrases," and "Epithets with Suffix -y."



"painted," but occasionally, especially when the English word would seem figurative if he used "painted," Trapp chooses "embroidered" as his translation of pictus, a choice Dryden makes only once when he renders,

Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis  
(A IX, 614)

Your Vests embroider'd with rich Purple shine.  
(Dryden, A IX, 841)

In other passages, Dryden usually translates pictus as "painted," whether the result is literal or figurative in the English line.<sup>21</sup> And like other English poets, he often constructs an epithet of "painted" and a noun when the Latin convention is suggested by the noun even though there is no justification for it in the particular likely source for any given passage is the one most similar to it, must be applied cautiously. The "painted Shield" in Dryden's:

Fair Astur follows in the wat'ry Field,  
Proud of his manag'd Horse, and painted Shield.  
(A X, 261-62)

is simply a shield in Vergil. The "painted Meads" of Dryden's fourth Georgic (l. 433) blush with colors in the Latin. Vergil describes the Amazon queen Camilla as quiver-bearing (pharetrata--A XI, 649); Dryden further describes the quiver as "painted" (A XI, 965), and he gives a painted quiver to Venus (A I, 446) where Vergil has merely provided her with the arms appropriate for a huntress. Moreover, Dryden, like Spenser and Milton before him, makes the same use of "painted" in originally English lines. In "The Flower and the Leaf," for instance, Dryden renders,

(E IV, 12)

<sup>21</sup> A rare exception occurs in Book IV of the Aeneis, where Dryden renders pictus as "parti-colour'd" (l. 763). A Supplement to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Oxford, England, 1896), pp. 361-77. Dryden's version appears in the Kinsley edition, pp. 1650-66.

... and maketh smale floures  
 To springen here and there, (E IV, 16)  
 (ll. 8-9)

whereas Dryden turns to another figure, equally far from the Latin  
 ... and paint the Fields with Flow'rs;  
 text and equally conventional: (l. 6)

and changes the sense of the image in, him to their appointed Race,  
 (E IV, 15)

... the briddes songis for to here  
 One is forced to conclude that, though there (l. 37) borrowing no mat-

ter where The painted Birds, Companions of the Spring, and similar images  
 Hopping from Spray to Spray,<sup>22</sup>  
 are not, taken alone, sufficient proof of one poet's influence on  
 The point is that a conventional epithet may turn up in almost any con-  
 text. Accordingly, especially when there is no rhyme agreement be-  
 text, and therefore the presence of the same epithet in two transla-  
 tions is not in itself conclusive evidence of borrowing.

Even Proudfoot's rule, that of several possibilities the most  
 likely source for any given passage is the one most similar to it,  
 must be applied cautiously. The "mighty Round of Years" that revolves  
 in Joseph Trapp's fourth Eclogue (l. 7) and the "mighty Years" that  
 "in radiant Circles run" in Dryden's (ll. 7-8) appear to be much more  
 closely related to each other than to the "magnus . . . ordo" of  
 "saeculorum" (the mighty series of lifespans or centuries) in Vergil's:  
 Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.  
 (E IV, 5)

Yet it seems almost equally likely that the two English poets were  
 simply working within the same range of conventional diction. For a  
 few lines further along, Trapp returns to the same figure to trans-  
 late Vergil's, et incipient magni precedere menses;  
 (E IV, 12)

<sup>22</sup> The medieval text of "The Flower and the Leaf" is from Walter  
 W. Skeat, ed., Chaucerian and Other Pieces: A Supplement to the Com-  
 plete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Oxford, England, 1896), pp. 361-79.  
 Dryden's version appears in the Kinsley edition, pp. 1650-66.



. . . and mighty Months begin to roll.  
(E IV, 16)

whereas Dryden turns to another figure, equally far from the Latin text and equally conventional:

Majestick Months set out with him to their appointed Race.  
(E IV, 15)

One is forced to conclude that, though there may be borrowing no matter where a passage occurs in a line, similar words and similar images are not, taken alone, sufficient proof of one poet's influence on another. Accordingly, especially when there is no rhyme agreement to make the end of the line particularly significant, I have claimed influence only where similarities of syntactic patterns, diction, and imagery (where applicable) coincide and are not dictated by the Latin original.

In the chapters which follow, the evidence to be found in the sample passages is presented in chronological order. Chapter II examines the translations of two of Dryden's early successors, Benson and Trapp; Chapter III, Pitt's Aeneid; Chapter IV, Warton's Eclogues and Georgics; and Chapter V, the translations of Beresford and Sotheby. Chapter VI discusses the significance of the evidence that has been presented. Parallel passages referred to in statistical summaries in the text are reproduced in Appendix A. Appendices B and C present tabulations of end-word agreements and of lines influenced by the corresponding passages of Dryden's translation. Appendix D presents a discussion of two translators of the 1760's who were not directly influenced by Dryden; Beattie and Andrews.

... Nor does it help to argue that either the spirit or the letter deserves priority and the other should be secondary. For there simply is no clearly defined way to identify the precise point at which one value is to be sacrificed to

## CHAPTER II

Notwithstanding Dryden's protestation that William Benson and Joseph Trapp, putting into practice the tenets of the Art of Translation, he, as well as other poets, in Roscommon's Art of Translation is so often cited by eighteenth-

century translators and commentators and so often quoted without citation, as if unconsciously, that one is tempted to regard it as the accepted practical norm, by which particular translations could be measured. That seems to be what eighteenth-century translators believed. But, in fact, his principles are sometimes impossible to put into practice because they call for mutually exclusive qualities. The translator, for example, is exhorted to have absolute respect for the words of his original, a quality which can be expressed only in rigorous, word-for-word accuracy. On the other hand, the translated work must rise when the original rises and fall when it falls, effects which can be achieved only in terms of the affective potentialities of the second language. And those affective qualities are produced by sequences of sounds, rhythm, and syntax peculiar to the individual language and therefore not translatable, and by figures of description and rhetoric that sometimes can be translated and sometimes cannot. And since sounds, rhythmic effects, and syntactic structures involve the selection of words as well as their arrangement, and since the value of tropes and figures is in great part culturally determined, the translator often has to choose between verbal accuracy and the evocation of the same poetic effect as that of his original.

Nor does it help to argue that either the spirit or the letter deserves priority and the other should be secondary. For there simply is no clearly defined way to identify the precise point at which one value is to be sacrificed to the other. Notwithstanding Dryden's protestation that he had on the whole succeeded in putting into practice the tenets of the Art of Translation, he, as well as other poets, in fact did what had to be done: he chose one quality as the most important. For him it was English poetry. Vergil was to be made to speak as he would have spoken had he been born a contemporary Englishman. The critical questions that properly arise are whether a translation made in accordance with that principle is worth the making, and whether Dryden has done it well or ill. The pettier the critic, the more likely he is to judge Dryden's efforts by criteria that are irrelevant, given Dryden's primary commitment.

The first critic to win a dubious immortality with such a criticism was Luke Milbourne, many of whose arguments are repeated, though somewhat less petulantly, by William Benson, the first translator whose work will be examined here. Both were driven into print by their veneration of Vergil and their indignation about the offense Dryden's Georgics committed against him, and both appended to their commentaries their own translations of part of the Georgics, inviting comparison between their work and Dryden's. Benson is now best remembered for an unfortunate error in judgment that had nothing to do with his skill and perceptiveness as a translator and poet. As surveyor general, he warned that the House of Lords and the painted chamber were in imminent danger of collapse. His opinion was rejected by the committee appointed to investigate the matter, and time vindicated him. He notes, for example, that lines 139 and 140 of Dryden's first





their judgment rather than his. One is tempted to conjecture that he understood the direction or the tendency of details but not the interplay of forces, that he could project arithmetic operations but did not understand what to do with a problem that involved a matrix of values. At any rate, the conjecture is especially tempting as one reads the prefatory essays and notes to his translation of the first two Georgics. *Flava Ceres alto nequicquam spectat Olympe, qui, prociacis quas suscitât aequore targa, Rureus in obliquum veras perrumpit aratro:*

He opens the preface of his second Georgic with the remark:

There are few Ways of spending one's Time more idly than in finding Faults in the Labours of other People; especially of any one that has acquir'd a general Reputation: Neither is there any thing more invidious than such an Undertaking. *Rureus and others, translates Georgics (G I, 1)*

Then, the concession having been made, he turns immediately and enthusiastically to his attack on Dryden, giving no attention whatever to the multiplicity of considerations that had to inform the translator's choices. Like Milbourne, he believed Dryden to have suffered from grave limitations as a Latinist, as a poet, and as a man, which rendered him unfit to produce a worthy translation of the greatest poet of all time, though unlike Milbourne he did not seem to be rubbing his hands in glee over the prospect of destroying the great man's reputation. Not that he would shrink from arguing ad hominem: for example, he charges Dryden with having a "Fancy, or Genius, or Temper of the Mind, call it as we will, . . . so unalterably bent to Wantonness, that he was unutterably incapable of entring in any Manner into the Sense or Ideas of his Author." *Sheep washing in a river bleat;* Benson frequently notes that Dryden has gone astray in following the text and commentary of Carolus Ruæus's Delphin edition of Vergil. He notes, for example, that lines 139 and 140 of Dryden's first



Georgic misrepresent Vergil by applying Ceres' look of approval to the preceding description of the farmer pounding clods with rakes, when it should be applied to the description that follows of a farmer who cross plows his furrows at an oblique angle. The difficulty is that Ruæus and Dryden after him had failed to see that in Vergil's lines:

neque illum  
Flava Ceres alto nequicquam spectat Olympo,  
Et qui, proscisso quæ suscitât aequore terga,  
Rursus in obliquum verso perrumpit aratro:  
Exercetque frequens tellurem, atque imperat arvis.  
(G I, 95-99)

"Et qui, proscisso, etc. must be constru'd qui & perrumpit, & exercet, & imperat."

Dryden, following Ruæus and others, translates segetes (G I, 1) as "corn." Benson insists that the word, regardless of its usual sense, must be translated "corn-lands" because (1) Vergil would not waste his instruction on topics beyond the farmer's control; (2) the crop depends upon many factors that the farmer can do nothing about; (3) cultivating the soil is something the farmer can do; and (4) "therefore, laetes Segetes plainly means Campos Fructuosos." He does not consider the possibility that either Vergil or Dryden might have intended metonymy.

More to the point, in Benson's view, Dryden failed "unutterably" to understand either Vergil's subject or the poetic qualities that made the Latin work a masterpiece. As an urban poet, Dryden was "perfectly ignorant" of everything rural and therefore missed most of Vergil's especially deft descriptions. Sheep washing in a river bleat; Dryden substitutes the conventional "woolly" for the more informative "bleating" because he is unaware of the peculiar life-likeness of

Vergil's word picture. It is interesting that Benson's objection here is not raised on the ground that balantum means "bleating" and does not connote "woolly." The literal text is cited, however, as the reason why Dryden's antitheses (Benson uses this term for various kinds of parallel structures) are objectionable. Figures should reproduce those of the original, and the words must also, except where Vergil obviously intended other words.

Yet it would be a mistake to assume that all Benson's criticisms were of no value at all. Balantum does mean "bleating." And, as Benson points out, in the opening lines of the first Georgic, Dryden does establish a tone unlike that of Vergil's text, when he renders the subjunctive faciat (I would sing) as indicative and thus asserts the poet's power to sing as fact rather than as desire or purpose, thereby losing the conventional Latin Tremor Oratoris. In rare instances, even his criticisms of Dryden's management of the English line are interesting. For example, Dryden's line, *There are, indeed, many passages*

Begin when the slow Waggoner descends, (first two books) that  
(G I, 318)

are very different from Dryden's. Yet upon examining the texts closely is awkward, Benson observes, because there is no caesura and no suspense, one is struck by the number of similarities, too close to be attributed to accident.

Both weaknesses, he suggests, might be remedied by the reversal of the order of "slow" and "the," which would transform the adjective

into an adverb and set up tension between the adverb "slow" and the verb "descends." The value of the suggestion, however, is somewhat vitiated by the fact that Benson prints this line of Dryden's text in italics to indicate that there is no justification for it at all in the Latin text. The clear implication is that Dryden should have omitted all the italicized passages.

From Benson's notes and prefaces, three conclusions may be drawn.

The first is that he recognizes a number of criteria to be used in determining the value of a translation. The best translation is sometimes the most literal, sometimes the most faithful to the spirit of the original, sometimes the most supple English, sometimes whatever is most nearly in accord with Benson's direct, if not divine, revelation of Vergil's intentions. The second conclusion, a corollary of the first, is that no hierarchy of values is apparent in Benson's choice of the most important criterion in any particular instance. Though he never reveals the slightest hesitation in deciding what principle to apply, he also never reveals any awareness that other principles impinge upon it in such a way as to present a complex problem which another translator might legitimately solve in a different way.

The third inference is that the author of so detailed and categorical a rejection of Dryden and all his works would rather differ from his predecessor than echo him. There are, indeed, many passages of Benson's two Georgics (he translated only the first two books) that are very different from Dryden's. Yet upon examining the texts closely, one is struck by the number of similarities, too close to be attributed to accident.

In the 634 lines of Benson's first Georgic, there are 158 lines that end with the same rhyme-words Dryden used in the corresponding passages of his translation. Forty-four of these are half-rhymes, i.e., the words that rhyme with the shared words are different in the two English texts. Of the remaining 114 lines, thirty-six are couplets which have the same end-words in Benson and Dryden but which do not occur in the work of Ogilby and May, their seventeenth-century



predecessors with whom Benson acknowledged himself to be familiar. Eight lines (four couplets) end with rhyme-words Dryden appears to have borrowed from Ogilby. In two couplets which rhyme the same in Dryden and Benson, Dryden is indebted to Ogilby for a half-rhyme. Five passages of three consecutive line ends, i.e., the rhyme-words of one couplet together with the immediately preceding or following half-rhyme, agree in the two translations, as does one four-line passage. Three longer passages of five, six, and seven lines respectively, differ in only one rhyme-word. In Benson's text, there are also a number of passages of mixed identities of rhyme-words, some with Dryden and some with Ogilby. The rhyme words of three couplets and one half-rhyme could have come either from Dryden or from May, and five more could have come from Dryden or directly from Dryden's primary source, the translation of the Earl of Lauderdale.<sup>1</sup>

Professor J. M. Bottkol, in his review of Mrs. Hooker's essay on Dryden's debt to earlier translators of the Georgics, points out that such rhyming pairs as "join/vine" are ubiquitous in poetry of the period.<sup>2</sup> But this objection takes into account only the occurrences of the same rhyming pairs in the works of different poets and does not deal with their occurrence in corresponding passages of translated verse. In the first Georgic, for example, Dryden rhymes "field" with "yield" five times; Benson, four times. But since this rhyme occurs only once in corresponding passages, three of Benson's are not considered as possible evidence of influence. Nor does Professor

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<sup>1</sup>The agreements with Dryden summarized here are reproduced in Appendix A1.

<sup>2</sup>Philological Quarterly XXVI (April, 1947), 118-19.



Bottkol's objection that sometimes the rhyme-words are the only identical words in otherwise quite dissimilar lines necessarily make borrowing unlikely. The later poet occasionally appears to go to considerable trouble to shape his line so as to take advantage of an end-word. Benson and Dryden translate the following lines from Vergil:

pallidus Orcus I, 177-78)

Eumenidesque satae: tum partu Terra nefando  
 Coeumque, Japetumque creat, saevumque Typhoea,  
 Et conjuratos coelum rescindere fratres.  
 (G I, 277-80)

That gave the Furies and pale Pluto Birth,  
 And arm'd, against the Skies, the Sons of Earth.  
 (Dryden, G I, 373-74)

Then, the relentless Furies bears the Earth,  
 And pale fac'd Pluto at an impious Birth,  
 Then, from her Womb the Rebel Brethren rise,  
 In desp'rate League combin'd to storm the Skies:  
 (Benson, G I, 351-54)

Nothing in the Latin text forces the "birth/earth" rhyme, and the two English poets manage their sentences differently, Dryden's being uncharacteristically compact and Benson's equally uncharacteristically prolix. And since it is known that Benson worked with Dryden's text always in mind, it appears likely that he also profited from Dryden's rhymes.

In Book I, Benson borrows only one two-line passage verbatim. Vergil's line,

Navita tum stellis numeros & nomina fecit,  
 (G I, 137)

is translated:

Then Sailors quarter'd Heav'n, and found a Name  
 For ev'ry fix'd, and ev'ry wandering Star:  
 (Dryden, G I, 208-09)

Then Sailors quarter'd Heav'n, and found a Name  
 For ev'ry fixt, and ev'ry wandering Star,  
 (Benson, G I, 177-78)

Ogilby had written: *this, observe the Monthly Signs.*  
(G I, 419)

Then Sailors nam'd and number'd every Star,  
And knew what all the Constellations were;  
(G I, 147-48)  
parallels or details not justified by the Latin text. Vergil's lines  
and Trapp was to publish as his version:

*Tum ferri rigor, atque argutee lamine ferrae;*  
*Nam praei cunctis scinde!* The Sea-Faring Crew  
Then first gave Names, and Numbers to the Stars,  
(G I, 177-78)

are translated by Dryden:

The Latin original not only does not force Benson and Dryden into  
agreement here; it does not justify the quartering of heaven, the  
rendering of the verb as "find," or any descriptive details about the  
stars. If the details are conventional, there still must be an ex-  
planation for the fact that both poets decided to use these particular  
conventions in the same order. There are just too many coincidences.  
Benson does not italicize these additions of Dryden's, nor does he  
comment on the lines in his notes.

Some other lines are also clearly influenced by Dryden's Vergil.  
moist solstices and serene winters:  
Dryden renders,

*Impiaque aeternam timeverunt saecula noctem.*  
(G I, 468)

Dryden translates:  
And Impious Mortals fear'd Eternal Night.  
(G I, 631)

To Swains, invoke the Pow'rs who rule the day,  
And Benson echoes: *ist Summer, and a Winter dry;*

And th'impious Age fear'd an Eternal Night.  
and Benson adds the same details—the power of the prayers  
(G I, 581)

Similarly, addressed and the sky: *and morning stars are swept along*

*Hoc metuens, coeli menses & sidera serva:*  
For this, ye Swains, intreat the Pow'rs  
(G I, 335)

becomes, in Dryden:  
The translation of the vocative *Aggissas* as "ye Swains" taken alone

In fear of this, observe the starry Signs,  
would not be particularly significant, but (G I, 459) other still-

and in Benson: *vides one further evidence that Benson was very much*

influence. In fear of this, observe the Monthly Signs. Translation that  
(G I, 419)

Occasionally, a half-rhyme occurs in conjunction with syntactic parallels or details not justified by the Latin text. Vergil's lines:

Tum ferri rigor, atque argutae lamina ferreae;  
Nam primi cuneis scindebant fissile lignum: (G I, 143-44)

are translated by Dryden:

Then Saws were tooth'd, and sounding Axes made;  
(For Wedges first did yielding Wood invade.)  
(G I, 215-16)

in Dryden's version are:  
and by Benson:

The Plain no Pasture to the Flock affords,  
Then th'Edge of Iron, and the Saw's shrill Blade,  
(For with the Wedge the First did Wood invade.)  
(G I, 185-86)

And Benson, following the Latin text more literally than Dryden in the first line, uses the same structure in the second: but also its placement in the line are reproduced in the later translation. Again, when Vergil addresses the farmer and bids him pray for moist solstices and serene winters:

Humida solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas  
Vergil's Agricolae:  
(G I, 100-01)

Dryden translates:  
Prodit insano contorquens vortice silvas  
rex Eridanus, compositae per omnes  
Ora stabulis armenta tollit:

Ye Swains, invoke the Pow'rs who rule the Sky,  
For a moist Summer, and a Winter dry:  
Dryden adds intensifying details, as he so (G I, 145-46)

and Benson adds the same details--the powers to whom the prayers should be addressed and the sky: "lab'ring Winds" are swept along

on the floor. The Solstice moist, serene the Winter Sky,  
For this, ye Swains, intreat the Pow'rs on high;  
Then rising in his Night, the King of Skies,  
Swept thro' the Firmament, bids the airy Winds:

The translation of the vocative Agricolae as "ye Swains" taken alone would not be particularly significant, but added to the other similarities, it provides one further evidence that Benson was very much



influenced by the translation he called "the worst Translation that ever was made, all things consider'd" of "the best Poem of the best Poet that ever writ."<sup>3</sup>

Often, when Benson repeats Dryden's rhyme scheme in a couplet, one line is syntactically parallel with Dryden's and one is not. Vergil's lines:

In furiosis Gurgulient abductis arva colonis,  
Et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.  
And pouring onwards with resistless force  
Beasts, with their rain'd Stalks, are hammer'd into Swords;  
(G I, 507-08)

in Dryden's version are:

The Plain no Pasture to the Flock affords,  
The crooked Scythes are streightned into Swords:  
(G I, 683-84)

And Benson, following the Latin text more literally than Dryden in the first line, uses the same structure in the second:

A ghastly Sight the squallid Field affords,  
And bending Scythes are hammer'd into Swords:  
(G I, 626-27)

A four-line passage demonstrates a similar echo of Dryden. To

Vergil's lines:

Proluit insano contorquens vortice silvas  
Fluviorum rex Eridanus, composque per omnes  
Cum stabulis armenta tulit:  
Et sold in sickle secum spatiat  
(G I, 481-83)

Dryden adds intensifying details, as he so often does; the personified river is seen as "rising in his Might," and not only the herds, but also the alliterative "Houses" and "lab'ring Hinds" are swept along on the flood:

Then rising in his Might, the King of Floods,  
Rusht thro' the Forrests, tore the lofty Woods;

<sup>3</sup>The Preface to Book II of Virgil's Husbandry, p. xxviii.

and Benson, maintaining the focus of the original text, still echoes



Dryden's "And rolling onward, with a sweepy Sway,  
Bore Houses, Herds, and lab'ring Hinds away.  
For various Labours each revolving (G I, 649-52)  
Gives Happy Days; the Fifth be sure to shun;

Benson follows the word order of the original closely in the first couplet, even though doing so involves him in an inversion that is awkward in English, then yields to Dryden's more graceful syntax in the second:

In furious Gulphs absorbs the whirling Woods  
Imperial Po, the Sov'reign of the Floods;  
And pouring onwards with resistless Sway  
Bears, with their ruin'd Stalls, the Herds away:  
(G I, 596-99)

The parallel is sometimes closer. For example, with the exception of the order of the instrumental phrase and the subject, the following couplets share both rhyme scheme and sentence structure:

The Crow with clam'rous Cries the Show'r demands,  
And single stalks along the Desart Sands.  
(Dryden, G I, 533-34)

Then with full Voice the Rook the Show'r demands,  
And solitary Stalks along the scorching Sands:  
(Benson, G I, 486-87)

The lines translated here suggest "sands" as an end-word but not "demands":

Tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce,  
Et sola in sicca secum spatiatur arena.  
(G I, 388-89)

In translating

Ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine Luna  
Felices operum, quintam fuge:  
(G I, 276-77)

Dryden shifts the initiative from the giver to the receiver:

The lucky Days, in each revolving Moon,  
For Labour chuse: The Fifth be sure to shun;  
(G I, 371-72)

and Benson, maintaining the focus of the original text, still echoes

Dryden's syntax while repeating his rhyme:

For various Labours each revolving Moon bella per orbem;  
Gives Happy Days; the Fifth be sure to shun;  
(G I, 349-50)

Like Dryden, he adds the monitory "be sure to" to quintam fuge.

In longer passages, too, Dryden's influence makes itself felt.

Benson renders: monstrous Crimes in ev'ry Shape are crown'd.

Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis  
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi:  
Nec fuit indignum superis, his sanguine nostro  
Emathiam & latos Aemi pinguescere campos.  
Scilicet & tempus veniet, quum finibus illis  
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,  
Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila:

(G I, 489-95)

For this a second Time, Philippi's Field  
Romans engag'd in equal Arms beheld;  
And twice Emathia did just Heav'n think good  
And Haemus' Wasts to fatten with our Blood:  
Nay, and the Time will come, when lab'ring Swains  
Shall plough up rusty Piles within those Plains;  
(G I, 606-11)

Benson condenses Vergil's seven lines to six, as does Dryden, though

the length of Book I in the three versions is evidence enough that

such condensations are rare for both English writers: Vergil, 514 two

lines; Dryden, 693 lines; and Benson, 634 lines. Dryden distributes

his rhymes differently, beginning with a triplet:

For this th'Emathian Plains once more were strow'd  
With Roman Bodies, and just Heav'n thought good  
To fatten twice those Fields with Roman Blood.  
Then, after length of Time, the lab'ring Swains  
Who turn the Turfs of those unhappy Plains  
Shall rusty Piles from the plough'd Furrows take,  
(G I, 659-64)

Nevertheless, his translation provides four of Benson's six end-words

and insight into the judgment of "just Heav'n."

More often, the English translations take more lines than the Latin original, and Dryden's English verse is longer than Benson's.

For example, Vergil's line and a half,

Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas, tot bella per orbem,  
Tam multae scelerum facies:

(G I, 505-06)

requires three lines in Dryden's version:

Where Fraud and Rapine, Right and Wrong confound;  
Where impious Arms from ev'ry part resound,  
And monstrous Crimes in ev'ry Shape are crown'd.

(G I, 678-80)

and two full lines in Benson's:

Where impious Mortals Right, and Wrong confound  
Wars rage; and Vice in ev'ry Shape is crown'd.

(G I, 622-23)

Benson's more compact translation does not result in different words  
falling at line ends. Where Dryden needs two couplets to translate,

Pan ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae,  
Adsis o Tegeae savens:

(G I, 17-18)

And thou, the Shepherds tutelary God,  
Leave, for a while, O Pan! thy lov'd Abode:  
And, if Arcadian Fleeces be thy Care,  
From Fields and Mountains to my Song repair.

(G I, 19-22)

Benson, not adding extraneous details, renders the same passage in two  
lines:

And Pan, if thy Arcadia be thy Care,  
Hither, thou Guardian of the Flock, repair:

(G I, 18-19)

Again, the condensation does not force him away from Dryden's rhyme  
scheme, even though the content of the lines is not exactly the same.

It is doubtful that Benson realized the extent to which he was  
influenced by the work he found so overrated and so inadequate. Cer-  
tainly, he acknowledged no debt at all, but rather announced that he  
was writing in order to "shew the Injustice of complimenting Mr. Dry-  
den, even at the expense of Virgil himself; and to let every Body

see, that whatever Abilities Mr. Dryden might have, in other respects, he was by no Means a proper Person to engage in this Undertaking."<sup>4</sup> Yet, all things considered, it is hardly surprising that Benson's concentration on Dryden's manifold errors and weaknesses should have led him to think some of Dryden's thoughts after him, and to think them in Dryden's words.

Joseph Trapp published his translation in three installments; his Aeneis came out in two volumes, the first in 1718 and the second in 1720, and eleven years later in three volumes, now including the Eclouges and the Georgics. In the preface to the 1731 edition, he noted that he had taken the opportunity to "retouch, correct, and improve my Translation of the Aeneis: which I have done in many Places, tho' with very little seeming Alteration." He made no major changes.

For ten years from 1708 to 1718, Trapp had been Professor of Poetry at Oxford. Some of the lectures he gave in that capacity were published in 1711 under the title Praelectiones Poeticae, and were re-issued in 1715 and 1736 and translated into English in 1742 by William Clarke and William Bowyer. Trapp had already begun his Vergil when he took up his duties at Oxford, and it beguiled his leisure throughout his tenure there and for several years afterwards. The translation was a labor of love as well as an opportunity for him to put his critical principles into practice.

In the essay cited in Chapter I, T. W. Harrison suggests that early eighteenth-century translators were interested in the political significance of Vergil's work to the exclusion of poetical concerns. But neither Joseph Trapp's translation nor his preface to it bears out

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<sup>4</sup>The Preface to Book II, p. xxviii.



such a judgment. His discussion of the political significance of the Aeneid is perfunctory, but he grows eloquent about Vergilian poetics. For example, to support his judgment that Book III is as beautiful "in its Kind" as any other book of the poem, he argues:

For it is impossible to determine which of them is the most Beautiful, or Delightful, absolutely speaking. 'Tis here, as 'tis everywhere else: There are different Species of Beauty, and Delight; and that not only to different Persons, but to the same Persons, at different Times. This Third Book is as perfect in It's Kind, as any of the rest in Theirs: And even the Kind itself is exceeding agreeable for the Reason above-mentioned: Nay, it's very Situation, which makes it over-looked and slighted by Some, ought to make it loved and admired by All. For what a grateful Vicissitude is it to the Mind, to pass from the Horrour and Fury of War, to the more slow and cool Ideas of Voyages, and Countries, described in so charming a Manner! And from Them again to the Rapidity of Passions in That Tragedy which succeeds.<sup>5</sup>

Trapp declares himself to be unwilling to set up a heirarchy of values in which the sublime outranks all other beauties; nevertheless, that quality is the touchstone by which he demonstrates the excellence of even the "slow and cool Ideas" of so straightforward a travelogue as Book III. He calls attention to such qualities as "the most consummate Elegancy and Variety throughout" and "the Marvellous, and the Pathetical." He cites "the Myrtles distilling Blood, and the Speech of Polydore from the Bottom of the Tomb; which is of the Marvellous Kind, and than which nothing can be more full of Horrour." "The Adventure of the Harpies is another Instance of the Marvellous Kind; and what indeed can be more marvellous? The Description is excellent; and the whole Passage is full of Dread and Wonder." Trapp summarizes:

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<sup>5</sup>The edition of Trapp's translation used here is the fourth, published in 1755. The passage from the Preface quoted above occurs on pp. 135-36.

"This Third Book of the Aeneis contains such a variety of Facts, and Places, of Grief and Joy, or Terrour and Admiration, that nothing ever more verify'd that [sentence] of Horace expressing the irresistible Magic of Poetry."<sup>6</sup>

What interested Trapp was not politics, but poetry. Yet it must be noted that it is the emotional impact, the sublimity, of the Latin poem that moves him to eloquence. He seeks to reproduce Vergil's poetic values in English chiefly through literal fidelity to Vergil's text. Alexander Pope, in the Preface to his Homer, concedes that "there have not been more Men misled in former Times by a servile dull Adherence to the Letter, than have been deluded in ours by a chimerical insolent Hope of raising and improving their Author."<sup>7</sup> But what is a concession for Pope is Trapp's thesis: a translator must not sacrifice the sense of Vergil's words to his own conception of Vergil's poetic intent, and, of course, he must refrain from putting first his own purposes as an English poet. What makes a poem immortal is its "Soul," but

then all this being taken care of, certainly the nearer to the Original, the better: May indeed it is impossible to hit the Air right; unless you hit the Features, from which the Air, so far as it relates to the Body, rises and results. Should my Translation be approved of for the Spirit of Poetry; I should not be sorry, nay I should be glad, if at the same time it served for a Construing-Book to a School-Boy.<sup>8</sup>

Concerning Dryden's translation of Vergil's lines:

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<sup>6</sup>1755 Preface, pp. 136-40 passim.

<sup>7</sup>Norman Ault, ed., The Prose Works of Alexander Pope (Oxford, 1936), Vol. I, 245.

<sup>8</sup>1731 Preface, p. lxvi.

Ferrum exercebant vasto Cyclopes in antro,  
 Brontesque, Steropesque, & nudus membra Pyracmon.  
 (A VIII, 424-25)

On their eternal Anvils here he found  
 The Brethren beating, and the Blows go round.  
 (A VIII, 561-62)

Trapp complains of numerous departures from the literal sense, adding:

In the Passage throughout, Mr. Dryden has the true Spirit of Virgil; but he would have had never the less of it, if he had more closely adhered to his Words and Expressions.<sup>9</sup>

Despite all the protestations that the translator must sometimes depart from the words of the original in order to adhere more closely to its essential nature, the fact remains that Trapp conceives "departure" strictly and finds such additions and omissions as Dryden's inexcusable. He quotes with approval "Dr. Felton's ingenious and judicious Dissertation upon Reading the Classics":

the thing to be regarded is the Beauty and Elegance of the Original; and . . . without minding any thing but the Sense of the Author, [the translator] is to consider how that Passage would be best expressed in English, if you were not tied up to the Words of the Original; And you may depend upon it, that if you can find a Way of expressing the same Sense as beautifully in English; you have hit the true Translation, tho' you cannot construe the Words backwards and forwards into one another: For then you certainly have translated, as the Author, were he an Englishman, would have wrote.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, Trapp cannot agree with Dr. Felton that "a Translation of

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<sup>9</sup>1731 Preface, p. xc.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. lxvii. Henry Felton, D.D., first published his popular Dissertation on Reading the Classics and forming a just Style in 1711. Though it went through several editions, the work was not universally admired; Felton's contemporary, Thomas Hearne, noted in his diary that it was "a very light, foolish performance." Trapp (whom Hearne described as a "vain, proud, empty fellow") obviously disagreed. See the entries for Henry Felton [1679-1740] and Thomas Hearne [1678-1735] in the Dictionary of National Biography.

Virgil after Mr. Dryden's is a desperate Undertaking." His translation, he says, is "of a different Nature," from Dryden's, and he does not hesitate to make value judgments about the two chief elements of the difference: fidelity to the Latin words and prosody.

He justifies his own choice of blank verse on the grounds

that the Fetters of Rhime often cramp the Expression, and spoil the Verse, and so you can both translate more closely, and also more fully express the Spirit of your Author, without it, than with it; I say besides This, supposing other Circumstances were equal, Blank Verse is in it self better. It is not only more Majestick, and Sublime, but more Musical, and Harmonious: It has more Rhime in it, according to the ancient, and true Sense of the Word, than Rhime it self, as it is now used. . . . The Privilege of resting on this, or that Foot, sometimes one, and sometimes another, and so diversifying the Pauses and Cadences, is the greatest Beauty of Blank Verse, and perfectly agreeable to the Practice of our Masters, the Greeks, and Romans. . . . The same may be said of placing the Verb after the Accusative Case; and the Adjective after the Substantive; both which, especially the last, are more frequent in Blank Verse, than in Rhime. This Turn of Expression . . . even in our own Language adds much to the Grandeur, and Majesty of the Poem, if it be wrought with Care, and Judgment. As does also the judicious interspersing (for judicious, and sparing it must be) of antique Words, and of such as, being derived from Latin, retain the Air of That Language: Both which have a better Effect in Blank Verse, than in Rhime; by Reason of a certain Majestick Stiffness, which becomes the one, more than the other. . . . I speak of this Stiffness only in some particular Passages, for which it is proper: For Blank Verse, when it pleases, can be as smooth, as soft, and as flowing, as Rhime.<sup>11</sup>

Trapp concedes that rhymed verse is more quotable and adds that it would be idle to "reject That in Speculation, which Mr. Dryden and Mr. Pope have ennobled by their Practice." Still, the point remains that blank verse is intrinsically superior to rhyme, and rhyme imposes

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<sup>11</sup>1731 Preface, pp. lxvi-lxviii.



especially severe limitations upon the verse translator. He does not, however, go so far as to consider a faithful verse translation of whatever prosodic structure impossible, as Joseph Davidson was to argue in the preface to his prose translation:

As to this Translation of Virgil, though there have been many in Verse some of which are of great Merit; yet, as the Translators have confined themselves to Measure and Numbers, none of them have expressed the Author's Meaning so fully and exactly as may be done by a translator in Prose. For the Poet is often necessitated, for the Sake of his Measures, to add, retrench, or otherwise deviate from the precise Meaning of his Author, especially if he be shackled and hemmed in by Rhymes.<sup>12</sup>

In Trapp's view, the best translation is, like its original, written in the most suitable meter (in Latin, hexameters and in English, blank verse), and is as literally faithful to the words of the original as possible.

In these two crucial respects, Trapp rejects the Dryden translation, a rejection all the more impressive because he seems reluctant to make it:

Mr. Dryden's is, in many Parts, a noble and spirited Translation; and yet I cannot, upon the Whole, think it a good one. . . . His versification here, as everywhere else, is generally flowing and harmonious; and Beauties of all kinds are scattered through the Whole. But then, besides his often grossly mistaking his Author's Sense; as a Translator, he is extremely licentious. . . . In many Places, where he shines most

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<sup>12</sup> Joseph Davidson, The Works of Virgil Translated into English Prose as Near the Original as the Different Idioms of the Latin and English Languages Will Allow (London, 1790), p. lxvi. This translation was originally published several years earlier. However, Davidson's nineteenth-century American editor, William Staughton, whose edition was published in Baltimore in 1813, cannot be correct in saying that Davidson drew on Warton as well as Dryden and Trapp for his notes, since Warton's translation was published five years after the earliest authenticated edition of Davidson, the second, published in 1748.

as a Poet, he is least a Translator; And where you  
most admire Mr. Dryden, you see the least of Virgil.<sup>13</sup>

One should expect, then, to find Dryden's and Trapp's translations  
similar only when Dryden is most literally faithful to his Latin text.

On the whole, that expectation is fulfilled. In the seventy-  
seven lines of the fourth Eclogue, for example, there are eight epi-  
thets which are the same in the two English poems:

Sicilian Muse(s)	(Dryden, 1; Trapp, 1)
Sicelides Musae	(Vergil, 1)
loftier strain	(Dryden, 1; Trapp, 1)
paullo majora	(Vergil, 1)
lowly Shrubs	(Dryden, 2; Trapp, 2)
humilesque myricae	(Vergil, 2)
Consul's Care	(Dryden, 4; Trapp, 4)
consule dignae	(Vergil, 3)
Chast(e) Lucina	(Dryden, 11; Trapp, 11)
casta . . . Lucina	(Vergil, 10)
great Achilles	(Dryden, 44; Trapp, 45)
magnus . . . Achilles	(Vergil, 36)
Thracian Orpheus	(Dryden, 66; Trapp, 66)
Thracius Orpheus	(Vergil, 55)
ten long months	(Dryden, 75; Trapp, 74)
longa decem . . . menses	(Vergil, 61)

Six are translated in the most literal possible manner, three of them  
(Sicilian Muse[s], Chast[e] Lucina, and Thracian Orpheus) with cognate  
words. One of the less literal translations is also very common: the  
adjective dignus (worthy of), used with "be" and followed by a noun in  
the ablative case, was conventionally translated "deserve" with the  
noun becoming the object; and as Arthos has shown, "care" frequently  
was added to such structures, both in the classical Latin (cura) and

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<sup>13</sup>1731 Preface, pp. lxxdi-lxxdii.

in English.<sup>14</sup> One is tempted, however, to demur: Trapp was thoroughly familiar with Dryden's translation, as his own comments in his prefaces and notes show; it appears unlikely that he hit upon the same combination of two conventions without at least thinking of Dryden's use of them to render the same passage. And such similarities are not limited, even in this short work, to epithets alone. The "loftier Strain" of line 2, in Vergil's line,

Sicelides Musae, paullo majora canamus.

(E IV, 1)

is the object of the subjunctive verb "let us sing." The adverb paullo (somewhat) modifies the adjective majora (loftier), which is used substantivally here. Some kind of grammatical transformation in the English line is required by the impossibility of rendering majora as a nominal, as well as by the needs of the iambic pentameter line. However, I suspect that even the prose translation of the modern Loeb Vergil,

Sicilian Muses, let us sing a somewhat loftier strain.

(I, 29)<sup>15</sup>

owes more to the durability of Dryden's translation than to the inevitability of the use of "strain." A number of nouns might serve as well, or the phrase might be made adverbial: "somewhat more loftily." More important, the concurrence of Dryden and Trapp in changing the mood, person, number, and sense of the verb also suggests that Trapp divided his attention between Vergil and his own English predecessor

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<sup>14</sup>Language of Natural Description, p. 20.

<sup>15</sup>H. R. Fairclough, tr., Virgil, 2 vols., in The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1966). As in this passage, volume and page numbers will be cited in parentheses in the text in subsequent references to this work. Unmarked translations are my own.

as he began this Eclogue. There was at least one influence that might just as well have led either or both of the translators in a different direction; the Ruæus commentary, which both men knew well, here offers,

O Musae Siculae, cantemus paullo grandiora.

as equivalent to Vergil's line. Ruæus also varies the semantic content of the verb but not as Dryden and Trapp vary it, and he does not suggest the alterations they make in its syntactic function.<sup>16</sup>

Many examples, however, may be educed to show that, in general, Trapp's diction often agrees with Dryden's when both are translating verbatim; inferences of influence drawn from such similarities can be only tentative. The lines,

Yet of old Fraud some Footsteps shall remain,  
(Dryden, E IV, 37)

and

Yet of old Guilt some Footsteps shall remain,  
(Trapp, E IV, 39)

to render,

Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis.  
(E IV, 31)

seem very similar indeed, but they are also very literally translated. The placement of the genitive fraudis ("Fraud/Guilt") is optional in English: the phrase could occur initially, after "Footsteps," or after "remain"; and Dryden and Trapp have exercised the same option. But the position they have chosen is not unusual in English, nor is there anything surprising about the English placement of the Latin

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<sup>16</sup>The Interpretatio, Ruæus's paraphrase of Vergil's text, is printed between the poem and the notes. Like the notes, it is written in Latin prose (which, incidentally, tends toward French word order and syntax).



postpositive tamen (yet); and the remainder of the sentence is in normal order. Trapp here either may have echoed Dryden, deliberately varying his rendition of fraudis, or he may have translated independently.

Similarly, in the first Georgic, the inverted order of the English half line:

for your Gifts I sing.  
(Dryden, 14)

and

Your Gifts I sing. . . .  
(Trapp, 15)

exactly repeats the Latin structure of,

Munera vestra cano.  
(12)

And when a few lines further along, Vergil invokes the gods:

Dique Deaque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri;  
(G I, 21)

Dryden translates:

Come all ye Gods and Goddesses that wear  
The rural Honours, and increase the Year.  
(G I, 26-27)

and Trapp:

And all ye Gods and Goddesses, who tend  
The fields, and studious o'er their fruits preside!  
(G I, 29-30)

the similarities occur in the most literally translated words, whereas the two poets' expansions of the complement of Vergil's sentence are quite different, Dryden generalizing in both phrases and Trapp simply reduplicating by translating literally ("who tend the Fields") and then repeating the sense of the translation in the less literal semantic equivalent of the Latin cognate ("studious"). Despite their

superficial agreement, the two translators have dealt with their original in different ways.

Often, when the two English poets are similar, it is not possible to make even a tentative inference about the genesis of Trapp's line. For example, when Vergil traces the development of the useful arts:

Nam primi cuneis scindebant fissile lignum:  
Tum variae venere artes.

(G I, 144-45)

Dryden renders the line:

(For Wedges first did yielding Wood invade.)  
And various Arts in order did succeed.

(G I, 216-17)

and Trapp:

(With Wedges, first, the splitting Wood they riv'd)  
Then various Arts ensued.

(G I, 187-88)

And their treatment of Vergil's account of the invention of the plow is even more plainly the same:

& curvi formam accipit ulmus aratri.  
(G I, 170)

Both Dryden and Trapp place the elm (ulmus) in the preceding line and devote a full line to the predicate:

Fit for the Figure of the crooked Plough.  
(Dryden, G I, 250)

And takes the Figure of the crooked Plough.  
(Trapp, G I, 219)

Dryden's "Fit for the Figure" is a less literal translation of formam accipit than Trapp's, but, again, where both translations are literal, they agree. In the English translations of the account of lucky and unlucky days,

nona fugae melior, contraria furtis.  
(G I, 286)

it is easy to see that Dryden is indebted to Lauderdale:

The Ninth is good for Travel, bad for Theft.  
(Dryden, G I, 382)

The ninth for trav'ling's good, and ill for Theft.  
(Lauderdale, G I, 374)

but much less clear whether Trapp has his predecessor or only the Latin original in mind.

The Ninth to Flight  
Is found propitious, but adverse to Theft.  
(Trapp, G I, 356-57)

Often, one suspects that Dryden's translation was lying open on Trapp's desk, but the evidence is tantalizing rather than conclusive. When Vergil, for example, tells how the farmer ties up his vines:

Atque Amerina parant lentae retinacula viti.  
(G I, 265)

the Ruaeus paraphrase keeps the relative abstractness of paro even in varying the word:

Praeparant Amerina ligamina vineae flexili.

But Trapp, like Dryden, moves from the abstract to the more concrete action and shows how the farmer will prepare his ties:

And Osiers twist to bind the flexile Vine.  
(Trapp, G I, 331)

or twine  
The Sallow Twigs to tye the stragling Vine.  
(Dryden, G I, 357-58)

Dryden appears to have been as concerned about a rhyme-word for "vine" as about the literal meaning of the Latin text, but the origin of Trapp's choice is less clear, especially since he echoes Ruaeus in the adjective "flexile" and adopts the sense of Dryden's "twist" without repeating the word itself. In Vergil's complaint about the difference between the way the world is and the way it ought to be,

Et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.  
(G I, 508)

both Dryden and Trapp seem to have Isaiah in mind:

The crooked Scythes are streight'ned into Swords.  
(Dryden, G I, 684)

And crooked Scythes are hammer'd into Swords.  
(Trapp, G I, 627)

Whether that parallel accounts for the absence of rigidum (hard, inflexible) in the translations, or whether they felt that they had more or less incorporated the modifier of ensem (swords) into their English verbs "streight'ned" and "hammer'd," and whether Trapp made his decisions independently or in the light of what Dryden had done cannot be determined with any certainty.

There are many passages in the fourth Aeneids which present the same problems as those to be found in the Eclogues and the Georgics. Some apparently closely related passages are literal translations. Vergil has Dido praise Aeneas's courage by contrasting his fearlessness with the coward's terror, observing:

Degereres animos timor arguit.  
(A IV, 13)

Both Dryden and Trapp translate closely, making use of the cognates "argue" and "degenerate":

Fear ever argues a degenerate Kind.  
(Dryden, A IV, 17)

Unmanly Fear  
Argues degen'rate Souls.  
(Trapp, A IV, 17-18)

Vergil's line,

Velleribus niveis & festa fronde revinctum.  
(A IV, 459)

becomes, in Dryden's version,



With snowy Fleeces and with Garlands crown'd:  
(A IV, 666)

and in Trapp's,

With snowy Fleeces, and fresh Garlands crown'd.  
(A IV, 612)

Two words here are translated freely: festā (solemn, ritual) and revinctum (bound, fastened). Trapp renders festā as "fresh," thus preserving the alliterating sound of the Latin in the adjective but not preserving it in the noun which translates fronde (it works, instead with "Fleeces"), and both English poets translate revinctum as "crown'd." Since the exigencies of Dryden's couplet would be equally well served by the literal "bound" (the rhyme-word is "around"), his reason for choosing the conventional "crown'd" is as obscure as Trapp's.

The incremental use of "absent" in:

Absent, her absent Heroe sees and hears.  
(Dryden, A IV, 119)

and

Him absent, absent still she hears, and sees.  
(Trapp, A IV, 115)

repeats Vergil's trope:

illum absens absente[m] auditque videtque:  
(A IV, 83)

and Trapp is closer to the Latin than to Dryden, both in the opening phrase and in the order of the verbs, which Dryden is obliged to invert for the sake of his rhyme. Vergil explains why Anna did not suspect Dido's plan to commit suicide on the grounds that she had seen her sister wild with grief before and she made no such attempt then:

aut graviora timet, quam morte Sichaei.  
Ergo jussa parat.

(A IV, 502-03)

She fear'd no worse than when Sichaeus fell:  
Therefore obeys.

(Dryden, A IV, 726-27)

And fear'd no worse than when Sichaeus dy'd:  
Therefore obeys her Orders.

(Trapp, A IV, 671-72)

Trapp and Dryden agree in shifting the noun morte to a verb, but not the same verb, and both poets combine jussa parat as "obey," though Trapp adds the semantically redundant "her Orders," perhaps because the four syllables of "Therefore obeys" seem inadequate to do justice to Vergil's hemistich. Dryden, making no attempt to preserve this evidence that Vergil left his poem unfinished, is free to move on to the next sentence.

Like his first Georgic, Trapp's fourth Aeneid contains one line that is identical to Dryden's in the same passage. And here, too, both poets are literally accurate, but in the lines immediately following, Trapp, as usual, remains close to the Latin, whereas Dryden does not:

At pius Aeneas, quanquam lenire dolentem  
Solando cupit, & dictis avertere curas,  
Multa gemens, magnoque animum labefactus amore:  
(A IV, 393-95)

But good Aeneas, tho' he much desir'd  
To give that Pity, which her Grief requir'd,  
Tho' much he mourn'd, and labour'd with his Love,  
(Dryden, A IV, 568-70)

But good Aeneas, tho' he much desir'd  
By comforting to ease her Grief and sooth  
The Tempest of her Passions; groaning deep,  
And stagger'd in his Mind by mighty Love;  
(Trapp, A IV, 518-21)

The echo of the end-word "Love" does not help to resolve the problem

of whether Dryden's influence is at work in Trapp's lines, since it is a literal translation of Vergil's end-word amore, as well. And the two translations of the lines in which Juno agrees to make the arrangements for Dido and Aeneas to meet in the cave pose the same problem:

Tum sic excepit regia Juno:  
Mecum erit iste labor:

(A IV, 114-15)

Mine, said Imperial Juno, be the Care;  
(Dryden, A IV, 161)

To whom Imperial Juno Thus reply'd;  
Mine be that Care;  
(Trapp, A IV, 154-55)

Again, the similarities are literal or conventional, and where the two translations differ, Trapp remains closer to Vergil.

But all these problematical resemblances notwithstanding, there remain a number of passages in which the agreement between Trapp's and Dryden's versions is not entirely explainable by their Latin original and does not seem to be suggested by a poetic commonplace. Sometimes, the English translators make explicit a detail that is implied but not stated in the Latin. When Iarbas calls Jupiter's attention to the scandalous behavior of Dido and Aeneas, demanding better recompense for his faithful worship, he prays:

Juppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis  
Gens epulata toris, Lenaeum libat honorem,  
Aspicias haec?

(A IV, 206-08)

Great Jove, propitious to the Moorish Race,  
Who feast on painted Beds, with Off'rings grace  
Thy Temples, and adore thy Pow'r Divine  
With Blood of Victims, and with sparkling Wine:  
Seest thou not this?

(Dryden, A IV, 300-04)

Almighty Jove, to whom the Moorish Race  
 Feasting on broider'd Beds, pour richest Wine;  
 Seest thou these Things?

(Trapp, A IV, 270-72)

Trapp's more compact version echoes Dryden's diction, omitting the additions to which the need for rhymes seems to drive him, but repeating the end-words "Race" and "Wine" and making Lanaeum . . . hon-orem explicitly wine. The Loeb translation of this passage is more literal than either Dryden's or Trapp's:

Almighty Jupiter, to whom now the Moorish race,  
 feasting on embroidered couches, pour a Lenaeon  
 offering, beholdest thou these things?

(I, 409)

And Dryden, translating Vergil's idyllic picture of the golden age to come,

nec magnos metuent armenta leones.

(E IV, 22)

must bear in mind the preceding rhyme-word "speed," and he therefore adds to the literal sense of Vergil's clause (nor shall herds fear great lions):

And lowing Herds, secure from Lyons feed.

(E IV, 26)

Trapp picks up the image of the grazing sheep:

and the Herds,  
 Unterrify'd by monstrous Lions, feed.

(E IV, 28-29)

Here, as in a number of other passages, Trapp uses Dryden's image and syntactic form while also correcting a flaw or omission (in this passage, the omission of magnos). Vergil shows Dido's timidity in Aeneas's presence:

Incipit effari, mediaque in voce resistit.

(A IV, 76)



Dryden interprets her behavior:

This pomp she shows to tempt her wand'ring Guest;  
Her falt'ring Tongue forbids to speak the rest.  
(A IV, 105-06)

while Trapp is much closer to the literal statement that she begins to speak and stops in mid-speech:

Begins to speak, and in the Middle stops  
Her fault'ring Tongue.  
(A IV, 105-06)

Fidelity to the text does not rule out the addition of affective details such as Dido's faltering tongue or the suggestion that due honors are appreciated by the dead:

These grateful Off'rings on my Grave bestow;  
(Dryden, A IV, 897)

and

And pay That grateful Off'ring to my Ghost:  
(Trapp, A IV, 831)

do more than simply translate Vergil's:

cinerique haec mittite nostro  
Munera.  
(A IV, 622-23)

Dido's request is simply: "Send these tributes to my ashes."

As has already been observed in connection with many similarities in the Dryden and Trapp Vergil's, the use of cognates in a translation suggests a great deal of attention to the original text, and the agreement in the diction of translations in which such words appear is not evidence of borrowing by one translator from the other. Conversely, agreement in diction that might well but does not involve the use of cognates does suggest that the later translator was affected by his predecessor's work. In the following translations of Vergil's description of the prelude to a storm, three cognate terms

occur: "impend" (impendente), "nocturnal" (noctis), and "long" (longos), the last only in Dryden's, and all three in Trapp's:

And oft before tempest'ous Winds arise,  
The seeming Stars fall headlong from the Skies;  
And, shooting through the darkness, guild the Night  
With sweeping Glories, and long trails of Light:  
And Chaff with eddy Winds is whirl'd around,  
And dancing Leaves are lifted from the Ground;  
And floating Feathers on the Waters play.  
(Dryden, G I, 501-07)

Oft too, when Winds impends, you shall behold  
Stars glide from Heav'n; long Streaks of Fire, behind,  
Stream thro' nocturnal Shades; Light Chaff, and Leaves  
Fall'n from the Trees in Eddies whirl around;  
Or Feathers on the Water's Surface play.  
(Trapp, G I, 454-58)

Saepe etiam stellas vento impendente videbis  
Praecipites coelo labi: noctisque per umbras  
Flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus:  
Saepe levem paleam & frondes volitare caducas:  
Aut summa nantes in aqua colludere plumas.  
(G I, 365-69)

There are, of course, a number of differences in the two versions. Not the least of them is the fact that Trapp has chosen to translate Vergil's last line, whereas Dryden has translated the Ruaeus paraphrase of it, omitting superficie:

aut plumas natantes in superficie aqua agitari.

Nevertheless, two of Trapp's five end-words are suggested by Dryden but not by Vergil (or Ruaeus), and while "winds" and "stars" and "leaves" are predictable, "chaff," "feathers," "play," "whirl around," and "eddy" are less so.

A similar use and correction of Dryden occurs in Trapp's version of Vergil's account of the divine origin of work:

Pater ipse colendi  
Haud facilem esse viam voluit: primusque per artem  
Movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda:  
Nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno.  
(G I, 121-24)

is faithfully reproduced in:

The Sire of Gods himself  
Will'd not that Tillage should be free from Toil.  
He first solicited the lazy Mold  
By Art; and whetted Mortal Wit with Cares,  
Permitting not his Reign to rust with Sloth.  
(Trapp, G I, 160-64)

but with echoes of Dryden's more prolix version:

The Sire of Gods and Men with hard Decrees,  
Forbids our Plenty to be bought with Ease:  
And wills that Mortal Men, inur'd to toil  
Shou'd exercise, with pains, the grudging Soil.  
Himself invented first the shining Share  
And whetted Humane Industry by Care;  
Himself did Handy-Crafts and Arts ordain;  
Nor suffer'd Sloath to rust his active Reign.  
(G I, 183-90)

Both Dryden and Trapp specialize viam (way): "the father of the celestial ones himself has willed the way not to be easy"; the absence of freedom from labor is surely implied but is not stated in the original. Neither "care" nor "reign" occurs as an end-word in Vergil, though they do in both English poems, and there is nothing in either Vergil or Ruæus to suggest the verb "rust."

The most interesting parallels in the two works occur when Trapp finds the Latin not readily translatable into English. In such passages, he carefully reviews the alternatives, and then usually decides in agreement with Dryden. Trapp translates,

Ejectum litore, egentum  
Excepi;  
(A IV, 373-74)

Him toss'd  
On Shore, of all Things indigent, I here  
Receiv'd;  
(A IV, 489-91)

and explains in his note on the passage:

Some point it; ejectum, littore egentem: Others;  
ejectum littore, egentem. I chuse the latter,  
 tho' Both are very good. Ejectum [e navi] littore,  
 for in littus. Perhaps after all, He means ejectum  
 [e patria:] and then littore must relate to egentem.

Among those whose reading of the line is different is Ruaeus, who  
 paraphrases the passage:

Excepi Aeneam expulsam e litore, egenum;  
 (I took in Aeneas who had been cast from his shore,  
 indigent.)

But Dryden's choice is the same as Trapp's; his Aeneas has been cast  
 not from his own coast but onto Dido's shore without resources:

I sav'd the Shipwrack'd Exile on my Shore:  
 (Dryden, A IV, 537)

By modern standards of translation, Trapp seems to insist upon making  
 a distinction that is real enough but not very significant. The point  
 remains, however, that if he is splitting hairs, he is doing so after  
 Dryden's example.

Dido continues with her account of all that she has done for the  
 ungrateful Aeneas:

& regni demens in parte locavi:  
 (A IV, 374)

which Trapp renders:

and made him Partner of my Throne.  
 (Fool that I was!)  
 (A IV, 491-92)

much as Dryden has already done:

I took the Traytor to my Throne and Bed:  
 Fool that I was—  
 (A IV, 539-40)

both English poets having removed demens from the clause in which Ver-  
 gil imbedded it and having treated it as a parenthetical exclamation  
 rather than as a modifier of the putative subject of locavi. They



agree also in their interpretation of the kind of grammatical deletion involved in Vergil's very compact line:

Amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi.  
(A IV, 375)

Trapp translates:

repair'd his shatter'd Fleet,  
And hospitably sav'd his Friends from Death.  
(A IV, 492-93)

and notes:

Classem [pene] amissam [refeci.] These words  
are understood; And yet all is very plain;  
Classem seeming to be govern'd of reduxi; tho'  
it really is Not.

Dryden's translation is freer, but it accords with Trapp's view of Vergil's syntax; he, too, treats the saving of the men and the refitting of the fleet separately. Dryden's additions and his manipulation of the order of the lines appears to be dictated by the exigencies of rhyme. The complete passage, as it appears in his translation, is:

I sav'd the Shipwrack'd Exile on my Shore;  
With needful Food his hungry Trojans fed;  
I took the Traytor to my Throne and Bed:  
Fool that I was—'tis little to repeat  
The rest, I stor'd and Rigg'd his ruin'd Fleet.  
(A IV, 537-41)

Dido's offering to the dark gods has troubled all of Vergil's translators. The consensus is that the hemistich:

Et matri praereptus amor.  
(A IV, 516)

may not be in the form in which Vergil would have left it if he had lived to polish his epic. As Trapp observes in his note on this line,

This cannot be translated literally. Amor for  
what she loved: It seems she would eat it, if  
it were not immediately snatched from her, after  
the Birth of the Foal. The fleshy Knot, or an  
Excrescence of Flesh upon the Forehead of it,

is not named in the Original; but, according to all Annotators, That is the Thing intended.

Dryden's version of the passage is less satisfactory because it does not make the intention explicit in so great detail as Trapp's does, but the handling of the crux is the same in both translations:

And cuts the Forehead of a new-born Fole;  
Robbing the Mother's Love.

(Dryden, A IV, 746-47)

and the fleshy Knot  
Torn from the Forehead of a new-foal'd Colt,  
To rob the Mother's Love.

(Trapp, A IV, 687-89)

The two English poets also sometimes concur on omissions as well as expansions and difficult passages. In Dido's curse:

Sequar atris ignibus absens:  
Et quum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,  
Omnibus umbra locis adero:

(A IV, 384-86)

Trapp notes that absens is not translatable into English:

In the Original it is Absent I'll follow thee.  
But our Language will not admit of That Word  
in That Sense; which is the same, as Dead.  
Absens, i.e. Mortua.

He therefore omits the word entirely from his translation, as does Dryden:

Wrapt in dusky Flames,  
I'll follow thee; and, soon as icy Death  
Has freed my Soul from Flesh,

(Trapp, A IV, 505-07)

Dido shall come, in a black Sulph'ry flame;  
When death has once dissolv'd her Mortal frame.

(Dryden, A IV, 555-56)

From such tenuous agreements we cannot infer anything like the pervasive, often probably unconscious, emulation of Dryden that can be found in Benson's translation. Trapp uses details from Dryden's Vergil judiciously, sparingly, and for clearly definable reasons. When, for

example, in the passage he calls Vergil's "very best" (because in it "the Dreadful, and the Wonderful, joined with the Pathetical, reign thro' the Whole to a Degree unutterable"), Trapp adopts Dryden's epithet "putrid Blood" to translate cruorem (blood), he makes the choice because he thinks the expansion will help him to achieve the degree of horror evoked in the original passage as a whole. His differences from Dryden's translation are equally deliberate. Vergil ought to be dealt with on his own terms, in the most nearly equivalent words, figures, and metrical values possible. Where Dryden keeps his eye steadily focused on that objective, he is to be heeded; and where he does not, he is to be corrected or discarded altogether.

Even in the early part of the eighteenth century, Dryden was not the only bridge between the Latin poet and the English reader. It is obvious that without Dryden's Georgics, Virgil's Husbandry would have been very different, if indeed it had been published at all. Trapp's Vergil, on the other hand, would have been different in details but not essentially, for Trapp worked much more independently than Benson, even when Dryden's translation lay open before him. Whereas Benson used Vergil in order to deal with Dryden, Trapp used Dryden to supplement his own work with Vergil.

### CHAPTER III

#### Christopher Pitt

Christopher Pitt is remembered for two translations from Latin into English heroics: Vida's Art of Poetry and the Aeneid. Both works were highly regarded and much quoted in contemporary times, and both were virtually forgotten not long after the turn of the century. In the Cambridge History of English Literature, Pitt's Vida is reviewed as an expression of the values of Augustan poetics, but the Aeneid is dismissed with a sentence:

His translation of Vergil, in a measure, ousted Dryden's in the favour of the eighteenth century; though, to the possibly more impartial judgment of a posterity almost equally remote from either, it has not much, if anything more of Vergil and a good deal less of poetry.<sup>1</sup>

None of the major literary histories so much as mention Pitt's original verse, an implied judgment that agrees with the critical evaluation of his own time. Samuel Johnson confessed that he had "not observed that any rise above mediocrity."<sup>2</sup> And in Joseph Warton's Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, we find Pitt relegated to the fourth rank of English poets, among the "mere versifiers."<sup>3</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup>A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, From Steele and Addison to Pope and Swift (Cambridge, England, 1913), Vol. IX, 211-12.

<sup>2</sup>"The Life of Christopher Pitt," reprinted in Alexander Chalmers, Works of the English Poets (London, 1814), Vol. XII, 366.

<sup>3</sup>(London, 1756), pp. xi-xii.

reason for this view is readily apparent: Pitt's verses seem to have been written to illustrate the conventions which any schoolboy might have been able to recognize and imitate, rather than to express a poetic vision. Only a few imitations and translations from the Hebrew Psalms show no obvious influence of Vergil, Dryden, or Pope; and of these works, one of the imitations, a scatological essay on Spenser's style, seems to owe its content to the Dunciad. Most of Pitt's verses, chiefly occasional poems, are so highly derivative in prosody, imagery, language, and subject matter that the reader almost feels that he has read them before. Again and again, he finds Vergil's images in Dryden's English: the "auspicious babe" of the Eclogue to Pollio, the people who pour down to the shore and "darken all the strand," the old battlefields where swains plow up rusty armor, are but a few examples that could be multiplied many times to confirm the rightness of the judgment that Pitt was a "mere versifier."

Yet Johnson linked his Aeneid with Dryden's, calling them "the two best translations that perhaps ever were produced by one nation of the same author," and Warton elected to publish his own version of the Eclogues and the Georgics with Pitt's Aeneid. Even after the twentieth-century devaluation of the work is taken into account, there still remains a qualitative difference between it and Pitt's occasional poems. The difference is not explained in Pitt's own account of his purpose and method in making the translation. He began working on passages of the Aeneid, he says, as a pastime and continued until he "at last fell insensibly into the Thought of Translating the Whole."<sup>4</sup> He pays graceful tribute to Dryden and acknowledges his own debt to

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<sup>4</sup>Preface, 1740 edition.



him:

I am not fond of Writing Prefaces, but think it necessary to say a Word or two, to prevent the Reader's imagining, that I pretend to rival Mr. Dryden in this Translation. There is no name that I have a greater and more real Respect for. I look on Him with a sort of Veneration, and apprehend that Every One must have a mean Opinion of my Judgment, if it was supposed that I thought of entering the Lists with that great Poet. . . . How this Translation is executed is, with all Def-  
erence, Submitted to the Publick. There was No-  
thing, I am sure, of Envy in it; and scarce any-  
thing of Emulation. A Painter of a lower Rank  
may draw a Face that was taken by Titian; and  
think of Mending his Hand by it, without any  
Thought of Equalling his Master. The very Work-  
ing on the same Subject with so great a Genius,  
has often served to show me the Superiority of  
his Hand the more Distinctly.

It may be proper to take Notice here, that, in  
different Places, I have borrowed about Fifty or  
Sixty entire Lines from Mr. Dryden. I believe I  
need make no Apology for this Liberty; but rather  
fear the Reader will wish I had borrowed a greater  
number from his Noble Translation.<sup>5</sup>

The commentaries of Johnson and Warton, though not entirely in  
agreement with each other, are somewhat more helpful. Johnson does  
not accept much of what Pitt says in his own preface:

Pitt, engaging as a rival with Dryden, naturally  
observed his failures, and avoided them; and, as  
he wrote after Pope's Iliad, he had an example of  
an exact, equable, and splendid versification.  
With these advantages, seconded by great diligence,  
he might successfully labour particular passages,  
and escape many errors.

He comments, a bit testily perhaps:

He represents himself as translating with great  
indifference, and with a progress of which him-  
self was hardly conscious. This can hardly be  
true, and, if true, is nothing to the reader.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Preface, 1740 edition.

<sup>6</sup>"Life of Pitt," p. 366.

Warton agrees, at least in part, with Johnson's assessment of Pitt's strength. His excellence lies in his having corrected many of Dryden's most egregious errors. In his dedication of the 1753 edition to Sir George Lyttelton, Warton declines to discuss Dryden's weaknesses himself, but he quotes at length from Joseph Spence's Polymetis, in which Dryden's mistranslations are examined in detail. Spence offers two major objections to Dryden's treatment of the Latin original. Dryden too often has added details for which there are no classical precedents, as he does when he gives wings to the figure of Peace; and sometimes for insufficient reason he misrepresents the meaning of Vergil's words. The exigencies of his rhyme scheme drive him to substitute a "Gothic mace" for Neptune's trident, so that he may have an end-word to rhyme with "place." And there is no justification at all for his rendering leones as "tygers" rather than "lions."

Warton and Johnson disagree, however, on the value of Pitt's corrections in their effect on the translation as a whole, and, consequently, on the comparative worth of the two English translations. Johnson finds

that Dryden leads the reader forward by his general vigour and sprightliness, and Pitt often stops him to contemplate the excellence of a single couplet; that Dryden's faults are forgotten in the hurry of delight, and that Pitt's beauties are neglected in the langour of a cold and listless perusal; that Pitt pleases the critics, and Dryden the people; that Pitt is quoted, and Dryden read.<sup>7</sup>

But the first virtue Warton ascribes to Pitt's translation is its "great spirit," a term he seems to use to denote loftiness of tone and emotional impact. Only afterwards does he make the familiar

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<sup>7</sup>"Life of Pitt," p. 366.

comment about Pitt's "fine flow of harmonious versification" and the "faithfulness and perspicuity" with which he has reproduced the sense of the Latin words. Neither Warton nor Johnson disagrees with the conventional view that it is the business of the epic poet to depict human passions and that the primary beauties of epic verse are to be found in its expression of the sublime and the pathetic. Warton applies these canons specifically to Vergil in his prefatory essays on epic and didactic poetry, and there is nothing new or controversial in the way he conducts his argument: he approves faithfulness to nature, consistency of character, purity and correctness of language, the avoidance of harsh words and far-fetched metaphors, and propriety of diction, imagery, and action. The terms in which he accounts for Vergil's (and therefore the translator's) success are not readily distinguished from those Johnson uses throughout his literary criticism. In his general comments on Pitt's Aeneid, Warton seems to be responding to something he does not discuss. That elusive quality, I believe, is the affective appeal of a few rhetorical devices which Dryden and Pitt use differently. Perhaps this is the quality Harrison has called "rising poetical enthusiasm."<sup>8</sup>

Pitt repeatedly uses the device of exclamatio to inject emotion into lines in which Vergil and Dryden depend upon semantic content. For example, where Dryden translates,

Si modo quod memoras factum fortuna sequatur.  
(A IV, 109)

If Fortune with our joint Desires comply:  
(A IV, 153)

Pitt's version reads,

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<sup>8</sup>See p. 9 above.

And oh! that fortune in the work would join,  
 With full success to favour the design!  
 (A IV, 168-69)

Dryden renders Dido's complaint,

Hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem;  
 Et perferre, soror, potero.  
 (A IV, 419-20)

Cou'd I have thought this threatning Blow so near,  
 My tender Soul had been forewarn'd to bear.  
 (A IV, 605-06)

It is interesting to note that neither English poet translates the vocative soror in this sentence, but Pitt adds the interjection:

Ah! had I once foreseen the fatal blow,  
 Sure, I had borne this mighty weight of woe.  
 (A IV, 607-08)

In the fourth Aeneid, Pitt fails to reproduce this figure only once when it occurs in the Latin text; Dido addresses Anna,

O luce magis dilecta sorori,  
 (A IV, 31)

and Pitt translates:

Sister, the fair replies, whom far above  
 The light of heav'n, or life itself I love.  
 (A IV, 49-50)

Dryden uses the interjection in this passage, but changes the measure of Dido's devotion from light to air:

O dearer than the vital Air I breathe,  
 (A IV, 42)

But in several other passages in which Vergil uses exclamatio, Dryden omits it, whereas Pitt faithfully reproduces it, often adding the contrastive conjunction to his favorite exclamatory particles. He renders,

Heu quibus ille  
 Jactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!  
 (A IV, 13-14)

But oh! what wars, what battles he relates!  
 How long he struggled with his adverse fates!  
 (A IV, 17-18)

In the poet's exclamation,

Heu! vatum ignarae mentes: quid vota furentem,  
 Quid delubra juvant?  
 (A IV, 65-66)

Pitt turns the exclamatory citation of the ignorance of the wise into direct address:

But ah! no sacred rites her pain remove;  
 Priests, pray'rs, and temples! what are you to love?  
 (A IV, 102-03)

In Pitt's translation of,

Heu! furiis incensa feror.  
 (A IV, 376)

the exclamation more or less literally translates Vergil's Heu:

But ah! I rave;—my soul the furies fire;  
 (A IV, 545)

but the redundant phrase "I rave" weakens the image of the furies; it appears to have been used to fill out the line.

Far more often Pitt's interjections are not translated from the Latin text nor suggested by Dryden's version. In Book IV alone, there are more than twenty such passages. Most of them, like Anna's reproach of the dying queen,

Was this, my Dido, ah! was this the way  
 (A IV, 969)

deepen the pathos of grief. But other emotions are also expressed in such particles—outrage, for example in Hyarbas's reference to Aeneas:

And lo! this second Paris comes again,  
 (A IV, 316)

or much weaker annoyance in Mercury's injunction to Aeneas to hurry his departure from Carthage:

What—canst thou sleep in this important hour?  
(A IV, 806)

The same particle emphasizes Dido's grief and confusion as she mourns Aeneas's desertion,

What!—shall I follow through the roaring main,  
(A IV, 583)

and she counterfeits happiness as she deceives her sister,

Anna, partake my joy, for lo! I find  
(A IV, 697)

or earnestness, as she attempts to convince herself that she will not fall in love with her Trojan guest,

But oh! may Earth her dreadful gulf display  
(A IV, 35).<sup>9</sup>

The only passage in Book IV in which Dryden introduces exclamatio is that in which pious Aeneas sets sail from Carthage with a prayer:

Sequimur te sancte Deorum,  
Quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.  
(A IV, 576-77)

Dryden's version is:

O sacred Pow'r, what Pow'r so e're thou art,  
To thy bless'd Orders I resign my heart:  
(A IV, 829-30)

and Pitt's is:

Whoe'er thou art, thou blest celestial guide,  
Thy course we follow through the foamy tide;  
(A IV, 827-28).

In a number of respects the apparently dissimilar English lines resemble each other more than they resemble Vergil. In the Latin original, the opening sentence of the invocation of divine assistance on the journey is very solemn, the tonal effect depending primarily on the

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<sup>9</sup>Other lines in which Pitt adds exclamatio are: 27, 168, 170, 441, 453, 468, 473, 530, 605, 607, 611, 623, 795, 853, 896, and 973.



action depicted but also on prosody, specifically on the alliteration in the first words of the two short clauses and in the words which receive primary stress in the second line. The pause after te, represented by Ruaeus's pointing of the line, reinforces the alliteration of sequimur and sancte, as the intonation pattern does for imperio and paremus. Both Dryden and Pitt have attempted to reproduce the stately tone by preserving the rhetorical scheme in one line of the couplet and by adding to the sense, though one suspects the expansions may be due to the rhyming problem. A literal rendering of the two clauses reveals the elements in the English verse translations that are not to be found in Vergil:

We follow thee, holy one of the gods,  
Whoever thou art; and at [thy] command, we set out  
on [our] way, rejoicing.

There is no reference to the unknown god's function as guide, to the foam on the waves or even to the water, to the god's power, to the holiness of his orders, to Aeneas's heart, or for that matter, to Aeneas personally. All the additions in this passage are consistent with the original, but what is more important is the fact that they serve the same rhetorical purposes in both Dryden's and Pitt's poems.

The other rhetorical schemata Pitt uses in Book IV are forms of repetitio. His favorite is the simplest, the reduplication of single, nearly always monosyllabic words. Like exclamatio, repetitio is a device for expressing emphasis, and in Pitt's translation, it is sometimes used effectively. The darkness is intensified in,

The deep, deep shades of everlasting night;  
(A IV, 40)

and the line,

Guilt, guilt prevails; and justice is no more.  
(A IV, 539)

is like an incantation. Sometimes, however, the selection of the word that is emphasized suggests that the device must serve some other purpose. In the lines in which Dido charges Aeneas with hardheartedness, Vergil has her ask a series of short rhetorical questions:

Num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?  
Num lacrymas victus dedit? aut miseratus amantem est?  
Quae quibus anteferam?  
(A IV, 369-71)

Literally, she asks:

Did he lament our weeping? Did he turn [his] eyes?  
Did he, overcome, shed tears or pity [his] lover?  
What shall I put before what?

The repeated particle num emphasizes the fact that a negative answer is to be expected. Dryden renders the first two lines faithfully,

Did he once look, or lent a list'ning Ear;  
Sigh'd when I sob'd, or shed one kindly Tear?  
(A IV, 527-28)

but faced with the problem of making Quae quibus anteferam? clear and graceful, he adds ideas which the Latin text does not imply,

All Symptoms of a base Ungrateful Mind,  
So foul, that which is worse, 'tis hard to find.  
(A IV, 529-30)

Though the interpretation of Aeneas's motives is not inconsistent with judgments Dido makes in other passages, here it is Dryden's Dido, not Vergil's, who adds charges of baseness, foulness, and ingratitude to that of lack of sympathy. Pitt accepts Dryden's reading of the question while rejecting the unwarranted comment, but he also has the requirements of heroic verse to deal with. He solves the problem by repeating the sense of the translatable questions in place of Dryden's addition:

Did he once deign to turn his scornful eyes?  
 Did he once groan at all my piercing sighs?  
 Drop't he one tear in pity to my cries?  
 Calm he look'd on, and saw my passions burst.  
 Which, which of all his insults was the worst?  
 (A IV, 532-36)

The repetition of "which" might well function effectively as the transition to a passage in which Aeneas's numerous offenses were catalogued and examined, but the passage which follows does not do that. Instead, it develops further the theme of insensitivity to Dido's sufferings: Juno and Jove look on with oculis aequis; heaven is as indifferent as the false lover. The second "which" does, however, eke out the line. And again, when Anna chides her dying sister with the phrase eadem me ad fata vocasses (you should have called me to the same fate), Pitt's Anna inverts and repeats "me":

Me, me you should have call'd, your fate to share  
 (A IV, 978)

even though this syntactic structure is contrastive, here suggesting that Dido has called someone else to share her fate instead of Anna, an implication that makes no sense at all in context. Pitt has not controlled and directed the reader's attention here: he has gained a tenth syllable. That seems to be the primary purpose served by several other reduplications.<sup>10</sup>

In the fourth Aeneid, none of Pitt's simple repetitio's are translated from Vergil, who uses the device far more sparingly, and none are suggested by Dryden's fourth Aeneid, in which it does not occur at all. The device is commonplace; Dryden uses it elsewhere, as

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<sup>10</sup>Other examples of this rhetorical figure occur in lines 107, 152, 328, 402, 445, 484, 494, 609, 632, 722, 734, 825, 852, 935, and 985.



more literally through the rhetorical figure but departs from him in the last line of the passage:

The sable Troops, along the narrow Tracks,  
 Scarce bear the weighty Burthen on their Backs:  
 Some set their Shoulders to the pond'rous Grain;  
 Some guard the Spoil, some lash the lagging Train;  
 All ply their sev'ral Tasks, and equal Toil sustain.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 586-90)

In one long track the dusky legions lead  
 Their prize in triumph through the verdant mead:  
 Here, bending with the load, a panting throng  
 With force conjoin'd heave some huge grain along:  
 Some, lash the stragglers to the task assign'd;  
 Some, to their ranks, the bands that lag behind:  
 They crowd the peopled path in thick array,  
 Glow at the work, and darken all the way.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 583-90)

Dryden omits per herbas, and Pitt expands it in a conventional epithet in the phrase "through the verdant mead." Their treatments of calle angusto are very similar, but they are also quite literal; Dryden's pluralizing of "track" is explained by his use of humeris (which he translates as "backs") in his rhyme. Pitt's choice of the verb "lag" could have been suggested by Dryden's "lagging," as his use of "lash" to render castigant might have been influenced by Dryden's. But it is perhaps equally possible that the two poets just happened to hit upon the same English equivalents for these few Latin words. Thus, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the similarities in the English versions are accidental or are the result of Dryden's influence.

In translating anaphora, both Dryden and Pitt sometimes increase the number of repetitions. Vergil's emphatic te . . . te in,

Te propter Libycae gentes, Nomadumque tyranni  
 Odere, insensi Tyrrii: te propter eundem  
 Extinctus pudor,

(A IV, 320-22)

which Dryden translates,

For you I have provok'd a Tyrant's Hate,  
 Incens'd the Lybian, and the Tyrian State;  
 For you alone I suffer in my Fame;  
 (A IV, 463-65)

in Pitt's version is expanded to:

For thee Numidian kings in arms conspire;  
 For thee have I incens'd the sons of Tyre;  
 For thee I lost my honour and my fame,  
 (A IV, 463-65).

In other passages, it is Dryden who extends the figure. Vergil describes the mortally wounded queen, as she tries to sit up and speak:

Ter sese attollens cubitque innixa levavit,<sup>11</sup>  
 Ter revoluta toro est: oculisque errantibus, alto  
 Quaesivit coelo lucem, ingemuitque reperta.  
 (A IV, 690-92)

and Pitt here follows the text of the original more or less faithfully, though he gives up the emphatic value of placing "thrice" in the initial position in the lines:

Prop'd on her elbow, thrice she rear'd her head,  
 And thrice fell back, and fainted on the bed;  
 Sought with her swimming eyes the golden light,  
 And saw the sun, but sicken'd at the sight.  
 (A IV, 994-97)

Dryden's version of the scene is,

Thrice Dido try'd to raise her drooping Head,  
 And fainting thrice, fell grov'ling on the Bed.  
 Thrice op'd her heavy Eyes, and sought the Light,  
 But having found it, sicken'd at the sight;  
 And clos'd her Lids at last, in endless Night.  
 (A IV, 988-92)

The rhetoric here is Vergil's, but a number of details, including some not involved in the rhyme scheme, are Dryden's. The decision to

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<sup>11</sup>In the Latin text which is printed en face with the Pitt-Warton translation, innixa is normalized to adnixa, the form more commonly used after the Augustan period. Aside from such emendations along with some differences in pointing, none of which change the sense, Warton's Latin text agrees with that of the Delphin edition.



place the translation of toro (to the couch) at the end of the line, together with the action described, naturally suggests "head" as a rhyme-word, just as the position of lucem suggests "sight," even though there is no such noun in the Latin text. But where Vergil shows Dido simply falling back on the bed, Pitt clearly follows Dryden in adding the affective detail of her fainting; and, again following Dryden, he substitutes cause for effect in using "sicken'd" instead of a literal translation of ingemuit (groaned, lamented). The differences between the English versions show how careful Pitt usually was about the sense of the words and images he introduced. For example, both Dryden and Pitt have expanded oculis, but differently, Dryden by making Dido's eyes heavy and having her open them, and Pitt by calling them "her swimming eyes"; ingemuit suggests tears, as errantibus implies the element of motion he captures in "swimming." Such differences in part account for the contemporary admiration for the purity of Pitt's translation. Such differences notwithstanding, it is apparent that Pitt has followed Dryden rather closely here in solving the problems involved in rendering Vergil's hexameters into English couplets.

A comparison of the two poets' handling of other rhetorical figures also reveals interesting differences in their styles along with echoes of Dryden's work in Pitt's. Both make use of schemes of repetition which involve the structure of more than one phrase, but Pitt uses simple parallelism more extensively than Dryden does, and Dryden more often introduces the relatively more complex figures of epanalepsis (repetition of the initial word of a clause at the end of it) and anadiplosis (repetition of the final word of a clause at the beginning

of the next one). The difference in the figures is that in the one, repetition creates a frame for a periodic unit, and in the other, it underscores the joining, and therefore the essential separation, of two units. The application of these rubrics to English rhetoric requires some adjustment of the definitions, since the clause structures of Latin and English are not exactly the same. In the classical language, for example, person and number markers of the verb may serve as sufficient grammatical subjects, thus making the distinction between independent clauses and compound predicates inoperative in many Latin sentences, though the difference between the two structures is always clear in English. In examining the rhetoric of the English translations, I have therefore considered a variety of periodic contexts as "clauses" and have accepted under that heading any well defined period, especially if its boundaries coincide with those of the poetic line.

This broad definition brings into the category of epanalepsis such lines as Pitt's,

Go then, dear sister, as a suppliant so,  
(A IV, 615)

as well as,

Rise in the rage, thou, great avenger, rise!  
(A IV, 897)

The same sort of rhetorical balance is achieved also in,

This graceful prince has shook, and this alone.  
(A IV, 32)

In Pitt's verse, the repetition at the end in most instances simply pulls the word out of the clause in order to emphasize it and serves no other function. Dryden's simplest epanalepses are more complex. For example, in the line,

Again she comes, and is refus'd again.

(A IV, 635)

the repeated word both emphasizes the element of frequency and relates two clauses of different semantic content.

Dryden's repetitions also are likely to involve contrasting syntactic functions, as his use of anadiplosis does in the passage in which Dido sees omens of her approaching doom:

for when before the Shrine  
She pours, in Sacrifice, the Purple Wine,  
The Purple Wine is turn'd to putrid Blood:

(A IV, 657-59)

The direct object of the first clause has become the subject of the second. Pitt's use of this figure is generally simpler. In Dido's instructions to Anna,

Tell my perfidious lover, I implore  
The name of wedlock he disclaims no more:  
No more his purpos'd voyage I detain  
From beauteous Latium, and his destin'd reign.

(A IV, 627-30)

"no more" fills the same grammatical slot in both clauses. Here Pitt has exercised the same syntactic options that Dryden has in his epanalepsis of "again" cited above.

In their reliance on these and other relatively sophisticated schemes of repetition for emphasis and elegance, Dryden and Pitt are following classical models. One such scheme, which is far more common in Vergil than in either of his translators, is polyptoton, the repetition of derivatives from a single root. Because of the large inventory of Latin inflectional forms, the Latin poet can manipulate this rhetorical device much more readily than an English writer can. When Vergil uses the same noun in two different syntactic slots, he achieves both repetition and variety, as may be seen in the lines,

Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas  
 Imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotes.  
 (A IV, 628-29)

In a literal translation, the repetition survives but the variety is lost, and with it goes the resonance between the repeated words in the series and the different but syntactically parallel fluctibus undas (Let shores be opposed to shores, waves to seas, arms to arms; may they fight, they themselves and their descendants). In rendering this passage, the English poets wisely have not tried to reproduce their original:

Our Arms, our Seas, our Shores, oppos'd to theirs,  
 And the same hate descend on all our Heirs.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 903-04)

By land, by sea, in arms the nation dare,  
 And wage, from son to son, eternal war!  
 (Pitt, A IV, 906-07)

Their approach to the problem is the same, but the lines they have produced are not at all similar, and there seems to be no reason to suppose that Pitt here follows Dryden. And he appears to owe no more to Dryden in his translation of another passage in which Vergil has used the same scheme:

illum absens absentem auditque videtque:  
 (A IV, 83).

Dryden attempts to reproduce the rhetoric of the original,

Absent, her absent Heroe sees and hears;  
 (A IV, 119)

but Pitt does not,

In fancy sees her absent prince, and hears  
 His charming voice still sounding in her ears.  
 (A IV, 131-32)

Instead, he offers "in fancy" for the "absent" that describes Dido. There are, however, some tantalizing similarities in the two

translations of the passage in which this clause occurs. Pitt, like Dryden, has inverted the order of audit and videt, and the explanation that he has done so in order to provide a rhyme for "ears" is not wholly satisfactory, since the entire second line of the couplet is an addition to the sense, and Pitt might therefore have substituted a rhyme for "sees" if he had wished. The passage describes Dido's infatuation:

Post, ubi digressi, lumenque obscura vicissim,  
Luna premit, suadentque cadentia sidera somnos:  
Sola domo moeret vacua, stratisque relictis  
Incubat: illum absens absentem auditque videtque:  
Aut gremio Ascanium, genitoris imagine capta,  
Detinet; infandum si fallere possit amorem.  
(A IV, 80-85)

Pitt's translation is more prolix than Dryden's:

But when the setting stars to rest invite,  
And fading Cynthia veils her beamy light;  
When all the guests retire to soft repose;  
Left in the hall, she sighs, and vents her woes,  
Lies on his couch, bedews it with her tears,  
In fancy sees her absent prince, and hears  
His charming voice still sounding in her ears.  
Fir'd with the glorious hero's graceful look,  
The young Ascanius on her lap she took,  
With trifling play her furious pains beguil'd  
In vain!—the father charms her in the child.  
(Pitt, A IV, 126-36)

Then when they part, when Phoebe's paler Light  
Withdraws, and falling Stars to Sleep invite,  
She last remains, when ev'ry Guest is gone,  
Sits on the Bed he press'd, and sighs alone;  
Absent, her absent Heroe sees and hears;  
Or in her Bosom young Ascanius bears:  
And seeks the Father's image in the Child,  
If Love by Likeness might be so beguil'd.  
(Dryden, A IV, 115-22)

The Loeb translation, which is more literal than either English poem, shows how much the poets have expanded Vergil's lines:

Then when all have gone their ways, and in turn  
the dim moon sinks her light, and the setting

stars invite sleep, alone she mourns in the empty hall, and falls on the couch he has left. Though absent, each from each, she hears him, she sees him, or, captivated by his father's look, she holds Ascanius on her lap, if so she may beguile a passion beyond all utterance.

(I, 401-03)

Five of Dryden's eight rhyme-words appear in Pitt's lines, though the order within the two couplets is reversed. In the first couplet, the lines in which each rhyme-word occurs are similar in content. And in the couplet with which the passage ends, Pitt, in de-emphasizing the sense of infandum (unspeakable), changes the direction of the original in much the same way that Dryden does. In this passage, as in other similar passages, faint traces of Dryden's hand can be seen, but it is clear that Pitt is using Dryden as a supplementary resource, not as his primary authority.

Pitt often expands Vergil's sense in the same way that Dryden does. In the Latin, for example, Dido's last plea to Aeneas contains this concession:

Neque te teneo, neque dicta refello.  
I, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.  
(A IV, 380-81)

which both translators build, by introducing anaphora, into a more actively emotional outburst:

Go then; I plead not, nor thy flight delay;  
Go, seek new kingdoms through the watry way:  
(Pitt, A IV, 551-52)

But go; thy flight no longer I detain;  
Go seek thy promis'd Kingdom through the Main:  
(Dryden, A IV, 548-49).

Both also omit dicta.

And when Dido wants to declare her love for Aeneas, Vergil describes her behavior,



Incipit effari, mediaque in voce resistit.  
(A IV, 76)

Dryden and Pitt explain why she stops in mid-voice, though Pitt, as if dissatisfied with what Dryden has left to the reader's imagination, is more explicit:

Now, as she tries to tell her raging flame,  
Stops short,—and falters, check'd by conscious shame:  
(Pitt, A IV, 118-19)

Dryden has merely suggested Dido's shame:

Her falt'ring Tongue forbids to speak the rest.  
(A IV, 106)

More often, when the two translators expand the same passages, each follows his own characteristic pattern: Pitt uses some form of periphrasis, and Dryden adds new details. When Juno tells Venus how she will manage the union of their two proteges:

His ego nigrantem commista grandine nimbum,  
Dum trepidant alae, saltusque indagine cingunt,  
Desuper infundam, & tonitru coelum omne ciebo.  
Diffugient comites, & nocte tegentur opaca.  
Speluncam Dido, dux & Trojanus eandem  
Devenient:

(A IV, 120-25)

Dryden, like Pitt, deals with the second line first, translating it literally:

There, while the Huntsmen pitch their Toils around,  
(A IV, 168)

then he expands by introducing an entirely new image, apparently under the prompting of his need for a rhyme:

And chearful Horns, from Side to Side, resound;  
(A IV, 169).

Pitt, though equally prolix, adds nothing that the Latin text does not imply:

There, while the crowds the forest-walks beset,  
Swarm round the woods, and spread the waving net;  
(A IV, 182-83)

His translation is not much closer to the words of the Latin text; he has generalized the huntsmen into crowds and has introduced a new set of connotations with his use of "beset" and "swarm" to express the idea of encircling, but he has not anglicized the Tyrian hunt by introducing horns. Dryden continues,

A Pitchy Cloud shall cover all the Plain  
 With Hail, and Thunder, and tempestuous Rain:  
 The fearful Train shall take their speedy Flight,  
 Dispers'd, and all involv'd in gloomy Night:  
 (A IV, 170-73)

adding to the statement Diffugient comites (the company scattered) that they were afraid. Again, Pitt is simply more diffuse:

The skies shall burst upon the sportive train  
 In storms of hail, and deluges of rain:  
 The gather'd tempest o'er their heads shall roll,  
 And the long thunders roar from pole to pole.  
 On ev'ry side shall fly the scattering crowds,  
 Involv'd and cover'd in a night of clouds.  
 (A IV, 184-89)

In the final sentence of the passage, Dryden uses a conventional epithet to remind us of Dido's beauty, and he makes more explicit Vergil's implication that the lovers are to meet accidentally when they go into the cave in search of shelter.

One Cave a grateful Shelter shall afford  
 To the fair Princess, and the Trojan Lord.  
 (A IV, 174-75)

and Pitt echoes,

To the same cave for shelter shall repair  
 The Trojan heroes and the royal fair.  
 (A IV, 190-91)

Even if Pitt had not acknowledged in his preface that he had always read Dryden with pleasure and often compared Dryden's Vergil with his own, there would be ample evidence in the text of Pitt's translation that he had read Dryden attentively. But the rhetoric of Pitt's

translation demonstrates that their styles differ in two important respects: (1) Pitt's use of rhetorical schemes is simpler than Dryden's—in this respect, Dryden is closer to Vergil; and (2) Pitt limits his expansions to elements implied by the Latin text much more strictly than Dryden does—in this respect, Pitt is more faithful to Vergil.

There are, however, indications that Pitt often relied on Dryden for rhyme-words and consequently for diction, and sometimes for syntax within the line, as well. Almost a fifth of Pitt's rhyme-words (184 of 1017) echo those Dryden has used to render the same passages.<sup>12</sup> Some, especially of the half-rhymes, must have been coincidences, forced by the Latin text or suggested by conventional rhyme formulae. But often, even when only one word of a rhyming pair is the same as Dryden's, the rest of the line is also very close to his.

Pitt's Dido confides her fear that she is falling in love in much the same words she uses in Dryden's version; she tells Anna that her feelings are

Too like the tokens of my former flame.  
(A IV, 34)

whereas Dryden's Dido has complained that they are

Too like the Sparkles of my former flame.  
(A IV, 31)

Dryden's queen tries to impress her guest in order to induce him to remain in Carthage; she

Displays her Tyrian Wealth, and rising Town,  
(A IV, 103)

as Pitt's Dido

Shows him her Tyrian wealth, and growing town;  
(A IV, 115).

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<sup>12</sup>See Appendix A2 for rhyme-words Pitt shares with Dryden.

Dryden's Juno taunts Venus about the fact that she has overcome a mere mortal woman's reluctance to love, ending her speech with an ironic comment on the one-sidedness of the struggle:

High Praises, endless Honours you have won,  
And mighty Trophies with your worthy Son:  
Two Gods a silly Woman have undone.  
(A IV, 134-36)

In Pitt's translation, she jeers,

A high exploit indeed! a glorious name  
Unfading trophies and eternal fame,  
You, and your son have worthily pursu'd;  
Two gods a single woman have subdu'd.  
(A IV, 146-49)

Pitt has not borrowed a rhyme here, and he has not introduced a new idea, as Dryden has. In Vergil's line,

Una dona Divum si foemina victa duorum est.  
(A IV, 95)

Una . . . foemina is not also foolish. In other respects, however, Pitt has followed the earlier translation. The inverted syntax is exactly parallel in the two versions, and in both dona is omitted.

In the two English descriptions of the monstrous Rumor, we find,

No Slumbers ever close her wakeful Eyes.  
(Dryden, A IV, 267)

and

No golden slumbers seal her watchful eyes.  
(Pitt, A IV, 273)

Aeneas repeats Mercury's charge that Ascanius has a right to complain in very similar phrases:

Of his defrauded Fate, and destin'd Reign.  
(Dryden, A IV, 509)

and

By me defrauded of his destin'd reign.  
(Pitt, A IV, 510)

What is true of single lines holds true with increasing frequency as the number of shared rhyme-words increases. In couplets there is sometimes some minor rearrangement of phrases or some grammatical variation, such as the shift from compound to complex syntax in the lines,

His Vows, in haughty Terms, he thus preferr'd,  
And held his Altar's Horns; the mighty Thund'rer heard,  
(Dryden, A IV, 320-21)

Pitt's decision to use the tighter syntax of the Latin,

Talibus orantem dictis, arasque tenentem  
Audiit omnipotens:  
(A IV, 219-20)

has not kept him from accepting Dryden's translation of Talibus orantem dictis.

Such borrowings follow no clearly defined pattern; they are not confined to difficult cruxes. They may be found in dialogue, as when Dido invokes the aid of the dark gods against Aeneas:

Let him for Succour sue from place to place,  
Torn from his Subjects, and his Son's embrace:  
(Dryden, A IV, 884-85)

Still let him wander, toss'd from place to place,  
Far from his country, and his son's embrace,  
(Pitt, A IV, 883-84).

When events are reported by the narrator, the borrowings are equally numerous. The lovers' neglect of their duty is recorded:

The Mounds, the Works, the Walls, neglected lye  
Short of their promis'd height that seem'd to threat  
the Sky.  
(Dryden, A IV, 127-28)

The works and battlements neglected lie,  
And the proud structures cease to brave the sky.  
(Pitt, A IV, 140-41)

Nor are such borrowings concentrated in a few sections of the poem; they occur throughout. There are thirty-six couplets in which the rhyme-words are the same in both translations, and most of them are

as clearly related as those cited.

Occasionally, when the corresponding passages are different, Pitt seems to have Dryden's version of another passage in mind. Vergil's account of Dido's passion,

est mollis flamma medullas  
Interea, & tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.  
Uritur infelix Dido, totaque vagatur  
Urbe furens.

(A IV, 66-69)

becomes, in Pitt's translation,

With passion fir'd, her reason quite o'erthrown,  
The hapless queen runs raving thro' the town.  
Soft flames consume her vitals, and the dart  
Deep, deep within, lies festering in her heart.

(A IV, 104-07)

The final clause comes some lines later in the Latin, as the conclusion of a simile in which Dido is likened to a wounded deer fleeing aimlessly with the fatal weapon still lodged in her body. Dryden's translation of the simile ends with,

the fatal Dart  
Sticks in her Side; and ranckles in her Heart.

(A IV, 99-100)

Pitt's debt is most apparent, however, in the longer passages in which the two poets agree. There are four sequences of four consecutive lines, in which the similarities are greater than they would be in independent translations. One such sequence occurs in the long description of Rumor. Vergil's lines,

Parva metu primo; mox sese attollit in auras,  
Ingrediturque solo, & caput inter nubila condit.  
Illam Terra parens, ira irritata deorum,  
Extremam (ut perhibent) Coeo Enceladoque sororem  
Progenit,

(A IV, 176-80)

are translated in the Loeb edition:

small at first through fear, soon she mounts up  
to heaven, and walks the ground with head hidden  
in the clouds. Her, 'tis said, Mother Earth,  
provoked to anger against the gods, brought forth  
last, as sister to Coeus and Enceladus,

(I, 407-09)

Dryden again contributes a new image, one unlikely to be found in Vergil and therefore of questionable legitimacy:

Soon grows the Pygmee to Gygantic size;  
(A IV, 255)

which Pitt does not borrow, but expresses in more diffuse style:

First small with fear, she swells to wond'rous size,  
(A IV, 263)

In the three succeeding lines, they proceed in the same manner, phrase by phrase:

Her Feet on Earth, her Forehead in the Skies:  
Inrag'd against the Gods, revengeful Earth  
Produc'd her last of the Titanian birth.  
(Dryden, A IV, 256-58)

And stalks on earth, and tow'rs above the Skies;  
Whom, in her wrath to heav'n, the teeming earth  
Produc'd the last of her gigantic birth;  
(Pitt, A IV, 264-66)

Rumor's brothers do not appear in either of the English versions.

Another very similar pair of couplets occurs in the passage in which Aeneas attempts to justify his leaving to Dido. The Latin lines are:

Ego te, quae plurima fando  
Enumerare vales, nunquam Regina negabo  
Promeritam: nec me meminisse pigebit Elisae;  
Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos reget artus.  
(A IV, 333-36)

The translations agree substantially, not only in what they include but also in what they omit:

Fair Queen, you never can enough repeat  
Your boundless Favours, or I own my Debt;



Nor can my Mind forget Eliza's Name,  
 While vital Breath inspires this Mortal Frame.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 483-86)

Your bounties, queen, I never can forget  
 And never, never pay the mighty debt;  
 But, long as life informs this fleeting frame,  
 My soul shall honour fair Eliza's name.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 483-86)

Both Dryden and Pitt have rendered Aeneas's first sentence very freely, as is apparent in the difference between their translations and the Loeb:

"I will never deny, O Queen, that thou hast deserved of me the utmost thou canst set forth in speech, . . ."  
 (I, 419)

Dryden has minimized fando (that can be spoken), and Pitt has omitted it altogether. Vergil's Aeneas here recognizes that Dido has a just claim on him, but both Dryden and Pitt have shifted the emphasis away from her claim, to her "Favours" or "bounties." The final couplets are also similar in their treatment of Vergil's words, which are translated in the Loeb:

". . . nor shall my memory of Elissa be bitter,  
 while I have memory of myself, and while breath  
 still sways these limbs."  
 (I, 419)

In the English versions, Aeneas does not consider that the memory of Dido may sometime become bitter to him but simply says he will not forget her. In both, Aeneas's reference to his own mortality is strengthened by the addition of a modifier to "frame."

In Book IV, Pitt has borrowed two lines from Dryden verbatim:

To Ceres, Bacchus, and the God of day.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 78;  
 Pitt, A IV, 91)

and

My fatal course is finished, and I go  
 (Dryden, A IV, 938;  
 Pitt, A IV, 939).

The gods to whom Dido sacrifices in Vergil's line,

Legiferae Cereri, Phoeboque, patrique Lyaeo:  
 (A IV, 58)

are Ceres the law-giver, Phoebus, and father Lyaeus. In the translations, they have lost their functional titles. And the scope of fortune is extended in the translation of,

Vixi, & quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi:  
 (A IV, 653)

(I have lived; and, as fortune has given my course,  
 I depart.)

Of all the eighteenth-century translators of Vergil, Pitt expressed the most unqualified admiration for Dryden, and he did not scruple to make use of what he considered to be Dryden's best passages. He did not see himself as an original, innovative poet. His diction is as thoroughly conventional when he does not draw from Dryden's Vergil as when he does. His favorite adjectives are abstract (as in "mighty debt," "rising grief," "dark suspicions," etc.), and often seem to be chosen for their metrical suitability rather than for their semantic content. Pitt differed with Dryden about the prerogatives of the translator, not about poetics. And the result of that difference is as Warton and Johnson have described it: Pitt has avoided Dryden's most egregious errors and unwarranted additions to Vergil's poem. Pitt's faithfulness to the Latin text, taken together with the demands of the couplet form, necessarily makes his verse redundant and diffuse. The purity of his translation naturally was admired in a time when gentlemen read Latin for pleasure and did not seriously object to diffuseness. But after two centuries, conditions

and readers are different, and Johnson's evaluation of the "spirit" of the two works seems more defensible than Warton's. It is the pure and mellifluous verse of Pitt's Aeneid that seems to invite "a cold and listless perusal."

## CHAPTER IV

### Joseph Warton

In 1753, nine years after Pitt died, Joseph Warton published a new edition of Pitt's Aeneid, together with his own translation of the Eclogues and the Georgics, copiously annotated and accompanied by several critical and interpretative essays. It was by far the most scholarly English edition of Vergil that had yet appeared, and its reception was all that Warton could have desired.

In the Monthly Review for March, 1753, the commentator's praise of the verse, though very brief and general, is unstinting: the new Vergil is so obviously superior to all its predecessors that any reader can immediately appreciate its excellence. As proof, he reprints the entire first Georgic, so that the reader can see for himself "that Mr. Warton has far surpassed all who have gone before him in the same task, in regard to rendering his author's sense with exactness and perspicuity" and can enjoy the "classical purity and correctness in his stile" and the "easy harmonious flow in his versification." Most of the reviewer's critical commentary, however, is given to an examination of the scholarly apparatus of the edition. He commends Warton's "great judgment and true taste" in gathering together the best of Vergil scholarship and criticism, including William Warburton's "Dissertation on the Sixth Aeneid," Francis Atterbury's "Commentary on the Character of Iapis," and William

Whitehead's "On the Shield of Aeneas." Previously unpublished works included were three essays by the editor himself on pastoral, didactic, and epic poetry, some comments by Joseph Spence, and some manuscript notes left by the late Edward Holdsworth. In the Advertisement Warton acknowledges his indebtedness for many notes to previous editors and translators, including several of Dryden's resources—"especially Servius, De La Cerda, Ruæus, Segræis, [and] Catrou"—and the English translations of Joseph Trapp and John Martyn.

The reviewer gives a good deal of attention to Warton's prefatory essays, for his critical theories were already recognized to be at least as significant as his own poetic practice, an evaluation which still holds. His discussions on poetics reveal what he was attempting to preserve in his translation, and it may therefore be helpful to examine his critical principles before turning to his application of them in his own verse. Such an examination is important also because of the position Warton has traditionally been supposed to occupy in eighteenth-century literary criticism. Victorian scholars considered him a very influential proto-romantic. Accordingly, one might expect to find his sensibility growing throughout his long productive life from the classicism of Pope toward the romanticism of Wordsworth. There is, however, no evidence of that kind of development in his work.

Warton's literary career began in 1744 with the publication of his most famous poem, The Enthusiast: or, the Lover of Nature, and continued throughout the last half of the century. He wrote and edited many works, among them a nine-volume edition of the works of Pope and two volumes of a projected edition of Dryden that he did not

live to finish. His reputation was established and has continued to rest upon the works published during the first twelve of those fifty-six years: on a few poems, chiefly The Enthusiast and the "Ode to Fancy"; the Vergil; the Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, the first volume of which appeared to a largely unfavorable reception; and a series of twenty-four critical papers, published in the Adventurer between April 24, 1753, and March 5, 1754. John Wooll, in his Biographical Memoir of Joseph Warton, reports that in 1759 the university of Oxford conferred the degree of Master of Arts upon Warton in recognition of his Vergil; Alexander Chalmers, however, points out that the publication of the essay on Pope also preceded the honor and must have been counted among the reasons for it.<sup>1</sup>

Much of Warton's literary theory is in agreement with the mainstream of criticism that runs from Dryden to Johnson. In his view, the business of the critic is not to legislate what poets should do but to explicate what the best poets have done. General principles must be formulated inductively from the masterworks of literature, not from the masterworks of criticism: even Aristotle can be and sometimes is wrong. The inductive method requires that the critic, unlike Rapin and some others, know the text he deals with in its original language and that he deal with it in detail.<sup>2</sup> The "regular plan" the critic should follow must be inferred from Warton's judgments about particular works; he has not spelled it out in a comprehensive and systematic statement. In "Reflections on Didactic Poetry," Warton

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<sup>1</sup>"The Life of Dr. Joseph Warton," Works of the English Poets (London, 1810), Vol. XVIII, 147. Wooll's Memoir appeared in 1806.

<sup>2</sup>Adventurer, no. 49.

apologizes for the great number of passages he quotes, but adds that without them his discussion would be of no value.

Warton distinguishes between the characteristics of poetry in general and the special characteristics appropriate to particular genres. He believes in a hierarchy of value in poetry; those writings in which reason is dominant are of less value than those in which the passions and characters of men are displayed. In this context, "reason" comes close to meaning argumentation. All poetry is imitative, and all is in the broadest sense morally instructive. Reason may be said to dominate when the poem is written to prove a thesis. The passions may be displayed in works of various genres, and they are always most effectively evoked by means of an artful simplicity. Distress, for example, is most affecting if the characters speak in short, broken snatches, as Dido does when she realizes that Aeneas is determined to leave her, or as Lear does when he seeks signs of life in Cordelia's body. Dryden or Rowe, he says, would have spoiled such scenes by making the characters declaim about their feelings. (As a matter of fact, Dryden's Dido does declaim for forty lines, whereas Pitt's Dido uses only thirty-four. In Adventurer no. 75, however, Warton has original writing, not translation, in mind.)

The means by which the poet joins nature and passion, and by which he yokes together the probable and the wonderful is invention. Great power of invention is the distinguishing mark of the best poets: Shakespeare has it in "inexhaustible plenty"; Milton's most poetic passages are those which show him at his most inventive, the extra-terrestrial scenes of Paradise Lost; Pope's most poetic invention is the sylphs of The Rape of the Lock. By "invention," Warton means the



original creation of characters and scenes. Variety and propriety of characters and events make any poem—an eclogue or a tragedy, a descriptive poem or an epic—appealing. In all, the characters should be consistently motivated, the events should be at once natural and surprising, and the language should be appropriate both to the subject and to poetry.

Some of the diction appropriate to one kind of poetry may be inappropriate to another, but in all cases, words dealing with the common objects of ordinary workaday life are "harsh" or "coarse" and should be avoided if possible. And not only the words but the things they evoke, whether in literal or in figurative description, must also be carefully chosen. Images should call to mind real rivers, not other poems about rivers. Warton complains,

Many a poet who has dwelt for years in the Strand, has attempted to describe fields and rivers, and generally succeeded accordingly. Hence that nauseous repetition of the same circumstances; hence that disgusting impropriety of introducing what may be called a set of hereditary images, without proper regard to the age, or climate, or occasion, in which they were formerly used.<sup>3</sup>

He praises Thomson for refraining from describing his rivers in terms of "wind" and "murmuring" sound and for his fidelity to nature in such evocative details as the water "fretting o'er a rock." The combination of novelty and nature is necessary in all kinds of poetry; indeed, "a minute and particular enumeration of circumstances, judiciously selected, is what chiefly discriminates poetry from history, and renders the former, for reason, a more close and faithful

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<sup>3</sup>Essay on Pope, p. 42.

representation of nature than the latter."<sup>4</sup> Though correctness and regularity are also virtues, Warton approves Longinus's warning that "exactness . . . is the sure criterion of a cold and creeping genius."<sup>5</sup> Many of the same honorific terms may be applied to all good poetry: "sweet," "pure," "correct," "elegant," "moving," "artful," "striking." Except for the recommendation of minute description, all this sounds very familiar to the reader of Dryden and Johnson.

The greatest difference between Warton's theory and his practice in his original verse is to be found in diction. The "genial earth," "murm'ring waters," "rolling planets," and "the rich tints that paint the breathing mead" of The Enthusiast would have been equally unremarkable in the work of any of the poets who had "dwelt for years in the Strand." Where his principles are most orthodox, his practice is most consistent with them. He avoids "harsh" terms. His verse forms are conventional blank verse, heroic couplets, and Pindarics. All this is not to ignore the romantic themes that recur in his verse—the insistent objections to rigid regularity, the belief in the natural nobility of primitive men and the sublimity of unmanaged nature, and the emphasis upon imagination and feeling. But the fact remains that in diction and versification Warton stands in the tradition of Dryden and Pope, in his original verse and especially in his translation of Vergil.

In the "Dissertation on Epic Poetry," Warton deals much more briefly with some of the same topics that Dryden discusses in the

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<sup>4</sup>Essay on Pope, pp. 48-49.

<sup>5</sup>Adventurer, no. 57.

Dedication of his Aeneid. Both men draw upon René le Bossu, but their common indebtedness does not account for all the similarities between the two essays.<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth Nitchie charges that "Warton has not admitted that in his discussion of epic poetry he has followed Dryden's Dedication to the Aeneid almost word for word for nearly a page."<sup>7</sup> The quoted passage is long enough to prove that Warton consulted Dryden when he wrote his "Dissertation"; it could scarcely fill a duodecimo page, and it is attributed to Dryden, though the extent of the quotation is not marked. Both Dryden and Warton describe the epic poem as the highest form of mimesis, which by raising and calming the passions inspires men to virtuous action. Both compare Vergil with Homer and ascribe the difference between their theses to the different political situations in Greece and Rome. Both discuss Aeneas's character in terms of his piety and valor and call attention to Dido's perfidy to Sichaeus and her excessive passion, and they praise Aeneas's obedience to the will of the gods. They admire many of the same characteristics in Vergil's style, his brevity and the harmony and variety of his lines. Like Trapp, Warton is struck by the sublimity of Vergil's sentiments and style. In the "Reflections on Didactic Poetry," Warton discusses the pitfalls the epic poet must avoid: "laboured diction," "pompous epithets," and "high-flown metaphors."

The charm of the pastoral for Warton lies in its representation of innocence and tranquility, its demonstration of the superiority of

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<sup>6</sup>Bossu's Traité du poème épique (Paris, 1675) was regarded as the classic statement on the nature and value of epic poetry during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

<sup>7</sup>Vergil and the English Poets, pp. 158-59.

nature over art. He quotes Alexander Pope on the form and language appropriate to this genre: it may be either narrative or dramatic, or a mixture of the two; its language must be humble but pure; and the whole must be simple, brief, and delicate. These remarks serve as an introduction to Samuel Johnson's Rambler no. 37, which Warton reprints in full to complete his "Dissertation upon Pastoral Poetry."

Warton's apology for didactic poetry is both more subtle and more original than his other prefatory essays. He begins by defending the genre against the charge that it is not true poetry because the author speaks in his own voice and therefore does not imitate nature. Warton sees that this stricture would ultimately proscribe descriptive as well as didactic verse. "Surely," he objects,

the poet is an imitator when he paints any object of universal nature, animate or inanimate, whether he speaks in his own person or introduces speakers; tho' indeed imitations of the latter species have not the same dignity or utility with those of human manners, passions, and characters.

The purpose of didactic poetry, he goes on to say, is "to render instruction amiable, to soften the severity of science, and to give virtue and knowledge a captivating and engaging air." In fact, the unpoetic subject matter is the poet's challenge; it requires all his art to make what is inherently dull and harsh, interesting and beautiful.

But didactic poetry is not mere metrical discourse, despite the fact that Warton often speaks of the poet's hiding, or concealing, or disguising the lesson he has to teach. Instruction, in the hands of the poet, becomes the occasion for something much more important--this point is made clear in the frequently repeated injunction that

the didactic poet should not aim at exhaustive treatment of his subject, but should deal only with those parts of it that are especially susceptible to poetic treatment. The object of the Georgics, then, is intellectual pleasure, not better farming. Since that pleasure comes largely from the novel but natural and concrete description to be found in it, the best subjects for the poet to choose are those which offer a wealth of concrete objects to describe: the ordinary occupations of life and natural philosophy. The writer's artistry lies in his ability to mold "coarse" words and things into the stuff of poetry. Vergil has brought off that difficult feat supremely well, and it is the task of the translator to reproduce his success in English. Warton's conception of his task in translating the Georgics is thus essentially the same as Dryden's.<sup>8</sup>

The didactic poet has at his disposal a wider range of metaphoric language than the epic poet. What for epic verse would be "laboured description" is "poetical circumlocution" in didactic, epithets too pompous for epic are merely striking, "high-flown metaphors" merely "bold." The didactic poet has many opportunities to raise the objects he discusses by noble prosopopoeias, striking similitudes, and skillful manipulation of language. The "poet" here is the original author. Warton has little to say about the special problems of translation, but his criticisms of translators are made in terms

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<sup>8</sup>The Abbé DeLille, who was much influenced by his English predecessors, especially Dryden and Warton, echoes this argument: "Un autre charme de la poésie, comme de tous les autres arts, c'est la difficulté vaincue." (Another charm of poetry, as of all the other arts, lies in the difficulty overcome.) "Discours Préliminaire," Les Géorgiques (Paris, 1770). Reprinted in Oeuvres de J. DeLille (Paris, 1824), Vol. II, xl.

applicable to original works.

Warton has more to say about influence and borrowing. In Advertiser no. 63, he takes up the problem of distinguishing plagiarism from unconscious influence and from the kind of resemblance that necessarily arises when two poets imitate the same element of nature. He compares poems of Alexander Pope with the works of other writers from whom he drew ideas, phrases, lines, and in the case of "The Dying Christian" virtually the whole poem. Though he is reluctant to condemn Pope and offers the explanation that the poet himself may not have been aware that he was remembering more than he was composing, Warton makes it clear that he disapproves. As if determined to avoid Pope's error, he freely acknowledges his own debts to other commentators and translators in the Advertisement of his Vergil:

Mr. Pitt hath borrowed about sixty lines from Mr. Dryden, and I myself about a dozen, and a remark or two in the life of Virgil. I am indebted also to Mr. Benson for some observations and for six lines of the two first Georgics. For the rest I am answerable.

A close reading of Warton's translation leads one to conclude that Peter Gay's description of Diderot applies to Joseph Warton, too: his frank acknowledgment of dependence has concealed the extent to which he has used his predecessors' work; he has been "disingenuously candid."<sup>9</sup> In fact, his first Georgic is the most highly derivative work examined in this study.

Warton's greatest debt is to Benson, but he has also made extensive use of Dryden's translation (more, however, in the third and

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<sup>9</sup>The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, Vol. I, The Rise of Modern Paganism (New York, 1967), 364.

fourth Georgics than in the first two) and some use of Trapp's. In the first Georgic, Warton has taken almost verbatim from Benson, in addition to the six-line passage he mentions, five couplets and eight single lines, a total more than three times greater than he has acknowledged. He has also borrowed three or four lines from Dryden and four or five from Trapp, depending on his source for the line which Trapp borrowed from Dryden.

Yet, Warton's translation is far from a mere collage of other men's work. It is as eclectic as the commentary that accompanies it, no doubt for the same reason: Warton set out to produce the best and most definitive edition and translation of Vergil possible. The fact that a finished translation must meet the same tests as an original poem does not imply that the verse translator goes about his task in the same way an original poet does. In Warton's view, Dryden's aim and Dryden's method are still sound: Vergil is to be made to speak as he would have done if he had been born an Englishman, and only the happiest equivalents of his Latin lines can approach that Vergilian English—regardless of their source. All that is truly poetic in an English Vergil is Vergil's own; none of the beauties Warton finds in epic, pastoral, and didactic poetry in his opinion are untranslatable. The translator must be a poet not in order to invent, but in order to understand and reproduce Vergil's invention in a new medium. The translator's primary skill is his manipulation of the artistic and linguistic correspondences between Latin and English verse. He does not create original poetry. In borrowing a deft translation, Warton therefore pays tribute to the translator whose work he incorporates into his as well as to Vergil. The charge of plagiarism would be made



as unjustly against Warton as against Dryden, however much one may wish that they had accounted for their borrowings more completely. In the coherence and tonal integrity of each of their Vergil's lies evidence that neither used his predecessors merely to cover his own linguistic and poetic deficiencies, much less to save time and effort. Rather, as Proudfoot has observed, their use of earlier translations must have made their task more difficult.<sup>10</sup> Dryden's limitations lay in the extent to which he fell short of his goal.

In his translation of the fourth Eclogue, Warton relied far less than he usually did on other translators, for in that short poem he was less interested in measuring the English version by the Latin original. In this work, Vergil had become, in part, a transmitter of a greater original, the Sybelline prophecy. Warton therefore turns to the biblical analogue of the prophecy for comparison. Except for one or two echoes of the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, he remains as faithful as he can to Vergil's text, but he cannot help observing in a note, "How much inferior is Virgil's poetry to Isaiah's."

In this Eclogue, Warton agrees with Dryden in approximately one of every four rhyme-words. The lines in which they occur, however, are not always very similar in other respects. Warton translates Vergil's lines,

Teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule inibit,  
Pollio, & incipient magni procedere menses.  
(E IV, 11-12)

The months begin, the babe's auspicious face,  
Pollio, thy glorious consulship shall grace;  
(E IV, 13-14).

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<sup>10</sup>Seventeenth-Century Predecessors, p. 267.

He uses two of the end-words in Dryden's triplet:

The lovely Boy, with his auspicious Face,  
Shall Pollio's Consulship and Triumph grace;  
Majestick Months set out with him to their appointed Race.  
(E IV, 13-15)

The only resemblances between the two English versions are the conventional epithet "auspicious face" and the equally conventional rhyme formula. However, neither word of that formula is required by the Latin text, as Trapp's much more literal translation shows:

Beneath thy Fasces, Pollio, to adorn  
Thy Consulship, This Glory of the Age  
Shall rise; and mighty Months begin to roll.  
(E IV, 14-16)

And the same may be said of the couplet with which the poem opens.

Vergil's lines,

Sicelides Musae, paullo majora canamus.  
Non omnes arbusta juvant, humilesque myricae.  
(E IV, 1-2)

literally mean,

Sicilian Muses, let us sing somewhat more loftily.  
Not all enjoy orchards and lowly shrubs.

The impossibility of treating majora as a substantive in English has already been discussed in the chapter on the translators of the early eighteenth century. Given the necessity for a grammatical shift, it is obvious that the sense of the sentence might well suggest the "strains/plains" formula but certainly does not require it.

The expected child, Vergil prophesies, will live among gods and heroes:

Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.  
(E IV, 17)

which Trapp translates literally,

And with his Father's Vertues rule the Globe,  
In Peace.

(E IV, 22-23)

Dryden adds the modifier "jarring," which emphasizes the discord that obtains before the child's birth, and transforms orbem into "mankind":

The jarring Nations he in peace shall bind,  
And with paternal Virtues rule mankind.

(E IV, 20-21)

and Warton follows:

The jarring world in lasting peace shall bind,  
And with his father's virtues rule mankind.

(E IV, 19-20)

His use of Dryden's text is clear here, though it is more extensive in the second line than in the first.

In one of the two remaining couplets in which Warton and Dryden agree in their choice of rhyme-words, Warton, like Trapp, accepts Dryden's addition to the sense of the text:

Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae  
Ubera: nec magnos metuent armenta leones.

(E IV, 21-22)

literally:

Uncalled, the goats shall bring home their udders  
swollen with milk, and the herds shall not fear  
huge lions.

(Loeb, I, 31)

Dryden sets the fearless herds to grazing, and translates referent (return) as "speed":

The Goats with strutting Duggs shall homeward speed,  
And lowing Herds, secure from Lyons feed.

(E IV, 25-26)

Warton omits Dryden's "lowing" and translates Vergil's magnos, but otherwise follows Dryden rather closely:

With milk o'ercharged the goats shall homeward speed,  
 And herds secure from mighty lions feed.  
 (E IV, 25-26)

In the remaining couplet, one line of Warton's version resembles Dryden's only in the rhyme-word:

Of native purple and unborrow'd gold,  
 And sandyx clothe with red the crowded fold.  
 (Warton, E IV, 49-50)

But the luxurious Father of the Fold,  
 With native Purple, or unborrow'd Gold,  
 (Dryden, E IV, 52-53)

Of the seven single lines in which the rhyme-words agree, three are sufficiently similar in diction and syntax to suggest that Warton was using Dryden's Eclogue as he wrote. The lines in Dryden's version are:

The knotted Oaks shall show'rs of Honey weep,  
 (E IV, 35)

Yet, of old Fraud some footsteps shall remain,  
 (E IV, 37)

No God shall crown the Board, nor Goddess bless the Bed.  
 (E IV, 77)

and in Warton's:

And knotted oaks shall showers of honey weep.  
 (E IV, 34)

Yet of old crimes some footsteps shall remain,  
 (E IV, 35)

No god shall grace thy board, no goddess bless thy bed.  
 (E IV, 72)

All three of these lines, however, are quite literally translated, as can be seen in the Loeb translation:

and the stubborn oak shall distill dewy honey.  
 (I, 31)

Yet shall some traces of olden sin lurk behind,  
 (I, 31)

no god honours with his table, no goddess with her bed.  
(I, 33)

Nevertheless, Warton's diction is so similar to Dryden's as to suggest that he worked with Dryden's lines in mind. All other similarities of phrasing and diction in the two English Eclogues are so limited in scope or so literal or conventional that no indebtedness can be inferred from them.

As has been suggested above, Warton's expansion of Vergil's sentence,

Occidet & serpens, & fallax herba veneni  
Occidet:  
(E IV, 24-25)

which is translated literally in the Loeb version,

The serpent, too, shall perish, and the false  
poison-plant shall perish;  
(I, 31)

is traceable to the formulaic repetition in Isaiah xi, 8, which Warton quotes in his note on the passage:

"And the suckling child shall play upon the hole  
of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his  
hand on the adder's den."

His interpretation of the fourth Eclogue did not encourage him to make very extensive use of other translations.

In the first Georgic, on the other hand, Warton has relied heavily upon Dryden, and even more heavily on Benson. Trapp's blank verse translation could not be equally helpful to a translator who worked in rhyme, but Warton has made considerable use of it too. Sometimes it is difficult to determine which source he is using in a given passage. For example, in translating Vergil's lines:

Nunc caput objectare fretis, nunc currere in undas,  
Et studio incassum videas gestire lavandi.



Tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce,  
 Et sola in sicca secum spatiatur arena.  
 (G I, 386-89)

Now dive, now run upon the wat'ry plain  
 And long to lave their downy plumes in vain:  
 Loudly the rains the boding rook demands,  
 And solitary stalks across the scorching sands.  
 (Warton, G I, 458-61)

Warton has made use of Benson's translation of these lines:

Now plunge their Heads, now run upon the Stream:  
 With endless Labour ply the Wat'ry Plain,  
 And dive, and wash, and proudly wash in vain:  
 Then with full Voice the Rook the Show'r demands,  
 And solitary Stalks along the scorching Sands:  
 (Benson, G I, 483-87)

But Benson, in his turn, has relied upon Dryden, especially in the last couplet of the passage:

And dive with stretching Necks to search their Food;  
 Then lave their Backs with sprinkling Dews in vain,  
 And stem the Stream to meet the promis'd Rain.  
 The Crow with clam'rous Cries the Show'r demands,  
 And single stalks along the Desart Sands.  
 (Dryden, G I, 530-34)

In the last line, Benson appears to have changed Dryden's "single" to "solitary," and Warton to have changed Benson's "along" to "across." Such evidence, though it traces the provenience of the lines, must not be interpreted to mean that Dryden's influence reached Warton only indirectly. Warton used the Dryden text itself, as well as the work of later translators who also relied on it.

Warton's notes to the first Georgic show how carefully and thoroughly he worked, how many topics and stylistic elements he investigated minutely, how resonant he found virtually every line of Vergil's text. In many notes, he cites interesting parallels, sources, and analogues to the Georgics from other classical works or from English poetry. Though biblical parallels are not so important in shaping



the Georgics as they are for the fourth Eclogue, Warton lost no opportunity to cite them, usually to Vergil's disadvantage. Of Vergil's celebrated description of a storm, he wrote:

This description, fine as it is is excelled by the storm in the 18th psalm. God is described flying upon the wings of the wind—"He made darkness his secret place, his pavilion round about him, with dark water and thick clouds to cover him.—The springs of waters were seen, and the foundations of the round world were discovered at thy chiding, O Lord." See the whole, too long to be transcribed, but inimitably great and sublime.

Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii!

(Yield to the scriptures, Romans; yield, Greeks!)

Occasionally a deficiency in the work of his predecessors would offend him, and he would duly record his reaction. Of their translations of Vergil's line,

Et teneram ab radice ferens Sylvane cupressum.  
(G I, 20)

he complains,

Medals represent Sylvanus bearing a young cypress tree torn up by the roots. Neither Mr. Dryden nor Mr. Benson seem apprehensive of this allusion, which is very picturesque.

In reference to another passage, in which Dryden appears to have misinterpreted the significance of an owl's hooting, Warton comments, "Mr. Dryden has strangely translated this passage."

Such notes help to suggest the procedure Warton must have used in making his translation. He must first have translated literally but roughly, consulting French, Latin, and English commentaries as he went along. Then he must have turned to his three English predecessors, comparing, correcting, sometimes chiding, adapting, and sometimes borrowing, as he polished what he had written, until he had composed the best line he could. He must have written the notes

that record his reactions to his sources as the occasions arose during this stage of the work and added others, such as Holdsworth's comments and long paragraphs of background information from the Polymetis, later. The process was surely laborious. Dryden had produced his translation of the complete works, with the help of some of his friends, in just under four years. Warton took nearly seven to translate about a fourth as many lines and edit Pitt's Aeneid. His methods and objectives were the same as Dryden's; but Warton was able to polish his lines more carefully than Dryden, and in many passages, his diligence enabled him to surpass his illustrious predecessor.

Three of Dryden's lines appear in Warton's first Georgic exactly as they do in Dryden's, and in one more the only contrast is that between "onward" and "onwards." Dryden's translation of

Impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.  
(G I, 468)

And Impious Mortals fear's Eternal Night.  
(G I, 631)

also appears in Trapp's version. The two words for which English cognates may be used, aeternam and impia, are translated "eternal" and "impious," and the rest of the line is also rendered very literally. The same reservation may be suggested with somewhat less justification for

The Pleiads, Hyads, and the Northern Car.  
(Dryden, G I, 210)

which Warton repeats to translate,

Pleiadas, Hyadas, claramque Lycaonis Arcton.  
(G I, 138)

But in the brief address to Neptune which they share, there is

a good deal of difference between the Latin and English versions in the syntactic structure, though not in the sense:

Tuque o, cui prima frementem  
Fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti,  
Neptune:  
(G I, 12-14)

And thou, O Neptune, for whom Earth, smitten by  
thy mighty trident, first sent forth the neigh-  
ing steed;  
(Loeb, I, 81).

Warton, copying Dryden exactly in the first line, also shifts the earth from the subject function in the second line:

And thou, whose trident struck the teeming earth,  
Whence strait a neighing courser sprung to birth.  
(G I, 15-16)

just as Dryden has done:

And thou, whose Trident struck the teeming Earth,  
And made a passage for the Coursers Birth.  
(G I, 15-16)

In Warton's translation of:

Proluit insano contorquens vortice sylvas  
Fluviorum rex Eridanus, camposque per omnes  
Cum stabulis armenta tulit: nec tempore eodem  
Tristibus aut extis fibrae apparere minaces,  
(G I, 481-84)

Monarch of mighty floods, supremely strong,  
Eridanus, whole forests whirl'd along,  
And rolling onwards with a sweepy sway,  
Bore houses, herds, and helpless hinds away:  
(G I, 561-64)

the third line appears to be indebted to Benson's corresponding line:

In furious Gulphs absorbs the whirling Woods  
Imperial Po, the Sov'reign of the Floods;  
And pouring onwards with resistless Sway.  
Bears, with their ruin'd Stalls, the Herds away:  
(G I, 596-99).

But an examination of Dryden's text shows that both Warton and Benson have been influenced directly by it; Warton has taken not only the

third line but also the fourth almost verbatim:

Then rising in his Might, the King of Floods,  
 Rusht thro' the Forrests, tore the lofty Woods;  
 And rolling onward, with a sweepy Sway,  
 Bore Houses, Herds, and lab'ring Hinds away.  
 (Dryden, G I, 649-52)

The Loeb version shows how much Dryden has amplified the Latin verse in the last line:

Eridanus, king of rivers, washed away in the swirl  
 of his mad eddy whole forests, and all across the  
 plains swept cattle and stalls alike.  
 (I, 113)

Warton is sometimes willing to trust Dryden's judgment about omissions as well as amplifications, especially when a literal rendering of the Latin makes for awkward English. Vergil describes the aftermath of a rainstorm:

Verum ubi tempestas & coeli mobilis humor  
 Mutavere vias: & Juppiter humidus Austris  
 Densat, erant quae rara modo; & quae densa, relaxat:  
 (G I, 417-19).

The Loeb translation reproduces Vergil's syntax faithfully:

but that when the weather and fitful vapours of  
 the sky have turned their course, and Jove, wet  
 with the south winds, thickens what just now was  
 rare, and makes rare what now was thick,  
 (I, 109).

But Dryden here has wisely condensed the more diffuse expression of his original:

But with the changeful Temper of the Skies,  
 As Rains condense, and Sun-shine rarifies;  
 (G I, 565-66).

And Warton has followed his example:

But when the changeful temper of the skies  
 The rare condenses, the dense rarifies,  
 (G I, 489-90).

At other times, Warton accepts from Dryden the rhyme scheme and

the more faithful line of a couplet but translates the other line independently. Land that has lain fallow for two years, Vergil says, produces the best crop:

Illa seges demum votis respondet avari  
Agricolae, bis quae solem, bis frigora sensit:  
Illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes.  
(G I, 47-49)

That field only answers the covetous farmer's  
prayer, which twice has felt the sun and twice  
the frost; from it boundless harvests burst the  
granaries.  
(Loeb, I, 85)

Dryden translates:

That crop rewards the greedy Peasant's Pains,  
Which twice the Sun, and twice the cold sustains,  
And bursts the crowded Barns, with more than promis'd Gains.  
(G I, 72-74)

Warton adopts the line in which Dryden has preserved Vergil's anaphora, changing "cold" to the more evocative "frosts" and making the verb agree with his plural subject:

Those lands at last repay the peasant's care,  
Which twice the sun, and twice the frosts sustain,  
And burst his barns surcharg'd with pond'rous grain.  
(G I, 62-64)

In the passages that have been cited, and in others similar to them, most of Warton's lines which have been influenced by Dryden's come from passages of the poem which Dryden has translated with both fidelity and grace.

In all, in Warton's 601-line text, there are 136 rhyme-word agreements with Dryden's version. Of that number, forty-eight also occur in Benson, and often it is the latter translation that Warton favors. Vergil celebrates the coming of spring:

jam vere sereno.  
Tunc agni pingues, & tunc mollissima vina;

Tunc somni dulces, densaeque in montibus umbrae.  
(G I, 340-42)

Dryden begins, not very literally:

For then the Hills with pleasing Shades are crown'd,  
And Sleeps are sweeter on the silken Ground:  
With milder Beams the Sun securely shines;  
Fat are the Lambs, and luscious are the Wines.  
(G I, 467-70)

Warton reverses the couplets, keeping the order of the Latin:

When winter ends, and spring serenely shines,  
Then fat the lambs, then mellow are the wines,  
Then sweet are slumbers on the flowery ground;  
Then with thick shades are lofty mountains crown'd.  
(G I, 410-13)

Benson has treated Dryden's version in the same way, and Warton has adopted from Benson the first line in full and the second and fourth lines with very minor substitutions. In the third line, he has departed from Benson somewhat more, substituting "sweet" for Benson's "soft" and "flowery" for "verdant."

When Winter ends, and Spring serenely shines;  
Then fat the Lambs, and mellow are the Wines;  
Then soft the Slumbers on the verdant Ground;  
Then with thick Shades the lofty Mountains crown'd.  
(Benson, G I, 426-29)

Dryden's lines,

Or that the Heat the gaping Ground constrains,  
New Knits the Surface, and new Strings the Veins;  
(G I, 135-36)

appear to have provided the rhyme for:

Or genial heat the hollow glebe constrains,  
Braces each nerve, and binds the gaping veins;  
(Warton, G I, 110-11).

But again the influence is once removed, coming through Benson, who has also adopted Dryden's rhyme but few of his words:

Or that the Heat the hollow Glebe constrains,  
Braces each Nerve, and knits the gaping Veins;  
(G I, 116-17).



In other passages, Warton and Benson are both directly indebted to Dryden. Vergil describes conditions after the long decline from the golden age:

Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas, tot bella per orbem,  
 Tam multae scelerum facies: non ullus aratro  
 Dignus honos, squalent abductis arva colonis,  
 (G I, 505-07)

Dryden and Warton translate:

Where Fraud and Rapine, Right and Wrong confound;  
 Where impious Arms from ev'ry part resound,  
 And monstrous Crimes in ev'ry Shape are crown'd.  
 The peaceful Peasant to the Wars is prest;  
 The Fields lye fallow in inglorious Rest.  
 (Dryden, G I, 678-82)

Where sacred order, fraud and force confound;  
 Where impious wars and tumults rage around;  
 And every various vice and crime is crown'd:  
 Dishonour'd lies the plough; the banish'd swains  
 Are hurried from th'uncultivated plains;  
 (Warton, G I, 589-93).

The triplets correspond line for line in content, and two of the rhyme-words agree. Neither Dryden nor Warton has rendered the passage so literally as Benson, whose version reads:

Where impious Mortals Right, and Wrong confound;  
 Wars rage; and Vice in ev'ry Shape is crown'd;  
 The Plains no Honour from the Plough receive;  
 The ravish'd Hinds, their Toils unfinish'd leave:  
 A ghastly Sight the squallid Field affords,  
 (G I, 622-26)

Benson echoes Dryden in some phrases and in his "confound/crown'd" rhyme. Warton borrows the same rhyme-words but not the same phrases. Like Benson, he uses Dryden, but differently.

Sometimes Warton has used Dryden's and Benson's rhyme-words, but his translation is otherwise not much indebted to either.

What time, nor mast, nor fruits, the groves supply'd,  
 And fam'd Dodona sustenance deny'd:  
 Tillage grew toilsome, and the harvests dy'd.  
 (Warton, G I, 179-81)



These lines are independently translated and are not more similar to either Dryden's or Benson's lines than the Latin forces them to be:

When now Dodonian Oaks no more supply'd  
 Their Mast, and Trees their Forrest-fruit deny'd.  
 Soon was his Labour doubl'd to the Swain,  
 And blasting Mildews blackned all his Grain.  
 (Dryden, G I, 221-24)

When scanty Food the Sacred Groves supply'd,  
 And all relief Dodonean Oaks deny'd;  
 But soon new Toil the Foodful Glebe requir'd,  
 Eat with an evil Rust the Grain expir'd;  
 (Benson, G I, 192-95)

Such passages are not, however, numerous, and when they do occur Warton is likely to have turned to Trapp's version, as he has in the couplet which translates,

nam saepe videmus  
 Ipsius in vultu varios errare colores.  
 (G I, 451-52)

Observe too, when he ends his heavenly race,  
 What various colours wander o'er his face:  
 (Warton, G I, 523-24)

The order of ideas and the grammatical relations in the Latin are not obscure, but they make less than graceful English; the passage is easy to understand but difficult to translate. Warton here prefers Trapp's combination of fidelity and smoothness:

For oft we see  
 How various Colours wander o'er his Face;  
 (G I, 561-62)

but Trapp's blank verse does not help him with his rhyme scheme. For that, he turns to Dryden:

For oft we find him finishing his Race,  
 With various Colours erring on his Face;  
 (G I, 603-04).

Following Dryden, he moves his translation of emenso cum iam decidet Olympo (also when he sets, having traversed the heavens) into this



sentence from an earlier line of Vergil's text in order to translate vultu as an end-word.

Obviously, Warton used the work of all three of his important English predecessors. To distinguish sharply and fully between the direct influence of Dryden and his indirect influence mediated by Benson and Trapp would virtually require the reprinting and cross-indexing of all four translations. The important point to be noted is that Dryden's influence reached Warton in these two ways and that Warton in his turn became a transmitter of Dryden's theory and practice of the art of verse translation. Warton's fidelity to Vergil's text and the care with which he approached each line made his style at once more supple than Pitt's and less flamboyant than Dryden's. But he was not nearly so doctrinaire about verbal accuracy as Benson or Trapp. In a word, Warton made a heroic effort to do what Dryden had attempted and fallen short of accomplishing: to recreate in English from all the materials available Vergil's most sublime achievement. And so long as the Georgics continued to be read and imitated, Warton's translation continued to be accounted among the finest that had been made.

## CHAPTER V

James Beresford and William Sotheby

Most of the eighteenth-century translations of Vergil were made in the mid-century, between 1735 and 1770. The only complete Works published after that time were editions of the Dryden or Pitt-Warton translations. It was during those years that Robert Andrews' strange version was published, as were the Aeneids of Theobald, Pitt, Hawkins, and Strahan. The same period saw a somewhat less lively interest in the Eclogues and the Georgics; Warton's version of the two works appeared during that time, as did Nevil's Georgics, Atterbury's first Eclogue, and Beattie's Pastorals.<sup>1</sup> The one substantial portion of Vergil published in the following decade was Mills' Georgics, which appeared in 1780. Lofft's first two Georgics came out in 1784 and the precocious Master Morrison's second Aeneid in 1787. It was not until 1794 that another translation of the entire epic was published—James Beresford's Aeneid.

Beresford did not equivocate about the task of the translator. In his preface, we find him saying over and over again that the English translator should not seek to produce a poem that simply resembles

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<sup>1</sup>See pp. 2-6, in which these translations are discussed in more detail. Two minor works of the 1760's are described in Appendix D—Robert Andrews' Vergil Englished and James Beattie's Pastorals. Neither was directly influenced by Dryden's Vergil, though Beattie's diction and prosody are conventional.



his original but rather should make its counterpart in English. Like Trapp, he argues that the spirit of the original in large part resides in the minutiae of the language, that to translate literally is to be faithful to the spirit of the author. All that is of real poetic value is translatable. What the reader should be given is Vergil's poem, not an English poet's interpretation of it; the Latin epic should be "poured . . . without loss or adulteration" [i.e., without omissions or expansions] out of Latin into English. He recognizes that putting his theory into practice may raise a few difficulties, but he minimizes them:

It will sometimes, though very rarely, be found necessary, in Englishing this Poet, to depart from the letter of the parent-sentence. The idioms of the two languages will not always coalesce; insomuch that of two versions of the same passage, the one literal, the other lax, it may happen that the latter is the more faithful: for if the original Poet clothed his thoughts in graceful diction, constructed according to the purest rules of the language in which he wrote, that imitator deserts his model, whose expressions, however close in meaning, are constrained in manner; while he alone adheres to it, whose phrase like that of his Author, is congenial to his own vernacular tongue. "While languages," says Johnson, "run on together, the closest translation may be considered as the best; but when they divaricate, each must take its natural course." My constant and principal care, however, has been to set down without change, addition, or retrenchment, the matter that lay before me.<sup>2</sup>

After he had completed his translation and written his preface to it, Beresford found a Latin treatise by the Bishop of Avranches, which he felt proved his argument to be right. He therefore added a postscript to his translation, consisting of two passages from the treatise along with his translation of and comments about them, "for

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<sup>2</sup>Preface, p. xi.

the double purpose," he says, "of corroborating my own notions, and of presenting to the Reader, in a short compass, a perfect Theory of Translation." The Bishop offers six standards a "just Translation" should meet: (1) "religious scrupulosity in exhibiting the thoughts"; (2) "fidelity in delivering the words"; (3) "extreme solicitude in pursuing the general colour of the original Work"; (4) "consummate perspecuity"; (5) "terseness and elegance"; and (6) "a certain nativeness of character, such as may keep off the suspicion that it is but an interpretation of the Work of another." The order of these criteria is important. The first three are obligatory, and though all three are of great importance, the faithful representation of meaning is the first essential, verbal accuracy is the second consideration, and "general colour," presumably what other commentators mean by both "spirit" and "manner," comes last. Beresford offers no comment on the less crucial criteria beyond saying that they also are extremely important—a pity, since the terms are so abstract that they might mean a great many different things. But he assures us that the translation that met these standards would be "faultless." The "cardinal duty" of the translator, he says, is "Fidelity."

The order of precedence is a bit misleading, since it seems to suggest that there is something more important than verbal accuracy. When Beresford places the word after the sense, he does so merely to provide for the rendering of Latin syntactic structures into English structures when the two are not entirely equivalent. In reading his Aeneid, it is never necessary, as it sometimes is in reading Andrews', to consult the Latin original in order to puzzle out the English syntax. When Beresford says that the translator must adhere "with the

utmost strictness" first to the meaning, then to the words, and finally to the manner of his original, he construes "meaning" in a very limited sense indeed.

As for metrics, he cites Dryden's remarks about the difficulties rhyme creates and refers the reader to William Cowper's remarks on blank verse in the preface to his Homer. Cowper argues

that a just translation of any ancient poet in rhyme is impossible. No human ingenuity can be equal to the task of closing every couplet with sounds homotonous, expressing at the same time the full sense and only the full sense of his original. The translator's ingenuity, indeed, in this case, becomes itself a snare, and the readier he is at invention and expedient, the more likely he is to be betrayed into the widest departures from the guide whom he professes to follow. . . .

There is indisputably a wide difference between the case of an original writer and a translator. In an original work, the author is free; if the rhyme be of difficult attainment, and he cannot find it in one direction, he is at liberty to seek it in another. . . . But in a translation no such option is allowable; the sense of the author is required, and we do not surrender it willingly even to the plea of necessity. Fidelity is indeed of the very essence of translation, and the term itself implies it. For which reason, if we suppress the sense of our original, and force into its place our own, we may call our work an imitation, if we please, or perhaps a paraphrase, but it is no longer the same author only in a different dress, and therefore it is not translation.<sup>3</sup>

Cowper is quoted here at such length not only to show the rationale of Beresford's preference for blank verse, but also because Beresford's quoting him has led reviewers to believe he was attempting to copy Cowper's style. In the Monthly Review of September, 1795, the critic objects to Beresford's attempt to emulate Cowper, adding that Cowper's

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<sup>3</sup>The Life and Works of William Cowper, Robert Southey, ed., in 8 vols. (London, 1854), VII, ix-x.





Homer was hardly his best work. Furthermore, he notes, Beresford does not explain what he means by the term "blank verse":

If by that term he means such verse as Milton wrote, we will readily acknowledge that a preference is due to it:--but if, as we rather suspect, he gives that name to lines of ten syllables, encumbered with pompous epithets and inflated expression, and obscured by a forced and unnatural transposition of the words, we shall not scruple to pronounce with Pope that it is not poetry, but prose run mad.<sup>4</sup>

So much for the theory of translation offered in Beresford's preface. To demonstrate that the translation is no better than the theory, the reviewer offers three parallel passages from it and from the version by Pitt, whose object, he says, was not so much "to rival Mr. Dryden, as to correct some errors in his translation," adding that "in this attempt, he has succeeded so well as to preclude, in the opinion of men of judgment, all hope of its ever being excelled."<sup>5</sup> The sample passages, he believes, clearly show that Beresford has often perplexed the sense he was so zealous to preserve, that his diction and syntax are awkward and his metrics, rough.

Nearly a hundred years later, the critical view of Cowper's Homer had mellowed somewhat, but concerning Beresford's Aeneid, it remained the same:

It was not until 1794 that another blank verse translator showed himself. This was the Rev. James Beresford, Fellow of Merton College, otherwise known as the author of a popular jeu d'esprit called the 'Miseries of Human Life', and of a less successful polemic against Calvinism. Cowper's Homer had recently appeared, and had been recognized to be, what it certainly is, a work of real merit; and it was tempting to try whether

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<sup>4</sup>Vol. XVIII, ser. 2, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 3.



the same process could not after all be made to answer with Virgil. But Cowper's success, whatever it may have been, was due, not to the theories of his preface, but to his practice as an original poet: it established a case for blank verse as wielded by Cowper, not as wielded by Mr. Beresford.<sup>6</sup>

Beresford himself did not claim to be a follower of Cowper, whose translation was published three years before his own, and I am inclined to suspect that he cited the preface to the Homer merely to support his objections to rhyme, just as he was to cite the Bishop of Avranches to give weight to his theory of translation. Beresford took little notice of earlier translators of Vergil. He observed that Dryden was "on the whole the most successful of my numerous Predecessors" but went on to point out that Dryden's choice of the heroic couplet limited him severely. As for the earlier blank-verse translators, they had failed "only from unskillful management of the weapon with which they assailed [the Latin text], not from any insufficiency in the weapon itself."<sup>7</sup>

It is therefore somewhat surprising to find him indebted to a member of that nameless company of failures. For often, where Joseph Trapp's translation is both literal and in normal English syntactic form, Beresford adopts it. In the following lines, for example, which follow Dido's confession to her sister of her growing love for Aeneas:

Sic effata, sinum lacrymis implevit obortis.  
Anna refert, O luce magis dilecta sorori,  
(A IV, 30-31)

Trapp translates,

Thus having said,  
She fill'd her Bosom with o'erflowing Tears.

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<sup>6</sup> "The English Translators," pp. 90-91.

<sup>7</sup> Preface, p. viii.





in English. The periphrastic vel is perhaps more common in Latin than "either...or" in English, and it is often translated with the single correlative; all the Aeneids included in this study have "or" alone in this passage. And all five translators get around the difficulty of the doubled optative subjunctive by ignoring optem (I should prefer) and render ima (to the depths) freely. Andrews, as well as Trapp and Beresford, reduces pater omnipotens to "Jove," but he does not use the proper name as they do to eliminate four troublesome syllables. The words of Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundum so strongly suggest translation into cognates that one is surprised to find other translators deviating from "Pale shades of Erebus and night profound." Dryden and Pitt have both chosen to render this passage freely, expanding somewhat. Beresford's view, no doubt, would be that they are driven to do so by their need to rhyme, but it is more likely that they have striven to preserve the impressiveness of Dido's vow, since both call attention to the fact that her breaking it was a serious offense. Whether such expansion actually is equivalent in its effect on the reader to Vergil's optem and thus closer to Vergil's "meaning" while farther from his words, is a moot point. If there is superior fidelity to sense in the free translations, it should be noted that Beresford's willingness to sacrifice words to meaning has not stretched that far. Certainly, his approach is different from Dryden's and Pitt's:

But first let yawning Earth a Passage rend;  
 And let me through the dark Abyss descend;  
 First let avenging Jove, with Flames from high,  
 Drive down this Body, to the neather Sky,  
 Condemn'd with Ghosts in endless Night to lye;  
 (Dryden, A IV, 32-36)

But oh! may Earth her dreadful gulf display,  
 And gaping snatch me from the golden day;  
 May I be hurl'd, by Heav'n's almighty sire,  
 Transfixt with thunder and involv'd in fire,  
 Down to the shades of hell from realms of light,  
 The deep, deep shades of everlasting night;  
 (Pitt, A IV, 35-40)

Even the literal-minded Andrews agrees here with Trapp and Beresford only in part:

But first yawn Earth, and close me in her womb;  
 Jove's glaring arm first bolt me to the shades,  
 Pale shades of Erebus and Night's abyss:  
 (A IV, 24-26)

In "Night's abyss" he has made a minor syntactic adjustment to render profundam substantivally, as if it were profundum. Andrews may have used "Jove" to solve a metrical problem, but not the same problem that Trapp and Beresford faced, since he has managed the rest of the line very differently. He packs adigat and fulmine into the verb "bolt" and therefore has to add Jove's "glaring arm" in order to fill out the line.

The last phrase of Vergil's line,

Dat somnos adimitque, & lumina morte resignat.  
 (A IV, 242-44)

is a crux, which commentators have interpreted to mean different things. Ruaeus notes that Servius read resignat as equivalent to claudit, (close), so that he attributed to Mercury the power to give or interrupt sleep and to close men's eyes in death. Turnebus, on the other hand, interpreted it to mean "open," as in aperit in busto, referring to the Roman custom of opening the eyes of a corpse on its funeral pyre—the interpretation Rushton Fairclough favors in the Loeb translation. Ruaeus himself preferred to read the ablative morte as "from death" and resignat in its usual meaning "open"; thus, he gives





Mercury the power to call the dead back to life. In a note on the line, Trapp repudiates Servius' suggestion and seems to waver between Turnebus' and Ruaeus' interpretations:

Servius gives it a quite different Construction;  
resignat, i.e., claudit, contrary to the Sense of  
 all other Expositors, to the Roman Custom of open-  
 ing the Eyes of the Dead upon the Funeral Piles,  
 and to the plain Meaning of the Word.

Resignat ex or a morte.

Like Dryden, Pitt, and Andrews, he settles upon Ruaeus' reading in his translation.<sup>8</sup> And again it is Trapp's line that Beresford echoes:

Gives, or breaks Sleep; and Eyes unseals from Death.  
 (Trapp, A IV, 318)

Sleep gives or breaks, and eyes unseals from death:  
 (Beresford, A IV, 325).

In one parenthetical line, in which Vergil explains why Dido called Sichaeus' old nurse instead of her own:

Namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat:  
 (A IV, 633)

for the pyre's black ashes held her own in the olden  
 land.

(Loeb, I, 439)

he seems to have relied on Pitt:

(Her own lay bury'd in her native land)  
 (Pitt, A IV, 911)

(Her own lay buried in her native land,) (Beresford, A IV, 858).

And he repeats Dryden's version of one hemistich, a perplexing line

<sup>8</sup>The other translations are:

he seals in Sleep, the wakeful sight;  
 And Eyes, thou clos'd in Death restores to Light.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 358-59)

Invites or chases sleep with wond'rous pow'r,  
 And opes those eyes that death had seal'd before.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 358-59)

Gives or breaks sleep; and opens death-sunk eyes:  
 (Andrews, A IV, 244)

most commentators believe Vergil would have revised if he had lived to polish the Aeneid:

Et matri praereptus amor.

(A IV, 516)

Robbing the Mother's Love.

(Dryden, A IV, 747)

But even this small resemblance may be accidental. Trapp has also used Dryden's reading of the Latin, though he has changed the form of the verb:

To rob the Mother's Love.

(Trapp, A IV, 689)

Of the three English translators, only Trapp preserves the line as a hemistich. Dryden fills out the line with the beginning of the next sentence, and Beresford puts the phrase at the end of a line:

Of new-born foal, robbing the mother's love.

(A IV, 701)

Such similarities as these between Beresford's Aeneid and the great rhymed translations are very rare.

Where the blank-verse versions resemble one another, Beresford is always closer to Trapp than to Andrews. The agreement in many passages can be explained by the fact that both Beresford and Trapp aimed at verbal accuracy, and such resemblances would not necessarily prove that Beresford used Trapp's text, if there were not so many of them, or if there were more similarities between Beresford and Andrews, who also aspired to translate literally. But there are many echoes of Trapp's work in Beresford's and not nearly so many of Andrews'; it does, therefore, seem probable that Beresford used Trapp's Aeneid as a resource, especially when difficulties arose. Dryden's translation, on the contrary, appears to have had no direct influence on him.



It was not until the end of the century that an English poet approached the task of translating Vergil in a manner similar to Dryden's and Warton's. William Sotheby's Georgics of Virgil Translated, which first appeared in 1800, enjoyed a modest success. The Monthly reviewer found it worthy to take a place beside, though not instead of, the Georgics of Dryden and Warton, who "were sufficient masters of the beauties of their original and of the resources of English to render [Vergil] as much justice as our language can afford."<sup>9</sup> Not, of course, that any translator had done or was likely to do justice to the original: "to execute such a task without faults would be almost to equal Virgil himself." Occasionally, the commentator found Sotheby's lines "flat," his epithets "turgid" or "feeble" or "inelegant," and his translation inaccurate. But, as if afraid that his discussion of Sotheby's shortcomings might vitiate his general commendation, he concluded by reminding the reader of the magnitude of the task the translator had undertaken:

On the whole, when we say that Mr. Sotheby's version of the Georgics may hold a respectable place among the efforts of preceding poets on the same subject, we bestow no inconsiderable praise. . . . Mr. Sotheby has derived most respectable poetic reputation from his former productions, and his fame will suffer no diminution from his present labours.<sup>10</sup>

On this side of the Atlantic, Sotheby's Georgics came out with Arthur Murphy's translation of "The Bees," and it was republished at least

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<sup>9</sup>Monthly Review, ser. 2, XXXIV (Jan., 1800), 75-78.

<sup>10</sup>Sotheby's previous publications were three ambitious poetic works: A Tour through Parts of Wales: Sonnets, Odes, and Other Poems, Oberon in two volumes from the German of Weiland, and The Battle of the Nile. The Siege of Cuzco, a tragedy in five acts published a few months after the Georgics, was not well received. Sotheby's later works included a Homer in heroic couplets.



twice in complete Vergils with the Eclogues of Francis Wrangham and the Aeneid of Dryden.<sup>11</sup>

In a brief preface, Sotheby praises the grace, spirit, dignity, and versification of Dryden's Vergil and the learning, refinement of taste, and correctness of judgment evident in Warton's, and he acknowledges that he has tried to imitate their "excellencies." He also pays tribute to the "general merit of the justly celebrated version of the Georgics by the Abbe De Lille," a French translation published in 1770, which was highly regarded in both England and France. Since he does not annotate his Georgics, Sotheby refers readers who are interested in discussions of particular passages to the Latin and English version of John Martyn, which is also cited in Warton's Vergil. Scholars are referred to the Latin text and commentary of Christian Gottlieb Heyne, a massive work in nine volumes, published between 1767 and 1771. Heyne brought the discoveries of a hundred years to bear upon the text, and his edition supplanted that of Ruaeus, whose judgment had so often guided Dryden and other translators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>12</sup>

Though Dryden's influence is apparent in Sotheby's Georgics, it is markedly weaker there than in Benson's or Warton's, no doubt at

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<sup>11</sup>"The Bees" is Book XIV of Praedium rusticum [The Country Estate] by Jacques Vaniere; this edition was published in New York in 1808. The Complete Works were published in New York in 1834 and 1848.

<sup>12</sup>Heyne's supremacy endured for many years, in school texts as well as in scholarly editions. I have used Vol. I of the Virgillii Opera Omnia (London, 1834). For the sake of uniformity, I have continued usually to quote Latin lines from the Ruaeus edition and have indicated the one deviation from this practice. A comparison of the two texts of the first Georgic reveals no significant differences, though there are many in the commentaries.





**Ruaeus' paraphrase is faithfully abstract:**

Trapp and Benson, in rendering the line as literally as possible, follow the text in the same manner:

without referring to Dryden's more graphic substitute for demittitis:

which Warton echoes:

**Sotheby's line,**

Or feed with prosperous show'rs the cultur'd fields.  
(G I, 28)



is not, however, simply a further movement toward a livelier image, but is suggested by De Lille:

Qui versez l'eau des cieux, qui fecondez les champs.

(Who pour water from the skies, who feed the fields).

In another such passage, Vergil's list of the farmer's winter occupations includes:

Aut pecori signum, aut numeros impressit acervis.  
(G I, 263)

(Either stamps a mark on the flocks or numbers on the grain-stacks).

Ruaeus' note states that the sheep were marked either with a hot iron or with dye:

Signum imprimitur pecori, aut candente ferro, aut colore.

And the earlier translators are accordingly vague about the matter in their versions of the first half of the line:

Then let him mark the Sheep, or whet the shining Share.  
(Dryden, G I, 354)

Or marks his Cattle, or his Sacks of Corn.  
(Trapp, G I, 329)

Or stamps the Mark upon the fleecy Race,  
(Benson, G I, 332)

Scoop troughs from trees, mark flocks, or sacks of wheat;  
(Warton, G I, 313)

Mark your fair flocks, or stamp your number'd sacks;  
(Andrews, G I, 263)

Sotheby's translation,

Or head the two-horn'd forks, or brand the sheep;  
(G I, 314)

reflects Heyne's commentary, which refers the reader to a parallel passage in the third Georgic:

Continuoque notas et numine gentis inurunt.  
(Heyne, G III, 158)



(And immediately they burn in the marks and the name  
of the breed.)

Not all of Sotheby's agreements with Heyne, however, represent differences between his reading of the original and Dryden's. Like most eighteenth-century translators, Dryden used Ruaeus critically, departing from him whenever it seemed appropriate to do so. Nor does Sotheby always follow Heyne to the letter. And he also uses De Lille selectively. For example, De Lille complains that Ruaeus misunderstood the phrase liquefacta volvere saxa (G I, 473) in Vergil's account of the eruption of Etna. Ruaeus had said that the words signified rocks consumed and diminished by fire, or perhaps dry, porous pumice-stone, or ashes. De Lille finds Ruaeus' interpretation contrary to both the sense of the words and the physical facts. He cites the authority of the Academy of Naples, who certainly ought to know what a volcanic eruption is like, and whose account of the eruption of Vesuvius in 1737 rightly applauds the accuracy of Vergil's expressions.<sup>13</sup> Neither Dryden nor Sotheby had deemed the point important, and in the two translations there is latitude for both interpretations:

What Rocks did Aetna's bellowing Mouth expire  
From her torn Entrails! what Floods of Fire!  
(Dryden, G I, 636-37)

Wide seas of fire down shatter'd Aetna flow,  
While globes of flame the red volcano threw,  
And fervid rocks that lighten'd as they flew!  
(Sotheby, G I, 564-66)

Sotheby's use of his predecessors' work is a far cry from plagiarism, but it is nonetheless apparent. Warton's version of the lines:

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<sup>13</sup>Heyne also has a note on this line, with a cross reference to line 576 of the third Aeneid. He also comments on the accuracy of Vergil's observation.

Ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris:  
 Praedarique lupos jussit, pontumque moveri:  
 Mellaque decussit foliis, ignemque removit:  
 (G I, 129-31)

reads:

He to fell serpents deathful venom gave,  
 Bade wolves destroy, and stormy ocean rave;  
 Conceal'd the fire, from leaves their honey shook;  
 (Warton, G I, 159-61).

Sotheby reshapes the verse, but under the influence of Warton's diction:

Jove to the serpent fang new venom gave,  
 Commanded wolves to prowl, and swell'd the wave,  
 From leaves their honey shook, conceal'd the fire,  
 (G I, 161-63).

More often it is Dryden's phrases that he recasts. In the Latin,  
 the vision of the farmer who in peacetime plows up relics of the war  
 once fought in his field is:

Nec fuit indignum superis, bis sanguine nostro  
 Emathiam & latos Aemi pinguescere campos.  
 Scilicet & tempus veniet, quum finibus illis  
 Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,  
 (G I, 491-94).

Dryden translates:

For this th'Emathian Plains once more were strow'd  
 With Roman Bodies, and just Heav'n thought good  
 To fatten twice those Fields with Roman Blood.  
 Then, after length of Time, the lab'ring Swains,  
 Who turn the Turfs of those unhappy Plains,  
 (G I, 660-64).

Sotheby's version is his own:

The Gods twice fed broad Haemus with our host,  
 And bath'd with Roman blood th'Emathian coast.  
 There, after length of time, the peaceful swain  
 Who ploughs the turf that swells o'er armies slain,  
 (G I, 589-92)

but the phrasing in the second couplet is colored by Dryden, as the  
 literal translation in the Loeb edition shows:

and the Powers above thought it not unseemly that  
 Emathia and the broad plains of Haemus should twice

batten on our blood. Yea, and a time shall come,  
when in those lands, as the farmer toils at the  
soil with crooked plough, . . .

(I, 115)

Often more than one source may be detected in a passage of Sotheby's translation. Like Trapp, Warton, and Andrews, Sotheby repeats the second line of Dryden's couplet verbatim:

In Iron Clouds conceal'd the Publick Light:  
And Impious Mortals fear'd Eternal Night.

(Dryden, G I, 630-31)

However, in his first line,

What time in iron clouds he veil'd his light,  
(Sotheby, G I, 559)

he echoes Warton as well:

With dusky redness veil'd his chearful light,  
(G I, 543).

In his translation of Vergil's description of the signs of impending storms:

Saepe etiam stellas vento impendente videbis  
Praecipites coelo labi: noctisque per umbras  
Flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus:  
Saepe levem paleam & frondes volitare caducas:  
Aut summa nantes in aqua colludere plumas.  
(G I, 365-69)

Sotheby again formulates his own version:

Oft shalt thou see, ere brooding storms arise,  
Star after star glide headlong down the skies,  
And, where they shot, long trails of lingering light  
Sweep far behind, and gild the shades of night;  
Oft the fall'n foliage wing its airy way,  
And floating feathers on the water play.  
(G I, 443-48)

but owes rhyme-words and the entire concluding line to Dryden:

And oft before tempest'ous Winds arise,  
The seeming Stars fall headlong from the Skies;  
And, shooting through the darkness, guild the Night  
With sweeping Glories, and long trails of Light:  
And Chaff with eddy Winds is whirl'd around,

And dancing Leaves are lifted from the Ground;  
 And floating Feathers on the Waters play.  
 (G I, 501-07)

Both translations are literal, but not slavishly so: only longos is rendered in a cognate—it would be difficult to find a satisfactory substitute for "long." But other words, impendente for example, might also have been rendered in a cognate form in one or the other of the translations. Sotheby's comet-tails, like Dryden's, "gild the night." In short, the differences notwithstanding, the two English poets have dealt with the text of this passage in much the same way.

Eighty-three of Sotheby's rhyme-words occur in the corresponding passages of Dryden's translation, more than half of them in sequences of two or more end-words.<sup>14</sup> These coincidences occur at the rate of two for every fifteen lines, not a great density when compared with Benson's one in four or Warton's two in nine, but not very greatly different from Pitt's rate of two in every eleven lines. The commentators to whom Sotheby turned for guidance, though not the same as those Dryden consulted, cleave to most of the same poetic values. And Sotheby's lines are sprinkled with such conventional epithets as "genial power" (as well as "genial salts," "genial show'rs," "genial earth," and "genial time"), "watery way," "finny prey," "fleecy cloud," and many others. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the admiration Sotheby expresses for Dryden's translation or his candor when he says he has endeavored to imitate it. If William Sotheby's version of the Georgics does not represent Augustan poetry at its best, the fault does not lie in his intention.

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<sup>14</sup>See Appendix A5.



## CHAPTER VI

### Dryden's Influence on his Successors

Dryden's translation of Vergil not only pleased his friends and silenced many of his enemies; it also inspired other poets to emulate him, and in some measure provided many of them with the means of doing so. Assessing the extent of their indebtedness to him is complicated by the fact that Dryden did not invent the prosody or the poetic language of his Vergil. He used a long-established form and a highly conventional diction, much of which had been translated from Vergil and other classical writers by English poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As Professor Arthur Sherbo has pointed out to me, he did, however, contribute some small part to that poetic diction, and his Vergil is a great repository of it. His specific influence on his successors must be sought in echoes of his text in theirs, in what is individual in his reading of Vergil, and in the manner in which he and those who followed him approached the task of translation.

The value which eighteenth-century translators of Vergil attributed to Dryden's work varied considerably, not, however, in accordance with their use of it. William Benson published his Virgil's Husbandry for the acknowledged purpose of exposing the shoddiness of Dryden's Vergil, which he called "rather a Version of Ruæus's Interpretation than of Virgil's Poetry." Yet he echoed it as often as Joseph Warton, who took a more charitable view of Dryden's weaknesses. The

blank-verse translators—Joseph Trapp, Robert Andrews, and James Beresford—criticized the license with which Dryden had rendered the original and agreed in attributing his failure to his choice of form. Andrews and Beresford dismissed his translation as the best a mere rhymers could hope to do and did not borrow from it. Trapp, on the other hand, distinguished between the translator, whom he considered careless, and the poet, to whom he listened with respect and sometimes echoed. Christopher Pitt, James Beattie, and William Sotheby, disclaiming even the intent to vie with so great a master as Dryden, said they sought only to follow his example. Pitt's Aeneid often shows the effects of his having read Dryden, and Sotheby's reveals less extensive but more intentional use of it, whereas Beattie appears not to have been influenced by any specific passages of Dryden's Eclogues.

In one respect, all the eighteenth-century translators were heirs of Dryden. The view of the translator's task which underlies and permeates all their discussions, when they disagree as well as when they agree, is so generally accepted that it is most readily seen in contrast with the stance of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century verse translators. Dryden and his followers assumed a real and objective correspondence between the original work and its best translation; they believed that there was, at least potentially, an ideal English Vergil, to which an optimum approach might be made. They took seriously the possibility of preserving, as it were, Vergil's speaking voice, as it would have sounded if he had been born in Augustan England. But, curiously, they did not take the next logical step of recognizing how relative and temporary a value that Vergilian voice would have. They understood the problems involved in essaying to reproduce poetry

in a second language, but they would hardly have described their task as an attempt, in Elinor Wylie's metaphor, to transmute "bronze that sings" into "singing water in a sieve."<sup>1</sup> For them, a translation was not, as it is for their modern counterparts, a personal interpretation, as ephemeral as the taste of the audience to whom it is addressed. Rather, eighteenth-century translation was, as Douglas Knight has characterized it, a "bifocal event," which sought to achieve a stance in the "permanent present" through the translator's serious and intelligent involvement in the two worlds of the original poem and of his own society, and through his apprehension of a necessary analogical connection between those worlds.<sup>2</sup>

Dryden's method of translating-and-collating is, by modern standards, at best a pointlessly cumbersome procedure and at worst plagiarism. But it follows logically from the Augustan view of the translator's objectives. All of the poets examined in this study felt impelled to take prefatory note of the work of their predecessors and to pass judgment upon it that justified their own efforts and revealed in what respects others had fallen short of producing the ideal English Vergil. Even Beattie, who readily conceded that his Pastorals might on the whole be inferior to Dryden's and Warton's, suggested that his rendering of some details might be more faithful than theirs, as a shoemaker might improve upon the foot of a great sculptor's statue. But only two of Dryden's successors, Warton and Sotheby, systematically

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<sup>1</sup>"Bronze Trumpets and Sea Water: On Turning Latin Into English," Notes to Catch the Wind (New York, 1921), p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>"Translation: the Augustan Mode," in On Translation, Reuben A. Brower, ed., Harvard Stud. in Comp. Lit., XXIII (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 196-204.

subjected their own work to a painstaking collation with earlier translations and commentaries.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, their use of his text often is apparent in more sharply defined similarities in their versions of Vergil than are to be found in the work of Benson and Pitt, who were at least equally, and in some ways more deeply, indebted to Dryden.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to see this difference in the ways Dryden influenced his successors by examining a single passage, for there is no uniform line-by-line correlation between Dryden's translation and that of any of his followers, much less among several of them. Yet there are some passages in which the general characteristics of the translations may be seen encapsuled, one of which is the vision of peace in the first Georgic. The Latin text is:

Scilicet & tempus veniet, quum finibus illis  
 Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,  
 Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila:  
 Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,  
 (G I, 493-96)

(And there shall surely come a time when in those lands  
 the farmer, working the earth with a crooked plow,  
 shall find rough-feeling javelins, corroded with rust,  
 or with heavy rakes shall clash upon empty helmets).

Dryden's translation reads:

Then, after length of Time, the lab'ring Swains,  
 Who turn the Turfs of those unhappy Plains,

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<sup>3</sup>Some others described their work as if they had followed Dryden's procedure; one may recall the claims for Melmoth's Vergil (see Chapter I, pp. 6-7). And in the 1820's, John Ring made a similar claim for his rather popular Vergil, citing Pitt and Dryden as his English sources. But there is so little of his own work or of Dryden's in his Aeneid that it might almost be called a pirated edition of Pitt.

<sup>4</sup>See Appendix B for a tabulation of end-word agreements of eighteenth-century Vergils with Dryden's. Appendix C lists lines in which Dryden's influence may be traced in the translations of Benson, Pitt, Warton, and Sotheby.

Shall rusty Piles from the plough'd Furrows take,  
And over empty Helmets pass the Rake.  
(G I, 662-65)

In Sotheby's version of the first couplet,

There, after length of time, the peaceful swain,  
Who ploughs the turf that swells o'er armies slain,  
(G I, 591-92)

the rhyme-word for "swain" is "slain," and the sense of the original is expanded to emphasize the double function of the plain as a cultivated field and as a military burial ground. Nevertheless, his debt to Dryden is obvious. And it is equally clear that he has not used Dryden's lines as the basis of the couplet which follows:

Shall cast, half-gnaw'd with rust, huge pikes in air,  
And hollow helms that clash beneath the share,  
(Sotheby, G I, 593-94).

In this passage, Warton's dependence upon Dryden is similar to Sotheby's, though it is less apparent. Warton's version is:

The time at length shall come, when lab'ring swains,  
As with their ploughs they turn those guilty plains,  
'Gainst hollow helms their heavy drags shall strike,  
And clash 'gainst many a sword, and rusty pike.  
(G I, 573-76)

There are five content words in the first line of Dryden's translation and also of Warton's. Dryden's are "then," "length," "time," "lab-ring," and "swains"; Warton adds "come," which translates veniet, and omits "then," for which there is no Latin word. There also is no Latin antecedent for "length." And the only word that might suggest "lab'ring" (molitus), though it is governed grammatically by the word translated "swain" (agricola), must be placed in the apposite phrase where it takes "land" (terram) as its direct object. As the prose metaphor shows, the syntax of this Latin structure can readily be reproduced in English: "the farmer, working the earth." But Dryden

has not chosen to render the syntax literally, and Warton has followed him rather than Vergil. In his second line, Warton reproduces the syntax of incurvo, . . . aratro (with a crooked plow), like Dryden omitting the adjective; and his "guilty plains" echoes Dryden's rhyme-word. By replacing Dryden's "unhappy" with "guilty," he sharpens the focus upon the land and perhaps thus suggests Sotheby's expansion of the line. Like Sotheby, he departs from Dryden in the next couplet.

Benson's version is more succinct than Warton's or Sotheby's, and the correspondences between his translation and Dryden's, though tantalizing, are more problematic. His version is:

Nay, and the Time will come, when lab'ring Swains  
Shall plough up rusty Piles within those Plains;  
Or hollow Casques with clashing Harrows raise,  
(G I, 610-12)

In these lines, such verbal echoes as "lab'ring Swains" and rusty Piles" are few, and Benson condenses the text.

Shall plough up rusty Piles within those Plains;

contains the sense of two of Dryden's lines:

Who turn the Turfs of those unhappy Plains,  
Shall rusty Piles from the plough'd Furrows take.

Yet a comparison of the two English texts with the Latin shows how closely Benson has followed Dryden's reading of the original. Like Dryden, he has transformed the incurvo, . . . aratro (crooked plow) into a verb and reduced to "rusty Piles" the phrase exesa, . . . scabra rubigine pila (which may be translated either "corroded javelins, roughened with rust" or "rough-feeling javelins, corroded with rust"). Benson has also rearranged the Latin phrases exesa, . . . pila, finibus illis, galeas, . . . inanes, and rastis in accordance with Dryden's distribution of them.



In Pitt's Aeneid there are many passages similar to Benson's in that they contain few verbal echoes but marked parallels in the handling of the Latin text. In one such passage, Dido pleads with Aeneas to reconsider his plan to leave Carthage:

per ego has lacrymas dextramque tuam, te,  
 (Quando aliud mihi jam miserae nihil ipsa relique)  
 Per connubia nostra, per inceptos Hymenaeos;  
 Si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam  
 Dulce meum: miserere domus labentis; & istam  
 Oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.  
 (A IV, 314-19)

The Loeb translation is fairly literal:

By these tears and thy right hand, I pray thee—  
 since naught else, alas! have I left myself—by  
 our marriage, by the wedlock begun, if ever I  
 deserved well of thee, or if aught of mine has  
 been sweet in thy sight, pity a falling house,  
 and if yet there be any room for prayers, put  
 away this purpose of thine.

(I, 417)

Dryden expands her plea considerably:

Now by those holy Vows, so late begun,  
 By this right Hand, (since I have nothing more  
 To challenge, but the Faith you gave before;)  
 I beg you by these Tears too truly shed,  
 By the new Pleasures of our Nuptial Bed;  
 If ever Dido, when you were most kind,  
 Were pleasing in your Eyes, or touch'd your Mind;  
 By these my Pray'rs, if Pray'rs may yet have Place,  
 Pity the Fortunes of a falling Race.

(A IV, 454-62)

And Pitt follows Dryden in expanding the lines to make Dido's appeal more blatantly physical, in working up precibus (for prayers) into a rhetorical flourish, and in generally smoothing the sentence structure (both poets thus, by Warton's criteria, failing to reproduce the particular beauty of Vergil's language).

The poets who produced rhymed Vergils differed not only in the extent to which they depended upon Dryden, but also in the way they



used him. Dryden's version of the Georgics was the only English translation Benson consulted. Though he pointed out—and exaggerated—Dryden's debt to Thomas May and John Ogilby, he did not use these earlier seventeenth-century Georgics for his own work. He knew Dryden's version so well that he often echoed it unconsciously. He cannot, of course, have been unaware of the fact that he frequently depended upon Dryden for rhymes, though he might have been surprised to discover that one of every four of his rhyme-words agreed with Dryden's. Pitt turned to Dryden somewhat less often for end-words, one is tempted to say because Pitt, as an experienced if not an original poet, was more skillful than Benson in devising rhymes. However, the difference in their rates of borrowing rhyme-words is not great; about a fifth of Pitt's echo Dryden's. And, like Benson, he often responded to the Vergil whom Dryden had taught him to see. For Warton and Sotheby, Dryden's Vergil had become one of several resources. Warton consulted Benson, Trapp, and Martyn, as well as Ruæus and Dryden; and Sotheby relied upon Heyne, De Lille, Warton, and Dryden. The result was that in their translations Dryden's influence was limited to particular passages which they selected deliberately. Dryden's influence is much more extensive in Warton's Georgics than in Sotheby's; Warton borrowed more freely from him and consulted more secondary resources that had also been influenced by him. Sotheby, on the other hand, owed less to Dryden's English successors and had available to him the new resources of the Heyne commentary and the De Lille translation. Their importance in shaping his Georgics is not easy to define. Heyne's commentary is for the most part lexical and historical; he is not much concerned with Vergil's poetics. And De Lille represents no

major change in poetic values or in the objectives of the translator. He was the first French translator of Vergil to be highly praised by an English counterpart, but he was also the first to declare himself indebted to Dryden and to echo Dryden's criticism of the pedantry of his own seventeenth-century French predecessors. He found Dryden's Vergil inferior to Pope's Homer, "less nervous, less brilliant, more careless," but still a much better way of coming to know Vergil than the closest word-for-word or line-by-line translation.<sup>5</sup> The fact remains that any influence of Dryden which Sotheby received indirectly through De Lille had been so diffused in the process of translation from English to French and back again that it was no longer apparent in verbal echoes.

Throughout the century, there were translators whose objective was different from Dryden's in that they sought first of all to render Vergil's lines as literally as possible. That primary commitment forced them to reject the couplet form and to depart accordingly from the language of Dryden's Vergil. One may suggest that they did not reject the language itself out of hand, because they elected to use many conventional epithets, images, and syntactic structures where they did not interfere too much with verbal accuracy--that is to say, because their diction often reminds the reader of Dryden even when it does not echo the corresponding passage in his translation. Among the blank-verse translators, only Joseph Trapp borrowed from Dryden's Vergil, and he borrowed less than any of the important translators who used the couplet.

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<sup>5</sup>"Discours Preliminaire," Oeuvres, Vol. II, Les Georgiques (Paris, 1824), xlix.

There was no trend toward either the couplet or blank verse in eighteenth-century English Vergils. Both forms continued in use, the couplet being favored by those who believed that a verse translation must first of all be a work of art and then it must be faithful to its original, and blank verse being chosen by those who reversed the priorities. The high point of the influence of Dryden's Vergil came in the mid-century in the translations by Pitt and Warton. After that time, its importance as a resource declined but did not by any means cease to exist. The persistence of Dryden's influence for more than a hundred years was largely due to the fact that the most competent poets among his successors shared his principles of poetics and of translation, and his influence was attenuated in the latter years of the century as his successors came to rely not only upon his Vergil but also on those published during the interval between it and their own, as well as upon new secondary resources. The translators of Vergil neither led nor participated in a revolt against the poetic diction of John Dryden.

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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text outlines various methods for organizing and storing data, suggesting that digital tools can be highly effective for this purpose.

2. The second section focuses on the role of communication in project management. It argues that clear and consistent communication is the foundation of any successful team effort. The author provides several practical tips for improving communication, such as holding regular meetings and using collaborative platforms to share information.

3. In the third part, the document explores the challenges of time management. It acknowledges that time is a limited resource and that effective planning is necessary to avoid delays and inefficiencies. The text offers strategies for prioritizing tasks and delegating responsibilities to team members.

4. The fourth section addresses the issue of risk management. It explains that identifying potential risks early on can help prevent costly mistakes and ensure that the project stays on track. The author suggests conducting regular risk assessments and having contingency plans in place for various scenarios.

5. Finally, the document concludes with a discussion on the importance of flexibility and adaptability. It notes that projects often encounter unexpected changes, and the ability to respond quickly and effectively to these changes is crucial for success. The author encourages a mindset of continuous improvement and learning from experience.



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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### Dryden's Rhymes in Eighteenth-Century Texts

#### 1. In Benson's Virgil's Husbandry

Half rhymes:

And you blest Pow'rs, still present to the Swain,  
(Benson, G I, 12)  
Ye Fawns, propitious to the Rural Swains,  
(Dryden, G I, 11)  
And with thy Mother's Boughs thy Temples crown.  
(Benson, G I, 35)  
And with thy Goddess Mother's Myrtle crown'd.  
(Dryden, G I, 37)  
Or, God of Ocean, wilt thou fix thy Reign,  
(Benson, G I, 36)  
Or wilt thou, Caesar, chuse the watry Reign,  
(Dryden, G I, 38)  
To Thee alone the Mariner shall pray,  
(Benson, G I, 38)  
Then Mariners, in Storms, to thee shall pray,  
(Dryden, G I, 40)  
How Pontus heady Castor sends from far,  
(Benson, G I, 73)  
Thus Pontus sends her Beaver Stones from far;  
(Dryden, G I, 87)  
To skim the Surface with a Gentle Share  
(Benson, G I, 86)  
The Surface, and but lightly print the Share,  
(Dryden, G I, 101)  
Lest Moisture, Here, desert the Barren Sand.  
(Benson, G I, 89)  
In watry Soils; or lest the barren Sand  
(Dryden, G I, 104)  
It profits oft to fire the Fruitless Ground,  
(Benson, G I, 106)

With kindled Fires to burn the barren Ground;  
(Dryden, G I, 123)

Nor e'er on Him, with an ungracious Eye,  
(Benson, G I, 122)  
Regards his Labours with a grudging Eye;  
(Dryden, G I, 140)

Why shou'd I tell of Him, who, sown the Grain,  
(Benson, G I, 134)  
And broods indulgent on the bury'd Grain.  
(Dryden, G I, 148)

Nor nothing hurt lewd Geese, and Thracian Cranes,  
(Benson, G I, 155)  
But glutton Geese, and the Strymonian Crane,  
(Dryden, G I, 179)

And whetted Human Minds with needful Care;  
(Benson, G I, 160)  
And whetted Humane Industry by Care;  
(Dryden, G I, 188)

Before Great Jove no Swains subdu'd the Ground,  
(Benson, G I, 162)  
E're this, no Peasant vex'd the peaceful Ground;  
(Dryden, G I, 191)

(For with the Wedge the First did Wood invade.)  
(Benson, G I, 186)  
(For Wedges first did yielding Wood invade.)  
(Dryden, G I, 216)

The Plank, the Sled, the Drag's incumbring Weight,  
(Benson, G I, 202)  
Of Waggon, and the Cart's unwieldy Weight;  
(Dryden, G I, 244)

The Earth-Boards double, double are the Ears;  
(Benson, G I, 220)  
On either side the Head produce an Ear,  
(Dryden, G I, 252)

In hollow Caverns sculks the speckled Toad,  
(Benson, G I, 235)  
The hissing Serpent, and the swelling Toad:  
(Dryden, G I, 269)

Sown in the Spring are Beans: The crumbling Soil  
(Benson, G I, 276)  
Sow Beans and Clover in a rotten Soyl,  
(Dryden, G I, 304)

When with his Horns the Bull unbars the Year;  
 (Benson, G I, 279)  
 The Bull beats down the Barriers of the Year;  
 (Dryden, G I, 307)  
 Religion never has forbid the Swain  
 (Benson, G I, 341)  
 From necessary Works, the lab'ring Swain.  
 (Dryden, G I, 362)  
 The tedious Labours of the watchful Swain?  
 (Benson, G I, 394)  
 What Cares must then attend the toiling Swain;  
 (Dryden, G I, 422)  
 Down rush the Skies, and with impetuous Rain  
 (Benson, G I, 407)  
 And oft whole sheets descend of slucy Rain,  
 (Dryden, G I, 437)  
What, oft observing, the sagacious Swain  
 (Benson, G I, 445)  
 When Southern Blasts shou'd cease, and when the Swain  
 (Dryden, G I, 487)  
 The Sea Gulls haste, and sport around the Strand:  
 (Benson, G I, 454)  
 When sportful Coots run skimming o're the Strand;  
 (Dryden, G I, 497)  
 Or when the Hern prepares his lofty Flight,  
 (Benson, G I, 455)  
 And mounting upward, with erected flight,  
 (Dryden, G I, 499)  
 See, the Blood-thirsty Foe pursuing flys,  
 (Benson, G I, 507)  
 Tow'ring aloft, avenging Nisus flies,  
 (Dryden, G I, 549)  
 Gay, with I know not what unusual Joys,  
 (Benson, G I, 512)  
 To greet the Sun; and seis'd with secret Joy,  
 (Dryden, G I, 560)  
 But when the Storm, and moist inconstant Skies  
 (Benson, G I, 520)  
 But with the changeful Temper of the Skies,  
 (Dryden, G I, 565)  
 With equal Rage, an universal War:  
 (Benson, G I, 564)  
 Winds, Rain, and Storms, and Elemental War:  
 (Dryden, G I, 612)



A Noise of Arms, and Clashing of the War  
 Of Arms and Armies, rushing to the War!  
 (Benson, G I, 588)  
 (Dryden, G I, 639)

Where impious Mortals Right, and Wrong confound;  
 Where Fraud and Rapine, Right and Wrong confound;  
 (Benson, G I, 622)  
 (Dryden, G I, 678)

As when the Carrs, swift pow'ring thro' the Race,  
 So four fierce Coursers starting to the Race,  
 (Benson, G I, 631)  
 (Dryden, G I, 690)

Couplets (including two lines of a triplet):

And Pan, if thy Arcadia be thy Care,  
 Hither, thou Guardian of the Flock, repair:  
 (Benson, G I, 18-19)

And, if Arcadian Fleeces be thy Care,  
 From Fields and Mountains to my Song repair.  
 (Dryden, G I, 21-22)

There where the op'ning Void attends thy Laws,  
 Betwixt the Maid, and the pursuing Claws;  
 (Benson, G I, 42-43)

The Scorpion ready to receive thy Laws,  
 Yields half his Region, and contracts his Claws.  
 (Dryden, G I, 49-50)

The Harvest Here, There Vines more happy found,  
 Elsewhere the Trees with Golden Products crown'd,  
 And Herbs unbidden rise, and throng the Ground:  
 (Benson, G I, 68-70)

A fourth with Grass, unbidden, decks the Ground:  
 Thus Tmolus is with yellow Saffron crown'd:  
 (Dryden, G I, 83-84)

Or where the Vetches little Offspring stood,  
 Or Lupins brittle Stalks, and sounding Wood:  
 (Benson, G I, 94-95)  
 At least where Vetches, Pulse, and Tares have stood,  
 And Stalks of Lupines grew (a stubborn Wood:)  
 (Dryden, G I, 110-11)

But still alternate Tillage aids your Toil;  
 Only, don't blush to glut the craving Soil  
 (Benson, G I, 100-01)  
 But sweet Vicissitudes of Rest and Toyl  
 Make easy Labour, and renew the Soil.  
 (Dryden, G I, 116-17)

Th'Eternal Sire's immutable Decrees  
 Would not that Tillage shou'd be trac'd with Ease,  
 (Benson, G I, 157-58)

The Sire of Gods and Men, with hard Decrees,  
 Forbids our Plenty to be bought with Ease:  
 (Dryden, G I, 183-84)

When scanty Food the Sacred Groves supply'd  
 And all relief Dodonean Oaks deny'd;  
 (Benson, G I, 192-93)

When now Dodonian Oaks no more supply'd  
 Their Mast, and Trees their Forrest-fruit deny'd.  
 (Dryden, G I, 221-22)

Vain without which, and impotent were Hope,  
 Nor could be sown, nor rise the joyful Crop:  
 (Benson, G I, 208-09)

These all must be prepar'd, if Plowmen hope  
 The promis'd Blessing of a Bounteous Crop.  
 (Dryden, G I, 247-48)

When bent betimes, and tam'd the stubborn Bough,  
 Tough Elm receives the Figure of the Plough;  
 (Benson, G I, 217-18)

Young Elms with early force in Copses bow,  
 Fit for the Figure of the crooked Plough.  
 (Dryden, G I, 249-50)<sup>1</sup>

To smooth the Floor the Roller runs the Round,  
 And binding Chalk consolidates the Ground;  
 (Benson, G I, 227-28)

And let the weighty Rowler run the round,  
 To smooth the Surface of th'unequal Ground;  
 (Dryden, G I, 260-61)

Mark likewise, when the Almonds in the Wood  
 Put on their Bloom, and fragrant Branches load:  
 (Benson, G I, 239-40)

Mark well the flowring Almonds in the Wood;  
 If od'rous Blooms the bearing Branches load,  
 (Dryden, G I, 272-73)

As those, who homewards steer the vent'rous Way  
 Through Pontus, and the Jaws of th'Oyster-breeding Sea.  
 (Benson, G I, 264-65)

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<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that there is no word in the Latin lines to justify the translation "bough" (or "bow"):

Continuo in sylvis magni vi flexa domatur  
 In burim, & curvi formam accipit ulmus aratri.  
 (G I, 169-70)

Than Saylor's homeward bent, who cut their Way  
 Thro' Helle's stormy Streights, and Oyster-breeding Sea.  
 (Dryden, G I, 296-97)

Here, the vast Snake in winding Circles glides,  
 And either Arctos, like a Stream, divides:  
 (Benson, G I, 308-09)

Around our Pole the spiry Dragon glides,  
 And like a winding Stream the Bears divides;  
 (Dryden, G I, 334-35)

Hence in the fickle Sky we Storms foreknow,  
 The Days of Harvest, and the Time to sow;  
 (Benson, G I, 316-17)

From hence uncertain Seasons we may know;  
 And when to reap the Grain, and when to sow:  
 (Dryden, G I, 344-45)

Others the Fork, or Setters point: Or twine  
 Light Osier Bands to stay the feeble Vine:  
 (Benson, G I, 334-35)

Or sharpen Stakes, or head the Forks, or twine  
 The Sallow Twigs to tye the stragling Vine:  
 (Dryden, G I, 357-58)

Happy the Seventh, next the Tenth, to joyn  
 Steers in the Taming Yoke, to fix the Vine,  
 And o'er the Loom extend the quiv'ring Twine,  
 (Benson, G I, 360-62)

The Sev'nth is, next the Tenth, the best to joyn  
 Young Oxen to the Yoke, and plant the Vine.  
 (Dryden, G I, 379-80)

He Gestures uncouth yields to Ceres' Praise,  
 And sings of Ceres in resounding Lays.  
 (Benson, G I, 439-40)

On Ceres let him call, and Ceres praise  
 With uncouth Dances, and with Country Lays.  
 (Dryden, G I, 481-82)

E'er Winds arise: Or, swells the working Flood;  
 Or a harsh Crash is heard throughout the Wood;  
 (Benson, G I, 447-48)

Soft whispers run along the leavy Woods,  
 And Mountains whistle to the murm'ring Floods:  
 (Dryden, G I, 491-92)

And far behind, thro' gloomy Shades of Night,  
 Glitter and whiten the long Trails of Light:  
 (Benson, G I, 459-60)

And, shooting through the darkness, guild the Night  
 With sweeping Glories, and long trails of Light.  
 (Dryden, G I, 503-04)

Then with the swelling Dikes swims all the Plain;  
 Then ev'ry Seaman on the foamy Main  
 Quick gathers up the Sails all drench'd with Rain:  
 (Benson, G I, 465-67)

The Clouds are crush'd, a glut of gather'd Rain  
 The hollow Ditches fills, and floats the Plain,  
 And Sailors furl their dropping Sheets amain.  
 (Dryden, G I, 511-13)

Now may you see wide Ocean's various Fowls;  
 Or those that haunt Cayster's well-lov'd Pools;  
 (Benson, G I, 478-79)  
 Besides, the sev'ral sorts of watry Fowls,  
 That swim the Seas, or haunt the standing Pools:  
 (Dryden, G I, 527-28)

Nor from less certain Signs, the Swain descrys  
 Unshow'ry Suns, and bright, expanded Skies;  
 (Benson, G I, 492-93)  
 Then after Show'rs, 'tis easie to descry  
 Returning Suns, and a serener Sky:  
 (Dryden, G I, 539-40)

You'll ne're be taken by th'ensuing Day,  
 Nor shall Fair Nights, insidious, Thee betray:  
 (Benson, G I, 530-31)  
 By them thou shalt foresee the following day;  
 Nor shall a starry Night thy Hopes betray.  
 (Dryden, G I, 573-74)

Ah! what can Leaves to guard the Grapes avail?  
 So rattling bounds on Roofs the horrid Hail!  
 (Benson, G I, 556-57)  
 When ridgy Roofs and Tiles can scarce avail,  
 To barr the Ruin of the ratling Hail.  
 (Dryden, G I, 599-600)

He, even giddy Tumults oft declares,  
 And treach'rous Falshood, and audacious Wars:  
 (Benson, G I, 576-77)  
 The change of Empires often he declares,  
 Fierce Tumults, hidden Treasons, open Wars.  
 (Dryden, G I, 626-27)

In Rust obscure he veil'd his Beamy Light,  
 And th'impious Age fear'd an eternal Night:  
 (Benson, G I, 580-81)  
 In Iron Clouds conceal'd the Publick Light:  
 And Impious Mortals fear'd Eternal Night.  
 (Dryden, G I, 630-31)

Ne'er did such Lightning flash along the Sky,  
 Or baleful Comets blaze so thick on high:  
 (Benson, G I, 604-05)

Such Peals of Thunder never pour'd from high;  
 Nor fork' Light'nings flash'd from such a sullen Sky.  
 (Dryden, G I, 655-56)

A ghastly Sight the squallid Field affords,  
 And bending Scythes are hammer'd into Swords:  
 (Benson, G I, 626-27)  
 The Plain no Pasture to the Flock affords,  
 The crooked Scythes are streightned into Swords:  
 (Dryden, G I, 683-84)

Passages of three consecutive lines:

The Field lies gasping, and the Plants decay;  
 See! how he labours on the Hanging Brow,  
 Extends the Path, and tempts the Springs to flow:  
 (Benson, G I, 138-40)  
 And shrivell'd Herbs on with'ring Stems decay,  
 The wary Ploughman, on the Mountain's Brow,  
 Undams his watry Stores, huge Torrents flow;  
 (Dryden, G I, 158-60)

Then Sailors quarter'd Heav'n, and found a Name  
 For ev'ry fixt, and ev'ry wandring Star,  
 The Shining Bull, and Arctos' Beamy Car;  
 (Benson, G I, 177-79)  
 Then Sailors quarter'd Heav'n, and found a Name  
 For ev'ry fix'd and ev'ry wandring Star:  
 The Pleiads, Hyads, and the Northern Car.  
 (Dryden, G I, 208-10.)

For this, his Orb the World's Great Light divides,  
 And by twelve Stars his certain Passage guides:  
 Five Zones the Heav'ns infold: With constant Sun,  
 (Benson, G I, 294-96)  
 For this, thro' twelve bright Signs Apollo guides  
 The Year, and Earth in sev'ral Climes divides.  
 Five Girdles bind the Skies, the torrid Zone  
 Glows with the passing and repassing Sun.  
 (Dryden, G I, 319-22)

The Rains condense: More furious Auster roars:  
 Now with vast Wind the Woods, now lashes He the Shoars.  
 In fear of this, observe the Monthly Signs:  
 (Benson, G I, 417-19)  
 The Waves on heaps are dash'd against the Shoar,  
 And now the Woods, and now the Billows roar.  
 In fear of this, observe the starry Signs,  
 (Dryden, G I, 457-59)

And dive, and wash, and proudly wash in vain:  
 Then with full Voice the Rook the Show'r demands,  
 And solitary Stalks along the scorching Sands:  
 (Benson, G I, 485-87)

Then lave their Backs with sprinkling Dews in vain,  
 And stem the Stream to meet the promis'd Rain.  
 The Crow with clam'rous Cries the Show'r demands,  
 And single stalks along the Desart Sands.

(Dryden, G I, 531-34)

Passages of four consecutive lines:

Thee I invoke: Do Thou assist my Course,  
 And to the bold Attempt give equal Force;  
 Pity with me th'unskillful Peasants Cares,  
 Begin your Reign, and hear ev'n now our Pray'rs.

(Benson, G I, 51-54)

But thou, propitious Caesar, guide my Course,  
 And to my bold Endeavours add thy Force.  
 Pity the Poet's and the Ploughman's Cares,  
 Int'rest thy Greatness in our mean Affairs,  
 And use thy self betimes to hear and grant our Pray'rs.

(Dryden, G I, 59-63)

Whence genial Moisture hastens through the Earth,  
 Slides to the Root, and cheers the tender Birth:  
 Or that the Heat the hollow Glebe constrains,  
 Braces each Nerve, and knits the gaping Veins;

(Benson, G I, 114-17)

Whether from hence the hollow Womb of Earth  
 Is warm'd with secret Strength for better Birth,  
 Or when the latent Vice is cur'd by Fire,  
 Redundant Humours thro' the Pores expire;  
 Or that the Warmth distends the Chinks, and makes  
 New Breathings, whence new Nourishment she takes;  
 Or that the Heat the gaping Ground constrains,  
 New knits the Surface, and new Strings the Veins;

(Dryden, G I, 126-33)

Fright off the Birds, and thin the Shady Plain,  
 And with repeated Vows call down the Rain,  
 Ah! bootless on another's Heaps you'll look,  
 And comfort Hunger with the shaken Oak.

(Benson, G I, 202-05)

Unless the Boughs are lopp'd that shade the Plain,  
 And Heav'n invok'd with Vows for fruitful Rain:  
 On other Crops you may with envy look,  
 And shake for Food the long abandon'd Oak.

(Dryden, G I, 235-38)

For various Labours each revolving Moon  
 Gives Happy Days; the Fifth be sure to shun:  
 Then, the relentless Furies bears the Earth,  
 And pale fac'd Pluto at an impious Birth:

(Benson, G I, 349-52)

The lucky Days, in each revolving Moon,  
 For Labour chuse: The Fifth be sure to shun;  
 That gave the Furies and pale Pluto Birth,  
 And arm'd, against the Skies, the Sons of Earth.

(Dryden, G I, 371-74)

In furious Gulphs absorbs the whirling Woods  
 Imperial Po, the Sov'reign of the Floods;  
 And pouring onwards with relentless Sway,  
 Bears, with their ruin'd Stalls, the Herds away:

(Benson, G I, 596-99)

Then rising in his Might, the King of Floods,  
 Rusht thro' the Forrests, tore the lofty Woods;  
 And rolling onward, with a sweepy Sway,  
 Bore Houses, Herds, and lab'ring Hinds away.

(Dryden, G I, 649-52)

And twice Aemathia did just Heav'n think good,  
 And Haemus' Wasts to fatten with our Blood:  
 Nay, and the Time will come, when lab'ring Swains  
 Shall plough up rusty Piles within those Plains;

(Benson, G I, 608-11)

For this, th'Emathian Plains once more were strow'd  
 With Roman Bodies, and just Heav'n thought good  
 To fatten twice those Fields with Roman Blood  
 Then, after length of Time, the lab'ring Swains,  
 Who turn the Turfs of those unhappy Plains,

(Dryden, G I, 659-63)

Longer passages in which one rhyme-word does not occur in Dryden:

With all the diff'rent Seasons that appear;  
 Though still the same, still constant is the Year.  
 Whenever it befalls, that pow'ring Rain,  
 And Storms of Sleet withhold the eager Swain;  
 Then is it given to compleat with Care

(Benson, G I, 324-28)

Observe what Stars arise or disappear;  
 And the four Quarters of the rolling Year.  
 But when cold Weather and continu'd Rain,  
 The lab'ring Husband in his House restrain:  
 Let him forecast his Work with timely care,

(Dryden, G I, 348-52)

Yet is it Then the Time to strip the Wood  
 Of Acorns, or the Olive's shining Food,  
 The Laurel's Freight, and Myrtle stain'd in Blood:  
 Then Toils for Stags, for Cranes to fix the Snare,  
 And trace the Mazes of the long-ear'd Hare:  
Then, with the Whirling Sling to stay the Doe,

(Benson, G I, 385-90)

Yet that's the proper Time to thrash the Wood  
 For Mast of Oak, your Fathers homely Food.  
 To gather Laurel-berries and the Spoil  
 Of bloody Myrtles, and to press your Oyl.  
 For stalking Cranes to set the guileful Snare,  
 T'inclose the Stags in Toyls, and hunt the Hare.  
 With Balearick Slings, or Gnossian Bow,  
 To persecute from far the flying Doe;

(Dryden, G I, 409-16)

Then soft the Slumbers on the verdant Ground;  
 Then with thick Shades the lofty Mountains crown'd:  
 Let all Thy Rustic Youth, at Ceres' shrine,  
 With bended Knees confess the Pow'r Divine:  
 Mix you the fragrant Combs, with Milk and gentle Wine.  
 Round the new Fruits thrice let the Victim go:  
 Let shouting Crowds attend the solemn Show,

(Benson, G I, 428-34)

For then the Hills with pleasing Shades are crown'd,  
 And Sleeps are sweeter on the silken Ground:  
 With milder Beams the Sun securely shines;  
 Fat are the Lambs, and luscious are the Wines.  
 Let ev'ry Swain adore her Pow'r Divine,  
 And Milk and Honey mix with sparkling Wine:  
 In long Procession, shouting as they go;

(Dryden, G I, 467-74)

By Night parch'd Meads are cut, and Stubble light,  
 Distilling Moisture ne'er deserts the Night:  
 Thus by the Wintry Light of sparkling Fire  
 One splits the Match, till late the Flames expire:  
 Mean while the Dame sings in the glimm'ring Room,  
 To chear the Labour of the rattling Loom;  
 Or from the Must, by Vulcan thickned, skims  
 The frothy Surges on the brazen Brims.

(Benson, G I, 367-74)

Parch'd Meads and Stubble mow, by Phoebe's Light;  
 Which both require the Coolness of the Night:  
 For Moisture then abounds, and Pearly Rains  
 Descend in Silence to refresh the Plains.  
 The Wife and Husband equally conspire,  
 To work by Night, and rake the Winter Fire:  
 He sharpens Torches in the glim'ring Room,  
 She shoots the flying Shuttle through the Loom:  
 Or boils in Kettles Must of Wine, and skims  
 With Leaves, the Dregs that overflow the Brims.

(Dryden, G I, 385-94)



2. In Pitt's Fourth Aeneid

Half rhymes:

Who is this heroe, this our godlike guest?  
(Pitt, A IV, 12)  
With strange Ideas of our Trojan Guest?  
(Dryden, A IV, 14)

Too like the tokens of my former flame.  
(Pitt, A IV, 34)  
Too like the Sparkles of my former Flame.  
(Dryden, A IV, 31)

Shall see a potent town and empire rise.  
(Pitt, A IV, 76)  
How will your Empire spread, your City rise  
(Dryden, A IV, 64)

Caress, invite your godlike guest to stay,  
(Pitt, A IV, 80)  
And still invent occasions of their Stay;  
(Dryden, A IV, 69)

Confirm'd her hopes, and fann'd the rising flame.  
(Pitt, A IV, 87)  
And added Fury to the kindled Flame.  
(Dryden, A IV, 74)

To Ceres, Bacchus, and the God of Day.  
(Pitt, A IV, 91)  
To Ceres, Bacchus, and the God of Day:  
(Dryden, A IV, 78)

Shows him her Tyrian wealth, and growing town;  
(Pitt, A IV, 115)  
Displays her Tyrian Wealth, and rising Town,  
(Dryden, A IV, 102)

In fancy sees her absent prince, and hears  
(Pitt, A IV, 131)  
Absent, her absent Heroe sees and hears;  
(Dryden, A IV, 119)

In storms of hail, and deluges of rain:  
(Pitt, A IV, 185)  
With Hail, and Thunder, and tempestuous Rain:  
(Dryden, A IV, 171)

No golden slumbers seal her watchful eyes;  
(Pitt, A IV, 273)  
No Slumbers ever close her wakeful Eyes.  
(Dryden, A IV, 267)

Reports a truth, or publishes a lye.

(Pitt, A IV, 277)

Things done relates, not done she feigns; and mingles Truth with  
Lyes.

(Dryden, A IV, 271)

The godlike stranger to her bridal bed;

(Pitt, A IV, 281)

Admits into her Throne and Nuptial Bed

(Dryden, A IV, 276)

With his unmanly, soft, luxurious train,

(Pitt, A IV, 317)

And now this other Paris, with his Train

(Dryden, A IV, 314)

Neglects the promis'd walls decreed by fate.

(Pitt, A IV, 333)

Nor minds the future City, giv'n by Fate;

(Dryden, A IV, 332)

A warlike realm! and give the world the law.

(Pitt, A IV, 339)

And on the conquer'd World impose the Law.

(Dryden, A IV, 339)

Atlas, whose head supports the starry skies;

(Pitt, A IV, 363)

Whose brawny Back supports the starry Skies:

(Dryden, A IV, 363)

So, from his kindred mountain, Hermes flies

(Pitt, A IV, 375)

And near the surface of the Water flies.

(Dryden, A IV, 377)

And, fir'd with eager joy, the prince obey.

(Pitt, A IV, 425)

They hear with Pleasure, and with haste obey.

(Dryden, A IV, 424)

(For what can 'scape a lover's piercing eyes,)

(Pitt, A IV, 427)

(What Arts can blind a jealous Woman's Eyes!)

(Dryden, A IV, 426)

By those first pleasures of the bridal bed;

(Pitt, A IV, 457)

By the new Pleasures of our Nuptial Bed;

(Dryden, A IV, 458)

For thee I lost my honour and my fame,  
 (Pitt, A IV, 465)  
 For you alone I suffer in my Fame;  
 (Dryden, A IV, 465)  
 By me defrauded of his destin'd reign.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 510)  
 Of his defrauded Fate, and destin'd Reign.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 509)  
 No heroe got thee, and no goddess bore.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 526)  
 Not sprung from Noble Blood, nor Goddess born,  
 (Dryden, A IV, 523)  
 Whole trees they bring, unfashion'd from the wood,  
 (Pitt, A IV, 576)  
 Of its green Arms despoil'd the growing Wood,  
 (Dryden, A IV, 577)  
 Pour from the town, and darken all the shores.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 578)  
 With Trojan Bands that blacken all the Shore:  
 (Dryden, A IV, 579)  
 Safe in their darksom cells the treasur'd prey;  
 (Pitt, A IV, 582)  
 The plunder'd Forrage of their yellow Prey.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 585)  
 Thy eyes survey'd the tumult on the shore;  
 (Pitt, A IV, 594)  
 When, from the Tow'r, she saw the cover'd Shore,  
 (Dryden, A IV, 592)  
 Whither, ah whither, will the tyrant fly?  
 (Pitt, A IV, 623)  
 Whom does he shun, and whither would he fly;  
 (Dryden, A IV, 620)  
 The name of wedlock he disclaims no more:  
 (Pitt, A IV, 628)  
 The Nuptials he disclaims I urge no more;  
 (Dryden, A IV, 624)  
 Tho' all his scatter'd honours strow the ground,  
 (Pitt, A IV, 646)  
 With Leaves, and falling Mast, they spread the Ground,  
 (Dryden, A IV, 642)  
 Safe in his strength, and seated in the rock,  
 (Pitt, A IV, 647)  
 Or shaken, clings more closely to the Rocks:  
 (Dryden, A IV, 645)

So deep the root in hell's foundation lies.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 650)  
 So deep in Earth his fix'd Foundations lye.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 647)  
 Still firm the dictates of his soul remain,  
 (Pitt, A IV, 653)  
 But the firm purpose of his Heart remains.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 652)  
 Her husband seems to summon her away.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 670)  
 She thought she heard him summon her away;  
 (Dryden, A IV, 669)  
 Trees leave their mountains at her potent call;  
 (Pitt, A IV, 713)  
 The yawning Earth rebellows to her Call;  
 (Dryden, A IV, 708)  
 But rears a pile of oaks and firs on high,  
 (Pitt, A IV, 729)  
 The cloven Holms and Pines are heap'd on high;  
 (Dryden, A IV, 729)  
 Her robes were gather'd, and one foot was bare.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 750)  
 One tender Foot was shod, her other bare;  
 (Dryden, A IV, 751)  
 Then fly her fury while thou yet canst fly,  
 (Pitt, A IV, 811)  
 Haste swiftly hence, while thou hast pow'r to fly.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 813)  
 And not one Trojan left upon the shore;  
 (Pitt, A IV, 836)  
 With headlong haste they leave the desert Shores,  
 (Dryden, A IV, 837)  
 Thou too in fillets bind thy aged brows.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 916)  
 With sacred Fillets, bind thy hoary Brow.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 914)  
 Glows on her cheek, and kindles in her face.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 928)  
 With livid Spots distinguish'd was her Face,  
 (Dryden, A IV, 923)  
 For no such end bestow'd;—the conscious bed,  
 (Pitt, A IV, 931)  
 Which once he wore, and saw the conscious Bed,  
 (Dryden, A IV, 932)



Shall I then die, and unreveng'd? (she said,) (Pitt, A IV, 948)  
 Then kiss'd the Couch; and must I die, she said; (Dryden, A IV, 944)

Clip'd from her head the fatal golden hair; (Pitt, A IV, 1005)  
 The Sisters had not cut the topmost Hair; (Dryden, A IV, 1000)

The solemn offering to the pow'rs below, (Pitt, A IV, 1006)  
 Nor made her sacred to the Shades below. (Dryden, A IV, 1002)

Couplets (including two lines of a triplet):

The morn had chas'd the dewy shades away,  
 And o'er the world advanc'd the lamp of day; (Pitt, A IV, 7-8)  
 Now, when the Purple Morn had chas'd away  
 The dewy Shadows, and restor'd the Day; (Dryden, A IV, 7-8)

Sure he descends from some celestial kind;  
 For fear attends the low degenerate mind. (Pitt, A IV, 15-16)  
 Fear ever argues a degenerate kind,  
 His Birth is well asserted by his Mind. (Dryden, A IV, 17-18)

My love he had, and ever let him have,  
 Interr'd with him, and buried in the grave. (Pitt, A IV, 45-46)  
 No; he who had my Vows, shall ever have;  
 For whom I lov'd on Earth, I worship in the Grave. (Dryden, A IV, 38-39)

The queen before the snowy heifer stands,  
 Amid the shrines, a goblet in her hands; (Pitt, A IV, 94-95)  
 The beauteous Queen before her Altar stands,  
 And holds the Golden Goblet in her Hands: (Dryden, A IV, 81-82)

Soft flames consume her vitals, and the dart,  
 Deep, deep within, lies festering in her heart. (Pitt, A IV, 106-07)  
 With fruitless Care; for still the fatal Dart  
 Sticks in her side; and ranckles in her Heart. (Dryden, A IV, 99-100)

- But when the setting stars to rest invite,  
And fading Cynthia veils her beamy light;  
(Pitt, A IV, 126-27)
- Then, when they part, when Phoebe's paler Light  
Withdraws, and falling Stars to Sleep invite,  
(Dryden, A IV, 115-16)
- With trifling play her furious pains beguil'd;  
In vain!—the father charms her in the child.  
(Pitt, A IV, 135-36)
- And seeks the Father's Image in the Child,  
If Love by Likeness might be so beguil'd.  
(Dryden, A IV, 121-22)
- The works and battlements neglected lie,  
And the proud structures cease to brave the sky.  
(Pitt, A IV, 140-41)
- The Mounds, the Works, the Walls, neglected lye,  
Short of their promis'd height that seem'd to threat the Sky.  
(Dryden, A IV, 127-28)
- Her steed, with gold and purple cover'd round,  
Neighs, champs the bit, and foaming paws the ground.  
(Pitt, A IV, 203-04)
- Proud of his Purple Trappings, paws the Ground;  
And champs the Golden Bitt; and spreads the Foam around.  
(Dryden, A IV, 192-93)
- As when from Lycia bound in wintry frost,  
Where Xanthus' streams enrich the smiling coast,  
(Pitt, A IV, 215-16)
- Like fair Apollo, when he leaves the frost  
Of wintry Xanthus, and the Lycian Coast;  
(Dryden, A IV, 204-05)
- Meantime loud thunders rattle round the sky,  
And hail and rain, in mingled tempest, fly;  
(Pitt, A IV, 241-42)
- Mean time, the gath'ring Clouds obscure the Skies;  
From Pole to Pole the forky Lightning flies;  
(Dryden, A IV, 231-32)
- Through all his realms, in honour of his sire;  
And watch'd the hallow'd everlasting fire;  
(Pitt, A IV, 294-95)
- In Ammon's Honour, his Coelestial Sire;  
A hundred Altars fed, with wakeful Fire:  
(Dryden, A IV, 288-89)
- Or earth's unmeasur'd regions, as he flies,  
Wrap'd in a rapid whirlwind, down the skies.  
(Pitt, A IV, 354-55)
- And whether o're the Seas or Earth he flies,  
With rapid Force, they bear him down the Skies.  
(Dryden, A IV, 352-53)

A sword all starr'd with gemms, and spangled o'er  
With yellow jaspers, at his side he wore;

(Pitt, A IV, 383-84)

A Purple Scarf, with Gold embroider'd o're,  
(Queen Dido's Gift) about his Waste he wore;

(Dryden, A IV, 384-85)

The Lord of heav'n and earth, almighty Jove,  
With this command dispatch'd me from above;

(Pitt, A IV, 393-94)

Forgetful of thy own? All pow'rful Jove,  
Who sways the World below, and Heav'n above,

(Dryden, A IV, 392-93)

But now, fair queen Apollo's high command  
Has call'd me to the fam'd Italian land;

(Pitt, A IV, 497-98)

But now the Delphian Oracle Commands,  
And Fate invites me to the Latian Lands.

(Dryden, A IV, 496-97)

My vengeful spirit shall thy torments know,  
And smile with transport in the realms below.

(Pitt, A IV, 561-62)

At least my Shade thy Punishment shall know;  
And Fame shall spread the pleasing News below.

(Dryden, A IV, 560-61)

Stung with the pains and agonies of love,  
Still he regards the high commands of Jove;

(Pitt, A IV, 571-72)

Tho' much he mourn'd, and labour'd with his Love,  
Resolv'd at length, obeys the Will of Jove;

(Dryden, A IV, 570-71)

Thus pray'd the queen; the sister bears in vain  
The moving message, and returns again.

(Pitt, A IV, 637-38)

But all her Arts are still employ'd in vain;  
Again she comes, and is refus'd again.

(Dryden, A IV, 634-35)

A marble structure; this she dress's around  
With snowy wool; with sacred chaplets crown'd.

(Pitt, A IV, 667-68)

That honour'd Chappel she had hung around  
With snowy Fleeces, and with Garlands crown'd:

(Dryden, A IV, 665-66)

Then her sad sister she with smiles address'd,  
Hope in her looks, but anguish at her breast:

(Pitt, A IV, 695-96)

The Time and Means, resolv'd within her Breast,  
She to her mournful Sister, thus address'd.

(Dryden, A IV, 690-91)



Go then, erect with speed and secret care,  
Within the court, a pile in open air.

(Pitt, A IV, 717-18)

Within the secret Court, with silent Care,  
Erect a lofty Pile, expos'd in Air:

(Dryden, A IV, 712-13)

Next big with death, the sword and robe she spread,  
And plac'd the dear, dear image on the bed.

(Pitt, A IV, 733-34)

The Spoils and Sword he left, in order spread:  
And the Man's Image on the Nuptial Bed.

(Dryden, A IV, 734-35)

Now with a sacred cake and lifted hands,  
All bent on death, before her altar stands

(Pitt, A IV, 747-48)

A leaven'd Cake in her devoted Hands  
She holds, and next the highest Altar stands:

(Dryden, A IV, 749-50)

She calls to witness every god above,  
To pay due vengeance for her injur'd love.

(Pitt, A IV, 753-54)

And ev'ry Pow'r, if any rules above,  
Who minds, or who revenges injur'd Love.

(Dryden, A IV, 755-56)

Or, slighted in my turn with haughty pride,  
Court the fierce tyrant whom I once deny'd?

(Pitt, A IV, 773-74)

Become a Supplyant to Hyarba's Pride,  
And take my turn, to Court and be deny'd!

(Dryden, A IV, 775-76)

Fly,—or the floods shall soon be cover'd o'er  
With numerous fleets, and armies crowd the shore,

(Pitt, A IV, 813-14)

The Sea with Ships will soon be cover'd o're,  
And blazing Firebrands kindle all the Shore.

(Dryden, A IV, 814-15)

With the same ardor fir'd, the shouting train  
Fly, seize their oars, and rush into the main.

(Pitt, A IV, 833-34)

An emulating Zeal inspires his Train;  
They run, they snatch; they rush into the main.

(Dryden, A IV, 835-36)

Now o'er the glittering lawns Aurora spread  
Her orient beam, and left her golden bed.

(Pitt, A IV, 839-40)

Aurora now had left her Saffron Bed,  
And beams of early Light the Heav'ns o'respread,

(Dryden, A IV, 839-40)

Still let him wander, toss'd from place to place,  
Far from his country, and his son's embrace,  
(Pitt, A IV, 883-84)

Let him for Succour sue from place to place,  
Torn from his Subjects, and his Son's embrace,  
(Dryden, A IV, 884-85)

Fight, when your pow'r supplies so just a rage;  
Fight now, fight still, in every distant age;  
(Pitt, A IV, 904-05)  
Now, and from hence in ev'ry future Age,  
When Rage excites your Arms, and Strength supplies the Rage:  
(Dryden, A IV, 899-900)

Go, Barce, go, and bid my sister bring  
The sable victims for the Stygian king;  
But first be sprinkled from the limpid spring.  
(Pitt, A IV, 912-14)  
The Sheep, and all th'attoneing Off'rings bring;  
Sprinkling her Body from the Crystal Spring  
(Dryden, A IV, 911-12)

Stood still, and paus'd a moment,--then she cast  
Her body on the couch, and spoke her last:  
(Pitt, A IV, 933-34)  
Then on the Couch her trembling Body cast,  
Repress'd the ready Tears, and spoke her last.  
(Dryden, A IV, 934-35)

My fatal course is finished, and I go  
A ghost majestic to the realms below.  
(Pitt, A IV, 939-40)  
My fatal Course is finish'd; and I go  
A glorious Name, among the Ghosts below.  
(Dryden, A IV, 938-39)

Bring, bring me water; let me bathe in death  
Her bleeding wounds, and catch her parting breath.  
(Pitt, A IV, 985-86)  
Bring Water, bathe the Wound; while I in death  
Lay close my Lips to hers; and catch the flying Breath.  
(Dryden, A IV, 982-83)

Passages of three consecutive lines:

And pay our vows to nothing but a name.  
Him, as he grasp'd his altars, and prefer'd  
His wrathful pray'r, th'almighty father heard;  
(Pitt, A IV, 321-23)

And I, rejected I, adore an empty Name.  
His Vows, in haughty Terms, he thus preferr'd,  
And held his Altar's Horns; the mighty Thund'rer heard,  
(Dryden, A IV, 319-21)

Shall I in proud Iarbas' chains be led  
 A slave, a captive to the tyrant's bed?  
 Ah!--had I brought, before thy fatal flight,  
 (Pitt, A IV, 471-73)

Or till Hyarba shall in Triumph lead  
 A Queen, that proudly scorn'd his proffer'd Bed!  
 Had you deferr'd, at least, your hasty Flight,  
 (Dryden, A IV, 471-73)

Ten thousand things, disdainfully away;  
 Sunk in their arms the trembling handmaids led  
 The fainting princess to the regal bed.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 566-68)

Abruptly here she stops: Then turns away  
 Her loathing Eyes, and shuns the sight of Day.  
 Amaz'd he stood, revolving in his Mind  
 What Speech to frame, and what Excuse to find.  
 Her fearful Maids their fainting Mistress led;  
 And softly laid her on her Iv'ry Bed.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 562-67)

The pure libation turn'd to sable blood.  
 This horrid omen to herself reveal'd,  
 Ev'n from her sister's ear she kept conceal'd.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 662-64)

The Purple Wine is turn'd to putrid Blood:  
 And the white offer'd Milk, converts to Mud.  
 This dire Presage, to her alone reveal'd,  
 From all, and ev'n her Sister, she conceal'd.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 659-62)

Through dreary wilds, abandon'd and alone;  
 And treads a dark uncomfortable plain,  
 And seeks her Tyrians o'er the waste in vain.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 678-80)

Disdainful as by Day: She seems alone,  
 To wander in her Sleep, thro' ways unknown,  
 Guidless and dark: or, in a Desert Plain,  
 To seek her Subjects, and to seek in vain.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 677-80)

The grief that rag'd tumultuous in her breast.  
 Meantime with all things ready for his flight,  
 In thoughtless sleep the hero past the night.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 800-02)

These Thoughts she brooded in her anxious Breast;  
 On Board, the Trojan found more easie rest.  
 Resolv'd to sail, in Sleep he pass'd the Night;  
 And order'd all things for his early flight.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 799-802)

Rise, prince; a woman is a changeful thing.  
 This said; at once he took his rapid flight,  
 Dissolv'd in air, and mingled with the night.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 800-02)

Woman's a various and a changeful Thing.  
 Thus Hermes in the Dream; then took his flight,  
 Aloft in Air unseen; and mix'd with Night.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 819-21)

Thrice her fierce hands in madness of despair  
 Beat her white breast, and tore her golden hair.  
 Then shall the traitor fly, ye gods! (she said)  
 (Pitt, A IV, 845-47)  
 Stung with despatch, and furious with despair,  
 She struck her trembling Breast, and tore her Hair.  
 And shall th'ungrateful Traytor go, she said,  
 (Dryden, A IV, 845-47)

And see the Trojan image sink in fire.  
 Thus I compleat the rites to Stygian Jove,  
 And then farewell—a long farewell to love!  
 (Pitt, A IV, 918-20)  
 Thus will I pay my Vows, to Stygian Jove;  
 And end the Cares of my disastrous Love.  
 Then cast the Trojan Image on the Fire;  
 (Dryden, A IV, 915-17)

Passages of four consecutive lines:

Hence then from strife resolve we both to cease,  
 And by the nuptial band confirm the peace.  
 To crown your wish, the queen with fond desire  
 Dies for your son, and melts with amorous fire.  
 (Pitt, A IV, 154-57)  
 But shall Coelestial Discord never cease?  
 'Tis better ended in a lasting Peace.  
 You stand possess'd of all your Soul desir'd;  
 Poor Dido with consuming Love is fir'd:  
 (Dryden, A IV, 139-42)

First small with fear, she swells to wond'rous size,  
 And stalks on earth, and tow'rs above the skies;  
 Whom, in her wrath to heav'n, the teeming earth  
 Produc'd the last of her gigantic birth;  
 (Pitt, A IV, 263-66)  
 Soon grows the Pygmee to Gygantic size;  
 Her Feet on Earth, her Forehead in the Skies:  
 Inrag'd against the Gods, revengeful Earth  
 Produc'd her last of the Titanian birth.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 255-58)

Struck and alarm'd with such a dread command,  
 He longs to leave the dear enchanting land.  
 But ah! with what address shall he begin,  
 How speak his purpose to the raving queen?  
 (Pitt, A IV, 407-10)

Revolving in his Mind the stern Command,  
 He longs to fly, and loaths the charming Land.  
 What shou'd he say, or how shou'd he begin,  
 What Course, alas! remains, to steer between  
 Th'offended Lover, and the Pow'rful Queen!

(Dryden, A IV, 406-10)

Prop'd on her elbow, thrice she rear'd her head,  
 And thrice fell back, and fainted on the bed;  
 Sought with her swimming eyes the golden light,  
 And saw the sun, but sicken'd at the sight.

(Pitt, A IV, 994-97)

Thrice Dido try'd to raise her drooping Head,  
 And fainting thrice, fell grov'ling on the Bed.  
 Thrice op'd her heavy Eyes, and sought the Light,  
 But having found it, sicken'd at the sight;

(Dryden, A IV, 988-91)

Longer passages of consecutive lines:

From that sad day, unhappy Dido! rose  
 Shame, death, and ruin, and a length of woes.  
 Nor fame nor censure now the queen can move,  
 No more she labours to conceal her love.  
 Her passion stands avow'd; and wedlock's name  
 Adorns the crime, and sanctifies the shame.

(Pitt, A IV, 253-58)

From this ill Omend Hour, in Time arose  
 Debate and Death, and all succeeding woes.  
 The Queen whom sense of Honour cou'd not move  
 No longer made a Secret of her Love;  
 But call'd it Marriage, by that specious Name,  
 To veil the Crime and sanctifie the Shame.

(Dryden, A IV, 245-50)

And the shrill echoes ring amidst the skies;  
 As all fair Carthage, or her mother Tyre,  
 Storm'd by the foe, had sunk in floods of fire;  
 And the fierce flame devour'd the proud abodes,  
 With all the glorious temples of the gods.

(Pitt, A IV, 960-64)

Of mixing Women, mount the vaulted Skies.  
 Not less the Clamour, than if ancient Tyre,  
 Or the new Carthage, set by Foes on Fire,  
 The rowling Ruin, with their lov'd Abodes,  
 Involv'd the blazing Temples of their Gods.

(Dryden, A IV, 961-65)

Longer passages in which one rhyme-word does not occur in Dryden:

At length the heroe thus in brief replies.  
 Your bounties, queen, I never can forget;



And never, never pay the mighty debt;  
But, long as life informs this fleeting frame,  
My soul shall honour fair Eliza's name.

(Pitt, A IV, 482-86)

Tho' heaving in his Heart; and thus at length, replies.  
Fair Queen, you never can enough repeat  
Your boundless Favours, or I own my Debt;  
Nor can my Mind forget Eliza's Name,  
While vital Breath inspires this Mortal Frame.

(Dryden, A IV, 482-86)

And yet great Jove and Juno from the sky  
Behold his treason with a careless eye;  
Guilt, guilt prevails; and justice is no more.  
The needy wretch just cast upon my shore,  
Fool as I was! with open arms I led  
At once a partner to my throne and bed;

(Pitt, A IV, 537-42)

Nor Juno views my Wrongs with equal Eyes;  
Faithless is Earth, and Faithless are the Skies!  
Justice is fled, and Truth is now no more;  
I sav'd the Shipwrack'd Exile on my Shore:  
With needful Food his hungry Trojans fed;  
I took the Traytor to my Throne and Bed:

(Dryden, A IV, 534-39)

In all his thoughts you ever bore a part,  
You know the nearest passage to his heart.  
Go then, dear sister, as a suppliant go,  
Tell, in the humblest terms, my haughty foe,  
I ne'er conspir'd at Aulis to destroy,  
With vengeful Greece, the hapless race of Troy;  
Nor sent one vessel to the Phrygian coast,  
Nor rak'd abroad his father's sacred dust.

(Pitt, A IV, 613-20)

In all his trusted Secrets you have part,  
And know the soft Approaches to his Heart.  
Haste then, and humbly seek my haughty Foe;  
Tell him, I did not with the Grecians goe;  
Nor did my Fleet against his Friends employ,  
Nor swore the Ruin of unhappy Troy.  
Nor mov'd with Hands prophane his Father's dust;

(Dryden, A IV, 612-18)

3. In Warton's Fourth Eclogue  
and First Georgic

Half rhymes:

- See a new progeny from heav'n descend!  
(Warton, E IV, 9)
- A golden progeny from Heav'n descends;  
(Dryden, E IV, 10)
- He shall enjoy the life divine, and see  
(Warton, E IV, 17)
- By Gods and Heroes seen, and Gods and Heroes see.  
(Dryden, E IV, 19)
- And knotted oaks shall showers of honey weep.  
(Warton, E IV, 34)
- The knotted oaks shall show'rs of Honey weep,  
(Dryden, E IV, 35)
- Yet of old crimes some footsteps shall remain,  
(Warton, E IV, 35)
- Yet, of old Fraud some footsteps shall remain,  
(Dryden, E IV, 37)
- Dear to the gods! O progeny of Jove!  
(Warton, E IV, 54)
- O of Coelestial Seed! O foster Son of Jove!  
(Dryden, E IV, 59)
- Tho' Phoebus, tho' Calliope inspire,  
(Warton, E IV, 63)
- Though each his Heav'nly Parent shou'd inspire;  
(Dryden, E IV, 68)
- No god shall grace thy board, no goddess bless thy bed.  
(Warton, E IV, 72)
- No God shall crown the Board, nor Goddess bless the bed.  
(Dryden, E IV, 77)
- Ye deities, who aid industrious swains,  
(Warton, G I, 13)
- Ye Fawns, propitious to the Rural Swains,  
(Dryden, G I, 11)
- The suppliant swains, and bless with fruits the year;  
(Warton, G I, 28)
- The rural Honours, and increase the Year.  
(Dryden, G I, 27)
- Or swell with showers the cultivated grain.  
(Warton, G I, 30)



You who supply the Ground the seeds of Grain;  
 (Dryden, G I, 28)

With dire ambition fir'd, in hell to reign,  
 (Warton, G I, 50)  
 (For let not Hell presume of such a Reign;  
 (Dryden, G I, 52)

Which twice the sun, and twice the frosts sustain,  
 (Warton, G I, 63)  
 Which twice the Sun, and twice the Cold sustains,  
 (Dryden, G I, 73)

Gainful to burn the barren glebe 'tis found,  
 (Warton, G I, 102)  
 Long Practice has a sure Improvement found,  
 (Dryden, G I, 122)

Or oozing off, and purify'd by fire,  
 (Warton, G I, 106)  
 Or when the latent Vice is cur'd by Fire,  
 (Dryden, G I, 128)

The crumbling clods, with harrows, drags, and rakes,  
 (Warton, G I, 115)  
 Who smooths with Harrows, or who pounds with Rakes  
 (Dryden, G I, 138)

The happiest covering for the bury'd grain;  
 (Warton, G I, 123)  
 And broods indulgent on the bury'd Grain.  
 (Dryden, G I, 148)

Yet after all these toils of swains and steers,  
 (Warton, G I, 147)  
 Nor yet the Ploughman, nor the lab'ring Steer,  
 (Dryden, G I, 177)

Th'eternal sire, immutably decrees,  
 (Warton, G I, 151)  
 The Sire of Gods and Men, with hard Decrees,  
 (Dryden, G I, 183)

Ere Jove had reign'd, no swains subdu'd the ground,  
 (Warton, G I, 155)  
 E're this, no Peasant vex'd the peaceful Ground;  
 (Dryden, G I, 191)

O'er the press'd grain, and Bacchus' flying sail.  
 (Warton, G I, 195)  
 The Fan of Bacchus, with the flying Sail:  
 (Dryden, G I, 246)

The earth-boards double; double are the ears;  
 (Warton, G I, 201)  
 On either side the Head produce an Ear,  
 (Dryden, G I, 252)  
 Else thro' the loosen'd dust, and chinky ground,  
 (Warton, G I, 210)  
 To smooth the Surface of th'unequal Ground;  
 (Dryden, G I, 261)  
 In vain be trampled on the hungry floor.  
 (Warton, G I, 225)  
 In vain the Hind shall vex the thrashing Floor,  
 (Dryden, G I, 278)  
 'Till winter's first impracticable rains.  
 (Warton, G I, 248)  
 'Till cold December comes with driving Rain.  
 (Dryden, G I, 301)  
 Sow beans in spring: in spring the crumbling soil  
 (Warton, G I, 253)  
 Sow Beans and Clover in a rotten Soyl,  
 (Dryden, G I, 304)  
 When the Bull opes with golden horns the year,  
 (Warton, G I, 256)  
 The Bull beats down the Barriers of the Year;  
 (Dryden, G I, 307)  
 Plac'd full beneath the burnings of the sun,  
 (Warton, G I, 273)  
 Glows with the passing and repassing Sun.  
 (Dryden, G I, 323)  
 Nor the four seasons of th'adjusted year;  
 (Warton, G I, 307)  
 And the four quarters of the rolling Year.  
 (Dryden, G I, 349)  
 To hurry forward, when the sky is fair,  
 (Warton, G I, 310)  
 Which else is huddl'd, when the Skies are fair:  
 (Dryden, G I, 353)  
 No solemn rite should e'er forbid the swain,  
 (Warton, G I, 320)  
 From necessary Works, the lab'ring Swain.  
 (Dryden, G I, 362)  
 Ossa on Pelion, thrice t'uplift they strove,  
 (Warton, G I, 337)  
 With Mountains pil'd on Mountains, thrice they strove  
 (Dryden, G I, 375)

For taming oxen, and for planting vines,  
 (Warton, G I, 342)  
 Young Oxen to the Yoke, and plant the Vine.  
 (Dryden, G I, 380)

Mix honey sweet, for her, with milk and mellow wine;  
 (Warton, G I, 415)  
 And Milk and Honey mix with sparkling Wine:  
 (Dryden, G I, 472)

From the frail bark that ploughs the raging main,  
 (Warton, G I, 430)  
 From the toss'd Vessel on the troubled Main:  
 (Dryden, G I, 494)

But if thou shalt observe the rapid sun,  
 (Warton, G I, 495)  
 Observe the daily Circle of the Sun,  
 (Dryden, G I, 571)

For wasteful storms and deluges of rains!  
 (Warton, G I, 502)  
 And brews for Fields impetuous Floods of Rain.  
 (Dryden, G I, 578)

And sailors sav'd from the devouring sea,  
 (Warton, G I, 509)  
 Are void of Tempests, both by Land and Sea,  
 (Dryden, G I, 585)

None should persuade to loose my bark from shore,  
 (Warton, G I, 530)  
 The Frith, or haul his Cables from the Shoar?  
 (Dryden, G I, 614)

By surest marks th'unerring sun declares,  
 (Warton, G I, 537)  
 Th'unerring Sun by certain Signs declares,  
 (Dryden, G I, 620)

And with the voice of man (portentous!) spoke!  
 (Warton, G I, 558)  
 In silent Groves, dumb Sheep and Oxen spoke;  
 (Dryden, G I, 644)

Couplets (including two lines of a triplet):

Give me, Sicilian maids, sublimer strains,  
 All love not lowly shrubs and rural plains:  
 (Warton, E IV, 1-2)  
 Sicilian Muse, begin a loftier strain!  
 Though lowly Shrubs and Trees that shade the Plain,  
 (Dryden, E IV, 1-2)

The months begin, the babe's auspicious face,  
 Pollio, thy glorious consulship shall grace;  
 (Warton, E IV, 13-14)

The lovely Boy, with his auspicious Face,  
 Shall Pollio's Consulship and Triumph grace,  
 (Dryden, E IV, 13-14)

The jarring world in lasting peace shall bind,  
 And with his father's virtues rule mankind.  
 (Warton, E IV, 19-20)

The jarring Nations he in peace shall bind,  
 And with paternal Virtues rule mankind.  
 (Dryden, E IV, 20-21)

With milk o'ercharged the goats shall homeward speed,  
 And herds secure from mighty lions feed.  
 (Warton, E IV, 25-26)

The Goats with strutting Duggs shall homeward speed,  
 And lowing Herds, secure from Lyons feed.  
 (Dryden, E IV, 25-26)

Of native purple and unborrow'd gold,  
 And sandyx clothe with red the crowded fold.  
 (Warton, E IV, 49-50)

But the luxurious Father of the Fold,  
 With native Purple, or unborrow'd Gold,  
 (Dryden, E IV, 52-53)

What culture crowns the laughing fields with corn,  
 Beneath what heavenly signs the glebe to turn,  
 (Warton, G I, 1-2)

What makes a plenteous Harvest, when to turn  
 The fruitful Soil, and when to sow the Corn;  
 (Dryden, G I, 1-2)

Bacchus and Ceres, by whose gifts divine,  
 Man chang'd the crystal stream for purple wine,  
 (Warton, G I, 9-10)

Bacchus and fost'ring Ceres, Pow'rs Divine,  
 Who gave us Corn for Mast, for Water Wine;  
 (Dryden, G I, 9-10)

And thou, whose trident struck the teeming earth,  
 Whence strait a neighing courser sprung to birth.  
 (Warton, G I, 15-16)

And thou, whose Trident struck the teeming Earth,  
 And made a Passage for the Coursers Birth.  
 (Dryden, G I, 15-16)

Wilt thou, great Caesar, o'er the earth preside,  
 Protect her cities, and her empires guide,  
 (Warton, G I, 33-34)

Or o're the Fruits and Seasons to preside,  
 And the round Circuit of the Year to guide.  
 (Dryden, G I, 34-35)



Pity with me, the simple ploughman's cares,  
 Now, now assume the god, and learn to hear our pray'rs.  
 (Warton, G I, 55-56)

Pity the Poet's and the Ploughman's Cares,  
 Int'rest thy Greatness in our mean Affairs,  
 And use thy self betimes to hear and grant our Pray'rs.  
 (Dryden, G I, 61-63)

When Zephyr's breeze unbinds the crumbling soil,  
 Then let my groaning steers begin the toil;  
 (Warton, G I, 59-60)  
 And goad him till he groans beneath his Toil,  
 'Till the bright Share is bury'd in the Soil.  
 (Dryden, G I, 70-71)

While for Olympic games, Epirus breeds,  
 To whirl the kindling car, the swiftest steeds?  
 (Warton, G I, 75-76)  
Epirus for th'Elean Chariot breeds,  
 (In hopes of Palms,) a Race of running Steeds.  
 (Dryden, G I, 89-90)

What time the stones, upon th'unpeopled world,  
 Whence sprung laborious man, Deucalion hurl'd.  
 (Warton, G I, 79-80)  
 On sundry Places, when Deucalion hurl'd  
 His Mother's Entrails on the desert World:  
 (Dryden, G I, 93-94)

The turf disclos'd, the clinging clods unbound,  
 Summer shall bake and meliorate thy ground;  
 (Warton, G I, 83-84)  
 That while the Turf lies open, and unbound,  
 Succeeding Suns may bake the Mellow Ground.  
 (Dryden, G I, 98-99)

The glebe shall rest, whence last you gather'd grain,  
 Till the spent earth recover strength again;  
 (Warton, G I, 89-90)  
 That the spent Earth may gather heart again;  
 And, better'd by Cessation, bear the Grain.  
 (Dryden, G I, 108-09)

But blush not fattening dung to cast around,  
 Or sordid ashes o'er th'exhausted ground.  
 (Warton, G I, 98-99)  
 Yet sprinkle sordid Ashes all around,  
 And load with fat'ning Dung thy fallow Ground.  
 (Dryden, G I, 118-19)

Or genial heat the hollow glebe constrains,  
 Braces each nerve, and binds the gaping veins;  
 (Warton, G I, 110-11)

Or that the Heat the gaping Ground constrains,  
 New Knits the Surface, and new Strings the Veins;  
 (Dryden, G I, 132-33)

Or who, lest the weak stalks be over-weigh'd,  
 Feeds down, betimes, the rank luxuriant blade,  
 (Warton, G I, 138-39)  
 Shou'd scarce sustain the head's unweildy weight,  
 Sends in his feeding Flocks betimes t'invade  
 The rising bulk of the luxuriant Blade;  
 (Dryden, G I, 164-66)

Sailors first nam'd and counted every star,  
 The Pleiads, Hyads, and the northern car.  
 (Warton, G I, 167-68)  
 For ev'ry fix'd and ev'ry wandring Star:  
 The Pleiads, Hyads, and the Northern Car.  
 (Dryden, G I, 209-10)

Then all those arts that polish life succeed;  
 What cannot ceaseless toil, and pressing need!  
 (Warton, G I, 175-76)  
 And various Arts in order did succeed,  
 (What cannot endless Labour urg'd by need?)  
 (Dryden, G I, 217-18)

What time, nor mast, nor fruits, the groves supply'd,  
 And fam'd Dodona sustenance deny'd;  
 (Warton, G I, 179-80)  
 When now Dodonian Oaks no more supply'd  
 Their Mast, and Trees their Forrest-fruit deny'd.  
 (Dryden, G I, 222-23)

Next must we tell, what arms stout peasants wield,  
 Without whose aid, no crops could crown the field:  
 (Warton, G I, 190-91)  
 Nor must we pass untold what Arms they wield,  
 Who labour Tillage and the furrow'd Field:  
 (Dryden, G I, 239-40)

When bent betimes, and tam'd the stubborn bough,  
 Tough elm receives the figure of the plough;  
 (Warton, G I, 198-99)  
 Young Elms with early force in Copses bow,  
 Fit for the Figure of the crooked Plough.  
 (Dryden, G I, 249-50)

More ancient precepts could I sing, but fear  
 Such homely rules may grate thy nicer ear.  
 (Warton, G I, 206-07)  
 I cou'd be long in Precepts, but I fear  
 So mean a Subject might offend your Ear.  
 (Dryden, G I, 256-57)

Their nest and chambers scoop, the eyeless moles,  
 And swelling toads that haunt the darksome holes;  
 (Warton, G I, 214-15)

For gather'd Grain the blind laborious Mole,  
 In winding Mazes works her hidden Hole.  
 (Dryden, G I, 266-67)

But the well-disciplin'd, and chosen grains,  
 Tho' quicken'd o'er slow fires with skilful pains,  
 (Warton, G I, 230-31)

Unless the Peasant, with his Annual Pain,  
 Renews his Choice, and culls the largest Grain.  
 (Dryden, G I, 286-87)

Betwixt the first and these, indulgent heav'n  
 Two milder zones to feeble man hath giv'n,  
 (Warton, G I, 278-79)

Far on the right and left, th'extreams of Heav'n,  
 To Frosts and Snows, and bitter Blasts are giv'n.  
 (Dryden, G I, 324-25)

Hence changeful heav'n's rough storms we may foreknow,  
 The days to reap, the happiest times to sow,  
 (Warton, G I, 300-01)

From hence uncertain Seasons we may know;  
 And when to reap the Grain, and when to sow;  
 (Dryden, G I, 344-45)

Iapetus and Coeus, heaving earth  
 Produc'd, a foul abominable birth!  
 (Warton, G I, 333-34)

That gave the Furies and pale Pluto Birth,  
 And arm'd against the Skies, the Sons of Earth.  
 (Dryden, G I, 373-74)

One, by the glowing ember's livid light,  
 Watches and works the livelong winter's night,  
 (Warton, G I, 349-50)

Parch'd Meads and Stubble mow, by Phoebe's Light;  
 Which both require the Coolness of the Night:  
 (Dryden, G I, 385-86)

Beguiling time sings in the glimmering room,  
 To chear the labours of the rattling loom,  
 (Warton, G I, 353-55)

He sharpens Torches in the glim'ring Room,  
 She shoots the flying Shuttle through the Loom:  
 (Dryden, G I, 391-92)

For noxious cranes then plant the guileful snare,  
 O'er tainted ground pursue the listening hare;  
 (Warton, G I, 371-72)

For stalking Cranes to set the guileful Snare,  
 T'inclose the Stags in Toys, and hunt the Hare.  
 (Dryden, G I, 413-14)





How careful swains should watch in shorter days,  
 When soften'd summer feels abated rays:  
 (Warton, G I, 379-80)

The Year, and adds to Nights, and shortens Days;  
 And Suns declining shine with feeble Rays:  
 (Dryden, G I, 420-21)

Oft in one deluge of impetuous rain,  
 All heav'n's dark concave rushes down amain,  
 (Warton, G I, 389-90)  
 And oft whole sheets descend of slucy Rain,  
 Suck'd by the spongy Clouds from off the Main:  
 (Dryden, G I, 437-38)

Great Jove himself, whom dreadful darkness shrouds,  
 Pavilion'd in the thickness of the clouds,  
 (Warton, G I, 394-95)  
 The Father of the Gods his Glory shrowds,  
 Involv'd in Tempests, and a Night of Clouds.  
 (Dryden, G I, 444-45)

Invoking Ceres, and in solemn lays,  
 Exalt your rural queen's immortal praise.  
 (Warton, G I, 420-21)  
 On Ceres let him call, and Ceres praise,  
 With uncouth Dances, and with Country Lays.  
 (Dryden, G I, 481-82)

Oft, stars fall headlong thro' the shades of night,  
 And leave behind white tracks of trembling light,  
 (Warton, G I, 436-37)  
 And, shooting through the darkness, guild the Night  
 With sweeping Glories, and long trails of Light:  
 (Dryden, G I, 503-04)

Nor less by certain marks may'st thou descry  
 Fair seasons, in the calm, and stormless sky;  
 (Warton, G I, 466-67)  
 Then after Show'rs, 'tis easie to descry  
 Returning Suns, and a serener Sky:  
 (Dryden, G I, 539-40)

Fierce Nisus presses on his panting prey,  
 Where Nisus wheels, she swiftly darts away.  
 (Warton, G I, 481-82)  
 Where-ever frightened Scylla flies away,  
 Swift Nisus follows, and pursues his Prey.  
 (Dryden, G I, 549-50)

But when the changeful temper of the skies,  
 The rare condenses, the dense rarifies,  
 (Warton, G I, 489-90)  
 But with the changeful Temper of the Skies,  
 As Rains condense, and Sun-shine rarifies;  
 (Dryden, G I, 565-66)

No night serene with smiles, shall e'er betray,  
And safely may'st thou trust the coming day:  
(Warton, G I, 497-98)

By them thou shalt foresee the following day;  
Nor shall a starry Night thy Hopes betray.  
(Dryden, G I, 573-74)

With dusky redness veil'd his chearful light,  
And impious mortals fear'd eternal night:  
(Warton, G I, 543-44)

In Iron Clouds conceal'd the Publick Light:  
And Impious Mortals fear'd Eternal Night.  
(Dryden, G I, 630-31)

And rolling onwards with a sweepy sway,  
Bore houses, herds, and helpless hinds away:  
(Warton, G I, 563-64)

And rolling onward, with a sweepy Sway,  
Bore Houses, Herds, and lab'ring Hinds away.  
(Dryden, G I, 651-52)

Let streams of blood already spilt attone  
For perjuries of false Laomedon!  
(Warton, G I, 585-86)

O! let the Blood, already spilt, atone  
For the past Crimes of curst Laomedon!  
(Dryden, G I, 674-75)

Where sacred order, fraud and force confound,  
Where impious wars and tumults rage around,  
And every various vice and crime is crown'd:  
(Warton, G I, 589-91)

Where Fraud and Rapine, Right and Wrong confound,  
Where impious Arms from ev'ry part resound,  
And monstrous Crimes in ev'ry Shape are crown'd.  
(Dryden, G I, 678-80)

Passages of three consecutive lines:

Thick fall the rains; the wind redoubled roars,  
The god now smites the woods, and now the sounding shores.  
Warned by these ill, observe the starry signs,  
(Warton, G I, 402-04)

The Waves on heaps are dash'd against the Shoar,  
And now the Woods, and now the Billows roar.  
In fear of this, observe the starry Signs,  
(Dryden, G I, 457-59)

And long to lave their downy plumes in vain:  
Loudly the rains the boding rook demands,  
And solitary stalks across the scorching sands.  
(Warton, G I, 459-61)

Then lave their Backs with sprinkling Dews in vain,  
 And stem the Stream to meet the promis'd Rain.  
 The Crow with clam'rous Cries the Show'r demands,  
 And single stalks along the Desart Sands.  
 (Dryden, G I, 531-34)

From her burst entrails did she oft exspire,  
 And deluge the Cyclopean fields with fire!  
 A clank of arms and rushing to the wars,  
 (Warton, G I, 549-51)

What Rocks did Aetna's bellowing Mouth expire  
 From her torn Entrails! and what Floods of Fire!  
 What Clanks were heard, in German Skies afar,  
 Of Arms and Armies, rushing to the War!  
 (Dryden, G I, 636-39)

And Haemus' fields twice fatten'd with our blood.  
 The time at length shall come, when lab'ring swains,  
 As with their ploughs they turn these guilty plains,  
 (Warton, G I, 572-74)  
 To fatten twice those Fields with Roman Blood.  
 Then, after length of Time, the lab'ring Swains,  
 Who turn the Turfs of those unhappy Plains,  
 (Dryden, G I, 661-63)

Passages of four consecutive lines:

Or over boundless ocean wilt thou reign,  
 Smooth the wild billows of the roaring main,  
 While utmost Thule shall thy nod obey,  
 To thee in shipwrecks shivering sailors pray,  
 (Warton, G I, 39-42)  
 Or wilt thou, Caesar, chuse the watry Reign,  
 To smooth the Surges, and correct the Main?  
 Then Mariners, in Storms, to thee shall pray,  
 Ev'n utmost Thule shall thy Pow'r obey;  
 (Dryden, G I, 38-41)

When winter ends, and spring serenely shines,  
 Then fat the lambs, then mellow are the wines,  
 Then sweet are slumbers on the flowery ground,  
 Then with thick shades are lofty mountains crown'd.  
 (Warton, G I, 410-13)  
 For then the Hills with pleasing Shades are crown'd,  
 And Sleeps are sweeter on the silken Ground:  
 With milder Beams the Sun securely shines,  
 Fat are the Lambs, and luscious are the Wines.  
 (Dryden, G I, 467-70)

Ill can thin leaves their ripening grapes defend!  
 Such heaps of horrid hail on rattling roofs descend!  
 Observe too, when he ends his heavenly race,  
 What various colours wander o'er his face:  
 (Warton, G I, 521-24)

How shall the Vine, with tender Leaves, defend  
Her teeming Clusters when the storms descend?  
When ridgy Roofs and Tiles can scarce avail,  
To barr the Ruin of the ratling Hail.  
But more than all, the setting Sun survey,  
When down the Steep of Heav'n he drives the Day.  
For oft we find him finishing his Race,  
With various Colours erring on his Face;  
(Dryden, G I, 597-604)

4. In Beattie's Fourth Eclogue

Half-rhymes:

They bade the sacred spindle swiftly run,  
(Beattie, E 75)  
Shall bless the sacred Clue, and bid it smoothly run.  
(Dryden, E 57)

O Thou, the offspring of eternal Jove! (Beattie, E 78)  
O of Coelestial Seed! O foster Son of Jove!  
(Dryden, E 59)

5. In Sotheby's First Georgic

## Half-rhymes:

- Invites the plough, and weds to elms the vine;  
(Sotheby, G I, 2)
- And how to raise on Elms the teeming Vine:  
(Dryden, G I, 4)
- Browse the rich shrubs that shade the Caean plain;  
(Sotheby, G I, 16)
- Thy Milky Herds, that graze the Flow'ry Plains.  
(Dryden, G I, 18)
- And if thy Maenalus yet claim thy care,  
(Sotheby, G I, 19)
- And, if Arcadian Fleeces be thy Care,  
(Dryden, G I, 21)
- Let not such lust of dire dominion move  
(Sotheby, G I, 47)
- Nor let so dire a Thirst of Empire move  
(Dryden, G I, 53)
- Feeds down its rank luxuriance when the blade  
(Sotheby, G I, 139)
- The rising bulk of the luxuriant Blade;  
(Dryden, G I, 166)
- Or who, 'mid doubtful months, and flooding rains,  
(Sotheby, G I, 141)
- When Fountains open, when impetuous Rain  
(Dryden, G I, 173)
- Yet when the sturdy swain and patient steer  
(Sotheby, G I, 145)
- Nor yet the Ploughman, nor the lab'ring Steer,  
(Dryden, G I, 177)
- Ere Jove bore rule, no labour tam'd the ground,  
(Sotheby, G I, 157)
- E're this, no Peasant vex'd the peaceful Ground;  
(Dryden, G I, 191)
- And tow'r in triumph o'er the golden ear.  
(Sotheby, G I, 190)
- And shoots its Head above the shining Ears.  
(Dryden, G I, 230)
- There builds the field-mouse underneath the ground,  
(Sotheby, G I, 221)
- The Field Mouse builds her Garner under ground;  
(Dryden, G I, 265)

Cull'd yearly one by one the largest grain;  
 (Sotheby, G I, 242)  
 Renews his Choice, and culls the largest Grain.  
 (Dryden, G I, 287)

Wait till Bootes' lingering beams descend,  
 (Sotheby, G I, 275)  
 Begin when the slow Waggoner descends,  
 (Dryden, G I, 318)

Lie climes to feeble man by Heav'n assigned.  
 (Sotheby, G I, 284)  
 Betwixt the midst and these, the Gods assign'd  
 (Dryden, G I, 326)

And fourfold parts, as seasons change, the year.  
 (Sotheby, G I, 308)  
 And the four Quarters of the rolling Year.  
 (Dryden, G I, 349)

Point the sharp stake, or edge the blunted share,  
 (Sotheby, G I, 315)  
 Then let him mark the Sheep, or whet the shining Share.  
 (Dryden, G I, 354)

Brings pitch and millstones home for barter'd oil,  
 (Sotheby, G I, 327)  
 To neighb'ring Towns with Apples and with Oyl:  
 (Dryden, G I, 368)

To weave, to tame the steer, and plant the vine;  
 (Sotheby, G I, 344)  
 Young Oxen to the Yoke, and plant the Vine.  
 (Dryden, G I, 380)

Then the gay hind unlocks his hoarded store,  
 (Sotheby, G I, 361)  
 In Genial Winter, Swains enjoy their Store,  
 (Dryden, G I, 403)

Her pure libation, honey, milk, and wine;  
 (Sotheby, G I, 418)  
 And Milk and Honey mix with sparkling Wine:  
 (Dryden, G I, 472)

And floating feathers on the water play.  
 (Sotheby, G I, 448)  
 And floating Feathers on the Waters play.  
 (Dryden, G I, 507)

Behind, on rustling plume, fierce Nisus flies:  
 (Sotheby, G I, 492)  
 Tow'ring aloft, avenging Nisus flies,  
 (Dryden, G I, 549)





If dull at morn with many a scatter'd beam  
(Sotheby, G I, 533)  
Or if thro' Mists he shoots his sullen Beams,  
(Dryden, G I, 591)

Each hue that varies at the close of day.  
(Sotheby, G I, 540)  
When down the Steep of Heav'n he drives the Day.  
(Dryden, G I, 602)

That night my anchor'd bark shall sleep on shore,  
 (Sotheby, G I, 545)  
 The Frith, or haul his Cables from the Shoar?  
 (Dryden, G I, 614)

There, after length of time, the peaceful swain  
(Sotheby, G I, 591)  
Then, after length of Time, the lab'ring Swains,  
(Dryden, G I, 662)

**Couplets:**

Thou! whose dread trident shook the womb of earth,  
And loos'd the steed, that neighing sprung to birth;  
(Sotheby, G I, 13-14)  
And thou, whose Trident struck the teeming Earth,  
And made a Passage for the Coursers Birth.  
(Dryden, G I, 15-16)

Oft noxious geese and the Strymonian crane  
Waste with voracious bill the plunder'd grain,  
(Sotheby, G I, 147-48)  
But glutton Geese, and the Strymonian Crane,  
With foreign Troops, invade the tender Grain:  
(Dryden, G I, 179-80)

Not to dull Indolence and transient Toil  
Great Jove resign'd the conquest of the soil:  
(Sotheby, G I, 151-52)  
And wills that Mortal Men, inur'd to toil  
Shou'd exercise, with pains, the grudging Soil.  
(Dryden, G I, 185-86)

From leaves their honey shook, conceal'd the fire,  
And bade free streams, that flow'd with wine, retire;  
(Sotheby, G I, 163-64)  
Remov'd from Humane reach the chearful Fire,  
And from the Rivers bade the Wine retire:  
(Dryden, G I, 201-02)

Now learn what arms industrious peasants wield,  
To sow the furrow'd glebe, and clothe the field:  
(Sotheby, G I, 197-98)

Nor must we pass untold what Arms they wield,  
Who labour Tillage and the furrow'd Field:

(Dryden, G I, 239-40)

With ponderous roller smooth the level floor,  
And bind with chalky cement o'er and o'er;

(Sotheby, G I, 217-18)

Delve of convenient Depth your thrashing Floor;  
With temper'd Clay, then fill and face it o're:

(Dryden, G I, 258-59)

Then beans and lucerne claim the mellow soil,  
And millet springing from thy yearly toil.

(Sotheby, G I, 263-64)

Sow Beans and Clover in a rotten Soyl,  
And Millet rising from your Annual Toyl;

(Dryden, G I, 304-05)

For this the golden sun the earth divides,  
And, wheel'd thro' twelve bright signs, his chariot guides.

(Sotheby, G I, 277-78)

For this, thro' twelve bright Signs Apollo guides  
The Year, and Earth in sev'ral Climes divides.

(Dryden, G I, 320-21)

Here the huge Snake in many a volume glides,  
Winds like a stream, and either Bear divides,

(Sotheby, G I, 291-92)

Around our Pole the spiry Dragon glides,  
And like a winding Stream the Bears divides;

(Dryden, G I, 334-35)

Then, with dire labour rent, the womb of Earth  
Pour'd forth her offspring of gigantic birth,

(Sotheby, G I, 333-34)

That gave the Furies and pale Pluto Birth,  
And arm'd, against the Skies, the Sons of Earth.

(Dryden, G I, 373-74)

Thrice with enormous strength the rebels strove,  
Rock pil'd on rock, to scale the Throne of Jove,

(Sotheby, G I, 337-38)

With Mountains pil'd on Mountains, thrice they strove  
To scale the steepy Battlements of Jove;

(Dryden, G I, 375-76)

Seethes the sweet must, the trembling caldron skims,  
And sweeps with wavy leaf its frothy brims.

(Sotheby, G I, 355-56)

Or boils in Kettles Must of Wine, and skims  
With Leaves, the Dregs that overflow the Brims.

(Dryden, G I, 393-94)



Yet, not regardless of the wintry food,  
Then gather acorns from the leafless wood,  
(Sotheby, G I, 369-70)

Yet that's the proper Time to thrash the Wood  
For Mast of Oak, your Fathers homely Food.  
(Dryden, G I, 409-10)

Then toil the struggling stags, then cranes ensnare,  
Press round her tainted maze the list'ning hare;  
(Sotheby, G I, 373-74)

For stalking Cranes to set the guileful Snare,  
T'inclose the Stags in Toyls, and hunt the Hare.  
(Dryden, G I, 413-14)

Waste far and wide, and, by the roots uptorn,  
The heavy harvest sweep through ether borne,  
(Sotheby, G I, 389-90)

The heavy Harvest from the Root is torn,  
And whirl'd aloft the lighter Stubble born;  
(Dryden, G I, 433-34)

When gales should lull, and when th'experienc'd swain  
From distant range his shelter'd herd restrain.  
(Sotheby, G I, 429-30)

When Southern blasts shou'd cease, and when the Swain  
Shou'd near their Folds his feeding Flocks restrain.  
(Dryden, G I, 487-88)

In gay contention dip their wings in vain,  
And prelude, as they sport, th'impending rain:  
(Sotheby, G I, 469-70)

Then lave their Backs with sprinkling Dews in vain,  
And stem the Stream to meet the promis'd Rain.  
(Dryden, G I, 531-32)

New instincts sway, and their inconstant mind  
Shifts with the clouds, and varies with the wind:  
(Sotheby, G I, 505-06)

So turn the Species in their alter'd Minds,  
Compos'd by Calms, and discompos'd by Winds.  
(Dryden, G I, 567-68)

No treacherous signs announce th'expected day,  
Nor faithless nights shall flatter and betray.  
(Sotheby, G I, 511-12)

By them thou shalt foresee the following day;  
Nor shall a starry Night thy Hopes betray.  
(Dryden, G I, 573-74)

Dark o'er the wasted earth, and stormy main,  
In torrents drives the congregated rain.  
(Sotheby, G I, 515-16)

Conclude she bodes a Tempest on the Main,  
 And brews for Fields impetuous Floods of Rain.  
 (Dryden, G I, 577-78)

What time in iron clouds he veil'd his light,  
 And impious mortals fear'd eternal night.  
 (Sotheby, G I, 559-60)

In Iron Clouds conceal'd the Publick Light:  
 And Impious Mortals fear'd Eternal Night.  
 (Dryden, G I, 630-31)

Down the wide deluge whirls uprooted woods,  
 And wastes the earth with desolating floods.  
 (Sotheby, G I, 579-80)

Then rising in his Might, the King of Floods,  
 Rusht thro' the Forrests, tore the lofty Woods;  
 (Dryden, G I, 649-50)

Passage of three consecutive lines:

O'er all the sky, Germania heard afar  
 The bray of arms that clang'd th'aerial war.  
 The Alpine regions of eternal snow  
 (Sotheby, G I, 567-69)

What Clanks were heard, in German Skies afar,  
 Of Arms and Armies, rushing to the War!  
 Dire Earthquakes rent the solid Alps below,  
 And from their Summits shook th'Eternal Snow.  
 (Dryden, G I, 638-41)

Passage of four consecutive lines:

Oft shalt thou see, ere brooding storms arise,  
 Star after star glide headlong down the skies,  
 And, where they shot, long trails of lingering light  
 Sweep far behind, and gild the shades of night;  
 (Sotheby, G I, 443-46)

And oft before tempest'ous Winds arise,  
 The seeming Stars fall headlong from the Skies;  
 And, shooting through the darkness, guild the Night  
 With sweeping Glories, and long trails of Light:  
 (Dryden, G I, 501-04)

Passage of six consecutive lines:

While fam'd Epirus rears th'equestrian breed,  
 Born for the palm that crowns th'Olympic steed.  
 In stated regions, from th'eternal Cause,  
 Such Nature's compact, and unbroken laws;  
 Such from the time when first Deucalion hurl'd  
 The stones that peopled the deserted world:  
 (Sotheby, G I, 73-78)

Epirus for th'Elean Chariot breeds,  
 (In hopes of Palms,) A Race of running Steeds.  
 This is the Orig'nal Contract; these the Laws  
 Impos'd by Nature, and by Nature's Cause,  
 On sundry Places, when Deucalion hurl'd  
 His Mother's Entrails on the desert World:  
 (Dryden, G I, 89-94)

## APPENDIX B

### Dryden's End-Words in Eighteenth-Century Texts

Translator	Rhymed or Blank Verse	Number of End-Words Shared	Lines in Sample	Percentage of Agreement
1. Benson	R	158	634	24.9
2. Trapp	B	148	1,650	9.0
3. Pitt	R	185	1,017	18.2
4. Warton	R	153	673	22.7
5. Beattie	R	2	102	3.9
6. Andrews	B	114	1,282	8.9
7. Beresford	B	80	960	8.0
8. Sotheby	R	83	618	13.4



## APPENDIX C

### Derivations from Dryden

Translator	Identical Lines	Lines Derived from Dryden	Lines Probably Derived from Dryden	Shorter Similar Passages	Lines in Sample	Percentage of Similar Lines
1. Benson	2	18	12	6	634	6.0
2. Pitt	2	18	41	12	1,017	7.1
3. Warton	3	27	8	8	673	6.8
4. Sotheby	2	7	1	6	618	2.6

Judgments about similarity tabulated here are based upon the extent of the agreement in word choice and syntax of the line cited and the corresponding line in Dryden's Vergil, with the most literal possible rendering of the Latin text taken into account. The lines listed below are printed in Appendix A.

Benson. Identical lines: G I, 177 and 178. Lines derived from Dryden: G I, 18, 35, 116, 157, 186, 218, 227, 239, 318, 319, 349, 350, 419, 581, 587, 598, 610, and 627. Lines probably derived from Dryden: G I, 160, 240, 317, 334, 428, 431, 433, 466, 564, 580, 586, and 622. Shorter similar passages: G I, 73, 265, 371, 460, 608, and 609.

Pitt. Identical lines: A IV, 91 and 939. Lines derived from Dryden: A IV, 34, 115, 126, 258, 266, 363, 407, 510, 614, 650, 664, 734, 818, 846, 884, 985, 995, and 997. Lines probably derived from Dryden: A IV, 7, 76, 107, 140, 141, 253, 264, 273, 457, 482, 485, 542, 578, 613, 620, 623, 653, 663, 667, 668, 670, 680, 696, 717, 718, 748, 811, 813, 819, 820, 834, 845, 847, 914, 916, 918, 919, 940, 948, 986, and 996. Shorter similar passages: A IV, 46, 95, 204, 264, 322, 323, 408, 754, 802, 883, 931, and 934.

Warton. Identical lines: G I, 15, 168, and 544. Lines derived from Dryden: E IV, 9, 14, 19, 20, 26, 34, 35, 49, and 72; and G I, 39, 40, 41, 42, 63, 371, 410, 411, 461, 489, 490, 524, 563, 564, 572, 573, 574, and 585. Lines probably derived from Dryden: G I, 9, 16, 55, 176, 206, 307, 404, and 537. Shorter similar passages: E IV, 13 and 25; and G I, 56, 123, 139, 199, 355, and 551.



Sotheby. Identical lines: G I, 448 and 560. Lines derived from Dryden: G I, 13, 147, 164, 264, 292, 444, and 591. Lines probably derived from Dryden: G I, 47. Shorter similar passages: G I, 139, 445, 446, 492, 559, and 569.

## APPENDIX D

### James Beattie and Robert Andrews

The notion that contemporaries independently translating the same text will necessarily echo one another is disproved by the translations of James Beattie and Robert Andrews, who resemble each other as little as either of them resembles Dryden. The difference between Andrews' version of Vergil and Dryden's can be accounted for by their different goals. Dryden sought to create an English poem; Andrews, to translate the original poem verbum ex verbo. Beattie, on the other hand, wanted to explore the beauty of details—to make sure that the foot of the statue was as perfect as the total work. Despite the fact that Beattie admired Dryden as a poet and as a translator, and despite the fact that his own diction reverberates with conventional Drydenian formulae, his Pastorals almost never recall the corresponding passages of Dryden's Eclogues.

In 1760, Beattie was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy of Marischal College through the good offices of Robert Arbuthnot and the Earl of Erroll. He dedicated his first volume of poems to his noble patron in gratitude. This work, entitled Original Poems and Translations, contained a number of short verses previously published in the Scots Magazine, some hitherto unpublished poems, and translations of short passages from Anacreon, Lucretius, and Horace together with the ten Eclogues of Vergil titled Pastorals. Beattie's very sympathetic

friend and biographer, Sir William Forbes, observed that "of the pieces in this collection, all are certainly not of equal merit," an opinion he believed Beattie shared, since he never reprinted a number of these early poems.<sup>1</sup> Notable among the omissions were all the translations. The book, however, was well received. The Monthly Review commentator congratulated its readers "on this new acquisition to the Republic of Letters," pointing out that Beattie had taken Gray for his model in his odes and elegies and commending his "harmonious numbers, . . . pleasing imagination, [and] . . . spirited expression." This high praise was reserved for the original works alone. After commenting upon specific virtues of "The Ode to Peace" and "The Triumph of Melancholy," the reviewer refers the reader

for his farther entertainment . . . to the book; which, however, we are sorry to find, towards the latter-end, consists of Translations; . . . for these must have taken up that time, which a writer possessed of our Author's fancy, might have better employed in composing ORIGINALS.<sup>2</sup>

Beattie himself had little to say about the translations. In his preface to the Pastorals, as he called the Eclogues, he offers the usual modest disclaimer concerning any intention to rival his illustrious predecessors. "Mr. Dryden's translation," he says,

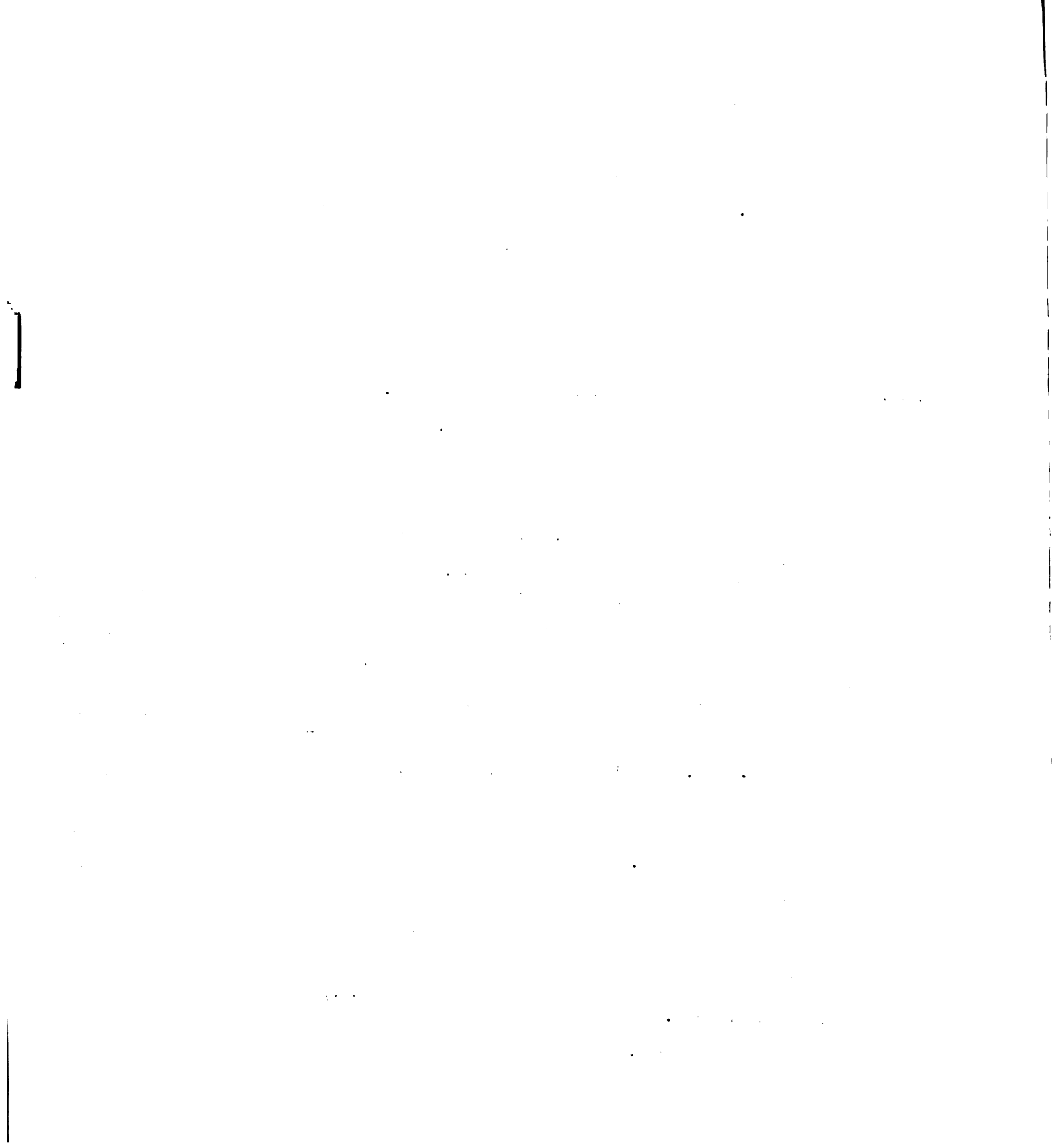
will be admired as long as the English language is understood, for that fluent and graceful energy of expression, which distinguishes all the writings of that poet. In his compositions, even in those which have been censured as inaccurate, we are charmed with

"Thoughts that breathe and words that burn"  
And if we find any thing blameable, we are inclined to impute it, not to any defect in his own

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<sup>1</sup>An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie, LL.D., (Edinburgh, 1806), I, 48-49.

<sup>2</sup>XXIV (June, 1761), 393-94.



genius or taste, but to the depravity of the age in which it was his misfortune to live.

The translation of Virgil, published some years ago by the learned and ingenious Mr. Joseph Warton did not come into my hands till long after what is now offered to the public was finished. The perusal of these two masterly versions might have effectually discouraged the publication of the following, had he ever intended it as a rival to either of the others. But he disclaims that intention, and would wish only to be thought an humble copier of Virgil. And he hopes that his translation will be pardoned, if, in a few particular instances, it be found to have set any of the beauties of the admired original in a more conspicuous point of view to the English reader.

The stylized generosity of Beattie's tribute to Dryden does not mask any specific indebtedness to him in the translation of the fourth Eclogue. Like Dryden and Trapp, Beattie identifies the child as possibly Pollio's son (though he does not think that is a very important matter); he does not mention the suggestion Warton offers that the child is the son of Octavia and heir-apparent of Caesar Augustus. The Dryden-Trapp explanation was the accepted one during the first half of the century, and as his tardiness in reading Warton shows, Beattie was not in the vanguard of either readers or writers. Despite the importance later read into his emphasis on description and inspiration in The Minstrel, the most important poem which he was to publish a decade later, Beattie's attitude toward poetry and the classics was as orthodox as his theology.<sup>3</sup>

He did not find the shackles of rhyme distasteful. Though the rhyming patterns of his original works vary from one poem to another,

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<sup>3</sup> Beattie's theological orthodoxy is fully demonstrated in the work for which his contemporaries praised him most highly, the Essay on Truth, which he wrote to refute the dangerous skepticism of David Hume, François Voltaire, and other philosophes.

all are rhymed; and a good many like the Pastorals, are in heroic couplets. Nor is there anything approaching the doctrinaire polemic of Trapp in the one explanation Beattie makes of his choice of a metrical form. In a letter to his friend, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Blacklock, Beattie discusses his use of the Spenserian stanza in The Minstrel, which he had just begun to write:

I have written one hundred and fifty lines, and am surprised to find the structure of that complicated stanza so little troublesome. I was always fond of it, for I think it the most harmonious that ever was contrived. It admits of more variety of pauses than either the couplet or the alternate rhyme [the forms Beattie used most]; and it concludes with a pomp and majesty of sound, which, to my ear, is wonderfully delightful. It seems also very well adapted to the genius of our language, which, from its irregularity of inflexion and number of monosyllables, abounds in diversified terminations, and consequently renders our poetry susceptible of an endless variety of legitimate rhymes.<sup>4</sup>

Beattie's diction, too, is entirely conventional. In his fourth Pastoral, flocks graze "the flowery plain," ships "roam the watery waste" and "plough the deep," lambs "wanton on the mead," and the poet aspires to sing in "loftier numbers." In his "Essay on Poetry and Music as They Affect the Mind," Beattie treats the special language of poetry at some length. He lists various categories of poetic diction: clipped forms, such as "mead," "clime," and "vale"; words in which a syllable has been added for metrical convenience or poetic tone, such as "affright" and "distain"; words once in common use but now only poetic, such as "swain" and the active verb "speed" [in the sense of "assist"]; and words which had been limited to poetry from their

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<sup>4</sup>Forbes, Life and Writings, I, 89. The letter is dated 22 September, 1766.





introduction into the language, such as "viewless," "verdant," and "sylvan." Under the rubric of "poetic language," he also describes special syntactic patterns, chiefly Latinisms, as characteristic of the language of poetry. And he justifies his selection of examples by the practice of the best poets. He explains his disapproval of modern poets' adoption of the most arcane of Spenser's archaisms by observing that if they had been acceptable, Dryden and Pope would have used them. In fact, Beattie says, "the practice of Milton, Dryden, or Pope, may . . . in almost all cases, be admitted as good authority for the use of a poetical word."<sup>5</sup>

Though the "Essay" does not deal systematically with translation, there are in it some observations on the topic, unfortunately so incomplete as to raise more questions than they answer. Like Dryden and virtually everyone else, Beattie recommends that a poet translate another whose "genius" is amenable to his, and he makes the usual pleas for fidelity to the original text, but he does not explain what he believes "fidelity" is. Dryden often violates it, he says:

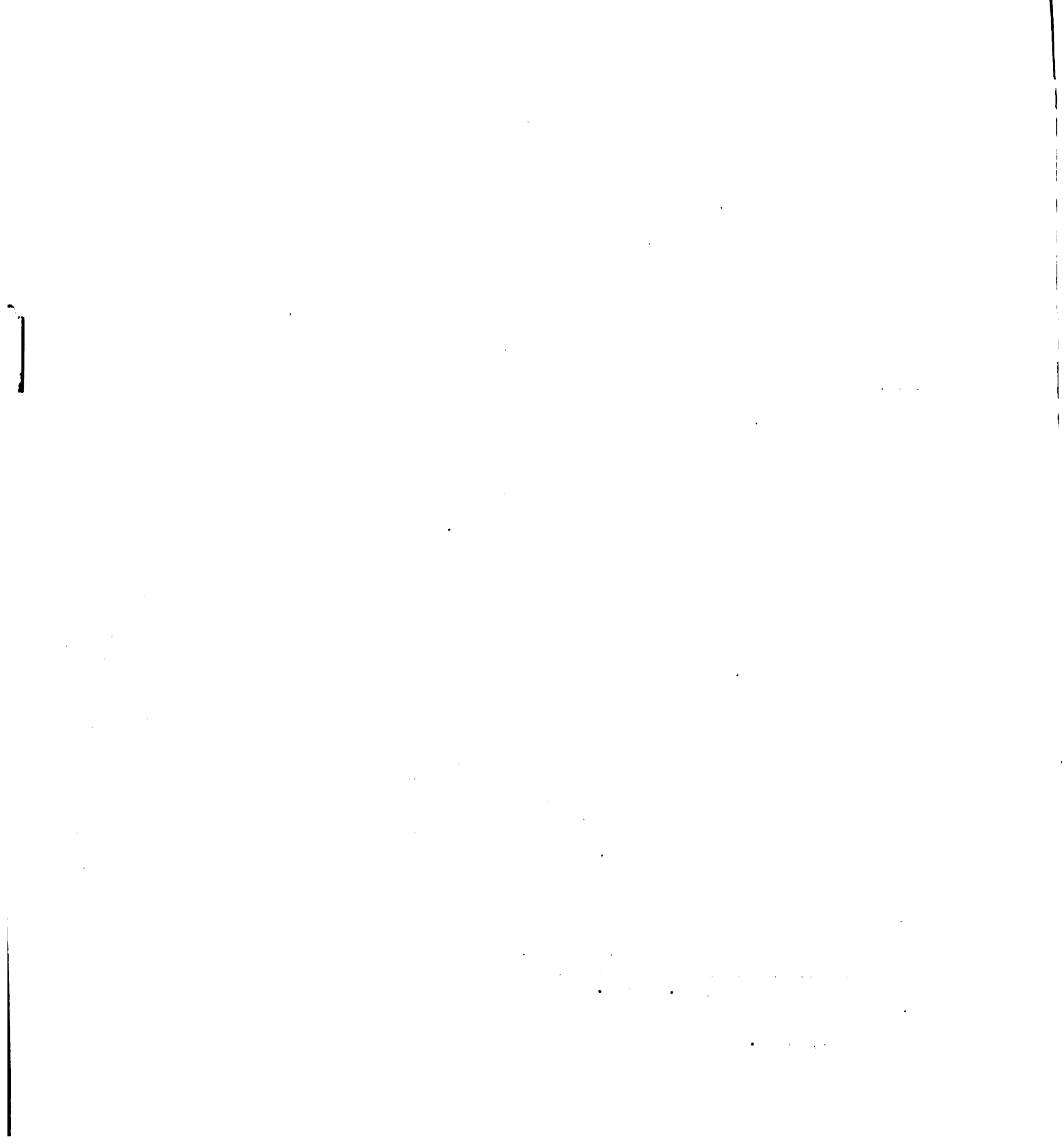
His Virgil abounds in lines and couplets of the most perfect beauty; but these are mixed with others of a different stamp: nor can they who judge of the original by this translation, ever receive any tolerable idea of that uniform magnificence of sound and language, that exquisite choice of words and figures, and that sweet pathos of expression and sentiment, which characterise the Mantuan Poet.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, further along in the same discussion, he praises

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<sup>5</sup> Essays: On Poetry and Music, as They Affect the Mind; On Laughter, and Iudicrous Composition; On the Usefulness of Classical Learning (London, 1779), pp. 216-31. The passage quoted appears on p. 229.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 16.



Pope for frequently improving upon Homer in his translation. Beattie's practice as a translator is thus not much illuminated by his vague statements of principle.

Certainly he does not differ from Dryden by hesitating to add to the sense of Vergil's lines. This fact is immediately apparent in the mere length of the fourth Pastoral: whereas Dryden translates Vergil's sixty-three hexameters in seventy-seven heroic lines, Beattie uses a hundred and two. His expansions, like Dryden's, include both repetitions and additions, though Dryden more often adds new ideas and Beattie more often repeats the same ideas in other words. Vergil's lines,

Teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule inibit,  
 Pollio, & incipient magni procedere menses.  
 Te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,  
 Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.  
 Ille Deum vitam accipiet, Divisque videbit  
 Permistos heroas, & ipse videbitur illis:  
 (E IV, 11-16)

are rendered literally in the Loeb version:

And in thy consulship, Pollio, yea in thine, shall  
 this glorious age begin, and the mighty months com-  
 mence their march; under thy sway, any lingering  
 traces of our guilt shall become void, and release  
 the earth from its continual dread. He shall have  
 the gift of divine life, shall see heroes mingled  
 with gods, and shall himself be seen of them.  
 (I, 31)

Dryden adds an honorific description of the child and makes the father-son relationship more resonant and the removal of guilt more abstract:

The lovely Boy, with his auspicious Face,  
 Shall Pollio's Consulship and Triumph grace;  
 Majestick Months set out with him to their appointed Race.  
 The Father banish'd Virtue shall restore,  
 And Crimes shall threat the guilty world no more.  
 The Son shall lead the life of Gods, and be  
 By Gods and Heroes seen, and Gods and Heroes see.  
 (E IV, 13-19)

Beattie also adds details, but different ones. Like Warton, he believed the prophecy of the Sybil foretold the birth of Christ, and therefore he also makes use of a Biblical echo:

This Child, the joy of nations, shall be born<sup>7</sup>  
 Thy consulship, O Pollio, to adorn:  
 Thy consulship these happy times shall prove,  
 And see the mighty Months begin to move:  
 Then all our former guilt shall be forgiv'n,  
 And man shall dread no more th'avenging doom of heav'n.  
 The Son with heroes and with Gods shall shine,  
 And lead, enroll'd with them, the life divine.  
 (Beattie, E IV, 17-24)

In rendering videbit and videbitur, he departs from the text in much the same way that Dryden does in the couplet about forgiveness of guilt—for perhaps the same reason: the literally translated words "no more" and "divine" require rhymes. Beattie's second and third lines are repetitious. His decision to render Vergil's first three periods in two couplets almost inevitably requires Beattie to add or to repeat. Dryden, in rendering this passage as a triplet, has not had to face that problem here.

Sometimes Beattie's additions add so little information that they merely make what was succinct in the Latin, diffuse in English. Vergil describes the conditions that will obtain in the golden age:

Non rastos patietur humus, non vinea falcem:  
 Robustus quoque jam tauris juga solvet arator.  
 Nec varios discet mentiri lana colores:  
 (E IV, 40-42)

(The soil shall not endure the ploughs, nor the vineyard, the pruning-hook:  
 the lusty plowman now shall also set his oxen free  
 from the yoke.  
 Nor shall wool learn to feign various colors.)

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<sup>7</sup>Cf. Luke 2.10: "And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people."

Dryden again translates in a triplet:

The labouring Hind his Oxen shall disjoyn,  
 No Plow shall hurt the Glebe, no Pruning-hook the Vine:  
 Nor wooll shall in dissembled colours shine.  
 (E IV, 49-51)

His one deviation from a literal rendering is in the reversed order of the first two lines. Beattie's metrical scheme, in his version of this passage, is more regular in that he keeps to the ten-syllable line:

Henceforth no plough shall cleave the fertile ground,  
 No pruninghood the tender vine shall wound,  
 The husbandman with toil no longer broke  
 Shall loose his ox for ever from the yoke.  
 No more the tool a foreign die shall feign,  
 (E IV, 65-69).

He makes some additions: "henceforth," "fertile," and "forever," and, like Dryden, for robustus he substitutes a modifier which points to the farmer's condition in the present rather than in the age to come. But there are no new images; the same ideas are simply diffused over five lines.

All this is not to say that Beattie failed to appreciate the packed brevity of Vergil's Latin or such rhetorical devices as the repetition of the two forms of video in the first passage cited above. In the "Essay on Poetry and Music," he observes that brevity is "indispensible [in] the poetic tongue."<sup>8</sup> And as for imagery and skillful manipulation of language, "tropes and figures promote strength of expression, and are in poetry peculiarly requisite, because they are often more natural, and more imitative, than proper words."<sup>9</sup>

The difficulty, in Beattie's view, is inherent in translation itself. He had no snobbish objections to the Greek and Latin classics'

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<sup>8</sup>P. 218.

<sup>9</sup>P. 245.

being available in English. His own first contact with Homer and Vergil was through Pope's and Dryden's translations, both of which he had read before he was ten years old.<sup>10</sup> But he realized that it is not possible to reproduce poetry in a second language with complete fidelity to the words, rhetoric, and spirit of the original. "It is not possible," he therefore asserts, "for anyone who is ignorant of Latin to have any adequate notion of Virgil. The choice of his words, and the modulation of his numbers, have never been copied with tolerable success in any other tongue."<sup>11</sup>

Dryden's shortcomings sometimes offended Beattie, but he realized that many of them were inevitable. Simply because he was a translator, he was doomed to some degree of failure. That difficulty granted, Beattie found more to complain about in Dryden's execution than in his principles concerning verse translation. Beattie's Pastorals resemble Dryden's Eclogues in form and diction and, to some extent, in the general treatment of the Latin text. The chief difference between them is due to the fact that Beattie was not trying to arrive at a definitive English version of the Eclogues; indeed, he alone of the translators of the period sometimes appears to have doubted the possibility of such a version. There was no need, therefore, for him to refer constantly to the work of his predecessors as he translated. The

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<sup>10</sup>Alexander Dyce, "Memoir of Beattie," in The Poetical Works of James Beattie (London, 1831), pp. xxx-xxxi.

<sup>11</sup>Quoted by Forbes in The Life and Writings, I, 53. Beattie wrote several essays on the benefits of classical education. The statement quoted here does not appear in "Remarks on the Usefulness of Classical Learning" included in the 1779 edition of Essays on Poetry and Music, the only volume of Beattie's critical writings that was available to me. This essay is pedagogical rather than literary in emphasis, but the point of view expressed in it is consistent with that in Forbes's quotation.

resemblance between his Pastorals and Dryden's Eclogues are due to the fact that they worked within the same theory of translation and poetic tradition. It need only be added that Beattie was very much aware of what Dryden had contributed to that tradition, and that he was in no sense in rebellion against it.

Robert Andrews did consciously depart from Dryden's values concerning both prosody and the proper goal of the translator. He appears to have worked out a detailed theory of poetics, but there is not much information available about it or about Andrews himself. In James Mew's short biographical sketch in the Dictionary of National Biography, his birth date is not given, and it seems uncertain whether he died in the same year in which his *Vergil* was published, 1766. Mew's list of Andrews' works includes a criticism on the sermons of the Rev. John Holland, "some animadversions on Dr. Brown's 'Essays on the Characteristics,'" and a volume of original poems called Eidyllia, published in 1757, the preface to which "contains a violent attack on rhyme." I have been unable to find any other reference to any of these works or any trace of surviving copies.

Nor have I been able to find any evidence of the "considerable taste and scholarship" Mew attributes to Andrews. Commentaries in the Monthly Review are very rarely minute enough to meet Joseph Warton's standards and are frequently equivocal concerning the quality of newly published works, but the reviewer's opinion of Andrews' Vergil is quite clear : he finds nothing at all to recommend it to the reader, and he quotes a particular passage only to ridicule it. By any measure, Andrews' Virgil Englished was hardly a success, and few copies of the one edition have survived; Mew notes that there is none in the





British Museum. And I have found no trace of an extant copy of his original odes which were published later in 1766 to an even more condescending response.

Yet, poor and intrinsically unimportant as Andrews' Vergil is, T. W. Harrison finds it interesting as evidence of the prevailing critical attitude of the time.<sup>12</sup> And indeed, Andrews, like his predecessors, does reveal something about his own poetic values in his discussion of Vergil's and in his criticism of other translators. His predecessors, he believes, all failed to produce faithful translations of Vergil, because they did not appreciate the key element in Vergil's poetical masterpiece, its structural beauty. The basic unit is the "idea"; poetry is the felicitous arrangement of ideas within the line and the juxtaposition of lines in the verse. Andrews does not explain how the accumulation of patterns within patterns and the interplay among line units work, but he assures us they do.

Neglecting this central principle, others have been too much absorbed in superficial concerns, such as the complexities of diction and prosody, problems not nearly so difficult as poets have supposed. The pseudo-problem of diction arises from the translators' substituting words from "some Latin Commentator" for Vergil's, from misunderstanding of the equivalence of Latin and English, and from the English writers' unwillingness to "doff their Gothic shackles." The last term requires some explanation, for Andrews does not use it in the usual way to refer to rhyme alone. He does not define the term, but the most obvious difference between his presumably unshackled verse and that of his predecessors is in syntax. Andrews simply assumes that the syntactic

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<sup>12</sup>"English Aeneids," p. 9.

possibilities of Latin exist in English also, and that sentences built on Latin models can be placed in sequence with sentences built on English patterns. The determining factor in the choice of syntactic patterns is the ten-syllable line. For example, in the lines in which the poet predicts a glorious future for the child of the fourth Eclogue, the first two are entirely English; though the structure is periodic, the syntactic options exercised are quite normal:

He shall with Gods, and Heroes mix't with Gods,  
In free communion taste the life divine;  
(E IV, 15-16).

In the next line, however, there is nothing optional about the use of a definite article with the first noun:

And peaceful world rule with his father's grace.  
(E 4, 17)

and its omission makes the sentence non-English. English syntax permits many inversions and other deviations from normal word order, but that tolerance is severely strained when several variant structures occur within one clause. In the three-line period:

First at thy birth, Boy! shall her off'rings Earth  
Wild ivy, colocasia, acantha fair,  
With bacchar sweet, spontaneous bear around:  
(E IV, 18-20)

periodicity is achieved by means of the wide separation of the elements of the verb phrase ("shall. . .bear") and by reversing the order of the verb and adverb. Also, the subject-object inversion forces the separation of a long appositive series from its governing noun. The sentence, translated structurally as well as verbally, would read:

First at thy birth, boy, earth shall spontaneous(ly)  
bear her offerings--wild ivy, colocasia, and fair  
acantha, sweet with bacchar.

The long object phrase forces the displacement of the adverb from its

normal position following the direct object; however, "spontaneous(ly)" could as well occur before as after "shall." "Around" seems to have been added to provide the ninth and tenth syllables of the line. This sort of syntax is apparently what freedom from Gothic shackles means.

Problems of diction could be solved as easily, if poets would use short, exact words that render the Latin text into English precisely. "All languages," Andrews explains, "are but different dialects of the same," and "if the same language have seldom if ever two words exactly of the same meaning; yet those of different Nations, where all the arts and sciences have equally flourish'd, as seldom has either of 'em a word to which the other has not one synonymous." Passing over the equating of ancient Roman and eighteenth-century British arts and sciences, the sentence is still astonishingly naive, as anyone who has ever tried to translate both literal signification and nuance in a single word can testify.

As for prosody, the decisions to be made concern the type of line and the distribution of pauses. Andrews rejects rhyme out of hand. Those who have chosen the heroic couplet have "fully satisfied" the taste and capacity of those readers "to whom they confessedly sacrificed their judgment" (apparently an allusion to Dryden's remarks on the subject), but the sacrifice was too great. "For Rhyme besides obliging you to end the line with a good sound, serves also as a barrier between each in a couplet: and owes to this effect probably all its popularity." In short, it makes fidelity to Vergil's structure of ideas impossible. English blank verse, on the other hand, does not interfere with the placement of words and is therefore the proper equivalent of Latin hexameters. Prosodic skill consists in making a

"proper division in the sense of the line," by placing the pauses so that the reader's ear is held "suspended in a rapture of attention." The heroic line, whether a complete grammatical unit or not, should have enough meaning-content to justify the sort of pause a schoolboy makes in translating aloud. The pause that comes at the end of an unpointed line is the quantitative measure of all others; at a comma, its duration should be doubled; at a semicolon, tripled, and so on. Andrews does not say whether the formula provides for differentiating varieties of full stops. Underlying all his discussion of form and method is the assumption that matter and manner are separable in all poetry, not only in translation, and that they are separable not merely verbally, to facilitate discussion, but actually, in the process of composition. "Sounds and syllables" are but "adventitious graces."

When Andrews' statements about mechanics have been gleaned from the rambling and sometimes almost incoherent verbiage of the preface, all that remains is a sententious affirmation of the moral value of Vergil, a defense of his political stand, and a number of references to his sublimity, pathos, fire, imagination, and propriety of character and language--all of which simply repeat Trapp's preface in garbled form. Not that Andrews acknowledges any debt to Trapp. He mentions Trapp frequently, but always to point out his inexcusable shortcomings. It is clearly Trapp whom Andrews has in mind when he asks, "but how forgive the blank verse writers their retaining all the errours of those they affect to despise, and worse? their lines being more defective in sense and more preposterously divided." All this has a familiar ring, if we read "Benson" for "Andrews" and "Dryden" for "Trapp." Like Benson, Andrews chose what he considered to be an

overrated translation to expose and correct—and, occasionally, to copy.<sup>13</sup>

The agreements in phrasing and diction between Andrews' Vergil and the texts of his predecessors are, with few exceptions, short and literal translations. They can readily be accounted for by the fact that Englishmen of the same era were translating the same original. The number of those similarities, however, is suggestive: there are many more between Andrews and Trapp than between Andrews and any of his other predecessors. And all the exceptions to the general description of Andrews' text are close correspondences between it and Trapp's. Where Trapp, for example, describes the farmer's winter activities:

Some point their Stakes, and double-spiky Prongs:  
And Osiers twist to bind the flexile Vine;  
With Rubean Wicker now slight Baskets weave:  
(G I, 330-32)

Andrews echoes:

Or point your stakes and doubly spiky prongs:  
Twine osiers, to confine your flaunting vines:  
Of Rubean wicker your light basket weave:  
(G I, 264-66).

To close the list of labors permissible on sacred days, Trapp translates:

Or plunge the bleating Flocks in healthful Streams.  
(G I, 338)

and Andrews follows:

Or plunge your bleating flocks in healthful streams.  
(G I, 272)

Similar echoes occur throughout the fourth Aeneid. Andrews' Dido solemnly vows not to fall in love with Aeneas:

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<sup>13</sup>That Trapp's Vergil, though still respectfully cited, had never replaced Dryden's in popularity and had been quite thoroughly eclipsed by the Pitt-Warton version appears not to have occurred to Andrews.



Jove's glaring arm first bolt me to the shades,  
 Pale shades of Erebus and Night's abyss:  
 (A IV, 25-26)

in much the same words as Trapp's Dido:

Or Jove with Thunder strike me to the Shades,  
 Pale Shades of Erebus, and Night profound;  
 (A IV, 33-34).

The hunters in the two versions are accompanied by,

Massylian Horsemen, and quick-scented Hounds.  
 (Trapp, A IV, 176)

Massylian horsemen, and sagacious hounds.  
 (Andrews, A IV, 132)

And in Andrews' version, Dido cries,

Receive this spirit! Free me from these cares.  
 (A IV, 652)

as she does in Trapp's,

Recive this Soul, and free me from These Cares.  
 (A IV, 869).

In the first Georgic, two of Andrews' lines are identical with those of other versions; but in both cases, Trapp is Andrews' immediate source. Warton had also borrowed Trapp's line,

And Scylla rues the ravish'd purple Hair.  
 (Trapp, A IV, 504;  
 Warton, A IV, 479).

Andrews adapts the verb form, but otherwise his line is identical:

And Scylla rue the ravish'd purple hair;  
 (A IV, 405).

Both Trapp and Warton had adopted a line from Dryden verbatim:

And Impious Mortals fear'd Eternal Night.  
 (Dryden, A IV, 631;  
 Trapp, A IV, 581;  
 Warton, A IV, 544;  
 Andrews, A IV, 468)

as Andrews also does.

Once again, even though rhyming is not a factor, end-word counts



bear out the conclusions drawn from comparing the substance of the texts. In Andrews' translation of the fourth Eclogue, the first Georgic, and the fourth Aeneid, the end-word in one line of every four translates Vergil's end-word (323 of 1,282); one in five repeats Trapp's (236 of 1,282); and one in eleven echoes Dryden's (114 of 1,282). Andrews' agreements with Warton and Benson are based on fewer total lines but seem accurate none the less, Andrews' end-word agreeing with Warton's at a ratio of one to thirteen (42 of 577), and with Benson's at one to ten (49 of 514). End-word counts are not sufficient proofs of the influence of one poet upon another, especially in unrhymed texts, and they do not define the nature of the indebtedness where it does exist. But, at least in translations of the same original, such tallies do seem to be reliable indicators of works which would merit closer comparison.

By any measure, Andrews appears not to be directly indebted to Dryden. In some passages, however, Dryden's indirect influence, though diffused, may still be felt. Occasionally, his expansion of a Vergilian image persists. In the fourth Eclogue, for example, the poet's vision of the golden age includes, among other evidences of regenerated nature:

nec magnos metuent armenta leones.  
(E IV, 22)  
 (nor shall herds fear mighty lions.)

Dryden's expansion,

And lowing Herds, secure from Lyons feed.  
(E IV, 26)

is carried over into Trapp's version,

Unterrify'd by monstrous Lions, feed.  
(E IV, 29)

and then into Andrews',

herds fearless with the lion graze:  
(E IV, 22)

even though his diction is clearly not affected by Dryden's in this passage. And in a few lines in which Andrews is probably indebted to Trapp, he is as close or, in very rare instances, even closer, to Dryden. For example, Dryden translates,

aut graviora timet, quam morte Sichaei.  
(A IV, 502)  
(but she feared no worse than at the death  
of Sichaeus.)

She fear'd no worse than when Sichaeus fell:  
(A IV, 726)

and Trapp follows:

And fear'd no worse than when Sichaeus dy'd;  
(A IV, 671)

Andrews keeps the English clause to render morte Sichaei, and, like Dryden, he chooses the conventional euphemism "fell":

Nor fearing worse, than when Sichaeus fell;  
(A IV, 502).

It is possible that Andrews had Dryden's line in mind when he wrote this line. But considering the text as a whole, it seems more probable that "fell" is a deliberate variation from Trapp that accidentally resembles Dryden. There are so few of such similarities that I do not believe they warrant any inference of a direct influence from Dryden. Indeed, I should be reluctant to draw any conclusion at all about the general decline or persistence of Dryden's influence on eighteenth-century translators from a text as idiosyncratic as Andrews' Vergil Englished.