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DRYDEN'S IMAGERY IN HIS NONDRAMATIC POETRY

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DRYDEN'S IMAGERY IN HIS NONDRAMATIC POETRY

CHAPTER I

"THE BOLDNESS OF A POET"

"Imaging is, in itself, the very height and life of Poetry."[1] In writing these words John Dryden was expressing a critical opinion that was an intrinsic component of much that he had to say about the function of the imagination and the development of poetical style, and he was also indicating an important medium through which he illustrated his own conception of the nature of poetry. The secret of Dryden's poetical genius does not necessarily lie within the functional quality of his imagery, but any statement of his eminence as a poet must consider his use of imagery as well as his metrical skill. Scholars and critics alike have found Dryden's vigorous masculine style and his brilliantly controlled couplets the distinguishing marks of his poetical talent. It is the purpose of this paper, however, to show the part imagery played in the development of Dryden's style by

[1]John Dryden, Essays, ed. W. P. Ker (2 vols.; Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1900), I, 186. Hereafter cited as Essays.

reconstructing, as it were, Dryden's theory of imagery and by illustrating some of his critical tenets through a detailed analysis of the imagery in his nondramatic poetry.

Dryden's critical opinions are scattered among lively prefaces and essays where the reader must pursue them. Even in the moment of recovery he may find inconsistencies; for as Professor Ker has pointed out, Dryden's "general criticism, having always a reference to his own present undertakings, follows his judgment of what is desirable and feasible for him . . . at the moment."[1] Thus in the diversity of his critical writings it is often difficult to find any one single principle underlying the whole. Recently Hoyt Trowbridge set out to recover Dryden's theory of criticism and to define its nature,[2] and Robert Sharp attempted to summarize Dryden's critical beliefs under four major headings —diction; wit and imagination; sense, nature, and truth; and harmony.[3] Trowbridge satisfied himself he had found the criterion he was seeking, but Sharp concluded that "in evaluating what he [Dryden] meant to his age as a poet, we must not become lost in his inconsistencies as a critic."[4] This present study

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[1] Ibid., I, xviii.

[2] Hoyt Trowbridge, "The Place of the Rules in Dryden's Criticism," Modern Philology, XLIV (1946), 84-96.

[3] Robert Lathrop Sharp, From Donne to Dryden: The Revolt Against Metaphysical Poetry (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940), p. 195.

[4] Ibid., p. 203.

enters a new field; for no formal attempt has been made to trace the development of Dryden's theory of imagery and to see how closely his use of imagery in the nondramatic poetry supports his critical statements.

Dryden's first critical preface, the "Epistle Dedicatory" of his tragi-comedy The Rival Ladies, appeared in 1664; his last, the preface to Fables, Ancient and Modern, in 1700. These, as well as the prefaces and essays that lie between, contain penetrating judgments on individual writers, both modern and classical, and pertinent observations on versification, poetic language, and levels of style; yet in almost every one he manages to touch on imagery, a subject that was almost an obsession with him. In most cases what he has to say about imagery can be reduced to one basic statement: properly imagery must suit not only the genre but also the subject matter and the tone of the poem. This criterion of style, which was developed in successive stages, was influenced by the critical theories of Quintilian, Aristotle, Longinus, and Horace; it was confirmed and encouraged by the works of such contemporary French critics and scholars as Le Bossu, Rapin, and Boileau; but it was derived primarily from Dryden's own study of classical and modern authors, among whom Virgil was the greatest single influence.

In the "Epistle Dedicatory" to The Rival Ladies he describes the poet's imagination as "a faculty so wild and lawless, that like an high-ranging spaniel, it must have clogs

tied to it, lest it outrun the judgment," the clogs in this case being rhyme.[1] Three years later in the preface to Annus Mirabilis he uses the same figure: here the imagination "like a nimble spaniel, beats over and ranges through the field of memory, till it springs the quarry it hunted after . . . ."[2] In this second preface he also describes the function of the imagination: first it must find the thought (illustrated in the spaniel image), next it must mold that thought "as the judgment represents it proper to the subject," and finally it must dress the thought in "apt, significant, and sounding words."[3] These three steps he calls invention, fancy, and elocution[4] and gives to each a corresponding quality—quickness, fertility, and accuracy. In the "Epistle Dedicatory" Dryden had argued that rhyme served to bind and circumscribe the fancy. Now judgment begins to take control of the fancy; and herein lies the core of what is to become Dryden's theory of imagery, for judgment must pass on the suitability of the image to the style, tone, and matter. So it is that the proper wit of a heroic or historical poem consists in "the

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[1] Essays, I, 8.

[2] Ibid., p. 14.

[3] Ibid., p. 15.

[4] Dryden had previously used what he called the "school-distinction" in his definition of wit writing and wit written. Now he follows the classical rhetorician's traditional division: inventio, dispositio, and elocutio. Lillian Feder cites this division and a similar one in "A Parallel of Poetry and Painting" as evidence that the foundations of Dryden's critical system were grounded in the rhetorical theory of Cicero and Quintilian. "John Dryden's Use of Classical Rhetoric," PMLA, LXIX (1954), 1267.

delightful imagining of persons, actions, passions, or things."[1] Twice he underscores the difference in tone that distinguishes the epic from the heroic or historical poem: first, the heroic has "some lively and apt description, dressed in such colours of speech, that it sets before your eyes the absent object, as perfectly, and more delightfully than nature" whereas "the morality of a grave sentence" often marks the style of the epic;[2] and second, although the same images may serve the epic as well as the historic and panegyric, sublimity and dignity are more proper to the first, softness and tenderness to the other two.[3] Defending on these grounds the expressions and the smoothness of measure in a poem he had written to the Duchess of York, he quotes from Horace, Nunc non erat his locus, as he answers the critics who complained that the poem lacked height of fancy and dignity of words.[4] More than a decade was to pass before Dryden reduced the three functions of the imagination to a compact critical statement that was to guide not only his own creative functions but also his judgments and opinions of modern and ancient writers and their works. In "The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic Licence" (1677) he defends the lofty language which he feels proper to heroic poetry, a position he sums up in his definition of wit

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[1] Essays, I, 14.
[2] Ibid., p. 15.
[3] Ibid., p. 18.
[4] Ibid., p. 19.

as "a propriety of thoughts and words; or, in other terms, thoughts and words elegantly adapted to the subject."[1] This definition, which embraces all three functions of the imagination and suggests the pervasive influence of the judgment, becomes Dryden's guide in his choice of imagery.

The exact roles of judgment and fancy in the function of the imagination became a point of considerable interest during the period. Dryden always seemed to think of fancy as restrained by the judgment although he never gave judgment the major role as some of his contemporaries did. For instance, in answer to Davenant's preface to Gondibert, Thomas Hobbes had associated judgment with the strength and structure of a poem, fancy with the ornaments,[2] then in the following year coupled the two more closely by asserting,

> In a good Poem, whether it be Epique, or Dramatique; as also in Sonnets, Epigrams, and other Pieces, both Judgement and Fancy are required; But the Fancy must be more eminent; because they please for the Extravagancy; but ought not to displease by Indiscretion."[3]

Apparently not greatly influenced by either of these positions, Dryden did not draw the lines so precisely. However, in 1675 when Hobbes, in the "Preface to Homer's Odysses," listed "Elevation of Fancie" as one of the virtues of a

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[1] Ibid., p. 190.

[2] J. E. Spingarn (ed.), Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century (3 vols.; Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1908-1909), II, 59.

[3] Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan ("Everyman's Library"; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1950), p. 56.

heroic poem, Dryden must have been struck by the similarity to what he himself had said in the preface to Annus Mirabilis.

During this same time the question of fancy and judgment also played an important part in what has been called "a cold war of prefaces, conducted with diplomatic civility" between Dryden and Thomas Shadwell, the ardent admirer of Ben Jonson. At one point in the battle Dryden admitted that judgment was necessary to the writer of serious plays, but, he said, ". . . 'tis fancy that gives the life-touches, and the secret graces to it; especially in serious plays, which depend not much on observation."[1] On the other hand, he felt that the poet who wrote comedy needed little fancy to shape the observations of the ridiculous and the pleasant folly of man. To this Shadwell replied, in the preface to The Humorists, "Fancy rough-draws, but judgment smooths and finishes; nay, judgment does in deed comprehend wit, for no man can have that who has not wit."[2] Obviously Dryden and the strict neoclassicists differed in their interpretations of the function of the imagination.

More important that Davenant's and Hobbes' comments on fancy and judgment or the "war of the prefaces" was the influence exerted on Dryden's theory of imagery by Rymer's translation of Rapin's Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote

[1] Essays, I, 146-147.

[2] Spingarn, op. cit., II, 159.

et sur les ouvrages des poètes anciens et modernes and Boileau's Art Poétique and translation of Longinus, both of which appeared in 1674. Since Dryden evidently discovered Longinus through Boileau's translation,[1] it is almost certain that he read Art Poétique, which was published in the volume with the translation.[2] Although Clark has said that it is questionable whether Boileau as a critic had any appeal for Dryden at this time, a later critic has suggested that Dryden did find corroboration in the Art Poétique of his own ideas concerning the method of reconciling words and thoughts to each other and to subject matter.[3] The question of Longinus' influence is another matter. Here was a classical writer who offered support to an idea that Dryden had been interested in for nearly ten years; however, before looking at the influence of Longinus, it is necessary to see what progress Dryden had made in his theory between 1667 and 1674.

Dryden's theory of imagery first began to take definite shape in the preface to Annus Mirabilis where he looked often to Horace's Ars Poetica for support, and it was developed during the years principally through his study of

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[1]Dryden's reference to Longinus in "The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic Licence" in 1677 is the earliest dated reference to the Greek philosopher in English literature. A. F. B. Clark, Boileau and the French Classical Critics in England (Paris, 1925), p. 6.

[2]Frank L. Huntley, "Dryden's Discovery of Boileau," Modern Philology, XLV (1947), p. 115.

[3]Ibid., p. 117.

Virgil and other classical writers. Following Annus Mirabilis his critical essays and prefaces for the next several years were devoted primarily to dramatic criticism since his interest for the most part lay in the theater. In 1672 he returned once more to consideration of the heroic poem led by his belief that the heroic play should be an imitation of it. At the same time he brought his theory nearer to the ultimate position reached in "The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry" (1677), for in "Defence of the Epilogue" (1672) he distinguished between wit in the general sense of imagination or poetical genius and wit "in the stricter sense, that is, sharpness of conceit."[1] Using wit as the measuring stick, he commented on two great Elizabethan dramatists. Shakespeare, he said, was

> so far from writing wit always, or expressing that wit according to the dignity of the subject, that he writes, in many places, below the dullest writer of ours, or any precedent age. Never did any author precipitate himself from such height of thought to so low expressions, as he often does.[2]

Jonson, on the other hand, wrote as his characters required; his subjects did not demand a lofty style, but, says Dryden, ". . . even folly itself, well represented, is wit in a larger signification; and . . . there is fancy, as well as judgment, in it, though not so much or noble."[3] Only when Jonson uses wit in the "stricter sense," when he falls into

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[1] Essays, I, 172. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

"the lowest and most grovelling kind of wit, which we call clenches," does he draw Dryden's fire.[1] So it is that Dryden's notion of propriety is becoming evident in his dramatic criticism.

Further comments on the interdependence of thoughts and words appear in the preface and postscript to "Notes and Observations to The Empress of Morocco" (1674), a scurrilous attack on Elkanah Settle written by Shadwell, John Crowne, and Dryden.[2] In the preface Settle is condemned for having no judgment; the little talent allowed him is fancy. Yet since the common audience thinks that "all which rumbles is heroic," Settle passes for a great artist—all of which illustrates Dryden's belief that the judgment must have some control over the fancy.[3] In the postscript Dryden returns to the attack by condemning the extravagant use of fancy and poetical licence by denying the plea of poetica licentia to

> . . . weak professors of that art, who are commonly given over to a mist of fancy, a buzzing of invention, and a

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[1] Ibid., p. 173. Censuring Dryden for not being more conversant with the language, customs, and manners of the Elizabethan period, Malone points out that what Dryden called "clenches" was in the Elizabethan period considered "sterling wit." Edmond Malone (ed.), The Critical and Miscellaneous Works of John Dryden, Now First Collected (3 vols. in 4; London, 1800), I, ii, 244.

[2] Malone's opinion, based on internal evidence, is that Dryden wrote the preface, a passage in the body, and the postscript, a conclusion that has been accepted by later scholars. Malone, op. cit., II, 276.

[3] The Works of John Dryden, ed. Sir Walter Scott, rev. ed. George Saintsbury (18 vols.; London: William Patterson & Co., 1892), XV, 400. Hereafter cited as Works.

> sound of something like sense, and have no use of judgment. . . . The licentious wildness and extravagance of such men's conceits have made poetry contemned by some, though it be very unjust for any to condemn the science for the weakness of some of the professors.[1]

And he concludes that poets who are given over only to fancy are little better than madmen.[2] Dryden does not denounce boldness in a poet but only the lack of judgment that allows imagery to degenerate into conceits of "licentious wildness and extravagance." Thus he says that when fancy is too active it rages, "but when cooled and allayed by the judgment, produces admirable effects."[3] Since the publication of Annus Mirabilis, it is evident that Dryden has begun to place more and more weight on the judgment in the function of the imagination, even though he has not made it so important as Hobbes has on occasion. Not only does judgment control the molding of the thought but it guides the selection of suitable words to dress out the thought. In serious plays, for instance, judgment must see that the imagery is proper for the lofty style; in comedy, however, it may relax and let fancy have freer movement. The combination of a luxuriant fancy and a ripe judgment will produce a matchless effect. This is the

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[1] Ibid., p. 405.

[2] Even though Dryden scholars have followed Malone in accepting the preface and postscript of "Notes and Observations" as Dryden's, it seems possible that Shadwell may have written the postscript, for his position on the relationship between fancy and judgment, as expressed in the preface to The Humorists, is very close to the position taken here.

[3] Works, XV, 405-406.

position at which Dryden had arrived in 1674.

Sometime between the publication of the attack on Settle and the appearance of "The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry" in 1677, Dryden evidently read Boileau's translation of Longinus. Through 1674 Horace and his theory of decorum had been Dryden's principal guide as he developed his critical views of language, tone, and style; but he had carried his own theory beyond Horace and the general idea of literary propriety. The immediate occasion of "The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry" was a defense of the lofty style he had used in The State of Innocence and Fall of Man; An Opera in Heroic Verse, based on Milton's Paradise Lost. In the apology the argument moves with precision. First he reminds his critics of the high place given heroic poetry by the ancients, who found an elevated style proper for the epic. Distinguishing between the boldness and the rashness of a poet, he points out that "the boldest strokes of poetry, when they are managed artfully, are those which most delight the reader."[1] And he cites Virgil and Horace, who frequently used hard metaphors and strong hyperboles and still pleased the ages. He is certain that figures of speech (here he means rhetorical figures) and tropes even though bold expressions can be "managed by the coolness and discretion which is necessary to a poet."[2] Then he sums up his argument:

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[1] Essays, I, 133. [2] Ibid., p. 136.

> From that which has been said, it may be collected, that the definition of Wit (which has been so often attempted, and ever unsuccessfully by many poets) is only this: that it is a propriety of thoughts and words; or, in other terms, thoughts and words elegantly adapted to the subject . . . . No man will disagree from another's judgment concerning the dignity of style in Heroic Poetry; but all resonable men will conclude it necessary, that sublime subjects ought to be adorned with the sublimest, and consequently often with the most figurative expressions.[1]

Dryden had now arrived at a full statement of a theory that he had begun to develop in the preface to Annus Mirabilis; it was now to be a guide for the rest of his poetical career.[2] Its origin lay in his study of the best of the ancients and moderns, a study out of which grew conclusions supported by Horace and confirmed by some of the contemporary French classical critics. His theory was crystallized by the authoritative statements of Longinus, which he used freely in "The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry," the apogee of his critical thinking on figurative language and poetical style. Allan H. Gilbert in the notes to his translation of Longinus has pointed out ten specific instances in which Dryden borrowed directly from the Greek critic or was

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[1] Ibid., p. 190.

[2] Daniel Judson Milburn has pointed out that Dryden's definition also had considerable influence among his contemporaries and successors, including especially Hobbes, John Sheffield, John Hughes, Corbyn Morris, and Pope; see, e.g., his chapter on "Decorum and the Truth of Wit" in "Important Aspects of Wit: 1650-1750" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of English, University of Oklahoma, 1953).

influenced by him.[1] There are, however, several other occasions not noted by Gilbert. Among these the ones directly related to Dryden's idea of propriety are the following: ". . . the thought and the diction of a literary composition are mutually dependent" (iv. 33. 63.); ". . . majesty in diction is not always to be desired: to array petty affairs in noble and stately words would be as though one put a great tragic mask on a puny child" (iv. 33. 63.); ". . . a writer must know where to set the limit in each case, for he may ruin his hyperbole by going too far. . . ." (iv. 38. 80.); "triviality in words also depresses a great passage" (v. 43. 89.); "in lofty passages we should not descend to the sordid and mean unless forced by some strong necessity, but should take care that our words fit the dignity of our subjects . . . ." (v. 43. 91.).[2] Longinus finds that excellence in style results from the poet's ability to grasp great ideas when he is led by an inspired emotion; this innate quality is in turn assisted by elements that come from art: the formation of rhetorical figures; the use of notable language, including homely and ornate words and such figures of speech as metaphor and hyperbole; and the orderly arrangement of words. There is a great deal of similarity between Longinus' sources of literary excellence and Dryden's description of

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[1]Allan H. Gilbert (ed.), Literary Criticism: Plato to Dryden (New York: American Book Company, 1940), pp. 146-198.

[2]Gilbert's translation.

the function of the imagination, for Dryden believed that the invention, or the finding of the thought, came from an inborn gift; that the molding of the thought in figurative language and dressing the thought in proper words were things the poet learned by imitating nature and her interpreters. If the genre demanded a lofty style, the imagery should reflect the dignity of the subject; if the subject was lower, the exercise of the fancy should be lower and not so noble. In either case, the poetical faculty was determined by the degree of propriety between thought and words.

Horace and Longinus were important, but they were not the only classical writers who influenced Dryden's ideas of style. As his references and quotations show, the works of Aristotle, Quintilian, and Cicero, among others, were well known to him. Under Dr. Richard Busby of Westminister School Dryden had developed a taste for ancient Greek and Roman writers, a taste that he continued to cultivate for the rest of his life. Commenting on Dryden's knowledge of the classics, Gilbert Highet, an eminent classical scholar, has said:

> Both the style of his prefaces and prose writings, and the frequent quotations in them, made without affectation, show that he knew ancient literature familiarly and held it dear. His translations from Roman and Greek classics are of a purity rare at any time, and of a range which many professional scholars could not now equal.[1]

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[1]Gilbert Highet, The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences in Western Literature (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 295.

Dryden's interest in language and style must have been stimulated by what he read in the Roman rhetoricians. Many writers of the Restoration, in fact, had a lively interest in the rhetorical treatises, among them Hobbes, who published a brief of Aristotle's Rhetoric in 1681. Moreover, the common ground of rhetoric and poetic lies in diction, one of Dryden's major interests, and in going to the rhetoricians for support he was merely following traditional sources sought by the preceding age. The Renaissance theory of poetry has been called rhetorical in its obsession with style, especially the figures of speech;[1] thus it is natural that such influences should be seen in one who has been named "the pithecanthropus erectus of the Renaissance and the Age of Reason."[2] To cite one example, Dryden must have been familiar with Quintilian's theory that propriety determines the choice of imagery for the level of style. On one occasion Qunitilian wrote, "Seemly ornament must be varied to suit the subject" (viii. 3. 11.); on another, "Correct tradition states that clearness mainly requires proper words, and ornament requires the use of metaphors, but we must recognize that without

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[1]Donald L. Clark, Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance: A Study of Rhetorical Terms in English Renaissance Literary Criticism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922), p. 100.

[2]Ruth Wallerstein, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1950), p. 6.

propriety ornament is nothing" (viii. 3. 15.).[1] Although such remarks as these were probably useful to Dryden, they were not the immediate source, for it will be remembered that the classical foundation of his theory was basically Horatian.

Aristotle too had his place of influence. Professor Noyes' notes to the Cambridge edition of the poems show how much Dryden depended upon Rapin's Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote for much of his Aristotelian material. Noyes suggests that Dryden took his idea of propriety from Rapin, who in turn had used Demetrius Phalereus as his source.[2] It has already been shown, however, that Dryden's notion of propriety had been formed by the time Rapin's work appeared. It is true that between 1674 and 1677 Dryden settled on a concise definition of wit; it is also evident that during this same period Dryden read Boileau's translation of Longinus and Rapin's work on Aristotle either in the original or in Rymer's translation. Thus, not the idea but the crystallization of the idea into epigrammatic form may be credited to the influence of Rapin as well as Longinus. One final comment remains and the history of Dryden's notion of propriety is finished. Almost twenty years after "The Author's Apology

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[1] The Institutio Oratoria of Marcus Fabius Quintilianus: With an English Summary and Concordance, trans. Charles Edgar Little (2 vols.; Nashville, Tennessee: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1951).

[2] George R. Noyes (ed.), The Poetical Works of Dryden ("Cambridge Edition"; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1950), p. 978. Hereafter cited as Poems.

for Heroic Poetry," Dryden wrote in his "Life of Lucian":

> If wit consists in the propriety of thoughts and words (which I imagined I had first found out, but since am pleasingly convinced that Aristotle has made the definition in other terms), then Lucian's thoughts and words are always proper to his characters and his subject.[1]

There is no reason to believe that Dryden was speaking other than the truth when he said that he thought the idea was originally his own. And his admission in the preface to Sylvae (1685) that he drew his definition of poetical wit from his particular consideration of Virgil—"for propriety of thoughts and words are only to be found in him; and where they are proper they will be delightful"—is the acknowledgement of what has been self-evident since the preface to Annus Mirabilis.[2] Indeed, Virgil's influence was so great that whenever Dryden had a subject that suggested the epic narrative, he invariably used Virgilian allusions and phrases that gave an epic tone to his own composition.[3] Steady adherence to a critical belief held throughout his entire literary career was reaffirmed in the preface to the Fables (1700) when his final considered opinion was once again that Virgil's chief talent was "propriety of thoughts, and ornament of words."[4]

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[1] Works, XVIII, 75.

[2] Essays, I, 256.

[3] Ruben A. Brower, "Dryden's Epic Manner and Virgil," PMLA, LV (1940), 138.

[4] Essays, II, 251.

II

Dryden's notion of propriety assumed a position of major importance, for he used it as a basis for general critical remarks and for particular judgments of individual writers. Epistles, satire, drama, heroic poetry, and narrative verse as well as the writers of these genres came under his scrutiny. Not only did the propriety of thoughts and words become the "hidden beauties of a play,"[1] but such propriety was deemed necessary for every kind of poetry, including opera. A discussion of this latter point in the preface to Albion and Albanius (1685) included one of his most detailed explanations, which showed that propriety of thought was either intuitively or logically discerned:

> Propriety of thought is that fancy which arises naturally from the subject, or which the poet adapts to it. Propriety of words is the clothing of those thoughts with such expressions as are naturally proper to them; and from both these, if they are judiciously performed, the delight of poetry results.[2]

He believed that the poet who was "witty out of season" had left "the imitation of Nature, and the cooler dictates of his judgment, for the false applause of Fancy."[3] Such was Ovid on occasion, but in the Epistles—"the most perfect pieces of Ovid"—the poet's "tenderly passionate and courtly" style suited well the matter of heroines and lovers, and when his characters were lower, as in OEnone and Hero, he kept close

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[1] Ibid., I, 248.

[2] Ibid., p. 270.

[3] Ibid., p. 234.

to nature by drawing his images from country life.[1]

Since Dryden considered satire a division of heroic poetry, he felt that even if the subject was trivial the verse should be noble. Boileau, who Dryden said imitated Virgil's fourth Georgic in the Lutrin, was praised for raising the lowness of his subject by lofty words. "Here is the majesty of the heroic," he writes, "finely mixed with the venom of the other; and raising the delight which otherwise would be flat and vulgar, by the sublimity of expression."[2] For Dryden this was "the most beautiful, and most noble kind of satire."[3] Meanness of words and vulgarity of expression, the characteristics of a low familiar way of speech, had no place in his conception of satire.[4] Although Horace constantly adapted his style to his subject, either high or low, Dryden felt that there was too much lowness in his satires. When Horace wished, however, he could raise his style, for in the satire on poetry addressed to Augustus there is dignity in the words as well as elegancy in the numbers. Persius' faults were many. His diction was too hard, his figures were usually too bold and daring, and "his tropes, particularly his metaphors, insufferably strained."[5] Dryden objected so strongly to these failings that in his translation of Persius he was careful to avoid the Roman's hard metaphors and forced

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[1] Ibid., p. 236. [2] Ibid., II, 108.
[3] Ibid. [4] Ibid., p. 101. [5] Ibid., p. 70.

expressions. Among the classical satirists only Juvenal appeared to meet Dryden's measuring stick of propriety even though he was sometimes too luxuriant and redundant. "His expressions are sonorous and more noble [than Horace's]," Dryden concluded; "his verse more numerous, and his words are suitable to his thoughts, sublime and lofty."[1]

In drama as well as in satire Dryden weighs the propriety of thoughts and words. "The purity of phrase, the clearness of conception and expression, the boldness maintained to majesty, the significancy and sound of words, not strained into bombast, but justly elevated"—these Dryden calls "the silent graces" which the viewer may miss when the play is acted, for "the propriety of thoughts and words, which are the hidden beauties of a play, are but confusedly judged in the vehemence of action. . . ."[2] Almost ten years later he followed theory with action. When his tragedy Don Sebastian was found to be too long for acting, more than twelve hundred lines were cut, lines containing "the most poetical parts, which are descriptions, images, similitudes, and moral sentences."[3] This led him to comment on the great difference between seeing a play and reading it: the reader "can take up the book, and lay it down at his pleasure, and

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[1] Ibid., p. 85. [2] Ibid., I, 248.

[3] Works, VII, 308. Dryden says in the preface to Don Sebastian that Betterton cut the lines so that "the connection of the story was not lost." Ibid., p. 309. The lines were restored in the printed play.

find out those beauties of propriety in thought and writing which escaped him in the tumult and hurry of representing."[1] Thus while maintaining propriety the playwright is faced by technical as well as aesthetic limitations. In the classical tradition Dryden excludes similes from tragedy although he admits them to comedy; metaphor, he concludes, is almost all the stage can suffer. He warns that in aiming at the naturally pompous and magnificent style of tragedy, the poet without judgment may end up with a swelling puffy style that looks like greatness, but the lofty style of tragedy is not truly sublime unless it is "just and proper."[2] Although Dryden has much to say about the excellencies or shortcomings of dramatists, both ancient and modern, it is interesting to single out once again some of his comments about Shakespeare's style now that he has brought his idea of propriety to full bloom. He can praise the scene between Brutus and Cassius in Julius Caesar because the passions are natural, the thoughts arise from the matter, and the expression of the thoughts is not "viciously figurative"; but even though Shakespeare can be admired for "his beauties and the heights," he sometimes falls into carelessness.[3] Since Dryden hesitates to say that such a great poet can not distinguish between "the blown puffy style" and true sublimity, he excuses him by concluding that

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[1] Ibid., p. 308.

[2] Essays, I, 246.

[3] Ibid., 226.

the "fury of his fancy" carried him beyond the bounds of judgment.[1]

As for heroic poetry, the dignity of the style demands that "sublime subjects ought to be adorned with the sublimest, and consequently often with the most figurative expressions."[2] Though the simile has been banished from tragedy, it is entirely suitable for heroic poetry where it raises the admiration, its proper business; but even here it must not be drawn out to unreasonable lengths. Believing that it lay within the power of metaphors to lessen or greaten anything, he compares bold metaphors to strong glowing colors. "Both," he says, "must be judiciously applied; for there is a difference betwixt daring and fool-hardiness."[3] Virgil knew this, but not Lucan or Statius. Hard metaphors and farfetched expressions, strained conceits and jingles—these glittering trifles he finds nauseous in a serious poem because they are unnatural.[4] The moderns also failed to measure up to the criterion set by Dryden: Ariosto's style was "luxurious, without majesty or decency" and Tasso's sometimes too lyrical or full of conceits and witticisms which were not only below the dignity of heroic verse, but contrary to its nature.[5] As always it was Virgil to whom he returned. The Roman poet's elegance of expression and

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[1] Ibid., p. 224. [2] Ibid., p. 190.
[3] Ibid., II, 149. [4] Ibid., p. 256. [5] Ibid., p. 27.

harmony of numbers had long given pleasure to Dryden, who tried in his translations to keep as near him as he could "without losing all his graces, the most eminent of which are in the beauty of his words; and those words . . . are always figurative."[1] Virgil's judgment never failed him, for he knew when to lay by the pencil, as it were, a gift that Horace and Chaucer also had. As in painting, says Dryden in "A Parallel of Poetry and Painting," parts of a poem must be amply written with elegance and force while others must be cast into the shadows or but faintly touched.[2] Such decisions rest with the judgment, a controlling factor in establishing propriety of thought and words and suiting them to the style of the genre. Virgil, Horace, Chaucer—those poets whom Dryden most admired—possessed this "ripe judgment," the restraining force as the fancy molded the thought and dressed it in proper words.

Chaucer, to whom Dryden came rather late, measures up to Dryden's criterion. Though Chaucer and Ovid both understood the passions, Chaucer follows nature more closely and writes with more simplicity than Ovid, who is often condemned for his copiousness of wit. When Chaucer's thoughts are measured only by their propriety, they pass the test with high honors. Palamon and Arcite receives high praise for its epic qualities, although all the selections in the Canterbury

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[1] Ibid., p. 228. [2] Ibid., p. 151.

Tales merit special approval for Chaucer's ability to suit words to characters and to subject matter.[1] In Chaucer Dryden finds no conceits and jingles, which are ruled out of a serious poem because they are unnatural. It is not that Dryden objected to conceits in their place, but, he felt, their use should be guided by the coolness of the judgment. He discovered, for instance, that by 1700 Cowley's reputation had sunk because of lack of judgment: ". . . he could never forgive any conceit which came in his way; but swept like a drag-net, great and small."[2] Once he had defended Cowley's images against the charge of fustian. Over the years, however, this staunch support had gradually weakened, and even before that remark in the preface to the Fables, he had censured Cowley, along with Donne, for affecting the metaphysic in amorous verse.

So it is that Dryden's notion of propriety has led him to recast some of his earlier literary judgments; for when he expanded his definition to embrace all kinds of poetry, he was forced by necessity to include the various levels of style. The lofty style, still the one that receives the greatest praise, finds within its range the heroic, the panegyric, the historical poem, and most satire and tragedy. Next comes the "legislative style," a term of Dryden's own choosing; it is plain and natural yet majestic,

[1] Ibid., p. 262. [2] Ibid., p. 258.

suited for instruction rather than pleasure. He finds his model in Horace's Epistles: the loose, discursive, and sometimes personal writing that informs rather than gives pleasure seemed designed especially for "Religio Laici" and the second part of "The Hind and the Panther." "The florid, elevated, and figurative way is for the passions," explains Dryden, not for instruction.[1] The familiar style, described by him as being more free and familiar than the heroic and legislative styles, uses figurative language suitable to the tone. It is the vehicle of narrative verse, of many of the prologues and epilogues, and of certain types of satire. These three styles may be combined, as in Lucretius, who uses the sublime and the legislative styles. There is loftiness of expression in the beginnings and endings of the various books of De Rerum Natura, but in the body the barrenness of the subject constrains the quickness of the fancy, for here his aim is to instruct rather than delight.[2] Virgil can maintain majesty in the midst of plainness, and Dryden himself uses all three styles in the different parts of "The Hind and the Panther."

As for propriety in translations, Dryden sought to capture the spirit of his author whether it was generated by the copiousness of the poet's wit or reflected in an almost inexhaustible stock of figurative, elegant, and sounding

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[1] Poems, p. 162. [2] Essays, I, 260.

words: from Ovid to Virgil he endeavored to follow the style of his poet in order to give to the reader as near as possible the feeling of the original. Through his method of "translating with latitude" he expended his own creative powers on the works of his poets by changing words and amplifying the originals without altering the meaning. He sometimes added his own images that grew out of hints in the original, or he expanded figures in the spirit of the original. For certain poets—Juvenal and Persius, Virgil in the Georgics, and Lucretius—his touch is almost infallible as he fits the proper wit to each type of verse. Working together to form an artistic whole, appropriate metaphors conform to the various themes, and the sources of his images are adapted to the matter. Those translations that are least satisfactory, such as Virgil's Pastorals and Theocritus' Idylls, do not catch the spirit of the original poet in either thoughts or words.

Dryden himself performed with amazing skill in almost every poetic genre, using as he did so the rule of propriety as a guide in his choice of imagery. He may well have been Aristotle's man of talent chastened by discipline instead of his man of high natural genius; nevertheless, Dryden did have the attributes he so generously found in John Dennis: "the Sublimity of Sense as well as Sound," and the judgment to know "how far the Boldness of a Poet may lawfully

extend."[1] That he sometimes failed to achieve what he wished to is made only too clear by his own confession. More than once he passed beyond the bounds set by judgment, a fault he was fully aware of. Such images are, he pointed out on one occasion, the product of a luxuriant fancy or the wantonness of wit, and he asked that they be accepted as "beautiful faults." The critics, especially those of the late nineteenth century, have been reluctant to do so. James Russell Lowell often found in Dryden's worst images "a vividness that half excuses them. But it is a grotesque vividness, as from the flare of a bonfire. They do not flash into sudden lustre, as in the great poets, where the imaginations of poet and reader leap toward each other and meet half-way."[2] Matthew Arnold is even less charitable. Lumping together Dryden, Pope, and "all their school," he contends that their language functions merely as the common language of prose by recalling the object and "then dressing it out with a certain smartness and brilliancy for the fancy and understanding."[3] Nearer our own times, in a somewhat similar vein expressed with less restraint and elegance, A. E. Housman charges that Dryden's mature works are the most potent influence in what he calls

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[1] The Letters of John Dryden with Letters Addressed to Him, ed. Charles E. Ward (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1942), p. 72. Hereafter cited as Letters.

[2] James Russell Lowell, "Dryden," Literary Essays (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910), III, 129.

[3] Matthew Arnold, "Thomas Gray," Essays in Criticism: Second Series (London: Macmillan and Co., 1905), p. 96.

"sham poetry," a counterfeit deliberately manufactured and offered as a substitute for genuine poetry.[1] Joseph Wood Krutch, an admirer of Pope, finds that Dryden "often strives to surprise and shock" by using words and images that are "grotesque rather than decorous."[2] Of all recent criticism Mark Van Doren's sweeping charges against Dryden's imagery appear the most extreme. "In no piece," he says, "did Dryden ever display a happy gift for turning up images. He speaks from time to time of difficulties encountered in curbing a luxuriant fancy. But it is plain that the difficulties were never real."[3] Moreover, he suggests "laborious" as the proper word for Dryden's fancy, a word suitable for a poet who "pursues with heavy steps the flashing heels of fancy."[4] According to Van Doren, Dryden's genius lay not in his imaginative resources but in his metrical skill, in his ability to adapt his rhythmical emphasis to his meaning. If one may believe Dryden himself, the hundreds of images in his poetry did spring from a luxuriant fancy, not a laborious one. A detailed study of these images will show not only that they

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[1]A. E. Housman, The Name and Nature of Poetry (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), p. 13.

[2]Joseph Wood Krutch, "Pope and Our Contemporaries," Pope and His Contemporaries: Essays Presented to George Sherburn, ed. J. L. Clifford and L. A. Lana (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 252.

[3]Mark Van Doren, John Dryden: A Study of His Poetry (3d ed.; New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1946), p. 33.

[4]Ibid., p. 36.

fit the tone, the subject, and the genre of the various poems in accordance with his definition of poetical wit, but that his notion of propriety is a major determinant in the function of his critical judgment and in his imaginative power, intellectual control, and poetic insight.

III

At the beginning of his poetical career and long before he began to formulate his theory of imagery, Dryden fell into the strain of metaphysical wit that marked him a follower of the fashion of the times, not necessarily of Donne and Cowley in particular.[1] Eventually the metaphysical influence almost disappeared, but occasionally, as Krutch has noted, he was to develop through ambiguities or concordia discors some of his best and most characteristic effects.[2] In his first published poem, "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings" (1649), his luxuriant fancy was in full charge; the controlling hand of judgment had yet to make its appearance. Yet even in this first poem, written before he was eighteen, he revealed an instinctive feeling for aesthetic form.[3]

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[1] Edward N. Hooker and H. T. Swedenberg, Jr. (eds.), Poems 1649-1680, Vol. I of The Works of John Dryden (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956), p. 175.

[2] Krutch, op. cit., p. 252.

[3] It has been suggested that in this poem Dryden combined three traditional types in a harmonious framework for his diverse imagery: the classical lament, the theological elegy, and the praise of character. Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 129.

He has crowded his 108-line poem with fifty images drawn predominantly from the field of Learning—the classics, religion, science, and the law.[1] Puns, absurd hyperboles, and strained conceits that violate the decorum of the age reduce the whole to a ridiculous and extravagant performance. Moving nervously through the first twenty-six lines, he draws figures from seven different sources before he settles on a combination of celestial bodies and science in lines twenty-seven through fifty. The celestial imagery, after being interrupted by the unfortunate references to the smallpox as rose buds, gems, and wailing little pimples, is continued in the lines

> No comet need foretell his change drew on,
> Whose corpse might seem a constellation,[2]
> (65-66)

which act as a link between the second and third group of images. Hyperbole dominates part of a fourth group of figures. Here Dryden finds in the death of Hastings "an universal metempsuchosis" involving the souls of Cato,

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[1]The imagery in Dryden's nondramatic poetry is classified under eight major headings used by Caroline F. Spurgeon in Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936).

[2]Dr. Johnson points out that line 66 is also a reference to the smallpox as stars. Samuel Johnson, Lives of the English Poets, ed. Arthur Waugh (2 vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1952), I, 236.

Unless otherwise noted all lines of Dryden's poetry cited in this paper are from The Poetical Works of John Dryden, ed. George R. Noyes ("Cambridge Edition"; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1950).

Caesar, Seneca, and Numa (lines 69-74). Then working with customary speed, he dashes through three figures in rapid fashion: a commonplace comparison of death and the seasons, a quick glance at the Phoenix, and a shift to "three-legg'd graybeards." This particular series will serve as well as any other to illustrate an underlying unity found in such diverse figures. The word "Phoenix" must have suggested "Sphinx," and out of this association grew the metonomy of "three legg'd" as part of the answer to the riddle solved by Oedipus. As a matter of fact, the entire fourth division (lines 67-92) is held together by the Phoenix image which now becomes the radial center toward which the idea of transmigration points and from which stems the climactic fifth division (lines 93-108) concerning "the greater than Platonic" marriage between Hastings' soul and Hastings' betrothed, an ingenious conclusion though not a very comforting one. Although purely conjectural, such an association does suggest that broken patterns are formed throughout the poem even though there is no organic totality of imagery. Thus the sources of imagery separate the poem into the following five divisions:

1. Mixture of personification, classical, and Biblical (lines 1-27).
2. Celestial (lines 28-46).
    a. Linking 1 and 2 through nature and classical (lines 47-52).
3. Conceit: physical appearance of smallpox (lines 53-64).
    a. Linking 2, 3, and 4 through celestial and body (lines 65-66).
4. Mixed figures centering on Phoenix and transmigration (lines 67-92).
5. Marriage image (lines 93-108).

Horrible example though it is, "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings" does show that Dryden is attempting to suit his imagery to the subject and tone by following the customary fulsome and extravagant praise of the panegyric. In keeping with the mood of dignity and nobility he is endeavoring to establish, Dryden uses as his dominant classification Learning, in which the majority of the figures are Classical (Chart 1). In fact, over half of the images in the poem fall into two of eight major classifications, Learning and Nature; no images are drawn from Animals, a heading that is never to rise very high in any of Dryden's poems. These images are those of the self-conscious poet, one who has neither the technical knowledge nor the sensitive perception demanded of the finished artist. His unfortunate selections and his failure to fuse images with the thought result in confusion and failure.

His next poem, "To John Hoddesdon, on His Divine Epigrams" (1650), is filled with images drawn principally from the general class of Learning under which the specific groups are once again Classical, Biblical, Literary, and Science (Chart 1). A first reading may indicate nothing more than an effort of the young poet to attain a lofty style suitable to a complimentary poem, but closer study reveals that the little poem, though unpolished and labored, has a pattern built primarily on imagery drawn from light. Following a neatly turned compliment in the opening lines, Dryden

fashions an extended metaphor (including a boxed simile) around Prometheus, developing the light imagery in such words as "celestial fire," "divine sparks," "rays," "bright luster," and, of course, "Prometheus-like" (lines 7-10). The next six lines combine a literary reference to Hoddesdon as the young eagle that looks into the sun to test his strength and a Biblical allusion to those who "look on the Sun of Righteousness" to test their worthiness. In a supporting role "celestial" and "divine" in the first figure unite with "lofty and divine course" in the eagle image and "heaven" and "grace" in the Christian reference. "Sun of Righteousness" becomes the central link in the pattern as it ties together the eagle and Prometheus figures and at the same time provides for the movement from Greek mythology through classical folklore to Christian symbolism. All are drawn together in a summary statement in literal terms that acts as a pivot couplet:

> What may we hope, if thou go'st on thus fast!
> Scriptures at first; enthusiasms at last!
> (17-18)

with "scriptures" picking up the Biblical reference and "enthusiasms" the poetical fervor suggested by the celestial fire of Prometheus as well as a possible suggestion of the fervent raptures of the Puritans who have felt the inner light.[1] The final lines,

> . . . looking on this pure gold

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[1]Hooker and Swedenberg, op. cit., p. 185.

> Thou 'lt know adult'rate copper, which, like this,
> Will only serve to be a foil to his,
> (24-26)

return to the light imagery in the suggested burnished quality of gold and copper, which reaches back to "bright luster" in line 10, and in the brilliancy in "foil." Typical of the complimentary poems of the period, this tribute to a friend reaches for the lofty style of tne panegyric through its imagery drawn from Learning. The figures of speech act as ornament; yet the young poet shows again an intuitive sense of aesthetic form as he attempts to make the imagery function in a harmonized pattern. The ludicrous picture suggested by "down" and "peep" in the lines addressed to a young eaglet is the only false note in the poem. In many ways the piece is an improvement over his first one, for he does manage to avoid such howling absurdities as pimples likened to rose buds, each one with a tear in it; and he has pulled his imagery together into a tighter frame.

The third of Dryden's early poems is a little eight-line verse placed at the conclusion of a letter to his cousin Honor Dryden. The letter as well as the poem abounds in forced conceits and witty figures that once again are typical of the age. The basic image of the virgin wax and the seal has been called indecent, even though long ago Malone pointed out that such conceits were much admired at the time and that "no reader of either sex, however

fastidious, was likely to be offended."[1]

These first three poems are the work of a schoolboy who shows a talent for turning out verse in accordance with prevailing taste. Imagery has a fascination for him, even at this early stage, and already he tries instinctively to make it function in some kind of pattern, although the result is far from the graceful, polished verse he was endeavoring to achieve. To trace John Dryden's imagery from the artificial and ornate tone of these early poems through the witty in the satires and prologues to the natural style of the Fables is to play more than a game of literary hare and hounds; rather it is to follow his growing technical skill, to watch the evolving of a style, to see the maturing of creative power, and to find that the pervasive influence of his idea of propriety informs every poem he wrote.

[1] Malone, op. cit., I, i, 26.

CHAPTER II

THE PUBLIC POEMS

I

Dryden's public poems[1] fall into two groups defined by the nature of their material, tone, style, and genre. Interestingly enough, these poems also fall into two groups in chronological order. The early poems, dominated by the panegyric, include "Heroic Stanzas" (1659), "Astraea Redux" (1660), "To His Sacred Majesty" (1661), "To My Lord Chancellor" (1662), and "Annus Mirabilis" (1667). Following "Annus Mirabilis" Dryden devoted himself to the stage for fourteen years; then within little more than twelve months he published five poems in rapid succession: "Absalom and Achitophel" (I) (November 1681), "The Medal" (March 1682), "Mac Flecknoe" (October 1682), "Absalom and Achitophel" (II) (November 10, 1682),[2] and "Religio Laici" (November 28, 1682).[2] These together with "Threnodia Augustalis" (1685), "The Hind and the

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[1] I am indebted to Mark Van Doren for this phrase.

[2] Hugh Macdonald gives the specific dates for "Absalom and Achitophel" (II) and "Religio Laici" with the note "on or just before." John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1939).

Panther" (1687), and "Britannia Rediviva" (1688) make up the later public poems, a group dominated by satire.

The restoration of the Stuarts to the throne of England signaled the beginning of a ten-year period filled with panegyrics extolling the virtues of the king and his government, a period that has been likened to the Roman silver age of panegyrical verse in the fourth century or to the fifteenth century of adulation in Italy.[1] Although Dryden's first early public poem is a patriotic elegy in honor of Oliver Cromwell, the other four are part of the wild surge of laudatory and congratulatory verse that engulfed the king with its spirit of jubilation and triumph. Since Dryden considered the panegyric a species of the heroic, he attempted to establish a tone of dignity and magnificence through sounding words and a profusion of images drawn principally from the general category of Learning (Chart 4). The leading specific source in all the early public poems except "To My Lord Chancellor" is Personification (Charts 5, 6, and 7) followed by Classical or Biblical and Religious images. These sources are in keeping with the high style demanded by classical tradition even though Dryden apparently had not yet learned from Virgil the difference between the glaring and glowing colors. Of this lavish expenditure Dr. Johnson has observed:

[1]Van Doren, op. cit., p. 109.

> He had all the forms of excellence, intellectual and moral, combined in his mind, with endless variation; and when he had scattered on the hero of the day the golden shower of wit and virtue, he had ready for him, whom he wished to court on the morrow, new wit and virtue with another stamp. . . . he considers the great as entitled to encomiastick homage, and brings praise rather as a tribute than a gift, more delighted with the fertility of his invention than mortified by the prostitution of his judgement.[1]

Although it is true that Dryden had not yet thought in terms of the judgment controlling his luxuriant fancy, a falling off in the concentration of images in the early poems is an indication that he was moving in that direction. In "Heroic Stanzas" the average is one image for every 2.9 lines; in "Annus Mirabilis," written as he began to form his idea of propriety, the average is one image for every 4.7 lines (Chart 21). Furthermore, the two panegyrics that appear in the later public poems, "Threnodia Augustalis" and "Britannia Rediviva," show a definite drop in the concentration of images per line (Chart 20). This is not to say that the decrease is entirely the result of exercising the judgment; yet it must indicate growing control on the part of the poet. Dr. Johnson, who will have it another way, says that in the "Threnodia" Dryden ". . . seems to look round him for images which he cannot find, and what he has he distorts by endeavouring to enlarge them."[2]

With some degree of success Dryden tries to fit the

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[1] Johnson, op. cit., p. 280.

[2] Ibid., p. 310.

wealth of imagery in "Heroic Stanzas" to subject matter. Even though the same type of figure that appeared in "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings" is used, the sources tend to sustain the tone of classical dignity and restraint, and the effect appears to be a more unified poem than the first. Striving to express the noblest elements in man, he chooses figures that reflect grandeur and strength: for animals he selects eagles and the lion; from history, Pompey and Alexander the Great; from mythology, Mars and Jove; from the home, the scale or balance,[1] one of his favorite figures. The general category of Nature furnishes stars, fountains, and springs. Here the images are almost as concentrated as they are in "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings" and "To His Friend John Hoddesdon" (Chart 21); and since they are drawn from a greater number of specific sources (25 groups), they show an even greater variety than that found in the first two poems. Despite the many different groups, the typical hyperbolic praise for the dead, and the lapses into the usual metaphysical conceits, there is a certain totality of effect. Even if the total effect is impaired by a still inadequate control, Dryden does have, on occasion, harmony of tone, thought, and image—a harmony that is to be constant in "Absalom and Achitophel." The individual references reflect a high level of seriousness; absent is the seesawing from the

[1]This could also be from science.

ridiculous to the sublime. Although he is determined to draw in bits of curious learning and is still enamoured of false wit, he touches some of his images with a grace of phrasing that promises much for the future; for instance

> And wars, like mists that rise against the sun,
> Made him but greater seem, not greater grow,
> (23-24)

and here a skillful reversal from the abstract to the concrete,

> When such heroic virtue Heav'n sets out,
> The stars, like commons, sullenly obey.
> (105-106)

One of his first scientific images has overtones of the Metaphysicals:

> His latest victories still thickest came,
> As near the center motion does increase;
> Till he, press'd down by his own weighty name,
> Did, like the vestal, under spoils decease,
> (133-136)

as does the conceit in

> We inward bled, whilst they prolong'd our pain;
> He fought to end our fighting, and assay'd
> To stanch the blood by breathing of the vein.
> (46-48)

The leading general category of images in "Heroic Stanzas" is Learning, followed by Nature and Daily Life; and the specific classes in order of frequency are Classical and Personification together in first place, followed by Science, Human Relations, and Classes (Chart 5). Even though there is a certain stiffness that comes from Dryden's inability to assimilate the image with the intent, the imagery does show

that he is developing a feeling for tone and is becoming more successful in fusing the two than he was in his first two poems. Of course, this is not a very good poem; it only appears so when set beside one like "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings."

"Astraea Redux," the first of Dryden's poems in praise of Charles II, illustrates an interesting experiment in the use of imagery adapted to the shifting moods within a poem. Personification, the greatest single source of imagery in this poem (Chart 5), does not carry so much weight as the Classical and Biblical and Religious sources, which follow next in order. The abstract qualities that are personified do not have the force of the true metaphor; rather they reflect the conventional phrasing characteristic of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The Classical images are divided almost evenly between mythological and historical allusions and, with one exception, are confined to the first two-thirds of the poem (lines 1-208). The first part describes conditions in England after the Stuarts were driven from the throne, Charles's stay abroad, signs of the coming restoration, and finally, the day of Charles's arrival. Interspersed with the Classical images are those drawn from Biblical and Religious sources, the whole setting up an interwoven pattern of strength, power, and authority through the Classical figures and of compassion, tenderness, and mercy through the Religious figures. Running through the pattern

are threads of color: the black clouds of war, the gray hair of age, the red blood of battle, and sacred purple of the bishops, the scarlet gowns of the peers, and the black star of evil, all culminating in a figure drawn from painting that describes the first hint of coming change:

> Yet as wise artists mix their colors so,
> That by degrees they from each other go:
> Black steals unheeded from the neighb'ring white,
> Without offending the well-cozen'd sight:
> So on us stole our blessed change, while we
> Th' effect did feel, but scarce the manner see.
> (125-130)

Following these lines is a concretion of images drawn from Nature, Learning (especially from the Bible and Religion), and Daily Life; then the first major section draws to a close with a number of classical historical allusions.

The second section (lines 209-249), which describes the immediate moment of Charles's arrival, is dominated almost entirely by sexual images that carry a tone of joyful anticipation and fulfillment: the jealous lovers "With double heat renew their fire again," "sudden ecstasies," "some unequal bride in nobler sheets," "The Swift-sure groans beneath great Gloc'ster's weight," "the halcyon breeds," and winds are "out of breath with joy." The second section ends with these four lines,

> The British Amphitrite, smooth and clear,
> In richer azure never did appear;
> Proud her returning prince to entertain
> With the submitted fasces of the main,
> (246-249)

which pick up in "British Amphitrite" and "submitted fasces"

the two types of classical allusions and, more important, include a color reference that extends the thread across to a description of the white cliffs of Dover in the third section,

> The land returns, and in the white it wears
> The marks of penitence and sorrow bears.
> (254-255)

This final section of "Astraea Redux" concentrates on Charles through a number of Biblical and religious images that suggest he is to be identified with Christ, the most obvious lines being

> That star that at your birth shone out so bright,
> It stain'd the duller sun's meridian light,
> Did once again its potent fires renew,
> Guiding our eyes to find and worship you.
> (288-291)

Edward N. Hooker and H. T. Swedenberg, Jr., in the most recent criticism of the poem find,

> . . . that much of the meaning of the poem is conveyed by allusions to, symbols of, and images derived from, the cardinal events of Christian faith, the Atonement and triumph over evil and the Resurrection. . . . Standing as the central figure in this drama is the newly restored King, the bridegroom of the nation whose absence both Church and state lamented. He is compared to David, who was, of course, a type of Christ.[1]

The case is somewhat overstated. The third section is undoubtedly meant to suggest Charles as a Christ-like figure, but the Hooker-Swedenberg conclusions ignore too many other elements in the poem. The final color thread is picked up in the beginning of the prophecy of the return of the golden

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[1]Hooker and Swedenberg, op. cit., pp. 218, 219.

age:

> And now Time's whiter series is begun,
> Which in soft centuries shall smoothly run:
> Those clouds that overcast your morn shall fly,
> Dispell'd to farthest corners of the sky.
> (292-295)

Here the black clouds of war and evil shall be dispersed by the fortunate happy years ahead.

In spite of a few false notes "Astraea Redux" is a fine poem. Dryden's classical and Christian images fit smoothly into the texture of the verse and show his increasing aesthetic control as he adjusts imagery to different moods within his first long poem. Although Saintsbury speaks highly of the piece he is annoyed by what he calls the clumsy use of "thus" and "as" and "like" to introduce similes.[1] The increase in the number of similes over the percent used in "Heroic Stanzas" (Chart 19) shows Virgil's influence; and Saintsbury is quite right when he makes his criticism, for Dryden has not yet learned to handle all of them gracefully, a fault he will rectify to a great extent in "Annus Mirabilis."

The two remaining panegyrics in the early public poems are not so important as the other three in the group, but they do suggest several developments in Dryden's imagery. Scott observes that "To His Sacred Majesty," a panegyric written in celebration of Charles's coronation, contains

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[1]George Saintsbury, John Dryden ("English Men of Letters"; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899), p. 30.

"many of those points of wit, and turns of epigram, which he condemned in his more advanced judgment,"[1] and Saintsbury comments that the modified conceits, here employed with judgment and taste, help "give to the heroic the colour and picturesqueness which after the days of Pope it too often lacked."[2] Once again Personification leads as the greatest single source of images, followed by Biblical allusions. Of more interest is the discovery that the leading general category in the coronation poem is Domestic (Chart 6) whereas Learning is first in all the other panegyrics including the two written in the period of the later public poems. Images from a variety of sources contribute to this singular occurrence: Fire and Light, Life and Death, Food and Drink, Sickness and Medicine, Bodily Action, Human Relations, and Household. It is also worth noting that in none of the other public poems does Domestic as a category rise higher than third place; its usual position is fifth or lower. An explanation of this unusual order lies in an answer that Dryden gives several years later to the critics who complained that his "Verses to Her Highness the Duchess" (1665) lacked height of fancy and dignity of words. Certain subjects, says Dryden, must be treated with "softness of expression" and "smoothness of measure" rather than with the "height of thought."[3]

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[1] Works, I, 42.

[2] Saintsbury, loc. cit., p. 32.

[3] Poems, p. 26.

Strangely enough the leading category in the Duchess poem is Daily Life followed by Imaginative and Learning, then Domestic and Nature in that order. Both the coronation poem and the one to the Duchess do have a lowered tone even though the style is still in the heroic manner. Commentators who have noted lack of spirit and force in the second poem in honor of Charles II may well seek the cause in the deliberate softening of tone on the part of the poet.

"To My Lord Chancellor"—written in honor of the birthday of the king's powerful adviser, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon—is full of ingenious and obscure images, many of which are drawn from Science, the greatest single source in the poem (Chart 6). This is the only panegyric in the public poems that does not have Personification first in the order of frequency of the specific classes. Science as a leading source also has an interesting effect on the type of figures of speech used, for of all the early public poems this one has the lowest percentage of personifications, even lower than in the two panegyrics in the later public poems (Chart 19). A look at Chart 21 shows that the high concentration of images, one for every 3.4 lines, puts the poem to Clarendon next to the one with the highest concentration, "Heroic Stanzas." To these four factors—science as the leading source of imagery, the low percentage of personification, a very high percentage of similes, and an increase in the concentration of figures—should be added Dr. Johnson's

observation on the material: "Into this poem he seems to have collected all his powers; and after this he did not often bring upon his anvil such stubborn and unmalleable thoughts; . . ."[1] This combination presents a problem in imagery that can be solved by applying Dryden's idea of propriety, an idea that he has not yet stated although it is beginning instinctively to inform his poetry. The poem is a panegyric that honors a learned man who courted the Muses in his youth: to suit the genre the style must be lofty; to stimulate the creative imaginative process the design must be good. Thus the design is built around the relationship of the Chancellor to his king; this association is expressed through a steady stream of conceits skillfully shaped by an imagination near allied to that of the most subtle of the Metaphysicals; and the language in its strength and fullness sets a tone of dignity, not of sublimity. The figures drawn from science are many, but among those that deserve special notice are the comparisons first of the king to the nation's soul flowing through Clarendon as the blood pulses through the veins and arteries of the body:

> The nation's soul (our monarch) does dispense,
> Thro' you to us his vital influence;
> You are the channel where those spirits flow,
> And work them higher, as to us they go;
> (27-30)

next of the king enclosing Clarendon as in the Ptolemaic

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[1]Johnson, op. cit., p. 302.

system a greater sphere encloses a lesser one:

> So well your virtues do with his agree,
> That, tho' your orbs of different greatness be,
> Yet both are for each other's use dispos'd,
> His to inclose, and yours to be inclos'd,
> (37-40)

and finally a magnificent image in which the chancellor's power is compared with the unseen power that controls the planets in the Copernican system:

> Such is the mighty swiftness of your mind,
> That, like the earth's, it leaves our sense behind,
> While you so smoothly turn and roll our sphere,
> That rapid motion does but rest appear.
> For as in nature's swiftness, with the throng
> Of flying orbs while ours is borne along,
> All seems at rest to the deluded eye,
> (Mov'd by the soul of the same harmony,)
> So carried on by your unwearied care,
> We rest in peace, and yet in motion share.
> (109-118)

Those critics who question Dryden's ability as a creative artist should study carefully "To My Lord Chancellor."

The final piece in the early public poems is "Annus Mirabilis," often called the finest work in the panegyrical period. Although Dryden himself refers to it as a historical poem, it has usually been called a panegyric. Recently it has been suggested that the poem is a tract for the times, a political document as well as a poem, that as a part of a pamphlet war gave dignity and prestige to the official government's point of view.[1] In this present study, however, it will be regarded as a special genre, a historical poem,

[1]Edward N. Hooker, "The Purpose of Dryden's Annus Mirabilis," Huntington Library Quarterly, X (1946), 67.

which, like the panegyric and satire, is considered by Dryden a species of the heroic. The poem is of interest for two reasons: it contains the amazing total of 259 images, and its dedication includes Dryden's pronouncement on the "proper wit of an heroic or historical poem," which he says consists chiefly "in the delightful imagining of persons, actions, passions, or things."[1] That he is now conscious of adapting the type of image to the tone, the subject, and the genre is evidenced by the argument he offers in defense of "Verses to Her Highness the Duchess," which has already been discussed. In "Annus Mirabilis" he is overtly conscious of the demands made by the type of poem he is writing. Similarly, he had tried in the early poems to suit tone to the subject and genre, and out of this effort combined with his studies of Horace and Virgil had been growing his theory of propriety.

As in the majority of the early public poems his leading specific source of imagery in "Annus Mirabilis" is Personification, followed by Classical, Biblical and Religious, Classes, and Bodily Action, all proper to the tone and texture for what he calls "the most heroic subject any poet could desire." He has named persons as the first of the "delightful imaginings," and following this declaration has used Classes as one of his main sources of imagery in the poem, the group that refers to people as types (Chart 7).

[1] Essays, I, 14.

Next in the order of "delightful imaginings" he places action. Still faithful, he uses in the second half of the poem the running personification of the fire in which Bodily Action dominates. The fire is amazed; it escapes the narrow jail; it creeps, leaps, watches, wades, peeps in windows. Stiff and artificial tropes abound in "Annus Mirabilis," but it is in this poem that a consistently competent, masterful use of imagery appears for the first time. In such lines as the following he rises from the mediocre to the exceptional:

> Both furl their sails, and strip them for the fight,
> Their folded sheets dismiss the useless air.
> (221-222)

> So sicken waning moons too near the sun,
> And blunt their crescents on the edge of day.
> (499-500)

> Then, we upon our globe's last verge shall go,
> And view the ocean leaning on the sky.
> (653-654)

His handling of the expanded figure of speech reveals a growing maturity. For example, here is a striking contrast to the clumsy conceits in his first poem, "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings":

> Like hunted castors, conscious of their store,
> Their waylaid wealth to Norway's coasts they bring:
> There first the North's cold bosom spices bore,
> And winter brooded on the eastern spring.
>
> By the rich scent we found our perfum'd prey,
> Which, flank'd with rocks, did close in covert lie.
> (97-102)

In these lines the richness of the image merges with a

material strength to achieve a surprising freshness.[1] Twelve lines later he picks up the figure in a metaphor:

> Amidst whole heaps of spices lights a ball,
> And now their odors arm'd against them fly:
> Some preciously by shatter'd porc'lain fall,
> And some by aromatic splinters die.
> (113-116)

Good examples are limited, for Dryden continues to turn up with many unwieldy and ineffective figures. To see the contrast in the same poem the following lines are noted:

> Our little fleet was now ingag'd so far,
> That, like the swordfish in the whale, they fought:
> The combat only seem'd a civil war,
> Till thro' their bowels we our passage wrought,
> (313-316)

or

> On high-rais'd decks the haughty Belgians ride,
> Beneath whose shade our humble frigates go:
> Such port the elephant bears, and so defied
> By the rhinoceros her unequal foe.
> (233-236)

The influence of Virgil pervades the poem. As Dryden points out in the dedication, many images are taken from Virgil; others are obvious imitations. Moreover, "Annus Mirabilis" and "To My Lord Chancellor" are the only public poems in which the simile is used more than the metaphor (Chart 19). These similes include in the present poem such elaborate and pictorial ones as that of the lion and his attackers (381-388), the eagle seeking her "callow infants" by their cries and the prince hastening to the aid of his

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[1] Dr. Johnson disagrees. See Lives of the English Poets, I, 304.

companions after hearing the guns (425-432), the hare and the dog exhausted by the chase and the ships exhausted by the battle (521-528), the spider catching the fly and the Dutch laying snares for the British (716-724). In these similes, as well as in many others, preciseness governs the mood. Although deliberately imitating Virgil by using a type that precludes fusing of elaborated comparisons, Dryden succeeds in giving emotional overtones to these figures. Justly such images are "the adequate delight of heroic poesy."

In "Annus Mirabilis" one sees the growth of a poet. Some of the figures of speech are dismal failures; others point to the Dryden of "Absalom and Achitophel."

II

Of the eight poems that make up the later public poems two are panegyrics, "Threnodia Augustalis" and "Britannia Rediviva"; four are satires, "Absalom and Achitophel" (I), "The Medal," "Mac Flecknoe," and "Absalom and Achitophel" (II); and two are religious poems, "Religio Laici" and "The Hind and the Panther." "The Hind and the Panther," however, includes two satires in the fables of the Swallows and of the Doves, and "Religio Laici" has satirical undertones, especially in the description of schools of philosophy. Thus the dominant genre in the group is satire, but since the panegyrics are least important it is well to dispose of them quickly. From the time of Dr. Johnson to the present the

criticism directed toward these two panegyrics has continued to be generally unfavorable. A detailed study of the imagery has shown no reason for changing any of the opinions. A nineteenth century writer speaking of the "Threnodia Augustalis" felt that ". . . it would be difficult to name another of his poems which contains fewer beauties, more prolixity, less merit";[1] and a twentieth century Dryden scholar has found that the "sentiments made to order" and the farfetched imagery prevent either of the two poems from having any value as literature.[2] "Threnodia Augustalis" is the better of the two poems, for it shows flashes of the intensity of feeling that animated some of Dryden's early panegyrics. But "Britannia Rediviva" is dull, very dull. It is a patchwork of images including one he had used as early as 1650 in the complimentary poem to John Hoddesdon, others as recent as "The Hind and the Panther." Dryden goes through the motions that should engender the noble elevated tone of the heroic. The leading sources of imagery, all appropriate for the genre, are in order of frequency Classical for the "Threnodia" followed by Personification and Biblical (Chart 12) and Biblical for "Britannia Rediviva" followed by Personification (Chart 17). These sources also indicate the intermingling of pagan myth and Christian symbolism, which is done with some

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[1]John Churton Collins, "John Dryden," Essays and Studies (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895), p. 55.

[2]Poems, p. lv.

finesse in the earlier of the two, "Threnodia Augustalis." In both poems the type of figure of speech is also proper for the genre: the percentage of similes and personification is much higher and that of the metaphors much lower than in the satires and religious poems (Chart 19). Yet judgment is not here, for the metaphors are strained, the conceits forced. The mature Dryden could not go back twenty years to the style of the earlier panegyrics. The bent of his mind was ratiocinative, satiric, realistic: he had no heart for what he once called "the stale exploded trick of fulsome panegyrics."[1]

In this study it is not of great consequence whether the prevalence of satire in the Restoration arose from the spirit imparted by the bitterness of feeling inherited from the recent civil wars[2] or whether it can be ascribed to the Cartesian philosophy of cogito ergo sum.[3] The important thing is to discover what part imagery played in making Dryden's satires the finest in all English literature. Dryden pointed out his subject: "It is an age, indeed, which is only fit for satire and the sharpest I have shall never be wanting to lance its villainies and its ingratitude to the

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[1] Essays, I, 249.

[2] Hugh Walker, English Satire and Satirists (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1925), p. 152.

[3] Basil Willey, The Seventeenth Century Background: Studies in the Thought of the Age in Relation to Poetry and Religion (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1953), p. 96.

government."[1] Or again, "They say, my talent is satire; if it be so, 't is a fruitful age, and there is an extraordinary crop to gather."[2] He describes the pleasure arising from satire as "either laughter, or some nobler sort of delight,"[3] and the style as one that contained "the majesty of the heroic" finely mixed with venom, thereby raising the delight by the sublimity of the expressions;[4] yet he felt that the judgment should not be an overpoise to the imagination, for like Horace, the poet might grow too cautious to be bold enough. And finally as to purpose, the satire should in a sharp, well-mannered way laugh a folly out of countenance.[5] These basic principles on which Dryden built his own satires are greatly concerned with levels of style and tone, the areas in which imagery plays a very important part.

The first of his satires and the first of the later public poems is his masterpiece, "Absalom and Achitophel" (I). Directness and compression distinguish the figures of

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[1] Works, XVII, 337-338.

[2] Poems, p. 271.

[3] Works, XVIII, 76.

[4] Essays, II, 108. In naming satire a species of the heroic, Dryden moves far away from Butler's low style in Hudibras, especially in the use of images. Ian Jack, Augustan Satire: Intention and Idiom in English Poetry 1660-1750 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 41.

[5] Essays, II, 105. Several years before he wrote his own satires, Dryden had said that the purpose of satire was to lash vice into reformation, but he later changed the emphasis, as this definition shows.

speech in the poem. Flawless control is a major influence in making this one of the greatest political satires that have ever been written. The poem would have failed had the imagery been characterized by the stiffness and constraint that marked many passages in "Annus Mirabilis." Here is ease in movement, a fluidity paradoxically directed and dominated by the poet as he blends contemporary history with Biblical narrative. Authority is in every line. The predominance of metaphors is of especial interest,[1] for this unusually high ratio (Chart 19) indicates an intensification of the scriptural allegory that serves as a framework for the satire and signifies complete harmony between poetic instrument and creative power.

For the first time images drawn from the general category of Daily Life (Chart 8) are at the top of the list, climaxing an unsteady progress through the various poems from sixth in "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings" to first in "Absalom and Achitophel" (I) (Charts 1-8). In his years as a successful playwright—years that had intervened between the writing of this poem and "Annus Mirabilis"—Dryden had learned to cater to the public taste. Now determined to

[1]Commentators down to Van Doren have been content to follow Dr. Johnson, who said the subject of "Absalom and Achitophel" admitted little imagery or description. Lives of the English Poets, I, 308. Actually there are 204 images drawn from 37 different sources (Chart 8). The concentration of images is considerably less than in the panegyrics and the historical poem—one for every five lines—, but it certainly does not indicate a limited use of imagery.

reach the people in order to present the official viewpoint of the Crown, he chooses figures that they will understand, ones that are part of their lives. In this poem are more figures drawn from Sports and Games than in any of the other public poems. Here also are many from Food and Drink, War and Weapons, Four-footed Animals, Trade and Business, and Buildings. Even while maintaining dignity tempered with humor and wit, he reaches down and taps the common man on the shoulder. The limited use of personification and the absence of elaborate figures drawn from the classics intensify the air of sincerity. Naturalness results from the many Biblical references outside the basic scriptural allegory and from the many proverbial expressions used for the first time in the poems. One senses the force of creative power. Complete comprehension sustains the inventive genius of the poet; skillful handling of exact figures results in polished technical execution. Here the poet is more keen-witted, the satire more biting, the results more incisive than in the other poems.

Often his image is a single crisp word or phrase, but this does not prevent his using extended metaphors. With success he interweaves several figures of speech that in composite make one over-all comparison. At one point in the famous portrait of Shaftesbury, Dryden begins with a simple metonymy (line 193), moves into a metaphor from Gardening (lines 194-195), then to one of Bodily Action combined with

Personification and Sports (lines 198-199), next to a Literary reference (lines 202-203), and finally to one from War and Weapons (line 206)—all within the space of fourteen lines. Yet the effect is not the confusion of the mixed figures in the Hastings poem; rather it is one of compression, of a commingling that gives organic unity to a harmonious whole.

The similes in "Absalom and Achitophel" show a technical skill far above that seen in the earlier poems. As an example, in the following lines the poet announces his comparison, sets up the first part of the image, then moves back to the thing compared and from there carries his figure of lechery into a metaphor:

> "If so, by force he wishes to be gain'd;
> Like women's lechery, to seem constrain'd.
> Doubt not: but, when he most affects the frown,
> Commit a pleasing rape upon the crown.
> Secure his person to secure your cause:
> They who possess the prince, possess the laws."
> (471-476)

These illustrations show what a true craftsman is capable of doing with imagery. To quote examples of well-contrived figures of speech would be to quote the entire poem. There is not a failure among the 204 images, only degrees of excellence.

In March 1682, Dryden published "The Medal, A Satire Against Sedition," which contains a character of Shaftesbury very different from the one that had appeared in "Absalom and Achitophel" less than four months before. Collins sums up

the style effectively when he says that the poem is

> . . . a philippic which, for rancorous abuse, for lofty and uncompromising scorn, for coarse, scathing, ruthless denunciation, couched in diction which now swells to the declamatory grandeur of Juvenal and now sinks to the sordid vulgarity of Swift, has no parallel in our literature.[1]

And the poem is just that. By skillful handling of the figures, Dryden takes a thought and deftly gives it an ironical twist that turns an image suitable for the heroic into an instrument for a lampoon. The sneer is sometimes subtle, more often unconcealed. For instance, in speaking of Shaftesbury posing for the medal, Dryden says:

> Five days he sate for every cast and look;
> Four more than God to finish Adam took.
> (18-19)

A classical reference sinks in one word:

> Then, Cyclop-like, in human flesh to deal,
> Chop up a minister at every meal.
> (225-227)

Another twist turns a Biblical allusion into mockery:

> God were not safe, his thunder could they shun,
> He should be forc'd to crown another son.
> Thus, when the heir was from the vineyard thrown,
> The rich possession was the murth'rers' own.
> (215-218)

Ordinarily to find in such a poem that Learning is the general leading category (Chart 9) and Biblical images first in the order of frequency would suggest that the imagery violated the rules of propriety; however, an understanding of the treatment given these images explains the choice.

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[1]Collins, op. cit., p. 45.

The sources of imagery reveal the difference in the elevated tone of "Absalom and Achitophel" and the lowered tone in the other three satires, for Personification is in second place in "Absalom," but twelfth in "The Medal," and fifteenth in "Mac Flecknoe," and is not even used in the lines Dryden contributed to "Absalom and Achitophel" (II) (Charts 8, 9, 10). There is also a marked difference in the sources of imagery used in the panegyrics and those used in the satires. Such classes as Animals, Body and Bodily Action, Sickness and Medicine, and Food and Drink are far down the scale in the panegyrics or do not even appear. In the satires, however, they are all near the top. So it is that the sources of images used in a particular genre are not the result of chance; in suiting images to thought and genre Dryden must have been guided by his principle of propriety. The percentage chart (Chart 19) showing the types of figures of speech in the public poems discloses that here too Dryden skillfully adjusted the type to the genre. In the four satires, in "Religio Laici" with its satirical undertones, and in Part III of "The Hind and the Panther" with its two fables, the similes drop below ten percent in contrast to the high percentage in the panegyrics. Personification as a type follows an identical pattern in the two genres. In contrast, metaphor is much higher in the satires and religious poems than in the panegyrics. Since similes and personification are identified with Dryden's conception of high style

and metaphor with the familiar and legislative styles, these directed selections help set the tone.

"Mac Flecknoe" differs from "The Medal" in several ways. It is a literary satire, not a political poem; its tone is fixed by witty raillery, not cutting irony; its leading sources of imagery are Classical, Biblical, Body and Bodily Action, and Food and Drink; those in "The Medal" are Biblical, Sickness and Medicine, Outdoor Sports, and Body and Bodily Action. On the other hand, the types of figures used are very similar (Chart 19) and the order of the leading general categories the same: Learning, Daily Life, Body and Bodily Action, and Nature (Charts 9, 10). At the same time it is interesting to note that "Mac Flecknoe" has no Animal category while "The Medal" has six animal images. Knowledge of these likenesses and differences makes it possible to focus on the exact cause of the variation in tone generated by images of similar sources. In a Biblical image quoted from "The Medal" (lines 217-218) the one word "thrown" altered the style and brought the tone of the whole figure to the level of low comedy. In a Biblical image from "Mac Flecknoe,"

> Sinking he left his drugget robe behind,
> Borne upwards by a subterranean wind.
> The mantle fell to the young prophet's part,
> With double portion of his father's art,
> (214-217)

the tone is only very slightly lowered and the words are apt and significant, but the whole passage is a witty joke because

the reader immediately recognizes a parody of Elisha's receiving not only the mantle of Elijah, who had mounted to heaven by a whirlwind, but also "the double portion" that Elisha had prayed for.[1] This then is high comedy in a sense; and therein lies the difference in tone between the two images in the two satires.

Classical figures in "Mac Flecknoe" keep an elevated tone and use the heroic idiom to describe trivial matters. Such is the description of Shadwell seated next to his father on the throne:

> At his right hand our young Ascanius sate,
> Rome's other hope, and pillar of the State.
> His brows thick fogs, instead of glories, grace,
> And lambent dulness play'd around his face.
> (108-111)

This ludicrous comparison of Shadwell to the son of Aeneas has the same effect as a hilarious story told with a straight face, an effect in no way lessened by the oxymoron in the last line. How different is the caustic sting and lowered style in the Cyclops image from Homer that Dryden uses in "The Medal" (lines 226-227). Another amusing moment in "Mac Flecknoe" is the description of the king preparing to tell the admiring throng that Shadwell is to succeed him:

> The sire then shook the honors of his head,
> And from his brows damps of oblivion shed
> Full on the filial dulness: long he stood,
> Repelling from his breast the raging god. (134-137)

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[1]Jack points out the added humor in Flecknoe's departure downward from earth while Elijah left in the other direction. Augustan Satire, p. 48.

The pun on "damps" raises a smile, but real delight comes in the recognition of Flecknoe being inspired in the same manner as Virgil's Sybil was by Apollo. "The Medal" does not treat classical images so. There is, however, some similarity in the manner in which Dryden surprises with a delayed twist to one word in a figure in "The Medal" and his use of anticlimax in "Mac Flecknoe." Each method results in a different reaction by the reader: the first shocks and repels, the second shocks and then amuses. A ridiculous effect is achieved by anticlimax in the highly elevated opening lines of "Mac Flecknoe." Dryden begins,

> All human things are subject to decay,
> And when fate summons, monarchs must obey.
> (1-2)

Continuing in the same lofty strain, he compares Flecknoe to Emperor Augustus; then the shock comes in the revelation that the kingdom Flecknoe governs is "all the realm of Nonsense." Such humor is foreign to "The Medal." "Absalom and Achitophel" has been called a "valued show-piece,"[1] "The Medal," a caustic political lampoon; both are tracts of the time. But "Mac Flecknoe" is a brilliant literary satire that will never lose its appeal because it has what the other two lack, humor with the quality of universality.

Dryden had not quite finished with his enemies. When

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[1] Alexandre Beljame, Men of Letters and The English Public in the Eighteenth Century 1660-1744, Dryden, Addison, Pope, ed. Bonamy Dobrée, trans. E. O. Lorimer (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1948), p. 173.

Nahum Tate took over the task of continuing "Absalom and Achitophel," Dryden contributed some two hundred lines, mostly about Settle and Shadwell. The simplest way to show how imagery functions in these virulent personal attacks is to compare the descriptions of Shadwell first as Mac Flecknoe and then as Og. The former is good-humored ridicule that gains much of its effectiveness from the heroic idiom; the latter draws mostly on Food and Drink, Animals, and the more unpleasant aspects of Nature for its sources of imagery—all indicating a lowered tone. The result is a portrait of Shadwell as Og painted with bitter scorn and entirely devoid of humor. The second part of "Absalom and Achitophel" has as its leading general category Daily Life, indicating figures from familiar sources, but where Part I has next in order Learning and Nature with Biblical and Religious and Personification as the sources first in order of frequency, Part II has Body and Bodily Action and Domestic following Daily Life with Food and Drink, Household, and Body as the leading specific sources. These categories and sources help show why the satire in Part II is so much sharper than in Part I, for those in Part II lend themselves more easily to low satire than the ones in the first part.

So it is that in the satires Dryden fits thoughts and words to the genre and to the tone he wishes to establish. The images from Daily Life in "Absalom and Achitophel" (I) are balanced by an almost equal number from Learning, both

offering ample material for a witty heroic poem. The images from Daily Life in "Absalom and Achitophel" (II) are closely supplemented by ones from Body and Bodily Action and Domestic, whose specific sources prove a fertile field for a lower style. It has been shown that while "The Medal" and "Mac Flecknoe" both have Learning as the leading category followed by Daily Life and Body and Bodily Action, Dryden dresses the thoughts with words from different levels of usage and gives to "The Medal" a style considerably below the elevated one in the mock heroic.

The religious poems, "Religio Laici" and "The Hind and the Panther," make up the third type found in the later public poems. Guided by his idea of propriety Dryden uses in "Religio Laici" "plain and natural, and yet majestic" expressions suitable for instruction.[1] This he calls the "legislative style." The plain style, modeled on Horace's Epistles, is for the most part contained in the body of the poem where there are few images, but since Dryden could rarely refuse an opportunity for satire, he animates his chosen style with touches of irony and sharp wit. The first appears in his description of the schools of philosophy:

> The wiser madmen did for virtue toil,
> A thorny, or at best a barren soil;
> In pleasure some their glutton souls would steep,
> But found their line too short, the well too deep,
> And leaky vessels which no bliss could keep.
> Thus anxious thoughts in endless circles roll,

[1] Poems, p. 162.

> Without a center where to fix the soul;
> In this wild maze their vain endeavors end:
> How can the less the greater comprehend?
> Or finite reason reach Infinity?
> For what could fathom GOD were more than He.
> (31-41)

These eleven lines also show how a brilliant creative artist can make his images give forth tones as clear and sharp as if he were playing on a perfectly tuned instrument. Six figures of speech in eleven lines would suggest a luxuriant fancy out of control. But not so. A tone of light irony is established in the first line by the oxymoron "wiser madmen" in a figure drawn from Gardening. The irony sharpens and deepens through the same rhetorical figure in "glutton souls," this time in a figure drawn from Food and Drink. Then the tone lightens through hyperbole in the figure of the water well (lines 34-35) making it possible for the poet to move smoothly into an image based on the Copernican theory, one that is more elevated than those that have been drawn from sources familiar in everyday life. The double meaning in "maze" and the slight turn in "finite" and "Infinity" prepare for a final word play in "fathom" (line 41). This figure picks up the idea of seeking that is found in each of the images that have gone before and ties in with the plummet, which forms a climax in the series of homely images in the first five lines of the quotation. Thus through imagery Dryden can lighten, deepen, or heighten the tone of his verse all within the space of a few lines.

More incisive because the tone has no variation is his picture of the sectaries as flies crawling over the text of the Bible:

> While crowds unlearn'd, with rude devotion warm,
> About the sacred viands buzz and swarm,
> The fly-blown text creates a crawling brood,
> And turns to maggots what was meant for food.
> (417-420)

In addition to the plain and the satiric styles there are also touches of great beauty in "Religio Laici"; the opening lines of the poem are among the most magnificent Dryden ever wrote:

> Dim as the borrow'd beams of moon and stars
> To lonely, weary, wand'ring travelers,
> Is Reason to the soul; and, as on high
> Those rolling fires discover but the sky,
> Not light us here, so Reason's glimmering ray
> Was lent, not to assure our doubtful way,
> But guide us upward to a better day.
> And as those nightly tapers disappear,
> When day's bright lord ascends our hemisphere;
> So pale grows Reason at Religion's sight;
> So dies, and so dissolves in supernatural light.
> (1-11)

They are all here, "the plain and natural, and yet majestic" expressions—what Dr. Johnson calls ". . . this middle kind of writing, which, though prosaick in some parts, rises to high poetry in others, and neither towers to the skies, nor creeps along the ground."[1]

Appropriate to the shifting levels of style are the two leading general categories of images, Daily Life and Learning, as well as the leading specific sources, Personification, the Law, Body and Bodily Action, and Trade and

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[1]Johnson, op. cit., p. 313.

Business (Chart 11). In none of the other poems does the Law as a source of imagery advance as far as second place; it does rank fairly high in "The Hind and the Panther" where the legal images are distributed evenly throughout the three parts (Chart 16). Both are ratiocinative poems, "Religio Laici" being an argument in defense of the Church of England and "The Hind and the Panther" in defense of the Roman Catholic Church; therefore, it is singularly fitting that images from the Law should find their place near the top of the list.

In "Religio Laici" the concentration of images is much higher than expected in a poem written in the plain style—one for every 3.9 lines (Chart 21); but the small percentage of similes—7.6 percent of the total—is more in keeping with the avowed purpose of the poet who says,

> And this unpolish'd, rugged verse, I chose,
> As fittest for discourse, and nearest prose.
> (453-454)

Since Dryden informs the reader that Part II of "The Hind and the Panther" is also in the plain style with little magnificence of verse,[1] one assumes that his treatment of imagery will be similar to that in "Religio Laici." The general categories of sources do appear in the same order—Daily Life, Learning, Body and Bodily Action, and Nature—but the leading specific sources vary greatly. The two poems

[1] Poems, p. 217.

have in common only four in the first eight: the Law, Body, Biblical, and Travel. Where "Religio Laici" has Personification, Trade and Business, Elements, and Sickness, "The Hind and the Panther" (II) adds Food and Drink, Classes, Human Relations, and Classical. Additional sources drawn from Nature and Imaginative provide for the majestic passages that appear in "Religio Laici." There is no similar heightening of style in Part II of "The Hind and the Panther." The Hind, who does most of the talking, uses homely, natural figures and proverbial expressions. Hers is a gentle humor. The Panther's role in Part II is that of an audience; when she does speak it is usually with a sharp wit that does not despise an occasional play on words; for instance,

> "That men may err was never yet denied.
> But, if that common principle be true,
> The cannon, dame, is level'd full at you."
> (II, 633-635)

In continually emphasizing that hers is the one church even though there are many creeds, the Hind uses figures from everyday life. Most of these are brief, as in the following which draws on an ancient game to describe the sects that will not join in communion with anyone:

> "Then, till you have agreed whose judge is best,
> Against this forc'd submission they protest:
> While sound and sound a diff'rent sense explains,
> Both play at hardhead till they break their brains,"
> (II, 1012-1015)

or in a more caustic tone,

> "But you, who Fathers and traditions take,
> And garble some, and some you quite forsake,

> Pretending Church auctority to fix,
> And yet some grains of private spirit mix,
> Are like a mule made up of diff'ring seed,
> And that's the reason why you never breed."
> (II, 833-838)

Dryden's intention to follow a plain style in Part II does not mean that he planned to eschew all imagery; he merely wished to avoid obscure conceits and elevated figures. Personification is held to a minimum (Chart 19). Although the percentage of similes is higher in Part II than in the other two parts, the similes are usually brief and fall within a concretion of figures as the following lines illustrate:

> "Tho' Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, holy chiefs,
> Have made a battle-royal of beliefs;
> Or, like wild horses, sev'ral ways have whirl'd
> The tortur'd text about the Christian world;
> Each Jehu lashing on with furious force,
> That Turk or Jew could not have us'd it worse."
> (II, 688-693)

The so-called plain style, however, is reflected in the concentration of images in Part II, one for every 6.5 lines (Chart 21), a total considerably less than the more highly concentrated number in Part I, the section that was to have "the majestic turn of heroic poesy."

The first thirty-four lines of Part I reach for dignity and elevation in such phrases as "winged wounds" and "earthy mold" or in lines like these:

> Their fate was fruitful, and the sanguine seed,
> Endued with souls, encreas'd the sacred breed.
> (I, 17-18)

Dryden is tempted into a satiric vein in his description of

the "bloody Bear, and Independent beast," "the buffoon Ape," the "bristled Baptist Boar," and "False Reynard"; but he regains control of his erring muse long enough to write a sincere and earnest confession of faith in which the imagery is drawn from Fire and Light; lines using this source are

> But, gracious God, how well dost thou provide
> For erring judgments an unerring guide!
> Thy throne is darkness in th' abyss of light,
> A blaze of glory that forbids the sight,
> (I, 64-67)

and

> My thoughtless youth was wing'd with vain desires,
> My manhood, long misled by wand'ring fires,
> Follow'd false lights; and, when their glimpse was gone,
> My pride struck out new sparkles of her own.
> (I, 72-75)

In the body of Part I the tone is nearer that of the familiar than the high style, for many of the images come from everyday life. For instance, within twenty-six lines occur the following sources: falconry (line 104), winnowing the chaff (112-113), taking away scaffolding from a building (124-125), and sailing a boat close to shore (128-130). Many lines in this section are far removed from the lofty and dignified style. Dryden must have been aware that his indecorous sketch of Henry VIII was hardly proper to his conception of high style:[1]

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[1]Fifty years ago the first four lines of this quotation were considered so objectionable that W. H. Williams omitted them in his edition, explaining that they were not suitable for mixed classes of university students. The Hind and the Panther (London: Macmillan and Co., 1900), p. vi.

A Lion, old, obscene, and furious made
By lust, compress'd her mother in a shade;
Then, by a left-hand marriage, weds the dame,
Cov'ring adult'ry with a specious name:
So Schism begot; and Sacrilege and she,
A well-match'd pair, got graceless Heresy.
(I, 351-356)

A similar level of style informs one of his attacks on the Convenanters in lines 308-324. Here his stinging sarcasm is without humor, his diminishing images are typical of lampooning satire, and the low style is further emphasized by feminine rhyme. As Part I draws to a close, it regains some of its dignity, but the impression left is still one of pungent satire, not of "the majestic turn of heroic poesy."

For the third part of "The Hind and the Panther" Dryden designed a style which he said was to be "more free and familiar" than the other two because it included the fable of the Swallows and the fable of the Doves and Pigeons. Of the three sections of the poem this is the only one that adheres to the conditions outlined by the poet. The familiar style is accented by a great increase in the use of proverbial expressions, which more than double all those in the other two parts (Chart 16). Oxymoron, turns, and play on words casually underline the informality of idiom in most of this section, but the significant evidence of a change in style lies in the sources of imagery that occur with the greatest frequency. In all three parts of the poem Biblical images are first in order; then in Part I and Part II follow sources from the commonplace objects and occurrences of daily

experience—Body and Bodily Action, Food and Drink, Travel, Classes, Human Relations, War and Weapons, Animals, and Elements. In Part III, however, there is a decided change. In the leading position with Biblical is Classical; these two are followed closely by Personification, Body and Action, and Proverbial, and not so closely by Sea and Ships, Science, and Sickness and Medicine. Great importance must be attached to the appearance of Personification so high on the scale, for in the other two parts its use as a source of imagery is carefully avoided (Chart 16). Classical is far down the list in I and II, while in III it is one of the two leading sources. It should also be noted that the distribution of types of images in Part III is almost identical with that in "Absalom and Achitophel" (I); those in "Absalom" run in this fashion: metaphor, 72.85%; personification, 10.4%; simile, 9.6%; metonymy, 4%; and synecdoche, 3.2%. The ones in "The Hind and the Panther" (III) in the same order are metaphor, 75.3%; personification, 9.9%; simile, 7.7%; metonymy, 5%; and synecdoche, 2.1% (Chart 19). Furthermore, concentration of figures indicates a similar agreement: "Absalom and Achitophel" (I) has one for every five lines, the lowest number per line in any of the public poems until Part II of "The Hind and the Panther" is reached; Part III, with one in every 7.1 lines, has the lowest of all the public poems (Chart 19). The order of sources of imagery, the distribution of types of figures of speech, and the concentration of

figures lead to certain conclusions concerning Dryden's style in Part III. Except for the two fables the style in Part III is very similar to the witty, heroic idiom of "Absalom and Achitophel" (I). Sometimes the Hind does not sound exactly like the gentlewoman she is supposed to be and often her wit is sharper than the gentle humor she displays in Part II; Dryden pictures her mildly imparting her "medicine" (lines 1394-1400, 1481-1484), but as her wrath increases, he elevates the description with elaborate similes appropriate to the mood:

> ...she paus'd a little, and suppress'd
> The boiling indignation of her breast;
> She knew the virtue of her blade, nor would
> Pollute her satire with ignoble blood:
> Her panting foes she saw before her lie,
> And back she drew the shining weapon dry.
> So, when the gen'rous Lion has in sight
> His equal match, he rouses for the fight;
> But when his foe lies prostrate on the plain,
> He sheathes his paws, uncurls his angry mane,
> And, pleas'd with bloodless honors of the day,
> Walks over and disdains th' inglorious prey.
> (III, 1555-1566)

As she continues her argument she uses the heroic idiom a number of times: the images are woven so tightly into the fabric of the developing ideas that it is impossible to quote lines that have meaning when removed from the context; however, two such examples are given only to show the level of style:

> "'T is said with ease, but, O, how hardly tried
> By haughty souls to human honor tied!
> O sharp convulsive pangs of agonizing pride!"
> (III, 1579-1581)

and

> "His rage is aim'd at him who rules the skies:
> Constrain'd to quit his cause, no succor found,
> The foe discharges ev'ry tire around,
> In clouds of smoke abandoning the fight;
> But his own thund'ring peals proclaim his flight."
> (III, 1609-1613)

These three examples are similar to the same type of imagery that Dryden describes as proper for a heroic poem:

> 'Tis not the jerk or sting of an epigram, nor the seeming contradiction of a poor antithesis . . . , nor the jingle of a more poor paronomasia; neither is it so much the morality of a grave sentence . . . ; but it is some lively and apt description, dressed in such colours of speech, that it sets before your eyes the absent object, as perfectly, and more delightfully than nature.[1]

The styles used in the two fables differ, however, not only from each other but also from the one used in the rest of the poem. Nothing shows more clearly Dryden's ability to adapt thoughts and words to the tone and subject than the variation of levels of styles within the poem. The fable of the Swallows offers one of the most interesting as well as complex problems in the study of Dryden's imagery. On one level it is the mock heroic manner of "Mac Flecknoe." There are classical references: the brooding Swallows call on Lucina's aid (line 1878) and the north wind is personified in

> "T' augment their woes, the winds began to move
> Debate in air, for empty fields above,
> Till Boreas got the skies, and pour'd amain
> His rattling hailstones mix'd with snow and rain."
> (III, 1912-1915)

And there is personification:

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[1] Essays, I, 14-15.

"Fame spreads the news, and foreign fowls appear
In flocks to greet the new returning year,
To bless the founder, and partake the cheer."
(III, 1879-1881)

The description of what the Swifts saw includes one of the most truly poetical images in Dryden: the Swifts peeped through a broken pane

"And saw (but scarcely could believe their eyes)
New blossoms flourish, and new flow'rs arise;
As God had been abroad, and, walking there,
Had left his footsteps, and reform'd the year;
The sunny hills from far were seen to glow
With glittering beams, and in the meads below
The burnish'd brooks appear'd with liquid gold to flow."
(III, 1846-1852)

Much of the fable, in fact, is told in the heroic idiom relieved occasionally by anticlimax. The subject is ostensibly trivial: it is the story of what happens when the swallows do not fly south for the winter. The central figure in the episode is the Martin,

"A church-begot, and church-believing bird;
Of little body, but of lofty mind,
Round-bellied, for a dignity design'd,
And much a dunce, as Martins are by kind."
(III, 1756-1759)

But the fable is also burlesque, for it is a serious subject treated frivolously: the Swallows represent the Catholics who were preparing to flee Ireland and the Martin is Father Petre, whose advice was not very good. Obviously Petre is as much the king of dunces as Shadwell is the king of dulness. Thus it appears that the fable becomes paradoxically mock heroic burlesque.

When Dryden says that the fable of the Doves and the

Pigeons and the Buzzard will be told in "homely style," he underscores the heroic idiom of the first fable by pointing up the difference. In the second fable there are no elevated passages, no extended similes, affected heroic phrases, or flourishes of grandeur. Instead it is a fast-moving narrative studded with images drawn from the Bible, familiar classical sources, and events of everyday life, such as Sports, Buildings, Trade and Business, Dress, and Food and Drink. It is the style of "Absalom and Achitophel" written in a slightly lowered diction more familiar than heroic. The difference is seen in the description of Burnet as "King Buzzard":

> "A portly prince, and goodly to the sight,
> He seem'd a son of Anak for his height:
> Like those whom stature did to crowns prefer;
> Black-brow'd, and bluff, like Homer's Jupiter;
> Broad-back'd, and brawny-built for love's delight,
> A prophet form'd to make a female proselyte,"
> (III, 2435-2440)

or the Doves as the clergy of the Church of England:

> "Like Harpies, they could scent a plenteous board,
> Then to be sure they never fail'd their lord."
> (III, 2254-2255)

So it is that Part III of "The Hind and the Panther" utilizes imagery to help define the style and level of usage in three different types of poetic composition: the witty heroic, a modified mock heroic, and a controlled familiar style.

Now that the imagery in Dryden's thirteen public poems has been studied, it is necessary to look at the whole picture to see what relationship the sources and types of images have to the genres. Percentage graphs (Charts 2 and 3)

showing the distribution of sources of figures of speech in the four classes that make up the public poems reveal that Learning is the leading source for all but the satires and that the religious poems have the highest percentage of figures in this major category. Daily Life is the leading source for the satires, but interestingly enough the percentage of figures in this category is higher in the religious poems (25%) than in the satires (22.3%). As expected, the panegyrics have the highest percent of Nature and Imaginative images. The historical poem has by far the highest percentage of Animal images, and the satires come up unexpectedly with the greatest percentage of figures from the Arts. Images from Domestic sources are almost evenly divided among the four classes. Not one of these general categories of sources violates the decorum of the concept of style suited to the genre.

That the leading categories are Learning and Daily Life is not unexpected, for Dryden was not only a member of the Royal Society but also an excellent student of both classical and modern writers. Although Learning heads the list in both the early and later public poems, the early ones have a higher percentage of figures drawn from Nature, Imaginative, Arts, Animals, and Domestic while the later poems lead in Learning, Daily Life and Body and Bodily Action (Chart 4). Since the dominant genre in the early poems is panegyrics and in the later ones satire, these sources are

once again suited to the material; for traditionally figures of the high style are associated with nature, the arts, and the imaginative process; the less poetical satire uses more realistic images to convey its intent.

The general distribution of types of figures of speech completes the picture by showing that similes and personification rank much higher in the panegyrics than in the satire-religious group, but that metaphors are by far the favorite in the latter (Chart 18-A). It has been shown that in the matter of style a close relationship exists between the satires and the religious poems, and this point is re-emphasized by Chart 18-B, which reveals that through all five types of figures the two classes of poems move side by side. On the other hand, "Annus Mirabilis," the historical poem which many commentators insist on calling a panegyric, does not follow the general trend of panegyrics in the distribution of images (Chart 18-B). Here the percentage of metaphor is much lower than in the panegyrics while the percentage of similes and personification is much higher. These results are in keeping with Dryden's explanation that the same type of images often receives different treatment depending upon the genre.

It was this preoccupation with imagery that led to the formation of his final great style in the Fables. The third part of "The Hind and the Panther" is the bridge from the polished heroic style of "Absalom and Achitophel" to the

brilliant narrative style of the Fables. "Religio Laici" was a successful experiment in the epistolary style that suited Dryden's special subject and material, but it was designed for a special genre. In the first part of "The Hind and the Panther" he adapts his many figures of speech to the swift changes of tone necessitated by his subject, from the elevated to the ironical through the familiar to the caustically satiric. In Part II he uses as a basis the "legislative style" of "Religio Laici" livened up somewhat with humor, and in the first fable in Part III he experiments again, this time by lowering the mock heroic style he had used in "Mac Flecknoe." Finally in the body of Part III and in the second fable he finds the style that he employs with remarkable felicity in the Fables. It is the witty heroic idiom of "Absalom and Achitophel" blended with the relaxed "legislative style" of Part II of "The Hind and the Panther," the whole controlled by the skill of a master craftsman. Such a style leaves him free to swing back and forth across the middle way with perfect propriety—to the dignified, but not the sublime; to the satiric, but not the low comic. It is this style that must be explored later in the Fables.

CHAPTER III

THE PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES

Dryden, the most celebrated prologue writer of the Restoration, was well-suited by talent and temperament to excel in the literary genre that reached its greatest height of popularity soon after Charles was restored to the throne in 1660. During the sixteenth century, prologues had been written in the old tumbling measures, rime royal, and blank verse; the sonnet, the ode, and even the ballad had served on occasion as introductions to plays. With the revival of the drama, however, the iambic pentameter couplet (occasionally interspersed with triplets) became the fashion.[1] The heroic couplet, of course, was Dryden's favorite stanza form. The prologues and epilogues of the period were written to please a special audience—the members of the court, whose taste was conditioned by their own established low morality. Obscenity and ribaldry, dressed in the transparent garb of innuendo, delighted the morally corrupt and profligate pit. Dryden's

[1]Autrey Nell Wiley, "Introduction," Rare Prologues and Epilogues 1642-1700 (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1940), xxvi.

frequent coarseness in language as well as in ideas[1] found a ready response from his audience. This is not to say that all of his prologues and epilogues are marked by indecency and scurrilousness, for when he wished he could change his tone to suit the occasion. Most of the Oxford poems and the panegyrics honoring members of the royal family are elevated in tone even though they often have political implications. Those that are essentially political in nature are generally satiric or ironic; yet even in this special group are pieces that are serious and dignified.

Written to be delivered from the apron of the stage, the prologues and epilogues were supposed to establish rapport with the audience; thus ease of movement that gave a conversational quality to the lines was necessary if the pieces fulfilled their intended purpose. Dryden used many poetical and rhetorical devices not only to establish a tone that suited the occasion and subject matter but also to create an atmosphere that suggested informality and intimacy. Among these were exclamations, questions, colloquial phrases, anticlimax, broken and interrupted lines, shifting caesuras, triplets, feminine rhyme, occasional alliteration, and a judicious use of run-on lines.[2]

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[1] Poems, p. lxviii.

[2] From 1663 to 1667 run-on lines and the shifting caesura appear frequently; after 1681 they are rarely used. Twenty percent of the prologues and epilogues have no run-on lines.

For an age that increasingly demanded novelty on the stage Dryden introduced the new and unexpected. Rail though he might at the French who brought dances and songs as well as rope walkers and jugglers to the English stage, he catered to the taste for such novelties by innovations of his own. Betterton, representing the ghost of Shakespeare, gives the prologue to Troilus and Cressida (LIII);[1] two astrologers cast the fortune of The Wild Gallant (I); an Indian boy and girl sleeping under a plantain tree rise up in alarm while background music quickens in tempo (III); a doctor, using a urinal filled with black water, makes a diagnosis for the ailing poet and his muse (Va); after giving the first half of a prologue in triplets, the speaker leaves the stage while a tune is played, then returns to say that he forgot to speak the rest (VII); Mrs. Bracegirdle pretends to read billets-doux she has received from her admirers in the audience (XCIV); in the prologue to Harris's The Mistakes (XCII), Mr. Williams staggers in from the Rose Tavern to deliver a halting commentary on the playwright and the play; and in one of the most famous of all the epilogues, Nell Gwyn, who has stabbed herself and lies dead at the end of Tyrannic Love

[1]The Roman numerals used after the titles of plays and after quotations refer to the chronological list of the 104 prologues and epilogues that appears in Appendix I. The order is basically that established by William Bradford Gardner in The Prologues and Epilogues of John Dryden: A Critical Edition (New York: Printed for The University of Texas by Columbia University Press, 1951).

(XIX), cries to one of the bearers,

> Hold, are you mad? you damn'd confounded dog,
> I am to rise, and speak the epilogue.
> (1-2)

Such spectacular effects greatly enhanced Dryden's reputation as a prologue writer who offered to the pit both the unusual and the bizarre.

But Dryden's fame as a writer of prologues and epilogues did not rest alone on his ability to satisfy the demand for novelty. He also offered his audience many contemporary references couched in vigorous figures of speech, such as sly gibes at the popular astrologist Lilly, veiled sneers at personal enemies Sir Richard Blackmore, Shadwell, and Settle, and passing comments on Thomas Rymer and Jeremy Collier, as well as allusions to the Popish Plot, Titus Oates, the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the Dutch wars, Marlborough's siege of Cork, and the Italian comedians and French troupes that were appearing in England in growing numbers. Without a doubt he had, as Van Doren has said, "the richest commenting mind that English poetry has known."[1] The Town loved the audacity of his pieces, the scurrilous innuendoes, the contemporary allusions, and the novelty of invention; in fact, as Dr. Johnson has pointed out, "His prologues had such reputation, that for some time a play was considered as less likely to be well received, if some of his verses did

[1]Van Doren, op. cit., p. 107.

not introduce it."[1]

As the vogue increased it became the fashion to have poets write prologues and epilogues for other men's plays; thus Dryden, the most popular writer of stage orations, was in constant demand. Many were written for the revivals of older dramas that celebrated special occasions; some were for personal friends, such as Lee or Tate or Etherege; and still others introduced promising young playwrights. With few exceptions Dryden's pieces had little connection with the plays they accompanied, a fact that Buckingham in The Rehearsal was quick to point out. Although Dryden was the acknowledged master of the genre, there were many other writers of prologues and epilogues during the Restoration, ranging from the gentlemen amateurs at court like Sir Car Scroope to the popular and prolific poet, Thomas D'Urfey, favorite of Charles. Others, including Settle, Otway, Lee, Shadwell, Aphra Behn, and Edward Ravenscroft, to name a few, had in their pieces just what Dryden did—contemporary references, gibes at the Whigs or Tories, comments on state affairs, and attacks on the French importations. Just like Dryden these writers used colloquial expressions and rhetorical devices; they berated the pit and titillated the audience with suggestive sexual figures. They too tried for novelty: Joe Haynes spoke an epilogue from the back of a donkey, a little girl dressed as

[1]Johnson, op. cit., p. 259.

Cupid lisped an epilogue, an "armed prologue" dressed like a Whig and carried a scythe in his hand. Even though these writers used the same features they could not match Dryden's brilliant series of occasional poems. Only he could blend these components into rapid, flexible verse which carried effortlessly a preponderance of images that would have clogged the lines of any of his contemporaries. His images, unlike those of the other prologue writers, deepened and developed the meaning of his poems and became part of a style that is essentially organic. They gave to his lines an enormous zest and vitality that amply illustrated one of the major tenets of his theory of imagery: "the boldest strokes of poetry, when they are managed artfully, are those which most delight the reader";[1] and even more important, they illustrate the basic principle that underlies his whole theory of poetic imagery: the adaptation of thoughts and words to the subject.

The canon of the prologues and epilogues has not been definitely established. In 1951 William Bradford Gardner collected these poems in one volume for the first time, but he did not include the epilogue to The Rival Ladies,[2] which

[1] Essays, I, 183.

[2] The discovery of this long missing epilogue was reported by R. G. Ham in an article entitled "Dryden's Epilogue to The Rival Ladies," published in The Review of English Studies, XIII (1937), 76-80.

he labeled "extremely mediocre in quality."[1] Professor Noyes, however, placed the epilogue under "Additional Poems" in the Cambridge edition. On the other hand, Gardner thinks that Crowne, not Dryden, wrote the "Epilogue Intended to Have Been Spoken by Lady Henr. Mar. Wentworth, When Calisto was Acted at Court." Although the poem was included in the First Miscellany published in 1684, Dryden's name was not attached to it until the 1702 edition of Miscellany Poems, Part First.[2] Professor Noyes included it in the Cambridge edition with the comment that it is "by no means certainly the work of Dryden."[3] Jacob Tonson must have thought it was by Dryden, for he sanctioned its inclusion under Dryden's name; however, on the basis of internal evidence it seems quite possible that the poem is not by Dryden.[4] The authorship of the prologue and epilogue to Dryden and Howard's The Indian Queen, a Tragedy, is also in question. Dryden's name was not attached to the play until the 1717 folio, and Dryden does not list it in the catalogue of his plays that appeared in King Arthur; or, The British Worthy (1691);[5] nevertheless, the two pieces

[1] Gardner, op. cit., p. 193.

[2] Macdonald, op. cit., p. 71.

[3] Poems, p. 76.

[4] Attention is called to the meaning given to "wit," the full-stopped lines and the rocking rhythm, and the unusual appearance of a celestial body image.

[5] Gardner, op. cit., p. 191.

have been ascribed to Dryden on the basis of superior versification. Professor Noyes finds it "just possible" that Dryden is the author and prints the poems in the appendix of the Cambridge edition.[1] Here once again, the imagery and construction of the lines are useful in suggesting possible authorship. The imagery in both the pieces recalls similar sources and treatment that appear in other prologues and epilogues, especially the use of the coining and sporting figures; and the fluid movement of the verse that is sustained by a number of run-on lines (a device Dryden used more frequently in the genre from 1663 to 1667 than at any other time) is characteristic of Dryden's poetic style. These two pieces have been used in this present study together with the epilogue to The Rival Ladies, which is certainly by Dryden, and the epilogue to Crowne's Calisto, which is supported by Tonson's apparent approval.

The number of images in each poem ranges from one image in two of the selections to twenty-four in the "Prologue, To the Duchess, on Her Return from Scotland," the latter being a highly flattering compliment paid by the poet laureate to a member of the royal family. The unusual number of images and the softness of tone make this prologue different from all the others Dryden wrote. Although those praising Charles and James use many images, the tone is

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[1] Poems, p. 911.

dignified and the style is masculine. Here the images are drawn predominantly from the Imaginative and Learning categories. Striving for eloquence, Dryden employs pathetic fallacy, which is further dignified by anaphora. Qualities are personified and classical references are made to Cynthia's silver beam and the drooping Muses. Biblical allusions such as

> Our fruitful plains to wilds and desarts turn'd,
> Like Eden's face when banish'd man it mourn'd,
> (LXXIV 5-7)

and

> Like Joseph's dream, but with a better doom,
> The famine past, the plenty still to come
> (LXXIV 24-25)

reach for stateliness. In truth Dryden does scatter "the golden shower of wit and virtue,"[1] as Dr. Johnson phrases it in condemning similar "hyperbolical adulations"; but those who doubt the poet's sincerity in this panegyric need only read his dedication to the duchess that preceded The State of Innocence and the Fall of Man. Not only Dryden but many others, including even those who disliked the Duke of York, extolled the charms of Mary of Este, one of the most beautiful women in the kingdom. Dryden suits the thoughts and language to the subject, and by doing so reminds one that many years before he defended his poem written for the first Duchess of York, Anne Hyde, by saying, "I knew I address'd

[1]Johnson, op. cit., p. 280.

them to a lady, and accordingly I affected the softness of expression, and the smoothness of measure, rather than the height of thought; and in what I did endeavor, it is no vanity to say I have succeeded."[1]

No other piece has as many images as the prologue in praise of the duchess. But whether working with a few figures or with many, Dryden appears to use three general approaches in his treatment of the imagery as far as source is concerned: mixed images blended together through technical devices; images from two or three main sources formed into a pattern; and images from one source that dominates the poem. The poems developed with mixed figures represent a majority of the 104 prologues and epilogues used in this study. By way of illustration three poems will be analyzed to show his ability to draw together sources and make them seem part of a greater whole rather than the diversity that they actually represent. The first of these examples of shifting sources is the epilogue to Albion and Albanius (LXXXIV). The ten images in the poem are drawn from four major categories—Daily Life, Learning, Imaginative, and Domestic—which in turn are broken down into six subclasses: Money, Substance, Jewels, Biblical, From Books, and Qualities. Although this is actually a poem in praise of James II, it begins with a reference to the play itself in terms of Aesop's fable of the

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[1]Poems, p. 26.

hare and the tortoise, the hare being "Feign'd Zeal" and the tortoise "Plain Dealing." The next step is a smooth movement into the Domestic category as Plain Dealing becomes a jewel in a crown. With the crown suggesting a king as well as gold, Dryden now runs through a process of precise reasoning in which he uses figures drawn from Substance and Money:

> When Heav'n made man, to show the work divine,
> Truth was his image, stamp'd upon the coin:
> And, when a king is to a god refin'd,
> On all he says and does he stamps his mind:
> This proves a soul without allay, and pure;
> Kings, like their gold, should every touch endure.
> (LXXXIV 7-12)

After praising James for being straightforward and after pointing out how much the people trust him, Dryden uses a Biblical image to reinforce the necessity for trust by referring to Peter, "the saint, who walk'd on waves." The poem then ends with a second Biblical allusion:

> Thus Britain's basis on a word is laid,
> As by a word the world itself was made.
> (LXXXIV 33-34)

The epilogue is filled with sincere praise of the new king and gives a just estimate of James's character. Here are no innuendoes, no puns, no lightness of touch in feminine rhyme. Rather the tone is serious; the figures in reflecting this tone are drawn, for the most part, from categories that lend themselves to elevated thoughts. Even though the figures are from various classes they are fused together smoothly through thought sequences, dignity of tone, and similarity of categories; and they are controlled by timing that builds to the

laudatory note on which the poem ends.

For the revival of Fletcher's Prophetess (LXXXIX) Dryden wrote a prologue in which mixed figures come at the beginning of the poem and fast-moving literal language, barren of figures, dominates the second half that satirizes the war in Ireland which King William was conducting at the moment. The prologue opens with the suggestion that even a Nostradamus could not forecast the fate of the play. The great expense of putting on an opera is hinted at in a figure based on a "prospective," or a telescope. Next, the tide and a siren function in a double metaphor,

> Money, the sweet allurer of our hopes,
> Ebbs out in oceans and comes in by drops,
> (LXXXIX 11-12)

which is followed in turn by a food image and then one built on false lovers who do not love their mistresses long enough to pay for gowns. After eight different images in rapid succession, Dryden calls upon other devices as he satirizes the war. For instance, there is anticlimax in

> Go, conquerors of your male and female foes;
> Men without hearts, and women without hose,
> (LXXXIX 29-30)

and an extensive use of alliteration, as the following lines show:

> But you, bright beauties, for whose only sake
> These doughty knights such dangers undertake,
> When they with happy gales are gone away,
> With your propitious presence grace our play,
> And with a sigh their empty seats survey:
> Then think: "On that bare bench my servant sate."
> (LXXXIX 39-44)

Dryden's control is evident in every line: the first figures of the poems set a facade of dignity and seriousness that is cracked by the anticlimactic couplet and broken down completely by the mistress figure. It is then that the elevated language and other ornaments of poetry lose their pretension when forced into the rocking line.

An excellent example of mixed figures is the epilogue to John Banks' The Unhappy Favorite (LXVIII), which has twelve images drawn from ten different sources. It opens with an arresting couplet:

> We act by fits and starts, like drowning men,
> But just peep up, and then dop down again.

Then in rapid succession come ten images: a Biblical figure based on Pharaoh's dream of the seven kine, one from the theater ("playhouse earth"), a body image ("thin third days"), those drawn from Reptiles, Food, Jewels, Dress, and Sports (fencing), a Biblical image taken from the Psalms, and finally one from Classes (a knight-errant). Despite the constant fluctuation, the poem does not appear to be too heavily weighed down with figures, for they are blended together as the theme develops—the unhappy plight of the playwright. The first eleven lines describe the wretched poet; the rest of the poem down to the last four lines describes reasons for his condition: the fire at the Theater Royal, the poor third nights, and the pamphleteers and the lampooning critics. The conclusion is a plea "to end civil wars for

shame," ostensibly referring to the attacks on the playwrights but actually bearing strong underlying suggestions, for the play was acted in September 1681. Two months later Absalom and Achitophel appeared.

Dryden's second general approach to imagery from the standpoint of sources is to concentrate on two or three categories. In 1684 he wrote an epilogue (LXXXI)[1] in praise of a young playwright, a theme that usually encouraged him to use sexual images. The sexual figures here, however, are interwoven with two other major sources, flowers and literary allusions. As a result of his skillful welding together of the three sources, the images appear to function from within the poem rather than to rest on the surface for the sake of ornament. In fact, one of the things that set off Dryden's prologues and epilogues from those of the other writers is the impression they give of serious intent underneath the scintillating cleverness. His sparkling humor is not without point; the touch may be light, but it stings. In this epilogue Dryden uses the first of the flower images as he makes his plea for the young writer:

> To his green years your censures you would suit,
> Not blast the blossom, but expect the fruit.
> (LXXXI 3-4)

In the next four lines the sexual imagery is apparent:

> The sex that best does pleasure understand,

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[1]The first ten lines of this poem are identical with the first ten lines of the prologue he wrote for Charles Davenant's Circe (XLIV) in 1677.

Will always choose to err on t'other hand.
They check not him that's awkward in delight,
But clap the young rogue's cheek, and set him right.

However, the suggestion of hawking in the word "check" is not felt until the following couplet,

Thus hearten'd well and flesh'd upon his prey,
The youth may prove a man another day,
(LXXXI 9-10)

which combines the sexual image and the hawking image into metaphors that give depth and intensity to the thought. Dropping the sexual imagery for the time being, Dryden combines the bird figure with literary references:

Your Ben and Fletcher, in their first young flight,
Did no Volpone, no Arbaces write;
But hopp'd about, and short excursions made
From bough to bough, as if they were afraid,
And each were guilty of some Slighted Maid.
(LXXXI 11-15)

Then in lines packed with figures, he pulls together all three sources: first an expanded blossom image, next the "hearten'd well and flesh'd upon his prey" from hawking, then the literary allusion, and finally in the last lines the sexual image in "stew'd essays" and the bird image in the victim of the falcon. Playing skillfully with the three sources, the poet extends first one and then another and at the same time shades the presently dominant image with hints of a third. Technical skill and creative imagination combine to make Dryden's handling of the three sources appear deceptively simple.

In the prologue to Mrs. Aphra Behn's The Widow Ranter

(LXXXV) he uses two dominant sources, Trading and Animals. Trading is fully developed in the first eleven lines, which open with:

> Plays you will have, and to supply your store
> Our poets trade to ev'ry foreign shore:
> This is the product of Virginian ground
> And to the port of Covent Garden bound.
> (LXXXV 1-4)

The following lines speak of cargo, "pirates of the pit," "she-privateers," "happy trading," and the "vessel's lading," all in reference to the play, the audience, and the theater. The animal figure, whose treatment is less extensive than that of trading, is introduced through the interesting use of "pig" in ". . . the whole nation pig together," in the civil beaus who "pursue the game," and in "Good Heav'ns defend me, who am yet unbroken." The two sources are brought together briefly in two other figures:

> However, to secure you, let me swear
> That no such base mundungus stuff is here.
> We bring you of the best the soil affords:
> Buy it for once, and take it on our words.
> (LXXXV 30-33)

Not many of the prologues and epilogues are restricted to two or three sources. For the most part Dryden uses either a mixture or concentrates on one general source. By this latter method he develops some of his most interesting occasional pieces. Since diction and imagery direct the reader's response, the poet's deftness in execution and the fertility of his imagination won immediate approval. Even when using only one dominant source of imagery, Dryden varies

his method of approach: sometimes he opens with a striking simile that is extended throughout the poem and then again he picks an ear-catching metaphor which defines the general source. The second variation is illustrated in his brief prologue to Sir Martin Mar-All (XI), one of his earliest comedies. In a sparkling opening couplet he uses Food and Drink, the single source of imagery in the poem, to set his tone:

> Fools, which each man meets in his dish each day,
> Are yet the great regalios of a play.
> (XI 1-2)

Continuing with the image he says of fops,

> But such in plays must be much thicker sown,
> Like yolks of eggs, a dozen beat to one.
> (XI 7-8)

Then after pointing out that poets must observe all that they meet "as men watch woodcocks," he concludes with

> And when they have enough for comedy,
> They stow their several bodies in a pie:
> The poet's but the cook to fashion it,
> For, gallants, you yourselves have found the wit.
> To bid you welcome would your bounty wrong;
> None welcome those who bring their cheer along.
> (XI 11-16)

The playful harmony established between the dominant image and the core of the poem is evident in every line, even to the puns on "woodcocks" and "cheer," the turns, and the alliteration.

Food also is the major source of imagery for the prologue that Dryden wrote for a performance of Beaumont and Fletcher's Wit Without Money (XXIV), which marked the first

appearance of the King's Company in the old playhouse after the Theater Royal was destroyed by fire in 1672. He was inspired to open the piece with a comparison between the unfortunate state of the company and a similar condition among shipwrecked passengers who had escaped to land but who expected "famine on a desart shore":

> From that hard climate we must wait for bread,
> Whence ev'n the natives, forc'd by hunger, fled.
> (XXIV 5-6)

Although not as concentrated as the figures in the Sir Martin Mar-All prologue, the ones here are on a higher level of wit. The puns and innuendoes are missing, for the subject matter is more serious. For instance, he comments on the audience in the following lines:

> Your own provisions furnish out our feasts,
> While you the founders make yourselves the guests.
> Of all mankind beside Fate had some care,
> But for poor Wit no portion did prepare.
> (XXIV 11-14)

And he continues the suggestion of food in

> Our wit as far does foreign wit excel,
> And, like a king, should in a palace dwell.
> But we with golden hopes are vainly fed,
> Talk high, and entertain you in a shed,
> (XXIV 25-28)

in which he cannot resist the whimsical reference to "a shed" despite the dignity of his plea.

Sexual imagery is often the one dominant source. The prologue to An Evening's Love (XVI), for example, begins with a simile that sets the tone:

> When first our poet set himself to write,
> Like a young bridegroom on his wedding night
> He laid about him, and did so bestir him,
> His Muse could never lie in quiet for him:
> But now his honeymoon is gone and past,
> Yet the ungrateful drudgery must last,
> And he is bound, as civil husbands do,
> To strain himself, in complaisance to you;
> To write in pain, and counterfeit a bliss
> Like the faint smackings of an after-kiss.
> (XVI 1-10)

The audience is then compared to ill-pleased wives and the French become "a fresh gallant"; "some by-stroke of wit," which "finds some cranny that was never hit," pleases the pit; the "small-timber'd wits" cannot bear the strain. Finally Dryden says that the gallants are "but for a holiday" and others are "cashier'd" for "mere impotence," which he illustrates in

> Their useless weight with patience long was borne,
> But at the last you threw 'em off with scorn,
> As for the poet of this present night,
> Tho' now he claims in you an husband's right,
> He will not hinder you of fresh delight.
> He, like a seaman, seldom will appear;
> And means to trouble home but thrice a year:
> That only time from your gallants he'll borrow;
> Be kind to-day, and cuckold him to-morrow.
> (XVI 27-35)

The difficulties of the poet in pleasing his audience and of the husband and lovers in pleasing a wife set up a comparison that may offend modern taste, but Dryden's audience loved it and asked for more.

The prologue to <u>The Wild Gallant, Reviv'd</u> (IX) begins in much the same fashion with the lines,

> As some raw squire by tender mother bred,
> Till one and twenty keeps his maiden head
> (IX 1-2)

and runs through twelve lines of rapid delineation of the squire's development as his knowledge of the Town increases. He seduces a dairymaid, comes to town to investigate Whetstone's Park, breaks glass windows, and kills a man in a duel. Then, says Dryden,

> By such degrees, while knowledge he did want,
> Out unfletch'd author writ a Wild Gallant.
> (IX 13-14)

Here Dryden is referring to the original play which he wrote in 1663. The irony lies in the detailed comparison of the "raw squire" to the poet who thought he was competent to write a play and the man-about-town who knew he had much more to learn.

In the epilogue to the first part of The Conquest of Granada (XXI) Dryden is concerned with the ephemeral nature of Fame. Using sexual imagery as his dominant source, he says that

> Fame, like a little mistress of the town,
> Is gain'd with ease, but then she's lost as soon.
> (XXI 5-6)

As he develops the comparison, the poet finds

> So, Fame is false to all that keep her long;
> And turns up to the fop that's brisk and young.
> Some wiser poet now would leave Fame first,
> But elder wits are like old lovers curst;
> Who, when the vigor of their youth is spent,
> Still grow more fond, as they grow impotent.
> (XXI 11-16)

He speaks of forty as "That wretched, fumbling age of poetry" (line 20), makes a pun on "parts," decides that "Long waiting both disables love and wit," (line 34) and concludes with

> Weakness sometimes great passion does express;
> He had pleas'd better, had he lov'd you less.
> (XXI 39-40)

Although food and sexual relationships illustrate the most interesting examples of images from a single source that dominates a poem, there are other categories used for this purpose. The epilogue to John Dryden, Junior's The Husband His Own Cuckold (C) is developed by a running comparison between a young poet and a new preacher, and even though there are figures drawn from other sources, most of the effect grows out of the opening comparison:

> Like some raw sophister that mounts the pulpit,
> So trembles a young poet at a full pit.
> (C 1-2)

A similar type of comparison opens the prologue to Love Triumphant (XCVIII):

> As when some treasurer lays down the stick,
> Warrants are sign'd for ready money thick,
> And many desperate debentures paid,
> Which never had been, had his lordship stay'd;
> So now, this poet, who forsakes the stage,
> Intends to gratify the present age.
> (XCVIII 1-6)

Three other metaphors in the poem are built around money images. Before launching into a number of contemporary allusions Dryden spends the first part of the prologue to The Loyal Brother (LXXI) in a running comparison set up in the opening couplet:

> Poets, like lawful monarchs, rul'd the stage,
> Till critics, like damn'd Whigs, debauch'd our age.

Development depends upon a few figures from a number of

sources but that of royalty is retained for a good part of the poem. Thus a study of the prologues and epilogues reveals that according to the number of sources Dryden grouped his images in three ways: mixed images smoothly integrated through technical skill, two or three general sources worked into a pattern, and one dominant image that controls the piece.

Imagery also works in conjunction with pattern structure. Although some of the pieces appear to have no planned structure, many follow a block method of development —that is, they fall into what corresponds to paragraphs in prose. These so-called blocks usually run from six to twelve lines depending upon the total number of lines in the poem. Many of the more serious prologues and epilogues show that Dryden worked out a carefully constructed framework in which the blocks reveal not only a change in thought but also a change in imagery pattern. He may begin on what seems to be a factual level; from his opening statement he draws a comparison that turns into a simile; then in a third block he emphasizes his subject through a final series of images. Such is the method in a prologue spoken for the Duke of York upon his return from Scotland (LXXIII). The poem opens with an account of the polar regions: natives shiver in caves and bears range abroad until driven into hiding by the glowing sun, but the white foxes remain. The animals tie the first and second blocks together since the fox functions in a

metaphorical sense to reveal the political implications:

> Still we are throng'd so full with Reynard's race,
> That loyal subjects scarce can find a place;
> Thus modest truth is cast behind the crowd;
> Truth speaks too low, Hypocrisy too loud.
> (LXXIII 14-17)

The rest of the second block contains an illustration of Hypocrisy both as the "fawning Devil" and as the friends of Job at heaven's Whitehall; after concluding that kings can forgive if "rebels can but sue," Dryden draws near the heart of the matter by a veiled reference to the Duke of Monmouth. The third block, which opens with the actual welcome of the Duke of York, is teeming with religious and political implications:

> O welcome to this much-offending land,
> The prince that brings forgiveness in his hand!
> Thus angels on glad messages appear;
> Their first salute commands us not to fear:
> Thus Heav'n, that could constrain us to obey,
> (With rev'rence if we might presume to say,)
> Seems to relax the rights of sov'reign sway;
> Permits to man the choice of good and ill,
> And makes us happy by our own free will.
> (LXXIII 36-44)

A similar structure is followed in one of the Oxford prologues (LXIII) that attacks the opposition and praises the king as well as the university. Using an incident from Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, Dryden says in the opening lines that when one's wits are flown they are lodged in earthen jars within the circle of the moon and that they can be restored only by snuffing the jars. In a graceful compliment to the university, the poet suggests that the lost wit has

found its lodging place at the university:

> Whate'er the story be, the moral's true;
> The wit we lost in town we find in you.
> (LXIII 7-8)

The middle section of the poem is political in tone with reference to the fifth parliament called by Charles at Oxford and immediately dissolved when the exclusion bill was introduced. It also names the Whigs, among others, who should come to Oxford to find their lost senses:

> When London votes with Southwark's disagree,
> Here may they find their long-lost loyalty.
> Here busy senates, to th' old cause inclin'd,
> May snuff the votes their fellows left behind.
> (LXIII 10-14)

In the final section he turns to praise of Oxford as he says,

> Our poet bade us hope this grace to find,
> To whom by long prescription you are kind.
> He whose undaunted Muse, with loyal rage,
> Has never spar'd the vices of the age,
> Here finding nothing that his spleen can raise,
> Is forc'd to turn his satire into praise.
> (LXIII 25-30)

In this prologue, as in the preceding one, the images are drawn from various sources with no one category dominant; yet the piece does not suffer from the shifting figures since the basic structure and the imagery work together in harmonious accord.

Familiarity with Dryden's treatment of mixed, restricted, and dominant sources of imagery as well as with the relationship of the structural pattern to the imagery contributes to the general understanding of the figurative language used in the prologues and epilogues. Now it is

necessary to look at particular characteristics, such as good opening lines, boxed similes, and examples of special sources, that set Dryden's stage orations apart from those of his contemporaries. Since he wanted to catch the ear of his audience, which he addressed as the "kind hearty pit" or "the keeping pit" or "the learned pit" as the occasion demanded, he often began his pieces with exclamations or startling images. Among some of his best are the following:

> Gallants, a bashful poet bids me say
> He's come to lose his maidenhead today.
> (LXIV 1-2)

> What flocks of critics hover here to-day,
> As vultures wait on armies for their prey,
> All gaping for the carcass of a play!
> (XLV)

> A pretty task! and so I told the fool,
> Who needs would undertake to please by rule.
> (XLII)

> A virgin poet was serv'd up to-day,
> Who till this hour ne'er cackled for a play.
> (LXXII)

> Pox on this playhouse; 't is an old tir'd jade!
> 'T will do no longer; we must force a trade.
> (LXX)

> Fools, which each man meets in his dish each day,
> Are yet the great regalios of a play.
> (XI)

> How wretched is the fate of those who write,
> Brought muzzled to the stage, for fear they bite!
> (CI)

> Heav'n save ye, gallants, and this hopeful age!
> Y' are welcome to the downfall of the stage.
> (L)

> Poets, like lawful monarchs, rul'd the stage,
> Till critics, like damn'd Whigs, debauch'd our age.
> (LXXI)
>
> Sure there's a dearth of wit in this dull town,
> When silly plays so savorly go down.
> (XCIII)

Selected at random these opening lines show an amazing variety of sources as well as an unusual compression of thought. These, as well as most of the other opening couplets, deal with life in the theater: the playwright, the plays themselves, the audience of fops and fools, and the critics; but from the general subject of the theater the pieces sometimes evolve into biting political commentaries or worthwhile literary criticism.

Opening couplets designed to catch the attention of the critics and fops seated in the pit have served their intended purpose; but the constant play of images throughout the prologues and epilogues has continued to prove Dryden's assertion that the reader is most delighted with bold strokes of poetry artfully managed. Shaped by the technical skill of a fine craftsman, the many figures of speech bear the intuitive touch of poetic creative genius. His treatment of similes is of particular interest, for in the prologues and epilogues they begin to appear with increasing frequency. His usual simile is the kind most often encountered in poetry: the stress is on a single resemblance although more than one point of similarity is implied. For example:

The praise you give him in your kindest mood
Comes dribbling from you, just like drops of blood.
(XLIV 23-24)

His bulky folly gathers as it goes,
And, rolling o'er you, like a snowball grows.
(XLIII 19-20)

The passions rais'd and calm'd by just degrees,
As tides are swell'd, and then retire to seas.
(XLII 7-8)

But, after all, a poet must confess,
His art's like physic, but a happy guess.
(XLII 11-12)

Sometimes for added emphasis Dryden uses double similes to point his satire, as in this cutting gibe at the Whigs:

Libels, like plots, sweep all in their first fury;
Then dwindle like an ignoramus jury,
(LXXIX 37-38)

or as in the ironical disclaimer that the Whigs were not his target in The Duke of Guise:

Yet no one man was meant, nor great nor small;
Our poets, like frank gamesters, threw at all.
They took no single aim—
But, like bold boys, true to their prince and hearty,
Huzza'd, and fir'd broadsides at the whole party.
(LXXVIII 4-7)

More frequent than the double simile is the one that is part of a metaphorical series. Not content to say the likeness is there, the poet illustrates it:

The poets, who must live by courts, or starve,
. . . . . .
Tainted the stage, for some small snip of gain.
For they, like harlots, under bawds profess'd,
Took all th' ungodly pains, and got the least.
(CII 11-15)

Farce is a food as proper for your lips,
As for green sickness, crump'd tobacco pipes.
Besides, the author's dead, and here you sit,

Like the infernal judges of the pit.
(LXXXVI 7-10)

Three gloomy years against this day were set,
But this one mighty sum has clear'd the debt;
Like Joseph's dream, but with a better doom,
The famine past, the plenty still to come.
(LXXIV 22-25)

Errors, like straws, upon the surface flow;
He who would search for pearls must dive below.
(XLV 25-26)

Occasionally Dryden uses what appears to be a boxed simile; that is, a metaphor is built around the simile. This technical device deepens and strengthens the poetic effect of the comparison and gives the impression of depth as well as breadth to the figure. This type differs greatly from the simple simile illustrated above, but it has an established kinship with the metaphorical concretion that is developed side by side with a simile. The boxed simile is illustrated in such combined images as the following: spreading fools throughout a play as one sows seed thickly and as one beats egg yolks into one yolk:

One story makes a statutable ass:
But such in plays must be much thicker sown,
Like yolks of eggs, a dozen beat to one;
(XI 6-9)

seeing ideas developed mechanically and seeing man, a microcosm, in Merlin's ball:

Your theories are here to practice brought,
As in mechanic operations wrought;
And man, the little world, before you set,
As once the sphere of crystal shew'd the great;
(XXXIX 11-14)

finding plays that appeal to the appetite and suit a queasy stomach and plays that are as plain as the petitions the Whigs presented to Charles,

> After a four months' fast we hope at length
> Your queasy stomachs have recover'd strength
> That you can taste a play (your old coarse mess)
> As honest and as plain as an address;
> (LXIX 1-4)

discovering that poor plays are easily swallowed when there is a shortage of witty poets and that clipp'd money is passed when there is a shortage of money:

> Sure there's a dearth of wit in this dull town,
> When silly plays so savorly go down;
> As, when clipp'd money passes, 't is a sign
> A nation is not over-stock'd with coin;
> (XCIII 1-4)

using teaching and the dress of fools in one figure and the vests that Charles II tried to make the fashion in the other,

> Would you but change, for serious plot and verse,
> This motley garniture of fool and farce,
> Nor scorn a mode, because 't is taught at home,
> Which does, like vests, our gravity become,
> Our poet yields you should this play refuse.
> (X 41-44)

It is no accident that most of these boxed similes and combining metaphors contain contemporary references, for it is through such devices that Dryden emphasizes his own political and social convictions. By using the simple, double, or mixed simile Dryden is able to vary the degree of emphasis he wishes to give his core of meaning. The total effect, of course, does not come from the type of simile alone; rather it is the vigor of the language and the

freshness of the points of likeness working in conjunction with the type that create an effective figure. Few of these are stock similes; most of them grow out of a fertile imagination that is stimulated by contemporary events, be they social, literary, or political.

To use sources of imagery as the sole basis for conclusions concerning a poet's personal characteristics and tastes is a dangerous business. To see such sources, however, as a reflection of known facts about an author is reasonable: there is possibly a connection between the remarks Dryden makes about food in his letters and the fact that Food and Drink are in second place among all the sources of imagery used in the prologues and epilogues (Chart 22). On the basis of such reasoning it would appear that Dryden had little interest in farming, reptiles, the seasons, and other sources that he uses once or twice in the poems in this genre. This assumption is unwise, for there are no facts to confirm it. A true explanation of why Dryden used many images from certain sources and few from others lies not in an assumed relationship between the man and the sources but in a real relationship between the poet and his sources. From the beginning of his career until the end of his life Dryden wrote often about the necessity of suiting language and style to subject matter. For the bold, vigorous metaphors demanded by sharp satire and pointed irony he used such sources as Classes and Types, Food and Drink, War and Weapons,

Four-footed Animals, Money, and Human Relations—especially sexual relations. The major categories from which he took the greatest number of images are Daily Life, containing subclasses well suited for an attack upon the vices of the age, and Learning, a category that reflected the training of the court audience (Chart 22). Moreover, these major sources suggest the wide appeal that Dryden had for his time since they point to the interests of the upper middle class.

Among the hundreds of figures of speech in the prologues and epilogues those drawn from Classes and Types lead all the rest and represent every level of society: monarchs, ambassadors, ministers, knights-errant, squires, physicians, treasurers, vicars and parsons, scriveners, trainbands, soldiers and conquerors, seamen, shrieves (sheriffs), Whigs and Tories, duelists, gallants, citizens, tradesmen, shopforemen, watermen, silkweavers, shepherds, cooks, hangmen, rebels, disputants, Indians, the Swiss, the Dutch, the Jews, pigmies, prisoners, slaves and vassals, madmen, salvages (savages), beggars, pirates, spies, pimps, lawbreakers (including rogues, padders, thieves, robbers, and murderers), and loose women (including vizard-masks, prostitutes, harlots, and whores). The wide range of classes and types is not surprising, for from the many allusions to contemporary life that appear in the prologues and epilogues it is evident that Dryden is interested in the life about him.

Those familiar with Dryden's work have commented on

the zest with which he describes foods of all kinds. Now a detailed study of the imagery in the prologues and epilogues reveals that the second greatest source of figures is Food and Drink (Chart 22). Sometimes the figure is very brief:

> News is your food, and you enough provide,
> Both for yourselves, and all the world beside.
> (LV 20-21)

At other times he plays with the figure, drawing from it every possible implication:

> Weak stomachs, with a long disease oppress'd,
> Cannot the cordials of strong wit digest.
> Therefore thin nourishment of farce ye choose,
> Decoctions of a barley-water Muse:
> A meal of tragedy would make ye sick,
> Unless it were a very tender chick.
> (LVI 22-27)

Then he often uses food with sexual implications, as in the following:

> Your fancy's pall'd, and liberally you pay
> To have it quicken'd, ere you see a play;
> Just as old sinners, worn from their delight,
> Give money to be whipp'd to appetite;
> (VIII 39-42)

or with more subtlety in the prologue to The Maiden Queen when acted by the women only:

> Ladies, in us you'll youth and beauty find,
> All things, but one, according to your mind;
> And when your eyes and ears are feasted here,
> Rise up and make out the short meal elsewhere.
> (XXIX 19-22)

Food imagery serves nicely when he attacks the audience for its poor taste:

> For 't is like Turks, with hen and rice to treat:
> To make regalios out of common meat.
> But, in your diet, you grow salvages:

> Nothing but human flesh your taste can please;
> And, as their feasts with slaughter'd slaves began,
> So you, at each new play, must have a man.
> (X 11-16)

Disgust with the French and Italian importations serves as the basis for

> Their treat is what your palates relish most.
> Charm! song! and show! a murder and a ghost!
> (LII 30-31)

and for

> Satire was once your physic, wit your food;
> One nourish'd not, and t' other drew no blood:
> We now prescribe, like doctors in despair,
> The diet your weak appetites can bear.
> Since hearty beef and mutton will not do,
> Here's julep dance, ptisan of song and show:
> Give you strong sense, the liquor is too heady;
> You're come to farce, that's asses' milk already.
> (LXXXIII 11-18)

The vigorous, fresh metaphors used in the preceding quotations should help dispel a critical opinion asserted many years ago and one held by many later critics that Dryden's "lack of creative power is very conspicuous."[1]

Although War and Weapons are third in the total number of images in the genre, Religion and Biblical allusions combined total almost as many as those taken from Classes and Types. In fact, throughout all Dryden's non-dramatic poetry appear many figures of speech taken from these two classes. In the prologues and epilogues twenty-one figures are built upon direct references to Biblical events,

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[1]Hall Frye, "Dryden and the Critical Canons of the Eighteenth Century," University of Nebraska Studies, VII (January, 1907), 1.

a majority of these figures occurring in pieces written in the two-year period immediately following Absalom and Achitophel. During the seventeen years from 1663 (the date of his first prologue) through 1680 only five Biblical sources are found; then suddenly from 1681 through 1682 fourteen are used. Two more appeared in 1685, but from that time until his death no other direct Biblical allusions occur. His favorite source is Genesis, from which a majority of the figures are taken; the New Testament, on the other hand, yields only five.[1] In keeping with the nature of the source, almost all of these are used for serious matters: a touch of irony or satire may be evidenced, but sarcasm, with its cutting gibes and ridicule, is absent. Like the food images, some are brief and others extended as the following show:

> Our land's an Eden, and the main's our fence,
> While we preserve our state of innocence.
> (LXVII 27-28)

and

> When first the ark was landed on the shore,
> And Heaven had vow'd to curse the ground no more;
> When tops of hills the longing patriarch saw,
> And the new scene of earth began to draw;
> The dove was sent to view the waves decrease,
> And first brought back to man the pledge of peace.
> 'T is needless to apply, when those appear
> Who bring the olive, and who plant it here.
> We have before our eyes the royal dove;
> Still Innocence is harbinger of Love:
> The ark is open'd to dismiss the train,
> And people with a better race the plain.
> (LXVII 1-12)

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[1]Other books of the Old Testament used are Exodus, I. Kings, Numbers, II. Samuel, and Job. From the New Testament two are from Mark, and one each from The Acts, Luke, and Matthew.

Instead of an extended religious simile, Dryden often uses a neat, pointed metaphor such as the one in an attack on the Whigs who had been giving Charles II a miserable time:

> But let some Judas near his person stay,
> To swallow the last sop, and then betray.
> (LXXVII 39-40)

The Biblical figures are often used in his political attacks as well as in defense of the royal family. In the epilogue to Albion and Albanius the poet refers to Peter, "the saint, who walk'd on waves," in a plea made to the audience to have faith in James II:

> The saint, who walk'd on waves, securely trod,
> While he believ'd the beck'ning of his God;
> But, when his faith no longer bore him out,
> Began to sink, as he began to doubt.
> Let us our native character maintain;
> 'T is of our growth, to be sincerely plain.
> (LXXXIV 23-28)

Many other sources of imagery in the prologues and epilogues are of interest although they do not form so large a group as the ones drawn from Classes and Types, Food, and Religion. Animals, insects, and birds have always been a rich mine for the satirists, for the unpleasant characteristics of these classes lend themselves not only to whimsical sallies but also to stinging satire. In Dryden's attack on fools, insects play a part:

> Fools change in England, and new fools arise;
> For tho' th' immortal species never dies,
> Yet ev'ry year new maggots make new flies.
> (C 35-37)

As the Town divides to bet on the success of a new play he

writes,

> Bets, at the first, were fool-traps; where the wise,
> Like spiders, lay in ambush for the flies:
> But now they're grown a common trade for all,
> And actions by the news-book rise and fall;
> Wits, cheats, and fops, are free of wagerhall.
> (XCIII 27-31)

Another appears in a cutting reference to the fops:

> Half-wits are fleas; so little and so light,
> We scarce could know they live, but that they bite.
> (XLV 29-30)

In a more mellow mood he uses the bee for a bit of literary criticism:

> The lab'ring bee, when his sharp sting is gone,
> Forgets his golden work, and turns a drone:
> Such is a satire, when you take away
> That rage in which his noble vigor lay.
> (XC 1-4)

And in the epilogue to The Widow Ranter he refers to the playwright, Mrs. Aphra Behn, who died before the play was performed:

> 'T is like the fate of bees, whose golden pains,
> Themselves extinguish'd, in their hive remains.
> (LXXXVI 23-24)

The insect images may be mellow or they may be sharp; sometimes they are simply obscene as the innuendo in his harsh words for the "women-haters" shows:

> The best on 't is they hurt not: for they wear
> Stings in their tails; their only venom's there.
> (LXXIX 31-32)

So it is that figures drawn from insects run from mellow comments on the death of the most famous female playwright of the century to sharp criticism of the fops, fools, and

critics who fill the pits.

Among the birds that Dryden uses for his figures of speech are eagles, woodcocks, parrots, vultures, doves, and chickens; although they are mammals, bats may be included here. This class, however, is quite limited when it is compared to the large number of images built on references to four-footed animals: cats, bears, asses, and horses (including jades and mares) are his favorites, but he also uses dogs —especially the spaniel—lions, foxes, wolves, and hogs. The hog images are not very pleasant, as the following prove:

> For, when a fop's presented on the stage,
> Straight all the coxcombs in the town ingage:
> For his deliverance and revenge they join,
> And grunt, like hogs, about their captive swine.
> (XXXI 9-12)

Evidently liking the figure, he uses it again in speaking of preferments:

> Of this damn'd grievance ev'ry Whig complains:
> They grunt like hogs, till they have got their grains.
> (LXXII 35-36)

Lack of space makes it impossible to discuss figures from all fifty-two classes of images found in the prologues and epilogues; therefore, only a few more of particular interest will be mentioned: Human Relations and Sickness, because they carry many of the obscene images that Dryden was criticized for using; Astrology, because he evidently was a firm believer in this pseudo-science; and Science, since he was an early member of the Royal Society. Dryden seems irresistibly drawn to figures concerning Human Relations,

especially those referring to mistresses and their lovers or the fops and the courtesans. When the "vizard-mask" (during this period a cant term for "courtesan") appeared in the pit, the fops tried to guess who she was; so it is, says the poet that the wits will try to guess the plot of the second part of The Conquest of Granada. He ends with the lines:

> And as those vizard-masks maintain that fashion,
> To soothe and tickle sweet imagination;
> So our dull poet keeps you on with masking,
> To make you think there's something worth your asking,
> But, when 't is shown, that which does now delight you
> Will prove a dowdy, with a face to fright you.
> (XXII 25-30)

Those references to mistresses and their lovers are often used in prologues that serve a special occasion. While the King's Company was performing in the old theater following the fire, Dryden used the lover-mistress theme for an amusing prologue. Sometimes, he says, it is necessary for a gallant to take lodging in an out-of-the-way street so that he can arrange for a quiet rendezvous; then he writes,

> Such is our case: we can't appoint our house,
> The lovers' old and wonted rendezvous,
> But hither to this trusty nook remove;
> The worse the lodging is, the more the love.
> For much good pastime, many a dear sweet hug,
> Is stol'n in garrets on the humble rug.
> (XXV 5-10)

Some of his most effective uses of source are in the figures built on sickness. Many function in his comments on the plays and playwrights of the period. Here, as usual, his treatment ranges from the ribald to the serious. In an early

epilogue, a twentieth century discovery[1] and one that most critics ignore as being much inferior to Dryden's usual work, a doctor examines a urinal containing black water and then gives his professional opinion that

> Whilst we in vain excuses waste our breath,
> The poet and his muse are sick to death!
> (Va 7-8)

On another occasion an incompetent playwright is compared to a quack doctor:

> Th' illiterate writer, empiric-like, applies
> To minds diseas'd, unsafe, chance remedies.
> (XXXV 22-23)

A particularly unpleasant image is used in

> Tho' nonsense is a nauseous heavy mass;
> The vehicle call'd faction makes it pass.
> (LXXII 18-19)

In a more subdued manner, Dryden uses sickness to introduce his reply to Collier's criticism of the stage:

> Perhaps the parson stretch'd a point too far,
> When with our theaters he wag'd a war.
> He tells you that this very moral age
> Receiv'd the first infection from the stage.
> (CII 1-4)

There are very few images from science, but those that he does choose are extremely effective. One of especial interest refers to Lucretius in a couplet that rebukes the "haughty dunces" who write plays:

> Such build their poems the Lucretian way;
> So many huddled atoms make a play.
> (XXXV 32-33)

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[1] Supra, p. 87.

Another uses the telescope, one of the great inventions of the early seventeenth century, in the opening lines to one of his finest pieces, "The Epilogue Spoken to the King at the Opening of the Playhouse at Oxford on Saturday Last, Being March the Nineteenth, 1681":

> As from a darken'd room some optic glass
> Transmits the distant species as they pass
> (The world's large landscape is from far descried
> And men contracted on the paper glide),
> Thus crowded Oxford represents mankind
> And in these walls Great Britain seems confin'd.
> (LXI 1-6)

Dryden, like most men of the Restoration, had a real interest in astrology as well as in scientific inventions. The prologue to his first play, The Wild Gallant, is a little scene in which two astrologers draw up a horoscope of the play in an effort to predict its success. Four years later in the epilogue to Sir Martin Mar-All he uses a similar idea, for after condemning the jury of wits who will sit in judgment on the play, Dryden concludes,

> Thus, gallants, we like Lilly can foresee;
> But if you ask us what our doom will be,
> We by to-morrow will our fortune cast,
> As he tells all things when the year is past.
> (XII 13-16)

Once again in a prologue written many years later he suggests that the success of a play may be predicted in such a way, but this time he refers to the famous sixteenth century astrologer, Nostradamus, as he asks,

> What Nostradame, with all his art, can guess
> The fate of our approaching Prophetess?
> (LXXXIX 1-2)

Immediately following this reference to a pseudo-science, Dryden moves to an image based on a true science, one drawn from the telescope again, and thus combines the two fields. He uses the image of the telescope to comment on a matter of particular concern to the playwrights of the day, the great cost of staging a performance like the revival of Fletcher's Prophetess, which had been turned into an opera:

> A play, which, like a prospective set right,
> Presents our vast expenses close to sight;
> But turn the tube, and there we sadly view
> Our distant gains; and those uncertain too.
> (LXXXIX 3-6)

In all, Dryden uses figures of speech drawn from fifty-two different classes (Chart 22), and although it has been impossible to discuss every class, enough examples have been given to show his remarkable range of subject matter, his technical skill, and his fertile imagination. In addition to these, it is more than apparent that his "Undaunted Muse, with loyal rage" has "never spared the vices of the age."

The various sources in the prologues and epilogues are suited to the tone as well as to subject matter. In the six pieces honoring royalty, Learning and Arts head the list (Chart 25), but in the selections lashing the audience for its low taste these two are far down the scale (Chart 24). Forty-eight percent of the figures in the Oxford prologues and epilogues are from Learning and the Arts (Chart 23); the other general categories are grouped together far from the top: Daily Life, 16 percent; Body and Bodily Action and

Domestic, 15 percent; and Nature and Animals, 14 percent. Wishing to make the poems an organic whole, Dryden has selected as the sources of imagery those that suit serious subject matter and thus conform with his theory of imagery. On the other hand, he has "images of burlesque" that "begat laughter." Innuendoes, puns, and colloquial phrases combine with images drawn from four-footed animals and sexual allusions to set the tone for the pieces developed by innuendo (Chart 24). In the poems that introduce young playwrights leading images are those that can be used to show growth and development. Here Nature is first in the general categories, a rare occurrence among the genre in the nondramatic poetry, and within the category Growing Things contribute by far the greatest number of images. Nature and Animals, the two major categories most closely allied, together make up almost forty percent of all the images in the group. Such a source lends itself well to this particular type of subject matter. For example, in the opening lines of the prologue to Charles Davenant's Circe Dryden writes,

> Were you but half so wise as y' are severe,
> Our youthful poet should not need to fear:
> To his green years your censures you would suit,
> Not blast the blossom, but expect the fruit.
> (XLIV 1-4)

A similar idea is suggested in the fanciful lines from a prologue written in 1681 for an unknown young playwright:

> He's a young plant, in his first year of bearing;
> But his friend swears he will be worth the rearing.
> His gloss is still upon him; tho' 't is true

He's yet unripe, yet take him for the blue.
(LXIV 22-25)

In the epilogue to Charles Saunders' Tamerlane the Great he uses blossoms again as a central figure:

Early as is the year his fancies blow,
Like young Narcissus peeping thro' the snow:
Thus Cowley blossom'd soon, yet flourish'd long;
This is as forward, and may prove as strong.
(LXII 5-8)

Although the prediction about Saunders did not come true, the lines do illustrate Dryden's continual association of budding young playwrights and blossoming flowers. Since sources from Daily Life dominate the total number of images from all the prologues and epilogues, it is significant that Learning and Arts should head the list for the more dignified and serious groups of poems, such as the Oxford pieces and those honoring royalty (Charts 25, 23), and that Nature and Animals should be first in another special group of poems, those introducing young playwrights (Chart 26). The order of major categories of sources for the political prologues and epilogues is identical with that of the poems built on innuendo,[1] but the order of sub-classes is different: instead of Four-footed Animals and Human Relations, which head the sources in the innuendo group, Classes and Types, followed closely by Biblical references and Religion, leads the political group (Chart 23). In the political prologues and epilogues, just

[1]The order of major categories is as follows: Daily Life, Learning, Body and Bodily Action, Nature, Animals, and Imaginative.

as in the great political satires, Biblical references and Religion play a major role in the sources (Chart 22). Thus a study of the images found in special groups of prologues and epilogues shows again that imagery is closely related to the tone and that the sources vary according to subject matter, be it political, honoring royalty, introducing new playwrights, lashing the audience for its low tastes, celebrating special theatrical events, honoring Oxford University, or developing ideas by innuendo.

From the first prologue written in 1663 to his final epilogue written shortly before his death in 1700, Dryden's ability as a writer of the genre appears to deepen rather than develop. The early poems, which often depend upon novelty for audience approval, are among the wittiest that he wrote. The compression and subtlety that mark many of his figures of speech in the later poems were not especially noticeable in the early ones. A detailed study of the 104 prologues and epilogues shows a number of interesting facts. The range of images in the various poems is from one in two poems to twenty-four in a prologue praising the Duchess of York; the average number of images in a poem is a little over eight. Sometimes it is high, sometimes low, but there is no definite shift in either direction and the degree of concentration follows no definite pattern.

From the viewpoint of sources Dryden uses three general approaches in his treatment of images: mixed images

that are blended together so smoothly that the reader is not conscious of the running succession of figures; images from two or three sources formed into a pattern; and images from one dominant source around which he builds some of his most effective poems. His imagery also works in conjunction with pattern structure built upon blocks of development that correspond to prose paragraphs. Specific characteristics concerning imagery reveal his technical skill and poetic genius. He has many good opening lines designed to catch the ear of the audience and startle his listeners into paying attention to what he has to say. Often these lines contain exclamations or arresting images. His treatment of similes is of particular interest because he uses the simile as an instrument of emphasis. Many of his similes are like those usually encountered in poetry, the stress being upon a single point of resemblance with implied similarity upon other points. Sometimes he uses a double simile for emphasis and occasionally he inserts a simile in a running metaphorical series. And finally he has what appears to be a boxed simile—that is, one around which a metaphor is built. His greatest source of images in the prologues and epilogues is that of Classes and Types (Chart 22) in which he uses fifty-two types drawn from all levels of society. His second greatest source of imagery is Food and Drink, which he uses for some of his most effective figures of speech. Although War and Weapons form the third largest group of sources of imagery, those

drawn from Religion and the Bible when combined total almost as many as the images taken from Classes and Types. Most of the Biblical allusions come from the Old Testament and the majority of these from Genesis. Effective figures also are drawn from animals and insects, both of which are peculiarly adapted to satire; from astrology; and from science. Sexual relations as a source of imagery appear in many of the more obscene and scurrilous figures. By observing the sources of imagery used in special groups of the prologues and epilogues, one discovers that Dryden suited sources and tone to subject matter. Daily Life is the major category under which the greatest number of images fall, but when the Oxford poems are isolated as a group, it is found that here Learning and the Arts are the leading categories (Chart 23). A similar condition exists when poems introducing young playwrights are considered as a group, for then Nature is first in the list of general categories (Chart 26). For those honoring royalty, Learning and Arts once again lead as in the Oxford prologues and epilogues (Chart 25). Even though Daily Life is the major category for the images in the political poems and in the ones developed by innuendo, the subclasses differ in a fitting manner: Four-footed Animals and Human Relations head the innuendo group and Classes and Types followed closely by Biblical allusions and Religion head the political poems (Charts 23, 24).

The imagery in the 104 prologues and epilogues stands

as evidence that Dryden called upon his great technical skill and his fertile imagination to create bold, fresh figures of speech that delighted his audience. When the subject was serious as in the Oxford pieces or those honoring royalty, he drew on sources of imagery that lent themselves to a dignified or elevated tone — Religion, Classical, Music, and Personification. When he wished to strike out with a whiplash of scorn directed toward the fops and fools in the pit, he found his images from the familiar events of everyday life — Food and Drink, Classes and Types, War and Weapons, Four-footed Animals, and Trade and Business. Pieces developed by innuendo depended upon these familiar figures too, but even more so on sexual imagery and figures from the animal category. So it is that his figures of speech functioned as an integral part of his effort to adapt thoughts and words to the subject and thus make his prologues and epilogues artistic organic wholes.

CHAPTER IV

OTHER OCCASIONAL POEMS

Although the prologues and epilogues as a group are the most important of Dryden's occasional poems, a number of brilliant individual pieces appear in the epigrams, the epitaphs, the odes, the elegies, and the epistles. Here also are some of his total failures, the most unforgivable being the elegy "Eleonora, A Panegyrical Poem Dedicated to the Memory of the Late Countess of Abingdon."

The general deprecation of the epigram in Dryden's time may explain why he published only three epigrams, even though he had the type of mind that lent itself to the witty or ingenious turn.[1] Van Doren will have it that Dryden's devotion to the heroic style was responsible for his indifference to the epigram.[2] In the classical tradition, however, the form was often associated with satirical occasions

[1]The neoclassical critics as a body frowned on the epigram. For example, they agreed that the epigrammatic turn in the final quatrain of "Alexander's Feast" was the only defect in Dryden's lyrical style. Robert Mason Myers, "Neo-Classical Criticism of the Ode for Music," PMLA, LXII (1947), p. 416.

[2]Van Doren, op. cit., p. 121.

and as such should have appealed to the greatest satirist of the seventeenth century. The best of his three epigrams is engraved under the picture of Milton in Tonson's folio edition of Paradise Lost (1688):

> Three poets, in three distant ages born,
> Greece, Italy, and England did adorn.
> The first in loftiness of thought surpass'd,
> The next in majesty, in both the last:
> The force of Nature could no farther go;
> To make a third, she join'd the former two.

Following the traditional pattern, Dryden gives the situation in the first four lines, the disclosure in the last two; antithesis, the basic figure of an epigram, is lightly touched on in "loftiness of thought" and "majesty" of style. Except for the buried metaphor in "adorn" the only image is the personification of Nature, which imparts force and dignity to the quick turn in the final couplet. Epigrams depend upon puns or paradox and always antithesis to make a witty point; poetic figures are not essential. Thus Dryden's translation of an epigram on Plutarch by Agathias personifies "martial Rome" in the situation, but the wit in the disclosure lies in a sedate paronomasia in the last line:

> Chaeronean Plutarch, to thy deathless praise
> Does martial Rome this grateful statue raise,
> Because both Greece and she thy fame have shar'd
> (Their heroes written and their lives compar'd);
> But thou thyself couldst never write thy own:
> Their lives have parallels, but thine has none.

The histories of Greece and Rome are alike in many ways; but Plutarch has no equal—he is perfection. Since the subject matter of these first two epigrams demands a formal style,

Dryden keeps his tone elevated. In his third epigram, however, he enjoys himself thoroughly as he describes his publisher, Tonson:

> With leering look, bull faced and freckled fair,
> With frowsy pores poisoning the ambient air,
> With two left leggs and Judas coloured hair.

This satirical multiplex verse is not complete in form and is not meant to be. Here instead of a dignified idiom for a serious subject, Dryden chooses images that not only set a tone of ridicule tinged with biting sarcasm but also imply that Tonson is an ill-favored liar who cannot be trusted. Even more insulting are the underlying sexual suggestions in "leering" and "bull faced." There is a subtle joke in having these unpleasant implications, which are suitable to low comedy, couched in lines that use anaphora and Latin inversions.

Traditionally the epitaph is closely related to the epigram, but Dryden's eight epitaphs have little resemblance to his epigrams. Only the ones on the Marquis of Winchester and John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, deserve any special consideration. For the most part the others are built around the usual images associated with death. The "petty epitaph" on Dryden's nephew, Erasmus Lawton, uses the figures of the race being run as does "Upon Young Mr. Rogers of Gloucestershire." The latter also ends with a strained conceit typical of Dryden's earliest pieces:

> But, knowing heav'n his home, to shun delay,
> He leap'd o'er age, and took the shortest way.
> (7-8)

In the epitaph on Mrs. Margaret Paston, ripe judgment and rare wit meet;

> . . . but long they could not stay,
> 'T was gold too fine to fix without allay,
> (4-5)

says the poet in one of his favorite comparisons. Lady Whitmore's virtues are lauded in conventional style in another epitaph; "A Fair Maiden Lady Who Died at Bath," however, is a much more ambitious project. The longest of the group, it is weighted with ornamental figures drawn from the general categories of Nature and Domestic. The verse on Sir Palmes Fairborne strives for somber dignity in images taken from Fire and Light, Classical, and Painting, but there is no controlled pattern. Sincerity marks Dryden's translation of Dr. Archibald Pitcairne's Latin epitaph on Viscount Dundee as well as the epitaph on the Marquis of Winchester. In both of these the imagery is subdued, the form tight. The latter poem ends with a skillfully turned figure emphasized by the shifted caesurae:

> Such souls are rare, but mighty patterns given
> To earth, were meant for ornaments to heaven.
> (15-16)

Only twenty-eight figures of speech are used in the epitaphs, and since the matter centers around the lives of the people who are praised, the two major categories are Domestic and Daily Life (Chart 29). Jewels, Crafts, and Personification,

the three leading specific sources, reflect the conventional ideas of treasures being lost and a piece being broken from the pattern of life.

Dryden's four elegies show him rising to the heights of poetical perfection in "To the Memory of Mr. Oldham" (1684) and sinking to the depths of mediocrity in "Eleonora" (1692). Of little importance are "On the Death of Amyntas, A Pastoral Elegy" and "On the Death of a Very Young Gentleman," both published for the first time in 1704 in the Fifth Miscellany. The latter is well stocked with conventional elegiac expressions: the blank page in life's book, the race cut short, the dear one snatched away because he was loved too much. The poet's fancy runs wild in metaphysical conceits reminiscent of his elegy on Lord Hastings. For instance, a tortured figure drawn from nature finds the dead youth free of sin except "the taint Adam left on ev'ry son"; the "first muddy clay" was washed away until the stream of life ran clear,

> So deep, and yet so clear, we might behold
> The gravel bottom, and that bottom gold.
> (35-36)

And the young man's being "rarified," "exhal'd," drawn by God "as the sun the morning dew" recalls Donne faintly. In "The Death of Amyntas" Dryden uses some of the pastoral conventions—the shepherds mourning the dead boy, the face of Morning damp with rain, Death repenting the blow he has given—but he was never at home in the pastoral mood as his

translations of Theocritus' Idylls and Virgil's Eclogues show. This poem is no exception, for when Amyntas arrives at the gate of Heaven he presents, of all things, his passport. The leading source of imagery, Personification, serves especially in developing pathetic fallacy, one of the conventions of the genre. It is hard to believe that "Eleonora" was written after Dryden had developed his metrical skill almost to perfection and had long been guided by his theory of propriety. Aware of the uneven quality of the poem, he defends himself on the grounds that the ancients on occasion of praise employed "the magnificence of words, and the force of figures, to adorn the sublimity of thoughts."[1] He does have the grace to admit that in this poem judgment did not control his luxuriant fancy. Believing firmly that similes are proper to heroic verse, he carries out his conviction with abandon. Twenty-nine of the seventy images in the poem are similes, an average of forty-one percent which is the highest in any of his poems, even higher than the thirty-eight percent in Annus Mirabilis. Although the sources of imagery in "Eleonora" suit the subject and the tone—the leading general categories are Learning and Nature and the individual sources Biblical, Religious, and Celestial Bodies—the fault lies in Dryden's refusal to control his figures, in his failure to make them become part of an organic whole.

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[1] Poems, p. 270.

The patterned imagery combined with the metrical skill of a master craftsman gives to the elegy on John Oldham a finished perfection reserved for few poems. Here is no effusive sentimentality, no plethora of ornamental figures. Instead, contained grief is expressed in a controlled masculine style that uses conventional imagery drawn from Nature and Learning and the Arts. The thoughts and the expression of the thoughts blend so that one cannot be divorced from the other. The poem falls into three parts, each of the first two with a dominant image pattern and the third with a restatement of the first two. The first ten lines use figures from Music, Sculpture, and Books to discover the likenesses between Dryden and Oldham. Nature images, especially from the class of Growing Things, dominate the next eleven lines as the poet praises the accomplishments of his dead friend. And the final four lines draw the circle complete as the poet bids a final farewell:

> Once more, hail and farewell; farewell, thou young,
> But ah too short, Marcellus of our tongue;
> Thy brows with ivy, and with laurels bound;
> But fate and gloomy night encompass thee around.
> (22-25)

These four lines represent a masterly concentration and reiteration of all the images that have gone before: a second Virgilian allusion; the ivy and laurels re-emphasizing Oldham's accomplishments as a poet and at the same time picking up the nature imagery of the second part; the "too short" echoing the "too little, and too lately known" in line one;

the antithesis in "gloomy night" and shining wit; and the notes of the lyre and the "cadence of a rugged line" finding reflection in "Marcellus of our tongue." Those who have given high praise to this elegy because of its metrical qualities have dismissed the imagery as a patchwork of classical allusions, none original. "Nothing except his genius can explain the precision with which he grouped those memories in this case, or the harmony with which his feeling suffused them," says Van Doren.[1] If this despiser of Dryden's imagery had been less adamant in adhering to a set critical position, he might have found a partial explanation in the very thing he chose to ignore.

Elegies by the nature of their matter should be written in elevated language, in the heroic idiom as it were. Dryden's sources of images in this genre serve this purpose, for they are from the ranking categories of Learning and Nature, with the Arts higher than usual (Chart 27); the leading specific sources are Biblical and Religion, Personification, Celestial Bodies, and Growing Things. These are all quite appropriate for expressions of sadness as well as praise or adulation. But even though the sources follow the dictates of decorum, it has been shown that when the poet's judgment is not in control the imagery turns into pretty tinsel. The concentration of images is much higher in

[1]Van Doren, op. cit., p. 126.

Dryden's elegies than in the four odes included in the occasional poems. In the elegies the range is from one image in every 2.5 lines in the poem on Oldham to one image in every 5.3 lines in "Eleonora"; the highest concentration in the odes is one image for every 4.8 lines in the poem on Anne Killigrew, the lowest one image for every 9.4 lines in "Alexander's Feast" (Chart 30).

"To the Pious Memory of the Accomplish'd Young Lady, Mrs. Anne Killigrew" (1685) is, said Dr. Johnson, "undoubtedly the noblest ode that our language has ever produced."[1] Many modern critics agree with Johnson, though with certain reservations. Van Doren, for instance, has praise only for the first, fourth, and tenth stanzas, and finds the poem sadly uneven. Not all bow down in reverence to Dr. Johnson. C. S. Lewis speaks caustically of the "prolonged indecorum of Dryden's satiric conceits" and concludes that he does not know "whether any major poet other than Dryden ever played such silly tricks at a funeral."[2] Professor Tillyard, who admires "the wealth of imaginative invention and the glory of the verbal music," sees matters in another light; such imagery, he says, follows decorum: "There was an appropriate style for the various subjects. The heavenly theme must be

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[1]Johnson, op. cit., I, 310.

[2]C. S. Lewis, "Shelley, Dryden, and Mr. Eliot," Rehabilitation and Other Essays (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1939), p. 24.

answered by a high manner."[1] The forty images in the poem are taken almost exclusively from Learning, Daily Life, and Nature, with Classical and Religious and Biblical leading the specific sources. The high place of Daily Life is partly the result of the extended conceit in stanza six in which Dryden, having described Anne's merit as a poet, now has her invading the province of poetry as a conqueror. The military figure is carried out over eighteen lines. Figures from Daily Life are also used in stanza eight in which Death is pictured as a murderer and then as a hardened felon plundering and destroying a sacred shrine. The sort of thing that Lewis objects to is the satirical digression in stanza four:

> O wretched we! why were we hurried down
> This lubric and adult'rate age,
> (Nay, added fat pollutions of our own,)
> T' increase the steaming ordures of the stage?
> What can we say t' excuse our second fall?
> Let this thy vestal, Heav'n, atone for all:
> Her Arethusian stream remains unsoil'd,
> Unmix'd with foreign filth, and undefil'd;
> Her wit was more than man, her innocence a child!
> (62-70)

Such vehement protests carried in images hardly proper to an ode on a young virgin strike a false note, as do the Christian symbolism and the forced classical allusion. In these lines it is hard to find any of the softness and tenderness that Waller's influence exerted on Dryden's earlier poems to young women, such as the epistle to the Countess of

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[1] E. M. W. Tillyard, Five Poems 1470-1870: An Elementary Essay on the Background of English Literature (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948), p. 58.

Castlemaine.

"An Ode on the Death of Mr. Henry Purcell" is built around an extended simile: just as the other birds stopped singing when Philomel began, so did the "rival crew" stop composing when Purcell, the finest musician of his age, performed. This simile is followed by the unusual suggestion that "our Orpheus" is not in hell because Satan would have sent him back to earth before the music

> . . . had tun'd their jarring sphere,
> And left no hell below.
> (21-22)

And the final stanza is marred by a play on the word "scale" in

> The heav'nly choir, who heard his notes from high,
> Let down the scale of music from the sky.
> (23-24)

One would think that the finest poet of the Restoration could have paid a higher tribute than this to the greatest musician of the age.

The two odes written for St. Cecilia's Day rank at the very top of Dryden's poetry. Though hardly "immortal ragtime," the brilliance of these two poems lies not in the imagery but in a sort of metrical orchestration. As Dryden knew, the thought and the expression of the thought form a whole; so it is that in "A Song for St. Cecilia's Day" (1687) the various instruments are personified, a device that adds strength to the impression that the instruments are really speaking in the musical effects obtained by the shifting and

varied meter. "Alexander's Feast," a poem that Professor Noyes places "at the head of English lyric poetry between Milton and Gray," uses similar metrical devices.[1] The imagery is concentrated in the first two stanzas and the last one, although metaphors and similes are scattered throughout, such as

> 'T was but a kindred sound to move,
> For pity melts the mind to love,
> (95-96)

or

> Break his bands of sleep asunder,
> And rouse him, like a rattling peal of thunder,
> (125-126)

or

> Thais led the way,
> To light him to his prey,
> And, like another Helen, fir'd another Troy.
> (148-150)

One reason why the concentration of figures in this poem is less than in any of the other odes or elegies (Chart 30) is that the little story takes on some of the characteristics of narrative verse, a genre that does not use a great many figures. Moreover, a number of the neoclassical critics insisted that in an ideal musical ode sentiments were preferable to images.[2] As the figures of speech quoted above show, many of the images are from familiar sources; thus it is not surprising that the major category is Domestic, followed by

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[1] Poems, p. lxi.

[2] Myers, op. cit., p. 414.

Learning and Imaginative.

A glance at Chart 27 reveals that Learning heads the list of general categories in both the odes and elegies; in the odes, however, the greatest number of images under Learning is Classical while in the elegies it is Biblical and Religious. Second for the elegies is Nature with emphasis on Celestial Bodies and Growing Things, both of which offer a fertile field for comparisons of the past life and the future state of the dead. The odes, more concerned with activities during life, have Domestic in second place. Once again the sources are proper for the genres, for the leading specific sources—Classical, Biblical and Religious, and Personification—offer the necessary inspiration for elevated and noble thoughts.

The epistles as a group are the most illuminating of the occasional poems: they stretch like a fine thread through Dryden's poetical career, indicating various stages of his developing style; they contain any number of critical comments on things literary much in the manner of the prologues and epilogues. The first of the epistles compliments Sir Robert Howard on his volume of poems published in 1660; the final epistle, published in 1700 in the Fables, is one of Dryden's best poems, "To My Honor'd Kinsman, John Driden." The difference in treatment of the imagery in these two poems illustrates the evolution of a style from the clumsy handling of forced conceits and grotesque comparisons in the poem to

Howard to the lightness and sureness of touch in integrating figures that not only illustrate the matter but strengthen the texture of the verse in the poem to John Driden.

The thirty-four images in the Howard epistle are drawn from twenty-seven different sources. It is as if the young poet was determined to impress by his knowledge and wit and had forgotten, or did not know, that imagery had a function to perform other than that of mere ornamentation. Yet two years later Dryden is able to handle with some ease the difficult and obtuse conceits in "To My Lord Chancellor." "To My Honor'd Friend, Dr. Charleton" (1663) is a decided improvement over the Howard poem. For one thing there is a good design: first there is praise for the explorers who have discovered new worlds; next, acclaim for those who have made great scientific discoveries—Bacon, Gilbert, Boyle, Harvey, and Ent; then there is the tribute to Charleton himself:

> Nor are you, learned friend, the least renown'd;
> Whose fame, not circumscrib'd with English ground,
> Flies like the nimble journeys of the light;
> And is, like that, unspent too in its flight.
> Whatever truths have been, by art or chance,
> Redeem'd from error, or from ignorance,
> Thin in their authors, like rich veins of ore,
> Your works unite, and still discover more.
> Such is the healing virtue of your pen,
> To perfect cures on books, as well as men.
> (33-42)

Images from three different sources—astronomy, mining, and medicine—are bound together under the common name of science and are worked smoothly into the lines where they function within the poem as meaning; they are not superimposed as

decoration. The final section of the poem ends, as did the one to Howard, with a tribute to Charles II, a transition neatly made by recalling that Charles once took refuge in the ruins of Stonehenge when he fled from Wor'ster field. The figures of speech are highly concentrated, one for every 3.4 lines, but they are handled more deftly than those in the first epistle.

Fourteen years passed before Dryden published his next epistle, a poem addressed to Nathaniel Lee, whose play The Rival Queens had been unsuccessful on the stage. In style and subject the epistle is similar to the prologues and epilogues that deal with literary questions, and like those it has as its major category Daily Life with the leading specific sources of Sports, Government, Classes, and Personification. Thus conscious of the propriety of thoughts and words Dryden does not use a high style. Of especial interest is his approval of Lee's heroic style:

> Despise those drones, who praise, while they accuse
> The too much vigor of your youthful Muse.
> That humble style which they their virtue make,
> Is in your pow'r; you need but stoop and take.
> Your beauteous images must be allow'd
> By all, but some vile poets of the crowd.
> (45-50)

It must be remembered that only a short time before Dryden had taken this position in "The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic Licence," the preface to The State of Innocence.

In complimenting the Earl of Roscommon on An Essay on

Translated Verse Dryden follows a design somewhat similar to that in the Charleton epistle; in the first half of the poem he gives a literary history of rhyme; in the second half he praises Roscommon and his work. The major sources are spread among Learning, Domestic, and Body and Bodily Action, followed closely by Nature. In showing the growth and development of rhyme Dryden uses a number of nature images and some drawn from Bodily Action; in praising Roscommon he uses Classical, Fire and Light, and Dress, the last two being drawn from Domestic. Since the style is high familiar one expects a mixture of everyday figures and more learned ones. The concentration is not so high as usual, a characteristic of the "legislative" style he had been experimenting with.

In the next two epistles Dryden halts momentarily in the steady progress he is making toward a controlled flexible familiar style. The fourteen line verse to Northleigh suggests the epigrammatic form: three Biblical similes bound together by the common idea of foretelling true facts by using parallels are followed by praise of James II and the "powerful pen" of Northleigh. Except for a sneer at his sworn enemies, the presbyters, and a preponderance of alliteration, the poem holds little interest. "A Letter to Sir George Etherege," written in octosyllabic couplets, is definitely lowered in style by several instances of feminine rhyme and clipped words, such as "plenipo" and "His Grace of Bucks." The two major categories of imagery are Learning and Daily Life, but

the images from Learning are pure burlesque as the following will show:

> Triptolemus (so sung the Nine)
> Strew'd plenty from his cart divine.
> But spite of all these fable-makers,
> He never sow'd on Almain acres.
> (30-33)

When praising Henry Higden for his translation of the tenth satire of Juvenal Dryden suits thoughts and words by taking most of his images from Daily Life—Classes, the Law, Government, and War and Weapons—images drawn from the ordinary routine of life for a light familiar style. Since Higden is a lawyer, Dryden directs some of the figures into the Law and Government; for example,

> Our last redress is dint of verse to try,
> And satire is our Court of Chancery.
> This way took Horace to reform an age
> Not bad enough to need an author's rage.
> (12-15)

Also in this epistle Dryden remarks concerning satire,

> No: I have cur'd myself of that disease;
> Nor will I be provok'd, but when I please,
> (33-34)

although at the time he was working on "The Hind and the Panther," which devotes a great deal of the third book to satire. The epistle to Southerne carries a familiar theme of the prologues and epilogues, an attack on the audience for preferring foreign novelty to English comedy. Since Southerne's play The Wives' Excuse had not been successful, Dryden offers advice on style:

> The standard of thy style let Etherege be;
> For wit, th' immortal spring of Wycherley.
> Learn, after both, to draw some just design,
> And the next age will learn to copy thine.
> (28-31)

The "just design" was always an important consideration in Dryden's comments on both dramatic and nondramatic poetry. From the very first he emphasized that the design had to be good, for it gave the inspiration to the thoughts which were in turn expressed in proper language.

The design makes the epistle to Congreve one of Dryden's finest pieces. The poem falls into five divisions, each made distinct not only by the thought but by the concentrated sources from which he draws his images. The first nineteen lines use figures from Gardening and Building to sketch the growth of the drama during the Restoration and to compare it to that of the Elizabethan age. Not until the arrival of Congreve, says Dryden, did the present age match the wit of "the giant race, before the flood":

> Our age was cultivated thus at length,
> But what we gain'd in skill we lost in strength.
> Our builders were with want of genius curst;
> The second temple was not like the first:
> Till you, the best Vitruvius, come at length;
> Our beauties equal, but excel our strength.
> Firm Doric pillars found your solid base;
> The fair Corinthian crowns the higher space:
> Thus all below is strength, and all above is grace.
> (11-19)

With amazing skill Dryden blends into an organic whole a passage that contains images drawn from Gardening, Classes, the Bible, Roman history, and Architecture; and he makes these

images add something to the texture as well as the thought of the lines. Next he compares Congreve with the dramatists of the past and the present by using figures from Daily Life; then he recalls men who while still young achieved fame in other fields; a fourth division uses images from Government and Royalty to predict Congreve's future as the greatest wit of the age. Finally Dryden draws on figures from Business and Personification as he pleads:

> Already I am worn with cares and age,
> And just abandoning th' ungrateful stage;
> Unprofitably kept at Heav'n's expense,
> I live a rent-charge on his providence;
> But you, whom ev'ry Muse and Grace adorn,
> Whom I foresee to better fortune born,
> Be kind to my remains; and O defend,
> Against your judgment, your departed friend!
> Let not the insulting foe my fame pursue,
> But shade those laurels which descend to you.
> (66-75)

This is a finished piece of work. The design is good, the imagery controlled and appropriate to the matter. The rapid movement of the lines and the flexible familiar style that with perfect propriety may drop into a couplet like this,

> But now, not I, but poetry is curst;
> For Tom the Second reigns like Tom the First,
> (47-48)

or rise into a moderately high style like lines 70 to 75 quoted above are the components of the style Dryden is to use in the Fables, the one he has been developing for many years.

"To Sir Godfrey Kneller" (1694) follows a pattern that Dryden was now using often in his epistles: he gives a history of painting and parallels it with the development of poetry;

then he praises Kneller. The style is similar to that in the Congreve epistle, and the leading categories are also the same, Learning and Daily Life, a happy combination that allows the poet to use common everyday images as well as those more suited to an elevated style. The poem is a preview of some of the critical ideas that he will express the following year in "A Parallel of Poetry and Painting." A comparison that he has made before and will make again is that of Raphael to Homer, both of whom excel in design, and Titian to Virgil, who excel in color; then he says to Kneller:

> Thy genius gives thee both; where true design,
> Postures unforc'd, and lively colors join.
> Likeness is ever there; but still the best,
> Like proper thoughts in lofty language dress'd:
> Where light, to shades descending, plays, not strives,
> Dies by degrees, and by degrees revives.
> (65-70)

Thus his notion of propriety extends into the realm of painting.

The epistle to Mr. Granville, like the one to Southerne, attacks the taste of the audience. The design is good, but the style is uneven. A slip in judgment allows a drop into low satire, with its accompanying feminine rhyme, and a sudden elevation into a lofty style in the last three couplets. The steep shifts strain the frame of propriety and show what pitfalls lie in wait for the poet when he does not keep the fluctuation within reasonable limits. "To My Friend Mr. Motteux" touches on several literary problems: it answers Jeremy Collier's "Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness

of the English Stage," continues to laud Wycherley's wit, remarks on the three unities, and then contrasts the French and English languages:

> Their tongue, infeebled, is refin'd so much,
> That, like pure gold, it bends at ev'ry touch;
> Our sturdy Teuton yet will art obey,
> More fit for manly thought, and strengthen'd with allay.
> (44-47)

All of this is written in an evenly paced middle style that bears a latent sparkle in the imagery and a restrained vigor in the lines.

The two epistles addressed to women have the same theme—the power of Beauty—but the tones and designs are different. The verses to Lady Castlemaine, who encouraged Dryden's first play, The Wild Gallant (1663), is built upon six similes, each drawn from a different source. Opening with one of his favorites, he compares shipwrecked seamen thrown upon the lady's hospitable coast with his own state; then he compares her to Cato, to a ruler viewing action in an arena, to the lights of the stars, and to courageous ancient heroes. The poem concludes with a personification of Beauty and a tribute to the countess's powers when her

> . . . applause and favor did infuse
> New life to my condemn'd and dying Muse.
> (51-52)

Here are the softness of expression and the smoothness of measure that Dryden felt proper for verses addressed to a lady. The design, however, is feeble and the unrelated similes make the poem exist in little pieces. In 1700 Dryden

dedicated the "Palamon and Arcite" to the Duchess of Ormond in a complimentary epistle that shows what a developed artist and a skilled craftsman can do with the type. Today, readers will find the effusive "celestial style" artificial and affected, but the poem is a worthy example of the laudatory epistle of the seventeenth century and illustrates competent workmanship in a special genre. For one thing, the later poem is well designed. The theme is developed with precision. Chaucer was inspired by the fairest Plantagenet; now "illustrious Ormond" will inspire Dryden. On a voyage to Ireland the gods protect her; Hibernia adores at her feet:

> Blood, rapines, massacres, were cheaply bought,
> So mighty recompense your beauty brought.
> (68-69)

Even at her "second coming" she shall bring peace to earth. The poet then recalls her recent illness:

> Ev'n to your breast the sickness durst aspire;
> And, forc'd from that fair temple to retire,
> Profanely set the holy place on fire.
> In vain your lord, like young Vespasian, mourn'd,
> When the fierce flames the sanctuary burn'd.
> (122-126)

But the doctor was inspired to find a cure and now has

> . . . preserv'd the precious mold,
> Which all the future Ormonds was to hold.
> (142-143)

The entire poem is crowded with images drawn from Classical, Biblical and Religious, and Personification as leading specific sources; yet they do not weigh down the musical flow of the verse. The images, the tone, and the words suit the

matter perfectly.

"To My Honor'd Kinsman, John Driden" and the epistle to Congreve are the finest in the genre. Dryden spent a great deal of time on the verse to his cousin, as he reports in a letter to Mrs. Steward:

> If you desire to heare any thing more of my Affars, the Earl of Dorsett, & your Cousin Montague have both seen the two Poems, to the Duchess of Ormond, & my worthy Cousin Driden: And are of opinion that I never writt better. My other friends, are divided in their Judgments which to preferr: but the greater part are for those to my dear Kinsman; which I have Corrected with so much care, that they will now be worthy of his Sight: & do neither of us any dishonour after our death.[1]

The matter of the epistle is twofold: the blessings of a country life and England's need of peace, the two disparate subjects united through the person of John Driden, who was in Parliament. The leading sources of imagery, Learning and Daily Life, followed closely by Nature, reflect the subject matter—the business of a magistrate, the hospitality offered to friends, and the pleasures of hunting, as well as digressions on marriage and doctors. Biblical allusions, figures drawn from Sports, nature images centering on Growing Things and Elements all serve as proper sources for the familiar style.

The three hundred and one images in the fifteen epistles are drawn from forty-seven specific sources (Chart 28), only five less than the unprecedented fifty-two sources used

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[1] Letters, p. 123-124.

in the prologues and epilogues (Chart 22). The difference in style between these two groups is pointed up in these sources. The low familiar style of the prologues and epilogues uses as its first five sources figures from Classes and Types, Food and Drink, War and Weapons, Religion, and Four-footed Animals, all rich fields for satirical and ironical development; the major category for this group is Daily Life (Chart 22). In contrast, the high-familiar style of the epistles has as its first five sources Classical, Personification, Biblical and Religious, Gardening, and Science, all of which emphasize greater dignity and restraint than are found in most of the stage pieces. The change in styles is also noted in the shift from the general category of Daily Life in the prologues and epilogues to Learning in the epistles. Sources of imagery used in the other genres that make up the occasional poems reveal that Dryden's idea of propriety led him to choose figures that best expressed the matter and thought and tone: for the epitaphs Domestic and Daily Life (Chart 29); for the elegies, Learning, with emphasis on Biblical and Religious, and Nature, with emphasis on Growing Things and Celestial Bodies; for the odes, Learning again but this time with Classical stressed, and Domestic and Nature in second place (Chart 27).

As in the public poems so in the occasional poems Dryden adjusted his levels of style to the various genres. The directing force that suited the imagery to each of the ten classes was his critical theory that he developed from 1667

on and brought to full statement in 1677; moreover, it was this theory of propriety in action that led him to develop the high-familiar style that appeared after his great satirical period in 1681. By 1685 he had restated his definition of propriety so that it included more than the heroic idiom:

> Propriety of thought is that fancy which arises naturally from the subject, or which the poet adapts to it. Propriety of words is the clothing of those thoughts with such expressions as are naturally proper to them; and from both these, if they are judiciously performed, the delight of poetry results.[1]

Only when they were not "judiciously performed" did Dryden fail.

[1] Essays, I, p. 270.

CHAPTER V

CLASSICAL TRANSLATIONS

As the outstanding literary figure of the Restoration Dryden is usually remembered as a satirist, a dramatist, and a critic; yet his translations of the classical poets make up three-fifths[1] of all his nondramatic poetry, and when his adaptations from Chaucer and Boccaccio are included the total is even higher. His use of imagery in these translations acquires special significance because it presents several problems not encountered in the analysis of the imagery in his other poems; thus a preliminary examination of all figures of speech in the translations must be made before any critical statements concerning Dryden's own contributions become valid.

Figures of speech that are close translations of the original may illustrate technical skill and intellectual control of conceptual images, but they can hardly be considered indicative of Dryden's own creative or poetic genius. On the other hand, when a catalytic imagination changes the form, the tone, or the emphasis of the original, the altered

[1] Dryden's nondramatic poetry totals 51,292 lines; 31,130 lines are translations from Greek and Latin poets.

figures emerge as re-creations through the poetic process. What once belonged to Ovid or Lucretius or Virgil now is Dryden's, just as any poetic translation is at once an old and a new poem. The only way to ascertain Dryden's contribution is to make a line by line comparison of the original poems and his translations, then analyze those figures of speech that are not exact.[1] Tedious as this preliminary investigation may be, it is the only satisfactory method of arriving at his original contributions in the field of imagery. The material presented in this chapter and the conclusions drawn from it are based on a complete analysis of all the translations, for a sampling process would neither indicate the source and frequency of change nor show Dryden's developing technique in handling such figures of speech during a twenty-year period.

Since the translator must "labour on another man's plantation,"[2] his figures of speech should properly belong to

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[1] J. M. Bottkol has shown that Dryden used contemporary editions that differ from modern Latin texts and that his translations were greatly influenced by the commentaries; thus some of the seemingly original additions and changes are actually based on these sources. "Dryden's Latin Scholarship," Modern Philology, XL (1942-43), 242, 247.

It then seems that if seventeenth century texts and commentaries are not used in making the proposed comparisons, conclusions concerning original figures of speech will be without merit. However, the comparisons in this study are based on modern editions of classical works that retain doubtful lines usually dropped by modern editors. Figures of speech that may be developed from literal commentaries are treated as original since the figurative language is Dryden's contribution.

[2] Essays, II, 232.

the original poems and should not be considered a product of the translator's creative imagination. Such an assumption, however, about Dryden's imagery in his translations of the classical poets is dangerous business, for his own theory of translation, first printed in 1680 in the preface to Ovid's Epistles,[1] gave him considerable freedom in his treatment of the figures he found in his poets. In this preface he not only pointed out the difficulties faced by the translator but outlined three methods of translation: metaphrase, which is "turning an author word by word, and line by line"; paraphrase, wherein "the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense; and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered"; and imitation, which not only varies from the words and sense, but, forsaking them altogether, takes "only some general hints from the original."[2] Paraphrase, or "translation with latitude," was Dryden's choice; and although he followed it in the Epistles, he eased into a position "betwixt a paraphrase and imitation"[3] for the satires of Juvenal and Persius, then swung back to the right for the Aeneis, where his method was "not so strait as metaphrase, nor so loose as

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[1]He also discusses the art of translation in the preface to Sylvae (1685), the preface to Examen Poeticum (1693), a Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire (1693), the dedication to the Aeneis (1697), and the preface to Fables, Ancient and Modern (1700).

[2]Essays, I, 237. [3]Ibid., II, 111.

paraphrase."[1]

"To vary but the dress, not to alter or destroy the substance"[2] was the basic principle of a method that became more flexible as "the disease . . . of translation" grew upon him. A deep interest in language led to discussions of the image and ornament of thoughts. He felt nothing but contempt for the "botching interpreters" who understood Latin and Greek but were ignorant of their own language. These were men who could judge neither words nor style, would-be translators who did not understand the character of their poet and lacked the artistic perception necessary to carry the spirit of the original over into the English version. Dryden himself spent long hours in careful study, seeking out distinguishing characteristics of those whose works he proposed to translate. He found Lucretius' golden line; he noted Ovid's use of turns; he praised Virgil's elegance of expression and bemoaned the succinct style that made him "the plague of translators." Only a poet could really translate a poet, Dryden concluded, as he tailored the dress to fit his own pattern. Wearing his boldness with a jaunty air, he shortened or expanded figures of speech, introduced contemporary references, inserted his own metaphors and similes without warrant from the Latin. Seemingly with ease the heroic couplet flowed from his pen as he "made English" the great poets of antiquity. Often hurried,

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[1] Ibid., p. 227. [2] Ibid., I, 241.

sometimes careless, he produced translations that hve been both praised and censured. Ovid, Lucretius, Juvenal and Persius—all are distinguished performances enlivened by the enormous zest and vitality of this busy little man, but they must bow before his Virgil, which is now considered an English classic.

In 1693 Dryden began to translate the complete works of Virgil, an exacting and demanding task that during the next three years often taxed his strength and sometimes strained his inventive faculties. He was not without experience and certainly not without encouragement in the venture, for his earlier works translated from the classical poets had been well received. In 1680 his first published translations had appeared in Ovid's Epistles. There had also been selections from Lucretius, Theocritus, and Horace in Sylvae (1685) as well as several episodes from the Aeneis which he was to revise for the complete edition. In 1692 he finished his translations of the satires of Juvenal and Persius, a difficult undertaking successfully completed as he smoothed out Persius' contorted style and rugged meter and made vigorous the artificial and mechanical lines of Juvenal. Before settling down to Virgil, Dryden returned to Ovid, this time for selections from the Metamorphoses which were published in Examen Poeticum (1693). Finding Ovid much easier to translate than Juvenal and Persius ("he was more according to my genius"), Dryden also did the first book of The Art of Love and

two elegies from the Amores, but they were not published until several years after his death.[1] Then came the Virgil, followed three years later by his final great achievement, Fables, Ancient and Modern, which appeared in March, a short time before he died.

In the best neoclassical tradition Dryden's translations include almost every literary type on the generic scale—the pastoral, the elegy, the ode, the epistle, the satire, and the epic. These with the didactic poem and the narrative verse represent in their original Greek and Latin the masterpieces of classical literature, but as translations they have become something else: they have dissolved under the heat of one man's poetic fire and have been molded and shaped by one man's creative imagination so that the still familiar forms appear changed and the shifting colors, now blended and fused, lie beneath a glaze of restraint and finish. To study the changes that have taken place is to examine a relatively untouched field—the translator-poet's use of original imagery.

"Ovid's Epistles"

As far as imagery is concerned, Dryden's first published translations did not have a very auspicious beginning;

[1]Professor Noyes suggests that these selections from Ovid may have been withheld from the press because of their extreme indecency (Poems, p. 1021), but they certainly are not so obscene as passages in the fourth book of Lucretius, or so filthy as any number of lines in the satires of Juvenal and Persius, which had just been published.

but as illustrations of experimental methods they offer some interesting comparisons. In "Canace to Macareus" and in "Dido to Aeneas," two of his three contributions to Ovid's Epistles, translated by several hands, he uses paraphrase; in the third, "Helen to Paris," with the Earl of Mulgrave as collaborator, he follows "Mr. Cowley's way of imitation." The most significant thing about the three epistles is their length. "Helen to Paris" is nine lines shorter than the Latin and both of the others are only sixteen lines longer than their originals. Since Latin verses are longer than the English by some seven syllables, Dryden compresses greatly when lines are equal in number, even if the density of Latin is not also considered. Of all his classical translations "Helen to Paris" is the only one that is shorter than the original and the only one in which he uses imitation. Here the collaborators have left out many of the original figures; in fact, on a percentage basis the English version shows that more figures of speech are omitted in the Helen epistle than in any of the other selections Dryden translated, another proof that imitation leaves much to the discretion of the translator, who may keep or ignore whatever he desires. Very few of the original images remain untouched. While keeping the basic comparisons, the two seventeenth century poets usually manage to alter Ovid's picture. As an example, the opening line, "Nunc oculos tua cum violarit epistula nostros," becomes "When loose epistles violate chaste eyes." By translating "violarit" as

"violate" rather than the softer "dishonor" or "profane" and by adding the modifiers "loose" and "chaste," which in themselves set up a bold antithesis, the translators suggest an act of violence—of rape—instead of the more restrained idea of contempt. Other variations show little originality. Moreover, in trimming the copiousness of Ovid's wit, Dryden and Mulgrave have shunned a number of images that do have freshness and color.[1]

Although not especially rich in connotative value, the images used by Dryden in the two epistles he did by himself have more vitality than those in "Helen to Paris." In "Canace to Macareus" he omits only one of Ovid's figures of speech:

> nescia, quae faceret subitos mihi causa dolores,
> et rudis ad partus et nova miles eram.
> (47-48)

Possibly he felt some harshness in the comparison of a newly recruited soldier and a woman in labor, especially since it would have come immediately after a poetic flight built on a hint from Ovid's "soror pulcherrima Phoebi" (line 45):

> And now the pale-fac'd empress of the night
> Nine times had fill'd her orb with borrow'd light.
> (51-52)

Though not master strokes, five other images added to this epistle are acceptable even if a bit dull. For instance,

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[1]Among these are "desine molle, precor, verbis convellere pectus" (line 111) and "flamma recens parva sparsa resedit aqua" (line 190).

when Aeolus hears the baby's cry he flies to the nurse as "swift as a whirlwind"; and when the baby must face the wrath of Aeolus, Dryden uses without warrant of the Latin a commonplace figure as a link and summary line: "What helps it to have weather'd out one storm?" These like other additions in the epistle show little imaginative force. The most successful metaphor in the poem carries with it a shift in emphasis through double meaning: "His present shall be treasur'd in my heart," says Canace, speaking of the sword her father has sent her, wherein "condo," usually translated as "buried" or "stored up" becomes "treasur'd." Of course, it is quite possible that Ovid had the same idea in mind.

In "Dido to Aeneas" he omits only two images. One is a military reference in which Dido pleads with "frater Amor" to make his brother Aeneas serve in Love's camp; the other is drawn from nature: Dido feels that Aeneas will change like the wind unless he exceeds the hardness of the oak. The reference to "hardness" may be used to illustrate a practice Dryden follows in later translations—the picking up of a word or phrase from an omitted figure of speech and using it in another figure he has expanded or created. Dido writes:

> tu quoque cum ventis utinam mutabilis esses!
> et, nisi duritia robora vincis, eris.
> (51-52)

Dryden ignores the comparison except for "duritia," which he chooses to insert in his couplet,

> From harden'd oak, or from a rock's cold womb,
> At least thou art from some fierce tigress come,
> (37-38)

although Ovid makes no specific mention of hardness in

> te lapis et montes innataque rupibus altis
> robora, te saevae progenuere ferae.
> (37-38)

Following the dictates of fancy, Dryden drops, adds, or substitutes words and phrases in a somewhat erratic manner without essentially disturbing Ovid's metaphors. In the couplet quoted above he substitutes the vivid and graphic "fierce tigress" for Ovid's "wild beasts" and at the same time compresses Ovid's mountains and rocks into "a rock's cold womb" wherein "cold" as a qualifier for the quickened warmth suggested by "womb" comes as a shock. Similarly, he makes no mention of Triton driving across the path of the waves although he retains the idea in the winds "lull'd into a peace." From hints in the literal Latin he introduces such tame metaphors as "every wave asleep," "clogg'd with conscious fears," and "cruel stars my birthday did attend." Only two images suggest more than the conventional poetical approach. These arise out of each other in

> Death holds my pen, and dictates what I say,
> While cross my lap thy Trojan sword I lay.
> My tears flow down; the sharp edge cuts their flood,
> And drinks my sorrows, that must drink my blood.
> (197-200)

Comparison with a well-known prose translation of Ovid's lines shows clearly the vigorousness of conception that brought forth Dryden's bold but pleasing images: "I write, and the

Trojan's blade is ready in my lap. Over my cheeks the tears roll, and fall upon the drawn steel—which soon shall be stained with blood instead of tears."[1]

Few of the figures of speech that Dryden added or changed in the three epistles are strikingly original. Most are conventional figures, some bordering on the petrified metaphor. They do foreshadow, however, the methods he will use to manipulate the metaphors and similes in his other translations. He omits only three out of more than a score in the two epistles built by paraphrase; and his method of imitation as well as his attempt to tone down Ovid, who has "persons speak more eloquently than the violence of their passion would admit,"[2] probably accounts for the dull images in his adulterated Helen epistle. The reader can sense when comparing the English versions and the Latin originals that Dryden must have been consciously guided by a position taken fifteen years before in the preface to Annus Mirabilis when he quoted Horace, "Nunc non erat his locus." There is no inkling in Ovid's Epistles that Dryden was on the threshold of his brilliant achievement in satiric verse, for the images in his first published translations show a restraint bordering on timidity. He moves cautiously, feeling his way in an experiment that sees him making a conscious effort to let

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[1] Ovid, Heroides and Amores, trans. Grant Showerman ("The Loeb Classical Library"; London: William Heinemann, 1931), p. 97.

[2] Essays, I, 234.

judgment rather than "false fancy" dictate his choice of ornament.

"First Miscellany"

Dryden's next venture in translation included a paraphrase of the third idyll of Theocritus, one of Ovid's elegies, and two of Virgil's eclogues which later appeared in the complete Virgil. These four pieces were published in Tonson's First Miscellany (1684). The third idyll, entitled "Amaryllis" by Dryden, contains no new figures of speech even though he expands the fifty-four lines of Theocritus to one hundred and twenty-seven. There are, however, various changes in Ovid's Elegy XIX, from Book II of Amores. A number of the conventional love images are dropped, such as the iron-hearted lover, love becoming hardy and growing through the years, the loved one stealing the lover's eyes away, and cares eating into the marrow. Those which the translator adds are of limited strength. When the lovers quarrel, she sends him "fasting home." A few lines later Dryden enforces the sustenance association found in Ovid by a new figure drawn from Government and Authority:

> These are the arts that best secure thy reign,
> And this the food that must my fires maintain.
> (23-24)

Other contributions like the Shakespearean "pocket up thy wrong" and the colloquially gusty "be jealous as the Devil in hell" are not so interesting as the contemporary references

Dryden introduces into his translations for the first time. In the couplet,

> Let him who loves an easy Whetstone whore,
> Pluck leaves from trees, and drink the common shore,
> (31-32)

the second line is straight out of Ovid,

> quod licet et facile est quisquis cupit, arbore frondis
> carpat et e magno flumine potet aquam,
> (31-32)

but there is only the vaguest suggestion for "an easy Whetstone whore." In addition to the allusion to the brothels in Whetstone Park, he substitutes "orange-wench" for "ancilla." Critics who censured this practice because they felt that the spirit of the original had been transgressed were answered by Dryden in the "Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire." Here he admits that the contemporary references cannot be defended or excused, but he insists it is a fault which "is never committed without some pleasure to the reader."[1] This innovation, begun fairly early in his career as translator, will find its way into many of the later works not only as local allusions but as sly political insinuations.

"Second Miscellany"

So successful was the First Miscellany that Tonson followed it with Sylvae (1685), a similar collection generally referred to as the Second Miscellany. This time Dryden's contributions were even more substantial; he not only wrote

[1] Ibid., II, 114.

the preface but also translated several episodes from the Aeneis, over seven hundred lines from Lucretius' De Rerum Natura, three more idylls of Theocritus, and four of Horace's odes. Personal preference dictated his selection. Ranging through De Rerum Natura, he was attracted by passages that embodied the poetical descriptions as well as certain precepts of morality. Among the latter were Lucretius' ideas that only philosophy can bring serenity of mind; that the powers of reason can help master fear, especially the fear of death; and that love can persuade Mars to give peace. For more than twenty years Dryden had planned to translate Lucretius. Now that he had done so, he said that he was highly pleased with the result, a rare admission for one who usually offered excuses for hurried work. Anticipating criticism of "Concerning the Nature of Love," an excerpt from Book IV, Dryden said that he chose it simply because it pleased him. Obscene though the subject is, he turned it into "luscious English" without omitting or softening what Lucretius had to say. "Neither he nor I," wrote Dryden, "have used the grossest words, but the cleanliest metaphors we could find, to palliate the broadness of the meaning; and . . . have carried the poetical part no further, than the philosophical exacted."[1] With the defense—"I am only the translator, not the inventor"[2]—he let the original author bear the greater part of the

[1] Ibid., I, 263. [2] Ibid.

censure.

Dryden begins his translation from Lucretius with the opening lines of the first book of De Rerum Natura, a passage extolling the powers of Venus. Here the original supplies hints for the figures of speech that he adds. Although low-toned and of limited intensity, they have a smoothness lacking in those of the earlier translations. For example, when Lucretius says that the ocean laughs, Dryden adds "and smooths her wavy breast." Lucretius' teeming south winds become for Dryden western gales that "unlock the lazy years." And while following closely his poet's picture of Mars succumbing to love, he works in a metaphor not in the Latin even though suggested by it:

> There while thy curling limbs about him move,
> Involv'd and fetter'd in the links of love,
> When, wishing all, he nothing can deny,
> Thy charms in that auspicious moment try.
> (I, 53-56)

Another original figure,

> Thro' all the living regions dost thou move,
> And scatter'st, where thou goest, the kindly seeds of love,
> (I, 26-27)

closes a verse paragraph and at the same time acts as a summary of the preceding description of the effects of love on all of Nature. Furthermore, it serves as a pivot for turning attention toward the human elements that dominate the second half of the brief selection. Even though used infrequently, the summary figure of speech does function effectively in

Dryden's later translations and properly becomes a poet who has long been styled a reasoner in verse.

In Book II Dryden again chooses the opening passage. In his translation of the first sixty-eight lines he closely follows Lucretius, who uses highly figurative language to show that through wisdom comes serenity of mind and body. Three new figures grow out of hints in the original. One of these is an extended metaphor which takes the place of the only image he omits in this selection:

> He spends his little span, and overfeeds
> His cramm'd desires with more than nature needs!
> For nature wisely stints our appetite,
> And craves no more than undisturb'd delight.
> (II, 18-21)

The source lines in Lucretius have been translated as "In what gloom of life, in how great perils is passed all your poor span of time! not to see that all nature barks for is this, that by some means pain be removed away out of the body, and that the mind kept away from care and fear enjoy a feeling of delight!"[1] The resulting figure hinges on Dryden's giving the literal meaning to "latrare," "to seek" or "to demand eagerly," and building on it his own metaphor drawn from Food and Drink, whereas Lucretius restricts himself to the figurative meaning, "to bark after." As for the other two additions, one is commonplace—"the warm spring with gaudy

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[1]Lucretius, De Rerum Natura with an English Translation, trans. W. H. D. Rouse ("The Loeb Classical Library"; London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1931), p. 85.

flow'rs is dress'd"—but the last, an expansion of a literal suggestion, shows an increasing ability to blend gracefully his own poetic creations and the functional images found in the Latin:

> But much more sweet thy lab'ring steps to guide
> To virtue's heights, with wisdom well supplied,
> And all the magazines of learning fortified.
> (II, 7-9)

While Lucretius speaks of looking down from the heights upon men who are wandering about seeking a way of life, Dryden uses figurative language to reveal how the heights are reached. For Lucretius, these are fortified sanctuaries; for Dryden, "magazines of learning fortified," in which the shaping principle is a double interpretation of "magazine." Such images may not seem impressive but they do indicate that his range is wider than it has been and that he is shaking off the restraint imposed by the pattern of the poet he is translating.

In the longer excerpt from Book III (250 lines in the Latin, 321 in the English version) Dryden omits many figures of speech that should have stimulated him: for instance, the suggestion that a man rings false, based on the tendency of certain metals when struck to give out a clear tone; the picture of nature holding up a mirror to show by past events what the future will bring; and the metaphorical idea of wandering on the uncertain tides of impulse. The last is flattened by Dryden into "Thou wander'st in the labyrinth of life." On the other hand, Dryden adds twenty-two figures in

this selection. Some are altered interpretations, but most are originals growing out of the intent of his poet. The additions, especially in this excerpt on death, reflect the tonal quality of the theme, for they include figurative references to the grave, resigning the stage, everlasting sleep, dregs of life, the mortal thread being cut by the Fates, and others of a similar nature. These are not startling images. All fit smoothly into the suggested pattern; very few seem to lie on the surface of the poem. The first three selections from Lucretius indicate a new firmness in the translator's handling of his poets. He omits forceful figures and adds others of less power as he levels off the impact of a highly figurative original; he extends at will suggested images, as in his description of Xerxes crossing the angry waves; he ignores a metaphor only to use it later, as in "drunk with the fumes of popular applause"; and he continues to add in increasing number his own figures of speech. In every instance there is exhibited a growing willingness to tamper with his original.

In "Concerning the Nature of Love" from Book IV, the imagery shows a radical change in character. Here is the so-called "luscious English" and the "cleanliest metaphors" he could find "to palliate the broadness of the meaning." If by "cleanliest" Dryden wishes to suggest morally or spiritually clean, he is far from the mark. A factual statement treating of sexual love may be unpleasant and not in the best of taste,

but a hidden or veiled reference may shade into a degrading lasciviousness. Metaphors chosen at random from among those that are Dryden's original contributions do not need the context of the poem for understanding: "force the tide of thought," "raging foam of full desire," "ebbing tides the slacken'd nerves betray," "with recruited rage new spirits boil," "with flames renew'd th' erected furnace burns," "so tangled in the nets of love they lie," and a number of others. In all, he contributes twenty-five figures; yet strangely enough, in the last hundred lines of this selection there are no omissions, additions, or expansions, with one exception—"such are the links of love." His approach to the imagery in this final excerpt from Lucretius is typical of that used in other translations: the omission of a figure that one feels should have appealed to him; the alternate translation of a word that changes the Latin figure; the toning down of others; and the growing tendency to expand. In the expansion of figures he seems to take a perverse delight in lingering over the more suggestive passages. For instance, in describing the act of love Lucretius is much more factual and uses fewer figures of speech than Dryden. After a pause the Latin poet simply states that the frenzy returns; not satisfied to follow Lucretius' lead, Dryden takes seven lines (IV, 84-90) to give a detailed figurative development of the renewed desire. He continues the practice of picking up an omitted word or phrase from a Latin figure and using it in a new one of his own

devising. The habit of inserting contemporary references continues to grow upon him; two are "French fashions, costly treats are their delight" (IV, 107) and the phrase "the Bedlam train of lovers" (IV, 139). Dryden translates Lucretius with a certain gusto that carries the verse along at a rapid pace, and if he seems to linger over the more sensuous passages, he is pleasing not only himself but the age in which he lived. After all, he is a man of the Restoration.

The three idylls of Theocritus that Dryden includes in the Second Miscellany are not among his more successful translations. He could not find the naturalness and rustic simplicity of expression that characterize the work of the pastoral poet. Under the Englishman's hand the lilt and gaiety become only clumsy playfulness. In the twenty-third idyll he changes Theocritus' heartsick swain who loves a beautiful young boy into a handsome young man scorned by a cruel-hearted girl. His additions are the conventional love metaphors: she taught "her eyes to sparkle fires to love unknown"; her sullen frown "but fann'd the fuel that too fast did burn"; before her door he "pour'd out th' unprofitable flood." These and others that he creates fail to establish the tonal qualities of pity and tenderness that animate the poem he was working with. Dryden also changes the twenty-seventh idyll by omitting the decision of the umpire at the end of the singing match; instead he inserts a seven line description of the God of Love, who

> . . . blew the flames, and furnish'd out the play,
> And from their foreheads wip'd the balmy sweat away.
> (XXVII, 127-128)

Dryden is not able to pick up the pert and playful mood of the shepherds and shepherdesses. When he makes the effort, as in

> I swear, I'll keep my maidenhead till death,
> And die as pure as Queen Elizabeth,
> (XXVII, 34-35)

it is clear that even a technical trick cannot project the spirit of the original.

In the preface to the Second Miscellany Dryden says that the hardest task of the translator is "the maintaining the character of an author, which distinguishes him from all others, and makes him appear that individual poet whom you would interpret."[1] Now this is simply what Dryden was not able to do when he translated Theocritus and Horace. Ovid and Lucretius suited his temperament and style, but he could not capture the spirit of the other two poets. His loose paraphrase of Horace's third ode from Book I is inscribed to the Earl of Roscommon on his proposed voyage to Ireland; however, the rocking iambic tetrameter does not carry the thoughtful sincerity of the Latin verses written to Virgil on setting out for Greece. The most obvious expansion lies in Dryden's personifications of the evils that follow when Prometheus steals fire from heaven. Among effective original

[1] Essays, I, 254.

contributions is the tight, bold image in the last two lines of the poem:

> Nay, scarce the gods, or heav'nly climes,
> Are safe from our audacious crimes;
> We reach at Jove's imperial crown,
> And pull the unwilling thunder down.
> (Book I, III, 52-55)

Contentment and thankfulness mark the tone of Horace's ninth ode in Book I; for it Dryden develops a more robust nature. The seven figures he adds are in no way exceptional, for they are the usual ones that grace a pleasant description of a winter evening spent around the fire. Of all the selections from Horace that Dryden translated Ode XXIX from Book III is the most successful. His additions are few and happily chosen; built upon suggestions found in the Latin, they slip into place easily. Only one is completely original. In speaking of Fortune, Dryden says,

> I can enjoy her while she's kind;
> But when she dances in the wind,
> And shakes her wings, and will not stay,
> I puff the prostitute away,
> (81-84)

in which the alliteration of the explosives in "puff" and "prostitute" carries the suggested physical action which in turn is bound to the description of Fortune dancing in the wind and shaking her wings. It may be that Horace's picture of wooing honest Poverty, even though she had no dowry, encouraged Dryden to develop his striking contrast in the prostitute figure.

Dryden's final selection from Horace is Epode II on

country joys, translated earlier by Cowley, who "loved the matter." It will be remembered that Dryden used Cowley's method of translation as an illustration of "imitation," but it is Dryden, not Cowley, who takes more liberty with the Latin original. Using an irregularly rhyming iambic tetrameter in an effort to emphasize "the briskness, the jollity and good humor" that he found in Horace, Dryden adds five or six metaphors and drops one of Horace's. On the other hand, Cowley turns a pretty metaphor or two in his heroic couplets while following the original closely except for the omission of the last four lines. Much has been made of Dryden's habit of borrowing from other English translators; yet it appears that only twice has Cowley's version influenced Dryden's. The first instance is in the anaphora in Dryden's description of the "chaste and pleasing wife,"

> "Such as the Sabine matrons were,
> Such as the swift Apulian's bride,"
> (61-62)

which probably grew out of Cowley's couplet,

> Such as the ancient sun-burnt Sabins were
> Such as Apulia, frugal still, does bear,—
> (47-48)

Identical rhyme words and a structural similarity in the interrupting element appear in Cowley's description of the wife,

> Who waits at door against her husband come,
> From rural duties, late and wearied, home,
> (53-54)

and Dryden's,

"And order all things till he come,
Sweaty and overlabor'd, home."
(67-68)

Finally there is the striking phrase "well-mouth'd hounds" which Dryden picks up from Cowley's "His well-mouth'd dogs' glad concert rends the air," although Horace in speaking of his pack of hounds uses no modifier.

On the whole, Dryden's translations from Horace are more successful than those from Theocritus; the selections from these two poets, however, fall far short of the excellence of his Ovid and the neglected Lucretius. The reason for this wide divergence may well lie in Dryden's treatment of the imagery in the various poems. His additions to Ovid and Lucretius sparkle; the boldness of the metaphors is often pleasing; and the originals seem to fan a poetic spark that burns brightly in the smooth expansions in Ovid and the witty figures in Lucretius. Unable to transfer the spirit of the other two poets whose natures differ so radically from his own, Dryden uses images that are often thin and flat. Metaphors added to Theocritus are banal and strained. His Horace suffers from a preoccupation with experiments in the six-line stanza, the irregularly rhyming line, and the couplet, all in iambic tetrameter.

Eight years were to pass before Dryden offered any more classical translations to the public, and then he was motivated by necessity, not pleasure. Charles II had died. James II had been pushed off his throne and with him had gone

Dryden's position as poet laureate and historiographer royal. After the Revolution of 1688 Dryden turned again to the theater as a possible source of income, but his success was limited. Then late in 1692 appeared his translations of the satires of Juvenal and Persius; at last he had found a substitute for the three hundred pound pension he had lost.

The Satires of Juvenal and Persius

Juvenal and Persius, who sharpened their wit with righteous indignation as they exposed the corruption of the licentious world around them, came to life in the hands of the great English satirist turned translator. In preparing to offer their satires to an age whose tastes lay in the elegant and witty, Dryden set out to please his public. He made his poets sound as if they were living and writing in the seventeenth century. Contemporary references, colloquialisms, and word-play appeared with increasing frequency. By shifting to a position between paraphrase and imitation, he moved closer to the privilege of changing not only the words but also the thought. If he found Juvenal sometimes too luxuriant and redundant and Persius too crabbed and obscure, he changed the originals to suit himself. He was seeking more than just the meaning of his poets; he was endeavoring to transfer the very spirit of their creative power from Latin to English so that the English reader might feel the delicate touch of genius that had shaped the whole. In justification of his

method of translation Dryden insisted that it was impossible to capture a poet's true spirit if the original was followed too closely, or as he expressed it, "We lose his spirit, when we think to take his body."[1]

Dryden too lived in an age that needed a strong dose of satire to purge it of its social vices and political evils. Corruption and intrigue at Whitehall, gross indecency on the stage, sneers in the drawing room at modesty and chastity, studied contempt of fidelity in marriage—all were indicative of a strain of licentiousness and moral degradation. The five satires of Juvenal that Dryden chose to translate point toward a similar set of vices and follies: the attack on popular playwrights and poets, a view of intolerable conditions in Rome, a disgusting picture of the unlovely ladies, the cynical and bitter view of life in the tenth satire, and the attack on the unchecked powers of the military. Here were subjects congenial with his own wit and pen, and he made the most of his opportunity by offering to his public a lively and vigorous version done up in his best masculine style.

In translating Juvenal's five satires, Dryden omitted more than twenty-five figures of speech, although he did not drop the more suggestive ones. Most of the discarded figures were dull and commonplace, such as pushing back the mist of error, speech coming in torrents, or a schoolboy worshiping

[1] Ibid., II, 112.

Minerva. On the other hand, he wove into his interpretation 136 images. Some were created without warrant of the Latin; others were developed from hints found in the originals or based on figures that he changed or expanded.

Underneath the rapidly developing images is felt the force of a control that expands or contracts as the creative impulse directs. Some of his longest and most effective figures grow out of literal statements in Juvenal. As one example of many such instances Juvenal says that he hates women who are always quoting the rules of grammar and setting right their friends who make errors; the least these women can do is let their husbands' grammar go uncorrected (VI, 451-456). Picking up this idea, Dryden turns it on the word tree as a process of diagraming and as the tree of knowledge:

> I hate a wife to whom I go to school,
> Who climbs the grammar tree, distinctly knows
> Where noun, and verb, and participle grows;
> Corrects her country neighbor; and, abed,
> For breaking Priscian's, breaks her husband's head.
> (VI, 582-586)

The false concord in "Where noun, and verb, and participle grows" is deliberate and part of the fun. It has no justification in the Latin nor has the turn or play on words in the last line of the quotation.

Some of Dryden's expansions in the satires point toward the sparkling style of the Fables, which is marked by the rapid and fluid movement of the couplet and the witty preciseness of the phrase. For a glimpse of that style in the making

one may look at the five lines of Juvenal,

> lectus erat Codro Procula minor, urceoli sex
> ornamentum abaci nec non et parvulus infra
> cantharus et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron,
> iamque vetus graecos servabat cista libellos
> et divina opici rodebant carmina mures,
> (III, 203-207)

which become under Dryden's expansive and generous hand,

> Codrus had but one bed, so short to boot,
> That his short wife's short legs hung dangling out;
> His cupboard's head six earthen pitchers grac'd,
> Beneath 'em was his trusty tankard plac'd;
> And, to support this noble plate, there lay
> A bending Chiron cast from honest clay;
> His few Greek books a rotten chest contain'd,
> Whose covers much of moldiness complain'd:
> Where mice and rats devour'd poetic bread,
> And with heroic verse luxuriously were fed.
> (III, 332-340)

Juvenal says that the bed is too small for Procula, but Dryden expands with a turn on "short" and overdoes it too. The figure of Chiron is "cast from honest clay" and the covers on the Greek books "much of moldiness complain," both without authority from the Latin; and finally, with a typical Dryden twist, the mice and rats devour "poetic bread" while Juvenal's prosaic mice gnaw on divine lays. Dryden does not change the sense; he merely embellishes the words of the original and, inspired by his own wit, gives a clever shift to what he finds spread before him.

Some of the passages he selects for expansion are not long enough to turn around in. It is then that he adds his own figures. When Juvenal says, "iam tenet Italiam" (X, 154) in describing Hannibal's great conquests, Dryden changes the

three words into a rushing couplet whose tempo emphasizes the water imagery:

> Then, like a torrent, rolling from on high,
> He pours his headlong rage on Italy.
> (X, 246-247)

A similar instance occurs in the sixth satire where Juvenal pictures the gladiator who runs away with Hippa as having a big wen on his nose and fluid trickling from his eyes (VI, 108-109). From Juvenal's line and a half Dryden uses his own figures of speech to draw a graphic picture, not without humor:

> A promontory wen, with grisly grace,
> Stood high, upon the handle of his face.
> His blear eyes ran in gutters to his chin;
> His beard was stubble, and his cheeks were thin.
> (VI, 153-156)

Apparently Dryden needs little to set him off. He has found a kindred spirit in the Roman satirist, and with ease and obvious enjoyment conveys through expansion what he conceives to be the spirit of the original. When Dryden finds Juvenal too luxuriant and redundant, he compresses lines with an expert hand. While not making such a practice a habit, he does cut with a sure control if he feels it will improve his own work. One or two examples will suffice:

> . . . et nos
> consilium dedimus Sulles, privatus ut altum
> dormiret
> (I, 15-17)

becomes "advising Sylla to a private gown" (I, 22), and in the sixth satire the four lines,

> Sed cantet potius quam totam pervolet urbem
> audax et coetus possit quae ferre virorum
> cumque paludatis ducibus praesente marito
> ipsa loqui recta facie siccisque mamillis,
> (VI, 398-401)

are packed into

> If she love singing, let her sing at home;
> Not strut in streets, with Amazonian pace,
> (VI, 522-523)

with an original summarizing line added:

> For that's to cuckold thee before thy face.
> (VI, 524)

With the completion of Juvenal Dryden emerges from an experimental period and settles on a more nearly routine method of treating imagery in the translations. Changes in interpretation of the original, development of his own images from factual descriptions, an occasional contraction of figure, and expansion by summary lines, added details, and qualifying words and phrases are made with even more freedom in the satires of Persius. In conjunction with Dryden's unrestrained handling of the figures of speech in the translations, his increasing over-all expansion of the Latin poems should be noted. De Rerum Natura, the most sustained piece before the satires, was extended from 603 lines to 762 lines, and the three Ovidian epistles combined were only 25 lines longer than the originals; in both instances the English versions were actually compressed, since the Latin line is approximately seven syllables longer than the English iambic pentameter. However, he responded to the congenial atmosphere of the Roman satires

with an exuberance that increased the length of the five satires of Juvenal by more than 750 lines and almost doubled the six satires of Persius by running the 664 lines to 1269. Since much of the expansion in Persius is done around the imagery, an examination of a few figures of speech should reveal an even greater independence than Dryden has shown in his Juvenal.

In the first satire Persius mentions in his discussion of three great writers of old comedy such physical reactions as growing pale, having a good ear, and being moved by what one hears. Out of these references Dryden develops a series of couplets in which all the metaphors are original additions:

> He who, with bold Cratinus, is inspir'd
> With zeal, and equal indignation fir'd;
> Who at enormous villainy turns pale,
> And steers against it with a full-blown sail,
> Like Aristophanes; let him but smile
> On this my honest work, tho' writ in homely style:
> And if two lines or three in all the vein
> Appear less drossy, read those lines again.
> May they perform their author's just intent,
> Glow in thy ears, and in thy breast ferment.
> (I, 247-256)

And later when Persius mentions the development from boyish pleasures to the sedateness of age, Dryden turns the hint into three couplets carrying three images on a central theme of books and reading. From a line in the fifth satire, "vive memor leti, fugit hora," Dryden picks up the figure in "fugit hora" and develops the vivid image in

> Death stalks behind thee, and each flying hour
> Does some loose remnant of thy life devour.
> (V, 222-223)

In the sixth satire four and a half lines explode into eleven containing two images drawn from religion, one running through a couplet and the other extending over four lines. In the opening couplet Dryden associates the idea of duty with the rites of the church,

> Thus I would live; but friendship's holy band,
> And offices of kindness, hold my hand,
> (VI, 59-60)

and ends the passage with a sexual as well as a religious metaphor,

> Their images, the relics of the wrack,
> Torn from the naked poop, are tided back
> By the wild waves; and, rudely thrown ashore,
> Lie impotent, nor can themselves restore.
> (VI, 66-69)

These quotations from Persius show the results of Dryden's not wholly unexpected swing away from paraphrase toward the unshackled freedom of imitation. Supreme confidence in his ability to manipulate his poet's images has replaced the timidity exhibited in his first translations. An excellent illustration of Dryden's technique is the figure from Persius' first satire in which Dryden shifts the sense image from touch to sight. In speaking of certain verse Persius compares its smoothness to that which a person feels when he passes his finger over the joinings in a statue. Dryden's version runs as follows:

> The verse in fashion is, when numbers flow,
> Soft without sense, and without spirit slow:
> So smooth and equal, that no sight can find
> The rivet, where the polish'd piece was join'd.
> (I, 120-123)

To show that the lines do flow, Dryden uses alliteration and assonance, depending heavily upon the liquid s and the soft o and e. Skillfully he jars the reader with the unexpected break after "rivet" and then lets the line slide smoothly through "polish'd piece." As many of Persius' "hard metaphors and forc'd expressions" disappear under the competent touch of the seventeenth century satirist-translator, the obscure and difficult Latin poet wears a dress not his own, but he still wears it with style.

Dryden not only developed a particular technique as he worked with the figures of speech of his poets but also followed a criterion set forth early in his poetical career before skill matched aesthetic awareness. He believed that there was a proper wit for each type of verse, be it satire, lyric, or narrative; more than that, appropriate metaphors must conform to the theme for perfection of the artistic whole. The imagery in his translations of Juvenal and Persius carries out this principle of suiting ornament to subject and style. He skillfully adapts the sources of his imagery to the subject matter of the five satires of Juvenal. Serving as an introduction, the first satire attacks the decadent literary taste in Rome and proposes to expose the follies and vices of the age. Here Dryden's leading source of original images is Daily Life. The dangers encountered in Rome, the wanton luxury in high places, and the inequality between the poor and the rich are assailed in the next satire. New figures this time are

from Nature and Body and Bodily Action, followed closely by Animals and Daily Life. The sixth satire, called on occasion "The Dream of Unlovely Women," pictures the termagant, the blue-stocking, the adulteress, the superstitious wife, and many others. Appropriately enough Dryden's images stem from Body and Bodily Action with Nature second. Juvenal's masterpiece, the tenth satire, is a bitter, defeated poem that finds prayers and wishes in vain and no life worth living. Daily Life, accompanied by Nature and Body and Bodily Action, offers the source for the original figures of speech.

His sources of imagery are also appropriate for the subject matter and tone of the satires by Persius. In the first satire Persius attacks the corruption in taste and literature while a friend defends such literature. Here Dryden draws the greatest number of his original images from Daily Life, including references to Sports, Government and Authority, the Arts and Crafts, Trade, and Education; this group is closely followed by figures from Body and Bodily Action, with references to Physical Action, Food and Drink, and Sickness. There are few figures of speech in the short second satire in which Persius cries out bitterly against those who offer hypocritical prayers while they pray in secret for unworthy things. Fittingly enough the majority of the figures are taken from Body and Bodily Action, with Food and Drink and Physical Action leading the specific sources. Held up to scorn in the third satire are those who are living unworthy lives

although they know that only through a true philosophy will they attain virtue. In keeping with the theme, the figures that Dryden adds are from Domestic Living with particular reference to Life and Death, Fire and Light, and Home. The fourth satire, like the sixth, has passages that are "broad and fulsome." In this shortest of the satires the added figures are spread almost equally among three major classes—Daily Life, Body and Bodily Action, and Nature, all sources especially appropriate for a satire that holds in contempt the leader who professes to govern the multitude yet whose own conception of life is an ignoble one. In the fifth poem the Animal classification leads for the only time in the satires and, with Daily Life, is naturally adapted to the stoic theory that all men are slaves until they have learned the right principles of living, such as controlling their passions and holding virtue as the highest goal. Aptly enough many of the figures in this satire are also from Nature and Body and Bodily Action. The final satire was written to convince men of the folly of desiring riches which they will use improperly. For the first time in the six satires Learning becomes the chief source of the imagery, the figures being drawn from the Law, Religion, and the Classics.

Dryden added 136 figures of speech to Juvenal's five satires, with those based on Daily Life and Body and Bodily Action totaling almost half the number. These are followed by figures from Nature, Domestic Living, Learning, Animals,

the Arts, and Imaginative, in that order. His contributions to the satires of Persius included more than one hundred figures of speech, most of these being drawn from Daily Life, Body and Bodily Action, Nature, and Animals in that order of frequency. In specific groups Four-footed Animals, Government and Authority, and Food and Drink lead with eight each. Thus in each of the two groups of satires Daily Life and Body and Bodily Action and Nature are the principal sources of imagery explored by Dryden—sound choices for works dealing with the moral corruption and follies of mankind. Even though he made clear his method of translation, critics have continued to censure him for adding new figures of speech and changing the ones he found in the original poems. When he refers to "Bethlem's noble college" (the famous lunatic asylum in London) or to his doctor, Gibbons, or to Shadwell, when he sees a "redcoat rise from every bush" and uses "pounds" instead of "sesterces," he arouses even greater indignation among those scholars who prefer a literal translation of the two famous satirists. Dryden, however, wrote to please his readers, not to impress the scholars and critics, and such innovations he felt provided that pleasure. He makes these satires his own poems by "his dressing," as Dr. Johnson would say. Having studied his poets carefully, he selected for his own contributions to the field of imagery figures that are harmonious with and naturally adapted to the subject. Persius and Juvenal are moralists; they are reformers and realists. Here he

finds no place for images from the Arts or the Imagination; instead, those drawn from Daily Life, Body and Bodily Action, and Nature make up two-thirds of all the figures he added to the satires of the two Roman poets.

Finally any discussion of Dryden's imagery in his Juvenal and Persius must eventually center on his coarseness of mind and the obscene metaphors scattered throughout these satires. The castigators who have attacked Dryden's work as vulgar and indecent have not neglected the translations. Even those friendly toward him have not been able to ignore the overwhelming evidence. Scott thought that Dryden's translation of Juvenal, especially the satire against women, "considerably refined and softened from the grossness of the Latin poet," but he felt that the later translations contained many specimens of indelicacy and many coarse expressions.[1] In a directly adverse view of the Juvenal, Macaulay issued a caustic condemnation:

> Even when he professed to translate he constantly wandered from his originals in search of images which, if he had found them in his originals, he ought to have shunned. What was bad became worse in his version. What was innocent contracted a taint from passing through his mind. He made the grossest satires of Juvenal more gross, interpolated loose descriptions in the tales of Boccaccio, and polluted the sweet and limpid poetry of the Georgics with filth which would have moved the loathing of Virgil.[2]

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[1] Works, I, 435.

[2] Thomas Babington Macaulay, The History of England from the Accession of James II (5 vols.; Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee and Company, 1861), II, 155.

Distortion of facts makes Macaulay's opinion critically unsound, but its basic conclusions are the same as those held by many other nineteenth century critics. The unsympathetic Christie did not include any of the translations from the Greek and Roman poets in his edition of the poems, but in the introduction to the volume he writes:

> His first plays pandered to low tastes by coarse language and indecent ideas; and in this respect Dryden continued as he began, showing not only in his comedies, but in other works, as in Translations, and even in his latest Fables from Chaucer and Boccaccio, a prurient love of the indecent, which is a blot on his character and tarnishes his fame.[1]

And Professor Noyes in silent disapproval omits one of Dryden's explanatory notes on the fourth satire of Persius and part of another, the only expurgation in his valuable edition of the poems. Actually only three added images in Dryden's Juvenal are truly obscene—the disgusting picture of old age in the tenth satire (lines 328-331), and two in the sixth satire that describe the eunuchs (lines 486-488, 494-496). Other passages lose through their boldness the elegance and dignity that belong to Juvenal. Of all the images in Dryden's translations of the satires the most indecent and offensive are those concerning the secret vices of Nero described in the fourth satire of Persius. Dryden's expansion of Persius' warning not to yield to the lewd desires is far from discreet.

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[1] W. D. Christie, "Memoir of Dryden," The Poetical Works of John Dryden (London: Macmillan and Co., 1897), p. xxvi.

Fifteen lines (IV, 84-98) include three metaphors developed from hints in the original, although Persius does not use figures of speech to describe the practices of the particular vices. One other metaphor is an especially graphic description of what the emperor should not do

> "If some alluring girl, in gliding by
> Shall tip the wink, with a lascivious eye."
> (IV, 115-120)

Dryden did add gross and indecent imagery to the satires of Juvenal and Persius, but by actual count there are very few truly obscene figures in the more than three thousand lines of the translation. He did change the figures in the original by expansion and contraction and he even modified the meaning on occasion, but his interpretations carry a vigor and freshness that not only exhibit artistic control but suit the ornament to the subject and style. He increased the number of lines beyond that which the difference between Latin and English construction justifies, but his version is neither verbose nor tedious. As a result, his translation of Juvenal and Persius is a distinguished performance marked by an artistic awareness that established complete authority over his reading of the originals. Having emerged from an experimental period, he has fixed upon a particular technique for handling the imagery in his classical poets. He is now ready for his greatest challenge, a translation of the works of Virgil, but before he turns to this task, he picks up once more his Ovid, this time for the pleasing assignment of doing several

selections from the Metamorphoses for Tonson's Third Miscellany.

"Third Miscellany"

The Third Miscellany, published in July 1693, had among its contents translations from Ovid's Metamorphoses, including all of Book I and selections from Books IX and XIII. Evidently about this time he was working on the first book of Ovid's Art of Love and two of the Amores, which were not published until after his death.[1] It has been suggested that Dryden withheld these pieces from the press because of their extreme indecency, but they are almost mild when compared with certain passages from Lucretius and his Juvenal and Persius. Even though the language is racy and in places extremely suggestive, the flagrant coarseness of the satires is missing. A more probable reason for their delay is that Dryden could not get the price he wished. Translating was now a serious business with him, for it had become his major source of income. He haggled with Tonson over a few guineas for additional lines, and he hurried to complete Book I of the Metamorphoses before Tate's translation appeared. As soon as one piece of work was finished he turned immediately to a new task. The satires were published in October 1692; yet within a few weeks Tonson had in his hands the selections from Ovid,

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[1]See the letter from Dryden to Tonson, dated August 30, [1693]. Letters, p. 58.

which he read with a great deal of pleasure and thought nothing could be more entertaining.[1]

Here again, as in all his translations, Dryden is reaching for the spirit of his poet as he tried to give to the English version Ovid's own "native sweetness, easiness, and smoothness" and to establish "a kind of cadence, and . . . a run of verse, as like the original, as the English can come up to the Latin."[2] In an effort to create the smooth flowing line Dryden resorted to a stylistic device that was to become the trademark of a type of poetic diction reprehensible to the nineteenth century poets and critics: the adjective formed by adding y to a substantive. Although three or four had appeared in the epistles of Ovid, the first noticeable use of this type of adjective in the translations was in the selection from the first book of Lucretius; the fifty-eight line passage included the phrases "wavy breast," "flow'ry plain," "leavy forest," and "balmy breath." The two eclogues of Virgil in the First Miscellany (1684) had no adjectives of this construction although the other eight that Dryden translated for his complete edition of Virgil in 1697 are full of examples. For the Second Miscellany (1685), in which the excerpts from Lucretius appeared, Dryden translated several episodes from the Aeneis that were almost entirely rewritten for his Virgil, and in the first version and the revision the y-adjective had an interesting role. In revising he dropped "massy shield" and

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[1] Letters, p. 49. [2] Essays, II, 10.

changed "grassy plain" to "neighb'ring plain" and "rosy Morn" to "Aurora"; but he added "fumy god," substituted "bloomy youth" for "blooming youth" and "forky lightning" for "streaks of lightning," and kept "grassy floor," "massy spear," and snowy hue." Thus with all his switching about, both versions of the episodes from the Aeneis had the same number of y-adjectives, and that number was small. In these early translations from Virgil appeared such examples of poetic diction as "crimson stream" and "purple flood" for blood, "liquid gold" for honey, and a number of compounds but the circumlocutions and the compounds also were limited. The purpose of this brief survey of the y-adjective has been to show that not until he translated his selections from Ovid for the Third Miscellany did his so-called poetic diction burst forth in his translations. Here, for example, he uses "wat'ry" at least ten times in such combinations as "wat'ry plain," "wat'ry well," "wat'ry family" and others. There are also "finny fish," "flaggy wings," "piny shade," "woolly care," "moony horn," "steepy way," "sweepy sway," and "forky rise" (the twin peaks of Parnassus), to name only a few. Since no more than ten or eleven examples appear in his Juvenal and Persius, it is possible to establish that Dryden's "poetic diction" in the translations was flourishing more than a year before he began work on the complete Virgil. His use of this type of diction is directed and controlled by his idea of propriety. Since the type of poetry he is now translating is different from the Ovidian

epistles, the excerpts from Lucretius, and the satires of the Roman poets, he desires to lift the tone toward the sublime through expressions that suit his conception of matter and style. What today is regarded as an affectation of elegance was highly approved in the late seventeenth century.

In addition to the sudden rise of the y-adjectives there are other developments of interest in these selections from the Metamorphoses. Despite Dryden's belief that Ovid's wit was too copious and his fancy too luxuriant, the translator added thirty-five figures of speech and retained all but six of Ovid's many easy and spontaneous images. He had planned to translate less than six hundred lines of Book I, but when he heard about Tate's proposed translation, he changed his mind and added three transformations that made up an additional two hundred lines. Only three of the thirty-three images contributed by Dryden are in these last two hundred lines. Since these are fast moving narratives, the originals contain few images with the exception of the Daphane story; thus it is probably the influence of Ovid's lines rather than Dryden's haste in composition that is responsible for the limited number of figures in the last three. Once again the additions appear to be governed by the type of verse and the subject matter. His greatest source is Domestic Living, especially figures based on Life and Death and Fire and Light. As many of the lines in the original are about the creation of the earth, the war of the giants, and the thwarted love of several

gods, the sources are appropriate. The remaining images are spread throughout five other major categories; Daily Life, Body and Bodily Action, Nature, and Imaginative have five each, Animal four. To several of the additions he gives a fanciful touch that shows his skill in finding a metaphor that fits his poet's intention:

> About her coasts unruly waters roar,
> And, rising on a ridge, insult the shore.
> (38-39)

> The billows fall, while Neptune lays his mace
> On the rough sea, and smooths its furrow'd face.
> (446-447)

> A thin circumference of land appears;
> And Earth, but not at once, her visage rears,
> And peeps upon the seas from upper grounds.
> (461-463)

These are not master strokes of poetic inspiration, but they do have a freshness and vivacity that please.

Two other selections from Ovid in the Third Miscellany are "The Fable of Iphis and Ianthe" from Book IX and "The Fable of Acis, Polyphemus, and Galatea" from Book XIII. In the first Dryden omits none of Ovid's images although he adds twelve of his own, a rather high percentage for a 211 line excerpt. They are all brief metaphors that seem ready-made instead of tailored to fit the poem; yet the tale must have interested Dryden, for it is the story of Iphis, the young girl changed into a man so that she can wed Ianthe, whom she loves. Fittingly enough, figures drawn from Body and Bodily Action and from Daily Life account for half the additional

images. Nature images lead in the story of Polyphemus, who desired Galatea, a source in keeping with the material as Dryden follows Ovid in turning to nature for many comparisons. In the poem which the Cyclops sings to the lovely Galatea are similes drawn from Growing Things, the Sea, and Birds, among others. To a long list in the original Dryden adds three that are commonplace: Galatea is cold like the fountain, more clear than ice, and whiter than falling snow. Other contributions are equally dull: to say that Polyphemus' eye is as round as a ball or to speak of his hair as a "plenteous harvest" is to drop to the depths of poetic fancy. Not one figure among the ten that Dryden adds gives force and life to the poem; not one expresses any imaginative insight on his part.

On the other hand, Dryden's treatment of the imagery in The Art of Love makes an interesting comparison. Although published some years after his death, it was evidently written about the same time that he was translating the selections for the Third Miscellany. Like the excerpts from Lucretius, The Art of Love is a didactic poem, but it is full of Ovid's delightful images drawn from nature and the everyday pursuits that man follows. Dryden adds only nineteen images in his version of almost nine hundred lines, these being drawn primarily from Nature, Body and Bodily Action, and Daily Life; these are surely suitable subjects for a book that proposes to tell the lover the best place to find a mistress to fit his taste. More important than the sources is what Dryden does

with the images he finds in the original. He shifts the point of emphasis in one figure, compresses another, or expands a third—each movement and change being directed by an aesthetic insight into the over-all effect of his lines. Ovid says that just as the hunter, the fowler, and the fisherman must know the best place for quarry so must the lover learn first the place where his mistress goes (I, 45-50). He gives a detailed description of the hunter's method of catching the stag and recognizing the haunts of the boar, then passes by the fowler and the angler without lingering. Dryden treats the same image in a different manner by placing the fisherman first. He goes into detail concerning the best method of fishing, lumps the fowler and hunter together, and omits references to particular animals. That fishing was Dryden's favorite pastime may have had something to do with this particular shift in emphasis. A few lines later when Ovid says that the maidens in Rome are as numerous as the grapes of Methyma, the fish in the sea, the birds in the trees, and finally the stars in heaven (I, 57-59), Dryden omits all but the final comparison, probably because he thought Ovid too luxuriant. The result is the single couplet,

> The face of heav'n with fewer stars is crown'd,
> Than beauties in the Roman sphere are found.
> (62-63)

In addition to shifting the emphasis and omitting parts of images Dryden leaves out fifteen figures of speech in The Art of Love. Several of these omissions are necessary

because he chooses to ignore images that Ovid used to establish a framework for the book. Ovid's opening lines suggest that love must be guided by skill just as swift ships and chariots are. Instead of developing this idea, Dryden compares a schoolmaster with the master of love, an opening figure that extends for about eighteen lines. At intervals during the book Ovid picks up his sea imagery, the last line being "Hic teneat nostras ancora iacta rates." For this figure of dropping the anchor Dryden substitutes lines without an image,

> Part of my task is done, and part to do:
> But here 't is time to rest myself and you.
> (887-888)

Among other original contributions are Dryden's use of puns, as in "To eunuchs, who can give no solid joys" (573), his pointed "turns,"

> Nor in the playhouse let her sit alone;
> For she's the playhouse and the play in one,
> (562-563)

and his summary lines, illustrated in the couplet,

> For she who reads, in time will answer too;
> Things must be left by just degrees to grow,
> (548-549)

which Dryden inserts after following Ovid, who has told the lover not to give up hope when his mistress sends back his letters unread.

The images added in The Art of Love are more effective, more natural, and better integrated than those in the selections from the Metamorphoses, and they seem to have a telling wit that is absent from the first pieces. Actually Dryden

seems to be marking time in these poems; they exhibit competent work and are pleasant to read, but the imagery lacks the sparkle of that in the satires. In part they look back to his earlier translations and at the same time point forward in one particular—that is, to his use of poetic diction in his Virgil.

"The Works of Virgil"

Having given a brilliant performance in his Juvenal and Persius and an entirely acceptable one in the excerpts from Ovid, Dryden now faced the formidable task of turning the entire works of Virgil into English. The subject matter as well as the wit of the satires had inspired him to make flexible the artificial lines of Juvenal and to reduce to smoothness the contorted style of Persius. Finding that Ovid suited his talents, Dryden had translated the fables from the Metamorphoses with careless ease and The Art of Love with evident enjoyment. Virgil, however, was another matter. As a translator Dryden sought in vain for the key to the style that is distinguished for its sweetness and admired for its subtle quickness of wit. Turns, anaphora, and inverted order; circumlocutions, alliteration, and assonance—all the technical tricks Dryden knew were utilized with skillful control. From simplicity to extravagance, from dignity to informality: so the tone shifted as he attempted to capture the elusive spirit of the original by expanding similes, reviving buried metaphors,

and ignoring others. Although the translation contains obvious weaknesses, it still remains a splendid achievement.

Dryden's Aeneis is an English classic and his Georgics superior to the translations made by both his contemporaries and earlier English poets, but the Pastorals is the least successful of the three. Indeed, the limited selections he had translated from Theocritus had already proved that he simply did not have the poetic temperament to cope with the pastoral as an art form. In the First Miscellany Dryden had published several episodes from the Aeneis and the fourth and ninth eclogues. All of these he included in the complete works, the selections from the Aeneis only after extensive revisions, the two eclogues with few changes. For instance, in the fourth pastoral in the 1684 version Dryden had written

> Delight not all, if thither I repair,
> My Song shall make 'em worth a Consul's care,

but in 1697 he changed this couplet to

> Delight not all; Sicilian Muse, prepare
> To make the vocal woods deserve a consul's care,
> (IV, 3-4)

in which he raises the tone to one of greater dignity and elegance by dropping the elision and adding the invocation. The latter breaks the line a second time and results in a run-on line that slides over into an authoritative Alexandrine; moreover, he introduces the figure of "the vocal woods," which not only enriches and deepens the effect through assonance but also follows more closely the original "si canimus silvas,

silvae sint consule dignae" (IV, 3). There are also a number of minor changes, but no others affect the imagery in the two eclogues.

To the Pastorals Dryden adds forty-eight images drawn primarily from Daily Life, Body and Bodily Action, and Domestic Living, with ten each. Eight are from Nature, and the other ten are scattered among Imaginative, Learning, and Animals. The ten pieces vary in form, tone, and style, ranging from amoebaean singing in the witty and rather caustic third pastoral to the more elevated and lofty themes of the song of Silenus in the sixth pastoral and the conception of the Golden Age in the fourth. As Dryden attempts to capture the essence of each, he works into the translations his own contributions, images that suit the tone and the subject matter. The first pastoral is a conversation between Meliboeus, who has been evicted from his land by the Roman authorities, and Tityrus, who still retains his little farm; here the added images are drawn for the most part from Government and Authority and from War. In the fifth, in which Menalcas sings of the death of Daphnis, Dryden goes to Body and Bodily Action for two of the four additions. Some of the added images strike a jarring note; for instance, this one from the second pastoral,

> The creaking locusts with my voice conspire,
> They fried with heat, and I with fierce desire.
> (II, 13-14)

Other, however, are neatly turned poetic bits, such as the

concluding lines of the sixth pastoral,

> Till, unperceiv'd, the heav'ns with stars were hung,
> And sudden night surpris'd the yet unfinish'd song,
> (VI, 124-125)

or the more elaborately ornate couplet from the tenth pastoral,

> For him the lofty laurel stands in tears,
> And hung with humid pearls the lowly shrub appears.
> (X, 19-20)

Throughout the poems are scattered a few archaic words and several poetic circumlocutions; and the number of dissyllabic adjectives built on the y-suffix is extended except in the fourth and ninth eclogues where none appears since these two were written earlier for the First Miscellany. Among others are "briny flood," "balmy sleep," "steepy rocks," and "heapy fire" which will continue to be favorites.

Students of Dryden have been interested not only in his development of poetic diction in the Virgil but also in his occasional borrowing of entire lines and phrases from other translators of the Roman poet. Occurring in the sixth pastoral is one of the first instances of this kind, which in a sense has been prepared for by Dryden's comment that "My Lord Roscommon's notes on this pastoral are equal to his excellent translation of it; and thither I refer the reader."[1] He does not mention, however, that in his own translation of this particular pastoral appear two and a half lines lifted verbatim from Roscommon. One is the line, "And clouds, dissolv'd, the thirsty ground supply." The other is better

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[1] Poems, p. 709.

viewed in context by presenting first Roscommon's translation,

> Thus I (while each ambitious pen prepares
> To write thy praises, Varus, and thy wars)
> My pastoral tribute in low numbers pay,
> (VI, 9-11)

and then Dryden's pick up of the lines carrying the metonymy,

> Admonish'd thus, while every pen prepares
> To write thy praises, Varus, and thy wars,
> My past'ral Muse her humble tribute brings.
> (VI, 7-9)

Even though both of these examples include figures of speech, the lines Dryden borrowed for his Georgics and the Aeneis rarely contained imagery. He was not the only person impressed with Roscommon's translation; for Addison, who supplied the arguments for Dryden's complete edition, used for this pastoral Roscommon's argument without any change except the substitution of "pastoral" for "eclogue."

A recent translator of the pastorals believes that they are inspired and unified by "a poet's perception of certain realities that underlie our relation to the world around us. . . . Nature is fundamentally at one with man, though towns and politics and war make him a refugee from her and from the truth."[1] Expressed somewhat differently is Professor Knight's view that "the central success of the Eclogues is probably their unification of the human mind and nature in the country into a single harmony."[2] That Dryden failed to find this

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[1] E. V. Rieu, "Introduction," Virgil, The Pastoral Poems: A Translation of the Eclogues (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: 1949), p. 13.

[2] W. F. Jackson Knight, Roman Vergil (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1944), p. 117.

underlying spirit is evident in his undistinguished performance. His mind was conditioned by the age in which he lived, an age marked not only by the pervasive influence of Hobbes' conception of a world composed only of matter but also by increasing interest in the investigation of the ordered world of nature. The influence of this background must be considered as a partial explanation of the startling differences in texture and tone of Dryden's translation of the Pastorals and the Georgics. The artificial tone of the pastorals cooled his impulse toward spontaneous imagery. More congenial to his poetic temper was the realism of the Georgics. For Dryden it was "the best poem of the best poet";[1] for many discerning readers it becomes Dryden's best translation of the "best poet."

Translating the Georgics presented to Dryden a challenge of which he was fully conscious, for he realized that he must capture in the English version the richness and strength of the great Latin classic. Ever aware of the directing forces of poetic creation and the imaginative insight, he commented in the dedication that here Virgil was "in the full strength and vigor of his age, when his judgment was at the height, and before his fancy was declining."[2] The artistic perfection of this magnificent poem of the land lies not only in the purity of diction and the controlled metrical construction but in Virgil's ability to integrate the episodes

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[1] Poems, p. 441. [2] Ibid.

that intensify and deepen the poetical interest of a didactic subject. Through an inherent simplicity such activities as tilling the fields, breeding horses, and tending bees assume dignity and grace as they reveal the pervading force of Nature in the lives of the rustics who live far removed from the luxury, the artificiality, and the emptiness of the city.

All of these things Dryden seeks to convey especially through his choice of diction and imagery. The original is usually the authority for the few "poetic" phrases he uses, such as "golden flood" and "liquid harvest" for honey, or "crystal flood" for stream. There is, however, an astonishing increase in Dryden's use of adjectives formed from a noun and a y-suffix. His adaptation of this type of adjunct has been noted in the selections from Lucretius, where it is used sparingly, and in the fables of Ovid in the Third Miscellany, where it appears with increasing frequency. More than a hundred of these artificial adjectives are scattered through the four books of the Georgics, the number increasing in each book until in the fourth there are at least thirty-five. "Wat'ry," still his favorite, is used in more than twenty different combinations. There are others[1] which if they do not detract from the poem at least do not give that elegance and grace he was so earnestly seeking. Before condemning Dryden's use of

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[1]Among these are "pearly drops," "forky lightning," "ridgy roofs," "sweepy sway," "fainty roots," "roofy houses," "fumy joys," "steepy hills," "barmy beer," "scaly nation," "mossy stones," "snary webs," "ropy gore," and "fleecy forests."

this type of word it is well to remember that it not only has an honorable lineage in English poetics but it is sanctioned by Virgil, whose lead he is following. This adjectival form serves several purposes in the English version. The Latin language has the happy faculty of saying in one or two words matter that requires twice as many or more in English; for instance, the phrase "ridgy roofs" carries a compactness in English that would be wanting in "the ridges of the roofs" or "the roofs rose in ridges." Even such poetic flights as "finny flocks" and "snary webs" serve this purpose. The phrase lends itself well to alliteration as in "woolly wood," "fleecy flocks," "hilly heap," "wat'ry war," "show'ry spring," and "milky moisture"; and the y-adjunct occasionally carries part of the burden in alliterative lines, such as "Nor forky lightnings flash'd from such a sullen sky" (I, 656), "Or lift me high to Haemus' hilly crown" (II, 694), "Whether to roofy houses they repair" (III, 634), and "Or spiders in the vault their snary webs have spread" (IV, 361).

Dryden's method in working with the figures of speech in the Georgics is similar in many respects to that used in the earlier translations, but here he has made his modifications and substitutions much more polished and effective. He expands many of the original figures, has summary sentences like those in the first Ovid translations, and on occasion changes one of Virgil's similes into a metaphor; he omits brief phrasal comparisons but none of the extended similes.

If he passes over a figure in Virgil, he sometimes uses it later in an original image, and thus what appears to be his own creation without authority of the original is actually one of Virgil's own figures of speech set smoothly in new surroundings.

Examples of these shifted figures will make clear Dryden's method. In Book I of the Georgics Virgil writes "Zephyro putris se glaeba resolvit" (44). Ignoring the reference to crumbling clods, Dryden substitutes an original figure in a couplet developed from a hint in the preceding line and a half,

> Vere novo, gelidus canis cum montibus umor liquitur . . . ,
> (42-43)
>
> While yet the spring is young, while Earth unbinds
> Her frozen bosom to the western winds.
> (I, 64-65)

Then seventy-five lines later he picks up the omitted reference in speaking of the peasant "who pounds with rakes/ The crumbling clods. . . ." (139); here, however, Virgil has used "inertis" as a modifier of "glaebas," not "putris." Another type of picked up phrase—one that is shifted forward—is illustrated in Dryden's "India black ebon and white ivory bears" (I, 85), although Virgil says only "India mittit ebur" (I, 57). Later in the second georgic Virgil's "sola India nigrum/ fert hebenum" (II, 116-117) becomes the precisely translated "Black ebon only will in India grow" (II, 163). Once again in the second book in describing the various ways nature develops

trees without aid from man, Virgil speaks of the osier, the broom, and the poplar. Dryden too lists these trees, but he adds the attributive "Herculean" to the poplar although at this point the adjective is not found in the original. Later in the same book Dryden does not mention Hercules when Virgil points out that certain trees which grow wild may be tamed, among them "Herculeaeque arbos umbrosa coronae" (II, 66). And finally in the episode at the end of Book IV Virgil's simile "ceu fumus in auras/ commixtus tenuis" (IV, 499-500) describes what happens to Eurydice when Orpheus looks back. Dryden uses this figure, which he translates as

> . . . and from his eyes the fleeting fair
> Retir'd like subtile smoke dissolv'd in air,
> (IV, 722-723)

but this legitimate image loses its force because only twelve lines before it has appeared as one of Dryden's shifting phrases in a similar image not sanctioned by the Latin:

> Straight all his hopes exhal'd in empty smoke,
> And his long toils were forfeit for a look.
> (IV, 710-711)

The detailed examination of these minutiae may appear to place undue emphasis upon minor material, but it is precisely in such details that one sees the working of the man's mind as he fashions his own imagery. He is steeped in the Latin original. This shifting about of words and phrases cannot be a coincidence since it has been shown that what seems to be Dryden's own contribution is actually a Virgilian expression used in some other association in the original. These are not

isolated occurrences; they happen a number of times not only in the Georgics but also in the Aeneis. Dryden's ability to slip such phrases into and out of his own figures of speech indicates faultless technical skill and an intimate knowledge of his poet's works.

Dryden also has the tendency to insert summary lines in his version of the Georgics. For instance, in the first book "And such a winter wears the face of heav'n" (436) comes after a description of a storm, and later in the same book the line "So plain the signs, such prophets are the skies" (515) draws a neat concluding summary at the end of the series of weather signs described by Virgil. These and others illustrate an accepted procedure in a didactic poem and one in happy accord with Dryden's own natural inclination toward ratiocination in verse.

Much of the imagery in the English version exemplifies Dryden's usual methods of expansion, but it does more than that. He has tried the methods before. Now as he approaches the heart of Virgil's works, he gives his imagination freer range and lets his own conception of nature reveal the technique of his artistic intent as he develops a conscious form and mode of expression. This does not mean that every expansion is brilliantly executed. A literal line, "cum nix alta iacet, glaciem cum flumina trudunt" (I, 310), can be turned into a figurative though commonplace couplet,

> . . . the fleecy skies new clothe the wood,
> And cakes of rustling ice come rolling down the flood,
> (I, 417-418)

that is only partially saved by the pulsing assonance accented by the alliteration of the plunging Alexandrine. There are other examples of expansion that show a more fertile imagination. In explaining how to predict the weather by observing the setting sun, Virgil uses four and a half lines[1] in which he refers to the changing colors moving across the face of the sun. Picking up the reference to "face," Dryden extends his metaphor to ten lines (I, 603-612) as he describes the various colors in the sun's face, the livid blue cheeks and the dusky spots on the brow streaked with red, all portending high winds, rains, and storms; and he concludes,

> That sullen mixture shall at once declare
> Winds, rain, and storms, and elemental war.
> (I, 611-612)

Another typical example done with even less encouragement from his poet grows out of Virgil's five lines (II, 362-366) of instruction on how to tend young plants, the original being supported by only one figure, a reference to the "early youth" of the plant. Using this figure as a springboard, Dryden runs through an eight-line extended metaphor (II, 497-504) in which he speaks of the plants' "tender nonage," lifting "their infant

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1 . . . nam saepe videmus
ipsius in voltu varios errare colores:
caeruleus pluviam denuntiat, igneus Euros;
sin maculae incipient rutilo immiscerier igni,
omnia tum pariter vento nimbisque videbis
fervere.
(I, 451-456)

heads," indulging "their childhood," sparing the "nursling," and not exercising "thy rage on newborn life"—all of these emerging from one brief metaphor in the original. Another interesting amplification drawn from a similar source of imagery is the carefully developed comparison between the training of young calves and the training of young schoolboys. Once again Virgil has given the hint when he says that the farmer must school the calves while they are young. Needing little encouragement, Dryden carries the figure through sixteen lines, using as he develops the figure such phrases as "stubborn child," "the youth," "the licentious youth," and joining him "with his schoolfellows by two and two." The whole is set off by the triplet,

> Set him betimes to school; and let him be
> Instructed there in rules of husbandry,
> While yet his youth is flexible and green.
> (III, 261-263)

In the Georgics Dryden has a tendency to amplify the Latin metaphors based on war and sexual images. They seem to catch his fancy, and he expands his translation by inserting details that support his metaphoric pattern. In Book II Virgil says that after the leaves have branched out it is time to exercise a harsh control ("dura exerce imperia") and cut off the branches, a suggestion that inspires Dryden to use one of his favorite war images:

> . . . let crooked steel invade
> The lawless troops, which discipline disclaim,
> And their superfluous growth with rigor tame.
> (II, 508-510)

Thus three words are expanded into seventeen in an effective metaphor that has no authority from the Latin. Dryden also builds on war imagery in Book III (571-576) when he translates Virgil's description of hunting the stag. An even more extensive expansion takes place in his treatment of Virgil's well-known description of the battle of the bees (IV, 67-81). Dryden, the master satirist, regarded with admiration Virgil's treatment of this episode and recognized in it the hand of the true artist who raised a lowly subject by sublime and noble images. Among the many war images that he adds to those in the original are "martial clangors," "hollow camp," "trumpets' angry sounds," "nimble horsemen," "trusty guards," "shocking squadrons," and that phrase which becomes all too familiar in the Aeneis, "and heaps of slaughter'd soldiers bite the ground."

In the first two books Dryden finds a number of opportunities to use sexual images, especially those pertaining to birth. With no encouragement from Virgil he says that by burning the stubble in the fields

> . . . the hollow womb of Earth
> Is warm'd with secret strength for better birth,
> (I, 126-127)

and a few lines later adds,

> New knits the surface, and new strings the veins;
> Lest soaking show'rs should pierce her secret seat,
> Or freezing Boreas chill her genial heat.
> (I, 133-135)

In Book II he takes literal statements of Virgil concerning grafting and budding and draws these figures:

> Just in that space a narrow slit we make,
> Then other buds from bearing trees we take;
> Inserted thus, the wounded rind we close,
> In whose moist womb th' admitted infant grows;
> (II, 106-109)

and in the lines that follow, "the batt'ning bastard" and the "mother plant" carry out the figure. Then again he may limit an image to one line, as when he speaks of vines "Embracing husband elms in am'rous twine" (II, 302). Even when following Virgil rather closely, Dryden manages to be more specific than the original:

> The womb of Earth the genial seed receives:
> For then almighty Jove descends, and pours
> Into his buxom bride his fruitful show'rs;
> And, mixing his large limbs with hers, he feeds
> Her births with kindly juice, and fosters teeming seeds.
> (II, 439-443)

The foregoing metaphor is one of a number that contradict Van Doren's assertion that Dryden had no feeling for detail and was "almost incorrigibly vague" because he followed a "theory of idealized or generalized Nature" and had "defective vision."[1] Such are Dryden's so-called "sexual images" in the Georgics. The original figures he adds may be extended metaphors or they may be single lines; others are developed on the basis of strong encouragement from the Latin. None approaches the sensational.

The original contributions to the Georgics show that Dryden continues to prefer metaphors to similes. He also has

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[1]Van Doren, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

the usual contemporary references in such phrases as the "unwarlike Dutch" (III, 587) and "naked Spaniards temper steel for war" (I, 88). And he brings Virgil's astronomy up to date by introducing the Balance into the zodiac between the Scorpion and the Virgin (I, 46).

When the figures of speech are considered in relation to subject matter, a harmonious correspondence is found. In Book I, which is concerned with the tillage of the fields, weather signs, changes in the seasons, and development of agriculture, the greatest number of images come from Body and Bodily Action. Specific comparisons have to do with parts of the body—the bosom, the brow, the pores, the entrails, and the face; with bodily action—weeping odorous tears and sucking moisture; and with birth—swelling pregnant streams, fruitful earth giving unexpected birth, and lurking seeds of celestial fire. Planting is the general subject of Book II with emphasis on the care of vines and olive trees and the treatment of the soil. Most of the added figures in this book are drawn from Domestic Living; for instance, plants in tender nonage lift their infant heads, vines embrace husband elms and funeral cypresses rise like a shroud. In the third book Virgil discusses the breeding and care of animals with special attention given to diseases that occur among cattle. Once again the sources of Dryden's contributions are particularly adapted to the subject, for Daily Life is first and Body and Bodily Action second among the major categories.

The final book is a discourse on bees. In translating it Dryden adds few original figures although he expands many of Virgil's. Of the twelve added, five are from Daily Life and four from Domestic. The leading specific source under Daily Life is War: the bees are raw soldiers seeking cool retreats, the troops are unused to long flights, the billows in wat'ry ranks divide and are set like sentries, and the sun with flaming arrows pierces the flood. Those from Domestic are scattered among several subdivisions.

A study made some ten years ago of the influence of earlier translations on Dryden's Georgics[1] showed that the poet borrowed lines or identical phrases and rhymes from a succession of seventeenth century translations of the Georgics. As a matter of fact, Dryden took very few complete lines from these translations, and, with few exceptions, the borrowed lines contain no figures of speech. In Book I Dryden picks up the phrase "the fruitful earth" from the Earl of Lauderdale and plays it into an extended figure. In translating the passage from Book II that begins "O fortunatos nimium" (II, 458), a passage that has been called the most perfect in all Latin poetry, Dryden has a couplet,

> He boasts no wool whose native white is dyed
> With purple poison of Assyrian pride,
> (II, 650-651)

that is influenced by Cowley's lines,

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[1]Helene Maxwell Hooker, "Dryden's Georgics and English Predecessors," The Huntington Library Quarterly, IX (1945-46), 273-311.

> Nor is his wool superfluously dy'd
> With the dear poison of Assyrian pride.
> (9-10)

And near the end of the book Dryden's reference to "Remus and his brother god" appears to be an addition to Virgil's "Remus et frater" (533); yet Cowley was before Dryden with "Remus, and the god, his brother" (113). In translating from Book III an extended metaphor in which Virgil compares the second attack of the once defeated bull to a wave roaring toward the shore, Dryden does take from Thomas May a complete line (with the exception of one word): he says that the waves mate "And fall no less than with a mountain's weight" (372). The origin of May's figure is, of course, Virgil's comparison. In Dryden's translation the borrowed figure loses its force surrounded as it is by his own contributions in which the waves "march onwards, and insult the rocky shore," mate at their height, and belch forth "black sands as from a forceful engine." From an anonymous translation in the Examen Poeticum (1693) Dryden uses an entire line describing the love-struck boar that rubs against a tree "And hardens both his shoulders for the wars" (III, 402); the suggestion of the wars does not appear in the Latin. Other figurative additions borrowed from the Third Miscellany are the description of the mare whose "marrow burns" (III, 428) when spring approaches and the first line and the rhyme words of the couplet,

> But time is lost, which never will renew,
> While we too far the pleasing path pursue.
> (III, 448-449)

One other figure in Book III is from May: "The scaly nations of the sea profound" (806), a typical poetic periphrasis. In the fourth book Dryden picks up Addison's "Or flights of arrows from the Parthian bows" (445) as he works over the Virgilian simile of the bees. In this book also is Dryden's description of the bees settling on the trees, "Like a large cluster of black grapes they show" (805). Sedley uses a similar image in his translation of the fourth book, "And hang like cluster'd Grapes upon a bending Bough" (619); but since it is not known whether Sedley's was written before or after Dryden's, it is impossible to say who fashioned the figure. Basically it is Virgil's line:

> iamque arbore summa
> confluere et lentis uvam demittere ramis,
> (IV, 557-558)

in which he says the bees rush together on the highest trees and in clusters ("uvam") hang from the bending boughs.

The two leading major categories of sources for the ninety-two original figures of speech added to the Georgics are Body and Bodily Action and Daily Life, followed closely by Domestic Living. Book I and Book II appear to offer the most inviting fields for amplification and Book IV, with only twelve additions, the least. Under specific sources War, Government and Authority, Food and Drink, and Life and Death lead in that order. Properly enough the images of War and Government and Authority stand first, for the underlying theme of the entire work is the struggle of man with the forces of

nature. The concretions of meaning established by Dryden's choice of images do not always enrich the experience of the reader, but they do make this English version of the Georgics an interesting study of the translator's imaginative resources. An intimate knowledge of the original demonstrated by his skill in moving figurative phrases about in the four books has aided him in establishing an artistic relationship between the Latin and the English translations. Although there are few memorable images added by Dryden, there are many whose richness of thought reveals his deep poetic insight; his greatest power lies in his ability to pick a single figure from Virgil and in the spirit of the original expand it by carrying an extended metaphor through ten or fifteen lines. Despite an embellished and sometimes distorted figurative emphasis, his own contributions as well as the altered Virgilian figures convey briskness of tone bordering on exuberance, a tone not felt in the original Latin. Even when borrowing from earlier translations a phrase or a line that carries an image, he encases it in a heightened poetic context, enhances it with provocative amplification, and embellishes it with emotional insight.

"To vary but the dress, not to alter or destroy the substance" became Dryden's working formula for the Aeneis. Preferring to sacrifice verbal accuracy for poetical force he reached for the spirit of the original, for he knew that Virgil's greatest excellence lay in his diction—his "chief

perfection" Dryden called it. Yet he perceived that the "inimitable grace" which gave the principal beauty to Virgil's words was something that could not be copied by any translator.

It is an almost impossible task to transfer from one language to another the emotional tone and intellectual force of the original; however, Dryden was determined to capture as far as he was able Virgil's clearness and purity of style as well as his elegance and sublimity of tone. Since Latin can express in one word what English must express in two or more, the English translator can not write with the brevity of the Latin poet. The classical scholar W. Jackson Knight has said that "in Latin, and above all in Vergil, a single word is much nearer to serving as a whole sentence than in any of the other more familiar languages."[1] Thus only the simplest of Latin words can be trusted to have their ordinary meaning, for it is characteristic of the language that it can not be simple and elegant at the same time.[2] These things Dryden knew. And as he progressed through the Aeneis he found it increasingly difficult to vary phrases with new words since he discovered that Virgil had an almost inexhaustible stock of "figurative, elegant, and sounding words."[3] Out of his efforts to solve these problems of language and, at the same time, to

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[1]Knight, op. cit., p. 280.

[2]H. J. Rose, The Eclogues of Vergil (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), p. 150.

[3]Essays, II, 231.

give to the English version the fullness and richness of the great Latin epic grew the style that has since become associated with Dryden's Virgil—"the grand manner" it has been called by the most recent translator of the Aeneid.[1] Naturalized Latin words Dryden felt added elegance to the English: some were ornaments that made the language more stately; others served a functional purpose. To some words he gave new meaning, to others new forms. Here also were occasional obsolete and archaic words, circumlocutions, and adjuncts formed by adding -y. Disdainful of what he called "the swelling, puffy style," he commented in the dedication of the Aeneis, ". . . I shall not be wholly without praise, if in some sort I may be allowed to have copied the clearness, the purity, the easiness, and the magnificence of his style."[2]

The question of whether or not he succeeded has elicited varying responses from critics, poets, and Virgilian scholars. Even though the Aeneis is generally accepted as the best of all earlier or subsequent translations, its admirers have never been able to give it unqualified praise and most of its detractors have never been able to condemn it completely. Among the first to level an attack was Luke Milbourne, who felt that "never, certainly was such an Original so barbarously

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[1] C. Day Lewis, "Foreword," The Aeneid of Virgil (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1954), p. 7.

[2] Essays, II, 228.

abus'd before."[1] In striking at Dryden's method of translation he set forth what he thought a translator should do:

> It's necessary he should give us the true Sense and meaning of his Author, if he knows it, that he who understands not the Original, may be sure yet that he knows the Author's Mind, has his true genuine Thoughts, and not the Interpolations of another. That especially where the Author says neither too little, nor too much, the Interpreter should neither Clip his Sterling, nor give it worthless Bulk and weight with the Additional Alloy of his own base Metal.[2]

Thereupon Milbourne offered some of his own work as an illustration of competent translating. Dryden settled his score with Milbourne in the preface to the Fables, but in the two and a half centuries that have elapsed since the publication of the Virgil the criticism, even by Dryden's admirers, has been tinged with a trace of this first outburst. Sir Walter Scott, Dryden's great editor, was quick to admit that many passages

> . . . are faulty, many indifferently understood, many imperfectly translated, some in which dignity is lost, others in which bombast is substituted in its stead. But the unabated vigour and spirit of the version more than overbalances these and all its other deficiencies.[3]

And Saintsbury, who revised the Scott edition, felt that the spirit of Dryden's translation was very different from that of the original and that even in the best passages in the Aeneis

> a certain delicacy of touch, which Virgil especially

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[1]Luke Milbourne, Notes on Dryden's Virgil: In a Letter to a Friend with an Essay on the same Poet (London, 1698), p. 14.

[2]Ibid., p. 50.

[3]Works, I, 431.

> requires, and of which Dryden was sufficiently master in his more original work, has often failed him here, but the bolder and more masculine passages are represented with a great deal of success.[1]

Two late nineteenth century Dryden editors found it difficult to temper their harshness with kindness. Christie, who really did not care for his poet, said, "The work at its best has many blemishes and inequalities, and Dryden's muse was not congenial with Virgil's sweet simplicity and naturalness"; yet even he could not wholly condemn the translation, for he admitted that "Dryden's fame cast a halo round the work, which must always as a whole be regarded as a great achievement, and as making an epoch in our literature."[2] Then there was John Churton Collins' pronouncement:

> Marred by coarseness, marred by miserable inequalities, marred by errors of ignorance and errors of inadvertency, it is still a noble achievement. . . . It is indeed one of those works which will never cease to offend the taste and never fail to captivate the attention. The critics will continue to censure, but the world will continue to be delighted. . . .[3]

Such are the conclusions drawn by the students of Dryden. The classical scholars have held as varied opinions, ranging from that of J. W. Mackail, a late nineteenth century editor of Virgil, who commented sharply,

> No one would tolerate now, for the sake of any vigour or dignity, such swinging carelessness, such schoolboy scholarship as Dryden's; but just for that reason, we are safe

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[1]Saintsbury, op. cit., p. 147.

[2]Christie, op. cit., p. lxxii.

[3]Collins, op. cit., p. 70.

> against any one making the attempt on so slender a base of knowledge, or with such contempt for the outward form of Virgil, as Dryden did,[1]

to that of Professor Knight, who labels the Aeneis "a poem of Dryden's age, which is not to us very Vergilian," but who also points out that through the work of translation Dryden received a "comprehension of Vergil's poetry, which has helped to develop and maintain Vergilian scholarship since."[2]

Some modern critics have attacked Dryden on untenable grounds. Annoyed by T. S. Eliot's praise of Dryden at the expense of Shelley, C. S. Lewis assails not only Dryden's ability as a poet but also his character by finding him an unsatisfactory poet and something of a boor, with a "gross, vulgar, provincial, misunderstanding mind."[3] And Robert Bridges confesses a "natural repugnance to Dryden's style," an aversion he found reinforced by Dryden's preface to the Aeneis in which "he pompously informs me that Tasso was a finer poet than Dante."[4] On such shifting sands do some of the present-day critics base their opinions of Dryden's Virgil. Despite a long history of critical abuse centering on Dryden's poetic style and his method of translation, the Virgil still remains, as Professor Noyes has said, "practically without a

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[1]J. W. Mackail, "Virgil in English Verse," The Bibelot (Portland, Maine: Thomas B. Mosher, 1903), IX, 316. This article was reprinted from Macmillan's Magazine, February, 1888.

[2]Knight, op. cit., p. 314. [3]C. S. Lewis, op. cit., p.13.

[4]Robert Bridges, Ibant Obscuri: An Experiment in the Classical Hexameter (Oxford, 1916), p. 137.

rival as the standard translation of the greatest Roman poet; the only one that, like two or three versions of Homer, has become an English classic."[1]

The poetic diction of the Virgil did eventually degenerate into an artificial style marked by the overabundance of elevated phrases and circumlocutions that the nineteenth century poets and critics associated with neoclassicism. Lowell, for one, believed that Dryden's haste

> led him to fill out the measure of lines with phrases that add only to dilute, and thus the clearest, the most direct, the most manly versifier of his time became, without meaning it, the source (fons et origo malorum) of that poetic diction from which our poetry has not yet recovered.[2]

One type of word especially associated with the poetic style of the Virgil is the adjective formed by a noun and a y suffix, a type whose development in the translations has already been traced. Such phrases as "dewy fields" for streams and "woolly care" for sheep are part of the concentration translators learned from the Latin poets when it was necessary to constrict the meaning within the limits of the couplet. Professor Tillotson maintains in his study of eighteenth century poetic diction that the practice of inventing adjectives ending in y began as early as Chapman's Homer,[3] but Chaucer has many of the suffixal forms in such words as "drovy," "thefly," "masty,"

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[1] Poems, p. lix.

[2] Lowell, op. cit., p. 182.

[3] Geoffrey Tillotson, "Eighteenth-Century Poetic Diction (II)," Essays in Criticism and Research (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1942), p. 75.

"horsly," and "blosmy." The popular Albion's England, first printed in 1586, and Tottle's Miscellany (1559) contain not a few of these adjectives, among them "hugy waves," "heapy doubts," and "strawie corne."[1] For that matter, Sidney's Arcadia with "envy's snaky eye," "flamy breath," and "vaultye skye" lend considerable authority for the establishment of a type of diction that had the overtones of elegance and dignity. This form, as well as words ending in -ish, became part of a conventionalized poetic diction in the Renaissance. It was adopted by Spenser and Milton, who found it useful; since it served Dryden's purpose in his translations, he too employed it with growing frequency. Not only did the -y adjunct offer in compressed form the forces suggested in the compendious Latin of Virgil, but it also provided for an iambic foot that fit into the compact metrical line of the couplet. Being usually metaphorical, this type of phrase was felt by Dryden to heighten the tone of his English version.

Other poetical phrases mark the elevated style of the Aeneis. A warrior does not die in battle; instead the "purple soul comes floating in the flood," or with "bloody teeth he bites the ground," or "his mortal race was run." Hail becomes "writhen rain," ships are "floating forests," smooth ivory is "polished elephant," and the sea is "liquid glass." Some of

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[1]Vere L. Rubel, Poetic Diction in the English Renaissance: From Skelton through Spenser (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1941), p. 88.

his words have become obsolete, although most of them were in accepted usage at the time he was translating the Aeneis. For example, such phrases as "erected eyes" (lift up the eyes), "exerted breast" (thrust forth), and "country cates" (food) and obsolete spellings such as restiff and strook give an archaic flavor. Some of these suggest to the modern reader a metaphorical intent that was not originally present. The poetic diction of the entire Virgil is supported by assonance, alliteration, synalepha, anaphora, inverted word order, and turns, as well as studied stress on vowels and the judicious placing of monosyllabic words. All are inspired by his classical source and are enhanced by the use of triplets, Alexandrines, and the caesura as he strives to give to this great work the strength and sweetness found in his master Virgil.

A line-by-line comparison of Dryden's translation of the Aeneis with the original shows that within the bounds of his own theory of translation he follows his poet faithfully. He is not attempting a literal rendition; yet he is determined not to lose the sense of the original even though he varies the words. And herein lies the subject of present interest, the imagery that he uses. Having established a general pattern of approach during the years, he now adapts it to the work at hand. He follows a generally uniform design in his treatment of the epic simile, in his development of the spontaneous images scattered through the work, and in his use of the constricted metaphor. He trims some of Virgil's figures,

a feat in itself; he shifts metaphorical phrases and picks up brief metaphors he has skipped; and he turns Virgil's literal statements into images; he even makes slight phrasal changes in Virgil's similes that result in a reading Virgil probably did not intend. Occasionally he omits in its entirety one of Virgil's lesser comparisons, although he does not drop any of the epic similes.

Among the many passages that show Dryden's method of expanding the epic simile are two that describe Turnus as he prepares for battle. In Book XI Turnus' eagerness for battle is compared to the exuberance of a steed that goes to the feeding grounds of the mares after he breaks from his stable, or washes in the river from which he springs forth with ears pricked forward, head high, and mane flowing over his neck and flanks.[1] Although in Dryden's version six lines become ten, there is no actual expansion so far as length is concerned, for each contains approximately the same number of syllables—one hundred and two. The italicized words will show that he does make changes and additions within the simile:

> Freed <u>from his keepers</u>, thus, with broken reins,
> The <u>wanton</u> courser prances o'er the plains,

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[1] qualis ubi abruptis fugit praesepia vinclis
tandem liber equus campoque potitus aperto
aut ille in pastus armentaque tendit equarum
aut adsuetus aquae perfundi flumine noto
emicat, arrectisque fremit cervicibus alte
luxurians, luduntque iubae per colla, per armos.
(XI, 492-497)

> Or in the pride of youth o'erleaps the mounds,
> And snuffs the females in forbidden grounds,
> Or seeks his wat'ring in the well-known flood,
> To quench his thirst, and cool his fiery blood:
> He swims luxuriant in the liquid plain,
> And o'er his shoulder flows his waving mane:
> He neighs, he snorts, he bears his head on high;
> Before his ample chest the frothy waters fly.
> (XI, 743-752)

The tone of this simile is changed by Dryden's emphasis on the animal nature rather than on the carefree spirit of the horse which has found his freedom. Virgil hints vaguely that the horse is attracted by the mares but offers no grounds for the veiled pun. For the Latin "equus" Dryden substitutes "wanton courser," picking up the suggestion from "luxurians," a word used by Virgil in the description of the swim in the river and by Dryden in its proper place in "swims luxuriant in the liquid plain."

In Book XII Turnus' fury and anger as he prepares to meet Aeneas in single combat offer a comparison to that of a bull preparing for battle with a rival. Virgil's four lines become six, and once again Dryden's additions appear original. Actually they are suggested by a description taken from the third georgic in which a bull defeated in his first encounter trains himself by charging the tree trunks and pawing the sand. Virgil's two descriptions are almost identical: in the Georgics he says,

> et temptat sese atque irasci in cornua discit
> arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit
> ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena,
> (III, 232-234)

and in the Aeneis,

> mugitus veluti cum prima in proelia taurus
> terrificos ciet atque irasci in cornua temptat,
> arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit
> ictibus aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.
> (XII, 103-106)

Dryden's translations of the two descriptions, however, present a noticeable difference in style and tone. Despite the usual additions his lines from the Georgics are almost unadorned and factual:

> His horns, yet sore, he tries against a tree,
> And meditates his absent enemy.
> He snuffs the wind; his heels the sand excite;
> But when he stands collected in his might,
> He roars, and promises a more successful fight.
> (III, 360-364)

In the Aeneis when this description becomes the secondary part of a simile it loses its simplicity. Dryden's lines, more detailed and at the same time more compact than the original, pick up in the transfer color and intensity lacking in both of the Latin passages:

> So fares the bull in his lov'd female's sight:
> Proudly he bellows, and preludes the fight;
> He tries his goring horns against a tree,
> And meditates his absent enemy;
> He pushes at the wind; he digs the strand
> With his black hoofs, and spurns the yellow sand.
> (XII, 159-164)

Although "In his lov'd female's sight" is not in either of Virgil's descriptions, it is suggested by lines that precede the quotation from the Georgics. In Dryden's simile the horns become "goring," the hoofs "black," and the sand "yellow." "Bellows" is not only more effective than "roars" but nearer

the Latin meaning; and "he pushes at the wind" has a freshness and briskness lacking in "snuffs." Only one line is repeated, "And meditates his absent enemy," an addition not warranted by the Latin since Virgil does not mention the enemy in either of his passages. In this particular type of addition Dryden finds his source in an earlier work of his poet. By making the second of the two passages more vigorous and more colorful, he is attempting to suit tone to the genre as he evolves his conception of the elevated epic style in contrast to the plainer pastoral style.

A second type of expansion used by Dryden in his treatment of the epic simile is shown in Virgil's comparison of shifting battle lines as the Latin troops fall back before the Trojans, who in turn retreat before the renewed onslaught of the enemy, with waves that rush toward the shore, dash over the sands, and then turn back to sea carrying debris.[1] To see what Dryden hopes to do in this particular expansion it is necessary to note his careful placing of the additions as well as his use of alliteration, the latter being a device found in the original:

> So swelling surges, with a thund'ring roar,
> Driv'n on each other's backs, insult the shore,
> Bound o'er the rocks, incroach upon the land,

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[1] qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus
nunc ruit ad terram scopulosque superiacit unda
spumeus extremamque sinu perfundit harenam,
nunc rapidus retro atque aestu revoluta resorbens
saxa fugit litusque vado labente relinquit.
(XI, 624-628)

> And far upon the beach eject the sand;
> Then backward, with a swing, they take their way,
> Repuls'd from upper ground, and seek their mother sea;
> With equal hurry quit th' invaded shore,
> And swallow back the sand and stones they spew'd before.
>
> (XI, 929-936)

The additions function in the artistic development of the line as he builds up in the rhythms the actual motion of the sea. As the waves swell and roar toward the shore, so do Dryden's lines carry the powerful push of the waters in the heavy vowels, the opening alliteration, the rolling rhythmic beat, and the shifting caesura. When the rushing waves hit the shore, Dryden changes to an opening trochee in the second line; and when they reach their crest, the line seems to hang on "each other's backs" before sliding into iambs as it follows once again the movement of the sea. Another opening trochee in the third line marks the barrier of rock as it is slapped by the waves. Now the waters turn back to sea, and the heavy pauses in "Then backward, with a swing, they make their way" seem to suggest a swaying movement as if the water itself is suspended in mid air for a moment before it starts the long sliding movement felt in the first of the two Alexandrines in the quotation. The return to sea picks up momentum in a line that moves as rapidly as the waters, "With equal hurry quit th' invaded shores"; then as the waters roll out to sea carrying sand and stone, Dryden utilizes an alliterative Alexandrine that moves heavily and slowly as if laden with the weight of the debris it describes. So it is that in this

second type of expansion the additions of the master craftsman heighten the Virgilian figure and at the same time give him room to develop organically the movement of the ocean waves.

Dryden's expansions of Virgil's epic similes serve to elevate the style, intensify the tone, and enhance the subtleties of metrical composition. He does not necessarily concentrate on attaining any one of these results; rather it is the expanded simile bearing the touch of all three influences that points toward his immeasurable advancement in the art of translation. The difference between the rigid, mechanical images of Ovid's Epistles and the many lively and flexible ones in the Aeneis appears in the firmness of control, the skill in metrical techniques, and the refractive imaginative powers shown in the later work.

Operating within a narrower range, Dryden employs for the short simile and the brief metaphor the same methods used in the extended simile. A change in tone is illustrated in his translation of Virgil's description of Aeneas trying to embrace the ghost of Creusa:[1]

> And thrice about her neck my arms I flung,
> And, thrice deceiv'd, on vain embraces hung.
> Light as an empty dream at break of day,
> Or as a blast of wind, she rush'd away.
> (II, 1077-1080)

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[1]ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum;
ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.
(II, 792-794)

Here he associates "light" with "dream" instead of with "wind," and after placing "light" in a beginning trochee for emphasis, he bolsters it with "empty" and "at break of day." Virgil's softened tone is made vigorous by Dryden's "blast of wind" as well as the "rush'd away" instead of "fled" or "escaped," either of which is nearer the Latin.

His translation of a line from Book VIII shows how he can sustain a brief Virgilian metaphor by his own invention based on a factual description from the original. "Nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis" (369) becomes

> Now Night had shed her silver dews around,
> And with her sable wings embrac'd the ground,
> (VIII, 484-485)

in which the second line of the couplet is a faithful translation of the Latin; the factual "Nox ruit," however, is extended into a full line with the phrase "silver dews" not only setting off the "sable wings" of the original but tying the two lines together through alliteration. Although Dryden's contribution is a commonplace metaphor padded with an end rhyme, it combines with Virgil's image to intensify the Latin figure. Another approach to the short metaphor is his changing of Virgil's words about within the figure to shift the emphasis, a maneuver used in the long simile to produce a similar effect. For instance, when Virgil tells of Aeneas lighting the altar fires in supplication to Hercules after receiving the sign from his mother that war is at hand, Dryden says, "And on his altars wak'd the sleeping fires"

(VIII, 720), a variation of "sopitas ignibus aras excitat," in which the altars are sleeping, not the fires. The brush of imaginative response and the exigencies of the metrical form, not Dryden's "schoolboy scholarship," were probably responsible for this particular modulation. An attempt to elevate the tone of the brief metaphor appears in his translation of the opening line of Book XI, "Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit," a simple statement with a slight metaphorical cast, which becomes an ornate couplet:

> Scarce had the rosy Morning rais'd her head
> Above the waves, and left her wat'ry bed.
> (XI, 1-2)

The embellished personification and the poetic diction Dryden affects for his elevated epic style make the lines quite different from the simplicity inherent in Virgil's "Meanwhile Aurora rising left the ocean."

Still following the method used in the expansion of the long simile, Dryden picks up a brief metaphorical suggestion, makes it more vivid by detailed additions, and, loath to drop it entirely, revives it in succeeding lines as a substitute for one in the original Latin. This procedure is illustrated in his translation of a passage from Book VII in which Latinus, realizing that the tide of battle has turned against him, says that he has won his rest and now on the threshold of his haven ("portus") he is to be robbed of a happy or fortunate death (VII, 598-599). Taking the hint from "portus," Dryden makes the king's life a "stormy voyage" in

the couplet,

> For me, my stormy voyage at an end,
> I to the port of death securely tend.
> (VII, 825-826)

The expansion of the figure is original, but it is done in the spirit of the Latin poet, for it sustains the slight metaphor in the original. Five lines later Dryden picks up the suggestion in the combined image and substitutes for Virgil's "rerumque reliquit habenas" (a conventional reference to the "reins of state") a new figure that continues the sea metaphor as he says that the king

> Nor with the rising storm would vainly strive,
> But left the helm, and let the vessel drive.
> (VII, 831-832)

One last example of the brief metaphor shows an intensification of tone by additions without Virgil's authority, although it is possible to read into the Latin something of Dryden's interpretation. The expansion occurs in the description of the Sybil whom Aeneas visits as soon as he lands in Italy. Fairclough's translation of the passage is as follows:

> But the prophetess, not yet brooking the sway of Phoebus, storms wildly in the cavern, if so she may shake the mighty god from off her breast; so much the more he tires her raving mouth, tames her wild heart, and moulds her by constraint.[1]

C. Day Lewis in his recent translation of the Aeneid also follows the original closely:

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[1]Virgil with an English Translation, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough ("The Loeb Classical Library"; 2 vols.; 1st ed., rev.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), I, 513.

But the Sybil, not yet submissive to Phoebus, there
in her cavern
Prodigiously struggled, still trying to shake from her
brain the powerful
God who rode her: but all the more he exhausted her
foaming
Mouth and mastered her wild heart, breaking her in
with a firm hand.[1]

But for Dryden the suggestion of the nightmare becomes the reality as he introduces sexual imagery in his picture of the incubus:

> Struggling in vain, impatient of her load,
> And lab'ring underneath the pond'rous god,
> The more she strove to shake him from her breast,
> With more and far superior force he press'd;
> Commands his entrance, and, without control,
> Usurps her organs and inspires her soul.
> (VI, 120-125)

An interpretation such as this may well be the reason for the censure Dryden has received from the dedicated classical scholars.

A study of the imagery in the Aeneis reveals that here more than in any of his other translations Dryden exhibits supreme confidence in his ability by using many spontaneous figures of speech. Usually these completely original additions do not extend to more than a line or two, and they are not built up in conjunction with figures found in the Latin version. For instance, Virgil explains that Camilla has been named for her mother, Casmilla, but the name has been slightly changed: "nomine Casmillae, mutata parte, Camillam" (XI, 543). Instead of following the literal explanation, Dryden uses a

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[1] C. Day Lewis, op. cit., p. 132.

figure heightened by alliteration:

> Casmilla was her mother; but he drown'd
> One hissing letter in a softer sound.
> (XI, 819-820)

Occasionally he neatly fits a proverbial expression or a Biblical image into the classical context. As an example, when Venus tells Aeneas that the gods are the ones that have made Troy fall and that if he will clear the mist from his sight, she will discover to him hidden things, Dryden has the goddess say to Aeneas that she will dissolve the mists and

> Purge from your sight the dross, and make you see
> The shape of each avenging deity.
> (II, 821-822)

The figure is from Isaiah 1:25, and in a sense is a concentration of some of the things Dryden has omitted from the original.

To sustain the epic tone Dryden frequently inserts mythological references and personifications not used by Virgil. Sometimes these brief images grow out of Virgil'd meaning, but more often they are merely inspirations that Dryden feels are in keeping with the tone and style of the genre. One or two examples will show how Dryden heightens the subdued vigor of the original. In the opening of Book X when Venus lists for Jupiter the unfortunate things that have happened to the Trojans, she says that Iris came down from the clouds to arouse the women so that they would burn the fleet. Dryden, however, has Venus say that Iris was sent

> . . . with Bacchanalian heat
> T' inspire the matrons, and destroy the fleet,
> (X, 54-55)

in which "Bacchanalian heat" suggests not only the fire which burns the ships of Aeneas but the frenzied and wildly excited women carrying their torches in the Dionysian rites and the mobs rioting and dancing in outrageous conduct. Thus the mythological reference heightens the recollection of the entire episode of Book V. Then there is personification that is more than the mere insertion of a mythological name. "Iamque rubescebat radiis mare" (VII, 25) says Virgil as he pictures Aurora shedding her light over the world. Dryden does not personify Aurora as Virgil does. Instead he turns this description of the effect of the dawn on the ocean into ". . . Thetis blush'd in purple not her own" (VII, 36), a figure not in the original. Here "Thetis" stands for the sea itself, not for the nymph, and "rubescebat" assumes a human quality—blushing. By inserting his own figures he ignores Virgil's picture of "saffron-hued Aurora." A less successful example taken from Book IV is his translation of Virgil's contrast of all of nature, which has sunk to rest, with the unhappy Dido, who cannot sleep. Without authority of the Latin Dryden uses a favorite figure that also acts as a summarizing line: "And Peace, with downy wings, was brooding on the ground" (IV, 762). It strikes an incongruous note in calling up a picture of a mother hen huddling her baby chicks under her wings. He has used the image before but not with the unfortunate linking of "downy wings" and "brooding."

Dryden does not always expand Virgil's figures of

speech. Sometimes he omits figures that he feels cannot be translated gracefully into English or that perhaps crowd upon others he wishes to play up. Although he drops many brief metaphors, he never omits an extended simile. In the "Peace, with downy wings" image are lines describing Dido's inability to go to sleep peacefully like the rest of nature; instead, says Virgil, the pain increases and her love becomes fierce and swells anew and she is driven hither and thither by great waves of passion (IV, 531-532). Ignoring the suggested figure, Dryden substitutes

> Despair, and rage, and love divide her heart;
> Despair and rage had some, but love the greater part.
> (IV, 771-772)

He also drops a figure in one of Virgil's descriptions of the battle between the two armies:

> . . . fundunt simul undique tela
> crebra nivis ritu, caelumque obtexitur umbra.
> (XI, 610-611)

Dryden does translate the second part of the figure, "The face of heav'n their flying jav'lins hide" (XI, 912), but he ignores the image of the missiles pouring forth on all sides as thick as snow, probably because the verse paragraph in which these images appear is already overburdened. Another instance occurs in Book IV when the priestess stands before the altar and calls on the gods in a voice of thunder (IV, 510). For Dryden

> The priestess enters, with her hair unbound,
> And thrice invokes the pow'rs below the ground,
> (IV, 737-738)

without any mention of the thundering voice. And in the description of the harbor in Book III, Dryden follows the Latin in using the figure of the bent bow, but once again he drops a contiguous figure, this time the unusual one of the towering crags letting down arms that form the wall (III, 535). For Dryden there are only "Two tow'ring rocks the narrow mouth divide" (III, 705). The omissions that have been noted are brief metaphors that usually are rejected when another stands in the same line or immediately precedes or follows it. In translating his highly figurative poet, Dryden also passes by many brief Virgilian metaphors that stand alone. Instances are legion, but for the purpose of illustration only a few need be selected. There is Virgil's use of litotes in a metaphor drawn from riding: in arousing Tarchon to battle Jove stings him to wrath with no gentle spur. Dryden's response is lightly given: "He fires the breast of Tarchon with disdain" (XI, 1071). A few lines later Virgil says that Tarchon advances upon Venulus like a tornado or a whirlwind and like lightning he flies across the field; yet Dryden ignores these brief metaphorical comparisons, commonplace though they are, and slips into literal description. Often one wonders why he discards certain Virgilian images that should have appealed to him. One is in Book X when recounting the mighty deeds on the field of battle, Virgil says that Lausus cuts down Abas, who is referred to as the battle's knot; for Dryden Abas is only the "hind'rance of the day" (X, 606). Another is in

Book IX when Virgil calls upon Calliope and the other Muses to inspire him as he writes of the battle that is to take place; he asks them to unroll with him the edges of the picture of the war ("mecum ingentis oras evolvite belli"). Dryden omits the reference entirely, merely closing the evocation with a flat couplet:

> For you in singing martial facts excel;
> You best remember, and alone can tell.
> (IX, 702-703)

These are isolated examples chosen at random. A more comprehensive picture of the omissions may be revealed by noting the number of dropped figures in an entire verse paragraph. As an illustration, a verse paragraph in Book XII (468-499) offers a highly exciting action picture filled with many images. Turnus' sister, Juturna, assumes the form of his charioteer and takes over the reins. Following an epic simile in which she is compared to a black swallow winging her way through the empty rooms of a great mansion, Virgil describes Aeneas' efforts to follow his flying enemy. Aeneas threads his way as if he were in a winding maze and traces the footsteps of the wing-footed steeds. Tossed on a waving tide of indecision, he knows not what to do. His wrath surges and swells when part of his helmet is torn off by an enemy spear; then finding that Turnus' chariot is lost from sight, he flings away the reins of passion and is borne down the tide of war. In Dryden's translation of this episode (XII, 691-724) the swallow simile is contracted; the wing-footed steeds become

"smoking horses"; it is Juturna who steers her course among the foes, not Aeneas, who traces her steps through a winding maze. Aeneas is "fired with fury," not tossed on the tide, and "various cares in vain his mind assail," a figure also used by Virgil. Finally he is found "to his rage abandoning the rein," but he is not carried down the tide of war. Thus Dryden includes in this one long passage only two of Virgil's many brief metaphors. Such tampering with the original has provoked classical scholars to comment unfavorably on the translation of the Aeneis and to assume that Dryden was an indifferent student of Latin. What his detractors refuse to consider is that Dryden was attempting to capture the spirit of his original through his own theory of translation. In the foregoing passage, for example, Dryden wanted action; he did not wish to be slowed down by a plethora of figures. When he could not work in figures gracefully, he chose to ignore them rather than let faithfulness to his script destroy the totality of effect he wished to create.

Dryden's third method of handling the brief metaphor was to contract the figures he found in the original rather than expand or drop them. In the opening lines of Book IV Virgil says that the love-smitten queen feeds the wound and is worn away with the obscure fire of love. These figures Dryden contracts into "She fed within her veins a flame unseen" (IV, 2); he combines the two probably because the next four lines in the English version carry three images. Another

example of the contracted metaphor occurs in Book VII. Virgil describes Messapus as one "quem neque fas igni cuiquam nec sternere ferro" (VII, 692). In the translation this figure appears in a tight alliterative line, "Secure of steel, and fated from the fire" (VII, 956). Dryden rarely shortens a long simile, but when he does, he pares it to a basic comparison. Virgil finds the movement of the Latin army across the open battlefield similar to the progress of the Ganges or the Nile:

> ceu septem surgens sedatis amnibus altus
> per tacitum Ganges aut pingui flumine Nilus
> cum refluit campis et iam se condidit alveo.
> (IX, 30-32)

By skillfully placed caesuras and a shifted foot Dryden indulges in one of his favorite metrical tricks as he condenses the Virgilian figure:

> Silent they move, majestically slow,
> Like ebbing Nile, or Ganges in his flow.
> (IX, 35-36)

His compression of the long simile is not always so successful as this example. For instance, Virgil relates that the sword and corslet which Venus promised to Aeneas shone just as an azure cloud takes fire from the rays of the sun and gleams a long way off (VIII, 622-623). Restraint marks Dryden's compact line: "So shines a cloud, when edg'd with adverse light" (VIII, 826). Not only has it lost the color and intensity of the original, but, even more serious, the use of "adverse" strikes a false note.

As the analyses of these methods of handling the images in the Aeneis show, Dryden had no intention of making a literal translation. His approach ranged from paraphrase to metaphrase, a sweep that gave him license to intensify the action of a figure, to expand where Virgil hints, to shift the tone as well as the meaning in an epic simile, to insert his own metaphors, to contract an image, and even to omit those he felt could not be translated gracefully. The surprising thing is that he varied so little from Virgil's imagery despite the freedom he had allowed himself. In all, Dryden added or changed 432 figures of speech, the greatest number being drawn from Daily Life, Body and Bodily Action, and Nature in that order of frequency. Of this number only one was from the Arts —a reference to the stage. A pattern of sources appears when the twelve books of the epic are considered individually. The first six books show a concentration of images drawn from two general categories: Body and Bodily Action heads the list in Books I, III, and VI; Daily Life in Books II, IV, and V. A gradual shift appears in Book VII, in which the quarrel and the laying of the ground for the war are described, for here Domestic Living joins Body and Bodily Action in first place. In Book VIII, devoted to the beginning of the war and the assembling of the leaders, Domestic Living is the leading source; but in Books IX, X, XI, which deal with the war proper, Nature suddenly rises to the top in all three. Then in Book XII Daily Life again heads the list.

Much has been made of Dryden's lifting of lines and phrases and rhyme words from other English translations of the Aeneis. He did indulge in silent borrowing from the works of Lauderdale, Ogilby, Denham, Waller, Godolphin, and others, but he rarely picked up a line that contained an image. The popularity of translations during the latter half of the seventeenth century is attested to by the many "holiday writers" who did selections from the great classics, and Dryden evidently was familiar with many of them. Book IV of the Aeneis may be used as an example. Sidney Godolphin, who translated the first half of this book and entitled it "The Passion of Dido for Aeneas," says in the "Argument" that Book IV "has been always esteemed the best piece of the best poet; has been translated into all languages, and in our days at least ten times, by several pens, into English."[1] One of the two lines that Dryden takes verbatim from Godolphin contains a metaphor, or rather a fossil metaphor, and is used to conclude the following couplet:

> No female arts or aids she left untried,
> Nor counsels unexplor'd, before she died.
> (IV, 599-600)

From Waller, who did the second half of the book, Dryden borrows two identical lines and a number of rhyme words, but neither of the two lines contains an image. Many times Denham

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[1]Sidney Godolphin, "The Passion of Dido for Aeneas," Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, ed. George Saintsbury (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1906), II, 249.

uses the same phrases that appear in Godolphin's translations; and on one occasion Dryden borrows a phrase, "dearer bands of love" (line 444), that appears in both Denham's and Godolphin's translations. Offered as a sampling, the foregoing illustrations show that in the Aeneis Dryden followed the practice he used in the Georgics of picking up lines from other translators, but he usually avoided phrases and lines containing figures, preferring Virgil's or his own imagery.

Despite a long history of critical abuse that has centered upon Dryden's poetic style and his method of translation, his Virgil remains a monument to the perseverance, the craftsmanship, and the creative skill of a great English poet. A study of the imagery in the Aeneis has shown that Dryden did clip some of Virgil's sterling, as Milbourne complained to a friend in 1698, and perhaps he did give the Aeneis "worthless Bulk weight with the Additional Alloy of his own base Metal," but the images that Dryden omitted were not all sterling, and those that he added were certainly not all "worthless Bulk weight."

Ovid and Homer in "Fables, Ancient and Modern"

Having brought to completion the long and exacting task of translating all of Virgil, Dryden played with the idea of translating the Iliad. He did complete the first book, but then he returned to the Metamorphoses to do eight selections including the entire twelfth book. So it was that he came

full circle and after twenty years of translating ended, as he had begun, with the Roman poet whom he had found more according to his genius than any other. These final translations appeared in Fables, Ancient and Modern (1700) together with selections from Boccaccio and Chaucer, the volume having been called by at least one accomplished scholar "the noblest specimen of versification (in my mind) that is to be found in any modern language."[1] The critical preface and his Chaucer and Boccaccio have drawn more praise than the classical excerpts. His Homer, for instance, has received a varied response. Pope, who borrowed a number of rhyme words and several lines with little alteration, felt it a great loss to the poetical world that Dryden did not live to translate the rest of the work; and Tennyson, who preferred Dryden's version to Pope's, was outspoken in his praise of the "poetical force" of the former. Van Doren, too, regretted that Dryden got no farther than Book I and commented that "although the two specimens[2] he left behind are neither violent, impetuous, nor full of fire in a preternatural degree, they are honest and various

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[1]Quoted from a letter written by George Ellis to Scott soon after Scott's edition of Dryden appeared. John Gibson Lockhart, Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott (5 vols.; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1902), II, 49.

[2]The other "specimen" is "The Last Parting of Hector and Andromache" from Book VI of the Iliad. Dryden admitted that he had changed the tone of this selection which appeared in the Third Miscellany (1693).

as few translations are."[1] Labelling the closing scene with Vulcan "grandiosely convivial," Van Doren concluded, "It is thinkable that a complete Iliad by the author of these lines would be, even now, the most Homeric thing in English."[2] Dryden would have been pleased with this remark; he always strove to capture the spirit of his poets, and for him Homer was "much more capable of exciting the manly passions than those of grief and pity."[3] There are those critics, however, who take an opposite view of Dryden's version of the Iliad. Scott felt that there were "many passages in which the antique Grecian simplicity is vulgarly and inelegantly rendered," and cites as an example "the ambrosial feast of Olympus [that] concludes like a tavern revel."[4] And Saintsbury in pointing out that the Homer was avowedly done as an experiment found it "difficult to be very sorry that the experiment was not pursued farther."[5] The most recent study of Dryden's translations suggests that his Homer, produced in a mock-heroic vein, represents "a falling off in skill from his Virgil."[6]

The usual practice has been to compare Dryden's version with Pope's in an effort to point up the differences in

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[1] Van Doren, op. cit., p. 102.

[2] Ibid., p. 216.

[3] Essays, II, 12.

[4] Works, I, 434, 435.

[5] Saintsbury, op. cit., p. 144.

[6] William Frost, Dryden and the Art of Translation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), p. 66.

interpretation, tone, and metrical skill. Such a comparison will show that Dryden, still following his theory of translation, seeks to capture the spirit of his poet by presenting Book I in vigorous masculine verse often marked by racy colloquialisms, the result being in direct contrast to the dignified and almost colorless though "correct" version of Pope's. Where Pope hesitates to introduce an image, Dryden adds two; Pope's gods are stately, Dryden's boisterous. Dryden's lines clatter and roar; his heroes shout and hurl invectives, poke sly fun, are lusty and wrathful. With perfect control, however, he can raise the tone if the original demands it. When Nestor speaks, "Words, sweet as honey from his lips distill'd" (I,364), says Dryden, following his poet in the figure.[1] As he relates what sweet-voiced Nestor says to the wrathful Achilles and the headstrong Agamemnon, he expands the original by adding three images:

> If such as those my counsels could reclaim,
> Think not, young warriors, your diminish'd name
> Shall lose of luster, by subjecting rage
> To the cool dictates of experienc'd age.
> Thou, King of Men, stretch not thy sovereign sway
> Beyond the bounds free subjects can obey;
> But let Pelides in his prize rejoice,
> Achiev'd in arms, allow'd by public voice.
> Nor thou, brave champion, with his power contend,
> Before whose throne ev'n kings their lower'd scepters bend:
> The head of action he, and thou the hand;
> Matchless thy force, but mightier his command.
> (385-396)

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[1]Pope borrows this line, although he changes "mouth" to "lips," a substitution indicative of the difference in tone of the two versions.

These lines, illustrating once again Dryden's skill in making his own images appear to grow out of the original, exemplify a controlled poetic perception and an excellence in artistic execution. The three dominant figures of speech move from two drawn from Substance into one from Body. Nestor has told the two men that in the past he counseled many great warriors who heeded his advice; thus the two before him will lose neither glory nor renown if they will accept his guidance. The adjective "cool" in line 388 sets up an affinity with "luster" in the preceding line and at the same time is linked by antithesis to "rage." The tie between the first image and the one introduced in lines 389-390 lies in the idea of texture suggested first by the surface appearance and then by the tensile strength of an object; both these qualities of substance are applied in turn to the abstract states of exalted reputation and fame and of sovereign power. After advising Agamemnon not to take Achilles' slave and Achilles not to raise his sword against the supreme commander, Nestor emphasizes the relationship of the two men by using in a balanced couplet a concrete figure of speech drawn from parts of the body:

> The head of action he, and thou the hand;
> Matchless thy force, but mightier his command.
> (395-396)

Here "the head of action" and "mightier his command" are related in an open pattern to "throne," "power," "King of Men," and "sovereign sway" which describe Agamemnon's position. With parallel emphasis "thou the hand" and "matchless thy force"

are joined with "lower'd scepters," "achiev'd in arms," "brave champion," "free subjects," and "public voice" to make clear Achilles' position. The run-on lines, the co-ordinate conjunctions, and the pauses resulting from terms of address and appositives give the feel of blank verse to the lines that present this parallel development of the two opposing forces. Finally the Alexandrine, carrying in its length the action of the lowered scepter before the throne, is followed immediately by the balanced couplet that sums up the status of the two antagonists. The rank is emphasized not only by the opening spondee in the second line but by the subtle shift of "mightier his command" to the climactic position in the line. The whole is further bound together by alliteration, balanced lines, antithesis, rhetorical figures, and parallelism. All of these —the figurative language, the metrical devices, the technical tricks—unite to establish through Nestor's lines a sense of dignity and calm that must offset the preceding scene in which Achilles has taken his vow and has thrown his scepter to the ground. Rationality, common sense, and force are here, not the mock-heroic element that Frost sees throughout the translation. These twelve lines have not been chosen as the finest in Book I; nevertheless, they do illustrate how Dryden's superb control of his artistic medium acts in conjunction with the creative impulse, the whole being built upon the foundations of another poet's construction.

The added figures of speech in the Homer—and there

are many—range from those that would be at home in low comedy to those that contribute elegance and dignity to the piece. Usually Dryden's judgment is sound as he establishes the tone that reflects the spirit of his poet, but he is not free from faults even in this last fine work. Sometimes his language is too mean for the matter; then again it is too lofty. An example of the first occurs at the end of the dispute between Achilles and the king:

> He said, and rose the first; the council broke,
> And all their grave consults dissolv'd in smoke.
> (425-426)

Another is an example of hyperbole:

> ". . . with boiling rage Atrides burn'd,
> And from betwixt his gnashing grinders churn'd."
> (360-361)

A number of Dryden's additions are brief, rather commonplace figures, such as "Curb that impetuous tongue" (760), "twelve days complete had run their race" (667), "He pulls his crimes upon his people's head" (478), "They plow the liquid seas" (435), "Reason will resume her sovereign sway" (312), "thirst of vengeance fir'd his blood" (294), and "plow the surges of the stormy main" (235). On the other hand, some of his brief metaphors evoke a tone of mockery and disdain or show contempt and bitterness. Dryden believed that Homer could move rage better than he could pity, that he stirred up "the irascible appetite, as our philosophers call it. . . ."[1] And the translator sought the figures of speech

[1] Essays, II, 13.

that suited the spirit of his poet. Violent and unrestrained invectives give way to controlled contempt as he uses a brief metaphor or an extended one, depending upon the impact he wishes to make. Some of these figures are developed from hints in the original: in addressing the king, Achilles says, "'Thy hook'd rapacious hands usurp the best" (247). Pope in his translation follows Homer much closer in the restrained and less vivid, "Thine in each conquest is the wealthy prey" (I, 217). Another heightened or intensified metaphor picked up from the original appears in the lines,

> The pow'r, appeas'd, with winds suffic'd the sail;
> The bellying canvas strutted with the gale;
> The waves indignant roar with surly pride,
> And press against the sides, and beaten off divide.
> (653-656)

in which Dryden cannot resist the play on words. Others are clearly Dryden's own contributions, such as the phrase "sacred gold, your idol god" (166) and the tight line, "And hungry graves no more be glutted with our spoils" (99), and

> ". . . my freeborn soul disdains
> A tyrant's curb, and restiff breaks the reins."
> (415-416)

Homer's "folk-devouring king" becomes in Dryden,

> "Lord-like at ease, with arbitrary pow'r,
> To peel the chiefs, the people to devour,"
> (342-343)

in which the action is demonstrated rather than described.

Those who remember only the closing scenes of the book condemn Dryden for a bawdiness better suited to Restoration comedy; for others the vigorous and spirited translation

is imbued with the true Homeric spirit. Dryden does lower or raise the tone of the piece depending upon his interpretation of the original. He uses his own images to enhance and sustain the shifting mood, be it the calm reasonableness of sweet-tongued Nestor or the bitter recriminations of a disdainful Achilles.

Instead of coming from the arduous task of translating the Virgil tired and devitalized, with his poetic inspiration muted, Dryden appears to have acquired renewed strength and exuberance. The sustained translating seemed to bring to his couplet an added flexibility bound by an inner assured control. This feeling is not present in the selection from Homer that he did for the Third Miscellany in 1693; the impression remains that it is nothing more than an assignment done by a competent hack writer. Not so much the spirit of his poets as the spirit of the translator animates the whole Fables. Possibly the money received for the Virgil had lessened the pressure under which he had worked for more than ten years; and although he still had to earn a living by his pen, he had the leisure to select for translation those pieces that truly pleased him. He himself gives a partial explanation of the excellence of the entire work when he writes in the preface:

> I think myself as vigorous as ever in the faculties of my soul, excepting only my memory, which is not impaired to any great degree; . . . What judgment I had, increases rather than diminishes; and thoughts, such as they are, come crowding in so fast upon me, that my only difficulty is to choose or to reject, to run them into verse, or to

give them the other narmony of prose.[1]

After finishing the first book of the Iliad he turned to the twelfth book of the Metamorphoses because it too dealt with the Trojan War; and then he moved on to other selections from Ovid until finally he had prepared eight in all.

Following his usual method of expansion Dryden extends the tales from Ovid to such a degree that some are almost twice their original length. This amplification does not suggest the prolixity that marred some of Dryden's earlier translations; rather it illustrates a richness of creative thought and an enthusiastic response to the original which he utilizes to transfer the literal Latin into figurative language. It also illustrates his ability to incorporate smoothly into the original his own embodiment of metaphorical expressions whose origin lies not within the text that he is translating but in the workings of his fertile imaginative processes, a further indication of his affinity with Ovid. In the Fables Dryden handles Ovid with an assurance that would seem to border on audacity if his neatly interwoven figures did not illustrate so well his command over his own creative powers and his understanding of his poets.

For the 162 figures of speech that Dryden develops from literal expressions or creates as original images the leading general sources are Daily Life and Body and Bodily

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[1]Ibid., p. 249.

Action. Physical Action, Body, War, and Fire and Light head the list of specific sources. Since the subject matter of the eight excerpts is varied, a break-down into types is not of much value except to show that the leading general classifications follow the same order and about the same proportion as the total figures in the Aeneis; that is, Daily Life, Body and Bodily Action, Nature, and Domestic Living. Except for Book XII of the Metamorphoses and the speeches of Ajax and Ulysses, Dryden's selections from Ovid can hardly be compared with the Aeneis; yet it should be noted that the dominant sources of his imagery in the two great works published during the last years of his life are the same. Two other points of interest are that in the selections from Ovid Dryden introduces four images drawn from the Arts, three being from the theater, and that there is practically no carry-over of circumlocutions and y-adjuncts from the Aeneis to the Fables. In the more than 3700 lines from Ovid appear about twenty of the y-adjuncts, including such familiar favorites as "steepy heights," "beamy lance," "fleecy snow," "plumy pillow," and "wat'ry field." This obvious decline illustrates once again that Dryden is following his idea of propriety, for when the tone and material of his poems shift he alters his type of diction to suit the change. There is, however, a great increase in compounds and "turns," both of which have the authority of the original.

Despite the length of the twelfth book of the

Metamorphoses Dryden did not contribute many figures of speech —only twenty, as a matter of fact—and he has followed more closely than usual the images in the Latin version. Nature offers the greatest number of original figures, the only time this classification heads the list in the eight Ovidian selections. Interestingly enough Nature also leads the list of sources in the three books of the Aeneis that describe the war and in the first book of the Iliad. It appears that violent action, whether physical or emotional, turns Dryden's imaginative response toward images in the same general category, even though the style and the tone of the originals he is translating reflect the wide differences found in Virgil, Homer, and Ovid. Most of the brief nature metaphors added to the twelfth book are adequate even though they are not especially vigorous—for instance, "receive of fresh report a flowing tide," "The storm was hush'd, and dimpled ocean smil'd," and the bride "came glitt'ring like a star." On the other hand, some are truly effective, as when he speaks of the rape of Caenis by Neptune as "her virgin treasure seiz'd"; or in the bloody description of Celadon, whose ". . . nose dismantled in his mouth is found"; or the simple figure, "Discourse, the food of souls."

Nature, together with Daily Life, also holds first place as the greatest general source of images contributed by Dryden to "The Speeches of Ajax and Ulysses," from the thirteenth book of the Metamorphoses. Dryden's figures seem to

spring to life in this selection, for the material suited his style and poetic temperament. With ease he handles the heated exchange between arrogant Ajax and clever Ulysses as they battle over possession of Achilles' arms. In the opening lines of Ajax's speech Dryden works in so smoothly three figures from War, the Law, and Growing Things that they seem to rise out of the original. The first two are caustic comments on Ulysses' penchant for oratory:

> "So much 't is safer at the noisy bar
> With words to flourish, than ingage in war,"
> (13-14)

and a few lines later, "His arms are a smooth tongue, and soft deceit." (18). Ajax sums up his position in a figurative Alexandrine, "My arguments are deeds, let action speak the man" (192). Through "arguments," "action," and "speak" Dryden uses the figure effectively as a tie in with "words," "take," and "action" in the couplet that introduces Ulysses as he stands to address the warriors:

> Soft was his tone, and sober was his face;
> Action his words, and words his action grace.
> (203-204)

The rhetorical figure suggests the effect of word play as Dryden repeats his words in reverse order for contrasting meaning. The balanced lines carrying alliteration and a turn are in decided contrast to the opening of Ulysses' speech, which has the quality of blank verse. It is interesting that Dryden's balance and antithesis are Greek in origin but come from post-Homeric Greek usage in drama and oratory.

Dryden also dresses with original images smooth-tongued Ulysses' plea for the arms. The warrior says that after "War seem'd asleep for nine long years" (335), both armies resolved to renew the battle; then he asks,

> "Now what did Ajax while our arms took breath,
> Vers'd only in the gross mechanic trade of death?"
> (337-338)

Later after Ulysses has recounted how he stole from Troy the image of the Phrygian prophet, he poses the question,

> "Now what has Ajax done, or what design'd,
> A noisy nothing, and an empty wind?"
> (519-520)

Alliteration, which is used in many of the figures of speech added to the selection, is well-illustrated in the following figure which describes some of Ulysses' histrionics:

> At this he bar'd his breast and show'd his scars,
> As of a furrow'd field, well plow'd with wars.
> (410-411)

Through such figures developed from literal lines in the original or created by his own imaginative powers, Dryden develops character in the speeches of the two antagonists. These figures may not represent the height of poetic genius, but they do display the touch of a master craftsman on material that has already been shaped by another poet.

After these three lively selections Dryden turns to what he has called "the masterpiece of the whole Metamorphoses," the first part of the fifteenth book, which contains a discussion of the moral and natural philosophy of Pythagoras. Truly moved, he introduces without restraint many new images

that reveal the free interplay of his own creative faculties. Sometimes, however, when he strains for vividness he startles the reader with an inappropriate figure; for a moment a fine poet has lost the natural sensitivity and the delicate perception that have molded much of his work for many years. The result is the unfortunate figure in

> The disk of Phoebus, when he climbs on high,
> Appears at first but as a bloodshot eye,
> (284-285)

or in

> And here he threats the drunken fields to drown,
> And there his dugs deny to give their liquor down,
> (430-431)

a farfetched metaphor applied to the river Amenanus. Such instances are rare in his mature period, and that is why they are singled out for attention. On the other hand, many of his additions carry a freshness in a metaphor as simple as the following,

> The mountain yet retains a mountain's face,
> And gather'd rubbish heals the hollow space,
> (461-462)

the "hollow space" having been caused by the vapours "lab'ring with colic pangs," a Drydenian original. More than a third of the new images in this selection are drawn from Body and Bodily Action, the greatest number being references to parts of the body as the quoted couplets show.

Continuing a practice used in earlier translations, Dryden includes several summary lines in the fifteenth book, each appearing in an original introductory couplet that tells

the reader what is to follow. Ovid's explanation of why the sow, the goat, and other animals were first killed and then used for food by man is preceded by Dryden's contribution,

> "Ill habits gather by unseen degrees,
> As brooks make rivers, rivers run to seas."
> (155-156)

In the original, Ovid's only introduction is an adverbial modifier serving as a linking device. A slight variation of the summary procedure comes after a discussion of death. "Omnia mutantur, nihil interit . . ." writes Ovid, and "Thus all things are but alter'd, nothing dies" (239) translates Dryden with unusual verbal accuracy. Dryden's line, however, is preceded by a summarizing couplet built on an image drawn from the clothes category,

> "Then death, so call'd, is but old matter dress'd
> In some new figure, and a varied vest:
> Thus all things are but alter'd, nothing dies."
> (237-239)

Here the literal statement is heightened by a figurative picture of transmigration, and at the same time the image becomes a link in the description of the continuous change that goes on in man as well as in nature.

Dryden has assumed great freedom in handling his material, for there is a higher percentage of more wholly original figures in this selection than in his earlier ones. Even those from the Latin that he adds to or expands are not bound very closely by what he is translating. His images have depth and vigor and wit, a definite change from the occasionally

flat and tedious figures that appeared in the Ovidian pieces translated twenty years before.

Dryden continues to make free use of his material in the other five selections from Ovid included in the Fables. In proportion to length he adds the fewest number of images to the story of Meleager and Atalanta; yet he manages to make parts of his tale appear over-imaged. An instance is revealed in the development of the description of the boar. When Diana's altar is ignored by Ceneus,

> Swift as the word, she sped the boar away,
> With charge on those devoted fields to prey,
> (16-19)

in which "Swift as a word" is a new image that not only shows the rapidity of Diana's action but also serves as a link between her words and Dryden's extended description of the boar. "Et setae similes rigidis hastilibus horrent" (VIII, 285) says Ovid, and

> His bristled back a trench impal'd appears,
> And stands erected, like a field of spears
> (24-25)

writes Dryden with some expansion. Then he lessens the effectiveness of the whole passage by the unnecessary addition of one more figure. From Ovid's simple statement "riget ardua cervix" (VIII, 284), Dryden derives the image in "His neck shoots up a thickset thorny wood" (23). Other images developed from literal statements are of interest, particularly so because they recall a similar treatment of the fire in Annus Mirabilis. When Althaea pronounces the death sentence on

Meleager by throwing the brand into the fire, Ovid suggests that the fire was reluctant to consume the brand. Wishing to intensify this climactic point, Dryden turns the reluctance into a picture of an animal toying with a piece of unpalatable food:

> The fires themselves but faintly lick'd their prey,
> Then loath'd their impious food, and would have
> shrunk away.
> (344-345)

Although it is true that Dryden does not add a great number of new images to this tale, he does considerable amplification within those that he changes and develops.

Dryden followed "Meleager and Atalanta" with "Cinyras and Myrrha," a tale of incest. In both of these stories his leading specific sources of imagery are Bodily Action, Fire and Light, and Food and Drink; but whereas "Meleager and Atalanta" has the fewest number of added and changed images in proportion to its length "Cinyras and Myrrha" has the largest number. Many are brief and commonplace, such as "clogg'd with guilt," "the beldame blew the flame," "deep in pleasures drown'd," "struck as with a thunderclap." He can, however, turn such a line as ". . . tegunt nigrae latitantia sidera nubes" (449) into a fanciful couplet,

> The stars amaz'd ran backward from the sight,
> And, shrunk within their sockets, lost their light.
> (268-269)

Dryden has been criticized for his handling of the sexual themes in this tale and in "Pygmalion and the Statue." As a

matter of fact, he does not simper over sex. When the original offers the opportunity, he performs with his usual frankness. Yet his imagery is rarely involved with the more promiscuous actions of the pieces. In "Cinyras and Myrrha" the witty figure, the conventional love image, and the sly political gibe each plays its part in the variation of mood and action in tne rapid, controlled couplets as tne following show:

> Ev'n bashful sins are impudent by night.
> (277)
>
> But stay I must, to feed my famish'd sight,
> To talk, to kiss; and more, if more I might.
> (81-82)
>
> Too busy senates, with an overcare
> To make us better than our kind can bear,
> Have dash'd a spice of envy in the laws,
> And, straining up too high, have spoil'd the cause.
> (54-57)

When he describes the actual act of incest, his use of imagery is limited to one instance of metonymy.

The sexual tone in "Pygmalion and the Statue" is heightened and emphasized but not by the added images. Dryden's own contributions, numbering ten in all, are brief conventional love images somewhat ordinary and trite: "idleness, the nurse of ill," "cold lips return a kiss unripe," "powerful bribes of love," and "fir'd with thought" are typical. Thus his expansions and added figures are not responsible for extending the tale to almost twice its original length. His preoccupation in developing and lingering over Ovid's own

sexual descriptions does give to the piece a tone of restrained lustfulness, but Dryden's added imagery plays little part in the result.

"Baucis and Philemon" from Book VIII is a rapid, sprightly narrative, lightly touched with figurative language. None of Dryden's contributions are long, and most of them have a homey quality: Baucis feeds her infant fire, the little seether—the kettle, that is—shines like burnished gold, and at each side of an earthen pitcher beechen bowls stand like pages. Others of a similar nature give through their muted tone and perfect naturalness a smoothness that results from an artistic awareness of needed harmony between material and imagery.

Mark Van Doren finds "Ceyx and Alcyone," the final selection that Dryden did for the Fables, "grotesque and literal" although Ovid had made it "extremely fantastic."[1] This piece has not only the greatest number of new or changed images but also more y-adjuncts than any of the other selections. With great enthusiam Dryden builds up the picture of the storm at sea by adding to several images that Ovid draws from War. As the elements contend with one another in the fierce storm, the "rooted forests fly before their rage," the "clashing clouds to battle move," and the rolling waves "Like heralds, first denounce the wat'ry war"; the winds "wage intestine war,"

[1]Van Doren, op. cit., p. 219.

and the seas "are toss'd and mingled as their tyrants please." He handles with ease and wit figures other than those drawn from War. For instance, when Ceyx's ship is lost from sight, Alcyone throws herself on the bed and

> Her husband's pillow, and the widow'd part
> Which once he press'd, renew'd the former smart.
> (89-90)

Then she kneels before the altar "To pray for him, who was an empty name" (243). A number of images are drawn from the theater, a classification rarely touched upon in his nondramatic poetry. In describing the sons of the god of Sleep who appear in the dreams of men, Dryden says that three display their scenes in the dreams of kings and chiefs; the rest "before th' ignoble commons play." Later in speaking of Morpheus, who assumes the form of Ceyx and appears to Alcyone, he continues the idea of the stage and the players by using a figure not in the Latin:

> Thus said the player god; and, adding art
> Of voice and gesture, so perform'd his part.
> (375-376)

In this tale Dryden continues his habit of transferring a figure within the selection as shown by his line "Darkness and tempest make a double night" (158) which is presumably a translation of line 521 in Ovid's version although the figure comes from line 550, ". . . duplicataque noctis imago est."

Even though aware that it was the "fancy of Ovid to be luxuriant," Dryden still added thirty-four images to "Ceyx and Alcyone." Perhaps the one redeeming feature is that these

figures appear to be of the substance of the original Latin poem. In most cases they are integrated smoothly, the result being a harmonious, flowing movement of lines carrying, especially in the first part of the selection, a heavy load of imagery not only out of Ovid but also created by Dryden.

Summary

Although Dryden's method of translating with latitude was ideally suited to his poetic genius and craftsmanship, the poet-translator worked cautiously with the imagery in his first translations. Guided by a sincere delight in and appreciation for the great works of antiquity, he began with Ovid, whom he treated with the intimacy of an old friend whenever he returned to him over a twenty-year period. In the preface to Ovid's Epistles Dryden revealed his preference for paraphrase as a method of translation, for it allowed him to expend his own creative powers on the works of his poets by changing the words and amplifying the original without altering the sense. With surprising faithfulness he followed this method in most of his translations; and if he did not change the meaning he came close to it by shifting the emphasis and tone of the figures of speech he found in the original poems as he expanded the images from within and extended them from without. He added his own images, some growing out of hints in his poets, others out of his own imaginative resources. Depending upon his poet and the type of poem being translated, he varied

his approach. Since the matter and form of the satires of Juvenal and Persius were clearly suited to Dryden's talent and temperament, he shifted here toward imitation, a method offering great freedom of movement. In the Virgil he swung back to a position between metaphrase and paraphrase, for he wished to capture as nearly as possible the elegance of Virgil's words, the beauty of his expression.

He translated his poets with varying degrees of success. His finest work appears in the Georgics. Others of great merit are the satires of Juvenal and Persius, much of Lucretius, the Aeneis, and many of Ovid's poems; least satisfactory are his translations of Virgil's Pastorals and Theocritus' Idylls. Certainly the excellence of the imagery alone cannot decide the worth of a particular translation, but it is suggested that in Dryden's finest pieces the images are vigorous and fresh and rich in meaning. Merging smoothly with the classical poets' own work, they suit the matter and set the tone and they heighten but do not distort the original.

He approached Ovid's Epistles, his first translations, with a certain degree of timidity: his expansion is slight if the actual number of lines is compared,[1] his changes in the Latin figures are insignificant, his own contributions of imagery rare. In the epistle written with the Earl of Mulgrave

[1]On the basis of syllables Dryden's version is much shorter than the original because the English line of verse contains fewer syllables than the Latin line.

many figures are omitted and the tone of others changed, but the translators' method is that of imitation, which sanctions such alteration. His treatment of the images in the other epistles gives little hint of the method he is to follow in later translations, for in the execution his rigidity and self-consciousness do not prepare for the ease and flexibility found in the satires and the Georgics. The greatly expanded idylls of Theocritus include a number of additional figures of speech of limited strength. The naturalness and rustic simplicity of the pastoral poet seem to elude him; yet he composed with lightness and ease such original songs as "The Tears of Amynta" and "Go Tell Amynta," as well as other uninhibited pastoral lyrics found in many of his plays. He does little better with Virgil's Pastorals. Since the fourth and ninth eclogues were translated in 1684 for the First Miscellany and with slight revision included in the complete edition of 1697, there is some excuse for these two to miss the strength and grace of the Latin original. By the time he did the other eclogues he had had considerable experience in translating, but the only effect appeared to be that he was encouraged to treat Virgil's pastorals with much more freedom than he did Theocritus'. Dryden's lack of success with the idylls and eclogues cannot be explained by the study of isolated figures of speech. The fact is that he did not have the poetic temperament to deal successfully with the pastoral as an art form. Moreover, the proximity of the pastorals to his

brilliant translation of the Georgics makes his deficiency even more noticeable.

His greatest success in translating and in handling imagery was achieved in the didactic poem, a form he managed with superb ease. His selections from Lucretius, sometimes passed over by the critics, are among the finest of his works, for they are marked by a smoothness in the integrated images that is lacking in the earlier translations. Although he omits figures that should have stimulated him, his treatment of the imagery shows that his range is growing wider and that he is shaking off the restraint that has been imposed upon him by his poet's pattern. He handles the expansions and changes in the Latin figures with firmness, and his own images reflect the tonal quality of the theme, indicating an intensification of poetical awareness as he works with his poet. The "luscious English" that envelopes his sexual imagery and the increasing number of figures that he adds to the original point toward this new freedom. Exhibiting great confidence in his own ability, he omits figures, modifies others, and gives alternate translations that change or shift the tone of the original. Surpassing his Lucretius is his translation of the Georgics, begun some ten years after the former was published. Polished modifications and substitutions reflect perfect poetic control, and integrated episodes intensify and deepen the poetical intent of the didactic subject. Picking up a figure that has been passed over, he inserts it in a

different context so that it appears to be his own contribution. This shifting of figurative phrases shows faultless technical skill as well as an intimate knowledge of the poet's works. In extending Virgil's images Dryden sometimes develops a pattern on a hint found in the Latin. The harmonious correspondence between figures of speech that Dryden adds or changes and the subject matter of the Georgics also attests to his familiarity with the poem, which more than thirty years before in the preface to Annus Mirabilis he had called "the divinest part" of all Virgil's writings, an opinion he never saw fit to change. In the Georgics, as perhaps in none of his other translations, Dryden not only catches the spirit of his poet but is able to sustain that spirit throughout the four books of the poem.

In his satires of Juvenal Dryden gives one of his briskest performances. Now that translating had become his major source of income he catered to The Town by enlivening his renditions with contemporary references, colloquialisms, and word-play. He slipped easily into a role he was clearly suited for, that of translator-satirist. By shifting from paraphrase toward imitation, he shook off much of the restraint imposed upon him by his originals, excusing himself as he did so by saying that he could not capture the spirit of his poets when he followed their works too closely. Given a subject congenial with his own wit and pen, he produced a lively and vigorous version of Juvenal. Just as he did in the epistle

from Ovid in which he used imitation, he omits many of the figures of speech but not any of the suggestive ones. He contracts and expands images in the original with a sure hand and often develops his own figures from hints found in the literal language. Here the rapid, fluid movement of the couplet and the witty preciseness of phrase point to the sparkling style of the Fables. Dryden's translations of the satires of Persius are filled with skillfully manipulated imagery, but the poems as a whole do not match the excellence of the Juvenal. There is considerable amplification accented by much alliteration and assonance. His touch is almost infallible as he fits the proper wit to each type of verse; appropriate metaphors conform to the theme, and the sources of his images are adapted to the matter. By omissions and substitutions he solves one final problem, the difficulties of Persius' syntax. All work together to form an artistic whole despite the coarse and obscene metaphors he chooses to expand. The vigor and freshness exhibited throughout the satires grow out of the perfect control with which he suits ornament to subject and style.

With the publication of the Roman satirists Dryden emerges from his experimental period in translation, having established the method that allowed him to follow with latitude the theory he had devised for translating the classical poets. He expands by qualifying words and phrases, uses summary lines, changes interpretations of an original metaphor

by translating an alternate meaning, develops his own images from factual lines, omits figures that he feels will not be graceful, and occasionally contracts images when he finds his poet too copious.

Out of this method of approach established in the satires come set forms for the treatment of imagery in the Aeneis. Dryden expands the epic simile from within by adding figurative details and by embellishing those already in the original; he expands the short simile by adding new details that carry the figure beyond the point of the original figure. At the same time he heightens or lowers the tone of his images in response to his aesthetic perceptions. He shifts metaphorical phrases about, adds spontaneous figures, builds on hints in the original, turns literal statements into figurative language, contracts figures on occasion, omits some on others. Almost all of these additions and changes are in perfect harmony with the mood, tone, and theme of the various books of the Aeneis, and they are all shaped by the metrical skill of a master craftsman.

With Ovid Dryden comes full circle. The Roman poet's manner and subject matter suited Dryden's style and wit. As a result, the selections from the Metamorphoses appear in varying degrees of excellence, each being a competent performance. Many of the images lack sparkle, some are commonplace, but almost all are smoothly integrated when he falls into the flowing style of the narrative poet. In "The Art of Love"

Dryden's images are less artificial and studied than those in many of the tales. Here he seems to slide easily into character, for he is offered a combination of didactic and satiric verse amply decorated with bawdiness. Although he omits many of Ovid's figures, changes others, and adds a number of his own, his additions are few in relation to the length of the book. All signal perfect adjustment of tone to the style and matter of the original. The eight selections from Ovid that appear in the Fables bear the unmistakable marks of experience gleaned from concentration on Virgil. In the Fables Dryden exhibits not only in the translations from the classical poets but also in his adaptations from Boccaccio and his versions of Chaucer a free, smoothly flowing couplet operating under superb control distinguished by the interwoven images that appear to rise out of the poems themselves. His lines rush and leap and pound as he writes with an exuberance that sits rather jauntily on a poet who is nearing his seventieth birthday. "A race horse in a hackney chaise" he may be, but here in his last work, as in much of the Virgil, he appears to be writing for his own pleasure and not for his livelihood. Released from the tension that had built up as he made English the Virgil and relieved temporarily from money worries, he writes with ease and authority. He is indeed the "poet of an idle day" as he wanders among his favorite writers, choosing selections that appeal to him and dressing them in a new poetic style. That he had mastered the peculiar technical skill

demanded of the poet-translator is shown not only in his metrical mechanics but also in the free and easy response exhibited in the spontaneous images that fill the pages of the classical translations in the Fables. In developing these images he utilized the technical knowledge derived from the vast experience he had had in translating the Virgil, for on a lesser scale he follows the same patterns that he used for the images in the Aeneis. His Homer bears the mark of this style; an openness coupled with a robust, fierce vitality makes dim in comparison similar lines in Pope's translation. The action in Homer led to the fight of the Centaurs and then to the argument of Ajax and Ulysses. When he moves to the discussion of the Pythagorean philosophy, his figures become subdued though not ponderous. In the great books of action —the first book of the Iliad, the twelfth book of the Metamorphoses, and the speeches of Ajax and Ulysses—the images drawn from Nature head the list; however in his discussion of the Pythagorean philosophy the sources suddenly shift to Body and Bodily Action, and Nature sinks into fifth place. It is interesting that in the action books of the Aeneis, those that deal with the war proper, Nature again is the leading source of images added by Dryden. Regardless of the style and tone of the original poem, violent emotional or physical action in Homer, Ovid, or Virgil stimulated Dryden to seek figures from the general category of Nature. Yet all the selections in the Fables—the classical translations, the modernization of

Chaucer, and the adaptations from Boccaccio—are bound together by one tie: they are marked by the characteristic found in Dryden's finest poetry—superb control.

During a period of twenty years beginning in 1680 when his first translations from the classical poets were published and ending in 1700 when his last great work appeared, Dryden continued to develop his skill in the art of translation. Diffidence lessened the effectiveness of his first essay in translation, but technical skill grew as he translated several selections for the first two miscellanies. By the time he published his Juvenal and Persius he exhibited considerable freedom in handling the imagery, even going so far as to alter occasionally the sense of his poets. With the Virgil Dryden advanced mightily in his art. The rigid and mechanical images of the epistles had given way to breathing, flexible ones in the Aeneis. His skill in metrical technique, the force of control, and his refractive imaginative powers combined to make the Virgil an English classic. In the selections from Homer and Ovid his own additions reflected the changing mood and tone of each piece. Finally the impetuosity of the satires and the restraint of the Aeneis combined in varying degrees throughout the translations in the Fables to indicate a new and different style of poetic composition. In his final translations and in much of the Virgil poetic control is the key phrase. A competent poet might have offered, for instance, an acceptable translation of the Aeneis;

only a great poet thoroughly imbued with the spirit of those whose works he was translating could reflect in his imagery the feeling and force of the classical originals drawn from almost every type of poetic genre.

CHAPTER VI

CHAUCER AND BOCCACCIO

Dryden's Fables has come to mean Chaucer and Boccaccio although the volume does contain translations from Ovid and Homer as well as a number of other poems that are not narrative. In the preface, one of the most refreshing and lively pieces of criticism in English literature, Dryden rescues Chaucer from the oblivion into which he had fallen. During the latter half of the seventeenth century Chaucer's reputation dropped to the lowest point it ever reached.[1] In fact, as Caroline Spurgeon has pointed out, by the end of the century "Chaucer was frankly looked upon as antiquated and barbaric by the highest authorities."[2] Following the publication of the Fables in 1700, however, other writers imitated Dryden's method so that by the end of the eighteenth century the whole

[1] T. R. Lounsbury, Studies in Chaucer: His Life and Writings (3 vols.; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892), III, 73. Professor Lounsbury also pointed out that the eighty-five years that separated Speght's 1602 and 1687 editions represented the longest period that has ever elapsed between editions of Chaucer's works.

[2] Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion 1357-1900 (3 vols.; Cambridge: At the University Press, 1925), I, xxix.

of the Canterbury Tales and some of Chaucer's other work had appeared in modern versions. During the century Dryden's paraphrases continued to be thought superior not only to those of other modernizers but also to the originals. Today the Fables is praised for its brilliant metrical effects and the vigor and sparkle of the poetic idiom. That a man almost seventy years old could translate the whole of Virgil and not find his vitality impaired or his creative forces weakened is remarkable, but it is extraordinary that the same man should emerge from the grueling task with his poetic insight and imaginative resources deepened and his metrical skill expanded to such an extent that his final volume of poetry ranks with his finest work.

Dryden was delighted with Chaucer, who he felt had a soul congenial to his own.[1] "Chaucer followed Nature everywhere," he wrote in the preface, "but was never so bold to go beyond her."[2] Moreover, he knew what to say and when to leave off, a practice followed by Virgil and Horace, who were also favorites of Dryden.[3] And Chaucer suited "the matter and

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[1]John Churton Collins disagrees. He says that Dryden's genius had even less affinity with Chaucer's genius than it did with Virgil's. Collins, op. cit., p. 78.

[2]Essays, II, 258.

[3]Dryden contradicts himself when he says later that Chaucer sometimes, "though not often . . . runs riot, like Ovid, and knows not when he has said enough"; but since he qualifies this observation, he is probably using it as an excuse for some of the many changes he made in the tales. Ibid., p. 265.

manner" of the tales to each of the different characters, the grave and the serious, the vicious and the virtuous, the unlearned and the learned. In putting Chaucer into modern verse, Dryden followed a method very similar to the one he had used for his classical translations:

> I have not tied myself to a literal translation; but have often omitted what I judged unnecessary, or not of dignity enough to appear in the company of better thoughts. I have presumed further, in some places, and added somewhat of my own where I thought my author was deficient, and had not given his thoughts their true lustre, for want of words in the beginning of our language.[1]

He admitted that something was always lost in all translations, but he felt that what beauties he lost in one place he gave to another that did not have them originally.[2] This was the method that he followed in three of the Canterbury Tales—"Palamon and Arcite," "The Cock and the Fox," and "The Wife of Bath, Her Tale"—and in "The Flower and the Leaf," which he thought Chaucer wrote. "The Character of a Good Parson," from the prologue, is imitated rather than paraphrased.

Criticism of Dryden's Chaucer has been both approving and antagonistic, with much of it directed toward the so-called "poetic diction" in "Palamon and Arcite." Although granting that the paraphrases were in many ways the best things Dryden did, Lowell felt that he "has sometimes smothered the child-like simplicity of Chaucer under feather-beds of verbiage."[3]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid., p. 267.

[3] Lowell, op. cit., p. 182.

Collins, who found the translator sometimes coarsely colloquial and often simply vulgar, "doubted whether there is a single touch of nature which Dryden has not missed or spoilt, or a single pathetic passage which he has not made ridiculous."[1] Sharp-tongued Housman comments ironically that Dryden was not entirely insensible to all the peculiar excellencies of Chaucer since he did keep certain lines unchanged, but, on the whole, the poetic idiom is "at once pompous and poverty-stricken."[2] Scott believed that in all the Chaucerian selections except "Palamon and Arcite" Dryden "displayed the superiority of his genius, in selecting for amplification and ornament those passages most susceptible of poetical description" just as he "omitted or softened some degrading and some disgusting circumstances."[3] Finally, Van Doren has high praise for all except "Palamon and Arcite," and even here he singles out certain passages for special approval.

Most of these critics have failed to consider two points: Dryden, as a man of the seventeenth century, was influenced by the neoclassical rules which determined the style of a particular genre; and he was following his own idea of propriety. For him "Palamon and Arcite" was "of epic kind"; thus the genre demanded an elevated style. Images which he

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[1]Collins, op. cit., p. 77.

[2]Housman, op. cit., pp. 19, 20.

[3]Works, I, 415, 417.

felt were not appropriate to the style were dropped; others were changed or expanded; personification was used freely. To the original tale Dryden added 147 images and changed or extended 54 others. Forty were retained, although he modernized the spelling, occasionally substituted synonyms or rearranged the word order. The leading specific source of imagery is Personification of qualities, states, and emotions, the greatest number of these appearing in Part III of the tale: Fate, or Fortune, is giddy and envious; "Love throws the fence down, and makes a general waste"; Earth smiles and the sky laughs; May is jolly and often sprightly; Athens laughs; Fame fills the world with Theseus' success in arms; midwife Time brings a ripened plot to murder. As personification is often associated with a lofty mode of expression, Dryden uses the figure frequently in the tale.

Most of the images built around Fire and Light, the second leading source, refer to love. May moves each "gentle breast with kindly warmth" and "inspires new flames, revives extinguished loves." When Palamon sees Emily for the first time he is "struck blind with over powering light." Many of the Fire and Light images are associated with Arcite. In his prayer he reminds Mars of the fire which once warmed the god's generous heart; he refers to Palamon's love for Emily as his "rival fire"; and in his deathbed speech he uses "holy fire," "former flames," and "concurrent flame, that blew my fire,"

all of which allude to love. Like the personifications, these figures illustrate Dryden's attempts to add "true lustre" to Chaucer's tale.

Some of Dryden's classical allusions are happier additions: the wood for Arcite's funeral pyre becomes "Vulcanian food." When Palamon tells Arcite,

> I not where she be woman or goddesse,
> But Venus it is, sothly as I gesse,[1]

Dryden is inspired to expand the thought into

> A glance of some new goddess gave the wound,
> Whom, like Actaeon, unaware I found.
> Look how she walks along yon shady space:
> Not Juno moves with more majestic grace;
> And all the Cyprian queen is in her face.
> (257-261)

A similar expansion occurs in the description of Palamon awakening on the day of the tournament. Chaucer writes simply and naturally:

> The Sonday at night or day began to spring,
> Whan Palamon the larke herde sing;
> Although it were nat day by houres two;
> Yet song the larke, and Palamon right tho
> With holy hert, and with an hie corage,
> He rose vp, to wenden on his pilgrimage
> Vnto the blissful Cithere a beninge.[2]

Reaching for sublimity, Dryden falls into fine language as he translates:

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[1]All lines quoted from Chaucer, unless otherwise noted, are found in the first folio of the Fables Ancient and Modern in which Dryden included from Speght's edition four of the original Chaucerian poems he was translating. John Dryden, Fables Ancient and Modern: Translated into Verse from Homer, Ovid, Bocce, & Chaucer: with Original Poems (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1700), p. 571. Hereafter cited as Fables.

[2]Fables, p. 593.

'T was ebbing darkness, past the noon of night;
And Phosphor, on the confines of the light,
Promis'd the sun; ere day began to spring,
The tuneful lark already stretch'd her wing,
And, flick'ring on her nest, made short essays to sing;
When wakeful Palamon, preventing day,
Took to the royal lists his early way,
To Venus at her fane, in her own house, to pray.
(III 119-126)

Some other examples of Dryden's more poetic lines and Chaucer's realistic ones are:

And as the brands were green, so dropp'd the dew,
Infected as it fell with sweat of sanguine hue,
(III 259-260)

for

And at the brondes ende out ran anone,
As it were bloddy droppes many a one.[1]

Then when Arcite dies, Chaucer says Palamon "houlen," but Dryden has "In Palamon a manly grief appears."

Dryden also heightens his style by such poetical expressions as "the silver Cynthia" and "the goddess of the silver bow" for "Diane," "crystal flood" for Chaucer's "a broke," "feather'd deaths" for arrows, "warlike symphony" for Chaucer's "melodye," "vaulted firmament" for heaven, "woodland train" for Chaucer's "Faunie," and many others of a similar nature. Only once when he changed Chaucer's "firie Phebus" to "sun" did he reverse his direction.

Such is the so-called "verbiage" under which Dryden is accused of smothering Chaucer's naturalness and simplicity. Dryden and his contemporaries felt that he had spread over

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[1] Ibid., p. 595.

"The Knight's Tale" the splendor of the great classics. Among the more than twenty figures of speech that he omits were many that did not have "dignity enough to appear in the company of better thoughts." Some he simply ignores, such as

> We faren as he that dronke is as a mouse,[1]

or

> . . . great is thine aduantage,
> More than is myne, that sterue her in a cage.[2]

For others that he drops he substitutes factual statements. Chaucer described Arcite after he fell from his horse,

> As blacke he lay as any cole or crowe.[3]

But Dryden says,

> Black was his count'nance in a little space.
> (III, 705)

The homely

> For she that doth me al this wo endure,
> Ne retcheth neuer where I sinke or flete[4]

is elevated into

> And she I love, or laughs at all my pain,
> Or knows her worth too well; and pays me with disdain.
> (III, 329-330)

In a description of Venus Dryden not only omits the simile but changes the thought. Chaucer's line

> And fro the nauell doune all couered was,
> With waues grene, and bright as any glas[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. 575. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 602. [4] Ibid., p. 596.

[5] Ibid., p. 588.

become a suggestive factual picture,

> She trode the brine all bare below the breast,
> And the green waves but ill conceal'd the rest.
> (II, 515-516)

More than once he substitutes his own figure of speech for a figure he has omitted. With these words Chaucer describes Palamon as the imprisoned knight thinks about Arcite's being free to win Emily:

> Therewith the fire of ielousie vp stert
> Within his brest, and hent him by the hert
> So woodly that he likely [sic] was to behold
> The boxe tree, or the assen [sic] deed and cold.[1]

For the similes Dryden substitutes his own:

> The rage of jealousy then fir'd his soul,
> And his face kindled like a burning coal:
> Now cold despair, succeeding in her stead,
> To livid paleness turns the glowing red.
> His blood, scarce liquid, creeps within his veins,
> Like water which the freezing wind constrains.
> (I, 464-469)

On another occasion when two homely similes come together, he omits one. Chaucer describes Arcite's changing moods:

> Is doen these louers in their queint gires,
> Now in the crop, and now doun in the brires,
> Now vp, now doune, as boket in a well,[2]

but Dryden's version is

> Now high as heav'n, and then as low as hell;
> Now up, now down, as buckets in a well.
> (II, 81-82)

And a hyperbole from Chaucer,

> Vp to the ancle foughten they in her bloode[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 575. [2] Ibid., p. 580.

[3] Ibid., p. 582.

becomes an alliterative line with a mild turn:

> Thus two long hours in equal arms they stood,
> And, wounded, wound; till both were bath'd in blood.
> (II, 198-199)

Thus, when Dryden omitted a Chaucerian image, he did one of three things: he dropped the image completely, he made it into a factual statement, or he substituted one of his own.

When Dryden kept an image he found in the original, he often expanded or extended it. In Book II, for instance, he expands Chaucer's comparison of the two knights fighting like wild boars by giving details:

> Fell Arcite like an angry tiger far'd,
> And like a lion Palamon appear'd:
> Or, as two boars, whom love to battle draws.
> With rising bristles, and with frothy jaws—
> Their adverse breasts with tusks oblique they wound;
> With grunts and groans the forest rings around—
> So fought the knights, and fighting must abide,
> Till Fate an umpire sends their diff'rence to decide.
> (II, 202-209)

All of this grew out of Chaucer's lines:

> Thou mightest wenen, that this Palamon
> In his fighting were a wodde Lion,
> And as a cruel Tigre was Arcite,
> As wild Bores gan they fight and smite,
> That frothen white as fome for ire woode.[1]

He may add only a word or two, as in Chaucer's catalogue of trees used for Arcite's funeral pyre. The Cambridge Chaucer lists twenty-one trees, Speght nineteen with "beche" repeated once, and Dryden ten including epithets, such as

> . . . the trees were unctuous fir,
> And mountain-ash, the mother of the spear;

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[1] Ibid., p. 582.

The mourner yew and builder oak were there;
The beech, the swimming alder, and the plane,
Hard box, and linden of a softer grain,
And laurels, which the gods for conqu'ring chiefs ordain.
(III 959-964)

Instead of expanding an original figure, he may tighten it as in Chaucer's

. . . fie
Upon a lorde that woll haue no mercie,
But be a Lion both in worde and deede,[1]

which becomes ". . . who rules by lions' law," or in Chaucer's

His long heare was kemped behind his back,
As any rauens fether it shone for blacke,[2]

which is reduced to

His hair hung long behind, and glossy raven-black.
(III 52)

One of Dryden's most effective methods of developing images is to take a factual statement by Chaucer, such as

Full ofte a day haue these Thebans two,
Togither met, and don eche other wo,[3]

and make it into a figure of speech; here it becomes a metaphor-simile combination:

Borne far asunder by the tides of men,
Like adamant and steel they meet again.
(III 627-628)

The same metaphor had been used earlier in a similar treatment when Chaucer's prosaic comment that

The palais full of people vp and doun[4]

becomes

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[1] Ibid., p. 584. [2] Ibid., p. 591.
[3] Ibid., p. 601. [4] Ibid., p. 599.

> The palace yard is fill'd with floating tides.
> (III 466)

Then there is

> The bright swordes wenten to and fro[1]

and Dryden's

> Like lightning flam'd their fauchions to and fro,
> And shot a dreadful gleam; . . .
> (II 244-245)

Sometimes Dryden's additions have neither a figurative nor a factual source in Chaucer. The lusty old poet's classical addition at the end of the poem is the sort of thing that probably annoyed John Churton Collins: Venus "bless'd with nuptial bliss the sweet laborious night," and

> Eros and Anteros, on either side,
> One fir'd the bridegroom, and one warm'd the bride;
> And long-attending Hymen from above
> Shower'd on the bed the whole Idalian grove.
> (III 1144-1147)

Some of these figures that have no source in the original are among his best: for instance, the picture of the throng just before the knights enter the arena,

> Now chang'd the jarring noise to whispers low,
> As winds forsaking seas more softly blow,
> (III, 554-555)

or of crowds watching the procession,

> The greedy sight might there devour the gold
> Of glitt'ring arms, too dazzling to behold.
> (III, 449-450)

To tie the events in the story together Dryden often adds summary lines or transitional couplets in which figures of

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[1] Ibid., p. 583.

speech appear. Among this type are

> The face of things is chang'd, and Athens now,
> That laugh'd so late, becomes the scene of woe,
> (III, 865-866)

and

> Meanwhile the health of Arcite still impairs;
> From bad proceeds to worse, and mocks the leeches'
> cares,

both of which relate to Arcite's accident and move the story along. A different type of summary line is

> All trades of death that deal in steel for gains,
> Were there: . . .
> (II, 597)

which precedes the description of the pictures in the temple of Mars.

Sometimes the scholars who have commented on the changes that Dryden made have not compared his version with the original from which he made his translation although the selections from Speght's edition are included in the first folio. For instance, W. H. Williams gives as an example of archaic words that have been modernized by Dryden the description of Lycurgus, who "look'd a lion with a gloomy stare" (III, 43) instead of "lik a grifphon looked he aboute."[1] But Dryden did not make the change; he is merely following Speght, who has "And like a lion, loked he aboute."[2] Williams also censures Dryden for avoiding realistic details that were not

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[1] W. H. Williams, "Dryden's 'Palamon and Arcite' and 'The Knight's Tale,'" Modern Language Review, IX (1914), 319.

[2] Fables, p. 591.

dignified enough for the modern version, quoting as an example the description of Palamon at the funeral of Arcite:

> With flotery berd and ruggy, asshy heeres,
> In clothes blake, ydropped al with teeres,
> (KnT 2883-4)

and Dryden's version, in which Palamon appeared

> In sable garments, dew'd with gushing tears;
> His auburn locks on either shoulder flow'd.[1]
> (III 923-924)

Williams did not realize that Dryden was following Speght, whose edition of Chaucer often differs from the one modern scholars use. In this instance Speght's lines are

> Then gan this woful Theban, Palamon,
> With glittering beard, and ruddie shining heres,
> In clothes blacke, dropped all with teres.[2]

Thus Dryden's lines are much nearer the original than was once supposed.

Some errors in Speght must have been utterly confusing to Dryden as he worked on the translation. As far as he knew, Chaucer described Arcite, who is suffering from the effects of the "lover's malady," thus:

> His slepe, his meat, his drinke is him byraft,
> That lean he waxeth, and drye as a shaft:
> His eyen hollow, and grisly to behold,
> His hewe pale, and falowe as asshen colde.[3]

Dryden tried valiantly to make sense out of the garbled last line, which should have read "His hewe falowe, and pale as asshen colde." He omits the simile, as lean and dry as a

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[1] Williams, loc. cit., p. 163.

[2] Fables, p. 606. [3] Ibid., p. 576.

stick; introduces his own comparison with a ghost of a murdered man; and works the yellow in but not in conjunction with cold ashes. By introducing "box-tree," a reference he had omitted from a figure only sixty-five lines before, he finally wrote:

> His eyeballs in their hollow sockets sink,
> Bereft of sleep; he loathes his meat and drink.
> He withers at his heart, and looks as wan
> As the pale specter of a murder'd man:
> That pale turns yellow, and his face receives
> The faded hue of sapless boxen leaves.
> (I 526-531)

His version is not very near the original, but he did the best he could with what he had to work with.

Dryden preferred "Palamon and Arcite" to all of Chaucer's other stories, and one may be sure that he took great care with "the noble poem," as he called it. Throughout the piece he was guided by his notion of propriety, for a poem "of the epic kind" had to have thoughts proper to the elevated style of the genre and these thoughts had to be dressed in proper words. A close examination of the poem shows the methods he used to achieve the style he thought proper. If "Palamon and Arcite" is judged on the basis of whether or not the poet did what he set out to do, then it must be admitted that he succeeded. Only when some of Chaucer's lines are recalled, such as those spoken by Arcite just before he died, does the reader feel that the modern version has failed to achieve an artistic success.

Next Dryden modernized "The Cock and the Fox, or, The

Tale of the Nun's Priest." Despite Dr. Johnson's curt comment that it seemed "hardly worth revival,"[1] Dryden's version remains one of the most delightful bits of high comedy in English literature. It is almost two hundred lines longer than the original, for he added details as well as figures of speech. Of the thirty-nine images in Chaucer's tale, Dryden omitted six, kept twenty-three just as they were, made four into factual statements, substituted his own figures for five, and contracted one. To these he added sixty-seven of his own, some of which were based on hints in the original. Since "The Cock and the Fox" has the characteristics of a mock-heroic, Dryden often uses the heroic idiom, but he also injects homely words and proverbial expressions suggestive of the familiar style. Feminine rhyme and the rhyming of two words with one lighten the dignified and grandiloquent language. The humor lies in the characterizations of the noble Chanticleer and Dame Partlet, "the sovereign of his heart." Dryden follows rather closely Chaucer's description of the cock, although he changes "His come was redder than the fine corall"[2] to "High was his comb, and coral-red withal" (line 49) and "His nailes whiter than the lilly floure"[3] to "White were his nails, like silver to behold" (line 53). When Chaucer says that the cock has under his governance seven hens

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[1] Johnson, op. cit., I, 322.

[2] Fables, p. 612. [3] Ibid.

who were his sisters and his mistresses, Dryden expands the idea into twelve highly amusing lines whose dignity is belied by feminine rhyme:

> This gentle cock, for solace of his life,
> Six misses had, beside his lawful wife;
> Scandal, that spares no king, tho' ne'er so good,
> Says they were all of his own flesh and blood,
> His sisters both by sire and mother's side;
> And sure their likeness show'd them near allied.
> But make the worst, the monarch did no more,
> Than all the Ptolemies had done before:
> When incest is for int'rest of a nation,
> 'T is made no sin by holy dispensation.
> Some lines have been maintain'd by this alone,
> Which by their common ugliness are known.
> (55-66)

The description of Dame Partlet, expanded by lines from Speght that are not in the Cambridge Chaucer, ends with elevated irony:

> What cannot beauty, join'd with virtue, gain!
> (82)

The trivial become stately. Chanticleer speaks of his "princely senses" and refers to himself as "a true knight"; he struts with "royal courage" and swaggers "like a lord about his hall." The hens are "distracted damsels," and when the fox makes off with his victim the pigs grunt and squeal "as if their pretty hearts would break." It is diverting to listen to the learned discussion between a cock and a hen concerning the humors, medical treatment, and theories of dreams. Although Dryden uses few images when he expands the conversations, one or two are worth quoting:

> "'Dreams are but interludes which fancy makes;
> When monarch Reason sleeps, this mimic wakes;

Compounds a medley of disjointed things,
A mob of cobblers, and a court of kings.'"
(325-328)

and

"'While thou art mine, and I am thy delight,
All sorrows at thy presence take their flight;"
(415-416)

which is much more elevated than Chaucer's

It maketh al my drede for to dien.[1]

Most of the images that Dryden added come in the last half of the piece. These range from those drawn from common everyday sources to seemingly elevated ones that descend through anti-climax; from

So Chanticleer, who never saw a fox,
Yet shunn'd him as a sailor shuns the rocks,
(587-588)

and

Silence in times of suff'ring is the best;
'T is dang'rous to disturb a hornet's nest,
(565-566)

to

An while he pain'd his voice to pierce the skies,
As saints in raptures use, would shut his eyes,
That, the sound striving thro' the narrow throat,
His winking might avail to mend the note.
By this, in song, he never had his peer,
From sweet Cecilia down to Chanticleer;
Not Maro's Muse, who sung the mighty man,
Nor Pindar's heav'nly lyre, nor Horace when a swan,
(627-634)

and

Ye princes, rais'd by poets to the gods,
And Alexander'd up in lying odes,

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[1]Ibid., p. 618.

Believe not ev'ry flatt'ring knave's report,
There's many a Reynard lurking in the court.
(659-662)

The range in levels of style is also illustrated in circumlocutions, such as "wat'ry way" and "feather'd fans," and poetical expressions as "welkin rung" and "vessel of his bliss," which are offset by the more realistic "pinch'd her belly" and "fear of catching flies." Dryden's manner in the poem is much the same as that in his mock-heroic, "Mac Flecknoe," in which anticlimax plays such an important part in the development of images. "Mac Flecknoe" and "The Cock and the Fox" have a number of other interesting points in common. The leading general categories of images are the same—Learning, Daily Life, and Body and Bodily Action--and the specific source that heads the list is the same, Classical, although the other leading specific sources differ in the two poems. In the Chaucerian piece Classical is followed by From Books; Reading, Writing, and Printing; Religious; and Classes. The emphasis on matters literary reflects the lofty language that Dryden uses as he suits the images to the tone and style he wishes to achieve. Despite the absurdity of the situation in "The Cock and the Fox," its genial humor has a warmth that the more artificial "Mac Flecknoe" lacks.

In "The Wife of Bath, Her Tale" Dryden left out sixteen of Chaucer's twenty-eight figures of speech, kept eight as they were in the original, and changed four. Those omitted were, for the most part, as unaffected and as blunt as the

Wife herself. For instance,

> But that tale is not worth a rake stele.[1]
>
> Such errogaunce is not worthe an hen.[2]
>
> For trewly there nis none of vs all,
> If any wight wol clawe vs on the gall,
> That we nil kike, for that he saith vs sothe.[3]
>
> This knight ne stode not still as doth a best.[4]

Among the few that he kept were a nature simile,

> Thick as the motes that twinkle in the sun
> (28)

from

> As thicke as motes in the Sunne beme;[5]

a bit of fabulous natural history in

> . . . as a bittor bumps within a reed
> (193)

from

> . . . as a bittour bumbeth in the myre;[6]

and another bird figure describing the knight after his marriage to the hag:

> And all day after hid him as an owl,
> (336)

which is exactly as it appears in Chaucer.

In this tale Dryden's treatment of Chaucer's images indicates a definite stylistic pattern he wished to carry out. The story proper as told by the Wife of Bath is in a free,

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[1] Ibid., p. 640.
[2] Ibid., p. 643.
[3] Ibid., p. 640.
[4] Ibid., p. 642.
[5] Ibid., p. 639.
[6] Ibid., p. 641.

familiar style; the conversations of the knight and the beldam in a high-familiar or even elevated style. These distinctions are only faintly hinted at in the original. Just twice does the Wife become truly poetic; both times she is describing the fairies, once in the opening of the tale and again when the knight comes upon them in the lonely vale in the wood. The sources of the sixty images that Dryden adds show the distinctions in mode of expression, for the leading major category is Domestic with figures from Fire and Light, Dress, Household, Life and Death, Indoor Games, and Human Relations. It is followed closely by Learning in which the subclasses are Classical; Religious and Biblical; Reading Writing, and Printing; From Books; Proverbial; Science; and Law. After these first two major classes come Nature and Daily Life, which once again illustrate the basis for the two levels of styles used in the poem. Since Dryden wishes to raise the tone in the argument of the hag, he omits all but one of Chaucer's homely figures, although one wonders why he did not include this one:

> Pouert a spectacle is, as thinketh me,
> Through which one may his very frends se,[1]

or

> But natheles, sin I know your delite,
> I shal fulfill your worldly appetite.[2]

He adds such lines as the following in which the thought is

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[1] Ibid., p. 645. [2] Ibid.

Chaucer's but the dress is new:

> Know this, my lord, nobility of blood
> Is but a glitt'ring and fallacious good:
> The nobleman is he whose noble mind
> Is fill'd with inborn worth, unborrow'd from his kind.
> The King of Heav'n was in a manger laid,
> And took his earth but from an humble maid;
> Then what can birth, or mortal men, bestow,
> Since floods no higher than their fountains flow?
> (382-389)

and

> Were virtue by descent, a noble name
> Could never villanize his father's fame;
> But, as the first, the last of all the line
> Would, like the sun, ev'n in descending shine.
> (404-407)

On the other hand, images used by the Wife of Bath in her own character are much lower and coarser without authority from the original; for instance, the maid whom the knight violates is pictured as a young filly:

> Soon on the girl he cast an amorous eye,
> So straight she walk'd, and on her pasterns high:
> If seeing her behind he lik'd her pace,
> Now turning short, he better lik'd her face.
> (51-54)

A figure drawn from backgammon serves in the couplet describing husbands:

> For fools will prate, and, tho' they want the wit
> To find close faults, yet open blots will hit.
> (143-144)

A common figure that Chaucer himself might well have used describes woman's inability to keep a secret:

> Like leaky sieves no secrets we can hold.
> (155)

In the story of Midas and the ass's ears Chaucer has the

wife's secret press her heart until her heart was on fire; but Dryden lowers not only the tone but the parts affected by having the wife laboring under a severe attack of the colic:

> But ne'ertheless she pin'd with discontent;
> The counsel rumbled till it found a vent;
> (177-178)

then

> Thus full of counsel to the fen she went,
> Grip'd all the way, and longing for a vent;
> Arriv'd, by pure necessity compell'd,
> On her majestic mary-bones she kneel'd,
> (189-192)

the last line concluding on a jocular note.

So it is that once again Dryden follows his idea of propriety by suiting thoughts and words to the tone and style. He uses here the high-familiar idiom that he developed in the fable of the Doves and the Pigeons in Part III of "The Hind and the Panther," a style well suited for narrative since it lets him shift from a fairly lofty level to one that is very close to low comedy.

Pleased with "the invention and the moral" Dryden recommended to his readers "The Flower and the Leaf," which he thought Chaucer wrote. Critics have usually observed that he was freer in handling this graceful allegory than in any of the others except "The Character of a Good Parson." Actually he leaves nothing out of the original; he merely expands it and brings more action to what is almost a tableau. For all the many additions, the version in the Fables is only twenty-three lines longer than the original, which is diffusive and

repetitious. The following quotations are selected to illustrate Dryden's ability to keep his poet's thought and at the same time add imagery and details without extending the lines. The original, in rhyme royal, describes the approach of the Lady of the Leaf and her company:

> And as I sat, the birds harkening thus,
> Me thought that I heard voices sodainly,
> The most sweetest and most delicious
> That euer any wight I trow trewly
> Heard in their life, for the armony
> And sweet accord was in so good musike,
> That the voice to Angels most was like.[1]

Under Dryden's invention this becomes,

> Thus while I sat intent to see and hear,
> And drew perfumes of more than vital air,
> All suddenly I heard th' approaching sound
> Of vocal music on th' enchanted ground:
> An host of saints it seem'd, so full the choir;
> As if the blest above did all conspire
> To join their voices and neglect the lyre.
> (146-152)

Another example of what he does with the original to give it more lustre and life is as follows:

> They had not daunced but a little throw,
> When that I heard not fer of sodainly,
> So great a noise of thundering trumps blow,
> As though it should haue departed the skie,
> And after that within a while I sie,
> From the same groue where the ladies come out,
> Of men of armes comming such a rout,
>
> As all ye men on earth had been assembled
> In that place, wele horsed for the nones,
> Stering so fast, that all the earth trembled;[2]

and Dryden's

> Not long I had observ'd, when from afar

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[1] Ibid., p. 627. [2] Ibid., p. 629.

I heard a sudden symphony of war;
The neighing coursers, and the soldiers' cry,
And sounding trumps that seem'd to tear the sky.
I saw soon after this, behind the grove
From whence the ladies did in order move,
Come issuing out in arms a warrior train,
That like a deluge pour'd upon the plain:
On barbed steeds they rode in proud array,
Thick as the college of the bees in May,
When swarming o'er the dusky fields they fly,
New to the flow'rs, and intercept the sky.
So fierce they drove, their coursers were so fleet,
That the turf trembled underneath their feet.
(209-221)

The comparisons show not only Dryden's general treatment of the imagery in the poem but also his superiority in metrical skill and poetic invention. Even though he changes the author's intent by making the knights and ladies fairies, he still keeps them under the rule of Diana, queen of Chastity, and Flora, goddess of the flowers. The style differs from anything he has yet used; his idiom is highly poetical without being grandiose or affected. There are circumlocutions, such as "balmy dew," "bloomy gridelin," "leavy arms," "wintry war," but they are in harmony with the airy tone of enchantment. Among the more than fifty images he adds are many executed with exquisite felicity, for example, a description of the steeds of the Nine Worthies:

The golden fringe ev'n set the ground on flame,
And drew a precious trail: . . .
(261-262)

Others drawn from Nature, Imaginative, and Learning are:

Broad were the banners, and of snowy hue,
A purer web the silkworm never drew.
(234-235)

A goldfinch there I saw with gaudy pride
Of painted plumes, . . .
(106-107)

The sun with sultry beams began to play:
Not Sirius shoots a fiercer flame from high,
When with his pois'nous breath he blasts the sky.
(375-377)

Seas would be pools, without the brushing air
To curl the waves; and sure some little care
Should weary Nature so, to make her want repair.
(30-32)

A Virgilian influence is apparent in the description of the tournament between the two companies of knights. In fact, in several of the narrative pieces in the Fables occur reminders that Dryden had only recently translated the Aeneis; especially remembered are the picture of the tournament in "Palamon and Arcite" and the parody in Chanticleer's line, "'Yours is the prize, victorious prince.'"

Dryden's final lines in "The Flower and the Leaf" in which he speaks of using a "simple style to suit thy lowly kind" cannot be taken literally, for he was only following his original poet who felt there would be few who would behold the "rude language, ful boistously vnfold." Dryden changed the "rude language" to one that he felt better suited the thought and tone of a highly imaginative and graceful medieval allegory. His leading sources of imagery were from the general categories of Domestic, especially from Fire and Light and Dress, and from Learning, with Classical and Religious most in evidence. Personification of Nature and images from Fire and Light were the two leading specific sources in the

order of greatest frequency.

"The Character of a Good Parson," the final Chaucerian piece in the Fables, differs from the three Canterbury Tales in that Dryden imitated rather than paraphrased the picture Chaucer gives in the prologue. The fifty-two original lines swell into one hundred and forty as he introduces several extended metaphors that grow out of hints in the original. For example,

> For priests, he said, are patterns for the rest;
> (The gold of heav'n, who bear the God impress'd;)
> But when the precious coin is kept unclean,
> The sovereign's image is no longer seen.
> If they be foul on whom the people trust,
> Well may the baser brass contract a rust.
> (81-86)

and

> He taught the gospel rather than the law,
> And forc'd himself to drive, but lov'd to draw:
> For fear but freezes minds; but love, like heat,
> Exhales the soul sublime, to seek her native seat.
> To threats the stubborn sinner oft is hard,
> Wrapp'd in his crimes, against the storm prepar'd;
> But, when the milder beams of mercy play,
> He melts, and throws his cumbrous cloak away.
> (30-37)

Others are built on ideas that do not appear in the original:

> In deference to his virtues, I forbear
> To shew you what the rest in orders were:
> This brilliant is so spotless and so bright,
> He needs no foil, but shines by his own proper light.
> (137-140)

And

> And oft, with holy hymns, he charm'd their ears
> (A music more melodious than the spheres):
> For David left him, when he went to rest,
> His lyre, and after him he sung the best.
> (21-24)

Although the added images do account for some of the expansion, the greater part is due to the more than thirty lines added at the end in which he gives his most extensive play to contemporary events. Throughout all the tales are scattered such references; here, however, he shields his observations by shifting the activities of the nonjurors during his own day to the period of Richard II and Henry of Bolingbroke.

In passing it should be noted that more than half of the images in "The Character of a Good Parson" are built around light and gold: the parson's soul was rich; he let down the golden chain; milder beams of mercy play; lightning is part of heaven's artillery; priests are the gold of heaven; he shone with every grace, "Reflecting Moses-like, his Maker's face"; and he is a brilliant, a jewel that needs no foil, for it shines by its own light. Dryden's association of gold and jewels with the Good Parson may be one more instance of his extensive Biblical knowledge; perhaps he remembered that both are mentioned in the praise of wisdom and the good wife in Proverbs and of the Laws of God in the Psalms. Dryden dignifies the tone by balanced sentences, alliteration, anaphora, and climax. For his high-familiar style he finds most of his sources of imagery under the leading major categories of Learning with its specific sources of Biblical and Religious, Science, and From Books; and Daily Life, containing figures drawn from Classes, War and Weapons, Crafts, Money, and Textures and Substance.

In the Chaucerian pieces and in "The Flower and the Leaf" Dryden's imagery follows his notion of propriety, for he suits the source and tone of his figures of speech to the style he deems proper for each poem. The one drawing the most unfavorable comments has been "Palamon and Arcite" because of its poetic diction; but to Dryden this was the proper poetic idiom for the lofty style that the heroic genre demanded. From the shifting levels in "The Wife of Bath, Her Tale" to the consistently high-familiar in "The Character of a Good Parson" Dryden works with perfect control over his poetic media as he ranges through varied styles.

The Chaucerian poems are competently done, but the tales from Boccaccio rank among the finest pieces he ever wrote. Moving with amazing rapidity, the lines have a strength and vigor not often encountered in the works of most poets, and especially in poems by a man of Dryden's age. To match the metrical qualities is imagery that reflects story tensions and character in tales of murder, lust, and horror; and there is always the emotion of love, not soft and tender, but violent and demanding. In "Sigismonda and Guiscardo" once again the craftsman asserts himself by adapting the sources, the types, and the number of images to the form and the tone of the poem. It is narrative poetry and as such differs from other genres, although the political satires and religious poems are in part narrative. Dryden uses fewer images per line in the tales than in the other forms. For instance, the panegyric demands

images from the general sources of Learning and Imaginative in the interest of the dignity and the high praise proper to exalting the virtues of the subject; and political satire calls for witty and sharp images that bring into focus the familiar figures. The narrative poem, however, must avoid an overwhelming number of tropes for fear they will impede the swift action of the plot. In "Sigismonda and Guiscardo" Nature is the predominant source of imagery, a classification that has bobbed about uncertainly in most of the other poems; and Body and Bodily Action moves into first place with Nature. No two sources could be more appropriate for a poem based on the emotions of love and anger.

There are no startling images, most of them being commonplace, almost fossil metaphors. Although from different groups, the images complement each other in developing violent emotion whether it be that of ardent affection or of intense anger. The wrath and misery of the father are expressed in certain types of images; the love and suffering of the daughter in others. Assisted by the imagery Dryden develops the character of Sigismonda. Those used in her plea to her father (lines 390-581) must be noted. First she denies that she has the "frail texture of the female kind" (line 403). Then the images she uses suggest the strength and virility of the masculine mind, not the gentleness and delicacy of a feminine nature: mining, rushing tides, harvesting, springs of justice, soaring birds, surveying, and gorging a barb'rous appetite.

Only one, the kneading of paste, is feminine in character. She ends her plea with a simple comparison that points out explicitly the type of person the images show her to be:

> "Away! with women weep, and leave me here,
> Fix'd like a man, to die without a tear."
> (578-579)

In Tancred's accusation (lines 305-365) the images are of two types since Dryden is showing two disparate emotions. They describe "his grief and rage" while "floods of tears ran trickling down his beard" (line 304). The last quoted line is weak. Floods surge and swell; they do not trickle. Yet in the line are the mixed emotions of rage in "flood" and grief in "trickle." Images of anger and rage develop Tancred's description of Guiscardo as a man "smelling of the people's lee" and "a grovling insect," and in the bitter words addressed to Sigismonda:

> "But thy low fall beneath thy royal blood
> Shews downward appetite to mix with mud."
> (343-344)

The remaining images in the speech carry pathos and grief: the hungry guest, the dark cloud overtaking his sun, the desire to steer a middle course, and a final plea to make the scales balance in her favor. Like these, the other images in the poem are neither startling nor unreal; they reflect the force of the passions evoked by the actions of the characters, but they do not overshadow the action. For instance, Dryden's favorite lion image,

So, like a lion that unheeded lay,
Dissembling sleep, and watchful to betray,
With inward rage he meditates his prey,
(242-244)

is more compressed than usual and illustrates his treatment of imagery in narrative verse.

"Theodore and Honoria," the shortest of the three tales from Boccaccio, keeps the emotional tension at a high pitch through rapid action. In this story of unrequited love the leading major category is Body and Bodily Action with the specific sources of Food and Drink, Sickness and Medicine, and Body Action, all of which offer fertile fields for describing the lovesick Theodore and the relentless Honoria. Such is the conceit:

He would have worn her out by slow degrees,
As men by fasting starve th' untam'd disease;
But present love requir'd a present ease.
Looking he feeds alone his famish'd eyes,
Feeds ling'ring death, but, looking not, he dies,
(36-40)

and

But Love could feed no hunger but his own,
(88)

and

Relentless as a rock, the lofty maid
Turn'd all to poison that he did or said.
(20-21)

War and Weapons, the leading specific source of imagery under the second major category, Daily Life, also reveals the usual figures associated with the fitful progress of love:

Love stood the siege, and would not yield his breast.
(33)

But pride stood ready to prevent the blow.
(27)

The spectre's "imperious tone forbade the war," and in addressing the spectre Theodore stood "arm'd with inborn worth." These figures fit so naturally into the action that they pass almost unnoticed; yet the piece would have suffered had there been none. The imagery is concentrated generally in the first ninety lines, which give the background of the story and describe the two leading characters. Once action is underway the figures are limited to a few phrases scattered among the next two hundred lines. Following the enactment of the horror scene for the guests at the banquet, images appear again to intensify the effect on the viewers. One from Life and Death is particularly admirable:

> The pale assistants on each other star'd,
> With gaping mouths for issuing words prepar'd;
> The stillborn sounds upon the palate hung,
> And died imperfect on the falt'ring tongue,
> (306-309)

as is the personification in

> But fear, the last of ills, remain'd behind,
> And horror heavy sat on ev'ry mind.
> (338-339)

Suiting imagery to mood Dryden is careful to see that his poem carries his inventions lightly. As in "Sigismonda and Guiscardo," when the action speeds up, figures of speech drop to a minimum. The style once again is high-familiar with the raised tone reflecting occasional Virgilian influence in such lines as "The ground with issuing streams of purple dyed"

(line 144) and "groan'd the ground" (line 266) and in balanced structure, alliteration, and inverted sentences.

In "Cymon and Iphigenia," the third tale from the Decameron, the images are much more highly concentrated and are spread out much more evenly than in the other two. The sources here are also different. Instead of Body and Bodily Action and Nature heading the list, this tale has Daily Life and Learning, both of which suggest less violence and sternness and more loftiness and dignity. The emotions of Love and Fear are personified as well as the qualities of Beauty and Fortune. Since personification is associated with an elevated style, it too points to more emphasis on a high style than is given in the other tales from Boccaccio. This is not to say that all the figures of speech in the poem are highly poetical, because they are not. In the "Poeta loquitur," which precedes the piece, Dryden fires his last blast at Collier; here the level of tone fluctuates from "to chew the cud again" to

> Ormond, the first, and all the fair may find,
> In this one legend, to their fame design'd,
> When beauty fires the blood, how love exalts the mind.
> (39-41)

And the same sort of shift occurs in the story proper. In describing Cymon Dryden says

> The more inform'd, the less he understood,
> And deeper sunk by flound'ring in the mud.
> (63-64)

Then only a few lines later he has a "crystal flood" creeping

through the matted grass near where Iphigenia is sleeping

> Like Dian and her nymphs, when, tir'd with sport,
> To rest by cool Eurotas they resort.
> (93-94)

He uses a number of extended similes, a poetic device that he avoided in the other two tales. These are especially effective in describing the changes that take place in Cymon when he sees the sleeping maid:

> Thro' the rude chaos thus the running light
> Shot the first ray that pierc'd the native night;
> Then day and darkness in the mass were mix'd,
> Till, gather'd in a globe, the beams were fix'd;
> Last shone the sun, who, radiant in his sphere,
> Illumin'd heav'n and earth, and roll'd around the year.
> So reason in this brutal soul began:
> Love made him first suspect he was a man;
> Love made him doubt his broad barbarian sound;
> By love his want of words and wit he found;
> That sense of want prepar'd the future way
> To knowledge, and disclos'd the promise of a day.
> (117-128)

And another as he stands gazing down at her:

> Fix'd as a pilgrim wilder'd in his way,
> Who dares not stir by night, for fear to stray,
> But stands with awful eyes to watch the dawn of day.
> (172-174)

When he rescues Iphigenia from the Rhodian sailors

> . . . he seiz'd the willing prey,
> As Paris bore the Spartan spouse away.
> (318-319)

Then when the tempest comes

> Not more aghast the proud archangel fell,
> Plung'd from the height of heav'n to deepest hell,
> Than stood the lover of his love possess'd,
> Now curst the more, the more he had been blest.
> (343-346)

These and many other images in the poem show that Dryden is

able to superimpose on the action of narrative verse a wealth of poetic figures without slowing down the movement. Only through the development of the high-familiar style could this have been achieved. This mode of expression allowed him to give to his narrative poetry a fullness and finish that not only intensified the background but heightened the peaks of emotion. These three tales stand as a monument to the poetical genius of one of England's greatest metrical craftsmen and show that such craftsmanship was firmly supported by a rich and productive creative imagination.

CHAPTER VII

"A SIGN OF GENIUS"

This study of the imagery in John Dryden's nondramatic poetry has shown that Dryden believed imagery must suit not only the genre but also the subject matter and tone of the poem. The first suggestion of this theory of imagery appeared in 1664 when he wrote in the preface to The Rival Ladies that the imagination must be controlled lest it outrun the judgment. Three years later in the preface to Annus Mirabilis he described the function of the imagination: it must find the thought, mold the thought under the direction of the judgment, and dress the thought in "apt, significant and sounding words." In "The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic Licence" (1677) he reduced the function of the imagination to a compact critical statement when he defined wit as "a propriety of thoughts and words; or, in other terms, thoughts and words elegantly adapted to the subject."[1] At this time he was thinking specifically of the elevated and figurative language of heroic poetry, but eight years later in the preface to Albion and Albanius he broadened his theory

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[1] Essays, I, 190.

to include not only "the hidden beauties of a play" but all poetry. Here he stated explicitly what he meant by propriety of thoughts and words:

> Propriety of thought is that fancy which arises naturally from the subject, or which the poet adapts to it. Propriety of words is the clothing of those thoughts with such expressions as are naturally proper to them; and from both these, if they are judiciously performed, the delight of poetry results."[1]

In the beginning his idea of propriety was probably drawn from Horace's Ars Poetica, which he quotes freely in the preface to Annus Mirabilis, and it was developed by his study of Virgil and other classical writers. It was influenced somewhat by the rhetorical theories of Quintilian and Cicero and even more by Boileau's Art Poétique and translation of Longinus and Rapin's Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote.

When Dryden expanded his idea of propriety so that it embraced all poetry, he was forced by necessity to include the various levels of style. He always reserved his highest praise for the elevated mode of expression used in the heroic, the panegyric, the historical poems, and many of the satires. "Sublime subjects," he once wrote, "ought to be adorned with the sublimest, and consequently often with the most figurative expressions." A second type which he notes specifically is the legislative style, which he said should be "plain and natural, and yet majestic," for it is used in poems designed for instruction. As Virgil was his master in the elevated

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[1] Ibid., p. 270.

style so Horace was his model for the legislative style of the religious poems—"Religio Laici" and Part II of "The Hind and the Panther," "which has more of the nature of domestic conversation." This "homely style," "more free and familiar" than the heroic or legislative, is used for narrative verse, certain types of satire, and many of the prologues and epilogues. Rather than "homely," as Dryden has named it, it should be called high-familiar, for it is a blend of the witty heroic idiom of "Absalom and Achitophel" and the relaxed legislative style of Part II of "The Hind and the Panther." Such a style allows the poet freedom to move back and forth across the middle way with perfect propriety—to the dignified, but not necessarily sublime; then to the satiric, but not low comic.

Dryden used his broadened theory of propriety to control his imagery and to suit it to the various levels of style he deemed proper to the several genres. The sources of his imagery functioned as an integral part of his effort to adapt thoughts and words to the subject and tone. Learning is the leading source of imagery for the panegyrics, the historical poems, and the religious poems; Daily Life for the satires. The panegyrics have the highest percentage of images drawn from Nature, Imaginative, and the Arts, categories that are traditionally associated with the sublime style. Many years after he composed his early panegyrics, Dryden wrote "Threnodia Augustalis" and "Britannia Rediviva," and in these

late panegyrics the leading sources of imagery are once again drawn from Learning and Nature. The satires and religious poems have the highest percentage of images from Daily Life, Body and Bodily Action, and Learning. In the prologues and epilogues the greatest number of images falls under Daily Life, but when special groups are isolated the sources vary to suit the tone and the subject matter. For a serious subject, such as one honoring royalty or Oxford, the sources lend themselves to a dignified and elevated tone—Religion, Classical, Music, and Personification. These are almost identical with the leading specific sources of the panegyrics. When he wishes to strike out with a whiplash of scorn at the fops and fools of the pit he finds his sources in familiar events of everyday life—Food and Drink, Classes and Types, War and Weapons, Four-footed Animals, and Trade and Business. Prologues and epilogues developed by innuendo depend upon these familiar figures also, but even more so on sexual imagery and figures from the animal categories. Since the elegies are written in elevated language, Dryden's sources are Learning and Nature with emphasis upon Biblical and Religious, Growing Things, and Celestial Bodies, all quite proper for expressions of sadness as well as praise. For the odes Learning is again first, but this time the leading specific source is Classical. The epigrams stress figures from Domestic and Daily Life. The epistles, written in high-familiar rather than an elevated style, also have Learning for the

leading major category, but the specific sources are drawn from Classical, Personification, Biblical and Religious, Gardening, and Science, all generally pointing toward dignity and restraint.

In translating the classical poets Dryden used paraphrase, which allowed him to alter his poets' words, expand their thoughts, and occasionally intersperse his own figures of speech. Here he suited his own images to the genre he was translating, whether it was epic, satire, or pastoral. In the satires of Juvenal and Persius, Daily Life, Body and Bodily Action, and Nature are the principal sources; in the Georgics War and Government are the leading specific sources, fitting choices since the underlying theme of the work is the struggle of man with the forces of nature. A pattern of sources appears in the Aeneis when the twelve books are considered individually, although the overall general sources for the epic are Daily Life, Body and Bodily Actions, and Nature. The first six books have images drawn from two categories: Body and Bodily Action in I, III, and VI; Daily Life in II, IV, and V. A gradual shift appears in Book VII, which describes the quarrels and lays the grounds for war, for here Domestic joins Body and Bodily Action in first place. In Books IX, X, and XI, which deal with the war proper, Nature suddenly rises to the top in all three; then in Book XII Daily Life returns to head the list. It is interesting to note that in the action pieces in the translations in the Fables—the first book of

the Iliad, the twelfth book of the Metamorphoses, and the speeches of Ajax and Ulysses in the thirteenth book of the Metamorphoses—images drawn from Nature also head the list.

In the narrative verse Dryden adjusts his sources to suit the type of tale he was telling. Since he considered "Palamon and Arcite" "of epic kind" his leading specific source is Personification of qualities, states and emotions, and nature; and next in order is Fire and Light around which he builds many of his love images. "The Cock and the Fox," a mock heroic, has the same general categories as "Mac Flecknoe," also a mock heroic: Learning, Daily Life, and Body and Bodily Action. In "The Wife of Bath, Her Tale" he uses two levels of style, the homely-familiar and the high-familiar. The sources of imagery show this distinction through the leading major categories: Domestic with figures from Fire and Light, Dress, Household, Life and Death, and Human Relations; and Learning with emphasis on Classical, Religious and Biblical, From Books, Science, and Proverbial. For the highly imaginative "The Flower and the Leaf" Personification of nature and images from Fire and Light are the leading specific sources, the same it will be noted that appear in "Palamon and Arcite." Two lusty tales from Boccaccio, written in the high-familiar style, have Nature and Body and Bodily Action as the leading sources; but in the third, "Cymon and Iphigenia," Daily Life and Learning head the list to suggest more loftiness and dignity than the other two have. Thus Dryden's images in his

nondramatic poetry are selected from sources that are proper to the subject, the tone, the level of style, and the genre.

Dryden also fits the type of figure of speech to the genre. He felt that the simile was suitable for heroic poetry, where it raised the admiration, and that metaphors had the power to lessen or magnify anything, especially bold metaphors when judiciously used. Hard metaphors and farfetched expressions, strained conceits and jingles were unnatural in a serious poem. Ripe judgment was the restraining force as fancy molded the thought and dressed it in proper words. So it is that the highest percentage of similes appears in the panegyrics and in those parts of "The Hind and the Panther" that are elevated in tone; in "Eleonora" the similes average forty-one percent, the highest in all his poems. Personification, associated with the heroic style, reaches its highest point in Annus Mirabilis and in the panegyrics; the lowest in the satires. On the other hand, the highest proportion of metaphors occurs in the satires and narrative verse.

Dryden had a naturally luxuriant fancy that needed to be controlled by the judgment. When he did not exercise this control, his poetry suffered accordingly, as in the earlier poems written under the metaphysical influence and in such a poem as "Eleonora," where fancy ran wild. The concentration of figures of speech in the various poems shows that Dryden was always conscious of style. In his first two poems the

average is one image for every 2.1 lines. In the early panegyrics the concentration is also very high, ranging from 2.9 to 3.7. The number of images per line drops considerably in "Absalom and Achitophel," which is in part narrative, and in Part III of "The Hind and the Panther," which is also predominantly narrative. In the elegies, as in the panegyrics, once again the number is highly concentrated, then falls in the odes until in "Alexander's Feast" there is only one image in every 9.4 lines, a reflection of the narrative style considered proper for the musical ode.[1] In the narrative verse he uses practically no figures in the conversations and action parts, but in the background and character description the images appear in numbers.

Some other general observations must be made concerning the imagery in Dryden's nondramatic poetry. His overall major sources of imagery are Daily Life and Learning, a fact which suggests one of the reasons for the wide appeal that Dryden had for his time since the sources point to the interests of the upper middle class. Surprisingly enough, he drew very few images from the Arts in comparison to the other sources; his leading specific class under this category is Painting rather than Music or the Theater. As Dryden's style becomes less artificial and strained his images become more natural and relaxed. The steady drop in personification shows

[1] Myers, op. cit., p. 413.

that he moved away from the artificiality of this type of imagery as his interest turned to satire and narrative verse. The steady rise in Body and Bodily Action and Daily Life indicates that his imaginative process is stimulated by the world about him rather than by the ornamental and artificial milieu of the classics. As his subjects become more informal —that is, as he shifts from the panegyrics to satire and narrative verse—his images become more spontaneous. The artistic success of his poems increases in ratio to his ability to suit the type and source of images to the tone and purpose of the poems. By adapting the type of image and the source to the desired tone and the preconceived purpose of the poem, Dryden establishes a harmony that increases the poetical merit of his verse. When he fails to do this, the poem is unsuccessful. As he becomes more skillful in stabilizing and fusing these separate elements, the poem increases in poetical excellence and emerges as n artistic whole.

In 1650 the untrained, self-conscious schoolboy packed his first poems with affected and strained conceits. In 1700 a mature craftsman looked into the new century as he skillfully adjusted his imagery to the brisk pace of narrative verse. These fifty years had seen the poet working with many forms and types of poetry until his growing creative power combined with technical skill to produce some of the finest poetry in the English language. A criterion set more than two thousand years ago was as true for the seventeenth century as it is

for the twentieth century:

> . . . the greatest thing by far is to be a master of metaphor. It is the one thing that cannot be learnt from others; and it is also a sign of genius, since a good metaphor implies an intuitive perception of the similarity in dissimilars.[1]

Surely John Dryden bore the "sign of genius."

[1]Aristotle, "De Poetica," translated by Ingram Bywater, in Introduction to Aristotle, ed. Richard McKeon (New York: The Modern Library, 1947), p. 657.

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APPENDIX I

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES[1]

I Prologue to The Wild Gallant, a Comedy, "as it was first acted" (1663)
II Epilogue to The Wild Gallant, a Comedy, "as it was first acted" (1663)
III Prologue to Dryden and Howard's The Indian Queen, a Tragedy (1664)
IV Epilogue to The Indian Queen, a Tragedy (1664)
V Prologue to The Rival Ladies, a Tragi-Comedy (1664)
Va Epilogue to The Rival Ladies, a Tragi-Comedy (1664)
VI Prologue to The Indian Emperor; or, The Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, Being the Sequel of The Indian Queen (1665)
VII Epilogue to The Indian Emperor (1665)
VIII Prologue to Secret Love; or, The Maiden Queen (1667)
IX Prologue to The Wild Gallant, "Reviv'd" (1667)
X Epilogue to The Wild Gallant, "Reviv'd" (1667)
XI Prologue to Sir Martin Mar-All; or, The Feign'd Innocence, a Comedy (1667)
XII Epilogue to Sir Martin Mar-All (1667)
XIII Prologue to Dryden and Davenant's The Tempest; or, The Enchanted Island, a Comedy (1667)
XIV Epilogue to The Tempest (1667)
XV Prologue to Thomas Tomkis' Albumazar, Reviv'd (1668)
XVI Prologue to An Evening's Love; or, The Mock Astrologer (1668)
XVII Epilogue to An Evening's Love (1668)
XVIII Prologue to Tyrannic Love: or, The Royal Martyr, a Tragedy (1669)
XIX Epilogue to Tyrannic Love (1669)
XX Prologue to The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards, Part I (1670)

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[1]The chronological order of the prologues and epilogues is basically that established by William Bradford Gardner in The Prologues and Epilogues of John Dryden: A Critical Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

XXI	Epilogue to The Conquest of Granada, Part I (1670)
XXII	Prologue to The Conquest of Granada, Part II (1671)
XXIII	Epilogue to The Conquest of Granada, Part II (1671)
XXIV	Prologue to Beaumont and Fletcher's Wit without Money, Spoken the First Day of the King's House Acting after the Fire (1672)
XXV	Prologue for the Women, when They Acted at the Old Theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields (Sometime between 1672 and 1674)
XXVI	Prologue to Carlell's Arviragus, Reviv'd (Between 1672 and 1674)
XXVII	Prologue to Marriage A-la-Mode, a Comedy (c.1672)
XXVIII	Epilogue to Marriage A-la-Mode, a Comedy (c.1672)
XXIX	Prologue to The Maiden Queen, When Acted by the Women Only (c.1672)
XXX	Epilogue to The Maiden Queen, When Acted by the Women Only (c.1672)
XXXI	Prologue to The Assignation; or, Love in a Nunnery (c.1672)
XXXII	Epilogue to The Assignation (c.1672)
XXXIII	Prologue to Amboyna, a Tragedy (1672)
XXXIV	Epilogue to Amboyna (1672)
XXXV	Prologue to the University of Oxford, Spoken by Mr. Hart, at the Acting of The Silent Woman (1673)
XXXVI	Epilogue to The Silent Woman (1673)
XXXVII	Prologue Spoken at the Opening of the New House, March 26, 1674
XXXVIII	Epilogue Spoken at the Opening of the New House, March 26, 1674
XXXIX	Prologue to the University of Oxford, Spoken by Mr. Hart (1674)
XL	Epilogue to the University of Oxford (1674)
XLa	Epilogue Intended to Have Been Spoken by the Lady Henr. Mar. Wentworth, When Calisto Was Acted at Court (c.1675)[1]
XLI	Prologue to Aureng-Zebe, a Tragedy (1675)
XLII	Epilogue to Aureng-Zebe, a Tragedy (1675)
XLIII	Epilogue to Etherege's The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter (1676)
XLIV	Prologue to Charles Davenant's Circe, a Tragedy (1677)
XLV	Prologue to All for Love; or, The World Well Lost, a Tragedy (1677)
XLVI	Epilogue to All for Love (1677)
XLVII	Epilogue to Nathaniel Lee's Mithridates, King of Pontus, a Tragedy (1678)
XLVIII	Prologue to The Kind Keeper; or, Mr. Limberham, a Comedy (1678)

[1]Gardner does not include this selection in his critical edition.

XLIX	Epilogue to The Kind Keeper (1678)
L	Prologue to Thomas Shadwell's A True Widow, a Comedy (1678)
LI	Prologue to Dryden and Lee's Oedipus, a Tragedy (c.1679)
LII	Epilogue to Oedipus, a Tragedy (c.1679)
LIII	Prologue to Troilus and Cressida; or, Truth Found Too Late, a Tragedy (1679)
LIV	Epilogue to Troilus and Cressida (1679)
LV	Prologue to Nathaniel Lee's Caesar Borgia, Son of Pope Alexander the Sixth, a Tragedy (1679)
LVI	Prologue to Nahum Tate's The Loyal General, a Tragedy (1679)
LVII	Prologue to The Spanish Friar; or, The Double Discovery (1680)
LVIII	Prologue to the University of Oxford (c.1680) "Discord and plots, which have undone our age"
LIX	Prologue to the University of Oxford (c.1681)[1] "Tho' actors cannot much of learning boast"
LX	Prologue to the University of Oxford (c.1681) "Thespis, the first professor of our art"
LXI	The Epilogue Spoken to the King at the Opening of the Playhouse at Oxford on Saturday Last, Being March the Nineteenth, 1681
LXII	Epilogue to Charles Saunders' Tamerlane the Great, a Tragedy (1681)
LXIII	Prologue to the Jniversity of Oxford (1681) "The fam'd Italian Muse, whose rhymes advance"
LXIV	Prologue by Mr. Dryden (date unknown) "Gallants, a bashful poet bids me say"
LXV	Prologue to Nathaniel Lee's The Princess of Cleves (c.1681)
LXVI	Epilogue to The Princess of Cleves (c.1681)
LXVII	Prologue to John Banks' The Unhappy Favorite; or, The Earl of Essex (c.1681)
LXVIII	Epilogue to The Unhappy Favorite
LXIX	Prologue to Lee's Mithridates, King of Pontus, the First Play Acted at the Theater Royal this Year (1681 o. s.)
LXX	Epilogue to Mithridates (1681 o. s.)
LXXI	Prologue to Southerne's The Loyal Brother; or, The Persian Prince, a Tragedy (1682)
LXXII	Epilogue to The Loyal Brother (1682)
LXXIII	Prologue to His Royal Highness, upon His First Appearance at the Duke's Theater since His Return from Scotland (1682)
LXXIV	Prologue to the Duchess on Her Return from Scotland in the Year 1682.

[1]Noyes, following R. G. Ham, dates this prologue 1676.

LXXV Prologue to the King and Queen at the Opening of Their Theater (1682)
LXXVI Epilogue to the King and Queen at the Opening of Their Theater (1682)
LXXVII Prologue to Dryden and Lee's The Duke of Guise, a Tragedy (1682)
LXXVIII Epilogue to The Duke of Guise (1682)
LXXIX Another Epilogue Intended to Have Been Spoken to the Play The Duke of Guise before It Was Forbidden Last Summer (c.1682)
LXXX Epilogue to Lee's Constantine the Great, a Tragedy (1683)
LXXXI An Epilogue, Written by Mr. Dryden (1684)
LXXXII Prologue to Southerne's The Disappointment; or, The Mother in Fashion (1684)
LXXXIII Prologue to Albion and Albanius, an Opera (1685)
LXXXIV Epilogue to Albion and Albanius (1685)
LXXXV Prologue to Mrs. Aphra Behn's The Widow Ranter; or, The History of Bacon in Virginia, a Tragi-Comedy (1689)
LXXXVI Epilogue to The Widow Ranter (1689)
LXXXVII Prologue to Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, a Tragedy (1689)
LXXXVIII Epilogue to Don Sebastian (1689)
LXXXIX Prologue to The Prophetess; or, The History of Dioclesan, Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, with Alterations and Additions, after the Manner of an Opera (1690)
XC Prologue to Amphitryon; or, The Two Sosias, a Comedy (1690)
XCI Epilogue to Amphitryon (1690)
XCII Prologue to Joseph Harris's The Mistakes; or, The False Report, a Tragi-Comedy, (1690)
XCIII Prologue to King Arthur; or, The British Worthy, a Dramatic Opera (1691)
XCIV Epilogue to King Arthur (1691)
XCV Prologue to Cleomenes, the Spartan Hero, a Tragedy (1692)
XCVI Epilogue to Cleomenes (1692)
XCVII Epilogue to John Bancroft's Henry the Second; with The Death of Rosamond, a Tragedy (1692)
XCVIII Prologue to Love Triumphant; or, Nature Will Prevail, a Tragi-Comedy (1694)
XCIX Epilogue to Love Triumphant (1694)
C Epilogue to John Dryden Junior's The Husband His Own Cuckold, a Comedy (1695)
CI Prologue to Fletcher's The Pilgrim, a Comedy (1700)
CII Epilogue to The Pilgrim (1700)

CHARTS SHOWING THE RANGE OF IMAGERY IN DRYDEN'S NONDRAMATIC POETRY

CHART 1

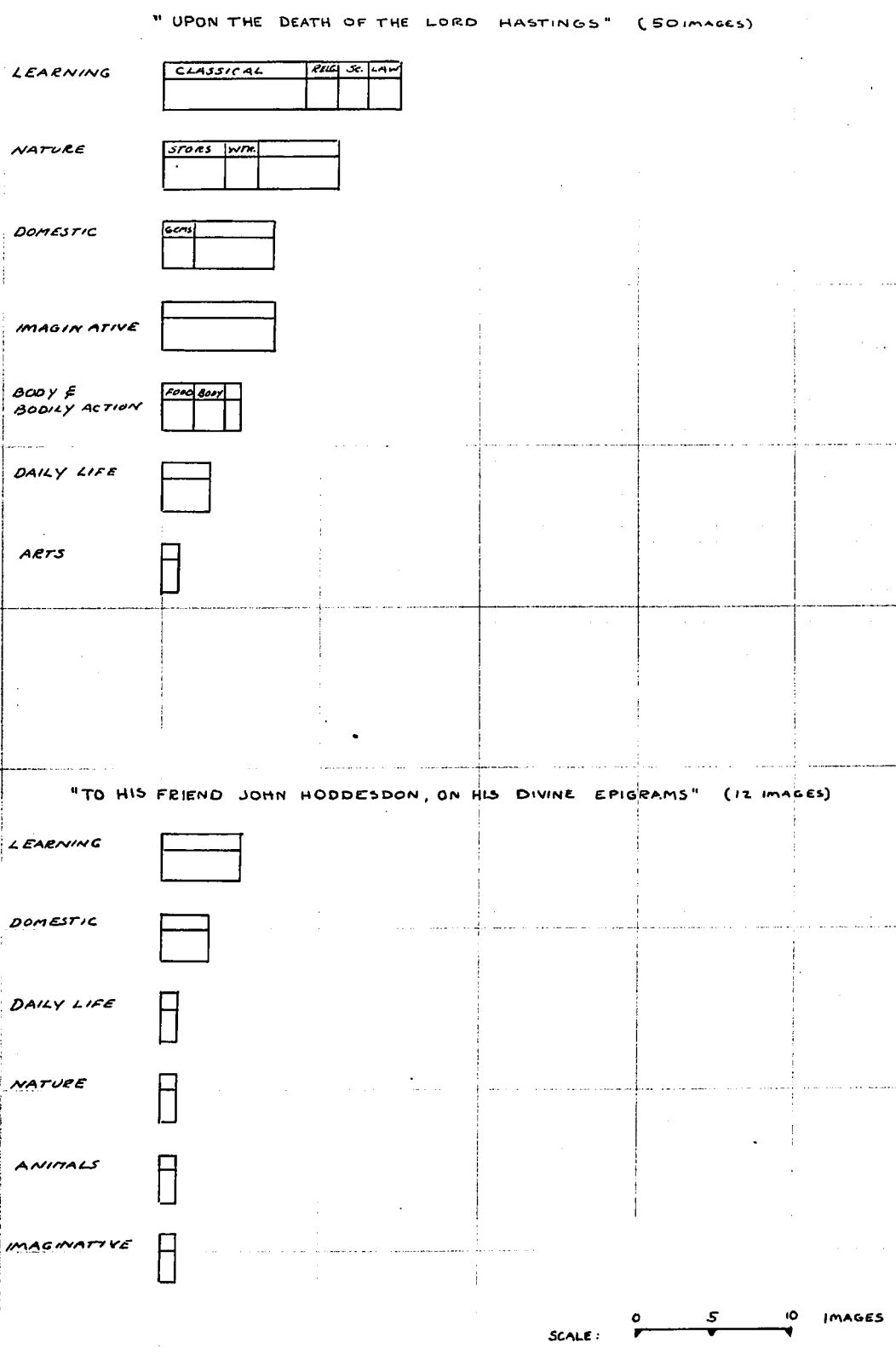
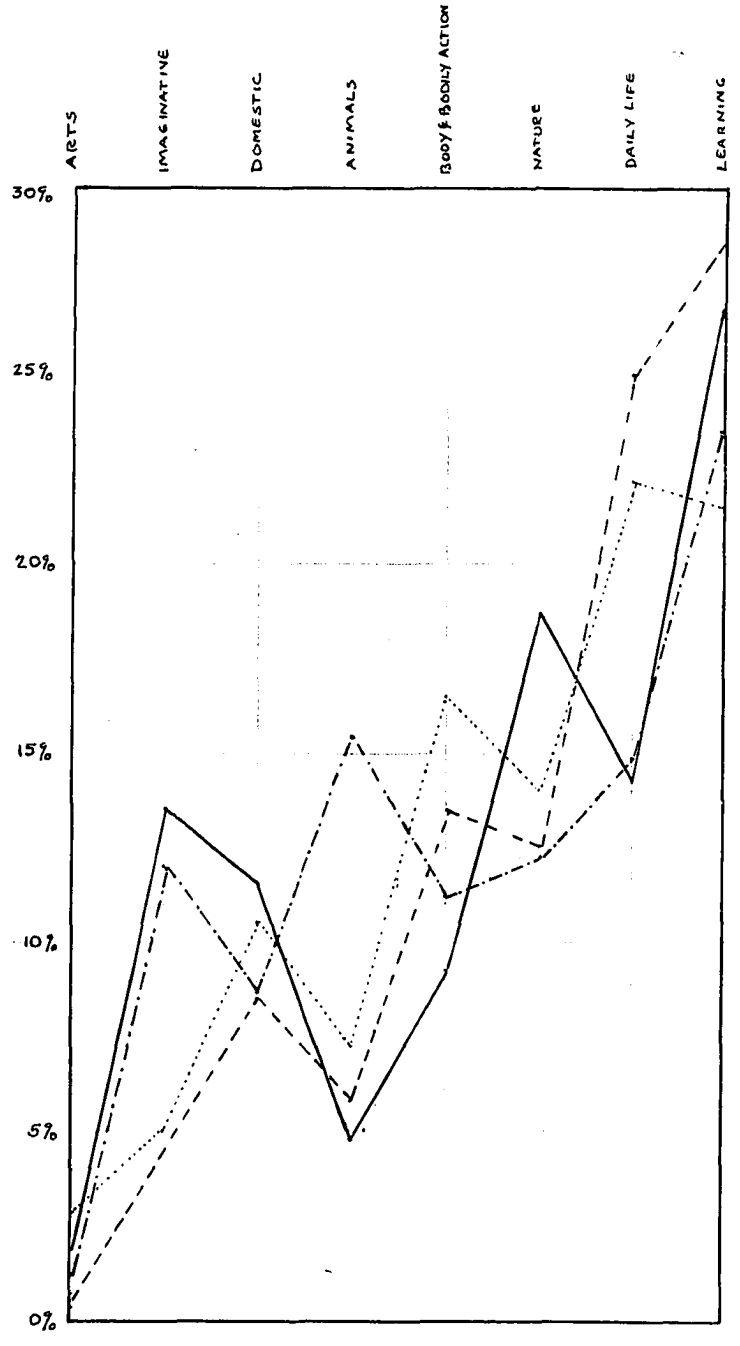


CHART 2



A PERCENTAGE GRAPH SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF SOURCES OF FIGURES OF SPEECH IN THE FOUR CLASSES OF PUBLIC POEMS

PANEGYRICS
SATIRES
RELIGIOUS POEMS
HISTORICAL POEM

	PANEGYRICS	SATIRES	RELIGIOUS	HISTORICAL
LEARNING	26.0 %	21.6 %	28.5%	23.5 %
DAILY LIFE	14.3	22.3	25.0	14.7
NATURE	18.8	14.1	12.6	12.4
BODY & BODILY ACTION	9.2	16.5	13.4	11.6
ANIMAL	4.7	7.3	5.9	15.4
DOMESTIC	11.4	10.6	9.1	9.2
IMAGINATIVE	13.4	5.0	5.1	12.0
ARTS	2.2	2.6	.4	1.2

CHART 3

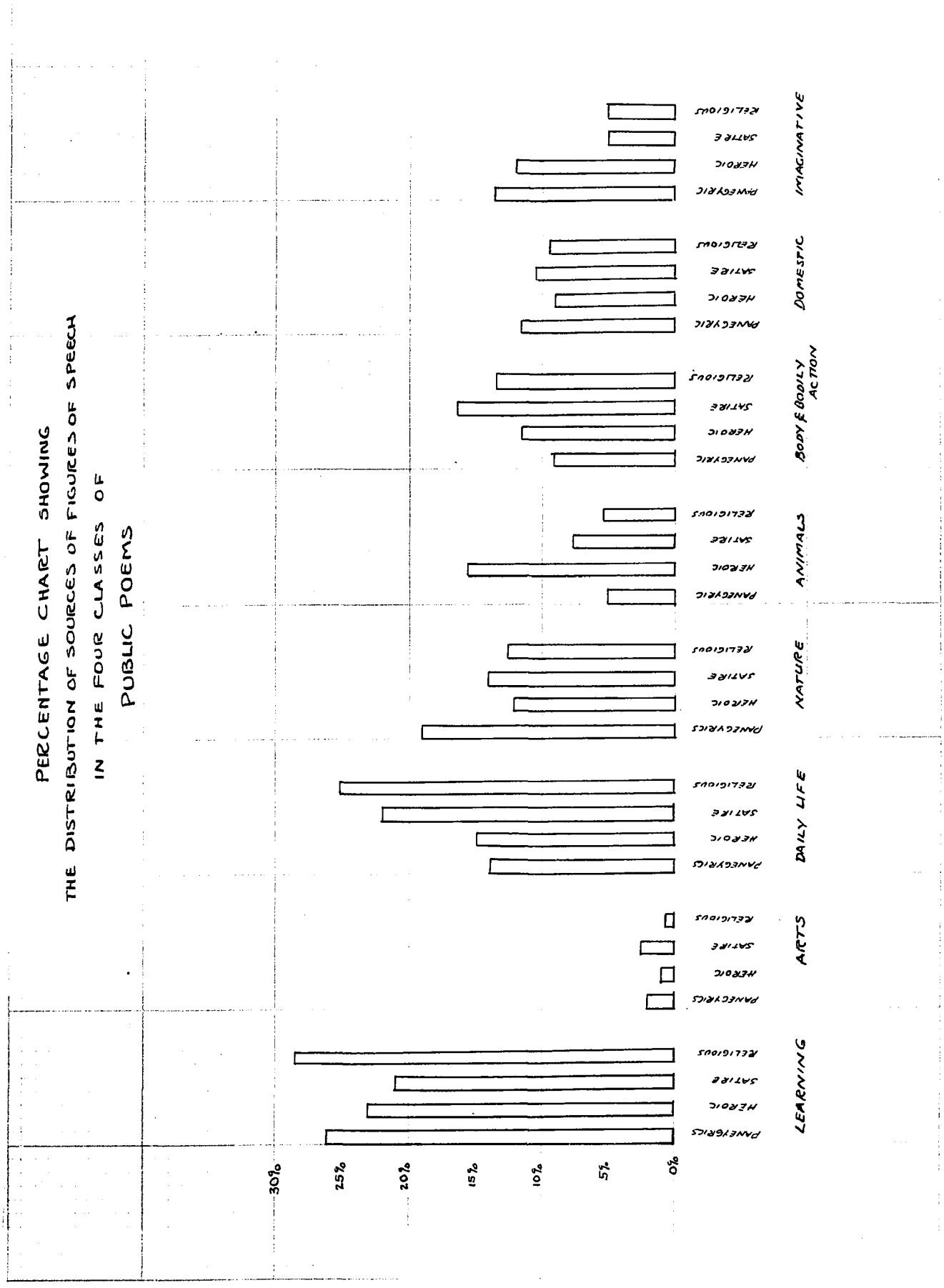
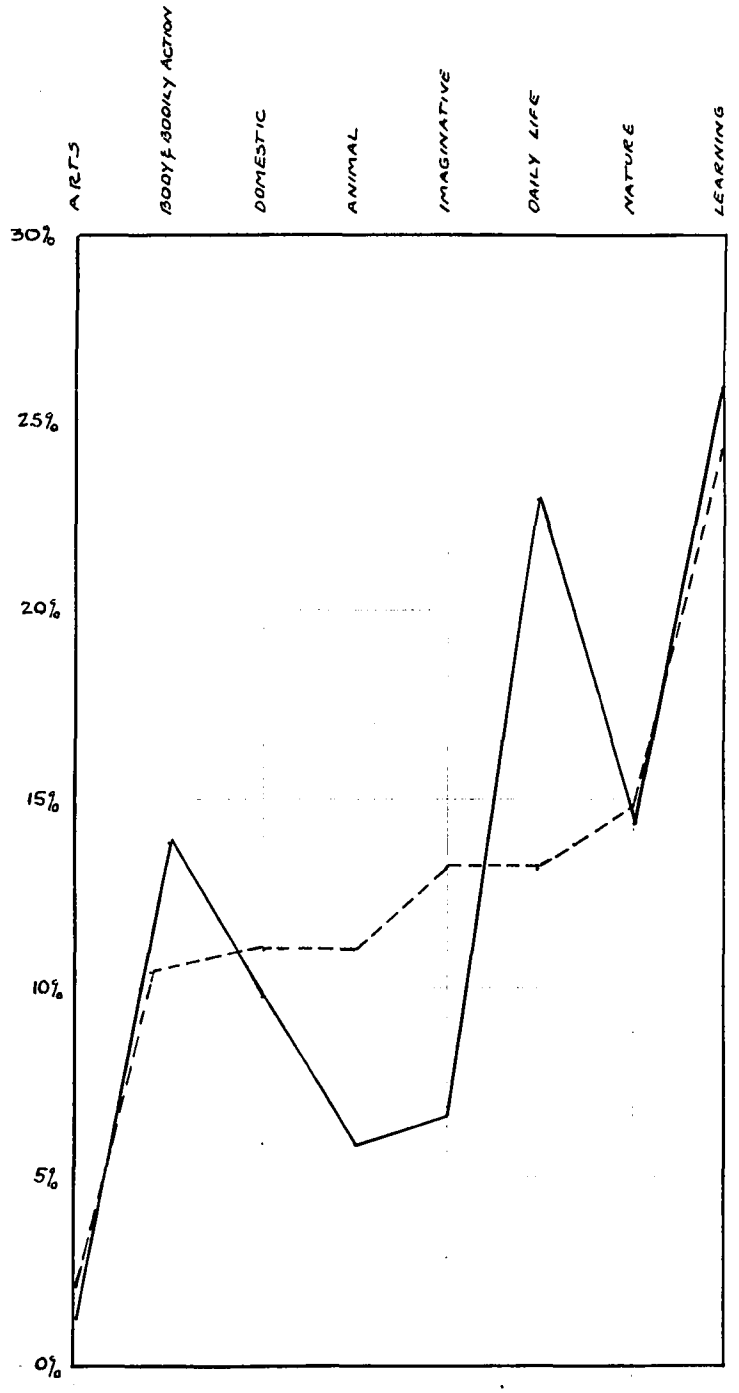

PERCENTAGE CHART SHOWING
THE DISTRIBUTION OF SOURCES OF FIGURES OF SPEECH
IN THE FOUR CLASSES OF
PUBLIC POEMS
30%
25%
20%
15%
10%
5%
0%
LEARNING
PANEGYRICS
HEROIC
SATIRE
RELIGIOUS
ARTS
PANEGYRICS
HEROIC
SATIRE
RELIGIOUS
DAILY LIFE
PANEGYRICS
HEROIC
SATIRE
RELIGIOUS
NATURE
PANEGYRICS
HEROIC
SATIRE
RELIGIOUS
ANIMALS
PANEGYRIC
HEROIC
SATIRE
RELIGIOUS
BODY & BODILY ACTION
PANEGYRIC
HEROIC
SATIRE
RELIGIOUS
DOMESTIC
PANEGYRIC
HEROIC
SATIRE
RELIGIOUS
IMAGINATIVE
PANEGYRIC
HEROIC
SATIRE
RELIGIOUS

CHART 4



A PERCENTAGE GRAPH
SHOWING THE SOURCES OF IMAGES IN
THE EARLY PUBLIC POEMS
AND
THE LATER PUBLIC POEMS

EARLY POEMS ------
LATER POEMS ——

EARLY POEMS (1658-1666)

	No. of images	
LEARNING	117	24.2%
NATURE	72	14.8
DAILY LIFE	64	13.2
IMAGINATIVE	64	13.2
ANIMAL	53	11.0
DOMESTIC	53	11.0
BODY & ACTION	50	10.4
ARTS	10	2.1

LATER POEMS (1681-1688)

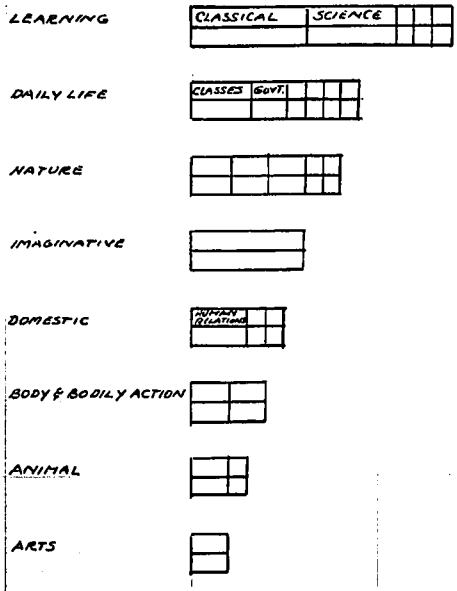
	No. of images	
LEARNING	297	25.78%
DAILY LIFE	264	22.09
NATURE	166	14.39
BODY & ACTION	160	13.88
DOMESTIC	112	9.71
IMAGINATIVE	70	6.07
ANIMAL	69	5.99
ARTS	15	1.03

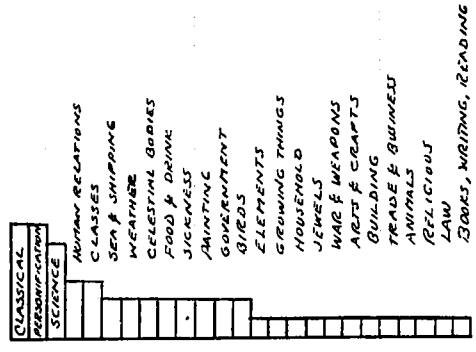
CHART 5

IMAGES IN THE PUBLIC POEMS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SOURCES

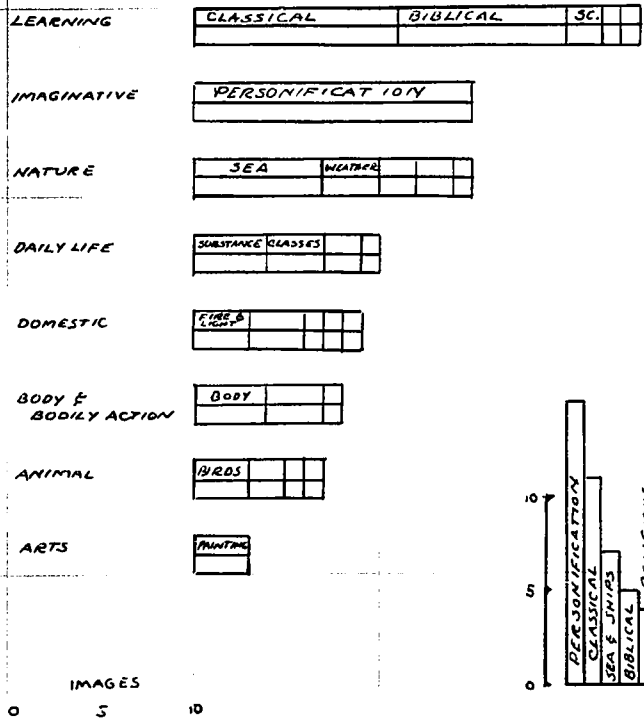
PART I : EARLY POEMS

I "HEROIC STANZAS" (51 IMAGES)





II "ASTRAEA REDUX" (91 IMAGES)



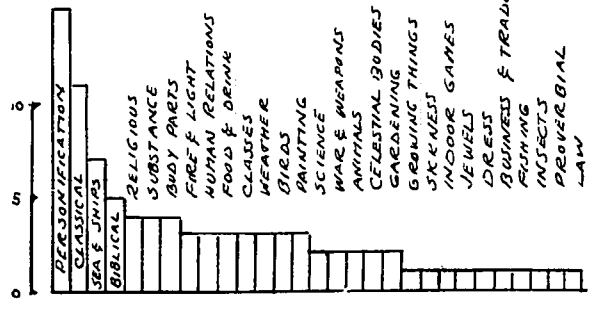


CHART 6

III "TO HIS SACRED MAJESTY" (36 IMAGES)

DOMESTIC — FIRE & LIGHT | LIFE & DEATH

LEARNING — BIBLICAL

NATURE

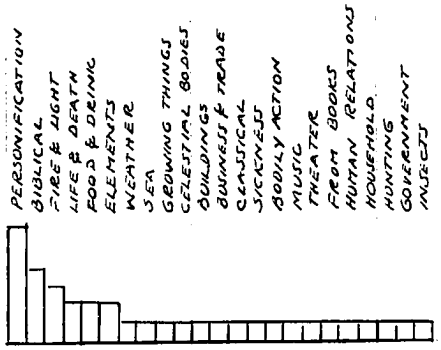
IMAGINATIVE — PERSONIFICATION

BODY & BODILY ACTION — FOOD & DRINK

DAILY LIFE

ANIMALS

ARTS



IV "TO MY LORD CHANCELLOR" (48 IMAGES)

LEARNING — SCIENCE | CLASSICAL

NATURE — ELEMENTS | CELESTIAL BODIES | WEATHER

DOMESTIC — HUMAN RELATIONS

IMAGINATIVE — PERSONIFICATION

BODY & BODILY ACTION

DAILY LIFE

ANIMALS

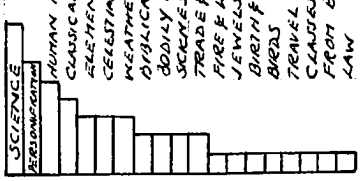


CHART 7

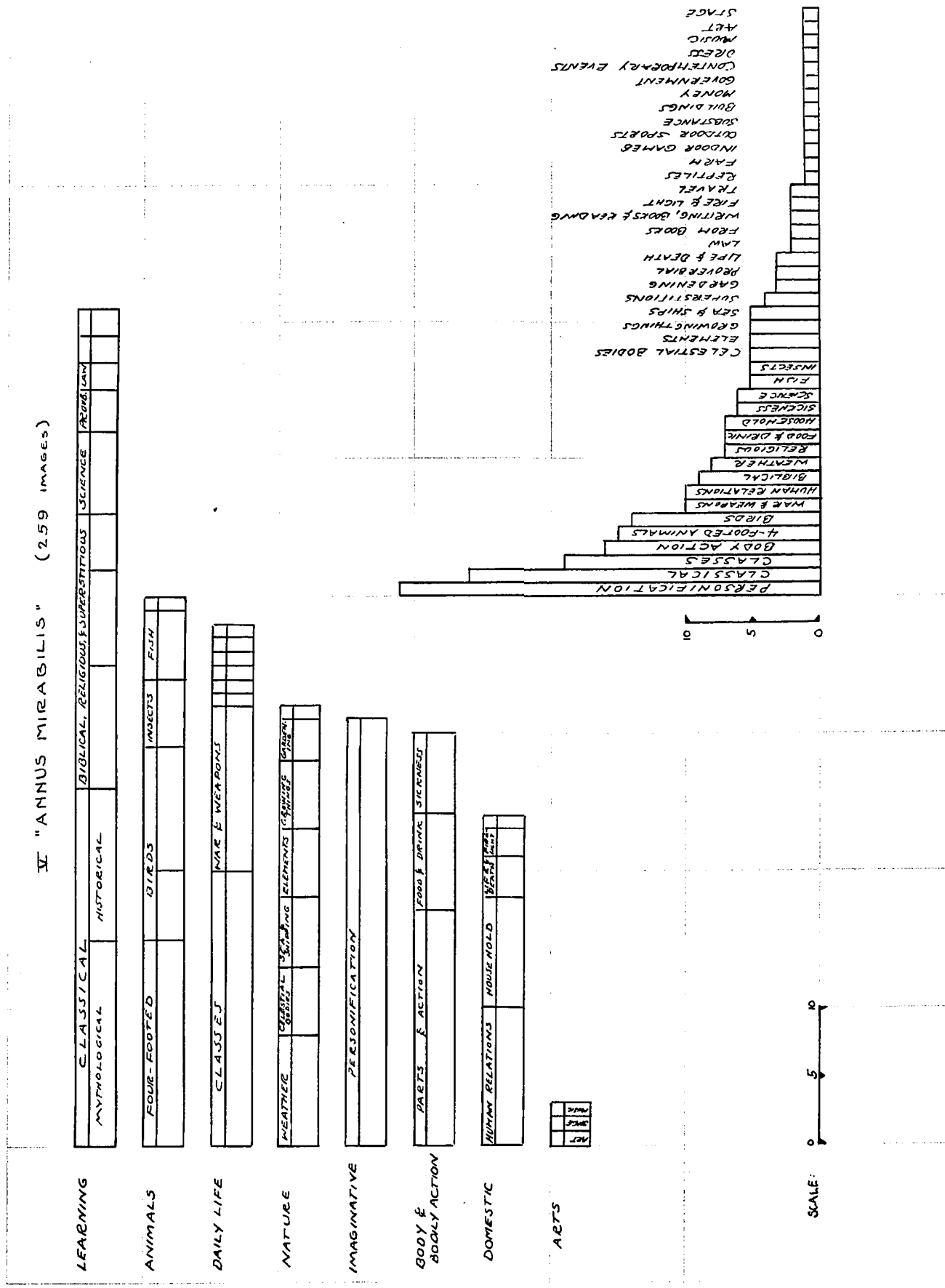

"ANNUS MIRABILIS" (259 IMAGES)
LEARNING
CLASSICAL
MYTHOLOGICAL
HISTORICAL
BIBLICAL, RELIGIOUS, & SUPERSTITIOUS
SCIENCE
ARMS
LAW
ANIMALS
FOUR-FOOTED
BIRDS
INSECTS
FISH
DAILY LIFE
CLASSES
WAR & WEAPONS
NATURE
WEATHER
CELESTIAL BODIES
SEASONS
ELEMENTS
GARDENS
IMAGINATIVE
PERSONIFICATION
BODY & BODILY ACTION
PARTS & ACTION
FOOD & DRINK
SICKNESS
DOMESTIC
HUMAN RELATIONS
HOUSEHOLD
ARTS
SCALE:
0
5
10
PERSONIFICATION
CLASSICAL
CLASSES
GODS' ACTION
4-FOOTED ANIMALS
BIRDS
WAR & WEAPONS
HUMAN RELATIONS
BIBLICAL
WEATHER
RELIGIOUS
FOOD & DRINK
HOUSEHOLD
SICKNESS
SCIENCE
FISH
INSECTS
CELESTIAL BODIES
ELEMENTS
GROWING THINGS
SEA & SHIPS
SUPERSTITIONS
GARDENING
RECOVERIAL
LIFE & DEATH
LAW
FROM BOOKS
WRITING, BOOKS & READING
FIRE & LIGHT
TRAVEL
REPTILES
FARM
INDOOR GAMES
OUTDOOR SPORTS
SUBSTANCE
BOILDINGS
MONEY
GOVERNMENT
CONTEMPORARY EVENTS
DRESS
MUSIC
ART
STAGE
10
5
0

CHART 8
IMAGES IN THE PUBLIC POEMS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SOURCES
PART II LATER POEMS

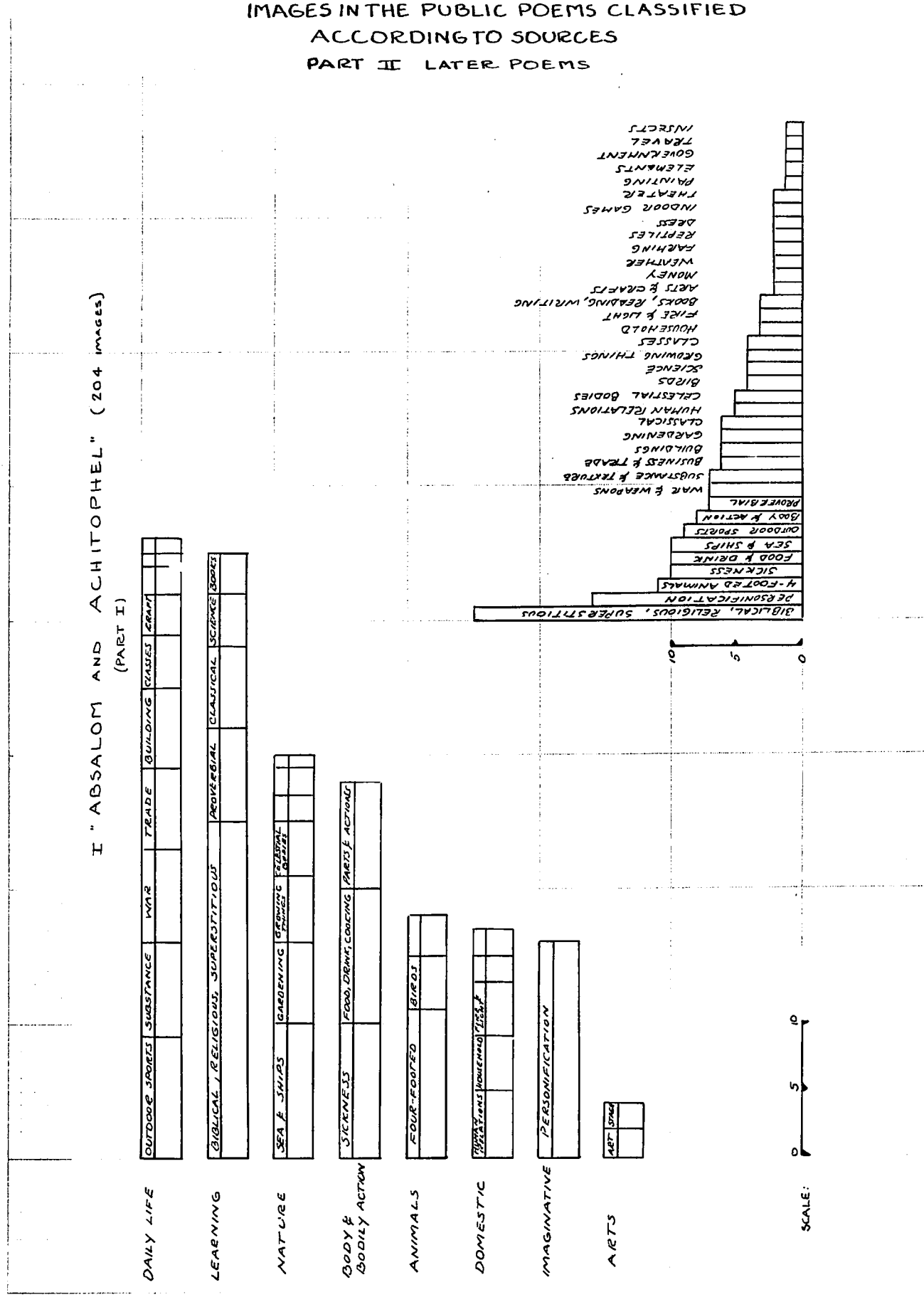
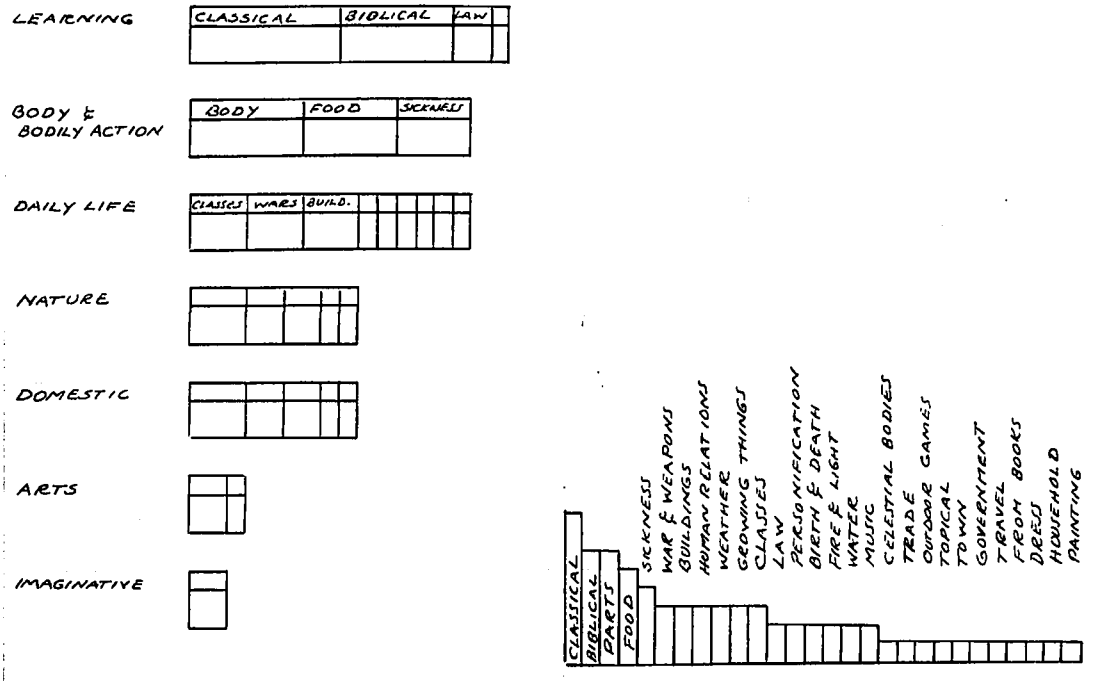


CHART 9

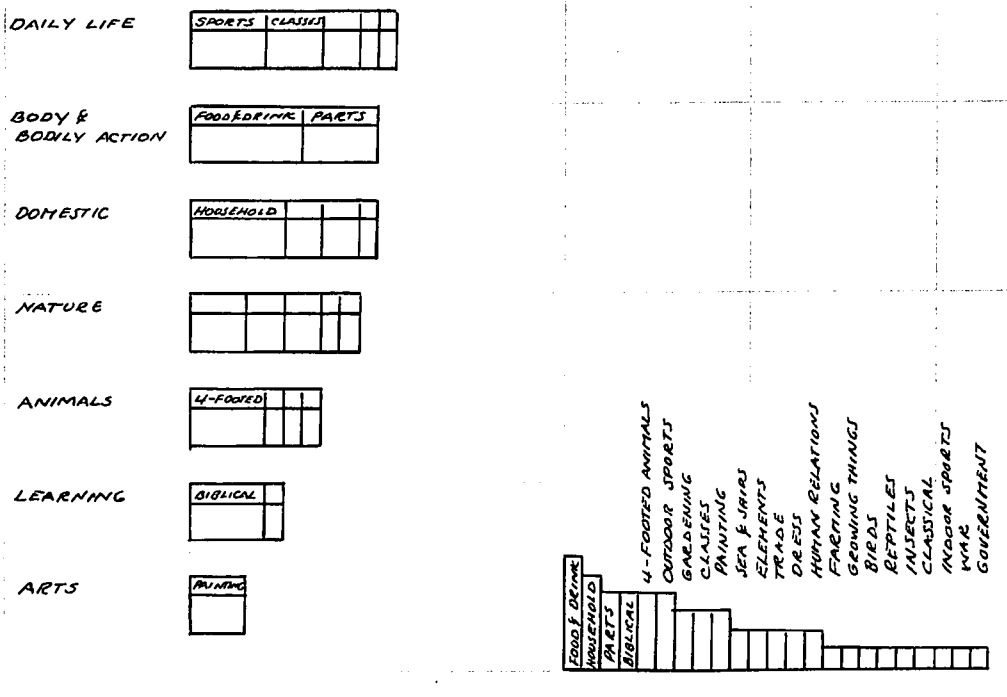
II "THE MEDAL" (96 IMAGES)

CHART 10

III "MAC FLECKNOE" (70 IMAGES)



IV "ABSALOM AND ACHITOPHEL" (55 IMAGES)
(PART II)



SCALE: IMAGES 0 5 10

CHART II

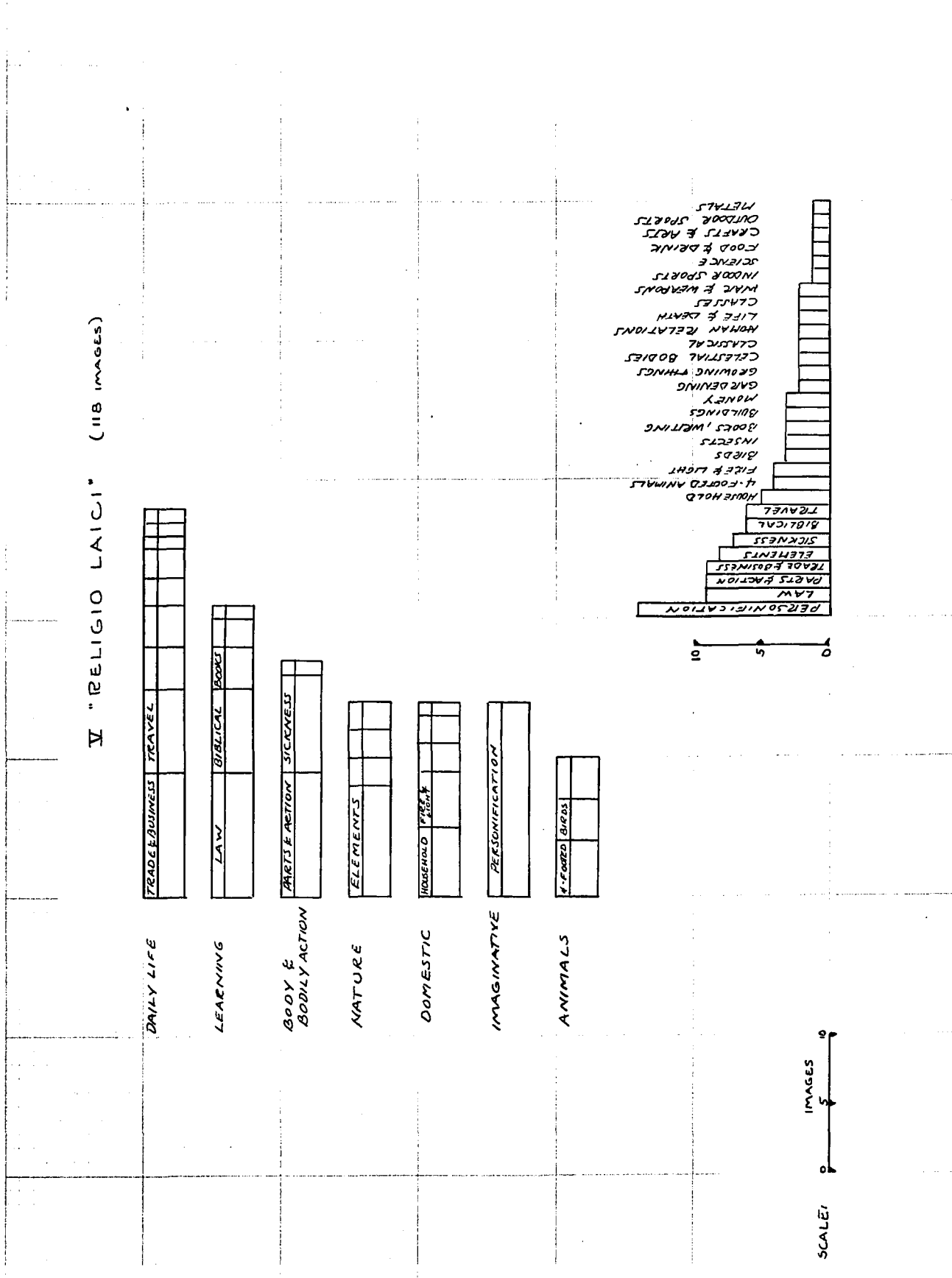

V "RELIGIO LAICI" (118 IMAGES)
DAILY LIFE
TRADE & BUSINESS
TRAVEL
LEARNING
LAW
BIBLICAL
BOOKS
BODY & BODILY ACTION
ARTS & ACTION
SICKNESS
NATURE
ELEMENTS
DOMESTIC
HOUSEHOLD
FIRE & LIGHT
IMAGINATIVE
PERSONIFICATION
ANIMALS
4-FOOTED
BIRDS
SCALE: 0 5 10 IMAGES
PERSONIFICATION
LAW
ARTS & ACTION
TRADE & BUSINESS
ELEMENTS
SICKNESS
BIBLICAL
TRAVEL
HOUSE HOLD
4-FOOTED ANIMALS
FIRE & LIGHT
BIRDS
INSECTS
BOATS / WRITING
BUILDINGS
MONEY
GARDENING
GROWING THINGS
CELESTIAL BODIES
CLASSICAL
HUMAN RELATIONS
LIFE & DEATH
CLASSES
WAR & WEAPONS
INDOOR SPORTS
SCIENCE
FOOD & DRINK
CRAFTS & ARTS
OUTDOOR SPORTS
METALS
10 5 0

CHART 12


VI "THRENODIA AUGUSTALIS" (119 IMAGES)
LEARNING
CLASSICAL
MYTHOLOGICAL
HISTORICAL
BIBLICAL
LAW
DAILY LIFE
SUBSTANCE
WARE
MONEY
NATURE
ELEMENTS
SEA & SHIPS
CELESTIAL BODIES
DOMESTIC
FIRE & LIGHT
SPORTS
IMAGINATIVE
PERSONIFICATION
BODY & BODILY ACTION
PARTS
ANIMALS
BIRDS
ACTS
SCALE:
0
5
10
IMAGES
CLASSICAL
PERSONIFICATION
BIBLICAL
SUBSTANCE
WARE
WATER
SEA & SHIPS
PARTS
FIRE & LIGHT
CELESTIAL BODIES
WEATHER
MONEY
FARMING
LAW
INDOOR GAMES
DRESS
BIRDS
SICKNESS
HUMAN RELATIONS
TRADE & BUSINESS
ART
GARDENING
BUILDING
CLASSES
TRAVEL
ARTS & CRAFTS
ROYALTY
LIFE & DEATH
FOOD & DRINK
WRITING & BOOKS
JEWELS
FOUR-FOOTED ANIMALS
10
5
0

CHART 13

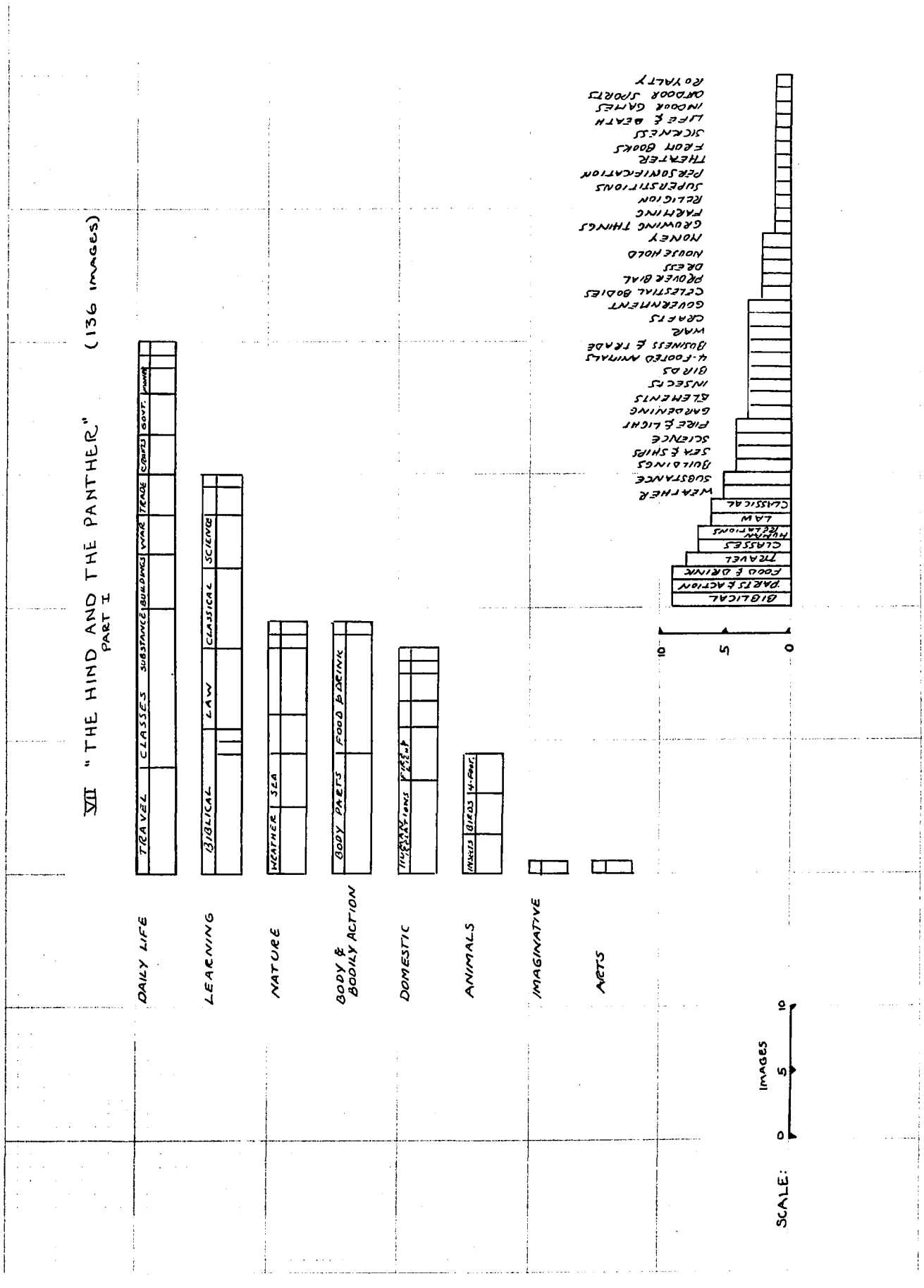

VII "THE HIND AND THE PANTHER" (136 IMAGES)
PART I
DAILY LIFE
TRAVEL
CLASSES
SUBSTANCE
BUILDINGS
WARE
TRADE
COMPTS
GOVT.
LEARNING
BIBLICAL
LAW
CLASSICAL
SCIENCE
NATURE
WEATHER
SEA
BODY & BODILY ACTION
BODY PARTS
FOOD & DRINK
DOMESTIC
HUMAN ACTIONS
ANIMALS
INSECTS
BIRDS
W-ANIM.
IMAGINATIVE
ARTS
BIBLICAL
PARTS & ACTION
FOOD & DRINK
TRAVEL
CLASSES
HUMAN RELATIONS
LAW
CLASSICAL
WEATHER
SUBSTANCE
BUILDINGS
SEA & SHIPS
SCIENCE
FIRE & LIGHT
GARDENING
CLEMENTS
INSECTS
BIRDS
4-FOOTED ANIMALS
BUSINESS & TRADE
WAR
CRAFTS
GOVERNMENT
CELESTIAL BODIES
PLOWER & AL
DEEDS
HOUSE HOLD
MONEY
GROWING THINGS
FARMING
RELIGION
SUPERSTITIONS
PERSONIFICATION
THEATER
FROM BOOKS
SICKNESS
LIFE & DEATH
INDOOR GAMES
OUTDOOR SPORTS
ROYALTY
10
5
0
SCALE:
0
5
10
IMAGES

CHART 14

"THE HIND AND THE PANTHER" (111 IMAGES)
PART II

LEARNING

BIBLICAL, RELIGIOUS, SUPERSTITIOUS			PROVERBIAL	LAW	CLASSICAL	SCIENCE	FR. BOOKS	MISC.

DAILY LIFE

WAR & WEAPONS	CLASSES	GOVT.	MONEY						

NATURE

ELEMENTS			

BODY & BODILY ACTION

PARTS & ACTION	

ANIMALS

FOUR-FOOTED

DOMESTIC

GAMES		

SCALE: 0 5 10

CHART 15

"THE HIND AND THE PANTHER" (182 IMAGES)
PART III
LEARNING
DAILY LIFE
BODY & BODILY ACTION
NATURE
IMAGINATIVE
DOMESTIC
ANIMALS
ARTS
BIBLICAL, RELIGIOUS, SUPERSTITIOUS
CLASSICAL
MYTHOLOGICAL
HISTORICAL
PROVERBIAL
SCIENCE
LAW
FR. BOOKS
CLASSES
WAR
CRAFTS
SUBSTANCE
SPORTS
MONEY
FOOD & DRINK
BODY PARTS & ACTION
SICKNESS
PERSONIFICATION
HOUSEHOLD
BIRDS
SEA & SHIPS
BIRDS
FISH
SCALE:
0
5
10
IMAGES
BIBLICAL
CLASSICAL
RELIGIOUS/SUPERSTITIOUS
BODY PARTS & ACTION
PROVERBIAL
SEA & SHIPS
SCIENCE
SICKNESS
LAW
FOOD & DRINK
CLASSES
WAR
FROM BOOKS
HUMAN RELATIONS
SUBSTANCE
OUTDOOR SPORTS
ARTS & CRAFTS
MONEY
HOUSEHOLD
BIRDS
GARDENING
GROWING THINGS
4-FOOTED ANIMALS
WEATHER
READING, WRITING, BOOKS
DEEDS
FIRE & LIGHT
TRAVEL
BUILDINGS
TRADE & BUSINESS
REPTILES
CELESTIAL BODIES
FARMING
ELEMENTS
RELIGION
SUPERSTITIONS
PAINTING
INDOOR GAMES
CONTEMPORARY EVENTS
ROYALTY

CHART 16

CHART SHOWING THE SPECIFIC DISTRIBUTION OF IMAGES IN THE THREE PARTS OF "THE HIND AND THE PANTHER"

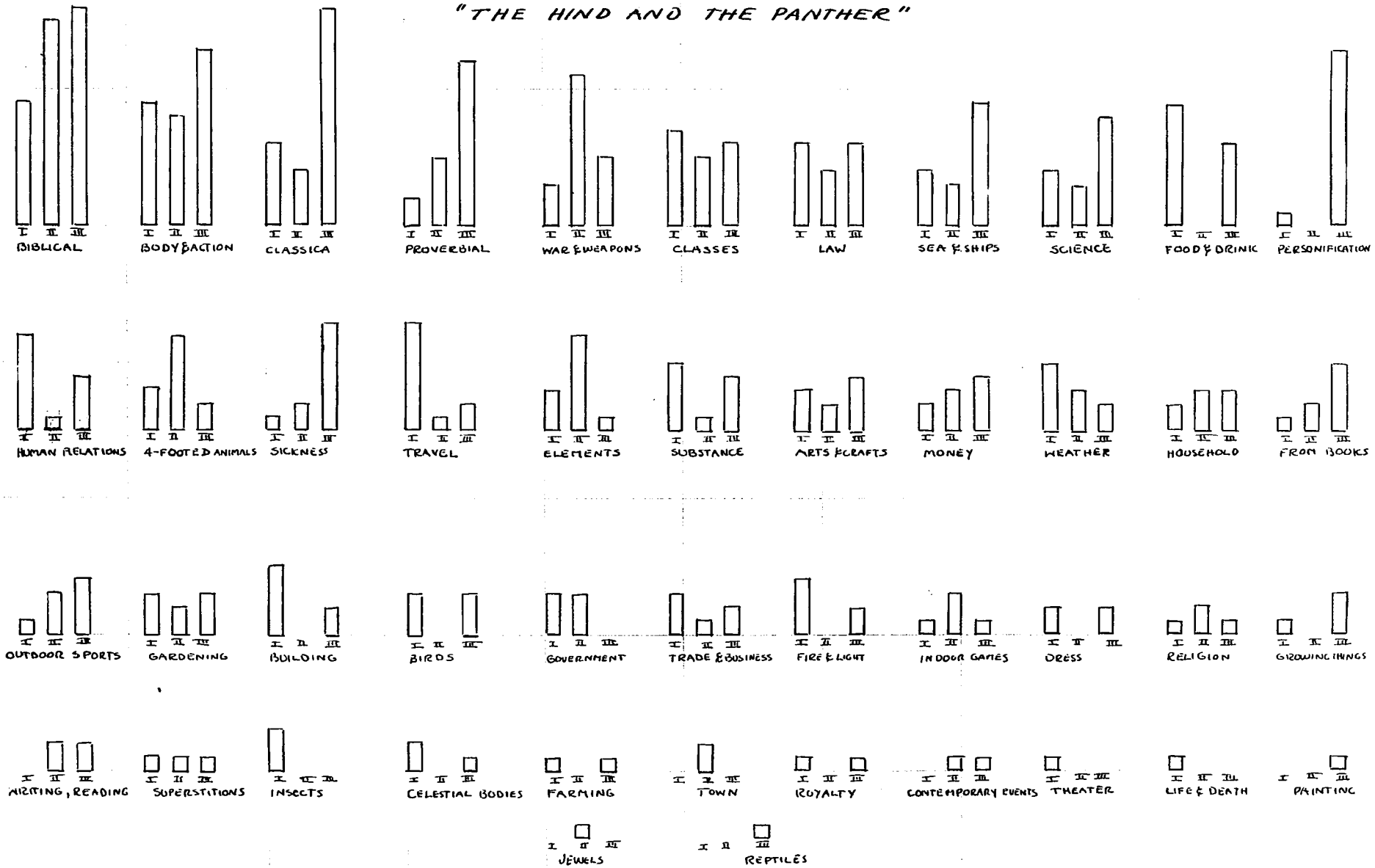
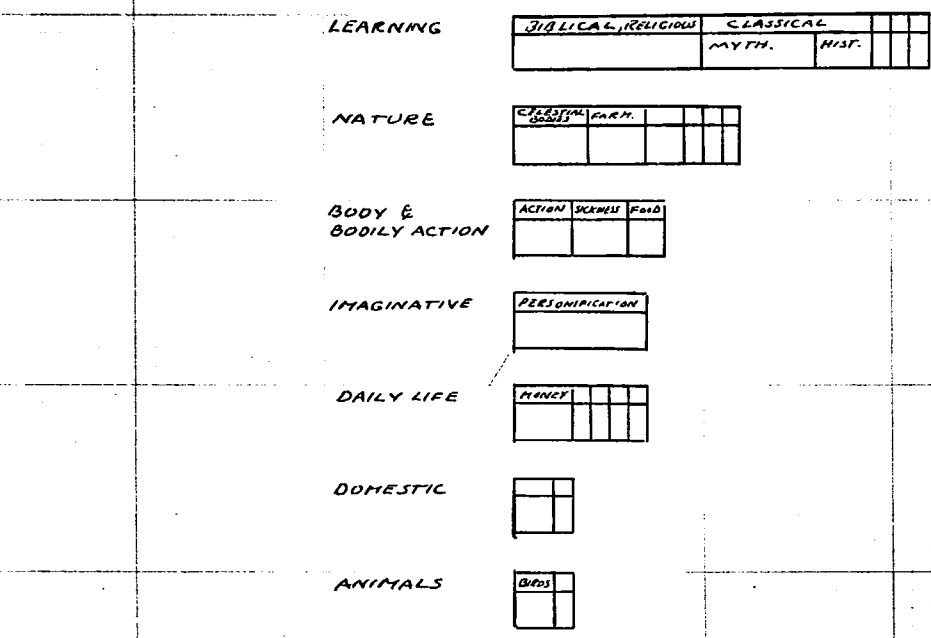


CHART 17

VIII "BRITANNIA REDIVIVA" (62 IMAGES)



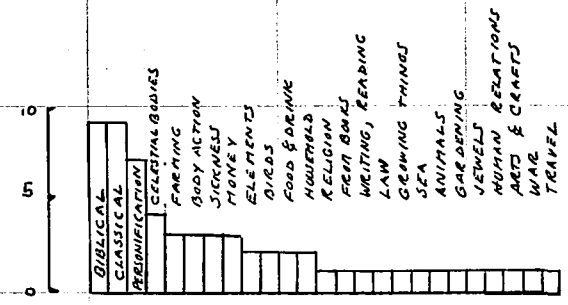
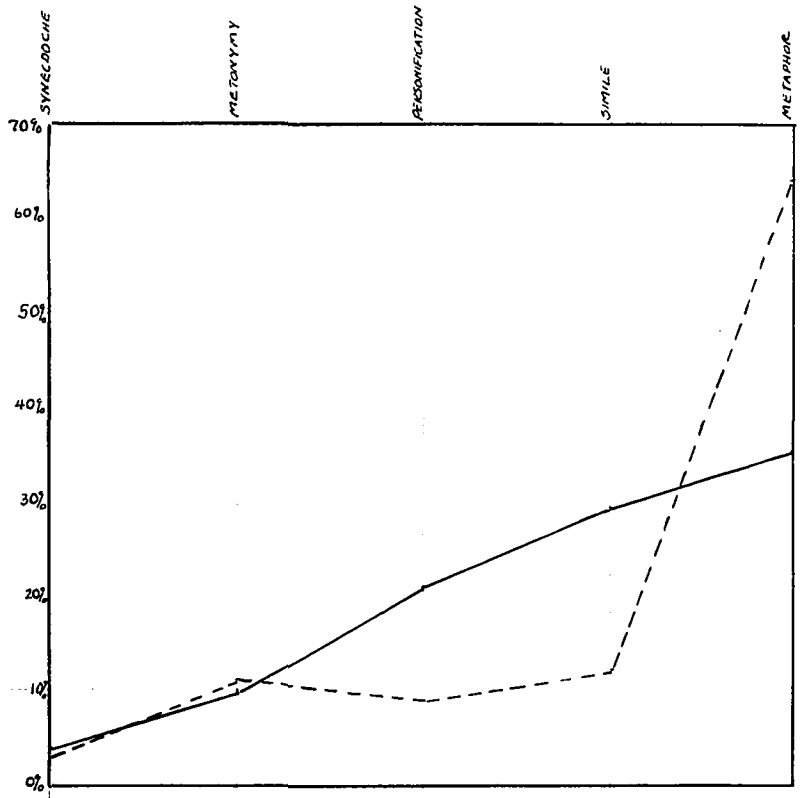


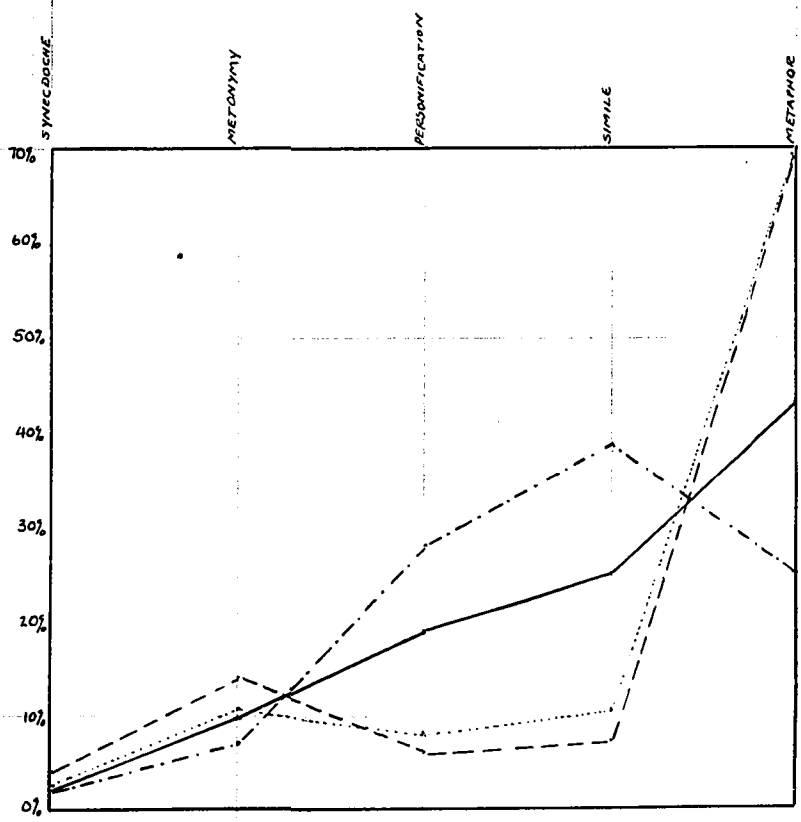
CHART 18



(A)

TWO PERCENTAGE GRAPHS SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF THE FIGURES OF SPEECH IN THE PUBLIC POEMS

EARLY PUBLIC POEMS ——
LATER PUBLIC POEMS - - - -



(B)

PANEGYRICS ——
SATIRES - - - -
RELIGIOUS POEMS .....
HISTORICAL POEMS -.-.-.-

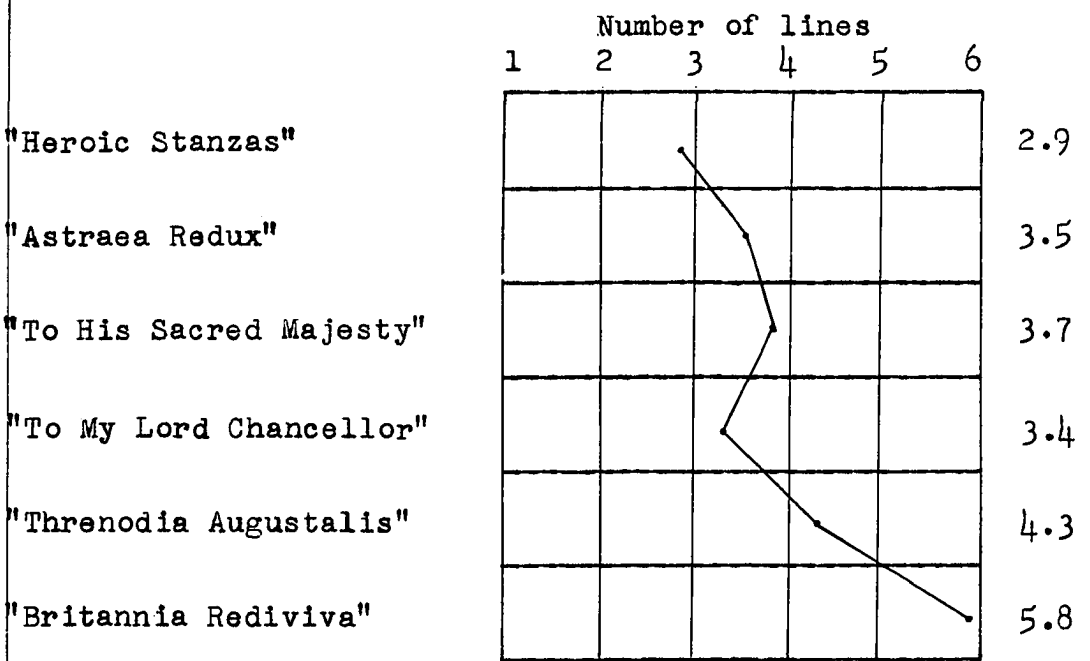
CHART 19

PERCENTAGE CHART OF TYPES OF FIGURES OF SPEECH IN THE PUBLIC POEMS

	Meta-phor	Personi-fication	Simile	Metonymy	Synecdoche
"Heroic Stanzas"	38.9	22.2	22.2	8.4	8.3
"Astraea Redux"	33.0	20.9	28.7	14.3	3.1
"To His Sacred Majesty"	41.7	22.2	19.4	13.9	2.8
"To My Lord Chancellor"	35.6	15.5	37.8	8.9	2.2
"Annus Mirabilis"	24.6	27.7	38.3	7.0	2.4
"Absalom and Achitophel" (I)	72.8	10.4	9.6	4.0	3.2
"The Medal"	61.5	5.2	9.4	17.7	6.2
"Mac Flecknoe"	68.5	8.6	7.2	14.3	1.4
"Absalom and Achitophel" (II)	69.1	-	5.45	20.0	5.45
"Religio Laici"	61.0	14.4	7.6	15.3	1.7
"Threnodia Augustalis"	55.5	16.8	19.3	7.6	.8
"The Hind and the Panther" (I)	66.9	3.0	12.5	13.2	4.4
"The Hind and the Panther" (II)	70.3	3.6	16.2	8.1	1.8
"The Hind and the Panther" (III)	75.3	9.9	7.7	5.0	2.1
"Britannia Rediviva"	54.8	17.7	19.4	8.1	-

CHART 20

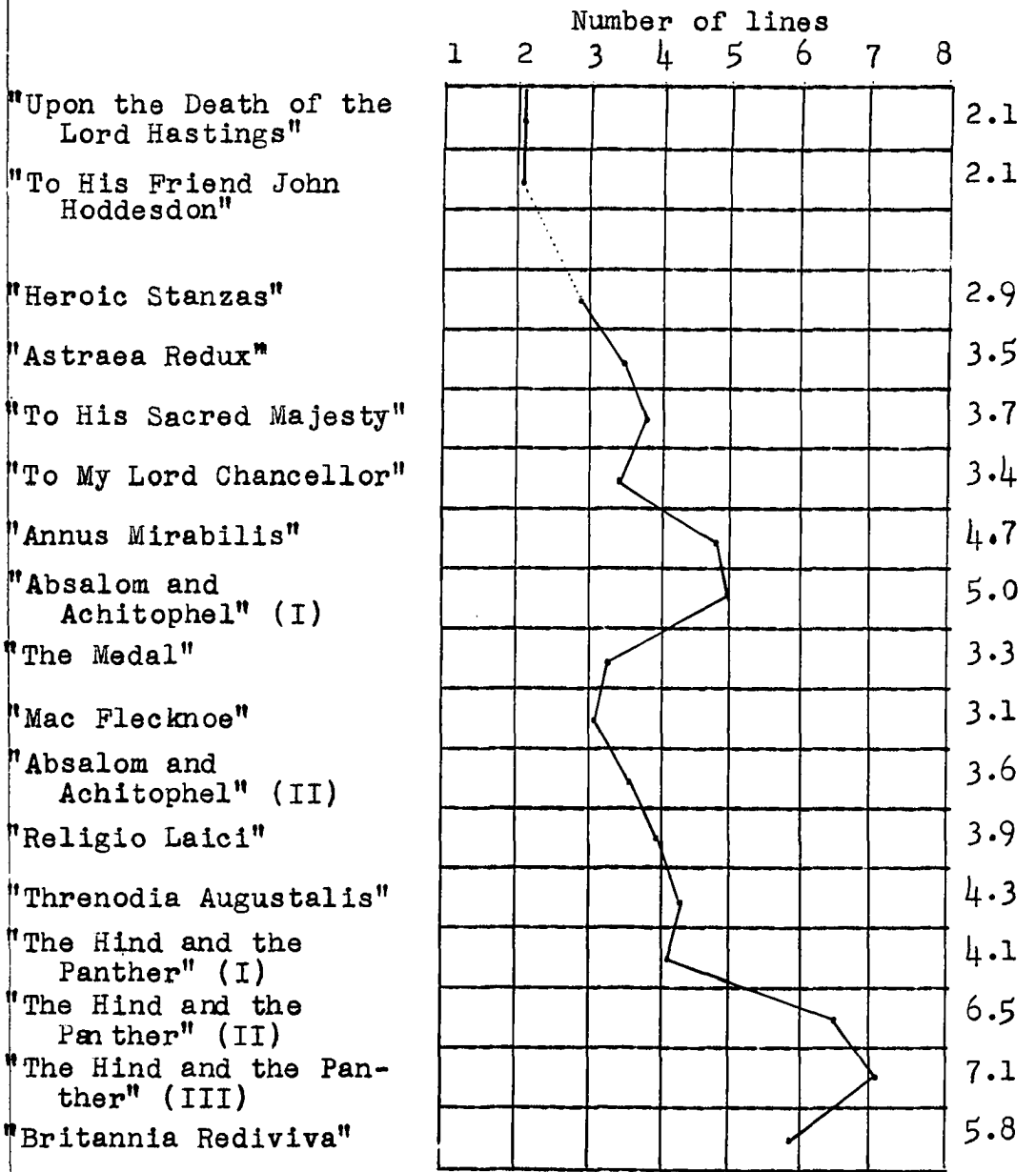
A GRAPH SHOWING THE CONCENTRATION OF FIGURES OF SPEECH IN THE FOUR PANEGYRICS IN THE EARLY PUBLIC POEMS AND IN THE TWO PANEGYRICS IN THE LATER PUBLIC POEMS



The chart shows a fairly steady decline in the number of figures of speech used in the panegyrics in the Public Poems. In the early poems the ratio is very high, averaging one for every 2.9 lines in "Heroic Stanzas" and one for every 3.4 to 3.7 lines in the other three early poems. In the two panegyrics in the later Public Poems the ratio has dropped to the point where "Britannia Rediviva" has only one figure for every 5.8 lines.

CHART 21

A GRAPH SHOWING THE CONCENTRATION OF FIGURES OF SPEECH IN THE PUBLIC POEMS AND IN THE FIRST TWO POEMS THAT DRYDEN WROTE



IMAGES IN THE PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SOURCES
(918 IMAGES)

DAILY LIFE

CLASSES & TYPES	WAR & WEAPONS	MONEY	TRADE & BUSINESS	OUTDOOR SPORTS	GOVERNMENT	TOPICAL	CRAFTS	ROY.	SUB.	FEMALE		

LEARNING

RELIGIOUS	CLASSICAL		BIBLICAL	WRITING	FR. BOOKS	LAW	SC.
	Myth.	Hist.					

BODY & BODILY ACTION

FOOD & DRINK & COOKING	SICKNESS	ACTION	PARTS		

DOMESTIC

HUMAN RELATIONS	DRESS	HOUSE	LIFE & DEATH	GAMES		

ANIMALS

FOUR-FOOTED	BIRDS	INSECTS		

NATURE

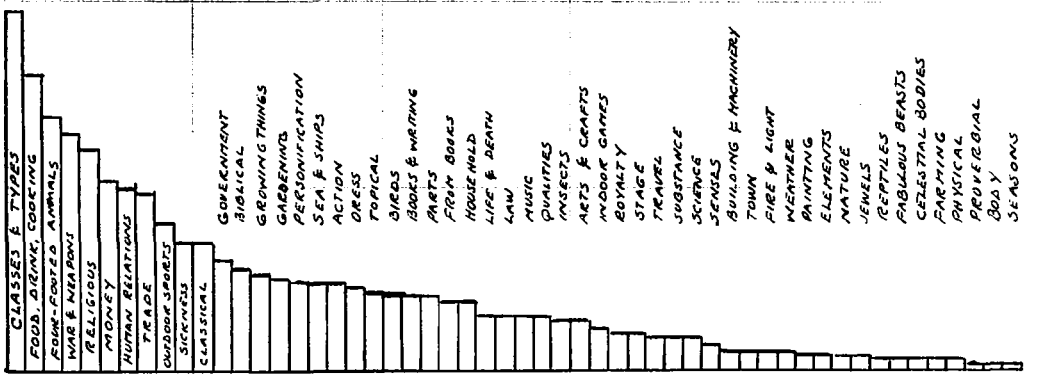
GROWING THINGS	GARDENING	SEA			

IMAGINATIVE

PERSONIFICATION	QUALITIES	

ARTS

MUSIC	STAGE	

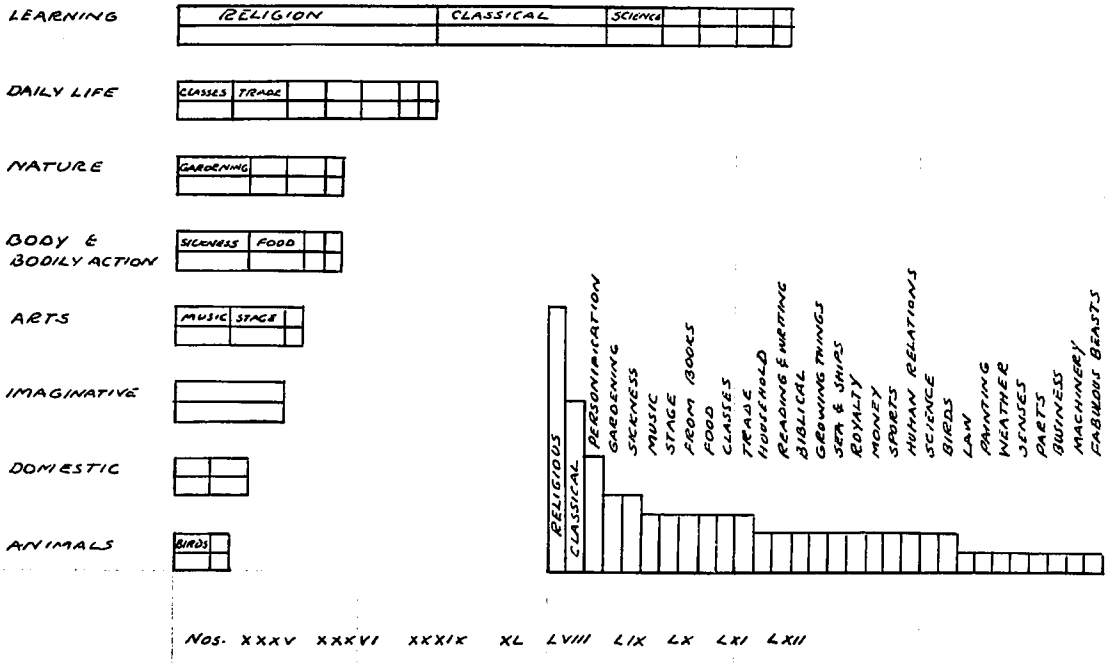


SCALE: IMAGES 0 — 40

CHART 22

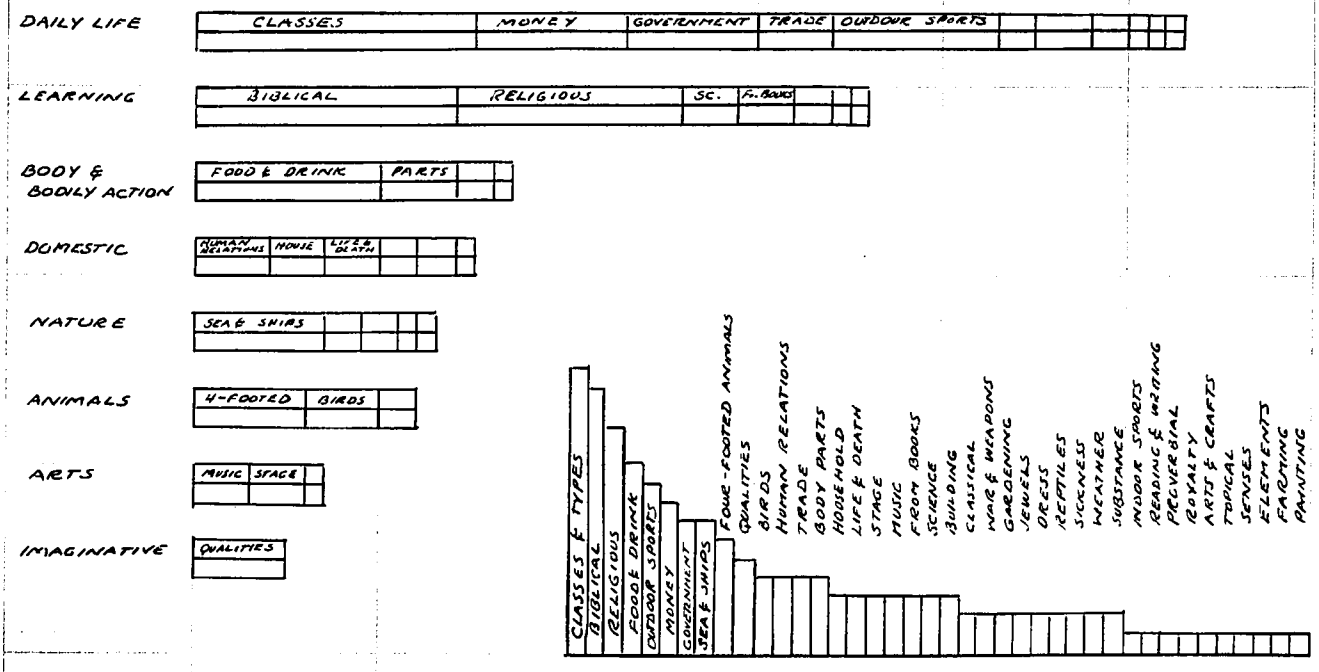
CHART 23

THE "OXFORD" PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES (85 IMAGES)



Nos. XXXV XXXVI XXXIX XL LVIII LIX LX LXI LXII

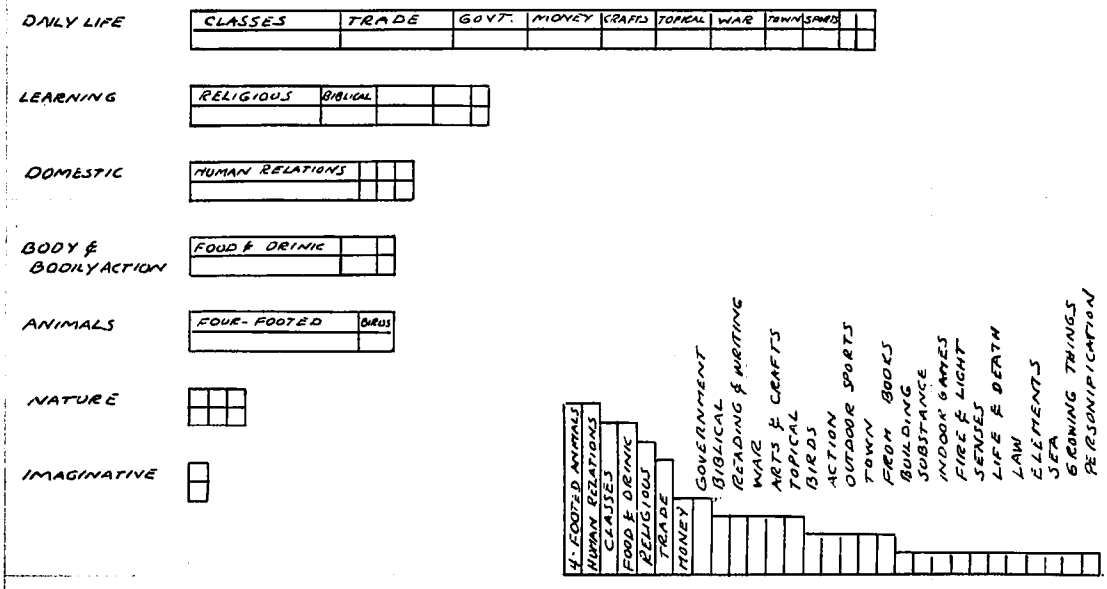
THE POLITICAL PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES (158 IMAGES)



Nos. LVIII LX LXI LXII LXIII LXVII LXVIII LXIX LXXI LXXII LXXIII LXXV LXXVII LXXVIII
LXXX LXXXIV LXXXIX

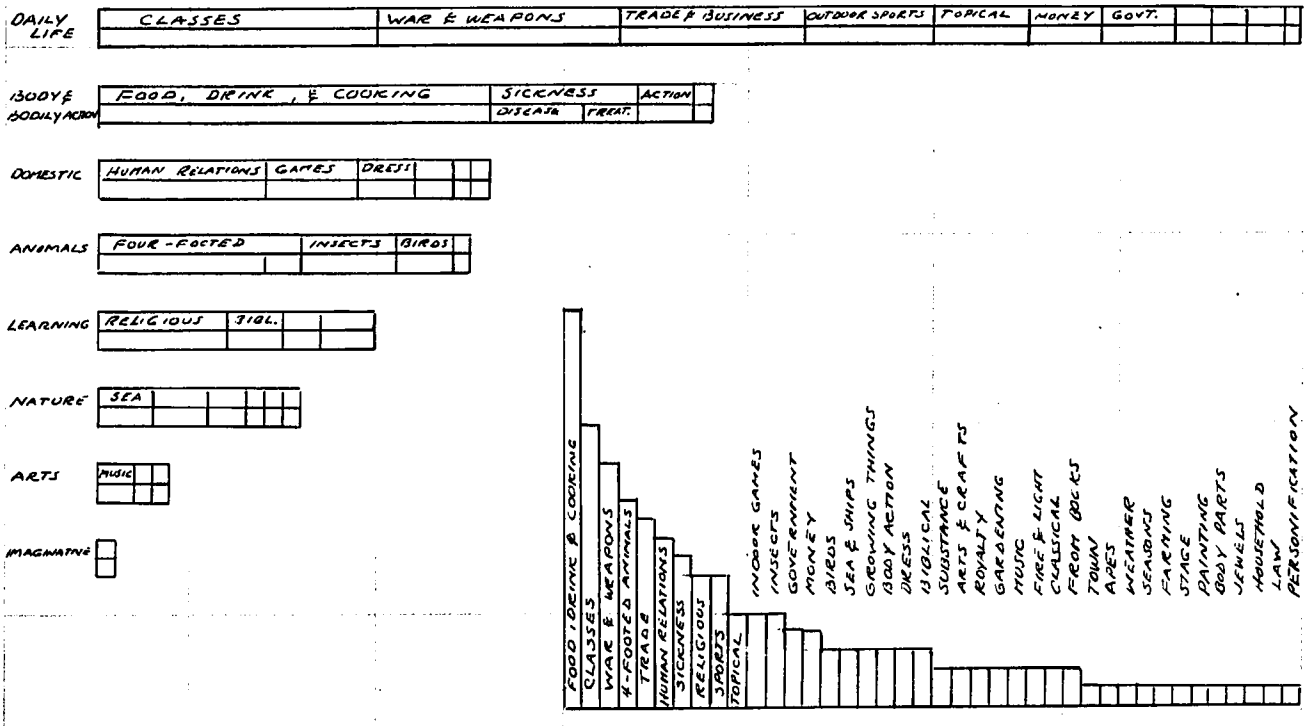
CHART 24

PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES DEVELOPED BY INNUENDO (91 IMAGES)



Nos. IX XVI XXV XXIX XXX XXXII XLIX LXV LXVI LXXX LXXXII LXXXVIII XCI XCVI XCVII

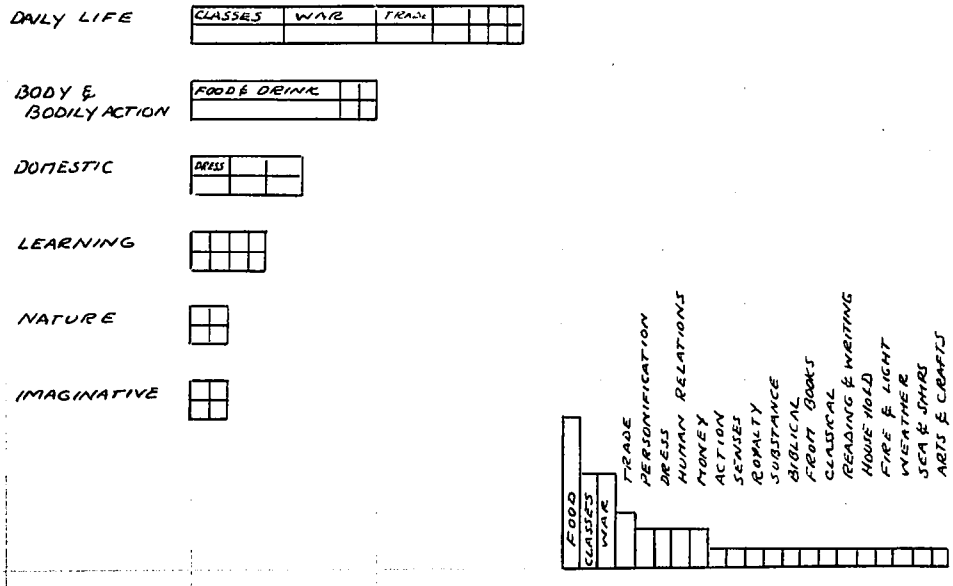
PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES LASHING THE AUDIENCE FOR ITS LOW TASTES (170 IMAGES)



Nos. V VII VIII XVII XXII XXIX XLII XLIII XLV XLVIII L LV LVI LVII LXX LXXXIII XCII

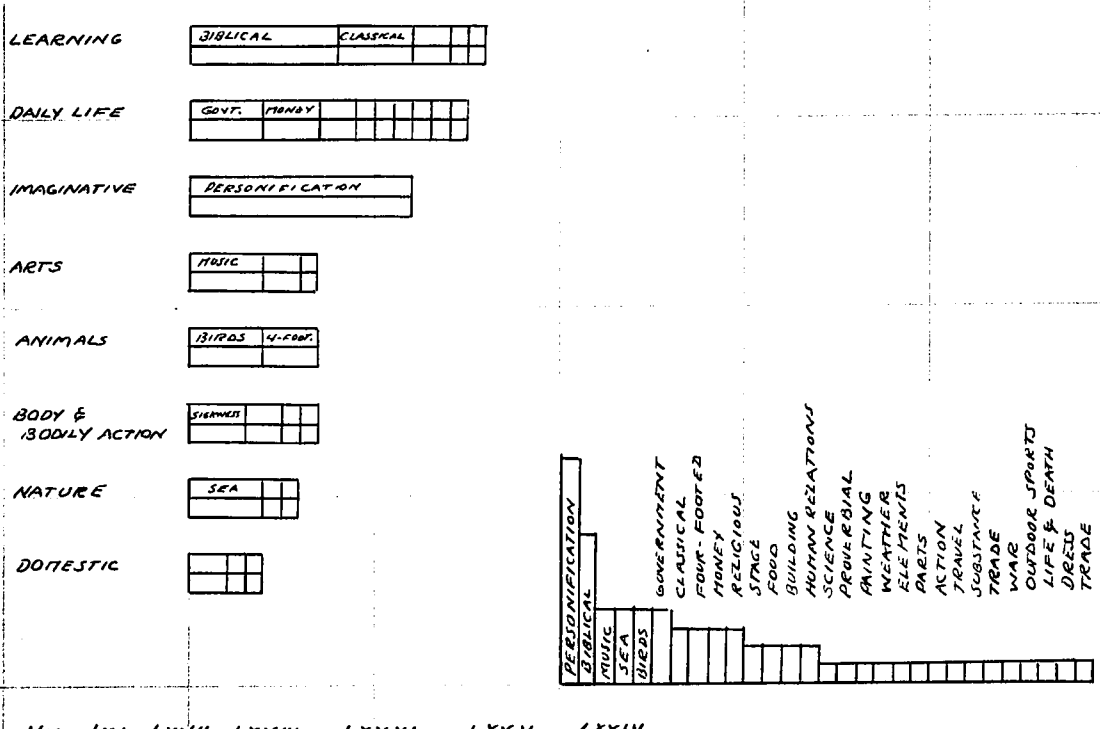
CHART 25

PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES FOR SPECIAL THEATRICAL EVENTS (42 IMAGES)



Nos. XXIV XXV XXIX XXX XXXVII XXXVIII

PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES HONORING ROYALTY (72 IMAGES)



Nos. LXI LXVII LXXIII LXXVI LXXV LXXIV

CHART 26

PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES INTRODUCING YOUNG PLAYWRIGHTS (56 images)

NATURE — GROWING THINGS | GARDEN.

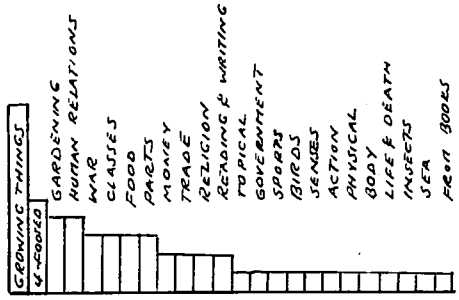
DAILY LIFE — WAR | CLASSES

BODY & BODILY ACTION — FOOD | PARTS

ANIMALS — 4-FOOTED

DOMESTIC — HUMAN RELATIONS

LEARNING — RELIG. | FR. TALES



Nos. XLIV LXII LXIV LXXXI LXXXII C

CHART 27

ODES

71 IMAGES

LEARNING — CLASSICAL | RELIGIOUS | SC.

DOMESTIC — FIRE & LIGHT | HOUSEHOLD

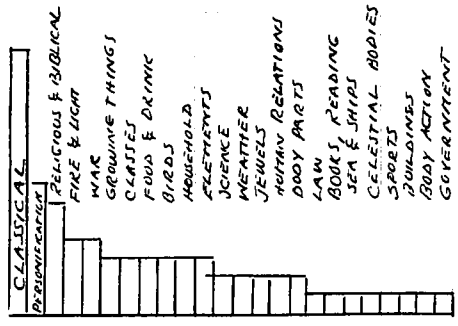
NATURE — ELEMENTS

DAILY LIFE — WAR | CLASSES

IMAGINATIVE — PERSONIFICATION

BODY & BODILY ACTION — FOOD & DRINK

ANIMALS — BIRDS



ELEGIES

115 IMAGES

LEARNING — BIBLICAL & RELIGIOUS | SCIENCE

NATURE — GROWING THINGS | CELESTIAL BODIES | ELEMENTS

DAILY LIFE — MONEY | SPORTS

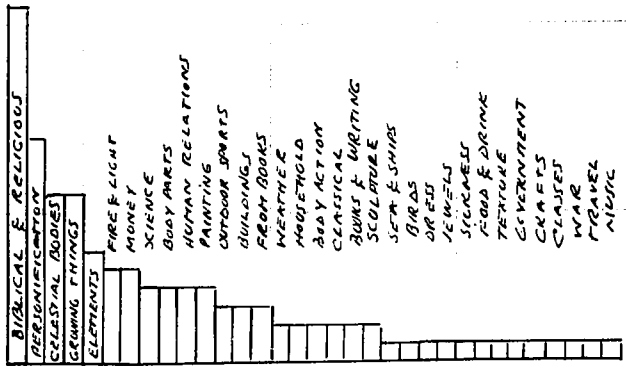
DOMESTIC — FIRE & LIGHT | HUMAN RELATIONS

IMAGINATIVE — PERSONIFICATION

BODY & BODILY ACTION — ARTS

ARTS — PAINTING

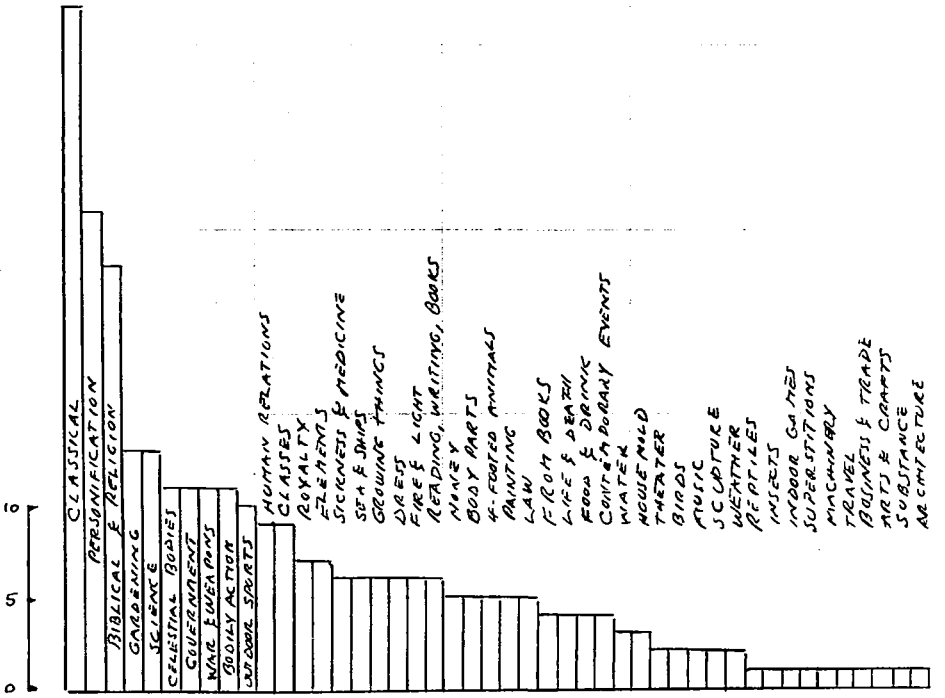
ANIMALS



SCALE: 0 — 5 — 10

EPISTLES (301 IMAGES)

LEARNING	CLASSICAL			BIBLICAL, RELIGIOUS, SUPERSTITIOUS		SCIENCE	WRITING	LAW	PROPER NAMES		
	MYTHOLOGICAL	HISTORICAL									
DAILY LIFE	GOVERNMENT	WAR & WEAPONS	OUTDOOR SPORTS	CLASSES	ROYALTY	CONTEMP.	MONEY				
NATURE	GARDENING	CELESTIAL BODIES	ELEMENTS	SEA & SHIPS	GROWING THINGS	WATER					
DOMESTIC	HUMAN RELATIONS	DRESS	FIRE & LIGHT	HOUSE							
IMAGINATIVE	PERSONIFICATION										
BODY & BODILY ACTION	ACTION	SICKNESS	PARTS	FOOD							
ARTS	PAINTING										
ANIMALS	4-FOOTED	BIRDS									

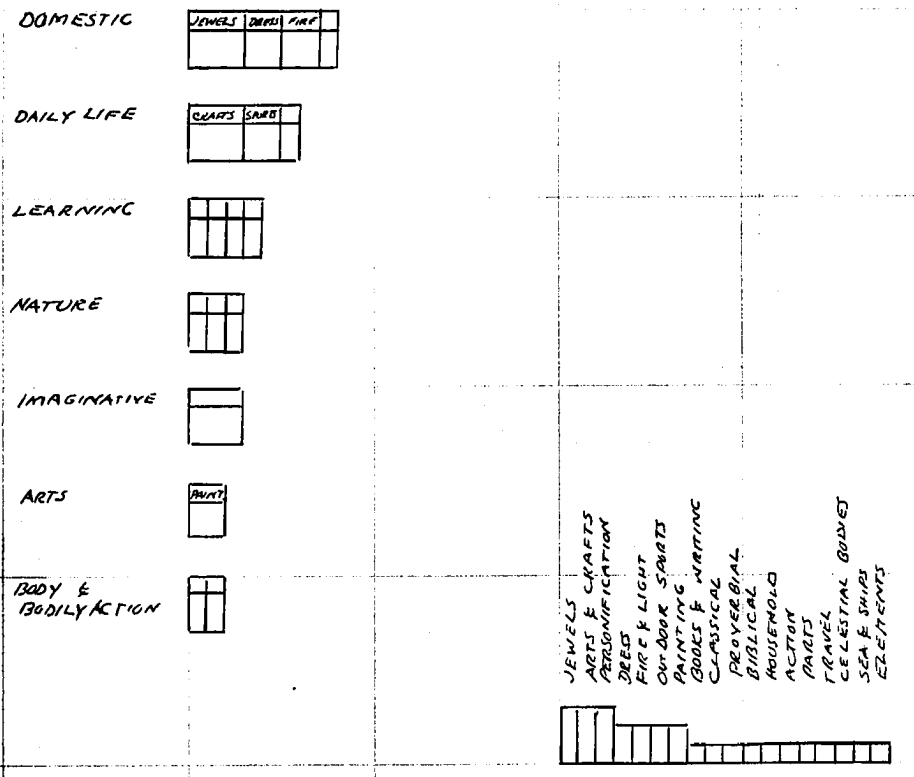


SCALE: IMAGES 0 5 10

CHART 28

CHART 29

EPITAPHS (28 IMAGES)



SCALE: 0 5 10 IMAGES

CHART 30

A GRAPH SHOWING THE CONCENTRATION OF FIGURES OF SPEECH IN DRYDEN'S ELEGIES AND ODES

