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# Augustan Allusion: Quotation and Self-Quotation in Pope's *Odyssey*

## **Abstract**

The status of Pope's Homer as a highly intertextual work is well-established. Critics have identified how Pope and his collaborators drew not only on previous English translations of Homer, but that they also imitated, echoed, borrowed from, and quoted lines from other poems. Much of the work on this topic has so far focused on Pope's use of Milton (especially *Paradise Lost*) and Dryden (especially his *Works of Virgil*). This article contends that whilst both of these poets exert a significant influence on Pope's Homer, Pope's use of other writers (including other translators of Virgil such as Waller and Denham) has been under-appreciated, as has his propensity for self-quotation. I examine some previously unacknowledged imitations of Denham and quotations from Waller in Pope's *Odyssey* in order to relate them to Pope's use of Milton and Dryden. I distinguish between imitation and direct quotation, and discuss moments in the *Odyssey* where Pope repeats those quotations in order to demonstrate points of contact between the *Odyssey*, the *Iliad*, and the broader literary tradition that Homeric epic served to propagate. I also suggest that through these quotations Pope (not necessarily consciously) adopts the defining allusive strategy and attitude towards the literary past of the particular author that he is quoting.

## **Introduction**

In this article I consider Pope's relationship with some of his key poetic predecessors and their presence in his own poetry. Beginning with a discussion of Pope's reading of Denham and Waller, I establish the connections between the two earlier poets, their reception in the

Restoration and early eighteenth century, how and why Pope came to see them as twin pillars of English verse, and their status as Augustan writers. I then pay particular attention to how Pope's Homer draws on Denham and Waller's respective translations from Virgil: Denham's *The Destruction of Troy* (1656), which translates the first two-thirds of *Aeneid 2*, and Waller's *The Passion of Dido* (1658), a condensed version of *Aeneid 4* that Waller co-authored with Sidney Godolphin.<sup>i</sup> This subsequently leads into an examination of the intertextual nature of Pope's Homer more generally, where I compare his engagement with Denham and Waller with the presence in the translation of better-known and more frequently discussed quotations from Milton and Dryden. I develop Frederick Keener's contention that 'allusion may be self-referential' to suggest that in citing his predecessors Pope imitates, not just passages and lines from their poetry, but also their own individual approaches towards quotation and poetic inheritance.<sup>ii</sup> This is not to imply that every point of contact between Pope's poetry and the work of another follows this pattern, as in many cases the connections are too frequent and too diverse to be programmatic or conform to a single consistent strategy. Instead, I suggest that these moments of imitative allusion tend to occur at the rare moments when Pope quotes a line directly or with minimal alteration. In the final section I consider how in his *Odyssey* Pope quotes from his own poetry as well as the poetry of others. For Pope, though, this technique of self-quotation is less concerned with duplicating material, and functions more a means of drawing attention to structural connections within the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and between Homeric and post-Homeric epic.

### From Denham and Waller to Pope (via Dryden)

Pope counted Denham and Waller amongst his favourite earliest reading. He studied them both with considerable care and they were closely interlinked in his thought. Spence's *Anecdotes* preserves a note by Pope that collates the differences between the 1642 and 1655 editions of *Coopers Hill*, Denham's most celebrated poem; the note also includes a meditation on poetic re-writing that concludes with a quotation from Waller.<sup>iii</sup> To some extent, Pope's pairing of Waller and Denham reflects the symbiotic nature of the two poets' relationship and their respective public recognition as poets. Waller began writing poetry before Denham did, but it was Denham who helped foster a greater public interest in Waller's poetry. *Coopers Hill* was in part prompted by Waller's 'On His Majesty's Repairing Of Paul's',<sup>iv</sup> but Waller's poem was only published in 1645, three years after the first edition of *Coopers Hill*. Many readers, in the seventeenth as well as the eighteenth century, would have come to Waller via Denham. Waller and Denham in fact became so associated with each other that for a time they became effectively interchangeable. Waller's 'Upon Her Majesty's New Buildings at Somerset House' has sometimes been ascribed to Denham;<sup>v</sup> during the 1660s a number of individual poems in the 'Advice to a Painter' series were attributed to Denham, and at other times to Waller, although modern scholarship has established that Waller's involvement in this group of poems began and ended with his 'Instructions to a Painter' and that Denham played no part in the many responses Waller's poem prompted.<sup>vi</sup>

Pope recognized the connections between the two poets, but he also drew attention to the differences in their verse styles. In the *Essay on Criticism* Pope praises 'the *Easie Vigor* of a Line, / Where *Denham's* Strength, and *Waller's* Sweetness join' (lines 360-1).<sup>vii</sup> By referring to

their distinctive qualities as strength and sweetness Pope is, as so often, following in Dryden's footsteps. Dryden frequently yoked Waller and Denham together. He first did so in the dedication of his 1664 play *The Rival Ladies* as part of his discussion about the merits of rhymed verse:

Rhyme has all the the advantages of Prose, besides its own. But the Excellence and Dignity of it, were never fully known till Mr. *Waller* taught it; He first made Writing easily an Art ... This sweetness of Mr. *Waller's* *Lyrick* Poesie was afterwards follow'd in the Epick by Sir *John Denham*, in his *Coopers-Hill: a Poem* which your Lordship knows for the Majesty of the Style, is, and ever will be the exact Standard of good Writing.<sup>viii</sup>

In his *Essay on Dramatic Poetry* of 1668 Dryden continued in this vein by saying that in English poetry there is 'nothing so even, sweet, and flowing, as Mr. *Waller*; nothing so Majestique, so correct as Sir *John Denham*' (*Works*, 17. 14).

Dryden thought of Waller and Denham as Virgilian poets. In his comments on Spenser in the *Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire* Dryden says that 'his Verses are so Numerous, so Various, and so Harmonious, that only *Virgil*, whom he profestly imitated, has surpass'd him, among the *Romans*; and only Mr. *Waller* among the *English*' (*Works*, 4. 14).<sup>ix</sup> It is no surprise, then, that Dryden held Waller's translation from Virgil in particularly high regard. In the Dedication to his *Aeneid*, Dryden refers to how 'Some of our Country-men have translated Episodes, and other parts of *Virgil*, with great Success ... I say nothing of Sir *John Denham*, Mr. *Waller*, and Mr. *Cowley*; 'tis the utmost of my Ambition to be thought their Equal, or not to be much inferiour to them' (*Works*, 5. 325). It is worth noting in this context that Dryden praises Denham's Virgil as well as Waller's here, and that for Dryden (and also for Pope) 'majestic' has associations with Virgil as well as Denham. In the Preface to *Sylvae* Dryden calls Virgil a 'succinct and grave Majestick Writer' (*Works*, 3. 6); he refers to the 'Majestick Beauty' of

Virgil's poetry in his *Aeneis* Dedication, and in the 'Notes and Observations' that Dryden appended to his translation there is a reference to Virgil's 'Majestick Stile' (*Works*, 5. 335; 6. 813). For Dryden to praise Denham as a 'Majestique' writer, then, indicates he saw an affinity between Denham's and Virgil's poetics. 'Majestic' is also associated with a Virgilian poetics in Pope's critical vocabulary: in the Preface to his *Iliad* translation he notes how '*Virgil* leads us with an attractive majesty' (*TE*, 7. 7). It may also explain his use of the term in 'The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace Imitated':

Waller was smooth; but Dryden taught to join  
The varying verse, the full resounding line,  
The long majestic march, and energy divine.                    (lines 267-9)

Pope had called Denham a 'Majestick' poet elsewhere in his poetry (*Windsor Forest* line 271), perhaps in imitation of Dryden's comments on Denham. The use of the term in 'The First Epistle', particularly in combination with direct references to Dryden and Waller, is likely informed by this association. By referring to the 'majestic march' in this account of his poetic predecessors, Pope is praising Dryden, and possibly Denham as well, as an English Virgil.

This connection between Waller, Denham and Virgil forms part of Robin Sowerby's study of 'Augustanism' as an aesthetic mode of English verse.<sup>x</sup> For Sowerby, 'Augustan' literature is most helpfully defined as identifying an attempt by English poets to replicate in English the qualities of Virgil's Latin, since Virgil was held to have brought Latin versification to its fullest perfection. Waller and Denham were some of the first poets to write in this mode, which was subsequently developed by (amongst other writers) Dryden and Pope. Sowerby's definition of 'Augustan' has a neat parallel with the fact that the first recorded use of the phrase

‘Augustan age’ to refer to a period of English verse occurs in an introduction to a 1690 edition of Waller. Its author, usually thought to be Francis Atterbury, states that Waller:

was indeed the Parent of *English Verse* ... He undoubtedly stands first in the List of Refiners, and for ought I know, last too; for I question whether in *Charles the Second's* Reign, *English* did not come to its full perfection; and whether it has not had its *Augustean Age*, as well as the *Latin*.<sup>xi</sup>

It is unclear, however, whether or not Atterbury, or whoever the author of this introduction was, really did consider English literature of the Restoration period to be an equivalent of Rome's Augustan age. Nonetheless, the connection between Waller and an English Augustanism is present from the final decades of the seventeenth century.

By calling Waller ‘the Parent of *English Verse*’ Atterbury's preface also links this English Augustan aesthetic to a teleological narrative regarding the development of English verse that was popularized by Dryden. In *The Art of Poetry*, published nearly a decade before this preface, Dryden calls Waller ‘the first whose Art / Just Weight and Measure did to Verse impart’ (lines 131-2); he later called Denham and Waller ‘those two Fathers of our *English Poetry*’ (*Works*, 4. 84) and acknowledged them important sources for his own development as a poet.<sup>xii</sup> Yet despite these references Dryden traced the refinement of English poetry through Waller and Denham back into the late sixteenth century. According to Dryden ‘there was a *Spencer*, a *Harrington*, a *Fairfax*, before *Waller* and *Denham* were in being’ (*Works*, 7. 34). Subsequent scholarship has established that George Sandys's Ovid and Virgil translations were also influential on these two poets, particularly Denham.<sup>xiii</sup>

The output of these various early modern poets who initiated and developed an Augustan literary aesthetic indicate their shared belief in the importance of attaining a Virgilian quality to

English poetry through translation. The partial or wholesale translations of Virgil by Sandys, Waller, Denham, and Dryden all played a significant part in this process. But, as Sowerby discusses in *The Augustan Art of Poetry*, these poets and others translated other classical texts along Virgilian lines: key examples include Sandys's Ovid, Dryden's Juvenal and Persius, Rowe's Lucan, Pope's Statius, and, most significantly for this article, Pope's Homer.<sup>xiv</sup> These other translations consistently look to and engage with Virgil's poetry, both in Latin and in English translation. H. A. Mason's claim, for example, that 'Pope read his Virgil through Dryden' is supported by the Twickenham Pope's appendix of Pope's (and his collaborators') borrowings from other texts in his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.<sup>xv</sup> The same edition shows how Dryden's Virgil is a major presence in Pope's non-Homeric poems as well, and also the extent to which Pope's poetic corpus as a whole is indebted to Dryden's non-Virgilian poems and translations.<sup>xvi</sup> As Henry Power has recently discussed, though, there is a particular resonance to Pope's use of Dryden's Virgil in his Homer; such moments show Pope not just incorporating an Augustan aesthetic to his translation, but also meditating on the transmission of Homeric epic through its Virgilian successors.<sup>xvii</sup>

The focus on Dryden's influence on Pope is understandable, but it has caused critics to overlook Pope's use of his other Augustan predecessors such as Denham and Waller. The Twickenham Pope does record several borrowings from both poets across Pope's poetry but only a small fraction of those come from either *The Destruction of Troy* or *The Passion of Dido*. Excluding Pope's 'Verses in Imitation of Waller', most of the parallels from both poets are clustered in Pope's *Pastorals* and *Windsor Forest*. In what follows I discuss several additional quotations from Denham and Waller's Virgil translations (sometimes independently, sometimes alongside each other) in Pope's poetry that are not acknowledged in the Twickenham Pope, and

have not, to the best of my knowledge, been identified elsewhere. They demonstrate that, despite the status of Dryden's translation as an effective 'Authorized Version' of Virgil by the eighteenth century, Pope also actively sought out (or had internalized) alternative translations. Rather than attempting a systematic survey, I have focused on one book of Pope's Homer, *Odyssey* 9. I chose Pope's Homer on account of the particular status that Virgilian allusions can acquire in that translation, and the *Odyssey* because critical discussions of Pope's Homer have largely concentrated on the *Iliad*.<sup>xviii</sup> *Odyssey* 9 contains a particularly high concentration of unacknowledged quotations from both poets, which also demonstrate the fusion of Waller and Denham in Pope's own thought; it can be difficult to establish whether Pope is citing one poet or the other in his *Odyssey*, since he frequently alludes to passages in which Denham himself is indebted to Waller. At other points in the book, Pope quotes lines of Waller where Waller is in turn quoting from his own source of 'smooth' versification, Fairfax's translation of Tasso. Concentrating on Book 9 also has procedural advantages since *Odyssey* 9 is one of the twelve books of the *Odyssey* translation that Pope is known to have produced himself and did not contract out to his collaborators, Fenton and Broome. By discussing *Odyssey* 9 I demonstrate how the intertextual resonances of Pope's quotations from Waller and Denham serve to illuminate his allusive practice in the *Odyssey* and his approach towards translation in general. My account of Waller and Denham's presence in Pope's Homer also helps to uncover aspects concerning the other intertextual elements of his translation. My research indicates that passages of the *Odyssey* both respond to criticism of his earlier *Iliad* translation, and in turn end up inspiring revisions to later editions of the *Iliad*. At the same time, the fact that a number of these self-quotations have their origins in earlier texts also serves to indicate the blurred boundaries between quotation and self-quotation.

## Pope's *Odyssey* and Denham's *The Destruction of Troy*

The intertextual references to Denham and Waller in Pope's *Odyssey* 9 occur practically from the book's outset. It opens with Odysseus praising the Phaeacian King Alcinous for his exemplary hospitality, whilst lamenting how he has been asked to relate his experiences at Troy:

Amid these joys, why seeks thy mind to know  
Th' unhappy series of a wand'rer's woe?  
Remembrance sad, whose image to review,  
Alas! must open all my wounds anew.

(*Odyssey* 9. 11-14, translating 9. 12-13, 'σοὶ δ' ἐμὰ κήδεα θυμὸς ἐπετρέπετο στονόεντα / εἴρεσθ', ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀδυρόμενος στεναχίζω'; 'But your heart is turned to ask of my grievous woes, that I may weep and groan the more'.)<sup>xix</sup>

Homer's Odysseus refers to weeping and moaning, not the reopening of old wounds. 'Wounds' could suggest physical markers of the Trojan war, but the emphasis in both the original and the translation appears to be on emotional pain. This may indicate that Pope is more interested in exploring Odysseus' psychology over his physiology, but it also helps to shed light on Pope's working methods as a translator. 'Must open all my wounds anew', as well as having no prompt in the Greek, has no parallel in the previous English translations of the *Odyssey* by Chapman (1616), Ogilby (1665) and Hobbes (1673). Instead it echoes Aeneas' opening speech in Denham's *The Destruction of Troy*:

“Madam, when you command us to review  
Our fate, you make our old wounds bleed anew.<sup>xx</sup>

That the borrowing comes from Denham, rather than Virgil or another English translation, can be seen from the fact that Virgil's Aeneas says 'Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem' (*Aen.* 2.

3, ‘Too deep for words, O queen, is the grief you bid me renew’).<sup>xxi</sup> Virgil’s Aeneas, like Homer’s Odysseus, is focusing on grief; in Denham it is wounds that become the primary emphasis. Only two of the dozen or so other Virgil translations that were available to Pope, those by Stanyhurst (1582) and Harrington (1658), adopt a similar emphasis. These do not do so, however, in as concise a manner as Denham, and there is not the same verbal parallel with Pope’s *Odyssey* present in either case.<sup>xxii</sup>

Pope may have been prompted to incorporate the echo of *Aeneid* 2 at this point because there is a strong situational parallel between these moments of the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*. Both *Odyssey* 9 and *Aeneid* 2 involve the consequences of their protagonists’ arrival in a foreign land (Scheria, Carthage), and being asked to tell of their experiences after the fall of Troy by the land’s ruler (Alcinous, Dido). The request prompts a lengthy first-person retrospective narrative that fills the narrative gap which is the result of both epics beginning *in medias res*. Both men have also encountered a figure - Nausicaa, Dido - who is touted as a possible bride for them, and who forms part of the audience for their story. Virgil no doubt had *Odyssey* 9 at the back of his mind when writing *Aeneid* 2, and Pope would have recognized this. This recognition could easily prompt a consultation of how Virgil’s English translators had translated the passage.

The question then, is not so much regarding Pope’s use of Virgil at this point in his *Odyssey*, but his decision to use Denham’s Virgil. One potential answer comes in acknowledging its status as one of several allusions to *The Destruction of Troy*, and Denham’s other poetry, in Pope. The Twickenham Pope suggests that prior to his *Odyssey* Pope had imitated ‘make my old wounds bleed anew’ for *Windsor Forest*’s ‘Heav’ns! what new Wounds, and how her old have bled?’ (line 322, recorded in *TE* 1. 180). Yet this possible connection between the two poems seems less secure than the one between *The Destruction of Troy* and *Odyssey* 9. In the *Odyssey*

translation, Pope preserves the cadence of Denham's line in a way that he does not in *Windsor Forest*, which takes it closer to quotation than imitation. A more secure connection between *The Destruction of Troy* and *Windsor Forest* occurs in Pope's imitation of Denham's Aeneas referring to the Greek agent Sinon as 'At once the taker and at once the prey' (*Destruction of Troy*, line 58). *Windsor Forest*'s account of William Rufus's probable assassination during a hunting expedition in the New Forest refers to the murdered king as 'At once the Chaser and at once the Prey' (line 82). The Twickenham Pope notes this borrowing (*TE* 1. 158), and, in its Homer appendix, that Pope later used the line again in his *Iliad*:

As when the Force of Men and Dogs combin'd  
 Invade the Mountain Goat, or branching Hind;  
 Far from the Hunter's Rage secure they lie,  
 Close in the Rock, (not fated yet to die).  
 When lo! a Lyon shoots across the way:  
 They fly: at once the Chasers and the Prey.

(*Iliad* 15. 308-13; trans. 15. 271-6; οἱ δ' ὥς τ' ἢ ἔλαφον κεραδὸν ἢ ἄγριον αἶγα / ἐσσεύαντο κύνες τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγροῖωται: / τὸν μὲν τ' ἠλίβατος πέτρῃ καὶ δάσκιος ὕλη / εἰρύσατ', οὐδ' ἄρα τέ σφι κιχήμεναι αἴσιμον ἦεν:/ τῶν δέ θ' ὑπὸ ἰαχῆς ἐφάνη λις ἠϋγένειος / εἰς ὁδόν, αἶψα δὲ πάντας ἀπέτραπε καὶ μεμαῶτας'; 'as dogs and country people pursue a horned stag or a wild goat, but a sheer rock or a shadowy thicket saves him from them, and it is not their lot to find him; and then at their clamor a bearded lion shows himself in the way, and immediately turns them all back despite their eagerness'.)

As in the opening lines of *Odyssey* 9, the added detail from Denham here does not have any real prompt or equivalent in the original Greek. Pope may have been prompted to re-use his Denham quotation from *Windsor Forest* because of the shared reference to deer-hunting in that poem and this particular epic simile. The line also anticipates Hector's death later in the poem since, in his pursuit of Achilles around the walls of Troy, Hector is both chaser and prey. Such motivating

factors are commensurate with other examples of intertextual references, particularly repeated intertextual references, in Pope's Homer. As I discuss in a later section, they function as a means of identifying points of contact within Homeric epic and as a form of narrative prolepsis.

Having identified these examples of Pope imitating Denham's Virgil, there remains the issue of whether or not Pope expected his readers to do the same. The fact that some of the imitations are discussed here for the first time suggests that he did not. The first editions of *Windsor Forest* do not acknowledge Pope's use of Denham, and whilst both of Pope's Homer translations include extensive critical paratexts they do not record Pope's use of earlier English poets.<sup>xxiii</sup> In early editions of Pope quotation marks at the beginning of a verse line usually indicate direct or reported speech. There are only a couple of occasions when they suggest an intertextual reference, one of which is the final line of Pope's *Odyssey*: "And willing nations knew their lawful Lord" (*Odyssey* 24. 631). This line has no prompting in the Greek, and instead quotes the final line of Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* (line 1031). Whilst Pope continues his convention of not indicating the original source for this line, in the first edition he does acknowledge its status as a quotation by placing it in inverted commas. The frequent use of inverted commas to indicate reported speech in both texts, though, obscures the status of each line as a quotation. It was not until Gilbert Wakefield's 1796 edition of the poem that (some of) Pope's quotations from Denham and Dryden were acknowledged in print.<sup>xxiv</sup>

The comparison with the quotation from Dryden at the end of the translation also provides another explanation for Pope's use of Denham in *Odyssey* 9. Sowerby has discussed how Pope's *Odyssey* 'as a whole is aligned with the values and arguments being upheld in *Absalom and Achitophel* from which the additional line is drawn' (*Augustan Art of Poetry*, 328). The primary value that Dryden upholds in that poem is the assertion of primogeniture, the

transition of power from one ruler to his rightful legitimate heir. This is paralleled not only in Pope's *Odyssey* itself, but also in Pope's own sense of his relationship to Dryden; he saw translating Homer as a means of asserting his (self-appointed) status as Dryden's heir, a Telemachus to Dryden's Odysseus.<sup>xxv</sup> The quotation from *Absalom and Achitophel* shows Pope not just showing his inheritance from Dryden, but also that he is quoting Dryden's own attitudes towards inheritance.

It is possible to see a similar dynamic in Pope's use of *The Destruction of Troy* in *The Odyssey*. That is, Pope is potentially imitating Denham in a manner that reflects Denham's own attitude towards imitation and the spending of a poetic inheritance. Thomas Kaminski has argued that Waller was a significant influence on Denham's poetic development;<sup>xxvi</sup> in reworking 'make my old wounds bleed anew' as 'must open all my wounds anew' Pope is imitating a line where Denham is not just influenced by Waller, but quotes him directly. Denham would have encountered the line in 'The self-banished', which was published in Waller's *Poems* of 1645:

Your form does to my fancy bring,  
And makes my old wounds bleed anew.<sup>xxvii</sup>

As Denham had access to at least some of Waller's poems in manuscript, he might not have had to wait until the publication of 'The self-banished' to encounter it and incorporate this borrowing into *The Destruction of Troy*. There are, however, other factors that suggest Denham encountered this poem in print rather than in manuscript. Denham completed his first translation from *Aeneid* 2 in 1636, where Aeneas' speech begins:

O queen, by your command  
My country's fate, our dangers and our fears

While I repeat I must repeat my tears, (Denham, *Aeneid* (1636), lines 2-4)

Denham revised this manuscript *Aeneid* around 1652-3, and published an extract from this revised version as *The Destruction of Troy* in 1656. The shift from ‘While I repeat I must repeat my tears’ to ‘make my old wounds bleed anew’, then, moves away from a more literal reading of Virgil’s original line, and comes after the publication of Waller’s ‘The self-banished’.

It is not, of course a certainty that Pope was aware of the line’s status in *The Destruction of Troy* as a quotation from Waller. The editions of Denham and Waller that were available to Pope do not observe the connection. Nor does the Twickenham Pope identify any further borrowings from ‘The self-banished’ in Pope that would indicate he knew the poem. Knowledge of the phrase’s ultimately Wallerian provenance is not, however, required here to unlock the series of rich intertextual resonances that indicate Pope’s sense of himself as a poet working within a broader epic tradition, and which also inform Pope’s use of Dryden at the conclusion of the *Odyssey*.

Nevertheless, Pope’s use of Denham here suggests that he is doing more than just consulting of his predecessors for what Samuel Johnson called, in the context of Dryden’s Virgil, ‘happy combinations of heroic diction’.<sup>xxviii</sup> In Pope’s Homer direct quotations from other poets indicate that Pope adopts the imitative strategies of those poets. Rather than thinking of such moments as ‘outward-facing’ moments of intertextuality, where Pope is expecting his audience to recognize his sources from a broader epic tradition and consider their resonances, such quotations could be considered more ‘inward-facing’, an indication of Pope’s working methods and his own meditation on the relationship between Homeric and Virgilian epic, in the original, and in English translation. Not every instance of Pope’s use of his predecessors demonstrates this heightened level of self-consciousness or intertextual resonance; in the cases discussed above,

Pope is imitating and reworking Denham rather than quoting him directly. The only direct quotation, as opposed to an imitation or a partial borrowing, from Denham that is identified in the Twickenham Pope is not, as far as I have been able to make out, an example of Denham quoting Waller.<sup>xxix</sup> It is to different example of this ‘inward-facing’ allusive practice, this time focused primarily on Waller, to which I now turn. Pope’s use of Denham in *Odyssey* 9 does not necessarily suggest an awareness on his part that Denham’s most characteristic allusive strategy was to quote Waller. By contrast, Pope’s use of Waller in the same text suggests that Pope was conscious of Waller’s tendency to not only to quote Fairfax’s *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, as Dryden observed in the *Fables* preface, but also to quote from his own poetry.

Waller’s capacity for self-quotation can be seen in an additional reference to wounds bleeding anew in a poem which post-dates ‘The self-banished’. His late poem *Of Divine Poesie*, first published in 1685, reworks the couplet in question as:

Had seen the wounds, which to the reader’s view,  
She draws so lively that they bleed anew. (1. 7-8)

It is even possible that Waller’s recycling of the phrase is the result of his reading of Denham, since *The Destruction of Troy* had appeared between his composition of ‘The self-banished’ and *Of Divine Poesie*. Denham himself did not live long enough to recognize Waller’s self-quotation, but it is possible that Pope was aware of it. He would though, have had to make the connection himself, since it is not recorded in seventeenth and eighteenth-century editions of Denham and Waller. The following section explores why, just as it is fitting for Pope to cite a line of Denham’s that itself cites Waller, it is even more appropriate that when Pope engages with Waller more directly it is to line which is an example of Wallerian self-quotation.

### Pope's *Odyssey* and Waller's *Passion of Dido*

If the reference that Pope's Odysseus makes to his old wounds bleeding anew shows Pope engaging primarily with Denham, and only with Waller indirectly (and possibly even inadvertently) a more secure quotation from Waller comes later in the book. It occurs when Odysseus describes the approach to the island of the Cyclops:

This said, I climb'd my vessel's lofty side;  
My train obey'd me and the ship unty'd.  
In order seated on their banks, they sweep  
Neptune's smooth face, and cleave the yielding deep.

(*Odyssey* 9. 207-10, trans. 9. 177-80; ὡς εἰπὼν ἀνὰ νηὸς ἔβην, ἐκέλευσα δ' ἑταίρους / αὐτοὺς τ' ἀμβαίνειν ἀνά τε πρυμνήσια λῦσαι. / οἱ δ' αἴψ' εἰσβαῖνον καὶ ἐπὶ κληῖσι καθίζον, / ἐξῆς δ' ἐζόμενοι πολιὴν ἄλλα τύπτον ἑρετμοῖς'; so saying, I went on board the ship and told my comrades themselves to embark, and to loose the stern cables. So they went on board quickly and sat down upon the benches, and sitting well in order struck the grey sea with their oars'.)

Here Pope quotes a line from *The Passion of Dido*.

Placed on their banks, the lusty Trojans sweep  
Neptune's smooth face, and cleave the yielding deep.

(lines 587-8; trans. *Aen.* 4. 583, 'adnixi torquent spumas et caerulea verrunt'; 'they churn the foam and sweep the blue waters'.)

As with his use of Denham's *The Destruction of Troy*, Pope's use of *The Passion of Dido* here helps to draw attention to connections between the respective passages in the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid* that both translations are concerned with. Pope is quoting from the passage in *Aeneid* 4 where Aeneas departs Dido's Carthage for Italy at a moment when Odysseus is departing from the Cyclops' island. Dido has long been recognized as a figure that is inspired by Homeric

predecessors. In his *Fables* Preface Dryden states ‘*Dido* cannot be deny’d to be the Poetical Daughter of *Calypso*’ (*Works*, 7. 29). Dido’s actions at the end of *Aeneid* 4, however have more in common with the actions of Polyphemus at the end of *Odyssey* 9 than they do with Calypso. Polyphemus curses Odysseus as he sails away. He entreats Neptune to ensure that Odysseus never returns home to Ithaca, but if he does, that he will do so alone and that he will encounter Ithaca embroiled in civil strife (see *Od.* 9. 530-5). Virgil’s Dido similarly wishes that Aeneas will not live to see his promised kingdom (a place that is both new to him and his ancestral homeland), but that if he does, he will do so having lost his friends and after fighting a civil war (see *Aen.* 4. 615-20). R. D. Williams, amongst other critics, have observed that Dido’s final curse to Aeneas on his departure from Carthage is ‘modelled in a general sense on ... Polyphemus’ curse on Odysseus’,<sup>xxx</sup> but Pope’s own notes to this passage of his *Odyssey* point not to the similarities between Polyphemus and Dido, but only to how Virgil imitated the Polyphemus episode elsewhere in the *Aeneid* (see *TE* 9. 333). As with the allusions and echoes to Dryden, Denham, and Waller already discussed, certain sections of Pope’s intended audience for the *Odyssey* translation could have recognized the structural parallels, but they would not have formed a sizeable percentage of his readership.

The status of ‘Neptune’s smooth face, and cleave the yielding deep’ as a Wallerian self-quotation ensures that its presence in Pope’s *Odyssey* does more than forge connections between Homeric and Virgilian epic. The line first occurs in Waller’s ‘On the Danger his Majesty [being Prince] escaped in the Road at Saint Andrews’:

With painted oars the youth begin to sweep  
Neptune’s smooth face, and cleave the yielding deep;            (lines 41-2)

This poem commemorates an event from 1623, but was first published in his 1645 *Poems*.<sup>xxxii</sup> Thorn Drury's edition of Waller (2. 282) notes that the line's provenance can be traced back even further than this, since it quotes from Fairfax's *Godfrey of Bulloigne*: 'Their breasts insunder cleave the yeelding deep' (15.12.3). This borrowing correlates to Dryden's account that 'many besides my self have heard our famous *Waller* own, that he deriv'd the Harmony of his Numbers from the *Godfrey of Bulloign*, which was turn'd into *English* by Mr. *Fairfax*' (*Works* 7. 25). The fact that *The Passion of Dido* is a collaborative translation by Waller and Godolphin raises issues of authorship, but it is almost certainly the case that the line in *The Passion of Dido* is an example of Waller quoting himself rather than of Godolphin quoting Waller. The couplet appears in a section of the translation – lines 455-588, which translates *Aeneid* 4. 437-583 - which has always been attributed to Waller alone, or at least represents so thorough a reworking of Godolphin that Waller considered it to be his own work.<sup>xxxiii</sup> After its first edition in 1658, *The Passion of Dido* was republished in 1679, but the passage in question was incorporated into editions of Waller from 1663 onwards under the title 'Part of the fourth Book of Virgil translated'. Despite its status as a self-quotation, Waller himself may have been prompted to use it in *The Passion of Dido* by reading a different translation of *Aeneid* 4. Fanshawe's *The Fourth Booke of Virgills Aeneis* (1648) includes a reference to Neptune at this point: 'Their Sayles like wings over the waves were spread; / They comb'd with Oares gray *Neptunes* curled head'.<sup>xxxiii</sup> Fanshawe's is the only translation of *Aeneid* 4 other than *The Passion of Dido* to include a reference to Neptune at this point.<sup>xxxiv</sup> As I discuss in the final section, Waller's actions here anticipate Pope's own: he can be moved to self-quotation through the appearance of a similar line or phrase in the work of another.

Pope's *Odyssey* couplet primarily engages with its predecessor in *The Passion of Dido*. It contains a reference to banks which is present in the translation, but not in 'On the Danger'. The Twickenham Pope also records an imitation of Waller's Virgil from earlier in Pope's career: it cites Waller's 'A death-like quiet and deep silence fell' (line 540) as a source for *Eloisa to Abelard's* 'A death-like silence, and a dread repose' (line 166). Pope could, though, have established the connection between *The Passion of Dido* and 'On the Danger' relatively straightforwardly. Thorn Drury was the first to note the connection, but as an attentive reader of Waller, Pope could have recognized the borrowing without the aid of editorial assistance. Pope is less likely, however, to have known of the line's status as a borrowing from Fairfax's Tasso; the connection appears more serendipitous than deliberate.

The status of the line in *The Passion of Dido* as an example of Waller quoting Fairfax and (more significantly) himself gives its appearance in Pope's *Odyssey* a greater resonance and sets a precedent for Pope's own allusive practice in the translation. *Od.* 9. 179-80 is a Homeric formula that is itself repeated verbatim elsewhere in the book and the poem. Pope does not, though, translate the formula each time it appears in the text. Instead the repetition comes with some variation, as follows:

Rang'd on the banks, beneath our equal oars / White curl the waves, and the vex'd  
ocean roars.  
Now plac'd in order, on their banks, they sweep / The sea's smooth face, and cleave  
the hoary deep.  
Aboard in haste they heave the wealthy sheep, / And snatch their oars, and rush into the  
deep.  
Now rang'd in order on our banks, we sweep / With hasty strokes the  
hoarse-resounding deep;  
Then bending to the stroke, their oars they drew / To their broad breasts, and swift the  
galley flew.<sup>xxxv</sup>

It is significant that *Odyssey* 9. 209-10 is the only time Pope includes a reference to Neptune and cites Waller's line directly in order to do so. Other appearances of the formula in the Greek are translated by lines that are clearly indebted to Waller's line, but also rework it. The quotation from Waller seeds a connection between Neptune and the Cyclops, and so, in terms of the *Odyssey*'s overall narrative, it helps to cement the cause of Neptune's hostility to Odysseus that drives the first half of the poem. Pope is using allusion in his translation as an equivalent to Odysseus' hindsight. He is signalling the end of the Cyclops episode in its beginning. Only Waller's or Fanshawe's versions of *Aeneid* 4, thanks to their references to Neptune, would allow Pope simultaneously to indicate the line's status as a Homeric formula and include this proleptic material.

Pope's *Odyssey* does not only quote from English translations of Virgil to represent a Homeric formula and to indicate the poem's influence on post-Homeric epic. One of the most easily-recognized examples of this practice occurs towards the start of *Odyssey* 9. Odysseus refers to how:

In vain *Calypso* long constrain'd my stay,  
With sweet, reluctant, amorous delay;

(*Odyssey* 9. 31-2, translating 9. 29-30, ἢ μὲν μ' αὐτόθ' ἔρυκε Καλυψώ, δῖα θεάων, / ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι, λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι'; 'it is true that Calypso, the beautiful goddess, kept me by her in her hollow caves, yearning that I should be her husband'.) <sup>xxxvi</sup>

The prompt for the second line in the couplet comes, not from Homer's Greek, but from Pope's reading of his predecessors. In *Paradise Lost* Eve yields to Adam 'with sweet reluctant amorous delay'. <sup>xxxvii</sup> To draw on Milton's Eve in a description of Odysseus' experiences with Calypso demonstrates that the allusions in the translation are not just to his Augustan predecessors.

Milton is, of course, hugely indebted to Virgil in *Paradise Lost* but he does not seem to hold him as the aesthetic gold standard of versification in the manner of his Augustan contemporaries, just as Pope was hugely indebted to Milton but wrote in heroic couplets rather than blank verse.

My main interest here is in Pope's decision to cite this line from *Paradise Lost* several times in the translation. It first appears in the proem, as part of the account of Odysseus' journey from Troy to Ithaca:

*Calypso* in her caves constrain'd his stay,  
With sweet, reluctant, amorous delay:

(*Odyssey* 1. 21-2, translating 1. 14-15, νόμφη πότνι' ἔρυκε Καλυψὸ διὰ θεάων / ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι, λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι; '[him] did the queenly nymph Calypso, that beautiful goddess, keep prisoner in her hollow caves, yearning that he should be her husband'.)

Fenton, rather than Pope, was the principal translator of *Odyssey* I, but Pope would have had to approve the Miltonic reference; it is also possible that he added it himself as he revised Fenton's version. The repetition of the quotation in *Odyssey* I and IX mirrors the almost direct replication of material in Homer's original. 'Sweet reluctant amorous delay' occurs later in the *Odyssey*, again in reference to Odysseus' departure from Calypso:

he reach'd the shores  
Of Fair *Ogygia*, and *Calypso*'s bow'rs;  
Where the gay blooming Nymph constrain'd his stay,  
With sweet reluctant amorous delay;  
And promis'd, vainly promis'd, to bestow  
Immortal life exempt from age and woe:

(*Odyssey* 23. 359-64, trans. 23. 333-37, 'ὡς θ' ἵκετ' Ὀγυγίην νῆσον νόμφην τε Καλυψὸ, / ἦ δὴ μιν κατέρυκε, λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι, / ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι, καὶ ἔτρεφεν ἠδὲ ἔφασκε / θήσειν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήραον ἥματα πάντα / ἀλλὰ τοῦ οὐ ποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθεν'; 'how he came to the isle Ogygia and to the nymph Calypso, who kept him there in her hollow caves,

yearning that he should be her husband, and tended him, and said that she would make him immortal and ageless all his days; yet she could never persuade the heart in his breast.’)

Here too one of Pope’s collaborators (in this case, Broome) is the principal translator, but again the Miltonic allusion is something that Pope would have had to approve or could have incorporated himself. Unlike in *Odyssey* 1 and 9, the Greek is not directly replicating a set formula; in *Odyssey* 23 the ordering of the phrases is different, and it includes additional information.<sup>xxxviii</sup> The text still retains sufficient similarities with the earlier accounts to be considered as a further iteration, hence the repetition of the Miltonic quotation.

Unlike Pope’s imitation of Waller’s *Aeneid* that serves the same function elsewhere in the *Odyssey*, it is significant that Pope quotes Milton’s line directly on each occasion where it serves as the equivalent to Homer’s formula. The combination of direct replication and subsequent repetition of that replication is, in part, thanks to the different motivations that inform Pope’s quotations of Milton and his quotations of Waller. In his quotation of Milton, Pope is both paying tribute to the earlier poem, but also claiming ownership of the particular line and the episode in which it appears in a way that he does not with his quotation of Waller. Homer’s Calypso and Odysseus form a precedent for Milton’s Adam and Eve, and so Pope’s Calypso and Odysseus cites Milton’s account of Adam and Eve in order to acknowledge that precedent. This technique parallels Milton’s own allusive practice. Where Pope’s use of Denham in the *Odyssey* involves moments when Denham is, characteristically, citing Waller, and where Pope’s own allusions to Waller show him adopting Waller’s strategy of combining quotation from Fairfax and from himself, his quotations from Milton in the translation demonstrate him adopting a combative, distinctly Miltonic approach to his predecessors. By setting his own poem at a prior chronological moment to any other work of literature, Milton was able to turn his poetic

belatedness into a form of primacy: within the framework of *Paradise Lost*, it is not Raphael who quotes from the Authorized ‘King James’ Bible, Raphael’s speech instead becomes the ‘source’ for the Bible. The same is true for Milton’s use of classical literature: Milton’s Satan does not ‘quote’ Virgil’s Aeneas, for example, but it is Milton’s Satan whose speech and actions form a precedent for Aeneas’ own experiences.<sup>xxxix</sup> Pope is doing something similar with his use of ‘sweet reluctant amorous delay’; the quotation shows him, like Milton, attempting to become his own literary ancestor.

An additional, less combative, example of Pope simultaneously drawing on Milton and himself in *Odyssey* 9 comes in his account of the battle between the Ithacans and the Cicones.

Pope’s Odysseus states:

Long as the morning sun increasing bright  
 O’er heav’n’s pure azure spread the growing light,  
 Promiscuous death the form of war confounds,  
 Each adverse battle gor’d with equal wounds:

(*Odyssey* 9. 63-6, trans. 9. 56-7; ὄφρα μὲν ἠὼς ἦν καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ, / τόφρα δ’ ἀλεξόμενοι μένομεν πλεονάζ περ ἑόντας, ‘As long as it was morning and the sacred day was waxing, so long we held our ground and beat them off, though they were more than we’.)

The second line in this passage does render the sense of the Greek, but in a manner which incorporates an echo of Pope’s celebrated ‘night-piece’ from the end of *Iliad* 8:

As when the Moon, refulgent Lamp of Night!  
 O’er Heav’ns pure Azure spreads her sacred Light,

(*Iliad* 8. 687-8, trans. 8. 555-6; ‘ὡς δ’ ὅτ’ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην / φαίνεται ἀριπρεπέα, ὅτε τ’ ἔπλετο νήνεμος αἰθήρ’, ‘Just as in the sky about the gleaming moon the stars shine clear when the air is windless’.)<sup>xl</sup>

The land of the Cicones is the first place where Odysseus and his crew make landfall on their voyage home from Troy. Their experiences there repeat their experiences at Troy, albeit on a smaller scale: the conflict takes place over three days, rather than ten years. There is also the key difference that it is the Cicones, rather than the Greeks, who emerge the victor from this encounter. For this regression back into warlike violence it is appropriate at this point of the *Odyssey* for Pope to recall a passage from his own *Iliad* which anticipates the outbreak of terrible slaughter. Here the connection comes through imitation, rather than direct quotation, and indicates that Pope's relationship with Milton is not always a combative *agon*. The parallel with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* via Miltonic imitation serves as another example of signalling connections between constituent parts of Homeric epic.

Pope's repeated citations from Milton are perhaps more recognizable than his repeated quotations of Waller. His *Odyssey* does not only, however, repeat lines from Pope's predecessors as a means of replicating Homeric epithets and formulae. Pope also regularly re-uses lines from his own earlier poetry. In the final section I turn to some previously unacknowledged examples of Popian repetition in order to consider how in the *Odyssey* translation, as in Waller's verse, it is often extremely difficult to differentiate between quotation and self-quotation.

### **Pope and Self-Quotation**

Odysseus' speech to Alcinous at the opening of *Odyssey* IX provides the first example in this part of the translation where Pope quotes himself as well as others. Pope's Odysseus asks:

And oh, what first, what last shall I relate,  
Of woes unnumber'd, sent by Heav'n and Fate?

(*Odyssey* 9. 15-16, translating 9.14-15, ‘τί πρῶτόν τοι ἔπειτα, τί δ’ ὑστάτιον καταλέξω; / κήδε’ ἐπεὶ μοι πολλὰ δόσαν θεοὶ οὐρανίωνες’, ‘what should I tell you first, what last? For woes unnumbered [lit. ‘many troubles’] have the heavenly gods given me’.)

The couplet gives another example of Pope’s characteristic Augustan amplification of the Greek text. Homer’s Odysseus has suffered ‘κήδε’ ... πολλὰ’, ‘many troubles’, Pope’s Odysseus ‘woes unnumber’d’.<sup>xli</sup> This Odysseus is also someone harried by the fate, as well as the gods. This change suggests parallels with Virgil’s Aeneas as a figure who was ‘fato profugus’ (*Aen.* 1. 3, ‘exiled by fate’).<sup>xlii</sup> The primary source for the phrase ‘woes unnumber’d’ comes not from Virgil, however, but Pope’s own previous experience of translating Homer. Book 5 of his *Iliad* has Dione tell Aphrodite:

Thy Wrongs with Patience bear,  
And share those Griefs inferior Pow’rs must share;  
Unnumber’d Woes Mankind from us sustain,  
And Men with Woes afflict the Gods again.

(*Iliad* 5. 471-4; trans. 5. 382-4, τ’έτλαθι, τέκνον ἐμόν, καὶ ἀνάσχεο κηδομένη περ’ / πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ τλήμεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχοντες / ἐξ ἀνδρῶν, χαλέπ’ ἄλγε’ ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοισι τιθέντες.’; ‘Be of good heart, my child, and endure for all your suffering; for many of us who have dwellings on Olympus have suffered at the hands of men, while bringing grievous woes on one another’.)

Here too there is amplification, as ‘χαλέπ’ ἄλγε’’, ‘grievous woes’, has become ‘Unnumber’d woes’. Pope’s use of his *Iliad* in his *Odyssey* already indicates the degree of connection between the two translations, but unlike in the quotations from Waller and Milton discussed above, the repetition does not indicate the presence of the same phrase at the equivalent points in the original Greek.

This passage from *Iliad* 5, filtered through the later *Odyssey* translation, also seems to be the source for the revisions Pope made to the invocation to the Muse in Book 1 of the *Iliad*’s

third edition (1732). Unlike other of his key works, Pope only made a few revisions to the text of his Homer translations for its subsequent reissues.<sup>xliiii</sup> The revision here is thus all the more telling for its rarity. The changes are seen most easily by placing both versions alongside each other:

The wrath of <i>Peleus</i> ' Son, the direful spring	<i>Achilles</i> ' wrath, to <i>Greece</i> the direful spring
Of all the <i>Grecian</i> woes, O Goddess, sing!	Of <u>woes unnumber</u> 'd, heav'nly Goddess, sing!

(*Iliad* (1715), 1. 1-2; *Iliad* (1732), 1. 1-2, translating 1. 1-2, 'Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος / οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε', 'The wrath sing, goddess, of Peleus' son Achilles, the accursed wrath which brought countless sorrows upon the Achaeans'.)

The revised edition of the *Iliad* proem became the standard version and is the basis for all subsequent reprintings of the text. The revised version is also noticeable for its removal of an allusion to another of Pope's key poetic predecessors, since the first line of the 1715 *Iliad* is clearly indebted to its equivalent in Dryden's translation of the same passage: 'The Wrath of *Peleus* Son, O Muse, resound' ('The First Book of Homer his *Ilias*', line 1). This could suggest a growing confidence on Pope's part regarding his skills as a translator since by the third edition of his *Iliad* he has moved from quoting from other people to quoting himself. Pope's use of 'woes unnumbered' in this revised version is closer to the Greek's 'countless pains' than 'Of all the Grecian woes'. The change also seems prompted by Dione's description of human miseries in *Iliad* 5 and Odysseus' account of the Trojan war in *Odyssey* 9. The narrator of *Iliad* 1 and Odysseus in *Odyssey* 9 are both about to begin the narrative of the sufferings caused by the Trojan war. Here it is possible to see Pope using quotation as a means of binding different parts of the two Homeric epics together, and emphasizing the structural similarities of certain passages.

The presence of ‘woes unnumbered’ in the opening of *Iliad* 1 in the revised edition of the poem essentially fuses quotation and self-quotation. Pope himself had used the phrase elsewhere in the first edition of the *Iliad*, but it also appears in the proem to Thomas Tickell’s *Iliad*. First published in 1715, the same year as the initial volume of Pope’s translation, and intended as a rival to Pope’s version, Book I begins:

*Achilles’ fatal Wrath, whence Discord rose,  
That brought the Sons of Greece unnumber’d Woes,  
O Goddess sing.*<sup>xliv</sup>

Pope was certainly not averse to criticizing Tickell’s translation for infelicities whilst also silently amending his own version of Homer to incorporate individual phrases or lines from Tickell.<sup>xlv</sup> In his *Life of Tickell* Johnson states ‘I think the first lines of Tickell’s [*Iliad*] were rather to be preferred, and Pope seems to have since borrowed something from them in the correction of his own’.<sup>xlvi</sup> Steven Shankman, drawing on Johnson’s comment, has discussed how Pope would have paid particular attention to the opening lines of the poem when revising it in the 1730s. He notes how one of Pope’s bêtes noires, John Dennis, ‘had objected to Pope’s inaccurately rending Homer’s *μυρί* ... *ἄλγε*’ (‘countless woes’) as ‘all the *Graecian* woes’.<sup>xlvii</sup> It is certainly plausible that Pope was prompted to change the opening of the *Iliad* as a result of Dennis’s criticism, and that the amendment came via his reading of Tickell. Dennis, Johnson and Shankman do not, however, acknowledge that Pope had already used the phrase, albeit with a reversed word-order, elsewhere in his Homer. It therefore seems likely that if later versions of Pope’s *Iliad* draw on Tickell’s version, they do so via Pope’s own use of the phrase. As with Waller’s potential reading of Fanshawe’s *Aeneid* 4 in *The Passion of Dido*, Pope’s reading of another translation may have prompted him into self-quotation. Whilst it first appears in the 1715

*Iliad*, it seems more likely, given the structural parallels between *Iliad* 1 and *Odyssey* 9, that Pope is primarily thinking of his use of ‘unnumber’d woes’ in his *Odyssey*. Pope can justify ‘unnumbered woes’ as a self-quotation rather than as a borrowing from a rival translation.

## Conclusion

My discussion of the intertextual elements to Pope’s *Odyssey* 9 helps to affirm and extend our understanding of how Pope interacted with his literary predecessors, particularly Denham and Waller, but also Milton and Dryden. It suggests that Pope was particularly concerned with incorporating aspects of Virgilian versification into his translation of Homer not only as part of an aesthetic Augustanism, but also in order to acknowledge the complex interplay between Homeric and Virgilian epic. Pope’s allusions serve a series of different functions across the text, including as substitutions for Homeric formulae, and as a means of indicating structural parallels both within Homeric epic itself and between Homer and the later epic tradition. Allusions that take the form of direct quotation indicate private points of connection in Pope’s own mind that he is not expecting or requiring the bulk of his readers to acknowledge. Investigating the intertextual elements of Pope’s quotations also help to establish that Pope frequently adopts the characteristic imitative strategy of his source authors, as well as their writings.

There are aspects of *Odyssey* 9 that suggest it may be a particularly rich site of Augustan allusion: key amongst these are the structural parallels between this section of the poem and elements of *Aeneid* 2 and 4, which have consistently been two of the most popular, and most

frequently translated, books of Virgil. But that is not to say that *Odyssey* 9 is the only site of this type of complex network of allusions to the *Iliad*, Virgil, Milton, Denham, Waller, and Dryden that is present in Pope's *Odyssey*. Future research is needed to ascertain the full extent of Pope's debt to his predecessors, and the nature of his engagement with those predecessors, in the *Odyssey* and in his poetry in general.

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- <sup>i</sup> Denham included a partial translation of *Aeneid* 4 under the title *The Passion of Dido* in his 1668 *Poems and Translations*. Here *The Passion of Dido* refers to the Goldolphin/Waller version.
- <sup>ii</sup> Frederick M. Keener, 'On the Poets' Secret: Allusion and Parallelism in Pope's "Homer"', *YES*, 18 (1988), 159-70 (165).
- <sup>iii</sup> Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men: Collected from Conversation*, ed. James M. Osborn, 2 vols (Oxford, 1966), 1. 194-5.
- <sup>iv</sup> For the relationship between the two poems, see Brendan O Hehir, *Expans'd Hieroglyphicks: A Critical Edition of Sir John Denham's Coopers Hill* (Berkeley, 1969), 276-83.
- <sup>v</sup> Here I draw on information from *ESTC*.
- <sup>vi</sup> See Mary Tom Osborne, *Advice-to-a-Painter Poems, 1633-1856: An Annotated Finding List* (Austin, 1949), 26-53.
- <sup>vii</sup> Quotations from Pope are from *The Twickenham Edition of the Poetry of Alexander Pope*, eds John Butt *et al*, 11 vols (London, 1939-69); hereafter *TE*.
- <sup>viii</sup> See John Dryden, *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. H. T. Swedenberg Jr. *et al*, 20 vols (Berkeley, 1956-2000), 8. 100; hereafter *Works*.
- <sup>ix</sup> For a more recent critical assessment of Waller and Virgil, see Warren L. Chernaik, *The Poetry of Limitation: A Study of Edmund Waller* (London, 1968), 92.
- <sup>x</sup> See Robin Sowerby, *The Augustan Art of Poetry: Augustan Translation of the Classics* (Oxford, 2006).
- <sup>xi</sup> Francis Atterbury [?], 'Preface', in Edmund Waller, *The Second Part of Mr. Waller's Poems* (London, 1690), sigs. A3r-A4r.

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<sup>xii</sup> In his ‘Preface to *A Dialogue Concerning Women*’ Dryden also referred to Waller as ‘*the Father of our English Numbers*’: see *Works*, 20. 3.

<sup>xiii</sup> See Robin Sowerby (ed.), *Early Augustan Virgil: Translations by Denham, Godolphin, and Waller* (Lewisburg, 2010), 26-8; hereafter *EAV*.

<sup>xiv</sup> Harington and Fairfax’s translations of non-classical epic could also be included in this list of Augustan translations; their source-texts, Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso* and Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*, are highly influenced by the *Aeneid*.

<sup>xv</sup> H. A. Mason, *To Homer Through Pope: An Introduction to Homer’s Iliad and Pope’s Translation* (London, 1972), 92; *TE*, 10. 492-512.

<sup>xvi</sup> Some of Pope’s other Drydenian allusions in his Homer are discussed in David Hopkins, *Conversing with Antiquity: English Poets and the Classics from Shakespeare to Pope* (Oxford, 2010), 306-7.

<sup>xvii</sup> See Henry Power, ‘Christopher Logue, Alexander Pope, and the Making of *War Music*’, *RES* (advance access), 10-12.

<sup>xviii</sup> Sowerby’s account of Pope’s *Odyssey* (*Augustan Art of Poetry*, 310-36) is noticeably shorter than his section on Pope’s *Iliad* (228-310). Discussion of Pope’s Homer is confined almost exclusively to the *Iliad* in Reuben A. Brower, *Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion* (Oxford, 1959), Matthew Reynolds, *The Poetry of Translation* (Oxford, 2011); David Hopkins, ‘Homer’; in David Hopkins and Charles Martindale (eds), *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature: Volume 3 1660-1790* (Oxford, 2012), 165-96; John Leonard, ‘Milton, the Long Restoration, and Pope’s *Iliad*’, in Blair Hoxby and Ann Baines Coiro (eds), *Milton in the Long Restoration*, (Oxford, 2016), 447-64. Discussions which have a greater parity between Pope’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey* include Robin Sowerby, ‘Epic’, in Stuart Gillespie and David Hopkins

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(eds), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English: Volume 3 1660-1790* (Oxford, 2005), 149-72, and Paul Davis, 'Pope's Family Trade', in *Translation and the Poet's Life: The Ethics of Translating in English Culture, 1646-1726* (Oxford, 2008), 235-90. A rare example of an *Odyssey*-centred discussion of Pope's Homer is Hester Jones, 'Pope's Homer: The Shadow of Friendship', in *Alexander Pope: World and Word, Proceedings of the British Academy*, 91 (1998), 55-68.

<sup>xix</sup> Homer is cited from the most recent Loeb edition: *Iliad*, ed. A. T. Murray, rev. William F. Wyatt, 2 vols (London, 1999); *Odyssey*, ed. A. T. Murray, rev. George E. Dimock, 2 vols (London, 1998). The Greek text has been checked against the editions of Homer listed in Maynard Mack, 'A finding list of books surviving from Pope's library with a few that may not have survived', in Max Novak (ed.), *English Literature in the Age of Disguise* (Berkeley, 1977), 232-306 (259-65).

<sup>xx</sup> *The Destruction of Troy*, lines 3-4. Quotations from Denham's Virgil are from *EAV*.

<sup>xxi</sup> As with Homer, Virgil is cited from the most recent Loeb edition: *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid*, ed. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. G. P. Good, 2 vols (London, 1999). The Latin text has been checked against the early modern Virgil vulgate.

<sup>xxii</sup> Stanyhurst: 'You me byd, O Princesse, too scarrify a festered old soare' (*Thee first foure bookes of Virgil his Aeneis translated intoo English heroical verse* (London, 1582), 22); Harrington: 'Madam, our pains, since you assign them breath, / Shall live again, though they be worse than death' (*An essay upon two of Virgil's Eclogues and two books of his Aeneis* (London, 1658), 22). I have also checked the translations by Douglas (1513/53), Surrey (1557), Phaer/Twyne (1584), Wroth (1620), Vicars (1632), Ogilby (1649; 1654), Fletcher (1692), Dryden (1697/8), Lauderdale (1709) and Trapp (1718).

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<sup>xxiii</sup> These paratexts are discussed in David Hopkins, ‘A Translator’s Annotation: Alexander Pope’s Observations on his *Iliad*’ in Michael Edson (ed.), *Annotation in Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (Bethlehem, 2017), 105-28.

<sup>xxiv</sup> For Denham and *Windsor Forest*, see *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq.* (Warrington, 1794), p. 71. In *The Iliad of Homer Translated by Alexander Pope, Esq.*, 6 vols (London, 1796) 4. 210, Wakefield notes the parallel between *Windsor Forest* and Pope’s *Iliad*, but not the line’s status as a borrowing from Denham. The quotation from *Absalom and Achitophel* is noted in *The Odyssey of Homer Translated by Alexander Pope, Esq.*, 5 vols (London, 1796), 5. 254.

<sup>xxv</sup> My argument here is indebted to Christopher Ricks, ‘Dryden and Pope’, in *Allusion to the Poets* (Oxford, 2002), 9-42.

<sup>xxvi</sup> See Thomas Kaminski, ‘Edmund Waller’s “Easy” Style and the Heroic Couplet’, *SEL* 55 (2015), 95-123 (112-14).

<sup>xxvii</sup> Waller, ‘The self-banished’, lines 7-8. Quotations from Waller are taken from *The Poems of Edmund Waller*, ed. G. Thorn Drury, 2 vols (London, 1904), except quotations from his Virgil, which are from *EAV*.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols (Oxford, 2006), 4. 73.

<sup>xxix</sup> The *Epistle to Arbuthnot* includes the couplet ‘Oh! let me live my own! and die so too! / (“To live and die is all I have to do:”)’ (lines 261-2). The Twickenham Pope (*TE* 4. 114) identifies this as a quotation from Denham’s ‘Of Prudence’: ‘To live and dye is all we have to do’ (line 94). As with the *Odyssey*’s quotation of *Absalom and Achitophel*, the first edition of the poem places the line in inverted commas, but its status as a quotation is not explicitly acknowledged.

<sup>xxx</sup> *Virgil: Aeneid*, ed. R. D. Williams, 2 vols (London, 2005), 1. 388.

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<sup>xxxii</sup> For the possibility that Waller's composition of the poem was not coterminous with the events it commemorates, and that it was instead written in the 1630s as part of Waller's quest for patronage, see Timothy Raylor, 'The Early Poetic Career of Edmund Waller', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 69 (2006), 239-66.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> For the most recent account of the composition of *The Passion of Dido*, see, *EAV*, 167-90.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> *The Fourth Booke of Virgills Aeneis*, lines 662-3, in *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, ed. Peter Davidson, 2 vols (Oxford, 1997).

<sup>xxxiv</sup> To ascertain this, I have consulted the same translations of Virgil cited in n22, and additional translations of *Aeneid* 4 by Sir Dudley Digges (1622) and Sir Robert Stapylton (1634).

<sup>xxxv</sup> *Odyssey* 4. 787-8, trans. 4. 579-80; *Odyssey* 9. 115-16, trans. 9. 103-4; *Odyssey* 9. 554-5, trans. 9. 471-2; *Odyssey* 9. 656-7, trans. 9. 563-4; *Odyssey* 12. 182-3, trans. 12. 146-7. Recent editions of Homer consider 12. 147 to be spurious. Early modern editions of Homer, however, retain the line.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Modern editions consider 9. 30 to be spurious, but it appears in the editions of Homer that Pope owned.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> *Paradise Lost*, 4. 311, in John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 1998). The quotation is discussed in Keener, 'Poets' Secret', 170, and Leonard, 'Milton, Pope's Iliad', 464. For other Miltonic borrowings in Pope's *Odyssey*, see J. R. Mason, 'To Milton Through Dryden and Pope, or God, Man and Nature: *Paradise Lost* Regained?', unpub. PhD diss., 3 vols (University of Cambridge, 1987), 3. 981-1063 (1014-16 for Milton in *Odyssey* 9).

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Part of the formula also appears at 1. 73, 5. 155, and 9. 114. Pope does not use the Miltonic allusions at the equivalent points in his translation.

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<sup>xxxix</sup> Cf. *Aen.* 1. 208-9 and *Paradise Lost* 1. 125-6. The parallel was first recorded in Patrick Hume, *Annotations on Milton's Paradise Lost* (London, 1695), 10.

<sup>xl</sup> For a discussion of the multiple allusions in this passage, including the status of 'heaven's pure azure' as a Miltonism, see David Hopkins, 'Homer', 179-81.

<sup>xli</sup> The Loeb's use of 'woes uncounted' here seems more indebted to Pope's translation than to Homer's Greek.

<sup>xlii</sup> The Virgilian addition is also present in John Ogilby's *The Odyssey of Homer* (London, 1665), 114, where the equivalent passage reads 'Ah, how shall I begin! what first relate! / How tost and harrass'd by relentless Fate'.

<sup>xliii</sup> For the other changes Pope makes to the text for the 1732 edition, see *The Iliad of Homer, translated by Alexander Pope*, ed. Steven Shankman, 2 vols (Eugene, 1996), 2. 1189-1200.

Many of these changes are typographical rather than substantive.

<sup>xliv</sup> *The First Book of Homer's Iliad Translated by Mr. Tickell* (London, 1715), 1.

<sup>xlv</sup> Pope's use of Tickell is discussed in Felicity Rosslyn, 'Pope's Annotations to Tickell's *Iliad* Book One', *RES*, 30 (1979), 49-59.

<sup>xlvi</sup> *Lives of the Poets*, 3. 114.

<sup>xlvii</sup> *Iliad of Homer*, ed. Shankman, 1. xviii, citing John Dennis, *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer* (London, 1717), 20-1.