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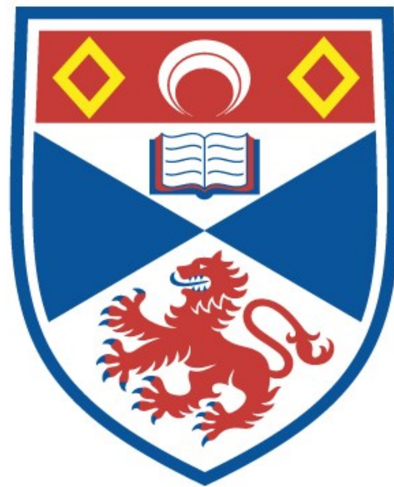

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A dissertation presented to the examiners of the University of St. Andrews for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy

by

Muneharu KITAGAKI

ms 2019

THE THEORY OF TRANSLATION

IN THE

AGE OF DRYDEN

I hereby declare that the following dissertation has been composed by me and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree.

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December 14, 1956.

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This dissertation embodies the results of the higher study undertaken by me on the topic approved by the Senatus Academicus of the University of St. Andrews in accordance with regulations governing the Degree of Bachelor of Philosophy.

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Supervisor

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ABBREVIATIONS

Amos: Flora Ross Amos. _Early theories of translation._ New York: Columbia University Press, 1920.

CBEL: F. W. Bateson (ed.). _The Cambridge bibliography of English literature._ 4 vols. Cambridge University Press, 1940.

CHEL: A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (ed.). _The Cambridge history of English literature._ 15 vols. Cambridge University Press, 1908-16.

DNB: Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (ed.). _Dictionary of national biography._ 63 vols. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1885-1900.

Johnson's LEP: Samuel Johnson. _The lives of the most eminent English poets._ 3 vols. London: Methuen & Co., 1896.

Ker: W. P. Ker (ed.). _Essays of John Dryden._ 2 vols. Oxford University Press, 1900.

Noyes: George R. Noyes (ed.). _The poetical works of Dryden._ Cambridge edition. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1950 edition.

Scott-Saintsbury: Sir Walter Scott (ed.) and George Saintsbury (revised and corrected). _The works of John Dryden._ 18 vols. Edinburgh and London: William Paterson & Co., 1882-93.

Segrais: Jean Regnauld de Segrais. Preface to the translation of the _Eneide_ (Paris, 1668).

Smith: G. Gregory Smith (ed.). _Elizabethan critical essays._ 2 vols. Oxford University Press, 1904.

Spingarn: J. E. Spingarn (ed.). _Critical essays of the seventeenth century._ 3 vols. Oxford University Press, 1908.

I

INTRODUCTION

OF all the critical verdicts passed on the seventeenth-century English translations from the Greek and Latin classics, no other is so appropriate as that of J. E. Spingarn. After pointing out that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had no conception of translation as an art, he declared: "that was the contribution of the seventeenth century."[1] As conceived before the seventeenth century, translation was, with a few exceptions, something other than an art. It was a kind of awkward means of approach to the Greek and Roman classics; and in this sense it was a product of the Revival of Learning, and also of the gradually growing consciousness of the possibilities of the modern vernacular tongues.

Since the seventeenth century, however, translation has been recognized as an art; but usually as a secondary art. By a secondary art I mean the sort of art which cannot claim the status of full independence, because of some particular handicap, or some limitation which its nature imposes upon the creative liberty of those who practise it. The point may be illustrated by a comparison between painting and photography. Painting is (potentially at least) a primary art, in that, even in landscape or portraiture,

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1. Spingarn, I, p. li.

it allows of such freedom in selection, emphasis, and interpretation that the artist can stamp his own individuality on a truly original work. In photography, on the other hand, the mechanical reproduction of an image (the very _raison d'être_ of the process) so restricts the freedom of the operator that he is forced to make a virtue of necessity, and the fidelity of his reproduction becomes one of the touchstones of his success. If the sole purpose of painting were objectively accurate representation, there would be no need of painting nowadays when we have photography. Now, metaphorically speaking, translation is a kind of photography, in so far as it is expected to produce a faithful likeness of the original; and, in so far as the translator is required to convey the full sense of that original, without adding or omitting anything, he must subdue his creative faculty (that is to say his narrative-making, idea-making, or image-making faculty) to the utmost degree. As the Earl of Roscommon writes:

> tho Materials have long since been found,
> Yet both your fancy and your Hands are bound; 2

or, as Dryden writes:

> He, who invents, is master of his thoughts and words: he can turn and vary them as he pleases, till he renders them harmonious; but the wretched translator has no such privilege: for, being tied to the thoughts, he must make what music he can in

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2. _An Essay on Translated Verse._ Spingarn, II, p. 299.

the expression; and, for this reason, it cannot always be so sweet as that of the original. 3

To-day, this view of translation as basically a secondary art is universally accepted. Although a modern writer may hope that his verse translation of the Aeneid will become part of English literature, he must know that it is more likely to be regarded as a "photograph," more or less faithful and more or less "artistic," of a great work in Latin literature. But it has not always been so. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Abraham Cowley was boldly claiming the status of a primary art for his rendering of Pindar's Odes, and avowedly seeking to create, in these Pindaric imitations, something better than the original; and towards the end of last century Edward Fitzgerald's version of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam was recognized as entitled, in its own right, to a place in English poetry.

This uncertainty about the status of translation arises from the fact that there is no such thing as a linguistic camera, capable of rendering an original with the accuracy of a good photograph. The differences between languages are such that literally accurate translation produces obvious distortion and falsification; and the translator, in his quest for fidelity, is forced to resort to many compromises. Thus, although his purpose remains analogous to that of the secondary art of photo-

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3. Dedication of the Aeneis. Ker, II, pp. 232-33.

graphy, his activity assumes something of the character of a primary art. We are led, therefore, to think of him as, in some sort, a painter; but a painter who may, at different times and under the influence of changing artistic ideals and changing theories of translation, exercise widely varying degrees of that liberty which is forced upon him by the end he has in view, and by the intractable nature of his materials. The purpose of this thesis is to examine such theories of translation as were current in the age of Dryden, and to trace any evolution of artistic ideals that their development may exhibit.

It was typical of a critical age that its approach to the art of translation should not have been purely empirical. De Piles, the French translator of Du Fresnoy's De Arte Graphica, writes:

> It is sufficient, that painting be acknowledged for an art; for that being granted, it follows, without dispute, that no arts are without their precepts. I shall satisfy myself with telling you, that this little treatise will furnish you with infallible rules of judging truly; since they are not only founded upon right reason, but upon the best pieces of the best masters, which our author hath carefully examined, during the space of more than thirty years, and on which he has made all the reflections which are necessary, to render this treatise worthy of posterity; . . . 4

Here is something amusingly characteristic of the seventeenth century view of art, and its implications for the newly recognized

4. Dryden's translation (1695). Scott-Saintsbury, XVII, p. 338. In France De Arte Graphica was published posthumously with de Piles's French version in 1661.

art of translation meet us everywhere in the translators of the age of Dryden. Translation had become an art, and so there had to be rules for it. Art presupposes rules; rules promote art. Rules are established upon right reason, but are also derived from the works of the best artists. Rules serve both as precepts in practice and as criteria in artistic criticism. Thus rules and precepts make theory; and the study of the theory of translation in the seventeenth century belongs to the study of the history of criticism.

In the following pages I will discuss various aspects of the theory of translation in England in the period 1660-1700 as fully as possible, with references where necessary to the French theory of translation. It is not within my scope to examine how successful any particular translation is. I am concerned only with the theoretical side of translation. However, I have sometimes been compelled to examine practice in order to understand theory better. I have no intention of deducing any principle of translation from translated work itself. Also, I must limit my examination to printed records. Miss Flora Ross Amos's The Early Theories of Translation (1920) surveys the subject from the Middle Ages down to William Cowper, the eighteenth-century translator of Homer. Her book, although well documented and surely monumental in this field of literary criticism, presents difficulty, especially when we attempt to evaluate individual writers as theorists of

translation, owing to her arrangement of her materials according to characteristics only. Thus it is almost impossible to get from her book any comprehensive understanding of Roscommon's or Dryden's outlook on translation, because the passages she cites are quoted separately and without due regard to their context. I will try to approach a particular preface, or the work of an individual critic, as a whole. The necessity for this kind of approach has become all the more apparent because Dryden, despite his popularity and the fruitfulness of recent scholarly investigations, has not been correctly understood as a theorist of translation. Just as he changed his attitude towards dramatic rules and his opinion about the use of blank verse on the stage, with the widening of his critical outlook, so he was not always consistent in his views of translation, nor in his use of the terminology which he employed in setting them forth; and one of the chief objects of this study is to explain how Dryden developed his own theory of translation.

The range of the theory of translation may be defined and illustrated by quoting some of the questions which have been asked in the discussion of it: how to translate, what to translate, why to translate, whom the translation is for, what the function of translation is, whether translation is desirable, whether or not it is possible. Some of these speculations are concerned with problems which lie beyond the scope of the present inquiry.

The period proposed abounds in discussions of why and for whom to translate, questions which raise social and moral issues rather than matters of purely literary criticism. As for the question whether translation is possible (to ask the possibility of translation *seriously* is quite a recent phenomenon), it reminds us of Charles Lamb's contention that *King Lear* cannot be acted; and of the way in which that contention had been refuted in advance. Long before Lamb had challenged the possibility, *King Lear* had actually been presented, and had drawn applause on the Jacobean stage. Similarly, a great deal of translation, some of it of a quality to command enduring respect, had been produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, before the possibility of translation had been seriously questioned. In the beginning Necessity said: "Let there be translation," and there was translation.

In discussing translation, I should like to use the word *loyalty*, which of course was not, in its origin, a term of literary criticism at all. By loyalty I mean fidelity, a sense of the duty to serve something. It is generally agreed that a translator must be loyal to the original he translates, and faithful to it "in his fashion." But fashions in faithfulness change; and when we look back over the history of translation in English literature we find that wide differences occur in practice, and that in some cases the very notion of an undivided loyalty to the original is not accepted.

Dr. Johnson seems to have been the first man to trace the pedigree of the loyal translators in English literature.[5] He shows that faithfulness to the letter had been an English tradition, but he regards it as a _bad_ tradition. Chaucer is condemned by Johnson for his translation of Boethius' _On the Conforts of Philosophy_, because "he has attempted nothing higher than a version strictly literal, and has degraded the poetical parts to prose, that the constraint of versification might not obstruct his zeal for fidelity." Johnson lists as literal translators Chaucer, William Caxton, Philemon Holland, Ben Jonson, Thomas May, George Sandys, Barten Holyday, Owen Feltham, and that die-hard of the seventeenth century, Sir Edward Sherburne. These men tried to be strictly literal in rendering their texts, and Johnson writes of Caxton: "though the words are English, the phrase is foreign." Again, of Feltham, that he seems "to consider it as the established law of poetical translation, that the lines should be neither more nor fewer than those of the original." In a word, they preferred "learning" to "genius" and "knowledge" to "delight." On the other hand, more elegant translations had begun to appear even in the sixteenth century, with "some essays . . . upon the Italian poets." Presumably Johnson here means the attempts at metrical renderings by Wyatt, Surrey and Sidney; and he recalls, from the seventeenth

5. _Idler_, 68, and especially, 69. The following quotations in this paragraph are all from 69.

century, Edward Fairfax, Sir John Denham, and Sir Richard Fanshawe as poetical translators who practised a "new and nobler way" of rendering, the attempt "to break the boundaries of custom, and assert the natural freedom of the Muse." Johnson himself, as a translator, descended from this new school.

But, by the middle of the seventeenth century, a new element had been introduced in a conception of translation which carried the new freedom to extreme lengths. This was the method employed by Cowley in his "imitations" of Pindar which have been already mentioned. It was such a free method of rendering that Cowley himself called it "a libertine way." The new school of "libertine" imitators claimed to be loyal, not so much to the original text as to the genius of the mother tongue, which, according to Johnson, can best be preserved in good poetry. It claimed the right to be original and creative, and thus risked overstepping the recognized boundaries of translation. The translator's loyalty was not to be to his author alone, but also to his Muse.

The old (and by this time old-fashioned) notion of fidelity to the letter; the "new and nobler way" of the seventeenth century; and the latest and "libertine" way of Cowley: such were some of the conceptions of translation that the men of the Restoration received from their predecessors. It is the business of the present inquiry to discover what they made of their inheritance.

II

NEW OUTLOOK

IN order to be able to assess the theory of translation in the period 1660-1700, we need first to appreciate the principle of translation which this period derived from the classics, and next, the aims and significance of Sir John Denham and Abraham Cowley, the immediate predecessors of Dryden.

1. THE HORATIAN ASSUMPTION

The seventeenth-century dramatic poets derived their rules of drama from Aristotle. According to recent critical theories, the seventeenth century misunderstood Aristotle, or, if we put it in another way, the seventeenth century transformed Aristotle according to its own image. A similar phenomenon seems to heve happened with the rules of translation. The principles in the field of translation were not derived from Arostotle, but from Horace. However, to-day we recognize that whereas Aristotle actually discussed dramatic principles in his Poetics, Horace did not discuss the rules of translation anywhere. The truth is that the seventeenth century was so eager and zealous that it found rules of translation where there were none. A most well-known precept came from Horace's Ars Poetica:

Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere, fidus
Interpres.[1]

This was used both for condemning literal version and for defending free version, under the authority of Horace. But what was the context where these lines occurred? The theme of lines 119-152 of the *Ars Poetica* is dramatic poetry. Here Horace puts forward the idea that subjects should ideally be taken from the Homeric story or from Greek drama and mythology; but he concedes that, provided the story and the characters are not distorted, there is room for originality in style and treatment. In other words, the theme of the passage is the problem of dramatic adaptation. Horace maintains that a dramatic poet should never reproduce Homer's words too closely. It was Sir John Denham that denounced this *fidus interpres*, and prepared the way for this passage to become an axiom of translation.[2] Dryden used the Horatian quotation to attack verbatim translation, as though Horace himself had attacked it.[3] If one quotes this passage (these seven words only) and says that it is Horace's words, the impression is that Horace was against the literal method of translation. Perhaps he was: but his concern was to show how to adapt the Homeric story into Roman drama, and not to advocate

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1. 133, 134. Modern texts read "Nec verbo verbum . . ."
2. *The Destruction of Troy: the Preface* (1656).
3. *Preface to Ovid's Epistles* (1680). Ker, I, p. 237.

a method of translation. This is a fallacy of quotation.[4]

One may see in this a common feature of neo-classical practice. To neglect the context in this way seems to us to show want of respect to Horace; but the neo-classical age tended to show its respect for the classics by turning detached quotations from them into watchwords. Though pretending to serve the classics the neo-classical age really made the classics serve it. I do not mean that its attitude was insincere: one might rather say that its admiration was at times misdirected and unscholarly. It tried to read too much into Horace. Here is another example: Horace writes of Lucilius in the Tenth Satire of the First Book:

> sed ille,
> Si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,
> Detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
> Perfectum traheretur . . . [5]

Modified forms of this passage applied to a subject far removed from that which Horace is discussing, appear in Dryden and others frequently; for example:

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4. Even J. E. Spingarn seems to have been under the spell of this fallacy when he wrote "the Horatian protest against too literal translation." (Spingarn, I, p. lv) He was right, if he used the epithet "Horatian" as designating that the passage was found in Horace, but he was surely wrong if he meant "like Horace opposed and protested." He seems to have held the former opinion, since he wrote in page lvii of "the advice of Horace." The adaptation of old story in new literary creation must be distinguished from translation.
5. 67-71. Dryden quotes this passage in his comparison of Shakespeare's age with his own in the Defence of the Epilogue (1672). Ker, I, p. 163. The text which Dryden used reads delapsus, instead of dilatus. These variants do not affect the purport of the passage.

> had he [Ovid] lived in our age, or in his own could have writ with our advantage, no man but must have yielded to him. (Dryden's Eugenius, 1668) 6

> I will grant thus much to Eugenius, that perhaps one of their poets had he lived in our age, si foret hoc nostrum fato delapsus in aevum (as Horace says of Lucilius), he had altered many things; not that they were not natural before, but that he might accommodate himself to the age in which he lived. (Dryden's Crites, 1668) 7

> Enfin mettant en usage tous les materiaux de ce divin Auteur, i'ay voulu donner l'Eneide en François, comme i'ay conceu qu'il l'eust donnée luy-mesme, s'il fust né suiet de nostre glorieux Monarque. (Jean Regnauld de Segrais in the Preface to his translation of the Eneide, 1668) 8

> I take imitation of an author . . . not to translate his words, or be confined to his sense, but only to set him as a pattern, and to write as he supposes that author would have done, had he lived in our age, and in our country. (Dryden's definition of imitation, in the Preface to Ovid's Epistles, 1680) 9

> This I soon imagin'd was to be effected by putting Horace into a more modern dress, than hitherto he has appear'd in, that is, by making him speak, as if he were living, and writing now. (John Oldham in the Advertisement to his Some New Pieces Never Before Publisht, 1681)

Dryden repeatedly used this notion, variously formulated, as his principle of translation.[10] There is an indication that this "Horatian assumption" (let us give it a name) was still

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6. Ker, I, p. 53.
7. Ker, I, p. 55.
8. Segrais, p. 65.
9. Ker, I, p. 239.
10. In the Preface to Sylvae (Ker, I, p. 252) and the Dedication of the Aeneis (Ker, II, p. 228).

held in the eighteenth century.[11] At first sight, this is a cleverly expressed axiom for translators. However, if we consider it seriously as a rule of translation, and try to apply it in practice, it proves to be pointless and irrelevant in its substance. One can justify oneself by this rule for any kind of translation---whether for literal or for free rendering. The translation based upon the Horatian assumption can take any kind of poetic form, metre, and diction, according to the idea which the translator has of the original. Dryden once applied the Horatian assumption to the definition of "imitation" as the method of translation; but later he used it to define his general principle of translation, after excluding the idea of "imitation" from the sphere of translation proper. Although the Horatian assumption defines the attitude of a translator towards his original, it does not designate the method of translation. The first healthy denunciation of the Horatian assumption is found in William Cowper's Preface to his translation of Homer. It is not certain, however, whether he considered it as "Horatian" or not, because by his time it had become a common opinion about the method of translation. Cowper was a man who worked, keeping his eye on the fidelity of rendition and on Miltonic grandeur (of course, he used blank verse). He writes:

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11. See John W. Draper: "The theory of translation in the eighteenth century." Neophilologus, VI (1921), p. 247.

> It is an opinion commonly received, but, like many others, indebted for its prevalence to mere want of examination, that a translator should imagine to himself the style which his author would probably have used, had the language into which he is rendered been his own. A direction which wants nothing but practicability to recommend it. For suppose six persons, equally qualified for the task, employed to translate the same ancient into their own language, with this rule to guide them. In the event it would be found that each had fallen on a manner different from that of all the rest, and by probable inference it would follow that none had fallen on the right. 12

2. DENHAM AND COWLEY

A brief mention must be made of Denham and Cowley as theorists of translation, since they were the precursors of the age of Dryden in this field. Denham's opinion is found in his poem "To Sir Richard Fanshaw upon his translation of Pastor Fido" (printed for the first time in 1648) and "The Destruction of Troy: the Preface" (published anonymously in 1656); Cowley's in the "Preface to Pindarique Odes" (1656). Their respective principles of translation agree with one another in the following points: (1) verse translation is regarded as the central problem; (2) from a methodological point of view, both are strongly hostile to verbatim rendering; and (3) they both believe the spirit of poetry to be the ultimate test in evaluating translated work; hence, they hold the "principle of compensation."[13]

Denham excluded from his consideration works which "deal in

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12. Preface to The Iliad and Odyssey of Homer (London, 1791), p. viii.
13. The expression is Mr. Alfred B. Gough's in his Abraham Cowley: the Essays and Other Prose Writings (Oxford, 1915), p. 240.

matters of Fact, or matters of Faith," namely, works of science, philosophy, and religion. The whole discussion centres about the translation of poetry. Denham and Cowley maintain that a translated poem must be a good English poem. They were disgusted with so many bad translations then prevailing. To Denham, "a new and nobler way" of rendering must be free enough to enable to translator to create a new beauty of his own, since the beauty of the original is necessarily lost in the process of translation. For Denham writes: "Poesie is so subtle a spirit, that in pouring out of one language into another, it will all evaporate: and if a new spirit be not added in the transfusion, there will remain nothing but a Caput mortuum."[14] Hence, the principle of compensation: if the translator fails to compensate for the absence of this new spirit (or new flame) in his rendering, the result remains dead.

Cowley is more ambitious than Denham in this attempt: he considers that the neglect of this compensatory method is the reason why "all which I yet saw, are so much inferior to their Originals." He now sets forth to produce "a Copy better than the Original." Thus, he brings forward a doctrine of a "libertine way of rendring forreign Authors," taking, omitting, and adding what he pleases. Denham, on the other hand, does not go this far: "I have not the vanity to think my Copy equal to the Original";

14. The Destruction of Troy: the Preface.

or again, "at least, I hope, it will not make him [Virgil] appear deformed, by making any part enormously bigger or less than the life, . . . Neither have I any where offered such violence to his sense, as to make it seem mine, and not his."[15]

The importance of Cowley and Denham as theorists of translation consists in their clear formulation of a new method. Both of them were conscious that they were opening a new way. They were admired as the innovators of translation in English, the benefactors who saved translation from the bondage of "servile" literalism.[16] It is not easy for us to understand the circumstances in which the charm of Cowley's Pindaric verse gripped the heart of the young wits of the mid-seventeenth century. In the history of English literature, this vivifying way of translation must be considered as a part of a new literary movement, towards the establishment of couplet form---Waller and Denham as its champions ---or, of the Pindaric style---Cowley as its champion---both of which provided the age with new refined vehicles of poetic expression. In these prefaces Denham and Cowley are less concerned with the enrichment of the mother tongue than with aesthetic innovation in translation. It was this aesthetic outlook that Dryden inherited from them. Now we must consider how he developed it.

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15. The Destruction of Troy: the Preface.
16. Despite Florio's translation of Montaigne, for example, which by no means was a verbatim rendition, the late seventeenth-century writers were inclined to regard their sixteenth-century predecessors as literalists. Miss Amos remarks: "On translators outside their own period seventeenth-century critics bestowed even less consideration than on their French or Italian contemporaries." (p. 143)

III

DRYDEN'S THEORY OF VERSE TRANSLATION

DRYDEN has very much to say about the proper methods of translation. Of the twenty essays in Ker's two-volume Oxford edition, no fewer than six contain discussions on translation. These six are the compositions of Dryden's later years, namely, between 1680 and the year of his death, 1700. They lack system and so they do not amount to a formal exposition of a theory. But they are the expression of Dryden's belief, concerning the nature and method of translation. They are, moreover, closely interrelated essays. Nevertheless, Dryden was restricted in two ways in his approach. First, he was interested in the translation of the classical literature of Greece and Rome into modern English. Although he translated Du Fresnoy's Latin treatise entitled _De Arte Graphica_ into English prose, and helped to complete Sir William Soames's translation of Boileau's _L'Art poétique_, his keen interest was not in the rendering of modern or contemporary writers, but of classical poets. The translation of Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Persius, Lucretius, and Homer afflicted him almost like a "disease." The only exception was the modernization of Chaucer. But this is a very late development; in fact the culmination of his idea and method of translation.

Secondly, Dryden was interested in verse translation. He

translated Father Dominick Bouhour's Vie de Saint François Xavier into English prose. The fact that it fills 544 pages in Scott and Saintsbury's bulky 18-volume edition shows that this translation was no small task. Yet Dryden says nothing about the method of prose translation in his dedication to the Queen, Mary of Este, wife of James II. He also translated Book III of The History of the League from Louis Maimbourg's French in 1684 at Charles II's command. In these cases his motives were political or religious, not poetical. Actually he left no opinion on the method of prose translation.

Therefore, the subject of this chapter is the poetical translation from Greek, Latin and English classics into the English of the late seventeenth century. What is the ideal method of translation? What is the motive of translation? What are the qualifications of a translator? To these questions Dryden provides many and significant answers.

Dryden loved to follow "honest Montaigne" in writing prefaces: for "the nature of a preface," he says, "is rambling, never wholly out of the way, nor in it."[1] We must search his writings to find his critical principles. Dryden talks of many topics at one time. He defends his method; he analyses the qualities of classical writers. He compares the English language with Latin. The discussion of poetic translation is inseparably entwined with that of poetic form and poetic language. In order to get a comprehensive

1. Preface to the Fables (1700). Ker, II, p. 255.

view of Dryden's theory of poetic translation, we must reconstruct it from his various and fragmentary statements. As the immediate source, we have his six essays. As other relevant material, we have his complete works. Since our concern is not in with his practice in translation, but with his theory of translation, we shall survey these essays in chronological order. Then comes the work of reconstruction.

1. PREFACE TO OVID'S EPISTLES (1680)

This preface can be divided into two parts. Dryden begins the first part with conjecture about the reason why Ovid was banished from Augustus Caesar's court. Critical comments on Ovid follow: Ovid is characterized by Dryden as the poet of the description of passion. He then reviews Ovid's Epistles. The subject of the second part is "Poetical Translation." It is worthy of note that he begins his earliest discussion of translation with that classification of the methods of translation, which is so well-known and so often quoted. No man before him ever classified the methods of translation so distinctly as he did.

i. Metaphrase. This is to turn "an author word by word, and line by line, from one language into another. Thus, or near this manner, was Horace his Art of Poetry translated by Ben Johnson."[2] Dryden is so hostile to this method that he says nothing of its merits. It is here that he quotes Horace's "Nec verbum verbo . . ."

2. Ker, I, p. 237.

to his aid. Also he quotes Sir John Denham's famous lines which praise "a new and nobler way" of rendering which Sir Richard Fanshawe adopted in his version of the Pastor Fido:

> That servile path thou nobly dost decline,
> Of tracing word by word, and line by line:
> A new and nobler way thou dost pursue,
> To make translations and translators too:
> They but preserve the ashes, thou the flame,
> True to his sense, but truer to his fame. 3

Dryden says it is "almost impossible to translate verbally, and well, at the same time."[4] The reason is that what one word of the Latin language, "a more severe and compendious language,"[5] can express cannot, in many cases, be expressed in one word of a modern language. It is possible to translate word for word, and line for line faithfully; but it is just like the possibility of "dancing on ropes with fettered legs."[6] As we cannot expect the gracefulness of motion from such a dance, so we cannot expect the gracefulness of poetry from metaphrase. There is no reason why a translated work in verse should lack beauty because it is not an original writing.

We must here take note of a current idea which Dryden and his contemporaries took for granted: that a translated work in verse must be a poem; and as such, it must have its own numbers, rhythms and rhymes according to its kind: heroic poem, satire, pastoral,

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3. Ker, I, p. 238. Incorrect quotation. Dryden omits four lines after the first couplet.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

epistle, or ode. Dryden, a capital master of the couplet measure, used it in translating Virgil's Aeneid, Georgics and Eclogues; some passages from Theocritus' Idylls and Ovid's Epistles and Metamorphoses; the six Satires of Persius and five of Juvenal; some specimens of Lucretius; and the First Book of Homer's Iliad. His only non-couplet translations are three Odes and one Epode of Horace, which are in various lyrical metres. In other words, Dryden made no attempt to translate the classics into blank verse or free verse. The highly reputed English version of Horace's Ars Poetica done by the Earl of Roscommon was in blank verse. Not only that, Roscommon himself says very little about this in the translator's preface, where he made brief remarks on his predecessor Ben Jonson's literal version. Although earlier translators tried to render Virgil into blank verse, and Dryden knew the Italian blank verse version of the Aeneid by Hannibal Caro,[7] he did not discard the use of couplet form at all. A "Proposal for Publishing a Translation of Virgil's Aeneids in Blank Verse" came from Nicholas Brady (1656-1726) in 1713. That is why Dryden speaks of "fettered legs" and "the slavery of rhyme."[8]

Apart from the frequent lack of gracefulness, metaphrase sometimes betrays its other weakness: the frequent lack of perspicuity. Ben Jonson's literal version of the Art of Poetry is

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7. Dryden writes in his Dedication of the Aeneis (1697): "Hannibal Caro is a great name amongst the Italians; yet his translation of the Aeneis is most scandalously mean, though he has taken the shackles of modern rhyme, if it be modern; . . . he who can write well in rhyme may write better in blank verse." (Ker, II, p. 220)
8. Ker, I, p. 238.

recalled as an example of the obscure translation. Here again Dryden learns a lesson from Horace:

> Brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio:[9]

which Jonson briefly and clearly translates:

> My selfe for shortnesse labour; and I grow
> Obscure.[10]

In one point, however, Dryden misunderstands Jonson, because he thinks that Jonson translated the Ars Poetica "in the same compass of lines."[11] The truth is, that Jonson translated 476 original lines of the Ars Poetica into 680 English lines.[12]

ii. Imitation. This is to translate an author, assuming "liberty, not only to vary from the words and sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion; and taking only some general hints from the original, to run division[13] on the groundwork, as he pleases. Such is Mr. Cowley's practice in turning two Odes of Pindar, and one of Horace, into English."[14] Abraham

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9. Ker, I, p. 239. Ars Poetica, 25.
10. C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson (ed.), Ben Jonson (Oxford University Press, 1947), Vol VIII, p. 307.
11. Ker, I, p. 239.
12. "Jonson's version of the Ars Poetica was first published in 1640 in two forms, and earlier draft in John Benson's Duodecimo collection of the Poems, and a carefully revised version in the second volume of the Folio." (Herford & Simpson, op. cit., p. 299). Both versions have 680 lines, but in the Folio version Jonson was indebted to Daniel Heinsius's critical recension of Horace's text. Heinsius rearranged "the Latin text designed to give a more logical sequence to the sections of Horace's causerie." (Ibid.)
13. "divisions" in Scott-Saintsbury; "division" in Ker and Noyes.
14. Ker, I, p. 237.

Cowley, seeing that all translations which he came across "are so much inferior to their Originals,"[15] devised a new method of translation, based on the principle of compensation. He assumed that a translator could compose an even better piece than his original, if he was successful in this task. Dryden understands this method in the sense which Cowley and Denham intended:

> I take imitation of an author, in their sense, to be an endeavour of a later poet to write like one who has written before him, on the same subject; that is, not to translate his words, or to be confined to his sense, but only to set him as a pattern, and to write, as he supposes that author would have done, had he lived in our age, and in our country. 16

This is the first example in which Dryden applies the Horatian assumption to a method of translation, although he does not profess it as his own method.

Cowley did not care that his new attempt should be called "imitation" or by other names. He was a champion of poetical translation, but he did not go so far as Dryden's definition of imitation reached. As Dryden observes, Cowley preserved "the custom and ceremonies of ancient Greece"[17] in his Pindaric Odes. But the young John Oldham who published his imitation of Horace's _Ars Poetica_[18] in 1681, changed the scene from Rome to London, and substituted English proper nouns, for instance, Lee and Dryden for Varius and Virgil, and, Shakespeare, Jonson, and Fletcher for

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15. _Preface to the Pindarique Odes._
16. Ker, I, p. 239.
17. Ker, I, pp. 239-40.
18. Contained in _Some New Pieces, Never Before Publisht_ (1681).

Plautus and Caecilius.[19]

Dryden regards imitation as another extreme. He understands the significance of this method. But he cannot help warning us against its abuse: he wants to confine its use under two strict conditions. First, "any regular intelligible authors" like Virgil or Ovid must be avoided. To a "dark" author like Pindar, who lacks connection, soars out of sight, and leaves his reader at a gaze, this method can be applied, for "So wild and ungovernable a poet cannot be translated literally; his genius is too strong to bear a chain, and Samson-like he shakes it off."[20] Secondly, only "a genius so elevated and unconfined" as Cowley can undertake this task of making Pindar speak English. But the result would be almost a new creation. Readers who want to know the sense of Pindar must be disappointed in reading Cowley's translation: they will find Cowley instead of Pindar. "Imitation of an author," Dryden says, "is the most advantageous way for a translator to show himself, but the greatest wrong which can be done to the memory and reputation of the dead."[21] Thus, Dryden's conclusion becomes evident: he proposes "paraphrase," the middle way between verbatim translation and imitation, as the proper method of translation.

iii. Paraphrase. This is to translate an author "with latitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as

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19. See *infra*, p. 91.
20. Ker, I, p. 240.
21. *Ibid.*

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. Such is Mr. Waller's translation of Virgil's Fourth Aeneid."[22]

This is Dryden's method. He makes it clear that in paraphrase, a translator can claim liberty with regard to expression, but he must be scrupulous with regard to the thought of the original. He says:

> The sense of the author, generally speaking, is to be sacred and inviolable. If the fancy of Ovid be luxuriant, 'tis his character to be so; and if I retrench it, he is no longer Ovid. 23

In this point an attack may come from "imitators": does not the author receive advantage "by this lopping of his superfluous branches" by the translator? Against this, Dryden answers definitely that

> a translator has no such right. When a painter copies from the life, I suppose he has no privilege to alter features and lineaments, under pretence that his picture will look better: perhaps the face which he has drawn would be more exact, if the eyes or nose were altered, but 'tis his business to make it resemble the original. 24

Although a translator is allowed liberty with regard to expression, he had better translate word for word, if the result appears "literally graceful." But actually such a case is very rare, and

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22. Ker, I, p. 237.
23. Ker, I, p. 242.
24. Ker, I, p. 242.

since every language is so full of its own proprieties, that what is beautiful in one, is often barbarous, nay sometimes nonsense, in another, it would be unreasonable to limit a translator to the narrow compass of his author's words: 'tis enough if he choose out some expression which does not vitiate the sense. 25

Dryden thinks it possible for a translator to satisfy Sir John Denham's doubts and to transfuse "the spirit of poetry" successfully while still observing this scrupulous care for the sense.

We also find here some important general rules for a translator which Dryden further developed in his later essays. First, a translator must have a genius in the art of poetry. So far as poetical translation is concerned, this is a matter of course, because it was a zealous desire of seventeenth (and eighteenth) century readers to read the great Greek and Latin classics in great poetry of their own language. In the Preface to Sylvae, which was written five years later than the present essay, he asserts that "to be a thorough translator, he must be a thorough poet."[26]

Secondly, a translator must be "a master of his author's language, and of his own."[27] He raises this rule from the level of language to the level of culture and education in the Preface to Sylvae, where he warns us against a kind of learned fool, that

25. Ker, I, p. 241.
26. Ker, I, p. 254.
27. Ker, I, p. 241. Gilbert Burnet echoes this opinion of Dryden's when he writes: "there is no Way of writing so proper, for the refining and polishing a Language, as the translating of Books into it, if he that undertakes it has a competent Skill of the one Tongue, and is a Master of the other." (Preface to the Translation of Sir Thomas More's Utopia, 1684)

is to say, the translator who is ignorant of his own language.

Thirdly, a translator must "understand the language [not] only of the poet, but his particular turn of thoughts and expression, which are the characters that distinguish, and as it were individuate him from all other writers."[28] Dryden is consistently faithful to this rule. Here and there he expresses his opinion on the nature and development of the Latin language. Latin is the most succinct tongue, and therefore it can contain more thought in less compass than modern languages. Here is the difficulty of translating Latin into English. Furthermore, Dryden considers Latin in its evolving, in other words, in the process of refinement. From the history of Latin poetry he seems to have learned how a poet can contribute to the development of a language. As Latin attained purity after the successive efforts of poets, so English, he suggests, can attain its purity in the same way. In order to grasp this "particular turn of thoughts and expression" of an author, he makes the utmost use of the comparative method. With skill and insight which are reminiscent of his excellent comparison of Shakespeare with Ben Jonson in _An Essay of Dramatic Poesy_, he handles in the _Preface to Juvenal_ the comparison of three Roman satirists, namely, Juvenal, Persius and Horace. He analyses their merits and defects, and gives his final evaluation with sympathy and taste. We may also remember the comparison of Homer and Virgil in the _Dedication of Examen Poeticum_.

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28. Ker, I, p. 241.

Fourthly, a translator has to look into himself, to conform to his author, "to give his thoughts either the same turn, if our tongue will bear it, or if not, to vary but the dress, not to alter or destroy the substance."[29] This theme of conforming the translator's genius to the author's does not seem to have been developed by Dryden. Instead of conforming himself to his author, Dryden selects authors whose quality of mind accords with his. As to Ovid he writes: "Perhaps this poet is more easy to be translated than some others whom I have lately attempted; perhaps, too, he was more according to my genius."[30] Dryden's natural inclination accords more with Homer than with Virgil. In the Preface to the Fables he confesses: "I have found, by trial, Homer a more pleasing task than Virgil, though I say not the translation will be less laborious; for the Grecian is more according to my genius than the Latin poet."[31] This is what the Earl of Roscommon formulates in his An Essay on Translated Verse, where he gives a rule for the choice of author:

> Examine how your Humour is inclin'd,
> And which the Ruling Passion of your Mind;
> Then seek a Poet who your way do's bend,
> And chuse an Author as you chuse a Friend:
> United by this Sympathetick Bond,
> You grow Familiar, Intimate, and Fond;
> Your thoughts, your Words, your stiles, your Souls agree,
> No longer his Interpreter, but He. 32

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29. Ker, I, p. 241.
30. Dedication of Examen Poeticum (1693). Ker, II, p. 9.
31. Ker, II, p. 251.
32. Spingarn, II, p. 300.

It is worthy of note that Dryden, after classifying the methods of translation, giving clear definition to each method and expounding his own method, still remains tolerant to the cause of imitation, as if he felt uneasy concerning what he has just stated:

> But if, after what I have urged, it be thought by better judges that the praise of a translation consists in adding new beauties to the piece, thereby to recompense the loss which it sustains by change of language, I shall be willing to be taught better, and to recant. 33

Such a statement as this may be necessary, for, as he adds, one of his fellow translators, namely Mrs. Aphra Behn, adopts the method of imitation in the book, and other translators also on the whole enjoy a little more latitude in the rendering than the editor wishes. Dryden himself frankly adds in the last paragraph of this Preface: "I am ready to acknowledge that I have transgressed the rules which I have given; and taken more liberty than a just translation will allow."[34] As Mr. J. M. Bottkol illustrates, there is a modest insertion of "sly digs at his political enemies" in the translation of Ovid's Epistles.[35] Our present concern is,

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33. Ker, I, pp. 242-43.
34. Ker, I, p. 243.
35. Bottkol gives two examples: "In Ovid's seventh Epistle, which Dryden translated in 1680, there is a plain allusion to the Exclusion Bill of Shaftesbury:

    Quis sua non notis arva tenenda dabit [Epist. vii, 16]?

    What people is so void of common sense,
    To vote succession from a native prince [Dido to Aeneas, ll. 17-18]?

however, with how Dryden vacillates on this question. Can he be faithful to his own rule to the end?

Dryden's classification of the methods of translation seems to have given his contemporaries and the eighteenth-century theorists a standard for their critical discussion on translation. He gave them a balanced and well-defined critical terminology. The division itself is simple and sensible, but exhaustive. Nobody can think of a fourth method other than metaphrase, paraphrase and imitation. Among direct followers of this classification are Sir Samuel Garth (1661-1718), a translator of Ovid's Metamorphoses (1717), James Grainger (1721?-1766), a translator of Tibullus' Elegies (1759), and Francis Fawkes (1720-1777), a translator of Theocritus' Idylliums (1767) and all of them profess in their prefaces Dryden's paraphrase as their proper method of translation.[36]

Translation in its simplest sense means "a complete transcript

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These modifications are typical of hundreds inserted by Dryden with the intent of giving a "modern" flavor and vivacity to his work; it would be a pedant who could object to his translation of Ovid's Palatia coeli:

> Hic locus est; quem, si verbis audacia detur,
> Haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia coeli [Metam. i. 175-76].
>
> This place, as far as earth with heav'n may vie,
> I dare to call the Louvre of the sky [I, 226-27]."

—J. McG. Bottkol, "Dryden's Latin Scholarship." Modern Philology, Vol. XL (1943), pp. 252-53.

36. See Amos, pp. 163-64.

of the idea of the original work."[37] In fact it started as such. The ideal of metaphrase is to present the transcript as faithfully as possible. This is the basis, or the thesis in dialectics. The antithesis was offered by Cowley and Denham with an artistic desire to appreciate a translated work as an art. In imitation the translator is allowed to add or cut as he likes, provided only that he attains the one aim of making his author speak the translator's own language, as if the author lived in the translator's country and in his age. He is freed from the position of "servile" copier and gets independence. Soon he competes with his author, and he even aims at surpassing his author. To surpass he creates, till he finds himself utterly outside the scope of translation. Paraphrase, therefore, can be called the synthesis of metaphrase and imitation, because it adopts the merit of both methods, and avoids the defect of both. In paraphrase the translator can preserve the thought of the original, which is easily lost in the method of imitation; and yet, he can attain the poetic beauty which is so difficult to attain by metaphrase.

One of the salient features of Dryden's critical writings is his analytical approach. Before he judges an author, he examines closely both his expression and his thought. Both seem to him equally important. This method is kept throughout in

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37. This is the first of Alexander Tytler's three principles of translation. Cf. his Essay on the Principles of Translation (Everyman's Library Edition), p. 9.

his essays.[38] With regard to the methods of translation, Dryden also tries this kind of approach: he is concerned with the translation of both expression and thought. We can summarize his classification from this angle. In metaphrase the translator should be loyal to both the thought and expression of the original. In paraphrase he must be loyal to the thought of the original, but he need not be loyal to the expression of the original. In imitation, he is free from loyalty both to the thought and expression of the original. Therefore, in Dryden's mind, if anything, the thought is one thing, and the expression is another. He says, for example, "'tis enough if he [translator] choose out expression which does not vitiate the sense."[39] To Dryden, it _is_ possible for a translator to choose out such expression as does not change the sense, and it always _ought_ to be so chosen. This is the basic assumption of Dryden's theory of paraphrase.

It seems to me that Dryden draws too distinct a line between expression and thought, or in other words, between form and substance. The present preface is for epistles, in which the

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38. Here are three examples:
"the definition of Wit . . . is only this: that it is a propriety of thoughts and words; or, in other terms, thoughts and words elegantly adapted to the subject." (_The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic Licence_, 1677. Ker, I, p.190)
"[Lucretius] refined it [the Latin language] to that degree of perfection, both in the language and the thoughts, that he left an easy task to Virgil." (_Preface to Sylvae_, 1685. Ker, I, p. 259)
"The thoughts and words remain to be considered, in the comparison of the two poets [Ovid and Chaucer]." (_Preface to the Fables_, 1700. Ker, II, p. 256)
39. Ker, I, p. 241.

thought may be said to be a little more substantial than the expression ("the ornamental part," Dryden would say). However, in a good poem, whether it is a lyric or an epic, form always depends on substance and substance on form. Form and substance are inseparable. Furthermore, in a perfect poem, form and substance approach from each other, till they become one, as in music sound is at the same time form and substance. And yet, Dryden's theory of paraphrase surely rests on the presupposition that form and substance are separable, and ought to be separable. Thus, we have come to a most delicate point about the nature of style in poetry, where a paradox is the truth. T. S. Eliot writes in his introduction to Ezra Pound's poems:

> People may think they like the form because they like the content, or think they like the content because they like the form. In the perfect poet they fit and are the same thing; and in another sense they always are the same thing. So it is always true to say that form and content are the same thing, and always true to say that they are different things. 40

If this statement is right, Dryden's theory of paraphrase proves incomplete, if not mistaken; incomplete because he neglects another aspect of style in poetry: the indissolubility of thought and expression. If he is thus incomplete in this theory, does not he realize the shortcoming of his theory in some way, say, through his practice of translation? In the following pages we

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40. Selected Poems of Ezra Pound. Edited with an introduction, by T. S. Eliot. London: Faber & Gwyer, 1928. p. x.

shall see how Dryden gets new light on the proper methods of translation.

2. PREFACE TO SYLVAE (1685)

Five years had passed since Dryden had written the _Preface to Ovid's Epistles_. One year before the publication of _Sylvae_, the Earl of Roscommon published _An Essay on Translated Verse_. Dryden's opinion of this _Essay_ is found in his panegyric "To the Earl of Roscommon, on his Excellent Essay on Translated Verse" and in the present preface to _Sylvae_. In the latter we see Dryden's very fresh reaction to the _Essay_, together with his sound caution about the use and misuse of rules:

> It was my Lord Roscommon's _Essay on Translated Verse_, which made me uneasy till I tried whether or no I was capable of following his rules, and of reducing the speculation into practice. For many a fair precept in poetry is, like a seeming demonstration in the mathematics, very specious in the diagram, but failing in the mechanic operation. I think I have generally observed his instructions; I am sure my reason is sufficiently convinced both of their truth and usefulness; which, in other words, is to confess no less a vanity, than to pretend that I have at least in some places made examples to his rules. 41

Although Dryden apologizes for this preface as written "too hastily and too loosely," it has vividness and a neat order in the treatment of subjects. He begins it by explaining how his recent "disease of translation" has come to drive him into the translation of Horace, Theocritus, Lucretius and Virgil. We

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41. Ker, I, pp. 251-52.

cannot deny a somewhat apologetic tone here---apologetic perhaps because he now adopts a rather more liberal method of translation than he had proclaimed five years before. Then he proceeds to point out a fundamental requisite that "Translation is a kind of drawing after life."[42] According to Dryden not all men who can read Greek or Latin are entitled to be engaged in translation: for, translation is not possible for men "without liberal education," perfect knowledge of, and insight into languages, and finally, the poetic genius. The reason why he requires such unusual talents and qualifications in a translator is that a translator must be able to individuate the translated authors---for instance, Virgil must be Virgil and Horace must be Horace, preserving their respective character when they are rendered into English. A translator, therefore, must be able to grasp the individual character of his author. The rest of the preface is devoted, sometimes with his usual deviations, to character-study of Virgil, Lucretius, Theocritus and Horace.

Here is not a new theory of translation, but a development of his theory is discernible. His attitude towards "imitation" undergoes a slight change. He does not use the terms "paraphrase" and "metaphrase" at all in this preface. Also he is not keen to use the term "imitation." "I must acknowledge," he says, "that I have many times exceeded my commission; for I have both added and

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42. Ker, I, p. 252.

omitted, and even sometimes very boldly made such expositions of my authors, as no Dutch commentator will forgive me."[43] This statement corresponds with what he wrote five years before in the concluding paragraph of the Preface to Ovid's Epistles.[44] Therefore, this kind of transgression is not entirely new in the Sylvae anthology. The difference is, that five years earlier he did not or could not define the reason why he transgressed his principles, but in the Preface to Sylvae he is well aware of it. He defends his excess with enthusiasm, almost to do positive justice to the method of "imitation." Here Dryden is seeking after a definition of a more proper method of translation, and for this reason he gives up the use of clearly classified terms such as "metaphrase," "paraphrase" and "imitation." Translation is something which cannot be defined by any of these terms.

The fact is that Dryden transgressed his rules many times and sometimes transgressed them very boldly, but he still preserves the sense of "a just translation." For instance, he is meticulously cautious against the fault of omission:

> If, to mince his [Lucretius'] meaning, which I am satisfied was honest and instructive, I had either omitted some part of what he said, or taken from the strength of his expression, I certainly had wronged him; and that freeness of thought and words being thus cashiered in my hands, he had no longer been Lucretius. 45

He writes the reason and defence of his transgression as follows:

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43. Ker, I, p. 252.
44. Ker, I, p. 243; see supra, p. 30.
45. Ker, I, p. 262.

Perhaps, in such particular passages, I have thought that I discovered some beauty yet undiscovered by those pedants, which none but a poet could have found. Where I have taken away some of their expressions, and cut them shorter, it may possibly be on this consideration, that what was beautiful in the Greek or Latin, would not appear so shining in the English: and where I have changed them, I desire the false critics would not always think, that those thoughts are wholly mine, but that either they are secretly in the poet, or may be fairly deduced from him; or at least, if both those considerations should fail, that my own is of a piece with his, and that if he were living, and an Englishman, they are such as he would probably have written. 46

This passage again proves Dryden's healthy sense of translation. Actually he changes his author, but he does so being urged by a kind of aesthetic necessity. He defends himself, by alleging that such thoughts as he presents "are secretly in the poet, or may be fairly deduced from him." Dryden does not admit that they are <u>his</u>. Thus, he adheres to the position of a translator.

Obviously, it was the temptation of his own Muse which made Dryden sometimes betray his due faithfulness to the sense of the author. This is the kind of beauty that "none but a poet could have found." Also, poetic insight into the difference between two languages sometimes made Dryden violate his own rules. The

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46. Ker, I, p. 252. In this excuse, Dryden echoes Denham, who wrote: ". . . there being certain Graces and Happinesses peculiar to every Language, which gives life and energy to the words; . . . the grace of the Latine will be lost by being turned into English words; and the grace of the English, by being turned into the Latine Phrase. . . . where mine are fuller than his [Virgil's], they are but the impressions which the often reading of him, hath left upon my thoughts; so that if they are not his own Conceptions, they are at least the results of them." (<u>The Destruction of Troy: the Preface</u>)

expression "what was beautiful in the Greek or Latin, would not appear so shining in the English" designates a fundamental problem which underlies all arguments about translation. This is the point where opinion diverges. "Therefore," some people say, "translation is impossible. We can never expect a version identical with the original." "Therefore," other people say, "the translator should supply the beauty which is necessarily lost in the process of translation." This is the principle of compensation. Some people are contented with copying the meaning of the original only, as accurately as possible. Since they give up the aesthetic ambition of artistic translation, they find prose a proper medium for this purpose. Actually we have a number of prose translations of poems. Dryden has been concerned only with verse translation from the beginning. So far as the translated piece claims to be a poem, it is inevitable to compensate, but, under strict conditions. Significantly enough, Dryden's last vindication is expressed in the Horatian assumption.

A new emphasis is put on preserving the character of the author, so that the author may be individualized. Five years before the emphasis was on the preservation of sense, which was "sacred and inviolable." This change of emphasis seems a consequence of Dryden's discovery while studying other translators. A common defect of his contemporaries and predecessors, according to him, is the failure to render the unique character of the original authors:

> For example, not only the thoughts, but the style and versification of Virgil and Ovid are very different: yet I see, even in our best poets, who have translated some parts of them, that they have confounded their several talents; and, by endeavouring only at the sweetness and harmony of numbers, have made them both so much alike, that, if I did not know the original, I should never be able to judge by the copies which was Virgil, and which was Ovid. . . Suppose two authors are equally sweet, yet there is a great distinction to be made in sweetness as in that of sugar and that of honey. 47

The necessity of this character-study is what Roscommon dismissed in his Essay. Apparently his emphasis is on the choice of author, whereas Dryden's character-study is a more positive method. Therefore, it is not entirely improbable that here Dryden purposely supplements the deficiency of Roscommon's rules. Thus, to Dryden, whether the translator succeeds in this delicate differentiation is the touchstone of his skill. To fulfill this one requisite, he must be a thorough poet, and he must be best versed in the culture and custom of his age and nation. Thus the character-study of the author has become an essential part of Dryden's method of translation. Five years before, he could be satisfied with a clear-cut, yet rather mechanical classification of methods and their definition. The problem is not whether one renders or not within the scope of "paraphrase" but whether one presents one's author's spirit or not. Dryden's adherence to the spirit of a literary piece remains unchanged. But his ideal method had been enlarged.

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47. Ker, I, pp. 254-55.

Dryden's list of requisites for a translator is almost exhaustive. He does not say that translation is a recommendable exercise and let every talented young man try it. Nor is it a task of scholars who are well versed in the classical languages. His antipathy to "pedantic" translations---notably to those of Holyday and Ogilby---is remarkable. Translation is a task for a master of poetry. The requisites are severe, but practical. Dryden requires the highest power of critical discernment about poetry and language:

> There are many who understand Greek and Latin, and yet are ignorant of their mother-tongue. The proprieties and delicacies of the English are known to few; 'tis impossible even for a good wit to understand and practise them, without the help of a liberal education, long reading, and digesting of those few good authors we have amongst us, the knowledge of men and manners, the freedom of habitudes and conversation with the best company of both sexes; and, in short, without wearing off the rust which he contracted while he was laying in a stock of learning. Thus difficult it is to understand the purity of English, and critically to discern not only good writers from bad, and a proper style from a corrupt, but also to distinguish that which is pure in a good author, from that which is vicious and corrupt in him. And for want of all these requisites, or the greatest part of them, most of our ingenious young men take up some cried-up English poet for their model, adore him, and imitate him, as they think, without knowing wherein he is defective, where he is boyish and trifling, wherein either his thoughts are improper to his subject, or his expressions unworthy of his thoughts, or the turn of both is unharmonious. Thus it appears necessary, that a man should be a nice critic in his mother-tongue before he attempts to translate a foreign language. Neither is it sufficient, that he be able to judge of words and style; but he must be a master of them too; he must perfectly understand his author's tongue, and absolutely command his own. So that to be a thorough translator, he must be a thorough poet. 48

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48. Ker, I, pp. 253-54.

Dryden gives another relevant description of an ideal translation, likening it to the art of painting:

> a translator is to make his author appear as charming as possibly he can, provided he maintains his character, and makes him not unlike himself. Translation is a kind of drawing after the life; where every one will acknowledge there is a double sort of likeness, a good one and a bad. 'Tis one thing to draw the outlines true, the features like, the proportions exact, the colouring itself perhaps tolerable; and another thing to make all these graceful, by posture, the shadowings, and, chiefly, by the spirit which animates the whole. . . . a good poet is no more like himself in a dull translation, than his carcass would be to his living body. 49

The quotation implies yet another touchstone of a translator's skill: whether he is able to animate the rendered work or not. A mere "dull correctness" in copying the original, in other words, a meticulously exact rendering of words produces nothing but a short-sighted translation. In order to appreciate the nature of translation, let us here make use of photography in comparison with painting. There is nothing equal to a photograph, taken by a camera, in that it enables one to get a perfect image of an object. We attach our photograph to our passports and other important certificates to identify ourselves. In photography there is no room for arbitrariness on the part of the photographer except in the position of the camera. But the result is, as we experience, very arbitrary: a snapshot only sometimes catches our characteristic features exquisitely. In many cases, it

49. Ker, I, pp. 252-53.

entirely neglects the point and disappoints us. Many people have their own snapshots which they do not think are like themselves. Because a snapshot catches a very brief moment of 1/250, 1/100, 1/50, or 1/25 second, there is scarcely any room for the time element to creep in. The memory of my friend's face consists, not in what a moment caught, but in what hours and hours of company with him perceived through his smiling, laughing, crying, melancholic, dignified or sleepy face. The expression of a face always moves, even when one is sleeping. A well-painted portrait contains a time element. A painter not only takes many hours to finish the portrait, but he _paints_ hours. Thus, a portrait is endowed with life. He may exaggerate or neglect some details, but he does so only to express more effectively the individual character as he understands it. When we compare a well-painted portrait with a snapshot, we notice the difference immediately. The likeness of the photograph is mechanical, but ironically enough, often arbitrary. The likeness of painting is artistic, in that the painting has a faithful concentration to an effect which has been organically formed in the painter's mind. A translator should also seek after this artistic likeness.[50]

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50. However, all similes break down somewhere. Poetry is the art of language, and language becomes old and obsolete in the course of time; painting is the art of drawing and colouring, and colour and drawn shapes do not become obsolete. There is no use in modernizing an old painting. When Dryden commends "a copy after Raphael" as follows in his _Parallel of Poetry_

It must be noted that in the period with which we are now concerned, Virgil among many other classical writers was regarded as the highest target of translators' ambition. He was unanimously respected by men of letters as the greatest Roman poet.[51] Besides, "He who excells all other poets in his own language, were it possible to do him right, must appear above them in our tongue."[52] A number of people attempted to translate his works by various methods. Dryden describes the characteristic qualities of Virgil ---the result of his character-study---and the method and the particular difficulties of translating him as follows:

> This exact propriety [of thoughts and words] of Virgil I particularly regarded as a great part of his character; but must confess, to my shame, that I have not been able to translate any part of him so well, as to make him appear wholly like himself. For the original is close, no version can reach it in the same compass. . . . Virgil therefore, being so sparing of his words, and leaving so much to be imagined by the reader, can never be translated as he ought, in any modern tongue. To make him copious, is to alter his character; and to translate him line for line, is impossible, because the Latin is naturally a more succinct language than either the Italian, Spanish,

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and Painting (1695), he goes a little too far in this analogy: "[Imitators] have nothing which is properly their own: that is a sufficient mortification for me, while I am translating Virgil. But to copy the best author is a kind of praise, if I perform it as I ought; as a copy after Raphael is more to be commended than an original of any different painter." (Ker, II, pp. 138-39)

51. See Amos, pp. 137-39.
52. Ker, I, p. 257. Cf. Perrot d'Ablancourt: "Comme il a esté agreable en sa langue, il faut qu'il le soit encore en la nostre; . . . Autrement nous ferons vne meschante copie d'vn admirable original." (Preface to L'Octavius de Minucius Félix, Second edition, Paris, 1640) Also Segrais: "En effet, si un original est parfait, c'est alors qu'il est dangereux d'en donner une mauvaise copie." (p. 59)

French, or even than the English, which, by reason of its monosyllables, is far the most compendious of them. Virgil is much the closest of any Roman poet, and the Latin hexameter has more feet than the English heroic. 53

In short, Virgil "seems to have studied not to be translated"![54] The difficulty is a dilemma: "To make him copious, is to alter his character; and to translate him line for line, is impossible." Two factors are involved in this difficulty: the individual particularity and the difference in the nature of the two languages. They are so stringent that Dryden comes almost to the brink of admitting the impossibility of rendering Virgil into English. As to Virgil's diction he says:

There is an inimitable grace in Virgil's words, and in them principally consists that beauty, which gives so unexpressible a pleasure to him who best understands their force. This diction of his, I must once again say, is never to be copied; and, since it cannot, he will appear but lame in the best translation. The turns of his verse, his breakings, his propriety, his numbers, and his gravity, I have as far imitated, as the poverty of our language, and the hastiness of my performance, would allow. 55

Thus Dryden actually acknowledges the impossibility of imitation so far as Virgil's diction is concerned. With this limitation on the part of the translator, and the "poverty of English" in his mind, he pursues the possibility of copying the "turns of his verse, his breakings, his propriety, his numbers, and his

53. Ker, I, pp. 256-57.
54. Ker, I, p. 257.
55. Ker, I, p. 258.

gravity," which are the proper field committed to a translator to copy.

Although Dryden is bitter against the "pedantic" translations such as Sandys's Ovid (Metamorphoses, 1626), Ogilby's Homer (Iliad, 1660; Odyssey, 1665), and Holyday's Juvenal and Persius (1673; Juvenal is by William Dewey), he is not intolerant to other translators whose method is more or less different from his. Comparing his method with that of the "ingenious and learned " Thomas Creech, who published the first complete English translation of Lucretius[56] in 1682, Dryden says:

> [Creech] follows him [Lucretius] more closely than I have done, which became an interpreter of the whole poem; I take more liberty, because it best suited with my design, which was to make him as pleasing as I could. He had been too voluminous had he used my method in so long a work; and I had certainly taken his had I made it my business to translate the whole. The preference, then, is justly his. 57

Dryden is not an interpreter but a translator. In fact he is a poet-translator. To him, Creech is more or less an academic translator, so far as his Lucretius is concerned; Creech's annotations, according to Scott, "display great learning and an intimate acquaintance with the Epicurean philosophy,"[58] and sometimes

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56. Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson (b. 1620) translated the six books of Lucretius into verse and presented it in 1675 to Arthur Annesley, earl of Anglesea. This translation was not published. It is now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 19333). Later, she "became ashamed of her translation of Lucretius, which she entreated Anglesea to conceal." (DNB, XXVIII, p. 341)
57. Ker, I, p. 264.
58. Scott-Saintsbury, XII, p. 296.

pleased Dryden to read. An interpreter tries to present the original author as he is, presumably, by translating a whole work. But the aim of a translator is to make the original author as pleasing and charming as possible. Here in the Sylvae anthology Dryden is concerned with the beautiful or significant parts of Lucretius only, as the titles show: "The Beginning of the First Book of Lucretius," "The Latter Part of the Third Book of Lucretius, against the Fear of Death," and "The Latter Part of the Fourth Book of Lucretius; Concerning the Nature of Love. Beginning at this Line: Sic igitur Veneris . . ." Later Dryden translated Virgil's Eclogues, Georgics and the twelve books of the Aeneid, and thus he also "became an interpreter of the whole poem."

3. PREFACE TO JUVENAL (1692)

Dryden put the date "Aug. 18, 1692" at the end of this preface. In October 1692 this translation was published, although the original title page bears the date 1693, as it was a custom in those days to put the next year on the title page when the book was being published towards the end of a year. So, chronologically, this long, discursive preface to Juvenal, constituting A discourse concerning the original and progress of satire, was written earlier than the dedication of the Examen Poeticum anthology (1693). In this preface Dryden discusses the origin and development of satire in detail; his critical skill occasion-

ally shines, especially when he compares the three Roman satirists, namely, Juvenal, Horace, and Persius with one another. This is, of course, Dryden's character-study. As for the materials of this essay, as Dryden himself mentions, he owes a debt to several commentators, critics, and translators, such as Isaac Casaubon, Daniel Heinsius, Nicholas Régault, André Dacier, the editor of the "Dauphin" edition of Juvenal, and Barten Holyday. We cannot expect from Dryden a rich originality here. Yet, the judgments on the essential questions throughout the essay are delightfully his.

The whole six satires of Persius, and five out of the sixteen satires of Juvenal were translated by Dryden. Juvenal's other satires were assigned to Tate, Bowles, Stepney, Hervey, Congreve, Power, Creech, an unnamed writer, and Dryden's sons Charles and John.[59] Dryden says that the common way that they adopted is:

> not a literal translation, but a kind of paraphrase; or somewhat, which is yet more loose, betwixt a paraphrase and imitation. It was not possible for us, or any men, to have made it against any other way. If rendering the exact sense of those authors, almost line for line, had been our business, Barten Holyday had done it already to our hands. 60

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59. See Noyes, p. 281. The allotment of Juvenal's satires is as follows: Dryden (Sat. i, iii, vi, x, xvi); Tate (Sat. ii, xv); Bowles (Sat. v); Stepney (Sat. viii); Hervey (Sat. ix); Congreve (Sat. xi); Power (Sat. xii); Creech (Sat. xiii); an unnamed writer (Sat. iv); Charles Dryden (Sat. vii); John Dryden, fils (Sat. xiv).
60. Ker, II, p. 111.

> We make our author at least appear in a poetic dress. We have actually made him more sounding, and more elegant, than he was before in English; and have endeavoured to make him speak that kind of English, which he would have spoken had he lived in England, and had written to this age. 61

This essay was written seven years after the Preface to Sylvae (1685). We can notice that Dryden here uses his old terminology which he defined in his Preface to Ovid's Epistles (1680). He fixes his and his colleagues' method somewhere between "paraphrase" and "imitation." Seven years before, as we have seen, he was somehow unwilling to use these terms. Here he seems to have returned to the use of that convenient terminology, although he says "literal translation" instead of "metaphrase." The implied method is exactly the same as that which was stated in the Preface to Sylvae. The ground work is paraphrase: because the translators' intention is not so much to convey the exact meaning of the Latin text as to please the readers with good verse, to present Juvenal in English "poetic dress." Their method is generalized in his familiar Horatian assumption: "to make him speak that kind of English which he would have spoken had he lived in England, and had written to this age." Dryden, however, warns us not to confound the "manners of nations and ages": "we should make them English, or leave them Roman."[62]

Dryden's prefaces show that he attempted several methods---

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61. Ker, II, pp. 113-14.
62. Ker, II, p. 114.

paraphrase for Ovid's Epistles, loose paraphrase for Sylvae, and Juvenal and Persius, and the middle way between metaphrase and paraphrase for the Aeneid, as we shall see in the following pages. He has never said that there must be a particular method of translation, inherent to each piece of work. He was seeking after an ideal method of translation, with the result that he attempted every possible channel----except the literal method of translation. No, he once maintained that even the literal method was good if the translated verse would be graceful. But he knew too well that it hardly enabled a translator to attain the beauty and elegance of poetry. He criticized Ben Jonson's literal version of Horace's Ars Poetica in the Preface to Ovid's Epistles. Here he contrasts the manner of Holyday and Stapylton's translation with that of himself and his collaborators:

> if we are not altogether so faithful to our author, as our predecessors Holyday and Stapylton, yet we may challenge to ourselves this praise, that we shall be far more pleasing to our readers. We have followed our authors at greater distance, though not step by step, as they have done: for oftentimes they have gone so close, that they have trod on the heels of Juvenal and Persius [63], and hurt them by their too near approach. A noble author would not be pursued too close by a translator. We lose his spirit, when we think to take his body. The grosser part remains with us, but the soul is flown away in some noble expression, or some delicate turn of words, or thought. Thus Holyday, who made this way his choice, seized the meaning of Juvenal; but the poetry has always escaped him. 64

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63. W. L. writes in the preface to his translation of Virgil's Eclogues (published in 1628): "No more do I conceive my course herein to be faulty though I do not affect to follow my author so close as to tread upon his heels." (Quoted from Amos, p. 146) Dryden may have got the expression from this preface of W. L.'s.
64. Ker, II, p. 112.

Evidently Dryden's concern is for the transmission of poetry, which he finds in the original poem. There seems to be a subtle difference between Denham and Dryden on this matter: Denham along with Cowley thinks that the poetry is necessarily lost in the process of transmission from one language into another, and therefore the translator must compensate for it by adding "a new spirit"; whereas Dryden thinks it possible for a translator to transmit this poetry into the translated verse. They are, in fact, maintaining the same thing from different angles, for it is incumbent on the translator to create a new verse which should keep an organic entity as a poem. Dryden admits that he and his co-translators are not altogether so faithful to the sense of the original. It is because of this loyalty to the poetry which their own language can attain. The dilemma inherent to verse translation, in this case, is settled so as to put a little more emphasis on the loyalty to their language than to their poet.

Dryden's comments on Holyday and Stapylton illustrate in what points his predecessors were defective and what sort of poetic translation he meant:

> Thus far that learned critic, Barten Holyday, whose interpretation and illustrations of Juvenal are as excellent, as the verse of his translation and his English are lame and pitiful. For 'tis not enough to give us the meaning of a poet, which I acknowledge him to have performed most faithfully, but he must also imitate his genius and his numbers, as far as the English will come up to the elegance of the original. In few words, 'tis only for a poet to translate a poem. Holyday and

Stapylton had not enough considered this, when they attempted Juvenal . . . 65

Thus Holyday, Dryden thinks, does not reach an artistic standard. To translate a poem into English verse is not enough: one must copy the genius of the original author (the character) and his numbers (the metrical period) as well. Thus a verdict in the Preface to Sylvae "to be a thorough translator, he must be a thorough poet" is stated in another form: "'tis only for a poet to translate a poem."

One question Dryden did not ask himself: is there any valid ground for the "group" method of translation? It is unlikely that all of his co-translators understood Juvenal's beauty and uniqueness as he did. It is also unlikely that all of them had the same poetic genius as Dryden had. Apart from Congreve and Creech, whom he mentions in the Dedication of Examen Poeticum, and Nahum Tate the Poet Laureate, their names are not familiar to modern readers. In the collective version of Juvenal, as in the case of Ovid's Epistles, is not the result like a kind of tapestry made of several similarly coloured and designed pieces? Is it not like a translation of several different authors instead of the complete translation of a single author? However elaborately each translator may try to conform his style to that of Juvenal, and however scrupulously Dryden may improve his colleagues' verse, yet there remains more or less the character of the translator

himself. In fact those who have no style of their own are not good translators. Dryden translated Juvenal and Virgil into the medium of his own poetic pattern. So did Pope when he rendered Homer. Dryden seems a little impartial in his theory; for he was so careful concerning the subtle difference of style between two authors that he maintained the necessity of distinguishing the sweetness of sugar and that of honey. On the other hand he neglects the effect that the difference between the translators exerts on the unity of Juvenal's character when he is rendered. However, the translation of Juvenal became the last of the "group" translation in which Dryden was engaged.

4. DEDICATION OF EXAMEN POETICUM (1693)

This dedication to Lord Radcliff, written eight years after the *Preface to Sylvae*, perhaps several months after the long *Preface to Juvenal*, is vivid in style, satiric and provocative in savour. Here Dryden is writing against his literary opponents, especially against Thomas Rymer, now the Historiographer Royal to King William III. He vindicates Shakespeare and the English drama that Rymer had severely attacked in his recent treatise entitled *A Short View of Tragedy* (1692). Dryden also insists that English dramatists are superior to the French, who follow "the ancients too servilely in the mechanic rules." Thus, from the dramatic viewpoint, this dedication reaffirms what Dryden

made Neander maintain in the famous _An Essay of Dramatic Poesy_ (1668) against the ancient and French writers. In the latter half of this dedication Dryden again discusses Ovid, Shakespeare, Homer and Virgil, partly because the _Examen Poeticum_ anthology contains Dryden's translation from Ovid's _Metamorphoses_ and from the Sixth Book of Homer's _Iliad_. He includes a brief review of two translations by his predecessors, namely, Chapman's Homer and Sandys's Ovid. His principles of translation remain unchanged since eight years before. It is interesting to note that Dryden speaks as the representative of his group in the former half of this dedication where he defends the "good" poets of his age against the bad poets and critics; the "we-they" antithesis appears so often. We----Dryden and his circle, presumably such as Lord Radcliff, to whom Dryden inscribes this anthology, Congreve, Addison, the Earl of Mulgrave, Prior, Granville, Henry Cromwell, Yalden, and others. They----Thomas Rymer and his circle. "If we are bad poets, they are worse," says Dryden. But, in the latter half, where he discusses problems of translation, he does so as an individual, not as the representative of his group.

The idea of good translation which Dryden attained eight years before was of such translations as conveyed the character of the original author best. Therefore the character-study of the author is the essential part of his method of translation. In the present dedication Dryden has "endeavoured to copy his

[Ovid's] character, what I could, in this translation---even, perhaps, further than I should have done---to his very faults."[66] It must be the defects as well as the merits of the author that individuate him from others. So, theoretically, Dryden must copy Ovid's faults where Ovid commits faults, as the Earl of Roscommon observes:

> Your Author alwayes will the best advise:
> Fall, when He falls; and when He Rises, Rise. 67

But Dryden's "even, perhaps, further than I should have done" is a delicately noncommittal way of expression. It is definitely certain for Dryden that character must be copied. It is, however, not yet certain whether character should be copied, even through the faults of the original author. What he did in the translation of Ovid is summarized in the following passage:

> I have given my author's sense for the most part truly . . . [and] attempted to restore Ovid to his native sweetness, easiness, and smoothness; and to give my poetry a kind of cadence, and, as we call it, a run of verse, as like the original, as the English can come up to the Latin. 68

We have two passages in which Dryden expresses his opinions of Chapman's Homer and Sandys's Ovid:

> Mr. Chapman, in his Translation of Homer, professes to have done it somewhat paraphrastically, and that on set purpose;

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66. Ker, II, p. 9.
67. An Essay on Translated Verse. Spingarn, II, p. 303.
68. Ker, II, p. 10.

> his opinion being that a good poet is to be translated in that manner. I remember not the reason which he gives for it; but I suppose it is for fear of omitting any of his excellencies. Sure I am, that if it be a fault, 'tis much more pardonable than that of those who run into the other extreme of a literal and close translation, where the poet is confined so straitly to his author's words that he wants elbow-room to express his elegancies. He leaves him obscure; he leaves him prose where he found him verse; and no better than thus has Ovid been served by the so-much admired Sandys. This is at least the idea which I have remaining of his translation; for I never read him since I was a boy. They who take him upon content, from the praises which their fathers gave him, may inform their judgment by reading him again, and see (if they understand the original) what is become of Ovid's poetry in his version; whether it be not all, or the greatest part of it, evaporated. But this proceeded from the wrong judgment of the age in which he lived. They neither knew good verse, nor loved it; they were scholars, 'tis true, but they were pedants. 69

> The Earl of Mulgrave and Mr. Waller, two of the best judges of our age, have assured me of that they could never read over the translation of Chapman without incredible pleasure and extreme transport. This admiration of theirs must needs proceed from the author himself; for the translator has thrown him down as low as harsh numbers, improper English, and a monstrous length of verse could carry him. What then would he appear in the harmonious version of one of the best writers, living in a much better age than was the last? I mean for versification, and the art of numbers; for in the drama we have not arrived to the pitch of Shakespeare and Ben Johnson. 70

It is true that Chapman is strictly against the "word-for-word traductions," which, he maintains, "lose The free grace of their naturall Dialect And shame their Authors with a forced Glose."[71] It is also true that in his preface to the Whole Works of Homer

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69. Ker, II, pp. 9-10.
70. Ker, II, p. 14. From the context, it is evident that Dryden here means Congreve by "one of the best writers."
71. "To the Reader" in Homer, Prince of Poets, translated according to the Greek in twelve bookes of his Iliads (1610?). Spingarn, I, p. 77.

(1616?), Chapman admits that his version is more or less "paraphrastical."[72] But nowhere does he say that he translated Homer "on set purpose," or that "a good poet is to be translated in that manner." Here Dryden's memory is incorrect. However, the point is the use of the word "paraphrase." Why "if it be a fault"? Does Dryden suspect the once established theory of paraphrase? And why "the other extreme of a literal and close translation," as if "paraphrase" were the opposing extreme method? Now Dryden seems to consider "paraphrase" in Chapman's sense, abandoning the former definition which he gave in the Preface to Ovid's Epistles. Chapman uses the word only in apologizing, meaning by it a free, loose, periphrastical and circumlocutory way of rendering, the alternative to literalism. Thus in Chapman the framework of the method of translation is simply twofold——literal and paraphrastical. This change of framework in Dryden——from the threefold to the twofold——seems to have happened very

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72. Chapman writes: "If any taxe me for too much periphrasis or circumlocution in some places, let them reade Laurentius Valla and Eobanus Hessus, who either vse such shortnesse as cometh nothing home to Homer, or, where they shun that fault, are ten parts more paraphrastical then I." (Spingarn, I, p. 70) Chapman, as great a translator as he is, does not define his method in positive terms at all. He is definitely hostile to the literalists, and in this point he is a forerunner of Cowley and Denham, and perhaps, of Dryden, though he is not acknowledged by them as such. But more specifically, his method is still uncertain. Professor C. S. Lewis's statement, "Chapman's Homer is always teaching lessons (not always very noble) of civil and domestic prudence which never crossed the real Homer's mind." (English literature in the sixteenth century. Oxford University Press, 1954. p. 517) is quite suggestive. Presumably Chapman is only clear about the kind of Homer he is trying to present to his readers.

quietly, perhaps unsuspected by Dryden himself. This may have been a result of Chapman's influence on Dryden, if there were any whatever; because the change became apparent with the observation of Chapman's translation.[73] However, there is nothing remarkable in thinking very roughly in two ways as Chapman does. So many theorists of translation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who warned us against the word-for-word method had nearly the same framework as Chapman's. This change was to be endorsed in Dryden's next essays, the Dedication of the Aeneis (1697) and the Preface to the Fables (1700).

We notice that Dryden again denounces the literal method of translation, its fatal defects being obscurity and poetic failure. But here his judgment is based not on the method of translation but on the result of versification. Paraphrastically (whether in Chapman's sense or in Dryden's sense in the Preface to Ovid's Epistles) one can translate Homer very poorly. The method of translation cannot justify the faults of the achievement. Dryden thus criticizes Chapman the versifier rather than Chapman the translator, because poetic translation to Dryden is nothing

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73. It is interesting here to note Dryden's brief comment on Chapman which he made four years later in the Dedication of the Aeneis: "Spenser is my example for both these privileges of English verses [the use of Alexandrine and triplet rhymes], and Chapman has followed him in his translation of Homer. Mr. Cowley has given into them after both, and all succeeding writers after him. I regard them now as the Magna Charta of heroic poetry, and am too much an Englishman to lose what my ancestors have gained for me." (Ker, II, p. 229) Not merely sympathetic with Chapman, Dryden here regards him as a poet who worked on the direct traditional line since Spenser.

but a study of poetry, an experiment in poetry, and a pursuit of the possibilities of the English poem. But, was the merit of Chapman's <u>Homer</u> due to Homer only, when Waller and Mulgrave (and Keats, early in the nineteenth century) extolled it? Dryden cannot appreciate Chapman's versification: he is embarrassed by the rhyming fourteen-syllable version of the <u>Iliad</u> ("a monstrous length of verse"[74]). But he attributes Chapman's failure not so much to Chapman himself as to the age he lived in. It is worth while to remember Dryden's view of the dramatic poetry of Shakespeare's age; as a contemporary of Shakespeare, Chapman lived in the "unpolished age," when poetry was, "if not in its infancy among us, at least not arrived to its vigour and maturity."[75] In drama, as Dryden confesses, his contemporaries cannot attain to "the pitch of Shakespeare and Ben Johnson," but in poetry (in the sense of versification) Dryden's contemporaries have an advantage in the "refined" and "much better age" after the Restoration.

George Sandys is tested by the same criterion. He is, as Dryden writes, a literal translator, and was prevented from producing a good translation of Ovid by "the wrong judgment of the age in which he lived." It is a little curious, however, that the same Sandys is treated with kindly praise in the <u>Preface to the Fables</u> seven years later:

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74. Even Ben Jonson comments: "the translations of Homer and Virgil in long Alexandrines were but prose." (From the <u>Conversation of Jonson and Hawthornden</u>. Spingarn, I, p. 211)
75. <u>Defence of the Epilogue</u> (1672). Ker, I, p. 165.

> I hope I have translated /several pieces from Ovid's Metamorphoses/ closely enough, and given them the same turn of verse which they had in the original; and this, I may say, without vanity, is not the talent of every poet. He who has arrived the nearest to it, is the ingenious and learned Sandys, the best versifier of the former age. [76]

If Dryden had never read Sandys since he was a boy, he must have read him with a fresh eye, and reassessed him within his last seven years.

Mr. William Frost begins his recent lively and stimulating study of Dryden, entitled Dryden and the Art of Translation, with analysis of the facts and external motives of Dryden's translation, external because he summarized the "economic, sociological, and political reasons why Dryden's time should have been given to translation especially after 1688."[77] It is regrettable that he leaves untouched Dryden's internal motives, of which I think Dryden's vivid interest in the English language is the sign. As T. S. Eliot once wrote, "Dryden's essays on the drama and on the art of translation are conscious studies of the nature of the English theatre and the English language."[78] The study of the theatre and that of translation are activities not wholly different from each other, and in Dryden the latter is a continuation of the former. From the former he learned the use and value of the so-called neo-classical rules in drama; the advantage of modern drama

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76. Ker, II, p. 247.
77. William Frost, Dryden and the Art of Translation (Yale University Press, 1955). p. 1.
78. T. S. Eliot, The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism (London: Faber & Faber, 1933). p. 24.

over the classical drama; the advantage of English dramatists over the French; and the qualities of the English language which was refined, improved and purified by the efforts of English poets in succeeding ages. So, it is no wonder that in the present essay Dryden again expresses his opinion of the characters of the English language, and requests public encouragement of the readers lest their mother tongue should come to decay:

> our language is both copious, significant, and majestical, and might be reduced into a more harmonious sound. But for want of public encouragement, in this Iron Age, we are so far from making any progress in the improvement of our tongue, that in few years we shall speak and write as barbarously as our neighbours. 79

5. DEDICATION OF THE AENEIS (1697)

In Dryden's complete one-volume translation of Virgil, published in 1697, there are four pieces of prose by Dryden: "the Dedication of the <u>Pastorals</u> to Lord Clifford," "the Dedication of the <u>Georgics</u> to the Earl of Chesterfield," "the Dedication of the <u>Aeneis</u> to the Earl of Mulgrave," and "the Postscript to the Reader." The first one has Dryden's brief observations on the pastoral tradition in Western literature; but we can pass by the first two, since they contain nothing concerning the theory of translation. We treat here the third one, namely, the <u>Dedication</u>

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79. Ker, II, p. 12.

of the Aeneis. The subject of this long, discursive prefatory dedication is "the greatness and excellency of a Heroic Poem, with some of the difficulties which attend that work."[80] Here Dryden is following Horace (First Epistle of the Second Book to Augustus Caesar and the Art of Poetry) in his non-methodical, "epistolary" way of writing, as he follows "honest Montaigne" in writing the Preface to the Fables. He compares epic with tragedy, defends Virgil against detractive critics, analyses the character of the hero Aeneas, compares again Virgil with Homer, and also discusses problems of translation. However, as Ker commented, a great part of these subjects he borrowed from Segrais's Preface to his translation of the Eneide (1668).[81] I think it convenient and not irrelevant to treat here the Postscript to the Reader along with the Dedication, for in it Dryden has something to say about language, poetry, and translation.

The principle which regulates Dryden's translation of Virgil is his usual Horatian assumption: "to make Virgil speak such English as he would himself have spoken, if he had been born in England, and in this age."[82] This has become the basic rule of his method of translation through the translations from Horace, Theocritus, Lucretius, and Virgil in the Sylvae, and from Juvenal and Persius. Persius and Virgil are the only classical writers

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80. Ker, II, p. 164.
81. Ker, I, p. lxx. Of course, Dryden acknowledges this in many parts of this Dedication.
82. Ker, II, p. 228. See supra, p. 13, where Segrais is quoted.

whose complete work Dryden translated by himself. Let us take note of the slight change of his attitude as a translator. In the partial translation from Lucretius in the _Sylvae_ anthology, his design was to make Lucretius as pleasing and charming as possible. But in the complete translation of the _Aeneid_, Dryden endeavours to copy Virgil "in his numbers, his choice of words, and his placing them for the sweetness of the sound,"[83] in other words, to copy "the clearness, the purity, the easiness, and the magnificence of his style."[84] These are of course the qualities of Virgil's excellence as a master of versification, expressed as Dryden understands them. They prove the zeal of Dryden as a craftsman. He defines his method of translation as follows:

> The way I have taken is not so strait as metaphrase, nor so loose as paraphrase: some things too I have omitted, and sometimes have added of my own. Yet the omissions, I hope, are but of circumstances, and such as would have no grace in English; and the addition, I also hope, are easily deduced from Virgil's sense. They will seem (at least I have the vanity to think so), not stuck into him, but growing out of him. 85

> I thought fit to steer betwixt the two extremes of paraphrase and literal translation; to keep as near my author as I could, without losing all his graces, the most eminent of which are in the beauty of his words. 86

To begin with, the word "paraphrase" in these quotations is no

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83. Ker, II, p. 215.
84. Ker, II, p. 228. Cf. Segrais: "J'ay crû que je meriterois quelque loüange, si je pouvois en quelque sorte imiter la clarté, la pureté, la facilité, & la magnificence de son style." (p. 66)
85. Ker, II, p. 227.
86. Ker, II, p. 228.

longer used in the sense which he defined in the <u>Preface to Ovid's Epistles</u> (1680). For, according to the former definition of "paraphrase," a translator need not follow his author's words strictly; he is admitted to amplify the sense of the original, but not to alter it. So, he may add for the purpose of amplification, but he has by no means the right to omit. The method which admits such omission is to be included in "imitation." In the second place, the principle of omission and addition exposed here is exactly the same as he set forth in the <u>Preface to Sylvae</u> (1685). The omission and addition in translation, Dryden maintained, can be justified by the necessity which only a genuine poet can feel; for, he is able to discover the beauty which is sealed to ordinary readers. Dryden in the translation of Virgil is no longer a paraphraser (in the sense of former definition, or in the sense of the present use of the word); as Thomas Creech was qualified as an interpreter of Lucretius, Dryden is an interpreter of Virgil in his own way. Thirdly, paraphrase is regarded as an extreme method, opposed to literal translation. It is no longer the middle way, and Dryden proposes yet another middle way between paraphrase and metaphrase. Fourthly, Dryden's idea of "imitation" has been definitely excluded from the scope of translation for the first time. It is true that he had been doubting whether it was valid to include "imitation" in translation proper. When he depicted the position of an imitator

in the Preface to Ovid's Epistles (1680), (actually with Abraham Cowley and Pindaric imitators in mind), he began with a reservation: "if now he has not lost that name" of a translator. Now in the Postscript to the Reader he writes: "Mr. Cowley's Praise of Country Life is excellent, but is rather an imitation of Virgil than a version."[87]

So far as his theory of translation is concerned, Dryden does not seem to be influenced materially by Segrais. Segrais's translation of the Eneide appeared in 1668, the year when Dryden published his An Essay of Dramatic Poesy. Segrais exposed his principle of translation in the preface to his Eneide; like Dryden he set forth the Horatian assumption, but unlike the Englishman he tried to translate Virgil as briefly as possible. Paying a lip service to Pierre Daniel Huet, the Bishop of Avranches, for his Latin treatise De optimo genere interpretandi (1661), he is still of opinion that although several observations had been made about the principle of translation, there is not any definite theory of verse translation established in France. He thinks himself a "traducteur," and not an "imitateur." But he would not be offended, if he should be accused as an imitator,

> si j'avois assez bien reussi, pour faire dire que mon imitation est exacte dans le sens, dans l'esprit de ce grand homme, &

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87. Ker, II, p. 244.

dans sa divine expression. 88

But it is certain that Segrais took paraphrase as an extreme method of translation, not like Dryden in 1680. For he writes:

> Quand je n'ay pû suivre le sens exactement sans faire quelque chose de difforme, i'ay essayé de ne m'y pas opposer; & pour le dire en peu de paroles, si ie n'ay pas pris toute la mesme route, i'ay tâché du moins de ne m'en détourner pas, & d'en trouver une autre aussi courte, aussi aisée, & aussi naturelle. Sur ce fondement on ne trouvera dans mon ouvrage, ny une paraphrase, ny une traduction litterale. 89

If Dryden was influenced by Segrais in his change from the notion of paraphrase as an ideal method to that of paraphrase as an extremely loose method, we must say that he was also influenced by George Chapman.

Then, where is the missing "imitation"? Why did such a change take place in Dryden's mind? There seem to be two possible answers: his prose translation of Du Fresnoy's De Arte Graphica (1695), and the establishment of "imitation" as a new literary genre. As to De Arte Graphica Dryden writes: "Bossu has not given more exact rules for the Epic Poem, nor Dacier for Tragedy, in his late excellent translation of Aristotle, and his notes upon him, than our Fresnoy has made for painting."[90] To Du Fresnoy "imitation of Nature" is not to follow Nature blindly, but cautiously, and if anything, selectively. A painter, he says, must

88. Segrais, p. 70.
89. Segrais, p. 65.
90. A Parallel of Poetry and Painting. Ker, II, p. 136.

be careful not to be tied to Nature strictly; he must imitate "the beauties of Nature," thus aspiring to the "ideal beauty." He can learn the idea of beauty, and especially, how to design, from the great Greek painters. So, Nature is, Du Fresnoy thinks, the perpetual witness to the artistic truth, and the source from which an art derives its ultimate perfection. Now we may find apparent traces of Du Fresnoy's influence in the Dedication of the Aeneis, for instance, in the following passages concerning imitation:

> 'Tis one thing to copy, and another thing to imitate from Nature. The copier is that servile imitator to whom Horace gives no better a name than that of animal; he will not so much as allow him to be a man. Raphael imitated Nature; they who copy one of Raphael's pieces imitate but him; for his work is their original. They translate him as I do Virgil. There is a kind of invention in the imitation of Raphael; for, though the thing was in Nature, yet the idea of it was his own. 91

> suppose Appelles and Raphael had each of them painted a burning Troy, might not the modern painter have succeeded as well as the ancient, though neither of them had seen the town on fire? For the draughts of both were taken from the ideas which they had of Nature . . . 92

> I may safely grant that, by reading Homer Virgil was taught to imitate his invention; that is, to imitate like him; which is no more than if a painter studied Raphael that he might learn to design after his manner. And thus I might imitate Virgil if I were capable of writing an heroic poem, and yet the invention be my own: but I should endeavour to avoid a servile copying. 93

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91. Ker, II, p. 199.
92. Ker, II, p. 200.
93. Ker, II, p. 201.

> I have yet a word or two to say of Virgil's machines, from my own observation of them. He has imitated those of Homer, but not copied them. 94

Dryden clearly places a translator in the position of a copier, not in the position of an imitator. He assumes that an imitator has a liberty of invention in that when he imitates from Nature, he copies the idea of Nature as he understands it, and this idea is his own. So, strictly speaking, imitation is a double action: an imitator must have an idea about some natural object, and then he copies this idea. The kind of the idea which he has is within the licence of an imitator. Furthermore, Dryden's emphasis is not on the imitation <u>of</u> something, but on the imitation <u>like</u> someone. Not the object of imitation, but the manner of imitation matters here. Thus, Dryden thinks that a translator simply copies the original itself, not his idea of the original. What Dryden's word "imitation" means must be carefully weighed, because he has already excluded the idea of imitation as a method of translation, and yet he adheres to another kind of imitation—the imitation of style in translation. In the <u>Dedication of the Aeneis</u> Dryden writes about his choice of epic style: "Spenser and Milton are the nearest, in English, to Virgil and Horace in the Latin; and I have endeavoured to form my style by imitating their masters."[95] In the following sentence, however, he uses

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94. Ker, II, p. 208.
95. Ker, II, p. 223.

the word in looser way: "If I cannot copy his harmonious numbers, how shall I imitate his noble flights, where his thoughts and words are equally sublime?"[96]

The other possible answer to the question why "imitation" was excluded from translation proper in Dryden's mind, may be found in the development of a new literary genre called "imitation." This is a fruit of Cowley's Pindaric imitations, but it must be distinguished from them. Cowley's imitations are odes, and consequently they are lyrics. On the other hand, the new imitation is a form of satire in verse, and it has been developed with satire and as satire. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to describe the political, social, and literary conditions at the time of Restoration, when satire was refined, till it became an art. The appearance of satirical imitation was a fruit of the spirit of the times in England as well as in France in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Dr. Johnson gives an illuminating sketch of the rise of this satirical imitation in his Life of Pope. Well he may do it, since he has the advantage of coming after Pope, the outstanding imitator of Horace, and himself being experienced in this kind of composition, as the author of London and The Vanity of Human Wishes:

> This mode of imitation, in which the ancients are familiarised, by adapting their sentiments to modern topics, by making

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96. Ker, II, p. 233.

> Horace say of Shakespeare what he originally said of Ennius, and accommodating his satires on Pantolabus and Nomentanus to the flatterers and prodigals of our own time, was first practised in the reign of Charles the Second by Oldham and Rochester, at least I remember no instances more ancient. It is a kind of middle composition between translation and original design, which pleases when the thoughts are unexpectedly applicable, and the parallels lucky. It seems to have been Pope's favourite amusement, for he has carried it further than any former poet. 97

It was impossible for Dryden to be blind to this new trend in English poetry. Furthermore, he himself was satirized by the Earl of Rochester in his _An Allusion to Horace, The Tenth Satire of the First Book_ and he was mentioned by Oldham in his new translation of the _Ars Poetica_. Dryden's warm admiration of Boileau's _Le Lutrin_ endorses his attitude towards the satirical imitation. Although _Le Lutrin_ is not an imitation of some one particular original, yet it is certain that the discovery of Boileau's dexterous burlesque adaptation of some celebrated lines of the _Aeneid_ delighted Dryden to the extent that he quoted three lines of the _Aeneid_ and their corresponding lines in _Le Lutrin_ in his _Preface to Juvenal_.[98] Of course Dryden's admiration of _Le Lutrin_ is not confined to such parody only; he admired Boileau's wonderful skill in expressing trivial thought in lofty and noble language, and also his "beautiful turns of words and thoughts."

Although Johnson suggested Oldham and Rochester as possible first instances of imitation as a new literary genre, I would

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97. Johnson's LEP, III, p. 96.
98. Ker, II, pp. 106-09.

like further to suggest Dryden as one of the first instances: his <u>Absalom and Achitophel</u>, published in the same year as Oldham's imitation of the <u>Ars Poetica</u>, is not properly the same kind of imitation, but still, the tone and effects show a striking resemblance to those of satirical imitation. It is true that <u>Absalom and Achitophel</u> is an allegory, and a political satire; but the story of Absalom in the Old Testament is "unexpectedly applicable [to the political situation in England before the Earl of Shaftesbury was imprisoned on a charge of high treason] and the parallels lucky." The more parallelism, the more satirically effective. As often claimed by literary historians, Dryden was the man who raised English satire to an art. In this connection, I think Dryden made an unintentional contribution to the development of the new imitation. What Abraham Cowley attempted in his imitation was to explore new lyrical possibilities through the medium of Pindaric Odes. Whereas Oldham, Rochester, Pope and Johnson attempted in their imitation to explore new possibilities of satire as an art; Rochester expressed <u>his</u> nihilism, and Johnson <u>his</u> masculine, moralizing spirit through their respective imitations. Dryden was the man who warned his contemporaries against the excess of "imitation" as a method of translation. But, undoubtedly, and ironically, by writing <u>Absalom and Achitophel</u> he became a strong promoter of the "imitation" as a new method of writing satire. The imitation of Oldham, Rochester, Pope and Johnson stands in the same pedigree as Dryden's satires, and not as

Cowley's Pindarism. Thus, Dryden's change in his use of the word may be explained by this change in the literary situation.

As to Virgil's use of words Dryden writes:

> [Virgil's] words are always figurative. Such of these as would retain their elegance in our tongue, I have endeavoured to graff on it; but most of them are of necessity to be lost, because they will not shine in any but their own. Virgil has sometimes two of them in a line; but the scantiness of our heroic verse is not capable of receiving more than one; and that for many others which have none. Such is the difference of the languages, or such my want of skill in choosing words. 99

Here is, of course, no suggestion that all words in the original should be translated word for word. Individual words seem to be no unit in the process of his translation. Dryden is at pains to convey the elegance which arises from figurative words. The idea that the words in the original do not shine in any but their own language is not new with him: he expressed the same difficulty in the Preface to Sylvae.[100] Again, he remarks on Virgil's words:

> His words are not only chosen, but the places in which he ranks them, for the sound. He who removes them from the station wherein their master set them, spoils the harmony. What he says of the Sibyl's prophecies may be as properly applied to every word of his: they must be read in order as they lie; the least breath discomposes them; and somewhat of their divinity is lost. I cannot boast that I have been

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99. Ker, II, p. 228.
100. See supra, p. 38 (Ker, I, p. 252). Also, cf. Segrais: "toute la Poësie ne doit estre que figure, & un mot sera noble en Latine qui sera burlesque en François." (pp. 68-69)

thus exact in my verses. 101

Dryden observes here how well Virgil illustrated "the best words in the best order" in his poem. So far as a poem is "an organized whole" or "organic synthesis," any sort of paraphrase in the same language is no more equivalent to the original as a poem. Still less the translation into another language. Here is the basic assumption of the theoretical impossibility of poetical translation. Dryden, to my mind, was aware of this, though unconsciously. When he compares himself with his master Virgil, Dryden is compelled to confess that "I cannot boast that I have been thus exact in my verses." Of course, this does not mean an "exact" rendering of Virgil's Latin into English. Dryden sees in Virgil the ideal of "correct" writing, perfectly correct, perhaps in the light of decorum, which was to become the orthodoxy of the eighteenth century poetry. Dryden's vital concern is whether his translation is exact or not as a poem. Therefore he wishes that his translation should be read as a poem, independent from its original:

> Lay by Virgil, I beseech your Lordship, and all my better sort of judges, when you take up my version; and it will appear a passable beauty when the original Muse is absent. But, like Spenser's false Florimel made of snow, it melts and vanishes when the true one comes in sight. 102

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101. Ker, II, p. 215.
102. Ker, II, pp. 233-34.

The pathetic desire of a poetical translator has never been expressed in such a way! A cry, humbled and saddened by the strange shame of translatorship.

Dryden tells us that he spent twice as much time in translating the Twelfth Aeneid as he spent on the First and Second. This is not because he became tired of translation, but because Virgil called upon him "in every line for some new word."[103] This explains that his translation was not a mechanical practice. He even hesitated to translate a repeated phrase or line in the original into repetition in his English. In another place he defends himself against the charge that he latinizes too much, not only in his translation but also in his original poems. Especially in the translation of Virgil he seems to have been very keen on finding "significant and sounding" words:

> If sounding words are not of our growth and manufacture, who shall hinder me to import them from a foreign country? . . . what I bring from Italy I spend in England: here it remains and here it circulates; for, if the coin be good, it will pass from one hand to another. I trade both with the living and the dead for the enrichment of our native language. We have enough in England to supply our necessity; but, if we will have things of magnificence and splendour, we must get them by commerce. Poetry requires ornament; and that is not to be had from our old Teuton monosyllables: therefore, if I find any elegant word in a classic author, I propose it to be naturalized by using it myself; and, if the public approves of it, the bill passes. . . Upon the whole matter, a poet must first be certain that the word he would introduce is beautiful in the Latin, and is to consider, in the next

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103. Ker, II, p. 232.

> place, whether it will agree with the English idiom: after this, he ought to take the opinion of judicious friends, such as are learned in both languages: and, lastly, since no man is infallible, let him use this licence very sparingly; for if too many foreign words are poured in upon us, it looks as if they were designed not to assist the natives, but to conquer them. 104

As to the introduction and naturalization of new words, Dryden was a faithful disciple of Horace. In his Ars Poetica Horace gave a precept about the arrangement of words, the coinage of new words, and the changefulness of words in the sifting process of time.[105] When Dryden treated the problem of words on the Horatian line in his Defence of the Epilogue (1672), his intention was to prove how the dramatic poetry of his age has been refined since the former age. The refinement of his age, Dryden contended, consisted in three factors: the improvement of wit, language, and conversation. Horace assumed two methods for the improvement of language: new expression which arises from new combination of words, and the introduction of words from foreign language. By these Cato and Ennius contributed to the refinement and enrichment of the Latin language; Caecilius and Plautus are also suggested as contributors. Horace also assumed that the coinage of words was a licence of a poet, who, however, had to use this licence only sparingly. Thus in Horace's linguistic outlook the role of a poet was quite important. It was this linguistic

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104. Ker, II, pp. 234-35.
105. Ars Poetica, 45-72.

outlook which Dryden inherited from Horace and applied to the English language. The blind and uncritical introduction of too many foreign words does not improve a language, but it entails the "sophistication" and finally, the destruction of the language. So Dryden sets forth the three conditions for the introduction of foreign words: scrutiny, consultation with authority, and sparing use of the licence. In the Defence of the Epilogue Dryden applies the Horatian pattern of the refinement of language to English: he enumerates Shakespeare, Fletcher, Jonson, Sir John Suckling and Waller as the refiners of English. Undoubtedly here is an unspoken claim that Dryden is an English Horace; Horace the poet, critic, and law-giver, and the refiner of his mother tongue.

6. PREFACE TO THE FABLES (1700)

The dedication of the Fables, Ancient and Modern to the Duke of Ormond is a pure panegyric and contains nothing of critical importance. But its preface, Dryden's last essay, is very interesting and important. As a Chaucer criticism, it is a monumental work and the high watermark of its age.[106] From

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106. According to Mr. John C. Sherwood, the reputed Chaucer criticism contained in this preface is not original at all; Dryden here repeated what his predecessors and contemporaries had already said, just conforming these opinions with the "rules" of Neo-classicism. However, Mr. Sherwood avoids discussing Dryden's opinion of translation. See his "Dryden and the rules: the Preface to the Fables," in the Journal of the English and Germanic Philology, LII (1953), pp. 13-26.

the viewpoint of the theory of translation, it is no less interesting: because this is the goal of his long, strenuous study of the proper method of translation. Beside a dedication, and a preface, the Fables anthology contains two original poems, five translations from Chaucer, eight from Ovid, three from Boccaccio, and one from Homer. Since Chaucer was a fourteenth-century English poet, the word "modernization" would suit him better: actually he was "modernized" by Dryden, and later, by Pope. But to Dryden the modernization of Chaucer was the same thing as the translation of Chaucer, whether with reference to the method, or to the motive of rendering Chaucer into the English language of his age. A very striking thing is that among these poems is one piece of "imitation": "The Character of a Good Parson, Imitated from Chaucer, and Inlarg'd"!

As to the motive of translating Chaucer, Dryden writes:

> I think I have just occasion to complain of them, who because they understand Chaucer, would deprive the greater part of their countrymen of the same advantage, and hoard him up, as misers do their grandam gold, only to look on it themselves, and hinder others from making use of it. In sum, I seriously protest, that no man ever had, or can have, a greater veneration for Chaucer than myself. I have translated some part of his works, only that I might perpetuate his memory, or at least refresh it, amongst my countrymen. 107

Let us examine Dryden's method of translation in this anthology:

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107. Ker, II, p. 267.

> An author is not to write all he can, but only all he ought. Having observed this redundancy in Chaucer . . . 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 resumed 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. And to this I was the more emboldened, because (if I may be permitted to say it of myself) I found I had a soul congenial to his, and that I had been conversant in the same studies. 108

> I will go farther, and dare to add, that what beauties I lose in some places, I give to others which had them not originally: . . . If I have altered him anywhere for the better, I must at the same time acknowledge, that I could have done nothing without him. _Facile est inventis addere_ is no great commendation; and I am not so vain to think I have deserved a greater. 109

An old theme, that a translator should choose the kind of writer who is according to his genius, appears here. Dryden says nothing about his natural affinity with Boccaccio. But Ovid and Homer are "more according to my genius," as we have already seen. As on the former occasions Dryden rejects the literal method; but this time he does not define his method by any specific terms like metaphrase or paraphrase, or even by the middle way between them. He claims a right to alter the original where necessary. He finds a defect in Chaucer's English: it is redundancy in expression, "for want of words in the beginning of our language." He tells us that he often omitted unnecessary parts, and added somewhat of his own. Thus, it is clear that he was improving

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108. Ker, II, p. 265.
109. Ker, II, pp. 267-68.

Chaucer on the principle of compensation. Therefore, the method might be still "between metaphrase and paraphrase" as these terms were meant in the Dedication of the Aeneis. But a remarkable difference between Virgil and Chaucer is, that Dryden cannot appreciate Chaucer's style and diction, whereas, to copy "the clearness, the purity, the easiness, and the magnificence of his [Virgil's] style" was precisely the target in his Virgil translation. To Dryden Virgil is a perfect Latin poet,[110] whereas Chaucer is a great, yet imperfect poet---imperfect not because of the lack of his genius, but because of the age he lived in. Chaucer lived "in the dawning of our language."[111]

It is, at present, a well-established fact that Dryden passed a hasty judgment on Chaucer's versification. He could not appreciate the music of Chaucer's poetry, and he ascribed this to the "infancy" of English poetry and language. Thus, this is

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110. Dryden, however, admits that the Aeneid contains very careless faults. They are "but casual slips of a great man's pen, or inconsiderable faults of an admirable poem, which the author had not leisure to review before his death." (Dedication of the Aeneis, Ker, II, p. 166) Of course Dryden does not think them the faults of the age in which Virgil lived. The Augustan age, Dryden assumes, is "the golden age of the Roman tongue" (Ker, II, p. 254); Lucilius had cultivated the Latin language "to that degree of perfection, both in the language and the thoughts, that he left an easy task to Virgil; who as he succeeded him in time, so he copied his excellencies" (Ker, I, p. 259). "Horace, who writ when the language was in the height of its perfection" (Ker, II, p. 70), of course, enjoyed the same advantage as Virgil did. Dryden further assumes that with Ovid this golden age of Latin ended, and after him the language followed a downward path.

111. Ker, II, p. 256.

largely due to the linguistic outlook of his age. Dryden curtly dismisses Chaucer's words, "as a post not to be defended in our poet, because he wanted the modern art of fortifying."[112] Edmund Waller shares with him a similar linguistic outlook, and consequently, he gives similar remarks on Chaucer's numbers, though Waller is slightly pessimistic about the survival of the English language:

> But who can hope his line should long,
> Last, in a daily-changing tongue?
> While they are new, envy prevails;
> And as that dies, our language fails.
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> . . .
>
> Poets, that lasting marble seek,
> Must carve in Latin or in Greek:
> We write in sand, our language grows,
> And, like the tide, our work o'erflows.
>
> Chaucer his sense can only boast,
> The glory of his numbers lost!
> Years have defac'd his matchless strain,
> And yet he did not sing in vain.
>
> (*Of English verse*)

Dryden anticipated attacks on his translation of Chaucer from two opposite quarters. Some critics thought Chaucer "a dry, old-fashioned wit, not worth reviving."[113] Others had such a high esteem of Chaucer that they thought any kind of alteration or modernization of his writings should be regarded as "profanation and sacrilege." Against the first group, Dryden's criticism of

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112. Ker, II, p. 256.
113. *Ibid*.

Chaucer is a powerful vindication. But there is a grain of truth in the opinion of the second group, because by altering the text, the original beauty is surely lost. Then, what is the ground for modernization? Dryden replies:

> in the first place, not only their beauty, but their being is lost, where they are no longer understood, which is the present case. I grant that something must be lost in all transfusion, that is, in all translations; but the sense will remain, which would otherwise be lost, or at least be maimed, when it is scarce intelligible, and that but to a few. How few are there who can read Chaucer so as to understand him perfectly? And if imperfectly, then with less profit, and no pleasure. It is not for the use of some old Saxon friends that I have taken these pains with him: let them neglect my version, because they have no need of it. I made it for their sakes, who understand sense and poetry as well as they, when that poetry and sense is put into words which they understand. 114

Here, the question of "why to translate" is argued on the level of national literature. To Dryden the modernization of Chaucer was a cultural necessity. He still regards "thoughts and words" as convenient tools for analysis. But such an expression as "when that poetry and sense is put into words which they understand" reveals his maturer understanding of the nature of poetic style, which he could not have attained to twenty years before.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have shown that Dryden changed his use of the term "paraphrase," one of the key words which once designated his ideal

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114. Ker, II, p. 267.

method. Thus he abandoned the well-known three divisions of the method of translation which he first defined in the Preface to Ovid's Epistles (1680). As the result of this change, he no longer thought of "paraphrase" as his ideal method, which he indicated, in the Dedication of the Aeneis (1697), as "between paraphrase and metaphrase." "Paraphrase" became a licentious method to him as to most of the theorists of translation. In his new framework of translation, Dryden did not include "imitation." The reason for this change is not clear from these prefaces. However, they explain that he always felt himself compelled to omit something of the original, and add something of himself. We can feel that he was forced to do so, because he was balancing tensely on a knife edge. Mr. William Frost reasonably illustrates how Dryden in his translation created the "local symbols," which must be consistent if a verse translation is to be an organic synthesis. It is worth while to remember the zealous desire of seventeenth-century readers to read the important Greek and Latin classics in majestic poetry of their own language.

We must note that Dryden carefully kept himself from the "turn-coat" theory of translation, notably after 1692.[115] By the "turn-coat" theory I mean the idea in which translation is likened to the change of clothes. To James Howell, for example,

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115. There are only two examples in 1680 and 1692. See supra, p. 29 (Ker, II, p. 241), and p. 49(Ker, II, p. 113). In the latter, Dryden's expression is "a poetic dress."

"Translations are but as turn-coated Things at best"[116]; Cowley's imitation was an attempt to examine how Pindar's odes "will look in an English habit."[117] Philo-Philippa addresses Katherine Philips, who translated Corneille's _Pompée_:

> Drest by thy hand, and polish'd by thy pen,
> She glitters now a Star, but Jewel then: 118

John Oldham put "Horace into a more modern dress."[119] Dryden scarcely ever used this figure in describing translation after 1692. This fact, it seems to me, is connected with another: that Dryden gradually changed the use of the word "paraphrase." The "turn-coat" theory, which was a commonplace in those days, has one difficulty. One can change clothes without damaging one's body. However, in the case of translation, it is hardly possible to change words without affecting delicate shades and nuances of meaning, and this is especially true of poetical translation. Dryden's definition of paraphrase, which presupposes the possibility of changing words without altering their sense, it seems to me, is a formulation of this "turn-coat" theory. The difficulty of this theory arises from a superficial understanding of the nature of poetic style. That is why I highly esteem Dryden's

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116. Quoted from Sir Thomas Pope Blount's _De re Poetica_ (1694), p. 106.
117. _Preface to Pindarique Odes_.
118. _Poems. By the most deservedly Admired Mrs. Katherine Philips, the Matchless Orinda_. (1669). I could not identify who Philo-Philippa was.
119. See _infra_, p. 90.

statement in the Preface to the Fables: "I made it [the translation of Chaucer] for their sakes, who understand sense and poetry . . ., when that poetry and sense is put into words which they understand." The "turn-coat" figure is not applicable here, where a union of sense and poetry is suggested.

Apart from the change in his use of the word "paraphrase," Dryden's consistent principle of translation has been the Horatian assumption, which, however, does not lead us to a definite method. For the Horatian assumption is applicable to any kind of translation, owing to its imaginary and arbitrary nature. It can never become a criterion for judging translated works. If this is a law of translation, it is, at best, but a "cobweb-law." To Dryden and his contemporaries, however, such a demerit of the Horatian assumption did not matter, because their test of verse translation was primarily whether it was a good English poem, and not whether it was an exact rendering of the original. The idea of exactitude in translation was a consequence of a scientific spirit and of the romantic tendency to read a Greek poem as Greek, an Icelandic poem as Icelandic. The age was still under the shadow of Denham, who thought it fit for Virgil "to speak not only as a man of this Nation, but as a man of this age."[120]

Dryden never thought that a translated work was better than its original, and never said so except with a very clear

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120. The Destruction of Troy: the Preface.

intention of flattery.[121] An inferior original, he observed, was not worth translating. At the same time, he never considered that a translator was above his author. He had no idea of competing with his original author: he always assigned a <u>second</u> place to the translator. In this respect, he was near to Denham, but different from Cowley, Francklin, and Tytler. It is not easy to fix a clear border-line between Cowley's principle of translation and Dryden's. Getting a hint from Dr. Johnson, we may put it this way: Dryden assumed that a translator should render his author, imagining what his author would have written had he been an Englishman and the translator's contemporary. Cowley, on the other hand, set no limitation on the translator, except that he was not to write as the author would not have written.

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121. For example:

> That he who but arrives to copy well,
> Unguided will advance, unknowing will excel.
> Scarce his own Horace could such rules ordain,
> Or his own Virgil sing a nobler strain.
> (To the Earl of Roscommon, on his excellent <u>Essay on Translated Verse</u>)

IV

THE THEORY OF TRANSLATION IN THE AGE OF DRYDEN: 1660-1700

(Writers other than Dryden)

SINCE Miss Amos's book Early Theories of Translation covers the whole period from the Middle Ages to William Cowper, my proposed period, 1660-1700, falls within the scope of her survey. During the later half of these forty years Dryden was the man who most discussed the principle of translation, and in addition perhaps discussed it far more adequately than any of his contemporaries. In the present chapter I will discuss theories of translation in the age of Dryden, apart from Dryden's own theory. I will omit the authors whom Miss Amos has already studied, except the Earl of Roscommon; he is important not so much because of the intrinsic value of his opinions, as because of the influence of his An Essay on Translated Verse. So, I exclude minor pronouncements which come from Thomas Sprat, Alexander Brome,[1] Thomas Creech, Thomas Otway, Robert Gould, J. A., and two other anonymous critics, except where incidental reference to them is necessary. In order to present the variety of opinions adequately, I have chosen John Oldham for the theory of "imitation," Roscommon for that of verse translation, Aphra Behn for that of prose translation, an anonymous preface to Terence's comedies for

1. Miss Amos gives his first name as "Henry" in p. 136. This is an obvious mistake.

translation of comedy, and another preface to Lucian's Charon for the defence of translation. In the last section of this chapter, I will discuss the relationship between translation and the enrichment of language.

1. JOHN OLDHAM AND SATIRICAL IMITATION

As we have seen in the preceeding chapter, Dryden's misgivings concerning the vogue of Pindaric imitation reveal his deep understanding of imitation as a mode of translation. He saw its possibilities and its dangers. The spirit of such a "wild and ungovernable" poet as Pindar, he assumed, could not be conveyed except by imitation. But judiciously enough, he warned his contemporaries against using this method with "regular[,] intelligible" poets like Virgil or Ovid, and perhaps, we may safely add Horace among them. He feared the anarchism in translation which the vogue of imitation would produce. But somehow his misgivings proved of groundless, for the cult of Pindarism faded away towards the turn of the century, and in its stead, there arose a more reasonable, a more settled form of imitation. Younger poets discovered their way exactly where a grand old man of letters tried to warn them off. It was a reflection of a new spirit, because they were no longer serving the ancients "servilely," but they were making the ancients serve them.

When Dr. Johnson in his Life of Pope referred to John Oldham

and the Earl of Rochester as those who practised "this mode of imitation" for the first time, he made no mention of Cowley and Denham. In the Life of Cowley, he of course discussed Pindaric odes and the strong influence which Pindarism exerted on the versifiers of that time. He significantly concluded: "Pindarism prevailed above half a century; but at last died gradually away, and other imitations supply its place."[2] Thus, Johnson was conscious of the difference between Cowley's imitation and another kind of imitation practised by Oldham, Rochester, Pope, and by himself. The change was from the lyrical to the satirical.

This change in the mode of imitation has not been appreciated properly by modern critics. It has been neglected even by those who discussed translation in that age. For example, Miss Amos ignores this difference and makes no mention of Oldham (and Rochester) at all. Mr. John Butt, in his remarkable introduction to Imitations of Horace,[3] describes a new method of translation in the seventeenth century, but he does not distinguish Cowley's method from Oldham's. Rather, he seems to assume that Oldham's imitation is the continuation of Cowley's. In a sense, it is: both were experiments in free translation. But they were carried out with different materials, and on different lines. Cowley

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2. Johnson's LEP, I, p. 39.
3. The Twickenham Edition of The Poems of Alexander Pope, Vol. IV, pp. xxvi-xxviii.

chose Pindar; Oldham, Rochester, and Pope chose Horace. The manner of application is also different. Cowley tried to imitate the style and lyrical beauties of Pindar; Oldham and others the structure, as well as the style, of Horace; in other words, they were applying his "wit" to their own times. By this protean term "wit," I here mean what Pope defined in the following couplet:

> True wit is nature to advantage dress'd,
> What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd. 4

When this imitation, or adaptation, of wit was used as a means of satirical, or didactical poetry, it gave rise to a new art.

It is highly significant that John Oldham began his poetical career under the spell of Cowley. C. W. Previté-Orton points out that his earlier poems are marked by the bad influence of Pindaric hyperbole.[5] Oldham's biographers record that before he became known as the author of Satyr upon the Jesuits, he had received a visit from young wits such as Rochester (another champion of satirical imitation), Dorset (Eugenius in An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, to whom Dryden dedicated his translation of Juvenal and Persius), and Sir Charles Sedley (Dryden's Lisideius). Oldham was only 28 years of age when he published his Some New Pieces Never Before Publisht in 1681. In the

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4. An Essay on Criticism, 297, 298.
5. CHEL, VIII, p. 86.

Advertisement he explains why he has come to translate Horace's *Ars Poetica*, after two admirable translations by great predecessors, namely Ben Jonson and the Earl of Roscommon. He finds no fault with Jonson's literal method nor with Roscommon's moderate method. The tone of this *Advertisement* is not that of a presumptuous "manifesto," but that of a mild apology. This makes an interesting contrast with the fact that Oldham's poems have no dedication, which is, as Previté-Orton says, "a strong evidence of their author's natural haughtiness in that age of fulsome flattery."[6] Oldham tells us that he did not willingly undertake this translation, but he was forced to do so by others:

> Wherefore, being prevail'd upon to make an Essay, I fell to thinking of some course, whereby I might serve my self of the Advantages, which those, that went before me, have either not minded, or scrupulously abridg'd themselves of. This I soon imagin'd was to be effected by putting Horace into a more modern dress, than hitherto he has appear'd in, that is, by making him speak, as if he were living, and writing now. I therefore resolv'd to alter the Scene from Rome to London, and to make use of English names of Men, Places, and Customs, where the Parallel would decently permit, which I conceiv'd would give a kind of new Air to the Poem, and render it more agreeable to the relish of the present Age.

Oldham's intention is clearly summed up here: his imitation was an experiment to "give a kind of new Air to the Poem" by putting a most modern dress on Horace's original. So he did

6. CHEL, VIII, p. 85.

what his predecessors----even Abraham Cowley whom he greatly admired----did not: he changed names of "Men, Places, and Customs" from Augustus Caesar's Rome to Charles II's London. Thus:

> Why should the pievish Criticks now forbid
> To Lee, and Dryden, what was not deny'd
> To Shakespear, Ben, and Fletcher heretofore,
> For which they praise, and commendation bore?

> In my opinion 'tis absurd and odd,
> To make wild Satyrs, coming from the Wood,
> Speak the fine Language of the Park and Mall,
> As if they had their Training at Whitehall:

Oldham dared to do this in spite of Dryden's warning. Perhaps he was a genius, and Dryden, in his poem "To the memory of Mr Oldham" (1684), estimated him highly as a satirist. However, Oldham was no Cowley. It is interesting to note that Oldham expresses his principle of translation in the Horatian assumption, as Dryden used it in describing "imitation" as a method of translation. Of course, Oldham was well acquainted with Horace's works; but it is not improbable that he got a hint both of this principle and for his undertaking a new version of the _Ars Poetica_ from Dryden's _Preface to Ovid's Epistles_ which was published one year before _Some New Pieces_. However, we cannot single out Dryden as the only stimulus to Oldham's imitation: in France, Boileau was practising this kind of imitation in his satires with remarkable success, and Oldham

imitated two of Boileau's Satires.

Oldham avoids conventional expressions such as "word-for-word" and "literal, servile way of rendering." He plainly admits that he has not been "over-nice in keeping to the words of the Original,"

> for that were to transgress a Rule therein contained. Nevertheless I have been religiously strict to its sence, and exprest it in as plain, and intelligible a manner, as the Subject would bear. Where I may be thought to have varied from it (which is not above once or twice, and in Passages not much material) the skilful Reader will perceive 'twas necessary for carrying on my propos'd design, and the Author himself, were he again alive, would (I believe) forgive me. I have been careful to avoid stiffness, and made it my endeavour to hit (as near as I could) the easie and familiar way of writing, which is peculiar to Horace in his Epistles, and was his proper talent above any of mankind.

By the "Rule therein contained" Oldham surely means the lines "Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere, fidus / Interpres." Oldham's attitude towards such lines is typically that of the seventeenth-century men. To him Horace's lines, which were once established as Rules, are still authoritative. He does not ask the context where these lines occur. He is very anxious not to be accused of having changed Horace at random. Although he changes the places, names and customs, yet he thinks himself "religiously strict" to the sense of the original. He has no desire to improve the original, in which he does not find particular blemishes. Thus, Oldham adheres to this humble conception of translatorship.

In the same Advertisement Oldham tells us that Horace's Satire (Book I, Satire ix) and the Odes (Book I, Ode xxxi and Book II, Ode xiv), which were contained in this anthology, were translated "after the same libertine way," an expression which undoubtedly came from Cowley's Preface to Pindarique Odes. Also we are informed that after he finished this translation he learned that Sprat had rendered the same Satire of Horace in the same method. He adds that it is his hope "to attempt some other of them which at present suffer as much from their Translators, as the Psalms of David from Sternhold and Hopkins." This hope was not realized owing to his early death. Instead, he left to us imitations of Juvenal (Satires iii and xiii) and Boileau (Satires v and viii).

Just three years after Oldham's Some New Pieces, Thomas Creech published his translation of The Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles of Horace; its preface throws a sidelight on the vogue of satirical imitation at this time, though Creech's statement is coloured by his moral snobbishness:

> Some few advis'd me to turn the Satyrs to our own Times; they said that Rome was now rivall'd in her Vices, and Parallels for Hypocrisie, Profaneness, Avarice and the like were easie to be found: But those Crimes are much out of my Acquaintance, and since the Character is the same whoever the Person is, I am not so fond of being hated as to make any disobliging Applications: Such Pains would look like an impertinent Labour to find a Dunghill, only that I might satisfie an unaccountable Humour of dirting one Man's Face, and bespattering another.

Since the Earl of Rochester did not write prefaces of this kind, Oldham's _Advertisement_ to _Some New Pieces_ is unique in professing imitation as the method of translation. Yet he is not conscious that this method provides him and his contemporaries with a new and remarkable way of writing satiric and didactic poems. Although we cannot infer any influence of this _Advertisement_ on the later poets, Pope's literary obligation to Oldham's poems is a well-established fact.

2. THE EARL OF ROSCOMMON AND THOMAS FRANCKLIN

One of the salient features of the Earl of Roscommon's _An Essay on Translated Verse_ (1684) is that he is so deeply involved in translation that he and his subject are not separable. Roscommon's attitude is not detached enough from his subject to enable him to discuss it objectively. This is, of course, a natural consequence of the fact that the theory of translation in the seventeenth century was the product of practitioners, and not of critics who had no experience of translation. In those times there were as yet no professional critics whose function was only to criticize literary productions. The _Essay_ has another feature: it is virtually his _Ars Poetica_, because he is much more concerned with versification than with translation, so that the reader will forget sometimes that the subject is translated verse. This will become clear if we compare this _Essay_ with

Translation: a Poem (1753), by Thomas Francklin,[7] which is the only considerable criticism of translation written in verse in the eighteenth century. Roscommon's main preoccuptaion was only translated verse, whereas Francklin had in mind translation in general——whether in verse or in prose. Francklin respects the celebrated French translators, such as Perrot d'Ablancourt, Mongault, Brumoy, Olivet, and Dacier on one hand, and admires Pope for his "immortal Homer" on the other. Madame Dacier translated Homer into brilliant French prose. To Roscommon, however, a prose translation of Horace was a dishonour to a translator:

> Serene and clear, Harmonious Horace flows,
> With sweetness not to be expresst in Prose;
> Degrading Prose explains his meaning ill,
> And shews the Stuff, but not the Workman's skill;
> I, who have serv'd him more than twenty years,
> Scarce know my Master as he there appears,
> Vain are our Neighbours Hopes, and Vain their Cares,
> The Fault is more their Languages than theirs: [8]

Spingarn points out that Roscommon here alludes to André Dacier's French translation of Horace (1681). A more skilled man like Dryden also tried prose translation, and yet he did not leave any theory of prose translation. Aphra Behn, a Fontenelle-inspired woman, progressive in her day, attempted for the first time in England to write a theory of prose translation. As the title of

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7. (1721-1784), Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Francklin translated Lucian, Sophocles, Cicero, de la Harpe and Voltaire. He also wrote several tragedies. Translation: a Poem was copied from the text in the North Library, the British Museum, by the present writer.
8. Spingarn, II, p. 298.

Roscommon's Essay suggests, there is, in his opinion, no need for a poet to translate unless the translation itself is to be in verse, showing "the Workman's skill."

It is very interesting to inquire how the contemporaries of Dryden realized and reacted to the influence of French culture. So far as literature was concerned, France was Britain's senior nation in the seventeenth century, and the French began the work of translating the Greek and Latin classics into the vernacular both earlier and with greater success than the British. Roscommon does not grudge due praise for her success in the field of translation. Britain was stimulated by France's great achievement and she did the same as France, till Englishmen "in Translated Verse do more than They."[9] Roscommon ascribes the English superiority in the field of verse translation to the difference in the languages. For the French language

> is courtly, florid, and abounds in words,
> Of softer sound than ours perhaps affords;
> But who did ever in French Authors see
> The comprehensive English Energy?
> The weighty Bullion of One Sterling Line,
> Drawn to French wire, would thro' whole Pages shine. 10

Dryden shares the same opinion with Roscommon concerning the difference between French and English:

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9. Spingarn, II, p. 298.
10. Ibid.

> [The French] language is not strung with sinews, like our English; it has the nimbleness of a greyhound, but not the bulk and body of a mastiff. Our men and our verses overbear them by their weight; and Pondere , non numero, is the British motto. The French have set up purity for the standard of their language; and a masculine vigour is that of ours. Like their tongue is the genius of their poets, light and trifling in comparison of the English; more proper for sonnets, madrigals, and elegies, than heroic poetry. The turn on thoughts and words is their chief talent; but the Epic Poem is too stately to receive those little ornaments. 11

René Rapin's endorsement of the English language as proper for "great expression" must have encouraged English poets.[12] It is interesting to note that Roscommon, before Dryden's Virgil and Pope's Homer appeared, had boasted that the standard of the English reached higher than that of the French translations, whereas Francklin, after Dryden's and Pope's monumental translations and Rowe's Lucan (Dr. Johnson admired Rowe's version of Pharsalia as "one of the greatest productions of English poetry") still held pessimistic notions about the state of English translations compared with those of the French. In Roscommon's Essay we read something like the spirit of the declaration of independence. The sense of urgency that England must catch up with France in the field of translation seems to have made Francklin modest before French achievement.

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11. Ker, II, pp. 218-19. Cf. William Wotton, in pp. 132-33.
12. Rapin writes in his Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote (1674): "Les peuples, qui paroissent avoir plus de genie pour la Tragedie de tous nos voisins, sont les Anglois, & par l'esprit de leur nation qui se plaist aux choses atroces, & par le caractere de leur langue, qui est propre aux grandes expressions." (II, xxiii, p. 201)

Roscommon's Essay was written as the "Rules" for verse translators. The didactic tone which colours the whole of this Essay is heightened especially when he describes the first requisite for a translator. It is not to choose a good text or to prepare good commentaries, but to examine his own state of mind:

> The first great work (a Task perform'd by few)
> Is that your self may to your self be True:
> No Masque, no Tricks, no Favour, no Reserve;
> Dissect your Mind, examine ev'ry Nerve. 13

Such an examination was very necessary and important for Roscommon, because translation was, to his mind, a quite austere, or even religious rite, so that the priest (the translator) had to be pure and clean in heart and mind before he could approach the tent of the congregation. But it was not the great Jehovah but the Muse that was in the tent:

> Your early, kind, paternal care appears,
> By chast Instruction of her Tender Years.
> The first Impression in her Infant Breast
> Will be the deepest and should be the best.
> Let no Austerity breed servile Fear,
> No wanton Sound offend her Virgin-Ear.
> Secure from foolish Pride's affected state,
> And specious Flattery's more pernicious Bait,
> Habitual Innocence adorns her Thoughts,
> But your neglect must answer for her Faults. 14

Again:

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13. Spingarn, II, p. 299.
14. Spingarn, II, p. 300.

'Tis very Dangerous Tampring with a Muse:
The Profit's small, and you have much to lose; 15

And yet again:

> when a Muse Propitiously invites,
> Improve her favours and Indulge her flights;
> But when you find that vigorous heat abate,
> Leave off, and for another Summons wait. 16

These are, in sum, only an enlargement of what Dryden could express in one sentence: "to be a thorough translator, he must be a thorough poet." Since the Essay was written in verse, Roscommon was forced to sing a hymn to the Muse, even daring to take the pose of an inspirationist. But if a translator observes this rule, it would be impossible for him to accomplish a voluminous work. He must await the summons of his Muse with great patience. That perhaps is, why Roscommon translated very little.[17] This is the unpractical side of the Essay.

Let us examine the practical side. The general principle of Roscommon's translation is that the verse translation must be a good poem. All the small rules which he gives in this Essay

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15. Spingarn, II, p. 305.
16. Spingarn, II, p. 306.
17. As for Roscommon's translated verses, Chalmers's The Works of the English Poets (1810) includes "A paraphrase on the CXLVIIIth Psalm (this is, by the way, a very free rendering), "Virgil's Sixth Eclogue, Silenus," "The Twenty-second Ode of the First Book of Horace," "The same, imitated," "Part of the Fifth scene of the Second act in Guarini's Pastor Fido," "The Sixth Ode of the Third Book of Horace," a couplet translation of one line from Lucan, and "Horace's Art of Poetry."

are deduced from that principle. This was also Dryden's principle. Roscommon tells us that a translator must take his natural inclination into account, and must choose his author as he chooses his friend; that words must be selected with decency and sense according to the subject; that he must carefully consult commentaries whenever he meets a difficult passage, but he must not follow the voice of the throng, for "The Multitude is alwayes in the Wrong"[18]; that he must consider his author as the best adviser; that he must not add his own ideas; that he must choose easy expressions; that he must imitate his author in his merits and defects; that he must choose harmonious numbers; that he must sound the possibility of blank verse, without being hampered by traditional rhyme, and so forth. As rules of translation, they are commonplace and there is no peculiar point in them, except, perhaps, Roscommon's warm exhortation to the use of blank verse for English verse translators. He illustrates the vigour and usefulness of blank verse by inserting in the _Essay_ 27 lines of his imitation of Milton's _Paradise Lost_. He made use of these advantages when he rendered Horace's _Ars Poetica_.

Such formulation of small rules, however, was no concern of Francklin's _Translation: a Poem_. His great concern was to make his contemporaries interested in translation in general. Consequently, he had to show how miserably bad their English translations were. It was also necessary for him to show the

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18. Spingarn, II, p. 302.

inferiority of English translations, both in quality and quantity, in comparison with French translations. Francklin's imaginary list of ideal assignments in translation is quite characteristic of the eighteenth century: he assigns Terence to Congreve (to whom Dryden assigned Homer!), Tibullus to James Hammond, the Greek Theatre to Otway, Lucian to Swift, Cicero to Conyers Middleton, Livy to Bolingbroke, and Plato to Melmoth or Boyle; and he regrets that these great English writers did not engage themselves in translation. Roscommon, one of the court wits of the Restoration, would have been indifferent to such a list of assignments, even if it had been shown him. This reflects the difference between their backgrounds---pre-Augustan and post-Augustan---rather than that between two individuals.

We may also assume that Roscommon and Francklin had very different pictures of the world of classical literature. Roscommon refers to only three classical writers (Horace, Virgil, and Homer) in the 409 lines of the whole Essay. Homer appears there only to be scolded for his offensive expression about "Holy Garbage," which is utterly unworthy of an epic poem. Horace is Roscommon's master whom he acknowledges to have served for more than twenty years. But greater than Horace is Virgil, and Virgil is Roscommon's god. Here is his naively magnified invocation to his god:

> Approach his Altars with religious Fear,
> No vulgar Deity inhabits there:

Heav'n shakes not more at Jove's imperial Nod
Then Poets shou'd before their Mantuan God.
Hail, mighty MARO! may that Sacred Name
Kindle my Breast with thy celestial Flame,
Sublime Ideas and apt Words infuse;
The Muse instruct my Voice, and Thou inspire the Muse! 19

Thus, Virgil sits on a even higher level than the Muse, because he is supposed to inspire the Muse! On the other hand, Francklin directly or indirectly mentions 17 classical writers in the 225 lines of his Poem. The 17 writers include eight poets (Pindar, Horace, Virgil, Homer, Lucan, Tibullus, Lucian, Juvenal), three dramatists (Terence, Sophocles, Plautus), three historians (Thucydides, Tacitus, Livy), one orator (Cicero), and two philosophers (Plato, Longinus). Thus, Francklin's picture of classical literature is as comprehensive as ours. That is why his attitude towards the Greek and Latin classics is more objective than Roscommon's. The new widening of the scope of classical translation was one of the great contributions made by the Augustans.

But even more significant than this widening of the scope of translation is an alteration in the fundamental principle of translation itself, as defined by these representatives of the two ages:

Roscommon: Your Author alwayes will the best advise:
Fall, when He falls; and when He Rises, Rise. 20

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19. Spingarn, II, p. 302.
20. Spingarn, II, p. 303.

Francklin: UNLESS an author like a mistress warms,
How shall we hide his faults, or taste his charms,
How all his modest, latent beauties find,
How trace each lovelier feature of the mind,
Soften each blemish, and each grace improve,
And treat him with the dignity of love? 21

These extracts suggest that there is a considerable gap between their principles. The relationship between author and translator is, to Roscommon's mind, the relationship between master and servant. The translator must dance as his author dances. As a principle of translation, this is exactly the same as Dryden's. But to Francklin's mind the relationship is between a mistress and her knight. He knows her blemishes and defects, but conceals and corrects them "with the dignity of love." This is the very point which Tytler supports in his monumental _Essay on the Principles of Translation_ (1791). What lies underneath this development in the translator's attitude towards his author? A clue to this question may be found in their different views of Nature; Roscommon's reaction to contemporary translations of Virgil is as follows:

I lose my Patience, when, with Sawcy Pride,
By untun'd Ears I hear His Numbers try'd.
Reverse of Nature! shall such Copies, then,
Arraign th'Originals of Maro's Pen,
And the rude Notions of Pedantick Schools
Blaspheme the sacred Founder of Our Rules! 22

Here, Nature is represented as the general truth, and as such,

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21. 137-42.
22. Spingarn, II, p. 307.

it is the standard of art. Because Nature is the general truth, "Reverse of Nature!" is a strong condemnation of bad translations. At the same time, however, the Neo-classical doctrine, that is, to regard the Ancients also as Nature is foreshadowed here. Francklin writes:

> BUT know, whate'er proud Art hath call'd her own,
> The breathing canvas, and the sculptur'd stone,
> The poets verse; 'tis Imitation all;
> Great Nature only is Original.
> Her various charms in various forms express'd,
> The best have pleas'd us, who have copy'd best;
> And those still shine more eminently bright,
> Who shew the goddess in the fairest light. 23

Thus, Nature to him is the object of imitation, and the only legitimate original of all arts. Hence, in Francklin's opinion, painting is a kind of translation, and so is sculpture. Likewise, poetry is the translation of this great original, Nature. So, the translation of a Greek or Latin poem is doubly a translation of Nature. But the second translator is under the same obligation as the first translator---to strive to produce a "best copy" of that Nature which his translation is to render. Consequently, there is a promising chance for the second translator to imitate Nature better than his author and predecessors.

To Francklin the idea of this idealized Nature was all important; to him the imitation of Nature meant the transformation

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23. 113-20.

of nature to its ideal state, and not a mere transcription of it. This theory is, in substance, that which Sir Joshua Reynolds elaborately expounded in his Discourses. His warm encouragement for students of painting to surpass their seniors and masters is a natural consequence of this theory. As to the relationship of nature and artist, he said:

> If we look abroad to other arts, we may observe the same distinction, the same division into two classes; each of them acting under the influence of two different principles, in which the one follows nature, the other varies it, and sometimes departs from it. . . . Many of these allowed deviations from nature arise from the necessity which there is, that everything should be raised and enlarged beyond its natural state. . . . the true test of all the arts is not solely whether the production is a true copy of nature, but whether it answers the end of art, which is to produce a pleasing effect upon the mind. . . . Upon the whole, it seems to me, that the object and intention of all arts is to supply the natural imperfection of things, and often to gratify the mind by realising and embodying what never existed but in the imagination. [24]

We must admit that before the art theory of Francklin and Reynolds developed thus far, there had been Rapin and Pope's orientation in identifying "Nature, the Ancients, the rules, and sound reason, so that to follow one was to follow all."[25] As I pointed out in the previous chapter, Dryden became familiar with this idea, especially through the translation of Du Fresnoy's De Arte Graphica. Certainly, Dryden's view of art was influenced by it, but we

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24. Discourse XIII, pp. 218-25 (in Everyman's Library edition).
25. Basil Willey: "The Turn of the Century" in Seventeenth Century Studies, presented to Sir Herbert Grierson. Oxford, 1938. p. 387.

cannot affirm with certainty that his method of translation was also affected by it, since the Horatian assumption may produce the same result as this principle of the idealized Nature. Roscommon did not live long enough to be touched by it. In their respective notions of Nature and Art, Dryden was an Augustan, and Roscommon clearly was not.

3. APHRA BEHN AND PROSE TRANSLATION

Among many English writers who practised translation in the age of Dryden, we know altogether the names of only two women. They are Katherine Philips (1632-1664)[26] and Aphra Behn (1640-1689). France can boast of Madame Dacier (1654-1720) as a first-rate French translator of Homer a little later than they. But to both Mrs. Philips and Mrs. Behn translation was, if anything, a "side-job." The "Matchless Orinda" translated Corneille's _Pompée_ into English in 1663, and the play was acted in Dublin with great success. Three years later she also published her translation of Corneille's _Horace_, the fifth act of which was done by Sir John Denham; but neither Denham nor Mrs. Philips discussed the motive, or the method, of this translation at all. These women translators were engaged in the translation of contemporary French writers, not of Greek or Latin classics.

Mrs. Behn is one of the "Several Hands" who translated Ovid's

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26. _Oxford Companion to English Literature_ gives 1631 as the year of her birth.

Epistles, to which Dryden attached a preface containing his earliest theory of translation.[27] In 1688 she published the translation of Fontenelle's Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes under the English title of A Discovery of New Worlds.[28] The aim of this book is to make known "the theory or system of several new inhabited worlds lately discover'd." Discussions are centred in Galileo's discoveries, and Descartes's system of vortices. The book consists of dialogues between several people, like Dryden's An Essay of Dramatic Poesy. Since the "Design of the Author is to treat of this part of Natural Philosophy in a more familiar Way than any other hath done, and to make every body understand him: For this End, he introduced a Woman whom he feigns never to have heard of any such thing as Philosophy before."[29]

Evidently it was the fact that a woman took part in the dialogue which partly induced Mrs. Behn to translate this book. She is conscious of her womanhood; she makes use of this fact as

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27. Dryden writes in his Preface to Ovid's Epistles: "I was desired to say that the author, who is of the fair sex, understood not Latin. But if she does not, I am afraid she has given us occasion to be ashamed who do." (Ker, I, p. 243)
28. This translation was published again in 1700 under the new title of "The theory of System of several new Inhabited Worlds, lately discover'd . . . Made English By Mrs. Behn." In 1688 she published another translation from Fontenelle: "The History of Oracles, and the Cheats of the Pagan Priests, etc." Its original "L'Histoire des oracles . . . " is an adaptation of a Dutchman, Anthony van Dale's De oraculis veterum ethnicorum, Amsterdam, 1683.
29. The Translator's Preface. All quotations from Aphra Behn are found in this Preface unless otherwise stated.

excuse for her incompetence as a translator. In her Epistle Dedicatory to William, Earl of Drumlanrig, she says: "If it is not done with that exactness it merits, I hope your Lordship will pardon it in a Woman, who is not supposed be well versed in the Terms of Philosophy, being but a new beginner in that Science; but where I have failed, your Lordship's Judgment can supply . . . ." In the same manner she apologizes to her readers in the Translator's Preface: "The other thing he /Fontenelle/ endeavours to defend or assert, is, the System of Copernicus. As to this, I cannot but take his part as far as a Woman's Reasoning can go."

As a translator, Dryden and Roscommon were concerned with poetical translation, chiefly from the Greek and Latin classics. But here, Mrs. Behn proposes "to say something of Translation of prose in general, since nothing can be added to that Incomparable Essay of the late Earl of Roscommon." This is a completely new attempt, at least in England, because she is trying to remedy a lack in the theory of translation as hitherto set forth by various translators.

Mrs. Behn begins her preface by explaining her motives in making this translation. She has three reasons:

> The General Applause this little Book of the Plurality of Worlds has met with, both in France and England in the Original, made me attempt to translate it into English. The Reputation of the Author, (who is the same, who writ the Dialogue of the Dead /30/) the Novelty of the Subject in vulgar Languages, and

30. Written, imitating the design of Lucian's work which has the same title.

> the Authors introducing a Woman as one of the speakers in these five Discourses, were the further Motives for me to undertake this little work; for I thought an English Woman might adventure to translate any thing, a French Woman may be supposed to have spoken.

We can contrast these motives with those of poetical translators. Obviously the reputation of the author gives rise to the translator's ambition to render him, and this is common to a verse translator and a prose translator. The second reason, "the Novelty of the Subject in vulgar Languages," is significant. This is not applicable to poetical translation, for generally speaking, it is the beauty of the original text that makes translators desire to recreate the same beauty in their own language. Emphasis is put on both "Novelty" and "vulgar Languages," because the theme of this book is the new science or natural philosophy, and the use of simple, plain conversational style as the vehicle of communicating philosophical ideas was attracting many writers of those days. It was not Bacon's dignified style but Dryden's conversational style that was fittest to express the new scientific outlook. The third point is essentially Aphra Behn's. We partly owe this translation to her competitive feminism.

Our author contends that the French language is "of all the hardest to translate into English." In order to prove this, she reflects on the process of formation in the modern European languages:

> the nearer the Idioms or turn of the Phrase of two Languages agree, 'tis the easier to translate one into the other. The

Italian, Spanish and French, are all three at best Corruptions of the Latin, with the mixture of Gothick, Arabick, also nearest the English: For its mixture being composed of Latin, and the Language of the Goths, Vandals, and other Northern nations, who over-ran the Roman Empire, and conquer'd its Language with its Provinces, most of these Northern Nations spoke the Teutonick or Dialects of it, of which the English is one also; and that's the Reason, that the English and Italian learn the Language of one another sooner than any other; because not only the Phrase, but the Accent of both do very much agree, the Spanish is next of kin to the English, for almost the same Reason: Because the Goths and Vandals having over-run Africk, and kept Possession of it for some hundred of years, where mixing with the Moors, no doubt, gave them a great Tincture of their Tongue. These Moors afterwards invaded and conquered Spain; besides Spain was before that also invaded and conquered by the Goths, who possessed it long after the time of the two Sons of Theodosius the Great, Arcadus and Honorius. The French, as it is most remote from the Latin, so the Phrase and Accent differ most from the English: it may be, it is more agreeable with the Welsh, which is near a-kin to the Basbritton and Biscagne Languages, which is derived from the old Celtick Tongue, the first that was spoken amongst the Ancient Gauls, who descended from the Celts.

The French therefore is of all the hardest to translate into English. For Proof of this, there are other Reasons also. And first, the nearer the Genious and Humour of two Nations agree, the Idioms of their Speech are the nearer; and every Body knows there is more Affinity between the English and Italian People, than the English and the French, as to their Humours; and for that Reason, and for what I have said before, it is very difficult to translate Spanish into French: and I believe hardly possible to translate French into Dutch. The second Reason is, the Italian Language is the same now it was some hundred of Years ago, so is the Spanish, not only as to the Phrase, but even as to the Words and Orthography; whereas the French Language has suffered more Changes this hundred Years past, since Francis the first, than the Fashions of their Cloths and Ribbons, in Phrase, Words and Orthography. So that I am confident a French Man a hundred Years hence will no more understand an old Edition of Froisard's History, than he will understand Arabick. . . . A third Reason is . . . that the French being a Corruption of the Latin, French Authors take a liberty to borrow whatever Word they want from the Latin, without farther Ceremony, especially when they treat of Sciences. This the English do not do, but at second hand

from the French. It is Modish to Ape the French in every thing: Therefore, we not only naturalize their words, but words they steal from other Languages. I wish in this and several other things, we had a little more of the Italian and Spanish Humour, and did not chop and change our Language, as we do our Cloths, at the Pleasure of every French Tailor.

Here Mrs. Behn is very keen to defend her cherished cause that the genius and humour of the English nation are most akin to those of Italian and most far from those of the French; therefore there is more affinity between English and Italian than between English and French; and therefore, to translate a French text into English is the most difficult task. One of the salient features of this argument is that she discusses the problem on the level of primitive psychology, using such terms as "genius" or "humour." Her premise considers the affinity of "the Idioms or turn of the Phrase of two Languages." Indeed, this is a necessary and important point. But, it is only a local part of comparative linguistics. So far as she stands on that level, she cannot be successful in her defence. Obviously her intention is to compare European languages as scientifically as possible; but that would demand the discussion of vocabulary, phonetic system, morphology and syntax. The reason of her failure is that she thinks it possible to explain the difference of languages by the difference of "genius" or "humour," and that is only partly possible.

Aphra Behn is right in observing that some languages have changed more than others. In fact, Dante's Italian still remained

the language of the seventeenth-century Italian people, whereas Froissard's French and Chaucer's English were not the French or English of that century. But she goes too far: she confidently asserts that "a French Man a hundred Years hence will no more understand an old Edition of Froisard's History, than he will understand Arabick."

Then our author discusses the merits and defects of the French language. She points out three merits: (1) that French is so musical a language as to sacrifice grammar to the effect of good sound (<u>son epouse</u> instead of <u>sa epouse</u> or <u>s'epouse</u>); (2) that its words generally end in vowels[31]; and (3) that French can resume a long preceeding sentence in two or three words by the help of the relatives. The defects of French are, according to Mrs. Behn, "needless Repetitions and Tautologies" and "Flourishes and Embroideries." Thus the Frenchmen, "by a certain Rhetorical Figure, peculiar to themselves, imply twenty Lines, to express what an English Man would say, with more Ease and Sense in five; and this is the great Misfortune of translating French into English; If one endeavours to make it English Standard, it is no Translation." This opinion reflects the contemporary English view of the French language, which is, in Roscommon's expression, "courtly, florid, abounds in words, [and lacks] the comprehensive English Energy."[32]

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31. I cannot understand why this is counted as a merit.
32. See <u>supra</u>, p. 96 (Spingarn, II, p. 298).

Apparently Mrs. Behn does not know the perspicuity and crystallizing vigour of Pascal's prose. She ends her view of French with a compromising statement: "these defects are only comparatively, in respect of English: And I do not say this so much, to condemn the French, as to praise our own Mother-Tongue, for what we think a Deformity, they may think a Perfection."

So much for Mrs. Behn's general remarks on prose translation. She has very little to say on her present undertaking: "I have endeavoured to give you the true meaning of the Author, and have kept as near his Words as was possible; I was necessitated to add a little in some places, otherwise the Book could not have been understood." We also find a few remarks on special terms used in this translation. Her sound intention to present the author's meaning faithfully is stated.

A question arises when we read such a passage: "I believe [it] hardly possible to translate French into Dutch." Then, what does she think translation is? It is true that she actually translated Fontenelle's book into English and attached to it a long and "curious" preface concerning prose translation and the subject of the book. But she has never asked herself this fundamental question. If one has not a clear idea of an ideal translation, one can hardly have a proper method. For a method of translation is formed and regulated by this very idea of what prose translation should be. Mrs. Behn's discussion is centred only in the semi-

linguistic consideration of difficulty which is involved in translation. Although her essay is interesting and her intention is ambitious, because before her no man ever attempted such an undertaking (at least, in England) in this particular field, yet her essay is not so valuable as Dryden's or Roscommon's on poetical translation. The reason is that she lacks the consideration of the proper method of prose translation and her linguistic outlook is limited and confused. One can get some hints concerning the difficulty of translating French into English, but one cannot get help in the practice.

It is a difficult task to translate French into English, Spanish into French, and French into Dutch. Translation is a difficult task in its nature. But the truth is, that the difficulty arises from desire to render an original in a foreign language into good prose in one's own language. Aphra Behn herself is groping along this line. She seems to love a plain and simple style with ease and sense, which surely she thinks of as the perfection of her mother-tongue. She could have said much more on her ideal of the English prose style, in which she desires to render the French text. An adequate consideration for style will prevent prose translation from declining into a tiresome work. It enables prose translation still to be an art, and one which promises yet higher achievement.

4. PREFACE TO THE TRANSLATION OF TERENCE'S COMEDIES

It is rather strange that we have no conspicuous theory of translation in the 1660s and the 1670s except Edward Howard's sagacious remarks in his preface to Womens Conquest (1671). As my list of translations[33] shows, an extension to the theory of translation began to appear in 1680, the year when Dryden wrote the Preface to Ovid's Epistles, and was developed in the following years. If we compare the theory of translation in the 1680s with that of the 1690s, I think we can roughly say that the 1680s were typified by the more experimental, more original theories, like Dryden's three divisions of the methods of translation, Oldham's theory of imitation, Roscommon's An Essay on Translated Verse, and Aphra Behn's theory of prose translation. The theory of translation in the 1690s, on the other hand, seems to me more stereotyped and conventional. The fashion of writing prefaces to translations was already established in the 1680s, and so the translators of the last decade of the century were quite content to follow a "beaten track." A good example of this kind is the anonymous preface to the translation of Terence's comedies, published in 1694.[34]

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33. See Appendix.
34. The book was translated by "several hands"; the edition which I saw in the British Museum (the first edition, 1694) did not give the names of translators. CBEL tells us that they were "Laurence Echard, Sir Roger L'Estrange, et al," but we cannot know the name of the writer of this preface. It is reasonable

The theory of translation in this preface consists of three parts: (1) the reason of this undertaking, (2) the objections against this translation, and (3) the method of translation adopted. The reasons of this undertaking are set out:

> First, For the Excellency and Usefulness of this Author in general: And consequently for the benefit . . . of most sort of People, but especially for the Service it may do our Dramatick Poets. Next, for the Honour of our own Language, into which all good Books ought to be Translated, since 'tis now become so Elegant, Sweet and Copious: And indeed nothing refines, or gives Foreigners a greater Opinion of any Language than its number of good Translations; of which the French is a great Instance. Thirdly, Because most of our Neighbours have got it in their Language, particularly the French, who have done it with good Success; and we have no reason for our being outdone by any of our Neighbours, since we have a Language we dare set against any in the World. Lastly, Since the Author is so excellent, we undertook it because no other Persons wou'd. 'Tis strange that none of our great Wits wou'd undertake it before, but let us Persons of Obscurity, take their Works out of their Hands; when we can perceive by our little Performances that our Language will do it to a very high degree, undoubtedly better than the French.

Terence's beneficial and practical usefulness for people and dramatic poets comes first, and then, the honour of the English language. (To my mind, the second and third reasons mean the same thing.) The idea that a language is weighed by the number of good

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to suggest Echard as the writer. Laurence Echard (1670?-1730), historian, published <u>Plautus's Comedies: Amphitryon, Epidicus, and Rudens made English</u>; With Critical Remarks upon Each Play; 1694 8vo; second edition, corrected, 1716, 12mo. He also participated in the translation of <u>Lucian's Works</u> (1711) and Lucian's 'The Auction of Philosophers,' iii, 323-44 is attributed to him (DNB, XVI, p. 352). Terence's comedies enjoyed their publication to the ninth edition by 1741, which explains the popularity of this translation.

translation would be new in England. Thus, translation is regarded as a sort of barometer of language. Also, the writer's serene confidence in the capability of his mother tongue is noteworthy.

Three objections are raised against the undertaking of this translation: (1) there already exist two translations of Terence;[35] (2) "Men of Sense and Learning" will read Terence's Latin text; (3) the translated works of Terence are not fit for presentation on the actual stage. The writer of this preface begins to answer these objections by disparaging the versions of his predecessors: "Bernard's and Hool's Translations are very often false, mostly so obsolete, flat and unpleasant, that a Man can scarce read half a Page without sleep"! Such a condemnation, the writer might have thought, would hit the mark, since this is a preface to comedies. He continues: "both are more obscure than the Original." Against the second objection, he retorts: "however ingenious Persons must needs receive some pleasure in seeing such excellent fine Latin now speak tolerable good English; and likewise in seeing somewhat of the Conversation, Humour and Customs of the old Greeks and Romans put into a modern Dress: and perhaps not quite out of the Fashion." Besides, a good translation often does more than an ordinary translation does. A nice example is Roscommon's translation of Horace's <u>Art of Poetry</u>, because it

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35. Richard Bernard. <u>Terence in English</u>. Cambridge, 1598, 1607, 1614, 1629, 1641; Charles Hoole. <u>Publii Terentii Comoediae</u>. 1667, 1676.

"shews the Sense, Meaning, Design, &c. of Horace better and easier than all the Paraphrases and Notes in the World." This translation of Terence is useful because it helps "the understanding of the Roman Customs and Theatres in this Case, and of the Art of the Stage," too. As to the third objection, the writer admits that these translations are not fit for actual performance. However, he insists on their indirect merits that they can provide the dramatic poets with models, for they have been already translated for everyone's easy access. Not only dramatic poets, but also the ordinary readers can "see the true Excellencies of these Rules, and these lively Imitations of Nature . . ." He concludes his vindication by praising the moral virtue of Terence's comedies; thus, he at once criticizes the degrading tendency of the contemporary comedies and judtifies his own undertaking:

> the common People by these Plays may plainly perceive that Obscenity and Debaucheries are no ways necessary to make a good Comedy; and the Poets themselves will be the more ready to blush when they see Heathens so plainly out-do us Christians in their Morals;

As for the method of translation, the preface briefly describes how the joint translation was carried out: "each of us joyning and consulting about every line, not only for the doing of it better, but also for the making of it all of a piece." Unlike the satires of Juvenal, translated by Dryden and others under Dryden's supervision, the comedies of Terence, the preface suggests, were rendered by the

translators jointly. Apparently they had no general supervisor, but the writer of the preface tells that they "had considerable helps from other Persons far above our selves, for whose Care and Pains we shall ever acknowledge our Gratitude." He also makes acknowledgment to Madame Dacier, the French translator of Terence, for their indebtedness to her remarks and notes. Careful collation of the Latin texts seems to have been done, since there was as yet no authoritative edition of Terence in those days. It is in the description of their method of translation that the writer follows the "beaten track":

> 'tis not to be expected we shou'd wholly reach the Air of the Original; that being so peculiar, and the Language so different; we have imitated our Author as well and nigh as the English Tongue and our small Abilities wou'd permit[36];. . . A meer Verbal Translation is not to be expected, that wou'd sound so horribly, and be more obscure than the original[37]; but we have been faithful Observers of his Sence, and even of his Words too, not slipping any of consequence without something to answer it; nay further, where two Words seem to be much the same, and perhaps not intended to be very different by the Author, we were commonly so nice as to do them too;. . . We cou'dn't have kept closer (especially in this Author, which several ingenious Persons told us, Is the hardest in the World to translate;) without too much treading upon the Author's Heels[38], and destroying our Design of giving it an easie, Comic Style, most agreeable to our present Times.

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36. Cf. Dryden: "The turns of his [Virgil's] verse, his breakings, his propriety, his numbers, and his gravity, I have as far imitated, as the poverty of our language, and the hastiness of my performance, would allow." (Preface to Sylvae, 1685. Ker, I, p. 258)
37. Cf. Perrot d'Ablancourt: "Je soutiens qu'Aristote est beaucoup plus clair chez lui, que chez le traducteurs Latins, & que souvent il faut lire l'original pour entendre la version." (Quoted from the anonymous preface to Hobbes's Translation of

The faithful adherence to the author's sense, as we saw in John Oldham, is stated here, and so the writer puts himself under the safest shelter. Whatever the "sense" may mean, the declaration of faithfulness to the author's sense is all important to the translators of this period. If they do not declare it, they must lose their peace——the peace of the Restoration translators.[39]

Since this is a preface to comedies, this essay contains some special remarks on the translation of comedy, namely, on the treatment of Terence's ambiguous words and plays on words:

> Terence had some Words taken in a great many several Sences, such as <u>Contumelia</u> and <u>Injuria</u>, <u>Odiosus</u>, <u>Tristis</u>, &c. these we have been very careful about; but where he plays upon Words (tho' never so prettily) he ought not in some places to be imitated at all, because the Fineness is more lost that way, than the other; yet we try'd at several when they were Natural and tolerable in English. As for his Allusions and the like, many of them perhaps are quite lost to us. However they are commonly lost in our language. On such places (as well as some others) we made Remarks or Notes at the latter end;

Aristotle's <u>Art of Rhetorick</u>, a new edition. London, 1759) This seems Perrot d'Ablancourt's favorite theme. He writes in the preface to the translation of Lucian (1654): "How well does the <u>obscruam diligentiam</u> of Terence describe the fault of over-scrupulous versions, of which one must read the original in order to understand the translation!" (Spingarn's translation. See Spingarn, I, p. liii)

38. Cf. Dryden: "[Holyday and Stapylton] have gone so close, that they have trod on the heels of Juvenal and Persius, and hurt them by their too near approach." (<u>Preface to Juvenal</u>, 1692. Ker, II, p. 112) See also W. L.'s description, which Miss Amos records (<u>supra</u>, p. 50).
39. However, to the eye of a nineteenth-century translator of Terence, Echard's version looked too licentious. H. T. Riley writes in the preface to his translation (1853): "The Translator has endeavoured to convey faithfully the meaning of the author, and although not rigorously literal, he has, he trusts, avoided such wide departures from the text, as are found in the versions of Echard, Cook, Patrick, and Gordon."

Such is our writer's theory of translation. He has nothing particular or unique, except in his describing how the joint translation was done, and some problems arising from the nature of comedy. His attitude towards Terence is, of course, not like Roscommon's towards Virgil or Horace. It is just ordinary veneration, and no more and no less. Whoever the writer of the preface may have been, his translation was doomed to be condemned by Thomas Francklin half a century later in his Translation: a Poem. Thus:

> If haply told that Terence once cou'd charm,
> Each Feeling heart that Sophocles cou'd warm,
> Scours every stall for Eachard's dirty page,
> . . . 40

5. PREFACE TO LUCIAN'S CHARON: A VINDICATION OF TRANSLATION[41]

The title page of this translation gives neither the date of pubilcation nor the name of the translator. The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature records the date as 1700 with a question mark. The fact that this preface quotes the Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies, which was published in 1685 under the editorship of Dryden, proves that this translation did not appear before 1685. It is certain that this anonymous translator lived in the atmosphere of the age of Dryden, for we find various

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40. 33-35.
41. The material was copied from the text in the North Library, the British Museum, by the present writer.

quotations from, and references to, Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Theocritus, Ennius, Pacuvius, Cicero, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Plutarch, the Bible, and Montaigne. These names were a common treasury to the contemporaries of Dryden, and the tone of the references to Waller and Denham clinches the matter.

This is a preface in dialogue between Eumenes, who characteristically thinks in an aristocratic way, and Philenor, the supposed translator of Lucian's Charon and the vindicator of translation. Its theme is the value and the use of translation in general.

To Eumenes translation is something less than original writing. He was expecting from his friend Philenor "Some Heroick Poem, or some Curious piece of Philology, or at least some Ingenious Essaies or Dialogues of your own." But Philenor has appeared with a piece of translation from Lucian in his hand. He expresses his dissatisfaction, quoting Sir John Denham's couplet, with a slight change in the second line:

> Such is our Pride, our Folly, or our Fate,
> That only those that cannot Write Translate. 42

According to Eumenes, the recent boom in translation is nothing but a sign of the lack of wit on the part of writers.

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42. Apparently this opening couplet in To Sir Richard Fanshaw upon his Translation of Pastor Fido (Composed in 1643 or 1644) was regarded as a maxim by translators of that time. The same couplet is quoted by Thomas Francklin, in the very beginning of his Translation: a Poem. Denham's second line: "That few, but such as cannot write, Translate."

Philenor draws his friend's attention to the fact that many of the ideas which they read in Latin classics are only Greek ideas transplanted from the Greek soil. "You will find," he says, "even Virgil himself ever and anon Translating Homer and Theocritus, nay and borrowing Lines out of Ennius and Lucretius too, that writ in his own Language." The same thing must be said as to the English writers: ". . . if you can like no English Authors but such as write ingenious things of their own, I fear, You won't find many to read: for if you observe but our best Poets, . . . their finest and most delicate Conceptions are none of their own, but meer Translations from the Greeks and Latines, as even themselves confess in their Prefaces and other Critical Discourses." Thus Philenor, contrasting complete translation with the partial rendering or partial borrowing which was admitted as a matter of fact in literature from generation to generation, poses a rhetorical question on the importance of translation for translation's sake: "Why it is not as commendable to Translate a whole Author, and own it to be his, as to Steal here and there a Fragment, and make his best Notions pass for one's own. Or, supposing such a dulness and barrenness of Thought and Fancy . . . has possest the minds of Men of late, why may not one as well bring to light some ingenious Pieces of the Antients, as lie idle, as you do, and write nothing?"

Here the prevalence of stealing from other writers seems to

be Philenor's single ground on which to justify translation. From the moral viewpoint, the theft of lines, expressions, ideas, or whole plots from other writers would be as wrong as the theft of money. Philenor is passing a moral judgment, but one which forms only a part of literary judgment. He completely neglects the meaning and effect of the literary transmission of ideas. Mere theft cannot achieve any greatness. However, literary history bears witness that all great poets, from Virgil to T. S. Eliot, have stolen ideas or subjects for their own poems from others. From the literary viewpoint, the problem is not whether they stole or not, but how they made use of the material they did steal. In the seventeenth century, the free adaptation of Alcaeus and Sappho practised by Horace, and of Menander by Terence, was already well-known. The century, which was earnestly looking to the guidance of the Ancients, also looked for examples of translation in their work, and discovered such cases of free adaptation. However, their free adaptation——in Philenor's expression, "to Steal here and there a Fragment, and make his Best Notions pass for one's own"——was not exactly the same as the modern conception of translation, which is again in his words, "to Translate a whole Author, and own it to be his." This separation of two ideas ——"classical" and "modern" conceptions of translation——, or to put it in another way, the crystallization of the "modern" idea of translation, is characteristic of the Neo-classical age. There

must no longer be confusion between these two ideas. Dryden, as we have already seen, came to distinguish the idea of "imitation" from that of translation with the widening of his outlook. His "imitation" defined in the <u>Preface to Ovid's Epistles</u> exactly corresponds to the classical idea of free adaptation.

The next question is whether translation from the classics obstructs the advancement of learning. Eumenes thinks it does, because, he says,

> to what purpose shou'd Men be at the expence of so much time and pains in studying Greek and Latine, when they may read the same Books in their Mother Tongue?

Philenor is of the directly opposite opinion:

> Those rich Treasures of Knowledge & Learning among the Antients are no longer now lock'd up in unintelligible Words . . . Men may now familiarly Converse with the Wits of Greece and Rome, and that without the laborious and ungrateful Toil of Learning Words & Syllables . . . . A study so longsome and tedious, so dry and insipid, that no ingenious Mind can employ itself therein without some reluctancy and a kind of debasement.

The disagreement arises from their different conceptions of "Learning." To Eumenes the advancement of learning means the spread of the study of the classical languages. Philenor, on the contrary, thinks that the spread of the thought and ideas of Greece and Rome is the true advancement of learning. The study of the classical tongues is the end of learning to Eumenes, whereas it is, to Philenor, only a means to attain another end, that is to

say, the "rich Treasures of Knowledge & Learning among the Antients." Therefore, he would maintain, the more translations, the better. Translation is a great vehicle which enables us to gain access to another civilization. It "has in a great measure remov'd that Curse [of Babel], and (in a Sense) once more made the whole Earth of ONE Language and of ONE Speech." This is the purpose of translation.

The third objection against translation is that translation is "the way to make Learning common, cheap, and contemptible," since "Every Man may now read Plutarch and Tully, and the rest in his own Language . . . when every ordinary Mechanick shall be as well acquainted with these Authors as he that has spent 10 or 12 Years in the Universities." Eumenes is afraid of casting pearls before swine, for he believes that learning must be kept sacred as "the wise Egyptians" wrapped up their learning in symbols and hieroglyphics to conceal it from the "profanum vulgus." Philenor, who has a faith in the wisdom of common people, refutes his friend, quoting Montaigne's words about educated fools. He believes "it for a Blessing promised (not a Curse threatened) That the Earth should be filled with Knowledge, as the Waters cover the Sea." It is not the spread of learning that makes it contemptible, but only the lack of it. He even supposes that the common people "wou'd make better use of [knowledge] than we ourselves" when they get it. Eumenes agrees with this point and admits the

necessity of translating "useful Practical Authors." But he is still in doubt as to the translation of "those Learned Pieces, which I'm sure the Vulgar have neither means nor leisure to understand, let their Capacities be what they will."

Eumenes' fourth and last objection against translation in general is that translations "always come so vastly short of the Original." For

> to say nothing of the abuse of Translations . . . Men pervert and corrupt their Authors, either thro' ignorance or design, to serve an Opinion, or shew their Wit, or the like; but supposing men never so well qualified with Learning and Integrity, yet when they have done what they can, they will present us but with a Shadow and Resemblance of the Original Piece, [and] there will be . . . nothing of the Life and Spirit of the Author in their Translation.

This objection hits the mark, for Philenor avoids answering it directly. He seems to share the same regret with Eumenes concerning bad translations so many in number, although this objection cannot prevent him from translating Lucian. It is interesting to note that the anonymous author of this preface is trying here to define a translation, by stating what is not translation. Translation, according to him, should not "come so vastly short of the Original." He seems to imply that the style and manner of a translation must be of the same character with that of the original. Moreover, translation should not be a "Shadow and Resemblance of the Original Piece" with no "Life and Spirit of the Author" in it. The final

test of translation is, of course, whether the translator is successful in pouring the life and spirit of the author into his translated piece. This specific concern with the spirit and life of a literary piece is something amusingly characteristic of Denham and Dryden.

Philenor has a sound opinion of the effect of good translations on the reader's mind. We may admit that his observation is psychologically true. Good translations, he thinks, do not weaken the willingness to learn Greek or Latin, but strengthen it. For he knows "Some who wou'd never have taken the pains to read and understand some Greek Authors, if they had not been first charm'd with the Translation, and at the same time entertain'd a Belief that they must needs be much more Agreeable and Taking in the Original."

Throughout the discussion we can feel Philenor's basic view of translation as a means to the end of introducing "ancient learnings" into his own country. To borrow Mr. E. S. Bates's expression, translation is an "inter-traffic," an instrument for the advancement of knowledge. As such, he estimates the value of translating the classics into English as no less than that of original creation. He also has a firm belief in the usefulness of translation: it is not an impediment, but a stimulation to the study of the classics. Although he has very little to say on the proper method of translation, our author is successful in

presenting something fundamental, thus vindicating the necessity and usefulness of the art which he champions.

6. SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THEORY OF TRANSLATION IN THE PERIOD

In the twentieth century, translation has a secured status as the "inter-traffic" between two different languages. However, there was a long period when the function of translation was regarded as something more than inter-traffic; and the belief was held that it can and should profit the vernacular. The idea that translation must serve the enrichment of the vernacular is a product of Renaissance. In France Joachim du Bellay, the author of the Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse (1594) was a strong promoter of this approach, and French translators after du Bellay were more or less inspired by this idea. The idea was, of course, not foreign in sixteenth-century England. For example, Sir John Harrington, the translator of Orlando Furioso wrote in 1591: "I would wish to be called rather one of the worst translators then one of the meaner makers, specially sith the Earle of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wiat, that are yet called the first refiners of the English tong, were both translators out of Italian."[43]

When we come to Edward Howard (1624-1700?), an elder brother of Sir Robert Howard, we notice a more specified approach. In his Preface to Womens Conquest (1671) he writes:

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43. Preface to the translation of Orlando Furioso. (Smith, II, p. 219)

> Words are the children of thought, and man must be granted to have first imagined speech, before he could express any conception of his by words; so that thought, was both the primitive ground, and glory of Tongues, which successively came to be more improved; and doubtless it was the Wit of Poets that (above all) refin'd their own Languages; . . . Translating, may I grant, add [sic] some perfection to a language, because it introduces the wit of others into its own words, as the French have of late done well in theirs; . . . the Ingenuities of Johnson, Beaumont, and Fletcher, with some other of our former Poets, left our language more improved, as it expressed their thoughts, then if the best of Italian, Spanish and French Wit, had been Translated by the greatest of Pens. I wish it be our good fortune (for the benefit of future times) to leave our Tongue as much inlarged and imbellished, as they left it to us.

Howard, to begin with, was a dramatist, and here his concern is the relationship between dramatic poets and the English language ---a theme which fascinated Dryden so much. Howard discusses the enrichment of the vernacular with respect to Wit. Wit is here characterized by Howard, (1) as an element by which poets refine their language; (2) as transferable by translation from one language into another; and (3) as relating thought to words in some manner. This third aspect of Wit presupposes Dryden's definition of wit in The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic Licence (1677), namely, "a propriety of thoughts and words." It is not easy for us to reach the true meaning of Howard's Wit, but we can suggest what his Wit is not. It is certainly not Cowley's Wit when he wrote in his ode Of Wit: "Rather than all things wit, let none be there." To Howard, the more Wit translators introduce, the better for the language.

Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) appreciates the function of translation from yet another angle. He considers that in translation one can write in a calmer state of mind, than one does in original writing. He begins the Preface to his translation of Sir Thomas More's Utopia:

> There is no Way of writing so proper, for the refining and polishing a Language, as the translating of Books into it, if he that undertakes it has a competent Skill of the one Tongue, and is a Master of the other. When a Man writes his own Thoughts, the Heat of his Fancy, and the Quickness of his Mind, carry him so much after the Notions themselves, that for the most Part he is too warm to judge of the Aptness of Words, and Justness of Figures; so that he either neglects these too much, or over-does them: But when a Man translates, he has none of these Heats about him: And therefore the French took no ill Method, when they intended to reform and beautify their Language, in setting their best Writers on work to translate the Greek and Latin Authors into it. 44

This statement is significant, because Bishop Burnet here proposes a very different way from the method of the poetical translators for "refining and polishing" the English language. To the latter, the translation in "the Heat of his Fancy" was very necessary; they apply the same passionate invocation to the Muse when they engage in translating as when they compose their own poems. It is worth while to remind ourselves of the Essay of Roscommon, a contemporary of Burnet, and of the views of Francklin, an eighteenth-century translator. Burnet expels the Muse from the process of translation, and in place of her he does not erect any god. We

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44. Utopia: or the happy republic; a philosophical romance. pp. iii-iv (Glasgow, 1743). The first edition appeared in 1684.

can appreciate this as the sign of a new outlook. He is a seventeenth-century man in his basic assumption that the vernacular can be refined and polished by translation; he thinks conventionally that France is the model in respect to translation. Yet he interprets the function of translation in his own way: he presupposes the possibility of writing good prose, under the guidance, not of the Muse, but of cool reason. So this is a symptom of the growing influence of the scientific outlook, and of the new tendency to regard good writing as the product of art rather than of inspiration.

This new scientific outlook was an element in the controversy concerning the comparative merits of the ancients and the moderns, one of the largest literary disputes after the Glorious Revolution in England. Underneath the complicated surface was the quarrel between literature and science. William Wotton seems the first man who pointed out the fallacy of certain arguments employed in this controversy. In his _Reflections upon ancient and modern learning_ (1694) Wotton argues that French translators have rendered the ancient poems into French prose: how then, Wotton asks, are they entitled to appreciate the merits of the ancient poetry properly, using prose translations? Wotton slightly echoes Roscommon's argument, when he criticizes the French preference of prose translation to verse translation:

> The French Language wants Strength to temper and support its Smoothness for the nobler Parts of Poesie, and perhaps of

> Oratory too, though the French Nation wants no Accomplishments necessary to make a Poet or an Orator. . . They are too fond of their Language to acknowledge where the Fault lies; and therefore the chief Thing they tell us is that Sence, Connextion, and Method are the principal Things to be minded. Accordingly, they have translated most of the Ancient Poets, even the Lyricks, into French Prose; and from those Translations they pass their Judgments; and call upon others to do so, too. . . . the Beauty of the Author's Composition is in all Translations entirely lost, though the Ancients were superstitiously exact about that, and in their elegant Prose as much almost as in their Verse. So that a Man can have but half an Idea of the ancient Eloquence, and that not always faithful, who judges of it without such a Skill in Greek and Latin as can enable him to read Histories, Orations, and Poems in those Languages with Ease and Pleasure. 45

Wotton is right in pointing out the danger of misunderstanding the classics by reading them only in imperfect translation. However, he was involved in a self-contradiction when he disavowed Perrot d'Ablancourt's method: we read in him a tendency to distrust translation in general. Borrowing Denham's well-known figure, he contends:

> by pouring out the Spirits of the Ancient poetry, from one Bottle into another, they [French critics] have lost the most Volatile Parts, and the rest becomes flat and insipid, these criticks exclaim against the Ancients, as if they did not sufficiently understand Poetical Chymistry . . . though Sence is Sence in every Tongue, yet all Languages have a peculiar Way of expressing the same Things, which is lost in Translations[46], and much more in Monsieur d'Ablancourt's, who

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45. Spingarn, III, pp. 222-23.
46. This is again Denham speaking through the mouth of Wotton. Cf. Denham: " . . . there being certain Graces and Happinesses peculiar to every Language, which gives life and energy to the words; . . . the grace of the Latine will be lost by being turned into English words; and the grace of the English, by being turned into the Latin Phrase." (<u>The Destruction of Troy: the Preface</u>)

> professed to mind two very different Things at once,---to translate his Author, and to write elegant Books in his own Language, which last he has certainly done. 47

The fact is that Wotton realizes too clearly the difficulty of conveying the "spirits" of ancient poetry by translation, but unlike Denham, he does not admit the principle of compensation. This is why he can accept the free translation of d'Ablancourt as elegant French, but not as translation. There is some vicious circle here: Wotton cannot accept the literal translation of the ancient poems, because it fails to convey their spirit. Yet neither can he accept free translation, because it is no translation. Thus he is necessarily driven to aspire to an ideal, and impossible, translation; or to distrust the art of translation itself. Fortunately Wotton was no translator, and he was content with refuting French critics by calling attention to the danger of using translation in their approach to the Ancients.

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47. Spingarn, III, p. 222.

V

CONCLUSION

THE translators of the last four decades of the seventeenth century inherited two ideals from their predecessors---literal and literary fidelity to the original author; and they found these two principles in conflict with each other. They knew that earlier authorities had supported each principle; Ben Jonson being for the literal method of translation, and Cowley, Denham, and "Horace" for the freedom in rendering. Their task was to reconcile the two. The role of Dryden, who became a leading translator after 1680, was that of creative mediator, illustrating to the verbatim translators the merits of free rendition, warning the imitators against their "licentiousness," and himself practising somewhat freer translation than his own rules prescribed. The result was that the age became more sympathetic to a free, artistic translation than before. This tendency was stretched to its utmost to give birth to, and accommodate, a new literary genre of "satirical" or "didactical" imitation, in which the Augustan age was to abound.

Dr. Johnson considered Dryden's method, based on the paraphrase theory, as a solution of the conflict between the two principles; but it was not always so for others: Joseph Warton, for example, found fault with Dryden's translations for his

infidelity to the original, and William Cowper was unable to admit the Horatian assumption, and therefore could not accept Pope's Homer. The standard of good translation seems to change from age to age; and the disagreement between Johnson on the one hand, and Warton and Cowper on the other, is significant: for Johnson remained faithful to the artistic ideals of the age in which he grew up, whereas Warton and Cowper anticipate the outlook of a later day. The prevailing Aristotelianism of the late seventeenth century, and of the early eighteenth century, with its insistence on truth to "nature" on the rendering of ta katholou rather than ta kath' hekaston, on fidelity to what Johnson was later to call "general properties and large appearances,"[1] led inevitably to an idealizing and generalizing aesthetic; and this in turn affected the contemporary principle of translation, and harmonized well with the Horatian assumption---which, indeed, may be regarded as cognate with it, or as a consequence of it. Significant also are the words of Bentley's famous criticism of Pope's Iliad; for it was partly thanks to the new scientific scholarship that succeeding ages could no longer neglect as "minuter discriminations"[2] the qualities which differentiate the arts of the ancient and modern worlds, and it is no longer enough that a version of Homer should be "a pretty poem."

1. Samuel Johnson: Rasselas, Chapter X.
2. Ibid.

Warton and Cowper are heralds of an age which would no longer be content to see Julius Caesar and Macbeth played in tie-wig and knee breeches, and in which a translator was expected to render something of the "period" quality of his original——an ideal which, in turn, was to be fraught with its own dangers.

That, however, is to anticipate. In the age of Dryden the two principles are in precarious balance, with the ideal of literary fidelity, rather than that of literal exactitude, tending to tip the beam. As the period advances, translation approximates more closely to the primary art of painting, and inevitably partakes of the growing tendency towards idealization which marks the art of the day.

But the two ideals, whose conflict dominates the discussion of translation in the age of Dryden, are permanent elements in the problem which confronts translators at all times and in all places, and they have been recalled again and again wherever the *art* of translation has been considered. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Justin Bellanger, a Frenchman who characterized his own critical position as "réalisme scientifique," and who was accustomed to require a scientifically strict rendering and to praise other translations only sparingly, gave a warm commendation to Burnouf's translation of Tacitus as follows:

> Pour la première fois, les deux conditions essentielles d'une traduction parfaite se trouvent ici remplies. Pour la première

> fois, les deux principes distincts, j'allais dire contradictoires, de la fidélité littérale et de la fidélité littéraire, se marient étroitement l'une a l'autre, et leur union reproduit enfin l'original dans la double intégralité de sa physionomie et de sa pensée. Impossible de pousser plus loin le talent de transporter une phrase d'un idiome dans un autre sans l'altérer sensiblement ni dans son allure, ni, ce qui est plus rare, dans sa construction. La copie est parfaite, au point que, si Tacite renaissait au milieu de nous et qu'il lui prît fantaisie de nous redire en français ce qu'il a dit en latin aux Romains du IIe siècle, il ne s'exprimerait pas dans d'autres termes qu'a fait Burnouf. [3]

This close and happy union, however, is possible only "étroitement" in another sense of the word---only narrowly, and balancing on a knife-edge. Hence, Dryden's "dilemma" in combining these two incompatible conditions. And yet, when Bellanger praised Burnouf's _Tacitus_, his ideal translation, he did so in Dryden's familiar formula, the Horatian assumption. This is an example of the irony which is scattered throughout the history of human thought.

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3. _Histoire de la traduction en France_ (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre: 1903), p. 99.

APPENDIX

A LIST OF TRANSLATIONS: 1660-1700

This list is not comprehensive but only contains all the sources which I examined in the University Library of St. Andrews, in the British Museum, and in the National Library of Scotland. I have divided the list in two parts: Part I includes the translations whose prefaces, or dedications contain any critical statements about the theory or principle of translation, whereas, the translations included in Part II do not give any statements of this kind. The arrangement is in chronological order. The date shows the year of the first edition.

Part I

1666 *The Poems of Horace.* tr. by Alexander Brome, *et al.*

1680 Horace. *The Art of Poetry.* tr. by Wentworth Dillon, the Earl of Roscommon.

" *Ovid's Epistles.* tr. by John Dryden, *et. al.*

1681 *Some New Pieces Never Before Publisht.* by John Oldham. (Containing imitations of Horace's *Ars Poetica* and *Satire* I, ix, and *Odes* I, xxxi and II, xiv)

1682 Lucretius. *De natura rerum, done into English verse.* by Thomas Creech.

1683 *Anacreon done into English.* by Francis Willis, Abraham Cowley, John Oldham, and Thomas Wood. Preface by S. B.

1684 *The Odes, Satyrs and Epistles of Horace.* tr. by Thomas Creech.

" Sir Thomas More. *Utopia.* tr. by Gilbert Burnet.

1685 *Sylvae, or the second part of Poetical Miscellanies.* Preface by Dryden. (Containing Dryden's translations from Lucretius, Theocritus, and Horace)

1685-86 Montaigne. *Essays.* tr. by Charles Cotton.

1688 Fontenelle. *A Discovery of New Worlds.* tr. by Aphra Behn.

1692 *The Satires of Juvenal: together with the Satires of Persius.* tr. by Dryden *et. al.*

1693 *The tenth satyr of Juvenal done into English verse.* by J. H.

" *The Third Part of Miscellany Poems* (Examen Poeticum). Dedication by Dryden. (Containing Dryden's translations from Ovid and Homer)

1694 *Terence's Comedies.* tr. by Laurence Echard, Sir Roger L'Estrange, *et. al.*

1697 Virgil. *The Works: Containing his Pastorals, Georgics, and Aeneis.* tr. by Dryden.

1700 *Fables Ancient and Modern, Translated into Verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer.* by Dryden.

1700? *Lucian's Charon: or a survey of the follies of mankind.* tr. by an anonymous writer.

Part II

1660 *Homer his Iliads.* tr. by John Ogilby.

1661 Ovid. *The Three Books de Arte Amandi.* tr. by Francis Wolferston.

1663 Corneille. *Pompey: a tragedy.* tr. by Katherine Philips.

1665 *Homers Odysses.* tr. by John Ogilby. 2 vols. (with the *Iliad*)

" Scarron. *Typhon; or, The gyants war with the gods.* tr. by John Phillips.

1667 Corneille. Horace: a tragedy. tr. by Katherine Philips. (The fifth act by Sir John Denham)

1668 Quevedo. The visions of Don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas. tr. by Sir Roger L'Estrange.

1674 Rapin. Reflections on Aristotle's treatise of poesie. tr. by Thomas Rymer.

1675 Homer's Odysses. tr. by Thomas Hobbes.

" The Sphere of Manilius. tr. by Sir Edward Sherburne.

1676 Homer's Iliads. tr. by Thomas Hobbes.

1677 La Calprenède. Pharamond: or, the history of France. tr. by John Phillips.

" Scudery. Almahide; or the captive queen. tr. by John Phillips.

" Tavernier. The six voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne, through Turky, into Persia and the East-Indies, for the space of forty years. tr. by John Phillips.

1679 Seneca. Troades: or the Royal Captives. tr. by Sir Edward Sherburne.

1680 Erasmus. Twenty select coloquies. tr. by Sir Roger L'Estrange.

1681 Aristotle's Art of Rhetorick. tr. by Thomas Hobbes. (An abridgment)

1683 Poems and translations. by John Oldham.

1684 Louis Maimboug. The history of the League. tr. by Dryden.

" Theocritus. Idylliums. tr. by Thomas Creech.

1686 Aristotle's Rhetoric. tr. by H. C.

1688 Bouhour. The Life of St. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus, Apostle of the Indies, and of Japan. tr. by Dryden.

1692-94 Miscellaneous essays of Saint-Évremond. 2 vols. tr. by Thomas Brown, James Drake, John Savage, and Francis Manning.

1692-99 The Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythologists. 2 pts. tr. by Sir Roger L'Estrange.

1695 Aesop's Fables. (English and Latin). tr. by Charles Hoole.

" André Dacier. An essay upon satyr. tr. by an anonymous writer.

" Fontenelle. Of Pastorals. tr. by Peter Anthony Motteux.

" Pidon de Saint Olon. The Present State of the Empire of Morocco. tr. by Peter Anthony Motteux.

" Du Fresnoy. The Art of Painting. tr. by Dryden.

1697 The History of Appian. tr. by John Davies.

" Ovid's Two Books of Elegies. tr. by Thomas Ball.

1699 Fénelon. The adventures of Telemachus, the son of Ulysses. tr. by Isaac Littlebury.

1700 Homer in a Nutshell (Batrachomyomachia). tr. by Samuel Parker of Trinity College, Oxford.

1700-1703 Cervantes. The History of the Renown'd Don Quixote. 4 vols. tr. by Peter Anthony Motteux.