for my parents

Promotor	Prof. dr. Kornee van der Haven Vakgroep Letterkunde
Decaan	Prof. dr. Marc Boone
Rector	Prof. dr. Anne De Paepe

Nederlandse vertaling:
Een Revisionistische, Genretheoretische en Historische Studie van de Engelse Ode in de Achttiende Eeuw

FACULTEIT LETTEREN
EN WIJSBEGEERTE

A Revisionist, Genre-Theoretical, and Historical Study of the English Ode in the Eighteenth Century (1680–1760)

Thomas Van der Goten

Proefschrift voorgelegd tot het behalen van de graad van Doctor in de Letterkunde

2017

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Acknowledgements

Four years of doctoral research have naturally resulted in an accumulation of debts to many people. My gratitude to every individual and institution that has been of assistance to me would quickly strain even the most fulsome Pindaric ode, so I will restrict my words of thanks to those people without whom this dissertation would never have existed.

First and foremost, I am extremely grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Sandro Jung, who made it possible for me to embark upon a project so dear to his own heart, and whose advice, encouragement, and inspiration have been invaluable to me. His diligence and generosity as a scholar are, quite frankly, unparalleled. Under the aegis of his Centre for the Study of Text and Print Culture, I was able to benefit extensively from conferences and research days both at Ghent and abroad, which allowed me to engage intellectually and amicably with other scholars in the field. It has been a privilege to work under Sandro's expert guidance and tutorship, and it is all the more regrettable that, due to unforeseen circumstances, he was unable to continue the supervision in the final year of my project. Sandro also fostered an environment of collegiality and congeniality among his doctoral students; I reserve special thanks for two of them, dear friends who have supported me from the beginning with words of kindness and advice, and with an unbelievable sense of humour: Dr. Kwinten Van De Walle and Dr. Thomas Spittael.

I also wish to thank Prof. Dr. Kornee van der Haven, who generously agreed to take on the administrative supervision of my project when at a very inconvenient stage of the PhD I was forced to find another supervisor. Kornee worked tirelessly to make the transition as smooth as possible, and his insightful comments on the first drafts of my introduction were just as essential to me as the practical arrangements to which he attended. He has done more than I could possibly have bargained for on such short notice.

Finally, but perhaps most importantly, my heartfelt gratitude to my parents, Marciane and Stany, and my sister, Charlotte—for everything. In lieu of an ode, I dedicate this dissertation to them.

List of Abbreviations

18thConnect	18thConnect: Eighteenth-Century Scholarship Online
Burney	17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers
Copac	Copac: National, Academic, and Specialist Library Catalogue
DMI	Digital Miscellanies Index
EEBO	Early English Books Online
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collections Online
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
GM	*Gentleman's Magazine*
NLS	National Library of Scotland
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
POAS	*Poems On Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714*, eds. William J. Cameron, Galbraith M. Crump, Frank H. Ellis, George de Forest Lord, Elias F. Mengel, and Howard H. Schless, 7 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963–1975)

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Introduction

At some point in the early 1780s, the Revd. William Taylor (1754–1786), schoolmaster at Hawkshead grammar school in Cumbria in the north of England, decided it was high time to teach his 50-odd pupils about one of his personal favourites, a poem by Thomas Gray called "An Elegy, written in a Country Church-yard." Just as he was about to clear his throat and give the poem his best Sheridanean delivery, one of the young teenage boys raised his hand, asking whether it would be possible to read Miss Carter's ode on spring instead. Distracted and slightly annoyed by the interruption, Taylor promptly discovered that the boy had spent all afternoon in the school's upstairs library the other day, poring over Anne Fisher's children's anthology, *The Pleasing Instructor or Entertaining Moralist*. The poem in six-line stanzas just preceding Gray's elegy, the boy admitted, had given him great pleasure and he wished to learn more about it. Stimulating a thought he would go on to develop further in his own experiments with the genre, the notes of hope and spiritual bliss in the ode's final stanza had made a particularly strong impression on the boy:

> Then happiest he, whose lengthen'd sight
> Pursues, by virtue's constant light,
> A hope beyond the skies;
> Where frowning Winter ne'er shall come,
> But rosy Spring for ever bloom,
> And suns eternal rise.
>
> (ll. 37–42)

The intimations of immortality contained within these lines provided some consolation for the gloomy truths expressed in the preceding stanzas: unlike the vernal season, the "springs of life" (30) will not be renewed and "our youth decay'd" (28) will never recover, all because "the human dream" slowly but surely "dissolves" (32) into obsolescence. It can only be speculated how important these recollections from early childhood would have been some twenty years later, when the boy, now one of Britain's most respected poets, composed his own ode on the cycle of life and the dissolution of the visionary gleam once known as a divine, not human, dream in our youth. The boy

was of course William Wordsworth (1770–1850), and the "Ode to Spring," which was the first poem he expressly remembered to have relished, will serve as an index of the issues at stake in this dissertation.[1]

The central role of the "Ode to Spring" in Wordsworth's childhood memory reveals a number of elements in the history of the eighteenth-century ode in Britain that have hitherto been neglected. Emphases on seasonal change, vernal rebirth, and cyclicality in both imagery and structure were conventional by the time the "Ode to Spring" was first written, and female poets of the generation before Wordsworth, frequently ignored in recent scholarship, were particularly drawn to them.[2] Yet the ode was not written by Elizabeth Carter (1717–1806), as the editors and readers of *The Pleasing Instructor* apparently believed. The actual author was Martha Peckard, *née* Ferrar (1729–1805), now almost completely forgotten, and the ode was presumably first published in the December 1754 issue of the *London Magazine*.[3] In addition, the ode appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1755 as "By a Lady" (*GM* 25:37) and again in May 1764 as by "J. F." (*GM* 34:243).[4] Like many of the fashionable poems of the time, it was reprinted, with some variation in the first stanza, in Robert Dodsley's *Collection of Poems by Several Hands* (1758, vol. 5, 311–2), the index of poetic taste in mid-century. Such matters of publication, appropriation, and attribution are vital for our understanding of the ode in the eighteenth century, but they have largely been ignored in favour of those cases in which information is more abundant. Finally, what is just as important as the medium (or rather, media) in which the ode would have appeared is the question of location and distribution. Anne Fisher's anthology was first issued in 1756 in both London *and* Newcastle, printed there by her husband Thomas Slack, and subsequently reissued in 1760, 1766, 1770, 1775, 1777, and 1780.[5]

---

[1] I have based this anecdote as firmly as possible on available historical and biographical evidence. Particularly useful were Duncan Wu, *Wordsworth's Reading 1770–1799* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 25; Kenneth R. Johnston, *The Hidden Wordsworth* (London: Pimlico, 2000); and his "Hawkshead Education and Reading," in *William Wordsworth, Updated Edition*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2007), 163–90. Justice John Taylor Coleridge first recorded Wordsworth's fond memory of the ode in 1836. William Taylor was buried with a four-line excerpt from Gray's elegy on his tombstone. It is unclear when exactly the young Wordsworth would have read the ode, but based on present information it is not unlikely that he did so at Hawkshead under Taylor's tutorship.

[2] Female poets had a particularly strong influence on the young Wordsworth in his Hawkshead days. See Johnston, "Hawkshead Education and Reading," 174–6.

[3] *London Magazine: Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (London: printed for R. Baldwin), vol. xxiii, 565.

[4] When the poem first appeared in the *GM* it was accompanied by a note stating: "A Copy of the following Ode, with several Faults, having stolen into another Magazine, we are desired, in justice to the ingenious author to present the reader with one more correct" (37).

[5] A hugely popular collection, it contained poems by James Thomson and Alexander Pope as well.

The anecdote of how Peckard's "Ode to Spring" would have travelled across Britain, in various shapes and guises, to eventually reach Wordsworth in as remote a region as the Lake District touches upon issues that may totally escape us today. The fact that the ode was included in a popular children's anthology, which was issued in London as well as, by the end of the century, in a number of provincial towns besides Newcastle, raises important questions not only about the place of the ode in the context of the English book market in the first half of the eighteenth century, but also about its function with regards to anthologization, canonization, gender, reading habits, and eighteenth-century literary and cultural practice in general. The young Wordsworth would have been conditioned to read and enjoy the sort of poetry Peckard's ode epitomized, and it is the central objective of this dissertation to analyse and discuss the conditions leading up to this moment—the conditions in which odes like Peckard's were produced, distributed, and consumed in the century preceding Wordsworth's Hawkshead years.

Preliminaries on Aims and Method

The period between the publication of the odes of John Dryden (1631 – 1700) and those of William Collins (1721 – 1759) and Thomas Gray (1716 – 1771) has traditionally been regarded as a time of dearth in ode production. Even though scholarship on the British ode is vast and theoretically wide-ranging, with readings stretching from classicist formalism to psychoanalysis, scholars have concentrated almost exclusively on a limited number of major works. In one of the most recent monographs devoted to the ode, Paul Fry says that "a great divide" is crossed when moving from Dryden to Collins and Gray, while only a handful of poets, such as Mark Akenside (1721 – 1770) and Joseph Warton (1722 – 1800), act as "transitional" figures in between.[6] From this small number of canonical authors and their works have all definitions and conclusions about the eighteenth-century ode been drawn. This dissertation arose out of the conviction, based on instances such as Peckard's "Ode to Spring," that the canonical masterpieces of ode writing need to be resituated alongside countless other odes within their original context, in all its complexity and diversity. To do so will not only improve our understanding of the ways in which the odes were originally produced and consumed, but will also illuminate the dynamic development of one genre among many others in the proliferating market for printed poetry. This reconsideration inevitably entails a

[6] Paul H. Fry, *The Poet's Calling in the English Ode* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 60.

drastic revision of the standard and enduring narratives of the eighteenth-century ode, which have failed to contain within their progressive, unilateral accounts the multiplicity and polymorphousness of ode practice in the period. It also means rejecting as a misnomer the idea of the mid-eighteenth century as a sudden watershed, as Fry and others have done.[7]

The title of this dissertation already indicates some of the ways in which the approach proposed here will be different from previous approaches. Chief among these is the revisionist take I adopt on the history of a genre at a particular moment in history. The central question is, at all times, how the ode was conceived by writers, printmakers, and readers in the first half of the eighteenth century. More specifically, I wish to explore what the literary, cultural, and material contexts were in which the ode flourished, as well as what social, political, and commercial factors played a part in the culture of ode at the time. The general argument of my study is that unless non-canonical texts are included in the discussion, the culture and practice of the ode in the eighteenth century will end up being misrepresented. My analysis is by no means restricted to a recovery of minor odes or a recuperation of their authors. Rather, I have complemented alternative views on those texts that have shaped present-day understanding of the ode with fresh interpretations of lesser-known ones. The ode in this period should be read as absorbing a number of multifarious, inter-discursive, and inter-generic phenomena and as existing in much larger quantities than has hitherto been acknowledged. David Foxon's massive catalogue of early eighteenth-century English verse lists 116 separately published odes, a figure which, by the help of online catalogues such as the ESTC, can now be tripled at least (Figure 1).[8] Many, if not most, of these odes have never been discussed, largely because they do not subscribe to the definitions of the ode that have been advocated in traditional scholarship. What this dissertation aims to revise, then, is not only the qualitative aspect of the ode, for some excellent work has been done in this respect; rather, it is the quantitative aspect of ode culture, the numerically extensive and contextually diverse dimensions that characterized it in the early eighteenth century, that will be the chief focus here. The period under consideration is, precisely for that reason, relatively long, stretching from the 1680s to the 1750s, and yet short enough to allow for in-depth scrutiny of a large

[7] This is in no way to disparage the relevance or quality of those studies that have focused on a handful of canonical works, many of which are informed and innovative. I am actually quite heavily indebted to many of them; I simply devote attention to aspects, such as materiality and book history, which other critics did not intend to examine. The first chapter of this dissertation will focus in more detail on the historiography of the ode from which I intend to depart.

[8] David F. Foxon, *English Verse: 1701–1750. A Catalogue of Separately Printed Poems with Notes on Contemporary Collected Editions*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), i, 524–9.

corpus of odes and the conditions in which they were originally produced and consumed.[9]

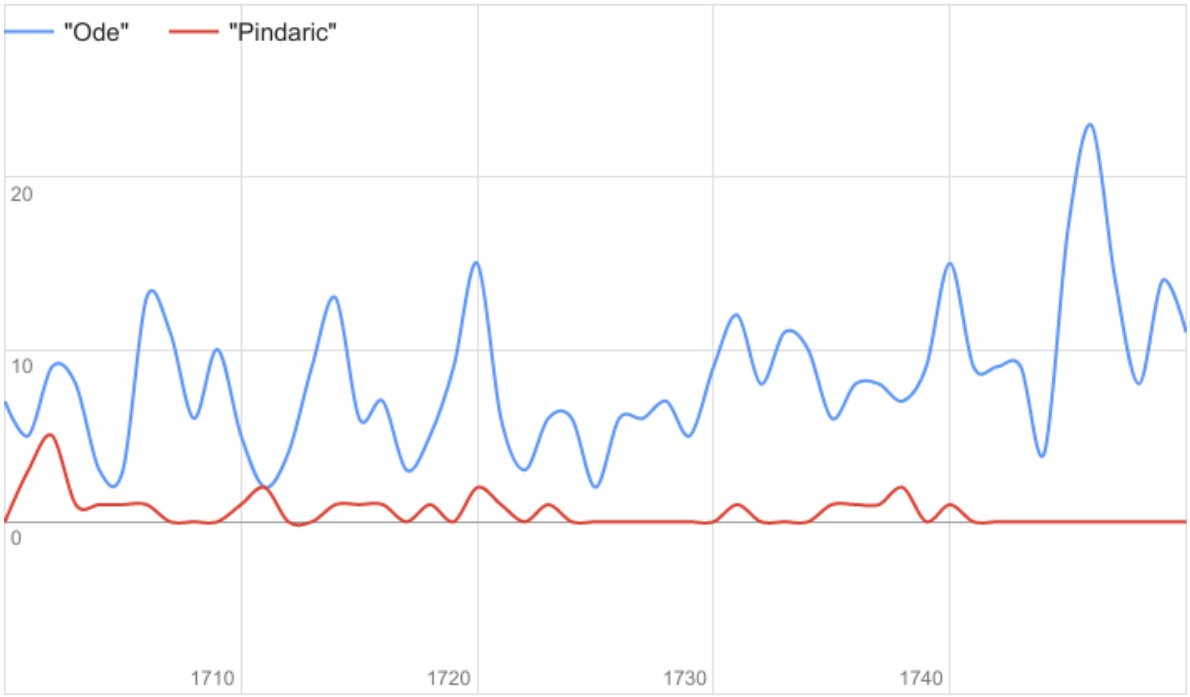


Figure 1 Separately published poems with "Ode" and "Pindaric" in their titles (1700–1750)

This introduction is broadly based on the two main aims of my project: (i) to problematize the limited scope of odes traditionally examined and (ii) to investigate in what ways genre studies can benefit from a comprehensive approach that unites empirical research, that is, quantitative corpus analysis, with a reading that incorporates external, contextual factors from contemporary print culture and material culture.

[9] Despite a recent and persuasive case for reading 1688–9 as a truly revolutionary moment in British history, I have refrained from choosing that date as a starting point because my reading stretches back at least to the early 1680s (actually even further, to 1660) and because I wish to treat the Glorious Revolution as a transitional phase during which the ode was consolidated as part of English court culture and, later, print culture. See Steven C. A. Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

Reading Titular Odes: Towards a Quantitative-Qualitative Approach

If canonical odes alone will not do, the first question that arises is what criteria to apply when selecting individual poems for examination. Scholars have predominantly attempted to coin a broad definition of the ode first, before moving on to make a selection of representative examples based thereon. George Shuster's view that induction should be utterly rejected since one cannot possibly select something without knowing what it is, is indicative of this attitude.[10] Yet, as the definitions discussed in the following chapter will show, this approach inevitably leads to circularity and, quite as often, to exclusivity. In a recent study of the practice of satire, Ashley Marshall has suggested adopting a "nondefinition" instead, not a definition as such but "a descriptive characterization" based on a set of open, inclusionary formulae.[11] In the case of the ode, this could imply a kind of public or private tribute to or commemoration of a person or an abstraction (a type, event, institution, etc.), written in lyrical rather than narrative, didactic, or dramatic verse, and divided broadly into three parts that each have formal and thematic functionality. Yet there are surely too many counterexamples that resist inclusion into such a generalized definition. I have therefore decided to compile a primary source list based on poems with the label 'ode' in their titles. The deliberate identification (or deliberate parodying) of a text as an ode by authors, printers, and booksellers in their original, eighteenth-century setting, offers a repertoire of texts from which to move forward meaningfully. As the essential building blocks of my corpus and the starting point for my quantitative data analysis, these 'titular odes' have made it easier for me to draw certain preliminary, bottom-up conclusions—some of them fairly predictable (e.g. that panegyric and elegiac modes remained important), others less so (e.g. that odes were dedicated to the most miscellaneous of subjects and issued in the most miscellaneous of print forms). It was easier, at least, than it would have been on the basis of a well-circumscribed but inevitably limited definition, for deduction always prohibits serendipity.

My compilation of titular odes, that is, of separately published items recorded in the ESTC with the term 'ode' in their title elements, has yielded a total of 422 titles for the period 1700–1750.[12] Irrespective of the extreme variation in print runs in particular and

[10] George N. Shuster, *The English Ode from Milton to Keats* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), 4–5.

[11] Ashley Marshall, *The Practice of Satire in England 1658–1770* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 3.

[12] A detailed table can be found in the Appendix.

of eighteenth-century production levels in general, this number also excludes reprints of any kind.[13] It should be further augmented with the odes published in those miscellaneous volumes of poetry that refer to them as such in their analytic titles, such as the anonymous but typical *Poems on Several Occasions: Together with Some Odes in Imitation of Mr. Cowley's Stile and Manner* (1703). A quick check-up of the miscellanies accessible on ECCO with 'ode' in their titles has revealed, via tables of contents or otherwise, *at least* another 100 odes (Figure 2).

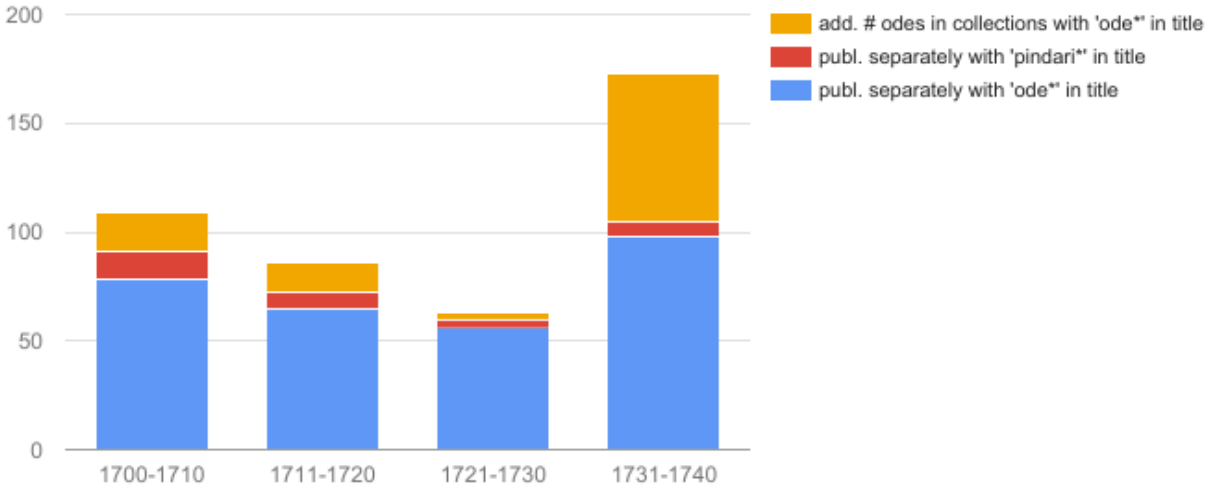


Figure 2 Odes published in titular ode collections before 1740

This is a regrettably rough and conservative estimate, since many poetry collections contain 'Odes' throughout the body of the volume but do not refer to them in their tables of contents, such as *The Scarborough Miscellany* (1732), or refer to them in their titles but only contain individual poems with different generic terms such as 'Pastoral' or 'Elegy,' as in Richard Savage's *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Theophilus Keenne* (1718). Conversely, many contain the term 'ode' on their titlepages but do not list a single poem with any indication of the genre in their individual titles. These include the countless 'To Mr. X's and 'On Object Y's, which, if not manifestly epistolary, were possibly all read as odes. In addition, there are miscellaneous collections which have separate sections with headers such as 'Odes,' but without any clear indication of whether all poems classified under it should be considered as such. Robert Nugent's *Odes and Epistles* (1739),

[13] James Raven has warned of the dangers of extrapolating conclusions based on title counts, even though he admits that listing titles remains the best preliminary step to understanding eighteenth-century book production. James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450–1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 131. For a cautionary account of the dangers involved in discounting reissues, see John McTague, "Censorship, Reissues, and the Popularity of Political Miscellanies," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 41 (2017), 96–115.

for instance, has an 'Elegy' in the section headed 'Odes.' Many of the most popular miscellanies of the day, such as the Dryden-Tonson miscellanies (1684–1709) or Charles Gildon's *A New Miscellany of Original Poems* (1701), obviously contain odes but frequently without any explicit designation.

Finally, there are innumerable lesser-known miscellanies as well as poetry sections in newspapers and magazines, which all undoubtedly contained odes, so it is safe to conclude that this is only the tip of the iceberg.[14] The editors of the Oxford-based Digital Miscellanies Index have revealed that between 1680 and 1800 more than 1600 miscellany volumes were published. These contained a total number of 1599 titular odes, which equals an average of 1 ode per volume for the entire eighteenth century. What is especially striking is that "Ode" is the fourth most numerous genre in this period, preceded only by "Epigram" (3830), "Song" (3576), and "Epitaph" (2214).[15] The implications of these figures are twofold: in tandem with the three other genres most frequently found in miscellanies, the ode, by virtue of its profusion, emerges as much more common—one could say more popular—and apparently as more formally akin to some of the shortest of eighteenth-century genres than usually admitted. As a result, my study presents approximate figures at best. ESTC data is unfortunately not exhaustive and the figures I have gathered are therefore not conclusive by any means. They are a tentative conjecture. It is next to impossible to exhaustively quantify a form that, like other literary forms in the eighteenth-century literary marketplace, was subject to fluctuating print runs, reprints, magazine publication, manuscript circulation, expansion, fragmentation, and so on. What the figures do reveal, however, regardless of generic ambiguity or even of the titles that have not survived the test of time, is that the scope of ode production in the first half of the century must have been enormous.

The survey presented here is not strictly taxonomic because I believe too many odes of the eighteenth century lack proper interpretation and contextualization, a deficiency

[14] Roger Lonsdale first made this observation with regard to the entire landscape of eighteenth-century poetry in *The New Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), xxxv–xxxvi. It has most recently been reiterated specifically for the ode by Sandro Jung, "Ode," in *The Oxford Handbook of British Poetry, 1660–1800*, ed. Jack Lynch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 510–27. Unfortunately, the variety and scope of eighteenth-century odes has hitherto received little further treatment. In Chapter 5, I will discuss the importance of miscellanies and other collections of verse in more detail.

[15] The other entries that precede "Ode" in the DMI's "Poem Genre/Form" section are purely formal categories, such as "Couplet" and "Quatrain abab," or non-generic types such as "Imitation/translation/paraphrase" and "Extract/snippet from longer work." The latter category has an immense impact, of course, on how a poem is presented, especially in an age when repackaging and fragmenting became more common. Some "odes" could have become "epigrams," for instance, by virtue of some aphorism the editors extracted from a longer original and repurposed under a new title (http://digitalmiscellaniesindex.org, accessed on 27 January 2017).

which I hope to redress in the following pages. The number of texts that have eventually made it into my discussion do not adequately represent the number of odes that I have actually read and transcribed, but their selection for discussion is based on my experience that they share a substantial amount of features for which I believe their sub-period or sub-type should be known. If Nahum Tate's birthday and New Year odes seem overly prominent in Chapter 2, it is because I am convinced that he sufficiently illustrates the practice of ode composition as a vital component of the laureateship in this period. Odes by the other laureates—Thomas Shadwell, Nicholas Rowe, Laurence Eusden, and Colley Cibber—feature less prominently, or not at all, because they differ little, both in terms of internal generic development and functional value, from Tate's productions. My emphasis on the inclusion of non-canonical odes, furthermore, did not prevent me from paying close attention to literary works that *did* make it into the canon of English poetry, such as Collins's *Odes*.

The quantitative-qualitative approach underpins my argument that, though the ode should not be victimized to generalizations based on a limited number of texts, canonical odes should still be read, be it within their original setting. Canonical odes existed alongside other odes which readers today no longer find valuable to know or pleasurable to read. My insistence on the importance of the contextual circumstances in which odes were produced and consumed is a historicist one, in that it is based on hard, empirical, and archival evidence, as well as on larger generic structures.[16] At the same time, this is an intellectual history devoted to the reconstruction of the context of ode culture, as well as to the interpretation of the individual texts produced within that context. The quantitative method of compiling titles and garnering an overview of the mass of odes produced is juxtaposed to the qualitative method of reading and analysing a selection of odes with that very context in mind.

The Ode: Kind or Mode?

One of the questions that this dissertation will attempt to answer is what elements are required to define a genre—elements such as form, occasion, subject, diction, speech act. It is now commonly accepted that historical poetic kinds change rapidly, and that only in literary theory genres can be seen as static structures. Ideally, genres are

[16] I have benefited greatly from the methodology proposed by Robert D. Hume, *Reconstructing Contexts: The Aims and Principles of Archaeo-Historicism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

constructed to serve a hermeneutic, expressive, and evaluative function; that is, the classifications derived from them are invented and used by readers and critics as communicative and interpretive tools to make sense of literary texts on cognitive and aesthetic grounds. But what exists in reality, and what poets wield in an attempt to rethink and redefine generic conventions, are the derivative emanations generally called modes. Modes, as Alastair Fowler has demonstrated, are basically selections or abstractions from a historical kind, which they evoke, not through a set of external rules, but "through samples of its internal repertoire."[17] The repertoire is the entire assortment of distinguishing characteristics of a genre, both formal and substantive, which its representatives may select and exhibit in various degrees. It ranges from external features such as metre and stanza structure to internal ones such as diction and subject matter.[18] The latter category also includes imagery, tropes, and motifs—points of resemblance to which I will regularly return in my discussion of eighteenth-century odes. It is these typical attributes that readers, through association, recognise as part of a specific genre on the basis of which they establish the relevant connections to grasp the meaning of a literary work.[19] As Heather Dubrow has pointed out, the ode is one of those few poetic kinds which display a highly complex and "dynamic incorporation" not just of multiple formal and thematic features, but of other determinants such as prosody, tone, and state of mind as well.[20]

The central thesis of this dissertation could thus be reformulated as follows: by selecting a comprehensive corpus of texts on the basis of their shared generic title tag "ode," I aim to capture the fluctuating "mode" of the poetical "kind" that has usually been taken for granted as fairly static from 1700 through to 1750. My approach to genre is not based on definitional or taxonomic principles, but on the "dynamic formation"[21] and conflation of characteristics belonging to a specific, genre-linked repertoire which are then subtracted into modal features. This is what Fowler has termed generic modulation, a process with which this study is centrally concerned. It is one of the objectives of this dissertation to determine the repertoire of structural and constitutive elements that defined the ode in the early eighteenth century and served as the seeds from which further modal incarnations, such as the allegorical-descriptive ode of the 1740s, were abstracted. One element persistently present in the modern evaluation of

[17] Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 56. See also chaps. 7 and 11.

[18] Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 55, 58.

[19] Alastair Fowler, "The Formation of Genres in the Renaissance and After," in *New Literary History* 34 (2003), 185–200.

[20] Heather Dubrow, *Genre* (London and New York: Methuen, 1982), 5–6.

[21] Carolyn Williams, "Genre Matters: Response," *Victorian Studies* 48 (2006), 295.

early eighteenth-century odes is their "prefabricated grandeur and bombastic formulas,"[22] a characteristic which even the most sophisticated of readings cannot indeed ignore. Yet, even if many individual odes have little to offer in themselves, it remains to be seen what the ingredients of these formulae were and, especially, how they were modified and possibly revaluated in later stages. I agree with Fowler that genres should be understood as "fields of association" or "virtual contexts," comparable to pragmatic situations of speech, in which formulas are part of external contexts of utterance.[23] I maintain that the formulaic nature of much early ode writing is the textual equivalent of the ritual practice of celebration and commemoration in which it was grounded. In analogous terms, Sir Richard Blackmore described in his *Essays upon Several Occasions* (1716) how "the rich, splendid and figurative diction," which one encounters in the high style of epic and ode, is similar to "the magnificence and pomp of princes on solemn occasions," and can serve as a virtual equivalent for those "people not inured to such prospects."[24] This equivalency between discourse and context, between figurative diction and external circumstance, will feature prominently in the following chapters. I am centrally preoccupied with the question of how "people not inured to such prospects" could still purchase and enjoy modally similar print objects.

Genres must not be studied in isolation, nor seen as entities originating *ex nihilo*. They are contrastive and combinatory entities, which means they interact, combine, and conflict with other genres, too. Hence, I argue for an inclusive approach that also accommodates notions of the transmigration and cross-fertilization between the ode and other genres frequently treated as cognate on the basis of their shared repertoire, similar external form, and composite material format, such as panegyrics, elegies, and hymns. This logic of generic similarity naturally evokes the vexed question of how suitable *the lyric* could be as a large, hypernymic category encompassing the several individual kinds I wish to include in my discussion. A prominent critical category in recent scholarship, the lyric has emerged, however, as a shady and umbrella-like category at best, theoretically cogent as a mode of representation different from narrative and dramatic, but not particularly helpful when dealing with historical, and historicized, kinds of poetry. Jonathan Culler has most recently acknowledged that modern poetry is still waiting for "the unrecognized subgenres of lyric" to be described, but the same could be argued for all subgenres, even the ones supposedly "recognized"

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[22] David Duff, "The Retuning of the Sky: Romanticism and Lyric," in *The Lyric Poem: Formations and Transformations*, ed. Marion Thain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 149.

[23] Fowler, "The Formation of Genres in the Renaissance and After," 190.

[24] Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla, eds., *The Sublime: A Reader in British Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 41.

already, such as the ode.[25] Culler himself has observed elsewhere that "while it is blatantly obvious that the lyric changes, it is less obvious that *ode* might be a slippery, even dubious category."[26] He deplores the lack of well-defined subcategories, but as a theorist of the lyric, it is not his intention to redress that issue. Because this is a *history* of the ode, or at least an attempt at reconstructing one version of that history, and not a *theory* of genre, my focus, contrary to Culler's, is synchronically specific rather than diachronic and universal. The lyric mode will therefore play only a subordinate role.

It should be noted, though, that my reconstruction of the historical narrative of the ode has been shaped considerably by current scholarship on the lyric. Some of the chief characteristics commonly attributed to lyric poetry are equally valid for eighteenth-century odes, and some of the methods used for reading lyric poetry are applicable specifically to odes as well. If the ode differs from, say, a prose eulogy on the basis of a certain lyrical quality of its verse, then, I believe, it is due to a purposive combination of some or all of the following features, which I will treat with varying emphases: these include, but are certainly not restricted to, features of immediacy and distance between a first-person speaker and an addressee;[27] elements of representation, performativity, and re-performance, by the reader, of the performative conditions of the speaker's utterance;[28] a focus on (epi)deictic instead of mimetic language;[29] issues of temporality, including the iterability of a present in the future;[30] and issues of narrativity, sequentiality, linearity, causality, and teleology versus issues of discursivity, phonocentrism, and lyric articulation, which is cyclical, eternal, and eternally iterable.[31] Many of these elements and methods of reading will be borne out at different stages throughout the dissertation.

My work differs significantly, however, from recent methods proposing an inductive approach that aims to extrapolate features of the lyric tradition from a few canonical lyrics. Although I agree with Culler that most generic attributes are always inherently present (irrespective of how long they have been latent or neglected) and that a study of such attributes as proclivities and possibilities supports our understanding of genre, I do

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[25] Jonathan Culler, *Theory of the Lyric* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015), 245.

[26] Jonathan Culler, "Afterword," in *The Lyric Poem*, 238.

[27] Heather Dubrow, *The Challenges of Orpheus: Lyric Poetry and Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 106–55.

[28] Alessandro Barchiesi, "Carmina: Odes and Carmen Saeculare," in *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, ed. Stephen Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 150; Anne Williams, *Prophetic Strain: The Greater Lyric in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1984), 13.

[29] Heather Dubrow, "Neither Here Nor There: Deixis and the Sixteenth-Century Sonnet," in *The Lyric Poem*, 30–50.

[30] Culler, *Theory of the Lyric*, 211–43.

[31] Michèle Lowrie, *Horace's Narrative Odes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 49–53.

not believe that an examination of a limited number of "prototypes" can suffice.[32] I equally object to Anne Williams's method of using a number of examples of lyric poems that are taken for granted as lyric by modern critics, without being themselves subjected to any form of *a priori* interrogation. She rejects, for instance, the assumption that lyric poems are per definition "fairly short" by referring to Wordsworth's *Tintern Abbey*, without explaining why *Tintern Abbey* is supposed to be a lyric poem.[33] Without any form of historicization of individual genres in their original context, there can be no satisfactory conceptualization of a supra-generic category called lyric either. Because genres are so mutable, they are equally affected by social, historical, and material conditions. I would therefore wish to expand Frederic Jameson's call for the historicization, in modern genre studies, of both the object of study (the text) and the tools for interpretation (literary criticism and genre studies in particular) with a historicization of the original context of production and consumption.[34]

Textuality and Materiality

The principal motivation governing my focus on titles is predominantly practical: they form the backbone of my working corpus. I realize that many poems may slip through the net with this computational reliance on titles, but the results obtained from a selection of texts based on ESTC records collated with ECCO and COPAC are, to my mind, considerably more representative and reliable, and certainly less arbitrary and limited, than previous selections. Yet there is another, more conceptual reason why the titular designation of odes is a useful point of departure. Although it is not always clear who exactly gave the title to a poem,[35] even an awkward or erroneous titling intervention by a printer can reveal a glimpse of the outlook of an eighteenth-century agent involved in the production and instinctive reception of an ode. When provided by the author, titles generally function as presentational devices and declarations of intention, furnishing the reader with the proper mental codes with which to approach a literary work.[36] Yet eighteenth-century titlepages quite frequently contained editorial summaries of the contents of literary works, commonly listed in long, analytic titles functioning in a way

[32] Culler, *Theory of the Lyric*, 10–38.

[33] Williams, *Prophetic Strain*, 7.

[34] Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London: Methuen, 1981), 109.

[35] Anne Ferry, *The Title to the Poem* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

[36] John Hollander, *Vision and Resonance: Two Senses of Poetic Form* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 214.

similar to modern-day blurbs.[37] As Harry Levin has phrased it, titles serve as "cultural signposts, frames of reference, proclamations of individuality, signals for our guidance through surroundings otherwise dark, notices that we depend upon to alert ourselves to the plenitude and variety and quality of the communications that we may choose to receive."[38] However, Levin does not acknowledge the fact that many titles, at least in the eighteenth century, were equally deployed to obscure specific associations or even satirize the original kind outright. In any event, titles are choices, labels given to works by people at a given moment in history. More than mere generic indicators, they attest to phases in the production process of texts, and should be studied as such, not according to the reception of their generic status by readers and critics today.

My focus on titles is also part of a larger concern for the material and paratextual features of printed odes, which also encompass prefaces, footnotes, and overall page layout.[39] Following D. F. McKenzie's model of the sociology of texts, I have tried at all times to approach the text in its context, and not just as a linguistic construct needing transcription and interpretation.[40] The importance of the critical edition in McKenzie's reasoning motivates his strong emphasis on the relationship between the text and the apparatus in order to reveal the interactions between the various agents involved in the production and reception of literary texts. This should serve as a stimulus for further reflection on eighteenth-century understandings and emanations of the apparatus in, for instance, annotation and prefatory material. The use of such features often displays an awareness of the possibilities of revealing or concealing generic affiliations and aspirations. Genre came increasingly to be seen as not just a hermeneutic or expressive tool for the reader or writer, but also as having commercial and ideological power, uncovering the hidden politics of formal and stylistic aspects of certain publications. Odes, too, came to celebrate and represent a plethora of trends, values, and attitudes. Experimentation with titular affiliations led, in the wake of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), for example, to such bizarre inventions as the Lilliputian Ode.[41] Parody of paratexts equally attests to the widespread usage of such features, as in George Colman and Robert Loyd's *Two Odes* (1760), which mocked Gray's *Odes* (1757) in virtually every respect, from the vagueness of the title and the pedantic use of annotation to a

[37] Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 95–7. Fowler does not fully agree with Hollander's claim that typographic design and metrical stability would have sufficed to distinguish a Pindaric ode from, say, a familiar epistle, since "plain generic labels seem common enough in all periods" (97).

[38] Harry Levin, "The Title as a Literary Genre," *The Modern Language Review* 72 (1977), xxxv.

[39] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[40] Donald F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts: Panizzi Lectures, 1985* (London: British Library, 1986).

[41] For an account of the genesis and life of this print form, see Thomas Van der Goten, "The Lilliputian Ode, 1726–1826," *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews* 28 (2015), 94–104.

caricature of the Bard, who, while committing suicide in the original illustration, was now hoofed headlong down Mount Parnassus by the winged Pegasus.

In addition to revealing the significance of titles as paratextual markers, the corpus has also allowed me to extrapolate more easily and comprehensively such linguistic features as lexis and phraseology as well as structural features such as metrical form, stanza patterning, and line length.[42] The line graph in Figure 3 depicts the change of the frequency of words over time (figure 3). While terms such as "great" and "shall" are persistent and unchanging throughout the period, there is noticeable fluctuation in the case of more specific words such as "arms," which virtually disappears in times of peace, and "god," which becomes relatively more prominent in the odes of the 1720s, for reasons I will discuss in Chapter 4. These frequencies are central to my discussion and I will subject them to an analysis of the historical, functional, and material changes occurring in the course of the eighteenth century.

It might also be useful, at this point, to give a preliminary indication of the eighteenth-century expectations about the textual and material *form* an ode should take. The line of thought pursued in this dissertation is firmly rooted in notions such as Jerome McGann's concept of the textual condition. Rather than seeing the text as a formal or imaginative act, McGann sees it as a material one, as a complex network of reciprocal interactions between what he calls "linguistic and bibliographical codes," that is, between the words and the paraphernalia as well as other material aspects of the text.[43] What an ode 'meant' to an eighteenth-century reader is always inextricably bound up with the medium in which it appeared, as well as with the vocal and visual aspects of it. Central to this study is therefore, somewhat paradoxically, the "semiotic function of bibliographical materials," as I conduct "a materialist hermeneutics" in which every single facet of the textual condition is understood as contributing to the meaning of a poem.[44] Nevertheless, it is crucial to bear in mind that even McGann's notion of the different stages of a text's life, growing organically and continuously morphing through frequent editions, cannot fully exempt us from the challenge of understanding how a text was read at any given moment in the past.

[42] See the Appendix for detailed tables of line lengths and stanza configuration for most odes.

[43] Jerome J. McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 13. McGann takes the textual condition beyond the "exclusively linguistic" model of Genette's paratext, which is "ancillary to the main textual event" and cannot take into account the material, supra-textual aspect (13).

[44] McGann, *The Textual Condition*, 15.

Figure 3 Most Frequent Terms

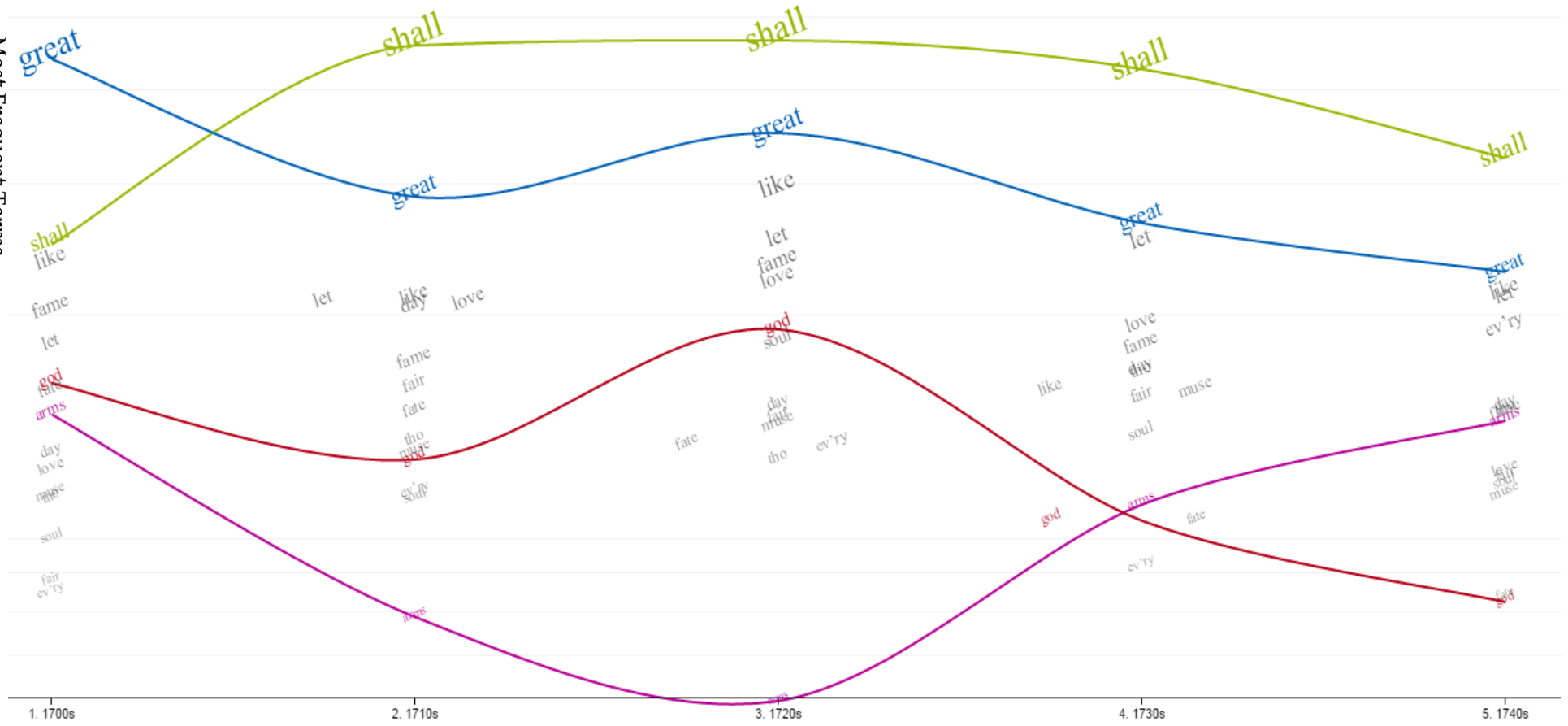


Figure 3 Most Frequent Terms. This line graph depicts the change of the frequency of words across a corpus spread over time, with a maximum relative frequency rate of 0,0050. The highlighted terms, “great,” “shall,” “god,” and “arms,” are among the most frequent, but the fluctuations of the latter two indicate significant thematic shifts per decade.

The textual condition presents a multifaceted and collaborative publication event in which every accretion, material or otherwise, is an integral part of the text's meaning, but simply acknowledging this as a fact does not in itself reveal much about the myriad forms and phases of the signification process. Both McGann's concept of the textual condition and his metaphor of the "life" of a print form draw attention to the autopoietic "process of textual development and mutation," which invests every stage in the life of a text with meaning, grants it generative, morphing powers, and continuously shapes, transforms, and hybridizes its various constituents.[45] But even in McGann's own range of examples, this model of the textual condition as self-generative often remains rather abstract. It becomes a great deal more concrete when employed in tandem with the notion of mediation. Like McGann's model, the multi-layered concept of mediation not only involves "notions of *transmission* or *dissemination*," but also, as John Guillory has noted, "the material forms of these processes, especially print."[46] Moreover, it entails the various interventions of editors, publishers, and printers, who actively shape the form through which the text eventually reaches its audience. These mediatory actors provide additional material and bibliographical layers that are instrumental in the interpretation of the text. It is precisely the higher degree of agency presupposed by the concept of mediation that forms the ideal supplement to McGann's theory. While the focus of autopoiesis is on print and paraphernalia as generative components of the mechanisms they serve to maintain, the study of mediation focuses as much on the agents involved in the packaging as on the package itself. Central to both is the act of socialization, the acculturation of texts in the public domain as a result of a collaborative effort involving the work of multiple agents.

A good illustration of the validity of combining mediation with McGann's double-helix model of production and reception can be provided by looking at the visual make-up, or graphic code, of a Pindaric ode produced roughly in the period at issue here: Dryden's *Threnodia Augustalis* (1685), which was published in commemoration of Charles II. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Pindaric ode had become synonymous with downright metrical irregularity. This conviction had basically sprung from an editorial suggestion, first made by Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257–c. 180 BC) and preserved by Renaissance scholars, that Pindar's lines of verse were "brief, staccato measures."[47] As a result, the colometry of the Pindaric ode, the division of its lines into *cola*, was mistakenly rendered into vernacular European languages as a jumble of short

[45] McGann, *The Textual Condition*, 9.

[46] John Guillory, "Enlightening Mediation," in *This is Enlightenment*, eds. Clifford Siskin and William Warner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 37.

[47] Frank J. Nisetich, *Pindar's Victory Odes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1980), 16. See also Carol Maddison, *Apollo and the Nine: A History of the Ode* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1960), 11–3.

metrical lines. Some of Pindar's odes, such as Olympian 14, had even been printed in catalectic dimeter, which seemed expedient, since it reinforced the supposition that Pindar's odes were formally alike to the odes of another Ancient Greek poet, Anacreon.[48] The sheer variety in metrical and stanzaic configuration as well as the fluctuating rhyme patterns originating as a result of the uncertainty about Pindar's measures gave rise to the need for improvisation on the part of typesetters and printers. Line indentation, for instance, was arbitrary to the point of anarchy, as it was mostly based on the length of individual lines, which were prone to boundless variation. Form mirrored content in that the frenzied rhapsody of the Pindaric speaker was reflected typographically by the stanza, in a "pictorial impression of imbalance."[49]

Yet the seeming lawlessness with which indentation was originally applied contributes substantially to the later editor's predicament. Paul Hammond has discussed how, in the first two editions of Dryden's *Threnodia Augustalis*, the irregular indentation was retained for the beginning of the poem, but dropped after a while, "with all lines (apart from the opening lines of stanzas VIII–XVIII) beginning, thereafter, flush with the left-hand margin."[50] In James Kinsley's *Oxford English Texts* edition of Dryden, likewise, the ode is only rendered partially faithful to the original.[51] This original version had a complicated biography, marked by changes in compositor and foul letter cases, and can serve as a case in point of the significant implications of editorial intervention. "The erroneous indentation of the first edition of *Threnodia Augustalis*," Hammond illustrates, "is quite a different phenomenon when encountered by modern readers who are unused to pindaric verse and for whom the death of Charles II is a remote historical event, than for a reader in 1685, accustomed to the normal pindaric conventions and the vagaries of seventeenth-century printing houses, and caught up in events of topical urgency."[52] Hammond's remarks on the textuality of Pindaric verse are invaluable for two reasons. Not only does he ask how far modern editors should go in retaining the original layout of a Pindaric ode; he also calls attention to a particular sensitivity, both then and now, to the graphic identity of a poem. His observations raise the sort of questions modern readers should ask themselves at all times. What are the dominant actors and factors in the reality of textual production? What formal, modal, or material additions initiate the change from,

[48] Stella P. Revard, *Pindar and the Renaissance Hymn-Ode: 1450–1700* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), 289–90.

[49] Dubrow, *The Challenges of Orpheus*, 174.

[50] Paul Hammond, "Editing, Authenticity, and Translation: Re-presenting Dryden's Poetry in 2000," in *John Dryden: Tercentenary Essays*, eds. Hammond and David Hopkins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 343.

[51] James Kinsley, ed., *The Poems of John Dryden*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), i, 442–56.

[52] Hammond, "Editing, Authenticity, and Translation," 350.

say, Horatian to Pindaric, or from ode to something else? And most importantly, what is the lifetime of such a change with respect to the effect it has on our understanding of an ode and on the construction of its meaning across various generations of readers? These are questions I hope to answer, intermittently, over the course of the following chapters.

It should be clear, in any event, that the complexity of these notions of textuality makes a unilateral view of the ode impossible. It is equally impossible, in my view, to exhaustively examine what the ode 'meant' in the eighteenth century, not even to specific readers at any given point in the period I am concerned with. Even though contemporary views on the ode will be borne out by my analysis—on the basis of responses to specific texts, for instance—I find that those models of 'ideal' or 'implied' readership merely seem to reflect or attempt to confirm the interpretation put forward by the critic. Early eighteenth-century reviews tend to be tendentious and platitudinous, advancing specific moral viewpoints, and particular readers often disagreed as reception changes from one person to another as well as over time. I am thus more interested in the wide-ranging implications of mechanisms such as form and formatting, mediation and distribution, than in specific causes and effects of reading. If, for instance, readership is as much a matter of access and price, as William St. Clair has put it, then it is helpful to explore those aspects, too.[53] I do not wish to focus exclusively on issues such as authorship and textual genetics or on readership and reception, but rather on the bridges connecting these two domains, the links rather than the nodes in the network of ode culture, as it were. It is as important to understand the various forms of packaging and mediation by booksellers as it is to appreciate the reasons why authors proclaimed certain generic affiliations in their works. As Harold Love has perceptively remarked, "a Pindaric ode on the bible means one thing read as part of a collection of godly verse and quite another wedged between two segments of 'Seigneur Dildoe.'"[54] Presentation and position are key, especially in collected volumes of poetry. The reconstruction of *co*texts is therefore as essential as the reconstruction of *con*texts, an important point to which I shall return at length in Chapter 5.

My desire to find out why certain texts were colonized for ceremonial, political, or bluntly commercial reasons did not, however, prevent me from investigating readers' responses to odes in biographical accounts, letters, and diaries. Although I have not attempted to provide detailed historicization of reader responses, I have benefited greatly from sources such as John Evelyn's diary, Lord Hervey's memoirs, and Boswell's life of Johnson, as well as from published correspondences such as Thomas Gray's and

[53] William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 42.
[54] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 230.

Thomas Warton's.[55] These might be highly idiosyncratic cases, but they do provide illuminating individual instances of eighteenth-century responses to ode practice. The contemporary view comes out with particular clarity, for example, in Colley Cibber's recollection, in his memoirs of 1740, of writing an ode during his schoolboy days. On 23 April 1685, only two months after the publication of Dryden's *Threnodia Augustalis*, "the School petition'd the Master for leave to play; to which he agreed, provided any of the Boys wou'd produce an *English* Ode upon that Occasion," that is, upon the coronation of the new king, James II. "The very Word, *Ode*, I know, makes you smile already, and so it does me," Cibber goes on to confess to his readers, "not only because it still makes so many poor Devils turn Wits upon it, but from a more agreeable Motive; from a Reflexion of how little I then thought that, half a Century afterwards, I shou'd be call'd upon twice a Year, by my Post, to make the same kind of Oblations to an *unexceptionable* Prince, the serene Happiness of whose Reign my halting Rhimes are still unequal to."[56] The implications of Cibber's reminiscence are manifold. It suggests not only that ode composition was a student exercise of some import in late seventeenth-century grammar schools; it is also a testament to the collective opinion of contemporary ode practice which Cibber presumed his readers shared with him. His flippant aside about the irony of his being the current Poet Laureate, repeating the creative act of his youth so many years later, actually betrays how proud he is that fate has taken such a fortuitous turn.

Testimonies like Cibber's, however short or eccentric, have contributed significantly to my understanding of eighteenth-century attitudes to the ode. They form a modest but crucial part of my study of the uses and manifestations of the ode. Rather than dealing with "odes" as a list of items, I have considered them, on the whole, as *cultural* objects, as commodities produced for gain and circulated or sold for profit of some kind, and as parts of the much wider realms of scribal and print cultures.[57] Following Marshall's *Practice of Satire*, I have therefore opted to use terms such as "ode culture" and "ode practice" to cover the experience of producing and reading odes in this period. This has led me to interpret odes as modal-medial hybrids, that is, as print forms

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[55] Esmond Samuel De Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959); John, Lord Hervey, *Lord Hervey's Memoirs*, ed. Romney Sedgwick (London: Batsford, 1963); James Boswell, *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, eds. George Birkbeck Hill and Lawrence Fitzroy Powell, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934); Paget Jackson Toynbee and Leonard Whibley, eds., *The Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935); David Fairer, ed., *The Correspondence of Thomas Warton* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1995).

[56] Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), 23.

[57] My understanding of print culture, as "the interaction between authors, readers, and the complex social, economic, and technological machinery that mediated the space between them," is based on Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8.

occurring in various modal and material shapes, and as integral parts of larger economies of celebration and commemoration. Since paper was so expensive throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, it is indispensable in an inclusive, qualitative examination of ode culture to study other, cheaper, and more accessible media as well. As scholars such as Hugh Amory, Peter Stallybrass, and Roger Chartier have repeatedly emphasized, not the bound book but the single sheet is the basic unit of printing.[58] My determination to move away from traditional considerations of the printed codex form, the monolithic Book, which has been so central in literary studies in the past, has made me include single-sheet publications as well as odes printed in newspapers and periodicals. Ephemeral prints on the death of Queen Anne thus feature as centrally as monographic collections such as Collins's odes, since each is part of a complex, multimedial realm of print.

Additionally, I have also devoted attention to such media that have previously been ignored even though they are modally identical, such as coins and medals. The rationale behind this emphasis on modal-medial variety is related to the phenomenon of cross-modality: if one specific mode of representation affects the way we look at a certain object, then the coexistence of two (or more) modes analogously affects the way we look at the individual mode. Recurrence of identical funeral motifs in engraved mourning borders as well as on medals and coins can, in turn, reveal much about the elegiac mode in verse publications, too. What is crucial to any historicization of a genre is the reality of demand or desire: fashionable generic norms were a reflection of the demands placed by consumers of those genres, in whatever emanation they eventually appeared.[59] Thus, attentive poets as well as printers, engravers, and booksellers incorporated into their publications a number of aspects that catered to that demand. At the same time, the commercial decisions eventually taken not only reflect, but also influence contemporary taste. By examining a number of intermedially and modally similar objects from the same period, one can arrive at a model "desirous reader" far more dynamic and empirically precise than any reader review of the period can possibly provide.

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[58] Hugh Amory, "A Note on Statistics," in his *Bibliography and the Book Trade: Studies in the Print Culture of New England*, ed. David D. Hall (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 163–70; Peter Stallybrass, "'Little Jobs': Broadsides and the Printing Revolution," in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, eds. Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 315–41; Roger Chartier, *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 60.

[59] Hume, *Reconstructing Contexts*, 83.

A Note on the Corpus and Transcription Policies

Some comments are in order by way of a disclaimer concerning the numerical data I present and analyse in this dissertation, as well as the conclusions I have drawn from it. The quantitative approach I have adopted served as a methodological starting point, not as an end in itself. I am a literary scholar, not a statistician, yet I believe a digitized, quantifiable corpus such as the one I here present is useful. Unlike the novel, few kinds of lyric poetry have been digitized with an ambitious or comprehensive scope. Projects like 18thConnect offer the ability to edit, digitize, and host eighteenth-century texts for peer review by scholars whose institutions do not subscribe to expensive databases such as ECCO. Commendable as such efforts may be, 18thConnect does not offer straightforward means for exporting the transcriptions once they are completed. Institutional and political pressures aside, bibliographical and digital corpora of novels are simply much more widespread than poetic text corpora, partly because the novel is so omnipresent in eighteenth-century studies. This is certainly the case for what once were called 'minor' poets and their work, a recovery and contextualization of whose writings has been one of the implicit objectives of my dissertation from the start. Many academic digital projects now running (which also include the digitization of poetry) usually focus on single authors, like The William Blake Archive, the Rossetti Archive, Dante's Library, etc. They rarely focus on genres or groups of texts by different authors. The spreading digitization of such major figures in the field of literary history obviously entails matters of canonization, too, as choices have been made over the past decade that seem, ironically, to take us back precisely to the traditional canon that has so often been rejected in recent times. Containing both 'high-brow' and 'low-brow' odes, written by both men and women, in classical and vernacular styles, my digitized corpus was aimed at being as inclusive as possible.

The second phase of the project was dedicated to the transcription of the titular odes compiled in phase one. Despite the brilliant pioneering work undertaken in the area of text-editing software, I have decided early on to construct my corpus by manually transcribing every PDF scan on ECCO. The rationale behind this approach was that it would allow me to spot glitches in so-called 'dirty' OCRs—i.e. in scans taken not from the original document, but from microfilms, which form the majority of ECCO's records—and deal with them instantly. Eighteenth-century printed texts abound with long s's, ligatures, and ink blots, so careful transcription in person seemed to me more desirable than counting on computer-generated transcripts of a set of texts.

Perhaps the greatest disadvantage of this method, on the other hand, was that my corpus would not be made up out of structured data; it would always only provide superficial textual analysis through data mining. One of the most important decisions I had to make at one point was whether I would choose either manual transcriptions of

the PDF scans or TEI-marked-up XML files that would enable later and more detailed repurposing or online hosting. I chose not to do this, not simply because it seemed unfeasible, but also because it would not always be relevant enough for the purposes of my dissertation as I saw it. As I argue above, it is unwise to disregard our paper-based, material cultural inheritance. Along with the linguistic, interpretative, discourse-analytical part of my dissertation, read closely as well as distantly,[60] there is also a focus on material objects, those "coded and scored with human activity,"[61] together making up the double helix of the thesis. Discourse analysis can only perform acts on the informational level of a corpus, i.e. the level of content, theme, or subject, and not on the level of its bibliographical and material particulars. Textual mark-up with TEI works allopoietically, whereas the text objects I consider are fundamentally autopoietic, creating and recording the history of their own making.[62] There is only so much that TEI-encoding can convey. As a result, the documentary metadata supplied for each record in the Appendix is sparse and usually limited to a print-culturally informed indication of what appears on the titlepage, i.e. title(s), author(s), and publication specifics.

Chapter Division

My study seeks to offer a complex and nuanced account of the range and variety of the eighteenth-century ode, to resituate it within its historical, social, and political setting, and to contextualize its generic hybridity against a background of a burgeoning market for printed poetry. The dissertation is divided into five chapters, each of which will examine a stage in the history of the ode as it developed from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. Apart from the first chapter, which is comparatively short and deals with the historiography of the ode in past and current scholarship, all chapters are more or less structured around the idea of generic modulation. Each chapter treats different phases of ode culture, with varying emphases on literary, political, and material conditions, and each is devoted to unravelling the dynamic interaction of odes with other poetic forms, such as panegyric, elegy, and hymn (this is

[60] See Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005) and his *Distant Reading* (Verso: London, 2013).

[61] Jerome J. McGann, *A New Republic of Letters: Memory and Scholarship in the Age of Digital Reproduction* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2014), 77.

[62] McGann, *A New Republic of Letters*, 94–8.

also reflected in the modal sub-categories I have added to "The Ode" in the titles). My chronological analysis of eighteenth-century odes did not yield straightforward patterns of evolution and decay, so I have refrained from organizing the chapters according to taxonomic principles.

By focusing on the modal cooperation of the ode with neighbouring kinds, I have been able to extrapolate a broad set of thematic and tropological clusters that have emerged as significant, if not unique, features of the genre. Overarching themes that recur throughout the period include myths of cosmogony and divine or artistic creation, golden-age theories and solar cults, as well as ideas of progress, prospect, and prophecy.[63] Recurrent tropes and figural patterns include prophetic speech, circularity and cyclicality (of form, motion, time), historical, temporal, and literary or linguistic analogy (night-apocalypse, past-present), renewal and rebirth (both seasonal and imaginative), solar imagery as both source of light and of poetry, and elements of personification and address. I find this ideational approach warranted in light of the fact that even though the ode's immediate external conditions changed repeatedly throughout the various sub-periods I have explored, many of these specifically 'literary' conventions remained viable ingredients for poets to use when composing their odes. Changing socio-political circumstances and developments in the printing industry had their effect on the morphing of the ode's various modes, but there are generic patterns that proved surprisingly resilient.

The five chapters, presented chronologically, are distinct though closely related in subject coverage, ranging from alternative readings of the ode as a vernacular *as well as* high-cultural poetic form (chapters 2 and 5), over literary-sociological considerations of the genre and the tropological, phenomenological, and interfigural transformation of patterns and generic features (chapters 3 and 4), to a range of case studies of modally-different odes (chapters 3 and 5) and the suggestion of an alternative canon of the ode (chapter 1 and conclusion).

In connection with the aim outlined in the Introduction to produce a well-theorized, comprehensive, and inclusive genre-historical study of the ode, **Chapter 1** will briefly explore the shortcomings of twentieth-century scholarship on the ode in Britain and will trace the dominant narrative of current literary criticism as going back essentially to the eighteenth century itself. I will question the validity and usefulness of hierarchical and categorical distinctions derived from neoclassical theory, such as the distinction between the Pindaric and Horatian ode, which, as I shall argue, should rather be seen as part of the complex, multifaceted, and reciprocal context of eighteenth-

[63] William Fitzgerald succinctly stated that all Pindar's odes were progress poems stressing the continuity between a golden past and the present (*Agonistic Poetry*, 74).

century print culture. By exposing the pitfalls of a progressive, polarised, and definitional approach, I aim in this chapter to suggest an alternative, corrective literary-historiographical narrative which will provide the basis for the eventual re-writing of the genre's history in the following chapters.

One of the central aims of this study is to recontextualize the ode as part of a larger realm of print culture. **Chapter 2** sets the tone *conceptually*. I have read individual poems—in this case, court odes written for royal birthdays, New Years, etc. for a period of about 25 years—but I have read them as part of a vibrant ode culture in which other text forms, such as dramatic prologues and operatic librettos, interacted with the poems that were labelled odes by their producers. This approach allowed me to explore the multifarious material context in which odes were originally produced and consumed. The chapter, like the following, is modelled on the concept of generic modulation in that it examines the modal incorporation in the ode of earlier modes of panegyric. I argue that the ode was part of a dynamic culture of commemoration in which memorial print forms assumed many shapes, from medals and coins to odes and inscriptions. The notion of inscription is also central to this chapter, as I aim to offer an alternative reading of the function of the ode in the eighteenth-century system of dedication and the cultural economics of literary patronage.

In order to acquire a sense of the scope and diversity of ode culture as introduced in Chapter 2, as well as of the divergent purposes odes served, I have devoted **Chapter 3** to a single year: the year 1714, which saw the death of Queen Anne and the Hanoverian Succession under George I. The chapter aims to reflect how the rise of verse publication in newspapers and periodicals impacted on the increasingly purposive rather than purely ceremonial inflection of ode practice. I explore the possibilities of reading the ode as part of a politically inflected understanding of genre. Following the death of the monarch, elegiac modes and motifs began to permeate the texture of commemorative verse in this period, and I am centrally concerned with determining the extent to which this process can usefully be demarcated for critical purposes. The heavy emphasis on the eighteenth-century British court in this and the previous chapter can be explained by the association generally made between the ode and the mechanisms of political and cultural propaganda. Even though I will attempt to qualify the image of the ode as an empty shell of flattery, the context of court culture is essential for our understanding of such processes.

Where the third chapter focuses chiefly on politics, **Chapter 4** deals with the religious features of the ode in the 1720s, a period of considerable social and political turmoil in which millenarian, salvational readings of history were common. Some of the qualitative, imaginative, and evaluative aspects most frequently associated with the ode in later decades are reflected in the two central themes I will discuss: the sacred and the sublime. Analysing a number of odes on the level of diction (specific lexicon), rhetoric (Longinian sublime), and discourse (deixis, [e]motion), I will offer an examination of the

way in which the religious-prophetic poetics of the ode was shaped by the material and conceptual conditions discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. My discussion of the sublime in the ode is based on a reading of *form* as thematically determined by the religious subjects of creation and formation with which the ode was increasingly associated.

The complex understanding of *form* as internally and externally essential to the ode equally bears on the print forms in which the ode was published, a topic I explore in various degrees in all chapters, but which is paramount to **Chapter 5**. In this chapter, I focus on the publication of odes in miscellanies, magazines, and collected volumes of poetry, as a counterargument to the prevailing study of odes published in single-volume, single-author publications. I argue that the economic and print-cultural conditions behind the selection, printing, and reprinting of specific texts shaped the eventual appearance of dedicated ode volumes in the 1740s. No longer seen in isolation (or detached from the much larger corpus studied in this dissertation), the odes produced by a small group of a university-educated elite—the celebrated odes by Akenside, Warton, and Collins—will be contextualized as important interventions in a complex process of reprinting, adaptation, and reinterpretation. This process saw extended engagement with the ode as a form widely used by both men and women as well as by hacks producing birthday, music, or patriotic odes on demand. Issues of copyright were crucial in the selection and publication of odes in single volumes as well as in magazines and miscellanies, and it is indispensable to take such notions into consideration, rather than explaining the increased production of odes in the 1740s as a sudden revival of the form.

Chapter 1
Across the Great Divide: Eighteenth-Century and Contemporary Views on the Ode

Early on in his *Alexander's Feast*, composed for the music festival of St. Cecilia in 1697, John Dryden stages his own version of the court poet, Timotheus—at once a figure for Dryden himself and the Greek poet Pindar. Commissioned to sing the praises of his king and patron, Alexander the Great,

> Timotheus, placed on high
> Amid the tuneful choir,
> With flying fingers touched the lyre:
> The trembling notes ascend the sky
> And heav'nly joys inspire.[1]
> (20–4)

This passage, along with the full title of Dryden's ode, *Alexander's Feast; or, The Power of Musique. An Ode, in Honour of St. Cecilia's Day*, registers some of the aspects that have dominated contemporaneous as well as present-day ode criticism. Elements of classical antiquity, music, lyric, and the festival for St. Cecilia, the patroness of music, have all featured prominently as historical, cultural, and ideational matrices against which seventeenth- and eighteenth-century odes have been measured.[2] Historians of music

[1] John Dryden, *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Paul Hammon and David Hopkins, 5 vols. (Harlow: Longman, 1995–2005), v, 10.

[2] The literature on St. Cecilia's Day is fairly extensive. For an early but detailed overview, see William H. Husk, *An Account of the Musical Celebrations on St. Cecilia's Day in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857). Helpful recent studies that each cover a phase in the celebrations for St. Cecilia include Rosamond McGuinness, "A Fine Song on Occasion of the Day Was Sung," *Music & Letters* 50 (1969), 290–295; David Hopkins, "The London Odes on St Cecilia's Day for 1686, 1695, and 1696," *The Review of English Studies*

and the lyric have repeatedly affirmed that the ode remained true to its origins as a high-cultural form of poetry, grounded in musical or dramatic performance, and accompanied by instruments somehow related to the ancient lyre. Quoting a definition of the lyric from Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* (1728) and tracing its origins back to the musical and inspirational origins of poetry, David Fairer concludes that the lyric's central preoccupations, even in its filtered, eighteenth-century form, were music, song, and instrument, as well as notions of performance and the production of sound.[3] By analogy with its Greek etymology, ᾠδή (ōdḗ) from ἀείδω (aeídō, "I sing"), furthermore, the ode in eighteenth-century usage was sometimes regarded as nothing more than a song.[4]

By means of a chronological outline of the historiography of the eighteenth-century ode in contemporary as well as modern criticism, this chapter proposes a reconsideration of the standard definitions of the genre, which have hitherto disregarded the continuity and diversity of ode practice in the eighteenth century. In the first section, I will explore the field of ode studies of the past century and probe how (in)sufficiently these have reproduced the complex engagement with the ode in the early eighteenth century. Negative discrimination and retroactive interpretation of the ode, usually through the filter of Romantic notions of poetry and its canon of poets, are the main causes of the highly distorted view of the genre critics have transmitted to the present day. Yet, as the second section will show, many of these problems were caused by eighteenth-century critics' own ambiguous and confusing attitude towards the practice and, especially, the theory of the ode. The distinction between the Pindaric and the Horatian ode, inherited from Renaissance scholarship, precisely embodies the difficulty of eighteenth-century readers of coming to terms not just with the inherent paradox of a loose versus fixed style and metre, but also with the enormous variety of odes produced in their own day. Although this chapter offers only a brief examination of the theoretical and definitional concerns involving the ode, it will serve to clear the ground for the relevance and novelty of my own project as elaborated in the following chapters.

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45 (1994), 486–495; Clifford Ames, "Variations on a Theme: Baroque and Neoclassical Aesthetics in the St. Cecilia Day Odes of Dryden and Pope," *ELH* 65 (1998), 617–635.

[3] David Fairer, "Lyric and Elegy," in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature*, eds. David Hopkins and Charles Martindale, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), iii, 519–45.

[4] This view goes back, to a certain degree, to Michael Drayton's preface to the section of odes in his *Poems* (1619). See Dubrow, *The Challenges of Orpheus*, 39–47.

1.1 Recent Views on the Ode

One of the principal aims of this study is to shatter the *post factum* critical construct that assumes a high degree of interconnectedness between the canonical odes generally studied as exclusively representative of ode culture. According to the conventional, progressive narrative, the ode had its humble beginnings in the early seventeenth century with the classicist experiments of Ben Jonson (1572–1637) and Michael Drayton (1563–1631); its explosion to fame with Abraham Cowley (1618–1667) and Dryden in the second half of that century; and its subsequent silence-before-the-storm period starting with Dryden's death in 1700 and culminating in 1745–6, the year that witnessed the publication of the odes of Akenside, Warton, and Collins. One critic's remark on the odes of Collins is typical of a deeply rooted attitude towards the ode: Collins's poetry was "an utterance of genius that [...] almost seems comparable to one of the 'leaps' that occur in the process of natural evolution."[5] One of the main conclusions of my study is that there is no such thing as linearity in generic development. Although there may have been, at the very most, an upsurge of experimentation in ode practice in the 1740s, it is preposterous to attempt to explain the caprices of human behaviour and the never-ending quest for literary innovation and commercial profiteering in evolutionary terms. Between Dryden's "typical 'baroque' formal ode" of 1697[6] and the "different '*channel*'"[7] Warton and Collins took in 1746, there is an enormous and enormously dynamic interaction of generically internal and contextually external factors which all contribute in their own ways to what could eventually be produced in the 1740s.

The principal points of attention here are definitional and procedural. First of all, what counts as an ode? Should a definition of the ode be descriptive or prescriptive? Depending on the choice of either of these, what ought to be included in the selection to arrive at a working definition? One common-sense reply to these questions might be to select a number of poems that are sufficiently representative rather than exceptionally good but anomalous. It will be clear, however, from a selection of definitions in twentieth-century monographs devoted to the ode that *representative*, i.e. canonical, has virtually always meant *classical*, that is, based on either Pindar or Horace. The two most distinctive features of the ode during the eighteenth century, furthermore, have been thought to be its peculiar metrical structure, which is also classical, and a certain elevated temper or spirit, which is always in origin Pindar's. It is worthwhile to ask, as a

[5] Shuster, *The English Ode from Milton to Keats*, 204.

[6] David Hopkins, *John Dryden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 187.

[7] Richard Wendorf, *William Collins and Eighteenth-Century English Poetry* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 87.

point of departure before engaging with a number of these definitions, what to make of those eighteenth-century odes *not* composed in classical measures as well as what precisely is meant with this Pindaric spirit. Any answers to these problems, as will become apparent, have hitherto been implicit at best.

The first literary scholar to produce a dedicated history of the English ode proper, Edmund Gosse, declared that he had taken as an ode "any strain of enthusiastic and exalted lyrical verse, directed to a fixed purpose, and dealing progressively with one dignified theme."[8] Though coined in the late nineteenth century, with its emphasis on functional and stylistic propriety Gosse's definition is as neoclassical as it gets. In addition to the demand for "sustained intellectual meditation on a single theme of general purport," in a "fine," lyrical style to match the ode's "high thinking," William Sharp added a few years later that the ode should also be "of the nature of an apostrophe."[9] This addendum to the definition posited by Gosse betrays the unmistakable inheritance of Romanticism, in which apostrophe as the main trope of address became a defining feature of the genre. When Robert Shafer reconsidered the subject in the 1910s, his definition included all of the above, but his emphasis shifted. Lyrical, universal in purport even if spoken by one voice only, and focused on a single theme, the ode, according to him, may deal with one thing in many ways, but must always do so with an "enthusiastic temper."[10] Poems are further considered "true odes" if they consist of an address or apostrophe; of an order that is not logical but emotional; of a complex verse structure; and of a Pindaric spirit. After a while, though, the weight of Shafer's argument comes to rest entirely on the latter two features, but despite an illuminating study of the metrical composition of the poems he analyses, the Pindaric spirit remains poorly defined.

Other, mid-century definitions are equally and exclusively classicist. George Shuster focuses even more strictly on the morphology and prosody of the ode. "By the word 'ode' I mean in general a lyric based either upon the model of some classic poem which bore that designation or upon other English poems which go back, directly or indirectly, to imitations of the bards of Greece and Rome," and, more specifically, to Pindaric stanza structure.[11] Even though Shuster's prioritizing of the stanza as a distinctive component of the genre is warranted, his derivative conception of the ode is too restrictive. Metrical complexity is also the main thrust of Carol Maddison's argument in her comprehensive survey of the humanist ode revival in early modern Europe.

[8] Edmund W. Gosse, *English Odes* (London: Kegan Paul, 1884), xiii.

[9] William Sharp, *Great Odes, English and American* (London: The Canterbury Poets, 1890), xx–xxi.

[10] Robert Shafer, *The English Ode to 1660: An Essay in Literary History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1918), 2.

[11] Shuster, *The English Ode from Milton to Keats*, 6.

Concluding her introduction, she states that "any understanding of the modern ode is dependent upon a knowledge of its classical antecedents."[12] Maddison's sweeping scrutiny of neo-Latin and vernacular European experimentation with the classical ode thus forms the culmination of a century of growing interest in the ode, but the classical-elitist conception of the genre evidently fails to paint the whole picture. Perceptive though they may be, these formalist readings are too exclusively bent on tracing a classical pedigree of the ode, often at the cost of a total disregard for the enormous variety that began to morph the ode from the seventeenth century on.

It would seem that the twentieth-century tradition of ode criticism upheld the basic assumption that, in Shafer's categorical statement, the "only two real features of the ode" are complex verse structure and apostrophe.[13] According to this rationale, the latter equals the spirit of enthusiasm and elevation for which Pindar was praised, as opposed to the language of exposition and narration which does not use the element of address. Shuster is merely echoing his predecessors when he states that, "the element of older music and rhetoric having to a large extent been eliminated, the ode came to rely primarily upon the element of address for affinity with the Pindaric tradition."[14] The problem with this sort of definition is that it is based on an anachronism. The foregrounding of apostrophe as a distinctive feature of the genre as a whole is indicative of the circularity of twentieth-century criticism which defines the ode on the basis of a formal development which only really became predominant *after* the period at issue. Elements of invocation and address are of course essential to any ode, but in the early eighteenth century they still function mostly as rhetorical devices, demonstrative and epideictic rather than performative and subjectifying. The influence of seventeenth-century panegyric and its concomitant ceremonial and processional patterns, as I will explain in the next chapter, was much stronger in the first decades of the eighteenth century than the subject-object relationship of apostrophe and its abstract troping of animicity and prosopopoeia.[15] As Geoffrey Hartman has emphasized, poems of address are by their very nature vocative, prophetic, invocational, at once a speaking out and a calling upon, usually composed in the imperative or optative mood and with a ritual, epiphanic character, yet they often minimize the communicative function of apostrophe.[16] And this function was still essential in the early period, the rhetorical and discursive modes of which usually comprised the direct involvement of the reader with

[12] Maddison, *Apollo and the Nine*, 3.
[13] Shafer, *The English Ode*, 122.
[14] Shuster, *The English Ode from Milton to Keats*, 205.
[15] Jonathan Culler, "Apostrophe," *Diacritics* 4 (1977): 59–69.
[16] Geoffrey H. Hartman, *Beyond Formalism: Literary Essays 1958–1970* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 139.

a plethora of 'lo's and 'behold's rather than with a central apostrophic address to an abstract allegory, invoked by the formula 'O Thou.'

The singular focus on the trope of apostrophe is synecdochal of the teleological development towards Romantic sensibility which critics have singled out for discussion, even though earlier phases in the ode's history were marked at best by tentative experimentation. Shafer's general analysis of the ode traces a linear itinerary of progress, a rise from primitive to perfected, using as paradigms the odes by poets such as Gray and Wordsworth to explain the earliest stages of the genre in the early 1600s. After having formulated his definition on the basis of a few canonical odes of the eighteenth century, Shafer paradoxically applies it to poets of the early seventeenth century, stating that "Drayton did not realise that all Anacreontic poems and some Horatian ones are not what we to-day would call odes."[17] Accordingly, the ode is adjudicated through a circular feedback loop in which, as William Warner has observed with regards to the novel, "the general minimal criteria" required to qualify as an ode are explained "through a first paradigmatic instance which then confirms the initial criteria."[18] Though the flaws of this self-perpetuating feedback system may seem apparent, they have hitherto never been interrogated.

Three studies of the second half of the twentieth century combine innovative insights from various critical perspectives, but they likewise fail to acknowledge the complexity and variety of early eighteenth-century odes. Kurt Schlüter's study is perhaps the most innovative and discerning of all, but his focus is purely formalist.[19] Schlüter demonstrates how the ode assimilated the tripartite division of the *hymnos kletikos*, the Ancient Greek prayer hymn, which, as one of the oldest forms of expression and divine incantation, he considers closely related to the ceremonial attributes of the ode in all its various subtypes. The tripartite structure of the ode (invocation, *pars epica*, and petition) is also reflected, formally, in the Pindaric ode's triadic division into strophe, antistrophe, and epode, as well as, thematically, in the shift from a recipient of praise or an addressee to a general philosophical rumination about the greater meaning of the object that is being praised and, subsequently, petitioned. Paul Fry and William Fitzgerald both introduce psychoanalytical readings that are valuable in their own right, but their subject-specific approach runs counter to the concerns of formal complexity that had mattered to earlier scholars. Fry takes the ode to be "a vehicle of ontological and vocational doubt," which, as a self-conscious and meta-critical entity, raises

[17] Shafer, *The English Ode*, 84.

[18] William B. Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel Reading in Britain, 1684–1750* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 3.

[19] Kurt Schlüter, *Die Englische Ode: Studien zu ihrer Entwicklung unter dem Einfluss der Antiken Hymne* (Bonn: H. Bouvier und Co. Verlag, 1964).

questions about its own potential for attaining a unified poetic whole.[20] Equally stressing the mythopoeic powers of the ode and its poet, Fitzgerald focuses on the elements of conflict and crisis that govern the creation of an ode. He conceives of the ode's central agonistic mode as engendering a reciprocal relationship between the human and the divine, and as constituting a communal sphere in which the one exists only by virtue of the other.[21]

Despite the many valuable insights these studies present in terms of the odist's psychology, it should be noted that this type of criticism indulges too much in the creation of its own myths about the genre—myths of artistic uncertainty and sterility mostly derived from Bloomian anxiety models.[22] They are marked, nonetheless, by the same problems of selectivity as their predecessors. Here, too, only half a dozen canonical authors, predominantly Romantic poets, serve to represent an entire tradition, spanning over 200 years. The growing impression, in such a teleological approach to the genre, is that the early decades of the eighteenth century were nothing more than a testing ground for 'preromantic' poets such as Collins, Gray, and the Warton brothers, who helped the ode, which was still in its infancy in the 1740s, to reach full-grown maturity in the hands of Wordsworth, John Keats, and Percy Bysshe Shelley.[23] While this does explain why certain features, such as apostrophe, have been 'read back' into earlier works that were successful enough to be received into the canon, it relegates other experiments with the genre to a lacklustre and forgettable chapter in literary history.

1.2 The Problem with Titology: Pindaric and Horatian Odes

Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* can serve as a good example of the unilateral approach to the eighteenth-century ode. Commonly seen as "the last and perhaps the greatest of Dryden's Pindaric odes,"[24] the poem is classified by modern editors and critics on the

[20] Fry, *The Poet's Calling in the English Ode*, 2.

[21] William Fitzgerald, *Agonistic Poetry: The Pindaric Mode in Pindar, Horace, Hölderlin, and the English Ode* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 1–11.

[22] Walter J. Bate, *The Burden of the Past and the English Poet* (Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press, 1970); Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

[23] Marshall Brown, *Preromanticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

[24] Joshua Scodel, "The Cowleyan Pindaric Ode and Sublime Diversions," in Alan Houston and Steve Pincus, eds., *A Nation Transformed: England After the Restoration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 205.

basis of a generic category that is universally accepted as designating an overwhelming portion of odes, but that is nowhere indicated in the original title. An important pointer to the inconsistent and often bewildering attempts at delimiting the scope of ode practice can be found in the titular division habitually made between the 'Pindaric' and the 'Horatian' ode.[25] Pindar (c. 522–c. 443 BC) was the most important exponent of Ancient Greek lyric poetry and a significant part of his oeuvre, among which his *epinikia* or victory odes, has been preserved. It has captivated as much as confused readers ever since. One of the few readers who did succeed in grasping and, subsequently, mediating Pindar's poetics was Horace (65–27 BC), the leading lyric poet of the Roman Augustan age. Horace played a vital role in the development of the ode into one of the most elevated and esteemed genres in the classical, and later neoclassical, hierarchy. Horace being who he was, though, he also refashioned the ode to fit his poetic aims and ideals, creating an alternative form of ode which was shorter, more restrained, and more technically refined than Pindar's. Stylistically, Pindar had always been admired for his daring use of figures and transitions; first-century critics such as Quintillian and Longinus would go on to celebrate his lofty imagination as a pure incarnation of the sublime.[26] But at the same time, through Horace's judgment of him in *Odes* IV.2, the image of Pindar as a "mighty raging Flood"[27] became so widespread that the Pindaric ode became synonymous with uncontrolled poetic effusion. Against Pindar's extremity, Horace pitted his own golden mean of brevity and lucidity, stimulating the assumption, still commonly accepted today, of a binary opposition between the two types of ode, Pindaric and Horatian.

In the late seventeenth century, the Horatian view of the Pindaric ode continued to be propagated by French critics such as René Rapin, François Blondel, and Charles Perrault, who censured Pindar's lack of polish, licentious imagery, and digressive style.[28] In England, translations of French neoclassical treatises by Thomas Rymer and Sir Thomas Pope Blount followed suit. At around the same time, however, Abraham Cowley was labouring to anglicize the lofty freedom of Pindar's odes, which, ironically, he had

[25] Other modes include the "Anacreontic" and "Sapphic," but they are nowhere near as commonly applied in ode criticism, even though Anacreon was part of the classical canon taught at school as late as the 1780s. The young Wordsworth, for instance, would have read Anacreon alongside Homer, Virgil, and Ovid. See Johnston, "Hawkshead Education and Reading," 165.

[26] Revard, *Pindar and the Renaissance Hymn-Ode*, 7.

[27] William Oldisworth, *The Odes of Horace In Latin and English; With a Translation of Dr. Bentley's Notes. To which are added Notes upon Notes; Done in the Bentleian Style and Manner* (London: B. Lintott, 1713), part XVIII, 9.

[28] For a relevant discussion of the "Horatian ideal" as preferred over Pindaric verse, see Penelope Wilson, "The Knowledge and Appreciation of Pindar in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (PhD diss., Oxford University, 1974), 131–49. See also John T. Hamilton, *Soliciting Darkness: Pindar, Obscurity, and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), *passim* but esp. 152–61.

come across during his exile in France. His self-styled "traductions," published as *Pindarique Odes* in 1656, tried to circumvent "Pindar's unnavigable Song,"[29] but they led instead, in the eyes of his successors, to too many poor poets believing they could write anything and call it an ode. William Congreve's disgruntled remarks, in his "Discourse on the Pindarique Ode" (1706), on those "rumbling and grating Papers of Verses, pretending to be Copies of [Pindar's] Works," became emblematic of the general assessment of the English ode at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[30] Congreve attempted to uncover a triadic pattern in the extant body of Pindaric *epinikia* and thereby qualify the Greek poet's supposed lack of regularity and metrical order. Ten years prior to Congreve, John Oldmixon had already written that Pindar had never allowed himself "to be so Licentious in his Measure, as some who would have us believe they have Imitated him."[31] What these accounts reveal, ultimately, is the effort to restrain and regularize the formless Pindaric ode, which was as much a result of Cowley's "*mis*translation"[32] as of the success and widespread availability of his works.[33]

Eighteenth-century critics had a rather wayward opinion of the ode, with definitions varying according to factors such as political and dynastic affiliation, so the Pindaric-Horatian distinction served as a useful supporting model for keeping matters clear and well-ordered, at least according to neoclassical standards. Even though critical compendiums of genres were by no means exhaustive or comprehensive, they do serve as representative benchmarks of contemporary attitudes to individual poetical kinds.[34] One of the earliest and most popular, Edward Bysshe's *The Art of English Poetry* (1702) was adamant about the irregularity of the Pindaric ode.[35] Its stanzas, he raged, "are neither confin'd to a certain number of Verses, nor the Verses to a certain number of Syllables,

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[29] Cowley's translation of Horace, Odes IV.2, "The Praise of Pindar," l. 8 in *The Odes and Satyrs of Horace, that have been done into English by the most eminent hands. Viz. Earl of Rochester, Earl of Roscommon, Mr. Cowley, Mr. Otway, Mr. Congreve, Mr. Prior, Mr. Maynwaring, Mr. Dryden, Mr. Milton, Mr. Pooly. With his art of poetry, by the Earl of Roscommon. To this edition is added several odes never before published* (London: J. Tonson, 1715), 117. This collection was republished in 1717, 1721, and 1730.

[30] William Congreve, *A Pindarique Ode, Humbly Offer'd to the Queen, on the Victorious Progress of Her Majesty's Arms, under the Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough. To which is Prefix'd, A Discourse on the Pindarique Ode* (London: J. Tonson, 1706).

[31] John Oldmixon, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: printed for R. Parker, 1696), sig. A6^{r-v}.

[32] Stuart Gillespie and David Hopkins, *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, *Vol. 3: 1660–1790* (Oxford: University Press, 2005), 25.

[33] Cowley's *Works* had reached their fourteenth edition by 1721.

[34] The focus on Collins and Gray as representative of the genre may be valid for the late eighteenth century, as their poetry was selected for "beauties" anthologies familiarizing readers with all kinds of poetry through excerpts of a few representative authors, but it obviously makes no sense to utilize them as yardsticks for earlier practice.

[35] Bysshe's compendium went through several editions, in 1702, 1705, 1708, 1710, 1714, 1718, 1724, 1737, 1760 and was enlarged on three occasions.

nor the Rhyme to a certain Distance." The amount of lines per stanza ranges from fifty or more to ten or less, while some individual lines consist of sixteen syllables and others not above four. To make matters worse, Bysshe continued, this sort of poetry is "employ'd in all manner of Subjects; in Pleasant, in Grave, in Amorous, in Heroick, in Philosophical, in Moral and in Divine."[36] A more favourable view of the metrical freedom of the Pindaric ode was delivered by Samuel Cobb. In the preface to his *Poems on Several Occasions* (1707), Cobb justified his repudiation of the Pindaric triad of strophe, antistrophe, and epode by declaring that he "had rather err with Mr. *Cowley*, who shew'd us the Way, than be flat and in the right with others," with which of course he referred to Congreve, who "has affirm'd, I think too hastily, that in each particular Ode the Stanza's are alike."[37] Each in their own way, Bysshe and Cobb bear out the conflicting assumptions about how strictly or loosely the Pindaric ode should be approached and utilized.

Inflected by such discussions, the conception of the Horatian ode as lucid, isometrical, and finite and the Pindaric as uncontrollable, polystrophic, and inimitable perpetuated a hierarchical distinction that strictly polarised the 'lesser' and the 'greater' ode. Although this neoclassical view was indeed voiced by a number of eighteenth-century critics, many of the rules and classifications they prescribed were vague and equivocal. Filching quotations from Horace himself as well as from the French critic Nicolas Boileau and the Duke of Buckingham's *Essay on Poetry*, Charles Gildon presented a definition that seemed rather to add to the confusion. "What we have of *Sappho*, and the *Odes* of *Anacreon*, are of the Lesser *Ode*; *Pindar*, *Alcaeus*, *Alcman*, *Stesichorus*, of the *greater*; those of *Horace*, of *both*."[38] In practice, too, the distinction between the two was a nebulous one. Dryden reserved special mention in his Preface to *Sylvae* (1685) for his translation of Horace's *Odes* III.29, which he inscribed to the Earl of Rochester. "One ode which infinitely pleased me in the reading I have attempted to translate in pindaric verse," which "allows more latitude than any other" and would therefore be the best possible means with which to try and fashion one's "masterpiece."[39] The liberal technique of moving back and forth between Pindar and Horace was also advocated, for instance, by Cobb in his Preface to *The Female Reign: An Ode, Alluding to Horace, B.4. Od. 14. Attempted in the Style of Pindar* (1709). "If you ask wherein I have trod in the Steps of *Horace*," Cobb explains, "You will find it in the

[36] Edward Bysshe's, *The Art of English Poetry* (London: printed for R. Knaplock, 1702), 35–6.

[37] Samuel Cobb, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: printed for R. and J. Bonwick, 1707), sig. A8^{v}.

[38] Charles Gildon, *The Complete Art of Poetry* (London: printed for C. Rivington, 1718), 177.

[39] Paul Hammond, ed., *The Poems of John Dryden*, 5 vols. (Harlow: Longman, 1995–2005), ii, 255. See Stuart Gillespie, "Transformative Translation: Dryden's Horatian Ode" in his *English Translation and Classical Reception: Towards a New Literary History* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2011), 60–75.

Beginning. I have only kept him in view, and used him only where he was serviceable to my Design."[40] Surprisingly, Cobb then moves straight on to Pindar: "In my Digressions and Transitions I have taken care to play always in sight, and make every one of them contribute to my main Design. This was the Way of *Pindar*."[41] It should be clear from these examples that, even in neoclassically inflected works, a strict division into Pindaric and Horatian does not seem invariably and unconditionally tenable.

1.3 Pindaric or Horatian? A Problematic Legacy

Despite the ambiguity and confusion present from the start, however, formalist criticism of the twentieth century has continued the argument that the Horatian ode was ideally composed in isometric stanzas on intimate subjects, such as love and entertainment, while the Pindaric ode was formally irregular and internally incoherent. In the late nineteenth century, Edmund Gosse was simply articulating a familiar commonplace when he wrote that the "simple, but highly-wrought" variant, the "slighter form of ode is what we generally call the Horatian," as opposed to the "incomparable genius" of Pindar.[42] In a seminal chapter on the eighteenth-century ode, Norman Maclean stated that he adopted "the Great Ode" as "a more neutral term" and that "until recently all other kinds of lyrics were often referred to as 'lesser odes.'"[43] Paul Fry defined the Horatian ode as one of the "isolated types" written "in short, regular stanzas on anacreontic as well as moral and political themes that take Horace's *sermo merus* for their stylistic norm."[44] Most recently, these sets of alleged differences are reiterated by Margaret Koehler in a chapter on the ode that is subdivided by means

[40] Samuel Cobb, *The Female Reign: An Ode, Alluding to Horace, B.4. Od. 14. Attempted in the Style of Pindar* (London: printed for H. Hills, 1709), sig. A2^{r-v}.

[41] Cobb, *Female Reign*, sig. A2^{v}.

[42] Gosse, *English Odes*, ix–x.

[43] Norman Maclean, "From Action to Image: Theories of the Lyric in the Eighteenth Century," in R. S. Crane, ed., *Critics and Criticism: Ancient and Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 408n1. M. H. Abrams, in his attempt to find an appropriate Romantic equivalent, coined "'the greater Romantic lyric,' intending to suggest, not that it is a higher achievement than other Romantic lyrics, but that it displaced what neo-classical critics had called 'the greater ode'—the elevated Pindaric, in distinction to 'the lesser ode' modeled chiefly on Horace—as the favored form for the long lyric poem." M. H. Abrams, "Structure and Style in the Greater Romantic Lyric," in *From Sensibility to Romanticism: Essays Presented to Frederick A. Pottle*, Frederick W. Hilles and Harold Bloom, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 528.

[44] Fry, *The Poet's Calling*, 5.

of such headings as "The Horatian Tradition" and "The Augustan Ode." Koehler's understanding of the Horatian ode as "an alternative tradition" that "differs from the Pindaric ode in a number of ways," including mood, form, and style, is essentially a continuation of eighteenth-century attempts to define the ode by means of rigid categorisation.[45]

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Oversimplifications such as these imply a generic system of separate and contrasting literary phenomena, when in reality the relation between the Pindaric and Horatian ode is best understood in terms of a fluid and complicated interactive network of interconnection and transformation. Moreover, if modes are purposive, that is, if they determine the function of the historical kind, then 'Horatian' and 'Pindaric' are utterly meaningless tags since they provide little information on the ways in which the ode is modulated to serve a different purpose. If, on the other hand, they are purely formal markers, and valued for their distinctiveness in this respect, then the formless Pindaric ode would always be considered inferior to the formally impeccable Horatian ode—even plainly redundant. Consequently, I have tried not to project the Horatian-Pindaric dyad into my reading of the ode and have refrained as much as possible from using it, even though I will refer to their odes as such throughout the dissertation, whenever their resonance is relevant for the discussion of eighteenth-century ode practice. Just like the historical kind 'ode' which they serve somehow to inflect, the Pindaric and Horatian sub-types continue to be defined by their verse and stanza structure, regardless of any thematic associations they may have acquired over time. If the aim is to appreciate more fully the complexity of the eighteenth-century ode, then it is no longer desirable to stick with the traditional views explained in the foregoing sections. Only a more holistic approach to the study of genre, which provides the necessary framework with which to understand and articulate the ode's modal and material multiplicity, can accomplish that.

[45] Margaret M. Koehler, "The Ode," in *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, ed. Christine Gerrard (Malden, MA.: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 394.

Chapter 2
The Court Ode: Panegyric, Coinage, and Commemoration in the Age of Queen Anne

Was this the face
That, like the sun, did make beholders wink?
(*The Tragedy of Richard II*, IV.1)

2.1 Introduction

In 2014, the tercentenary of Queen Anne's death was commemorated by a number of scholarly recovery attempts, including James Winn's exhaustive biography, a special issue of the *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Alan Downie's international conference, "Queen Anne Is Dead," and a collection of essays by prominent scholars in the field, edited by Cedric Reverand II.[1] More than merely commemorative, however, 2014 was the year of the critical rehabilitation of Queen Anne as a monarch with a keen interest in courtly ceremony, as a spiritual patroness of the arts—especially music and drama—and as a queen whose tumultuous time in power was matched by a life of personal grievances, as she suffered through seventeen unsuccessful pregnancies as well as a crippling sickness that eventually killed her. One of the most rewarding facets revisited by this surge of scholarly interest in the Age of Queen Anne is its splendid court culture,

[1] James A. Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Claudine Van Hensbergen, ed., "Queen Anne and British Culture, 1702–1714," special issue, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37 (2014); Cedric D. Reverand II, ed., *Queen Anne and the Arts* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2015).

which saw a revival after a brief hiatus during the reign of William III. Though Robert Bucholz has argued that court culture in Anne's day was in decline because of a growing lack of financial resources, his focus lay on the ways in which the court was increasingly decentralized and on how Anne's royal household was configured in the wake of the Revolution and the ensuing partitioning of the political field.[2] Recent studies on the forms of court patronage have painted a more nuanced picture, underscoring the multifarious ways in which poets, playwrights, and patrons sought to express themselves in this period of political instability and artistic experimentation.[3]

Within the arena of royal spectacle and entertainment, the ode had an important role to play. Habitually accompanied by a musical composition and sung or performed at court, the ode had become a regular feature of the official anniversary feasts from the 1680s onwards.[4] The practice of performing odes at court was first established following an Act of Parliament which declared Charles II's birthday and return on 29 May 1660 a public holiday—later popularly called Royal Oak Day. Even though the tradition really only caught on after the crises of the late 1670s, odes—or "songs" as they were sometimes synonymously labelled—were henceforth a staple of the annual celebrations for royal birthdays, New Year's Day, and the monarch's return to London. Although these calendric events would become the ode's best known points of association until well into the eighteenth century, they were also the main source of ridicule according to many contemporary poets and critics, who argued that the ode had become a mechanical, repetitive, and sycophantic form of verse. In John Dryden's words, it was "a noble sort of Poetry so happily restor'd by one Man [i.e. Abraham Cowley], and so grosly copied, by almost all the rest."[5] Present-day scholars, especially music historians, have not always been able to avoid such qualitative value judgments either. Court odes were the result of a collaboration between the Poet Laureate, who provided the poetical text, and the Master of the King's Music, who set the text to music, but they were equally the result of tight schedules and limited budgets.[6] Too often the poetry of these odes is denounced as "doggerel," marred by "perfunctory routine," and contrasted with the

[2] Robert O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

[3] In his introduction to the edited collection, Cedric Reverand focuses on the genres and subgenres spawning from what was, according to him, essentially an "interim period" in theatre, literature, and architecture (Reverand, *Queen Anne*, 1–6).

[4] It was only from 1680–1 onwards that an ode was composed on a regular—that is, annual—basis and that the genre became an art form with an identity of its own. Rosamond McGuinness, *English Court Odes, 1660–1820* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 1–11, 88, 121.

[5] John Dryden, *Sylvae: or, the Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies* (London: printed for J. Tonson, 1685), preface.

[6] The court odes for Queen Anne, whose birthday was on 6 February, had to be produced within a time span of only five weeks.

"high order" of the musical compositions, notably those by Henry Purcell.[7] But the odes' formulaic nature should not be the only criterion by which to assess these poems, nor should their literary merit be considered questionable simply because it is so according to modern standards. Rather, these court odes should be studied in light of their significant addition to the generic repertoire of the ode as it developed under the influence of the cultural and political changes of the third of a century stretching from 1680 to 1714.[8]

The present chapter argues that the ode should be read as part of an important state-regulated programme of royal image-making and political propaganda, one in which elements of musical and dramatic entertainment were essential. The ode's formulae should be read, I maintain, as the verbal equivalents of a number of specific ceremonial court rituals that underwent consolidation in this period. Ode culture at the turn of the eighteenth century developed at the heart of a juncture between two conflicting historical and political realities that shaped the discursive network in which the possibilities for representation were being controlled. One was a divinely ordained monarchy that promoted a typological and prophetic reading of national history—which is a history of recurrence, of metaphoric and metaphysical image, of myth and archetype, symbol and code—while the other was a new and competing notion that centred around a type of rule which postulated an incremental history of revolution and progress, which was increasingly defined against a background of proliferating consumerism and mixed media economies.[9]

The years 1680–1714 formed a period in which, on the one hand, odists were continuously seeking ways to legitimize the sovereignty of the monarch. They borrowed heavily from past modes of royalist panegyric, with its time-honoured motif of the Golden Age,[10] from prophetic passages in the Bible (most notably John 10 on the rightful shepherd),[11] and from such classical themes as the return of Astraea, the focus of which,

[7] Ian Spink, "Purcell's odes: Propaganda and Panegyric," in *Purcell Studies*, ed. Curtis Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 145.

[8] For a detailed study of court life and culture during Anne's reign, see Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, 202–48, which also contains a tabular overview of the dates and occasions of all court ceremonies.

[9] This political antithesis is partly derived from Murray G. H. Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1–31. The economics of media entertainment are explored in Warner, *Licensing Entertainment*, esp. 177–9.

[10] For the Golden Age myth and its associations with patronage and propaganda, see E. H. Gombrich, "Renaissance and Golden Age," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 24 (1961), 306–309.

[11] Murray G. H. Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688–1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 127.

as in Virgil's *Aeneid* VI and Fourth *Eclogue*, lay on predestination and prophecy.[12] The first section of this chapter therefore offers a tropological analysis of monarchical representations in the court ode, which often attributed to the ruler typological qualities of a sacral and mystical nature, turning him or her into a solar body and ritual bringer of eternal Spring—the "Eternal Source of Light Divine" as Ambrose Philips phrased it in his *Ode for the birthday of Queen Anne*, which was famously set to music by George Frideric Handel in 1713.[13] The importance of solar imagery as a generic feature of the ode has hitherto rarely been acknowledged.[14] Although common in early modern absolutist symbolism as well as in classical and Renaissance poetry—from Petrarch's *Canzoniere* to Shakespeare's history plays (particularly *Richard II*) and Jonson's masques[15]—there is, however, still much to say about the specific application of the sun trope in odes devoted to the English monarch. As Alastair Fowler has demonstrated, the centrality of the sovereign in visual representations of state or judicial occasions, as well as in the structural composition of panegyric and related genres such as odes, was derived from

> iconological connections between the imagery of ancient cosmic kingship and that of the revived solar cult drawing support for the ideal of the sun king from the new heliocentric planetary system [...] Through the medium of coins and medals, the ancient types of cosmic kingship—the *Sol oriens* between pairs of horses, the *Sol invictus*, the sun within a zodiac ring—all were relearned and reapplied.[16]

Ernst Kantorowicz has demonstrated that this iconography of the orient-and-aureate monarch had been common in England at least as early as Richard II, and that its idiom and imagery were vigorously adopted by the Stuarts following the example of Louis XIV in France.[17] A showcase feature of Stuart court culture, the eighteenth-century ode was modified to integrate all these aspects.

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[12] The prophetic and proleptic continued to be vital ingredients for odes in the following decades (compare the *redeat* of the Virgilian imagery with the overwhelming frequency in the ode of the verb "shall"), to which subsequent chapters in this dissertation will return.

[13] For details on this composition, see James A. Winn, "Style and Politics in the Philips-Handel Ode for Queen Anne's Birthday, 1713," *Music & Letters* 89 (2008): 547–561.

[14] A partial exception is Ralph Cohen, who in a perceptive essay on "The Return to the Ode" has remarked that the majority of eighteenth-century odes "were structured to suggest the universal power of nature, the rotation of the day and the seasons" (in John Sitter, *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001], 205).

[15] James A. Winn, *John Dryden and his World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 89–90.

[16] Alastair Fowler, *Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 26–7.

[17] Ernst Kantorowicz, *Le Lever du Roi*, trans. Franz Regnot (Paris: Bayard, 2004), 107–33.

On the other hand, though, poets in the 1680–1714 period equally tested out novel forms of encomium that gradually displaced the monarch as the central figure of praise in favour of individuals with a more instantaneous and popular appeal, such as the nation's latest war heroes. In the encomiastic context of early eighteenth-century Britain, with its annual court extravaganza, its spectacular military successes, and its budding imperialism, the ode emerged as one cog in a concatenation of larger media events. The court rituals of awarding and rewarding and the production of encomiastic print entertainment were realigned when new print forms and alternative figures such as the Duke of Marlborough entered into the purview of media workers. The ode should thus not be understood as an abstract literary product of a mental process, but as a *text object* circulating in a virtual and physical marketplace characterized by a multiplicity of different media, in which inscribed objects were traded, used, and apprehended meaningfully as part of a mixed media economy. Nor should it be regarded as a print commodity catering to an exclusive and clearly-defined bourgeois audience of conspicuous consumers who could spend their disposable income on lavishly printed folio or quarto editions of odes. It should, rather, be situated in the context of what Dustin Griffin has called the cultural economies of both patronage and marketplace.[18] In this sense, the ode is at once part of the complex, reciprocal web of dependency known as literary patronage *and* of the burgeoning commercial space of the early eighteenth-century book market—at once political and economic.

The second section of this chapter will therefore explore the occurrence of court ode themes and imagery in alternative, more widely disseminated, and more affordable forms of cultural expression, such as cheap coins and pamphlets. Examining the wider context of ode culture, the enormous scope and diversity of odes produced and consumed, the second section will unveil the existence of a sprawling industry which catered precisely to those layers of the British populace that did not have the discretionary spending capacity to regularly afford expensive prints.[19] Ultimately, the aim of this chapter is to advance a pluralist, holistic, and combinatory approach that interprets odes as modal-medial hybrids functioning in a broader cultural environment of celebration and commemoration. I will present a reading of the ode as the textual emanation of an act of commemoration, with such media as medals and monuments as the genre's material equivalents. It is essential to understand the traditional and functional mechanisms that surrounded the ode in this period in order to better appreciate acts of concurrence or deviation in later incarnations of the genre.

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[18] Dustin Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[19] For a perceptive estimation of eighteenth-century income and value, see Robert D. Hume, "The Economics of Culture in London, 1660–1740," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69 (2006), 487–533.

2.2 Monarchical Representations in the Court Ode

2.2.1 Restoration Panegyric and the Return of the Monarch

The second half of the seventeenth century witnessed the emergence of the ode as an instrument of royal representation that gradually complemented the more traditional modes of expression, such as the formal panegyric.[20] As Pat Rogers has convincingly demonstrated, there were pockets of later Stuart culture where many of the older forms still survived, as in Alexander Pope's *Windsor-Forest* (1713) or, as this chapter argues, in state-sponsored odes.[21] At the outset, it is useful to distinguish between that type of set encomium called panegyric, which seventeenth-century poets composed in imitation of classical panegyrists such as Pliny the Younger (61–ca. 113) and Claudian (ca. 370–ca. 404), and the panegyric's modal attributes that lived on in other poetic kinds of similar intent, such as Abraham Cowley's *Pindarique Odes* (1656). As Fowler reaffirms elsewhere, certain specific features, such as aureate diction, were considered especially germane to the late medieval encomium, but as encomium, or panegyric, evolved in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, its central characteristics started to migrate across other poetical kinds.[22] According to James Garrison, the seventeenth-century "panegyrick" still denoted "a specific kind of public occasion (a 'general Assembly of People'), a specific mode ('a Speech'), and a specific subject of praise ('a great Prince')."[23] This was because English lexicographers like John Kersey in his *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* (1708) generally conflated two traditions, the Greek and the Roman, and two formative principles, the local and the occasional, which resulted in a composite definition that regarded panegyric as combining the sort of praise sung at unifying, national festivities (Greek) with the inaugural orations addressed to a public figure (Roman).

In the course of the eighteenth century, as knowledge of the exact classical origins waned, the oratorical elements were dropped, and panegyrics increasingly acquired negative connotations.[24] By then, the term 'panegyric' had come to signify exaggerated

[20] Other prominent genres employed by Stuart royalists were the court masque and the French-style opera.

[21] Pat Rogers, *The Symbolic Design of* Windsor-Forest*: Iconography, Pageant, and Prophecy in Pope's Early Work* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 15–16.

[22] Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 71.

[23] James D. Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 4.

[24] On the decline of the set panegyric in the eighteenth century, see Jon Thomas Rowland, *Faint Praise and Civil Leer: The 'Decline' of Eighteenth-Century Panegyric* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994).

praise, mainly used for satirical and comic ends.[25] But Pat Rogers cautions that, regardless of this satiric usage, "it is a mistake to think that all serious applications were ruled out simply because poets ceased to employ the formal title of 'panegyric' for their effusions."[26] Modal features of the formal panegyric survived in other kinds of celebratory verse, features including, but not restricted to, the deification of the monarch, the prayers and portents that explicitly assured the fulfilment of a golden future, as well as other sorts of cosmic auguries and presages to which people in early modern England were more universally attuned.[27]

One poem can serve as an appropriate starting point because it combines the subject traditionally reserved for panegyric with the newly conceived form and manner of the ode. This is Abraham Cowley's *Ode, upon the Blessed Restoration and Returne of His Sacred Majestie, Charls the Second*. Published on 31 May 1660 and written in a form he himself had introduced into English a few years earlier, Cowley's *Ode* created an important precedent for future composers of genethliac odes. It was an early and influential English example of how the metaphorical language of sun and stars could be applied to the monarch, whose arrival was proclaimed as the beginning of a new age of peace and prosperity. Not only did Charles II's birthday coincide in 1660 with his restoration as king; his birth in 1630 was also said to have been marked by the appearance of a bright star—two phenomena gratefully adopted by royalist poets as signs that Charles's divinely sanctioned reign would be propitious. Opening with an address to that "Auspicious *Star*" (l. 20), which

> thirty years ago,
> At *Charls* his *Birth*, did, in despight
> Of the proud *Sun*'s Meridian Light,
> His future *Glories*, and this *Year* foreshow,
> (13–16)

the poem celebrates the return of Charles's tutelary star as the herald of his "*second Birth*" (26).[28] As the bright star shines again at noon on Charles's return, shining even

[25] Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric*, 7–9, 15–6, 19, 36.

[26] Rogers, *The Symbolic Design of* Windsor-Forest, 184.

[27] I concur with Jonathan Clark's argument that England was a deferential, and not an exclusively participative-democratic, society, one in which aristocratic, elitist, dynastic, religious, and patriarchal structures were still operative and influential in shaping the conduct and opinions of early eighteenth-century Britons (J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688–1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985], 1–198).

[28] Abraham Cowley, *Poems: Miscellanies, The Mistress, Pindarique Odes, Davideis, Verses Written on Several Occasions*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), 420–32. All future references are cited from this edition.

brighter than the sun, the speaker of Cowley's ode wonders whether Peace shall again "her *Halcyon Nest* venture to build / Upon a *Shore* with *Shipwracks* fill'd" (40–1). Appearing regularly in mid-seventeenth-century literature as a symbol of tranquillity, the halcyon or kingfisher here represents the restoration of the monarchy after the stormy days of Commonwealth.[29] Indeed, when the nation was on the cusp of annihilation, "Loe, the blest *Spirit* mov'd, and *there was Light*. / For in the glorious *General*'s previous Ray, / We saw a new created Day" (129–31). It is plain for all to see, the speaker argues, that God "had no intent t'extinguish quite / The *pious King's eclipsed Right*" (155–6), and continues to speak of Charles's royal line in arboreal imagery and Biblical typology, as Israelites led by Moses through the Egyptian desert and the "*rough Red sea*" (160).

Cowley pursues this Christomimetical parallel by comparing Charles's rebirth to that of Jesus and deploys astral language (comets, meteors, and falling stars) to support his eventual prophecy of a new era:

> Then did th'allotted hour of *dawning Right*
> First strike our ravisht sight
> Which *Malice* or which *Art* no more could stay,
> Than *Witches Charms* can a retardment bring
> To the *Resuscitation* of the Day,
> Or *Resurrection* of the Spring.
> We welcome both, and with improv'd delight
> Bless the *preceding Winter* and the *Night*."
> (223–30)

Punning on the coming years' "*March*" to Heaven together with Charles (257), the poet urges the king to cast a Janus-like "look *behind*" (261) to better enjoy the present state of things. In this passage, the various constituents of the future court ode tradition can already be discerned. From this moment on, and with more regulated precision from 1680 onwards, the metaphorical (re)birth of the year in spring would be welcomed by poets as the dawn of a new halcyon age.

Alongside the survival of royalist encomiastic modes, the state pageantry witnessed at large-scale events such as coronations, thanksgiving services, and other festivities made its way into the court poetry of this period, too. Stuart rhetoric and iconography, including painting, architecture, coinage, and heraldry, were perpetuated in panegyrics only to be developed further by the modally complex ode form. In *To His Sacred Maiesty, A Panegyrick On His Coronation*, John Dryden implemented the tangibility and immediacy

[29] Dolores Palomo, "The Halcyon Moment of Stillness in Royalist Poetry," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 44 (1981), 205–221.

of Charles II's procession from the Tower to Whitehall, which had taken place the day before his coronation at Westminster Abbey on 23 April 1661. Every verse paragraph starts with an adverbial clause that indicates both time and space and allows the reader to visualize "the more solemn pomp" (l. 7) as the train of officials glides past:

> Now our sad ruins are removed from sight,
> The season too comes fraught with new delight;
> [...]
> Your cavalcade the fair spectators view
> From their high standings, yet look up to you;
> [...]
> Now charged with blessings while you seek repose,
> Officious slumbers haste your eyes to close;
> [...]
> Next to the sacred temple you are led,
> Where waits a crown for your more sacred head:
> [...]
> Now while the sacred oil anoints your head.
> (25–6; 37–8; 41–2; 45–6; 59)[30]

Such temporal and spatial clusters constitute the very "grammar of prophecy"[31] as they meaningfully poise between present and future. Once again, the monarch personifies the rebirth of days, seasons, and years both current and forthcoming:

> Soft western winds waft o'er the gaudy spring,
> And opened scenes of flowers and blossoms bring
> To grace this happy day, while you appear
> Not King of us alone, but of the year.
> (29–32)

Whether or not Dryden was indebted to the imagery and processional motifs used in earlier encomia for the Stuart monarchs, it should be noted at this point that he conflates the occasion of the king's coronation with the coming of spring and the crowning of the year.[32]

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[30] *The Poems of John Dryden*, i, 55–61. All passages of Dryden's poetry are cited from this edition.

[31] Rogers, *The Symbolic Design of* Windsor-Forest, 208.

[32] Whereas Hammond suggests that Dryden might have been influenced by such poems as Ben Jonson's on James I's coronation entry (*The Poems of John Dryden*, I, 56), Winn detects the kind of imagery of "springtime, flowers, propitious stars, dazzling light, and Christian mystery" traditionally used in the Caroline masque (Winn, *John Dryden*, 104).

2.2.2 Birthday Odes and New Year Odes for William III

With a powerful precedent established by poets such as Cowley and Dryden, the solar and cyclical *topoi* became increasingly salient features of the ode in later decades. Following French models, the courts of both Charles II and James II stimulated the expression of their absolutist ideologies in dramatic and musical performance, one manifestation of which can be found in the development of the welcome ode. Clearly modelled on older forms of panegyric, welcome odes had an obvious ideological use, as they coincided with the return of the monarch from Windsor in the summer and Newmarket in autumn, thus inaugurating the new season of activities such as theatre-going and the Michaelmas law terms.[33] The celebration of the monarch's arrival elevated "moments in the king's itinerary to sacrosanct royal events on a par with birthdays and the turn of a new year."[34] During the Williamite period, however, state entries in general became scarce, both because of William's continuous absence and because of his and Mary's aversion to public display.[35] As a result, and for reasons of the unpredictability of William's return from campaigns on the Continent, the tradition of the welcome song was almost completely abolished. As fixed red-letter days on the official political calendar, birthday and New Year odes formed apt replacements.

Whereas the appeal of welcome songs dwindled, the custom of having an ode performed at the beginning of birthday and New Year celebrations began to give the ode an unmistakable air of the prospective and prophetic. Moreover, because the ode functioned much like the dramatic prologues to masques and operas, as the orchestral opening of a court performance, and because it frequently involved singing as much as dancing, balls, and plays, the genre came to be understood as tantamount to the announcement of a festive regal occasion. *The Prologue to King William & Queen Mary, At a Play Acted before Their Majesties at Whitehall*, a vital introduction to the 1689 anniversary celebration of the Revolution, presented William III as a Herculean saviour of his people,

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[33] Spink, "Purcell's odes," 146.

[34] Andrew R. Walkling, "'Big with New Events and some Unheard Success': Absolutism and Creativity at the Restoration Court," in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, eds. Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 28.

[35] Tony Claydon, in *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 87, has shown that William was not so unconcerned with propaganda and royal image-making as previously assumed; William heavily invested, for instance, in sermons to propagate his policy and legitimize the Revolution (Tony Claydon,). Even though their court and royal household was among the largest and most expensive of the century, the reign of William and Mary, however, formed a hiatus in the orchestration of state rituals and formal progresses, a miscalculation on their part which strained their relationship with the people. See Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 449–469.

who only used war to safeguard England's welfare and freedom. A "kind Restorer" of peace (l. 25), William is the shepherd guarding his herd in both Classical and Biblical terms. As the concluding section reveals, the "ripening Blessings" (35) of William and Mary's joint reign will eventually re-descend on those who wait, making "Saturnian Days revolve, of former Crimes / If any Seeds molest our Halcyon Times" (36–7). Such fervent hopes were invariably repeated and remodelled to fit the odes later composed for William's birthday, odes that shared with the prologue the introductory, programmatic character of an overture.

Much like Royal Oak Day for Charles II, William's birthday had virtually coincided with his landing at Brixham in Torbay on 5 November 1688. This auspicious coincidence supplied poets and musicians with an evident topic for regular court performances. One of these, *An ODE upon his Majesty's Birth-Day, Set to Musick by Dr. Staggins, and Perform'd before Their Majesties, November the 4th 1693*, provided the verbal equivalent for Neptune's Court as it was subsequently enacted before the royal couple, with its Tritons and Nereids celebrating the birth of "CAESAR" (l. 9) and urging the poet to "Crown the Day that Crowns the Year" (12). The crowning of the year, however, must have been perceived as incomplete or inconclusive, as in 1693 the "Successor of Great *Hercules*" (19) was still embroiled in war with the "*Gallick* Force" on the continent (31). Even though the poet does not despair—since "Shades of Night are ever strongest, / Just before the Break of Day" (29–30) and hopes of victory "assure Successful Days" (35)—that brightest of Days, which would witness the celebration of William's triumphs at home, is yet to come.

The ode's association with the start of a new diurnal, annual, or seasonal cycle was frequently embodied by the mythological figure of Janus, the two-faced Roman god of new beginnings and transitions. Cowley's elaborately annotated 1656 ode "To the New Year," for example, is in fact an extended apostrophe to Janus, who not only gave his name to the first month of the year, but also stood for the regeneration of the past and, especially, for knowledge of the future. In a note to the first stanza of Cowley's ode, Janus is glossed as having mostly two, but sometimes also four faces, which is presumably a reference to the four seasons, but which could equally refer to the fourfrontedness of Janus as representing the four elements or the four quarters of the world. This particular incarnation of Janus had earlier in the century been hinted at by Ben Jonson when he described the triumphal arch at Temple Bar during James I's Entry in 1604.[36] In the third stanza of Cowley's ode, the speaker utters his anxiety about the coming year's train of attendants, which might include such fearful abstractions as

[36] Cowley, *Poems*, 208; Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), 125–6.

"tormenting *Pain*" (l. 32) and "black *Sin*" (36). This stanza is haunted by the thought that the "*young year*" (25) does not answer any questions: that part of life which lies behind is gone, leaving "Nought of *Value*" behind (19), while that which lies ahead is "*vail'd*" (53) in a shroud of uncertainty. Why then, the poet asks himself at the beginning of the final stanza, are men so keen to pry into the book of fate and know what future times may bring, "To *See* the thing which onely *seeing* makes an *Ill*?" (52).

Similar attitudes towards the uncertainty of the future were voiced by poets who, like Cowley, tried to deal with the questions and doubts surrounding the coming of a new year. William III's continuing struggle in the Nine Years' War, first against the Jacobites and then against the French, was a source of much uncertainty about the future. Consequently, it was a particularly delicate matter for Poet Laureate Nahum Tate to address. In his 1693 *ODE upon the New-Year, performed Before their Majesties*, Tate, as in his November birthday ode cited above, was yet hopeful enough to proclaim that that "happy Year is Born, / That Wonders shall disclose; That Conquest with fix'd Lawrels shall adorn, / And give our Lab'ring *HERCULES* Repose" (ll. 1–3). However, when Tate's next birthday ode was performed at Whitehall the following year, there was no reason for such optimism anymore: William was not even present to receive the poet's praise.[37] Still waiting "for CAESAR's Day" (l. 12) Tate is now markedly evasive, singing that "Our Hero's Warmth can sure inspire / Coldest Orbs with vital Fire" (13–4), when all the while William is but an "absent *Phoebus*" warring in the Belgian Ardennes (15).

As indicated by another note in Cowley's ode "To the New Year," Janus was also the godhead of doors, gateways, and passages.[38] The figurative passage of time and conflict was most notably symbolized by the Roman custom of opening the Temple of Janus in times of war and closing it in times of peace. William's long-awaited peace finally came on 20 September 1697, when France and the Grand Alliance signed the Treaty of Ryswick and the gates of the symbolic Janus Temple were shut. Naturally, the first birthday ode following the peace treaty shared in the outbursts of euphoria that swept the nation. As Tate informed the reader in the preface to his *Anniversary Ode for the Fourth of December* [sic]*, 1697. His Majesty's Birth-Day*, he had only been "Confin'd (for the Present) to such Measures and Compass as the Musical Performance would admit" (sig. A2). Nevertheless, even in times of peace,

[37] Nahum Tate, *An ODE upon his Majesty's Birth-Day, Set to Musick by Dr. Staggins. Perform'd at Whitehall, November, 1694* (London: printed for R. Baldwin, 1694).

[38] Cowley, *Poems*, 208.

Yet shall not his [William's] Herculean Labours cease:
Nobler Wars he now will wage,
Against Infernal Pow'rs engage,
And quell the Hydra-Vices of the Age.
(ll. 33–6)

Containing the only triplet in the poem, positioned just before the grand chorus, this passage is a reference to the many-headed Hydra of intestine strife, which would continue to loom menacingly for as long as James II and his son, James Francis Edward, were alive.

The 1697 quarto pamphlet, printed for Richard Baldwin, also contains the ode for "NEW-YEAR'S-DAY" and the titlepage indicates that both odes were "Set to Musick, and Perform'd At *KENSINGTON*." In the second ode, the chorus chants that "the Golden Age" (l. 10) has been revived, touching on the return of "the Milder Arts of PEACE" (38) and developing a generic pattern of blessing and benediction which anticipates the thanksgiving ceremonies that would be held for Britain's military victories in the early eighteenth century. When William died on 8 March 1702 and Anne succeeded him, *The Song for New-Years-Day, 1703* implored the muses

To Welcome Father *Janus* Home;
With double Honour proud,
Double Tryumphs now allow'd,
For mighty Blessings past, and Greater yet to come.
(ll. 2–5)

A conventionally "Auspicious" and "Gay" day (9–10), the "smiling Promise of a joyful Year" (11) is followed by a hymnal invocation of the goddess of Spring to "Come" and "Crown the Day that Crowns the Year" (12, 15). Conveniently, this day corresponds exactly with "*ANNA*'s Royal Day" (21). With a grandiloquence similar to previous odes but with a level of anticipation quite unlike anything expressed before, the Laureate can now safely inaugurate a season of "*Halcyon* Calm" (32) that will be as "Calm as *ANNA*'s Sacred Breast" (33). Now that William's martial reign is at an end, a season of eternal peace and plenty has well and truly arrived at last.

2.2.3 Queen Anne and the Return of Astraea

All of the previous odes draw on vocabulary traditionally associated with accounts of the return of the Golden Age of Saturn, a commonplace in royal panegyric of the

Restoration that was derived from the prophetic and messianic visions of Ovid's first book of *Metamorphoses* and Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*.[39] These two texts predicted the return of Astraea, the Goddess of Justice who was the last to leave mankind at the end of the Iron Age to take up her place in heaven as the constellation Virgo. Her return to earth would reinitiate a period of eternal spring. Arguably the most commented on seventeenth-century example of this type of verse is John Dryden's *Astraea Redux, A Poem on the Happy Restoration and Return of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second* (June 1660). The poem announces the renewal of "time's whiter series" (l. 292) and the return of the Saturnian "happy age" (320).[40] But Dryden's was only one of many poems celebrating the Restoration in the metaphors of empire and its *renovatio*.[41] As Frances Yates has demonstrated in her seminal study of the imperial idea in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the Astraea theme reappeared like a "phantom" whenever the imperial future of a people or nation was either endangered or restored.[42] The politically and socially restorative developments that led to the reinstatement of the monarchy in 1660 are an obvious example. But even though the "revivalist hopes" of the Astraea Redux myth would appear to be most easily "focused on the person of the monarch whose splendor and power will initiate a new Golden Age," it was equally useful, at least to some extent, to those in support of the Revolution and the theory of governance by contract.[43] Myriad considerations of a political or ideological kind formed the basis of Astraea's peculiar appeal to adherents of both the Stuart and Williamite causes. In accordance with its very nature, the theme kept cropping up again, though, as the eighteenth century progressed, increasingly in the context of Jacobite ideology and its concomitant imagery of exile, fertility, and restoration. Revivalist hopes, as this and the following chapters will reveal, became a central *generic* feature of the ode in the eighteenth century, not a dynastic one.

One of the main reasons why the myth of Astraea had remained useful to Stuart idiom and iconography for about a century was not simply that it provided an

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[39] The schematic representation of the various metallic ages was first introduced by Hesiod in his *Works and Days* and was faithfully adopted by Ovid in *Metamorphoses*. Virgil's eclogue spoke of a "golden Progeny" of Heaven, the long-expected "lovely Boy" whose birth would herald the *Aurea Aetas* (translation cited from John Dryden, *Miscellany Poems* [London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1684], 330).

[40] Hammond, *The Poems of John Dryden*, I, 52, 54; Winn, *John Dryden*, 103–13. Dryden's use of 'white' here refers to the Latin usage of *albus*, which could mean both white and fortunate, auspicious.

[41] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 49.

[42] Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 2.

[43] Elizabeth Kraft, *Women Novelists and the Ethics of Desire, 1684–1814: In the Voice of Our Biblical Mothers* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 59. For a similar argument concerning William's sacred role as king after the Revolution, see Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, 37–8.

"imperialist argument" for their absolute monarchy, but that it implied a return of all banished virtues, united in the person of the sovereign.[44] As a ruler who continued the Stuart dynasty after the 'interval' of the House of Orange-Nassau, Queen Anne was to be most conspicuously inscribed, in word and image, with restoration, fortitude, and righteousness. These virtues were meant to establish a relation between herself and Elizabeth I, who was seen as the embodiment of proto-British unity and identity.[45] From the moment Anne ascended the throne, she adopted Elizabeth's motto, costume, and rhetoric, all the time relying on the idea of a female ruler who is both mother of the people and chaste virgin. This contrasting notion of a fertile yet barren queen was taken from the Astraea-Virgo myth which in Elizabethan times, too, had fostered personifications and comparisons of all kinds: the queen as divine bringer of Justice and Unity, or as nursing mother of the Anglican church.[46] As regards the latter, "Anne's tragic maternal history," as Toni Bowers put it, "created an apt context for Queen Anne's use of symbolic motherhood when physical (and hence, directly political) childbearing was finally admitted to be out of the question."[47] Having lost the only child that survived childhood in 1700, Anne adjusted her public image to represent herself, like Elizabeth, as 'mother politic' of both the people and the Church of England.[48] In tandem with the Astraea theme, Anne's adoption of the *semper eadem* motto, which was closely related to the concept of Una or the One monarch, signified monarchical *renovatio* as well as the rebirth of the phoenix of the Stuart destiny.[49] Although Anne did not rely as heavily as her predecessor on phoenix symbolism for her own self-fashioning, its implicit principle of rebirth from paternal (James) or sororal (Mary) Stuart ashes was essential to her legitimacy.

As symbolic mother of the nation, Anne was the unifying focal point of poetic praise for the victories achieved in her name. In what was perhaps the most astonishing Allied triumph of her time, John Churchill, the first Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Eugene of Savoy delivered a crushing blow to the Franco-Bavarian forces at the Battle of Blenheim on 13 August 1704. As usual, Nahum Tate furnished a New Year ode, though a

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[44] Yates, *Astraea*, 64–5.

[45] Estelle Murphy, "'Sing Great Anna's Matchless Name': Images of Queen Anne in the Court Ode," in *Queen Anne and the Arts*, ed. Reverand, 296.

[46] As in Edmund Spenser's *The Fairie Queene*, where she is both Belphoebe-Gloriana and Una (Yates, *Astraea*, 33, 72–3).

[47] Toni Bowers, *The Politics of Motherhood: British Writing and Culture, 1680-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 29.

[48] Bowers, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 58–60; Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts*, 144; Winn, *Queen Anne*, 291–2.

[49] Pat Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts: History, Politics, and Mythology in the Age of Queen Anne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 140–1; Yates, *Astraea*, 65–6.

much longer one than he had ever produced for William. Despite the length and the wealth of patriotic compliments in Tate's ode, it was really the ode for Anne's birthday on 6 February 1705 that celebrated her as the catalyst enabling such an unprecedented military success and that pointed to the potential for literary experimentation provided by this particular occasion.[50] Staged at court before the dinner as a prologue to the performance of Thomas Clayton's opera *Arsinoe*, William Congreve's poem set in motion a process of generic modulation that would eventually result in his more famous 1706 *Pindarique Ode*, the preface to which was one of the first systematic treatments of the genre in the eighteenth century.[51] The prologue opens with the speaker's prediction that, after this poem, his muse will transcend her usual theme and move into "Loftier Strains" (l. 2) in order to "Sing of Virtue and Heroick Fame" (4). At court, amidst a host of "Faultless Fair" (16) and "various Virtues" (20) no longer deserving of "the Satyr's Mask" (12), the muse is, at first, somewhat spoilt for choice. "Yet still ambitious of the daring Flight, ONE only awes her with Superior Light" (22–3). Though this couplet takes up a central position in the ode, flanked graphically by two triplets, its actual subject is ambiguous; it could either refer to Anne or to Marlborough. The next stanza, however, puts the issue of one-ness squarely in terms traditionally applied to the monarch:

> Hence she [the muse] reflects upon the genial Ray
> That first enliven'd this Auspicious Day:
> On that Bright Star, to whose Indulgent Pow'r
> We owe the Blessings of the Present Hour.
> Concurring Omens of propitious Fate
> Bore, with One Sacred Birth, an equal Date;
> Whence we derive whatever we possess,
> By Foreign Conquest, or Domestick Peace.
> (27–34)

In the sense of a unified whole, the recurrence of the idea of oneness in this excerpt, as well as in the poem's context at large, suggests that it is a *combination* of Anne's and Marlborough's accomplishments that has brought victory to the nation. If the "ONE" of the first couplet still inclined more towards Marlborough, then the reference to the "One Sacred Birth" of Anne, and to the Sun's bright rays that made it happen, surely

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[50] That is, William Congreve's *Prologue to the Court, On the Queen's Birth-Day, 1704* [sic] (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1705). As Don McKenzie has noted, and as the imprint indicates, a direct reference to Blenheim in the text shows the date on the titlepage to be incorrect (*The Works of William Congreve*, ed. Donald F. McKenzie [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007], 648).

[51] *A Pindarique Ode, Humbly Offer'd to the Queen, on the Victorious Progress of Her Majesty's Arms, under the Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough. To which is Prefix'd, A Discourse on the Pindarique Ode* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1706).

complicates a reading of this poem as a dedication to Marlborough alone. Congreve's poem serves instead as a confirmation of Anne's sovereignty, the regal godhead preserving unity. As she was *semper eadem*, always one and the same, Anne is here seen to embody, in Yates's words, "the One sovereign ruler under whom Justice is the most powerful in the world and the peace and unity of the golden age return to mankind."[52]

2.2.4 Queen Anne as the Sun

One comparison equally related to the return of Astraea and the Golden Age of Saturn, and central to all classical panegyric poetry, has hitherto received comparatively little scholarly attention: that of Queen Anne as the Sun, as the tutelary deity bringing the eternal Day, Spring, or Golden Age back to earth.[53] Most if not all recent scholarship dealing with the sun as the major emblem of absolutist monarchy has focused on the solar cult incited by Charles II and James II in the years immediately following the Restoration and on its afterlife in the iconography of the Jacobites after the Revolution of 1688–9.[54] Paul Monod has pointed to the influence of court propaganda on popular representations, with 'James III' appearing as sun-god in the woodcut surrounding the title of *Mist's Weekly Journal*.[55] Douglas Brooks-Davies' illuminating study has revealed traces of association between Queen Anne and absolute monarchy in Pope's work, not just in *Windsor-Forest*, but also in *The Rape of the Lock* and, in reverse fashion, in *The Dunciad*. The passage in *The Rape of the Lock* in which Belinda rises like Louis XIV at midday (ll. 15ff), at once *le lever de la reine* and the *sol iustitiae* of Christ, mirrors Charles II's birth and the star that shone at noon. Accordingly, Belinda's solar corona is her hair and the rape of her lock naturally equals the end of solar absolutism as Pope saw it.[56] Queen Anne's association with the sun, however, was drawn with more earnestness and more consistency than might be assumed from a reading of Pope's mock-heroic and crypto-Jacobite poetry.

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[52] Yates, *Astraea*, 72.

[53] Passing references can be found in Howard D. Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue: The Rise of British Literature from Dryden to Ossian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 278–9, 286.

[54] For a recent account, see Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 69–73. James II was born on the vernal equinox and features in Dryden's *Britannia Rediviva* (1688) as "the Brighter Sun" that brings the promise of a new year, just like his brother had in the poetry of 1660. However, Guthrie does remind us that solar imagery was used in this period for any royal personage exercising sovereignty (70).

[55] Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 78.

[56] Douglas Brooks-Davies, *The Mercurian Monarch: Magical Politics from Spenser to Pope* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 181–6.

In contrast to the odes on William III, which stressed his martial exploits through predominantly classical-heroic allusion, the early birthday and New Year odes dedicated to Queen Anne were replete with solar imagery. In poetry as well as in painting and other visual arts, William had invariably been compared with figures from both classical mythology and secular classical history. Most frequently, he was identified as a new Hercules, Caesar, or Alexander.[57] He could never convincingly be hailed as a new sun god, however, as that would have placed him on an undesirable par with his rivals, James II and Louis XIV. The propaganda war played out in the 1690s by Williamites and Jacobites to rival the French Sun King had eventually been settled with Norbert Roettier's famous sequence of medals, which forcibly reclaimed the sun as an image of Stuart legitimacy.[58] When solar or vernal scenery does appear in Williamite court odes, the rising of the sun is rarely equated with (the arrival of) the king himself. In the New Year ode for 1698, for example, the outcomes of the Ryswick treaty warrant the poet's heightened enthusiasm, but the anticipated springtime blessings are attributed to "the *Infant-Year*" (l. 4) rather than to William:

> Young as 'tis, it brings along
> Blessings on its tender Wing;
> Blessings to requite your Song;
> Blessings that forestal the SPRING.
> (5–8)

Many opponents of the Williamite regime believed that the restrained poetics of "Iron Age Whigs" had to make way for the splendid rhetorical strain of "aureate Tories" when Anne ascended to the throne.[59] Like Nahum Tate in his 1703 *Song for New-Years-Day*, poets in favour of an aureate poetics assimilated the revolving of the sun in springtime with Anne's "first cheerful Sun" (l. 26), which on her first birthday as queen had been only one month short of completing "One single, finish'd, Annual Round" (27).[60] From this moment on, then, poets reached back to a set of Stuart codes and iconography that increasingly portrayed Anne in sacral dimensions, as a goddess or queen-deity bestowing blessings on her people and anticipating eternal spring.

Following the example of Restoration panegyrics, the sacral and classical-allegorical tone of poetry comparing the monarch to the sun was recruited throughout the early

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[57] Hannah Smith discusses the differences between representations of William and Anne in Antonio Verrio's decorative wall and ceiling paintings at Hampton Court, in "'Last of all the Heavenly Birth': Queen Anne and Sacral Queenship," *Parliamentary History* 28 (2009), 137–49.

[58] Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition*, 126.

[59] *POAS*, vi, 449.

[60] *Astrea Triumphans: The Temple of Gratitude, and the Trophies of Vigo; Being a Congratulatory Poem To His Grace the Duke of Ormond, On His Happy Accession to the Lieutenancy of the Kingdom of Ireland* (London: A. Baldwin, 1703), 2.

years of Anne's reign to fit conventional theories of divine right kingship.[61] One poem in particular, *An Anniversary Ode on her Majesties Birth-Day* (1703), can serve as an example. Although a Whiggish pamphlet not part of the official texts of Anne's first birthday celebrations, it adopted the fanciful rhetoric of traditional comparisons.[62] In the second stanza, Anne's resemblance to the sun is articulated in the language of the monarch's immortal body politic and mortal body natural:

> *ANNE*, who Refulgent, like the Sun, does rise,
> And scatters Rays of Glory from her Eyes;
> But the Great God, to show his Pow'r,
> Lest Men too Justly might Adore,
> A Mortal Frame on *ANNA* he bestow'd,
> But on her Soul the Image of a God.
> (ll. 23–8)

By making slight adjustments to the ways in which the theory of the monarch's two bodies is communicated, the poet is able to modulate the apparent contradiction in his representation of Anne as simultaneously "Refulgent" solar body and "Mortal Frame." What is essentially being celebrated in this birthday ode, as in all others, is the immortality of the monarch's "Soul," the eternal effulgence of her body politic as well as its cyclical rebirth and ritual restitution at each year's birthday ceremony. The recurrent analogy between the queen and the rising sun negotiates not only the ruler's omnipresent and radiant beneficence to all subjects of the nation; through the iconography of the sun and its concomitant ideas of unchangeable clarity and protection, the monarch takes up the role of tutelary deity for all humanity.

Frequently, the monarchical persona appeared as an amalgam of related sacral and astral bodies, like the moon and the stars, which served to stress the monarch's ever-victorious qualities as triumphator over evil and saviour of the human race.[63] Matthew Prior's *Prologue* for Anne's birthday celebrations in 1704, written to precede a full-scale dramatic and musical performance of Dryden's *All for Love*, was reminiscent in several ways of the astral and solar imagery used the year before. Recalling Charles II's birth in the language of classical panegyric, Prior invokes the

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[61] The classic study remains Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957 [1997, with preface by William Chester Jordan]).

[62] On Monday 7 February, Anne enjoyed an ode performed in the morning and an Entertainment ode in the evening. It is not certain whether she knew about this third ode, which was probably circulated in pamphlet form for those who could not afford to buy a copy of the official poetic text or music.

[63] Kantorowicz, *Le Lever du Roi*, 22.

kind Star, whose Tutelary Pow'r
Guided the Future Monarch's Natal Hour,
Thy Radiant Voyages for ever run;
Only less Bless'd than Cynthia and the Sun
(ll. 5–8)

and calls attention to the other comparisons in which Anne, like Elizabeth, often figured. Likened to the moon-goddess Cynthia/Diana, Anne was not only characterized as an "avid huntress,"[64] but as the sister of Phoebus/Apollo, the sun god whose reign was reinitiated at Astraea's return to earth.[65] More significantly, Prior promoted the queen's goodness and her efforts to unite her subjects as arbitrator of the peace at home. While "the Young *Austrian*" (24)—England's ally Eugene of Savoy—faces Anne's enemies on the continent, "the Bright Queen does on her Subjects show'r / The Gentle Blessings of Her Softer Pow'r" (28–9). By contrasting the conventional *topos* of royal blessing with Eugene's military prowess, Prior accentuates Anne's domestic powers of moderation in what was becoming a climate of increasingly strident partisanship in English politics.[66]

2.3 Intermediality and Commemoration: Odes and Medals

2.3.1 Coinage and the Ode

The continuous and "ministerially planned" portrayal of Anne as royal bestower of blessings was crucially connected with her status as restorer of the Stuart monarchy and of some of the rituals that came with it.[67] A large proportion of those rituals were interwoven with the wide circulation of coins and medals promoting the dynastic legitimacy of the Stuart queen. The traditional links made between royalty and the precious metals gold and silver served to underline "the richness of material culture

[64] Winn, *Queen Anne*, 605.

[65] The *apotheosis* of Anne as Astraea-Virgo in Antonio Verrio's drawing room painting at Hampton Court reveals how indebted representations of Anne were to those of her uncle, Charles II, whom Verrio had depicted as Apollo. See Smith, "'Last of all the Heavenly Birth'," 141–3.

[66] Winn, *Queen Anne*, 359–361.

[67] Juan Christian Pellicer notes that certain publications were deliberately planned to be issued on events of national importance ("Queen Anne, Patron of Poets?," in *Queen Anne and the Arts*, ed. Reverand, 60).

that monarchy drew about itself, and the Apollonian gold of the sun-princess."[68] At her accession, Anne reintroduced the custom of touching for the evil, an event which not only involved the laying on of hands, but also the distribution of gold and silver touch-pieces which she hung around the necks of her 'children' as talismans.[69] On each Maundy Thursday, the Royal Maundy was struck into silver pennies to be distributed as alms to the poor, even though Anne did not reinstate her father's practice of washing the feet of the recipients of the dole.[70] One essential motivation governing these rituals was Anne's understanding of the importance of having her royal persona disseminated as widely as possible. Kevin Sharpe has recently shown that even though the "image of Queen Anne lacks numinosity," it was "circulated broadly and was bought, in various forms," by consumers from all layers of society.[71]

The metaphor of coinage was particularly suitable in that it placed the individual members of the nation's body politic in a vertical relationship with the head of that body, the monarch, "whose lifeblood proverbially circulates in the form of silver and gold" and "whose face the coinage bears."[72] Drawing inspiration from her Stuart predecessors, Anne was most likely personally involved in stimulating the combined use of medals and print to advance her own self-image to the people. The medal produced for her accession, for instance, depicted her "entirely English" heart on a pedestal with a quotation from Horace's programmatic *Ode* I.1 ("atavis regibus"), a phrase many would have recognized as underpinning her royal and rightful descent. John Croker, the royal numismatist, executed the medal not only in gold and silver, but also in copper, which suggests wide distribution. One of Anne's signature moves, moreover, was the granting to clergymen of what became known as Queen Anne's Bounty in 1704, the commemoration medal of which was also designed by Croker. On it, "ANNA AUGUSTA" figured numismatically as an emblem of the "PIETAS AUGUSTAE" inscribed on the medal. Through this fund, Anne, much like Henry VIII before her, publicized her royal supremacy as a beneficence.[73] The use of quotations from Horace's odes established an important relationship between the Horatian conception of the ode as a gift and the transformative power attributed to the act of inscription. The inscription of such

[68] Rogers, *The Symbolic Design of* Windsor-Forest, 68.

[69] Edward Hawkins (comp.) and Augustus W. Franks and Herbert A. Grueber (eds.), *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum, 1885), ii, 242–3; Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts*, 155–8, who has revealed that in the period "1706–7 about 1800 gold 'pieces' were sent to her for distribution" (157).

[70] Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts*, 162.

[71] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 615.

[72] David Landreth, *The Face of Mammon: The Matter of Money in English Renaissance Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6.

[73] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 611–2; Winn, *Queen Anne*, 361-3.

Horatian motifs as friendship and gratitude on freely dispersed coins emphasized the palimpsestic presence of the donor in the gift, as well as the symbolic capital of the coin as a token of social exchange rather a simple piece of money.[74]

In addition to officially minted coins, cheaply executed medalets and jetons were also sold in the streets at the time of Anne's coronation on 23 April (which was not incidentally the anniversary of both Charles II's and James II's coronations).[75] The *London Gazette* reported that, after the enthronement and the various homages, "the Treasurer of the Houshold threw about the Coronation Medals," while gold instead of silver specimens were reserved for the foreign ministers.[76] Furthermore, much of the printed matter produced for the occasion of Anne's coronation consisted of Pindaric odes in single-sheet or pamphlet form. Such a "self-consciously baroque" form, as James Winn calls it, was mainly chosen because its connotations of "sublimity and excess" provided the poets with "a literary analogue to the splendid costumes and jewels on display during the ceremony."[77] One pamphlet, printed and sold by the prolific John Nutt in the Savoy, was *Albion's Glory: A Pindarique Ode*, which offered a sweeping description of the "Royal Train That Attended the Happy Coronation" in the lavish epideictic style of Restoration encomia.[78] Since the scattering of coronation medals usually happened during the singing of anthems or shortly after the gesture of benediction, it is not unreasonable to suggest that early eighteenth-century spectators of such state proceedings would have made a strong medial association between, on the one hand, the idiom and ritual of blessing, and, on the other, the medals and printed odes distributed as keepsakes or representations of the event.

Forging an intermedial relationship between poetic and numismatic representations, the sacerdotal imagery of the Eucharist of Christian liturgy, with its emphasis on blessing and charitable giving, was harnessed with the classical allegory of the Astraea myth. The thanksgiving ceremonies organized to celebrate the glorious military

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[74] On inscription and the logic of the gift as a token of friendship, see esp. Chapter 1 of Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 1–12. Economic metaphors of debt, payment, and interest also inspire the verbal play of Pindar's Olympian 10. The central figure at the end of the first counterturn of this ode is the pebble or counter, with which the Greeks kept track of the amount of debt, and the washing away of which Pindar invokes as a metaphor for the settling of his debt to the athlete.

[75] Franks and Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations*, ii, 229. The editors believe that the low survival rate of these medalets suggests that they were not considered worthy of preservation at the time, probably due to the use of cheaper metals or poor craftsmanship.

[76] *London Gazette* for 23 April 1702 (Issue 3804).

[77] Winn, *Queen Anne*, 287.

[78] At the same time, it included an advertisement for works "Lately Publish'd on the Death of the King," an indication of the coterminous industry of mourning for William III.

successes of the nation provided a potent stimulus for such hybrid forms of congratulatory expression. Poems such as William Walsh's *Ode for the Thanksgiving Day* (1706) functioned as verbal means to articulate those abstract acts of thanksgiving. In a satirical jibe called *The Thanksgiving* (1709), Anne is thanked for her "providential Reign / For Peace and Plenty, both of Corn and Grain," and for the eternal season of fertility which she brings along.[79] Even in a poem that actually mocks the possibility of thanksgiving, peace, or plenty in times of war and harsh winters, Anne, as Virgo-Astraea, retains her ability to unite the virtues of fecundity and benediction. She combines the vernal virginity of Astraea with the autumnal sign Virgo, who conventionally features with an emblematic handful of corn and a cornucopia "overflowing with fruitful abundance and *ubertas rerum*."[80] Like Concordia and her cornucopia, the allegorical portrayals on the reverse of coins featured the same stock abstractions as those found in poetry.[81] The verses incised on coins were repeatedly gleaned from Horace's odes, which also circulated massively in translation at the time.[82] As Philander says in Joseph Addison's *Dialogues upon Medals*, "*Abundance* or *Plenty* makes the same figure in Medals as in *Horace*," whose *Odes* I.17 ("tibi Copia") is quoted to match the illustration of the coin at the back of the volume.[83] Both the cornucopia emblematically representing the spontaneous abundance of the golden age and the sacerdotal posture of the Queen showering spiritual and material blessings on the public were Horatian motifs, part of an ancient "ideology of voluntarism" and gift economy.[84] Medallists and poets expected their readers to understand the underlying mythological codes and counted on their instant recognition of this store of emblematic representations of mythological figures (figure 4).

[79] *POAS*, iv, 374–5.

[80] Yates, *Astraea*, 67.

[81] Rogers, *The Symbolic Design of* Windsor-Forest, 63. Besides the horn of plenty spilling out coronets and coins, other symbols frequently depicted at Anne's side were the sword of Justice and the Garter star and medallic badge (Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts*, 146).

[82] In this period, as Eric Rothstein puts it, "the body of verse more imitated than any other was Horace's *Odes*" (*Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Poetry 1660–1780* [Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981], 85).

[83] Joseph Addison, *Dialogues upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals. Especially in relation to the Latin and Greek Poets* (London, 1726), 41.

[84] Phebe Lowell Bowditch, *Horace and the Gift Economy of Patronage* (Berkeley: University of California, 2001), 13. This study examines the intersections of socioeconomic and other discourses of exchange and expenditure in the politicized society of patronal dedication that was the Roman Augustan age.



Figure 4 Abundance pouring out her cornucopia, as featured in Addison's *Dialogues*, p. 175. Image reproduced from a digitized copy on ECCO.

For reasons related to their functional value as commemorative media as well as to their materiality as modal hybrids, medals and odes were two of the most widespread and influential of media contributing to the spreading of the monarch's image. This medial interaction is aptly demonstrated by two examples that have already been touched upon: Cowley's 1660 *Ode Upon His Majesties Restoration and Return* and the 1703 *Anniversary Ode* for Anne's birthday. Cowley's ode proposes that the image of Charles II's face as emblematic of his afflictions be eternalized as if on a coin:

> As a choise Medal for Heaven's Treasury
> God did stamp first upon one side of Thee
> The Image of his suffering Humanity:
> On th'other side, turn'd now to sight, does shine
> The glorious Image of his Power Divine.
> (ll. 270–4)

While Charles is coined as God's vice-regent on one side of the medal, Cowley is tentative enough to allow space on the reverse, as an inscription of martyrological text, for the afflictions the king has had to suffer over the past two decades. In the 1703 ode for Anne's birthday, there are no such reservations anymore. Anne appears as both sun and moon, as the solar and lunar "Face" of the royal godhead from which divine majesty radiates onto all earthly beings:

As the Bright Orient Pearl, the gilded Morn
Disclos'd the Beauties of the Day,
ANNA arose like Cinthia, Gay,
And blest the Happy *Isle* She does Adorn.
No Earthy Vapours stain the Face,
Whose Image is Divine,
No Gawdy Lustre can debase
The Stamp that's *Heav'nly* Coin.
Inherent Goodness never claims
From Fame a borrow'd Light;
A Vertuous Soul disdains
The Counterfeited Glimmerings of Night,
But, like it self, is always Fair and Bright.
(ll. 107–19)

In the language of numismatics noticeably borrowed from Cowley's ode ("stain," "Gawdy," "Counterfeited," etc.), the sempiternity of Anne's body politic is the "Stamp" that validates the "*Heav'nly* Coin" of her royalty. Cowley's hesitant tone has been replaced here by an optimistic belief in the ability of the royal "Image" to shine on everyone, especially those who possess a copy of that image. Through an elaborate simile, the poet refers to the ways in which Anne's royal image, inscribed on medals, coins, and touch-pieces, creates a material analogy for the blessings she showers on her subjects, wherever her look is *cast*.

As much as a coin or medal circulated in material fashion the queen's spiritual blessing, the metaphors of coinage prominent in this period legitimated odes as valuable pieces of encomium. This sort of imagery was popular at the time because of its political and economic overtones of authenticity and spuriousness. In his 1689 *The Desertion Discussed*, the nonjuring bishop Jeremy Collier had denounced the reign of William and Mary as a sham in analogous terms: "Like Plate, without the Royal Impression, they ought not to be obtruded for currant Coin; nor rated higher than the intrinsick Value of the Mettal."[85] In printed propaganda, an inscription to a powerful dedicatee would lend a degree of legitimacy and authority akin to the stamping of his or her likeness onto metal bullion.[86] According to Genette, "dedication always is a matter of demonstration, ostentation, exhibition: it proclaims a relationship, whether intellectual

[85] Jeremy Collier, *The Desertion Discuss'd. In a Letter to a Country Gentleman* (London: s.n., 1689), 1.

[86] Dustin Griffin makes the same argument about patronage on the basis of a quotation from George Bubb Dodington's epistle to Walpole, which also uses the coinage metaphor: "When princes to bad ore their image join, / They more debase the stamp, than raise the coin" (quoted in *Literary Patronage*, 25).

or personal, actual or symbolic."[87] One of the primary functions of odes, inscription constituted a specific form of dedication and should be understood as a public act through which any object could be given currency in a grander system of material and intellectual exchange.[88] As a reaction against the assumption that odes were empty shells of flattery, the act of inscription was modelled onto the process of minting coins. This "coordination of extrinsic and intrinsic value, through the material imprinting of stamp upon bullion,"[89] was modified to turn the printed matter of an ode into a valuable commodity as well as into a token of social exchange, the currency of which was determined by the authority of the monarch's name.

The importance of Anne's "royal impression" on "current coin" was made particularly tangible after the Allied victory at the Galician port of Vigo at the start of her reign. On 23 October 1702, the Anglo-Dutch fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir George Rooke launched a raid on Spanish galleons at Vigo Bay and captured a substantial part of their cargo, a treasure reported to have contained loads of gold and silver ingots as well as mercantile wares from the Americas. Shortly afterwards, the metal booty of this unexpected victory, which helped to occlude the earlier failure at Cádiz, allowed for the minting of commemorative coins inscribed with the word "VIGO" underneath a portrait of the Queen. "To remember such episodes," as Pat Rogers has rightly pointed out, "was to see in the mind's eye the royal effigy sculpted on the silver coins, as Britannia's goddess reared her cheerful head in numismatic glory."[90] National events were accordingly recorded in coinage together with the Queen's portrait by both Whigs and Tories. "It is doubtful how far these propaganda exercises enhanced the cause of the party, but they served to associate the Queen (who appears on the obverse) with the more fortunate military campaigns of her reign."[91] The inscription thus served to translate the Queen into an emblem of the state adorning official coinage.[92] Even a "Congratulatory Poem" like *Astrea Triumphans*, which celebrates the "Trophies of VIGO"

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[87] Genette, *Paratexts*, 135.

[88] In an attempt to make sense of the status of symbolic 'work' and material 'copy,' Genette excludes "those works that are entirely addressed to a specific addressee"—that is, epistles, odes, elegies, hymns, "genres in which the text and its dedication are inescapably consubstantial" (117). What Genette thus ignores is not just those works that are "addressed to one person and dedicated to another," examples of which he has not been able to find, but of which the early eighteenth century abounds. He also ignores works whose dedicatory verses are retained in subsequent editions or whose inscriptional address is lodged in the title. Genette's definition proposes a static relationship between the dedication and its dedicatee, assuming that the dedication simply disappears once some form of patronage is secured or once the patron is no longer a desirable recipient of praise.

[89] Landreth, *The Face of Mammon*, 7.

[90] Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts*, 103.

[91] Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts*, 142.

[92] Rogers, *The Symbolic Design of* Windsor-Forest, 68–9.

and was dedicated, not to the Queen, but to the Duke of Ormonde, placed Anne resolutely at the centre of all praise:

> Her Empire copied frum th' Immortal Throne,
> Great ANNE so blest claims but her Rightful Due:
> Heav'ns nearest Image is its dearest too.
> (ll. 35–7)

Despite lavish praise heaped upon him throughout the poem, Ormonde, who lead the land assault on Fort Rande while Rooke blockaded Vigo Bay, is merely a proxy, a pawn carrying out Anne's divinely inspired designs:

> *ORMOND* but twice remov'd from *Godhead* stands:
> *GOD*'s first Viceregent *ANNE*, that Royal Brow
> Heav'n's nearest, and its second Copy, Thou.
> (250–2)

Although inscribed *to* Ormonde, the poem is inscribed all over *with* Anne's palimpsestic presence as God's "first Viceregent;" though she was absent from the action that merited praise in the first place, Anne was stamped on the ode as on the flipside of a commemoration medal. Nevertheless, the tension between Anne, who in reality was a "ponderous, impassive queen,"[93] and the all-male contributors to the military victories achieved in her name would remain a forceful presence in celebratory media for the remainder of her reign.

2.3.2 The Flipside of Royal Coins

The years 1704–1708, which saw a number of Allied successes not just at Blenheim, but at Ramillies and Oudenaarde, too, formed a turning point in the poetic licence with which Anne could be extolled. The choice for Rooke and Ormonde as representatives of the victory at Vigo Bay for Whigs and Tories respectively was only a prelude to the political and literary tug-of-war prompted by the next English war hero to come to the fore: the Duke of Marlborough. It is a commonplace that the functional shift in early

[93] Bowers, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 78–9. While Bowers provides a thought-provoking study of the ways in which Anne used her maternal image, I disagree with her claim that on medals "Anne's head on 'the right side' becomes separate from the events pictured on 'the reverse,' which admit female representations only when these are allegorical, stationary, or heavenly figures, separated from real-life victories," and that "the medals themselves physically repeat Anne's removal from the scenes of action: one has to turn over and obliterate the queen's face in order to see the battles and victories at all" (79). The last point makes no sense; *any* royal head on the obverse—male or female—would then be obliterated.

eighteenth-century congratulatory verse "from praising the monarch-as-hero to promoting a partisan ideal" was a reflection of the increasing polarization in English politics and society.[94] Robert Horn, in his survey of poetry dedicated to Marlborough, argues that the modal co-occurrence of panegyric and satire, praise and blame, should be read as a direct result of that two-party system.[95] According to this narrative, Marlborough succeeded Prince Eugene, in the words of Prior's 1704 *Prologue*, as the "*Perseus*" to which "*Minerva*" "lent her Shield," and as Anne's substitute in panegyric poetry after Blenheim. Right from the start of Anne's reign, Marlborough loomed large as the embodiment of the "patriarchal manipulations of the maternal self-representation she assumed" in an attempt to construct political authority.[96] The official media of royal representation, however, bear witness to a remarkable counter-reaction that focused instead on Anne's royal supremacy. Though far removed from Allied military victories on the Continent, Anne—in the early years at least—remained central in official state encomia, on medals and in odes, and she actively participated in a programme of representation that would place her above the conflicts of party strife and at the head of a unified church and people.

The way Anne was represented in memorial media was far more complex than usually admitted; it contributed to an industry of praise in which elements of modality and mediality effectively overlapped. On the official coronation medal, Anne had appeared as the Greek goddess Pallas Athena or the Roman Minerva, the heroic daughter of Zeus/Jupiter who was also the protectress of her people, hurling thunderbolts at her serpent-like foe.[97] Although the classical, heroic iconography did not match well with the Biblical text chosen for her coronation sermon by Archbishop John Sharp—especially the verse "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their Queens thy nursing mothers" (Isaiah 49:23)—it allowed Anne to adopt the theory of the monarch's two bodies. By doing so, she was able to transcend the limitations of gender and appropriate an image for herself that would normally have been coded as male.[98] It is therefore inaccurate, especially in the early years of her reign, to speak of Anne's self-fashioning in exclusively maternal terms.[99] In the 1703 birthday ode, *Words sung before*

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[94] Joseph Hone, "Politicising Praise: Panegyric and the Accession of Queen Anne," in *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37 (2014), 148.

[95] Robert D. Horn, *Marlborough: A Survey: Panegyrics, Satires, and Biographical Writings, 1688–1788* (Dawson: Garland Publishing, 1975), 1, 37–100.

[96] Bowers, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 74–5.

[97] Franks and Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations*, ii, 231–2.

[98] Winn, *Queen Anne*, 290–2.

[99] Bowers argues that, especially with regards to the Protestant succession as a political weapon, "Anne's political authority was routinely represented in maternal terms." Initially, it was certain that she would either be queen herself or at least mother to a king (Bowers, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 44–5). Yet Pellicer has

her Majesty on her Birth-Day, Feb. 6. Set to Music by Mr John Eccles. Written by Mr Motteux, Anne still features as an armed Pallas by analogy with her coronation medal, even though she is never a truly violent queen. Motteux's emphasis falls instead on Anne's capacity to protect her people and to inspire dread as well as respect in both her allies and her enemies. Winn has complicated the allegedly widespread and commonly accepted image of Anne as a peaceful and inactive queen by discussing William Sherlock's sermon for the victory at Blenheim, in which Anne is "the active scourge of her foes."[100] Many of the thanksgiving ceremonies held in the decade after the Blenheim celebration of 1704, moreover, equate the English people with the Old Testament Jews who faced their enemies against all odds and present Anne, not only as a Pallas, but as a David, too.[101]

More effectively still, it was in the larger realm of print culture, with its wide range of expensive mezzotint engravings and cheap woodcut broadsides, that "the official court myth of the queen as the 'nursing mother' of her people" was undermined.[102] In these text objects, which often derived iconographically or emblematically from state-sponsored ones, Anne was not always passive and pacific, but equally commonly appeared as God's vice-regent, as a sun goddess, or as one of the warlike princesses of the Old Testament. In the frontispiece to the published version of Sherlock's sermon, Anne appears underneath a brightly shining sun flanked on both sides by banners carrying her motto of *semper eadem* (figure 5).[103] In *Deborah: A Sacred Ode* (1705), printed for the Berkshire clergyman Richard Sare, Anne "reigns with Tutelary Might" (l. 2) as "the Substitute of God" (3) and as "*Deborah* Their Judge and Prophetess" (8), whose son, like the Duke of Gloucester, also dies prematurely (9–10). One of the commemorative medals issued for the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, which portrayed Anne as both Amazon and protective empress, sought to present her as the greatest of princes whose deeds illumine like the sun. The lines inscribed on that medal were taken from Horace's *Odes* IV.14, like so many medals and poems of varying length and quality at the time. An engraved portrait, furthermore, executed by Michael van der Gucht and issued at her

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concluded instead that "as Anne's reign wore on, her own figure increasingly became a common property, precisely because her image was so malleable, impinging so little on her substance; it came to depend so little on her words or her actions, save, perhaps, her administering the royal touch" (Pellicer, "Queen Anne, Patron of Poets?," 61).

[100] Winn, *Queen Anne*, 309.

[101] Winn, *Queen Anne*, 305–17.

[102] Winn, *Queen Anne*, xix.

[103] William Sherlock, *A Sermon Preach'd Before the Queen, at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, on the Seventh of September, 1704. Being the Thanksgiving-Day for the Late Glorious Victory obtain'd over the French and Bavarians at Blenheim near Hochstet, on Wednesday the Second of August, by the Forces of Her Majesty and Her Allies, under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough* (London: Printed for W. Roberts, 1704).

death in 1714 (but presumably earlier), placed Anne's bust in an oval atop a plinth, the classical scene and Latin inscription of which confirmed her ascension to Heaven in a Phaethon-like chariot of the sun. Shared by each of these examples, the generic conventions of the modal and medial forms of royal encomium demanded that Anne be equated with a tutelary force whose power existed in watching over and protecting her populace, even after her transition to Heaven.



Figure 5 Frontispiece to William Sherlock's Thanksgiving Day *Sermon* of 1704. Image reproduced from a digitized copy on ECCO.

Although Marlborough (and Eugene of Savoy) won her victories, it was Anne who appeared as victor on official coins, just as she was the *de facto* target to whom praise in odes was inscribed, as in *Astrea Triumphans*. In the case of the victory at Blenheim, "variants of the commemoration medal may suggest English medallists' determination to advertise a royal triumph, rather than that of a brilliant commander."[104] With Britannia as emblem of the queen and her kingdom, Anne was represented as both the royal sanctioner of and yet somehow detached from the wars fought by her generals. As Sharpe has revealed, Marlborough actually figured rarely on the authorized medals celebrating the victories he had achieved, which suggests that Queen Anne commissioned them herself.[105] James Coningham, in the preface to his anonymously published *Essay on the Modern Medals*, pointed precisely to the "Injury done" to Marlborough in that no medal was taken from him for his Blenheim campaign, regardless of the fact that "the Medalique Laws give him no right to it."[106] That right was not subject to town talk or merit, but to royal or imperial hegemony. After the glory of Ramillies, where Louis XIV's Bourbon armies were said to have suffered over 13,000 casualties, the waves of extravagant praise heaped upon Marlborough rather gave the impression of some unfinished business. In *A New Ode, or Dialogue, between Mars the God of War and Plutus, or Mammon God of Riches*, performed before the Duke at his arrival in London in 1706,[107] the poet hails the return of the army, and urges the God of Gold to

> Prepare a Royal Feast
> To treat the Noble Guest;
> Thy gorgeous Purse unty,
> Let shining Medals fly,
> To give 'em joyful Welcome to their Homes.
> (ll. 6–10)

Reiterating the importance of "Merit" as the force inspiring "each Voice and Tongue" (19), the poet suggests, like Coningham, that Marlborough's merit was not adequately repaid in "shining Medals" (9). Indeed, where Marlborough appeared alongside Eugene on countless continental medals, such as an early German one executed in the wake of the Battle of Schellenberg in July 1704, England's most famous commander since

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[104] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 609.

[105] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 606–13.

[106] James Coningham, *A Critical Essay on the Modern Medals: With Some Reflections on the Taste and Judgment of the Ancients* (London: Printed for T. Godwin, 1704), unpaginated "Letter to the Readers".

[107] *A New Ode, or Dialogue, between Mars the God of War and Plutus, or Mammon God of Riches; Made for the Entertainment of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, and General Officers, by the Right Honourable Sir Robert Bedingfield, then Lord-Mayor, and the Honourable the Court of Aldermen in the City: Set to Musick by Mr. Weldon, and perform'd by Mr. Elford and Mr. Leveridge, Decemb. 1706* (London: printed by J. Bland, 1706).

Cromwell was not portrayed on any official coin or medal. Instead, the war medals issued to commemorate the Allied victories were inscribed textually and iconographically with the emblematic female figures that were also found in contemporary celebratory poetry dedicated to the Queen.[108]

As Anne's public persona aimed to wed the peaceful and the bellicose in order to show her versatility in dealing with her country's concerns, the composite illustrative designs in which her image appeared had an evident bearing on the nature and circulation of that image. As part of a series of Stuart portraits by Norbert Roettier, for example, the design for Anne's coronation medal was incorporated on thin metal plates that were aimed to be framed or inlaid in pieces of furniture in the years immediately following her coronation.[109] Medallic patterns were also integrated into poetry publications, increasingly so when the Blenheim enthusiasm was intensified by the sieges of Barcelona in 1704–6 and the successful capture of Gibraltar in 1704. The publication of *England's Glory*, a poem by James Kremberg which was performed on Queen Anne's birthday in 1706, was such a modally complex form.[110] Staging a group of personified deities that were all closely associated with Anne both in poetry and coinage, the performance was "a throwback to the fanciful world of the early Stuart masque."[111] The first to appear is Bellona, the goddess of war, who sings of the "rural Blessings" of honey, milk, and corn (ll. 2–3), as well as of the "Fruitful Fields and temp'rate Air" (4). Then Britannia, whose "Lofty Forests" yield "vast Fleets, and stately Buildings" (5–6), responds by urging to rejoice "ye Natives of this Isle, / On whom Saturnian Pleasures smile" (20–1). After great multitudes of people from all across the globe have come to Britain to pay homage to its Queen in the form of gifts, food, and other treasures, Neptune and Atlas finally appear on stage to relinquish their dominion over the globe. At the end of the performance, a large stage prop in the shape of a globe transformed "into a high Pyramid, or Obelisk, adorn'd with Laurels, and an Imperial Crown above, supported below by a Lion and Unicorn" and with inscriptions to Queen Anne (p. 5). The globe ultimately opens up into three equal medallions representing the battles of Blenheim, Barcelona, and Gibraltar.

Although the allegorical text of *England's Glory* makes no direct references to any recent events, the names of recent battles were inscribed on the pyramidal structure that emerged on scene at the end of the performance. Similarly, the elaborate

[108] See also Nicolas Chevalier, *Relation des campagnes de 1708 et 1709 avec une explication de toutes les médailles frappées sur ce sujet* (Utrecht, 1710).

[109] Franks and Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations*, ii, 231.

[110] For a comprehensive account, see Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "England's Glory and the Celebrations at Court for Queen Anne's Birthday," *Theatre Notebook* 62 (2008): 7–19.

[111] Winn, *Queen Anne*, 422.

frontispiece to the printed publication, sold by Richard Harrison at Kremberg's own expense, provided purchasers with a distinct impression of what the stage display would have looked like (figure 6). At the same time, it would have appealed to eighteenth-century consumers of memorabilia as an intermedial object of commemoration, one that combined poetic, theatrical, and medallic forms in an affordable, manageable format. Hybrid media such as the illustrated libretto of *England's Glory* allow for a better understanding of the level of visual literacy that contemporaries would have possessed when encountering medallic emblems in frontispieces and other types of book illustration. Readers' ability to visualize instantly the coins and medals that were being widely circulated at the time should not be underestimated, especially when considering the significant degree of cross-fertilization between different media such as poetry, engraving, coinage, and sculpture.



Figure 6 Frontispiece to *England's Glory* (1706). Image reproduced from a digitized copy on ECCO.

2.3.3 Inscription and Monumentalization: Panegyric, Epic, or Ode?

In many ways, the cross-modality of remembrance and re-edification exemplified orthodox Stuart ideology. As Queen Anne wished to vie with Louis XIV, who was dignified by over 300 coins and for whom the Gobelins factory had produced commemorative tapestry, attempts were made by her supporters to counteract an industry of commemoration that was predominantly French. George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, tried to claim for English purposes a Latin inscription on a medal originally meant for Louis XIV, which he dedicated instead to Queen Anne. Soon, the idea of establishing a medallic history of the times, based on French models, acquired widespread appeal. Just as Cowley's "choise *Medal*" had functioned both as a martyrological text for Charles and as an augury of future glory, the works of Stuart advocates like John Evelyn and Sir Christopher Wren rested on the belief that medals should be struck and monuments erected to commemorate the accomplishments of the Stuart dynasty, culminating in Anne's glorious successes.[112] As an antiquarian, Evelyn understood the value of coins for these purposes, but he understood it chiefly in aesthetic and linguistic terms, and he treated coins accordingly as "Vocal Monuments of Antiquity."[113] Concentrating earlier on "such Medals as relate purely to something historical," Evelyn's *Numismata* (1697) had ignored almost completely the economic role of coins as money.[114] In Evelyn's reasoning, medals were monuments of the past by virtue of their inscription. As Barbara Benedict has shown, Joseph Addison's *Dialogues* (published in 1726, but already in gestation in the early 1710s) followed Evelyn "in maintaining that coins invoke the same kind of imaginative interpretation as poetry because they are metal symbols, material culture."[115] Yet Addison also devoted an essay in no. 96 of the *Guardian* to recommend medals depicting great events for general circulation as popular currency, modelled on the French *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*.[116] Jonathan Swift's coterminous plan of (re)coining halfpence and farthings with a similar communal purpose, which he communicated to Robert Harley, seems to have been stalled only by Anne's death in 1714.

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[112] Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts*, 141–2, 293–4.

[113] John Evelyn, *Numismata: A Discourse of Medals, Antient and Modern* (London: printed for B. Tooke, 1697), 1. For a discussion of Evelyn's treatise, see Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 338–42.

[114] Quoted in Levine, *Battle of Books*, 340. See also Marc Shell, *The Economy of Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 63–4.

[115] Barbara M. Benedict, "The Moral in the Material: Numismatics and Identity in Evelyn, Addison, and Pope," in *Queen Anne and the Arts*, ed. Reverand, 74.

[116] Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature*, 283–4.

Even commemorative media lacking in the emblematic quality of a medal's reverse side, such as engraved portraits, could speak for themselves, Evelyn opined, as "they seldom or never appear without Inscriptions of the Names, Qualities, Virtues, most Signal Works and Actions of the Persons whom they represent, which makes up the defect of the *Reverses*."[117] According to Marcia Pointon, the link Evelyn draws between coins and engraved portraits points to the importance of the classical tradition of the *imago clipeata*, in which a cephalous image of the emperor was framed in the round or oval form of a shield.[118] Deeply ingrained in the classical practice of grafting an incision of the emperor's portrait on shields that were carried across newly-conquered territories, the *clipeus* tradition was "intimately connected with the idea of the sun-emperor (empéreur soleil)," whose metaphorical rays were scattered across the land.[119] Not only does this argument "help to account for the persistence of a suggested oval or circular farming device (the so-called 'feigned oval') within rectangular portraits,"[120] it also fits seamlessly within Stuart numismatic and iconographic ideologies. From at least the Restoration to the last Stuart queen on, the key themes and images depicting the monarch as a solar deity, across disparate media and in various discursive modes, cemented Stuart claims for dynastic legitimacy.

After the decisive victories of the Grand Alliance against the French, the traditional solar imagery was applied to depict Anne as eclipsing the original *Roi Soleil*, Louis XIV, who was habitually associated on royal coins—through his haircut, laurel wreath, and splendid crown of rays—with Apollo.[121] On the reverse of Croker's medal commemorating the taking of Barcelona by Sir George Rooke in 1706, the city appears underneath an eclipsed sun as a symbol of the English Anne outshining the French Louis. After the Battle at Ramillies on 23 May 1706, the total solar eclipse that had occurred earlier, on 12 May 1706, was interpreted as a premonition of the Allied victory. Accordingly, in a set of illustrations in the fourth volume of *Poems on Affairs of State*, Anne was portrayed as eclipsing the French King and clipping the wings of the "*Gallick* Cock" (figure 7). The verses on the facing page seem like phrases gleaned directly from contemporary court odes:

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[117] Evelyn, *Numismata*, 257.

[118] Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 65.

[119] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, 65–6.

[120] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, 66.

[121] The most comprehensive study of Louis XIV's self-fashioning and the circulation of his image in all symbolic forms is Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

The Conquests Anna by her Chiefs has won,
Eclipse the Glories of the Bourbon Sun.
Her rising Lustre spreads as his declines,
And faintly like the setting Day he shines.[122]



Figure 7 Illustration in *Poems on Affairs of State*, vol. iv, 437, which shows Anne clipping the wings of *le coq gaulois* while as tutelary sun she eclipses the face of Louis XIV. Image reproduced from a digitized copy on ECCO.

In the wake of the popular almanacs and astrological treatises that flooded the English book market in the first decade of the eighteenth century, it should come as no surprise that such an event was taken as a divine intervention.[123] William Walsh's *Ode for the Thanksgiving Day*, which contained a footnote with an allusion to the eclipse of Louis' sun, was published on 1 January 1707, the symbolic first day of an even more symbolic year in British history. Underpinning the mystical and solar imagery recurrent in these poems and medals were the concepts of commemoration and prophecy central to formal odes and panegyric modes of utterance. They formed part of a glancing

[122] *POAS*, iv, 437.

[123] See Margaret C. Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), 251–70. In fact, the "prophecy" became a (satirical) genre in its own right, as evidenced by Swift's Partridge and Windsor prophecies. I will treat these issues in more detail in Chapter 4.

backwards and forwards that would have been recognizable to eighteenth-century consumers of memorabilia and other emanations of cultural memory.

While facilitating the association of the monarch with her nation's achievements through the co-occurrence of portraiture and inscription, medial cross-fertilization at the same time drew attention to the nature and effectiveness of the media employed to monumentalize queen and country. Perhaps the most ambitious of all projects during Anne's reign was the plan to erect statues of the Queen and the Duke of Marlborough in Cheapside. Outstripping her predecessor's in number, the public statues issued to commemorate Anne were part of a grander scheme of memorialization.[124] In his 1706 *Ode Humbly Inscrib'd to the Queen, on the Late Glorious Success of Her Majesty's Arms*, Prior refers to this scheme by drawing a link "between sculpture and poetry as the two cultural media most apt for carving monuments to fame."[125] Endorsing the plan to commission several statues in commemoration of the Queen, Prior begins his ode with a rejection of "degrading Prose" (l. 7) in favour of the lyre of poetry. In the very last stanza of the poem, the Muse Clio "desires the last, the lowest Place" of the memorial column (344)—the spot usually reserved for the inscription or the name of the sculptor—"To save her self from Darkness, and from Death" (345). Claudine Van Hensbergen identifies the striking prominence of images of carving and inscribing in the *Ode* as an "anxiety" on the part of Prior because, she insists, "sculpture is a more durable artistic form than poetry and therefore a more suitable medium for a lasting monument."[126] Yet the modal complexity of memorial media—or, more appropriately, of memorial *text objects*—complicates a conceptualization of poetry and sculpture as two radically disparate media. As this chapter has demonstrated, it would be a mistake to disregard contemporary awareness of the hybrid functionality of inscription.

If Prior is hesitant in affirming the eternal value of the literary, as Van Hensbergen claims, it is because he labours to discriminate his ode, which commemorates past and present and prophesies about the future, from panegyric, which is as ephemeral as the event it extols. The difference is fundamental and goes back as much to Pindar's belief in the immortality of the ode as opposed to the dead statue as to the monument Horace famously erects in his *Odes* III.30. The belief that the living art of verse must shield the

[124] Sharpe lists the sculptures that were issued for Anne both in London and beyond (*Rebranding Rule*, 599–602).

[125] Claudine Van Hensbergen, "Carving a Legacy: Public Sculpture of Queen Anne, c.1704–1712," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37 (2014): 230.

[126] Van Hensbergen, "Carving a Legacy," 230. But in a letter sent to Prior on 20 July 1706, and quoted by Van Hensbergen in her article, the theologian Robert Nelson picked out precisely poetry's immortalizing function: "It is a great misfortune that we have no eminent sculptor that can execute what you have so masterly designed. [...] But we will glory that it stands fixt in your verses; where latest times may read Anna's immortal fame" (231).

poet against the threat of mutability was as important to eighteenth-century poets as it was to such Renaissance poets as Spenser and Du Bellay.[127] A few years after Prior's ode, Alexander Pope would formulate a similar opinion, in his epistle *To Mr. Addison, Occasion'd by his Dialogues on Medals* (1713, publ. 1720). This poem, which was designed to introduce Addison's treatise, does not only reveal Pope's knowledge of the iconography of the triumph and the circle symbolism of "the most centrally organized form of all,"[128] the coin or medal. It also reveals Pope's close affinity of thought with such scholars as Francis Bacon, who had long since noted the powers of (re)generation and the self-renewal of writing, and Louis Jobert, whose *La Science des Médailles* was revised and reprinted alongside Addison's *Guardian* paper no. 96 in 1715.[129] Pope agreed with them, as did Addison, that the images and figures of the medal are its body and that the legends and emblems are the soul that lives on eternally. Not the coin or monument as such, but the inscription therefore has the greatest potential for memorialization. In Barbara Benedict's words, "the inscription itself is Pope's art, an art that transcends material form."[130] According to Pope as well as Prior, the truly commemorative medium, in whichever material form it might appear, is the line of verse.

Matters of modality and materiality were of course key concerns when dealing with the question of how to immortalize most effectively and most durably. Prior was immediately criticized by Whig opponents for having written his 1706 *Ode*, as the title reads, "in Imitation of *Spencer*'s Stile."[131] The attack on Prior's choice of Spenser's obsolete and uncouth style went straight to the heart of the problem facing poets who tried to articulate present-day triumphs but lacked the poetic models to do so. The now commonly accepted early eighteenth-century "obsolescence of epic"[132] was manifested at the time by "the realization that it would be difficult for the patriotic poet to succeed in traditional battle narrative"[133] or, for that matter, in any straightforward expression of national heroism.[134] While in his first ever publication, *An Ode to the Sun* (1707), Elijah Fenton excessively adopted the conventional solar imagery of the court ode in thanking "*GLORIANA*" (l. 10) for "*Blenheim* and *Ramillia*" (100), he deployed a form of Spenserian

[127] Revard, *Pindar and the Renaissance Hymn-Ode*, 63–5, 102.

[128] Fowler, *Triumphal Forms*, 86.

[129] For an excellent study of Pope's poem and the importance of medals in eighteenth-century thinking about antiquity and the cyclical process of the Golden Age, see Howard Erskine-Hill, "The Medal against Time: A Study of Pope's Epistle To Mr Addison," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965), 274–298.

[130] Benedict, "The Moral in the Material," 82.

[131] Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts*, 149.

[132] Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 252.

[133] Dustin Griffin, *Patriotism and Poetry in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 43. Similar concerns will return in Chapter 5.

[134] Fitzgerald, *Agonistic Poetry*, 87.

stanza in Pindaric triads that was radically new.[135] The assimilation of Spenserian epic with Pindaric form was a manifestation of the difficulty to capture the wonder of contemporary events. Indeed, as modern glory surpasses all that came before,

> Posterity will doubting read,
> And scarce believe her Annals true:
> The Muses toil with Art to raise
> Fictitious Monuments of Praise.
> (123–6)

Yet the speaker admits he lacks the appropriate skills to accomplish an epic in the Virgilian strain; what follows is an unfulfilled promise of what he *could* or *should* have done: to "sing" "With *Mantuan* Force" of Anne and Churchill's feats (145–6). Fenton's ode, then, is an indication of contemporary odists' struggle to find an apposite way to articulate current events without sacrificing the hallowed, neo-classical decorum of subject and style.[136]

After the effectuation of the Acts of Union on 1 May 1707 and the spectacular landslide at Oudenaarde on 11 July 1708, the triumphant and imperial tone reached a highpoint in the literary and material culture of Britain. Medals issued at these events were adorned with columns and pillars to emblematically represent the expanding British empire and its growing ambitions.[137] Contemplating the magnitude of the monument to be raised for "Great *Anne*" (l. 268) in his 1706 *Ode*, Prior had literally aimed high:

> Let Europe sav'd the Column high erect,
> Than Trajan's higher, or than Antonine's;
> Where sembling Art may carve the fair Effect,
> And full Atchievement of Thy great Designs.
> (271–4)

Fenton, too, claimed in his *Ode to the Sun* that, where Rome once "Fix'd the sure Columns of her rising State" (l. 26), in Britain now "ev'ry Column to Record their [victors'] Toils / Eternal Monuments of Conquest wears" (235–6).

The poetic record, too, grew swollen with the fervid expectation of a bright future with England and Scotland united, while poets treaded a delicate line between heroic

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[135] Edward Payson Morton, "The Spenserian Stanza in the Eighteenth Century," *Modern Philology* 10 (1913), 365-391.

[136] For a discussion of the fate of epic in the eighteenth century, see Dustin Griffin, *Regaining Paradise: Milton and the Eighteenth-Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 46–52.

[137] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 610.

celebration and Pindaric myth-making. Lewis Theobald inserted a caveat in his dedicatory epistle to *A Pindarick Ode on the Union*, completed on 9 May 1707, that his majestic theme could easily carry him to his own destruction, like the hapless Bellerophon of Pindar's odes, whom the gods punished for his preternatural ambition.[138] In the second stanza of Theobald's *Pindarick Ode*, Britain's "past Chronologies" (l. 82) shrink to "frivolous Memoirs" (84), mere nothingness in comparison with the magnitude of current events:

> Now Nothing can she [the Goddess] see behind
> In all those blust'ring *Quondam* Trophies she design'd,
> Nothing that she without a Blush can save,
> From greedy Oblivion's ever-gaping Grave,
> Nothing that's worth her Trumpet's after-blast,
> But all their promis'd short Eternity is past!
> See, how the Mighty Records fall!
> And see, Oblivion catches all!
>
> (85–92)

What emerges from this destructive vortex swallowing the chronicles of the past, however, is a monument to the reign of Queen Anne, erected in brass and embossed with the Union of Great Britain as its major accomplishment:

> Fame prepares a Mighty Scroll,
> Sheets of Brass She does unrowl;
> She no more will Cedar use,
> Nor trust her Tale to th' Oily Juice:
> From Times or Envy's Moths to save.
> But will on temper'd Plates engrave
> With Adamantine Pen,
> Her darling Anne's Historick Reign,
> A work well worth a Goddess's Care! A task too great for Men!
>
> (99–107)

After an epic panoply of trumpets, arms, and the man—that is, the hero "*Marlbro*" (182) whose "Crown of never-dying Fame" echoes the epinician theme and coronal design of Pindar's odes—Theobald's speaker bids his "Muse leave the Soldier's jarring Sphere" (186) to conclude with a final salutation to the "Purple *Union*" (206). While sombrely affirming the Queen's *natural* childlessness, Theobald's ode endows Anne with a birth of unmistakable *political* importance, since the Union functions as the "lovely, long

[138] Revard, *Pindar and the Renaissance Hymn-Ode*, 106–19.

expected Child! / On whom our *English* Queen has smil'd" (206–7) and as the anodyne for the sorrow "Which she, and mourning *England* feel / In princely *Gloster*'s hapless Fate" (214–5). The queen's two bodies are here given a specifically imperial interpretation, one that reiterated in poetry and in coinage the predictable emblems of political tutelary motherhood.

Furthermore, the iconographical tradition that presented Anne as a sacred solar body, and that was rooted in ideas of absolute monarchy, was matched by a more recent development which saw the Queen as the embodiment of Britain's manifest imperial destiny. During the course of her reign, Anne had been progressively identified with the imperial figure of Britannia, an identification which became even more pertinent with the formation of 'Great Britain' in 1707. In Anne's first birthday ode of 1703, which was recycled by Master of the Music John Eccles from an unused ode originally intended for William III, librettist Peter Motteux had swapped William's name for Anne's in a couple of significant passages, replacing in one instance "William's birth and Europe's joys" with "Anna's birth and Britain's joys."[139] At the thanksgiving service for the Blenheim victory on 7 September 1704, at which the choir performed a *Te Deum* and *Jubilate Deo* inspired by Henry Purcell's grand settings of triumphal hymns with prominent trumpet parts, poets recognized that the iconography of the island queen Britannia used in such earlier works as Dryden's *King Arthur* (1691) could be reappropriated to suit Anne.[140] Even in Kremberg's *England's Glory*, the nations of the world had come to pay homage to *Britannia*, which Anne both represented and embodied.

But precisely for this reason, the Queen was gradually regarded as nothing more than a cypher, her portrait on official coinage nothing but a metonym for Great Britain. As Juan Christian Pellicer has noted, the "elaborateness of Matthew Prior's Spenserian *Ode … to the Queen* indicates how impersonal a figure poets tended to make of Anne."[141] At all times, the rhetoric of inscription prevailed, but the centre of focus shifted. When the Williamite figure of Hercules began to reappear in court odes of these years, it did so in similes covertly alluding to Marlborough.[142] In *The Song for New-Year's-Day, 1706*, though Anne features centrally amidst the familiar astral and solar imagery of earlier odes, Hercules is held up as a rather ambiguous symbol of rightful monarchy. As he who was "in the Cradle Crown'd" (l. 14) after having strangled two serpents, the reference to Hercules is once again an oblique but inflammatory hint at Marlborough's active,

[139] Murphy, "'Sing Great Anna's Matchless Name,'" 212–4, 219–25; Winn, *Queen Anne*, 324.

[140] Winn, *Queen Anne*, 305–11.

[141] Pellicer, "Queen Anne, Patron of Poets?," 62.

[142] For Hercules as the most prominent figure in Pindar's odes, see Stella P. Revard, *Politics, Poetics, and the Pindaric Ode: 1450–1700* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2009), 10–2.

merited as opposed to Anne's passive, *hereditary* claim to power.[143] Despite an equivocal attempt in the next stanza to reclaim some legitimacy for Anne—"This, this is the Way to be Crown'd, / With the Motto of Fame; From the Cradle Renown'd, / And EVER THE SAME" (15–8)—even the nonpartisan reader cannot escape the impression that Anne is no longer the sole deity of the day, no longer the exclusive solar symbol of divine majesty. Rather, together with her "PRINCE in Court" and "MINISTERS at Helm," as well as with her "Troops" and "GENERALS," she now forms a "Galaxie of GUARDIANS," in which she takes up a position of equal merit to Marlborough and other ministerial members (34–7, 40). Likewise, Samuel Cobb's 1709 ode *The Female Reign* routinely assembled the heroes instrumental to Britain's victory at "Audendard" (l. 94). Though one of the more fulsome specimens of encomia dedicated to Anne at this stage, *The Female Reign* was at heart an imitation of the popular Horatian ode on Drusus's and Tiberius's defeat of the Vindelici in 14 BC (*Odes* IV.14). Cobb went even further than his Horatian model, however, by prophesying the arrival of Anne's successor, George, "Brunswiga's Second Grace, / Descendant from a long Imperial Race" (236–7), in the recognizable idiom of the sun-king: "blazing with a full Meridian Light / He shall the British Hemisphere adorn" (241–2). Even if Anne was not yet entirely eclipsed by these "Eugenes in bloom, and future Marlboroughs" (235), the prominence and swagger of their presence in this type of court poetry seriously increased towards the end of her life.

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Scholars have propounded a number of explanations for the gradual devolution of Anne as the central focus—and with that, as the chief inducement—of the regal court ode in this period. The rise of Marlborough from 1704 onwards is one obvious determinant. As Bucholz has indicated, the last five years of Anne's time in power witnessed a suspension of regular court ode production altogether.[144] Rogers has drawn attention to the adverse influence of the death on 15 March 1713 of Frederick I, King of Prussia, for whom a period of six months' mourning was begun, resulting in the lack of grand entertainments in the closing moments of Anne's reign. Court ritual at birthdays and New Years remained ceremonious, Rogers adds, but declined in pomp towards the end, with Handel's compositions serving as brief flashes of the court's former grandeur.[145]

[143] The Hercules episode in Pindar's first Nemean ode similarly deals with issues of inherited birthright and proof of merit, as in defeating the serpents sent by Hera Hercules completed his first trial (Revard, *Pindar and the Renaissance Hymn-Ode*, 241–3).

[144] Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, 233–4.

[145] Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts*, 135–6, 153.

Then again, these suppositions may not be entirely accurate; the absence of any surviving ode text or music need not be considered as evidence for the ode's utter disappearance. The complexity of modal-medial experimentations suggests that certain modal elements continued to live on; they simply assumed forms not previously encountered. In any event, however, the paucity of evidence with which scholars are faced can be interpreted as proof at least of a reduction in the *public* aspect of the ode's performative setting.[146] Whether it was a symptom of a decline in court culture on a larger scale, or an effect of external circumstances—of Anne's crippling sickness, of the diplomatic endgame of the War of the Spanish Succession, or of the vicissitudes of two radically different political administrations—the decrease in biannual court ode production and performance can only be fully appreciated if understood as a complex interplay of the historical, political, and cultural factors outlined above.

Right before Anne's death, the 1713 Peace of Utrecht provided a final, belated impetus for poets such as Alexander Pope to revivify Anne as the sacral and maternal vice-regent of God and as the reincarnation of Astraean Peace and Justice on earth.[147] However, as Rogers's astute reading of the poem has revealed, the "surface optimism" of Pope's *Windsor-Forest* was quickly occluded by the events immediately following its publication.[148] While celebrating Anne and the Tory-crafted peace, it was simultaneously "a proleptic funeral tribute for Anne" and "a prescient elegy for the Stuart cause."[149] James Winn concludes his biography of Queen Anne by stating that "[t]he struggle over the succession that effectively finished her life was a struggle between two kinds of hope—the hope for a Protestant constitutional monarch, serving as a figurehead for an increasingly democratic government, and the hope for a sacred and hereditary monarch, embodying an increasingly nostalgic view of national identity."[150] These two conflicting kinds of hope had found potent expression in the court odes of Queen Anne's reign, with its resilient sacralization in the face of increasing secularization, and would continue to do so in the peculiar mixture of elegies and odes that were rushed through the press in the weeks immediately following Anne's demise. It is to this seeming politicization of the commemorative genres that I now turn.

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[146] This is similar to what Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson have suggested in their "Music in the Birthday Celebrations at Court in the Reign of Queen Anne: A Documentary Calendar," *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music* 19 (2008).

[147] As Bowers has shown, the coronation rhetoric that depicted Anne as "nursing mother" disappeared during her lifetime, but "re-emerged with a vengeance [...] at her death" (Bowers, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 60).

[148] Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts*, 2–3.

[149] Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts*, 167, 2.

[150] Winn, *Queen Anne*, 635.

Chapter 3
The Elegiac Ode: Generic Modulation in Early Eighteenth-Century Funerary Verse

Each forms a Soul or the Divinest dress,
For Kings and Loyal Subjects to possess!
The Last which from the Sacred Fabrick flew,
Made ANNE a Saint, and GEORGE a Monarch too!
(Joseph Harris, *A Funeral-Pindarique Ode*, 148–51)

3.1 Introduction

In the context of the modal-medial interplay discussed in the previous chapter, printed medallic representations became increasingly popular during the course of the eighteenth century. Under the influence of the budding portrait industry, the inclusion of author portraits at the head of print publications, and the growing interest in all types of collecting and showcasing among members of the aristocracy, coins, medallions, and alternative forms of medallic design appeared more and more regularly alongside other media.[1] When one specific item was missing from a collection of ancient

[1] Medallic portraits and author portraits in books are of course not identical. Yet, Janine Barchas has indicated that, while the early eighteenth-century portrait frontispiece rarely displayed a one-on-one relationship between textual authority and fictional identity, it was precisely because of its ambivalent association of real or counterfeit portrait (obverse) with its narrative or scenery (reverse) that it acquired currency and marketability (*Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 19–59); see also David Piper, *The Image of the Poet: British Poets and their Portraits* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982). On eighteenth-century

coins, for example, engravings of the missing coins were often mounted into the volumes to make up for the absence.[2] Images of kings and queens on official coronation or funeral medals, furthermore, were frequently reproduced on single-sheet prints, often with verses dedicated to the occasion. Simon Gribelin executed one such engraving for Queen Mary's funeral in 1695, visualizing her transition from mortality to eternal life in a composite medallic design. Framed by an ornamental border with heraldic symbols representing the four nations, two medallions show a portrait of Mary on the left and on the right the figure of Britannia mourning the queen's death. Underneath the medallions appear eight lines of elegiac verse on Mary's death, which end with a word of consolation for her husband and king, William. That these medallic designs had a prolific afterlife in print is confirmed by an identical engraving, also by Gribelin, but with an obverse portrait of William and a reverse representation of his besieging the French at Namur in the summer following Mary's death (figure 8). Reappearing at least once more after that, Gribelin's medallic design was copied via trace paper in an engraving by Samuel Bickerton at the death of Queen Anne in 1714.

collecting, see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997), 339–392.

[2] Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 57.



Figure 8 Medallic print by Simon Gribelin commemorating the Battle of Namur (1695). Reproduced by permission of the British Museum © Trustees of the British Museum

The close conjunction of verbal and pictorial modes in commemorative media of the eighteenth century was not restricted to the expression of the high-style praise and panegyric discussed earlier. The present chapter will offer an examination of the graphic and discursive mixture occurring in memorial print objects devoted to the deaths of Queen Mary and Queen Anne. A central concern is related to the vexed question of whether there is indeed a difference between odes and elegies on any demonstrable level, especially in the face of the intermediality of funeral print objects. Poems peculiar for their hybrid form and format, such as *A Funeral-Pindarique ODE, Sacred to the Happy Memory of Our Late Gracious Sovereign, Queen ANNE*, written by Joseph Harris and dedicated to the Duke of Shrewsbury, one of the Lords Regents during the summer of 1714, will feature centrally for a number of reasons.[3] The most important motivation

[3] The titlepage, which reads like a fulsome dedication in itself, gives a sense of the complexity of the matter: *A Funeral-Pindarique ODE, Sacred to the Happy Memory of Our Late Gracious Sovereign, Queen ANNE, &c. With a Congratulatory Poem, on Our Present Most Illustrious King George, and His Happy Accession to the Imperial Crown of*

for studying such print forms is related to their striking visual aspects, as well as to factors related to their production, dissemination, and consumption. For this reason, the chapter is subdivided into three sections, each focusing on one aspect of materialist genre studies: the first section will explore the interplay of the Pindaric and elegiac modes; the second section will discuss the cross-fertilization between the phenomenology of (royal) funerals and their various cultural media through the circulation and recycling of illustrative designs; and finally, the third section will test whether data mining of a corpus of relevant texts can reveal any defining characteristics of odes and elegies on the level of discourse and diction. This last issue is one which might profitably be considered in relation to the role of genre in party-political poetics.[4]

The aim of this chapter is not to tabulate the similarities and differences between the ode and the elegy as two monolithic kinds on the lyric spectrum, nor to elevate a reformulation of the panegyric excursus usually featuring in the middle of funeral elegies to something more than a mere rhetorical strategy.[5] The aim is, rather, to establish how and which modal abstractions of these two kinds were absorbed into a generic supermodel *annex* print object, which superficially seems to eliminate any hard-and-fast boundaries, but which nonetheless retains such components as determine their distinctiveness. Even though in the realm of cheap print the exigencies of the book trade seem to outweigh those of genre, it is imperative to inspect carefully the interaction between ode and elegy. Any satisfying conclusion regarding what Alastair Fowler has termed generic modulation, the absorption by one genre of features belonging to another, can only be attained after the token repertoires of each kind—their characteristic features of substance, tone, and syntax—have been determined.[6]

Great Britain, &c. Dedicated to his Grace, Charles, Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Lieutenant, and Governour of Ireland, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, One of the Lords Regents, Lord Chamberlain of His Majesties Houshold, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, &c. By His Grace's Most Humble, Dutiful, and Obedient Servant to Command, Joseph Harris.

[4] The question of whether there is a correlation between politics and genre is raised in Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth 1725–1742* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 69 and Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture, 1681–1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 199. The idea of party-political aesthetics was first explored in Samuel Kliger, *The Goths in England: A Study in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952).

[5] The funeral elegy usually starts with some kind of descriptive passage (which contains typical emblems and natural or religious settings), moves into a moralizing passage on life and death (which is almost always taken up with a panegyric of the deceased), and then to his or her apotheosis to heaven. John W. Draper, *The Funeral Elegy and the Rise of English Romanticism* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1967), 8–9. The three concerns of the funeral elegy—lament, praise, and consolation—were thus translated into its main structural components. Lorna Clymer, "The Funeral Elegy in Early Modern Britain: A Brief History," *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy*, ed. Karen Weisman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 170.

[6] Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 191.

Fowler has also drawn attention to the extent to which odes have modulated into elegies in the past. If it is true, as he avers, that the early modern ode underwent an elegiac modulation still clearly perceived in the nineteenth century as distinct from elegy proper, then it is indispensable to study the origins, trajectory, and development of its eighteenth-century equivalent.[7] That is, then, the essential aim of this chapter: to discover in the apparently imperceptible blend of ingredients those "identifiable distinguishing marks"[8] that came to define the ode in the early decades of the eighteenth century.

In order to demonstrate the close affinity between ode and elegy, and the process of generic modulation it generated, the following section will begin with a discussion of the modal interplay between two historically prominent subgenres: the funeral elegy and the Pindaric ode. Most historical kinds can be divided into subgenres on the basis of two factors: subject and occasion. Consequently, according to Fowler, "odes are Anacreontic or major [i.e. Pindaric], epithalamic (nuptial) or genethliac (birthday),"[9] depending on what they deal with and what induced their authors to do so. The first element governing this categorization, subject matter, determines the subgenre in that it adds substantive features of its own over and above the common external—that is, purely formal—features already shared with the parent kind. For example, the subgenre 'piscatory eclogue' came into existence through the fusion of a dialogical structure (the kind) with a set of features specifically related to fishing (the mode) instead of shepherding, which, strictly speaking, would make it a pastoral. Funeral elegies, according to Fowler, have a clear subject too, as they "are about the thoughts and feelings of those who mourn."[10]

The second factor, occasion, is mainly related to aspects of ritual and custom, such as birthdays (genethliaca), wedding festivals (epithalamia), and burial ceremonies (epicedes). The context of the occasion is often indicated in the title (for instance, when "Epitaph on X" is said to have been written on a gravestone). The event of someone's death provides funeral elegies with a self-evident occasion and *raison d'être*, a fact that is virtually always stated on the titlepage or in a similarly conspicuous fashion, as in a dedicatory preface or a footnote. Certain types of poems, such as elegies, but also epitaphs, epigrams, and odes, are simply better suited than others to have their occasionality flaunted in titles and annotation. Sometimes even the simple fact of being "occasion'd" by someone or something conveniently eliminates the need for any discernible context. Mostly for this reason, occasional verse forms the bulk of many

[7] Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 136, 206–7.
[8] Jonathan Culler, *Theory of the Lyric* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015), 44.
[9] Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 111–2.
[10] Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 65.

eighteenth-century poetry collections (the ubiquitous *Poems on Several Occasions*). However, since it did not fit the neoclassical ideals of genre hierarchy and decorum of subject and style, the poetry of occasions "achieved its status largely in descriptive terms rather than taxonomic ones," which allowed for the formation of a larger occasional category, an inclusive, supra-generic class whose utter lack of precision contributed to the blurring of traditional formal distinctions between elegy and ode.[11]

Yet the existence of an actual, verifiable event coinciding with the genesis of a literary work, possibly even occasioning it directly, has led critics into creating the impression of a one-on-one relationship between real and poetic occasion. John Dolan claims that occasional poetry relies on a real, physical not fictional, event for its creation and "pathos-claims," so that readers can identify the values that are important to their community, as after the death of a public figure or a significant military victory.[12] Although, as Dolan rightly notes, this "grounding of occasional poetry in a true, verifiable event is closely related to its epideictic function and its resultant sanction to arouse intense pathos,"[13] it is a mistake to think that there is a chasm between eighteenth-century epideictic occasionality and the so-called "mental event," which, according to Dolan, Gray cultivated and Wordsworth perfected when he "found a way to occasionalize the first-person lyric without requiring an actual, verifiable death."[14] Epideictic invention, according to Aristotle's division in *Rhetoric*, constituted the art of praise and blame, amplification and diminution. It was most important in the seventeenth century, as English students were encouraged to hone their skills in the elaboration and embroidery of standard topics, not in the invention of new ones.[15] But it is not because schoolmasters provided such topics early in life that aspiring poets would be forever unable to invent topics or occasions on their own account. J. Paul Hunter has expanded this restrictive notion of occasional poetics by focusing on poems that deal with more *private* occasions as well, not just "poems written out of a particular temporal event that requires shared (or at least communicable) thinking," but also poems on family events, shared experiences between a smaller number of people, and even purely invented situations.[16] Poets weighed "the pretense of the intimate sharing of a moment against the actual fact of deliberate, calculated exposure," which, for Hunter, proves the

[11] J. Paul Hunter, "The Poetry of Occasions," in *A Concise Companion to the Restoration and Eighteenth Century*, ed. Cynthia Wall (Malden, MA.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 208, 209.

[12] John Dolan, *Poetic Occasion from Milton to Wordsworth* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 2–3.

[13] Dolan, *Poetic Occasion*, 4.

[14] Dolan, *Poetic Occasion*, 5.

[15] Besides elaboration, exercises in copiousness were also central components of the student's curriculum (Dolan, *Poetic Occasion*, 23–5).

[16] Hunter, "The Poetry of Occasions," 207.

generic permeability of public discourse in eighteenth-century poetry.[17] Hunter counters Dolan's argument that occasional poems must have an actual event as referential basis by arguing that "eighteenth-century poets liked to test their imaginations on 'might-be's and outright fictions as well as shifting the focus in ways that called for imaginative intervention."[18] These poems, and their speakers, ventriloquized speech acts that could but did not necessarily take place in the real physical world Dolan postulates.

Overemphasizing the real, verifiable event as the one and only criterion for poetic occasion carries the risk of ignoring another major aspect of many eighteenth-century poems: performance. Performative speech acts are not representations or pseudo-statements, but speech acts as events that accomplish the act which they refer to or describe, 'living' or 'being' the thing they name or invoke.[19] So, when the anonymous speaker of a poem occasioned by the death of Queen Mary shouts at the outset "Retir'd within my self, thus long to mourn," s/he is realizing the act of introverted grief by uttering the exclamation.[20] Performance in this sense, as Jonathan Culler concludes, "is doubtless the best translation of *epideixis*: discourse conceived as an act, aiming to persuade, to move, to innovate."[21] Understood like this, the epideictic aspect of much occasional poetry of the eighteenth century is precisely what enables the sort of creative acts that forge a poem's own occasion, acts that can 'be' an event rather than a mere representation of one. Once occasion is appreciated as a flexible and iterable concept rather than a static moment isolated in time can it be seen as enabling its own endless *re*-creation. To go back to Fowler's definition of subgenres cited above, occasion has its origins in the domains of ritual and custom, that is to say, in the domains of iterability and permanence, and so it presupposes eternal repetition and re-performance, not historical temporality. It is precisely the argument of this chapter that the ode should be distinguished from the narrowly defined *occasional* verse of this period in that it presupposes its own indestructible existence and future relevance. The difference between the Pindaric ode and the funeral elegy, as will now be discussed, is essentially a difference between two strains of occasionality and permanence.

[17] Hunter, "The Poetry of Occasions," 218.
[18] Hunter, "The Poetry of Occasions," 222.
[19] Culler, *Theory of the Lyric*, 15, 126.
[20] *A Poem, Occasion'd by the Death of her Late Majesty of Ever Happy and Sacred Memory. By a Private Hand* (London: Printed for, and sold by J. Whitlock, 1695), 3.
[21] Culler, *Theory of Lyric*, 130.

3.2 Generic Modulation and the Pindaric Funeral Ode

Generic modulation is an essential characteristic of the memorial kinds, as the co-occurrence of lament and praise for a deceased individual automatically engenders a process of cross-modality that traverses the traditional boundaries of classical-style elegy and ode. Even though in the early modern period most generic terms still retained their strict classical precedents, they were often used interchangeably in terms of design, sentiment, and style.[22] Beside the broadside elegy, "other sepulchral verbal genres" existed, as Lorna Clymer brands them, including the funeral sermon; the epitaph and its off-shoots on various funeral monuments; the pastoral elegy, with its classical lament in dialogue form; the dirge and *threnos*, forms of lamentation usually sung during the funeral or at similar burial rituals; and the epicedium, with its expression of grief usually performed in close proximity to the body or the grave.[23] Although some of these were personal expressions of grief, the very conventions of the funeral rites with which they were so closely associated made them communal, ritualistic acts of mourning. It was certainly not uncommon for traditional elegies to insert a eulogistic section in which the deceased was praised in an elaborate enumeration of virtues and achievements, usually serving as a reminder of the fickleness of human life on earth.[24] However, as Sandro Jung has argued, "funeral elegies also frequently served as news items listing the death of a person of public repute, as obituaries in verse [that] facilitated a deceased individual's short-term monumentalization in print."[25] These inset forms and functional interventions brought the funeral elegy modally on a par with the ode, one of the most essential characteristics of which was the glorification of the individual.

The impulse to monumentalize through print can account for the remarkable degree of overlap between the elegiac and Pindaric modes. Typified by a similar veneration of the individual, Pindaric verse gained popularity in the second half of the seventeenth century, developing into a poetic form that was closely associated with mortality, fate,

[22] For a similar argument on the modal interchange between lament and blame in the early eighteenth-century elegy, see Donald C. Mell, *A Poetics of Augustan Elegy: Dryden, Pope, Prior, Swift, Gray, and Johnson* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1974), 53–5.

[23] Clymer, "The Funeral Elegy," 171.

[24] Clymer, "The Funeral Elegy," 176–80.

[25] Sandro Jung, "Early Eighteenth-Century Scottish Funeral Elegies, Memorialization, and the Ephemeral," *Publishing History* 70 (2011), 35.

and the dispensation of human happiness.[26] Despite the epinician subjects of Pindar's odes—the victories of athletes at the Greek games and festivals—Renaissance humanists passed on to the early modern period chiefly the idea that celebrating a victor's immortality in verse presupposed an implicit confirmation of his mortality in real life. The narrative and mythic digressions so typical of Pindar's odes were thus applied positively in that they served to congratulate the victor and assure him that through the ode his fame would live on after his death. Elegiac odes combined adulation for the life and qualities of a particular individual with regret for his or her premature death, not infrequently through comparison with such mythical youths as Achilles, Adonis, or Hylas, who also died young. One standard motif in Pindar's odes was "the qualification of the *laudandus*'s blessedness as subject to mortal limitations," which Elroy Bundy in his ground-breaking study called the vicissitude foil of Pindar's *epinikia*.[27] Narrative excursus and an emphasis on discontinuation, fragmentation, and ephemerality were structural as well as thematic components of the Pindaric ode that were remarkably similar to the Orphic hymns as well as the pastoral funeral elegy, in which the different modalities of jubilation and apotheosis equally coexisted.[28]

Naturally, by the end of the seventeenth century, this cooperation of elegiac and encomiastic modes was increasingly found in poems that attempted to combine classical with Christian conceptions of death and afterlife. Jacob Sider Jost discriminates in this context between secular (classical–poetic) immortality and heavenly (Christian) eternity, the former a pagan adulation of fame handed down by Renaissance individualism, the latter a belief in an everlasting, paradisiacal afterlife. In the eighteenth century, Sider Jost notes, this distinction was increasingly shed under the influence of a combined belief in literary fame and personal afterlife, which eventually led to a move away from the lapidary lyric in favour of the documentary precision of the biography, the form most suitable to counter the threat of human finitude and preserve more comprehensively the texture of everyday life.[29] In any event, whether through

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[26] See especially Revard, *Politics, Poetics, and the Pindaric Ode*, chapters 6 and 7. For remembrance of the dead as a religious and civic duty enjoined on the living family members of the Greek *oikos* or household, see Leslie Kurke, *The Traffic in Praise: Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 62–82.

[27] Lowrie, *Horace's Narrative Odes*, 89; Elroy L. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 28.

[28] Renato Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 66–76.

[29] Jacob Sider Jost, *Prose Immortality, 1711–1819* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015). The Puritan mortuary detail and Anglican belief in eternity found in the funeral elegy were remnants of a seventeenth-century tradition that was gradually displaced by an eighteenth-century interest in philanthropy and everyday life. Yet, as Jung's study of Scottish funeral elegies has revealed, this documentary quality should not be attributed to biography alone. Before newspapers became universally accessible and affordable, "the

sanctification and stellification—as in Dryden's ode "To the Pious Memory of the Accomplisht young LADY, Mrs Anne Killigrew" (1686)—or through monumentalization—as both in Cowley's *Works* (7th ed., 1700) and his marble tomb in Westminster Abbey—the seventeenth-century pindarist shared with the Christian poet a belief in the triumph, earthly or otherworldly, as enabling everlasting immortality.

The elegiac modulation of the late seventeenth-century Pindaric ode can be illustrated by the response to Queen Mary's sudden demise on 28 December 1694.[30] Half of the 14 separately issued odes of 1695 in the ESTC are poems on Mary's death, and half of those are titled "Pindarick" or "Pindarique" odes. To these should be added the "Pindaric poems" such as Henry Park's *Lachrymae Sacerdotis, A Pindarick Poem upon the Queen* and John Dennis's *The Court of Death: A Pindarick Poem*. The latter is particularly illustrative of the ways in which Pindar's poetics were adapted to fit English elegiac motives. After having been transported by the song of a celestial Muse, the speaker of *The Court of Death* takes up his place among the classical writers of odes, including "*Flaccus*" (l. 32) and the "fierce *Pindar*" (34). What ensues is a catalogue of William III's qualities and achievements as King, followed by a similar assembly of virtues for which Mary was known. In a long enumeration of William's peculiar talents for both conquest and concord, the malicious members of the court of Death conspire to attack William's single weak spot, his consort Mary:

> To terrifie him then, assault him ev'n in those,
> Those of his Queen are his, that lovely Queen,
> Whom such Perfections grace,
> That her high Vertues, and her heavenly Mein,
> Might make it be presum'd,
> His Godlike Genius had that shape assum'd,
> T' assist him in his Royal place.
> Attack but her, endanger her, and then
> This Demi-God will shake like common men.
> (364–72)

The implicit irony underlying this passage is evident enough; without the English Mary, the Dutch William's body politic is under serious threat, and so is his authenticity and divinity as a sovereign. The next three stanzas nonetheless continue the same modal

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function of publicizing particular news items, such as the death notice of an individual in whom the public would have had an interest, was fulfilled by broadsides" ("Early Eighteenth-Century Scottish Funeral Elegies," 35). The same holds true for jobbing printing, a point to which I shall briefly return below.

[30] Even though Mary's growing corpulence had been noted and ridiculed by some lampooners, her sudden illness and symptoms of smallpox in December followed in such quick succession that anything in preparation for the celebration of her recovery was outpaced by her death (Winn, *Queen Anne*, 191).

combination of praise for Mary's virtues and anticipation of her death. Despite the hints of association with Eve and the inevitable implications of sin, Mary is ultimately celebrated as the one who will "restore all human kind / To Immortality" (469–70). Suddenly, though, without any clear disclosure of Death's proceedings, the poem ends, and "all the ghastly shapes dissolv'd to gloomy Night" (490). This abrupt cessation of the poet's rapture is not so much an indication of the universal knowledge of Mary's tragic fate at the time of the poem's publication; it is, rather, a mark of Dennis's deliberate observance of the generic laws of the Pindaric ode.

More than simply an occasional poem on the death of Queen Mary, *The Court of Death* is a poetic manifesto for the particular interest and significance of the Pindaric ode in combining threnody and exultation. Dennis prefaced *The Court of Death* with an account of the ode and its character in general as well as with a discussion of Pindar and his manner in particular. Dennis translated the definition of the ode formulated by the French critic René Rapin in his *Réflexions* (1674), adding that "the Ode ought to have as much boldness, elevation and majesty, as Epic Poetry it self; but then it is certain that it ought to have more vehemence, more transport and more enthusiasm."[31] Similarly, Pindar's character is explained on the basis of another definition gleaned from Rapin, which Dennis upgrades with quotations from Horace's *Odes*. According to Dennis, Rapin falls particularly short of reflection on the impetuousness of Pindar's writing and on the dreadful and often terrifying nature of his metaphoric language—an early instance of Dennis's ruminations on the theory of the sublime. This alleged misunderstanding of Pindar's frequent digressions and sudden returns is only one of many problems facing the poet who attempts to translate the "Fire which the *Grecians* had" into English (i, 44). It is certainly one obstacle which Cowley could not so easily overcome; Dennis considered Cowley's main errors to be stylistic—excessive use of affected wit and insufficient majesty and sublimity—and decided for his own "Pindarick Verses" to focus on Milton instead. For Pindar and Milton have some of the most important qualities of odic verse in common, such as "vehemence, elevation, and a terrible Majesty; qualities which are far above me," Dennis admits, "but the violent desire I had to show, how I honour the Memory of the great Queen that is gone, made me *insolently* resolve to aspire to them" (i, 44; emphasis added). Death, more than any other subject it would seem, incites the poet to aspire to states of being that are beyond him, to an epiphanic experience that seems to kindle at least some of that Grecian fire in the English poet.

[31] John Dennis, "Preface to *The Court of Death*," in *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker, 2 vols. (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1939), i, 42. All future references will be included as parenthetical in-text citations.

One central notion shared by the funeral elegy and the Pindaric ode is a drive towards the discovery and understanding of that which lies beyond human perception. Elegiac or Pindaric meditation on death is thus typically the incentive that "leads to recognition (*anagnorosis*) of feeling, to revelations and illuminations," but also to images of light, insight, and a "perceptive vision."[32] Death is an important catalyst because, as Dennis pointed out in his preface, it causes rapture and affect that can make even the most reasonable poet aspire, "insolently," to matters beyond comprehension. The attendant emotions are related to what Dennis elsewhere termed the "enthusiastic passion," which results from the contemplation and meditation of ideas not fully comprehended, and not emanating from mere objects as "vulgar passion" does. As Shaun Irlam has observed, passion, according to Dennis, becomes assimilated by discourse, by the language of poetry, by the "Characteristical Mark" and the impressions, traces, and imprints that form part of Dennis's "figurative passionate style," which should be understood as a figurative language, typological and providential rather than secular and historical.[33] Stressing the natural sources of poetic effect, moreover, Dennis's Christianity offered a sublime poetry that could re-invoke the primitive, pre-lapsarian state of man's moral purity.[34] He valued affect above reason because a terrifying mystery such as death inspires corresponding emotions, which in turn transport the affected poet towards a rhapsody that is capable of inspiring reform, towards a highly rhetorical poetry that functions as "moral writing upon the soul."[35]

Writing as an inducement to moral reform is an unmistakable part of Pindar's figurative language and supplies the ode with a communal purpose, with a sense of social and collective engagement through its expression of social values. Similar to the metaphor of inscription as an emblem of social economy discussed in Chapter 2, the figurative analogy between writing an ode and carving out in stone or brass a monument to current as well as future moral values provided poets from Horace to Dennis with a potent prototype for social interaction. But whereas for Pindar the odes involving architectural figuration and troping, such as *Olympian* 6, were bound to the *laudandus* and his society, for Horace the monument that is his ode (most famously *Odes* III.30) "makes of poetry an extension of himself [...] and does not, like Pindar's poetry,

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[32] Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 207.

[33] Shaun Irlam, *Elations: The Poetics of Enthusiasm in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: University Press, 1999), 70–9.

[34] Even though his "new theories about divine poetry were not associated with the claims to divine inspiration that had made religious enthusiasts such a target for their Tory and Anglican opponents," he was nonetheless considered too zealous, too critical, and too splenetic by the next generation of "polite" Whigs (Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture*, 126).

[35] Irlam, *Elations*, 63.

seek out on its own an external object of praise."[36] So, when Pindar connects celebration and dirge in his first two *Olympians* to Hieron and Theron, the message of death and transitory human life he conveys is one which has significance for the entire community to which his patrons belong, as well as for humanity as a whole.[37] By contrast, Horace's mourning songs (*lugubris cantus*), like all his poems, are as much about poetry and himself as about death and grief.[38] Yet, what unites both odists, and what Dennis appropriated and modified to fit a Christian context, is the possibility of permanence inherent in all lyric poetry, and in the Pindaric ode especially. The apparent immutability of inscription is what finally brings Pindaric and elegiac modes together, not in terms of the elegy as epitaph (in the sense of the stone, the genre, or the inset section at the end of many elegies), but through its promise of permanence. Similar words such as "record," as Heather Dubrow has suggested, emphasize "an interaction with auditors [...] who could comprise both people to whom the poem is currently related and future generations with whom what it preserves will be shared."[39] This, ultimately, is the twofold power of commemorative verse: to preserve for future generations the memory of an exemplary figure as an emblem of the values and codes esteemed collectively by the poet and his community.

3.3 Funerary Emblems, Woodcuts, and the Visualization of Death

While the first section of this chapter offered an examination of the modal, rhetorical, and discursive emblematization of the Pindaric and elegiac, the following section will explore the *visual* aspect of emblematic representations of death. Historically and politically eventful moments such as coronations and funerals were not surprisingly vital driving forces behind the production and consumption of commemorative print.[40] Among the memorabilia issued for James II's coronation in 1685 were costly earthenware and glass coronation mugs and dishes, as well as medals and counters, printed broadsides, and even packs of cards cut from large illustrated sheets—all of

[36] Lowrie, *Horace's Narrative Odes*, 72–3.

[37] Revard, *Politics, Poetics, and the Pindaric Ode*, 197–204.

[38] Lowrie, *Horace's Narrative Odes*, 77.

[39] Dubrow, *The Challenges of Orpheus*, 58, 139–1.

[40] Coronations are obviously closely connected to the death and funeral of the previous monarch.

which disseminated an image of the king.[41] Remarkably similar to Gribelin's medallic illustration described at the start of this chapter was a silver medal prepared, or in the course of preparation, before the death of Queen Mary. It showed Britannia kneeling and praying, with clasped hands, before an altar. With her spear, shield, and cornucopia lying beside her on the ground, Britannia appears to send to heaven, depicted by the rays of the sun, a prayer that is inscribed as a legend on the coin. Interestingly, the inscription is a line from Horace's *Odes* I.3, "serves animae dimidium meae," and refers to the halving of coins as a metaphor for enduring friendship and affection, as equal shares of the same mind.[42] As soon as Mary's death was a certainty, the medal's altar and burning censer were accompanied in countless other medals by a whole range of funerary emblems, such as Mary's tomb or sarcophagus, her sceptre and crown, burning torches, urns, skulls, and cypress trees. While serving to reinforce the position of the monarch in a moral, religious context, these funerary emblems also encouraged "cumulative and typological readings" and established links across the boundaries of traditionally defined media, links that were based on an easily identifiable repertoire of textual as well as pictorial elements.[43]

Funerary emblems showed up on printed broadsides and in other cheap forms of funeral verse, not only as textual motifs, but in the shape of engraved and woodcut border elements as well. Complex frame ornamentation, which frequently included ermine patterns, skulls and bones, *memento mori* phrases, ornamental initials, and woodcut portrayals of the deceased, were to some extent products of the early modern tradition of the godly table, which was usually a moralizing broadside with woodcuts of Father Time and such conventional attributes as scythes, coffins, skeletons, spades, and picks.[44] Rigorously didactic, the godly table served to remind the mortal human being that his or her time on earth was limited. Morality, however, was not the only concern. Jung has recently drawn attention to the importance of analysing funeral elegies in the print-historical context of an *economics* of mourning, "as the monumentalizing of individuals, through scriptural media, took place within a competitive marketplace in which booksellers and printers clearly invested in projects of cultural patriotism."[45]

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[41] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 292.

[42] For this line's banking metaphor and the relationship with friendship in Horace's *Odes*, see T. V. Buttrey, "Halved Coins, the Augustan Reform, and Horace, Odes I.3," *American Journal of Archaeology* 76 (1972): 31–48.

[43] Jung, "Early Eighteenth-Century Scottish Funeral Elegies," 34, 40.

[44] In religious chapbooks, both in word and image, the skeletal figure of Death was omnipresent. He was less prominent in merry books, where he was usually replaced by his 'brother' Cupid. See Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981), 138; and Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 217–54.

[45] Jung, "Early Eighteenth-Century Scottish Funeral Elegies," 43.

Edmund Curll's investment in "lives" of famous people recently deceased is a well-documented instance of this development,[46] but on a daily basis the overwhelming demand for memorial print material had to be answered by jobbing printing. With its origins in social and economic practice, the diverse jobbing work of printers, as James Raven has shown, was a vital cog in the print machinery that documented the everyday life and private worlds of individuals, including their death and burial.[47] Memorial verse sheets of varying formats could thus easily resemble xylographically embellished funeral cards, invitations, and tickets, the thick black borders of which "graphically imitate[d] the appearance of tombstones."[48] These funeral invitations, within the decorative frames of which the specifics of the funeral were either overprinted or handwritten, were surprisingly similar in design and function to undertakers' trade cards as well as to the funerary verse publications produced for the occasion.[49]

The modal-medial cooperation between textual and visual mortuary motifs can be illustrated by a broadside that was issued by Robert Williams when James II passed away at his court in St. Germain in 1701. Puzzlingly titled *An ODE: or ELEGY on the Death of James the Second, Late King of England*, the broadside is adorned with a large, inked-in black header within which a skeleton, carrying a banner with *vanitas* motto, and a naked woman, representing "Fortune," signify the passing of time and the transience of human flesh.[50] Among the more typical emblems, there was also a crown, an orb, and a depiction of a naval battle, all more directly referring to the deceased as one who had distinguished himself as Lord High Admiral under Charles II before becoming King himself (figure 9).

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[46] The most recent full study is Paul Baines and Pat Rogers, *Edmund Curll: Bookseller* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007).

[47] James Raven, "Why Ephemera Were Not Ephemeral: The Effectiveness of Innovative Print in the Eighteenth Century," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 45 (2015): 56–73.

[48] Jung, "Early Eighteenth-Century Scottish Funeral Elegies," 42, 56.

[49] Lorna Clymer, "Noticing Death: Funeral Invitations and Obituaries in Early Modern Britain," in Helen Deutsch and Mary Terrall, eds., *Vital Matters: Eighteenth-Century Views of Conception, Life, and Death* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 2012), 267–8.

[50] *An ODE: or ELEGY on the Death of James the Second, Late King of England. Who Departed this Life at St. Germans, in France, on Wednesday the Fourth of September, 1701. In the Sixty Seventh Year of his Age, 11 Months, and 11 Days. Written by J. M. Gent.* (London: printed for R. Williams, 1701). Clymer has noted that vanitas imagery "often depends on a gruesome or grotesque visual irony, in which beautiful flesh, usually a woman's, is juxtaposed with a decayed or skeletal version" ("Noticing Death," 269).

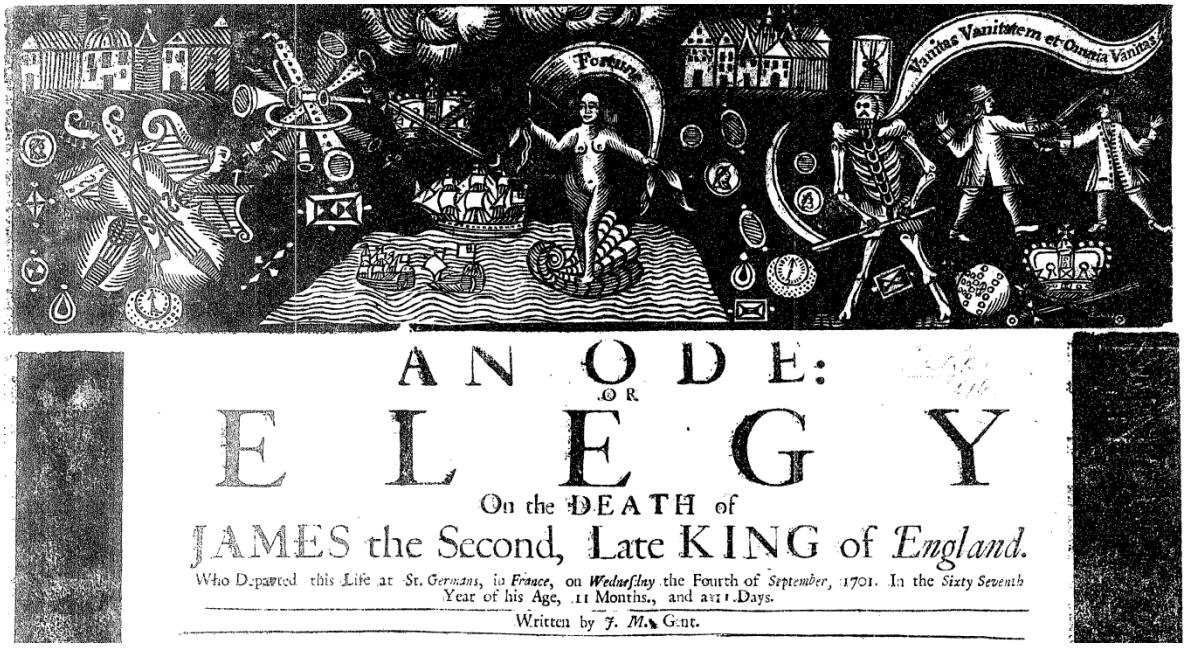


Figure 9 Woodcut headpiece of *An Ode: or Elegy* (1701). Image reproduced from a digitized copy on EEBO.

In accordance with James's epithet of "England's sun king," whose image in the final moments of his reign "was contested and shadowed but not eclipsed,"[51] the poem relates that, in the end, James

> drup't his *Head* like to the Evening Sun.
> But Heaven was kind, and gently took his Breath,
> Sure 'twas a Translation, not a *Death*.
> (ll. 74–6)

Pointing to the motifs of nativity exiled in Jacobite poetry, Murray Pittock has revealed how often James II appeared as Israel or Aeneas, as a sun god or a god of fertility or vegetation, one who defied, in short, the very notion of being an exiled patriot king by always insisting on the likelihood of his return.[52] James's eventual death occasioned a rather more conclusive manifestation of that exile, a loss poets had to circumvent by speaking of his demise not just in terms of the King's immortal body, but in terms of his stellar transformation and eternal rebirth. "Methinks I see him mount the Assure Skie" (80), the poet continues,

[51] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 296.

[52] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 47, 64–6.

Angels salutes Him as he draweth nigh,
Conducts HIM to a Seat or Royal Throne,
Prepar'd for HIM, and only HIM alone,
Where all the Discords of the World can't harm him,
But Ravishing Musick e'ry moment charms him.
(81–5)

In the familiar Stuart idiom, James receives a position among a harmonious constellation of stars and angels, but for a Jacobite poet, James's death came as close to the end of the Astraean reign as it could possibly get.

By a peculiar twist of fate, the exact same ornamental frame used for Robert Williams's broadside reappeared in a place where one would not immediately expect to find it. Perhaps through form printing, or through the exchange of woodcuts among printers, the xylographical heading used for the *ODE or ELEGY* on James's death was reused one year later for Gilbert Burnet's *An Elegy on the Death of that Illustrious Monarch William the Third* (figure 10).[53] Although politically speaking they could not be more at odds with one another, it would seem that on paper James II and his son-in-law William III could be sold in the same ornamental package. The differences, unsurprisingly, only become apparent on the level of the text. Though equally adorned with an isolated epitaph at the bottom, and visually identical in all other respects, the London elegy does not make the same comparisons as the one devoted to James:

Can *WILLIAM* dye, and no portents appear?
No pale Eclipse o' th' Sun to let us fear
What we should suffer, and before his Light
Put out i' th' World involv'd in Darkest Night.
(ll. 9–12)

Unlike at Caesar's death—or, it might be added, at James's in the previous elegy— there were no natural phenomena to greet William's demise. Though this is not in accordance with the usual pathetic fallacy found in pastoral elegy, the verbal or thematic discrepancies are less noteworthy than the implications related to the recycling of the woodblock. The distinct overlap in title elements has a bearing on the ways in which this type of poetry was interpreted by its readers. As the poem on James's death is tagged simultaneously "ode" and "elegy," surely the generic associations evoked by the

[53] *An Elegy on the Death of that Illustrious Monarch William the Third, Late King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Who departed this Life at his Palace at Kensington, on Sunday the 8th day of March, 1701/2. in the 52d. Year of His Age, 4 Months and 5 Days; and the 13th Year of his reign. Written by the Reverend Dr. Burnet* (London: printed for E. Hawkins, 1702). Immediately afterwards, it was reprinted in Edinburgh "by the heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson," but without the ornamental heading (ESTC citation number: T182425).

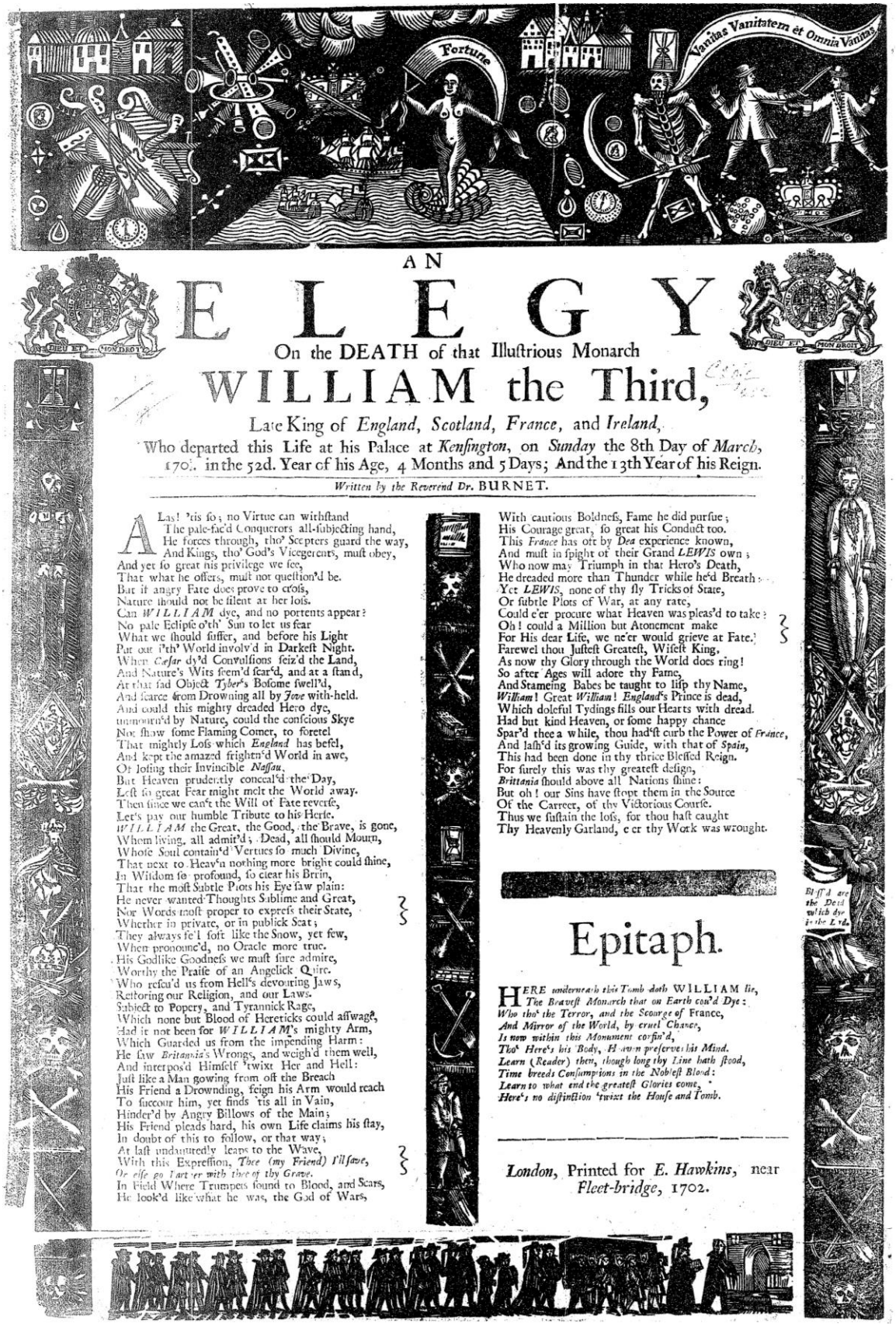


Figure 10 *An Elegy on the Death of ... William the Third* (1702), with the same headpiece used for the *Ode: or Elegy* on James, but with decorative mourning borders. Image reproduced from a digitized copy on ECCO.

title qualify the conventional expectations of lament and consolation. The austerity associated with William's Calvinist background, moreover, would suggest another reason why his elegy is not adorned with the aureate metaphors of his Jacobite rival. Perhaps, as with the transposability of the woodcut ornaments, chance provides the sole explanation for the dual title of James's elegy. Yet it is equally possible that for the makers, sellers, and purchasers of printed matter James's regal Stuart legacy simply remained more firmly associated with the high-style ode than with the plaintive and often Puritan elegy. For a Jacobite printer, the possibility of James's return, or at least his propitious guidance from above, may have stimulated the suggestive inclusion of "ode" in the title.

3.4 Experiencing the Eighteenth-Century Funerary Moment

The potential influence on funerary verse of the performative kinds, the epicedium and the dirge, raises further questions about the material circumstances in which printed poems featured at funerals. Printed funeral elegies were often pinned or pasted to the hearse or tomb, and were read or sung during the procession or over the coffin during the burial ceremony.[54] After the funeral observances, collections of elegies by several hands were frequently offered for sale, some of which with the express intention of providing visualizations of the funeral procession, coffin, or effigy. Countless examples of woodcuts and engraved illustrations of these obsequial practices have survived. Some of the illustrative designs even travelled across the Atlantic, especially to staunchly Calvinist New England, and featured in single-sheet publications there, as in *A Pindarick ELEGY Upon the Renowned, Mr. Samuel Willard, Late Reverend Teacher of the South Church in* Boston*, and Vice-President of* Harvard College *in* Cambridge*; Who Deceased September the 12th. 1707*. The woodcut heading to this Pindaric elegy depicts the coffin of the deceased as it is being carried to the grave in a stately funeral procession. Even if the extent of the precise exequial use of the funeral elegy at eighteenth-century burial rites is hard to reconstruct, the continuous co-existence in printed form of woodcut as well as letterpress emblems depicting hearse and procession points at least to its crystallization into metaphor and convention, and perhaps even to printmakers' concerted response to consumer demand. Margaret Ezell has called attention to the "complex hybrid media modality" in single-sheet illustrated publications like *A Pindarick ELEGY*, in which

[54] For details and context of the early funeral elegy in liturgical use, see Draper, *The Funeral Elegy*, 9, 93–120.

graphic frame narration and the manipulation of space and text "reveal the ways in which they could be 'read' and appreciated by readers of various levels and types of literacy, ranging from the ability to read the fine italic font or black letter type to a visual literacy accustomed to interpreting images."[55] Even if these cheap memorial publications used generic labels such as elegy and ode interchangeably, just as their images tended to be recycled and recirculated, what is certain is that they promoted, not a commodity purchased for private ownership, but "a shared cultural moment," a communal event in which everyone could somehow collectively participate.[56]

Hymnodist and theologian Isaac Watts was an ardent supporter of this belief in the shared experience of devotion and mourning. One of the most pressing concerns of his hymns was the question of whether they were meant for private reading or communal singing. However, unlike his 1707 *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, "which turned the read lyric into a prescription for conformity across groups," Watts's *Horae Lyricae* (first issued in 1706, but much enlarged in 1709) embraced the sphere of temporality and evanescence generally attributed to the formless Pindaric.[57] In the subtitle to one of the titular odes he penned, "A Funeral Ode at the Interment of the Body," which eventually appeared in his *Works* as part of a five-lyric section on "Death and Heaven," Watts indicated that the poem was "supposed to be sung by the Mourners."[58] According to the commonly accepted definition, this poem, despite its ostensive title, could actually be read as nothing more than a congregational hymn, conveying praise and sung by a community of worshippers.[59] However, one essential element is missing: the poem is not addressed to God, but to the inanimate tomb and earth that must accept the deceased's body. At the outset, the speaker petitions the "faithful tomb" (l. 1) to offer "the lovely sleeper" (7) "soft repose" (8), a repose compared in the final stanzas to Jesus's sleep. There the "fair saint" (11) must wait until the "morning break and pierce the shade" of death (12), the "illustrious morn" (13) that emanates, of course, from God. What I would like to suggest is that a poem like Watts's, when given the explicit title of "Funeral Ode," establishes a deliberate connection between the sung ode of the ancient Greek choral lyric as developed by Pindar and the elegiac monody frequently enshrined in the motif of the funerary monument, in real or imaginary proximity of which this poem obtains

[55] Margaret J. M. Ezell, "The Times Displayed: Late Seventeenth-Century English Commemorative Broadsheets and Media Hybridity," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 45 (2015), 14.

[56] Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O'Driscoll, eds., *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013), 21.

[57] Jayne Lewis, "Isaac Watts's Occasional Conformities," in *Queen Anne and the Arts*, ed. Reverand, 173.

[58] Isaac Watts, *Reliquiæ Juveniles: Miscellaneous Thoughts in Prose and Verse, on Natural, Moral, and Divine Subjects* (London: printed for T. Longman and J. Buckland, 1752), 250–1.

[59] Donald Davie, *The Eighteenth-Century Hymn in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 14–9.

its function and significance. Even though the subject of structural and thematic affinity between the ode and the hymn is one the final chapter of this dissertation will revisit at greater length, it is important to note here the effect of an experiential spectrum of private-sectarian and public-congregational expression intrinsic to the funeral elegy and the Pindaric ode respectively.

Royal, public funerals were obviously an even greater source for poets and printmakers to exploit than private ones, and visual representations occur in a wide range of print forms. *The Mourning Court*, a broadside issued for Queen Mary's funeral on 5 March 1695, offers a large illustration of a funeral procession moving in serpentine fashion across the page, with a black-draped carriage carrying Mary's coffin, and a train of peers, MPs, and other attendants walking in front of it.[60] In the official *Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral of her Late Majesty Queen Mary*, orchestrated by the Earl Marshall, a detailed account is given of the various participants and their exact position in the procession.[61] At the end, the *Form* provides a section on the "Proceedings to the Interrment after the Sermon," which graphically positions the names of the Queen's household members and supporters of the pall in such a way as to mimic their spot around "The Body" of the Queen before it was to be taken to King Henry VII's vault for burial. During the funeral service, Mary's body lay in state in a large mausoleum specifically designed for the occasion by Sir Christopher Wren and reproduced in a number of printed illustrations.[62] In April, Nahum Tate, who had become Poet Laureate just three years earlier, delivered a funeral poem titled *Mausoleum*, the frontispiece of which pictured the

> *Mausolæan* Pile erected high,
> Threatning the Temple's Roof, as That the Sky;
> With Starry Lamps and Banners blazing round,
> In all the Pageantry of Death is crown'd.
> (ll. 31–4)[63]

Nearly touching the roof of "the Sacred *Dome*" (19) of Westminster Abbey, Wren's magnificent funeral monument is here disseminated in the shape of a full-page plate

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[60] Compare the heading of *Great Britain's Lamentation* (Brit. Mus. Broadside); Draper, *The Funeral Elegy*, 196.

[61] *The Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral of her Late Majesty Queen Mary. Of Blessed Memory, From the Royal Palace of Whitehall to the Collegiate Church at Westminster; the 5th Day of this Instant March, 1694/5. To begin at Twelve a Clock. To be punctually Observed by all Persons therein Concerned*, printed by the authority of the Earl Marshall, the Duke of Norfolk (London: Printed by Edward Jones, 1695).

[62] For a high-quality scan of the supremely detailed engraving "Funeralia Mariae II Britanniarum" by the Dutchman Samuel Gruterus, go to https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-OB-76.278.

[63] Nahum Tate, *Mausolæum: A Funeral Poem On our late Gracious Sovereign Queen Mary, Of Blessed Memory* (London: Printed for B. Aylmer, W. Rogers, and R. Baldwin, 1695), 2.

that enabled readers who did not have "Tickets for Places within the Collegiate Church at *Westminster* from the Duke of *Norfolke*"[64] to visualize this elaborate testament of nation-wide grief (figure 11). In the epideictic style of the formal panegyric, with adverbial clauses prompted by words like "lo!," "see," and "now," Tate vividly enacts the scene and allows his readers, at least to some extent, to imagine Mary's funeral as if they were there themselves.

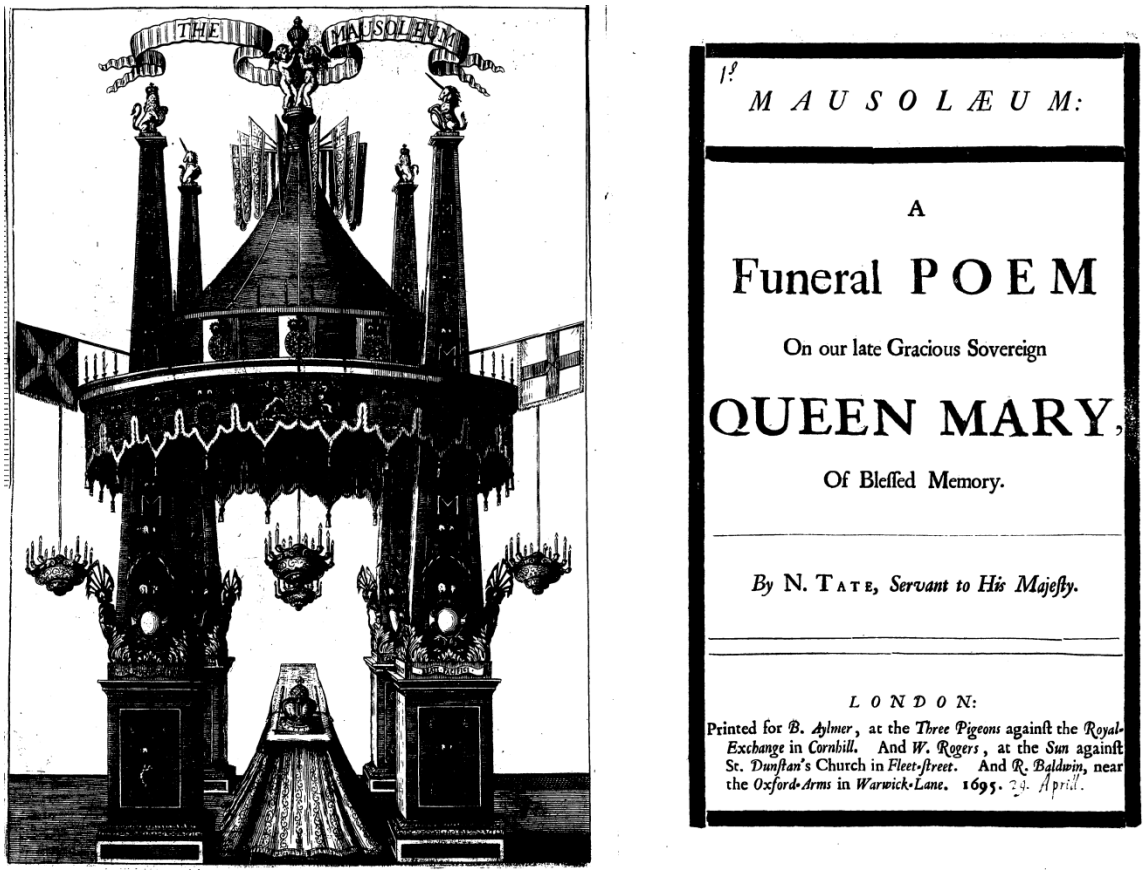


Figure 11 Frontispiece and titlepage of Tate's *Mausolæum* (1695), which offers a visual representation of the monument designed by Wren. Image reproduced from a digitized copy on EEBO.

The possibilities of participating in the rituals of collective mourning were endless and consumers could rely on forms other than Pindaric-elegiac broadsides or printed renderings of funerary monuments to feed their imagination. Between her death in December and the actual funeral in March, Mary's body lay in state, first at Kensington Palace and then at Whitehall. Because the preparations for her funeral were so complex and the actual event postponed for so long, the conventional acts of commemoration

[64] *Form of the Proceeding*, 4.

developed into a veritable industry of mourning.[65] Lois G. Schwoerer has indicated that Mary's death spawned a greater number of memorial tributes than any other monarch of this period, including about 110 printed elegies and sermons.[66] Sean Walsh has argued that the death of Queen Mary "elicited more poetry than any other occasion in the period, prompting eulogies as well as praise for the king," and that with this event the Pindaric reached "a high watermark of popularity."[67] Among the more widespread products of this industry was a memorial medal executed by James Roettier depicting Mary's body lying in state. Hurriedly produced during the time when the Queen's body was being moved from Kensington to Whitehall, the pewter version of this medal was most likely intended as a cheap memorial to be distributed as widely as possible.[68] Here again, the interaction between and wide appeal of medals and commemorative verse is evident.

The popular attraction of a royal effigy on display, whether in the form of a body lying in state or a death mask made of wax or wood, lasted throughout the seventeenth and well into the nineteenth century.[69] At one point in the first decade of the eighteenth century, a form-printed funeral ticket was reused as an invitation to an exhibition of Mrs. Salmon's waxworks at the Golden Salmon in London. Framed by a decorative woodcut border with a skull, a banner inscribed with "Memento Mori," and two skeletons holding an hourglass and an arrow of time on each side, the letterpress writing in the middle announces the exhibition of "Effigies of Q. *Catharine*, being taken from her own Face, lying on a Bed of State in a Mausoleum, drest in her Royal Robes, richly Adorn'd with Silver Banners, burning Tapers, and Escutions, with an Attendance suitable to the Solemnity," as well as of "King *Charles* I. upon the Fatal Scaffold" and of "Her Most Excellent Majesty Q. *Anne*. K *William* and Q. *Mary*." The endurance of this form of commercialized materialization of death is evidenced by two further handbills issued

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[65] For a detailed account of the funeral, see Michael Schaich, "The Funerals of the British Monarchy," in *Monarchy and Religion: the Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Michael Schaich (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 423–7. Though chief mourner, Anne remained absent from her sister's funeral, for which some moving new music was composed (Winn, *Queen Anne*, 191).

[66] Lois G. Schwoerer, "Images of Queen Mary II, 1689–95," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989), 743.

[67] Sean Walsh, "'Our Lineal Descents and Clans': Dryden's *Fables Ancient and Modern* and Cultural Politics in the 1690's," in *John Dryden: A Tercentenary Miscellany*, eds. Susan Green and Stephen Zwicker (San Marino: Huntington Library, 2001), 182. The same point about the flood of verse on Mary's death is made in Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 383–5. On Marian typology and Queen Mary's death as evocative of the Regicide, see Alex Garganigo, "William without Mary: Mourning Sensibly in the Public Sphere," *Seventeenth Century 23* (2008): 105–41.

[68] Franks and Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations*, ii, 122–3.

[69] Richard Daniel Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 50–3. Wax workers like Schalch and Goldsmith created several models of William, Mary, and Anne, as well as of the Duke of Gloucester, who were dressed in official robes and taken on tours across the land.

after Mrs. Salmon had moved her waxworks show to Fleet Street in 1711. The first handbill informed potential visitors that the attractions included "Margaret Countess of Heningbergh, Lying on a Bed of State, with her Three hundred and Sixty-Five Children." The second handbill, dated around 1715, provided a similar description of wax figures, this time including "Q. Anne lying in state."[70] According to Richard Altick, "these full-length representations were the equivalent, with color and a third dimension added, of the engraved portraits most people could not afford to buy."[71] Together with memorial medals and illustrated broadside odes, waxworks formed part of an immense cultural enterprise that focused entirely on exploiting the death of public figures for commercial purposes.

3.5 Generic Repertoires and the Funeral Ode

The line of thought pursued so far in this chapter foregrounds the assumption that a monarch's death and burial had a noticeably stimulating effect on the production of commemorative print. Scholars like Schwoerer and Walsh certainly argue as such, and John Draper long since reported that the elegies on Queen Mary "would seem to have been legion, many in manuscript, and many that 'few, besides the Printers, e're have seen'."[72] Completely different, by most accounts, was the response to Queen Anne's death. In the final volume of *Poems on Affairs of State*, a miscellaneous collection of verse concluding with Anne's death, the Yale editors state that "few princes died so little celebrated in verse."[73] A bolder version of a remark made by Abel Boyer, Anne's first biographer, this claim typifies the derogatory perception of Anne's reign as a whole.[74] Boyer noticed in his monthly periodical, *The Political State of Great Britain*, that "few Princes ever died so little regretted and lamented by the Generality of their Subjects."[75]

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[70] Quoted in Altick, *The Shows of London*, 52. Mrs. Salmon also displayed her waxworks, for instance, during Bartholomew Fair.

[71] Altick, *The Shows of London*, 52.

[72] Draper, *The Funeral Elegy*, 195.

[73] *POAS*, vii, 603.

[74] For a nuanced account of this particular topic, see Robert O. Bucholz in "Queen Anne: Victim of her Virtues?" in Clarissa Campbell Orr, *Queenship in Britain, 1660–1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 94–129. Bucholz traces the source of Anne's later image mainly to the memoirs of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, but also raises her ancestry and gender as possibilities for the negative view.

[75] Abel Boyer, *The Political State of Great-Britain* (London: printed for John Baker, 1714), viii, 112.

Though not referring to the literature produced on the occasion of Anne's death, Boyer's observation has been adopted by later critics who argue for the lack of literary engagement with the event.[76] Yet, the response to Anne's death was on the whole not as insignificant as this report may seem to suggest. The corpus on which the editors of *Poems on Affairs of State* based their claim is limited, listing only five anonymous elegies and two additional poems, "neither of them elegies."[77] Qualitative statements such as this should themselves be 'qualified'—i.e. tested to the quantitative results yielded by a broadening of the notion of commemorative print that goes beyond paradigmatic genre structures.[78] This more expansive notion of genre treats encomiastic and elegiac modes as the building-blocks used by poets and printmakers for the creation of multi-purpose hybrids, and reveals through its inclusive approach that the funerary verse on Anne's death was not a negligible phenomenon.

In order to avoid getting lost entirely in the maze of modality and modulation, however, it might be useful to ascertain empirically a set of distinctive characteristics that make up an objectively existing generic repertoire against which these impressionistic generalizations can be tested. A combination of all titular "odes" published in 1695 on Mary's death with a selection of poems of 1714 nominally on Anne's death reveals some important genre-specific tendencies. If printing devices were recycled seemingly at random, with clusters of funerary emblems showing up in the margins of poems titled elegies as well as odes, it remains to be seen whether strictly *textual* motifs and tropes exhibit the same sort of lawless circulation.[79] After all, it is not unrealistic to expect some of the conventional structural formulae of the elegy, such as the plea, the consolation, and the apotheosis, as well as the poetic graveyard trees, the cypress and the yew, to be comparatively less prominent in odes.[80]

Not surprisingly perhaps, the most frequent words in the Mary-Anne corpus are "great" (124) and "shall" (118), as well as those words that relate specifically to both queens' demise, such as "queen" (78), "soul" (71), "fate" (66), "death" (63), and "grief" (63). Equally unsurprising but certainly notable, however, is that the poems on Anne's death have a far larger amount of terms relating to the new king, George I. An

[76] Abigail Williams does not delve deeper into the case of Anne's death, but observes that "if the queen's death in itself did not produce a flood of poetry, the accession of George I did" (Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture*, 170).

[77] *POAS*, vii, 604.

[78] On the encomiastic and the elegiac as more broadly and organically applied than other modes, see Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 108.

[79] For a similar approach, see Jung, "Early Eighteenth-Century Scottish Funeral Elegies," 37.

[80] Native English willows and yews were accompanied by cypress, laurel, and ivy, elegiac emblems derived from the Latin elegists that easily found their way into the increasingly descriptive mortuary landscapes of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Draper, *The Funeral Elegy*, 256–7).

examination of the poems in the corpus that deal exclusively with Anne's death—that is, odes as well as elegies and other poems with Anne's death explicitly mentioned in their title elements—reveals that the succession issue was the principal factor encroaching upon almost all occasional verse of this year. Perhaps the most striking of all is the dominance, compared to the rest of the corpus, of distinctive terms such as "king" (27), "fame" (23), and "law" (20), words which evidently point to the need to legitimize the king's arrival in terms of lawful succession while preserving the queen as an enshrined allegory of fame.

Moreover, when separating all titular "odes" of 1714 from the other types (resulting in a corpus of approximately 10,000 words, of which about 3,000 are unique), the most salient of frequent words—apart from regular customers "shall" (44) and "great" (34)—are words that relate to vernal and diurnal arrival: "bright" (21), "heav'n" (17), "day" (16), "fair" (16), "sacred" (16), "happy" (14). In light of the imagery frequently employed in the court ode, this should not come as a surprise. On this micro-level, then, it is clear that the odes and elegies for Anne, lacking the rigid distinction generally assigned to them, are never wholly dedicated to her glorification or commemoration alone, but always keep an eye on the successor, whose ascent to the throne was imminent. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to assume that the elegiac and odic modes objectively exist, functioning according to a number of genre-specific as well as extra-textual factors. Fashioning a generic repertoire for each specific kind, based on stock tropes and formulae, may thus offer insight into generic categories without reducing genre to an uncritical umbrella term covering up all forms of distinction.

An additional factor governing the modal cooperation of praise and lament in royal eulogy was the age-old belief that even though the mortal *k*ing might pass away, the *K*ing never dies. According to English law, interregna were basically inconceivable.[81] Despite the fact that William and Mary were joint rulers, Mary's death had few repercussions for the monarchy as such. While it is true that Mary embodied the royal marriage—an image of union vital to the legitimacy of William's authority—she was praised for her *personal* virtues, for her goodness, beauty, and piety; after 1694, despite some opposition, her husband remained alive to represent kingship in its *public*, political form. Queen Anne's death was quite another matter. Whereas the principal motifs in encomia devoted to Anne were identical to those for which Mary was distinguished—as a saintly mother of the people and devout guardian of the Anglican

[81] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, passim; Clark, *English Society 1688–1832*, 134–5.

Church—the circumstances of her personal life and the condition of British politics at the time of her death were fundamentally different.[82]

Her lack of offspring having been anticipated and made irrelevant by the Act of Settlement in 1701, Anne's succession was controversial in a way that Mary's or William's could never possibly have been. For moderate Whigs and Tories, "Anne was queen by virtue of the law of primogeniture subject to the exclusion of Catholic candidates,"[83] but she had no heir of her own body to succeed her. Issues of hereditary claims and divine-right kingship at stake in commemorative verse were therefore inevitably entangled with issues of a lawful Protestant succession, as 57 potential successors were passed over on the basis of their religion. Consequently, King George "took care to let it be known that he came to Britain as a ruler by 'hereditary right', that right having been made explicit 'only for Catholic members of the House of Stuart'."[84] With this statement he wanted to show the Whigs that he had not received the kingdom by the grace of Parliament alone and the Tories that he was no usurper. Nevertheless, despite all this toing-and-froing in succession quarrels, it had been stipulated by the Regency Act of 1705 and the Succession to the Crown Act of 1707 that the moment Anne died a Regency Council of Lords Justices would take control of state matters until George was safely disembarked on British soil.[85]

In the absence of a body natural that could serve as a focus for visual and literary expression, this fraught historical and political interim period naturally provided a potent impetus for experimentation with those genres that were most dedicatory and commemorative. Printmakers sensed the marketability of this two-month 'event' and many had the professional acumen to turn emotional loss into economic gain. In the context of the Hanoverian succession of 1714, the extra-textual condition most affecting the writing and publication of memorial verse was arguably the fact that there were as many different party-political motivations behind London's publishing networks as behind its individual poets. Although common practice by this stage, the operation of trade publishers "on behalf of undeclared or disguised parties," offering them "an established marketing network," reveals the potentially hazardous partisan content of the print material they disseminated.[86] That is why names such as John Morphew and

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[82] Mary was much less problematically a queen than Anne, as she was James's elder daughter, had had no children, and was entirely subordinated to her husband William in terms of actual sovereignty (Bowers, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 73–4). At her death, she was predominantly eulogized for her beauty and saintliness (Winn, *Queen Anne*, 144).

[83] *POAS*, vii, 409.

[84] Ragnhild Hatton, *George I: Elector and King* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 119.

[85] On the details of the regency and naturalization bills and on the identity of the Lords Justices, see Hatton, *George I*, 76-8, 119–28.

[86] Raven, *Business of Books*, 172.

James Roberts appear so frequently in the imprints of Tory and Whig works respectively. Whether or not publishing networks had an impact on "titling choices"[87] and hence on the mechanisms of genre, a number of factors unveil the emergence of two industries feeding on this historic situation—one aimed at the past, the other at the future.

However, since a single workshop could produce funeral cards, broadside elegies, and other memorabilia of the queen alongside journals, ballads, and pamphlets announcing the arrival of the new king, the material result of such simultaneous production was often an innovative and inclusive genre of cultural mourning. This intermedial interaction is perhaps best illustrated by an engraved print executed by John Sturt, the celebrated miniature engraver,[88] which contained a "Hymn to K. George" in the shape of a music score and a poem "On the death of Queen Anne" (figure 12). At the top of the sheet, both poems also appeared in the compass of two engraved medallions, with Anne's advertised as a "Silver Twopence" and George's as a "Silver Halfpenny."[89] The medallic engravings were presumably meant to be cut out and inserted into rings or other like objects, forming yet another testament to the material afterlife of many text objects of this period.

[87] Eleanor Shevlin, "The Warwick Lane Network and the Refashioning of 'Atalantis' as a Titular Keyword: Print and Politics in the Age of Queen Anne," in *Producing the Eighteenth-Century Book: Writers and Publishers in England, 1650–1800*, eds. Laura Runge and Pat Rogers (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 177.

[88] Richard Sharp, "Sturt, John (1658–1730)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26752, accessed 11 March 2016].

[89] Interestingly, the advertisement, which appeared in *The Daily Courant* for Thursday, 7 October, announced the engraving as "An Elegy on the Death of her late Majesty Queen Anne [...] together with a Welcome to his present Majesty King George," though the engraving itself seems to prioritize differently.



Figure 12 Engraved print by John Sturt, advertised in *The Daily Courant* as "An Elegy on the Death of her late Majesty Queen Anne," and expressly marketed as having the shape of a "Silver Twopence." Image reproduced by permission of the British Museum © Trustees of the British Museum.

3.6 The Summer of 1714: A Case Study in Party-Political Generics

A survey of the memorial poetry produced from the moment of Anne's death on 1 August 1714 to George's arrival on 18 September 1714 will serve to give further illustration of the concerns and debates of this controversial period. The sample covers an arbitrary yet generous selection of poems explicitly related to the occasion, taken from pamphlet and broadside as well as newspaper publications.[90] The latter category can be particularly revealing. In the wake of the Stamp Act of 1712, many newspapers, in trying to evade the new legislation on single-sheet formats, changed their size to one-and-a-half sheets or more, thereby paving the way for the enormous increase in supplementary content mostly consisting of essays and poems.[91] As Alan Downie has observed, furthermore, newspapers and periodicals in 1714 "were highly unlikely to be launched unless they were subsidised *because, as a rule, they were not commercially viable*."[92] In 1714, the number of separate newspapers and periodicals dropped by sixteen in comparison with those published in 1711, the year preceding the introduction of the stamp duty. So, as a rule, newspapers and periodicals were either party-political or short-lived. They became, to some extent at least, suitable organs for the expression of party-political poetics, provided that the genres they accommodated were short, highly topical, and congenial to the party line. With their sizeable print runs and diverse readership, they were ideal testing grounds for the association of specific poetic forms with politics.[93] By examining a selection of poems taken from a variety of newspapers, I aim to determine whether there is indeed a correlation between generic and political affiliations and, especially, to ascertain what that means for the ode.

In the first few days immediately following Anne's death on Sunday, a triplet of songs on the coming of George, called "The Hanover-Garland," was published in *The Flying-Post*, a Whig newspaper edited by the Scot George Ridpath and notorious for its seditious vituperations against the Queen and the Harley ministry (*The Flying Post*, 5–7 August). Vehemently anti-Jacobite, the first of the three songs, "*An Excellent New Ballad*, *call'd*,

[90] All results obtained from ECCO and Burney, unless stated otherwise.

[91] Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1987), 19–32, 178–88; Raven, *The Business of Books*, 266.

[92] J. A. Downie, "Periodicals and Politics in the Reign of Queen Anne," *Serials and their Readers 1620–1914*, eds. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 1993), 58.

[93] From several hundreds to one or two thousand copies were usually printed, with newspapers like the *Flying Post* selling 1,200 copies weekly; see James O. Richards, *Party Propaganda in the Age of Queen Anne: the General Elections of 1702–1713* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1972), 9–10.

Illustrious GEORGE shall Come," was a reprint of a ballad published about a year ago and which now, according to the editor, "seems truly Prophetick of our present State and approaching Happiness, under a Protestant King and Governor."[94] The same optimistic attitude was repeated a few days later in *The Patriot*, a short-term Whig journal printed for James Roberts that dealt specifically with the Protestant succession, in a poem called "*BRITANNIA*'s Happiness, OR, *ALBION*'s GLORY" (*The Patriot*, 7–10 August). Inviting George to be the "Saviour" (l. 6) who shall "guard our Isle" (8) and protect Britain's throne, the poet adorns his summoning in the splendid garments of "New-Born Joy" (16) and the recognizable imagery of diurnal novelty and brightness. However, the familiar petition at the poem's conclusion to "Let *Albion*'s Crown with endless Honour shine" and "Eclipse the *Bourbon* Race, and Pride of *Rome*" (67–8) fails to put a sufficient enough check on the uncertainty and latent irony encased in the earlier plea to "Waft Him with Speed and Safty o're the Main" and "never let Great *GEORGE* return again" (58–9)—especially considering George's arrival was still over two months away and his future "returns" to his native Hanover would be far from rare, to say the least.[95]

These early signs of Whig exultation for the prosperous succession by the Protestant Hanoverian Elector were answered by an equally prompt barrage of Tory replies, many of which focused on the Queen "of blessed memory." Issued by cheap print seller Edward Midwinter, for instance, was *A Mournful Copy of Verses on the much lamented Death of our late most Glorious Queen Anne, Of Ever-Blessed Memory*, a broadside adorned with the Royal Coat of Arms at the top and conventional funerary motifs in the margins.[96] Furthermore, one of the first pamphlet publications to be issued was *A Pindaric Ode upon the Death of Her Late Majesty Queen Anne, Of Blessed Memory*, written by Purbeck Turner, the theatre actor and singer, and sold by John Morphew, the leading trade publisher on the Tory side.[97] According to *The Monthly Catalogue*, this Pindaric ode was the first poem to

[94] A few weeks later, *The Flying-Post* followed up on this anti-Jacobite strain by publishing another ballad that was meant "to ridicule the Scheme of the Pretender and his Jacobite Vassals (*The Flying-Post*, 19–21 August).

[95] George's five continental visits (in 1716, 1719, 1720, 1723, and 1725) were the cause of some concern for his British ministers, for though they could no longer deny him to leave the confines of the country outright (a clause of the Act of Settlement which had been repealed as early as 1715), they had to prorogue parliament on several occasions because George was delayed for political or personal reasons, or merely because adverse winds kept him on the Dutch side of the Channel. On one of those visits to Hanover, moreover, George suffered from a stroke and died (Hatton, *George I*, 157–63).

[96] Midwinter's shop was mainly concerned with ballad and chapbook printing, so it is likely that many thousands of this single-sheet print were sold. On Midwinter, see Michael Treadwell, "London Printers and Printing Houses in 1705," *Publishing History* 7 (1980), 30–1.

[97] John Morphew had been a journeyman in Edward Jones's printing house and took on John Nutt's business when Nutt took over Jones's printing shop in 1706, continuing the publishing business until his death in 1720. Morphew's name "appears on the title page of most of Swift's pamphlets on behalf of the Harley administration, including eight editions of *The Conduct of the Allies* between 1711 and 1713, as well as in the

be published on the subject of Anne's demise, and its early publication seems to account for its abrupt and apparently premature ending.[98] In a set of four stanzas, the poet moves from a description of a nocturnal *locus amoenis*, disturbed by the announcement of the death of "PALES" (l. 27), to a supplication addressed to the Muses to turn their "Numbers to sad Dirges" (46). As David's lyre did to Saul's rage, the poetic offering can assume medicinal qualities, assuaging "our raging Grief" and soothing "our Cares with Verse" (64). What eventually emerges from the mass of classical-mythological and Biblical elements in the poem is the idea that it is the "Tribute" paid to Anne's "Herse" that enables comfort to the speaker (63). A pamphlet like Turner's was simply a more secular response to the Queen's death than the Anglo-Latin collections of elegies that were customarily issued by the universities. Alternatively, though, Fellows of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge would rush their own writings through publication individually, as was the case with *An Elegy on the Death Of Her most Gracious Majesty Queen Anne*.[99] With plain mourning borders and a separate epitaph at the end, this elegy lends direct speech to Queen Anne—who draws her last breath whilst uttering that speech—but (deliberately or not) makes no mention of George.

Also printed for John Morphew in August was *An Elegy on the Death of her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne*, composed in the form of a pastoral dialogue by "a Gentlewoman." Anne here appears as "URANIA" (l. 41), the celestial muse and angelic daughter of Jupiter-God who brings the poet in direct contact with the supreme godhead and fills her directly with the divine inspiration required to relate heavenly tales.[100] As the middle section of the elegy approaches, the one generally reserved for eulogy, Alexis admits that "My Oaten Reed no lofty Notes can raise! / And lofty Notes alone can speak Her Praise" (113–4). Nonetheless, there follows a list of saintly virtues for which Anne, "an Angel here below" (149) and a "Chast, Pious, Just" Queen (170), deserves praise. Having redeemed single-handedly the fame of the female sex, now the "great Patroness

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colophon of *The Examiner*. He also served as the distributor of several pro-Sacheverell items, including a *Vindication* of the highflying preacher written by William King (Pat Rogers, "The Uses of the Miscellany: Swift, Curll and Piracy," *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book*, eds. Paddy Bullard and James McLaverty [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013], 93). See also Michael Treadwell, "London Trade Publishers 1675–1750," *The Library* 2 (1982), 99–134.

[98] *The Monthly Catalogue*, Number IV (August) (London: Printed for Bernard Lintott, 1714), 24.

[99] The elegy was printed and sold by Hugh Meere, who also advertised it in his own newspaper *The British Mercury*, the Sun Fire Office's commercial organ, where it appeared alongside advertisements on head-pills and medicines for "Weakness in Men," as well as relevant updates on the course of the Exchange and the current price of stocks (August 25–September 1). It is tempting to presume that a textual environment like this one entails a readership of mostly Whig cits, but Meere was father-in-law to Richard Nutt, son of John and Elizabeth Nutt, who took over Meere's business after his death. This gives him a strong Tory connection (Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole*, 38).

[100] Revard, *Pindar and the Renaissance Hymn-Ode*, 71–4, 97–8.

is dead and gone" (193), leaving almost no other option but "to be immoderately sad" (203).[101] In response to Alexis, who functions as the muse awakened to give voice to grief and then told to cease, Doron, the second speaker, takes up the role of arbiter, the voice of reason and temperance who beseeches Alexis to "moderate your Grief" (196) and offers solace in the shape of moralistic axioms about the afterlife. Doron can thus be said to embody the modulation of pastoral lament into Christian apotheosis, or, in other words, to bridge the gap between elegiac grief and odic immortality.

Elegiac lament was evidently a powerful strain in Tory verse of the early weeks of August, but as the immediate impact of Anne's death diminished and the reality of George's arrival became increasingly more concrete, the dominant voice in poetry became that of confusion and insecurity about the future. Most of the poems published after the brief spell of mania about Anne's death are marked by a purposely combinatory outlook that seeks to accommodate both backward-looking lamentation and forwardly longing.[102] Lewis Theobald's *The Mausoleum*, announced in the Tory *Post Boy* for 20 August,[103] is just such a poem, at once temperate and anticipative. A manifestly classical poem, *The Mausoleum* has a title-page quotation from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* ("Terras Astraea reliquit"), opens with an invocation to Albion to mourn Astraea's death, and has a footnote on the first page referring to the medal struck at Anne's coronation, presenting her as "*Jove*'s *Substitute* below" (p. 1). The attentive reader would construe all this as the Stuart queen's trajectory in reverse, as a retrograde flashback of her life, with the industrious efforts of iron-age "Fraud, of Faction, and of Discord" as the ultimate causes of her flight from earth (l. 7). Rather than going off on a rhapsody on the Queen's life and deeds, however, the "fond Bard" (12) is urged to restrain himself to "safe and easie Pinions" (16) instead of the "tow'ring Flight" associated with the Pindaric ode (12). Instead, the poem proper begins with a note to Horace's *Odes* I.24 on the death of Quintilius and extends Horace's plea to Melpomene to begin her "lugubris cantus" by asking the muse to inspire his "Melancholy Song" (26). Two *memento mori* vignettes taken from Horace *Odes* I.4 and II.1, as well as elegiac motifs such as yews, cypresses, and songbirds, finally bring the speaker to exclaim: "Poets, only touch the *Elegiack* String!" (67).

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[101] On Anne as a female authority and exemplary figure for female poets, see especially Carol Barash, *English Women's Poetry, 1649–1714: Politics, Community, and Linguistic Authority* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 209–58.

[102] At Anne's accession, a similar attitude emerged, though in inverted fashion: "Tories made succession panegyric a forward–looking tool for expressing political aspirations in the new reign. Whigs laboured to fashion Anne as a Whig by way of backward–looking elegy and satire" (Hone, "Politicising Praise: Panegyric and the Accession of Queen Anne," 148). I have borrowed Hone's focal distinction, but I disagree with his rigid separation between panegyric and elegy.

[103] In the *Daily Courant*, however, it was announced for 25 August. It presumably went through a second edition shortly after, as the *Post Boy* announces for 2–4 September.

In a rather sombre, pastoral-elegiac mood, interlarded with references to Virgil's *Georgics*, Ovid's *Tristia*, and Bion's lament, the speaker next invokes Astraea herself for inspiration as he embarks upon a description of the funeral monument. What is particularly striking, regardless of the speaker's own exclamation, is the incessant modulation of tone and mood as the poem relates the most eventful moments of Anne's life: the soft, sweet strains needed for her nuptials, the trumpets sounded when "Martial Notes" come in (300), the elegiac mourning as her death is described, and so forth. Announced by exclamatory 'hark's and 'but oh's, this constant oscillation between sensory impressions of sight and sound and the different modulations of the poet's lyre account for all the different modal and discursive variations the poem furnishes. What emerges is a chameleon-like pattern of changing moods, a palette of generic intermingling that can serve as matrix against which to measure other poems of this period.

Poems such as *The Mausoleum*, though they reiterate conventional themes and imagery that had also been used for Mary, offer a glimpse of the distinctive repertoire that odes possess, more prophetic and optimistic about the future than the elegy. In Paul Fry's words, the ode differs from the elegy in that it comes upon death as if by accident.[104] Nature does not respond to Anne's death in Theobald's *Mausoleum*, no "Monstrous Omens" (424) appear, since her reign, like Mary's, was just and harmonious. She combined the tasks of the mother and the queen, and was, like her sister, "Without a Goddess, and a Saint within" (448). Yet, despite modal cooperation and overlap, there is a distinct tonal variation of 'auspicious' arrival in poems dealing specifically with George, which is absent from the more elegiac poems in the corpus. In *The Mausoleum*, it is Anne who shall look favourably on "*Brunswick*" (476), and it is the poet who ushers him into existence, but it is George himself who will eventually have to translate assumption into certainty:

> *Thou promis'd Monarch*, come; Thy Land invites
> Thee, to assume thy Pow'r and Sceptred Rights.
> Be, what our Hopes have form'd; Be *Britain*'s Law;
> [...]
> Auspicious, come; her Drooping Offspring chear;
> And be thy Albion's Shield, thy Albion's Spear!
> (478–80; 484–5)

Rather than using the usual terms "see," "lo!," and "behold," the poet now deploys a tone that is bent on invitation and exhortation, optative and imperative rather than demonstrative and epideictic. This is where the gestural posturing and ocular verbs of

[104] Fry, *The Poet's Calling*, 13.

Restoration panegyric, with its cordial bids to witness the real or imagined spectacle, makes way for the direct apostrophe so characteristic of the late eighteenth-century ode. The apostrophe to the absent George here functions, as Culler argues it should, "by removing the opposition between presence from empirical time and locating it in a discursive time."[105] Elegies and odes share this turn to apostrophe to make present discursively that which is absent or has been lost in the domain of temporality. But where the elegy reaches back in time, the ode, whether mournful or hopeful, uses that discursivity to enact a disquisition about future possibilities.

The language of future prospect is perhaps even more clearly expressed in *A Letter From Mr. Jacob Bickerstaffe, Nephew to Isaac Bickerstaffe, Esq, Occasion'd by the Death of Queen Anne*, a satiric poem evidently looking to cash in on the success of Swift's sensational Bickerstaff papers, which had predicted the death of astrologer and almanac-maker John Partridge in 1708.[106] After the commonplace refusal to move from the "low verse" (l. 5) of pastoral to such a pitch as "Eagles only dare attempt" (9), the poet leaves the task to record Anne's name "In lasting verse" to "some abler Bards" (10–1), like "*Addison*, great Bard, of sweetest strains" (12), or Congreve, whose pastoral "plaints in mournful murmurs flow" (21). In an accumulation of "adjectival vocabulary"[107] all referring to the poem's modal shifts—a "plaintive elegy" (31) both "humble" and "great" (32), "nobler" and "mournful" (33), "trembling" and "advent'rous" (35–6)—a history of English royalty surfaces, culminating in a mortuary depiction of Anne's death and ascension to heaven. Yet the grief remains, spread like some disease across the land, and with it the "confusion, and a wild surprize, / Whilst the bright star of *Europe* faints, and dies" (89–90). After pursuing this atmosphere of "fear" (100), "dread" (104), and "doubtful chance" (111) for several more lines, the speaker at last discloses on whom Britain's "surviving hopes rely" (118), the "Great *Augustus*" King George (119). Apostrophized as "dread Sir" (120), George is to hasten to Britain's aid with his "good-omen'd smile" (121):

[105] Jonathan Culler, "Apostrophe," *Diacritics* 4 (1977): 67.

[106] Advertised in the *Post Boy* for 17–19 August, the poem was printed for Sarah Popping, a trade publisher whose name is often connected to the more popular end of the print market. Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace, 1678–1730* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 54–5. For a while she also served as a front for Edmund Curll (Baines and Rogers, *Edmund Curll*, 222–3).

[107] David Fairer ("Modulation and Expression in the Lyric Ode, 1660-1750," in *The Lyric Poem*, ed. Thain, 92–111) traces how the use of a wide range of adjectives to describe the lyre in odes of this period demonstrates that lyric poets saw themselves as animating their writing as well as their audience through their eloquence..

Rome's great *Augustus* may we now behold
Revive in thee, and a new age of gold.
Let thy sublime meridian rays attone
For *England*'s grief, and *Anna*'s setting sun;
With double lustre bless our fruitful soil,
And crown with joy the hind's laborious toil.
May *Saturn* now the wish'd-for years compleat,
Design'd to perfect *Britain*'s happy state.
Behold her king, with every virtue blest,
Like *Phoebus* rays, his power around confest,
Spreads his dominion wide from east to west.
(126–36)

Not only the lyre's medicinal powers, but George's sun-like effluence will redress Anne's eclipse and guide the nation back to safety. On the medal prepared for his accession, moreover, George predictably appeared as an Apollo soothing with his harmonious lyre the wild beasts of succession strife—his head encircled, like the sun, by a radiant aureole.

The traditional words and imagery of the court ode resurfacing here firmly suggest a generic rather than merely dynastic reading of such features, since Stuart iconography simply turns Hanoverian.[108] In some instances, the emphasis on the 'auspicious' equates George's arrival with the diurnal rebirth of the nation after the black night of national mourning.[109] All the elements employed in the past to deck a conventional birthday ode are recycled and reapplied to George, as in Henry Needler's *The Fifth Ode of the Fourth Book of Horace Imitated and Inscrib'd to the King*.[110] Printed for William Hinchliffe and sold by John Morphew, it is a more scholarly attempt at ode writing, with the objective of imitation plainly itemized in the title and the Latin original printed in the notes below the poem.[111] Needler's declared model text, Horace's *Odes* IV.5, is a poem rife with images of absence and supplications for future stability.[112] The epistolary modulation in

[108] Astraean tropes were also used for the House of Hanover by James Thornhill, who depicted the accession of the Hanoverians as the return of the Golden Age in the large mural paintings in the Hall of the Old Royal Naval College in Greenwich. See Hannah Smith, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 130.

[109] "Night" and its nocturnal derivatives are fairly prominent words in the corpus, with about 35 hits in total, as are "black" (13) and the more poetical "sable" (10).

[110] Announced in the *Post Boy* for August 28–31.

[111] Hinchliffe would go on to write and publish a complimentary ode to George I on his arrival at Greenwich in October. His name would later be found in imprints of substantial and often scholarly works, such as Joseph Trapp's *Virgil* (1731–5).

[112] For images of light, hope, and restoration in seventeenth-century usage of Horace's ode, see Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature*, 208–12.

the intimacy of the opening header "Dread Sir," which appears right underneath the title but still above the Roman numeral of the first stanza, only adds to the sense of distance between speaker and addressee.[113] Addressing the "*Illustrious PRINCE*" who has, like Horace's Augustus, been an "absent *Monarch*" for too long (ll. 1–2), the speaker enters upon a plea the very nature of which implies that the lack is still all too real. Though it sounds familiar to anyone accustomed to the Stuart court ode, the invitation to "come" (4) and shine on Albion with "thine auspicious Light" (5) seems to shrink into deadpan verbosity the moment it is uttered. Indeed, the gap between desire and reality is so glaring that it almost turns conventional court ode diction into parody:

> Thy Presence like the sweet Approach of Spring,
> New Life and Joy will to thy Subjects bring.
> When Thou art here the jocund Hours will run
> On smoother Feet, and brighter shine the Sun.
> (7–10)

If erotic desire was one of the rhetorical features surrounding Anne as female queen and mother of her nation,[114] the "Impatience" and "strong Desires" of Britain (11) for "her Royal *HANOVER*" (12) are those of the Horatian mother awaiting "Th'Arrival of Her Darling Son" (14), whom adverse tides detain "beyond th'appointed Time" (16). The crucial difference consists precisely in the extent of this "appointed Time," for whereas the mother in Horace's ode at least has the reassurance of the comparative (her son will return after the demarcated space of "more than one year" ["spatio longius annuo"]), it was unclear at this moment just how soon George would be able to set foot on British soil—or whether, in light of a possible Jacobite plot, he would be able to do so at all.[115]

Perhaps more than any other classical ode, the fifth ode of Horace's fourth book has a history in English imitation fraught with political partisanship. As Pittock has shown, the imagery of exile, prophecy, restoration, and fertility central to the rhetoric and iconography of Jacobitism "was all the more firmly emphasized by the largely pro-Stuart inheritance of the 1650s Horatian Ode, and the frequency with which Horace (especially *Odes* IV:5) was imitated in the eighteenth century by Jacobite writers."[116] In the xenophobic, rural ideology of the Jacobites, with its themes of nativity exiled so conspicuously derived from Horace's ode, George was the raven in borrowed plumes,

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[113] Epistolary rhetoric became more and more pervasive in the poetic address of the ode during this period (Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 108).

[114] Winn, *Queen Anne*, 635.

[115] Although George had wished to push through to Britain without delay, contrary winds kept him in The Hague from 5/16 to 16/27 September (Hatton, *George I*, 123).

[116] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 65.

the Pharaoh, Nero, or usurping anti-Christian tyrant and killer of the first Pope. As opposed to the Jacobite ideal of the Patriot King, in short, George was mediocre and alien.[117] Like their Williamite predecessors, the Whig Hanoverians in turn resorted to popular, satirical literature in order to discredit the high-cultural typology of the Stuarts—or so the traditional argument runs. As Needler's version makes evident, however, Horace's ode was just as easily adopted to suit Hanoverian purposes. The combining force behind this strange intersection between Jacobite and Hanoverian discourse was the notion of deficiency and compensation around which many odes were composed. Particularly in the case of Horatian odes with their sense of objectified giving, the genre served to recompense the loss and absence that is central in elegiac poetry. This would also explain the appeal of poems like *The Mourning Prophet*, a satirical poem by the High-Church Tory Edward Ward in which an Anchorite complains of the lack of lament for Anne from Whigs, who have merely revived "Faction, and her Brood of English *Jews*" (p. 16). It also puts into perspective why both Jacobite and Hanoverian poets turned to the ode to express their feelings of anticipation; the widespread expectations of a restored Stuart monarchy would become all the more acute during the Jacobite Rising of the following year.

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It would be unwise to put too much emphasis on the distinction between Tory elegy and Whig/Jacobite prophecy, or to argue at all for the existence of party-political poetics in general, but the charged political atmosphere of the summer of 1714 does provide an indication of how occasional genres such as the elegy and the ode were mustered to create or sustain partisan divisions. Newspapers such as the *Controller*, the sequel to the *Examiner* which ran for only three months and was printed for John Morphew after Queen Anne's death, did not refrain from printing controversial subject matter in the form of odes either.[118] After the inevitable paeans for the ascension and arrival of George I came the thinly veiled bids for patronage, places, and pensions, as poems such as "An Irregular ODE on K. George," published in *The Controller*, almost ran out of space in trying to enumerate the "*Illustrious Noblemen*" who could doubtless be of use both to the new king and his new posse of court hacks.[119]

[117] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 62–6.

[118] The *Examiner*, which was a pro-government periodical edited by Swift, Bolingbroke, Prior, and William Oldisworth, was launched by Morphew in 1710.

[119] The *Controller* ran from 8 October 1714 to 7 January 1715. The ode was issued in the number for 15–22 October, and was probably written after the coronation.

It can nevertheless safely be concluded that the fissure between Anne's death and George's eventual coronation created an unprecedented vacuum that had an inevitable impact on generic experimentation, as a remnant of elegiac concern for Anne's death seeped into the wishful prospective vision of the ode and took root there. Anticipation of the near future and prophecy of impending happiness thus became the ode's anodyne for the wounds inflicted by recent losses as well as by the fear and uncertainty about that very future. The omnipresent "shall" of the future tense and the providential scheme the ode borrowed from the formal panegyric was now wrapped in shrouds of uncertainty. There is room for death in the ode, too, but it is the way death is dealt with that makes it different from the elegy. Additionally, years after the death of a royal member itself, prints were still distributed at specific events such as fairs and other public gatherings. Poems on Mary's death were reprinted in 1710, and a collection of poems on Anne's death was (re)issued by Curll in 1716.[120] A copy of the engraving of the medallic design first made by Gribelin in 1695, which was reissued presumably at the occasion of Anne's funeral, has survived with a tiny imprint at the bottom stating that it was sold at the Thames Frost Fair of 1716, as a keepsake of the event. These reincarnations of memorial verse should evidently not be left out of the equation, as they perpetuate the associations consumers of such commodities continued to make between genres and their specific political and aesthetic functions. They also problematize the label of "occasional poetry" too frequently attached to odes and elegies in contemporary scholarship.

[120] *The Loyal Mourner for the Best of Princes: Being a Collection of Poems Sacred to the Immortal Memory of Her late Majesty Queen Anne. By a Society of Gentlemen* (London: Printed for J. Morphew, 1716). It includes no fewer than 18 poems of various kinds, with one poem on Kneller's portrait of Anne and the different modalities of representation that affect the viewer's (or reader's) gaze.

Chapter 4
The Sacred Ode: Prophecy, Form, and Figuration in the 1720s

Say from what simple springs began
The vast, ambitious thoughts of man,
Which range beyond controul;
Which seek Eternity to trace,
Dive thro' th' infinity of space,
And strain to grasp THE WHOLE.
(Mark Akenside, "Hymn to Science," 31–6)

4.1 Introduction

In his influential Marxist study of the mediatory function of genres, *The Political Unconscious*, Frederic Jameson made a distinction between the semantic approach, which aims to "describe the essence or meaning of a given genre by way of the reconstruction of an imaginary entity," and the syntactic approach, which aims to "analyze the mechanisms and structure of a genre" in order to "determine its laws and its limits."[1] The first approach, in which genre is conceived as a mode, attempts to establish, for instance, what the spirit of comedy is, what it is that makes it different from other modes such as tragedy. The second approach attempts to construct the model for every genre, the fixed form that determines which structural elements are so indispensable that, if left out, they would render the genre incomplete, like a joke with

[1] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 107–8.

no clue. The study of a genre, as a literary discourse reflecting the "double standard" of language, would evidently benefit, Jameson rightly maintains, from a combinatory method that uses both modal and formal approaches.[2] As demonstrated in the first chapters of this dissertation, the ode can be understood, on a *semantic* or tropological level, as defined by a strong emphasis on images of light and birth, with a spirit of hope and prospective vision as opposed to one of nostalgic lament. On a *syntactic* level, it is characterized by what Pat Rogers has called the "grammar of prophecy,"[3] an emphasis on the grammatical future which ode writers appropriated from earlier panegyrics on emperors and kings, and which revolved around notions of impending arrival and recommencement.

Pursuing the argument that prophecy remained an important motif in the genre, the present chapter will present an account of the "sacred" ode of the 1710s and '20s, in which fundamentally religious concepts of creation, revelation, and apocalypse were connected to notions of poetic form and genre. A quick survey of the corpus of 1720s odes (with around 35,000 total words and a little over 6,000 unique word forms) reveals a number of changes that illustrate the surge of sacred themes and their tonal variation. As in previous samples of odes, the most frequent words are modal and imperative verb forms such as the future "shall" (161) and the jussive "let" (86), as well as those qualifying terms common to celebratory verse dealing with the "great*" (146) and their "fame" (80). But the most significant 'newcomers' are related to religious topics, such as "god*" (118), "soul*" (73), and "sacred" (49). The collocations of these terms, particularly of "sacred," also underwent change. Whereas in the first two decades, "sacred" was mostly applied to the queen ("sacred Anne" on her "sacred Throne" rearing her "sacred Head"), or to the muses (the "sacred Nine" and their "sacred Flame" inspiring the poet's "sacred Song" and "sacred Page"), or to the "sacred Power" of Britain (writing its "sacred Name" in the "sacred Records" of history), by the 1720s, the phrasal associations generally made with "sacred" shifted to a much more strictly religious, and even biblical, usage. Granted, the monarch and the muses were evidently still sacred to many odists in these years.[4] Yet it was now much more common to find the "sacred heavenly Choir" and the "sacred King" and "sacred Priest" of the Old Testament inciting "sacred rapture" in the poet's breast, rather than anyone else. In sum, whereas the sacred and sacral in the first years of the century were the result of

[2] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 109.

[3] Pat Rogers, *The Symbolic Design of* Windsor-Forest, 208.

[4] For example, an anonymous ode called *King George's Health. A Sacred Ode. On the Anniversary of His Majesty's Coronation* was printed and sold by James Franklin, Benjamin Franklin's older brother, in Union Street, Boston, on 20 October 1724.

the ode's functional, *syntactic* value as a form of court poetry, a shift began to occur towards sacralization as a thematic, *semantic* component of the ode.

Central to the poetic theory and practice in this decade was the question of how to render sacred themes such as divine creation and inspiration in a pure, natural, and spontaneous manner, without lapsing into the rigid stylization of the past. Following recent socio-political and economic cataclysms such as the Jacobite Rebellion and the South Sea Bubble crash, poets in the 1720s began to take an unusually strong interest in eschatological themes and symbolism.[5] With this emphasis in contemporary poetry on Biblical paraphrase, with its apocalyptic subjects and revelatory moments—moments when 'off' (ἀπό, 'apo') falls that which 'veils' (καλύπτειν, 'kalypsein')—came an equally potent preoccupation with notions of vatic inspiration and prophetic power. The themes of the destruction of the earth and subsequent restoration of a new order required, first, a visionary poet-prophet by means of whom the divine revelation could be imparted to others, and, second, a poetic medium the formal structure of which was elastic enough to accommodate this ecstatic and transcendent vision. In terms of external form, the sublime aspects of God's creative and destructive powers were considered to be most fruitfully rendered by the ode. This was a logical consequence of the contemporary evaluation of the ode as the only appropriate vehicle for the translation of the sublimity, associativeness, and figurative quality of ancient (Hebrew) verse. Repeatedly, poets in the early eighteenth century negotiated the classical heritage and the Christian monotheistic focus that John Dennis had introduced in his generic redefinition of the ode. In Dennis's critical interpretation, the ode was a specifically Christian genre, and he concentrated on the need to resacralize it by removing profane elements such as its classical machinery and polytheism.

This chapter will explore the ways in which notions of *form* in the ode, in addition to being evidently structural constituents, became thematically functional as well. Ideas of formation and deformation were generally derived from various contemporaneous writings on cosmogony and eschatology, such as Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1684), Sir Richard Blackmore's *Creation* (1712), Edward Young's *A Poem on the Last Day* (1713), and Samuel Catherall's blank-verse *Essay on the Conflagration* (1720). Yet it was the ode's thematic and formal propensity for cyclical patterns that was found particularly useful in the context of the origin and rebirth of things. The ode was

[5] Interest in the four last things—death, judgment, heaven, and hell—had been widespread since the end of the seventeenth century, but eschatological poetry really only became a distinct category of verse in the course of the eighteenth century. The classic study is Amy Louise Reed, *The Background of Gray's Elegy: A Study in the Taste for Melancholy Poetry 1700–1751* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), 29; but see especially David B. Morris, *The Religious Sublime: Christian Poetry and Critical Tradition in 18th-Century England* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1972), 104–54.

increasingly understood, furthermore, as the most primitive poetic form and thus the most suitable for the expression of the sacred themes and divine acts usually derived from the Old Testament. Fundamental to the ode in this period were religious concepts of (pre)figuration and (re)formation—ideas that go back, in part, to the ancient concept of *figura*. As Erich Auerbach observed in his seminal article on the construal of *figura* from Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages, what is essential to keep in mind is that the interpretation of figural prophecy foregrounded the importance of *historical* and *textual* specificity as opposed to allegorical and symbolical interpretation.[6] Any historical or textual event could be read as the prefiguration of a larger, more meaningfully fraught, but always historically concrete event waiting to happen in the future. In the wake of the Jacobite scare of the 1710s and early '20s, "thinking the unthinkable, and expressing the unexpressible"[7] became the ultimate ambition of the eighteenth-century poet, drawing associations between current events and their wider implications on the basis of traditional yet hugely influential theories of millenarian doom. Destruction of social and moral order, but also of earthly fabric, was a governing concern, and with ideas of the dissolution of the old came innovative conceptions of restoration and reformation, in the aesthetic and poetic as much as in the social and political field.

The level of genre-consciousness borne out by this sophisticated understanding of form as both structurally and thematically determined betrays a degree of familiarity on the part of eighteenth-century poets with both the semantic and the syntactic aspects of the ode. Elements of prophetic address, formal flexibility, and inspirational spontaneity—the central topics around which the first sections of this chapter are constructed—were all considered uniquely characteristic of the ode, as was its association with the genesis of the world and the origins of the first poetic act. No other poetic form in the early eighteenth century was considered as suitable as the ode for the conception and perception of divinity, its idea and image, as well as its unmediated expression through verse. As this chapter will demonstrate, the poetic experiments of the 1720s with abstract and affectual notions of form in the ode, especially in the work of Aaron Hill (1685–1750), laid the groundwork for further innovations in the domain of figurality, personification, and allegory, and nurtured the heightened consciousness of the relationship between versification and imagination that would characterize poetic practice in the following decades.

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[6] Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 11–76.

[7] David Fairer, *English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century, 1700–1789* (London: Longman, 2003), 128. My emphasis on the impact of the events of the 1710s and early '20s is partly indebted to Fairer's argument, elaborated especially in Chapter 7 of his book, "Sublimity, Nature, and God," 122–43.

My argument in this chapter thus offers a reconsideration of recent accounts of the ode as part of a mid-century flight from history and society towards solipsism, such as John Sitter's *Literary Loneliness in Mid-Eighteenth-Century England*. In an otherwise insightful reading of the eighteenth-century ode, Sitter identifies as an exclusively mid-century phenomenon the dramatization of a religious conversion plot, the "quest for radical innocence, at the end of which the poet (and perhaps everyone else) is taken out of the old historical order and is made the chosen son (or people) of the principle of purity being addressed."[8] Sitter distinguishes three types: salvational conversions, in which the poet moves from confusion to spiritual truth; cultural conversions, which present a general, cultural, rather than individual, transformation; and vocational conversions, "which proceed by invocation and apostrophe to focus attention on the poet's relation to his muse, fancy, 'poesy,' or some other unworldly quality and which either enact or re-enact a sudden turn from the profane and toward the imaginatively sacred."[9] I trace a similar conversion story, a similar quest for radical purity and intensity of feeling, in ode practice of a much earlier period, in which a sudden transformation, often via destruction, brings or equals purification. Poets in the 1720s strove for the same purity and immediacy of expression, the same purity of essence in form and matter, as mid-century poets, but the causes and implications of this conversion plot, I contend, are generic rather than phenomenological. The turn from the profane to the sacred and from destruction to purification, which became the Biblical metaphor for the poetical revolution of the 1720s, was thus already epitomized by the ode's sublime ambition and teleology of intuitive vision well before it became the explicit objective in the works of Joseph Warton and his contemporaries in the 1740s.

4.2 Prophecy and Eschatology in the Eighteenth-Century Ode

4.2.1 Classical Prophecy

A tentative distinction was made in the previous chapter between the elegy and the ode on the basis of the latter's forward-looking perspective, its ratios of anticipation and prospect that account for its grammar of prophecy (the heavy emphasis on the future

[8] John Sitter, *Literary Loneliness in Mid-Eighteenth-Century England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 146, 146–53.

[9] Sitter, *Literary Loneliness*, 147.

tense) and figures of prolepsis and apotheosis (embodied *in casu* by George I). One poem in particular reveals the period's susceptibility to prophetic utterance, imitated numerous times in the span of only a few years: Horace's *Odes* I.15. It is worthwhile to consider, at the outset, the possible reasons why British poets sought to imitate an ode that takes up a peculiar place in Horace's oeuvre as one made up *apparently entirely* of narrative instead of direct address. There are several explanations for the ode's particular allure. Horace's poem has traditionally been regarded either as an allegorical comment on the current political climate, in which Paris and Helen stand for Antony and Cleopatra, or as an example of Horace's own calculated attempt to emulate the lyrical style and elegance of his Greek model, Bacchylides.[10] Whatever the precise intention and reception of the poem in its Roman context, the English adaptions of Horace's ode certainly preserved both interpretations. As a warning from an authoritative figure to an addressee whose actions will have disastrous political consequences, the prophecy motif was readily adopted by eighteenth-century poets to communicate their own views about contemporary British politics and decision-making. Many eighteenth-century poets may also have been familiar with Nereus through Spenser's epithet of the sea god as an "expert in prophecies" in Book IV of *The Fairie Queene*.[11] Certainly by the time eighteenth-century poets took to imitating Horace's ode, Nereus had been established as the embodiment of visionary wisdom and as a sincere mouthpiece of the gods. Perhaps the most appealing of all Nereus's attributes which made him an inviting poetical persona was his protean configuration. Often compared with that other sea deity, Proteus, Nereus could take on any shape and, consequently, he appears in the English odes in many different forms: as a grave old father, an aged wizard, or even Albion itself.[12]

Prophecy had always been a conventional motif in epic and dramatic poetry, and by introducing it as a pseudo-narratological category in lyric poetry, Horace was able not only to replace the third person of ordinary narrative with a second-person addressee, but also to substitute the perfect tense with the future tense, thus making the utterance and not the action the crucial part of the dramatic situation.[13] A set of three early

[10] R. G. M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 188–201. According to Michèle Lowrie, the return of Horace's *inbellisque lyrae* or "unwarlike lyre" in this epic setting (C.1.6.10) is one external factor why the poem should be read as an ode about poetry rather than as an allegorical representation of the Roman Civil War (*Horace's Narrative Odes*, 127).

[11] J. C. Smith and E. De Selincourt, *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 268, Canto XI, 18ff.

[12] Alternatively, Nereus was embodied by the prototype figure of British lore, Merlin, who rhapsodizes his vision of the future state of Britain, but would of course come to more elaborate fruition in such gloomy sages as Thomas Gray's "The Bard" (1757).

[13] Lowrie, *Horace's Narrative Odes*, 131–2.

eighteenth-century poems can serve as a good illustration of the development of the Horatian prophecy motif into a full-blown feature of the ode. The first example—or rather, counterexample—is a poem briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, *The Mourning Prophet* (1714), a satirical poem with an outspokenly partisan streak in which a speaker accidentally witnesses an old man prophesizing the imminent death of Queen Anne. In this poem, though prophecy is the central theme, Horace's resonance is distant at best. At the onset of the poem, the speaker goes out for a morning walk in a forest when he suddenly encounters "A grave old Father with a hoary Pate" (l. 36), stern looks, sullen brows, and a furrowed forehead, leaning on his staff and plucking his reverend beard in meditative musing. As the speaker draws near, the old man rises and begins in epiphanic rapture to foretell the death of Queen Anne. The main difference with later incarnations of the prophet figure, as will become clear below, consists of the abruptness of this presage, a senile complaint as it were, addressed to no one in particular. Although the speaker, hastening back to town at the end of the poem, finds out that the old man, "Inspir'd by Heav'n," did indeed "foresee / Great ANNA's Fate" (61–2) and that his "prophetick Mouth" (149) had spoken the truth, the prophecy itself is not framed as an admonitory message directly addressed to the narrator. Nor is it strictly speaking a prophetic utterance based on an as yet unidentifiable future occurrence for which the addressee is responsible, since the events are happening at the time of narration. This is after all not an imitation of the Nereus prophecy as such. In terms of poetic occasion, *The Mourning Prophet* lacks the emotive or affectual epistemics that began to shape the ode, and therefore cannot really be categorized as one.

The two other examples display a much more specialized usage of the prophecy motif and a more sustained engagement with the concomitant exigencies of mantic inspiration and signification. Both are clear adaptations of Horace's Nereus ode and both are also expressly topical and political. The ode called *An Imitation of the Prophecy of Nereus*, written by Thomas Tickell, is a parody of the Earl of Mar, commander of the Jacobite forces during the botched Rebellion of 1715. Like the narrator of *The Mourning Prophet*, "Mar his Round one Morning took" (l. 1) when all of a sudden he spots "An Aged Wizard six foot high, / With bristled Hair, and Visage blighted, / Wall-ey'd, bare-haunch'd, and Second-sighted" (6–8). As these lines show, the poem is clearly meant to be comical. Tickell's prominent use of Hudibrastic rhyme adds a caricatural effect to the poem, as do his pseudo-plaintive language (through the repeated use of "in vain" [27, 39, 78]), his archaic spelling ("Auncient," "Wae's me!" [16, 18], which renders the prophet as a Scottish Highlander), and his colloquial mocking of Prince "Jemmy" Stuart (who is "Too good for his Pretended Birth" [75]).

In his choice for such a blatant parody of the Nereus story, Tickell was possibly inspired by an ode by Leonard Welsted called *The Prophecy*, which was issued first in pamphlet form and then reprinted in the Whig newspaper, *The Patriot*, in June 1714.[14] The poem stages a complaint against the alleged corruption of "*Mago*," who, as the preface suggests, "might as well stand for a Prime Minister in *G---t Br----n*"—that is, for Robert Harley, Lord High Treasurer and Anne's chief minister between 1711 and 1714.[15] In this ode, it is not an aged man or wizard, but "*Albion*'s immortal Genius" (l. 4) who represents the oracular voice of Nereus. Just as he translates the vanity inherent in Horace's "*nequiquam*" with an anaphora of "in vain"s (19–20, 25), Welsted anticipates Tickell in his praise for John Campbell, the Duke of Argyll, who would go on to vanquish the Jacobite forces at Sheriffmuir the following year:

> See! brave ARG—LE calls forth his Fire,
> ARG—LE decreed to higher State,
> And of a more propitious Fate,
> Then was his Noble Sire.
> (45–8)

The highly topical nature of these two odes can be misleading. With their own distinct implementation of the Nereus trope, they do, nonetheless, display an equally strong concern for prophetic speech that goes beyond the merely political and enters the realm of the typological and the figural.

The faithful preservation in both Welsted's and Tickell's parodies of the original structure of Horace's ode suggests that readers may have been familiar, perhaps not so much with the Latin text itself as with Horace's witty handling of a well-known epic motif in a lyric context. One reader of *The Patriot*, who frankly signed off a petition for the inclusion of Welsted's poem with "*South-British*," clearly understood the importance of interchangeable figural types. "The Author in his Dedication tells the Reader (this Prophecy being only in Imitation of the 15th Ode of *Horace*) that for the stricter Imitation of him it was necessary to form certain imaginary Heroes."[16] This injection of imaginary personages allowed for Horace's ode to be used as both allegorical representation and political commentary. At the same time, it stimulated a form of "interfigurality" that enabled each poet to provide his own realization of the ode's

[14] Leonard Welsted, *The Prophecy, or An Imitation of the 15th. Ode of the First Book of Horace. Address'd to Mr. Steele* (London: Printed for J. Baker, 1714); *The Patriot* for June 23–25, 1714 (Issue XXXIV).

[15] Welsted, *The Prophecy*, 6–7.

[16] *The Patriot* for June 23–25, 1714.

relationship between prophet and addressee.[17] One of the most salient features of those Horatian odes to which eighteenth-century poets kept returning for imitation was Horace's confrontation of narrative recounting within lyric enacting. He demonstrated how narrative form could function as an enabling device that introduces into the ode other alien elements usually associated with character, storytelling, and plot, as well as elements from epic and elegy.[18] Horace's repeated emphasis on the importance of address instilled into poets the belief—via classical education or English imitation—that the ode was essentially a poetry of speech, and that the voice of prophecy could speak out either through apostrophe (which is a form of address to someone not present) or direct address (which is often public and moralizing). Whereas Ward's *The Mourning Prophet* conferred the cause of its poetic occasion through narration of the past, Tickell's and especially Welsted's odes did so by admonishing their addressee and prophesizing about the impact of the future.

4.2.2 Old Testament Prophecy

A prominent detail shared by Welsted's and Tickell's odes embodies the change from narration about the past to prophecy about the future: both poems end by insisting on the *decree* of impending fate. At the outset of his declaration, Welsted's prophet Albion "thus, Prophetick, did disclose / Th' Eternal Fate's Decrees" (ll. 5–6), just as Argyll would be "decreed to higher State" (46)—that is, to a definitive role in securing victory for the Hanoverian cause. "'Tis so decreed," Tickell's speaker concludes on a similar note, that "*GEORGE* shall Reign, / And Traitours be forsworn in vain" (ll. 77–8). An authoritative decision having the force of law, uttered by an equally authoritative figure, the decree serves as the necessary conclusion to any prophecy. In the case of the Nereus prophecy and, especially, its English adaptations, the prophetic utterance can be seen as a manifestation of providential will in which the decree functions as a translation of divine judgment into sacred law. Samuel Johnson would go on to define 'decree' in the same way, but almost all his examples were taken from the Bible.[19] Of course, even though the concept was used in legal contexts as well, the pinnacle of authority in all

[17] Wolfgang G. Müller, "Interfigurality: A Study on the Interdependence of Literary Figures," in *Intertextuality*, ed. Heinrich F. Plett (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 101–121.

[18] For Horace's opening up lyric to other genres through clever manipulation of his mode of discourse, see the first chapter of Lowrie, *Horace's Narrative Odes*, 19–48.

[19] Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. 1 (London: printed for J. and P. Knapton et al., 1755), "DEC".

matters of decree was the Almighty.[20] The consequences of an understanding of the prophetic act as a decree by divine fiat are twofold. The poet-prophet who speaks on the deity's behalf is only one step removed from becoming a proxy to immediate divine inspiration, but in order to be able to codify the prophecy into holy writ or scripture the vatic poet needs an appropriate mode of expression. Following the example of Horace, the ode, with its overwhelming emphasis on prospective vision, was considered a suitable medium for such expression, especially once poets started to deploy it for the articulation of religious concerns involving Christian devotion and the contemplation of the end of the world as prophesied in several passages of the Old Testament.

One early precedent of Biblical prophecy in eighteenth-century verse, which reveals the gradual absorption by the ode of "sacred" themes and modes, is Alexander Pope's *Messiah* (1712). It is a testimony to the struggle to find the right poetic form with which to give shape to the messianic vision of both Classical and Christian prophecy. The original title of the poem revealed that it was intended as a "sacred Eclogue, *compos'd of several Passages of Isaiah the Prophet*," and that the poem was written in imitation of Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*.[21] This most compelling—and, for that matter, most "sacred"—of Virgil's eclogues had much in common with the Biblical prophecies, as it presented a vatic bard who presaged on behalf of the Cumaean oracle, the Sibylla, about the coming of a messianic child that would bring back the Golden Age of Saturn. Indeed, it has even been suggested that "the Sibylline books may have contained fragments of Jewish prophecy, gathered in when the Romans scoured their domains for oracular utterances of all kinds."[22] At the beginning of the eclogue, paradoxically, Virgil had acknowledged that pastoral was not the appropriate mode to express utterances of such oracular magnitude. He therefore opted for a "loftier strain,"[23] which he left deliberately undefined ("*paula maiora*"), but which eighteenth-century poets quickly identified as the more exalted tone of the ode.[24] In Pope's *Messiah*, too, the "heav'nly Themes" of sacred poetry call for "sublimer Strains" (l. 2), a genre-conscious statement which has led Howard Erskine-Hill to conclude that "Pope's handling of sustained prophetic utterance is, no doubt, more like ode than eclogue."[25]

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[20] One source was the Book of Deuteronomy, which consists of the speeches by Moses that would later take on the form of Laws; they were spoken, prophetically, just before the Jews entered the Promised Land.

[21] The Book of Isaiah was also an important source for the final section of *Windsor-Forest*. See Rogers, *The Symbolic Design of* Windsor-Forest, 207–8.

[22] Alexander Pope, *Minor Poems*, ed. Norman Ault, *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt, vol. 6 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 101. The *Dies Irae* mentions the Sibyl alongside David in the third verse, thus linking the two for their prophetic nature.

[23] The translation is Dryden's, cited from *Miscellany Poems* (London: printed for J. Tonson, 1684), 30.

[24] Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute*, 17–20.

[25] Erskine-Hill, *The Augustan Idea in English Literature*, 240.

One of the features of *The Messiah* with which Pope's readers would have been familiar was his setting of the Golden Age not in the past, as pastoral would, but in the future, as odes do. In its announcement of a prospective Golden Age as well as in its deviation from idyllic or elegiac modes in favour of the ode, Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue* had formed a peculiar break both within the framework of the *Bucolica* and within the greater pastoral tradition.[26] By invoking an even more exalted theme, the coming of Christ, and addressing not a consul but the Messiah himself, Pope deviated even further from that pattern and supplied fellow poets with a potent suggestion as to which genre would be most suitable for oracular diction. Formally and stylistically, *The Messiah* has a number of characteristics that are usually encountered in odes rather than pastoral eclogues.[27] It is an atypical Popean poem in that it substitutes the familiar structure of balance and antithesis of his other work for "one of straightforward surge and crescendo."[28] Pope here substitutes his trademark couplets for a run-on development because the syntax of prophecy, with its heavy emphasis on the future tense, demands rising momentum rather than polished equilibrium. In addition to his use of the verb "shall," a characteristic mark of the ode's grammar which occurs 24 times in the space of roughly a hundred lines, Pope also employs "a kind of 'prophetic perfect' tense," which the Twickenham editors define as "a device by which a future is vividly depicted as already present," and which, combined with the dominance of "shall," lends a strong "dramatic immediacy" to several passages in the poem.[29]

One such passage exemplifies the combined effect of immediacy and climax, not incidentally a passage in which Pope introduces the only pagan deity of the entire poem:

> See Heav'n its sparkling Portals wide display,
> And break upon thee in a Flood of Day!
> No more the rising *Sun* shall gild the Morn,
> Nor Evening *Cynthia* fill her silver Horn,
> But lost, dissolv'd in thy superior Rays;
> One Tyde of Glory, one unclouded Blaze,
> O'erflow thy Courts: The LIGHT HIMSELF shall shine
> Reveal'd; and *God*'s eternal Day be thine!
>
> (97–104)

[26] Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute*, 111.

[27] Modally, Pope's poem has much in common with the bucolic elements of Milton's *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, but just like the latter, the poet cannot answer the question what *kind* the poem will classify as (verse, hymn, solemn strain, humble ode). See Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute*, 19, 125.

[28] Pope, *Minor Poems*, 104.

[29] Pope, *Minor Poems*, 106.

What is crucial in this passage is that the cyclical view of the world makes way for a one-directional one. Whereas in Virgil's original poem the new-born sun god will reinstate the cyclical year—a new age "referred to in mystical and astronomical terms, as a new, full cyclical series (*magnus annus*) divided into its periods or phases (*magni menses*)"[30]—in Pope's version the recurring days and nights of pagan times shall be eclipsed by the eternal Day that is the Light of God. The creation of a new day at the coronation of a new monarch, a staple of the court ode since the Restoration, is here Christianised to fit a context in which light and day are divine and hence eternal. Though the brightness and primacy of the sovereign body remains, its cyclical rebirth is replaced by a singular intervention of the Almighty. Pope's blanket rejection of the pastoral mode is intimately connected with his choice for a Christian theme. As an index of past time, the pastoral order is swept away by a fusion of present and future time, and by the promise of an everlasting day which could only be expressed to the full by the ode.

4.2.3 Eschatology

Even though it is now considered to be a minor poem, Pope's *Messiah* was a sign of the times. In the early eighteenth century, the question of how best to construe the intricate typology of the Old Testament prophecies remained a matter of intense debate. The Bible contained many passages which seemed to refer to future upheavals, and British Protestants were inclined to read these passages literally. Following the recent crises of the 'Fifteen,' the South Sea Bubble crash, and the Atterbury plot, public anxiety in the early 1720s reached apocalyptic heights. Natural and political disasters were seen as warnings of the impending destruction of the current order of things. Anglican churchmen had always read scriptural prophecies in the books of Daniel and Revelation as vindications of a righteous order coming to pass. They predicted a millenarian paradise established by Christ that would fulfil the providential scheme revealed in Scripture and substitute the old natural and political order with a divine one wherein his followers, the saints, would be triumphant.[31]

This was orthodox eschatology: a succession of upheavals resulting in Christ's return and the earth's destruction. Yet this Biblical announcement of the reign of saints was

[30] Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute*, 113. As Poggioli notes, "many Christian poets were to rewrite the Fourth Eclogue in a celebratory rather than in a prophetic mood—as a recurring apotheosis or anniversary poem, in the mysticopastoral form of a nativity hymn" (19). But these were mostly humanist poets; by the eighteenth century they had been replaced by a tradition of poets who redefined the prophetic mood according to recent experiments with the appropriate modes and genres.

[31] Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution*, 100–3.

also frequently blended with messianic beliefs in a Last Emperor, who would herald the Age of Gold, as well as with sabbatical and other astrological analyses.[32] Even though the wide range of divergent views on this matter had caused a great deal of confusion among millenarians, astrologers, and almanac-makers in the medieval and early modern periods, what is certain is that, by the turn of the eighteenth century, it was increasingly held that after the earth's destruction there would be some form of renewal.[33]

A case in point is Burnet's immensely influential *Sacred Theory of the Earth*, which he had discussed in close correspondence with Newton and which went through several editions.[34] In the first part, issued in Latin in 1681, Burnet treated the genesis of the earth after the dissolution at the flood, while in the second, published in 1689, he signalled the approaching conflagration of the world and the subsequent creation from its ashes of a new earthly and celestial order, a reign of saints that would last until the Day of Judgment. An important pointer to the combined use of cosmogony and eschatology can be found in the dedicatory ode prefixed to Burnet's *Sacred Theory* in celebration of his work, an ode composed by the young Joseph Addison.[35] A former pupil of Burnet's at the Charterhouse school in London,[36] Addison intended to formulate the scientific nature of his subject in encomiastic terms, divulging how thoroughly Burnet had explored "nature's early birth" (l. 7) as it was formed from a "mixed cause" (9). The ode serves as a testimony of Burnet's intellectual independence to "think and reason, singly wise" (16). This polarity between varied matter and thinking individual is essential. It is given shape, formally, by Addison's tightly structured ode in fifteen

[32] These divided the world in, respectively, seven and three ages or *status*, the latter of which saw the third age as one of peace and spirituality.

[33] Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs, 1500–1800: Astrology and the Popular Press* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 164–79, 251–3. See, for instance, the passage in Book 3 of *The Dunciad*, in which "a new world to Nature's laws unknown / Breaks out refulgent, with a heav'n its own" (ll. 241–2). Cited from Valerie Rumbold, ed., *The Dunciad in Four Books* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), 250.

[34] Thomas Burnet, *Telluris Theoria Sacra* (London: G. Kettilby, 1681). The second part was issued in 1689. An English translation appeared in 1684 (part 1) and 1690 (part 2) and went through several more editions in 1691, 1697, 1719, 1722, 1726, 1734, 1753, and 1759.

[35] First composed in Latin in 1699, the "Ode to the Learned Dr. Thomas Burnett" was translated by Thomas Newcomb in a surreptitious edition published by Curll in 1718. Not incidentally, an authorized version appeared only one year later, prefixed to the fourth edition of Burnet's study. In 1727, another translation appeared, entitled *Mr. Addison's Fine Ode to Dr. Thomas Burnet, on His Sacred Theory of the Earth. Done into English by the Author of a Late Tale Call'd Coffee* (London: printed for T. Warner). All citations are from Newcomb's translation as published in *The Works of Joseph Addison*, ed. Henry G. Bohn, 6 vols. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1906), vi, 583–5.

[36] Charles A. Knight, *A Political Biography of Richard Steele* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009), 12–4.

isometric, *ababcc*-rhymed stanzas; and thematically, by a central *laudandus*, Burnet, whose immeasurable knowledge matches that of the universe.

Perfectly positioned in the middle of the ode are those two stanzas that applaud the Archimedean Burnet for his scholarly acumen and his unshakable pursuit of the earth's fate. This is a pivotal moment in the ode since, at the same time, it mirrors the shift from biblical past to prophetic future that separates parts 1 and 2 of Burnet's *Sacred Theory*. When suddenly Burnet imparts "nature's doom" (48), Addison imagines how his readers, "scarce endur[ing]" (49), would "start and tremble but to view" the spectacular rise and fall of the world (53). Finally, the conflagration of the earth follows, only to revive again with renewed "bloom" and "green eternal vales" (78–9). Routinely recurring throughout the genre in which Addison is at work, the motif of rebirth here becomes particularly felicitous when the conventional vernal scenery transforms into an endless heavenly spring: "No change her flowery seasons breed, / But springs retire, and springs succeed" (82–3). Burnet's theory of the earth would prove to be a major source of inspiration for Addison's theories of the natural sublime, but in this ode, too, he already effectively captured the dual pleasures of the imagination provided by the creation, dissolution, and recreation of the world.

4.3 The Origins of Poetry

Addison's primary artistic impulse was a purely dedicatory one. His ode, consequently, was a personal tribute to an individual's achievement, meant to be prefixed by way of a verse preface to Burnet's theoretical treatise, and with perhaps, as one early biographer had it, "too much of a Horatian cento in the diction."[37] Yet, the cultivated preoccupations of the late seventeenth-century gentleman-scholar were seen to contrast starkly with the social and political upheavals of the late 1710s and early '20s, the overwhelming force of some of which rose to such millenarian proportions that they began to require a specific idiom of their own.[38] A new mode of "sacred" verse was required which consisted of the kind of figural themes and types of Scripture and which went beyond the merely symbolic *representation* of objects and events to embrace the

[37] Lucy Aikin, *The Life of Addison*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1843), i, 64.

[38] Fairer (*English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century*, 122–43) reads the eschatological and apocalyptic strain in poetry of this period specifically as a response to a century-long series of political catastrophes and constitutional shifts in England, concluding with the recent economic crises and Jacobite plots.

prefiguration of greater abstractions.[39] This combination of prophetic utterance and prefiguration has one important implication in that, in order for its message to be successfully transmitted, it requires a proxy who is able to semantically convert the prophecy into words and, eventually, relay it through script. For the eighteenth-century religious poet looking beyond adaptations of the classical prophecy motif, the most recognizable instance of the providential scheme could be found in the Book of Revelation 1:19. Here, Christ commands the prophet John to "Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter," before unveiling his apocalyptic vision of the earth. Central to Revelation as well as to the other prophecies was the matter of communication from God to all humanity, whether through direct statement or through prophets who acted as privileged proxies of divine wisdom. Issues of clarity and transparency naturally arose when trying to relay the word of God, problems which were, inevitably, epistemological and semiological.

One of the period's most systematic attempts to come up with a solution to these conundrums was offered by John Dennis. In his two theoretical treatises, *The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry* (1701) and *The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry* (1704), Dennis claimed that, much as religious ideas give force and elevation to poetry, so poetry in turn can give the necessary shape and articulation to comprehend and convey complex religious ideas such as divine revelations. He found ample affirmation of this assumption in the Old Testament, the most important parts of which were "deliver'd not only in a Poetical Style, but in Poetical Numbers" (ii, 370). Those parts of the Old Testament he deemed most important were

> the Prophecies; because without them we could never be satisfy'd that *Jesus* is the Messiah. For the Prophets were Poets by the Institution of their Order, and Poetry was one of the Prophetick Functions, which were chiefly three: 1. Predicting or foretelling things to come. 2. Declaring the Will of God to the People. And, 3. Praising God with Songs of the Prophets composing, accompany'd with the Harp and other Instrumental Musick (ii, 370).

On account of the third function, it would seem that the prophecies must be rendered in a poetical and musical form so as to properly enforce themselves upon the minds of a modern British audience. Dennis insisted on finding an English equivalent for the "figurative passionate Style, and the Poetical Numbers" (ii, 371) in which the Old Testament prophecies were formerly composed. His emphasis on the instrumental quality of ancient prophecy thus adumbrates the vivid discussions about the musical

[39] Paul J. Korshin, *Typologies in England 1650–1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 98–9.

origins of poetry that would follow in the decades to come. Central to this scholarly debate was the inquiry into the most revered form of verse poets could employ in dealing with the prophetic passages of the Hebrew Bible. As Paul Korshin has observed, "the freedom of the ode form," with its loose structure, thematic liberty, and wealth of imagery, was considered ideally suited to accommodate the complex machinery of prefigurative and experiential patterns.[40]

With a growing interest in what Burnet in his *Sacred Theory* had called the "ORIGINAL of Things" and "the Beginning and Progress of a RISING WORLD"[41] came an equally vibrant and often controversial pursuit of the origins of poetry. Just as astrologers, cosmologists, and theologians looked for answers in the Old Testament, so the poets and literary critics of the day sought to explain the birth of true poetry by going back to the Hebraic poetry of the ancient bards and prophets. In a sense, long before the Enlightenment doctrine of a 'universal' literary history was developed in the 1760s, these early advocates of the primitivist approach were already convinced of the existence of "some originary source, a fecund chaos or *genus universum*" from which all other poetic species had sprung.[42] According to their vision of literary history, the most ancient of the three presentational modes was the lyric, and its primordial poetical kind was the ode. Charles Gildon claimed just that, when in Dialogue III of *The Complete Art of Poetry* (1718) he introduced the Lyric and the Ode, the shared history of which he traced back to Hebrew hymnal practice.[43] Lyric poetry, of which the ode is the supreme exponent, "is the most antient of all the several Sorts of Poems that have been invented by the harmonious Race of Poets."[44] Gildon refutes the traditional account that crowned Orpheus as the ode's inventor by judiciously pointing to the song of Moses and his sister Miriam in Exodus 15, which was composed "much before the Time that *Cadmus* introduc'd so much as the *Greek Alphabet*."[45] On grounds of this purely temporal discrepancy, Gildon sees no reason to retain the neoclassical genealogy of the ode.

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[40] Korshin, *Typologies in England*, 96.

[41] Thomas Burnet, *The Sacred Theory of the Earth*, 4th. ed. (London: printed for J. Hooke, 1719), 2.

[42] David Duff, *Romanticism and the Uses of Genre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 174. One of the pioneers of this primitivist approach was Johann Gottfriend Herder, who argued that "'the fountain-head of poetic art' was the ode, which he describes as the 'germ cell' from which 'the entire great original array of poetic forms, their manifold and often paradoxical progression, will grow'" (174).

[43] My argument on the originary status of the ode in the eighteenth century overlaps partially with John Knapp's excellent article "Isaac Watts's Unfixed Hymn Genre," *Modern Philology* 109 (2012), 463–82.

[44] Charles Gildon, *The Complete Art of Poetry* (London: printed for C. Rivington, 1718), 173.

[45] "And it is reasonable to think that *Moses* and this Prophetess was not the first who perform'd in this kind, which was both to Music and Dancing, like those afterwards of *Pindar* and others" (Gildon, *The Complete Art of Poetry*, 173).

Such an alternative history of literature, in which the Hebrew prophets were given precedence as the originators of poetry, was common at the time. Isaac Watts began the preface to the second edition of his *Horae Lyricae* (1709) with a passionate account of the act of worship that was deployed by Hebrew kings and prophets such as David, Solomon, and Isaiah in describing the nature and glory of God. He called it the "eldest Song which History has brought down to our Ears."[46] The same idea was also put forward by Joseph Trapp in his lectures as Professor of Poetry at Oxford. First published in Latin as *Praelectiones poeticae* (3 vols., 1711–19) and reissued in English in 1742, Trapp's *Lectures on Poetry* verbalized a contemporary commonplace in the most unflinching of terms: "We have no Instance of Poetry older than the celebrated Song, or rather Ode, of *Moses*."[47]

The "celebrated" ode, which Watts, Gildon, and Trapp gave such prominence in their expositions, was generally understood to be an ode of thanksgiving, recorded as sung by Moses and the Israelites after their passage through the Red Sea. Aaron Hill, too, was wholly orthodox when, in the preface to his cosmographic poem *The Creation* (1720), he said it was "the oldest, and, I think, the sublimest Poem in the World."[48] Some thirty years later, further specifying the poem as "a Kind of *Lyric Ode*," Hill repeated the truism that the Hebrews at the time of Moses had "the practical Perfection of the *Lyric* Species for at least 200 Years before the Birth of this Assumer, *Orpheus*, whom the *Greeks* pretend to have been its original Inventer."[49] It was a similar conception of Hebrew poetry that would eventually lead to Robert Lowth's conclusion that "the origin of the ode may be traced into that of poetry itself, and appears to be coeval with the commencement of religion, or more properly the creation of man."[50] Central to this interpretation of the ode as a form of thanksgiving to the Creator was an increasingly individualistic focus on man, exemplified both by Dennis's emphasis on the speaker's sublime experience of divine revelation and by Lowth's attention to "the ritualistic function of the ode as an encomiastic kind" which celebrated the entire creation.[51]

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[46] Isaac Watts, *Horae Lyricae. Poems Chiefly of the Lyric Kind*, 2nd ed. (London: printed for J. Humfreys, 1709), iii.[47] Joseph Trapp, *Lectures on Poetry* (London: printed for C. Hitch and C. Davis, 1742), 203. Curiously, the ode was erroneously identified in a footnote as Deuteronomy 15. An additional example of this singular antiquity, which Trapp passes over because he finds it is so well known, is the Book of Psalms.

[47] Joseph Trapp, *Lectures on Poetry* (London: printed for C. Hitch and C. Davis, 1742), 203. Curiously, the ode was erroneously identified in a footnote as Deuteronomy 15. An additional example of this singular antiquity, which Trapp passes over because he finds it is so well known, is the Book of Psalms.

[48] Aaron Hill, *The Creation. A Pindaric Illustration of a Poem, Originally written by Moses, On That Subject. With a Preface to Mr. Pope, concerning The Sublimity of the Ancient Hebrew Poetry, and a Material and Obvious Defect in the English* (London: printed for T. Bickerton, 1720), vi.

[49] Aaron Hill, *Gideon; or, The Patriot. An Epic Poem: in Twelve Books. Upon a Hebrew Plan* (London: printed for A. Millar, 1749), 45, 47.

[50] Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, 2 vols. (London: printed for J. Johnson, 1787), ii, 192.

[51] Jung, "Ode," 518.

The ode, then, was the literary embodiment of the divine powers of creativity and spontaneous origination. The sublimity and pristine purity of the Moses ode were taken, by critics like Hill, to be due to the fact that, at the time of utterance, "the Author had neither Leisure, nor Possibility, to invent a new Art" (*Creation*, vi). Thus, the ode formed an inartificial, unmediated utterance of the creative word of God. This sense of spontaneous thanksgiving to the Lord was closely bound up, as Howard Weinbrot has shown, with notions for which Hebrew verse was particularly admired in the eighteenth century: notions of immediacy of action, narration, and address, as well as of grandeur and sublimity.[52] The Moses ode did not only display all aspects of the lyric conventionally attributed to various Greek poets such as Orpheus, Pindar, and Anacreon; it also contained, as Gildon observed, "a Grandeur and Sublime above all the *Greek* Poets; for as the Object, and the Subject are vastly superiour to the latter, so is the Performance."[53]According to eighteenth-century opinion, the Hebrew poets surpassed the heathens on all levels of moral, literary, and aesthetic experience. The Prophets and similar parts of the Bible supplied a different sort of sublimity, which was neither purely rhetorical, nor solely roused by external objects. Rather, it was seen to emanate directly from God, who unites all natural elements to express his might. It was this synthetic quality of the sublime-religious verse of the Hebrew ode, manifested in its unique combination of simplicity and sublimity, which began to shape eighteenth-century responses to ideas of immediacy and affect in all kinds of poetry.[54]

4.4 Hebrew Verse and the Pindaric Ode

A crucial factor in understanding the religious poetry of the early eighteenth century is that there was a growing sense of a revolution taking place in Britain on scientific, religious, and social levels. Margaret Jacob has speculated whether Burnet and his followers were somehow "using prophecy as their device to advocate a rebellion" in various intellectual and religious domains.[55] Even though it is difficult to determine whether documents such as Burnet's *Sacred Theory* were indeed of a revolutionary nature, many poets in the 1710s and '20s were advocating what might be called a *poetical* revolution. Partly due to the associations increasingly drawn with notions of primitivity

[52] Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue*, 423–45.
[53] Gildon, *The Complete Art of Poetry*, 174.
[54] Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue*, 427–8.
[55] Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution*, 118.

and uniqueness, the ode became a central feature of several programmes for the reformation of poetry. First concocted by Dennis and then elaborated and consolidated by Hill, these plans for poetic reform were intended, for the most part, to make poetry sacred again.[56] Dennis's critical writings had passed on the legacy of the clamour for moral and poetic reform that had characterized the heated political debates of the 1680s and '90s. Early Whig writers had responded to the austere classicism of their Tory rivals by tracing the lineage of their literary culture through Job, David, Solomon, and the sacred verse of the Bible.[57] This manifesto continued, more or less unabatedly, to attract later generations of Whigs, especially after 1714, even though the politics of cultural patriotism were realigned at several occasions, most notably during the various internal ruptures in the Stanhope-Sunderland and Walpole administrations. Throughout the 1720s and '30s, the most influential literary advocate of the Whig cultural agenda was Hill, who assembled a coterie of like-minded poets and contributed significantly to the spread of a poetics that aimed to offer an alternative to the writings of Pope, Gay, and Swift.

The rules and intentions of Whig literary culture, with its emphases on an alternative literary genealogy, moral reform, and spiritual resacralization, are neatly outlined in Joseph Mitchell's "The Muse's Original: An Ode. Inscrib'd to Aaron Hill, Esq," which opened his *Poems on Several Subjects* (1729). In thirteen irregular stanzas, Mitchell amplifies the idea that the "heav'nly *Muse*" has been "profan'd" by the pagan gods of classical poetry.[58] Instead, he takes the reader back to a time when poets were priests, who "Heav'ns Decrees made known" and encouraged the people to reform their lives by the poets' example (4). It comes as no surprise that the dedicatee of the ode, Aaron Hill, is in Mitchell's view the only modern poet who approximates the powers of Moses the legislator and David the musician, and the only one who can enact a "*well-bred Reformation*" similar to the Hebrew original (10). In the early 1720s, Hill had devoted about a dozen issues of his literary-critical journal, the *Plain Dealer*, to the promotion of his aims and ideals of poetry, most of which were based on Dennis's poetics of the religious sublime.[59] As Christine Gerrard has noted, Mitchell's ode "perfectly epitomizes the Whig synthesis of polite values and moral melioration," united in inspired poetry.[60]

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[56] James Thomson, in his preface to *Winter* (1726), voiced similar concerns.

[57] Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture*, 80–5. By doing so, Whigs could also distance themselves "from the inspired 'ejaculations' of religious enthusiasts, by locating their arguments for sacred poetry within a tradition of respectable Protestant piety" (84).

[58] Joseph Mitchell, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: printed for the author, and sold by L. Gilliver, 1729), 1.

[59] Christine Gerrard, *Aaron Hill: The Muses' Projector, 1685-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 106–10; Morris, *The Religious Sublime*, 79–103.

[60] Gerrard, *Aaron Hill*, 111.

This was a concerted effort at reformation which Hill championed successfully, if not in society at large, then at least in the impressive circle of talented writers with which he surrounded himself.

Arguably the most considerable of Hill's contributions to the topic of poetic reform are his own poems and critical prefaces, many of which, though shaped by Dennis's arguments, show signs of genuine originality. In a number of these prefaces, Hill expressed his belief that there was only one poetic form suitable for inspired, religious verse: the Pindaric ode. In this as in much else, he followed the example of Dennis, who had gone out of his way to demonstrate that Pindar's sublimity derived from divine inspiration, even though he disapproved of the fact that Pindar had been forced by his desire for gain to couple his conviction of the importance of religion with the obligation to celebrate the triumphs of "worthless Coachmen and Jockeys."[61] There were, of course, other poets who recognized the freedom and majesty of the Pindaric manner, such as David Williams in his heavily annotated *Pindaric on the Nativity of the Son of God* (1711), but no poet offered so sustained and perceptive an analysis of the Pindaric ode as Hill. According to him, it was a mistake to think that Pindar could only be "seldom us'd," as Williams had declared.[62] Hill saw Pindar rather as John Husbands did in 1731, who wrote that Pindar, "in his Enthusiastick Manner," came nearest "to the Spirit of the SCRIPTURES."[63] Since the Renaissance, moreover, Pindar had been celebrated as a sacred, vatic bard, a poet-prophet like David, Solomon, or Isaiah, one who was inspired with semi-divine capacities like Orpheus, and whose style was compared by some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century commentators with that of the Psalms, Proverbs, and Prophets.[64] By analogy, the Pindaric ode was regarded by some as indebted to an originary Jewish or Davidic genre from which "PINDAR stole some *Sparks of heav'nly Fire*."[65] Pindar's method, with its inherent claims to mythic vocation and epiphanic experience, could thus easily serve to illustrate and mediate the sort of Mosaic prophecy that had gained currency in recent years.

This Pindaric parallel contributed substantially to the negotiation and popularization of the elevated, associative, and metaphorical character of Hebrew verse. With this in mind, it is easier to understand why the subtitle to *The Creation* simply read "A Pindaric Illustration of a Poem, Originally written by Moses, On That Subject." The preface, in

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[61] Dennis, *Critical Works*, i, 332. This eventually led him to choose Miltonic blank verse instead of Pindaric measures.

[62] David Williams, *A Pindaric on the Nativity of the Son of God* (London: printed for St. John Barker, 1711), 9.

[63] John Husbands, *A Miscellany of Poems by Several Hands* (Oxford: printed by L. Lichfield, 1731), sigs. d2^{r-v}.

[64] Cowley indicated in his notes that the Isaiah paraphrases in his *Poems* should be read as "Pindarical" because they are similar. See Revard, *Politics, Poetics, and the Pindaric Ode*, 142–3.

[65] Samuel Wesley, *An Epistle to a Friend Concerning Poetry* (London: printed for C. Harper, 1700), 27.

addition, provides a fairly methodical outline of the reasons why Hill considered the Pindaric ode so suitable. As he agreed with many of his contemporaries that the Hebrews were the first to have created inspired poetry, Hill thought it "undeniable, either that the *Hebrews* brought Poetry out of *Egypt*, or that *Moses* receiv'd it from God, by immediate *Inspiration*" (vi). The immediacy of such divine inspiration was somewhat of a crux, Hill admitted, when modernizing, for instance, "so lofty an Ode as the 104th *Psalm*" (vii). He thus devoted a large section of the preface to exposing the difficulty of translating into modern English the paradoxical nature of Hebrew poetry, the peculiar qualities of which could only be expressed, he felt, through oxymora such as "terrible Simplicity" and "magnificent Plainness" (vi). This type of stylistic intervention Hill presumably derived from Milton's "palpable obscure" (*Paradise Lost*, Book II, 406).[66] Arguing for a revitalized study of matter instead of form, Hill specifically chose to focus in the remainder of the preface on the misuse of metaphors in English poetry. Elevation of thought and image should be matched by the right choice of words, and this is where Hill found poets like Trapp, Addison, and Ambrose Phillips lacking in metaphorical refinement (vii-x). The reason they failed was not so much ineptitude—Hill admired most of their work—as the wrong choice of generic model. "I am of Opinion," he resolved, "that no *English* Verse, except that, which we, I think a little improperly, call *Pindaric*, can allow the necessary Scope, to so masterless a Subject, as the *Creation*, of all others the most copious, and illustrious" (xii). The Pindaric ode was the only genre historically known for being able to accommodate the same sort of sonorous metaphors and non-rational sublimity cultivated by the Hebrew poets.

Even if the good name of the true "*Pindaric*" had been soiled by the hands of too many poetasters in recent times, it was the only genre of "*English* Verse" Hill found appropriate to achieve the levels of performativity and immediacy required by religious-sublime verse. This is clear from the very start of *The Creation*, where he makes full use of the prototypical status of his poem's subject as the first and most prophetic of all Biblical stories:

> In the *Beginning*, the Almighty God,
> Sending out his loud Decree,
> Begot *Existence*, and bid Being *be*!
> *Creation*, first-born Child of *unnam'd* Night!
> (I. 1-4)

One of the watchwords of prophetic utterance, the "Decree" is here formulated as early as the third line of the poem. Assonant and alliterative to the limit, the third line is also

[66] For Hill's Miltonic style and his use of compound epithets, see Gerrard, *Aaron Hill*, 113.

highly performative in granting the poet the same demiurgic qualities as those of the Almighty. As the Lord sends out his decree by ushering "*Existence*" into existence, so the poet casts himself as privy to divine inspiration by bringing about the act which he names. The terms printed in italics give an indication of the jussive and performative dimensions of this passage, with the dark and nameless chaos of inception contrasting starkly with the purposeful creation of the Earth by God. Hill's insistence in the preface on the right choice of metaphors does not always result in flawless examples of his own making—take, for instance, the awkward image of "Darkness" with "Motion overlaid" in line 14. Yet the personification of Creation as a "first-born Child" certainly prefigures the messianic saviour born to restore the primal order.

Hill's abilities as poet-*cum*-theorist emerge even more clearly when, after morning and evening have joined to make up "the *first* Great Day" in the first stanza (I.29), and "the *second*, formful, Day" (II.54) and "*third* astonish'd Day" (III.59) have originated in the following two stanzas, he arrives at the heart of why the Pindaric ode is best equipped to "fly through that well-measured Maziness" (xiv). The "various Forms" engendered by the struggle of "Atoms" in the second stanza "*Unite*" at God's command "and gather into *One*," resulting in "the reeking Earth" that Hill describes by using the word "astonish'd" in the figurative sense of the aphetized "'stonish"—i.e., as having the character of stone. In Hill's subtle delineation, the definitive assets of the Pindaric ode are Form, though not in the sense of versification but of shapes and bodies, and Matter, though not of subject but of substance.

This division into form and matter requires some elucidation. I contend that form and matter stand for the variety and scope of what is made possible by the Pindaric ode and (to use the same terms in their alternative sense) its corresponding metrical licence and freedom of subject-matter. "Be fruitful *all*," God says in the fifth stanza of *The Creation*,

> and multiply!
> And fill the Seas, and fill the Sky!
> Throughout the Ocean, O ye Fish, abound!
> And, Let your various Kinds, O Fowl! o'er all the Earth be found!
>
> (V. 31–4)

This multiplication and variety of shape and texture, I argue, are Pindaric motifs in which excessive growth leads to diversification, commonly rendered in an accretion of metrical and lexical elements, such as increasing line length (the final line has at least seven stresses) and an intensifying exclamative rather than declarative mood (the final four lines all end with a powerful exclamation mark). This diversification of kind can

logically be expanded to include an increasingly modal variety of historical *kinds* of poetry, such as pastoral, georgic, or epic—a generic hybridity for which the ode was generally understood to be susceptible.[67] In the context of Hill's emphasis on the importance of metaphoric diction, it is also worthwhile to mention Eric Rothstein's metaphors of the phoenix and the fountain, chosen to suggest the additive form and repeated interconnected imagery of the ode. According to Rothstein, these two images should be understood as connotative groups which provide the lion's share of the imagery used in the ode, ranging from rarity, conflagration, and aethereality to fertility, buoyancy, and liquefaction.[68] Whereas the phoenix was an important symbol in the Stuart court ode, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, it remains a relevant metaphor, in conjunction with the fountain, for the Biblical themes of destruction and restoration that gradually began to dominate the religious poetry of the 1720s.

4.5 Transubstantiation in the Ode

At a figurative level—metaphorically as well as typologically—the connection between Pindaric *form* and *matter* underscores the process of conversion central to the sacred ode in this period. Typically rendered through the use of images of material and spiritual transformation, conversion processes correspond with the idea that the type and shadow of Old Testament prophecy would become antitype and substance in a future event, as in the New Testament. The "swelling Globe of naked Mud" (III.6) in Hill's vision of the earth in *The Creation*, for instance, is a prefiguration of mankind's first state and substance as nude creatures of clay, prefiguring at the same time, in reverse fashion, the astonished humans who virtually turn to stone upon witnessing the second appearance of Christ. Isaac Watts's *The Day of Judgment. An Ode* (1706) provides a concise and precise picture of this petrifying moment. The ode reveals how "sailors stand amazed" (l. 5) at the sight of the unfathomable spectacle of destruction.[69] Watts intensifies the figural effect of their astonishment in two ways. Subtitled "Attempted in English Sapphic," that is, modified to fit the accentual-syllabic metre of English verse, the ode consists of short

[67] Ralph Cohen, "On the Interrelations of Eighteenth-Century Literary Forms," in *New Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Literature*, ed. Philip Harth (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 33–78; and Cohen, "The Return to the Ode," 203–24.

[68] Rothstein, *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Poetry 1660–1780*, 6.

[69] Cited from Roger Lonsdale, *The New Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 69–70.

stanzas which not only compress the action into units of just four lines, but also truncate every fourth line to suggest the incoming devastation as well as the staggering motion of the humans witnessing it. With a powerful anaphoric simile that has the force of prophecy ("Such shall be" in lines 9 and 11), Watts warns of the doom awaiting the unrepentant when the "great archangel" (11) will come and disrupt the earthly fabric that supports them.

Aside from reading material change as analogous to moral and spiritual metastasis, poets also turned to prefigurative designs because they believed in a divinely ordained and one-directional history that stipulated the destruction of all worldly matter and the subsequent restoration of a celestial order built upon its ruins.[70] Theories of the dissolution of the current face of nature were motivated, for the most part, by the belief that "this present earth is misshapen and imperfect," and must be replaced by "a form more aesthetically pleasing."[71] One of the reasons why typological imagistic systems persisted so well into the eighteenth century was the widespread applicability of the "traditional rising motion of the type, from darkness to light, the part to the whole, doubt to truth, promise to fulfilment, and death to resurrection."[72] The "four last things" were the perfect subjects in this respect, and the Last Judgment, as the "accomplishment of all the types of the Bible,"[73] was considered particularly interesting. Not only did it hold the salvational promise of a permanent state of happiness; it also offered possibilities of poetic experimentation with the unknown and unimaginable that came after. The ode, as Hill would continue to emphasize, was perfectly adapted as a vehicle for the ecstatic poetic expression that necessarily accompanied such a luminary and mystical experience.

In the opening announcement of his next ode, *The Judgment-Day* (1721), Hill squarely enlisted this desire for epiphanic experience as his main objective. Accordingly, the speaker asks his muse to hover no more "o'er *idle* Themes" (l. 1) and "humble Heights" (5), but to take him instead to higher, sublimer regions.[74]

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[70] Since "cyclical and degenerative interpretations of history contradict typology," as Stephen Zwicker has observed, apocalyptic parables always exhibited an uninterrupted forward movement. Steven N. Zwicker, "Politics and Panegyric: The Figural Mode from Marvell to Pope," in *Literary Uses of Typology from the Late Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Earl Miner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 145–6.

[71] For a fuller treatment of this argument, see Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution*, 34–5, 38, 110, 114–5, 130, 135–7.

[72] Korshin, *Typologies in England*, 65.

[73] Korshin, *Typologies in England*, 345.

[74] Fairer compares the speaker's request to "arm my aking Eyes" with Milton's plea to Urania to illumine him in what is dark (*English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century*, 122).

O! let my hot, my strugling Bosom *glow*,
Swol'n by a *bursting* Flood of bright Desire:
'Till the astonish'd Soul is taught, with *starting Dread*, to *know*,
How groaning *Nature* shall, *dissolv'd*, expire.
(12–5)

Again, the words in italics provide a summary of the entire passage: the heart, the hottest organ and source of creative fire and sacred rage, is fuelled by a desire to comprehend, though apprehensively, the dissolution of nature that is about to ensue. Not so much an invitation to his personified Fancy and its "saily Wings" (II.1) the rapturous moment is presented rather as a continuously rising movement towards awe and confusion, until, the speaker divulges,

Millions of opening Wonders strike my Eyes,
And Reason's finite View is dazled here!
Globes behind Globes, *unnumber'd* hence appear!
(II.3–5)

Without overstressing the effect of typography on the reader, it should be noted that the numerical profusion of elements is at once a central characteristic of and motivation for the use of Pindaric verse. Italicized terms in this and the following stanzas accrue to a catalogue of affective responses as the speaker's observational abilities are surpassed by the endless diversity of the otherworldly sphere towards which his imagination leads him. The answer to a rhetorical flurry of *ubi sunt*s in stanza VIII is simply that shape and substance disappear in a total mixture of things, all fusing and melting into "liquid Kingdoms [that] *undulate* in Fire!" (VIII.12). The poet's Fancy, traditionally known for being able to imagine numberless images, now faces the ultimate challenge of trying to give voice and image to the formless blend that is caused by the earth's total and irreversible disintegration through *ekpyrosis*.

The immeasurability of cosmic form and matter when transformed by the apocalypse could only be captured epistemologically by a third form of transubstantiation, the sudden and ravishing transport of the poet's soul also known as rapture.[75] Glossed by the *OED* (sense 1.c) as a state of being carried away in spirit, without bodily removal,

[75] Transport of both speaker and audience through the "irresistible persuasive force" of great and moving emotions, often represented by the figure of the thunderbolt, had been the main rhetorical function of the grand style since Quintilian, long before Longinus's treatise on sublimity became familiar (Morris, *The Religious Sublime*, 15). For a recent article on poetic rapture in the eighteenth century, see Robert A. Erickson, "Pope and Rapture," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 40 (2016), 1–31. Joseph Mitchell produced a manuscript ode called *The Transport. An Ode*, dated 5 August 1718, provided with an epigraph from Watts's *Horae Lyricae*, and dedicated to Mrs Jean Warrander. The MS is held in the Brotherton Library, BC MS Lt 59.

rapture and its cognates are also akin to states of ecstasy in that both imply an escape or, rather, a passive withdrawal, an uncontrollable *ex-stasis* of the soul from the body. In eschatological odes, the passions intrinsic to poetic rapture exceed the natural and are so self-consuming that they ironically become the instinctual forces most associated with poetic authenticity. As he does at several other key moments, Hill deploys oxymora to hint at the extremes to which his imaginative and communicative powers are pushed. He takes his reader through a scene of destruction (the negation) so as to end up, ultimately, with an even stronger affirmation of what was initially posited (the strength and clarity of God, the power of the poet's imagination to provide signification to the unfathomable variety that is God). Even when in *The Judgment-Day* Fancy fails him, Hill's speaker is undeterred; as predestined bard, he can still rely on God's inspiration to describe how all the elect will be "Rais'd, from yon dark, and sinking Crowd" (XVI.18), the undistinguishable mixture of colours and shapes that will ultimately end up in Hell. In the poem's fiction, it is the poet who witnesses the journey to the "sparkling *Day*" (XVII.3) of everlasting paradise and he alone who can conjure it before the mind's eye of his readers. As Sara Landreth has recently pointed out, the actualization and visualization of "the right kind of moving poetic images can temporarily restore a reader's faculties to their correct, prelapsarian harmony."[76] Hill's account relating the odist to a divine and unique inspirator is a fable of election that comes into being when the poet flees the phenomenal terror of nature only to contemplate an even more terrible, transcendental one in his imagination.

Two odes were published around the time of Hill's *Judgment-Day* that further attest to the vogue for spiritual rhapsody and enthusiasm. John Hughes's *The Ecstasy. An Ode* (1720) was a paraphrase of Casimir Sarbiewski's ode "E Rebus Humanis Excessus" which tried to modernize the mystic, neo-Platonic view of God's eternal light by substituting it with a physico-theological vision that embraced light purely as a scientific phenomenon.[77] The year 1721 also saw the posthumous republication of John Pompfret's "Dies Novissima: or, the Last Epiphany. A Pindarick Ode, on Christ's Second Appearance to Judge the World," a poem which had first appeared in Pomfret's *Poems on Several Occasions* in 1702.[78] Whether or not Hill was familiar with Pomfret's poem when he started drafting his own, the belated republication of Pomfret's ode should be

[76] Sara Landreth, "'Set His Image in Motion:' John Dennis and Early Eighteenth-Century Motion Imagery," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 40 (2016), 71.

[77] For a discussion of the eighteenth-century rise of "Rational Ecstacy," see Maren-Sofie Røstvig, *The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal*, 2 vols. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1971), ii, 89–139.

[78] According to the ESTC, it was published by a friend and announced in the Daily Post on 4 November 1721. Interestingly, it was reissued twice that year in separate pamphlets by Edmund Curll and again in *The Altar of Love* (1727) and *The Christian Poet* (1728).

understood as a response to a vogue for eschatological poetry that relied on the ode as the ideal medium for sacred themes.

The specific choice of genre helps to explain why Pomfret's speaker instantly and emphatically welcomes the "brighter Pow'r" which stirs his muse to "loftier Thoughts, and Raptures" (5–6).[79] These become evident when, after having implored the "heavy rolling God" (9) to commit the task to "Some nobler Bard" (15), the speaker is nevertheless overwhelmed and inflamed, "with Extasies opprest" (20), and raving and rising he is transported to a soaring height. There, though formerly "unsing'd" he now mixes with the "Elemental Fire" that is the chief energy of the ode (22). A telling example of rapture in *spirit*, moreover, the poem's emphatic performative staging of active, present-tense verbs with experiential coloration ("I feel" [9], "I sink" [12], "I rave" [20], "I rise" [21], "I mix" [22], "I have in view" [23]) implies such a degree of absorption and mental exaltation that it translates into a full-blown synesthetic experience.[80] The revelation in the following stanzas is truly the last epiphany of the title, as the speaker is witness to the world's conflagration and rebirth at God's final judgment. As time has run its course and "finish'd are the Radiant Journeys of the *Sun*" (38), the poet's "*sacred Guide*" (29) imparts, the long-awaited Judgment Day shall rise as one "Great *Decisive Morn*" (39).

When the poet next enquires as to the cosmic portents that will accompany this moment, his guide announces that what is about to follow is the punishment of those blind and decadent mortals who indulged in the arrogance of false idolatry and the ignorance of the one true God. Structuring the poem are images of sight, light, and revelation, which contrast sharply with the spiritual fraudulence of phony prophets and "Adult'rate CHRISTS" (55), as well as, more significantly, with the world's imminent fall. In the following stanzas, indeed, *black* is the defining colour. From the "black Venom" (65) running through the veins of devilish imposters, to the "Black Tempests" (72), "thickest Sables" (74), and "Black Thunder bursts" (83) rending the skies, all natural phenomena run in reverse, to the detriment of all:

[79] All subsequent references are cited from John Pomfret, *The Last Epiphany. A Pindarick Ode* (London: printed for E. Curll, 1722 [1721]).

[80] The similarity with another form of rapture, i.e. "rape," is suggestive of a degree of sexual innuendo as well. For a discussion of similar elements of motion, absorption, and speaker-object relationships, see Margaret M. Koehler, "Odes of Absorption in the Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century," *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 47 (2007), 659–678. Koehler's article was later incorporated into her *Poetry of Attention in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 85–100.

Swath'd in substantial Shrouds of Night,
The sick'ning Sun, shall from the World retire,
Stript of his dazling Robes of Fire,
Which dangling once shed round a lavish Flood of Light:
No frail Eclipse, but all Essential Shade,
Not yielding to Primaeval Gloom,
Whilst Day was yet an Embryo in the Womb,
Nor glimmering in it's sourse, with Silver Streamers plaid.
(103–10)

No longer phrased in terms of a temporary eclipse, as would have been common in a New Year ode, the contrast in this ode is one, quite literally, of black-and-white extremes. In contrast to whiteness and purity, the poet's palette changes to blackness and pollution when the crumbling earth turns into "A Jetty Mixture of the Darkness" (111)—just as mixing too many colours eventually leads to black. If splashes of fire or light are introduced at all, they are associated with the chaotic and infernal scenery of "lambent" flames (127), "sulphurious Stores" (131), and the destructive force of lightening, the only purpose of which is to "shew the hideous Leaps on either Hand, / Of Night, that spreads her *Ebon-Curtains* round" (140–1).

At last, in stanza XII, "th' *Almighty JUDGE*" appears, "sedate, and bright, / Cloath'd in Imperial Robes of Light," storming the skies in an Apollonian chariot of fire (165–74). With him, clarity, lucidity, and purity return once again:

His waving Vestments shine,
Bright as the Sun, which lately did its Beams resign,
And burnish'd Wreaths of Light shall make his Form Divine,
Strong Beams of Majesty around his Temples play,
And the transcendent Gaity of his Face allay,
His Father's reverend Characters He'll wear,
And both o'erwhelm with Light, and over-awe with Fear;
Myriads of Angels shall be there,
And I, perhaps, close the tremendous Rear.
(177–85)

As the last to behold the epiphanic experience of Judgment Day, the poet reserves a place for himself at the end of the angelic train. Here, where all are dazzled by the light of God's throne, and where "*Hallelujahs* fill the Crowd," the poet, "perhaps, shall close the Song" (212–3). It might seem remarkable for a Pindaric ode that there is no indication of the poet's return from mantic *ex-stasis* to his former humanly *stasis*, but the theme of the poem simply prohibits that. This absence of an *Abbruchsformel*, the lack of reference to an inspirational lapse that was also characteristic of Dennis's Pindaric on Queen Mary, is telling. It emphasizes the sempiternal rather than cyclical nature of divine revelation and reveals the votary's successful entrance into the sanctified realm

of his Divine Being. The sense of divine petition continued to shape the ode and would ultimately result in the bardic votary's quest for companionship with a desired deity that was a prime characteristic of the descriptive-allegorical ode of the 1740s.

4.6 Figuration, Affect, and the Longinian Sublime

Central to the rapturous elation of the visionary poet is the same sense of mediation, of semantic conversion by an intermediary, that characterized the language of prophecy. "The leading Deity, I have in View," Pomfret's speaker pledges, "Nor Mortal knows as yet, what Wonders will Ensue" (23–4). As a consequence, it was the primary task of the poet-prophet to relay those wonders as clearly, as coherently, and, especially, as visually as possible. Thus, when Hill proposed a new type of sacred, originary, and pseudo-Hebraic poetry in *The Creation*, he was ultimately aiming for a poetics that could summon "animated Images, or pictured Meanings of Poetry" in such a way as to arouse "*living Words*," that is, "Words so finely chosen, and so justly ranged, that they call up before a Reader the Spirit of their Sense, in that very Form, and Action, it impressed upon the Writer" (xiii). This type of vivid descriptiveness that sets the object before the mind's eye as if it were really present, a rhetorical technique known in the Renaissance as *hypotyposis* or *enargeia*, was essentially derived from Longinus's first-century treatise *On the Sublime*.

One of Longinus's most resonant arguments was that true sublimity was attained through the ability to form grand conceptions, which in Chapter 8 he considered the most important of the five source of the sublime.[81] In the fifteenth chapter of the treatise, on Imagery and the Power of the Imagination, Longinus attributed the proper operation of mental conceptions or 'images' to that moment when "through any extraordinary Transport of Mind we seem to view the Things we speak of, and when we place them in their full Light before those who hear us."[82] Yet there were many in the eighteenth century who, like Trapp, disapproved of Longinus's rigid separation between oratorical images (which aim at vivid expression and verbal illustration) and poetical images (which aim at terror and amazement, that is, on immediacy of impact).[83] The growing perception was that the discourse of imagery had moved instead towards the

[81] Ashfield and de Bolla, *The Sublime*, 18–29.

[82] Leonard Welsted, "Longinus's Treatise Concerning the Sublime," in his *Epistles, Odes, &c. Written on Several Subjects* (London: printed for J. Walthoe, 1724), 183.

[83] Paraphrased from Trapp's *Lectures on Poetry* (1742), in Ashfield and de Bolla, *The Sublime*, 55–6.

figural language of metaphor and away from the literal language of resemblance, epitomized by the Homeric simile with its long verbal illustration.[84]

Because of its capacity for striking figuration, a capacity it shared with sacred Hebrew verse, the ode was seen to embody the shift from the early modern textual vision of verbal description to the eighteenth-century aesthetic of the figural sublime. One of the ode's central strengths, furthermore, consisted of its ability to incite an affective, rather than a plainly rational or rhetorical, response. The innumerable 'see's, 'lo's, and 'behold's pointed to a sense of immediacy that was rarely seen with such emphasis in any other genre in the period. Just one year after the publication of *The Creation*, Hill confronted his earlier views with the new and decidedly emotive affect envisioned in *The Judgment-Day*. He prepared his readers for the change of perspective by referring back to his previous poem in the preface:

> In the *Creation*, indeed, I confin'd myself to *Moses*'s Account of it; and, for that Reason only, describ'd the Heavens but as they appear to the *Eye*. But when I resolv'd to attempt the Conflagration, I presently discern'd, that the Horror of the Imagery would be wonderfully heighten'd, by extending the Design to a Description and Dissolution of the *Planetary* Systems.[85]

Shifting the emphasis from the way in which objects "appear to the *Eye*" to an augmentation of the affective response to mental imagery, Hill reiterated the famous Addisonian dictum that mental abstractions are more valuable than the objects or images as they appear to the sight.[86] Envisioning the Lord's Judgment, Hill argued, is such "an Indistinct and astonishing Idea," such a "horribly prodigious" conception, that it "overflows Humane Thought, when we would draw it into Descriptions" (iii). That is why he promoted the imaginary over the real, figuration over description, and why he felt encouraged to invent freely. Hill was explicit, moreover, in claiming that the "Dissolution" of material fabric could stimulate and even enhance the poet's imaginative capacities. It is through such feelings of horror and heightened emotion, caused by cosmic and earthly destruction, that the poet can have the epiphanic

[84] Timothy Erwin, *Textual Vision: Augustan Design and the Invention of Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2015), 1–6.

[85] Aaron Hill, *The Judgment-Day, A Poem* (London: printed for T. Jauncy, 1721), iii (italics reversed).

[86] Addison had presented his philosophy of the "pleasures of the imagination" in his periodical *The Spectator*, especially Nos. 412–8 (June 23–30, 1712). Influenced as much by Lockean ideas of sensation and reflection as by the Longinian sublime, Addison had devised two kinds of pleasures of the imagination: primary pleasures, which emanated from objects, and secondary ones, which emanated from ideas or memories of those objects. Naturally, he preferred the force of the secondary pleasures, since words (e.g. descriptions) can often give more vivid ideas than the sight of things themselves (or e.g. paintings of them). For the effect of the Addisonian view on the poetics of the 1720s and '30s, see esp. Irlam, *Elations*, 91–100.

experience of appearing before the omnipresent and indescribable element that is the object of his rhapsodic vision: the Almighty.

A further connection uniformly respected in the eighteenth century was that between, on the one hand, the poet's abilities to incite sublime sensation and, on the other, the abilities of natural phenomena to do so. This association was a modulated version of the Longinian distinction between the rhetorical and natural sublime which Trapp rejected but for which he found no valid replacement. There was no definitive consensus about the causes and effects of sublime experience, but one possible solution, formulated by Tamworth Reresby in *A Miscellany of Ingenious Thoughts and Reflections* (1721), came in the form of the supernatural, the power which raises heightened response at the contemplation of God and His creation. Reresby's understanding of the poetical sublime was based on the conviction that, while orators deal with the "bare imitation of nature," poets implant in their compositions something that transcends nature, "something supernatural and divine."[87] Peter de Bolla has demonstrated that this "metaphorical imputation of the divine," the turn to theological, mythological, or mystical terms as a policing discourse, was a common tactic in eighteenth-century thinking, since all sublime sensation was understood to emanate essentially and directly from God and from the objects of his divine creation.[88] One consequence of the shifting emphasis from rhetorical grandeur of speech and composition to the sublime in the natural and supernatural was the study of nature's most disruptive contexts.[89] Common in this period, as a result, were poems dealing with events that were Biblical in proportion but less final and disruptive in matter than the apocalypse—natural phenomena such as storms, eruptions, and earthquakes. It is a development which can be identified, by way of conclusion, in another ode by Addison's hand, "The spacious firmament on high."

In this ode, Addison confronted the epistemological, rhetorical, and emotive difficulties attendant on religious poetry in general and the elements of divine revelation and prophetic speech in particular. The *Ode* first appeared, unsigned, in the *Spectator* for 23 August 1712 (no. 465) where it was preceded by Psalm XIX ("The heavens declare the glory of God") and an essay on faith and devotion. Like the appended psalm, the ode's main theme is the proclamation of divine truth. An overwhelming quantity of terms related to the theme of pronunciation appears in the first two stanzas: "proclaim"

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[87] Quoted in Ashfield and de Bolla, *The Sublime*, 43–4. Reresby also claimed that, since God's divine wisdom is visible in all his creations, any contemplation of his works is simultaneously "a tribute of wonder, as well as praise" (44).

[88] Peter de Bolla, *The Discourse of the Sublime: History, Aesthetics and the Subject* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 40.

[89] Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959), esp. chapters 5 and 6.

(l. 4), “display” (6), “publishes” (7), “work” (8), “tale” (10), “listening” (11), “Repeats” (12), “story” (12), “Confirm” (15), “tidings” (15), “spread the truth” (16). Denying the traditional views of celestial harmony through music, the third stanza reveals Addison’s belief that only “In Reason’s ear” (21) can the truly “glorious voice” (22) of God’s divinity be heard. Donald Davie comments that this third and final strophe is

> crucial in the history of English devotional poetry, in that these lines confront for the first time the threat to traditional theological arguments posed by John Locke’s demolition of such time-honoured notions as the music of the spheres, and by Locke’s more far-reaching arguments that ‘reality’, since it is colourless, soundless, scentless (all such sensuous qualities being ‘secondary’ and dependent on the observer), must be unimaginable, inhuman, and describable only in the abstractions of mathematics.[90]

Since celestial truths can only be heard “In Reason’s ear,” Addison abandoned the neoclassical doctrine of mimetic representation and turned instead to non-empirical abstractions as well as to the vast affective resources yielded by the spatial and temporal frames of Nature. As he goes on to reveal, it is the diurnal and nocturnal phenomena of the “unwearied sun” and moon (5, 10), more than anything else, that communicate God’s existence to mankind.

Like many other poets of the early eighteenth century, Addison recognized that the divinity and sublimity of God’s presence found its most potent expression in natural phenomena. Almost invariably drawn from analogies found in the Bible, natural phenomena such as hurricanes became themselves typologically interpretable signs, with Nature troped as a book or *codex dei* which the prophetic poet was meant to decipher and communicate. They were commonly observable signs but were invariably interpreted figuratively as representing some larger, more abstract truth, eternal and divine. It is in this context that the sublime reworking of ideas on *form* in eighteenth-century religious verse should be read. One of the analogies connecting the ode with other poetic modes of natural description, such as the georgic and the loco-descriptive, was that of form as thematically meaningful (rupture vs. harmony) and structurally obligatory (stanzaic irregularity vs. strophic unity). The present chapter will conclude with a comparative discussion of two poets of the early eighteenth century whose work displayed a conscious engagement with the pressures and opportunities of the ode: Anne Finch (1661–1720) and John Dyer (1699–1757). Both poets purposely tested the limits of the ode, but each of them, the one preluding the period of the intensified sacralization of the ode while the other deliberately moved away from it, took a distinct view of the role of form in religious, sublime, and natural-descriptive poetry.

[90] Donald Davie, *Augustan Lyric* (London: Heinemann, 1974), 150.

4.7 Nature as Codex Dei: A Case Study on Sublime Form in Anne Finch and John Dyer

In her ode "The Spleen" (1701), Finch had experimented early on with the possibilities for emotional and psychological mutability offered by Pindar's measure.[91] After addressing the sickness that cripples her at the start of the poem—"Thou Proteus to abused mankind" (l. 2)—Finch lays bare the essence of the Pindaric ode, one which Gray would famously formulate in a footnote to "The Progress of Poesy" (1757): "The subject and simile, as usual with Pindar, are united."[92] In Finch's "The Spleen," the united subject and simile inevitably reflect on the nature of form and configuration as well as on the metrical form that is deployed to represent it. Unable to be fixed "in one continued shape" (4) and "Still varying thy perplexing form" (5), the spleen is an elusive and multifarious abstraction that defies confinement by the constraints of traditional prosody. "I feel my verse decay," the speaker complains, "and my cramped numbers fail" (76)—a deviation from the poem's pentameter measure that is symptomatic, synecdochic even, of Finch's ode. The harmony of music is of no use in trying to cure herself of the spleen, as "Music but soothes thee, if too sweetly sad, / And if too light, but turns thee gaily mad" (136–7). This combination of conflicting adjectival emotions with their opposites suggests the fickleness of the spleen, but also hints at the flexibility and fluctuation of affective response encapsulated by Pindaric verse.[93]

The correlation between subject, simile, and form is arguably most effectively displayed in Finch's "Upon the Hurricane" (completed in 1704), an ode on the Great Storm that had devastated the South of Britain during the night of 26–7 November 1703. Based on and immediately followed in her *Miscellany Poems* by Psalm 148, the poem's main concern is with the destruction of the fabric that provides social, religious, and political, but also cosmic, unity and order.[94] According to Fairer and Gerrard, the

[91] First published in Charles Gildon's *Miscellany of Original Poems* in 1701 (60–70), Finch's ode was then republished in 1709 in a pirated edition sold by Henry Hills. All references are cited from Alastair Fowler, *The New Oxford Book of Seventeenth-Century Verse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 785–9.

[92] Roger Lonsdale, *The Poems of Gray, Collins, and Goldsmith* (London: Longmans, 1969), 161.

[93] In this respect, Finch anticipates Watts, whose observance of the practice and principles of occasional con-*form*-ity should be read as a response to his own sickness and decaying physical *form*, which was the artistic occasion and stimulus for a potent subgroup of hymns in his *Horae Lyricae*. Watts made considerably use of the Pindaric ode in lyrics of this kind, so much so that it was used as a synonym for his verse by Samuel Johnson. See Lewis, "Isaac Watts's Occasional Conformities," in *Queen Anne and the Arts*, ed. Reverand, 167–85.

[94] Finch's *Miscellany Poems on Several Occasions* appeared anonymously in 1713 and then with her name on the titlepage in 1714 (*Poems on Several Occasions*), but Roger Lonsdale in his *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets* (Oxford:

original indentation was inconsistent, but that was likely to have been the point.[95] As the winds flew "unlimited," so the lines rave uncontrollably, no longer pursuing "such gentle Methods," but "marching now in terrible Array" (ll. 8–9). Oaks and pines are uprooted, though not in order to function as "the planted Mast" "in some Royal Ship" (26), as they would have done in epic or georgic poetry. Instead, the "num'rous Brethren of the Leafy Kind" battle in vain against an uncertain future fate that is designed for them, "With not, alas! one Element your Friend" (37–40). Finch's use of tonal qualities expressing the elegiac vanity and futility of facing the blizzard is strikingly similar to the feelings of desperation voiced in "The Spleen." Here, too, her choice of words is ambiguous enough to refer to Pindaric poetry itself: number, kind, and design all return in utter confusion and despair, while Death, like "The Spleen," appears in various shapes (85). Shape-shifting, like the converting of trees into serviceable goods for maritime usage, no longer functions as a *process* that results in a moral lesson, but becomes a *product* of aesthetic experience in itself. Inspiring awe, not patriotism, is the ultimate purpose of Finch's ode, just as Pindaric formlessness is the ideal vehicle to translate human nothingness in the face of the sublimity and tempestuousness of God's wrath.

Finch's presentation of a world in which all is disrupted shows her dedication to a religious vision that valued God's sanction above all human systems and institutions.[96] Once the trees as symbols of steadfastness have been eradicated, the "bold Winds and Storms" turn to mankind and its edifices, this time with a disorder and terrible force that seems to shatter all natural unity. The south and west winds, storming "with disorder'd haste" over the surface of the earth and forgetting that they were once "design'd" to alleviate the heats of summer, are "Now, by new Orders and Decrees, / For our Chastisement issu'd forth (112–9). The language of rapture and prophecy is political and possibly even sexual here, but the implications are clearly meta-poetical as well. Indeed, the proudest humans come to realize that

> even the lightest Things,
> As the minuter parts of Air,
> When Number to their Weight addition brings,
> Can, like the small, but numerous Insects Stings,
> Can, like th'assembl'd Winds, urge Ruin and Despair.
> (182–6)

Oxford University Press, 1990) suggests that the many variant titlepages of the edition may indicate that it did not sell well (5).

[95] David Fairer and Christine Gerrard, *Eighteenth-Century Poetry: An Annotated Anthology* (Malden, MA.: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 27. All citations of Finch's poem are from this edition, pp. 26–33.

[96] In staging an encounter between divine revelation and providential design, Finch entered into a theological debate in which the traditional *revealed* religion was challenged by an emerging *natural* religion inspired by deist philosophies and a rigidly scientific worldview (Fairer, *English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century*, 130–1).

Additive and numerical potential is swelled by the force of destruction. When in the following scene the "regular distinction" (201) of enclosures is destroyed by the storm, Finch creates the impression that the incomprehensible destructiveness of Nature triumphs over the studied artificiality of man's endeavours to constrain her with material and legislative restrictions (192–203). Correspondingly, no metrical restraint can be marshalled to rein in the majestic force of the poem. Because of the violent gusts of wind, the bird no more his "middle Flights can bear" (226), as he is transported, like the poet, to take the soaring flight of the Pindaric eagle.

In addition to the fences erected by men to partition their pastures, the only other form of stasis in the poem is one of utter destruction. Thus, in the naval scene, ships are "by congealing Surges compass'd round, / To fixt and certain Ruin bound," and ultimately, "Immoveable are grown" (264–288). Through paradoxical pairs such as immovable growth, Finch criticizes man's attempt to grasp and control nature's boundless powers. At the same time, it is a conscious plea for the use of alternative poetic models. The final clause, with its allusion to King David the original psalmist, confirms that this highly self-conscious poem is as much about the consequences of the storm as it is about finding the right poetical form in which to write about such a phenomenon:

> Let every Thing be summon'd to attend;
> And let the Poet *after God's own Heart*
> Direct our Skill in that sublimer part,
> And our weak Numbers mend!
> (300–3)

Only these provide a satisfactory answer to Finch's awesome questions regarding the identity of the "envy'd *Greatness*" (289) that is the glorious and protean hurricane-God.

In other poems, too, Finch would write about being "unconfin'd" and "undesign'd,"[97] but her desire for writing in that manner surfaces perhaps most clearly—and most ironically—in one of her most tightly structured poems, "A Nocturnal Rêverie" (1713). Designed in the form of one continuous sentence with several sub-clauses, this poem "suspends grammatical closure through a series of adverbial modifications."[98] Unlike in her odes "The Spleen" and "Upon the Hurricane," which were characterized by their lack of internal unity and order, Finch here forwards an argument that presents nature

[97] As in "The Nightingale," a bird with which she obviously identifies in her role as melancholy poet. See Jennifer Keith, *Poetry and the Feminine from Behn to Cowper* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 140-166.

[98] John Sitter, *The Cambridge Introduction to Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 31.

as the perfect artwork. While "all's confused again" once "morning breaks" (48) and her nocturnal musing is abruptly broken up, the night had offered ideal harmony.[99] For Finch, as Douglas Lane Patey has noted, "[t]emperate nature fosters clarity of perception. At this temperate time, things are in their natural (and therefore right) places, and so reveal their true natures through appropriate relations to other things."[100] The syntax of Finch's poem reflects the divinely created order in nature, which, if man and animal adhere to it, results in harmonious hierarchy and functional perfection. This, Patey perceptively illustrates, is what makes the "Reverie" a georgic poem. Georgic poems reflect on this order and present (often conflicting) landscape elements in flawless correlation with each other. It should not be surprising that this sense of natural order and harmony is completely lacking in her odes; it is a matter entirely of genre. As Charles Hinnant concludes, it is significant that, in contrast to her georgic reverie, "Finch's two conventionally designated Pindaric odes, 'The Spleen' and 'Upon the Hurricane in 1703,' are both addressed to powers—one internal, the other external—that lie beyond the poet's capacity to control or even comprehend."[101] Yet Hinnant's observation foregrounds an impression of failure on Finch's part. The poetic attempt to convey the order in variety is the ultimate struggle of the eighteenth-century poet and I would argue that, in her portrayal of both psychological and natural turbulence, Finch has made a persuasive case for the ode as a useful vehicle for the poetics of both Biblical paraphrase *and* natural description.

The ideational shift from a defiant irregularity in divine revelation to a harmonious rapport of natural elements in temperate moments is often matched, in early eighteenth-century poetry, by a formal shift from the metrical lawlessness of the Pindaric ode to the prosodic symmetry of the georgic. Perhaps the most well-known example of such a shift was John Dyer's "Grongar Hill." Dyer's poem was the result of a remarkable gestation process, growing from Pindaric rhapsody into loco-descriptive prospect poem.[102] The first, Pindaric version of "Grongar Hill" was published in Richard Savage's *Miscellaneous Poems* (1726). A second version of the poem, this time in octosyllabic couplets, was copied into one of Lady Hertford's commonplace books during Dyer's stay with her, and was eventually published in Thomas Warner's *New Miscellany* in March, 1726. The third version, which Dyer may have tinkered with during

[99] Cited from Lonsdale, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets*, 23.

[100] Douglas Lane Patey, "Anne Finch, John Dyer, and the Georgic Syntax of Nature," in *Augustan Subjects: Essays in Honor of Martin C. Battestin*, ed. Albert J. Rivero (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997), 37.

[101] Charles H. Hinnant, *The Poetry of Anne Finch: An Essay in Interpretation* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), 104.

[102] For more details of its publication history, see Ralph M. Williams, *Poet, Painter and Parson: The Life of John Dyer* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1956), 47–9, 57, 64–5.

his visit to Rome, appeared in David Lewis's miscellany, which was the result of a collaboration between former Westminster friends including Samuel Wesley and Vincent Bourne, and which was finally issued in July, 1726. The reason Dyer gradually moved away from the Pindaric ode towards a georgic poem in couplets was his conviction that the latter could better convey his sense of harmony in nature and order in variety—an order mostly lacking in the odes with which Dyer, through his acquaintances in the "Hillarian circle," would have been intimately familiar. In the words of one modern critic, the tetrameter couplet form allowed Dyer to refine some of the "cumbrous lines" typical of "the sometimes lumbering ode" into "taut memorability."[103]

An illustration of this process appears in one passage from the couplet edition, which starts with the visualization of "unnumber'd" trees (l. 57)—a significant metaphoric remnant from Dyer's Pindaric predecessor—but quickly flows into a regular couplet enumeration of colourful trees, divided into neatly balanced half-lines:

> Below me Trees unnumber'd rise,
> Beautiful in various Dies:
> The gloomy Pine, the Poplar blue,
> The yellow Beech, the sable Yew,
> The slender Firr, that taper grows,
> The sturdy Oak with broad-spread Boughs.
> And beyond the purple Grove,
> Haunt of Phillis, Queen of Love!
> (57–64)[104]

The final section conceptually supports the choice of the couplet as the ideal poetic form for the representation of harmony in nature, as the ivy harnesses the "ragged Walls" that metaphorically represent the ruins of Dyer's former Pindaric:

> Gawdy as the op'ning Dawn,
> Lies a long and level Lawn,
> On which a dark Hill, steep and high,
> Holds and charms the wand'ring Eye!
> Deep are his Feet in Towy's Flood,
> His Sides are cloath'd with waving Wood,
> And antient Towers crown his Brow,
> That cast an awful Look below;

[103] Sitter, *Cambridge Introduction to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, 67.

[104] All references are cited from Lonsdale, *Eighteenth-Century Verse*, 167–70, but I have retained Dyer's original capitalization.

Whose ragged Walls the Ivy creeps,
And with her Arms from falling keeps;
So both a Safety from the Wind
On mutual Dependance find.
(65–76)

The Pindaric version of "Grongar Hill" did not contain this inventory of colours, nor did it furnish any such impression of stability through its imagery or morphology. Rather, whereas Dyer in the couplet version lists the harmonious sets of matching trees and hues, which direct the spectator to a sight of the hill that "Holds and charms the wand'ring eye" in graceful equipoise, the original poem's revelation was quite different. The Pindaric ode revealed instead a "*steep* Hill" that "*starts* horrid, wild, and high, / Whose Form uncommon holds the wond'ring Eye" (47–8, emphasis added).[105] Not yet the pleasing sight that "charms" the eye as in the couplet version, the hill's "Form uncommon" here enraptures and inspires the soul, inciting the beholder to wonder rather than wander.[106] Though phonetically and metrically identical, the semantic difference of these two verbs implies a lack of guidance and direction contained within the poem's metrical patterning, a lack which is ultimately provided by the symmetric closure intrinsic to the couplet form. The freely roaming thoughts and the freer, lengthier lines of the Pindaric version allowed for more adjectival range, and hence for more emotional depth and corporeal stuffing, but they did so at the cost of ideational order and formal balance. Moreover, the "wonder" of the Pindaric version stresses the astonishment and stasis equally encountered in eschatological odes such as Pomfret's and Hill's, where any sense of "wandering" was chimeric and chaotic.

The Pindaric "Grongar" opened with an invocation to Fancy to come "with thy various *Hues*" in order to provide "Forming Thought" and "feasting Sense," and to "stamp Distinction, on all worldly Things!" (1–7). Natural plenitude in the face of a near-divine revelation, as Hill had understood, was potentially dangerous. Carefully monitoring the various perspectives appearing before him, therefore, Dyer dilates the view in the third stanza, allowing the reader to take in "Th'unbounded Landskip" below (26) and to perceive how Nature, with her "smiling Face all *open*," shows a "mix'd," and

[105] The Pindaric version is cited from Richard Savage, *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations* (London: printed for S. Chapman, 1726), 60–6.

[106] Even though "to wander" would equally seem to imply a sense of forlornness, the importance of the guiding figure in Richard Savage's *The Wanderer* (1729) contradicts that. What is crucial to remember is that "to wander" spiritually was the prime act of the poet's Fancy, as in David Mallet's *The Excursion* (1728), an act from which Dyer seems deliberately to be moving away here. See also Ingrid Horrocks, "'Circling Eye' and 'Houseless Stranger': The New Eighteenth-Century Wanderer (Thomson to Goldsmith)," *ELH* 77 (2010), 665–687.

"tinctur'd," and "gently changing" prospect, which at last "Expands immensely wide, and leads the *journeying* Sight" from scene to scene (29–32). As one of the formative elements in any ode, it is light that furnishes the old castles, which are seen rising on the rugged cliffs, with brightness and distinction. It is light, "as the Lustre of the rising Dawn" (45), that brings Grongar Hill into view and shows it to be quite an uncommon form indeed. Apostrophized ("O *Grongar*," 68) as an "aweful" presence in nature (14, 52), Grongar Hill's prime characteristics in the Pindaric version are "Ever changing" (67), as it presents untiring views to the spectator.

In the couplet version, however, this phrase was changed to "Ever charming" (103), the apostrophe was dropt, and the short, exclamatory lines that followed were modified to fit the iambic tetrameters. While the trochaic beats of the Pindaric lines placed heavy emphasis on the adjectival quality of the winds and woods surrounding Grongar Hill, they also accentuated the metrical and sensory difference between Pindaric rhapsody and restrained couplet harmonizing. While it is true, as Patey observes, that the manifold shapes and hues of the first half of "Grongar Hill" are invoked as a celebration of nature's variety as well as a "visible manifestation of the bounteous plenitude of God's creation,"[107] there is a significant difference in how Dyer approaches the notion of order in variety in the various versions of "Grongar Hill." In both the Pindaric and the couplet versions, the landscape is made to reflect the poet's state of mind and state of being, but in the former, that state is one of divinely inspired rapture, not a harmonious unison with nature.

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It is tempting to overstress the importance of the Hillarian circle for the promotion of an eschatological poetics conveyed through the (Pindaric) ode, if only because Hill was one of the few to articulate his poetics in several prefaces dedicated to the subject. Yet he was by no means the first to treat the subjects of cosmogony and conflagration. As George Sewell's testimony reveals, many of those directly inspired by Dennis in the early years of the century actively pondered the possibility of writing "a poem 'in solemn Style' on the Resurrection and Day of Judgment," such as his friend John Philips did at the end of his life in 1708.[108] Nevertheless, Hill was one of the first to experiment purposefully with the odic speaker's potential for conveying the multiplicity and multitude associated especially with the apocalypse. He might have been incited by Samuel Catherall, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, who, in the preface to his *Essay on the Conflagration* (1720), had exhorted the "most able Genius" of his time to consider

[107] Patey, "Anne Finch, John Dyer, and the Georgic Syntax of Nature," 33.
[108] Quoted in Griffin, *Regaining Paradise*, 92.

attempting "to describe in all the Pomp of Numbers, and Dignity of Thought, a World perishing in Flames, Rocks melting, The Earth trembling, *Messiah* with an Host of Angels in the Clouds" (sig. A2). Since Catherall had desired to see "some *Great Pen*" undertake this ambitious task, in the form of a "finish'd Piece" that could make the future scenes "appear present to the Mind," it is not unlikely to presume that Hill, ambitious and entrepreneurial as he was, felt himself addressed personally.

In any event, Hill's choice for a description of *planetary*—that is, cosmic and total—dissolution was not an arbitrary one, for it enabled a form of bardic self-fashioning hitherto scarcely attempted. With that, he purposely moved on from the formal experiments Finch had made public in the first two decades of the century. The significance of Hill's poetical intervention, as of others' in the Hillarian circle of poets, was of a structural kind, for while the substitution of antithesis for crescendo in Pope's *Messiah*, for instance, was still more a stylistic choice than anything else, imposed upon the poet by convention, in Hillarian poetics it became a specific characteristic of the odic genre. The radical transformation from disorder to purity, in whatever form, led to a plot of conversion from confusion to intuitive perception and prophetic power, and became one of the prime features of the ode, one that was at once structurally and thematically determined. Dyer's "Grongar Hill," while clearly deviating from the sublime path of Hillarian verse, is nonetheless a significant document in the formation of a natural-descriptive ode in which deities such as Fancy feature in the landscape in a way that will be complicated and revised in the mythopoeic odes of the following decades. These odes would in turn be characterized by a complex combination of the acts of creation, the powers of the imagination, and the bardic vision explored in the 1720s.

Chapter 5
The Allegorical-Descriptive Ode: Magazines, Miscellanies, and the Canonization of a Native English Ode

Oh! Lyre divine, what daring Spirit
Wakes thee now?
(Thomas Gray, "The Progress of Poesy," 112–3)

5.1 Introduction

Whereas the complex gestation of John Dyer's "Grongar Hill" serves as an illuminating example of the thematic and structural possibilities of *form* in the ode, Edward Young's "Discourse on Ode," prefixed along with "An Ode to the King" to his *Ocean. An Ode* in 1728, is one of the most well-known essays on the ideal *spirit* of the early eighteenth-century ode. In this oft-quoted account, Young sets out to define the "*Sense, Sound, Expression,* and *Conduct*" of the ode, that is, its central characteristics in terms of imagery, metrical structure, diction, and emotional coloration.[1] The particular merit of Young's discourse consists not so much of the synthesis of precept and practice he attempted to convey, for his two odes barely live up to the principles he outlined as essential to the genre. Rather, Young's contribution to the history of the ode is valuable for his recognition that the ode's subject matter was in urgent need of anglicization. He

[1] Edward Young, *Ocean. An Ode. Occasion'd By His Majesty's late Royal Encouragement of the Sea-Service. To which is prefix'd, An Ode to the King: And a Discourse on Ode* (London: printed for T. Worrall, 1728), 18.

believed that modern odists should not so much imitate the *works* of the ancients as the "general *motives*, and fundamental *methods* of their working" (27). As the "Eldest kind of Poetry," the ode requires "somewhat of an *Original Spirit*" and Young was careful not to overstress the importance of "*deference* for the great Standards of Antiquity" (27). Two years later, he rephrased his declaration of intent in his next ode, *Imperium Pelagi. A Naval Lyric: Written in Imitation of Pindar's Spirit* (1730). British odists, he stated, must extrapolate the "Genius and Spirit" from the ancient works as a whole, and subsequently "exert its Energy in *Subjects* and *Designs* of our own."[2] According to Young, the most distinctive and noble native subject imaginable was Trade, "the spirit of commerce so deeply ingrained in the national temper," as Howard Weinbrot has emphasized.[3] Young's observation in these closing years of the decade reached back, in essence, to Cowley's attempt at anglicizing the Pindaric ode, but went beyond the latter's metrical and stylistic modernizations to reflect more seriously on the nature and spirit of a native British equivalent of the classical ode.

The present chapter offers an examination of the contextual and historical conditions which allowed the anglicization process initiated in Young's day to be continued with intensifying vigour in the 1730s and '40s. I confront the vexed issue of the apparent increase in ode publication in the 1740s, a phenomenon scholars have traditionally understood as a (re)turn to the ode and as part of the rise of a new lyric sensibility.[4] I am mainly concerned in this chapter with the historical, literary, and print-cultural conditions that made the odes of Mark Akenside (1745), Joseph Warton (1746), and William Collins (1746–7) so revolutionary. The developments in poetic practice and the economics of magazines, periodicals, and miscellanies of the 1730s, I argue, are crucial in order to obtain a more comprehensive view of ode practice in the years leading up to the so-called ode revival of the 1740s and '50s. The withdrawal from history and topicality generally perceived in the heightened aestheticism of mid-century poetry was, in a way, a result of the extraction of poems from their original contexts and inclusion into poetry collections and magazines on the basis of economical as much as aesthetic motivations. Matters of copyright preceded concepts of authorship and canonicity, concepts which were only beginning to be conceived and debated upon

[2] Edward Young, *Imperium Pelagi. A Naval Lyrick: Written in Imitation of Pindar's Spirit. Occasion'd By His Majesty's Return, Sept. 1729. and the succeeding Peace* (London: printed for L. Gilliver, 1730), "Preface," italics reversed.

[3] Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue*, 354.

[4] See, among others, Cohen, "The Return to the Ode," 203–24; Douglas Lane Patey, "'Aesthetics' and the Rise of Lyric in the Eighteenth Century," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 33 (1993), 587–608; Benjamin Boyce, "Sounding Shells and Little Prattlers in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century English Ode," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 8 (1975), 241–64; Nathaniel Teich, "The Ode in English Literary History: Transformations from the Mid-Eighteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century," *Papers on Language and Literature* 21 (1985), 88–108.

in this period.[5] This chapter therefore focuses on the ways in which economic considerations intertwined with artistic ones in the years preceding the allegedly seminal moment of 1745–7.

An additional argument explaining the sudden rise of ode publications in expensive volumes dedicated to that genre alone is the lapse in the late 1730s of a large number of copyright restrictions whose 28-year period had been crossed. This meant significant profit for booksellers who could now invest more risk capital into the purchase of *new* books.[6] Together with the rise of magazine publication, to which copyright legislation did not apply,[7] the influx of new book projects forms one economic factor that might explain the emergence in the 1740s of more self-conscious ode publications. Multiple-ode collections had of course been issued before (and the number of two-, three-, or four-ode publications steadily increased[8]), but without a fuller appreciation of the role of entrepreneurial publishing ventures, which ran parallel with low-risk magazine publication, it is impossible to arrive at an understanding of the 'revolution' caused by the dedicated ode volumes of Akenside, Warton, and Collins. Their volumes of odes all focused on constructing a native British ode in the classical tradition yet in a decidedly modern format, which they conceived as an authoritative alternative to the sprawling vernacularization and popularization of the ode in miscellanies, newspapers, and magazines.

Without wishing to focus too much on the rise of particular poetics or aesthetics in mid-century, I aim in this chapter to sketch a micro-history of reading and writing odes in the years immediately prior to the publication of the famous canonical odes of the 1740s. My main points of interest are related to the governing structures determining ode practice in the period, the material diversification of its production, and the social stratification of its consumption. Many of the questions I hope to answer in this chapter deal with these and similar issues. What is the gender of odists, especially in light of the increasing population of ode writers in magazines? What were the sources and tools available to a reader, classically educated or not, at a given moment? Are these sources intertextually, stylistically, discursively, or materially similar to other forms of expression? What are the generic conventions adopted by odists in this period and how do they reflect the material conditions in which they were writing? What is the importance of paratext in the reading process of an ode, particularly in view of

[5] Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[6] John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Routledge, 1988), 67–83.

[7] Iona Italia, *The Rise of Literary Journalism in the Eighteenth Century: Anxious Employment* (London: Routledge, 2005), 20, 110–1; Raven, *The Business of Books*, 248.

[8] See, for instance, the anonymous *Two Lilliputian Odes* (1727), Thomas Sanderson's *Three Odes* (1733), and the miscellaneous *The Delights of the Muses [...] Containing [...] Love, in Four Sapphic Odes* (1738).

anonymous authorship or dubious attribution? All of these concerns, I contend, are in some measure connected to the material and graphic aspects of the verse miscellany and the magazine, and more specifically to the ways in which the size, position, and function of poems printed in these outlets shaped readers' responses to the ode.

Readers in mid-century had the power to demand and supply verse material to anthologies, which usually took the form of short poems both allowing room for more, separate pieces and granting easy access to readers of any age, gender, or educational attainment.[9] Thus, the rationale of conformity editors attempted to convey not only had a bearing on the moral and cultural values of uniformity and pleasurability, but also on the size of poems eventually published. The ode form lent itself well to these innovations in size. The average number of lines of separately published odes in the 1700–1750 period lies between 120 and 130 lines per ode, but when the few exceptionally long odes are excluded (from 1720 onwards, for instance, there are only 10 odes above 300 lines), the average drops even further: the number of lines is now only 64 (figure 13). Towards the end of the first half of the century, short odes became the rule, with figures having gradually amounted from about half the total number of odes per decade (35 out of a total of 65 odes for 1700–1710) to about two thirds or more (45 out of 69 for 1740–1750). So, even though the average *number of lines* for the majority of odes remains more or less stable—i.e. a little over 60 throughout, with some exceptions—the *total amount* of shorter odes increases as the century progresses, reaching 65–70% at mid-century. These figures not only indicate that the ode became progressively shorter, but also that it is remarkably regular in length as well.

[9] Barbara M. Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 26.

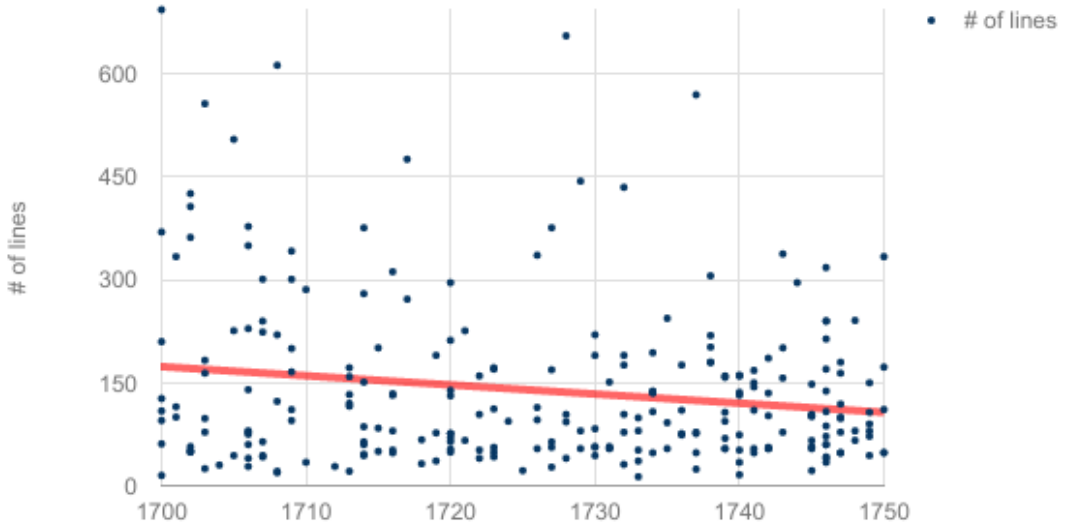


Figure 13 Ode length in total number of lines. Notice the trend line, which indicates a significant decrease in average length.

As a result, even though the external structure of its stanzas and individual line length may seem irregular, the length of the odes quantitatively examined shows a clear pattern of regularity. Simply concluding that the eighteenth-century ode was an irregular mode without any sign of external structure, which offered poets "a holiday from the Rules," is therefore untenable.[10] It is more likely that the pattern of abbreviation and uniformity is a direct result of the demands of the market for printed poetry. Shorter pieces were cheaper to include in miscellany collections and in the entertainment sections of newspapers, and hence more profitable poetic forms for authors to experiment with and for printers and booksellers to market. However, simultaneous with the growing demand for shorter, lighter specimens of odes in magazines, newspapers, and anthologies ran a counter-reaction by poets who deplored that with the decrease in size and scope came a reduction of the ode's classical status. While mockery and satire of the laureate odes, for instance, proved sufficient to quench these poets' indignation initially, there gradually arose, once again, a powerful clamour for reform which aimed to reclaim the ode from the clutches of hacks and pamphleteers, and elevate it back to its rightful position as a vehicle for public, poetic, and prophetic power once and for all.

[10] The phrase is James Sutherland's, quoted in Koehler, "The Ode," 388.

5.2 Ode Laureateship and Magazine Readership: Different Directions of Institutionalization

A little into the first book of Alexander Pope's *The Dunciad* of 1728, the reader encounters a ghastly description of the cavernous birthplace of poverty and poetry, "th' imperial seat of fools" (l. 26) at Rag Fair, near the Tower of London.[11] The favourite spot of the Goddess Dullness, it is also the source of bad writing:

> Hence springs each weekly muse, the living boast
> Of *Curl*'s chaste press, and *Lintot*'s rubric post,
> Hence hymning *Tyburn*'s elegiac lay,
> Hence the soft sing-song on *Cecilia*'s day,
> *Sepulchral* Lyes, our holy walls to grace,
> And *New-year-Odes*, and all the *Grubstreet* race.
> (27–32)

In subsequent editions of *The Dunciad*, Pope moved the seat of hack writing further up the City, conveniently locating it in the neighbourhood of Grub Street itself. From this "Cell" (33) of poor poetry, monstrous "Bards" (37) now escape in protean shapes of anonymity and pseudonymity to flood the town with their productions. "Hence Miscellanies spring," an added passage reads, "Hence Journals, Medleys, Merc'ries, Magazines" (39, 42).[12] The catalogue of lowly genres Pope here presents is a lively testament to the popular print culture of late-1720s London, ranging from elegiac broadsides produced for the hangings at Tyburn, over Edmund Curll's scabrous and scandalous pamphlet practice, to the St. Cecilia Day and New Year odes churned out for both occasions each year. Pope glossed the latter, moreover, with a footnote in the variorum edition of 1729. The allusion, he explains, is to those odes "made by the Poet-Laureat for the time being, to be sung at Court on every New-years-day, the words of which are happily drown'd in the voices and instruments."[13] Satiric mockery of the court ode could not be more conventional, but there is something especially illuminating about this particular reference. Although the quality and poetic integrity of the laureate odes were an easy target not just for Pope but for all satirists who wished to

[11] Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad. An Heroic Poem. In Three Books* (London: printed, and re-printed in Dublin by and for G. Faulkner, J. Hoey, J. Leathley, E. Hamilton, P. Crampton, and T. Benson, 1728), 8.
[12] Cited from Rumbold, *The Dunciad in Four Books*, 102–4.
[13] Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad. With Notes Variorum, and the Prolegomena of Scriblerus* (London: printed for L. Gilliver, 1729), 57.

deplore the universal decline of social and cultural values, the footnote Pope inserted reveals how personally he took the topic of the laureateship.

Pope's indignation had grown exponentially, in the years following the publication of the first two versions of *The Dunciad*, as a result of the appointment of Colley Cibber to the post of poet laureate in December 1730.[14] Cibber's appointment was politically motivated and seen by his rivals as a reward for his support of the current Whig administration rather than for his literary merits.[15] Pope found it expedient, consequently, to make Cibber the new 'hero' of the expanded *Dunciad in Four Books* of 1743. As evident from another addition to the note that glossed the line on odes cited above, the particular source of Pope's disgust were Cibber's court odes. The "*New-year Odes* of the Hero of this work," the note informs, "were of a cast distinguished from all that preceded him, and made a conspicuous part of his character as a writer, which doubtless induced our Author to mention them here so particularly."[16] After a continuation of the mock-myth of Dullness's "wild creation" (82) and the kinds of verse originating from her cell, Pope moves on to depict "BAYS" (108), that is, Cibber, sitting at his drawing table, "Swearing and supperless" (115). He is a powerless and uninspired writer, with drafts of "Much future Ode, and abdicated Play" (122) thrust to the ground beside him and with an altar raised from the countless unsold copies of his works behind him:

> A folio Common-place
> Founds the whole pile, of all his works the base:
> Quartos, octavos, shape the less'ning pyre;
> A twisted Birth-day Ode completes the spire.
> (159–62)

As the pinnacle of Cibber's altar, least in width as well as in worth, the birthday ode is a compilation of the insipid formulae he has plundered from other works, gathered into his common-place book and twined together into a "twisted" composition—a distorted and convoluted birthday poem. Anything but a fitting tribute to a sovereign, as one would expect such an ode to be, it is more like a contorted fools-cap than a garland of laurel bays woven together to grace the monarch's temples.[17]

Satirical treatment of the ode such as Pope ventured into at several occasions in *The Dunciad*s was possible because, by the 1730s, the ode had become such a pervasive form

[14] A report in *Appleton's Weekly Journal* announced that Cibber was appointed on Tuesday 4 December.
[15] R. H. Barker, *Mr Cibber of Drury Lane* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 157–8.
[16] Rumbold, *The Dunciad in Four Books*, 104.
[17] The suggestion of the fools-cap is James Sutherland's, quoted by Rumbold in *The Dunciad in Four Books*, 122.

and the laureateship such a politically controlled institution.[18] According to many, the laureateship symbolized the decay in letters and culture generally perceived during the time of Robert Walpole's administration, and especially in the years before the formation of an organised opposition movement in 1726–7.[19] At Cibber's appointment, Jonathan Swift complained that the position of the poet laureate was merely the Lord Chamberlain's gift, but that the latter's position was a different matter altogether. Similarly, in one of *The Dunciad*'s most famous lines—"Still Dunce the second reigns like Dunce the first" (6)—Pope vilified the current regime as epitomized by the dual succession from George I to George II in 1727 and from Laurence Eusden to Cibber in 1730. Only a few weeks after his official appointment, Cibber was already being reviled as "the *B—day* Fibber" in a poem in the *Grub-street Journal* for 31 December 1730.[20] Cibber was deemed an unfit apologist of the nation's current state and status by those members of the opposition movement who showed "a strong sense of *cultural* patriotism: an acute anxiety about Britain's role and future as a model of artistic achievement."[21] Opposition to the Walpole administration took many forms, but denunciation of the laureate's biannual ode production was particularly widespread and unanimously adopted.

Many of the more self-righteous poets of the opposition movement, who considered their art and themselves wronged by Cibber's supposedly outrageous abuse of the laureateship, started to fabricate mock-odes of their own. In 1731, the year Edward Cave founded the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Cibber's 9-page quarto *Ode to His Majesty, for the New-Year*, in addition to being issued in broadside format, was parodied by Stephen Duck in his "Ode humbly inscribed to the Poet Laureat," published in the *London Evening Post* for 7 January. It was equally parodied by the anonymous "Ode on Twelfth Day. In Imitation of an Ode on New Year's Day. Past Two o'Clock, and a frosty Morning," published in *Fog's Journal* two days later. Cave reprinted both poems in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.[22] The following year, too, Cave published Cibber's New Year ode alongside "The Poet-Laureat's Ode for New-Years-Day burlesqu'd" and an "Ode for New-Years-Day translated into English in the *Grub-street Journal*" in the same number (*GM* 2:580–1).

The deliberate burlesquing of Cibber's odes was repeated on the occasion of the monarch's birthday later that year and quickly turned into a humorous subcategory of

[18] For a recent, comprehensive study of the laureateship in England, see Ewa Panecka, *Literature and the Monarchy: The Traditional and the Modern Concept of the Office of Poet Laureate of England* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014).

[19] Bertrand A. Goldgar, *Walpole and the Wits: The Relation of Politics to Literature, 1722–1742* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976).

[20] Goldgar, *Walpole and the Wits*, 91–2.

[21] Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole*, 48–9.

[22] *GM* 1:20–1.

its own. Parodic imitation of this kind should be understood in light of what Brean Hammond has explained as a cultural politics of opposition which is often characterized by "parodic literary forms—mock forms, hybrid forms—the common achievement of which is to borrow energy from the sincere forms they wish to explode, and recycle that energy in subversion."[23] This is a highly conspicuous instance of defamiliarization, the critical procedure in which generic discontinuities are roughened through an intensification of the formal features of a genre.[24] Defamiliarization thus necessarily requires a degree of familiarity with and artistic awareness of the form that is being satirized, and the ode certainly was a common enough poetic form in these years to undergo such transformation.

Although plain mock-odes became less aggressively intrusive after a brief spell of curiosity in the first few years of the *Gentleman Magazine*'s existence, the levels of proliferation and saturation the laureate odes reached also account, for instance, for Richard Savage's attempt at gaining court patronage in the 1730s. Begun in March 1731 with an ode on Queen Caroline's birthday and continued for seven years, Savage appointed himself as "Volunteer Laureat" to the queen, a service he promised to continue "annually by Permission." His second volunteer laureate ode of March 1732 actually got him an annual £50 grant until the Queen's death in 1737.[25] Savage's volunteer odes reveal that the genre could be conceived, in abstract terms, as a bargaining chip for pension and patronage. While dedications to literary publications were still seen as indirect petitions for monetary recompense, with patrons in the 1730s customarily settling on a sum of about twenty guineas, odes were not infrequently used as leverage for the acquirement of a specific position.[26] Savage's later "Volunteer Laureat" odes were certainly also "a form of job application" for the royal post of librarian at Queen Caroline's newly erected Merlin's Cave in her gardens at Richmond.[27]

Likewise, Savage's friend Samuel Johnson first contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* by submitting, around the same time, an ode addressed to Cave's sobriquet Sylvanus Urban, written in Latin and eventually published by Cave in March 1738. Faintly reminiscent of Casimir Sarbiewski's "Ode to Pope Urban," which Johnson may have known, the ode "Ad Urbanum" is a modern bid for patronage in the sense that it

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[23] Brean S. Hammond, *Professional Imaginative Writing in England 1670–1740: "Hackney for Bread"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 239.

[24] As David Duff has noted, the purposes defamiliarization serves are often ideological and political as much as aesthetic (*Romanticism and the Uses of Genre*, 183–6).

[25] Clarence R. Tracy, *The Artificial Bastard: A Biography of Richard Savage* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), 117.

[26] Tone Sundt Urstad, *Sir Robert Walpole's Poets: The Use of Literature as Pro-Government Propaganda, 1721–1742* (Newark: Delaware University Press, 1999), 72.

[27] Richard Holmes, *Dr Johnson and Mr Savage* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1993), 166.

serves as a petition for inclusion in the magazine as well as for employment as a hack in Cave's service.[28] An English translation of the Latin ode, which appeared in May, shows Johnson hailing and praising Urban as an "indefatigable man," undeterred by the slander of rival editors and publishers while "still the laurel on [his] learned brow / Flourishes fair, and shall for ever grow."[29] Johnson's allusion to the laurel wreath not only celebrates the noble ends of Cave's editorial enterprise, but also functions as a promise that Johnson's contributions will be instrumental in upholding the high standards of his magazine. Like Savage, Johnson was successful, and soon after he was hired as Cave's coadjutor.

5.3 Odes in Magazines: Towards a Contextualist Reading

The case of Savage and Johnson is evidence of the fact that the socialization process involved when publically celebrating an addressee as a potential employer was governed essentially by economic motivations and by the promise of reward in the form of fame, finance, or employment. It is also an example of the importance of magazines as platforms for young writers who were aspiring to a poetic career but were put off by the book trade's tightly controlled publishing regulations.[30] Issues of reputation as well as copyright had an influence on the decision whether or not to appear in print in individual volumes of poetry. By contrast, while many poets continued to circulate their work in manuscript, the anonymity of miscellany or magazine publication offered alluring alternatives for the aspirant poet. The *Gentleman's Magazine* is a case in point. Of the 200 titular odes published from 1 January 1731 to 17 December 1747 only 111 have now, through meticulous bibliographical research, been attributed to their authors.[31] The overwhelming majority of them were originally published anonymously. The

[28] Arthur Murphy, *An Essay on the Life and Genius of Samuel Johnson* (London: printed for T. Longman et al., 1793), 42–3; Robert DeMaria, *The Life of Samuel Johnson: a Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 46.

[29] James Boswell, *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, eds. George Birkbeck Hill and Lawrence Fitzroy Powell, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), i, 113–5. For a discussion of the rivalry and Cave's own scissors-and-paste practice, see Italia, *Rise of Literary Journalism*, 110–22. Fittingly, Sarbiewski's ode had eventually earned him a Papal laureateship.

[30] Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader*, 13–4.

[31] See Emily Lorraine de Montluzin, "Attributions of Authorship in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1731–36: A Supplement to the *Union List*," *ANQ* 21 (2008), 11–24; "Attributions of Authorship in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1737–40: A Supplement to the *Union List*," *ANQ* 23 (2010), 34–45; and "Attributions of Authorship in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1741–45: A Supplement to the *Union List*," *ANQ* 24 (2011), 140–153.

possibility of contributing to the most popular magazine of the period under the protection of authorial obscurity naturally attracted many women poets as well, but, as Roger Lonsdale has observed, anonymity certainly did not equal a lack of readerly or critical attention.[32]

One female poet whose trajectory passed through all the various stages of publication was Elizabeth Carter (1717–1806). Carter had been a regular contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine* from as early as 1734 before her own work appeared in print in a single-author collection four years later.[33] Carter's earliest contributions attest to the overall popularity of Anacreontics and Horatian imitations in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.[34] On 5 September 1735, her "Anacreon. Ode XXX" was published, followed on 7 November 1737 by "Hor. Lib. II. Ode 10" and on 8 March 1738 by "Hor. Lib. I. Ode 22," under the names of "Eliza" and "EL" respectively. Yet, there is another poem by her hand, published anonymously on 9 November 1739 without a title but with an epigraph in Greek, which, rather than attesting to the lingering habits of classical imitation characteristic of the immediate past, can be perceived, with hindsight, as particularly revealing of emerging literary trends. It is the poem that would soon become known as the "Ode to Melancholy."

A cursory reading of the ode does not reveal anything especially original, for the speaker predictably hails the "gloomy power" Melancholy (l. 1) and her train of "midnight horrours" (19) as they appear before her "intellectual sight" (26), all the while meditating on the "solemn truth" (52) and "future change" of Christian life (64). Even the spiritual revelation depicted in the final stanza of the ode is purely conventional, since the speaker, in the familiar idiom of court ode and sacred ode alike, awaits "the last morn's fair-opening ray" which shall unfold "the bright eternal day / Of active life and bliss" (70–2).[35] However, since miscellanies and magazines manifested the interrelationship between authors as signs of a coterie, in which comparative and correlative reading was habitual, it is important to pay attention to the context in which Carter's "Ode to Melancholy" first appeared.[36] A contextual reading of the ode in its original setting, which takes into account the placement of Carter's ode amid other contributions to the *Gentleman's Magazine* as well as the paratextual features

[32] In fact, "the general interest of verse in [the *GM*'s] pages is usually higher than in the average individual volume of poetry" (Lonsdale, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets*, xxvi).

[33] Her *Poems upon Particular Occasions* (London: printer by Cave, 1738) has an engraving of St. John's Gate, the *GM*'s headquarters, on the titlepage.

[34] From 1731 to 1747, a total of 35 poems were published in imitation of Anacreon's odes and 41 in imitation of Horace's odes.

[35] *GM* for 9 November 1739 (9:599).

[36] Barbara M. Benedict, "Publishing and Reading Poetry," in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, ed. John Sitter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 68.

surrounding the poem itself, sheds a different light on how the ode may have been read and received.

The first and most conspicuous element affecting the initial response to Carter's "Ode to Melancholy," especially in the absence of a title and the author's name, is the Greek epigraph sitting atop the page above the ode. Taken from Sophocles' tragedy *Ajax*, the epigraph consists of four lines from Ajax's invocation of σκότος (skótos, meaning 'darkness' or 'obscurity'). In Lewis Theobald's 1714 translation of the play, the passage reads:

> O darksome *Erebus*, not dark to me,
> For dark's my Light, and Death my only Life,
> Take me a Dweller to your gloomy Groves.[37]

Ajax's exclamation is a petition to become an inhabitant of the underworld, a wish for death, but, at the same time, it is also an act of personification and prosopopoeia, an attempt to address an abstract entity while expecting some kind of response. Ajax's apostrophe suggests a strong connection with the ancient Greek prayer hymn, in which invocation of a numinous power is at once a call for assistance and a request for companionship and communion with the deity.[38] The powerful oxymoron of darkness-as-light and death-as-life only helps to enhance the epiphanic experience the speaker desires as he transcends the boundaries of conventional, that is, human, sensation. Theobald's translation of the "gloomy Groves," though not entirely faithful to the original, is representative of the eighteenth-century conception, common from Shaftesbury to Thomson, that only a solitary retreat into obscurity can enable abstract meditation, which is, in turn, the only state of mind capable of fostering the creative inspiration and aesthetic imagination of the visionary poet.[39]

For the eighteenth-century peruser of this particular number of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a reading of the supplication, in both Carter's ode and the epigraph, to be granted access into the company of the deity may equally have been modulated by another contextual element: the companion poems that preceded Carter's ode. Presented as a contribution from a reader to the magazine's editor, Mr. Urban, the poems, though taken as one unit, are actually made up of a song "by *Kit. Marlow*" and an

[37] Lewis Theobald, *Ajax of Sophocles. Translated from the Greek, with Notes* (London: printed for B. Lintott, 1714), 18.
[38] Schlüter, *Die Englische Ode*, 31–46.
[39] See, especially, Part III, sections 1 and 2 of "The Moralists" in Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Lawrence E. Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). James Thomson voiced his poetics in his preface to *Winter* (London: printed for J. Millan, 1726).

"Answer by Sir *W. Raleigh* in his younger Days."[40] The first part, consisting of Christopher Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love," begins and concludes with an enamoured plea from a suitor to his lover to "Come live with me and be my love." Sir Walter Raleigh's verses, "The Answer," simply repeat the same sentiments in virtually identical terms. What is significant about these few lines of pastoral love-song is that the words of Marlowe's concluding couplet—"If these delights thy mind may move, / Then live with me and be my love"—have invariably been cited as the main source of inspiration for the concluding lines of both John Milton's "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso."[41] Milton's octosyllabic companion odes, in turn, inspired an entire tradition of delicate, meditative poems of rural description in the eighteenth century.[42] The immediate proximity of Marlowe's verses would definitely have encouraged a Miltonic reading of Carter's ode to those readers familiar with the link between Elizabethan lyric and the Renaissance tradition of companion poems in general and with the intertextual relationship between Marlowe's and Milton's verses in particular. When Carter eventually replaced the original salutatory "Hail, *Melancholy*!" with the optative "Come Melancholy!" in her 1762 *Poems on Several Occasions*,[43] she may have reminded the attentive reader of the way in which her ode had first appeared: filtered through excerpts from an urgent prayer in Greek tragedy as well as from a pastoral lyric of invitation from the popular Elizabethan culture of light entertainment.

A contextualist reading of Carter's ode in its original setting should remind modern readers of the dangers of a retrospective, decontextualizing approach to eighteenth-century reading habits. Yet even this cautionary tale cannot obscure the fact that two obstacles still remain. First, it is not always possible on present information to determine whether poems eventually printed in miscellanies and magazines had not already been circulating in manuscript prior to publication.[44] One such poem is another ode by Carter, the "Ode to Wisdom," which was included in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 17 December 1747 (which actually appeared in January 1748), the year that effectively ended her thirteen-year period of recurrent contribution. Around 1746, however, the

[40] *GM* for 9 November 1739 (9:598). The contributor also mentions that a few lines of Marlowe's verses were sung in Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

[41] L'Allegro, ll. 151–2: "These delights if thou canst give, / Mirth, with thee I mean to live"; Il Penseroso, ll. 175–6: "These pleasures, Melancholy, give, / And I with thee will choose to live." For the Marlowe reference, see, for example, John Milton, *The Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. John Carey (London: Routledge, 2007), 144 ("L'Allegro"), 151 ("Il Penseroso").

[42] R. D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1922), 439–77; Griffin, *Regaining Paradise*, 72–82.

[43] Elizabeth Carter, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: printed for J. Rivington, 1762), 79.

[44] For an account of the persisting practice of manuscript circulation in this period, see Margaret J. M. Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999).

ode was already circulating in manuscript. This explains how it could be printed, without attribution and without Carter's permission, by Samuel Richardson in his *Clarissa*, the first two instalments of which were published on 1 December 1747. In Richardson's novel, the ode features as an indication of the eponymous heroine's artistic taste and love of music. The final three stanzas of the ode are set in italics as part of the engraved music score which was included by Richardson to highlight Clarissa's particular response to the sentiments of solemnity and spirituality expressed in the ode (figure 14). Moreover, the oversized format of the engraved musical accompaniment unfolded to extend beyond the physical boundaries of the book, thus graphically reminding the reader of the dramatic and performative possibilities in the act of reading both the ode and the novel.[45]



Figure 14 Expandable music score for Carter's "Ode to Wisdom" as included in Richardson's Clarissa, vol. ii, p. 50 (1747). Image reproduced from a digitized copy on ECCO.

[45] For an excellent account of this episode in *Clarissa*, see Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 92–117.

Carter's "Ode to Wisdom" was again republished in George Colman and Bonnell Thornton's *Poems by Eminent Ladies* in 1755. In this new setting, the ode more clearly celebrated solitude as a metonym for the private pleasures of reading poetry by and for women. What was central to the intentions of the editors, as Barbara Benedict has pointed out, was not the stanza form or the punctuation of the ode, as would be the case in Carter's own authorized edition of her *Poems* in 1762, but the values of individual contemplation and the meditation of the wisdom of God. In the hands of Colman and Thornton, the public, celebratory, and oratorical character of the ode was downplayed to achieve greater similarity across the entire collection and to emphasize more uniformly the qualities of private spirituality.[46] For the modern reader wishing to gain an understanding of the gestation process and eventual reception of an ode, these divergent forms of mediation are essential to note. Different levels of authorial control and editorial mediation are evidently further problematized when the manuscript appears first to have ended up in the hands of editors and booksellers less scrupulous than the author herself.

5.4 Collins's odes and the Conflicts of 1745–6

The second problem affecting a contextualist reading has to do with a simple reality of the eighteenth-century book trade: newly sewn-together miscellanies and collections of verse as well as periodicals and serial publications like the *Gentleman's Magazine* usually only offered reprints of existing materials hoisted from other outlets. For original compositions it is necessary to turn to periodicals that were usually aimed at a higher end of the market, such as *The Museum: or, the Literary and Historical Register*, which was issued fortnightly from 29 March 1746 to 12 September 1747, edited by Mark Akenside, and published by Robert Dodsley.[47] *The Museum* is a significant document in the history of the eighteenth-century ode, not so much because of the total amount of odes it contained (only some 20 titular odes were published in total), but because it was the first collection that published odes by William Collins. One of Collins's odes had been published before it appeared in his *Odes on Several Descriptive and Allegoric Subjects* in December 1746 and a number of them were later reprinted in various collections of

[46] Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader*, 165.

[47] James E. Tierney, "The Museum, the 'Super-Excellent Magazine'," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 13, Restoration and Eighteenth Century (1973), 503–515; Harry M. Solomon, *The Rise of Robert Dodsley: Creating the New Age of Print* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996), 105–11.

poetry, including Dodsley's *Collection of Poems by Several Hands* (2nd edn, 1748, i, 327–32). The first ode in particular, the "Ode, to a Lady," not only offers the "clearest glimpse of Collins's poetical workmanship" in the heyday of his career;[48] it also provides a complex trajectory of revision and reprinting that can serve as a telling illustration of the ways in which odes and their writers were affected by and responsive to developments in historical and literary contexts.

Collins's "Ode, to a Lady" was written in response to the defeat suffered by British forces against the French on 11 May 1745 at Fontenoy near Tournai in Flanders. Probably written by the end of that month, it was, however, only published one year later, anonymously, in Dodsley's *Museum* for 7 June 1746, as an "*Ode* to a Lady, On the Death of Col. *CHARLES ROSS*, in the Action at Fontenoy. Written *May*, 1745." Mourning the loss of Captain (not Colonel) Ross as one of the many casualties sustained by the British forces, and directed to his grieving soon-to-be, Collins's poem naturally contains strong elegiac overtones.[49] Because of the belated publication of the "Ode, to a Lady" in June 1746, however, Collins's lament to the fallen was eclipsed by a more recent event, in which the British army had been victorious over the Jacobite rebels at Culloden in Scotland on 16 April. Indeed, even in its actual textual setting, number 7 of *The Museum* for Saturday 7 June, Collins's ode seems out of place, surrounded as it is by an essay on whistling and light verse by Milton and Swift.[50] As his editors have noted, Collins altered the fourth stanza and added two more when the ode was republished in his *Odes* at the end of the year. The added stanzas, 7 and 8, served as a tribute to William, Duke of Cumberland, who was urged to continue his winning streak against the French on the Continent.[51] The ode was once again modified later on, when it featured in Dodsley's *Collection* in December 1748, well after the two added stanzas had been rendered incongruous with Cumberland's defeat against the French in July 1747 and with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed in October 1748.

Yet what has often only implicitly been acknowledged, and what makes the "Ode, to a Lady" so valuable from a modern perspective, is the fact that it is a palimpsest of ode practice of the 1740s, the period traditionally associated with the outburst of odic sensibility and the retreat away from topicality into solitary retirement.[52] The "Ode, to a Lady," together with the "Ode, Written in the beginning of the Year 1746" and the "Ode

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[48] William Collins, *The Works of William Collins*, eds. Richard Wendorf and Charles Ryskamp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 142.

[49] For an account of Ross's role in Oppositional politics and for Collins's relation to him, see Mary Margaret Stewart, "William Collins's Ode on the Death of Charles Ross: The Search for Audience and Patronage," *Age of Johnson* 8 (1997), 209–22.

[50] *The Museum: or, The Literary and Historical Register*, 3 vols. (London: printed for R. Dodsley, 1746–7), i, 213–19.

[51] Lonsdale, *Poems of Gray, Collins, and Goldsmith*, 454–6; Wendorf and Ryskamp, *Works of Collins*, 142–5.

[52] Sitter, *Literary Loneliness in Mid-Eighteenth-Century England*, 77–153.

to Mercy," should be read as part of a plethora of odes produced on the Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the War of the Austrian Succession of 1740–48.[53] The footnote added in the *Gentleman's Magazine* to an "Extract of a Pindaric ODE. Upon the late Action in Flanders" is exemplary: "We are obliged to omit many poems: Several of them on this subject" (*GM* 15:270). As Howard Weinbrot has observed, the year in which the first of Collins's odes were published, 1745–46, was "a sanguinary year of terrible strife," in which British pride and confidence suffered severe blows both at home and abroad.[54] Of the 36 titular odes in the ESTC published separately in 1745–46, 10 refer explicitly to the rebellion in Scotland, both to "Gladsmuir," or Prestonpans, where the Jacobites were victorious, and to Culloden, where Cumberland and the royal forces were.[55] Other odes, if not clearly genethliac[56] or addressed to individual patrons,[57] are either Horatian imitations or otherwise politically inspired poems with implicit references to the current state of affairs in Britain and Europe.[58] One stanza in the 1746 birthday *ODE, to be Performed at the Castle of Dublin,* which was set to music by Matthew Dubourg, celebrated the King's belligerent son, William, by recalling his two most memorable military triumphs:

> At Dettingen his Sword devour'd,
> Where France her num'rous Legions pour'd
> Tumultuous in the Mayne.
> At Culloden Rebellion found
> (By him subdu'd with many a Wound)
> Her Machinations vain.
> (ll. 50–5)

[53] A sampling of odes printed or advertised in magazines includes an ode "On the Retreat of the Rebels" and an "Ode in Honour of the D of C," both printed in the *London Magazine* (in February and April 1746, respectively; 15:95 and 15:205); a "Hymn to Liberty. An Ode on the Success of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland" and "An Ode sacred to the Victorious Return of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland from Scotland," both advertised in the *British Magazine*, respectively for Jan–Feb. and Jul–Aug. 1746.

[54] Howard D. Weinbrot, "William Collins and the Mid-Century Ode: Poetry, Patriotism, and the Influence of Context," in *Context, Influence, and Mid-Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, eds. Howard D. Weinbrot and Martin Price (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1990), 1–39. For a detailed account of the military aspects of the Jacobite rebellion, see Jonathan D. Oates, *The Jacobite Campaigns: The British State at War* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011).

[55] At least three separately published odes of 1745 were written in celebration of the Jacobite victory at Prestonpans, including William Hamilton's *Ode on the Victory at Gladsmuir 21 Septemr. 1745*, a single-sheet song presumably issued in Edinburgh.

[56] Yet, see *The Birth-day Ode*, which was issued in broadside format in Edinburgh and which contains a prayer for Hanoverian victory.

[57] Such as the 4 odes inscribed to Lord Chesterfield on his becoming Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and clearly intended as bids for patronage.

[58] Such as *The Spanish Armada, An Ode* (London: printed for J. Oswald, 1745).

Symbolically straddling Hessian and Bavarian territories, the village of Dettingen on the river Main had formed the backdrop against which the Allies had gained a Pyrrhic victory over the French in 1743. It was also the last time a British monarch personally commanded his troops on the battlefield, as an "*Augustus* on the Plain" in Stephen Duck's rendition of the moment.[59] Yet no one in the audience at Dublin Castle on the night of 30 October 1746 would have been able to ignore the mortifying recollection of the "num'rous Legions" of British soldiers that had been "pour'd" onto General Maurice, Comte de Saxe's "Machinations" of artillery at Fontenoy just one year before.

Poets in the mid-1740s were often competing against allegedly authentic accounts of the wars which appeared alongside their verse in newspapers and magazines and which offered detailed reports of the battles and the armies involved. From March 29 1746, for example, *The Museum* ran among its Historical Memoirs section "A Succinct History of the *REBELLION*," possibly written by Henry Fielding.[60] It offered an outline of the rise and progress of the Highlanders into England as well as an account of the particulars of the battle and a list of officers wounded or killed. Odists like Collins, as Weinbrot has shown, might have seen the two wars in which their country was embroiled from the perspectives furnished in "works published or republished by a virtual news of the month in review."[61] As Dustin Griffin has remarked, the simultaneous occurrence of historical and poetical accounts of Britain's military achievements in these media not only stimulated a greater self-awareness about the patriotic task of the poet, but also a more genre-conscious reflection on the nature and intent of heroic poetry.[62] As the accuracy of reports on foreign military battles problematized the usefulness and appropriateness of the old epic forms, poets began to look elsewhere for suitable models and modes. More often than not, they opted for "conventional idealized description"[63] as a poetic alternative to journalistic accounts of contemporary warfare. In such a language of figurative descriptiveness, it is not the hero but the personified idealization that is brought on stage, not Cumberland but Albion or Britannia, the "dear native Land" that is apostrophized as an allegory of British liberty and prowess.[64]

It is also in such moments that the "rhetoric of (national) collectivity" emerges most clearly, a development which Suvir Kaul has recognized as formative in the

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[59] Stephen Duck, *An Ode on the Battle of Dettingen. Humbly Inscrib'd to the King* (London: printed for R. Dodsley, 1743), 6, line 50.

[60] For the suggestion of Fielding as author, see Solomon, *Rise of Robert Dodsley*, 110.

[61] Weinbrot, "William Collins and the Mid-Century Ode," 5.

[62] Griffin, *Patriotism and Poetry*, 41–3.

[63] Griffin, *Patriotism and Poetry*, 43.

[64] See, for instance, James Thomson and David Mallet's *Alfred* (1740), performed at Prince Frederick's country estate at Cliveden, and the concluding "Ode in Honour of Great Britain," which was advertised in the *Daily Advertiser* for 6 August 1740 and which famously urged "Britannia" to rule the waves.

rehabilitation of traditional genres as forms of public or popular intervention.[65] Emblematic of the poetics of this politico-cultural response is the preface to John Lockman's lengthy *Ode on the Crushing of the Rebellion*, presented personally to the King on 13 June 1746 and in manuscript to the Duke of Cumberland on his return to London one month later. Lockman justifies the exultant character of his poem by calling it the product of a spontaneous outburst of emotion, an "Impulse" so strong that it was as impossible to resist it as to be insensible of "the Presence of the Sun."[66] In fact, Lockman goes on to assert, spontaneity should be the chief energy of any ode. For this reason, he rejects the Duke of Buckingham's famous declaration, in the *Essay on Poetry*, that, though the ode be framed in "Heat and Fury," its "Language still must soft and easy run" (4). Claiming instead that "the Dress of Words shou'd be correspondent to" the "Fire" and "Impetuosity" that is the character of all odes, Lockman opines that "every Part ought to be animated by Figures, which, like so many Pictures, may exhibit the several Scenes to the Reader's Imagination" (4). The central vision Lockman advances in this preface consists of a peculiar and seemingly paradoxical combination of animated figuration with a descriptiveness that is "exactly historical" and that allows the poet "to point out the most remarkable Incidents in the Story" which his ode is "intended to celebrate" (3). This is also the reason why he thinks "heroic Verse not rapid enough," since only the ode and its "lyrical Numbers" are "most apt to rouze" and most apt to do so with the historical specificity required to make an ode topically relevant and "interesting to a Country" (3). Thus, while the description of historical particulars serves to rouse common interest on the basis of recognizable facts and events, the figurative language in which it is couched renders it communally identifiable and allows multiple groups of readers to feel empathically and vicariously involved.

It is in this context that the descriptive-allegorical mode should be understood: generically and materially it combined features shaped by current events and print forms. What Griffin has called "idealized description" is basically a term, like personification or prosopopoeia, that indicates contemporary poets' attempt at attributing a degree of vividness and animation to abstractions with a particular political or patriotic relevance.[67] In an essay on "the Essential Excellencies in Poetry,"

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[65] Suvir Kaul, *Poems of Nation, Anthems of Empire: English Verse in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 9.

[66] John Lockman, *An Ode, on the Crushing of the Rebellion, Anno MDCCXLVI. Presented to his Majesty at Kensington, And humbly inscrib'd to his Royal Highness the Duke* (London: printed for the author, 1746), 3.

[67] Earl R. Wasserman, "The Inherent Values of Eighteenth-Century Personification," *PMLA* 65 (1950), 435–463; Steven Knapp, *Personification and the Sublime: Milton to Coleridge* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 1–5; Lawrence Lipking, "The Gods of Poetry," in *Augustan Subjects: Essays in Honor of Martin C. Battestin*, ed. Albert J. Rivero (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997), 68–86.

published in *The Museum* for 4 July 1747 and ascribed to Collins, the author contemplates these vexed issues of poetic representation.[68] He declares that the mantic power of the poet, his Genius, is dependent upon his ability to excite in the mind "the Thought or Character of what is to be created," to arouse reality in the imaginary, even though he cannot *actually* call any of his images into real beings (283). The essayist reveals a sophisticated understanding of the two kinds of performativity in poetry, and the essay unfurls into an exposition of the difference between the "kind of Reality" intrinsic to the imaginary "Fairy World of *Spenser*" and the concrete theatrical staging of "the Magic of *Shakespear*" (283). As regards the power of poetic genius, the author concludes, there is a clear distinction between calling "into Being" and calling "into Conception" (284). An important critical insight, it supports his view that the conceptual sort of reality, Spenser's sort in fact, is effectively demarcated by the linguistic system in which it is embedded. The significance of this remark lies in the non-referential, non-mimetic approach to poetic 'representation,' as the world of abstraction exists "for the sake of the visualization, the idea for the sake of the image."[69]

What is essential to note here, ultimately, is that real poetry, pure poetry, though "in great Measure taken from religious and superstitious Fables" (283–4), from the pathetic and sublime aspects of fictional and preternatural tales, is as centrally concerned with the 'real' as any other mode of early eighteenth-century verse. Genius, in short, deals with a different kind of reality, a conceptual kind not necessarily mimetically true to nature, but a reality nonetheless.[70] Though not radically new, as the previous chapter has shown, it is this interest in the 'real' conception, feeling, and apprehension of the poetic image, the performative proclivities inherent in figurative language, that stimulated further and intensified engagement with the allegorical and descriptive modes. Whoever wrote the essay on "the Essential Excellencies in Poetry" simply articulated views that were common at the time. Yet the essay has also occasionally been attributed to a poet who, as editor of *The Museum* and author of the hugely influential *Pleasures of Imagination* (1744), deserves greater attention than he has previously received: Mark Akenside. As I aim to demonstrate in the following section,

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[68] For comments on the attribution of the essay to Collins, see Edward Gay Ainsworth, *Poor Collins: His Life, His Art, and His Influence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1937), 92–6. It is equally possible, however, that John Gilbert Cooper authored the essay. See Wendorf and Ryskamp, eds., *Works of Collins*, 233–4. All citations are taken from *The Museum*, iii, 281–6.

[69] Paul S. Sherwin, *Precious Bane: Collins and the Miltonic Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977), 63.

[70] It has, I think, too often been argued that at mid-century being true to nature was conceived as being mechanically associative and pedestrian, while being able to reflect emotionally and imagine illusively was the mark of original genius. See Joan Pittock, *The Ascendancy of Taste: The Achievement of Joseph and Thomas Warton* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), 75–121. John Hamilton usefully links this "anti-mimeticism" with the celebration of obscurity in Edmund Burke's treatise on the sublime (*Soliciting Darkness*, 199–200).

Akenside was a crucial, not a transitional, figure in the development of the mid-century ode, as he was the first odist self-consciously to fuse the elements of patriotism and poetic vision in an innovative and high-reaching print form which combined allegory with description and which was held up by the poet to his community as a kind of conceptual idealized reality all should labour to effectuate.

5.5 Mark Akenside and the Ode Volume

Detailed contextualization of the mechanisms of print culture in the 1730s and '40s, and more precisely of the importance of miscellanies, magazines, and the reprinting business, is indispensable for a more comprehensive understanding of the sudden appearance of single-author publications dedicated exclusively to odes. In late March 1745, after a few unsuccessful months as a physician, Mark Akenside decided to publish a volume of ten odes.[71] What makes Akenside's *Odes on Several Subjects* so unique is not their variety of metres and themes (all flaunted in the "Advertisement"), but the fact that the "formally and thematically various poems were organized in such a way that the individual works contrasted with and elaborated upon each other."[72] As a result, Akenside's volume "gave the impression not of a miscellany, nor of a simple sequence of individual odes, but of a coherent, or unified, work, where the interrelation of the individual parts contributed to the overall effect."[73] The putative aim was to enshrine the virtue of uniformity in variety in support of the poet's success in negotiating complex issues of private as well as public concern. The more personal and epistolary odes—such as the fourth, "To a Gentleman," and the seventh, "To a Friend"—are evidently meant to contrast meaningfully with odes on the nature of poetry and the poet's calling—such as the fifth, "Hymn to Chearfulness," and the sixth, "On the Absence of the Poetic Inclination." Alternating with the clusters of intimate, meditative, and metapoetic odes are those such as the eighth, "On leaving Holland," which reflects on the national character of "native ALBION" (l. 29) as seen through the poet's own experience as a student of medicine at Leiden. Thus, while a superficial glance at the

[71] Entered in the Stationers' Register on March 26 and published by Dodsley on 29 March. Many of the odes had probably already been written in the preceding years, but his professional activities had now finally allowed him the time to revise and publish them.

[72] Robin Dix, *The Literary Career of Mark Akenside: Including An Edition of His Non-Medical Prose* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006), 153.

[73] Dix, *Literary Career of Mark Akenside*, 153.

volume's content might give the impression of a haphazard juxtaposition of epistolary with allegorical odes, the particular organization of the odes was in fact well deliberated and intentional.[74]

The structure of Akenside's *Odes* at once reflects and reacts against the content of contemporary periodicals and miscellany collections of verse. His odes, too, comment upon the present political situation in which Britain was ensnared at the time, exploiting the social, public, and even populist appeal of the form.[75] But they do so in a way that reinforces the odist's role as a vital spokesperson for his nation and his people. Both Pindar and the Horace of the "Roman Odes" but also the politically active Alcaeus, the "Lesbian Patriot" ("On LYRIC Poetry," 24), served as inspiring examples for the mid-century poet, the "best models" to which Akenside carefully attended.[76] This "high Pindaric conception of poetry"[77] was proposed as an alternative to the growing reduction of the odist to a paid pamphleteer, as Griffin has argued, but it was equally based on the flood of odes printed in magazines as well as on broadsides and other single-sheet print forms.

The social and regional mobility of the ode logically facilitated the widespread availability and concomitant democratization of the genre. In Edinburgh, for example, the cheap print trade flourished, especially in the wake of the Battle of Prestonpans, owing to the high demand for popular, boisterous celebrations of the event and the people involved—topics naturally falling within the remit of ode writers. William Hamilton of Bangour's *Ode on the Victory at Gladsmuir* (1745), for instance, exemplifies the growing association of the ode with the ballad. A Jacobite song printed on a broadside in the white-letter ballad format, the ode's first stanza was engraved along with the music at the top, while the remainder was printed in two letterpress columns below, presumably as an incentive to be cut out and worn around the wrist as slip-songs.[78] Yet

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[74] I find Robin Dix's division of the *Odes* into a "greater" or Pindaric and a "lesser" or Horatian section unconvincing. His analysis of the poems actually belies this bipartite structure of the volume: it is "only a superficial dichotomy," Dix admits, platitudinous and not really illuminating of the complex processes of creative imagination central to the ode in general and Akenside's poetry in particular (*Literary Career of Mark Akenside*, 159).

[75] Dustin Griffin, "Akenside's Political Muse," in *Mark Akenside: A Reassessment*, ed. Robin Dix (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000), 19–50.

[76] Mark Akenside, *Odes on Several Subjects* (London: printed for R. Dosley, 1745), "Advertisement," 2.

[77] Griffin, *Patriotism and Poetry*, 116.

[78] For details on the cost, size, and distribution of slip-songs, see David Stoker, "Another Look at the Dicey-Marshall Publications, 1736–1806," *Library* 15 (2014), 135; see also Patricia Fumerton, "Digitizing Ephemera and its Discontents: EBBA's Quest to Capture the Protean Broadside Ballad," in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, eds. Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O'Driscoll (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013), 91–2.

the style and content of the poem were definitely modelled on conventional ode practice, as the fifth stanza indicates:

> BUT late forlorn, dejected pale
> A Prey to each insulting Foe,
> I sought the Grove and gloomy Vale
> To vent in Solitudes my Woe.
> Now to my Hand the Balance fair restor'd,
> I wield again on high th' imperial Sword.[79]

The merging of the poet's solitary retreat with the call to public and martial duties, typical of the jingoistic language of the contemporary ballad tradition, should be read as an emanation of what Steve Newman has called the "doubleness of lyric" or the "lyric split" of the mid-eighteenth century, the appropriation of popular forms by elite groups of writers, among which Hamilton can certainly be counted.[80] Yet, at the same time, the fluidity and continuity between 'low' vernacular and 'high' cultural spheres prompted a dissolution of the boundaries traditionally separating these spheres on formal, stylistic, functional, and aesthetic grounds.[81] An ode volume like Akenside's should be seen as conceived in reaction against the growing vernacularization of the ode's formal characteristics as well as against the popularization of the public and poetic ideals that had been central in the classical ode tradition.

When Akenside stated in the "Advertisement" to his *Odes* that modern ode practice had met with "so little success" (2), he was also implicitly censuring the market-based and taken-for-granted expectation that certain styles, modes, and levels of political and historical content were linked with certain designated product types. Before he left his hometown Newcastle for London in the summer of 1743, Akenside would have found odes in newspapers, for instance, a familiar sight. In addition to the yearly odes on the monarch's birthday and on the New Year, one of the local newspapers, *The Newcastle Courant*, printed "An Extempore Ode, spoke upon seeing Miss C—g," a two-stanza love poem written in the same alternating iambic tetrameter-trimeter sixains Akenside used

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[79] Hamilton's language is similar to that used in his *Three Odes* of 1739.

[80] Steve Newman, *Ballad Collection, Lyric, and the Canon: The Call of the Popular from the Restoration to the New Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 3; Steve Newman, "'The Maiden's Bloody Garland': Thomas Warton and the Elite Appropriation of Popular Song," in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500–1800*, eds. Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, and Kris McAbee (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 199. For Hamilton's background and station, see Nelson S. Bushnell, *William Hamilton of Bangour, Poet and Jacobite* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1957).

[81] A slightly later example is *AN ODE, Addressed to his Royal Highness* William *Duke of* Cumberland (1746), supposedly written "By a LADY" and issued, also in Edinburgh, in single-sheet format.

for his "Allusion to Horace."[82] Imitations, adaptations, and paraphrases of Horace's odes were as common in provincial newspapers as they were in the London-based *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Newcastle Courant* was no exception.[83] As soon as he arrived in London, however, Akenside witnessed the emergence of a pervasive scholarly counterreaction to the popularization of Horace's odes: only a few months before his arrival, in January 1743 Philip Francis's magisterial *Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace* had been republished, the first part of what would become the standard translation for years.[84] Later that year, in May, Thomas Martin, "Late Scholar of Baliol College, Oxon.," published his *Imitations and Translations of Several odes of Horace: being An Essay towards a Translation of that Part of the Author's Works*, as if to suggest that Francis' translation was not enough. The context in which Akenside conceived his plans for publishing a volume of odes was thus one in which there was significant uncharted territory between, on the one hand, the devaluation of the ode into a cheap, topical, and popular print form and, on the other, the continued elite appropriation and elevation of the genre to classical and scholarly standards.

The grey zone separating the simplified, vernacular type of ode from its authoritative, academic counterpart could only be filled up, according to poets like Akenside, by a combination of both alternatives: a native English ode on specifically British as well as more universal subjects, with the allure and authority of a classic. The slavish imitations and hodgepodge of ballads, epitaphs, and pastorals presented in the *Odes on Various Subjects, humbly address'd to the right Honourable the Lord Walpole. By a Gentleman of the Inner Temple* (London: printed and sold by J. Roberts, 1741) does not therefore qualify as a dedicated ode volume, but should rather be seen as a miscellany collection of verse which incidentally contains a number of metrically regular odes in the Horatian form and style.[85] By deciding to publish a volume consisting solely of odes and by ordering them in such a way as to stress both his own poetics of "tuneful ease" (Ode I, "Allusion to HORACE," 4) and the genre's claims to prophecy and societal serviceableness (Ode X, "On LYRIC Poetry"), Akenside commented upon the current

[82] *Newcastle Courant* for Saturday, 14 May 1743.

[83] See, for instance, "Hor. Lib 11. Ode XVI," printed in the *Newcastle Courant* for Saturday, 29 October 1743.

[84] Philip Francis, *The Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace. In Latin and English. With Critical Notes Collected from his Best Latin and French Commentators*, 2 vols. (London: printed for A. Millar, 1743). The first volume was published in Dublin in 1742 (printed by S. Powell and sold by T. Moore). The complete 1742–46 version of Horace had gone through seven editions by 1765. For an account of mid-century imitations and translations of Horace, see Leah Orr, "Christopher Smart as a Christian Translator: The Verse Horace of 1767," Studies in Philology 108 (2011), 439–467.

[85] The volume does not at all reflect the increasingly conscious engagement with aspects of form and structure in mid-century Britain. See Sandro Jung, "Form Versus Manner: The Pindaric Ode and the 'Hymnal' Tradition in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 144 (2006), 133–4.

status of ode practice as he had experienced it during his first two years in the capital. Just as the structure of the volume and the form of the individual odes were the result of Akenside's immersion in the works of his classical models, so the main artistic objective of the *Odes* was to elevate himself to the title of First British Odist in the established tradition.

Beside the more implicitly endorsed political and communal principles, the *poetical* values Akenside prioritized were clearly outlined in the "Advertisement." In view of recent and consistent failures at modernizing the ode, Akenside's overall aim was "to be correct," that is, faithful to the "very different manners of expression and versification" as well as "the beauty of words and the gracefulness of numbers" for which the ancient ode writers were still duly famed (2). Part of this artistic intention is noticeably borne out by the metrical composition of the *Odes*: each ode is written in a different stanza. Though this attention to technicality and refinement reveals the unmistakable influence of Horace, Akenside's vision of the poet is not, as the opening "Allusion to Horace" would seem to suggest, one of "the busy, wand'ring BEE" (7), painstakingly labouring to craft the perfect artwork. Rather, Akenside's poet *happens upon* poetic inspiration, seemingly accidentally, when drinking from "th'inspiring fount" and "hallow'd springs" of poetry ("On LYRIC Poetry," 2, 53) or breathing its "ancient airs" (54). Once inspired, he then pours forth, seemingly effortlessly, his own "vagrant song" ("Allusion to HORACE," 27) like some "liquid melody" ("On the WINTER-SOLSTICE," 50). This studied ease is implicit, moreover, in the *Odes*' movement towards "a psychological, or more precisely associationist, theory of inspiration, which exemplifies ideas explored in the discussion of artistic creativity in *The Pleasures of Imagination*."[86] The emphasis on spontaneous inspiration and immediacy of poetic expression was of course central to the Pindaric manner, and it is on such occasions in the *Odes* that Akenside's poetry is most original.

The odes that deal most specifically with myths of poetic creation and inspiration are those that take up two of the three most crucial positions in the volume: the "Hymn to CHEARFULNESS" right in the middle and the ode "On LYRIC Poetry" at the very end. While that other positionally significant poem, the opening ode, would at first sight seem to set the tone for the remainder of the volume, it is by no means programmatic. Akenside's speaker merely *alludes* to Horace by stressing his delight in "lowly, sylvan scenes" at "day-light" (25, 36) rather than the "soaring" heights of "triumph" (28–9) or the "ghostly cells and monkish caves" of "night" (35, 32). The "double boon" of "pleasure" and "health" (47–8) may be a recurrent preoccupation of the physician-poet, but it is not the only poetic ambition Akenside foregrounds in the *Odes*. Already in the

[86] Dix, *Literary Career of Mark Akenside*, 159.

third ode, "Against SUSPICION," the focus shifts to *the powers of the poet* to oppose "Malignant fancy" and "her ugly train" of "horrors" (23, 28, 30). Inviting some unidentified addressee to "come, forsake the scene unblest" (37), Akenside's speaker leads on to "where with my prevailing lyre / The skies, the streams, the groves conspire / To charm your doubts away" (40). The poet's charms are medicinal, sanitizing as well as satisfying, but they are also mighty and magical, as some "Pow'r unseen" (44), some "Genius" or "GOD" (46–7) "Whose breath awak'd th'immortal flame" (50) transforms the poet into a semi-divine bringer of health and joy. The middle ode, "to CHEARFULNESS," is therefore not as pivotal as Robin Dix has argued.[87] Here, once again, poetry is seen as consolation, as a balm to "raise the dull, dejected scene" within the speaker's own mind (6). Here, similarly, the questions asked at the beginning of the second verse paragraph probe the therapeutic powers of poetry:

> Is there in nature no kind pow'r
> To sooth affliction's lonely hour?
> To blunt the edge of dire disease,
> And teach these wintry shades to please?
> (13–6)

Soothing but also deluding, the kind of poetry Akenside seeks is at once harmonious and divine.

Akenside presents the answer to the questions above in the form of a hymnal invocation to "CHEARFULNESS, triumphant fair" (17), the "sweet" and "mild" goddess (19) whose "gracious gifts" (22) the poet feels while trying to sing her praise.[88] The notion of poetic grace as a divine gift that lends harmony and beauty to the ode is as crucial to Akenside's poetics as it would be to Collins in the following years, especially in his "Ode on the Poetical Character."[89] Akenside provides a genealogical myth of the origins of Chearfulness, in which he combines the imagery of rebirth from the odes on spring (already briefly touched upon in the second ode, "On the WINTER-SOLSTICE, MDCCXL") with a scene noticeably modelled on the Book of Genesis and Milton's *Paradise Lost*:

[87] Dix attributes a pivotal role to the "Hymn to Chearfulness" in that indicates a move from the Horatian section to the more ambitious, "greater," that is, Pindaric and Miltonic poems of Akenside's volume (*Literary Career of Mark Akenside*, 164–8).

[88] Cheerfulness was a key concept in the eighteenth century, and as a means of self-mastery it was considered to be endowed with moral, spiritual as well as practical and social benefits. See Hellen Yallop, *Age and Identity in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 97.

[89] Sandro Jung, "William Collins, Grace and the 'Cest of Amplest Power'," *Neophilologus* 91 (2007), 539–54.

As once ('twas in ASTRÆA's reign)
The vernal pow'rs renew'd their train,
It happen'd that immortal LOVE
Was ranging thro' the spheres above,
And downward hither cast his eye
The year's returning pomp to spy.
[...]
But, fairest of the blooming throng,
When HEALTH majestic mov'd along
All gay with smiles, to see below
The joys which from her presence flow,
While earth inliven'd hears her voice,
And fields, and flocks, and swains rejoice;
Then mighty LOVE her charms confess'd,
And soon his vows inclin'd her breast,
And, known from that auspicious morn,
The pleasing CHEARFULNESS was born.
(24–9; 37–46)

With a pun on the philandering escapades of Jove, the almighty Love courts Health, the quintessential element of Akenside's odes, and they beget the supernatural being that is at once the product and personification of the Golden Age. The "auspicious morn," traditionally the domain of the sun or, by extension, the monarch, now heralds the birth of that graceful goddess Chearfulness, who is "by heav'n design'd" (47) to "strain the tuneful poize within" (51). Chearfulness is also the creative force behind the poetic tradition in which Akenside inscribes himself further on in the ode. Containing Homer, Pindar, Alcaeus, Sappho, Theocritus, Anacreon, and Horace, Akenside's classical pantheon is more lyrical than epic or pastoral, and has no room for the melancholy gloom of recent poetry, such as Edward Young's "nightly strains" (94).

The ode ends with a long address to the lenient, pleasing, soft, and benignant goddess, whom the poet had earlier praised for her ability to reconcile apparent contrasts. Now, the poet's petition is a personal favour, a desire for inspiration but with a hint of insecurity that comes with the breaking of new poetic ground:

O thou, whose pleasing pow'r I sing!
If right I touch the votive string,
If equal praise I yield thy name,
Still govern thou thy poet's flame;
Still with the Muse my bosom share,
And sooth to peace corroding care.
(137–42)

The parallelism in these lines is arresting and effective, all the more because it reinforces the ritual, "votive" aspect of the hymnal prayer. It enhances the performative enactment of the supplication, presented to the deity in the form of a tribute, a gift of praise for which the poet hopes to receive, in return, a gift of inspiration "equal" to the merit of his words. Even though the lines enveloping this passage stress once more the pleasing, soothing, pacifying powers of Chearfulness, the actual object of the poet's desire, ensconced within the excerpt's lines as in the poet's own breast, is the flame of creative enthusiasm. The ode immediately following this one, "On the Absence of the Poetic Inclination," merely reiterates the moment of newly kindled inspiration, when the poet regains "some cœlestial strain" (18): "Again my lab'ring bosom burns; / The Muse, th'inspiring Muse returns" (21–2). The only difference with the preceding creation myth and subsequent quest for admittance in "CHEARFULNESS" is Akenside's explicit affirmation of communion and chosenness, as the Muse "bade" him "swear to follow HER alone" (27).

The cultic trajectory from invocation over genealogical myth to closing petition was most extensively elaborated in Akenside's final ode, "On LYRIC Poetry," a poem conspicuously modelled on a pattern of ancient hymnal prayer that would remain inspirational for decades to come.[90] After a repetition of the ritual act of entrance into the Muse's sanctuary—"ONCE more I join the Thespian quire, / And taste th' inspiring fount again" (1–2)—the speaker addresses the "parent of the Græcian lyre," requesting admittance "to thy secret strain" (3–4). What comes into view next ("And lo!" etc., 5ff) is the poet's entry into the "verdant seat" of the deity (7), followed by an account of "her offspring" (9)—that is, the familiar names of Anacreon, Alcaeus, Sappho, and Pindar. The questions regarding the classical tradition and the possibility of modern artistic creativity, which occupied Akenside throughout the volume, crystallize at this particular point into another apostrophe to his muse, but one which identifies her, for the first time in the ode, as Melpomene, the muse of choral song and dance and tragedy, as well as of the beautifully crafted lyrical verse:

> But, O Melpomene, for whom
> Awakes thy golden shell again?
> What mortal breath shall e'er presume
> To eccho that unbounded strain?
> (41–4)

It is a question of central significance in the work of a poet so conscious of his classical poetic heritage and of the company of lyric poets in which he vied to place himself.

[90] See Kurt Schlüter, "Shelley's 'To Night' and the Prayer Hymn of Classical Antiquity," *Studies in Romanticism* 36 (1997), 239–60.

Akenside's question also reveals the implications for the modern British poet of moving away from imitation, the preserve of Pope's generation, to unmediated and divinely inspired imagination:

> Propitious Muse,
> While I so late unlock thy hallow'd springs,
> And breathe whate'er thy ancient airs infuse,
> To polish Albion's warlike ear
> This long-lost melody to hear,
> Thy sweetest arts imploy;
> As when the winds from shore to shore,
> Thro' Greece thy lyre's persuasive language bore,
> Till towns and isles, and seas return'd the vocal joy.
> (52–60)

In this passage, Akenside perhaps tries to achieve too much at once. The sheer enormity of the poet's ambition is clear from the almost overwhelming sense of belatedness accompanying his current predicament: as a latecomer in the ancestral line of odic poetry, Akenside's task is to recover the antiquity, sanctity, and purity of ancient verse. At the same time, however, he is also to revive the public role of the ancient odist in spreading the "lyre's persuasive language" across the nation. Although his putative intention to "polish" Britain's "warlike ear" corresponds with the *Odes*' dominant spirit of moral and spiritual composure and peaceful ease, it sits awkwardly with this sense of oratorical persuasion and the explicitly political context of Pindar and Alcaeus unfolded in the foregoing lines.

By the time the reader has reached the conclusion of Akenside's *Odes*, the overriding impression is that his ambition was bardic and prophetic more than anything else. Whereas the volume had opened with a cautious rejection of Pindaric sublimity in the "Allusion to Horace," the concluding lines to the ode "On Lyric Poetry" seemed to aspire to just that:

> I hear my Genius utter his command.
> Nor Theban voice, nor Lesbian lyre
> From thee, O Muse, do I require,
> While my prophetic mind,
> Conscious of pow'rs she never knew,
> Astonish'd grasps at things beyond her view,
> Nor by another's fate hath felt her own confin'd.
> (114–20)

This is the "unbounded" strain Akenside presumed to echo earlier in the ode. In many ways reminiscent of the odes by Hill and others, these lines are sublime in the most absolute of terms—not Pindaric ("Theban") or Sapphic ("Lesbian"), but astonishing,

unconfined, transgressive, and transcendental on its own accord. When Akenside revised his odes for the publication of his collected poems, issued posthumously in 1772, he made substantial changes to the existing odes and added many new ones. In one of them, the ode "On the Use of Poetry," which now followed the ode to "Chearfulness," he again emphasized the prophetic ability of the poet-bard, comparing him to the epic hero and the legislator. As Mandy Green has observed, Akenside states in this ode that the poet's "position is ultimately elevated above other public figures because his influence is not confined to the present but extends into the future."[91] Many of Akenside's emphases, most specifically the bardic, prophetic call of the odist, would reverberate strongly in the odes of his immediate contemporaries, Joseph Warton and William Collins, who pushed their ambitious (re)vision of the modern poet's role even further still.

5.6 Joseph Warton and the Quest for Pure Poetry

In mid-April 1745, Joseph Warton wrote from Basingstoke to his seventeen-year-old brother Thomas to enquire about the general reception of Akenside's recently published *Odes* and Thomas's opinion of them. Joseph himself, who had received a copy of the *Odes* from Collins, found some of them "extremely insipid & flat," but nonetheless desired to learn from his brother "Which of Akinsides Odes are most approved"—if any, for according to him, the thoughts were "generally trite & common."[92] On 19 April, Thomas replied, agreeing with his brother that the *Odes* had "a vast deal of the *frigid*" in them.[93] Yet, upon voicing his approval of his brother's intention of writing an ode to Pity, Thomas mentions "The Ode to *Chearfulness* in Akenside's" volume, a comment which would presumably have been enlightening but which, regrettably, is now missing.[94] Thomas mentioned this particular ode probably in answer to Joseph's question which of the odes he most approved. It is likely that "Chearfulness" was an exception to both brothers' assessment of Akenside's odes as on the whole too correct and too reliant upon classical models rather than on the poet's individual imagination and sensibility. In embracing "Augustan correctness" and in his shallowness of emotion and narrowness

[91] Mandy Green, "'Words of Power': The Search for Authority in 'Hymn to the Naiads'," in *Mark Akenside*, ed. Dix, 210.

[92] David Fairer, ed., *The Correspondence of Thomas Warton* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 7.

[93] Fairer, *Correspondence of Thomas Warton*, 8.

[94] Fairer, *Correspondence of Thomas Warton*, 8.

of vision, Richard Wendorf argues, Akenside "seems to have thwarted prophetic fire."[95] Yet, when Joseph Warton eventually decided to have his own volume of odes published on 4 December 1746, Akenside's influence was unmistakable. On various structural, generic, thematic, and emotional levels, Akenside's *Odes* provided the impetus for the publication of a dedicated ode volume and the model from which Warton could meaningfully expand.[96]

Initially, Warton had thought of publishing his ode volume by subscription, but the scheme fell through. It is possible that, despite enlisting his brother to distribute subscription papers at Oxford, he was never able to raise enough money to convince his bookseller, Dodsley, to undertake the project. It is also possible, however, that his meeting with Collins at the Guildford Races in May 1746 expedited the whole process, as they both decided on publishing their odes in a joint publication as soon as possible.[97] Even though this joint venture was in the end never realized, it does reveal how consciously Warton and Collins were weighing the various options available to them. Akenside's *Odes* provided a precedent both poets would definitely have discussed. Both their respective volumes, published at the end of the year, subscribe to an elaborate comment on the poetry they wished to promote by underpinning it structurally with a well-planned arrangement of the individual odes. Presenting an increasingly unfolding ideological and metapoetical argument, in a variety of metres and themes, the ode volumes by Warton and Collins were determined by the main criterion of diversity and modulation which Akenside also upheld.[98]

Although there are significant correspondences with Akenside's *Odes*, Warton's *Odes* is most illuminating, however, at those moments when it deviates from his predecessor's practice. The "Advertisement" Warton included quickly became famous as a manifesto for the new aesthetics of sensibility the young generation of poets in the mid-1740s advocated. Radically abandoning didacticism and morality as unfit for poetry, Warton claimed that only "Invention and Imagination," in a "fanciful and descriptive"

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[95] Wendorf, *Collins and Eighteenth-Century English Poetry*, 37.

[96] Sitter, *Literary Loneliness*, 120, points to a number of substantial similarities in both poets' ode volumes, such as an epistolary ode to a Friend, an ode *against* a personified abstraction, and an ode on Health upon recovery.

[97] For the relevant letters, see Fairer, *Correspondence of Thomas Warton*, 10–2.

[98] The literature on the structural unity of Collins's volume is vast. Particularly useful are Ricardo Quintana, "The Scheme of Collins's Odes on Several ... Subjects," in *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Literature: Essays in Honor of Alan Dugald McKillop*, ed. Carroll Camden (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1963), 371–380; and Wendorf, *Collins and Eighteenth-Century English Poetry*, 97–109. In his article on "William Hymers and the Editing of William Collins's Poems, 1765–1797," *The Modern Language Review*, 106 (2011), 333–354, Sandro Jung has demonstrated how later editors of Collins's work—John Langhorne, William Hymers, and Anna Barbauld in particular—increasingly adopted the classicizing approach in explaining the specific arrangement of Collins's odes.

manner, could "bring back Poetry into its right channel."[99] What he meant with that "right channel" would become even clearer in the dedication to his *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope* (1756), in which he contrasted the values of wit and sense with those of pure poetry. The latter, not surprisingly, was what Warton himself aimed to achieve, and some of his *Odes* reveal the practical application of the literary-critical views that would occupy him for the rest of his life.[100] Even though a table of contents to Warton's volume would seem to confirm a degree of overlap with Akenside's *Odes*, with odes to "Liberty," "Health," and "a Gentleman" ringing a familiar note, Warton's first, programmatic ode "To Fancy" as well as the middle odes "To Evening" and "To the Nightingale," and the closing ode "To Solitude" reveal how the ode was further adapted to the purposes of the poet's individual creativity and imagination.

The key terms in Warton's preface are "fanciful" and "descriptive," the one pointing to the poet's imaginative capabilities, the other to the descriptive rather than corrective, instructive, and moralizing mode of versifying. In the first ode, "To Fancy," Warton allegorized the former into a numinous personification, the "Parent of each lovely Muse," which he invoked to inspire and embellish his "artless songs" (ll. 1–3). Because the ode is constructed around an allegory of the poet's imagination, the speaker's relationship with the figure Fancy is inevitably highly abstract and sometimes strained. This deficiency Warton tries to overcome through elaborate description and repeated discursive intrusions. Description and the descriptive mode for Warton, as Sandro Jung has argued, are concretizing and remedial mechanisms that moderate the estranging and abstract nature of allegory. Although part of a complex mythopoeic web combining features of multiple deities instead of only one, Warton's personified figures are iconographically precise as a result of the mimetic and picturesque recreation of nature he adheres to in his odes. In the ode "To Fancy," Warton uses description to focus on the iconography of Fancy's mythological attributes and adjuncts, thereby establishing a relationship between the human speaker and the deity. Voiced desire, invocation, and other discursive elements on the part of the supplicating speaker contribute to the de-allegorization, concretization, and even humanization of Fancy, and allow the speaker to enter into a union with her, even if the nature of that union—physical, sexual, spiritual—remains inexplicit.[101]

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[99] Joseph Warton, *Odes on Various Subjects* (London: printed for R. Dodsley, 1746), sig. A2, italics reversed. All subsequent references are cited from this edition.

[100] Hoyt Trowbridge, "Joseph Warton on the Imagination," *Modern Philology* 35 (1937), 73–87; Pittock, *The Ascendancy of Taste*, 122–66.

[101] Sandro Jung, "Joseph Warton's 'Ode to Fancy' and the Descriptive-Allegorical Ode," *English Studies* 89 (2008), 415–26.

Of chief importance to that bond between speaker and addressee in the ode "To Fancy," as in many sacred odes on divine proclamation, is the verbal communication and transmission of mystical knowledge. After an extended initial invocation of twenty lines, in which Warton offers a detailed description of the goddess Fancy and her attributes, there follows a petition which is not yet, as in conventional hymnal odes, an invitation to bodily companionship in the optative mood ("Come"), but a request for divine utterance: "Say, in what deep and pathless vale, / Or on what hoary mountain's side / [...] you reside" (ll. 22–4). The speaker's demand for a communicable exchange of occult information on Fancy's whereabouts is voiced here in terms of a performative speech act. Under the pretext of urging the goddess to relate where she resides, the poet allows himself to provide a number of picturesque vignettes that serve as alternative possibilities clearly meant to demonstrate his descriptive abilities. At the conclusion of this litany of surrogate dwellings, which serves to replace the classical aretology of the *hymnos kletikos*, Warton repeats the petition, asking Fancy to "Tell me the path, sweet wand'rer, tell, / To thy unknown sequester'd cell" (33–4). Again, the imperative is surrounded by an anaphora of subordinate 'where'-clauses the function of which is twofold, as they underscore the poet's interrogative stance as votary as much as his powers of variation through description. Metonymically, then, the combination of allegory and description exhibited by Warton in this programmatic ode *to* as well as *on* his own imagination is representative of a poetic unity running like a structural pattern through the volume.

Divine utterance is a dominant feature of Warton's odes, and he continuously insists on fancy as an aural, oral, and phonic quality as much as a visual, pictorial one. The long opening petition in the ode "To Fancy" moves along a discursive rather than intuitive vision, based on sound, song, speaking and listening, and culminates in the poet's wish to share in poetic whispers:

> Then lay me by the haunted stream
> Wrapt in some wild, poëtic dream,
> In converse while methinks I rove
> With SPENSER thro' a fairy grove;
> Till suddenly awoke, I hear
> Strange whisper'd music in my ear,
> And my glad soul in bliss is drown'd,
> By the sweetly-soothing sound!
> (41–8)

Wandering excursively and excessively like Fancy herself, the poet is *wrapt in* as well as *rapt by* the vocal exchange he entertains with Spenser and the celestial music that starts to drown him. As in Akenside's odes, the sounds that engulf him are expressly poetic—that is, lyrical—and as in Akenside, they are sweet, soothing, and on the whole

curative—that is, Orphean.[102] As in Collins's odes, too, the poet's complete absorption "*into* the object of his contemplation" results in his ability to enact it within himself and, subsequently, to elicit and hypostatize it once again.[103] After a lengthy excursus in which the poet modulates his verse to include "MIRTH" (53), "war" (60), and "love" (74), and in which personifications of the four seasons briefly appear, the obsecration is repeated, once again emphasizing the aural aspect of poetic inspiration:

> At ever season let my ear
> Thy solemn whispers, FANCY, hear.
> [...]
> Ne'er may I strive with lips profane
> To utter an unhallow'd strain,
> Nor dare to touch the sacred string,
> Save when with smiles thou bid'st me sing.
> (87–8; 93–6)

The Latin etymology of the word "profane" is meant to suggest the exclusion of impure poetasters from the temple (*fanum*) of the deity, outside of which (*pro-*) they must remain; they lack the privilege of the initiated to enter the sanctuary, hear the "hallow'd" rites within, and understand their significance.[104] Only a reciprocal form of religious offering will make the goddess Fancy deign it worthy to "hear our prayer," and that is why the poet's invitation for her to "hither come" occurs so late in the ode (97). Ultimately, what the poet requires first is to be taught the divine *language* of poetry, the sounds, words, and "mighty verse" (115) that together constitute the proper "fanciful" faculties of the votary-poet.

By creating an elaborate soundscape amid lavishly detailed scenes of natural description, Warton, like Akenside in his *Pleasures of Imagination* and his *Odes*, externalized Fancy in nature itself, thereby using the familiarity, tangibility, and apprehensibility of the human and the rural to avoid the blatantly fanciful-as-fictional.[105] Warton's most remarkable instance of the homeliness of rural scenery occurs in the ode "To Evening." Depicting the "swain that artless sings on yonder rock" (l. 17) in the descriptive, demonstrative idiom of Thomson's most pastoral moments,

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[102] For sweetness in its ideational sense of simplicity, purity, and poetic essence in this period, see Sandro Jung, "William Collins and Haplotes," *Studies in Philology* 107 (2010), 416–28.

[103] Wendorf, *Collins and Eighteenth-Century English Poetry*, 101.

[104] Hamilton, *Soliciting Darkness*, 132.

[105] Wendorf, *Collins and Eighteenth-Century English Poetry*, 38. Warton's odes are therefore more homely and communal than the turbulent and highly idiosyncratic odes of Collins. In this, his odes and Gray's *Elegy* (completed around this time) are much alike. See Jung, "Joseph Warton's 'Ode to Fancy'," 420–3.

Warton revisits, literally and imaginatively, the aural setting of his ode "To Fancy," in which he phrased his prayer's culmination in the following terms:

> O queen of numbers, once again
> Animate some chosen swain,
> Who fill'd with unexhausted fire,
> May boldly smite the sounding lyre,
> Who with some new, unequall'd song,
> May rise above the rhyming throng.
> (100–5)

While the emphasis in this ode was clearly on Fancy's animation of novelty and originality in Warton's "new, unequall'd song," in the ode "To Evening," the distance separating the artless swain from the freshly inspired "chosen" poet, Warton, is gradually widening further. The atmosphere Evening creates is "cool" and "calm," and its purity corresponds but also contrasts with the rustic verse of the "hoarse," "artless," and "unnumber'd" swain (17–24). In this ode, the purity of the evening atmosphere begins to merge metaphorically with the poetics of purity Warton advocated.[106] More than merely "a locus of prophetic vision,"[107] evening for Warton is a timeless realm of intense, synesthetic, and nonrepresentational experience. Yet, the concluding prayer, "oft' let me appear / A wandering votary in thy pensive train" (25–6), does not really reveal that much, apart from reminding the mid-century reader of a desire to be among nature similar to Warton's earlier poem, *The Enthusiast* (1744).

Warton's gradual departure from the poetics of the artless swain to a more refined and purified form of self-expression is most clearly borne out in the ode "To the Nightingale." Rife with intertextual references to Milton's "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," the ode describes the spot where the nightingale builds her nest "the tufted groves among" (l. 8). It is a space where "wanton MABBA" (9), the fairy queen Mab or Mabel compelling dreams of wish-fulfilment, begins her nocturnal revels. Here, Warton's speaker asks "sweet PHILOMEL" (15) to join "In sympathetic numbers" her "pangs of luckless love with mine" (17–8). Recalling the "unnumber'd" hummings of the swain in "Evening," the poet is here metonymically equated to the lovelorn nightingale on the basis of their joint harmonious song. He hopes that "no swain's rude hand" (19) nor "some barbarous virgin" (24) will infest the purity of the nightingale, which synecdochally represents Warton's ideal of pure poetry. In the final ode, "To Solitude,"

[106] For the "Hesperian" ethos of the mid-century ode and its poetics of gradual sensory adjustment, see Christopher R. Miller, *The Invention of Evening: Perception and Time in Romantic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1–47.

[107] Griffin, *Regaining Paradise*, 81.

Warton fused the ideas expressed throughout the volume. Longing to go "Where no shepherd keeps his flock" (18), the speaker finally exclaims:

> Musing maid, to thee I come!
> Hating the tradeful city's hum;
> O let me calmly dwell with thee,
> From noisy mirth and bus'ness free.
> (19–22)

Language, poetry, and a conception of the ode as divine song provide, in growing measure, the ritual watchwords enabling entrance into the realm of the deity and, subsequently, into the world of pure poetic creation. Away from the sullying sounds of urban life, Warton's speaker can enjoy Solitude's dwelling, not just because it provides a solitary refuge from busy human society, but also because, like John Keats's bower in the *Ode to a Nightingale*, it is a "poetic world so purely restricted to a fragrant blind hearing."[108]

5.7 Dodsley's *Collection* (1748), University Miscellanies, and the Canonization of the English Ode

In mid-century miscellanies, most of the political, historical, and genre-conscious connotations discussed above were defused once topical poems were de- and re-contextualized through selection from their original setting and inclusion into newly assembled collections of verse.[109] Collins's "Ode, to a Lady" loses much of its original poignancy when read as published in the wake of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in the 1748 *Collection of Poems by Several Hands*, surrounded by other poems belonging to the coterie of Dodsley's acquaintances. For that is exactly how the earliest versions of Dodsley's *Collection* should be read. Because new material in the *Collection* was limited, it served not so much as a calculated index of contemporary taste, aimed at making an immediate impact on the aesthetic sensibilities of its audience. Rather, it was a reflection of the network hubs Dodsley cultivated through his role as mediator between various groups of poets, booksellers, and other friends and colleagues in the field of book production. After the bestselling hit of *The Pleasures of Imagination*, which went

[108] Helen Vendler, *The Odes of John Keats* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 91.
[109] Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader*, 6–7, 17, 29.

through three editions in the first year, Akenside became a close collaborator of Dodsley's, and Warton and Collins were close friends. Moreover, it has been argued that the *Collection* was probably initiated by Dodsley's attempt to sell the backlog of poems left unsold at the termination of *The Museum*.[110] Since by the late 1740s he owned the copyright of a substantial amount of literary works, Dodsley was able to print and reprint them without restrictions and free of charge.

In many instances, the typesetting, punctuation, and overall configuration of these poems was done according to a designated house-style, so that, regardless of whether a poem had appeared in a different publication, issued in the meantime by a different bookseller, Dodsley's versions were invariably based on the copy-text of his original edition.[111] The title and punctuation of Collins's "Ode, to a Lady," for example, suggest that the original version of *The Museum* was used, rather than the version which had appeared in Collins's *Odes* in December 1746. And yet, Collins made further alterations to the fourth stanza, presumably as compensation for the removal of stanzas 7 and 8 after Cumberland's defeat at Laeffelt in July 1747.[112] Whatever the precise intentions of the author, Dodsley would also have realized that the sentiments expressed in stanzas 7 and 8 were sufficiently articulated in another ode by Collins he had decided to include in the *Collection*, the "Ode, *Written in the same Year*."[113] Since this two-stanza ode already described how

> When Spring with dewy fingers cold,
> Returns to deck their hallow'd mold,
> She there shall dress a sweeter sod,
> Than FANCY's feet have ever trod
> (3–6)

Dodsley saw no need to retain the two stanzas of the "Ode, to a Lady" in which "Impatient *Freedom*" (39) turns her sorrowful gaze "To ev'ry Sod, which wraps the Dead" (41) and in which, again in the words of the "Ode, *Written in the same Year*," Freedom lingers round the graves of the brave, "To dwell a weeping HERMIT there" (12). It thus gives a different impression when the explicitly invoked "*William*" (46) and his "sated Sword" (48) no longer appear in the *Collection*, mitigated as much by the overall aim of

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[110] Michael F. Suarez, "The Production and Consumption of the Eighteenth-Century Poetic Miscellany," in *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*, ed. Isobel Rivers (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2001), 226.

[111] Richard Wendorf, "Robert Dodsley as Editor," *Studies in Bibliography* 31 (1978), 235–248.

[112] Lonsdale, *Poems of Gray, Collins, Goldsmith*, 455; Wendorf and Ryskamp, *Works of Collins*, 42, 142–4.

[113] The title of this ode has also caused trouble for Collins's editors, since the title in the *Odes* states that it was "*Written in the beginning of the Year* 1746" whereas in the *Collection* it is said to have been written in the same year as the "Ode, to a Lady," i.e. 1745.

moral and cultural conformity of Dodsley's anthology as by the original *Museum* copy-text he deployed in editing Collins's ode.[114]

In the process of compiling a verse anthology, editors like Dodsley faced considerable challenges, mostly related to issues of copyright ownership. Fortunately for enterprising booksellers like him, even the supposedly lawful copyright restrictions were found to be riddled with loopholes. Harry Solomon has called attention to Dodsley's shrewdness regarding "the intricacies of contract and copyright—what the law protected and what it left to entrepreneurial panache."[115] One case which shows clear signs of Dodsley's awareness that the Act of Anne only applied to volume publications—and not to excerpts, fragments, or other forms of anthologization—again involves the odes of Collins. Dodsley reprinted three of them in the second edition of his *Collection* in 1748; in addition to the "Ode, to a Lady" and the "Ode, *Written in the same Year*," Volume I now also contained Collins's "Ode to Evening." Even though Andrew Millar had bought the copyright of the *Odes* in 1746, under existing copyright laws there was simply nothing he could do to prevent Dodsley from reprinting some of them. It would have been a more straightforward choice for Dodsley, however, to reprint poems of which he owned the copyright, either in an attempt to sell old stock or boost the sales of individual publications available at his shop on Pall Mall. For that reason, it is puzzling to find Dodsley indirectly promoting the wares of a rivalling bookseller while going through the trouble of including some of the odes he had, at first, refused to publish under the pretence that poetry sold so little.[116] It is even more striking to see that he waited until the fourth volume of the *Collection*, first issued in 1755, to reprint Collins's *Epistle Addrest to Sir Thomas Hamner*, the rights of which he had acquired as early as 1744.[117] It is therefore likely to suggest that Dodsley decided to reprint these odes specifically because of their particular appeal and popularity at the time.[118]

The decision to reprint and anthologize involves an act of purposive selection which modern critics would invariably equate with the process of canonization. While the canon of English poetry was still very much under construction in this period, concerted efforts in this direction began to be undertaken, not just by the poet-bookseller Dodsley, but also in the burgeoning field of periodical criticism and the

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[114] Collins's "Ode, written in the beginning of the year 1746" was again repurposed in 1753, when it was interpolated in Act II of Thomson and Mallet's stage adaptation of *Alfred* as "A New Funeral Dirge in Honour of the Heroes who die in the Service of their Country." See A. S. P. Woodhouse, "Collins in the Eighteenth Century," *Times Literary Supplement* 16 (1930), 383; Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition*, 146.

[115] Solomon, *Rise of Robert Dodsley*, 60.

[116] Letter to Thomas Warton, Jan. 29 1747. James E. Tierney, *The Correspondence of Robert Dodsley: 1733–1764* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 108.

[117] Tierney, Correspondence of Robert Dodsley, 96.

[118] A. S. P. Woodhouse, "Imitations of the 'Ode to Evening'," *Times Literary Supplement* (1729), 436.

scholarly community of the universities.[119] As with the academic response to the growing vernacularization of Horace in the early 1740s, there came an attempt to salvage the Pindaric ode from the hands of the poetasters, culminating in Gilbert West's translation of Pindar in 1749.[120] West positioned his translation in opposition to Cowley and his succeeding caricatures "chiefly to apologize for my having ventured to translate the same *Odes*" and to make amends for the objections "that have arisen from certain Writings known by the Name of *Pindarick Odes*."[121] These are merely imitations of Cowley, and not of Pindar, West claims, and have contributed nothing of merit to the present understanding of the Greek poet or his odes. West's posture is therefore more assertive than apologetic, reaching back beyond Cowley while at the same time also looking forward to a more sophisticated engagement with the Pindaric ode in English poetry. Now, finally, Joseph Warton exclaimed in his triadic ode on West's translation, the "enervate Bards" shall be overwhelmed by "*British* PINDAR's Strength."[122] Even though Warton applauded the vigour and liberty of the Pindaric ode, ironically, West's most profound intervention was his attempt to structure and regularize Pindar.

Apart from providing the necessary expertise to embark on a scholarly project such as West's *Pindar*, the academy also delivered, on a regular basis, groups of young and ambitious cognoscenti, articulate and well-versed in the classical genres, who voluntarily took on the preservation and dissemination of what they understood as 'canonical' literature. Thomas Warton compiled and edited a number of such projects, including a verse collection called *The Union*, in which he reprinted his brother's ode "To Fancy" as well as his and Collins's odes "To Evening."[123] Warton's miscellany was intended primarily to counteract "the rubbish of collections injudiciously made," a jab not at the *sort* of poetry presented in magazines and collections such as *The Museum*, but, as D. Nichol Smith first suggested, at the *way* in which these miscellanies presented those poems.[124] Thus, the odes Warton included in *The Union* were similar to the ones found in Dodsley's miscellanies, but the rationale behind his choice was based specifically on size. Warton promised diversity in theme and subject, but with an emphasis on "the smaller (tho' not on that account less-labour'd) productions of

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[119] This is the main argument of Jonathan Brody Kramnick, *Making the English Canon: Print-Capitalism and the Cultural Past, 1700–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[120] Gilbert West, *Odes of Pindar, With several other Pieces in Prose and Verse, Translated from the Greek. To which is prefixed a Dissertation on the Olympick Games* (London: printed for R. Dodsley, 1749).

[121] West, *Odes of Pindar*, no pagination.

[122] Joseph Warton, *Occasioned by reading Mr.* West*'s Translation of Pindar* (London: printed for W. Owen, 1749), 5.

[123] *The Union: or Select Scots and English Poems* (Edinburgh: printed for Archibald Monro & David Murray, 1753), 31–41. The imprint was fictitious; it was actually printed in Oxford by William Jackson and first advertised in *The Public Advertiser* for 3 May 1753, with a list of contents and authors.

[124] See D. Nichol Smith, "Thomas Warton's Miscellany: The Union," *The Review of English Studies* 19 (1943), 266.

eminent poets: an entertainment not unlike that which we receive from surveying a finish'd landscape, or well-dispos'd piece of shell-work: where each particular object, tho' singly beautiful, and sufficiently striking by itself, receives an additional charm, thus (as Milton expresses it) sweetly interchang'd."[125] Though this could easily also be read with contemporary definitions of the lyric as a "gem" in mind, that is, as a short and highly accomplished artistic creation valuable in itself as much as in combination with other similar pieces,[126] it is also, as this chapter has shown, the structuring principle of variety and modulation on which contemporaneous ode volumes were constructed.

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The context of ode publication in miscellanies and magazines is the context in which we should read the volumes of Akenside, Warton, and Collins—not in isolation or as peaks of originality, but as engaging with past and current literary practice, as well as with the exigencies of the publishing industry. The search for a native literary tradition and the recovery of a pristine anglicized classicism led to the refinement of an ambitious ideal of poetry that could incorporate such towering figures as Spenser and Milton while also staking out a claim for the eighteenth-century poet in his current capacity.[127] With the vicious attacks on the laureateship in the 1730s came a revaluation of the "heroic laureate ideal of civic-minded poetry" and, ultimately, of canonicity and the hierarchy of genres.[128] The role of the poet in these years was heavily debated, most clearly in the poetic kind traditionally associated with public involvement, bardic-prophetic detachment, and originary poetic purity: the ode. Though not a prolific ode-writer, Pope's indignation at the attenuation of the role of the Poet Laureate was representative of a widespread reaction against the reduction of the laureate's institution and the status of the genre associated with the post.

At the same time, poets experimented further with classical and vernacular genres, such as the ode and the ballad, in search of a golden mean between poetic uniqueness and reverence for the tradition they were trying to recover and rewrite. The dedicated ode volume, I have argued in this chapter, was one of the most concerted responses to the popularization of the ode in the vernacular style and idiom and its continued

[125] *The Union*, "Preface," no pagination.

[126] For the development of this conception of the lyric in the second half of the eighteenth century, see Duff, "The Retuning of the Sky: Romanticism and Lyric," 135–55.

[127] David Fairer, "Creating a National Poetry: The Tradition of Spenser and Milton," in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, ed. John Sitter, 177–201.

[128] Trevor Ross, *The Making of the English Literary Canon: from the Middle Ages to the Late Eighteenth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 175.

appropriation in lowly formats ranging from single-sheet print forms to *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Rather than representing a peak in the history of the ode, the *Odes* of Akenside, Warton, and Collins should be seen as attempts precisely to rescue the ode from Dullness's slough of creative despondency.

Conclusion

> *"we have few good English odes"*
> (William Cowper, Letter to Revd. William Unwin,
> 4 August 1783)

The intricate mythopoeia of the descriptive-allegorical odes of the 1740s facilitated the creation of an alternative narrative of the ode, in which various strands of past theory and practice coalesced into a holistic view that conceived of the ode as the pure, originary, Saturnian-Edenic genre, the vehicle catalyzing all sorts of divine afflatus, from classical to Christian, and the anodyne for the fragmentariness and inexorable impermanence of postlapsarian life on earth.[1] With the descriptive-allegorical ode, the Oxford student and divine Richard Shepherd triumphantly remarked in the preface to his 1761 *Odes*, modern English poets had finally found a kind of verse for which "the Writings of the Ancients afford no Examples."[2] Shepherd perceptively observed that the type of ode he championed had closer affinity with the choruses of ancient Greek drama than with the Pindaric ode because it is "built intirely upon Fancy, and Ease and Simplicity of Diction are its peculiar Characteristicks" (iv). Simplicity was indeed the characteristic of ease, purity, and sweetness which would excite the critic John Langhorne's appreciation, but in Collins's interpretation of the term it was misleadingly and mind-numbingly complex.[3] Fancy, as the odes of Warton and Collins had repeatedly illustrated, had become both the definitive object *and* central personification of many a mid-century ode, yet almost to the extent of highlighting through zeugma the failures

[1] The odist's quest for completeness also led to further generic experimentation, as with the poetic fragment. See Sandro Jung, *The Fragmentary Poetic: Eighteenth-Century Uses of an Experimental Mode* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2009), 43–53.

[2] Richard Shepherd, *Odes Descriptive and Allegorical* (London: printed for M. Cooper, 1761), iii–iv.

[3] John Langhorne, "Observations on the Poetry of William Collins," in *The Poetical Works of Mr. William Collins with Memoirs of the Author and Observations on His Genius and Writings* (London: printed for T. Becket and P. A. Dehondt, 1765), 155–7. See esp. Jung, "William Collins and Haplotes," 421–6.

of describing the one with the help of the other.[4] The ode had by now become a "fanciful" and "descriptive" compound, though what exactly that entailed was not always clear.

After all, Shepherd's pride in the recent formation of a modern, native kind of ode was not so very different from Cowley's introduction of the Pindaric ode into English, which, as one modern critic sees it, was "perhaps the most important revolution in British poetic form."[5] As Aaron Hill shrewdly observed in his ode "On Mr. *Cowley*'s introducing Pindaric Verse," though Cowley was the "Great King of Fancy," he had also "led" many poets "astray, / By [his] high-mettled Muse, uncurb'd and gay!"[6] Similarly, despite the totally unprecedented use of a poetic mode that combined allegory with vivid description in experimental and often highly innovative stanza forms, there was in the 1740s still enough room for confusion, discontent, and ridicule. In this, the new mode tailored to the ode differed little from the "court" ode, the formulaic predictability of which had long been criticized, nor from the "sacred" ode, the sublime flights of which too easily and too often led to bathetic plunges in the work of minor poets. The formulaic and sublimely obscure "O Thou" so common in odes addressed to a personified allegory was, as a result, quickly greeted by a type of satire that focused on exposing the odists' often overblown stylistic aspirations and generic experimentations.

One of the most striking instances of this form of burlesque was written by Joseph Warton's own brother, Thomas, and included in a playful miscellany called *The Student*.[7] It was compiled by a coterie of university poets, with contributions by Thomas Warton himself, who represented Oxford, and Christopher Smart, who represented Cambridge. Under the pseudonym of Chimæricus Oxoniensis, Warton produced an "Ode to Horror," in which, as the sub-title informs, he took to task "the ALLEGORIC, DESCRIPTIVE, ALLITERATIVE, EPITHETICAL, FANTASTIC, HYPERBOLICAL, and DIABOLICAL STYLE of our modern ODE-WRIGHTS, and MONODY-MONGERS" (ii, 313–5). Mocking not just Collins, "the pensive-pacing pilgrim meek" (l. 10), and "wand'ring WARTON" (59), he targeted the entire array of melancholy pleasures to which he himself had swayed in 1747 and which were strewn all over Dodsley's *Collection*.[8] Warton also mocked the prominent Miltonism of the mid-century ode, with its Penseroso hermits creeping back to their "grave-like grot" (50) to

[4] Eric Rothstein (*Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, 52) points to a similar process in poems like James Merrick's "An Ode to Fancy" (1755, included in vol. 4 of Dodsley's *Collection*) and Francis Fawkes's "A Vernal Ode" (1763, included in *The Poetical Calendar*, a collection of verse intended "as a supplement to Mr. Dodsley's collection" and of which Fawkes was the editor).

[5] Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue*, 338.

[6] Savage, *Miscellaneous Poems*, 94.

[7] *The Student, or the Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany* (1750–1), published by John Newbery at St. Paul's Churchyard. It ran from 31 January 1750 for 20 numbers.

[8] Particularly Warton's *Pleasures of Melancholy. A Poem* (London: printed for R. Dodsley, 1747).

"gain true transport's shore" (73) removed "from dim mortality" (76)—a litany of images which seems like a summary of chapters 5, 4, and 3, respectively. What is more, Warton reprinted this mock-ode in another miscellany of university wits, *The Oxford Sausage* (1764), which he edited anonymously and which was "Adorned with CUTS, Engraved in a NEW TASTE, and Designed by the BEST MASTERS" (figure 15).[9] The principal aim of such parodies was to expose the highly artificial diction and abstract figural modes of the ode by overdetermining and overperforming those features which were seen to constitute its generic identity. It is undeniable that it takes a significant amount of saturation and familiarity with a genre for one of its own proud practitioners to ridicule it to such an extent. More mock-odes would follow, but the recipe remained the same.



ODE to HORROR.

In the *Allegoric, Deſcriptive, Alliterative, Epithetical, Fantaſtic, Hyperbolical,* and *Diabolical* STYLE of our modern ODE-WRIGHTS, and MONODY-MONGERS.

Figure 15 Woodcut headpiece to Warton's "Ode to Horror," printed in *The Oxford Sausage*, p. 61. Image reproduced from a digitized copy on ECCO.

[9] *The Oxford Sausage: or, Select Poetical Pieces, Written by the most Celebrated Wits of the University of Oxford* (London: printed for J. Fletcher, 1764), 61–4.

If anything about mid-century ode practice can be said to be revolutionary it is that at this point in particular the ode's modal hybridity was slowly beginning to crystallize into homogeneity. While attempts had been made from Congreve to West to regularize the ode's metrical, stanzaic, and overall formal configuration, "it would be Folly," as John Newbery assured the young readers of his *Poetry Made Familiar and Easy* (1748), "to attempt to lay down Rules concerning it."[10] Readers and writers in the 1740s and '50s, however, began to understand that the cultivation of an allegorical-descriptive *mode*, with an emphasis on pictorial description as much as on sublime abstraction, embodied the most representative change in the recent history of the genre. "Its distinguishing Character is *Sweetness*," Newberry continued, reminding us of the central importance of simplicity in Collins's odes, but it is not merely a stylistic property of variety, delicacy, and beauty. Rather, as the verses Newberry supplied below indicate, "*Sweetness* is most peculiar to the *Ode*, / Ev'n when it rises to the Praise of GOD" (89). Recognizing that the ode could be at once lofty, emotional, public, and occasional—that is, Pindaric—as well as delicate, restrained, personal, and universal—that is, Horatian—Newberry lucidly articulated a pluralist view of the ode that was gaining currency in academic circles as well. Robert Lowth gave a similar definition of the ode in his lectures as Oxford Professor of Poetry in the 1740s. The two main characteristics of the ode he introduced were sweetness and sublimity, but he recognized the importance of an intermediate type of ode that partakes of the properties of both, with variety and elegance as common factors. According to Lowth, what truly defines the ode is not so much a matter of metre or versification, or of form or grace; it is, rather, a matter of manner, of sentiment, imagery, and diction—a matter of *mode* rather than *kind*.[11]

The matter of manner and mode had always occupied ode writers and critics. While Cowley had averred to have donned Pindar "in an *English habit*,"[12] he was still mostly translating poetry about "worthless Coachmen and Jockeys," as Dennis put it.[13] By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, poets like Akenside, Warton, and Collins had felt confident enough to publish ode volumes that were not wholly reliant upon Pindaric subjects. That is, they wrote not solely in the epinician, agonistic, or encomiastic modes, but, as I have demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5, infused something of the bardic and prophetic in their writings, and they did so with greater attention to the national, local, and even private environment of the poet. Thematically and stylistically, then, the *spirit* of the ode Young had hoped to find at the end of the 1720s

[10] *Poetry Made familiar and easy to Young Gentlemen and Ladies* (London: printed for J. Newbery, 1748), 89.

[11] Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (London: printed for J. Johnson, 1787 [1741–50; 1753, Latin; 1787, English]), 196-8, 200–1.

[12] Cowley, *Poems*, 156.

[13] Dennis, *Critical Works*, i, 332.

had now acquired its peculiarly *British* character. The "*Druid*-dreams" (78) of Warton's "Ode to Horror," after all, would come back to haunt Collins in his final work, the "Ode Occasion'd by the Death of Mr. Thomson" (June 1749) and the "Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland" (written in the early 1750s). The druidic history of Britain would go on to intrigue another poet, whose odes would soon be taken up into the canon of English poetry while simultaneously receiving their fair share of lampoon: Thomas Gray.

The *Odes, by Mr. T. Gray*, printed in 1757 at Horace Walpole's freshly erected Strawberry Hill press, represent a transitional phase in the history of the British ode. The increasing sophistication of the ode as a coterie form in Thomas Warton's mock treatment reveals a number of overlapping features with the work of Gray and other poets such as William Mason, the contextualization of which will serve to conclude this dissertation. Central to the programme of Gray's and Mason's poetics was an attempt to rehabilitate the ode in the face of a watering down of classical standards and a hybridization of the ode with other, popular genres such as slip-songs and broadside ballads. Their response took a dual form. First, they aimed at an elite mediation of their verse by rigorously demarcating their intended readership and by initially circulating their work in correspondence among friends and cognoscenti.[14] This creation of an elite, coterie form was marked, secondly, by an innovative form of presentation, a paratextual framing of the ode that emphasized the recovery of the various cultural and poetic traditions within which they positioned themselves.[15] Like Mason and Gray, the Cambridge Fellow and poet James Scott produced a volume of *Odes on Several Subjects* in 1761, one of which, to the muse, was composed in Pindaric triads, while the others were addressed, like Joseph Warton's, to abstractions such as Sleep and Despair. Most importantly, however, they contained a number of footnotes which identified allusions and referred to specific sources and localities. In this, he followed the precedent created by Mason and Gray in the second half of the 1750s.

Annotation offered a template with which to create the impression of antiquity and authenticity, as if the odes answered to the kind of antiquarian (re)appropriation of material and cultural memorial artefacts that was emerging in this period. When in late March 1756, Mason's 1*s*. quarto pamphlet of *Odes* was issued in Cambridge, its first ode,

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[14] Loftus Jestin, *The Answer to the Lyre: Richard Bentley's Illustrations for Thomas Gray's Poems* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 85–6; Robert L. Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 447–80, 493–7.

[15] James Mulholland, "Gray's Ambition: Printed Voices and Performing Bards in the Later Poetry," *ELH* 75 (2008), 109–134; Frederick M. Keener, *Implication, Readers' Resources, and Thomas Gray's Pindaric Odes* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2012); James Mulholland, *Sounding Imperial: Poetic Voice and the Politics of Empire, 1730–1820* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 33–66.

"To Memory," was glossed with a footnote tracing the inspiration for Memory's genealogy back to a fragment of Afranius, which had in turn been preserved by Aulus Gellius.[16] Gray, too, supplied a number of footnotes to "Ode II," later titled "The Bard," situating the poem firmly in Britannia's history and emphasizing throughout the importance of material-cultural preservation through poetry.[17] Although, as David Fairer has argued, Mason's and Gray's attempts at preventing the erasure of ancient sources might give the impression of a strictly retrospective recovery of lost texts and past voices, the practice of annotation equally, and perhaps more importantly, functions as an act of prospective (re-)inscription with which the poet newly embeds himself and his odes within a particular literary, cultural, and national tradition.[18] The footnote, rather than a mere interpretive tool assisting the reader in determining the meaning of the poem, should be seen as an essential component of the mid-century odist's attempt at presenting the ode as a philological and antiquarian coterie form of cultural memory.

It was, however, unusual to find this kind of argumentative annotation in a modern, vernacular poetic medium and its inclusion naturally fostered comparison with editions of classics such as Homer, Horace, and Milton. Not surprisingly, the towering ambition of poets like Mason and, especially, Gray to become modern classics was quickly targeted by satirists and precipitated a number of parodic responses, one of which deserves special mention. In early June 1760, George Colman and Robert Lloyd produced a quarto pamphlet called *Two Odes*, which closely mimicked and greatly mocked the odes by Mason and Gray published just a few years earlier.[19] Consisting of an untitled "Ode I," in a clear allusion to Gray's untitled first version of "The Progress of Poesy," and an "Ode to Oblivion," clearly referring to Mason's ode "To Memory," *Two Odes* is, above all, a paratextual as much as a poetical parody.

By this I mean that *Two Odes* reveals a large degree of generic self-awareness through the layout and apparatus of the volume, some elements of which deserve closer

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[16] As announced in the *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, Mason's "*Four Odes*" was published on March 25, 1756. A second edition was announced in the *Public Advertiser* for Friday, 9 April 1756.

[17] Take, for instance, the note in Gray's *Odes* relating the death of Edward's wife, Eleanor of Castile: "The monuments of his regret, and sorrow for the loss of her, are still to be seen in several parts of England" (18). Or the note about Taliessin: "His works are still preserved, and his memory held in high veneration among his Countrymen" (20). Both notes betray the antiquarian impulse, but they also establish a specific pedigree and locality for the British bard.

[18] David Fairer, "Thomas Warton, Thomas Gray, and the Recovery of the Past," in W. B. Hutchings and William Ruddick, *Thomas Gray: Contemporary Essays* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993), 152.

[19] Announced in the *Public Advertiser* for Wednesday, 4 June 1760 (Issue 7981) as "Two Odes 1. To Obscurity. 2. To Oblivion," with a quote from the first ode identifying "cool M---n" and "warm G---y." Eventually published as *Two Odes* (London: printed for H. Payne, 1760).

inspection. The emblematic copper-plate illustration of the lyre prefixed to Mason's *Odes* was copied in *Two Odes*, too, though not in a tonally sophisticated engraving but in a crude woodcut, "which is pregnant, perhaps," as one critic in the *Monthly Review* astutely remarked, "with some choice conceit."[20] The bard's suicide at the end of Gray's ode was reproduced in the shape of another woodcut image at the end of Colman and Lloyd's volume, yet here the bard loses all form of agency as he is flung headlong from the mountain by the winged Pegasus (figure 16).



Figure 16 Woodcut tailpiece to "Ode I," in *Two Odes*, p. 15. Image reproduced from a digitized copy on ECCO.

In mocking the ending of "The Bard" with a cartoon that deprives the speaker of his unique privilege "To triumph, and to die" (l. 142), Colman and Lloyd also belittle the preoccupation of any ode with questions of mortality and eternity, evanescence and permanence, birth and reawakening. More than merely sprinklings of vegetation myths derived from Virgilian cyclicality and Claudian panegyric, these issues had become central concerns as well as structural patterns in the ode from the beginning of the

[20] *The Monthly Review, or, Literary Journal* (London: printed for R. Griffiths, 1760), xxiii, 60.

century. As Gray himself had written in the *Alliance of Education and Government*, "It is impossible to conquer that natural desire we have of being remembered," and the key to remembrance is fame. Unlike the elegy, which offers consolation, it is the ode which offers true fame and which "extends our existence and example into future ages"[21]—a conclusion also reached in Chapter 3. Although Gray's *Elegy* had given him a popularity that he found almost embarrassing, it is not inconceivable that he thought of his *Odes* as the medium with which to achieve the respectable sort of fame with which he could feel comfortable.

Colman and Lloyd also made fun of the annotation added to Gray's and Mason's odes. In the first ode, the genealogy of the horse "White-nose"—"not that Pegasus, of yore / Which th' illustrious Pindar bore, / But one of nobler breed" (8)—is glossed with a note which ridiculed the authorial voice of Gray's notes: "The Author is either mistaken in this place, or has else indulged himself in a very unwarrantable poetical licence" (9). The mistaken heritage of the Pegasian steed can of course easily be transferred on to Gray, whose professed literary and cultural pedigree the burlesque footnote turns on its head. Again, in the second ode, the footnote Mason included in the ode "To Memory" to refer to the fragment of Afranius is now lampooned in such a way as to evoke the impression of oblivion recuperated: "According to Lillæus, who bestows the Paternal Function on Oblivion. *Verba* OBLIVISCENDI regunt GENITIVUM" (19). Words of forgetting reign over the possessive case as well as over any tales of paternal lineage with which the poet could possibly hope to assimilate his conception of the ode. The note also makes fun of the creation myths that had featured centrally in Akenside's ode to "Chearfulness" and Collins's "Ode on the Poetical Character." The authors' familiarity with the latter emerges clearly in stanza II.1 of the first ode, where the personified goddess Fancy, here celebrated as the "tyrant Fashion," appears as a "cestos-cinctur'd Queen" to bestow her "magick pow'r" on the chosen poet (8). The sacerdotal, hierophantic posture, whether accredited by poets to Queen Anne or assumed by poets for the justification of their public role as *vates*, had developed into a discrete generic feature deemed important enough to be ridiculed.

More than simply caricaturing the odes of Gray and Mason, then, Colman and Lloyd's *Two Odes* provides a pastiche of the ode as a distinctive modern English genre. The authors made sure to expose satirically those fables of creation that had grown from thematic presences to substantive characteristics of the kind: from the golden age myth embodied by the pagan Astraea, who featured centrally as a figure for Queen Anne in Chapter 2, to the promise of cosmic as well as artistic creation held, as Chapter 4 has shown, by the primordial darkness and formless void described in the Hebrew Bible,

[21] Lonsdale, *Poems of Gray, Collins, and Goldsmith*, 91.

and, finally, to the picturesque aetiologies of the tutelary deities in the hymnal odes of Chapter 5. Yet more than a modal abstraction with little structural consequence, the creative impulse, often prophetic, proleptic, and forward-looking, is also the ode's governing formal framework. Like a religious offering to a deity, the ode is a form of thanksgiving, a tribute or gift bestowed upon the object or addressee about which and for which it is composed, thus making the parallelisms of its syntax and the circular, reciprocal structure of its stanzas thematically determined as a guarantee of its continued existence *as a work of art*. The ode is not just a dedication meant to preserve the name of the person, event, or achievement it means to celebrate, but also, metapoetically, a confirmation of the value of the ode itself and of the immortality of a supposedly occasional type of verse: the ode is always its own ode. As I have argued in the fourth chapter, the most important critical breakthrough in the early eighteenth-century understanding of the ode came in the realization that the infamous formlessness of Pindaric verse, omnipresent since Cowley's translations, could actually be its greatest strength. By self-consciously sculpting an appropriate formal mould in which to cast an *English* ode, eighteenth-century odists could create a vessel of modern English artistic creation of which scarcely any other genre—be it classical, such as epic, or modern, such as the sonnet—was capable.

Ultimately, however, by carefully burlesquing both the obscure language and scholarly paraphernalia of the targeted ode volumes, Colman and Lloyd exposed the double edge of mid-century ode culture. Mason's and Gray's odes were presented, through their layout, stanzaic configuration, and scholarly annotation, as if they were classics, but because of their profound allusiveness they were considered too obscure and too difficult for the majority of readers. Colman and Lloyd's *Two Odes* exposed this development by way of a pastiche which can serve as a graphic index of the criticisms voiced in contemporary reviews as well.[22] Their satiric reworking of the ode reflects the growing tension between the commercial interests of those who wanted to situate the ode in a literary canon marketed on economic factors and those who wanted to stake

[22] According to the *Monthly Review* for May 1756 (vol. XIV), Mason had had "some of these Odes by him a considerable time," during which "Connoisseurs" had expressed "an impatience for their publication" (434). Even though the eager anticipation of the public had caused the pamphlet to go into a second edition in only one month's time, the reviewer explains, Mason's *Odes* were of "inferior success" (434). In analysing the first ode, "To Memory," the reviewer isolates features which Warton had also mocked in the "Ode to Horror": an excess of alliteration, sterility of thought, and compulsion to invoke Milton. For the early reception of Gray's odes, see William Powell Jones, "The Contemporary Reception of Gray's 'Odes'," *Modern Philology* 28 (1930), 61–82.

out an elite position for the ode on the basis of a conscious selection and appropriation of literary-historical traditions.[23]

The increasing sequestration of the ode as a poetic form used by university wits such as Gray at Cambridge and the Wartons at Oxford resulted in the adoption of the ode among the cultural capital preserved and disseminated through the social and institutional protocols of the school. As John Guillory has noted, "the school's historical function of distributing, or regulating access to, the forms of cultural capital" comprises one important component of canon formation.[24] The ode retained its high status in the curriculum of the university-educated poet, as evident from a number of publications issued in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1775, William Bagshaw Stevens, demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, published by subscription a collection of *Indian Odes*, which, in spite of this misleading title, dealt with conventional subjects such as the sun, love, war, victory, defeat, and death. The Scotsman John Ogilvie, poet and clergyman in Aberdeenshire and associated with James Beattie and David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, produced odes in the allegorical-descriptive mode, some of which, such as his ode "To Sleep" were published in the *Scots Magazine* (1758). The third edition of one of his earliest productions, *The Day of Judgment* (1759), was published together with four odes on subjects virtually identical to Mason's. The varying measures of these odes, most of which were presumably written before Ogilvie turned seventeen,[25] suggest that these experiments with odes formed for many students in the eighteenth century the equivalent of the kind of youthful pastorals written by poets at the start of their careers in the past. The difference with Cibber's penning an ode as a student in 1685, however, was that these odes now no longer celebrated the monarch's birthday but some allegorized abstraction, in a distinctive mode which had been in development for almost a century. It was this form of canonization in the school and familiarity in the mind that enabled the young Wordsworth to enjoy an allegorical ode on the spring with such relish.

[23] Martin Price, "Sacred to Secular: Thomas Gray and the Cultivation of the Literary," in *Context, Influence, and Mid-Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1990), 41–78.

[24] John Guillory, *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), vii.

[25] Roger J. Robinson, "Ogilvie, John (1732–1813)," *ODNB* [accessed 11 April 2017].

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(for a list of all the titular odes cited in this dissertation, see Appendix)

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Appendix

[See pages 231–40 for a primary source list of titular odes published separately, 1700–1750]

Author	Title	Publisher/Location	Date	# of lines	# of stanzas
D'Urfey, Thomas	An ode, for the anniversary feast made in honour of St. Cæcilia. Nov. 22. Anno Domini, 1700. Set to musick by Dr. John Blow. The words made by Mr. D'Urfey.	London : printed for Henry Pl	1700	95	VII + chorus
D'Urfey, Thomas	An ode on the kings happy return from abroad	London	1700	15	
Oldys, Alexander	An ode, by way of elegy, on the universally lamented death of the incomparable Mr. Dryden	London : printed and sold by	1700	210	VIII
W. B. (William Browne)	An ode on the death of William Duke of Gloucester. By W.B. of St. John's, Oxon.	London : printed, and sold by	1700	370	XVIII
Anonymous	The causes of Scotland's miseries. A poem in imitation of the VI. Ode of the third book of Horace	Edinburgh : printed by James	1700	127	7
Anonymous	The Consecration of Marcellus an ode in memory of the illustrious prince William, Duke of Gloucester	London : Printed for H. Playfc	1700	694	14 + chorus
Anonymous	On the nativity of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. A Pindarique ode. Most humbly dedicated, to the Right Reverend Father in God John Lord Bishop of No	Cambridge	1700	109	VII
Anonymous	An ode performed at the anniversary feast of the gentlemen, natives of the county of Kent, at Merchant-Taylors-Hall, Nov. 21. 1700. Set to musick by Mr. Barret.	London	1700	61	9 + chorus
Anonymous	Perjur'd Celia's garland, containing four new songs. 1st. Perjur'd Celia; or, The beautiful deceiver. 2d A new health to Prince Eugene, a triumphant ode, upon his retur	London : Printed for J. Wal[t]	1700-1712	49	3
D'Urfey, Thomas	An ode on ye union of the King and Parliment / By Mr. D'urfey[,] ye tune by Mr. Ier. Clark.	London	1701		
J. M., Gent	An ode: or elegy on the death of James the Second, late King of England. Who departed this life at St. Germans, in France, on Wednesdny [sic] the fourth of Septembe	London : printed for Robert V	1701	115	
Anonymous	A pindarick ode, occasioned by the death of the late Lord Chief Justice Treby	London : printed, and are to b	1701	100	V
Anonymous	A Collection of some pindarick odes, odes, heroick stanza's, funeral elegies, pastorals and epitaphs, On the untimely death, and to the pious memory, of that highborn,	Edinburgh : Printed by James	1701		
Anonymous	An ode on the death of the late King James. Written originally in French at St. Germains, and dedicated to his son the Prince. And now translated into English with ve	London: Printed by D. Edwar	1701	334	XX
Anonymous	Human frailty display'd, in some pindarick odes, on the death of Lord Basil Hamilton, who, in a most generous and compassionat attempt for rescuing one of his serv	Edinburgh	1701		
Coney, Thomas, 1675-1752	A pindarique ode upon Her Majesty's happy accession to the crown. Humbly inscrib'd to Her most sacred and illustrious Majesty.	London : printed for R. Wilki	1702		
D'Urfey, Thomas	A Health to the Imperialists or An Invective Ode on the Treachery of the Elector of Bavaria : [begins: "Ulm is gon, but basely won,"] the words by Mr. D'urfey, etc.	London	1702	50	
H. D	A pacquet from Parnassus: or, a collection of papers [longer title; with] An Ode, in Imitation of Horace's 14th of the 2nd Book	London : printed by J. How, i	1702	51	3
Harris, Joseph, approximately	Luzara. A Pindarique ode, on Prince Eugenius of Savoy: And His Late victory over the French and Spaniards, in Italy. Most Humbly Dedicated, To His Grace, the Duk	London : printed, and sold by	1702	426	25
Harris, Joseph, approximately	Leighton-Stone-Air, a poem. Or a Poetical Encomium on the Excellency of its soil, Healthy air, And Beauteous situation. Together with some Historical Hints, both An	London : printed for A. Baldw	1702	49	4
Hext, Francis, 1666-1729	A pindarique ode sacred to the memory of William III. ... Who dyed March the eighth 1701/2 in the fourteenth year of his reign, at his palace at Kensington	London : Printed for J. Nutt	1702		
Hughes, John, 1677-1720	The house of Nassau. A pindarick ode.	London : printed for D. Brow	1702	407	XXIII
Tate, Nahum, 1652-1715	An ode upon the assembling of the new Parliament. Sung before His Majesty on New-Years-Day. 1702. The words by Mr. Tate, Poet-Laureat to His Majesty	London	1702	57	11
Anonymous	Albion's glory: A pindarique ode on the royal train the attended the happy coronation of Her Most Sacred Majesty Queen Ann. Written by the Authors of Britannia's L	London : Printed and sold by	1702	362	XVII
Anonymous	An ode on the death of King VVilliam III	London : printed for John Nu	1702		
Bragge, Francis, 1664-1728	The passion of our Saviour. To which is added a pindarick ode on the suffering God. In imitation of Rapins Christus patiens.	London: Engraven (on 52 plat	1703?	186	IX
Harris, Joseph, approximately	Anglila triumphans. A pindarique ode, on His Grace, the Duke of Marlborough, and his glorious campaign in the Spanish low-countries, anno MDCCII. Most humbly	London : Printed for the Auth	1703	557	24
Hughes, John, 1677-1720	An ode in praise of musick, set for variety of voices and instuments by Mr. Philip Hart	London : Printed for B. Lintot	1703	98	VII + chorus
J. S. (James Shute), active 1689	A pindarick ode, upon Her Majesties sending His Grace the Duke of Marlborough to Command the English Forces in Holland, and His Graces being chosen Generalis	London : printed for the Auth	1703	164	X
Smith, Edmund, 1672-1710	Ode	London?	1703	25	IV
Wall, Thomas, active 1703	An ode for an entertainment of musick on Her Majesty's birth-day, and, the success of Her Majesty's arms by sea and land. The night performance before Her Majesty	London : printed for J. Nutt,	1703	78	
Anonymous	Poems on several occasions: Together with some odes in imitation of Mr. Cowley's stile and manner	London : printed for Luke Sto	1703		
Anonymous	An anniversary ode on Her Majesties birth-day, being the sixth day of February, 1702/3	London : printed by R. Janew	1703	183	XIV
Brown, Thomas, 1663-1704	A collection of all the dialogues written by Mr. Thomas Brown [longer title] To which are added, his translations and imitations of several odes of Horace, of Martial' E	London : printed and sold by	1704		
Browne, Joseph, active 1700-17	The odes of Horace	London	1704		
Steele, Richard, Sir, 1672-1729	An imitation of the sixth ode of Horace, apply'd to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough. With a prologue design'd for the first day of Mr. Estcourt's acting, but forbid to	London	1704	30	
Johnson, Charles, 1679-1748.	The queen: a Pindarick ode	London : printed for Nicholas	1705	505	20
D'Urfey, Thomas	The British muses : an ode occasion'd by the hearing of five fine ladys at a man of quallitys house in the country playing a sonato [sic] in consort / The words by Mr. D	London	1705?		
D'Urfey, Thomas	An ode on Musidora walking in Spring Garden	London	1705?	17	2
Tate, Nahum, 1652-1715	The triumph, or warriours Welcome: a poem on the glorious successes of the last year. With the Ode for New-Year's Day. 1705. By Mr. Tate, Poet-Laureat to Her Maje	London : printed by J. Rawlin	1705	44	3 + chorus
Anonymous	Deborah: a sacred ode	London : printed for Richard	1705	226	XIII
Anonymous	An ode elegiecal on the death of Mrs Arabella Hunt / the words by Wm. Meres Esqr[.] Set to musick by Mr Sigismund Cousser	London	1706?		
Anonymous	The fifth ode of Horace's fourth book, turn'd into English by way of imitation, etc.	London	1706		
B-y, Mr	An ode occasion'd by the Battle of Rammelies	London	1706	28	

Chase, J. (John), 1678?-1716	An ode. on the Success of Her Majesty's Arms, Under His Grace the Duke of Marlborough	London : sold by John Morph	1706	229	XIX
Congreve, William, 1670-1729	A pindarique ode, Humbly Offer'd to the Queen, on the Victorious Progress of Her Majesty's Arms, under the Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough. To which is prefix'	London : printed for Jacob To	1706	140	Pindaric triads
D'Urfey, Thomas, 1653-1723	A new ode. Or, Dialogue between Mars, the God of war, and Plutus, or Mammon god of riches. Perform'd in an entertainment made for His Grace the Duke of Marlbo	London : printed by J. Bland	1706	80	
Neale, Thomas, 1679 or 1680-1	Eny[p]nion: or The vision, in imitation of the latter-part of the VIth book of Virgil. To which is annex'd an ode, occasion'd by the Battle of Ramelies. In imitation of Ho	London : Printed for W. Hawe	1706	40	IV
Pittis, William, 1674-1724	Two campaigns in one panegyrical essay upon His Grace [T]he Duke of Marlborough's successes in the years 1704 and 1705 [longer title] To which is added, the fifth c	London : Printed for J.B. and	1706	60	IX
Prior, Matthew, 1664-1721	An ode, Humbly Inscrib'd to the Queen. On the Late Glorious Success of her Majesty's Arms. Written in imitation of Spencer's stile.	London : printed for Jacob To	1706	350	35
W. L.	A pindarick ode on His Excellency John Duke of Marlborough, Prince of the Holy Empire, Marquis of Blandford, Earl of Marlborough; Baron Churchil of Sandridge, a	London : printed, and sold by	1706	378	XXV
Walsh, William, 1663-1708	Horace, lib. III. ode III. imitated	London : printed for J. Tonso	1706	78	13
Walsh, William, 1663-1708	Ode for the thanksgiving day.	London : printed for Jacob To	1706		
Anonymous	An ode on the Duke of Marlborough	London : printed for Egbert S	1706	75	6
Anonymous	A new ode, being a congratulatory poem on the glorious successes of Her Majesty's arms, under the command of the auspicious General His Grace the Duke of Marlbo	London : printed, and sold by	1706		
Aubin, Penelope, 1679-1731	The stuarts: a pindarique ode. Humbly dedicated to Her Majesty of Great Britain.	London : printed for John Mo	1707	301	XI
D'Urfey, Thomas, 1653-1723	The trophies: or, Augusta's glory. A Triumphant Ode, Made in Honour of the City, and upon the Trophies taken from the French at the Battel of Ramellies, May the 23	London : printed by Fr. Leach	1706/1707	309	XXII
Fenton, Elijah, 1683-1730.	An ode to the sun, for the new-year	London : printed for Jacob To	1707	240	24
Harison, William, 1685-1713	On His Grace the Duke of Marlborough going for Holland. In imitation of the third ode of the first book of Horace	London : printed for Jacob To	1707	42	
Philips, John, 1676-1709	Honoratissimo viro, Henrico St.--John, armigero. Ode. A modern Latin ode attempted in English	London: Printed for J. Morph	1707	64	16
Prior, Matthew, 1664-1721	Poems on several occasions: consisting of odes, satyrs and epistles; with some select translations and imitations.	London : printed for R. Burro	1707		
Rowe, Nicholas, 1674-1718	Horace, lib. II. Ode IV. Imitated. ... The Lord G---- to the E. of S----.	London : printed: and sold by	1707?	41	VIII
Theobald, Mr. (Lewis), 1688-17	A pindarick ode on the union.	London : printed for T.C. and	1707	224	VI
Anonymous	An ode on the Queen's birth-day, for the year, 1706/7. Set by Mr. Ximenes, and performed at the Castle of Dublin.	Dublin : printed by Edw. Sanc	706 i.e. 1707	39	
Anonymous	An ode in praise of musick. Composed by Mr Charles King, in five parts, for the degree of Batchelour of Musick, perform'd at the Theatre in Oxford, on Friday the 11th	Oxford?	1707	44	6
Aubin, Penelope, 1679-1731	The extasy: a pindarick ode to Her Majesty the Queen	London : printed for the Auth	1708	220	9
Horace.	The scrutiny: with the second ode, first satyr, and a short dissertation upon Horace. The satyr, inscrib'd to the Right Honourable the Lord Hallifax.	London : printed for R. Burro	1708		
Horace.	The scrutiny: with a further dissertation upon Horace, the first ode. Inscrib'd to the Right Honourable the Lord Hallifax.	London : printed for R. Burro	1708	19	3
Anonymous	An ode to the queen, on the death of His Royal Highness George, hereditary prince of Denmark, &c. Generalissimo of Her Majesty's Forces, both Sea and Land; Lord I	London : printed by J. L. for J	1708	123	11
Anonymous	Satyrical reflections on the vices and follies of the age [longer title] IX. Britain's wish for the Duke of Marlborough's return. In imitation of the fifth ode of the fourth b	London : Printed by J. Read, l	1708?	78	
Anonymous	Apotheosis basilike: or, a Pindarick ode, Upon the Pious and Blessed transit Of that most Excellent Prince James the II. King of Great Britain. Who Departed this Life	London?	1708	613	XII
Anonymous	A short dissertation upon Horace, with the fifth ode	London : printed for R. Burro	1708	21	
Brown, Thomas, 1663-1704	The fourth volume of the works of Mr. Thomas Brown, serious, moral, comical, and satyrical [longer title]	London : printed for S. B. and	1709		
Buckingham, John Sheffield, D	The temple of death, a poem. By the Right Honourable the Marquis of Normanby: a translation out of French. With an ode in memory of her late Majesty Queen Mary	London : printed and sold by	1709	95	IV
Cobb, Samuel, 1675-1713	The female reign: an ode, alluding to Horace, B.4. Od. 14. Quae Cura Patrum, quaeve Quiritium, &c. Attempted in the style of Pindar. Occasion'd by the wonderful suc	London : printed for J. Woodv	1709	301	XIV
Horneck, Philip, 1673 or 1674-1	An ode. Inscrib'd to his Excellency the Earl of Wharton: Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. By Phil. Horneck, L.L.B.	London : printed for J. Baker	1709	166	VI
Hughes, Jabez, 1684 or 1685-17	An ode on the incarnation. To which is added the true state of mortality	London : Printed for, and sold	1709	342	XVI
Ward, Edward, 1667-1731.	The vanity of upstarts: or, an honest enquiry into ignoble greatness. An ode.	London: Printed in the year 17	1709	200	XI
Anonymous	To the memory of the very reverend and truly pious Mr. George Meldrum professor of divinity in the Colledge of Edinburgh, and one of the Ministers of the Gospel the	Edinburgh : printed by the he	1709	111	VII
Rapin, René, 1621-1687.	Two odes from the Latin of the celebrated Rapin, imitated in English pindaricks. By a gentleman at Cambridge.	London : printed by J.M. for I	1710	286	V & IX
Anonymous	An Ode pindarick on Barbadoes	London?	1710?	54	+ (grand) chor
Anonymous	Poems on variety of subjects; together with the character of a trooper, and some odes, on several occasions.	London : printed for J. Woodv	1710		
Anonymous	Horace turn'd Whigg: or, a low-church ode. Horatii epodon septimum imitated.	London : printed, and sold by	1710	34	9
Anonymous	An ode for St. Cæcilia's day. Sett by Mr. Roseingrave.	Dublin	1710		
Anonymous	Ode on the anniversary of the revolution	London?	1711?		
Oldisworth, William, 1680-173	The odes of Horace in Latin and English; with a translation of Dr. Bentley's notes. To which are added, notes upon notes; Done in the Bentleian Stile and Manner. Par	London : printed for Bernard	1712		
Hughes, John, 1677-1720	An ode to the creator of the world. Occasion'd by the fragments of Orpheus.	London : printed for J. Tonso	1713. [i.e. 1712]	159	X
Tudway, Thomas	A two part song : being part of an ode comps'd for ye Queens birth day / by Dr. Tudway.	London	1712		
Anonymous	An ode, set to musick, and sung at the sheriffs-feast, before the nobility and gentry, by Mr. Hughes and Mr. Leveridge, at Merchant-Taylors-hall, March the 25th, 1712	London	1712	28	2
Anonymous	The olive: An ode to the most honourable the Lord High Treasurer of Great-Britain.	London: W.Bowyer	1713		

Oldisworth, William, 1680-173	A pindarick ode, to the memory of Dr. William King. Humbly inscrib'd to the Rt. Hon. the Lady Theodosia Hyde.	London : printed by H. Meere	1713	120	VIII
Pindar	The olympick odes of Pindar, in English meetre. As they were lately found in an original manuscript of those sublime lyrick translators, Thomas Sternhold, John Hopk	London : Printed for E. Curll	1713		
Pope, Alexander, 1688-1744	Ode for musick	London : printed for Bernard	1713	133	VII
Reynardson, Francis, 1693 or 1	An ode to the Pretender. Humbly inscrib'd to Mr. Lesley, and Mr. Pope. To which is added Earl Mortimer's fall.	London : printed for Mark Fo	1713	159	VIII
Swift, Jonathan, 1667-1745.	The first ode of the second book of Horace paraphras'd: and address'd to Richard St--le, Esq	London : Printed for A. Dodd,	1713	116	
Trapp, Joseph, 1679-1747	Dr. Croft's exercise, perform'd in the Theatre at Oxford, July 10. 1713. Ode.	Oxford?	1713	21	III
Multiple Authors	Sacred miscellanies: or divine poems. Upon several subjects. Viz. I. An ode on divine vengeance. Inscrib'd to Mr. Steele. II. On the Last Judgment, and Happiness of t	London : printed for E. Curll	1713	172	VIII
Croxall, Samuel, -1752	An ode humbly inscrib'd to the King, Occasion'd by His Majesty's Most Auspicious succession and arrival. Written in the stanza and measure of Spencer. By Mr. Croxa	London : printed for Bernard	1714	376	XLII
Harris, Joseph, approximately	A funeral-Pindarique ode, sacred to the happy memory of our late gracious sovereign, Queen Anne, &c. With a Congratulary poem, on Our Present Most Illustrious Ki	London	1714	151	VI
Harris, Joseph, approximately	A congratulatory ode, on His Royal Highness, the most illustrious George Augustus, Prince of Wales, his happy birth-day, Saturday, October 30. 1714. humbly ... inscri	London?	1714?	70	V
Harris, Joseph, approximately	An ode most humbly inscribeed to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, on her happy birth-day. Febr. 6. 1713/4.	London	1714	44	IV
Hinchliffe, William.	An ode presented to the King, Upon His Majesty's Arrival at Greenwich.	London : printed for William	1714	64	XVI
Needler, Henry, 1688 or 1689-1	The fifth ode of the fourth book of Horace imitated: and inscrib'd to the King	London : printed for William	1714	46	
Turner, P. (Purbeck), 1694-	A pindaric ode upon the death of Her late Majesty Queen Anne, of blessed memory.	London : printed, and sold by	1714	86	IV
Welsted, Mr. (Leonard), 1688-1	The prophecy, or An imitation of the 15th. ode of the First book of Horace. Address'd to Mr. Steele.	London : printed, for J. Baker	1714	60	10
Anonymous	An Ode. Humbly inscribed to the Right Reverend John, lord bishop of London	London : Printed for R. Goslin	1714	280	XXVIII
Anonymous	An ode humbly inscrib'd to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, on His Majesty's happy accession.	London : printed for Bernard	1715 [1714]	74	
Anonymous	A sacred ode to King George.	London?	1714?	64	8
Horace	The odes and satyrs of Horace, that have been done into English by the most eminent hands. Viz. Earl of Rochester. Earl of Roscommon. Mr. Cowley. Mr. Otway. Mr.	London : printed for Jacob To	1715		
Hughes, John, 1677-1720	An allusion to Horace, Book I. Ode XXII.	London : printed; and sold by	1715	50	
Samber, Robert	An ode on Christmas-Day. By R. S. gent.	London : printed for R. Palme	1716 [1715]	189	XVI
Somervile, William, 1675-1742.	An imitation of the ninth ode of the fourth book of Horace. Inscribed to the Right Honourable James Stanhope, Esq; One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of Stat	London : printed for J. Tonso	1715	201	III
Tickell, Mr. (Thomas), 1686-17	An imitation of the prophecy of Nereus. From Horace Book I. Ode XV.	London : printed for J. Robert	1715	84	
Anonymous	In imitation of the 5th ode of Horace. Lib, 4.	London?	1715?	64	VIII
Brereton, Jane, 1685-1740	The fifth ode of the fourth book of Horace, imitated: and apply'd to the King. By a lady	London : printed for William	1716	48	VI
Horneck, Philip, 1673 or 1674-1	A votive ode for the happy delivery of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; And the Prosperity of the Royal Family. Imitated from the Carmen seculare of Horac	London	1716	132	VI
Hughes, John, 1677-1720	An ode for the birth-day of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, St. David's day, the first of March, 1715/16. Set to musick by Dr. J.C. Pepusch, and perform'd at	London : printed for Jacob To	1716	80	
P. O.	The woeful treaty: or the unhappy peace. An ode. In the measure of the celebrated song of Chevy-chase.	London : printed, and are to b	1716	312	LXXVIII
Rowe, Nicholas, 1674-1718	Ode for the New Year MDCCXVI. By N. Rowe	London : printed for J. Tonso	1716	134	VIII
Welsted, Mr. (Leonard), 1688-1	An ode on the birth-day of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. To the Princess. To the Earl of Clare, on his being created Duke of Newcastle. Amintor and the nigl	London : printed for J. Tonso	1716	52	XIII
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682?-176	An ode sacred to the memory of that truly pious and honourable lady, the Countess of Berkeley. Inscrib'd to the Honourable the Earl of Berkeley. By Mr. Newcomb.	London : printed for E. Curll	1717	476	119
Wicksted, Mr.	An ode for the year MDCCXVII to the King.	London : printed for Bernard	1717	272	LXVIII
Anonymous	Apollo's recantation, or poetry subservient to piety. An essay. In pindarick odes.	Edinburgh : printed by J	1717		
Addison, Joseph, 1672-1719	Two poems viz. I. On the deluge, paradise, the burning of the world, and of the new heavens and new earth. An ode to. Dr. Burnett. II. In praise of physic and poetry. A	London : printed for E. Curll	1718	84+66	XIV + XI
Savage, Richard, -1743.	Memoirs of the life of Mr. Theophilus Keenne, the late eminent tragedian. To which is added, elegies, pastorals, odes, and poems: by several hands.	London : printed for W. Chetv	1718		
Tickell, Mr. (Thomas), 1686-17	An ode. Occasioned by His Excellency the Earl Stanhope's voyage to France.	London : printed for Jacob To	1718	32	IV
Anonymous	An ode, perform'd on St. Cecilia's day, 1717. Set to musick by Mr. William Babel, and now perform'd in the New Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. And a mad dialogue, b	London : printed for Jonas Br	1718	67	
Anonymous	A pindarique ode on the arrival of his Excellency Sir Nicholas Lawes, Governor of Jamaica, &c.	Kingston, Jamaica : prin	1718		
Anonymous	Horace, Lib. II. Ode IV. imitated [in verse] Ne sit Ancillæ, ... The Lord G- to the E. of S-.	London : J. Nutt	1718?		
Horace	The Odes of Horace translated by Henry Coxwell	Oxford: printed for the autho	1718		
Mitchell, Joseph	The transport. An ode. By Mr Mitchel, S.T.S., Anno Dom. 1718.	MS	1718		
Harris, Timothy, active 1715-17	A Pindarique ode, on the much lamented death of that incomparable good lady, Madam Howland; who died at Streatham, on Sunday, April 19th, 1719. ...	London : printed for the Auth	1719		
Roots, Richard, 1673 or 1674-	The trinity in unity vindicated, and the following questions answered. [...] Together with an ode upon the creation, in imitation of the first chapter of Genesis, &c. By R	London : Printed for Richard	1719	190	VI
Smedley, Jonathan, 1671-1729	An ode to the Right Honourable the Earl of Cadogan	London : printed by W. Wilki	1719	77	XI
Anonymous	An ode on His Majesty's return	London : printed for J. Tonso	1719		
Anonymous	The ninth ode of the third book of Horace, imitated. Ben-n and G-ge.	London?	1719	36	6

Eusden, Laurence, 1688-1730	An ode for the New-Year, as it was sung before His Majesty. Written By L. Eusden	London : printed for Jacob To	1720	49	
Eusden, Laurence, 1688-1730	An ode for the birth-day, as it was sung before His Majesty. Written by L. Eusden, Esq; Servant to His Majesty.	London : printed for Jacob To	1720	53	
Hamilton, Newburgh, active 17	The power of musick. An ode for St. Cæcilia's day. Written by Mr. Hamilton. Sett to musick by Mr. Woodcock	London : printed for Jacob To	1720	131	
Hughes, John, 1677-1720.	The ecstasy. An ode.	London : printed: and sold by	1720	212	XI
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682?-176	An ode to His Grace the Duke of Richmond: occasion'd by his being elected governor of the Company of Mine-Adventurers in the principality of Wales.	London : printed for J. Pembe	1720	296	74
Ramsay, Allan, 1685-1758.	An ode, with a pastoral recitative on the marriage of the Right Honourable James Earl of Weemyss, and Mrs. Janet Charteris. Edinburgh 17th September, 1720.	Edinburgh	1720	70	
Sewell, George, -1726	An ode to Mr. Tickell, occasion'd by his Ode to the Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland, at Windsor.	London : printed for J. Pembe	1720		
Sewell, George, -1726.	An ode on His Majesty's happy arrival. Humbly inscrib'd to the Right Honourable James Craggs, Esq; principal secretary of state.	London : Printed for J. Pembe	1720	76	XI
Sewell, George, -1726	Carmen seculare, for the year 1720. An ode humbly inscribed to the King, on his return from Hannover	London : printed for John Pe	1720		
Tickell, Mr. (Thomas), 1686-17	An ode inscribed to the Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland at Windsor	London : printed for Jacob To	1720	64	VIII
Anonymous	To Robert Ch-Ster, Esq; in imitation of the first ode of Horace.	London : printed for J. Morpl	1720	76	8
Anonymous	An ode upon the times. Humbly inscrib'd to William Sloper	London : printed: and sold by	1720		
Anonymous	An irregular ode being the first poem made on the coronation of His most sacred Majesty King George, in the time of the late ministry, on October the 20th 1714. and t	London : printed for W. Borel	1720	139	V
Anonymous	The fifth ode of the fourth book of Horace, apply'd to the King on his return from Hanover to Great-Britain	London : printed for J. Robert	[1721] [1720]	52	13
Anonymous	The Oxford miscellany. Consisting of The following Poems, Viz. I. Strephon's Revenge: A Satire on the Oxford Toasts. II. The Art of Beauty; dedicated to Belinda, a cel	London : printed for R. Franc	1720 [1724?]		
Browne, Moses, 1704-178	The throne of justice; a Pindaric ode; humbly dedicated to the Right Honorable the Lord Viscount Molesworth. By Mr. Browne.	London : printed for T. I	1721	226	XVIII
Dennis, John, 1657-1734	The select works of Mr. John Dennis, in two volumes: consisting of plays, poems, &c. [longer title]	London : printed for J. I	1721		
Eusden, Laurence, 1688-1	An ode for the birthday, MDCCXXI. As it was Sung before His Majesty. Written by L. Eusden, Esquire, Servant to His Majesty.	London : printed for Jac	1721	66	
Mitchell, Mr. (Joseph), 16	An ode on the power of musick. By Mr. Mitchell.	London : printed for Tho	1721		
Prat, Daniel	An ode to Mr Handel, on his playing on the organ.	London : J. Tonson	1722	160	
Morrice, Bezaleel, d. 1749	Unequal enemies; Being an essay in the style of epick poesy. To which are added, two odes of Horace translated [longer title]	London : Printed: and so	1722	52	
Pomfret, John	Dies novisima [sic] : or, the last epiphany. A pindarick ode, on Christ's second appearance to judge the world. By the Reverend Mr. Pom	London : printed for E. (722 [i.e. 1721		223	XVII
Smith, Jeremiah	The magistrate and the Christian, or The virtues of public and private life [longer title; elegiac ode by Isaac Watts added]	London : Printed for J. C	1722	104	XII and XIV
Welsted, Mr. (Leonard), 1	The genius, an ode, written on occasion of the Duke of Marlborough's first apoplexy, and reserv'd not to bepublish'd [sic] till after his de	London : printed for Ber	1722	40	X
Anonymous	An elegiack ode on the Right Honourable James, Earl Stanhope.	Dublin?	1722		
Eusden, Laurence, 1688-1	The ode for the birth-day, MDCCXXIII. in English and Latin. Written by L. Eusden Esq; Servant to his Majesty.	Cambridge : printed at th	1723	49	
Markland, John, 1701 or 1	An ode on the happy birth of the young princess. Humbly inscrib'd to His Royal Highness the Prince. By John Markland, of St. Peter's C	London : printed for T. I	1723	172	XI
Philips, Ambrose, 1674-17	An ode (in the manner of Pindar) on the death of the Right Honourable William, Earl Cowper. By Mr. Philips.	London : printed for T. W	1723	170	XV
Virgil.	The fourth book of virgil's n˜eid. Being the entire episode of the loves of Dido and ineas. Translated into English verse. To which are add	London : Printed for J. I	1723	56	14
Waldron, George, 1690-17	An ode on the 28th of May, being the anniversary-day of His Majesty's happy nativity. ... By George Waldron, ...	London?	1723	112	28
Anonymous	Gloria Briannorum, or, The British worthies [longer title; ode on his Majesty's coronation added]	Boston : Printed by J. Fr	1723		
Anonymous	An ode humbly inscribed to the King.	London : printed by W. W	1723	42	7
Horace.	Odes. Book 4. Ode 4. Englsh [Ode IV.Lib.. IV] of Horace's odes. Humbly inscribed to John Fuller, Esq; of Yarmouth, by his nephew Mr.	Norwich : printed in the	1724	94	VIII
Ramsay, Allan, 1685-1758	An ode sacred to the memory of her grace Anne Dutchess of Hamilton	Edinburgh	1724?	64	16
Welsted, Mr. (Leonard), 1	Epistles, odes, &c. written on several subjects. With a translation of Longinus's treatise on the sublime. By Mr. Welsted. To which is pref	London : printed for J. W	1724		
Anonymous	King George's health. A sacred ode. On the anniversary of His Majesty's coronation, Octob. xx. MDCCXXIV.	Boston : Printed and sol	1724		
Anonymous	An ode, humbly inscribed to the Honourable William Con-ly Esq	Dublin	1724?		
Anonymous	A Scotch dialogue in imitation of an ode in Horace	London	1725?	32	
Griffith, N. (Nehemiah).	An ode to the Honourable Sir William Morgan, Knight of the Bath. By Nehemiah Griffith, Esquire.	London : Printed for J. I	1725	22	3
Anonymous	An ode to the Grand Khaibar.	London : printed and sol	1725		
Beckingham, Mr. (Charles	An ode to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter. On his installation. By Mr. Beckingh	London : printed for and	1726	114	19
Hinchliffe, William.	Poems, amorous, moral, and divine. Consisting of odes, elegies, epistles, translations	London : printed for W.	1726		
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682	Sacred hymns: or, an attempt to discover and revive the original spirit, elevation, and beauty, of some of the select psalms. To which is a	London : printed for Joh	1726	336	84
Ramsay, Allan, 1685-1758	A scots ode, to the British Antiquarians	Edinburgh	1726	96	11
Welsted, Mr. (Leonard), 1	An ode to the Honourable Major-General Wade, on occasion of his disarming the Highlands. Imitated from Horace. To which is added,	London : printed by W. W	1726		
Anonymous	Human passions: a satyr. To which is added, an ode to impudence.	London : printed for J. I	1726	54	9

Carey, Henry, 1687?-1743	A Lilliputian ode on King George the IId's and Queen Caroline's happy accession to the throne.	[Dublin] : Printed by J. (	1727	27	
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682'	An ode to the Queen. On the happy accession of their majesties to the crown.	London	1727	376	94
Ramsay, Allan, 1685-1758	An ode. To the memory of Sir Isaac Newton; inscrib'd to the Royal Society of London, for the improving of natural knowledge. By Allan I	Edinburgh	1727	56	14
Watts, Isaac, 1674-1748.	Ode on the coronation of their Majesties King George II. and Queen Carolin[e]	Dublin	1727	64	16
Anonymous	Two Lilliputian odes: the first, on the famous engine with which Captain Gulliver extinguish'd the flames in the royal palace. Originally v	London : printed by S. P	1727	169	+ III + postscr
Bellamy, D. (Daniel), 168'	Two court fables, apply'd to the late glorious coronation: with a short ode, on the first of March, being the anniversary of her Majesty's b	London : printed for Jos	1728		
Molyneux, Daniel.	Oratio in diem natalem Georgij II, Britanniarum Regis, 30 Octobris, 1727 [...] With a translation of the second ode of Horace's third boo	Dublin : printed by and f	1728	40	
Nixon, John, 1695-1777.	An ode to the Queen on the prospect of peace. ... By the Revd John Nixon, M.A.	London : printed for J. F	1728		
Pilkington, Matthew, app	An ode, to be performed at the Castle of Dublin, on the 30th October being the birth-day of His Most Excellent and Sacred Majesty Geor	Dublin : Printed by S. Pc	1728	104	
Ralph, James, -1762	The muses' address to the King: an ode. By J. Ralph.	London : Printed for W.	1728	656	
Young, Edward, 1683-176	Ocean. An ode. Occasion'd by His Majesty's late Royal encouragement of the sea-service. To which is prefix'd, an ode to the King : and a	London : printed for Thc	1728	108+292	
Anonymous	An iambick ode, upon an iambick match being an epithalamium to the Little Beau, wedded to a tall belle.	Dublin : printed for Ed. I	1728		
Anonymous	A pindarick ode, on the resurrection of our saviour Jesus Christ, on Easter-Sunday.	Dublin : printed by S. Pc	1728	93	5
Cooke, Thomas, 1703-175	Tales, epistles, odes, fables, &c. With translations from Homer and other antient Authors. To which are added Proposals for perfecting t	London : printed for T. (	1729		
Harrison, Thomas, 1693-1	A funeral sermon occasioned by the death of Dame Mary Page, relict of Sir Gregory Page, Bar. Preached at Devonshire-Square, March 1(	London : printed for Aar	1729	54	
Ward, Edward, 1667-1731	Apollo's maggot in his cups: or, the whimsical creation of a little satyrical poet. A lyrick ode. Merrily dedicated to Dicky Dickison, the wi	London : printed and sol	1729	444	111
Anonymous	To His Excellency John, Lord Carteret; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. An imitation of Horace, Ode IX. Lib. IV.	Dublin : printed by Jame	1729	80	
King, William, 1685-1763	Ode to Myra. In imitation of Horace's Ode to Canidia. Lib. Ep. Od. XVII.	[London] : Dublin, print	1730	190	
Lockman, John, 1698-177	An ode: inscrib'd to His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, on his embarking for France. By John Lockman.	London : printed for L. (	1730	44	11
Markland, J.	Typographia. An ode, on printing. Inscrib'd to the Honourable William Gooch, Esq; His Majesty's lieutenant-governor, and commander	Williamsburg [Va.] : Pri	1730	220	XII
Pope, Alexander, 1688-17	An ode compos'd for the publick commencement, at Cambridge: on Monday July the 6th. 1730. At the musick-act. The words by Alexan	Cambridge	1730		
Sheridan, Thomas, 1687-1	An ode, to be perform'd at the Castle of Dublin, on the 1st. of March 1729-30. Being the birth-day of Her most serene Majesty Queen Ca	Dublin : printed for Geo	1730	57	
Swift, Jonathan, 1667-174	Horace book I. ode XIV. O navis, referent, &c. paraphrased and inscribed to Ir-d. ...	Dublin] : Printed in the y	1730	56	
Taylor, John, 1704-1766.	The music speech at the public commencement in Cambridge, July 6, MDCCXXX. To which is added, an ode designed to have been set t	year London : printed by	1730	83	
Anonymous	A Sacred ode on the passion. To be performed the 3d of April next. The musick composed by Mr. Lampe.	London	1730?	84	
Anonymous	An ode, to Alexander Robertson, of Strowan, Esq;	Edinburgh	1730?	30	V
O'Brien, William	A collection of poems; consisting of odes, tales, &c. as well originals as translations. Amongst which are, The Power of Gold. Damon's Cc	London : printed for J. F	1731		
Author of The Hebrew ca	The temple of war. To which is annex'd The birth-day an ode; and an ode congratulating His present Majesty's late safe arrival from Hol	London : printed for the	1731	90+96	XIII + IX
Cibber, Colley, 1671-1757	An ode to His Majesty, for the New--Year, 1730/31. By Mr. Cibber, servant to His Majesty.	London : printed for Joh	1731	55	
Cibber, Colley, 1671-1757.	An ode for the new year. Written by Colley Cibber, Esq; poet laureat.	London	1731?		
Cibber, Colley, 1671-1757.	An ode for His Majesty's birthday, October 30, 1731. By Mr. Cibber, Servant to His Majesty.	London: : printed for Jol	1731	57	
Gulliver, Martin, active 18	The proctor's banquet: a pindarick ode. By Martin Gulliver.	Dublin : [s.n.], Printed in	1731	151	VI
Pilkington, Matthew, app	Poems on several occasions. Containing The progress of music in Ireland. The Poet's Well. An Essay towards a Translation of Anacreon.	London : printed for T. V	1731		
State lunatick.	Devil knows what. A poem. To which is annex'd, The compromise; or, a dialogue between W. and P. In imitation of the 9th ode of Horac	London : printed for E. I	1731	54	7
Anonymous	The windsor medley: being a choice collection of several curious pieces in prose and verse: that were handed about in manuscript and pi	London : printed for A. I	1731		
Anonymous	The Honysuckle. A curious collection of poems upon several occasions. Consisting chiefly of originals; and interspers'd with translations	London : Printed for A. I	1731		
Anonymous	A dialogue between the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, and William Poultney Esq; In Imitation of Horace's Ninth Ode, Book 3	London : s.n.,	1731?		
Carthy, Charles, 1703 or 1	An ode. In imitation of the third ode of the third book of Horace. Address'd to the city of Dublin.	Dublin	1732	78	13
Gay, John, 1685-1732.	On Monday next the 14th of August, at the Marlborough Bowling-green, will be perform'd (for the first time) in the 3d act, the following	Dublin?	1732?		
Mitchell, Mr. (Joseph), 16	Transportation: Or, the Tower. An ode to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter. By Mi	London : printed for T. V	1732	104	XXVI
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682'	An ode to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle. Written on the present tranquillity of Europe, establish'd by the influence of the British pow	London : printed for J. F	1732	176	44
Phillips, Edward, active 17	An ode on the birth-day. By Mr. Edward Phillips, late of Trinity-College, Cambridge.	London : Printed for H. I	1732	190	XII
Vaughan, John.	An ode. Occasion'd by rejecting the proposal for erecting a statue of King William III. in the city of London; and by its being receiv'd in t	London : printed for J. F	1732	435	XXVI
Anonymous	Count Piper's packet: being a choice and curious collection of manuscript papers, in prose and verse; that were found bundled under a b	London : printed for T. V	1732	31	
Anonymous	The scarborough miscellany. An original collection of poems, odes, tales, songs, epigrams, &c. None of which ever appear'd in Print befo	London : printed for J. F	1732		
Bancks, John, 1709-1751	Poems on several occasions: consisting of tales, epistles, songs, odes, epigrams, and other miscellaneous pieces, upon subjects of humou	London : printed for the	1733	52	13

F. G., F.R.S.	Islington: or, the humours of New Tunbridge Wells, entertaining and useful, adapted to the taste of both sexes and all ages: or, the blazi	London : printed for W.	1733	13	
Gentleman of Cambridge	Polymnia: or, the charms of musick. Being an ode, sacred to harmony; occasion'd by Mr. Handel's oratorio, and the Harmonia sacra, pe	London : printed for T. (	1733	99	VI
Odell, Mr. (Thomas), 169	An ode sacred to the nuptials of their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange and Nassau, &c. &c. By Mr. Odell.	London : printed by J. H	1733		
Price, Henry.	The antidiluvian novel; or the entertaining story of the loves of Shalum and Hilpa. Done into verse from the Spectator, volume VIII, nun	London : printed for Ric	1733		
Sanderson, Thomas, 1710	Three odes. The royal hero; to the king. The royal nuptials; to the queen. Religion and liberty triumphant; to the prince. By T. Sanderso	Cambridge : printed, an	1733	74+100+12	IX+IX+X
Swift, Jonathan, 1667-174	The presbyterians plea of merit; in order to take off the test, (in Ireland,) impartially examined. With an account of the state of Popery i	London : reprinted from	1733	80	20
Anonymous	An ode humbly inscrib'd to His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, on his landing, to espouse the Princess Royal of England.	London : printed for W.	1733		
Anonymous	An Ode, to be performed at the Castle of Dublin, on the first of March, being the birth-day of Her Most Excellent and Sacred Majesty Qu	Dublin : Printed by S. Pc	1-3-1732	53	
Anonymous	Astræa's congratulation. An ode upon Alderman Humphry French being elected representative for the city of Dublin, on account of his v	Dublin : Printed by J. H	1733	36	VI
Boyse, Samuel, 1708-1749	Ode inscribed to the Royal Company of Archers, on their March, July 8. 1734	Edinburgh : Printed by V	1734	108	XVIII
Dunkin, William, 1709?-1	An ode, To be performed at the castle of Dublin, on the 1st. of March, being the birth-day of Her most Excellent and Sacred Majesty Que	Dublin : printed by S. Pc	1734	135	
Lockman, John, 1698-177	The humours of New Tunbridge Wells at Islington. A Lyric poem. [...] and An Ode, from a Manuscript of Mr. de Voltaire.	London : printed for J. F	1734		
Phillips, Edward, active 1	On the nuptials of His Highness the Prince of Orange, to Her Highness the Princess Royal of England. An irregular ode. By Mr. Edward	London : Printed for Ric	1734	194	XVI
Pilkington, Matthew, app	An ode, to be performed at the Castle of Dublin, on 30th of October, being birth-day of ... George II. ... By the Revd. Mathew Pilkington,	Dublin: Printed for Geor	1734		
Anonymous	The faithful few. An ode, inscribed to all lovers of their country.	Edinburgh : printed by V	1734	138	XXIII
Anonymous	The Patriot an ode. Addressed to the Right Honourable Henry Boyle, Esq; in imitation of the 9th of the 4th book of Horace.	Dublin : Printed by Jam	1734	136	XVII
Anonymous	An ode on the marriage of His Grace the Duke of Portland and the Right Honourable Lady Margaret Harley.	London	1734	48	VIII
Anacreon	The works of Anacreon, translated into English verse; with notes explanatory and poetical. To which are added the odes, fragments, and	London : printed for Joh	1735		
Duck, Stephen, 1705-1756	A poem on the marriage of His serene Highness the Prince of Orange. With Ann Princess-Royal of Great Britain. By Stephen Duck. The	London : printed for W.	1735	92	23
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682	An ode to His Grace the Duke of Richmond: occasion'd by some fine Italian paintings at Goodwood, designed to perpetuate the memory	London : printed for Jer	1735	244	61
Prior, Matthew	An Ode (set by Dr. [Maurice] Greene)	London	1735	54	9
Randolph, Mrs., active 17	On the much lamented death of that incomparable lady the Honourable the Lady Oxenden. A pindarique ode. By Mrs. Randolph.	London?, s.n.,	1735		
Victor, Benjamin, -1778.	An ode, to be performed at the Castle of Dublin, on the 30th of October, being the birth-day of ... George II. ... By B. Victor. Set to musicl	Dublin : printed by S. Pc	1735		
Anonymous	Alma's complaint. An ode in imitation of the second of the first book of Horace. Addressed to ... John Lord Bishop of Clogher, ... and his	Dublin : printed by Geor	1735		
Browne, Isaac Hawkins, 1	Of smoking. Four poems in praise of tobacco ... With an ode, on the same subject, to Lord Bolingbroke	London : printed for E. (	1736		
Lockman, John, 1698-177	An ode: to the memory of His Grace the Duke of Buckinghamshire. By J. Lockman	London : printed for R. I	1736	76	19
Odell, Mr. (Thomas), 169	An ode sacred to the nuptials of their royal highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales	Westminster : printed fo	1736		
One of the people called (	Frederick and Augusta. An ode. By one of the people called Quakers.	London : printed for J. F	1736	176	X
Shepherd, Samuel, 1701 o	An ode, to be performed at the castle of Dublin, on the 1st. of March, being the birth-day of her most excellent and sacred Majesty Queer	Dublin : printed by S. Pc	1736	74	
Anonymous	Georgia, a poem. Tomo chachi, an ode. A copy of verses on Mr. Oglethorpe's second voyage to Georgia.	London : printed: and sc	1736	110	
Boyse, Samuel, 1708-1749	The olive: an ode. Occasion'd by the auspicious success of His Majesty's counsels, and His Majesty's most happy return. In the stanza of	London : printed, and sc	1737	570	LVII
Duck, Stephen, 1705-1756	Poems on several occasions. [longer title]	London : Printed for W.	1737		
Hare, Thomas, -1762	A translation of the odes and epodes of Horace into English verse by T. Hare	London: printed for the	1737		
Hervey, John Hervey, Bar	The false patriot's confession; or, B-----k's address to ambition. In imitation of the first ode, of the fourth book of Horace.	London : printed for R. (	1737		
Hyde, Henry Hyde, Baron	An ode to the Earl of Chesterfield, Imploring his Majesty's return. In Imitation of Horace. Ode II. Book IV.	London : printed for T. (	1737	76	XIX
Jacob, Hildebrand, 1693-	Patriotic love; an ode. Chiefly occasioned by some late acts of Parliament: and humbly inscribed to the true friend of his country.	London : Printed for W.	1737	78	XIII
Pope, Alexander, 1688-17	Horace his ode to Venus. Lib. IV. Ode I. Imitated by Mr. Pope.	London [i.e. Edinburgh]	1737	48	
Savage, Richard, -1743.	The volunteer laureat: an ode on Her Majesty's birth-day. By Richard Savage, Esq; Numb. VI. for the year 1737. Continued annually by p	London : s.n	1737	24	IV
Wilkes, Wetenhall, -1751.	A pindaric ode: occasion'd by the news, August the 8th 1737, of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales being deliver'd of a princess, c	Dublin : printed and sol	1737		
Anonymous	The sighs of Albion: or the universal mourner. An ode sacred to the memory of ... Caroline, queen-consort of Great-Britain. Inscrib'd to t	London : printed and sol	1737		
La Motte, M. de (Antoine	Pindar's ode to Prosperina. Translated from the French of Monsieur de la Motte. And humbly Addressed to The Right Honourable the L	London : printed for T. (	1738	180	XIX
Manning, Mr. (Francis), a	The two first odes of Horace imitated. With an introductory epistle to a friend.	London : printed: and sc	1738	138+156	
Manning, Mr. (Francis), a	On the late Queen's sickness and death, an ode. Address'd to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, One of His Majesty's Principal Secretary'	London : printed for T. (	1738	202	13
Sterling, James, 1701?-17	An ode on the times. Address'd to - the Hope of Britain.	London : printed for R. I	1738	180	XXX
Terrell, T.	A Pindaric ode on the incomparable pictures to be seen at Kingston-Hall: being the collection of John Banks, Esq; ... By Anonymus [sic]	London?	1738		
Tomlinson, Matthew, 170	An ode sacred to the memory of Her late Majesty.	London	1738		

Vievar, Alexander.	What is man? An ode, in Pindaric verse. In fifteen stanzas.	London : printed for J. E	1738	219	XV
Anonymous	Solitude. An irregular ode, inscribed to a friend.	London : printed for L. (	1738	306	XVIII
Anonymous	The delights of the muses: being a collection of poems never before published. Containing, [...] Love, in four Sapphic Odes	London : printed for J. (	1738		
Bancks, John, 1709-1751.	Miscellaneous works, in verse and prose, of Mr. John Bancks. Consisting of Odes, Songs, &c. sacred to Love, Friendship, and Devotion.	London : printed for Jan	1739		
Brownsword, William, 17:	On prophecy, as pointing out the Messiah. A divine ode. ... By William Brownsword, ...	London : printed for L. (	1739		
Hamilton, William, 1704-	Three odes. To which is added, the miss and the butterfly, a fable, in the manner of the late Mr. Gay.	Edinburgh : [s.n.], Print	1739	180+84+84	
Lockman, John, 1698-177	An ode for St. Cecilia's-Day. The words by Mr. Lockman. The musick by Mr. Boyce	London] : [s.n.], Printed	1739	160	
Nugent, Robert Nugent, E	An ode on Mr. Pulteney. To which is added, a new epitaph.	London : [s.n.], MDCCX	1739	54	IX
Nugent, Robert Nugent, E	Odes and epistles.	London : printed for R. I	1739		
Nugent, Robert Nugent, E	An ode, to His Royal Highness on his birth-day.	London : printed for R. I	1739	54	IX
Parratt, William.	An ode, to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, on his Majesty's Birth-Day, October the 30th, 1739. By Mr. Parratt.	London : printed for C. (	1739	158	18
Wharton, Philip Wharton	The fear of death. An ode. By the late Duke of Wharton	London : printed for and	1739	69	
Anonymous	An ode, address'd to all the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin.	Dublin	1739?		
Anonymous	An ode, Most Humbly Inscrib'd to His Royal Highness, The Prince of Wales, on his Birth-Day, Saturday, January 20th, 1738-9.	London : printed for J. E	1739	107	VIII
Anonymous	Men and measures characterised from Horace. Being an imitation of the XVIth ode of his second book.	London : printed for T. (	1739	94	12
Anonymous	Three odes from the second book of Horace imitated.	London : printed for C. (	1739	24+42+42	VI+VII+VII
Barton, P.	An ode to Echo. Set to musick by Mr. John Gates..	London	1740	34	
Carthy, Charles, 1703 or 1	An ode on the present war with Spain.	Dublin : printed by and	1740	132	22
Carthy, Charles, 1703 or 1	The third ode of the third book of Horace, imitated. On occasion of the French fortifying Dunkirk.	Dublin : printed by R. R	1740	161	23
Horace	A new translation of the first ode of Horace, agreeably to its genuine pointing, now first restored. With remarks.	London : printed by B. M	1740	52	
Horace	An imitation of the 22d Ode in the first book of Horace.	London : J. M.	1740?		
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682'	Vindicata Britannica: An ode, to the real patriot occasioned by the declaration of war against Spain.	London : [Print]ed for C	1740	136	34
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682'	A miscellaneous collection of original poems, consisting of odes, epistles, translations, &c. Written chiefly on political and moral subject	London : printed by J. W	1740		
Philips, Ambrose	An Ode of Sappho, translated from the Greek by Mr. Philips	London	1740	16	4
Spiltimber, George, -1749	To the King, on His Majesty's happy return. An ode. By Mr Spiltimber.	London : printed for Cha	1740	160	XX
Ward, Edward, 1667-1731	The insinuating bawd, and the Repenting Harlot. To which is added, Love. An ode to a lady. By a marry'd gentleman.	London?	1740?	36	V
Wilkes, Wetenhall, -1751.	A letter of genteel and moral advice to a young lady. [...] To this are subjoin'd, three poems, intitled, I. The Month of May, a Lyric Ode. I	Dublin : printed for the A	1740	56+41	XIV
Horace	Horace, Book IV. Ode V. Imitated.	London : printed for T. (	1740	74	9
Anonymous	An ode to Mr. Ellis, occasioned by a beautiful painting of the Honourable Mr. Walpole, only son to the Right Hon. Lord Walpole.	London?	1740?		
Anonymous	Ode being a paraphrase upon so much of the 7th, 8th, and 9th chapters of Isaiah, as relates to the prediction of our saviour, and to the s	London : printed for T. (	1740		
Anonymous	An ode to the Duke of Argyll. To which is added, One to the Earl of Marchmont.	London : printed for T. (	1740	54+30	IX+V
Horace	Rare feasting at H- being a mouldy crust for poor England which was dropt by an old w---- that is likely to run after a white horse.	London?	1740		
Horace	Horace's instructions to the Roman senate: and character of Caius Asinius Pollio. In two odes.	London : printed for R. A	1740	125+54	
Anonymous	Odes on various subjects, humbly address'd to the Right Honourable the Lord Walpole. By a gentleman of the Inner-Temple.	London : printed: and sc	1741		
Lockman, John, 1698-177	An ode, to His Eminence Cardinal de Fleury, by Mr Lockman. Presented to His Eminence, in his cabiner, at Versailles.	Paris : Printed for Piget,	1741	48	12
Nugent, Robert Nugent, E	An ode to mankind: Address'd to the Prince of Wales	London : printed for R. I	1741	150	XXV
Orrery, John Boyle, Earl (	The first ode of the first book of Horace imitated, and inscribed to the Earl of Chesterfield. By John, Earl of Orrery.	London : printed for C. E	1741		
Orrery, John Boyle, Earl (	Pyrrha: an imitation of the fifth ode of the first book of Horace. By John Earl of Orrery.	London : Printed for R. I	1741	54	9
Philharmonic Society (Du	The te deum, jubilate, anthems, odes, oratorios and serenatas, As they are performed by the Philharmonic Society in Dublin, for the imp	Dublin	1741		
Anonymous	A south-Saxon ode.	London	1741	110	
Anonymous	Vindiciæ publicæ: an ode to the real patriot	London : printed for T. (	1741	168	42
Anonymous	The sixteenth ode of Horace. Book III. Imitated. Address'd to the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Percival.	London : printed for T. (	1742	135	
Anonymous	The expedition. An ode. Written in October 1740	London [i.e. Edinburgh]	1741	144	XXIV
Douglas, James, 1675-174	The first ode of Horace, copied from a MS. in my Collection of the Editions of his Works, written, as is supposed, about Two hundred Ye	London?	1742?	60	
Hanbury Williams, Charle	A new ode, to a great number of great men, newly made. By the Authorof The country maid.	London : printed for J. (	1742	102	XVII
Hanbury Williams, Charle	The country girl: an ode	London : printed for W.	1742	54	IX

Hanbury Williams, Charl	An ode from the E---- of B---- to ambition	London : printed for A. I	1742	54	IX
Hayes, W. (William), 170	Vocal and instrumental musick, in three parts. Containing, [...] III. An ode, being part of an exercise perform'd for a Bachelor's Degree i	[Oxford] : Sold by the Au	1742		
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682	An ode to the Right Honourable the E----l of O--------d, in retirement	London	1742		
T----r, R----t, A.M.	Eis Tēn tou Christou Staurōsin monostrophika. An ode on the crucifixion of Christ. Being a paraphrase of a Greek hymn upon that subje	Edinburgh : printed by T	1742	56	8
Anonymous	L'Allegro ed il penseroso in sonno: or, The power of sleep. An ode.	London : Printed for J. F	1742	186	
Boyse, Samuel, 1708-174	Albion's triumph. An ode, occasioned by the happy success of His Majesty's arms on the Maine. In the stanza of Spencer.	London : printed for J. F	1743	201	XX
Burroughs, Lewis, 1713 or	An ode, to be performed at the Castle of Dublin, on the 30th of October, being the birth-day of ... George II. ... By the command of His G	Dublin : printed by S. Po	1743		
Duck, Stephen, 1705-1756	An ode on the battle of Dettingen. Humbly inscrib'd to the King. By Stephen Duck.	London : printed for R. I	1743	78	XIII
Horace	Imitations and translations of several odes of Horace: being An essay towards a Translation of that Part of the Author's Works. By the R	London : printed for the	1743		
Horace	The odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace. In Latin and English. With critical notes collected from his best Latin and French co	London : printed for A. I	1743		
Silence, Samuel	The foundling hospital for wit. [...] Containing All the Satires, Odes, Ballads, Epigrams, &c. that have been wrote since the Change of the	London : printed for G. I	1743		
Anonymous	A Congratulatory ode, most humbly inscribed to a certain very great man, on his becoming greater.	London : Printed for Jol	1744 [1743]	120	X
Anonymous	Court whispers: or, a magazine of wit. A satyr for the country. Containing, Kick for Kick. The Review. N-k House. The Two Brothers. The	London : printed for W.	1743		
Anonymous	The jubilade. An ode in a paraphrastical imitation of the 5th ode of Horace, book IV. with additions. Humbly addressed to His Majesty o	London : printed for B. C	1743	338	XXII
Anonymous	A joyful ode: inscribed to the King, on the late victory at Dettingen	London : printed for M.	1743	157	
Anonymous	The ladies cabinet, or a companion for the toilet: consisting of letters, essays, tales, Elegies, Odes, Songs, Epitaphs, Epigrams, &c. Seriou	London : printed for J. F	1743		
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682	Verses left in a grotto in Richmond garden. To which are added, several odes on the battle of Dettingen.	London : printed for J. F	1744		
Theosebes	Ode on the incarnation of our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ. By Theosebes	London : printed for M.	1744		
Anonymous	A consolatory ode. Inscrib'd to the Marquis de la Chetardie, on his disgrace, and return from the Russian Court.	London : printed for M.	1744	296	37
Akenside, Mark, 1721-177	Odes on several subjects	London : printed for R. I	1745		
Burroughs, Lewis, 1713 or	An ode, to be performed at the Castle of Dublin, on the 30th October, being the birth-day of His Most Excellent and Scared Majesty Geo	Dublin : Printed by S. Po	1745	104	
Anonymous	A religious ode, occasioned by the present rebellion. Written Oct.11, 1745	London : printed for R. I	1745	102	XVII
Hamilton, William, 1704-	An ode on the victory at Gladsmuir 21 Septemr. 1745	Edinburgh?	1745?	72	XII
Horace	The first ode of the third book of Horace, newly translated. Inscribed to the ... Earl of Chesterfield, on his being appointed Lord-Lieuten	London : printed for Jac	1745		
Mills, A., active 18th cent	An allusion to the third ode of the first book of Horace. On His Excellency Philip Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, leaving	London, printed---Dubli	1745	101	
Nugent, Robert Nugent, E	An ode to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Lonsdale	London : printed for R. I	1745	54	IX
Pulteney, William, Earl of	An ode, Imitated from Ode XI. Book 2d. of Horace. From P---l F----y to N----s F---y, Esq; by a person of honour.	London : printed for W.	1745	66	XI
Wallis, John, 1714-1793	Reflection on a candle, in an irregular ode. By John Wallis, M.A.	Newcastle upon Tyne : P	1745	57	VII
Anonymous	The fifth ode of the first book of Horace imitated.	London : printed for J. V	1745	22	
Anonymous	An ode on the victory at Gladsmuir	Edinburgh?	1745?		
Anonymous	An ode To Mr. Handel	London : printed for R. I	1745	148	37
Anonymous	An ode, to His Royal Highness, Charles, Prince Regent, &c. after the battle of Gladsmuir.	Edinburgh?	1745		
Anonymous	The birth-day ode.	Edinburgh	1745		
Anonymous	The Spanish Armada, an ode	London : printed for J. C	1745		
Brecknock, Timothy, -178	Poems and odes, After the Manner of Anacreon. By T------. B-------.	London	1746		
Collins, William, 1721-175	Odes on several descriptive and allegoric subjects. By William Collins	London : printed for A. I	1747] [1746]		
Fortescue, James, 1716-17	An epistle with some odes on love, virtue, and Other Subjects.	London : printed for S. F	1746		
Free, John, 1712?-	The guardian: an imitation of Horace, ode V. book IV humbly addressed to His royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, upon his defeat	London : printed for R. I	1746	40	X
Hanbury Williams, Charl	An ode to the Honourable H---y F--x, On the marriage of the Du---s of M------r to H---s---y, Esq;	London : printed for A. I	1746	60	X
Hanbury Williams, Charl	An ode to the Right Honourable Stephen Poyntz, Esq; &c. &c. &c. By the Honourable Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Kt. of the Barth	London : printed for R. I	1746	72	XII
Hanbury Williams, Charl	An ode addressed to the Authorof the Conquered Duchess in answer to that celebrated performance.	London : printed for A. I	1746	60	X
Anonymous	An ode, Addressed to his Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland. By a lady	Edinburgh?	1746?	40	IX
Lockman, John, 1698-177	To the Right Honourable the Earl and Countess of Middlesex. An ode. By John Lockman	London	1746	34	4
Lockman, John, 1698-177	An ode, on the crushing of the rebellion, Anno MDCCXLVI. Presented to His Majesty at Kensington, and humbly inscrib'd to His Royal	London : Printed for the	1746	240	XL
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682	An ode, presented to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, on his return from Scotland. By the Revd. Mr. Newcomb	London	1746		
Warton, Joseph, 1722-18	Odes on various subjects. By Joseph Warton, B. A. of Oriel College, Oxon	London : printed for R. I	1746		

Anonymous	Orpheus and Hecate. An ode. Inscribed to the patroness of the Italian opera	London : printed for W.	1746	42	7
Anonymous	Liberty: an ode; occasion'd by the happy victory obtain'd by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.	London : printed by E. C	1746	214	
Anonymous	An ode on the birth-day of His Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland	Edinburgh?	1746		
Anonymous	The progress of glory: an irregular ode, address'd to His Majesty, on the happy suppression of the rebellion.	London : printed by Dan	1746	318	XX
Anonymous	An Ode on the success of His Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland	London : Printed for M.	1746	170	XVII
Anonymous	The fourth ode of the fourth book of Horace, Imitated and applied to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland	Armagh : London printe	1746	138	23
Anonymous	An Ode, to be performed at the Castle of Dublin, on the 30th of October, being the birth-day of His Most Excellent and Sacred Majesty G	Dublin : Printed for Geo	1746	87	
Anonymous	The Tribute of the muses: A pindaric-ode, addressed to His Excellency Philip Earl of Chesterfield, on his arrival from Ireland	London : Printed for Ric	1746	240	XVIII
Anonymous	A birth-Day ode	Edinburgh?	1746	108	18
Burroughs, Lewis, 1713 or	Ode to be performed at the castle of Dublin, on the 30th of October, being the birth-day of His Most Excellent and Sacred Majesty Georg	Dublin, : Printed by S. P	1747	98	
Gray, Thomas, 1716-1771	An ode on a distant prospect of Eton College	London : printed for R. I	1747	100	
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682	An ode to the Right Honourable Sir Peter Warren, Knight of the Bath; occasion'd by the late signal success of the British Navy. By the Re	London	1747		
Newcomb, Thomas, 1682	The oracle, an ode inscrib'd to the Right Honourable Sir Edward Hawke, Knight of the Bath.	London : printed and sol	1747	164	41
Schomberg, R. (Ralph), 1	An ode on the present rebellion; dedicated to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange. By R. Schomberg, M.D	[Edinburgh] : Rotterdan	1747		
Thompson, William, 1712	Winter, an ode: to a friend at Oxford. A translation from the Latin of Mr. Thompson. By J. T. late of Cambridge.	London : printed for T. W	1747	119	23
Virasel, Samuel, 1716 or 1	An ode to the Right Honourable Philip Earl of Chesterfield. Upon his being appointed one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.	Dublin : printed by Geor	1747	180	XXX
Anonymous	Cynthia, and Lycoris; or, the rape, and the elopement: two odes.	Edinburgh	1747		
Anonymous	The New-year's miscellany. Containing, [...] VI. A modern Latin ode attempted in English. VII. An ode on Miss Fanny Murray. By Mr. Th	London : Printed for A. M	1747	64+114	
Anonymous	An ode, to the inhabitants of Great-Britain; In Imitation of Horace, Book III. Ode VI.	London : printed for W.	1747	78	XIII
Anonymous	An ode on the birth-day of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland	Edinburgh?	1747		
Anonymous	An ode to the Hon. Philip Y--ke, Esq; Imitated from Horace, Lib. II. Ode XVI. By S--- J--- Esq; To which is added, The same Ode imitate	London : printed for A. M	1747	48	
Anonymous	An ode to the Right Honourable Sir Peter Warren, ... occasion'd by the late signal success of the British navy.	London : printed and sol	1747		
Anonymous	An ode occasion'd by some late successes at sea. Imitated from Horace	London : printed for M.	1747	48	8
Anonymous	A reply to H--y W--ms's ode, on Lord C-d.	London : printed for Cha	1747		
Akenside, Mark, 1721-177	An ode to the Right Honourable the Earl of Huntingdon. By Dr. Akinside.	London : printed for R. I	1748	241	VI.3
Bancks, John, 1709-1751.	Miscellaneous works in verse and prose, of Mr. William Cartaret. Consisting of odes, songs, &c. sacred to love, friendship, and devotion.	London	1748		
Jingle, Joshua	A congratulatory ode, most humbly inscribed to the statesman on his travels. By Joshua Jingle, Esq; poet laureat to the Pelemites, Selen	London : printed for W.	1748	66	XI
Newbery, John, 1713-176	Poetry made familiar and easy to young gentlemen and ladies, and embellish'd with a great variety of the most shining epigrams, epitap	London : Printed for J. N	1748		
Philips, Ambrose, 1674-17	Pastorals, epistles, odes, and other original poems, with translations from Pindar, Anacreon, and Sappho. By Ambrose Philips Esq;	London : printed for J. a	1748		
Silence, Timothy	The foundling hospital for wit. Intended for the Reception and Preservation of such Brats of Wit and Humour, whose Parents chuse to I	London : printed for W.	1748		
Anonymous	Ode to the Right Honourable Anne Countess of Northesk	Edinburgh?	1748		
Anonymous	An Ode, to be performed at the Castle of Dublin, on the 30th of October, being the birth-day of His Most Excellent and Sacred Majesty G	Dublin : Printed for G. a	1748	80	
Anonymous	An ode on the peace. Inscribed to the Honourable Sir Thomas Robinson, Knight of the Bath, and second plenipotentiary at Aix-la-Chape	London : printed for C. C	1748		
Antigallicus, Titus.	An ode for the thanksgiving-day. To the tune of Derry down. By Titus Antigallicus, Esq;	London : printed for W.	1749	80	20
Clinch, William, 1716 or 1	Poems on several occasions. Consisting of odes, epigrams, pastorals, &c. Together with remarks on The memoirs of the young Prince of	London : printed for the	1749		
Collins, William, 1721-175	Ode occasion'd by the death of Mr. Thomson. By Mr. William Collins.	London : printed for R. I	1749	44	11
Cooke, Thomas, 1703-175	An ode on beauty, To which are prefixed Some Observations on taste, And on the Present State of Poetry in England.	London : printed for M.	1749	150	XXV
Harte, Walter, 1709-1774.	Part of Pindar's first Pythian ode, paraphrased, by the Revd. Mr. Walter Harte. Set to musick by Mr. William Boyce.	London	1749	90	
J. J. B.	An ode on the happy marriage of the learned and reverend Philip David Kræuter, D.D. minister of the German Lutheran Church of St. T	London : printed by J. H	1749		
Lewis, Richard, active 174	An ode on the peace. By the Revd. Richard Lewis, ...	Dublin : printed by and f	1749		
Mandey, Captain	A modest occasional ode. By Captain Mandey	[London] : Printed for C	1749		
Mason, William, 1725-179	Ode performed in the Senate-House at Cambridge July 1, 1749. At the installation of His Grace Thomas Holles Duke of Newcastle Chanc	Cambridge : printed by J	1749	107	
Moore, Edward, 1712-175	An ode to Garrick, upon The talk of the town	London : printed for M.	1749		
West, Gilbert	Odes of Pindar, with several other pieces in prose and verse, translated from the Greek. To which is prefixed A dissertation on the Olym	London : printed for R. I	1749		
Thornton, Bonnell, 1724-	An ode on Saint Cæcilia's day, adapted to the ancient British musick. As it was performed on the twenty-second of November.	London : printed for J. a	1749	72	
Anonymous	An Ode compos'd in the year M.DCCXX. On the birth of a Great Prince	London?	1749?	89	

Collins, William, 1721-175	The passions. An ode. By William Collins. Set to music by Benjamin Cooke, Mus. D	London?	1750?	118	
Cooke, Thomas, 1703-175	An ode on martial virtue, To which are prefixed observations on taste, and The Present State of Poetry in England.	London : printed for M.	1750	111	VIII
Goring, Henry.	A conference lately held betwixt H---- G----g, Esq; and a certain E-h L-d at A-n [...] To which is added, An occasional Birth-Day ode.	London?	1750		
Guyse, John, 1680-1761	The unchangeable duration of God's kindness and covenant. A sermon [...] To which is added, An elegiac ode by Thomas Gibbons.	London : printed for J. C	1750	48	
Hamilton, William Gerar	Four odes. I. On sleep. II. On beauty. III. On taste. IV. To the Right Hon. the Lady **** on the death of her son.	London : printed for R. I	1750		
Manly, Captain.	A summer voyage to the Gulph of Venice, in the Southwell frigate, Captain Manly, junr. commander. An irregular ode. The first poetical	London : printed for Llo	1750	334	XXI
Smith, William, -1750	An authentic account of the life and memoirs of Mr. William Smith [...] and an ode, never yet published. Also The Speech of a Great Prel	London : printed for J. J	1750	48	VIII
Anonymous	A philosophic ode on the sun and the universe.	London : printed for J. F	1750	173	
Anonymous	A birth-day ode.	London?	1750		
Cibber, Colley, 1671-1757.	A rhapsody upon the marvellous: arising from the first odes of horace and pindar. Being a scrutiny into ancient poetical fame, demande	London : printed for W.	1750-51	445	