PICTORIALISM IN ENGLISH POETRY AND LANDSCAPE
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores pictorialism in eighteenth-century poetry and landscape. The tradition of *ut pictura poesis* is presented in terms of its origins in antiquity, its background in the thought of the eighteenth century, its manifestations in the poetry of the period, and its relations to the picturesque in landscape.

A sketch of the origins and development of literary pictorialism in Greece and Rome, the medieval, Renaissance, and post-Renaissance periods, outlines its leading features and furnishes a historical perspective against which eighteenth-century practices can be viewed. Special attention is given to the bond between the sister arts of painting and poetry and to the new standards of artistic excellence deriving from Italian Renaissance and baroque painting.

In eighteenth-century poetry, passages from Pope and Thomson illustrate neo-classical pictorial practice with respect to the ancient doctrine of *enargeia* (vivid, lifelike imitation), the means of idealizing nature, and the iconic tradition of imitating or describing objects of art. These practices are shown to serve aesthetic, social, or moral purposes.

Finally, the thesis discusses Thomson's pictorial poetry as the product of traditional *ut pictura poesis* and not as the cause of picturesque landscape vision. The relationship between literary pictorialism and the landscape picturesque is clarified by relating Thomson's characteristic landscape form to Claude Lorrain, Salvator...
Rosa, and Nicolas Poussin. And the landscape picturesque itself, dis­
cussed largely in terms of its origins in the English natural garden
and its formalization in the aesthetic theories of William Gilpin and
Uvedale Price, is shown, like poetic pictorialism, to be a product of
the neo-classical doctrine of models, another form of neo-classical
"imitation." As such it rounds out the paper's study of pictorialism
in the eighteenth century.
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INTRODUCTION

Pope's advice to the critic in the Essay on Criticism to "be sure your self and your own Reach to know" (I. 48), to "launch not beyond your Depth, but be discreet" (I. 50), might well be considered by anyone proposing to explore relationships between one art and another. Experience has shown, with respect to the many complex questions of source, correspondence, and influence that arise whenever literature and the visual arts are looked at in relation to one another, that discretion is a useful asset. If critical terms are not to travel without discrimination from one work, artist, or even from one art to another (paving the way for a confusion of genres); if the comparison of family traits in the arts of an epoch are not to end in vain pursuit of the "spirit of the age" or the Zeitgeist; and if individual artistic uniqueness in writer or artist is not to be distorted or neglected through subordination to some superior theory imposed upon the artistic totality of an epoch, then the investigator of inter-art parallels must discreetly avoid the temptation of launching himself forth beyond his depth, beyond his capacity to order and control tenuous and subtle subject matter according to the rules of scholarship and according to the evidence.\(^1\)

In the spirit of Pope's advice this paper will limit its "Reach" to a compact examination of the relationship between painting and the arts of poetry and gardening in the eighteenth century, to a study in which the double association of painting—with neo-classical

\(^1\)
verse to produce poetic pictorialism and with gardening to produce the landscape picturesque—yields neither evidence of a "time-spirit" lying behind family traits in the arts nor any superior theory explaining developments within them. In this paper, which will consider the two interart affinities from the side of literature or from a literary point of view, discussion will centre instead on the theory, practice, and character of pictorial poetry and the picturesque garden in an attempt to show that, in their common adoption of painting as model, they are merely particular forms or manifestations of the familiar neo-classical phenomenon of "imitation."

The two forms of pictorialism must necessarily be considered separately, each in its turn, and more or less independently of one another. The first, the pictorial in poetry, being the more important of the two, takes up three of the four chapters, much the greater part of the paper. The first chapter, which shows the development of its leading features and forms, discusses literary pictorialism in terms of its historical evolution from ancient times to the neo-classical period. This short historical account leads into the explanation in the second chapter of how ut pictura poesis, building on its traditional foundations, came to take its inspiration from the art of the great Italian Renaissance and baroque masters and to flourish as never before. The illustration of this flowering of poetic pictorialism is the business of the third chapter which, using examples from the poetry of Pope and Thomson, shows eighteenth-century applications of the ancient doctrine of enargeia, adaptations of the tradition of iconic
description, techniques of idealization, and methods of achieving total pictorial form in poetry.

In these chapters one or two technical terms, such as *enargeia*, are either defined or their usage justified as they appear. The word "picturesque," more relevant to the last chapter, is treated there. Only one term, "pictorial," requires clarification here because of its importance and frequent use in the first three chapters. With respect to this term four points at least should be noted.³

1) A pictorial image or description is one translatable into painting. Whether this painting be a particular painting or a school of painting or even an imaginary painting matters little.

2) Though the pictorial is comprised of the visual, the visual is not necessarily the pictorial. The visual becomes the pictorial when its features and details are ordered and presented picturably, so as to resemble a painting.

3) The pictorial in poetry may relate to any school or method of painting. It may range anywhere between the naturalistic and the abstract, the representational and the symbolic, depending on the poet's knowledge and preference in visual art.

4) Poetic pictorialism must necessarily offer a basically static arrangement in which motion, if not eliminated altogether, is seen against the fundamental stasis, the fixity of the general arrangement.

Thomson's poetry, discussed in the third chapter, raises the
question of the relationship between poetic pictorialism and the landscape picturesque. This question is taken up in the fourth and final chapter, which attempts to place the pictorialism and poetry of Thomson in proper perspective by considering it in relation to the renewed eighteenth-century interest in wild and irregular nature and in relation to the influence of seventeenth-century landscape painting, especially that of Claude Lorraine, Salvator Rosa, and Nicolas Poussin.

The final chapter also considers the picturesque movement which flourished during the second half of the century. Discussion of this landscape picturesque complements and rounds out the general picture of eighteenth-century pictorialism presented in the paper. Necessarily selective, this discussion limits itself to two important aspects of the picturesque: its origins in the development of the English natural garden, a development strongly stimulated by the influence of Claude, Salvator, and Poussin, and its formalization in the aesthetic theories of the Reverend William Gilpin and Sir Uvedale Price. The picturesque taste for garden and scenery displayed in the novel, poetry, architecture, painting, and other arts (with the exception of Smollett's novel, *Humphry Clinker*); the satire directed at the Gilpinian vogue of seeking out and recording what was prescribed as picturesque in scenery; and the persisting influence of the picturesque in the nineteenth century are not considered. Nonetheless, the revelation of its origins in the natural garden sufficiently illuminates the character and values of picturesque taste. And since its establishment as a third aesthetic category additional to the sublime and the beautiful
marks the climax of the picturesque movement, the contributions of Gilpin and Price conclude the chapter as appropriately as the picturesque movement itself rounds out the paper's account of pictorialism as a whole and brings it to an end.
FOOTNOTES


2. Rene Wellek and Austin Warren (The Theory of Literature, 3rd ed., New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1956, pp. 119-122), in surveying classifications and typologies of art, literature, science, and philosophy, refer to reconstructions of the "spirit of the time" and attempts to explain all facts about a period through the agency of the "time-spirit" as "exercises in ingenuity" (p. 119). "The parallelism of the arts," they state, "can be accepted only with large reservations" (p. 120). (See also pp. 125-135 for general discussion of the relationships of literature with the fine arts.)

Jean Hagstrum (The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968, pp. xiv-xv) comments on examples of interart studies which, in confusing genres and in seeking the Zeitgeist, "serve the purposes of cultural mysticism, not of sober investigation" (p. xiv).

Walter Hippie (The Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press; 1957, pp. 188-191) discusses the work of Christopher Hussey and Wylie Sypher to illustrate how alien theories may be imposed upon an epoch.

CHAPTER I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF UT PICTURA POESIS

The history of ut pictura poesis is too comprehensive and complex a subject to be treated at length in this study. Yet the history of the analogy between poetry and painting is so germane to a full appreciation of neo-classical poetic pictorialism that a short sketch outlining this history is a logical preliminary. This preliminary outline will touch mostly on the pictorialist criticism and literature of classical antiquity and on the central modification in the conventions and art of creating verbal icons that took place when the naturalistic icon of antiquity and the Renaissance was transformed by the icon of medieval times and the baroque seventeenth century, a process which dissociated the pictorial from external, visible nature and turned it inwards toward the spiritual or upwards toward the supernatural. The sketch will also indicate the kinds of pictorialism in literature, suggesting in particular the richness of the record of iconic poetry, poetry which vividly demonstrates the union of verbal and visual art through description of real or imaginary art objects. Pictorialism in Augustan verse, viewed in perspective against even such a minimal recapitulation of its origins, comes into sharper focus and is much more clearly seen as the unique efflorescence in the history of ut pictura poesis that it was.

The great critics of antiquity, Plato, Aristotle, and Horace,
associated poetry with painting, although each contributed seminal sugges­tions, notions, or parallels rather than theoretical formulations about the relations of the sister arts.

Thus Plato, in the tenth book of the Republic, thinking of the visual arts as deceptive and dangerous, associates the mimetic art of painting with poetry in order to reveal that poetry, like painting, is thrice removed from true reality, concerned with appearances only, and of little educational value. But even though it was for the purpose of banishing the two arts from his ideal commonwealth, Plato did compare them; and in doing so he gave to criticism the famous and enduring metaphor of the mirror which was to evidence itself so often when poetry and painting were associated with one another.

Aristotle, rejecting Plato's world of ideal form (that is, the conception of mimesis which he made the basis for his denigration of poetry and painting), indicates areas in which the two arts can legiti­mately be compared. He therefore relates far more closely than Plato to subsequent developments in the history of pictorialism.

In section one of the Poetics Aristotle differentiates painting from poetry on the basis of the different means employed by each in imitation, moving on to show in section two that, with respect to their objects of imitation, poetry and painting are analogous. When classi­fied according to the kinds of persons represented, a painting by Polygnotus, whose personages are "better than we are," is more like an epic poem than is a comedy. Similarly, a comedy is closer to the paintings of Pauson, whose personages are "worse" than ourselves, than it is to an epic poem.

2
More important is the later passage in the Poetics in which Aristotle says that

as Tragedy is an imitation of personages better than the ordinary man, we in our way should follow the example of good portrait-painters, who reproduce the distinctive features of a man, and at the same time, without losing the likeness, make him handsomer than he is.³

Criticism advocating fidelity to nature but also recommending its idealization reconciles imitation with improvement best by analogy, most frequently the analogy with painting, often portrait painting. Aristotle made this analogical solution attractive to later critics.

The Roman critic, Horace, who, like Aristotle and Plato, offers no systematic reasoning on the relations between painting and poetry, is of great importance as the originator of the phrase ut pictura poesis. In the Ars poetica he writes that

poetry is like painting: one piece takes your fancy if you stand close to it, another if you keep at some distance. One courts a dim light, another, challenging keen criticism, will fain be seen in the glare; this charms but once, that will please if ten times repeated.⁴

In this famous passage Horace is merely saying that some poems, like some paintings, please only once, while others, inviting critical study, can be re-examined many times. The phrase ut pictura poesis, "poetry is like painting," considered in its context, does not warrant the later interpretation: "A poem should be like a painting."

Horace is also important for his opening statement in the Ars poetica granting imaginative license to painters and poets but
insisting at the same time that this freedom not exceed nature and
common sense:

Suppose a painter wished to couple a horse's neck with a man's
head, and to lay feathers of every hue on limbs gathered here and
there, so that a woman, lovely above, foully ended in an ugly fish
below; would you restrain your laughter, my friends, if admitted
to a private view? . . . a book will appear uncommonly like that
picture, if impossible figures are wrought into it . . .5

This rejection of the grotesque and unnatural reflects an attitude to­
ward mimesis radically different from Plato's or Aristotle's. For
Plato the highest form of imitation is that of ideal form; for
Aristotle it is the achievement in matter or media other than original
nature of an independent, unified form obeying its own laws. But for
Horace imitation means the duplication of actual conditions, observ­
able behaviour, real objects. And since this aesthetic ideal of
faithful representation is more obviously evident in painting than in
poetry, the question of the "imitation of nature" in later criticism
often evoked a similar comparison with painting.

The Horace conception of imitation became widespread in late
Greek and Roman antiquity, generating the enduring fashion of ut
pictura poesis. Plutarch, for example, validates artistic expression
in terms of a close connection between art and reality, saying of the
young poet:

We shall steady the young man still more if, at his first entrance
into poetry, we give a general description of the poetic art as an
imitative art and faculty analogous to painting. And let him not
merely be acquainted with the oft-repeated saying that "poetry is
articulate painting, and painting is inarticulate poetry," but let
us teach him in addition that when we see a lizard or an ape or the face of Thersites in a picture, we are pleased with it and admire it, not as a beautiful thing, but as a likeness.6

Plutarch is the transmitter of the enormously influential remark that painting is mute poetry, poetry a speaking picture, a remark which he elsewhere attributes to Simonides of Ceos (ca. 556-467 B.C.).7 He also extended the analogy with painting to biography, saying in his life of Alexander that

the noblest deeds do not always shew men's vertues and vices, but oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sport makes men's natural dispositions and manners appear more plain, than the famous battels won, wherein are slain ten thousand men, or the great armies, or cities won by siege or assault. For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no account of other parts of the body, do take the resemblances of the face and favour of the countenance, in the which consisteth the judgement of their manners and disposition: even so they must give us leave to seek out the signs and tokens of the mind only.8

When the artistic imitation of objective and psychological data was generally equated with naturalistic rendition, the term enargeia entered literary criticism. Originating in rhetoric, it initially signified the vividly evocative capacity of oratorical imagery, as opposed to the captivating quality of the poetical image. "An image has one purpose with the poets," says Longinus, "and . . . the design of the poetical image is enthralment, of the rhetorical—vivid description."9 But Longinus also shows the blurring that took place in this distinction between the rhetorical and the poetical image when he praises the vividness or enargeia of a scene in Simonides:

Magnificent, too, is the passage where the Greeks are on the point of sailing away and Achilles appears above his tomb to those who
are putting out to sea—a scene which I doubt whether anyone has depicted more vividly than Simonides.10

Two further developments in ancient criticism were important in assisting the growth of ut pictura poesis. The first of these, the superior ranking given the sense of sight in the hierarchy of the senses, obviously reinforces the importance of poetical enargeia, the conception of vivid, likelike evocation. Aristotle held imagination "impossible without sensation," as occurring only "in beings that are perciipient." He wrote that "the name phantasia (imagination) has been formed from phaos (light) because it is not possible to see without light," because percipience, sight, "is the most highly developed sense."11 For Plato, Horace, and Cicero, sight is also the superior sense, and the widespread notion following from this, that metaphors are best directed to the eye, is given clear formulation by Cicero:

Every metaphor, provided it be a good one, has a direct appeal to the senses, especially the sense of sight which is the keenest: for while the rest of the senses supply such metaphors as 'the fragrance of good manners,' 'the softness of a humane spirit,' 'the roar of the waves,' 'a sweet style of speaking,' the metaphors drawn from the sense of sight are much more vivid, virtually placing within the range of our mental vision objects not actually visible to our sight.12

The second development was the spread of a conception of ideal beauty opposed to that of Platonism and Neoplatonism, both of which philosophies discouraged the imitation of nature in favour of the supernatural world which lay behind visible form and in which alone ideal beauty could be found. The alternative notion of ideal beauty, shared by Cicero, Seneca, and many others, was much more congenial to
the association of painting and poetry since it derived its ideal of
the beautiful, not by transcending nature, but by generalizing and
synthesizing the ingredients found in nature. Such ideal beauty,
 ARISING FROM OBSERVATION AND EXPERIENCE, was expressed as nature cor-
rected or improved.

The most important example in classical antiquity of how such
ideal beauty could be achieved was the famous anecdote, repeated every-
where, of how the famous painter, Zeuxis, painted Helen of Troy. Attempting perfect beauty, Zeuxis chose five of the most beautiful
virgins in the city, selecting from each the partial perfections which
he fitted together into a perfect whole for his picture. Thus, though
imitating nature, he also methodized it, making it nobler than reality
through a process of selection and combination. The ideal beauty
sought by Zeuxis is closely related to the Aristotelian idealization
of nature which saw painting as the example of how nature could be
heightened without being destroyed. Later, in the neo-classical period,
it would be familiar as la belle nature.

If the foregoing criticism constitutes "the intellectual foun-
dation of the neoclassical" with respect to ut pictura poesis, the
literature of ancient Greece and Rome constitutes one of the richest
and most varied expressions within the tradition that was to be inher-
ited by neo-classicism.

The work of the great ancient painters, such as Polygnotus,
Zeuxis, Parrhasius, and Apelles, has been lost and cannot be discussed
as source for the pictorial in classical literature. However, the
association of verbal and graphic art, which antedates all written criticism, is well shown by iconic poetry.

The first great example of this kind of poetry, in which the poet responds to real or imaginary works of art, is Homer's lengthy description in the *Iliad* of the shield constructed for Achilles by Hephaestus. This description, an expression of Homer's predilection for the useful, ornamented object; or, viewed in terms of the poem's epic action, a celebration of a symbol of military glory; and whose details, such as the city at war and the city at peace, relate to the meaning of the poem as a whole, is at bottom and most importantly a description of a work of art. The miracle of the shield lies in its metalled simulation of sound, rhythm, dance, colour, and moral qualities. It is life itself, and the wonder of the shield lies in this imitation of nature.

The largest collection of iconic poems in ancient times, *The Greek Anthology*, is made up of seven different kinds of epigram, of which the art epigrams are prominent. The art epigram retained the marks of its origin as verse inscription on statue, tomb, or column, and was one of the oldest devices whereby the statue, urn, or monument could be made to speak to the beholder. It was to persist for centuries, evidencing itself, for example, on the flagstone on Shakespeare's grave in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Stratford, on the statuary and benches of eighteenth-century landscape gardens, and in the epigram spoken by Keats' silent Grecian urn. Again and again the epigrams of the *Anthology*, in the manner of the following examples dedicated to
Myron's heifer, praise the deceptions of illusionistic art:

717. Either a complete hide of bronze clothes here a real cow, or the bronze has a soul inside it.

734. In vain, bull, thou rushest up to this heifer, for it is lifeless. The sculptor of cows, Myron, deceived thee.18

Hellenistic or Alexandrian pictorialism had behind it not only the iconic poetry of Homer and the earlier art epigram but also iconic passages in Greek drama, such as an admiring choric description of temple buildings and statues in Euripedes Ion (ll. 184-218), and the pictorially designed lyrics of Anacreon, who established the convention of the poet's summoning and instructing a craftsman or painter to create an art object according to specifications laid down in the poem.19 This convention provided a means of ordering visual detail in poetry and at the same time achieved the necessary quality of enargeia.

Similar conventions and the tradition of mythological representation appear in the great Latin poets. Virgil, though interested in the effects of art objects rather than the objects themselves, describes in the Aeneid the paintings of the Temple of Juno and the shield of Aeneas. Petronius Arbiter in the Satyricon visits an art gallery and describes illusionistic paintings by Zeuxis, Protogenes, and Apelles after the manner of the Greek anthologists. Ovid describes in the Metamorphoses the soaring Temple of Sol, its huge bronze and gold pillars, its doors and figured panels, and the statuesque personifications of the Seasons within. In the same work he also gives us the lengthy descriptions of the tapestries woven during the contest between Arachne and Minerva.20
The iconic tradition was not confined to poetry. Since enargeia was originally associated with rhetoric, it not unexpectedly appears prominently in such forms of prose expression as Plutarch's Lives; Varro's De imaginibus, a "sort of illustrated biographical dictionary"; and the long prose descriptions of real and imaginary paintings in the Imagines of the writers Philostratus the Elder, Philostratus the Younger, and Callistratus. Philostratus the Elder, besides providing fulsome descriptions of the sensuous in painting, also stresses the importance of the expression in art of human character and emotion.

Finally, two other prose forms must be mentioned since they display very clearly the close relationship between pictorialism and total structure. These are the Greek romance and moral allegory.

In Longus' romance, Daphnis and Chloe, a picture inspires the narrator to compose a literary pendant using the help of an interpreter who points out to him the significance of the scenes making up the picture. The unAristotelian narrative form resulting from this develops as a series of tableaux, the reading of which resembles a tour through a gallery of paintings and statues, a movement from scene to scene. Similarly, in the once-popular moral allegory, the Painting, by Kebes of Thebes, the narrator, standing baffled before a large, allegorical painting, is given an explanation of its meaning by a stranger whose account, presented with constant reference to the picture, ranges over the whole moral life of man. The total structure of the Painting is more dependent upon its pictorial reference than that
of Daphnis and Chloe or that of other moral allegories in prose.

Allegory, romance, and prose description, together with biography, epic, drama, epigram, and lyric, demonstrate the range and types of pictorial expression in ancient literature, the richness of the expression which paved the way for ut pictura poesis in future literature.

In the medieval centuries that succeeded the period of classical antiquity Christian anti-paganism did not destroy the heritage of the classical past, though it modified it very severely, including its literary pictorialism. Classical pictorialism, in fact, persisted during the medieval period, a fact easily perceivable in the Carolingian and Ottonian renaissances and in the medieval custom of allegorizing descriptions of wall pictures, temples, palaces, and their ornamentation. The narrative method in such allegory, "originally forced into existence by a profound moral revolution occurring in the latter days of paganism," when "for reasons of which we know nothing at all," "men's gaze was turned inward," is similar to the unAristotelian method of the Greek romance and prose allegory. The painted walls of Guillaume de Lorris' garden in the Romance of the Rose, Chaucer's Temples of Venus, Mars, and Diana in the "Knight's Tale," and his House of Fame stem, ultimately, from the palaces of Virgil, Ovid, and other writers of antiquity.

The essential difference between the naturalistic pictorialism of classical antiquity (including its medieval continuation) and Christian pictorialism is explained by the fact that during the Middle
Ages the analogy between painting and poetry became irrelevant. Works of art were no longer evaluated in terms of their truth to nature because a fundamental change had taken place in the conception of nature itself. Nature was no longer simply the objective, physical world but a huge symbolic manifestation utterly beyond the comprehension of the eye alone. It was no longer possible to view it as a satisfactory subject for painting, naturalistic or allegorical, because, as in Plato's philosophy, its true meaning could be appropriated by the mind alone.

The difference between the equivalence of the material and the immaterial in a Kebes or a Chaucer and their equivalence in a Dante or a Bernini has been expressed by C. S. Lewis as the difference between allegory and "sacramentalism":

On the one hand you can start with an immaterial fact, such as the passions which you actually experience, and can then invent visibilia to express them . . . This is allegory . . . . But there is another way of using the equivalence, which is almost the opposite of allegory, and which I would call sacramentalism or symbolism. If our passions, being immaterial, can be copied by material inventions, then it is possible that our material world in its turn is the copy of an invisible world. As the god Amor and his figurative garden are to the actual passions of men, so perhaps we ourselves and our 'real' world are to something else. The attempt to read that something else through its sensible imitations, to see the archetype in the copy, is what I mean by symbolism or sacramentalism.24

Verisimilitude, then, was understood in the medieval period very differently from the way it had been understood in antiquity and from the way it would be understood again in the Renaissance. Similitude was still important, but now it occupied itself not only with new subjects—patriarch, prophet, disciple, saint, martyr, sinner, and Saviour—but also, and even more important, with the new ends to be served by visual
art. Sacramental pictorialism sought to embody and express supersensory reality rather than sensory, to evoke a sense of awe, reverence, and mystery rather than to achieve enargeia. The miracle is no longer that of the difficulté vaincue of Hephaestus' shield, where the likeness of living reality is wrought in inorganic stone and metal; it is now the embodiment of invisible and supernatural reality in the material, as exemplified in the visual art of medieval Western Europe and Byzantium. One consequence of this development is the new freedom of imagination for the artist which replaces the Horatian principle of subordination to reality: heavenly vision is now more important than earthly observation.

As the Italian and, later, the English Renaissance revived the ancient texts, they also revived the ancient tradition of ut pictura poesis. Plato, Aristotle, and Horace were everywhere quoted approvingly, emerging in Renaissance thinking as the founders of a definite theory of pictorialism rather than writers who had merely furnished suggestive hints and parallels. The transformation of ancient pictorialist ideas expressed in this Renaissance attitude is epitomized in the changed meaning of the Horatian phrase ut pictura poesis from "poetry is like painting" or "as the painting, so the poem" to "a poem ought to resemble a painting."²⁵ A casual observation is transformed into a "form of esthetic legislation"²⁶ about the sister arts, and ut pictura poesis, associated in ancient times with the notion of vivid, lifelike simulation of nature, with enargeia, once again, though in a new intensified form, comes to serve the purposes of artistic naturalism.
This is reflected in the criticism of the English Renaissance. Ben Jonson, for example, writes that

Poetry and pictures are arts of a like nature, and both are busy about imitation. It was excellently said of Plutarch, poetry was a speaking picture, and picture a mute poesy. For they both invent, feign, and devise many things, and accommodate all they invent to the use and service of nature. He says further that "whosoever loves not picture is injurious to truth and all the wisdom of poetry." For "picture is the invention of heaven, the most ancient and most akin to nature." Sidney implies the principle when he defines poetry as "an art of imitation," "that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth—to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture." The same pictorialist language appears when he says the "peerless poet" gives a "perfect picture" of what the historian and philosopher recommend, that philosophy lies dark unless "illuminated or figured forth by the speaking picture of Poesy." Jonson's high praise of "picture" reflects the fact that ut pictura poesis had recharged itself with the ancient quality of enargeia. However, since the visual arts in the English Renaissance were not comparable to the Italian, English Renaissance pictorialism remains, like Chaucerian pictorialism, mainly a literary phenomenon. It expresses itself in terms of the ideals of critics like Jonson or in terms of the iconic tradition and previous poetic pictorialism. Nonetheless, a few examples will show that, though not inspired directly by contemporary visual art, English Renaissance pictorialism continued to flow strongly.
Shakespeare's description of the large historical tapestry or painting in *The Rape of Lucrece* (I. 1366-1582) on the Fall of Troy goes back to the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* and recalls the Temple of Venus in the *Aeneid*, the tapestries of Arachne and Minerva in the *Metamorphoses*, and the wall paintings of the "Knight's Tale" in the *Canterbury Tales*. However, Shakespeare dramatically and originally exploits the relationship between illusion and life, between the silent lifelikeness of painting and the articulate beholder, by making the ravished Lucrece turn to the painting in her distress and search out among its lamentable objects, which, "in scorn of nature, art gave lifeless life," the figure of "despairing Hecuba" as a mirror of her own sorrows. The dramatic relation established between Lucrece and the painting goes beyond the mere description of ancient iconic poetry or the characteristic moralizing of medieval iconic poetry.

Technical advances in painting, such as the discovery of perspective, greatly increased the power of painting to create illusionistic effects, thereby stimulating the old fear that art, now more natural than nature without being nature, was a dangerous deception. How this iconoclastic tendency affected pictorial expression in the Renaissance can be seen in the elaborate description of the Bower of Bliss in the *Faerie Queene*, a description also in the tradition of Achilles' shield. Spenser's artful, natural-seeming, lifelike Bower is certainly presented as dangerous and evil. But it is not so presented because illusionistic art is dangerous in itself. The Bower is evil because it accords art primacy over nature, because the work of art that is the Bower has been
allowed to usurp the place of nature for evil purposes.

In Bassanio's speech on Portia's miniature in The Merchant of Venice, Shakespeare also presents an aesthetic statement on the relation of art to nature. Discovering the miniature inside the casket, Bassanio refers to it as Portia's "counterfeit," an imitation that comes "near creation." It tricks the senses: "Move these eyes? / Or whether, riding on the balls of mine, / Seem they in motion?" And yet the miniature is merely a "shadow" that "doth limp behind the substance."31

Bassanio's speech sets forth the theory dramatized in the action of The Winter's Tale, where the iconic tradition is used not to exalt art, as in Homer, but to celebrate nature at the expense of art, as in Spenser. Praise of the imagined statue in the last act follows the tradition going back to Homer that values verisimilitude in art. But Hermione is not, in fact, what she appears to be. When she steps down from her niche as a living woman the situation customary in the art epigram is reversed and art is shown not as defeating nature but as itself defeated by life. Here nature and actuality are given primacy over art.

A final example of interart collaboration in the English Renaissance is the masque spectacular. Closely related by its very nature to the pictorialist tradition, this marriage of image and word became, in the hands of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones, a form of speaking picture akin to the classical column or monument with its inscription in verse. The masque may have influenced the eighteenth-century presentation of allegorical figures. In Collins' poetry, for example, their
processional quality is pictorial in a masque-like way.

In the seventeenth century the most important development in the continuing tradition of *ut pictura poesis* is the transmutation of the classical icon into the baroque, the process whereby poetic imagery comes to model itself after the baroque images of visual art. This development is illustrated by the example of the emblem book.

Just as the masque joined the visual and the verbal, so too, in its different way, the emblem book joined image and word when it attached the poem as pendant to the allegorical scene or design. The verse inscription which had separated from the statue, urn, or monument upon which it had originally been engraved is reunited with them, so to speak, when they appear together again on the printed page as the emblem poem. The verse, which is often brief, witty, or commemorative, is, in fact, reminiscent of the epigram. Emblem books, whether social, political, or religious, were alike in bringing the visual and the verbal together, in associating the sensuous and the abstractly intellectual. Austin Warren comments on the consequence of this form of pictorial reinforcement of poetry:

The influence on poetry was not only to encourage the metaphorical habit but to impart to the metaphors a hardness, a palpability which, merely conceived, they were unlikely to possess. And yet the metaphors ordinarily analogized impalpabilities—states of the soul, concepts, abstractions. The effect was a strange tension between materiality and spirituality which almost defines the spirit of the Counter-Reformation.32

Just as the epigram, once separated from the art object, frequently remained iconic in its dedication to an imagined sculpture or
monument, so too the emblem poem, detached from its graphic symbol, often remained iconic in its central concern with an image or design. The poems of Francis Quarles, for example, have often been printed without their original designs. And some of Herbert's poems, though never accompanied by visual emblems, verbally imply images and designs taking the place of the engraved scenes of emblem verse and serving as graphic embodiments of the abstract meaning of the poems. "The Collar," "The Pulley," "The Windows," and "Church Monuments" are instances. Occasionally, too, in "pattern" poems like "The Altar" or "Easter Wings," Herbert less subtly focuses attention on the object in the title by outlining its shape in the printed form of the poem on the page.

Such emblematic poetry is not descriptive in the manner of Homer's description of Achilles' shield or Spenser's depiction of the Bower or Bliss. Herbert neither contemplates nor describes the object, alluding to it only for the purpose of trading in subtle correspondences or witty comparison. Poetry of this kind, by revealing a closeness between the sister arts in a period of little critical demand for verisimilitude, invites comment on the nature of baroque art.

Poetry and painting were sister arts in antiquity and the Renaissance because of their common fidelity to visible nature. The very different reason for their association during the baroque period is twofold. Firstly, baroque art, like medieval Christian art, was didactic, using line, colour, form, and mass in the same way that the emblem poem used its accompanying scene or design, and for the same
ends. Just as the picture in the emblem poem was the bait for the instructional hook in the poetry, so forms of expression in baroque art found their central importance in the religious experience, the confrontation of the supersensory, which they made possible for the beholder. Secondly, baroque art was congenial to the association of poetry and painting because by its very nature it tended to blur distinctions between all the visual arts. Austin Warren writes of the "exuberant, rhetorical, sensual, grandiose" style of the baroque that

the repose and symmetry of Renaissance art have yielded to agitation, aspiration, ambition, an intense striving to transcend the limits of each genre. Sculpture and architecture would elicit the effects of painting; painting—weepy of exact draftsmanship, clearly outlined masses, grouping within the plane, and the architectural fitting of the design to the square or circle of the canvas—would move upward or backward, would anticipate the agility of the cinema, would flow, would disappear into modulated glooms or dissolve into luminosity. In architecture, all is splendor and surprise: polychrome marble, gold coffering, life-size and un-tranquil statues, ceilings frescoed so as to open the basilican horizontal into a firmament of floating angels, ingenious perspectives, façades designed not to reveal the construction but to be, in themselves, impressive.33

Art of this kind, seeking to show the insubstantial through the substantial, generating the "strange tension between materiality and spirituality" characteristic of emblem poetry, and dedicating itself to transporting the beholder beyond itself to other realities, invites a more than purely aesthetic response. It challenges and involves the whole mind and soul. Toward this end all the visual arts conspire, and in this conspiracy lies much of the explanation for the close association of the sister arts.

Ut pictura poesis in the English seventeenth century is more
easily discernible in emblematic poetry than in metaphysical. The sensuous descriptions of art objects by the Elizabethans are not matched in the work of Donne and his school. Metaphysical poetry is psychological, dramatic, and witty, but seldom descriptive or visual, and still less pictorial.

Nonetheless, as the indirectly emblematic poetry of Herbert shows, metaphysical poetry did have its pictorial moments. An excellent example is Marvell's "The Gallery," a poem which metaphorically locates a picture gallery in the soul of the poet. Though fundamentally psychological projections, the scenes displayed in the paintings hung in this gallery retain the objectivity of iconic poetry and are reminiscent of similar scenes in Italian painting of the seventeenth century or earlier. "The Gallery" also exemplifies the "picture-gallery" method of organizing poetical detail previously seen in Greek romance and Kebes' Painting, a method which leads the reader from scene to scene, image to image. It will appear again in the poetry of the eighteenth century.

What "The Gallery" is to the secular mood of the English seventeenth century (and the poetry of Herbert to its devotional mood), Crashaw's poem, "THE FLAMING HEART Upon the book and picture of the seraphical Saint Teresa, as she is usually expressed with a seraphim beside her," is to the religious mood of the Continental baroque. The title indicates the iconic character of this emotionally charged poem. It not only shares the emblematic quality of Herbert's and other poetry of the period but also displays the Anacreontic tendency to address and instruct the artist, engaging in fierce expostulation with
the painter over his method of representing the saint.

Similarly, though without the emotional intensity of Crashaw and for a different purpose, Marvell, in his "Last Instructions to a Painter," addresses a painter engaged on a representation of "Lady State." In this poem the analogy with painting is useful since it suggests that the poem's satirical message, like painting, mirrors actuality, that it is as believable and real as painted reality. This kind of pictorialism is particularly relevant to neo-classicism.

The final strain to be considered in seventeenth-century English poetry is closely related to the doctrine of expression seen before in Plutarch and Philostratus, and important during the Renaissance when the great power of painting was understood to be the utilization of physical data to express character, intention, or morality. In the century of Lely's and Van Dyck's portraits it was also widely felt that painting, though limited to the visible, could reveal the psychological and the moral, that it demonstrated for the poet the revelation of inner reality. Lovelace, for example, found Lely's art significant in its naturalistic representation of states of mind. In the poem to his friend Lely on "That Excellent Picture" of the King and the Duke of York "Drawne By Him At Hampton-Court," Lovelace rejects the old, crude "hieroglyphicks" of the naïve symbolism in which "only a black beard cried villaine" and extols Lyly's more sophisticated combination of the outer "colour" with the inner "flame":

Thou sorrow canst designe without a teare,  
And with the man his very hope or feare;
So that th' amazed world shall henceforth finde
None but my Lilly ever drew a minde.35

Inspired by painters, poets thus seem "to have taken large strides toward rejecting the metaphysically hieroglyphic and recommending the naturally symbolic."36 Lovelace anticipates the simple, naturalistic icon of the next century which was to express psychological and moral truth without violating natural resemblance.
FOOTNOTES


3 15, 1454b-1455a, ibid., p. 644.


5 Ibid., p. 397.


7 Moralia, 346f.


Hagstrum (Sister Arts, p. 12) differentiates between Aristotelian energia and Plutarchan enargeia: "Poetry possesses energia when it has achieved its final form and produces its proper pleasure, when it has achieved its own independent being quite apart from its analogies with nature or another art, and when it operates as an autonomous form with an effective working power of its own. But Plutarch, Horace, and the later Hellenistic and Roman critics found poetry effective when it achieved verisimilitude—when it resembled nature or a pictorial representation of nature. For Plutarchian enargeia, the analogy with painting is important; for Aristotelian energia, it is not."
On the Sublime, xv, 7, Roberts, p. 89.


Hagstrum, Sister Arts, p. 16.

XVIII, 474-607. Hagstrum (p. 18, n. 34) justifies the application of the adjective "iconic" to verse descriptions of real or imagined art objects by the precedent of Lucian and Philostratus, who referred to their prose works in this category as eikones.

H. J. Rose (A Handbook of Greek Literature From Homer to the Age of Lucian, New York: Dutton, 1960, pp. 347-350) briefly outlines the history of the Anthology, its contributors, the kinds and fashions of its epigrams.

The inscription on the stone over Shakespeare's grave utters the famous warning:

GOOD FREND FOR IESVS SAKE FORBEARE,
TO DIGG THE DVST ENCLOASED HEARE!
BLESTE BE YE MAN YT SPARES THES STONES,
AND CURST BE HE YT MOVES MY BONES.

The words on the tablet containing his bust also speak to the passerby:

STAY PASSENGER, WHY GOEST THOV BY SO FAST?
READ IF THOV CANST, WHOM ENVIOVS DEATH HATH PLAST,
WITH IN THIS MONVMENT SHAKSPEARE . . .


In one example (Anacreontics 28, trans. Thomas Stanley, in The Greek Poets, ed. Moses Hadas, The Modern Library, New York: Random House, 1953, pp. 191-192) the poet requests the painter to "come, my absent mistress take, / As I shall describe her," the iconic description of the desired painting being at the same time a lyrical tribute to the beauty of the mistress.


Vulcan, contrive me such a cup
As Nestor used of old:
Show all thy skill to trim it up,
Damask it round with gold.

Aeneid, I, 446-493; VIII, 626-731; Satyricon, 83, 88, 89; Metamorphoses, II, 1-30; VI, 1-145.

For the attribution of literary works, including the "two collections of descriptions of pictures, probably imaginary," among the four men who bore the name "Philostratus," see H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Literature, p. 403.

Of the doctrine of expression in relation to Philostratus, Hagstrum asserts (p. 31) that "none before and few since have so strikingly exploited the doctrine of expression as a means of making graphic value available to literary art." Philostratus "treated visual art as literature; and that is a first step absolutely requisite to the second, that of using graphic art in literature."


Hagstrum (pp. 59-62) traces the changing interpretation of the phrase ut pictura poesis, "one of the most frequently cited texts of ancient criticism," from the classical period to the time of the "dogmatic intensification" of the phrase in Renaissance critical theory.


28. Ibid.


33. Ibid., p. 1078.

34. Ibid., p. 929.


CHAPTER II

THE SISTER ARTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The genealogy of *ut pictura poesis* traced in the previous chapter reveals that literary pictorialism is not an isolated phenomenon limited to one period or literary genre. A long-flourishing tradition within the history of poetry, it had exhibited from the time of its beginnings in early antiquity until the eighteenth century many changes in the art of constructing poetic icons. Of greatest importance among these numerous modifications were two antithetical verbal icons that arose in response to great, alternating shifts in social, philosophical, and aesthetic history. These icons, central to the history of *ut pictura poesis*, are illustrated respectively by the naturalistic practice of antiquity and the Renaissance, whose pictorial image was characterized by the rhetorical and critical idea of *enargeia*, or vivid lifelikeness of representation; and by the medieval, and later the baroque, tendency to dissociate the pictorial from the material and natural in order to integrate it with the immaterial and supernatural. The imagery of Augustan poetry, viewed against this background, falls into the pictorialist tradition of classical and Renaissance times.

The English eighteenth century, like the Italian sixteenth century, turned its attention to the enthusiastic contemplation of nature. Leonardo da Vinci was translated and the metaphorical mirror applied to literature. In its basic realism, its idealization of nature, and the
new degree of intimacy it established between painter and poet, the
eighteenth century followed the tradition of Horace, Plutarch, and
Cicero, of Italian critics like Leon Battisti Alberti, and Italian
painters like Leonardo.¹

But Augustan poetic pictorialism was not simply an eighteenth-
century continuation of Renaissance pictorialism. For although neo-
classical poetry was concerned with the imitation of nature and with
"correctness," and was opposed to the inelegance and unnaturalness of
seventeenth-century emblematic expression, its pictorial imagery was
nonetheless affected by the culture of the baroque period intervening
between it and the Renaissance. Despite the hostility of the Enlighten-
ment towards what C. S. Lewis has termed "sacramentalism," the
influence of the baroque art of the seventeenth century modified the
pictorial qualities of neo-classical imagery and played an important
part in shaping the icon characteristic of neo-classical verse.

How Augustan pictorialism developed upon the foundation of pre-
ceding tradition is best shown by outlining the historical developments
that established the pictorial standards and models of the period, and
by glancing at the intellectual background of neo-classicism, particularly
at two central meanings attached to that "most pregnant word in the
terminology of all the normative provinces of thought in the West,"²
the word "nature." These considerations are basic to an understanding
of neo-classical pictorialism, and a discussion of them, beginning with
the evolution of eighteenth-century taste in painting, will largely
constitute the business of this chapter.³
Until the accession of Charles I to the throne in 1625 the condition of the graphic arts in England remained comparatively undeveloped. Under the patronage of Charles, however, painting was encouraged and a royal collection built up (later sold to pay off debts). Charles delighted in displaying to foreign visitors the masterpieces his agents had procured for him in Europe; it has been said of him that he "might have made an excellent Italian Duke." He induced Van Dyck to come to England and is thus responsible for the famous portraiture that almost merged with the native British movement (some of Van Dyck’s most famous works "creating a model that lasted until the end of the great tradition of English portrait painting, through Dobson, Lely, Reynolds, and Gainsborough to Lawrence"). And in commissioning Rubens’ work in the Banqueting House in Whitehall (Rubens’ only surviving ceiling), Charles is also responsible for the introduction into England of the grandiose style of the Continental baroque.

During the seventeenth century travel began to increase and the route of the Grand Tour established itself. The peace treaty with Spain in 1604 normalized relations and thereafter the English traveller could visit Italy safely and contemplate its Renaissance and baroque wonders without fear. By mid-century one of these travellers, John Evelyn, was admiring and praising in his Diary the work of such Italian artists as Raphael, Leonardo, Michelangelo, Correggio, the Carracci, Guido Reni, Arpino, Caravaggio, Bernini, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, and Bellini.

The influence of classical precedent in literature also advanced
an awareness of painting and its appreciation in cultivated seventeenth-century Englishmen. Philostratus was quoted, and Pliny's writings on the history of art showed the classical reader that ancient Rome had possessed and been conscious of an artistic tradition. Influential examples of Italian pictorialism were also known in the century. Marvell's poem, "The Gallery," was influenced in title and form (a description of pictures hung in a gallery) by the Galeria of the Neapolitan poet, Giambattista Marino, whose collection of iconic poetry was largely devoted to descriptions of real paintings. Marino's work revealed a new, baroque relationship between poet and art object in which the icon represented a kind of objective correlative for the emotion expressed in the poem. Also known was the Lives of the Italian Neoplatonist critic, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, a work which differed significantly from the Lives of Giorgio Vasari. For Vasari, who was known in the earlier seventeenth century through Italian and French versions and later in an abbreviated English translation, very seldom made use of poetry in his explanations and criticisms of paintings and works of art, while Bellori (and, to a lesser extent, other Italian critics, such as Carlo Ridolfi and Felippo Baldinucci) looked upon paintings as moral or literary texts manifesting supersensory or religious meaning. Bellori, as indifferent to the limitations of individual arts as a baroque artist, combined verbal and graphic expression and saw a profound association between poetry and painting. Nonetheless, it was the unpictorialist Vasari rather than these other Italian critics and historians of art who was most instrumental in introducing to England, as the greatest achievement
in the history of graphic art, the painting of the High Renaissance in Italy.  

That poets in the seventeenth century paid tribute to well-known painters has already been shown in the citation from Lovelace's poem to Lely. Similar tributes and the friendships formed between poet and painter helped to elevate the prestige of painting and anticipated the intimate relations that would exist between the sister arts in the eighteenth century. Lely was additionally accorded praise by his friend Charles Cotton. Waller wrote a poem eulogizing Van Dyke; and Herrick, in lines addressed to his nephew, a painter, listed a series of names which suggested the emergence of an artistic hierarchy:

On, as thou hast begun, brave youth, and get  
The Palme from Urbin, Titian, Tintarret,  
Brugel and Coxie, and the workes out-doe,  
Of Holben, and that mighty Ruben too.  
So draw, and paint, as none may do the like,  
No, not the glory of the World, Vandike.

During the Restoration the royal collections, inaugurated during the reign of Charles I, continued to grow, and the scale of private collecting enlarged itself as, increasingly, pictures were acquired by aristocrats like the Dukes of Buckingham, Devonshire, Grafton, and Lauderdale, and the Earls of Essex, Arlington, Rutland, and Sunderland; by commoners like William Cartwright, Dr. Walter Charleton, Sir Francis Child, Sir William Coventry, Roger North, and Sir William Temple; and by painters such as Sir Peter Lely and Prosper Henry Lankrinck.  

Toward the end of the century Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy's 1637 Latin poem, De arte graphica, having been translated into French prose
and provided with notes by Roger de Piles, was introduced into England by Dryden. Dryden's 1695 translation was prefaced by his own "Parallel of Poetry and Painting," which, together with his translation of Dufresnoy and the notes of the influential Roger de Piles, "forms for us English-speaking people the handiest introduction to that long-lived esthetic theory founded upon the proposition Ut pictura poesis."  

The seventeenth-century developments which were leading to the establishment of a criterion of artistic excellence also paved the way for the congenial reception given Dufresnoy's poem, a work which transmitted to Englishmen a knowledge of Italian art through the medium of French criticism. In his opening paragraph Dufresnoy quotes Simonides and Horace, saying, in Dryden's translation, that

"Painting and Poesy are two sisters, which are so like in all things, that they mutually lend to each other both their name and office. One is called a dumb poesy, and the other a speaking picture. . . . those things which the poets have thought unworthy of their pens, the painters have judged to be unworthy of their pencils."

In joining together the two most famous ancient texts on the relations between painting and poetry and attributing to both arts a commonness of subject matter, Dufresnoy reveals an intensification of the meaning of ut pictura poesis exceeding even that achieved during the Italian Renaissance. A literal translation of the first line of his poem, whose dogmatic quality is softened by Dryden's above-cited translation, reads:

"As a picture, so a poem will be; likewise let a painting be similar to poetry." 

Dryden's "Parallel of Poetry and Painting" reflects the existence
of a developing national taste in painting by referring to Holbein, Rubens, Van Dyck, Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, Poussin, and Correggio. Besides drawing the important general analogy between painting and poetry, the "Parallel" also elaborates mechanically certain artificial correspondences between the two arts. Elements of painting such as invention, disposition, design, and colour, are made analogous to their corresponding elements in poetry. Thus, to Dryden, expression in poetry (diction, versification, metaphor, simile, and "all the other elegancies of sound") executes exactly the function that colour does in painting. Expression in poetry, like colour on design, is applied after moral, fable, or plot have been planned.

Since the creation of an ideal of artistic excellence meant that there was now a model for pictorial poetry to follow, the renewed demand that poetry follow painting made more sense to Englishmen than ever before. Knowledgeable interest in Dufresnoy's poem became a sign "betraying the presence of pictorialist theory" throughout the eighteenth century, a period in which "the curve of Dufresnoy's popularity corresponded to the popularity of the views his opening lines express." Dryden's translation was followed by Defoe's in 1720; Wright's in 1728; James Wells' in 1765; and William Mason's in 1783, with notes by Joshua Reynolds. The poem was also admired by Shaftesbury, Pope, Gray, and Johnson (who used it often to illustrate the terminology of painting in his Dictionary).

The seventeenth-century activities and tendencies responsible for the taste in painting shared by Dryden, Pope, and Thomson, their
contemporaries and followers, intensified during the Augustan age. Foreign travel expanded greatly, together with the output of associated guidebooks and descriptive accounts; the importance of the tours taken by Addison, Thomson, and Gray is considerable. Collecting became widespread; poets were likely to possess prints, engravings, perhaps even some original oils. The art collections of Prior, Burke, and Thomson, for example, contribute to our understanding of their taste and that of the age. The rising popularity of treatises on the arts helped spread the knowledge of painting abroad and propagated more and more widely the belief that poetry and painting were sister arts. Eighteenth-century poets were frequently on the best of terms with painters, numbering them sometimes among their closest friends. On occasion, like Pope, they even painted canvases themselves, trying their own hand at the sister art. They were likely to have seen some of the great Renaissance or baroque paintings and statuary of Italy, and to be conversant with the history and criticism of art, or at least with its leading masters and schools, and with its terminology. Participating themselves in the connoisseurship of the age, they took for granted a similar degree of artistic sophistication in their readers, assuming on their behalf a knowledge of graphic art beyond what poets could have expected in any previous period. The new degree of knowledge, appreciation, and love of painting shown by all these developments reflected itself most clearly in the pervasive custom of employing the terms of painting in literary criticism, referring to poets as painters, and seeing poetry as a form of painting. This habit became more
widespread in the eighteenth century than ever before.

The practice of considering poetry in terms of painting was not unknown in classical and Renaissance criticism, but now it was common wherever poetry was discussed. Lord Chesterfield recommended Ariosto to his son because "his painting is excellent," and Gray said of Shakespeare that "every word in him is a picture." The critics echoed the thinking of Dryden's earlier comment that "imaging is . . . the very height and life of poetry" since it "makes it seem to us that we behold those things which the poet paints." They illustrated the tendency to act upon the idea of ut pictura poesis as though it were a law, constantly drawing or implying the analogy between painting and poetry. Joseph Warton, discussing Thomson's *Seasons*, praises him for scenes that are "frequently as wild and romantic as those of Salvator Rosa," since they are "pleasingly varied with precipices and torrents, and 'castled cliffs,' and deep vallies, with piny mountains, and the gloomiest caverns." He lauds a Thomsonian "assemblage of circumstances" as "full, particular and picturesque," and is pleased by a "groupe" so "minutely delineated" as to be "worthy the pencil of Giacomo da Bassano," who "might have worked from this sketch." Warton's Essay is crowded with similar examples. Thomas Warton felt that Milton's description of Michael as an armed angel must have derived from an Italian painting "and particularly one by Raphael, where Michael, clad in celestial panoply, triumphs over Satan chained." Nichols remarked of Fielding that "his works exhibit a series of pictures drawn with all the descriptive fidelity of a Hogarth." Goldsmith compared the characters of
Addison's *Cato* with the figures in the paintings of Poussin, seeing both as drawn faultlessly from the antique. And Webb, after quoting a passage from the *Aeneid* (I, 590) which expressed the "finest effect of clear obscure that perhaps ever entered into the imagination of either poet or painter," added that "the poet must have had in his eye some celebrated picture in this style."^25

Just as further examples beyond Dufresnoy and Dryden might be cited to show detailed parallels attributing to poetry the same principles of design as painting, so a host of instances might additionally illustrate the custom in literary criticism of regarding poems as pictures in words. Of these, one or two indicating the eighteenth-century capacity to evoke full-blown pictorial scenes from the barest of visual hints might usefully be cited. Joseph Warton provides an excellent example. Discussing Dryden's "Song for St. Cecilia's Day" (1867), he quotes the one stanza in the poem containing a degree of pictorial suggestiveness:

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What Passion cannot MUSICK raise and quell!
When Jubal struck the cowed Shell,
His list'ning Brethren stood around
And wond'ring, on their faces fell
To worship that Celestial Sound.\textsuperscript{26}
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Warton's response to this slight pictorial suggestion is surprisingly inventive:

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This is so complete and engaging a history-piece, that I knew a person of taste who was resolved to have it executed, if an artist could have been found, on one side of his saloon. In which case, said he, the painter has nothing to do, but to substitute colours for words, the design being finished to his hands.\textsuperscript{27}
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The Jonathon Richardsons exhibit the same remarkable response to slight visual hints. The younger Richardson, who felt that the pleasures of poetry lay in "the getting a fine collection of mental pictures," in "furnishing the mind with pleasing images," quotes passages of poetry felt by him to yield clear and complete "mental pictures" in "the Parmeggiano and in the Rafaelle taste." These passages, however, drawn from the poetry of Milton, who characteristically combines visual elements with unpictorial sensations of light, space, and the marvellous, merely demonstrate Richardson's ability to reduce the richness of Milton's combination of ingredients, visual and non-visual, to simple pictures. In their Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost the two Richardsons similarly declare that the proper response to Milton's poetry leads to "a Well-Chosen Collection of Poetical Pictures," and they comment in the same spirit on passages from his work: "a Wonderful picture," "Here is an amazing Picture," "I wish Rafaelle had attempted this."

The foregoing examples of poetry considered as painting indicate the intimacy existing between the sister arts, the extent to which the Horatian phrase ut pictura poesis served as virtual command to critic and poet, and the elevated status gained by painting in the eighteenth century. They confirm the widespread recognition of an ideal standard of performance and accomplishment in the graphic arts, showing thereby that pictorial poetry in the neo-classical period, as opposed to English medieval and Renaissance pictorial poetry, was not sustained by antecedent literature alone or primarily. Finally, the
examples cited above suggest that the taste for European painting and sculpture which now nourished pictorialism in poetry was based solidly on an unquestioning acceptance of the Italian Renaissance as one of the great ages in the history of man. Joseph Warton described the period of the Italian Renaissance as the fourth of five ages in the world "in which the human mind has exerted itself in an extraordinary manner; and in which its productions in literature and the fine arts have arrived at a perfection, not equalled in other periods." And Pope, in a compactly enthusiastic passage, extolled the Italian Renaissance as an awakening of the arts of antiquity from their medieval slumber to great and "golden" days:

But see! each Muse, in Leo's Golden Days,
Starts from her Trance, and trims her wither'd Bays!
Rome's ancient Genius, o'er its Ruins spread,
Shakes off the Dust, and rears his rev'rend Head!
Then Sculpture and her Sister-Arts revive;
Stones leap'd to Form, and Rocks began to live;
With sweeter Notes each rising Temple rung;
A Raphael painted, and a Vida sung!31

Eighteenth-century English taste did not seriously concern itself with early fifteenth-century Italian artists like Masaccio and Donatello. These artists were of interest, if at all, only as the predecessors of the great masters of the High Renaissance, who, in the standard taste, completely eclipsed earlier Renaissance painters and sculptors.

The most highly admired and acclaimed of High Renaissance painters was Raphael, the "divine painter." Joseph Warton speaks of the "beauty and sublimity of his genius," saying of his Vatican
frescoes that they are "worthy the great name he at present so deservedly possesses." 32 Jonathon Richardson praises him as "the great model of perfection" and makes the claim that, if all the painters were grouped in three classes according to merit, Raphael "must be allowed to possess the first alone." 33 This homage, which was nearly universal in England, does not reflect itself in the relations between the painting of Raphael and pictorialism in neo-classical poetry. Raphael's direct influence is less than that of painters considered inferior to him. His classicism, his idealization of form, and his naturalistic symbolism, though highly compatible with the literary values of neo-classicism, influenced poetry only indirectly—through Raphaelesque painters like Correggio, Giulio Romano, and Guido Reni.

Michelangelo's reputation declined during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century when it was often felt that his style was strained and his naturalism sometimes crude, florid, or grotesque. Later in the century, however, his reputation revived. Reynolds spoke of his "grandeur and severity" and regarded him as the greatest of all artists. 34 Burke's protégé, James Barry, a painter of the Sublime, became in 1769 "a furious enthusiast for Michael Angelo," 35 a fact which connects Michelangelo's rise in fame with the growth of the Burkeian Sublime.

Leonardo was known and admired more for the versatility of his cultural activities than for his painting. Thanks to his writing, which was known in translation, he was regarded as a "most singular Instance of an Universal Genius." 36
Titian, standing at the head of the Venetian school, appealed strongly to connoisseurs, critics, and poets, as did the Venetians ranking after him. The appeal of Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto, and the whole of the Venetian school lay in their alluring exhibition of the qualities demanded by criticism, in their vivacious, sensuous, naturalistic rendering of reality. Reynolds, it is true, found only "florid eloquence" in their "splendid or ornamental" style, to which he opposed the ideal of the "great" or "grand" style. But even he made an exception of Titian, who, "though his style is not as pure as that of many other of the Italian schools," was exempted from condemnation by a "sort of senatorial dignity" which "seems to become him handsomely."  

The high regard for the Flemish artist Rubens signifies a further, and extremely important, aspect of eighteenth-century taste in painting: the great admiration for the baroque masters of the Bolognese school. The general esteem for the Carracci, Domenichino, Guido Reni, as well as for other baroque artists such as Caravaggio, Rubens, and Nicolas Poussin, nearly rivalled the neo-classical admiration for the great painters of the Renaissance. English poets, in fact, were more likely to be directly indebted to these Bolognese and other baroque artists than to Raphael, Leonardo, Michelangelo, or Titian. Though English neo-classicism was fundamentally oriented toward the Italian Renaissance, rebelling against seventeenth-century metaphysical wit in poetry and "sacramentalism" in art, its poetry was nonetheless closer to and strongly influenced by the Bolognese "eclectics" and their followers, who joined the classicism of the High Renaissance with the
expressive and highly charged movement and energy associated with the baroque. This combination of values in the Bologna of the Carracci is paralleled in the London of Dryden and Pope. The classicism of Palladian architecture was accompanied by the baroque choir stalls carved in St. Paul's by Grinling Gibbons and by the massive, dramatic architecture of the "British Bernini," Vanbrugh. Neo-classical poetry reflected these opposed tendencies as well: the classical Dryden wrote odes with Rubensian visual imagery; the admirer of Raphael, Pope, was often reminiscent of Annibale Carracci; Thomson, who regarded the Renaissance highly, depended on Guido Reni rather than Raphael; and Gray set his borrowings from Raphael in the wilderness of nature or heroic tale.38

The eighteenth-century ideal of artistic excellence, then, emphasized the neo-classical orientation toward the Renaissance and classical Rome, fertilizing the ancient critical doctrine of ut pictura poesis not only with impulses from Renaissance painting but with suggestive influences from the painting of post-Renaissance Europe as well. Furthermore, it offered models for poetic pictorialism not only in actual paintings, painters, and schools of painting but also in the very art which it represented, the art of painting itself. The pictorial image in poetry could resemble painting, painter, or school; the poetic technique, the art of painting.

Poetic pictorialism as a technique resembling the art of painting can be understood in the light of what critics and aestheticians felt to be the most important characteristic of the art of painting: its
ability to produce its effect suddenly, in one revealing instant.

Leonardo, arguing the superiority of painter over poet, addressed these words to the poet:

The painter will surpass you because your pen will be worn out before you describe fully what the painter with his medium can represent at once. Your tongue will be paralyzed with thirst and your body with sleep and hunger, before you depict with words what the painter will show you in a moment.39

Dryden asserted that it was to "the advantage of painting, even above tragedy, that what this last represents in the space of many hours, the former shews us in one moment." Jonathon Richardson said that "painting pours ideas into our minds, words only drop them"; with painting "the whole scene opens at one view, whereas the other way lifts up the curtain by little and little." And Reynolds wrote that the painter "cannot, like the poet or historian, expatiate, and impress the mind with great veneration for the character of the hero or saint he represents"; he has "but one sentence to utter, but one moment to exhibit."40

This consciousness of a simultaneity of detail in painting similar to that in nature implies the same characteristic in the imagery emulating painting. And much of the pictorial imagery in neo-classical poetry does seem to duplicate this quality in painting. Neo-classical images often suggest, briefly and economically, physical detail; they frequently reduce motion or encompass it within a framework of stasis, hint at spatial simultaneity of detail, and evoke ideas. In doing this as visual images, they resemble the art of painting.

Finally, in addition to supporting ut pictura poesis, accenting
the orientation to Renaissance Italy and classical Rome, and offering the art of painting as model in addition to actual paintings and painters, the eighteenth-century artistic pantheon served yet another purpose. It helped to define neo-classical naturalism and idealism. Thus Titian and the Venetians, as well as seventeenth-century landscape painters, often exhibited the qualities of enargeia in their naturalistic representations, while Raphael, Annibale Carracci, and Nicolas Poussin frequently displayed the statuesque idealization typical of Augustan poetic images. Neo-classical naturalism and idealism represent and express the two kinds of "nature" whose clarification was earlier described as important to an understanding of neo-classical pictorialism. Discussion of these two ideas will comprise the remainder of this chapter.

Eighteenth-century literary and artistic naturalism and idealism are expressions respectively of visible, concrete, particular nature and typical, generic, archetypal nature. Jonathon Richardson makes a common distinction when he characterizes the painting of North and South Europe in terms of naturalism and idealism:

There is some degree of merit in a picture where nature is exactly copied, though in a low subject; such as drolls, country-wakes, flowers, landscapes, etc., and more in proportion as the subject rises, or the end of the picture is this exact representation. Herein the Dutch, and Flemish masters have been equal to the Italians, if not superior to them in general. What gives the Italians, and their masters the ancients the preference, is, that they have not servilely followed common nature, but raised, and improved, or at least have always made the best choice of it. 41

Naturalism and idealism are also implied clearly in Johnson's double
definition of the word "mirror," a word prominent in literary criticism since the time of Plato. Johnson defines the word as a "looking-glass; anything which exhibits representations of objects by reflection," and as a "pattern . . . on which the eye ought to be fixed"; an "exemplar; an archetype." 42 The literary or artistic work of art which exactly copies nature, reflecting its details like a looking-glass, will express the values of enargeia, the vivid, vigorous, palpable, lifelike imitation of observable nature. The work selecting from, raising, and improving nature will offer, without destroying the truth of its subject, a generalized or synthesized idealization of nature.

Joseph Warton constantly stresses the need for verbal enargeia. Describing the role of particularity in attaining poetic excellence, he asserts that "the use, the force, and the excellence of language, certainly consists in raising clear, complete, and circumstantial images, and in turning readers into spectators," and he warns that "I think I can perceive many symptoms, even among writers of eminence, of departing from these true, lively, and minute representations of Nature, and of dwelling in generalities." Warton justifies his promulgation of literary enargeia by citing classical precedent:

Among the other fortunate circumstances that attended Homer, it was not one of the least, that he wrote before general and abstract terms were invented. Hence his Muse (like his own Helen standing on the walls of Troy) points out every person, and thing, accurately and forcibly. All the views and prospects he lays before us, appear . . . fully and perfectly to the eye. 43

Warton's emphasis upon the sense of sight links him to Addison,
the critic whose *Spectator* papers on the "Pleasures of the Imagination" best illustrate the significance of naturalism in eighteenth-century aesthetic thought. Addison reiterates the notion found in antiquity and the Renaissance, and implied by Warton, that sight is "the most perfect and most delightful of all our senses." To him the pleasures of the imagination are "such Pleasures as arise originally from Sight" (411). But though we "cannot indeed have a single Image in the Fancy that did not make its first Entrance through the Sight," these images, once received, may be altered and compounded "into all the Varieties of Picture and Vision that are most agreeable to the Imagination" (411). The pleasures of the imagination may thus arise from visible objects in two ways: "either when we have them actually in our View, or when we call up their Ideas into our Minds by Paintings, Statues, Descriptions, or any the like Occasion" (411). Hence the distinction between the primary pleasures of the imagination, which "entirely proceed from such Objects as are before our Eyes," and the secondary pleasures, which "flow from the Ideas of visible Objects, when the Objects are not actually before the Eye," being "called up into our Memories, or formed into agreeable Visions of Things that are either Absent or Fictitious" (411). Addison finds three principal sources for primary pleasures in the great, the uncommon, and the beautiful (412), while, in the comparison between the ideas "arising from the Original Objects" and the "Ideas we receive from the Statue, Picture, Description, or Sound that represents them," he finds the secondary pleasures that give us our "relish of Statuary, Painting, and
Description" (416). He orders the mimetic arts (except for gardening and architecture) after the degree of their resemblance to their originals: sculpture, painting, verbal description, and music (416).

This position emphasizes original nature and supports the Wartonian idea that excellence is achieved in art and poetry through the naturalistic reproduction of visual experience. Enargeia is attained when "artificial Works" benefit from "their Resemblance of such as are natural" (414), when statuary and painting simulate physical reality and poetry emulates them by recalling visible nature and placing it within mental view. It is no surprise that the pleasures associated with nature are primary, those with art and poetry, secondary.

Addison's system, however, comprehends more than a simple, direct naturalism. For his naturalism, "an extension of Locke's on the sources of ideas," though based on visible, objective nature, is complicated by the fact that the appeal exerted by the great, the uncommon, and the beautiful in nature exceeds the purely visual, stimulating psychological effects and reactions whose wholesome moral, emotional, and other values are considerable. "Unbounded Views" of mountain, desert, or ocean fling us into "a pleasing Astonishment" in which we feel "a delightful Stilness and Amazement in the Soul." "A spacious Horizon" becomes "an Image of Liberty." The new or uncommon "fills the Soul with an agreeable Surprise, gratifies its Curiosity, and gives it an Idea of which it was not before possesst" (412). And "delightful scenes, whether in Nature, Painting, or Poetry, have a kindly Influence on the Body, as well as the Mind." They not only "serve to
clear and brighten the Imagination," but they also "disperse Grief and Melancholy" and "set the Animal Spirits in pleasing and agreeable Motions" (411). Poetry adds to our visual pleasure of objects that of the "Aptness of the Description" which excites them. Thus the pleasure of comparing the original with its poetic reflection permits enjoyment of even the disagreeable or repellent: "The Description of a Dunghill is pleasing to the Imagination, if the Image be represented to our Minds by suitable Expressions" (418).

Addison's naturalism is further complicated by the fact that his distinction between primary and secondary pleasures is not the distinction between nature and art. Nature, for example, can yield secondary pleasures. For although it alone is truly vast and wild, and although "wild Scenes" are "more delightful than any artificial Shows," the works of nature are "still more pleasant, the more they resemble those of art":

For in this case our Pleasure rises from a double Principle; from the Agreeableness of the Objects to the Eye, and from their Similitude to other Objects: We are pleased as well with comparing their Beauties, as with surveying them, and can represent them to our Minds, either as Copies or Originals, (414).

Here nature produces a secondary pleasure by suggesting the art works it resembles. Addison thus brings to mind the picturesque of William Gilpin, the landscape appropriate for representation on canvas because composed like a picture. On the other hand, he sees architecture yielding primary pleasures. The "immediate Tendency" of architecture to produce secondary pleasures stems from its "greatness," an
excellence which manifests itself not only in size but in "manner." "Manner" has "such force upon the Imagination, that a small Building, where it appears, shall give the Mind nobler Ideas than one of twenty times the Bulk, where the Manner is ordinary or little" (415).

These matters complicate the naturalism of Addison's aesthetic system but at the same time they show that for him aesthetic value is to be found in the human mind as well as in nature. His system embraces the ancient doctrine of enargeia, the achievement of force and vividness in the transcription of visible nature, thereby maintaining the important eighteenth-century view that the power of art lay in dealing with real nature. But it also locates this enargeia not in the observed object or scene or in their rendering but in the process of seeing, in the activities of the human imagination. In his "Preface to Shakespeare" Johnson makes the same distinction between "objective" and "mental" enargeia when he says that

imitations produce pain or pleasure, not because they are mistaken for realities, but because they bring realities to mind. When the imagination is recreated by a painted landscape, the trees are not supposed capable to give us shade, or the fountains coolness; but we consider, how we should be pleased with such fountains playing beside us, and such woods waving over us.46

Similarly, Reynolds says that the "great end" of the art of painting is "to strike the imagination." The painter is "to make no ostentation of the means by which this is done; the spectator is only to feel the result in his bosom."47

To the traditional doctrine of the imitation of nature, then, Addison added "the sanctions of Newtonian physics and Lockean
epistemology," producing thereby a "combination of ancient aesthetic principle and modern scientific psychology that was exciting to the eighteenth century." Later poets, like Thomson, learned many things from him, "but perhaps none more important then the necessity of developing the imagination by looking at and seeing those objects in the natural world that most stimulated the imagination."

The shift of focus demonstrated by Addison from object, canvas, or page to mind or imagination is reflected elsewhere in the century by attitudes hostile to the ancient and Renaissance view of art as illusionistic deception. Johnson's words quoted above are taken from the section of his "Preface" attacking the need for slavish adherence to the unities in drama, the "supposed necessity of making the drama credible" by making it approximate or imitate the conditions of real time and place. Similarly, Reynolds' above-quoted remark on the purpose of painting comes from the attack in his fourth Discourse on the sensuous naturalism of Veronese, Tintoretto, and Rubens. Reynolds decries elsewhere the "mere copier of nature," the artist who seeks praise by "deceiving the superficial sense of the spectator" instead of fame through "captivating the imagination." Art should be concerned not with "a natural representation of a given object" but with "what it is natural for the imagination to be delighted with." And as for the analogy of the mirror:

When such a man as Plato speaks of Painting as only an imitative art, and that our pleasure proceeds from observing and acknowledging the truth of the imitation, I think he misleads us by a partial theory. It is this poor, partial, and so far, false, view of the
art . . . that is adopted by Pope in his Epitaph on Sir Godfrey Kneller . . . he turns the panegyrick solely on imitation as it is a sort of deception.50

For Cowper, too, the mirror is no longer the poem but the mind. In The Task he writes that it is difficult for the poet to "arrest the fleeting images," to "hold them fast" in "the mirror of the mind" until he has "pencil'd off" a "faithful likeness of the forms he views."51

The shift of focus from work of art to beholder enabled the eighteenth-century poet to realize ut pictura poesis without resorting to the descriptive technique common in classical and Renaissance pictorial poetry. Instead of sensuously "painting" static verbal duplicates of art objects, descriptively enumerating their details one after another, as in Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Spenser and Shakespeare, the neo-classical poet suggested pictures briefly and economically, evoking them in the minds of his readers by hints of painterly technique or composition or by pictorial detail selected from familiar paintings, painters, or schools of painting. The poet could safely depend on the visual imagination of his audience, on its ability to recognize and appreciate his iconic references. Not only could he appeal to this imaginative faculty, as shown by the lively and inventive reactions of Joseph Warton and the Jonathon Richardsons, but also he could control it through his identification with the established tradition of excellence in painting and sculpture.

But if pictorial suggestiveness in neo-classical poetry is dissimilar to the imitative pictorialism of classical and Renaissance times, it is not altogether so with respect to the pictorialism of the
metaphysical and baroque century preceding it. This pictorialism too, as has been shown, is highly suggestive. However, pictorial suggestion in the emblematic and "sacramental" poetry of the seventeenth century is oriented to the invisible, eternal world of the supernatural, while the psychologically suggestive neo-classical icon, illustrated in the previous chapter by the example of Lovelace, is oriented to the ordinary world of visible nature, human experience, and social reality. Though the neo-classical mirror, as Addison shows, is held up to the imagination, the imagination itself, as he further shows, is held up in its turn to nature.

Addison's naturalism shows how ut pictura poesis depended on visible, objective nature, how it related to the tradition of English empiricism. His naturalism also shows that enargeia, though still the unweakened product of man's living contact with external nature, was now more subjective a phenomenon than ever before in its history. Poetic pictorialism, however, was not limited to literary naturalism and realistic effect. The earlier-quoted remarks of Jonathon Richardson on the "common" and "raised" nature of Dutch and Italian painting and Johnson's definition of the word "mirror" as "pattern" or "exemplar" introduce not only the concrete, circumstantial nature expressed by literary naturalism but also the uniform, generic nature expressed by the artistic idealism that sought essence and permanence by heightening and universalizing reality without destroying its form or meaning. Pictorialism was as closely bound up with this idealism as it was with naturalism and helped to serve its purposes no less.
The theory of ideal nature in art and poetry is typified by the criticism of Samuel Johnson and his friend Joshua Reynolds. Johnson, through Imlac, made the famous statement that the poet's aim is "to examine, not the individual, but the species; to remark general properties and large appearances." For "nothing can please many, and please long, but just representations of general nature." This idea is echoed and elaborated by Reynolds' pronouncement that there is but one presiding principle which regulates, and gives stability to every art. The works, whether of poets, painters, moralists, or historians, which are built upon general nature, live for ever; while those which depend for their existence on particular customs and habits, a partial view of nature, or the fluctuation of fashion, can only be coeval with that which first raised them from obscurity.

Ideal nature was also achieved and is symbolized by the so-called "Claude glass," the plano-convex mirror carried by tourists like Gray because the slight convexity of the glass, mounted on its black foil, reduced colours to a lower ratio and accentuated tonal values. The glass gathered each scene reflected in it into a tiny idealized picture, reproducing a nature "corrected" and "improved" but yet nature still. Its function exactly parallels and demonstrates that of the metaphorical mirror which "refined" nature by reflecting qualities, tendencies, and forms within or behind the actual rather than gross and indiscriminate reality itself.

The idealized nature of the eighteenth century had little or nothing in common with the transcendental Ideas or Forms of Neoplatonism which were "ultimately trans-empirical, maintaining an independent
existence in their own ideal space, and available only to the eye of
the mind.  Reynolds expressed the general view when he stated that
ideal perfection and beauty "are not to be sought in the heavens, but
upon the earth," since "they are about us and upon every side of us."
Since, like almost every other writer, he "psychologized the Platonic
Idea, and empiricized the method of achieving it," Reynolds demonstrated
that the transcendental version of the ideal in art was "alien to the
this-worldly and empirical-minded theorists of English neo-classicism."
Furthermore, in bringing the ideal solidly down to earth, Reynolds
implied the duality of thought in which the demand for the typical,
general, and familiar in art was so often accompanied by the recommenda-
tion of the "leavening" qualities of individuality, uniqueness, and
novelty as well. Johnson, for example, may be said "to locate the
highest and rarest excellence in the representation of the individualized
type, the circumstantially general, and the novel-familiar."

This, then, is the historical and theoretical foundation of ut
pictura poesis in the English eighteenth century. The doctrine was en-
couraged by the growth and development of a high degree of sophistication
in the visual arts which familiarized the poet with the painting and
sculpture of Renaissance and post-Renaissance Europe. How it served the
literary naturalism which shifted the ancient values of enargeia from
work to beholder and the unPlatonic idealization of nature in poetry will
be seen when the pictorial poetry of Pope and Thomson is examined in the
following chapter.
FOOTNOTES

1 A useful recapitulation of the ideas in Alberti's and Leonardo's treatises, respectively Della Pittura (1436) and Libro di Pittura (first published 1651), is given in W. G. Howard's "Ut Pictura Poesis," PMLA, XXIV (1909), 45-51.

2 Arthur O. Lovejoy, "'Nature' as Aesthetic Norm," Essays in the History of Ideas (New York: Putnam, 1960), p. 69. Of the dozens of eighteenth-century meanings charted by Lovejoy for the word "nature" (pp. 69-77), this chapter is concerned only with those listed under "Desiderata in Works of Art" as "a" (sense 1) and "d," "e," and "f" (senses 2, 3, and 4).

3 An essential general guide with respect to the complex matters dealt with in this chapter is Jean Hagstrum's The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968). Also useful in charting a course through these materials is Cicely Davies' "Ut Pictura Poesis," MLR, XXX (1935), 159-169.


8 Respectively, Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni (Rome, 1672), and Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani (1550 and 1568).


10 Peter and Linda Murray (Dictionary of Art and Artists, p. 330) term Vasari's Lives "the most important book on the history of art ever written."


Jean Hagstrum, The Sister Arts, p. 174, n. 5.

Ibid., p. 328.

Hagstrum, p. 175.

The treatises listed by Jonathon Richardson (The Works of Jonathon Richardson, Strawberry Hill, 1792, p. 207) include those of Ridolfi, Bellori, Baldinucci, Félibien, Sandart, de Piles, and Dufresnoy.


For examples of this practice in ancient and Renaissance times see Hagstrum (pp. 57-58) and W. G. Howard (pp. 45-46).


These examples come from Cicely Davies' "Ut Pictura Poesis," MLR, XXX (1935), 163-165.

Essay, I, 51-52.


Cited by Hagstrum, p. 132. Joseph Warton (Essay, II, 229) also finds that the unpictorial Milton has "drawn his figures, and expressed his images, with energy and distinctness."

Essay, I, 184-186.


Discussion of the influence of Renaissance and baroque painting on English poetry is based on Hagstrum, pp. 162-170. Hagstrum suggests (pp. 166-167) that the conflict of values appearing in the eighteenth-century opposition "between classic and romantic, Horace and Longinus, French intellectuality and English emotion" is better explained "if we look back to the seventeenth century rather than forward to the nineteenth or all the way back to Rome and Greece. If we do that, we observe that this dichotomy was already present in seventeenth-century graphic art. Nicolas Poussin had both his classic and baroque sides, as did his masters, the Carracci."


Works of John Dryden, eds. Scott and Saintsbury, XVII, 307; Works of Jonathon Richardson, p. 6; Discourse IV, Wark, p. 60.
41. Works, p. 72.

42. A Dictionary of the English Language, 5th ed. (London: Strahan, 1784).


44. Spectator 411, The Spectator, ed. Gregory Smith. Subsequent parenthetical references are to this edition.


47. Discourse IV, Wark, p. 59.


53. Discourse IV, Wark, p. 73.


56. Discourse III, Wark, p. 44.

57. Abrams, p. 45.

58. Ibid., pp. 39-41. The views entertained by critics like Johnson and Reynolds were not, of course, original. The idea of nature as a synthesis of individual excellencies, an abstraction of central form and species from particular instances, goes back to the ancients who endlessly promulgated the story of the painter Zeuxis and his five models to exemplify idealization in art.
CHAPTER III

POETIC PICTORIALISM IN POPE AND THOMSON

A comprehensive survey of the widespread and varied expression of pictorialism in neo-classical poetry would require a full volume in itself and lies beyond the scope of this paper. However, through the study of a few poems exemplifying important aspects of *ut pictura poesis*, much can be revealed of eighteenth-century poetic pictorialism. The following discussion, utilizing examples from the work of Pope and Thomson, is intended to illuminate the iconic tradition in neo-classical verse, the antipictorialist position and values of Edmund Burke, and subjects introduced in the preceding chapter: verbal naturalism and *enargeia*, the pictorialist idealization of nature; the suggestiveness of neo-classical pictorialism, and the relationship between pictorialism and painting, considered either as technique or as finished expression of painter or school. This demonstration will not only make up the business of this chapter but at the same time lay the basis for the next. It will set the stage for a consideration of neo-classical pictorialism in a new and different light from that in which it has so far been viewed, a consideration which will extend the significance of the term "picturesque" by examining its meanings and applications in arts and activities additional to poetry, notably those associated with landscape and scenery. The present chapter and the next, then, taken together, will complete and round out the picture to be presented in
this paper of eighteenth-century pictorialism.

Suggestive of the fact that \textit{ut pictura poesis} is nowhere more richly demonstrated in Augustan poetry than in the work of Pope is his own "Epistle to Mr. Jervas," a poem in praise of his artist-friend which continues the tradition established by Lovelace, Dryden, and others. The poem significantly stresses the association between the sister arts and artists:

\begin{quote}
Smit with the love of Sister-arts we came, 
And met congenial, mingling flame with flame; 
Like friendly colours found them both unite, 
And each from each contract new strength and light.
\end{quote}

It further emphasizes the tradition of \textit{ut pictura poesis} by counselling Jervas to read the "instructive leaves" of Dryden's translation of Dufresnoy's \textit{De arte graphica}, in which "conspire" "Fresnoy's close art, and Dryden's native fire" (ll. 7-8). And, in projecting an imaginary trip over the Alps to Italy, the poem makes clear Pope's allegiance to the ruling taste of his age in matters of artistic excellence. Pope sees himself and Jervas contemplating the work of the great Italians they mutually admire:

\begin{quote}
Here thy well-study'd Marbles fix our eye; 
A fading Fresco here demands a sigh: 
Each heav'ly piece unwearied we compare, 
Match Raphael's grace, with thy lov'd Guido's air, 
Caracci's strength, Correggio's softer line, 
Paulo's free stroke, and Titian's warmth divine. 
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
(11. 33-38)
\end{quote}

The reverence displayed in these lines for statuary and
Renaissance and baroque painting translates itself into the different forms of pictorialist practice which characterize Pope's poetry, of which an excellent introductory example can be found in the stylized description of forest and parkland in "Windsor Forest":

Here Hills and Vales, the Woodland and the Plain,
Here Earth and Water seem to strive again,
Not Chaos-like together crush'd and bruises'd,
But as the World, harmoniously confus'd:
Where Order in Variety we see,
And where, tho' all things differ, all agree.
Here waving Groves a chequer'd Scene display,
And part admit and part exclude the Day;
As some coy Nymph her Lover's warm Address
Not quite indulges, nor can quite repress.
There, interspers'd in Lawns and opening Glades,
Thin Trees arise that shun each others Shades.
Here in full Light the russet Plains extend;
There wrapt in Clouds the bluish Hills ascend.

(11. 11-24)

This passage shows Pope directing the mental eye of the reader over the landscape as though he were describing the elements of an ordered composition. The guiding words "here" and "there" introduce distinctions between these elements and contrast them with one another. Hills and vales are opposed to woodland and plain, earth to water; waving groves are contrasted with thin trees, and plains with hills. This series of antithetical contrasts does not, it is true, produce a coherent, unified scene; no sense of total "Order" emerges from the "Variety" of opposed elements. But although the relationships between them are difficult to visualize in terms of their distribution in space, in terms of foreground, middle distance, and background, and though the scene is not in this sense paintable, the contrasted objects nonetheless
show, in themselves, a painterly interest in the differentiation of values: the "full Light" of the flat russet plain against the cloud-darkened blue of the ascending hills, the waving groves with their half light and mottled appearance against thin, single trees standing alone in sunlit isolation. These contrasts between high and low, light and dark, individual and group, between masses and colours, show a nature stylized after the manner of painting. By directing the eye to these oppositions within the scene Pope demonstrates that the antithetical method so fundamental to his poetic art can become a means to elicit painterly effects; he shows how his method becomes pictorial.

The coy nymph, whose indecisive response to her lover's advances is used to illustrate the quality of the groves' variable light, hints at the habit of personification so widespread in neo-classical poetry. Pope, whose work is crowded with examples, was particularly fond of personifications pictorially conceived or, in Warton's words, "particular and picturesque." Such personifications, vivid, capable of visualization, and paintable, are not to be mistaken for the figures so commonly found in neo-classical poetry (not excluding Pope's) who, merely named or apostrophized, emerge as little more than colourless, lifeless abstractions: pale terror, gloomy care, hoary age, cruel hate, vain beauty, mighty wisdom, sprightly joy. Warton, after praising a "groupe of allegorical personages" in "Windsor Forest" as "worthy the pencil of Rubens or Julio Romano," went on to state his complaining wish

that the epithets barbarous (discord), mad (ambition), hateful (envy), had been particular and picturesque, instead of general
and indiscriminating; though it may possibly be urged, that in describing the dreadful inhabitants of the portal of Hell, Virgil has not always used such adjuncts and epithets as a painter or statuary might work after.  

"Windsor Forest" exemplifies the different categories into which "particular and picturesque" figures may fall. They may be, like the nymph in the simile, mythological:

See Pan with Flocks, with Fruits Pomona crown'd,
Here blushing Flora paints th' enamel'd Ground.

(11. 37-38)

Or they may be moral:

There hateful Envy her own Snakes shall feel,
And Persecution mourn her broken Wheel:
There Faction roar, Rebellion bite her Chain,
And gasping Furies th'irst for Blood in vain.

(11. 419-422)

Of "these living figures painted by Pope," Joseph Warton, again reflecting the critical tendency to encourage pictorial personification, said that "Virgil has exhibited no images so lively and distinct."  

Pope's personifications may also be natural, as exemplified by the figure of Father Thames, who emerges in "Windsor Forest" as a complete allegorical representation:

In that blest Moment, from his Oozy Bed
Old Father Thames advanc'd his rev'rend Head.
His tresses dript with Dews, and o'er the Stream
His shining Horns diffus'd a golden Gleam:
Grav'd on his Urn appear'd the Moon, that guides
His swelling Waters, and alternate Tydes;
The figur'd Streams in Waves of Silver roll'd,
And on their Banks Augusta rose in Gold.
Around his Throne the Sea-born Brothers stood,
Who swell with Tributary Urns his Flood.
(11. 329-338)

The ancient river god who lifts his venerable head from the
water, locks dripping and golden horns radiating light, is the central
figure in a scene encompassing motion within a static pictorial arrange­
ment. The scene engraved on his urn, portraying the moon, the action
of the tides, and the rise of the city of London, also freezes the move­
ment it depicts into stasis, becoming a scene within a scene, and
exemplifying at the same time the kind of iconic description seen
before in Homer's representation of nature and the life of man in the
shield of Achilles. Further indicating the pictorial conception of the
entire tableau is the grouping of the "Sea-born Brothers' round the
throne of Father Thames and their subordination to his solemn figure,
made even more impressively central by the gleam of silver and gold.

The dignified figure, on whose engraved urn we see Augusta, the
city of London, rising in gold, hails "Sacred Peace" and speaks of
future days which "Thames's Glory to the Stars shall raise" (11. 355-356).
His regal appearance and his stately predictions of London's great
mercantile future and England's glorious imperial prospects reveal him
as a pictorial symbol used not only to personify the Thames but also to
idealize reality. As an allegorical figure within a pictorial scene
Father Thames thus resembles the figures seen in innumerable Italian
mythological paintings. As a pictorially-conceived natural personifi­
cation, he is the poetic counterpart, for example, of the figures
depicted in Guido Reni's Aurora or Nicolas Poussin's The Kingdom of
Flora. Guido pictures Apollo surrounded in his chariot by the dancing maidens who personify the hours and preceded by Aurora who flies on before to bring the first light and scatter flowers on the earth below. Poussin represents the smiling figure of Flora in a garden distributing her petals among the group who surround her while overhead Apollo guides his horses across the sky.

Pope's visual personification of Father Thames reflects more than the satisfaction of the critical demand that such figures be "particular and picturesque," that the general be made concrete and personification and allegory rescued from abstract lifelessness. It suggests more too than the strong general influence of Italian mythological painting. It also comments on the habit of allegorizing mythology. For, as a consequence of the transformation of the deities of Greece and Rome long before into natural and moral abstractions, the eighteenth century naturally associated the easily visualized figures of ancient gods or heroes with the moral or natural qualities appropriate to them. To Pope, for example, Juno was an "element of air," Jupiter, the "ether," and Neptune, the sea. Mars he saw as "mere martial Courage without Conduct," Venus as the "Passion of Love," and Minerva as "martial Courage with Wisdom" or "Wisdom." This association of visually particularized mythological figures with abstract qualities, or the habit of allegorizing mythology, was greatly reinforced by the many books of engravings which formed part of the eighteenth-century inheritance from the Renaissance and its aftermath. Of these books the most important and influential was Cesare Ripa's
Iconologia (1593) which rendered hundreds of abstractions visual, representing virtues and vices, emotions, ideas, arts, natural phenomena, cities, and countries each as single figures bearing their appropriate insignia. Ripa's book was widely known throughout Europe in Pope's day, and the creation of images in literature after its manner was commonplace. The significance of Father Thames, then, though his portrayal cannot conclusively be said to be the direct consequence of Italian allegorical painting, the habit of allegorizing mythology, or Ripa's icons, lies in the fact that he brings all of these influences to mind, that he fairly typifies the personified or allegorical figures they tended to produce.

Understood in these terms, the figure of Father Thames makes an instructive contrast to another of Pope's personifications, the figure of Melancholy in his "Eloisa to Abelard":

But o'er the twilight groves, and dusky caves,  
Long-sounding isles, and intermingled graves,  
Black Melancholy sits, and round her throws  
A death-like silence, and a dread repose:  
Her gloomy presence saddens all the scene,  
Shades ev'ry flower, and darkens ev'ry green,  
Deepens the murmur of the falling floods,  
And breathes a browner horror on the woods.  
(ll. 163-170)

Here again one sees Pope's reliance upon a personified figure to help set forth and comment on his scene. The figure of Melancholy, who, as a painterly device, could be an actual figure rather than a personification, serves to account for the atmosphere of the scene and to explain its deployment of light and shade. Joseph Warton appreciated
that the actual scene was not enough in itself, that "the effect and influence of MELANCHOLY," a figure "beautifully personified," was shown "on every object that occurs, and on every part of the convent" because "that temper of mind casts a gloom on all things."  

The dark and obscure presence of Melancholy creates its effect without exhibiting those sharp visual details that distinguish the figure of Father Thames and bring him clearly before the eye. Her effectiveness as a dark, unclear presence, out of focus, and not circumstantially presented to us in the light of day, seems to contradict the principles of pictorialism and to corroborate the antipictorialist arguments and values of Lessing's most important predecessor, Edmund Burke, who directly challenged the theory, practice, and values of neo-classical pictorialism. For this reason, and because qualities prized by Burke appear in neo-classical pictorial poetry, a brief examination of his position will be useful here.

Burke maintained that obscurity is of greater aesthetic importance than clarity and that words rather than images or visual details are the means whereby emotions are stirred and passions affected. The secret of "heightening," or of setting things "in their strongest light" is "by the force of a judicious obscurity." In fact, according to Burke,

so far is a clearness of imagery from being absolutely necessary to an influence upon the passions, that they may be considerably operated upon without presenting any image at all, by certain sounds adapted to that purpose; of which we have a sufficient proof in the acknowledged and powerful effects of instrumental music. (p. 60)
Painting to Burke is necessarily an imitative art confined to the realistic portrayal of natural scenes and objects; it cannot, therefore, successfully depict the sublime. Poetry, on the other hand, finds one of its greatest triumphs in the sublime; "its apparitions, its chimeras, its harpies, its allegorical figures, are grand and affecting" (p. 64). Thus, says Burke, who might have added Pope's Melancholy to the list, "though Virgil's Fame, and Homer's Discord are obscure, they are magnificent figures" (p. 64). Clearly, then, poetry, "taken in its most general sense, cannot with strict propriety be called an art of imitation" (p. 172). For though dramatic poetry may be said to imitate in describing manners and passions, "descriptive poetry operates chiefly by substitution; by the means of sounds, which by custom have the effect of realities" (p. 173). Music and poetry thus logically emerge as the sister arts.

Burke also attacks the "common notion" that words have the power to "affect the mind by raising in it ideas of those things for which custom has appointed them to stand" (p. 163). Language performs a social rather than imagistic function; words are not productive of images but evocative of emotions and ideas:

The truth is, all verbal description, merely as naked description, though never so exact, conveys so poor and insufficient an idea of the thing described, that it could scarcely have the smallest effect, if the speaker did not call in to his aid those modes of speech that mark a strong and lively feeling in himself. (p. 175)

The view of verbal enargeia that had endured from Plutarch to Addison was expressed by Warton: "The use, the force, and the excellence
of language, certainly consists in raising clear, complete, and circum-
stantial images, and in turning readers into spectators." Burke's revolutionary antipictorialism, separating words from images, is diametrically opposed: "So little does poetry depend for its effect on the power of raising sensible images, that I am convinced it would lose a very considerable part of its energy, if this were the necessary result of all description" (p. 170).

Clearly Burke's theory, espousing the values of darkness and shadowy obscurity, seeing words as evocative not of visual images but of ideas and powerful emotional effects, and regarding poetry as an art in which "the picturesque connection is not demanded; because no real picture is formed" (p. 171), is hostile to ut pictura poesis.

Burke's attack, however justified with respect to pictorial poetry excessively descriptive, merely enumerative, or empty of emotional and moral values, did not weaken or destroy pictorialism. This is attested by the rise of the picturesque movement, the subject of the next chapter, which flourished later in the century. In fact, as Pope's personification of Melancholy shows, the qualities recommended by Burke sometimes appeared to good effect in neo-classical pictorial poetry. Besides the figure of Melancholy, Pope also gives us the amorphous but controlling images of the Dunciad: the "cloud-compelling Queen" of Dullness, "Daughter of Chaos and eternal Night," who, with "her mighty wings out-spread," peers "thro' fogs that magnify the scene" until, at the end of the poem, accompanied by her parents, "Night Primaeval" and "Chaos Old," she causes the light to die (I, 79, 12, 27, 80; IV, 630).
And so the curtain falls, "and Universal Darkness buries All" (IV, 655-656).

The Burkeian values of obscurity and darkness had been seen before in art. Rembrandt, Caravaggio, and Salvator Rosa, for example, often embodied them in their paintings. In doing so they demonstrated that the contrast between clear, detailed figures such as Father Thames and simplified, shadowy, dimly-seen figures like Melancholy does not distinguish the pictorial from the non-pictorial but merely expresses the differing contexts in which such figures appear and the different purposes each is intended to serve. They make this clear by showing that the absence of clear, sharp, brightly-lit detail in painting does not mean that the viewer no longer sees but merely that, more dimly and differently, he sees less. It is in this sense that Pope's black, amorphous image of Melancholy differs pictorially from the more easily visualized figures of his particularized Father Thames.

Another of Pope's poems, "The Temple of Fame," usefully illustrates further aspects of neo-classical pictorialism, notably its utilization of the iconic tradition and the influence of classical and baroque sculpture. The poem opens with a description of landscape which follows the pattern seen in "Windsor Forest":

Here naked Rocks, and empty Wastes were seen,
There Tow'ry Cities, and the Forests green:
Here sailing Ships delight the wand'ring Eyes;
There Trees, and intermingl'd Temples rise:
Now a clear Sun the shining Scene displays,
The transient Landscape now in Clouds decays.

(11. 15-20)
Here again we see Pope directing attention to antithetically placed elements within the scene. Some of these—the ships, trees, the "transient" landscape, and the "intermingl'd Temples"—recall the landscapes of Claude and Poussin, and, together with the gloomy Salvatorian scene over which the figure of Melancholy presides, reveal that the influence of Claude, Poussin, and Rosa was not restricted to Thomson and the later picturesque movement.

More important than this, however, is the description of the magnificent domed Temple of Fame, fronted by its "four brazen Gates, on Columns lifted high" (1. 67), and adorned within and without by sculptured figures. The representation of this imaginary edifice and its sculptural accoutrements constitutes an extended illustration of the iconic tradition in neo-classical verse.

A good, initial example of the dozens of specific icons making up the poem is the picture of the temple gates, a description which demonstrates the iconic expression of neo-classical values. In the same way that the descriptions of Achilles' shield, the Bower of Bliss, and the tapestry viewed by Lucrece transcended mere enumeration and articulated moral, artistic, or emotional values, Pope's description of the northern "Frontispiece" of the Temple embodies an expression of distaste for the Gothic. This gate is "o'er-wrought with Ornaments of barb'rous Pride" (1. 120) among which "horrid Forms" stand "on rude Iron Columns smear'd with Blood" (ll. 125-126). The western gate, however, expresses the neo-classical admiration for ancient Greek art and architecture:
Westward, a sumptuous Frontispiece appear'd,
On Doric pillars of white Marble rear'd,
Crown'd with an Architrave of antique Mold,
And Sculpture rising on the roughen'd Gold.
(11. 75-78)

These iconic descriptions suggest the theme of the poem. For just as Homer's shield expressed in metal many of the themes of the Iliad, so Pope's magnificent, sculpturally-decorated Temple visualizes in poetry the cultural and ethical history of man. The sculpturesque portraits within this pictorialist projection of human history are particularly significant, frequently illustrating further aspects of neo-classical pictorialism.

For example, the figures gracing the walls of the Temple are seen as "Heroes" who "in animated Marble frown" or as "Legislators" who "seem to think in stone" (11. 73-74). Such figures exemplify the doctrine of expression in art important during the Renaissance and seen before in Plutarch, Philostratus, and Lovelace.

Another significant figure is that of Hercules who, together with the heros Theseus and Perseus, stands on the westward wall:

There great Alcides, stooping with his Toil,
Rests on his Club, and holds the Hesperian Spoil.
(11. 81-82)

That this brief iconic portrait is meant to recall the famous ancient statue known as the Farnese Hercules, a colossal marble figure leaning sideways on his club, is shown by Pope's statement that "this Figure of Hercules is drawn with an eye to the Position of the famous Statue of Farnese" (p. 175). The iconic description in the poem is
thus a perfect example of pictorial suggestiveness, showing a neoclassical poet evoking a picture in the minds of his readers by making economical reference to a famous work of art, confident of his readers' ability to recognize and appreciate it.

The sculpturesque portrait of Hercules also exemplifies another form of pictorialist idealization. Just as Father Thames, so like Reni's and Poussin's idealized natural icons, is a pictorial means of achieving idealization, so the portrait of Hercules permits idealization through the evocation of the ideal beauty of ancient sculpture. Reynolds saw the beauty and nobility of class or species as superior to that of the individual in its generality, central form, and invariability. He rejected the "picturesque" sculpture of artists like Bernini and related ideal beauty to the sculptured form represented by statues like the Farnese Hercules. Pope's iconic reference, clearly evoking such sculptural form, achieves pictorially the same idealized beauty sought by Reynolds.

In contrast to iconic descriptions evoking the severity, nobility, and grandeur that Reynolds saw in ancient sculpture are others which recall the dramatic excitement of high baroque sculpture. Pope's sculpturesque representation of Pindar in his "Carr of Silver bright" sustained by four swans "with Heads advanc'd, and Pinions stretch'd for Flight" (11. 210-211) is a very good example. The dramatization in stone of the aerial passage of Pindar who rides "like some furious Prophet" (i. 212), his swans' heads elongated in flight and their wings outspread, resembles the mythological progresses of Italian painting,
such as those depicted in the *Aurora* frescoes of Guido Reni and Guercino. Both of these ceiling paintings illusionistically portray Apollo high in his car sweeping past drawn by flying steeds.

An even better baroque icon in the poem is the group of sculptured figures representing an ancient Greek chariot race:

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Neptune and Jove survey the rapid Race:
The Youths hang o'er their Chariots as they run;
The fiery Steeds seem starting from the Stone;
The Champions in distorted Postures threat,
And all appear'd Irregularly great.
(11. 217-220)
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If Pope's iconic reference to Hercules shows him consciously re-capturing the austere, formal, regularized stability and repose of ancient sculpture in which Reynolds saw ideal beauty, this iconic depiction shows him exciting the emotionalism, the flowing illusionism, and the agitated, dramatic movement of the equally well-known sculpture of the Italian high baroque. It would not be difficult for Pope's readers to visualize the flowing draperies and the excited faces of the young men hanging over their chariots; the strain of their champions, displaying itself in "distorted Postures"; and the heroic physical exertion of all the competitors who, conscious of the "survey" of the gods, appear not as calmly austere, balanced figures but as figures "Irregularly great."

The novel effects of this baroque distortion and irregularity, as well as the illusionism in which the horses "seem starting from the Stone," were condemned in the sculpture of Bernini by Reynolds. He saw them as expressions of "fancy" and "caprice," merely "picturesque effects, contrasts, or petty excellencies," and therefore "incompatible
with that sobriety and gravity which is peculiarly the characteristic of this art." He would not have approved Pope's sculpturesque icon because it permits the unclassical detachment of drapery from the figure "in order to give the appearance of flying in the air," because it demonstrates the baroque "folly of attempting to make stone sport and flutter in the air." But the very fact that Reynolds' criticism of Bernini is equally applicable to Pope's icon serves to measure how well this icon exemplifies the baroque in Pope's pictorial poetry.

The scene of the competing charioteers being watched by the gods binds gods and mortals together in a pagan form of the Christian baroque tradition of joining Heaven and Earth. Another manifestation of this baroque habit in the poetry of Pope, this time serving the purposes of satire, is the climax of the \textit{Dunciad}, where the great Goddess appears, causes the light to die, and brings universal darkness to all the earth. And a further example, more in the manner of the Christian baroque, can be found in Eloisa's projection of the death of Abelard:

\begin{quote}
In trance extatic may thy pangs be drown'd,
Bright clouds descend, and Angels watch thee round,
From opening skies may streaming glories shine,
And Saints embrace thee with a love like mine.
\textit{(11. 339-342)}
\end{quote}

In these lines we see Heaven and earth joined together in the spirit of the Christian baroque tradition represented by such paintings as Domenichino's \textit{Communion of St. Jerome} and such sculpture as Bernini's \textit{Ecstasy of St. Theresa} in the Cornaro Chapel.\footnote{13}
Yet, though such pagan, satirical, or Christian baroque moments demonstrate Pope's versatility, they do not dominate the poems in which they appear and render these poems baroque. Thus in "The Temple of Fame" the description of the group of charioteers, and, for that matter, the description of all the great literary, historical, and mythological figures of the past, are dedicated not to the revelation of Heaven and its angels in the spirit of the Christian baroque but, in line with the basic realism of the century, to the visualization of the achievements of man on earth. The *Dunciad*, too, makes use of its great goddess and its dark sinister movements in order to more effectively satirize and condemn the literary hacks and vices of Grub Street. And "Eloisa to Abelard," which seems closest to Christian baroque values, is primarily concerned with resolving Eloisa's internal debate between earthly love and religious duty rather than revealing the glory of Heaven and its angels to the eyes of men.

Before turning to the poetry of Thomson, a few final observations should be made concerning pictorialism in Pope's translations and satirical poetry. With respect to Homer's *Iliad*, which Pope found highly pictorial and left even more so in his translation, it is worth noting that Pope found the "principal Beauty" of Book X to be the "Liveliness of its Paintings." This "distinguishes it among all the others." The details of the scene in which Dolon meets his death, the "marshy Spot of Ground" with the "Tamarisk, or aquatic Plants upon which they hang his Spoils and the Reeds that are heap'd together to mark the place," are details "the most Picturesque imaginable." But
the chief beauty of the book lies "in the Prospect, a finer than which was never drawn by any Pencil." Here Pope shows the admiration of literary landscape that is often associated only with Thomson and the picturesque movement that came later in the century.

The richness of Pope's pictorialist practice is further displayed in his satirical poetry. The progression of highly pictorial scenes in "The Rape of the Lock," for example, often in themselves reminiscent of Italian mythological painting, constitutes a good neoclassical example of the "picture-gallery" method of achieving total form in a poem, the method used earlier by Longus, Kebes, and Marvell. The movement from scene to scene, assisted by authorial comment and narrative links, is the reverse of the usual Aristotelian narrative form whose supporting pictures, if any, are merely incidental. The same pictorial construction governs the form of Epistle II of the "Moral Essays," "Of the Characters of Women," in which the movement, like the scenic progression in "The Rape of the Lock," is from one satiric literary portrait to another.

The neo-classical pictorial scene is an enormously varied one, enriched by a multitude of influences from the large tradition of Italian Renaissance and baroque art. The passages from Pope cited to this point have been intended to illustrate some of the most important of these influences: painting techniques, allegorical painting, and Ripa in "Windsor Forest"; classical marbles and baroque sculpture in "The Temple of Fame"; seventeenth-century landscape painting in "Eloisa to Abelard" and "The Temple of Fame"; and the Christian baroque in
"Eloisa to Abelard." At the same time these passages usefully illustrate the iconic tradition in neo-classical poetry, the technique of pictorial suggestion, the methods of idealization, and the "picture-gallery" technique of achieving total poetic form.

Almost every neo-classical poet displays to some extent the influences from Italian Renaissance and baroque art and the pictorial practices that have been discussed in relation to Pope. Of these poets none is more significant than James Thomson. For Thomson can be seen as a poet looking back, as did Pope, to ancient sculpture and the art of the Italian Renaissance and its aftermath, and as a poet looking forward, anticipating the rise of the picturesque school. His pictorial scene can be viewed in a double perspective: as a product of its creator's allegiance to eighteenth-century standards of excellence in art or, more traditionally, as an original influence paving the way for the landscape-oriented work of picturesque poets, painters, and gardeners. The latter and more common interpretation of Thomson tends to view him as a pre-romantic, to dissociate him from other neo-classical poets like Pope and to interpret his pictorialism only in terms of its evocations of Claudian and Salvatorian scenes. Because the picturesque movement is the subject of the next chapter, the illustration of Thomson's pictorial scene will be presented here in the same terms as Pope's, in the light of its relations to the iconic tradition, classical sculpture, and Italian Renaissance and baroque art.

Despite its influence upon later picturesque attitudes towards scenery and though his blank verse differs from Pope's couplets,
Thomson belongs intellectually and aesthetically to the same neo-classical school as Pope and his contemporaries. His pictorialism shows that he, no less than they, looked to antiquity and to the Renaissance and baroque art of Italy. He read the same critical treatises, collected the same kind of prints and engravings, and made his journey to Italy. And finally, in the spirit of Pope's "Epistle to Mr. Jervas," Thomson, in his poem "On the Death of Mr. William Aikman, the Painter," displayed the typical neo-classical appreciation of painters and painting:

Oh, could I draw, my friend, thy genuine mind
Just as the living forms by thee designed,
Of Raphael's figures none should fairer shine,
Nor Titian's colours longer last than mine.16

However, since Thomson has been placed by some critics "at the head of a school of rural and natural poetry as opposed to the urban and artificial school of Pope"17 and his landscape descriptions interpreted as revolutionary challenges to the refinements of a poetry preoccupied with men, manners, and town, it is worth pointing out that Thomson, despite the fact that his chief distinction as poet is properly recognized to be his natural scene, was not exclusively dedicated to the representation of natural scenes and objects. For example, his natural descriptions often move from object or scene to nature considered as a whole. His deistic vision frequently presents phenomena as the component parts of a greater organic entity, a universe ordered perfectly by natural law but at the same time divine. Thus his theme is not simply
the beauty and appeal of landscape but the larger design and perfection of the cosmic scheme, the divine work of art which is "the finished university of things" revealed "in all its order, magnitude, and parts."
The understanding of this grand system leads to adoration of that "Power" who "fills, sustains, and actuates the whole" (ll. 140-144).

Furthermore, just as his stylized language, his Miltonic phrases, and his Latinate diction mark him stylistically as a neo-classical poet, so his poetic concern with art, industry, and civilization reflects the social, ethical, and cultural themes typical of Augustan verse. A good example illustrating Thomson's basic neo-classical position can be found in the poem Liberty where he expresses his view of art, presenting it as the indispensable evidence of man's achievements, as the record without which civilization would be futile and empty:

However puffed with power and gorged with wealth
A nation be; let trade enormous rise,
Let East and South their mingled treasure pour
Till, swelled impetuous, the corrupting flood
Burst o'er the city and devour the land--
Yet, these neglected, these recording arts,
Wealth rots, a nuisance; and, oblivious sunk,
That nation must another Carthage lie.
If not by them, on monumental brass,
On sculptured marble, on the deathless page
Impressed, renown had left no trace behind:
In vain, to future times, the sage had thought;
The legislator planned, the hero found
A beauteous death, the patriot toiled in vain.
The awarders they of fame's immortal wreath!
They rouse ambition, they the mind exalt,
Give great ideas, lovely forms infuse,
Delight the general eye, and, dressed by them,
The moral Venus glows with double charms.
(V, 381-399)

Thomson's poem presents a "vision" of Liberty from ancient
times to the English present, following her story from age to age, country to country, and civilization to civilization. It differs from the cultural and ethical history visualized by Pope in his "Temple of Fame" in its orientation to political and civic tradition rather than to specific artists and works of art. Nonetheless, as the passage above makes clear, the poem attaches great importance to art, seeing it as vital to the civic traditions and virtues which it serves. This view of the social function of art and the emphasis upon its importance, scarcely attributes of a rural poet dedicated only to fresh descriptions of landscape scenery, lead Thomson into a consideration of Greek art which provides a useful guide to his attitude towards pictorialism. He begins by describing the origin of the arts in Greece:

First, elder Sculpture taught her sister art
Correct design; where great ideas shone,
And in the secret trace expression spoke;
Taught her the graceful attitude, the turn
And beauteous airs of head; the native act,
Or bold or easy; and, cast free behind,
The swelling mantle's well adjusted flow.
(II, 324-330)

Sculpture comes first and, reminding us of Reynolds, teaches painting the principles of design and how to convey ideas. The primacy of sculpture is significant in the light of its role in neoclassical pictorial idealization, a role demonstrated by Pope's Farnese Hercules in "The Temple of Fame." Sculpture also exemplifies two qualities regarded in the eighteenth century as the hallmarks of the best painting: gracefulness and psychological revelation.
The accompanying descriptions in Liberty of the painting and sculpture of ancient Greece emphasize the quality of *enargeia* which this art displays and further reveal Thomson's neo-classical orientation towards the values of classical and Renaissance pictorialism. The "fair ideas" and "delightful forms" of Greece, for example, though idealized, are naturalistically represented in lifelike terms by those famous sculptured figures in which

Selecting beauty's choice, and that again
Exalting, blending into a perfect whole,
Thy workmen left even nature's self behind.
(II, 230, 234-236)

Thomson sees the genius of Greece expressed in "the live features . . . of breathing stone" (II, 302), in the verisimilitude of its sculptured forms. His laudatory description of the imitative lifelikeness of ancient Greek statuary is entirely in the spirit of Plutarch and the Renaissance:

Minutely perfect all! Each dimple sunk,
And every muscle swelled, as nature taught.
In tresses, braided gay, the marble waved;
Flowed in loose robes, or thin transparent veils;
Sprung into motion; softened into flesh;
Was fired to passion, or refined into soul.
(II, 307-312)

Similarly, the painting of Greece, though it too idealizes its subject, is seen by Thomson as imitating life:

Nor less thy pencil with creative touch
Shed mimic life, when all thy brightest dames
Assembled Zeuxis in his Helen mixed.
(II, 313-315)
In addition to these general descriptions Thomson provides direct iconic portraits of those individual ancient marbles seen in Pope's "Temple of Fame" and admired so widely in the neo-classical period. His sculpturesque image of the Farnese Hercules, for example, though it contrasts with Pope's brief iconic reference, implies the same admiration for the ideal beauty associated with such figures:

In leaning site, respiring from his toils,
The well known hero who delivered Greece,
His ample chest all tempested with force,
Unconquerable reared. She saw the head,
Breathing the hero, small, of Grecian size,
Scarce more extensive than the sinewy neck;
The spreading shoulders, muscular and broad;
The whole a mass of swelling sinews; touched
Into harmonious shape. (IV, 140-148)

This detailed iconic passage, so different from Pope's suggestive couplet in its impressionistic naturalism, reflects the same sense of harmony and unPlatonic idealism, the same feeling for the ideal beauty of classically sculptured marbles typical of Pope, Reynolds, and the age.

The importance, then, of the civic virtues and traditions and the arts which served them, together with the iconically expressed admiration of the naturalism and idealized beauty of ancient Greek art demonstrate Thomson's intellectual and aesthetic affiliation with the neo-classical tradition of Pope and his contemporaries. His vague personification in Liberty of the figure of Painting, the Painting of Italian Renaissance Italy, shows his attitude towards the art which shaped English tastes in the period and is confirmatory of this affiliation:
In elegant design,
Improving nature: in ideas, fair
Or great, extracted from the fine antique;
In attitude, expression, airs divine—
Her sons of Rome and Florence bore the prize.
To those of Venice she the magic art
Of colours melting into colours gave.
Their too it was by one embracing mass
Of light and shade, that settles round the whole,
Or varies tremulous from part to part,
O'er all a binding harmony to throw,
To raise the picture, and repose the sight.

(IV, 232-243)

Thomson's renditions of natural scenes, upon which his reputation as poet largely rests, also reveal his relation to preceding example and tradition. Thus The Seasons, the last of his poems to be considered, not only falls within the long literary tradition that embraces the Idylls of Theocritus, the Eclogues of Virgil, and the Shepheards Calender of Spenser but also brings to mind the scenes of cyclical activity common in medieval art, especially the season pieces in such Books of Hours as Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, books produced in large quantities during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thomson's Seasons is also reminiscent of Nicolas Poussin's four paintings of the different seasons as well as those in the same genre painted by Rubens, Bassano, and others.

Then, too, the descriptions of external nature in Thomson's poem accord with the taste in landscape created by seventeenth-century English landscape painting: forest and farm, parkland, waterfalls, rivers, harbours, mountains, hills, and ruins. And it is worth noting that of the many seventeenth-century English scenes, prospects,
and vistas depicting this kind of scenery "season pictures were certainly one of the most popular." Thus with respect to models for picturesque vision

the eighteenth-century man of taste found these, firstly in his own native landscape tradition, heavily indebted as it was to painters such as Swanevelt, Van Everdingen, Berchem, and Van Diest, and secondly in the works of Salvator Rosa, Gaspar Poussin, and Claude Lorrain, painters for whom he developed a particular enthusiasm.

There is no doubt that, long before the eighteenth-century "return to nature," a taste for landscape had been formed that included features often associated with this "return" and frequently attributed to Thomson. In the light of this taste it can be perceived that "the originality of Thomson's visual scene lay in bringing to poetry the very themes most prominent in seventeenth-century landscape."

This simplified account of the general visual background of Thomson's natural scenes can be made complete by pointing out that the great Renaissance and baroque painters of Europe exercised an important influence upon seventeenth-century landscape taste in England, the taste in natural scenery displayed in Thomson's Seasons. And, as will be seen, they were even more important in shaping Thomson's method of presenting this natural scenery.

Because landscape in Thomson's Seasons is related to the generalized or idealized nature not only of Claude, Salvator Rosa, and Gaspard Dughet but also of Leonardo, Giorgione, Titian, Annibale Carracci, Rubens, Guido Reni, Guercino, and Nicolas Poussin, it is not surprising to discover that Thomson, like all these painters, frequently
idealizes his subject, presenting scenes as more than purely physical landscape. Paintings such as Nicolas Poussin's *Landscape with the Burial of Phocion*, in which "the landscape becomes itself a memorial to Stoic virtue"; Claude Lorraine's *A Pastoral*, which, as a nostalgic vista, evokes "the poetic essence of a countryside filled with echoes of antiquity"; and Annibale Carracci's seminal *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*, in which the figures form a natural and inevitable part of the civilized and domesticated natural setting, depict scenes of nature expressing heroic, pastoral, or social ideals. Thomson also humanizes landscape, presenting it in the manner of the painters enumerated above in order to give it meaning beyond that which it possesses in itself. The following lines, for example, taken from "Spring," visualize a pastoral scene expressive of social-nationalistic ideals, a scene which idealizes Thomson's Britain through its evocation of former barbarities and its suggestion of present-day conditions.

The poet describes a "mountain-brow".

Where sits the shepherd on the grassy turf,  
Inhaling healthful the descending sun.  
Around him feeds his many-bleating flock,  
Of various cadence; and his sportive lambs,  
This way and that convolved in friskful glee,  
Their frolics play. And now the sprightly race  
Invites them forth; when swift, the signal given,  
They start away, and sweep the massy mound  
That runs around the hill—the rampart once  
Of iron war, in ancient barbarous times,  
When disunited Britain ever bled,  
Lost in eternal broil, ere yet she grew  
To this deep-laid indissoluble state  
Where wealth and commerce lift the golden head,  
And o'er our labours liberty and law  
Impartial watch, the wonder of a world!  
(11. 832-848)
This idyllic scene of frolicsome lambs disporting themselves freely on a grassy hillside under the eye of their shepherd suggests what is made explicit by Thomson later in the passage: the peaceful condition of an England whose labours and commercial activities are carried on under the impartial eye of liberty and law. The "massy mound" of the ancient rampart is similarly evocative of the wars and "eternal broil" of the disunited British past. The description thus presents more than a simple pastoral scene. It embodies and contrasts present and past, expressing the same ideals of peace, progress, liberty, and law that were promulgated by Pope through the figure of his Father Thames.

Thomson utilized other methods of idealizing the natural scene, rendering it classical, for example, by including sculptured figures or architecture. Of these methods, however, none is more important than his practice of personifying natural phenomena, a practice seen already in Pope, found in Gray, particularly prominent in Collins, and widespread throughout the age. Thomson's natural personifications, "deliberately competing with the allegoric portraits of popular Italian painters," show him humanizing and mythologizing the phenomena of nature as did Pope with the personified Thames, that is, after the manner of the great Renaissance and baroque painters of Italy. A few examples illustrating how such personification enabled Thomson to achieve his characteristic landscape form will serve to bring this chapter to a close.

In his invocation to Spring, inviting her descent to earth, he
presents the season as a near-divine presence:

Come gentle Spring, ethereal mildness, come;  
And from the bosom of yon dropping cloud,  
While music wakes round, veiled in a shower  
Of shadowing roses, on our plains descend.  
(11, 1-4)

This personified figure of Spring is typical of the figures used to introduce the other three poems of the *Seasons*. It thus typifies Thomson's baroque-allegorical conception of his subject, his view of the four seasons as noble, celestial beings whose periodic visitations from above transform the earthly realm of nature and man. It is true that "gentle Spring" is not circumstantially presented, that her figure is not easily visualized, and that, in this respect, she resembles other natural and moral personifications in the poem. However, many other figures are sharply visualized and it is these individualized portraits that illustrate the kind of scenic pictorialism, the picturesque landscape form, that is found at its best in the poetry of Thomson. The following passage, representing the sun as the central figure in a pictorial scene which is reminiscent of Italian allegorical painting, is taken from "Summer" and will sufficiently illustrate this Thomsonian pictorialization of landscape:

Parent of Seasons! who the pomp precede  
That waits thy throne, as through thy vast domain;  
Annual, along the bright ecliptic road  
In world-rejoicing state it moves sublime.  
Meantime the expecting nations, circled gay  
With all the various tribes of foodful earth,  
Implore thy bounty, or send grateful up
A common hymn: while, round thy beaming car,  
High-seen, the Seasons lead, in sprightly dance  
Harmonious knit, the rosy-fingered hours,  
The zephyrs floating loose, the timely rains,  
Of bloom ethereal the light-footed dews,  
And, softened into joy, the surly storms.  
These, in successive turn, with lavish hand  
Shower every beauty, every fragrance shower,  
Herbs, flowers, and fruits; till, kindling at thy touch,  
From land to land is flushed the vernal year.

(11. 113-129)

Just as the figure of Pope's Melancholy explains the distribution of light and shade in the Salvatorian scene over which she presides and accounts for its gloomy atmosphere, so here the effects of the approaching summer season—the "timely rains," the storms "softened into joy," and the vegetation of herb, flower, and fruit—are interpreted in terms of the sun's progress along the "bright eclipic road" in his "beaming" car, "high-seen." The car is surrounded by the Seasons who, "harmonious knit," lead the "rosy-fingered hours" in "sprightly dance" until, together with other dancing figures—the "floating" zephyrs, "light-footed" dews, and "surly" storms—they lavish the beauty and fragrance, the herbs, flowers, and fruits of spring and summer over the face of the earth below.

The allegorical progress of the mighty "Parent of Seasons" and the groups of subordinate figures dancing round his car is conceived as a complete scene encompassing within spatial bounds the movement and the figures it depicts. This pictorial representation of the returning sun kindling the land to new beauty, fragrance, and growth suggests the strong influence of Italian mythological painting, in
particular the specific painting referred to earlier in connection with Pope's river god in "Windsor Forest" and his sculpturesque image of Pindar's aerial flight in "The Temple of Fame," namely the *Aurora* fresco of Guido Reni. In this mythological progress, as we saw, Apollo, riding in his car, is shown surrounded by the dancing hours while Aurora prepares to scatter flowers upon the land below. Reni's painting, thus allegorically depicting the day dawning upon the land, closely corresponds to and perfectly illustrates the method of Thomson's representation of the warmth, growth, and change developing in the natural scene as its phenomena respond to the return of sun and summer. His *Aurora* typifies the influence of baroque Italy on the Thomsonian description and portrayal of ideal landscape.

In fulfilling this function, Reni's painting also clearly demonstrates that Thomson's depiction of the natural scene cannot be fully understood or appreciated if interpreted only in terms of Claudian and Salvatorian prospects. The extent to which Claude and Salvator are factors in Thomson's landscape art will be shown in the next chapter; here we are mainly concerned with the basic influence represented by painters like Reni and work such as his *Aurora*, with showing that their significance cannot be overlooked.

For Thomson's imagery is not pictorial in a merely descriptive or enumerative sense alone. At its best his pictorialism becomes an instrument serving larger aesthetic, emotional, intellectual, social, or moral purposes and values. And it fulfils this important function because Thomson's poetry is fundamentally related, as this chapter has
tried to make clear, to that wide and influential frame of reference
which he shared with Pope and his contemporaries, to those standards
of excellence which derived from antiquity and the painting and sculpture of the great artists of Renaissance and baroque Italy.
FOOTNOTES


3 Ibid., p. 29.

4 Aurora, ceiling fresco, 1613, Casino Rospigliosi, Rome; The Kingdom of Flora, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.


7 Essay, I, 317.


9 Essay, II, 223.

10 National Museum, Naples. An adaptation of a type of statue traditional from the fourth century B.C. The original has been imputed to Lysippus.

11 Guercino, Aurora, ceiling fresco, 1621-23, Villa Ludovisi, Rome.


Jean Hagstrum (The Sister Arts) is the most significant critic viewing Thomson's pictorialism as an effect, while Elizabeth Manwaring (Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England: A Study Chiefly of the Influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste 1700–1800, London: Cass, 1965) and Christopher Hussey (The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View, London: Putnam, 1927) are the most influential among those who view it as a cause.


19 Henry V. S. Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden (English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955, p. 48) point out that "the pictures of the months in some of the books of hours of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries almost reached the status of pure landscape."


21 Ogden and Ogden, English Taste in Landscape, pp. 40-49.

22 Ibid., p. 49.


24 Hagstrum, Sister Arts, pp. 251-252.

25 H. W. Janson, History of Art, pp. 401, 408. Landscape with the Burial of Phocion, 1648, The Louvre, Paris; A Pastoral, c. 1650, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut; Landscape with the Flight into Egypt, c. 1603, Doria Gallery, Rome.

CHAPTER IV

THE "RETURN TO NATURE," THOMSON, AND

THE LANDSCAPE PICTURESQUE

Smollett's novel, The Expedition of Humphry Clinker, published in 1771, dramatizes two uses of the term "picturesque" which serve to distinguish the poetic pictorialism so far discussed from the coexistent taste for domesticated and wild scenery, the taste for picturesque landscape. Thus far "pictorialism" has served as a general literary term embracing the ancient rhetorical and critical doctrine of enargeia, the tradition of iconic description, techniques of poetic idealization, specific visual images, total poetic form, and allied matters. Humphry Clinker reflects this traditional poetic pictorialism and at the same time suggests the picturesque orientation towards landscape and scenery.

Jeremy Melford's description of Humphry haranguing his fellow inmates in the chapel of Clerkenwell Prison, like his description of Lismahago's escape from the fire at Sir Thomas Bullford's house, demonstrates the pictorialist mode of thought so far discussed. Jeremy, joining Humphry's prison audience, views the strange scene before him as a painted scene:

I never saw anything so strongly picturesque as this congregation of felons clanking their chains, in the midst of whom stood orator Clinker, expatiating in a transport of fervor, on the torments of hell, denounced in scripture against evil-doers, comprehending
murderers, robbers, thieves, and whore-mongers. The variety of attention exhibited in the faces of those ragamuffins, formed a group that would not have disgraced the pencil of a Raphael.

This description, presenting Humphry as the central object of attention in an arrangement of figures reminiscent of the Renaissance painter considered generally to be the greatest, displays exactly the language and habit of thought seen before in Wartonian descriptions of pictorial scenes in Pope and Thomson. In this sense it resembles Jeremy's later description of Lismahago's climb down the ladder during the fire at Sir Thomas Bullford's, a scene which is similarly presented in pictorial terms:

The rueful aspect of the lieutenant in his shirt, with a quilted night-cap fastened under his chin, and his long lank limbs and posteriors exposed to the wind, made a very picturesque appearance, when illumined by the links and torches which the servants held up to light him in his descent. (p. 351)

The action and lighting of this mock-baroque drama is made even more emphatically pictorial when Sir Thomas expresses his delight at the success of his prank:

0, che roba!—0, what a subject!—0, what caricatura!—0, for a Rosa, a Rembrandt, a Schalken!—Zooks, I'll give a hundred guineas to have it painted!—what a fine descent from the cross, or ascent to the gallows! what lights and shadows!—what a groupe below!—what expression above!—what an aspect!—did you mind the aspect? (p. 351)

Sir Thomas may display a questionable sense of humour but his feeling for the picturesque is soundly rooted in the tradition of eighteenth-century poetic pictorialism. His speech, like Jeremy's
descriptions, though devoted to a comic scene and subject, uses the same language, adopts the same approach, and depends on the same frame of reference as does neo-classical poetic pictorialism and its criticism. Speech and descriptions thus exemplify one means whereby the pictorialism of neo-classical verse appear in the prose fiction of the period.

The novel, however, also reflects a picturesque vision not so much centred on the heroic, mythological, or historical subjects of the great artists of the Renaissance and baroque periods as upon the natural landscape. Thus we see Smollett presenting Matthew Bramble as an articulate critic of landscape painting and of scenery. At Bath, writing of Mr. T--, a "gentleman who paints landscapes for his amusement," Bramble forcefully displays the first of these critical interests:

This young gentleman of Bath is the best landscape painter now living: I was struck with his performances in such a manner, as I had never been by painting before. His trees not only have a richness of foliage and warmth of colouring, which delights the view; but also a certain magnificence in the disposition and spirit in the expression, which I cannot describe. His management of the chiaro oscuro, or light and shadow, especially gleams of sunshine, is altogether wonderful, both in the contrivancy and execution; and he is so happy in his perspective, and marking his distances at sea, by a progressive series of ships, vessels, capes, and promontories, that I could not help thinking, I had a distant view of thirty leagues upon the back-ground of the picture. If there is any taste for ingenuity left in a degenerate age, fast sinking into barbarism, this artist, I apprehend, will make a capital figure, as soon as his works are known. (pp. 85-86)

This appreciation of painted landscape and the qualified assumption that a good landscape artist can achieve fame complement Bramble's attitude towards real landscape itself. When he leads his party through the Scottish Highlands his feelings for the countryside and the
descriptive praises he lavishes upon it suggest the Gilpinian tourist in search of the picturesque. For though Bramble does not consciously analyze views and prospects as subjects more or less appropriate for the canvas, he nonetheless delights in the pictorial variety of their beautiful, sublime, or romantic qualities. For example, speaking of his preference for Loch Lomond, he says that it is

a preference which is certainly owing to the verdant islands that seem to float upon its surface, affording the most enchanting objects of repose to the excursive view. Nor are the banks destitute of beauties which even partake of the sublime. On this side they display a sweet variety of woodland, cornfield, and pasture, with several agreeable villas emerging as it were out of the lake, till, at some distance, the prospect terminates in huge mountains covered with heath, which being in the bloom, affords a very rich covering of purple. Every thing here is romantic beyond imagination. This country is justly stiled the Arcadia of Scotland.

(p. 289)

This appreciation of domestic and natural landscape, of the romantic prospect over the lake which terminates like a picture in the empurpled mountains, corresponds to the spirit of Bramble's poem to the Leven, the stream flowing out of Loch Lomond:

Devolving from thy parent lake,
A charming maze thy waters make,
By bow'r's of birch, and groves of pine,
And hedges flow'r'd with eglantine.

(11. 17-20; p. 291)

If this poem "has no other merit," says Bramble, who might have been speaking as well of his description of Loch Lomond and other Scottish scenes, "it is at least picturesque and accurately descriptive" (p. 289). The pleasure which he takes in his "agreeable landscape taken
from nature" (p. 290) is exactly that displayed by later picturesque poets and painters.

Humphry Clinker, then, reflects the continuing awareness of the heroic, mythological, and historical subjects of Renaissance and baroque painting in the period which gave rise to the picturesque landscape movement. It further implies the prestige of contemporary "history" painting, a genre which not only portrayed episodes in the lives of national heroes but also the "borrowed attitudes" of contemporary figures who were frequently depicted in heroic, mythic, or historical guise and posture. Humphry Clinker, Raphaelesque in Clerkenwell, or Lismahago making his baroque "descent from the cross" exemplify, albeit in comic terms, not only the pervasive influence of Continental Renaissance and baroque art but also the "borrowed attitudes" of the eighteenth-century English "history." This comic use of the pictorial models serving neoclassical poetry contrasts with the serious treatment accorded the landscape picturesque and perhaps constitutes an indirect comment on the familiarity of one and the relative novelty of the other in the 1770's. In any event Bramble's knowledge of landscape painting, his tour through the Highlands, and his landscape descriptions and "picturesque" poem are not intended to serve the purposes of comedy. Presented seriously, they reflect the increasing importance of English landscape art, the growing appreciation of both wild and civilized scenery, and the practice of touring the countryside in order to capture its picturesque beauties in prose, verse, watercolour, or painting.

Bramble's love of natural views and prospects, his delight in
woodland, field, pasture, lake, mountain, as well as architecture in a natural setting introduces the subject of the eighteenth-century "return to nature." The question of this "return," referred to earlier in connection with Thomson, requires further emphasis and clarification. A discussion of it will not only place the poetry and pictorialism of Pope and Thomson in proper perspective but also establish the necessary context for consideration of the natural garden and the picturesque movement.

The poetic taste for landscape fostered by the great Renaissance and baroque artists and vigorously developed by seventeenth-century landscape painters in England and on the Continent was discussed in the preceding chapter. This taste was powerfully assisted by another influence fundamental to the renewal of eighteenth-century interest in nature, one which was philosophical rather than artistic. It stemmed from certain conclusions reached by Augustan deistic philosophers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Headed by Shaftesbury these philosophers, building on the foundations established by Cambridge Platonism and utilizing the knowledge expounded by the new science, established the idea of nature as a unified, harmonious, and beautiful whole, as a universal system whose phenomena, processes, and laws could only be understood in relation to the system comprehending them and comprised of them. This great cosmic order, though regulated perfectly by natural law, was considered to be of divine origin and, as the handiwork of the Creator, a reliable record and source of revelation of the character, purposes, and beneficence of God. The Bible of
Deism, of the Religion of Nature, was the Book of Nature.

The notion of nature as sufficient in itself to manifest God's power and goodness conflicted with the "supernatural" revelation of orthodox Christian belief, with the presumed need and worth of the "revealed" Word of God. Deist heresy approximated the degree of its abandonment of "supernatural" revelation in favour of "natural." To Shaftesbury, as indicated by the following passage from The Moralists, the worship of nature "replaces the necessity of formal creed and is invested with a significance involving the supreme moral and spiritual needs of man. To follow Nature was literally to follow God":

Ye fields and woods, my refuge from the toilsome world of business, receive me in your quiet sanctuaries, and favour my retreat and thoughtful solitude. Ye verdant plains, how gladly I salute ye! Hail all ye blissful mansions! known seats! delightful prospects! majestic beauties of this earth, and all ye rural powers and graces. . . . O glorious nature! supremely fair and sovereignly good! all-loving and all-lovely, all-divine! whole looks are so becoming and of such infinite grace; whose study brings such wisdom, and whose contemplation such delight . . . . O mighty Nature! wise substitute of Providence! impowered creatress!

Obviously divine nature, the visible manifestation of God's grandeur and perfection, and a powerful force for good in its constant appeal to man's intellect, spirit, and moral faculties, could not embody error or exhibit flaws. Hence Shaftesbury's important pioneer praise of what had hitherto been regarded as imperfections or blemishes in the creation: those wild, harsh, irregular aspects of nature such as the frozen North, mountains, deserts, and the severities of climate or season. Hence, too, his equally novel and significant defence of the ugly, repellent, and useless in nature: serpents, insects, and all the
lower animals regarded as nuisances or pests. For Shaftesbury all physical phenomena, inorganic and organic; every form of life, high or low; all natural features of whatever kind had their necessary place and function within God's great scheme and were, as his creations, beautiful. Nothing in nature was inappropriate or entirely useless and unattractive.

Shaftesbury and the movement he represented exerted a profound effect upon eighteenth-century thought. By making the divine order of nature the basis of a philosophical system embracing theology, ethics, and aesthetics, by rooting within it the true, the good, and the beautiful, Augustan rationalism greatly increased the adoration of nature. Thanks to its influence "all forms of nature ... were given a more honorable place in European thought."4

In particular, deistic speculation influenced neo-classical poetry. It can be said of the Augustan philosophers that "it was through poetical imitators of these that English poetry acquired the various forms of defense and praise of the irregular and grand aspects of nature" and likewise "the apotheosis of nature in general."5 A few examples will illustrate the importance of the deistic influence in neo-classical verse.

Mark Akenside, who "undertook to versify almost the entire corpus of Shaftesbury's speculation,"6 saw nature as revelatory of God in his Pleasures of Imagination:

Thus the men
Whom Nature's works can charm, with God himself
Hold converse; grow familiar, day by day,
With his conceptions, act upon his plan;
And form to his, the relish of their souls.  

Pope's *Essay on Man*, a poem "in large part pure Shaftesbury filtered through Bolingbroke,"\(^8\) presents the phenomena of nature in pantheistic terms, as embodying the Creator:

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body, Nature is, and God the soul;
That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the same,
Great in the earth, as in th' aethereal frame,
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,
Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent.
(II, 267-274)

And finally, "if any poet ever moralized his song and made all things subservient to 'Divine Philosophy,' it was Thomson."\(^9\) This passage from "Spring," almost identifying the Creator with His work, is typical:

Inspiring God! who, boundless spirit all
And unremitting energy, pervades,
Adjusts, sustains, and agitates the whole.
He ceaseless works alone, and yet alone
Seems not to work; with such perfection framed
Is this complex, stupendous scheme of things.
But, though concealed, to every purer eye.
The informing Author in his works appears.
(11. 853-860)

Shaftesbury's novel attitude towards mountains is also reflected in Thomson. Mountain grandeur, for example, often appears in *The Seasons*, as when in "Summer"

The dripping rock, the mountain's misty top
Swell on the sight and brighten with the dawn.
(11. 54-55)
Thomson also presents mountain solitude and the remoteness of lonely places in Shaftesburian terms, as sacred to the highest and most worthy thoughts and feelings of man. Thus in "Summer" he speaks of silent, melancholy places as "haunts of meditation" (1. 522) where he feels "a sacred terror, a severe delight" (1. 541). In these obscure haunts he can imagine hearing a voice "than human more":

Be not of us afraid,
Poor kindred man! thy fellow-creatures, we
From the same Parent-Power our beings drew,
The same our Lord and laws and great pursuit.
Once some of us, like thee, through stormy life
Toiled tempest-beaten ere we could attain
This holy calm, this harmony of mind,
Where purity and peace inmingle charms.
Then fear not us; but with responsive song,
Amid these dim recesses, undisturbed
By noisy folly and discordant vice,
Of Nature sing with us, and Nature's God.
(11. 544-555)

These passages from The Seasons indicate the Shaftesburian influence everywhere to be found in Thomson's poetry and support the statement that "the underlying assumptions of the two writers are identical, each endeavouring to interpret the 'harmonious whole' recorded in the Book of Nature." Together with the quotations from Akenside and Pope they demonstrate the poetic transmission and diffusion of Shaftesburian thought, a popularization which powerfully strengthened the eighteenth-century appreciation of nature discussed earlier in terms of the influence of Renaissance and baroque art and the seventeenth-century landscape painters.

Clearly it was not simply the influence of Claude, Salvator, and
the Poussins that brought about the renewed eighteenth-century interest in nature and landscape reflected in neo-classical verse. The extent to which these painters did in fact influence the landscape descriptions of Pope and Thomson was pointed out in the preceding chapter. For example, with respect to Pope, Salvatorian and Claudian suggestions were seen respectively in the gloomy scene in "Eloisa to Abelard" dominated by the figure of Melancholy and in the landscape depicted by these lines from "The Temple of Fame":

Here sailing Ships delight the wand'ring Eyes;  
There Trees, and intermingl'd Temples rise;  
Now a clear Sun the shining Scene displays,  
The transient landscape now in Clouds decays.  
(11. 15-20)

Such Salvatorian and Claudian suggestions in Pope's landscapes are relatively unimportant by comparison with the pictorial and sculptur-esque images from ancient; Renaissance, and baroque art that shaped his pictorialism in general.

The same is true of Thomson, although here the question of the influence of Claude, Salvator, and the Poussins is more difficult to deal with. These painters have been seen as the models for Thomson's ideal landscapes while the allegorical and mythological painters of the high Renaissance and baroque seventeenth century, who gave him his ideal landscape form, have been overlooked. Furthermore, the pictorial influence of Claude, Salvator, and the Poussins on Thomson's scenes of real or actual landscape has usually been overemphasized.

The general sense in which Claude, Salvator, and the Poussins
Influenced Thomson's ideal landscape was earlier implied when it was shown that the Claudian landscape evoked by the above-quoted lines from "The Temple of Fame," by scenes nostalgically associated with antique grandeur and suffused with pastoral serenity, is the kind of generalized, heroic, or idealized landscape which was characteristic, despite its variety of forms, of high Renaissance and baroque painting. Such landscape, which included much of the work of Claude, Salvator, and the Poussins, was, we saw, usually concerned not solely or primarily with the actual physical forms of nature but with nature as a manifestation of heroic, pastoral, or other ideals. And, as we also saw, it was the visualized natural personification, Thomson's basic formal element in rendering his scene, that became his chief means of raising natural form to the ideal form modelled in the work of seventeenth-century landscape painters such as Guido Reni, Annibale Carracci, and Nicolas Poussin, the chief means whereby he attained his developed and characteristic landscape form. The idealized landscapes of Claude, Salvator, and the Poussins, as part of the general seventeenth-century tradition conditioning Thomson's literary landscape, contributed only as such to the ideal form of his mature and fully contrived landscape scene. Examples illustrating this incidental influence will be cited in later discussion.

That the influence of seventeenth-century allegorical painting has been overlooked and Thomson's ideal landscape made synonymous with Claudian or Salvatorian prospects can be illustrated by the treatment accorded his personification in "Summer" of the dawning day as a
powerful king approaching the earth in boundless majesty:

But yonder comes the powerful king of day
Rejoicing in the east. The lessening cloud,
The kindling azure, and the mountain's brow
Illumed with fluid gold, his near approach
Betoken glad. Lo! now, apparent all,
Aslant the dew-bright earth and coloured air,
He looks in boundless majesty abroad,
And sheds the shining day, that burnished plays
On rocks, and hills, and towers, and wandering streams.

This royal progress, so like that of the sun seen as the great "Parent of Seasons" in the last chapter and equally reminiscent of such seventeenth-century mythological progresses as Guido's and Guercino's Aurora frescoes or Poussin's Kingdom of Flora, becomes in traditional terms a mere Claudian sunrise, a scene "instinct with il riposo di Claudio."¹² Such a view, typically overlooking the function of Thomsonian natural personification, ignores the role of the personified sun in organizing the elements of the scene, its role in rendering it pictorial after the manner of Italian mythological painting. Thomson's ideal landscape is reduced to picturesque approximation of Claude.

The influence of Claude, Salvator, and the Poussins is also emphasized with respect to Thomson's real or actual landscape descriptions. The prospect from Hagley Park depicted in "Spring," for example, has been presented as a classical instance of Italian landscape in eighteenth-century England, a prospect revealing "real Claudian distances":¹³

Mean time you gain the height, from whose fair brow
The bursting prospect spreads immense around;
And, snatched o'er hill and dale, and wood, and lawn,
And verdant field, and darkening heath between,
And villages embosomed soft in trees,
And spiry towns by surging columns marked
Of household smoke, your eye discursive roams—
Wide-stretching from the Hall in whose kind haunt
The hospitable genius lingers still,
To where the broken landscape, by degrees
Ascending, roughens into rigid hills
O'er which the Cambrian mountains, like far clouds
That skirt the blue horizon, dusky rise.
(11. 950-962)

The description of this scenery, however, is topographical, that is, "as distinguished from ideal," a "representation of actual scenery and of specific places—usually named" in which "the artist intends the spectator to recognize the place he depicts." The prospect from Hagley Park is a specific English scene naturally divided into foreground, middle distance, and background which reflects, as a prospect of field, village, hill, and mountain, some of the themes earlier mentioned in connection with seventeenth-century landscape painting in England and on the Continent. The dusky Cambrian background also recalls Shaftesbury's pioneer praise of mountains.

This prospect, then, is not an ideally composed Italianate scene after the manner of Claude. In fact the Italian landscape so beloved of Claude, Salvator, and their English admirers was a disappointment to Thomson during his travels in Italy. What enchanted Thomson there was not so much the countryside but the ancient statues and the paintings of the Renaissance and baroque masters which shaped his pictorial vision. The paintings of Italian landscape by these great Renaissance and baroque artists were themselves "vastly Superiour to
the painting of all other Nations' not chiefly because the painters lived amid Claudian and Salvatorian natural scenery" but "because they were constantly exposed to the remains of Greece and Rome."^{15}

Despite all this, however, it would not be true to say that Thomson never depicted Claudian or Salvatorian scenes. The scenic elements in the following passage from *Liberty*, for example, recall not only the wild, fierce desolation of Salvatorian precipices, torrents, storms, and blasted trees but also the soft; diffused light, the peaceful atmosphere, and the serene and tranquil spirit of Claude's pastoralism:

There gaily broke the sun-illumined cloud;  
The lessening prospect, and the mountain blue  
Vanished in air; the precipice frowned dire;  
White down the rock the rushing torrent dashed;  
The sun shone trembling o'er the distant main;  
The tempest foamed immense; the driving storm  
Saddened the skies, and, from the doubling gloom,  
On the scathed oak the ragged lightning fell;  
In closing shades, and where the current strays,  
With peace and love and innocence around,  
Piped the lone shepherd to his feeding flock.  

(II, 352-362)

The landscape of *The Castle of Indolence*, too, is strongly reminiscent of Claude and Salvator. Here are "sleep-soothing groves, and quiet lawns between," where gentle streams "bicker" through a "sunny glade" (I, iii) in which

Joined to the prattle of the purling rills,  
Were heard the lowing herds along the vale,  
And flocks loud-bleating from the distant hills,  
And vacant shepherds piping in the dale.  

(I, iv)
This peaceful setting is made even more Claudian by the fact that here Indolence "close-hid his castle mid embowering trees" (I, vii). However, towering above the sides of this pastoral valley and sharply opposed to its mood of serene tranquillity, a "sable, silent, solemn forest stood," a Salvatorian "wood of blackening pines," which, "waving to and fro," "sent forth a sleepy horror through the blood" (I, v). And when the Knight of Arts and Industry later waves his wand we are given scenes of wild desolation filled with ruin, "gloomy flood," and "trees by lightning scathed" (II, lxviii). These examples show that the influence of Claude and Salvator is not to be denied altogether in Thomson's verse. Despite this, however, and despite the important contribution made by these painters to the landscape garden, the picturesque in neo-classical verse, as the foregoing discussion of Thomson's relationship to Claude and Salvator has tried to show, cannot be limited to Claudian and Salvatorian prospects. To do so is to distort the pictorialism of Pope and Thomson, to confuse the relationship between poetic pictorialism and the picturesque of the natural garden, and to obscure the origins of the renewed eighteenth-century appreciation of nature.

If it is accepted, for example, that "the effect on poetry of the picturesque point of view is to be traced in the gradual approximation of described landscape to the landscape painted by Claude and Salvator Rosa," and if such landscape is found nowhere in Pope and everywhere in Thomson, then, in opposition to all that has been said in the preceding chapter, Pope displays "little appreciation of picturesque
landscape" because "for the most part his landscapes are crowds of personifications," because "there is no analogy in his landscapes to those of Claude and Salvator." Thomson, on the other hand, becomes "par excellence, the poet of pictorial landscape," whose every scene is "correctly composed and filled in with sufficient vividness to enable the reader to visualize a picture after the manner of Salvator and Claude." He emerges as the "first of the great landscape designers in poetry" of the century, the pioneer of the picturesque:

It remained but to direct the enthusiasm for art towards the appreciation of nature. To get men to look at real landscape with a painter's gusto. That done and the picturesque point of view would be delivered into the land. This was the achievement of James Thomson and John Dyer, the Picturesque poets.

Such a view of the poetry and pictorialism of Pope and Thomson entirely overlooks the subject of the last chapter: the relationship of these poets to the iconic tradition and to the art of high-Renaissance Italy and the baroque seventeenth century.

Furthermore, viewing Thomson as "the first in a line of Claudian landscapists, important because of his anticipation of the 'picturesque' of later poets and gardeners," obscures the Shaftesburian contribution to the renewed eighteenth-century interest in nature. Thomson and Dyer may, in the traditional view, see nature "as a composed whole," but since "for Thomson the reality of nature was a picture," this becomes "a pictorial, not an organic or spiritual whole." And primacy is given to Claude and Salvator rather than Shaftesbury when the landscapes of these painters, "abundantly
multiplied in painting and print," are seen as the "new element—the picturesque—which helped to transform the distaste for mountains as things uncouth into a fearful joy at their precipices, crags, and hanging woods." Thus, in "explaining complex phenomena by simple causes" and making it appear "as if the painters were solely responsible for this taste in nature," the traditional view of Thomson's relation to the "return to nature" ignores "the very powerful influence of Shaftesbury in molding eighteenth-century thought," failing to recognize that Thomson "would have had a sympathy with nature even if he had never heard of Claude Lorraine or Poussin." Finally, in doing all this, the traditional view of Thomson also necessarily obscures the origins of picturesque landscape vision in the natural garden. The whole complex question of the origins of the new feeling for nature in the eighteenth century is well summed up as follows:

It appears that it was the influence of Shaftesbury, Thomson, Akenside, and host of minor poetical followers which, combined with the influence of French and Italian landscape painters, made natural beauty visible where it had not been perceived before. All these influences coming from philosophy, poetry, and painting intermingled, reinforced one another, and brought about what the text-books describe as the "return to nature." Of this "return" the landscape garden was merely one manifestation.

The question of this "manifestation" and the associated question of picturesque taste will take up the remainder of the chapter and at the same time conclude this thesis. The history of the eighteenth-century natural garden, however, is a large and complex subject, and since the picturesque taste associated with it and manifested variously in painting, architecture, poetry, the novel, travel, and aesthetic
speculation is an even larger and more complex subject, the treatment accorded here to garden and picturesque must necessarily be brief and selective. Accordingly, attention will be focused briefly on only two aspects of these interrelated matters: the early origins of the natural garden and the formalization of the picturesque taste that grew out of it in the theory of William Gilpin. The first of these, involving figures already discussed in connection with poetic pictorialism—Pope, Addison, and Shaftesbury—will complement previous discussion not only of that subject but the subject of the "return to nature" as well. The second, which will involve further discussion of Claude, Salvator, and the Poussins, has already been anticipated in important ways by the description at the beginning of the chapter of Matthew Bramble's tour, landscape descriptions, and picturesque poetry.

The English natural garden arose from dissatisfaction with the fixity of classic design, from a desire to free the garden plan from the symmetrical geometry of the prevailing, axially-designed formal garden. For England at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and for all Europe, the archetypal formal garden was the vast architectural landscape designed by Le Nôtre for Louis XIV at Versailles. Characteristic of Versailles and the gardens patterned after it were the projection of the house design and the development of perspectives along the main axis, the use of water in long, straight, narrow canals or in fountains jetting vertical streams, the avenues forming secondary axes and contributing additional vistas, and the symmetrical arrangements of statues, shrubbery, and elaborately foliated or "embroidered"
parterres. It was in reaction to this kind of garden that English philosophers, writers, and wealthy amateur landscapists conceived of and developed the English natural garden.

The first description of an alternative to the formal garden, of a beauty originating not in uniformity and symmetry but in the irregularity of a design whose disposition of parts is not immediately evident, is contained in Sir William Temple's essay *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus* (1690). Typical in his admiration of formal gardens, Temple, in a significant passage worth quoting at length, nonetheless points out that, in addition to the regular designs of the "best forms of gardens,"

there may be other forms wholly irregular, that may, for ought I know, have more beauty than any of the others; but they must owe it to some extraordinary dispositions of nature in the seat, or some great race of fancy or judgment in the contrivance, which may produce many disagreeing parts into some figure, which shall yet upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the Chinese; a people whose way of thinking seems to lie as wide of ours in Europe, as their country does. Among us, the beauty of building and planting is placed chiefly in some certain proportions, symmetries, or uniformities; our walk and our trees ranged so, as to answer one another, and at exact distances. The Chinese scorn this way of planting, and say a boy that can tell an hundred, may plant walks of trees in straight lines, and over against one another, and to what length and extent he pleases. But their greatest reach of imagination, is employed in contriving figures where the beauty shall be great, and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts, that shall be commonly or easily observed. And though we have hardly any notion of this sort of beauty, yet they have a particular word to express it; and where they find it hit their eye at first sight, they say the Sharawaggi is fine or is admirable. And whoever observes the work upon the best Indian gowris, or the painting upon their best screens or purcellans, will find their beauty is all of this kind (that is) without order.
Temple, "little realizing that he was laying down the principles of the future jardin anglais," felt that this irregular beauty was beyond the grasp of his countrymen:

I should hardly advise any of these attempts in the figure of gardens among us; they are adventures of too hard achievement for any common hands; and though there may be more honour if they succeed well, yet there is more dishonour if they fail, and 'tis twenty to one they will; whereas in regular figures, 'tis hard to make any great and remarkable faults.27

Shaftesbury in The Moralists (1709) made the first open declaration of the superiority of wild, untrammeled nature over the uniformity and symmetry of the formal garden. His preference for the works of God in nature over those of man was stated unequivocally:

I shall no longer resist the passion growing in me for things of a natural kind, where neither art nor the conceit or caprice of man has spoiled their genuine order by breaking in upon that primitive state. Even the rude rocks, the mossy caverns, the irregular unwrought grottos and broken falls of waters, with all the horrid graces of the wilderness itself, as representing Nature more, will be the more engaging, and appear with a magnificence beyond the formal mockery of princely gardens.28

However, Shaftesbury's contribution to the view that the formal garden was less beautiful the more it departed from nature mainly stemmed from his philosophical rejection of prevailing interpretations of the physical world, those represented by Lucretius, for example, or by Thomas Burnet and his Sacred Theory of the Earth (1681-9). According to Lucretius two thirds of the world was "withheld from mankind by torrid heat and perennial deposits of frost" while most of the remainder was "greedily seized by mountains and the woodland haunts of
wild beasts," by "craggs and desolate bogs and the sea that holds far
asunder the shores of the lands." Such a world, "full of imperfections,"
was proof that "the universe was certainly not created for us by divine
power." Thomas Burnet argued that the "whole Exteriour Region" of the
earth is a "broken and confus'd heap of bodies, plac'd in no order to
one another, nor with any correspondency or regularity of parts." As
the "image or picture of a great Ruine" reflecting "the true aspect of
a World lying in its rubbish," the disordered condition of the physical
world constituted proof of God's anger at "the degeneracy of mankind."
The present, badly-damaged earth resulted from God's destruction by
Flood of "the first World," the original order of creation perfect in
its design and harmony.

In opposition to these interpretations Shaftesbury advanced the
conception of nature earlier described: nature as a divine order, as
a spiritual revelation exalting the wild and irregular, and bringing
delight, wisdom, and a sense of awe and reverence to man. This influen-
tial view of the universe and of original, untouched nature "tended
inevitably to discredit the conscious manipulation of trees, rocks,
and water in the formal garden of the period." Nature, it seemed, "was
better and more beautiful than she had been thought to be, and need not
be twisted, tortured, or 'methodized' by man in an effort to improve
or restrain her." Shaftesburian influence contributed to the "return
to nature" not only in neo-classical verse but in the development of
the English natural garden as well.

It has already been shown that, like Shaftesbury's philosophy,
Addison's naturalism emphasized original nature. It did so not only by locating the great, the uncommon, and the beautiful within nature as the sources of the primary pleasures of the imagination but also by comparing nature's variety, grandeur, and vastness to the relatively insignificant "Touches and Embellishments of Art":

If we consider the Works of Nature and Art, as they are qualified to entertain the Imagination, we shall find the last very defective, in Comparison of the former; for though they may sometimes appear as Beautiful or Strange, they can have nothing in them of the Vastness and Immensity, which afford so great an Entertainment to the Mind of the Beholder. The one may be as Polite and Delicate as the other, but can never shew herself as so August and Magnificent in the Design. There is something more bold and masterly in the rough careless Strokes of Nature, than in the nice Touches and Embellishments of Art. 32

This emphasis upon original nature and the praise of its rough magnificence over the "Curiosities of Art" (414) influentially reinforced the Shaftesburian rehabilitation of nature. Shaftesbury, however, was primarily interested in wild, uninhabited nature while Addison, as his essays on gardening show, was a lover of domestic scenery, of the civilized, humanized landscape of the English countryside. His elevation of the naturally irregular over the artificiality of design and art appears most prominently in his description of "the several Acres about my House, which I call my Garden," a garden far from formal in its

Confusion of Kitchin and Parterre, Orchard and Flower Garden, which lie so mixt and interwoven with one another, that if a Foreigner who had seen nothing of our Country should be conveyed into my Garden at his first landing, he would look upon it as a natural Wilderness, and one of the uncultivated Parts of our Country.  (477)
In this garden Addison takes "particular care" to ensure that a "little wandring Rill" should run "in the same Manner as it would do in an open Field," that it should pass "through Banks of Violets and Primroses, Plats of Willow, or other Plants, that seem to be of its own producing" (477). The whole description reveals that "my Compositions in Gardening are altogether after the Pindarick Manner, and run into the beautiful Wildness of Nature, without affecting the nicer Elegancies of Art" (477).

Besides undermining the prestige of the formal garden in this way, Addison also explicitly attacks its artificiality. After obliquely referring to Temple's "sharawaggi" and Chinese gardeners who "conceal the art by which they direct themselves," he speaks of "our British gardeners" who, instead of "humouring Nature" like the Chinese, love to deviate from it as much as possible. Our Trees rise in Cones, Globes, and Pyramids. We see the Marks of the Scissars upon every Plant and Bush. I do not know whether I am singular in my Opinion, but, for my own part, I would rather look upon a Tree in all its Luxuriansy and Diffusion of Boughs and Branches, than when it is thus cut and trimmed into a Mathematical Figure; and cannot but fancy that an Orchard in Flower looks infinitely more delightful than all the little Labyrinths of the most finished Parterre. (414)

However, Addison's most important criticism of formal gardens is probably his statement that one of the great primary pleasures of the imagination, the sense of astonishment and freedom evoked by spacious prospects, by unconfined views of distant horizons, is frustrated by such gardens:

The Beauties of the most stately Garden or Palace lie in a narrow Compass; the Imagination immediately runs them over, and requires
something else to gratify her; but, in the wide Fields of Nature, the Sight wanders up and down without Confinement, and is fed with an infinite variety of Images, without any certain Stint or Number. (414)

Hence the famous question which implies the idea of the garden as a landscape embracing the entire countryside or appearing to do so: "Why may not a whole Estate be thrown into a kind of Garden?" (414).

This revolutionary thought departs from the conception entertained from the earliest times of the garden as a separate, self-contained enclosure. In practical terms the idea that a man might thus "make a pretty Landskip of his own Possessions" (414) led to the removal of walls and fences and to the concealment of estate boundaries and limits which gave gardens the spacious appearance and appeal of natural landscapes. Addison's idea represents "the start of English landscaping." 33

Finally, as we saw in an earlier chapter, Addison's opinion that nature could yield secondary imaginative pleasure through accidental resemblance to a work of art anticipates the picturesque of William Gilpin. When we find the "delightful" works of nature "still more pleasant; the more they resemble those of art," when our pleasure arises not only from the "Agreeableness of the Objects to the Eye," but from their "Similitude to other Objects" so that we can "represent them to our Minds, either as Copies or Originals" (414), then we are but a step from the picturesque of Gilpin, from considering natural scenes appropriate for painting because composed like pictures. We are also close to the allied notion that natural scenes themselves actually be composed like pictures, specifically that they be patterned after the landscape.
ideals of Claude, Salvator, and the Poussins, that is, made picturesque.

Pope echoed and intensified Addison's criticism of formal gardens. In The Guardian (173) he declares that "we seem to make it our study to recede from Nature" not only "in the various tonsure of greens into the most regular and formal shapes" but "even in monstrous attempts beyond the reach of the art," such as "Adam and Eve in yew; Adam a little shattered by the fall of the tree of knowledge in the great storm: Eve and the serpent very flourishing."34 And in Epistle IV of the "Moral Essays," the Epistle to Burlington, Pope satirically attacks the enclosed "inverted Nature" and dull symmetry of Timon's huge formal garden:

On ev'ry side you look, behold the Wall!
No pleasing Intricacies intervene,
No artful wildness to perplex the scene;
Grove nods at grove, each Alley has a brother,
And half the platform just reflects the other.
The suff'ring eye inverted Nature sees,
Trees cut to Statues, Statues thick as trees,
With here a Fountain, never to be play'd,
And there a Summer-house, that knows no shade.
(11. 114-122)

Against the formality of this enclosed, uniform, regularized nature, Pope recommends, in terms anticipating the discovery of gardening principles in the landscape compositions of Claude, Salvator, and the Poussins; the naturalism of the varied, irregular, and spacious garden of Addison. Since

He gains all points, who pleasingly confounds,
Surprises, varies, and conceals the bounds,
(11. 55-56)
the landscape gardener should always

Consult the Genius of the Place in all;
That tells the Waters or to rise, or fall,
Or helps th' ambitious Hill the heav'n to scale,
Or scoops in circling theatres the Vale,
Calls in the Country, catches opening glades,
Joins willing woods, and varies shades from shades,
Now breaks or now directs th' intending Lines;
Paints as you plant, and, as you work, designs.

(P. 57-64)

Pope's garden at Twickenham, axially-designed and "Rococo more than anything else" in its "wiggly paths, its minute mount, its cockle shells and minerals, and its effects of variety on a small scale," did not accord with his own rules of naturalistic design. Addison's gardening, too, at Bilton, was "rather of the heroic style than the Pindaric." But despite this, and despite the further irony that both writers were symbols of the "age of classical authority in its more brilliant moments," it was they who were "chiefly instrumental in dislodging from its position in public esteem the garden of axial design, which impressively embodied the Renaissance ideal of order." The revolution in gardening tastes and principles which they and Shaftesbury precipitated led to the creation of the garden that "tries seriously to look like Nature Unadorned," the landscape garden that "has deceived us all at some stage into believing it to be England's natural scenery." And since this garden constitutes one aspect or manifestation of the eighteenth-century "return to nature," Pope and Addison must be considered significant in this respect as well.

The story of the actual emergence and development of the
landscape garden in England cannot be told here. Such complex and highly detailed matters as the realization, adaptation, and variation of the ideas of Addison, Pope, and others in famous gardens like Shenstone's Leasowes, Hamilton's Pain's Hill, Southcote's Wooburn Farm, Temple's Stowe, Lyttleton's Hagley, Leicester's Holkham, or Hoare's Stourhead; the contributions of landscape gardeners like Switzer, Bridgeman, Kent, Brown, and Repton; the endless discussion conducted by writers, critics, aestheticians, amateurs, and wealthy men of fashion on the principles and practice of landscape gardening; and the reflection of all these matters in the literature of the century are beyond the scope of this paper, requiring as they do full volumes to themselves. Treatment of these subjects, however, is not necessary to an understanding of the question whose brief consideration will end this paper: the picturesque taste for landscape engendered by the natural garden and formalized aesthetically by Gilpin.

We have seen that the relations between the sister arts of poetry and painting achieved a high degree of intimacy in the eighteenth century. However, that analogies between the arts were by no means confined to these two, that further examples "could be multiplied almost indefinitely," is indicated by the parallels between the novel and the engraving, stage-acting and painting, music and poetry, architecture and landscaping, as well as by the important association between painting and gardening with which we are concerned. Of all these, the affinity between painting and gardening was of particular importance. It not only helped make the landscape garden "the great English
contribution to the art of gardening, even to art itself," to create
the "only art form to be perfected in Britain," but, in doing so, it
also made possible and originated the picturesque taste for landscape
heralded at the beginning of this chapter in the travels, descriptions,
and poetry of Smollett's Matthew Bramble.

The association between painting and gardening is linked to
that between painting and poetry not only because both parallels
involve painting and produce forms of pictorialism but also because
each stems from and typifies the characteristic eighteenth-century
deferece to authorities, precedents, and models that resulted from
classical literary training and habits of thought. Although such train­
ing and thinking principally affected literature, as in the dependence
of pictorial poetry upon the sanctions of ancient, Renaissance, and
baroque art, it also encouraged the view of the gardener as an artist
composing landscapes after the manner of painters. Thus Pope said
that "all gardening is landscape painting"; Shenstone remarked "in
pursuance of our present taste in gardening" that "every good painter
of landscape seems to me the most proper designer"; and Richard Jago
maintained that "to plan the rural seat" was to imitate "the well­form'd picture and correct design." As with the comparison between
poetry and painting, a host of further examples could be cited to
illustrate the contemporary opinion that gardening could "now join
itself" to poetry, music, and painting, that it was not only "nearly
allied" to painting but also "far superior to it" since it involved
"creating a real landscape, instead of painting an imaginary one."
Thus the doctrine of models, coupled with the new knowledge and love of painting discussed earlier, led naturally to the gardener's reliance upon the criteria for beauty in landscape supplied by seventeenth-century landscape painters. When the cultivated man "was certain that a garden scheme made up of temples, wooded hillsides, and winding streams embodied the Claudian spirit," then "his taste was vindicated, his mind was at rest, and he took a pinch of snuff complacently."43

The statement that "the creating a real landscape" is more difficult than "painting an imaginary one" is supported by other opinion suggesting the art of gardening as no less difficult to master than the art of painting. Richard Graves felt that the planning of the natural garden required mental attributes as great "as those which we admire in the descriptive poems of Thomson or in the noble landscapes of Salvator Rosa or the Poussins." And another writer commented that "there is at least as much room for exercising the great arts of design and composition in laying out a garden as in executing a good painting."44 Such remarks clearly signify that the garden, despite its abandonment of the uniformity of Renaissance design, could never display a nature free from human planning and control, could never really be natural. Less obvious in its design and construction than the formal garden, indeed apparently artless, the natural garden was as highly artificial as any other art form.

Seventeenth-century landscape painting, though an important stimulus and inspiration to the picturesque artificiality of the natural garden, cannot be accounted the sole factor responsible for
its creation. The psychological need to escape from the ubiquitous uniformity of classic design, mentioned earlier as the cause of the disappearance of regularity and symmetry from the garden, continued to reflect itself in the vogues for chinoiserie and medievalism, as well as in fields having nothing to do with painting or gardening: rococo in the decorative arts and blank verse and the Spenserian stanza in poetry. These tendencies complement the development of the natural garden and suggest that the antipathy registered by Thomson in Liberty for

those disgraceful piles of wood and stone;
Those parks and gardens, where, his haunts betrimmed,
And nature by presumptuous art oppressed,
The woodland genius mourns, (V, 163-166)

and his preference for those less formal

sylvan scenes, where art alone pretends
To dress her mistress and disclose her charms,
(V, 696-697)

are expressions of the fact that "the formulas of classicism had gone to seed" and that "a rejuvenating contact with nature was a spiritual need."45

Nonetheless, stimulating this psychological need and stimulated by it and by other forces contributing to the renewed interest in nature, a widespread and sympathetic interest in Italian landscape developed in the century, particularly for Claude, Salvator, and the Poussins, who were deemed to epitomize the principles of composition
and the criteria for beauty necessary and most appropriate to the landscape garden. In this sense the scenery of the natural garden differs from the literary landscape of Pope and Thomson, which, as we saw, was more importantly shaped by the mythological and allegorical landscapes of the masters of the high Renaissance and baroque periods.

Reynolds said that Claude "was convinced that taking nature as he found it seldom produced beauty," that his pictures were "a composition of the various draughts which he had previously made from various beautiful scenes and prospects." His feeling that Claude's practice led to the attainment of "perfect form" in landscape was shared by landscape gardeners, who, accepting that original nature in itself "seldom produced beauty," followed and adapted pictorial methods in composing real landscape scenes, scenes whose foregrounds, middle distances, backgrounds, disposition of objects, and effects of variety, contrast, and light and shade were after the manner of landscape painting, usually Claude's, Salvator's, and Poussin's.

If Shenstone summed up this strategy in gardening by saying that "objects should be less calculated to strike the immediate eye, than the judgment, or well-formed imagination, as in painting," Pope's comment that gardeners "may distance things by darkening them, and by narrowing . . . towards the end, in the same manner as they do in painting," typifies tactical advice based upon this strategy. That this strategy of landscape pictorialism was commonly identified with Claude, Salvator, and Nicolas Poussin scarcely requires illustration. Reflected in Richard Graves' earlier comment on the mental requirements
of the landscape designer and in dozens of similar expressions, such as the critical remarks made by Daines Barrington, the archaeologist, about Brown's plans, in which "I see rather traces of the gardens of Old Stowe than of Poussin or Claude Lorraine," or the recommendations by Samuel Ward of Salvator for "terrible and noble natural situations" and Poussin as "the best instructor which a gardener of genius and taste can follow," the identification between these painters and the strategy and tactics of landscape gardening became a commonplace.

Because of this identification the picturesque garden inevitably came to be regarded as an embodiment and reflection of the pictorial influences that had shaped it. If painting had served as a model for the gardener, his work in turn served as a potential model for the painter. The "true test of perfection in a modern garden," said Daines Barrington, "is that a landscape painter would choose it for a composition." This view of the landscape garden in terms of its picturesque-ness, its fitness for representation on canvas, extended itself beyond the garden when, in accord with the pervasive influence of the general "return to nature," it came to include the rugged scenery of wild, untouched nature. This extension of picturesque vision from the garden to all of nature was largely the consequence of the various Tours and Essays of the "venerable founder and master of the Picturesque School," William Gilpin, whose example, advice, and theory brought about the vogue for picturesque travel. Following in his footsteps, the picturesque tourist explored the countryside, particularly the remote mountain and lake country of Wales, the North of England, and Scotland,
in order to discover, describe, analyze, and reproduce the scenes that accorded with the Gilpinian formula of the picturesque.

Brief discussion of this formula and a glance at its further elaboration by Sir Uvedale Price will not only sum up the picturesque taste which climaxed in the theories of these men but also logically bring this paper to an end.

Gilpin's picturesque theory and practice can be conveniently summarized by considering its early expression in the anonymous 1748 publication, *A Dialogue Upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire*, a work attributed to Gilpin and "expressly picturesque in its general point of view."  

In this work two friends, Polyphthon and Callophilus, discuss the famous show-place gardens of Stowe in terms of the standards of painting. They take pleasure in the composition of the garden landscape, the excellent disposition of its elements, the proper terminations of its views, and especially its fine variety of objects. For them, regularity and exactness contribute little to beauty in a garden. Thus

> a regular Building perhaps gives us very little Pleasure; and yet a fine Rock, or a ragged Ruin, beautifully set off with Light and Shade, and garnished with flourishing bushes, Ivy, and dead Branches may afford us a great deal. --Yon old Hermitage gives us this Sort of Pleasure: it is of the romantick Kind; and such Beauties, where a probable Nature is not exceeded, are generally pleasing.

This passage sets forth the notion of objects, such as ruins, having picturesque value because of the pleasure they afford the eye. They please because their roughness, incompleteness, and irregularity
are more nearly allied to nature than is smoothness, regularity, and exactness. The picturesqueness of broken outlines, roughness, irregularity, and varied effects provides pleasure "of the romantick Kind."

The word "picturesque" is used when Polypthon agrees with his companion that such ruins make "a great Addition to the Beauty of the Lake." "There is," he says, "something so vastly picturesque and pleasing to the Imagination in such Objects, that they are a great Addition to any Landskip" (p. 120).

The friends discuss the garden as a series of pleasing pictures. Polypthon, for example, in response to a picturesque description by Callophilus, says

I think this other View not inferior to it. That variety of different Shades amongst the Trees; the Lake spread so elegantly amongst them, and glittering here and there thro' the Bushes, with the Temple of Venus as a termination to the View, make up a beautiful Landskip. (p. 122)

Such scenes prompt his remembrance of the picturesque beauties in the "rough Nature" of the North of England. In this part of the country which "abounds" with "elegant natural Views," he had once spent some time

in hunting after beautiful Objects. Sometimes I found myself hemmed within an Amphitheatre of Mountains, which were variously ornamented, some with scattered Trees, some with tufted Wood, some with grazing Cattle, and some with smoaking Cottages. Here and there an elegant View was opened into the Country.—A Mile's riding, perhaps, would have carried me to the Foot of a steep Precipice, down which thundered the Weight of some vast River, which was dashed into Foam at the Bottom, by the craggy Points of several rising Rocks: A deep Gloom overspread the Prospect, occasioned by the close Wood that hung round it on every side.—
I could describe a Variety of other Views I met with there, if we here wanted Entertainment in the way of Landskip. (pp. 122-123)

Polyphon adds that if Lord Cobham "had such Materials to work with" he would doubtless construct "a noble Picture" with them in his garden (p. 123). His praise of the "rough" beauty of the North, like Bramble's of the Scottish Highlands, is praise of the picturesque. Like Bramble, Polyphon had spent his time "hunting after beautiful Objects," or, as would be said later, "in search of the picturesque." The whole account of his search for picturesque beauty in the rugged, irregular scenery of the North, beauty that could be viewed or imagined as "a noble Picture," gives us, as early as 1748, "the very essence of the picturesque point of view."\(^{53}\)

These early examples of picturesque description are significant beyond their revelation that the analytical and detailed criticism of real landscape from a distinctively picturesque point of view "was actually in print, and influentially so," before 1750.\(^{54}\) Together with Callophilus' hope that Stowe "may work some Reformation" in other gardens "laid out in so formal, awkward, and wretched a Manner" that they are "a scandal to the very Genius of the Nation" (p. 126), they also suggest that the middle of the century marks the shift from formalism to naturalism, the transitional period in which "the style in landscape gardening, and in general appreciation of landscape, began to depend primarily on real nature, in opposition to the earlier insistence upon obvious art."\(^{55}\) Finally, the use of the word "picturesque" in the Dialogue, like the reference in Gilpin's 1752 Life of
Bernard Gilpin to a "very picturesque description" of "wild country," is symptomatic of the changing use of the word during the century. Without attempting to explore the full range of meanings "which makes a history of the picturesque—the term or character—difficult of accomplishment," the illustration of this change is worthwhile since it corresponds to the shift in emphasis from the poetic pictorialism which modelled itself on painting to the scenic pictorialism which took landscape as a model for painting. A few instances will highlight this change in the meaning of the word "picturesque" and its usage.

Steele's use of the word in his play, The Tender Husband (1705), probably marks its first appearance in English. Act IV, Scene i, of the play presents Captain Clerimont, the lover disguised as painter, advising his beloved to pose for her portrait as a pensive beauty in a pastoral scene. She disagrees:

Niece. No—since there is room for Fancy in a Picture, I wou'd be drawn like the Amazon Thalestris, with a Spear in my Hand, and an Helmet on a Table before me—At a distance behind let there be a Dwarf, holding by the Bridle a Milk-white Palfrey,—

Captain. Madam, the Thought is full of Spirit, and if you please, there shall be a Cupid, stealing away your Helmet, to show that Love shou'd have a Part in all gallant Actions.

Niece. That Circumstance may be very Picturesque.58

The meaning of "picturesque" here is "suitable for a picture" or "proper for a painting." It recalls the "histories" in which the subject is given a mythological stance and surrounded by the paraphernalia of nymphs, cupids, and insignia typical of Italian Renaissance and baroque allegorical painting. This is the picturesque we have
seen in the pictorial poetry of Pope and Thomson.

At mid-century, as we have seen, Gilpin's Dialogue uses "picturesque" as a term for analysis and criticism of landscape beauty; and twenty years later, as we have also seen, Smollett's Humphry Clinker demonstrates the popular use of the word: serious in its Gilpinian sense and comic in its poetic pictorial sense.

Finally, at the end of the century, in his Supplement to Johnson's English Dictionary (1801), George Mason lists no less than six meanings for the term: what pleases the eye; remarkable for singularity; striking the imagination with the force of painting; to be expressed in painting; affording a good subject for a landscape; proper to take a landscape from. All these senses of "picturesque" are implied in Gilpin's Dialogue; "with all these Gilpin would have agreed."

In fact this variety of meanings reflects the popularity and success of the word once Gilpin "made it available as an instrument—admittedly a pictorial instrument—for the analysis, the description, and finally the representation and recording of natural scenery." They also underscore the shift in the general orientation of the term since Steele's day, the development of its association with landscape.

The examples of picturesque usage in the Dialogue, then, are a triple milestone in the history of the picturesque. They signal the transition from formalism to naturalism in the landscape garden, mark the beginning of the analysis of natural scenery from a consciously picturesque point of view, and herald the association of the picturesque—as term and concept—with real landscape.
If the Dialogue reveals "the most important components of the picturesque in landscape already analyzed," Gilpin's Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty, on Picturesque Travel, and on Sketching Landscape, to which is added a Poem on Landscape Painting (1792) gives us his fully developed theory of the picturesque. Basing his speculation on Burke's objective establishment of the qualities of the sublime (obscurity, power, privation, vastness, infinity, magnificence) and the beautiful (smoothness, softness, smallness, gradual variation, regularity, delicacy) in the object, Gilpin attempted to define the qualities of the picturesque in order to set up a third category. The principles of his theory have been summarized by William D. Templeman, one of his best critics, as follows:

1. Picturesque beauty is that species of beauty which appeals to the eye of a painter as suited for representation in a picture.
2. Picturesque beauty is distinguished by the quality of roughness.
3. Roughness is essential to picturesque beauty because when certain elements (execution, composition, variety, contrast, effect of light and shade, and coloring) are properly pleasing in a picture they of necessity make use of rough objects.

Despite its opposing roughness to smoothness in order to differentiate picturesque from beautiful, Gilpin's theory shows a basic contradiction in its "confusing and hybrid" expression, "picturesque beauty," a phrase which signalizes his failure "to analyze and substantiate a claim for the Picturesque as a subspecies of the Beautiful or as a distinct category from the Beautiful." Thus, although Gilpin laid the foundations for the picturesque, it was left to others to establish its theory on more consistent principles than his and to
give it more satisfactory definition.

Chief among these was Sir Uvedale Price, "champion and theorist of the picturesque," who, taking up the picturesque theory Gilpin had left in paradox, sought to establish the essential nature of the assemblage of qualities that differentiated picturesque from beautiful and at the same time to separate these qualities, as Gilpin had not, from the special requirements of the painter's art. In his Essay on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and Beautiful (1794) Price, following Burke with great fidelity, establishes picturesque qualities as objective, inherent in the object, and completely separate from the qualities that please in painting. The discussion in his Essay of the differentiation between picturesque and beautiful, of what it is in the nature of picturesque objects that distinguishes them, independent of all reference to painting, from beautiful objects, has been succinctly reported as follows:

Beauty is characterized by smoothness and gradual variation, qualities which necessarily limit the variety and intricacy essential to the picturesque. Roughness and sudden variation, joined to irregularity, are the most efficient causes of the picturesque. This proposition is illustrated by a rich and various catalog of picturesque objects--Gothic cathedrals and old mills, gnarled oaks and shaggy goats, decayed cart horses and wandering gypsies, the paintings of Mola and Salvator. Beauty and picturesque are further differentiated in that symmetry, which accords with beauty well enough, is adverse to the picturesque. And the distinction of the two characters is brought under the aesthetic principles peculiar to Price, finally, by the observation that "one depends on ideas of youth and freshness, the other on those of age, and even of decay." Striking descriptions are given of the gradual alteration of beauty into picturesqueness as time operates upon a temple, a tree, a man.65

These summary descriptions of the theoretical contributions of
Gilpin, the "venerable founder" of the picturesque, and of Price, whose works on the subject "remain the principal monument of picturesque doctrine," reveal the essential ideas and thinking that formalized the picturesque and joined it to the sublime and the beautiful as a third aesthetic genre. In doing so they also round out and bring to an end this discussion of the picturesque landscape movement. Succeeding developments such as Richard Payne Knight's arguments for the subjectivity of sublime, beautiful, and picturesque; his associational theory which located the source of the picturesque in idea-association rather than in objective qualities inherent in the object; the satire provoked by the picturesque vogue in works like William Combe's Tour of Dr. Syntax, in Search of the Picturesque (1812) and the novels of Peacock and Austen; and the general influence of the picturesque in poetry, the novel, architecture, and other arts cannot be taken up in this paper. Like the subject of the actual emergence and development of the landscape garden, these matters require much more space than is here available.

Discussion of the landscape picturesque completes the earlier central discussion of eighteenth-century poetic pictorialism; its termination with Gilpin and Price therefore concludes the paper as a whole. Since there is no need to recapitulate the history of ut pictura poesis, to re-emphasize its importance to Augustan poetry, especially Pope's and Thomson's, or to redefine its relationship to the picturesque movement; because, too, no revelations, special emphases, or interpretive conclusions have been reserved for final application to
either or both pictorialisms, to their relationships to the "return to
time," to one another, or to the means whereby in poetry and garden
each characteristically sought to transcend nature without deserting
or violating her, this thesis is done with its task. It can conclude
by stating the hope that its attempt to do justice to the theory,
practice, and values of eighteenth-century pictorial poetry and land-
scape has shown that their importance, relevance, and vitality can
still be felt today whenever English countryside, literary, painted,
or real, is encountered or a book of neo-classical poetry opened.
FOOTNOTES


3Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, etc., ed. John M. Robertson (London: Richards, 1900), II, 97-98.

4Moore, Backgrounds of English Literature, p. 76.

5Ibid., p. 59.

6Ibid., p. 84.


8J. M. Robertson, cited by Moore, p. 84.

9Moore, p. 92.

10Ibid., p. 83.

11The overemphasized importance of these painters was established as a tradition largely by Christopher Hussey (The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View, London: Putnam, 1927) and Elizabeth Manwaring (Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England: A Study Chiefly of the Influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste 1700-1800, London: Cass, 1965), the critics referred to in the preceding chapter as most prominent in viewing Thomson's poetry as cause rather than effect.


13Manwaring, p. 104.


16 Hussey, pp. 19, 30.

17 Manwaring, p. 101; Hussey, p. 18.

18 Manwaring, p. 96; Hussey, p. 31.


20 Hussey, p. 18.

21 Manwaring, p. 4.


23 Ibid., p. 148.

24 Material on the origins of the natural garden comes largely from B. Sprague Allen (Tides in English Taste, II, 115-148) and Nikolaus Pevsner ("The Genesis of the Picturesque," The Architectural Review, XCVI, November 1944, 139-146).

25 Cited by Pevsner, p. 140.


27 Cited by Pevsner, p. 140.

28 Characteristics, ed. John M. Robertson, II, 125.


31 Allen, Tides in English Taste, II, 123.


35. Pevsner, p. 144.


37. Allen, II, 125.

38. Pevsner, p. 146.


41. These examples come from Manwaring, pp. 127, 135, 138.


43. Allen, II, 147.

44. Ibid., p. 144.

45. Ibid., p. 145.


47. Cited in Manwaring, pp. 135, 127.


49. Ibid.

51 Templeman, Life and Work of Gilpin, p. 128.

52 Cited in Templeman, p. 120. Further Dialogue citations parenthetically refer to the pages in Templeman containing them.

53 Ibid., p. 123.

54 Ibid., p. 130.

55 Ibid., p. 126.

56 Ibid., p. 129.


58 Quoted in Templeman, p. 114.


60 Ibid., pp. 98-99.


62 Life, p. 140.

63 Barbier, William Gilpin, p. 98.


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Howard, W. G. "Ut Pictura Poesis," PMLA, XXIV (1909), 40-123.


