

Collins and the End of the Shepherd Pastoral

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Does the pastoral life exist outside of literature? Can we find a shepherd culture that corresponds to Arcadia? A memorable episode in Johnson's *Rasselas* (1759) makes a jest of such questions. For Chapter 19 shows us what happens when a poet brings his auditors face to face with actual shepherds. Imlac's specialty is not pastoral verse,¹ but he assures Rasselas and Nekayah that the shepherds in the distance represent "the life which has been often celebrated for its innocence and quiet," and so he proposes that they "pass the heat of the day" among their "tents, and know whether all our searches are not to terminate in pastoral simplicity." For a moment, the poetic world seems to be tangible: the tents offer shade and repose; the brother and sister, the prince and princess, go to meet the shepherds as equals, to unite again the estates which had been severed at the end of the Golden Age. Unfortunately the shepherds turn out to have no inherent nobility of mind and are not even aware of their pleasant image in literary texts. After all, why should they be?

The prince and princess are thus reminded that pastoral shepherds live only in poetry, the world of texts rather than of outward reality. Still, Nekayah's faith in pastoral culture as meant for someone like herself is not daunted. Although she vows "that she would never suffer these envious savages to be her companions," in her next breath she denies "that all the accounts of primeval pleasures were fabulous" and hopes for an opportunity to play shepherdess with a few "elegant companions." In a sense, actual rustics would be incongruous in Nekayah's Arcadia. The genre once stood for the pastoral culture, and the culture was almost wholly self-referential. It did not need outward criteria. As Johnson says at the beginning of *Rambler* no. 36 (21 July 1750), shepherd pastoral was enjoyed "because it entertains the mind with representations of scenes familiar to almost every imagination, and of which all can equally judge whether they are well described."

It is important, on the other hand, that the personages Nekayah finally spurns as "envious savages" are Oriental shepherds. Among other purposes,

Chapter 19 is a comic treatment of a peculiar eighteenth-century belief that Oriental shepherds corresponded to traditional characters in pastoral fiction. The belief had been codified in William Collins's *Persian Eclogues* (1742).

Many writers and critics before Collins thought that idealized shepherd pastoral stood in need of a belief in order for it to survive. There was, on the one hand, a rather publicized attempt to find substitutions for classical genre characters. Both Pope's *Guardian* no. 40 (27 April 1713) and Gay's *The Shepherd's Week* (1714) paradoxically inspired sincere illustration of Scottish and English shepherds as native extensions of the "Doric" image.² Several character types from neo-Latin pastoral also appeared in vernacular poems, notably those about fishermen and biblical personages.³ Pope himself exhibited a parallel between biblical and classical pastoral in his "Messiah. A sacred Eclogue, . . . in Imitation of Virgil's Pollio" (1712).⁴ The georgic and the Roman elegy, on the other hand, suggested an entirely different way to write pastoral, one which replaced the shepherd character with the self-imagined poet in the landscape. The rural odes on retirement, the epistles from the country, the lyrics about a wish or a choice all codified an urbane pastoral sensibility in which readers could vicariously participate. Whereas Addison before the beginning of the century had not considered the poet in the landscape as a pastoral character,⁵ a later critic deliberated "whether the representation of sentiments belonging to the real inhabitants of the country, who are strangers to all refinement, or those entertained by a person of an elegant and cultivated mind, who, from choice, retires into the country, with a view of enjoying those pleasures which it affords, is calculated to produce a more interesting picture."⁶ The poet rather than the shepherd was becoming a subject of idealization.

It would thus be a stroke of brilliance for an unknown and aspiring young poet to find a new means for an idealized shepherd pastoral that referred to objective conditions. The Oriental shepherd, the shepherd belonging to regions we now call the Near East, held out such an opportunity to Collins. For one thing, his readers were accustomed to associate pastoral shepherds with primitive areas in the contemporary Near East. The poet Thomas Maude recalls:

There was an age, say some of respectable fame, when princes were shepherds, and shepherds bards; when a personal attendance on their flocks did not debase the dignity of rank; and rural employments, al-

most the sole occupation of the world, unopposed by sciences or mechanic arts, flourished in undisturbed peace. But caprice, or fashion, has shifted the scene; and would you behold the shepherd and the patriarch nearest the original, you must revert to where the inroads of vice and luxury have made the least impressions. Such perhaps are the solitary and less refined regions of *Horeb*, or the plains of the *Tigris*, where the pastoral chief in his tent, or from his grassy throne under the shade of the palm-tree, gives audience to migrating hordes; . . . where placid leisure, cloudless skies, and the soliciting objects of his situation, stir up genius to sentiment and poesy, in the true character of ancient simplicity.⁷

We see that Maude does not share Nekayah's secret about the risk of making an idealization depend upon a correlation in reality. He is tempted to regard the "pastoral chief" as a bearer of traits of the fabulous Golden Age shepherd. Collins's reported chagrin that the *Persian Eclogues* attracted "more readers and admirers than his Odes" indicates that even he had not fully sounded the latent potency of the image of Eastern shepherds.⁸

The ancient shepherd of the East had been of great factual importance to established genre theory. Biblical patriarchs were adduced as documentary evidence to warrant a princely mien in shepherd characters:

. . . *Sacred Writ* tells us that *Jacob* and *Esau*, two great men, were Sheapards; And *Amos*, one of the Royal Family, asserts the same of himself, for *He was among the Sheapards of Tecua*, following that employment: The like by Gods own appointment prepared *Moses* for a Scepter, as *Philo* intimates in his life, when He tells us, *that a Sheapards Art is a suitable preparation to a Kingdome*; the same He mentions in the Life of *Joseph*, affirming that the care a Sheapard hath over his Cattle, very much resembles that which a King hath over his Subjects: The same *Basil* in his Homily de *S. Mamm. Martyre* hath concerning *David*, who was taken from following the Ews great with young ones to feed *Israel*, for He says that the Art of feeding and governing are very near akin, and even Sisters. . . .⁹

One book of the Old Testament, moreover, could be taken as a literary illustration of the symbolic union of the shepherd and the prince. The Song of Solomon, as this book was usually called, was thought to treat "of two

Lovers, sometimes under the Character of a Shepherd and Shepherdess, and sometimes under that of a Prince and Princess."¹⁰ In the course of the middle decades of the eighteenth century, the book is gradually detached from sacred meanings. It becomes an exemplar of Oriental pastoral, intimating the Oriental beginnings of pastoral poetry itself, as well as the precedence of the character of the Eastern shepherd.

The Song of Solomon had been interpreted since medieval times as a prophetic epithalamion about Christ's union with His church. Its divine *allegoria* and religious sublimity seemed to mid eighteenth-century critics to authorize the grandeur of Virgil's Pollio eclogue and Pope's "Messiah" (1712),¹¹ a grandeur that recalled the old rhetorical discussions of Asiatic style.¹² In this spiritualized reading, the book advocated shepherd characters of more rarefied passion than those who dallied in Arcadia:

... *Judah's* Shepherds heighten ev'ry Charm,
Soft in their Language, their Allusions warm;
Their Passions burn with more than usual fire,
Their Loves are Zeal, and all their Loves inspire.
Dissolv'd in mutual Joys They chastly rove,
Thro' all the blissful Scenes of Mystick Love¹³

At the same time, however, the literary appreciation of the Song of Solomon had stimulated an interest in its contribution to the classical formation of pastoral. "Some of the learned have conjectured," as Robert Lowth said, "that Theocritus . . . was not unacquainted with the beauties of this poem, and that he has almost literally introduced some passages from it into his elegant Idylliums."¹⁴ But commentators also sought analogues in profane and sacred poetry of the Islamic cultures.¹⁵ The secular narrative of the Song of Solomon was recognized by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu when she translated for Pope an amorous Turkish poem that she described as "most wonderfully resembling the Song of Solomon, which was also address'd to a Royal Bride."¹⁶ The pastoral digressions in even a sober work like Prior's *Solomon* (1718) had no higher meaning than to enhance by contrast the voluptuous spectacle of Solomon's court.¹⁷ Solomon's legend lurked in genuine romantic tales of the East,¹⁸ and some pastoral adaptations of the Song of Solomon, like this anonymous one of 1738, lingered on the sort of love that is identified not with *hortus conclusus*, but with the seraglio:

The cooing turtle's amorous voice we hear,
 And love and pleasure every where appear:
 The clasping tendrils of the springing vine,
 Shew us how we each other should entwine.¹⁹

Once its allegorized reading was discontinued, the Song of Solomon be-decked the Oriental shepherd character in a veil of romance. It was now "a pastoral poem in the eastern taste" which contains "descriptions of love . . . no more mysterious than they are in *Theocritus*, or *Ovid*."²⁰

Later in the eighteenth century, authentic Persian and Arabic poetry disclosed to scholars an extended record of shepherd life, one that even seemed to hint of the primordial consciousness. While gathering evidence for his theory of the Asiatic provenance of Homer, the great proto-archaeologist Robert Wood spent time among nomadic Arabs and observed the practice of their poetry. What he found was a poetry of and for a primitivistic society:

The modern Arab, in whom I have seen the characters of prince, shepherd, and poet united, retains, in his compositions of this kind, the wildness, irregularity, and indelicacy of his forefathers, with a considerable share of the same original glowing imagination, which we could discover, even in [his] extempore production, and under the disadvantage of crude and hasty translation.²¹

Wood considered these compositions as specimens of pure pastoral, as pastoral virtually of the ancient patriarchal life, and the aggregate of "characters" he saw in the Arab suggests the tending of flocks during the Golden Age, "when the best of men," as Pope said, "follow'd the employment."²² The young Sir William Jones compared some poetry of the *Mu'allaqat* to Virgil's Arcadian eclogues,²³ and in his monumental *Poeseos Asiaticae commentatorium libri sex* (1774), he translated examples of the Arabic *qasida* as pastoral forms.

Collins could have learned from at least two widely-known sources that the plains of Persia harbored a people who resembled historical and literary prototypes of pastoral characters. Joseph Warton remembered Collins at Winchester School "reading that volume of [Thomas] Salmon's Modern History, which described Persia; which determined him to lay the scene of these pieces [there], as being productive of new images and sentiments."²⁴

Salmon mentions that "the shepherds of Persia" continue to exist in the manner of "the antient patriarchs," possessing "vast flocks and herds, . . . living in tents, and removing from one place to another as they can meet with pasture for them."²⁵ But the Huguenot expatriate Jean Chardin, who is cited repeatedly by Salmon, commits himself to a much more daring and engaging claim. Apropos of his discussion of the Arabic influence on Persian verse,²⁶ Chardin conjectures "que l'invention des anciens Auteurs Grecs, de décrire les Histoires amoureuses en *Vers Bucoliques*, & par des personnages de Bergerie, étoit venuë des Arabes & des Tartares Orientaux, qui vivoient à la Campagne, sans quitter jamais leurs grands troupeaux, qui font tout leur bien & toute leur subsistance." He presumes that the ways of modern shepherds replicate those of their ancient ancestors: "Vous voyez en *Orient* de ces Bergers . . . , qui marchent tout-à-fait en Princes, dont le camp ressemble à une ville. . . . Et comme les premiers Souverains de l'*Asie* vivoient de cette manière, leurs Histoires font toûjours mention de leurs Troupeaux, à cause que c'est toûjours par rapport à leurs Troupeaux, que tous leurs mouvemens se faisoient alors, comme à présent. . . ."²⁷

The modern shepherd of the East was more than a stereotype; he was a compelling myth. He would be the criterion for a restored tradition. Jones gathered from his reading that Yemen "seems to be the only country in the world, in which we can properly lay the scene of pastoral poetry; because no nation at this day can vie with the *Arabians* in the delightfulness of their climate, and the simplicity of their manners."²⁸ Wood, nevertheless, thought that pastoral should only have to mirror a correspondence, "that the Pastoral Poetry of an age or country, where Pastoral manners do not prevail, however natural in scenery, must be artificial as to characters; and that the only original pictures of this kind are to be found in the [patriarchal] state of society" of the East.²⁹ The myth of the Eastern shepherd thus did not systematically favor any particular region of habitation. Persia was as good a place as any for an English pastoral poet to set his fiction.

Much of the context that I have so far briefly reconstructed was acknowledged in John Langhorne's 1765 edition of the *Persian Eclogues*. Langhorne not only traced the genre descent of Collins's eclogues to the Song of Solomon, but he also emphasized the ancient symbolic relation in Eastern culture between the shepherd and the prince.³⁰ Indeed, Langhorne asks, "why may not *Theocritus*, *Moschus* and *Bion* have found their archetypes in other eastern writers, whose names have perished with their works?"³¹ Collins's

first readers, moreover, were undoubtedly familiar with the myth of the modern shepherd in many Oriental fables. Most often these fables embed the myth in what purports to be either historical fact or national tradition. A fable which appeared in the *Free-Thinker* (nos. 128-129, 12 and 15 June 1719) tells in part how "CHA-ABBAS, King of *Persia*," was "determined to lay aside" his office "for a time" so that he could "converse, freely and unknown, with Husbandmen and Shepherds." He eventually comes upon "a young Shepherd, sitting on the Bank of the Stream, under the cool Shade of a Beach-Tree, and playing on his Pipe; while his Flock fed, along the fresh Margin." The king decides to adopt the youth "and to educate him in [his] Court." The youth "was, at first, daz[z]led with the Splendour of the Court"; the "Sheep-Hook, the Pipe, and the Shepherd's Garb, were laid aside; he was now cloathed in a Purple Robe, and a Turban sparkling with Jewels."⁸² Although the shepherd and the prince declare their descent from, respectively, Arcadian pastoral and Oriental romance, they are placed in circumstances which make them seem authentic examples of Eastern peoples. Idealized gestures and costume are mixed up with the nominal realism of historical personage and setting.

The technique of idealization in the *Persian Eclogues* is essentially that of the Oriental fable. Much like Addison's famous "Vision of Mirzah" (*Spectator* no. 159), Collins's eclogues are wrapped in an elaborate textual fiction. They are presented as genuine artifacts of Persia—about Persia, by a Persian, and for Persians. Speaking in the person of an anonymous translator, Collins asserts in the "Preface" that the eclogues were written by "a native of Tauris" and that they were subsequently acquired from "a merchant, who had made it his business to enrich himself with the learning, as well as the silks and carpets, of the Persians."⁸³ There is no attention to pastoral genre theory or literary precedent. And there is, of course, no objective acknowledgment of a shepherd myth. The eclogues themselves give form to beliefs understood at the moment.

Collins recognized that these beliefs would make explicit the contrast between the unadulterated virtue and sophisticated moral attitudes which tacitly enveloped the old literary myth of the Golden Age shepherd. He thus ignored the commonly iterated fact that Eastern shepherds are nomadic, and brought together images of the early and the recent existence of man in a spatial rather than a temporal relationship. Persian shepherd cultures, that is, are shown as being confined to sanctuaries which are dependent upon

the uncertain auspices of decadent civil powers on the outside. The preface also indicates that the four eclogues reflect a cycle of contrasting experiences, a cycle of "the miseries and inconveniencies, as well as the felicities, that attend one of the finest countries in the East" (p. 371).

Collins's first eclogue is about the pastoralism of Persian shepherd cultures. Within a peaceful "*Valley near Bagdat*," a rustic sage instructs an assembly of maids and swains

. . . how shepherds pass their golden days:
Not all are blest, whom fortune's hand sustains
With wealth in courts, nor all that haunt the plains:
Well may your hearts believe the truths I tell;
'Tis virtue makes the bliss, where'er we dwell. (ll. 2-6)

It is a disposition of mind rather than simply a country residence which determines the pastoral life. The proper shepherd is a tender of values not unlike the vestals of old. The assembly of shepherd couples also introduces the tribal mode of life that exists within the sanctuaries, a mode that is closer to the biblical moral order of communal selflessness than the classical aspiration of individual sufficiency.

The succeeding three eclogues complete a cycle of contrasting experiences about the pastoral consciousness. In the second, to which I will return shortly, the camel driver Hassan thinks of a sanctuary when he regrets his lust for wealth and self-sufficiency:

. . . wherefore think the flowery mountain's side,
the fountain's murmurs and the valley's pride,
Why think we these less pleasing to behold
Than dreary deserts, if they lead to gold? (ll. 43-46)

The exquisite third eclogue, on the other hand, tells of a Georgian shepherdess named Abra who preserved the pastoral consciousness under greater temptations. She is discovered by the monarch Abbas while he is enjoying a retreat to the Georgian sanctuary. Abra obediently leaves her "crook and bleating flock" (l. 30) to reign as his sultana,

Yet midst the blaze of courts she fixed her love
On the cool fountain or the shady grove;
Still with the shepherd's innocence her mind
To the sweet vale and flowery mead inclined. (ll. 37-40)

With the approach of spring, she journeys to the Georgian sanctuary for a renewal in the pattern of innocence. She finds again the sort of companions that Nekayah's game would permit:

Her maids around her moved, a duteous band!
Each bore a crook all-rural in her hand.
Some simple lay of flocks and herds they sung;
With joy the mountain and the forest rung. (ll. 45-48)

Abbas himself performs a ritual initiation upon entering the sanctuary, exchanging his royal dress for the "russet mantle [of] a swain" (l. 55). Together the lovers revivify the doubling as shepherd and prince that is a feature of spoken parts in the Song of Solomon.³⁴

The last eclogue records an event which completes the cycle of the collection. Symptomatic of a moral deterioration during some indefinite time, an unguarded Circassian sanctuary has been invaded by Tartar marauders:

Unhappy land, whose blessings tempt the sword,
In vain, unheard, thou call'st thy Persian Lord!
In vain thou court'st him, helpless to thine aid,
To shield the shepherd and protect the maid.
Far off in thoughtless indolence resigned,
Soft dreams of love and pleasure soothe his mind. (ll. 31-36)

As one of the fleeing shepherds reflects, the sanctuary had "lent the monarch oft a cool retreat" (l. 40). But there is now an implication that some great contaminating change in human nature is being reenacted in this destruction of the sanctuary. A shepherd resolves to warn his Georgian kindred,

Some weightier arms than crooks and staves prepare,
To shield your harvests and defend your fair:
The Turk and Tartar like designs pursue,
Fixed to destroy and steadfast to undo. (ll. 61-64)

A destructive, militant spirit thus threatens such sanctuaries as are depicted in the first and third eclogues. The upheaval of this shepherd culture is no less impressive than that related by Virgil concerning the Mantuan district.³⁵ But here the invasion is not a metaphor of the loss of property; the shepherds involved are the very means of representing pastoral.

The most engaging artistic feature of the *Persian Eclogues* offers a key

to the eventual disenchantment with the myth of the Eastern shepherd. The myth clearly dictated to Collins some use of place rather than time as a boundary between innocence and corruption, pastoral and anti-pastoral. It entailed a juxtaposition of permanence and change. Virgil, on the other hand, had restricted the forces of change to eclogues about his contemporaneous Mantuan district; he invested ancient Arcadia with an aura of permanence and stability. The eclogues about Arcadia are secure, as it were, from the process of history. But Collins had committed himself to an arrangement in which the images of innocence and corruption had to strike his original reader as being equally real. Might not that spatial arrangement tend to make the appeals of innocence and corruption compete against each other?

Speaking of the third eclogue, John Scott in his *Critical Essays* (1785) reflects how "the human mind always dwells with complacency on the ideas of rural solitude, and cottage innocence: we afford a ready indulgence to the deception which annexes to those ideas, the idea of unmixed happiness; though experience convinces us that no such happiness is really existent."³⁶ One could be reminded of this truth simply from the second eclogue, which is ingrained with affective signals to the reader. This poem might be called the "Alexis" of the collection—a lover's solitary complaint during the midday heat. Yet here, of course, the lover is not an Arcadian shepherd; he is a novice camel driver who has left his "tender Zara" to suffer loneliness and physical hardship in the desert. It is the experience of distress rather than the analogy with Virgil's second eclogue which immediately makes the situation familiar. "The verses that describe so minutely the camel-driver's little provisions," Langhorne attests, "have a touching influence on the imagination, and prepare the reader to enter more feelingly into his future apprehensions of distress":³⁷

One cruse of water on his back he bore,
And his light scrip contained a scanty store;
A fan of painted feathers in his hand,
To guard his shaded face from scorching sand. (ll. 3-6)

Another cue for this type of sympathy occurs when Hassan anticipates the nocturnal peril of his journey; "what Reader," as one reviewer asks, "does not shudder, with Hassan, at the following description?"³⁸

At that dead hour the silent asp shall creep,
 If aught of rest I find, upon my sleep;
 Or some swoll'n serpent twist his scales around,
 And wake to anguish with a burning wound. (ll. 61-64)

Distress and danger are the most intense experiences in the eighteenth-century psychology of sympathy. The desert is a horrific place, especially at night; it is where wolves as well as lions and tigers are lurking beyond the pale of sight (ll. 51-56). The most interesting eclogue to Collins's original readers is one in which the character really belongs to suspenseful plots in the *Persian Tales*.

Near the close of the eighteenth century, Nathan Drake excluded only the Oriental eclogue from his verdict that the shepherd pastoral had become fossilized; "let it be observed that the manners still exist, and have all the freshness of living nature: the shepherds of Arabia are what they were a thousand years ago; and a well-drawn picture of their pastoral customs and country must be highly relished by the lovers of simple and independent life."³⁹ Yet it is clear that Drake's views are wholly colored by the myth of the Eastern shepherd. What is left of the tradition of the shepherd pastoral, let alone the Oriental eclogue, once that myth ceases to be believed? The *Eastern Eclogues* (1780) by the traveler Eyles Irwin concentrates so much on anguish and guilt in its characters that the pastoral motive is muddled. He himself attests elsewhere to a loss of imaginative faith in the innocence of the Eastern shepherd:

What novel scenes the verdant banks betray,
 With scatter'd flocks and tented nations gay!
 Illusive sight! which loses strait its charms;
 With pastoral care ill suits the trade of arms.
 What maiden's heart can trust the shepherd's smile,
 Whose deeds are rapine, and whose words are guile?⁴⁰

This is a fulfillment of the critique in *Rasselas*. Idealization ultimately fails if it is made liable to a correlation in reality.

I think that we have underestimated the imaginative demands upon the shepherd pastoral during the eighteenth century, demands which seem to increase in proportion to the weakening of the tradition. Johnson condemns *Lycidas* for not being able to elicit sympathetic engagement. Collins chooses

to write pastorals about idealized shepherds who are already accepted by the popular mind. Earlier poets, of course, did not have to insist that pastoral Arcadia was actually like its geographical namesake. Even Pope did not have to present his pastorals as true representations of Windsor Forest during the Golden Age. Yet by the middle of the eighteenth century, the very nature of pastoral fiction has become inhospitable to anything less than credible circumstances. The inner feeling and perception of the poet himself will better satisfy a desire for correspondence than the overheard speech of an ideal shepherd.

NOTES

1. I deal with the Orientalism of Chap. 10 in "Imlac and the Poets of Persia and Arabia," forthcoming in *PQ*. Work on the present study was partially aided by a General Research Fund grant from the University of Kansas.

2. On the Doric nature of the English shepherd, see Thomas Purney, *Pastorals. After the simple Manner of Theocritus* (London, 1717), who took the famous *Guardian* paper as a serious injunction. On the Scottish shepherd, see Allan Ramsay, *Poems* (Edinburgh, 1721), whose preface was partly inspired by the "Proeme" to *The Shepherd's Week*. Recent criticism treats eighteenth-century pastoral with a great deal more respect than it received previously. There are several interesting theses about social attitudes and the decline of the shepherd pastorals. See *A Book of English Pastoral Verse*, ed. John Barrell and John Bull (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975), pp. 223-224; Harold E. Toliver, *Pastoral Forms and Attitudes* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1971), p. 17; and A. J. Sambrook, "An Essay on Eighteenth-Century Pastoral, Pope to Wordsworth (II)," *Trivium*, 6 (1971), 113-115.

3. See Henry Hall, *Idylls of Fishermen* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1912), and R. F. Jones, "Eclogue Types in English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century," *JEGP*, 24 (1925), 58, n. 46.

4. One of the pastorals in René Rapin's *Eclogae* ("David, seu pastor vates") is about David's prophetic dream of the Virgin. Many uses of such material are discussed by W. Leonard Grant, "Neo-Latin Biblical Pastorals," *SP*, 58 (1961), 25-43; see also his *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1965), pp. 258-275, 281-289. Pope's interest in neo-Latin poetry is recorded by Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men*, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), I, 233-234; Pope also reedited a collection as *Selecta Poemata Italorum*, 2 vols. (London, 1740).

5. "An Essay on Virgil's *Georgics*" (1697), *Eighteenth-Century Critical Essays*, ed. Scott Elledge (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1961), I, 1.

6. "On Pastoral Poetry," *The Mirror*, no. 79 (8 Feb. 1780), in *British Essayists*, ed. Alexander Chalmers, XXIX (Boston, 1856), 136.

7. Thomas Maude, "The Introduction," *Wensley-Dale; or, Rural Contemplations: A Poem* (1771), 3d ed. (London, 1780), p. vii.

8. According to Joseph Warton. See the complete text of his recollection in *The Poems of Thomas Gray, William Collins, Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. Roger Lonsdale (London: Longmans, 1969), pp. 365, 366. Collins's eclogues are usually not considered legitimate pastoral by modern scholars: e.g., R. F. Jones, "Eclogue Types in English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century," pp. 52-53; and J. E. Conington, *Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England: 1684-1798* (Gainesville: Univ. of Florida Press, 1952), p. 190.

9. Rapin, *A Treatise de Carmine Pastoralis* (1659), trans. Thomas Creech (1684), Aug. Rpt. Soc., No. 8 (Ann Arbor, 1947), pp. 2-3. For a variety of other expressions of the pastoral "realism" of the patriarchs, see Joseph Trapp, *Praelectiones Poeticae* (1711-15), 2nd ed. (London, 1722), pp. 197-198; Anthony Blackwell, *The Sacred Classics Defended and Illustrated* (1725-31), 2nd ed. (London, 1727), p. 11; Moses Browne, "An Essay in Defence of Piscatory

Elogue," *Angling Sports* (1729 as *Piscatory Eclogues*), 3rd ed. (London, 1773), pp. xxxiii-xxxiv; and Thomson, *The Castle of Indolence* (1748), canto I, st. xxxvii.

10. Joseph Stennett, trans., "The Preface," *A Version of Solomon's Song of Songs*, 2nd ed. (London, 1709), p. vi; see also pp. x-xi.

11. John Newbery, et al., *The Art of Poetry on a New Plan*, rev. ed. (London, 1762), I, 111. The Song of Solomon is often adapted to suggest the Pollio; e.g., Isaac Thompson's "ABSENSE. Pastoral VII. Extracted from the Canticles," *A Collection of Poems* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1731).

12. See James Beattie, *Original Poems and Translations* (London, 1760), p. 123 n.; and Vicesimus Knox, "Cursory Remarks on the Poetry of the Prophets . . ." and "Conjectures on the Difference between Oriental and Septentrional Poetry," *Essays Moral and Literary* (1778), 9th ed. (London, 1787), III, 382, 371-372.

13. "REFLECTIONS Occasion'd by a COMPARISON Between The sacred Pastoral of SOLOMON, And that of VIRGIL," in *A Miscellany of Poems . . .*, ed. J. Husbands (Oxford, 1731), pp. 44-45; cf. the response to this poem, *ibid.*, pp. 211-214. Husbands' volume also contains vernacular sacred pastorals as well as Johnson's Latin version of Pope's "Messiah." The "Reflections . . ." was reprinted with a few textual changes as "A Comparison between the Pastoral of the EAST and that of the WEST," *London Magazine*, 9 (1740), 450-451. See also Thomas Purney, *A Full Enquiry into the True Nature of Pastoral* (1717), Aug. Rpt. Soc., No. 11 (Ann Arbor, 1948), p. 57.

14. *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (Latin ed., 1753), trans. G. Gregory (London, 1787), II, 307-308. One such scholar was Trapp, *Praelectiones Poeticae*, p. 198; this conjecture goes back at least to Grotius.

15. Cf. the use of Persian and Arabic poetry by Lowth and J. D. Michaelis, *Lectures*, trans. Gregory, II, 321, n. 10 and 340, n. 28, respectively. Michaelis's secular approach to the book, presented in the notes to his reprint (1758-62) of Lowth's *Praelectiones*, immediately influenced Bishop Percy's *The Song of Solomon, Newly Translated from the Original Hebrew* (London, 1764). See also Murray Roston, *Prophet and Poet: The Bible and the Growth of Romanticism* (London: Faber, 1965), pp. 83-93; the use of travel account in scriptural exegesis is discussed by Mohamad Ali Hachicho, "English Travel Books about the Arab Near East in the Eighteenth Century," *Die Welt des Islams*, 9 (1964), 150-157.

16. Letter to Pope, 1 April 1717, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband, I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 334. She is referring to the historical explanation of the occasion of the book; e.g., see Stennett's "Preface" to *A Version of Solomon's Song of Songs*, pp. iii-v.

17. See *The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, ed. H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), I, 342 (ll. 316-23), 344-345 (ll. 413-30).

18. As in Pétis de la Croix, *Contes Persans* (1710-12); e.g., see *Tales of the East*, ed. Henry Weber (Edinburgh, 1812), II, 425-426.

19. "AN ECLOGUE, from SOLOMON'S SONG," *London Magazine*, 7 (1738), 301. Husbands treats the Song of Solomon as a secular love poem, comparing it to Anacreon, Ovid, Catullus, as well as Theocritus, in his "Preface" to *A Miscellany of Poems*, sig. L2^v-L3^v. Cf. Stanley Stewart, *The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and the Image in Seventeenth-Century Poetry* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1966), pp. 3, 22.

20. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 23 (1753), 609.

21. *An Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer* (London, 1775), p. 173.

22. "A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry" (1717), *Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism*, ed. E. Audra and Aubrey Williams, The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, Vol. I (London: Methuen, 1961), p. 25.

23. "On the poetry of the Eastern nations," *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages* (Oxford, 1772), pp. 183-184.

24. Quoted in Lonsdale, ed., *The Poems of . . . Collins . . .*, p. 365.

25. *Modern History: or, The Present State of All Nations*, coll. ed. (London, 1739), I, 426.

26. Throughout the eighteenth century, Chardin is very important to English knowledge of Persian language and literature. His chapter on Persian poetry, which includes translations, is cited by John Hughes, "An Essay on Allegorical Poetry" (1715), in *Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Willard Durham (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1915), p. 103; by Lowth, *Lectures*, trans. Gregory, II, 321, n. 10; and by Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London, 1783), II, 320 n. Sir William Jones cites Chardin in several Oriental

studies. Some firsthand background about the man is found in *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), IV, 212-214.

27. "De la Poésie," *Voyages . . . en Perse, et autres Lieux de l'Orient* (Amsterdam, 1711), II, 187. Chardin does not actually state that any Persian poetry resembles European pastoral; John Fryer, however, mentions that it often takes the form of "descriptions of Flowers and delightful Groves," in *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (London, 1968), p. 369. Many sources, including Salmon, note that love is a common poetic topic.

28. "On the poetry of the Eastern nations," p. 174. Cf. Jean de Thévenot, *Travels . . . into the Levant*, trans. Roger L'Estrange (London, 1687), pt. I, pp. 173-174; and Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale* (Paris, 1697), p. 120 col. b.

29. *An Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer*, p. 172.

30. "Observations on the Oriental Eclogues," *The Poetical Works of Mr. William Collins* (London, 1765), pp. 112-113, 106-107, respectively.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 109; Langhorne also upholds the tradition that the Song of Solomon influenced Theocritus (pp. 111-112).

32. *Free-Thinker* (London, 1723), III, 174-175, 177-178.

33. I use the text of the *Persian Eclogues* prepared by Lonsdale, pp. 371-386.

34. As Lonsdale observes (pp. 369-370), Collins's third eclogue appears to owe some of its incidents to the fable of the shepherd youth in the *Free-Thinker*. The character Abra, however, may have been inspired by Prior's Abra in *Solomon*, bk. II, ll. 354-844.

35. P. L. Carver points out that there are similarities in phrasing between Collins's fourth eclogue and Joseph Warton's translation of Virgil's first eclogue. See *The Life of a Poet* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1967), pp. 18-20. Warton's translation of Virgil's ninth eclogue should also be compared.

36. *Critical Essays on Some of the Poems, of Several English Poets* (London, 1785), p. 174.

37. "Observations on the Oriental Eclogues," p. 119.

38. *Monthly Review*, 16 (June 1757), 487; cf. Scott, pp. 170-171; and Langhorne, pp. 122-124.

39. "On Pastoral Poetry," *Literary Hours* (1798), 4th ed. (London, 1820), I, 263; see also pp. 259-261 for his praise of Collins.

40. "EPISTLE III. From COORNA," *Occasional Epistles . . .* (London, 1783), p. 27.