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Interdisciplinary Studies of Literature

Volume 9, Number 1（Special Issue）
Edited by Nie Zhenzhao, Wang Songlin & Yang Gexin

Clause Rawson @ 90: In Celebration of His Literary Contributions

Warmly congratulate Professor Claude Rawson on his magnificent 90th birthday, and wish him a healthy, long life filled with many more fruitful years in the field of literary research.

2025

About: *Interdisciplinary Studies of Literature* (“ISL”) is a peer-reviewed journal sponsored by Guangdong University of Foreign Studies and Zhejiang University and published by Knowledge Hub Publishing Company (Hong Kong) in collaboration with the International Conference for Ethical Literary Criticism. With a strategic focus on literary, ethical, historical and interdisciplinary approaches, ISL encourages dialogues between literature and other disciplines of humanities, aiming to establish an international platform for scholars to exchange their innovative views that stimulate critical interdisciplinary discussions. ISL publishes four issues each year in both Chinese and English.

International Conference for Ethical Literary Criticism (ICELC, since 2012) is an annual international conference for academics and research-oriented scholars in the area of literature and related disciplines. ICELC is the flagship conference of the International Association for Ethical Literary Criticism which is an international literary and cultural organization aiming to link all those working in ethical literary criticism in theory and practice and to encourage the discussions of ethical function and value in literary works and criticism.

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杨革新

Introduction

Nie Zhenzhao & Wang Songlin

This special issue of the journal of *Interdisciplinary Studies of Literature* (*ISL*) is devoted to honoring Professor Claude Rawson, the world-famous expert on eighteenth-century literature on the happy occasion of his 90th birthday.

Terry Eagleton once called Claude Rawson "one of the finest eighteenth-century specialists, who [...] is also a critic of striking flair and delicacy" (*London Review of Books*, 23 Aug. 2001). Marjorie Perloff, one of the foremost critics of avant-garde poetry and poetics who had a long and sincere friendship with Claude Rawson, regarded him as a scholar with a "very wide-ranging mind,"[1] "perhaps the best living scholar in eighteenth century satire" ("Claude Rawson in conversation with Marjorie Perloff" 603). Zhenzhao Nie, current President of International Association for Ethical Literary Criticism (IAELC) holds Claude Rawson in high esteem and thinks Claude Rawson's principles and methodologies have "reshaped the field of ethical literary criticism"[2] in China by his advocacy of returning to the primary texts in literary studies and their ethical and moral considerations.

Before his retirement in 2014, Claude Rawson was the first Maynard Mack Professor of English at Yale, where he had taught since 1986. Before that, he was for many years (1971-1986) professor at the University of Warwick, served as chairman of the Department of English and Comparative Literary Studies and was the co-editor of *Modern Language Review* and *Yearbook of English Studies* from 1974 to 1988. He was the Clifford Lecturer for 1992 (American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies), and Bateson Lecturer for 1999 (University of Oxford). Claude Rawson is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and served for many years on the Educational Advisory Board of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. He is a former President of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies and a former President of IAELC. Claude Rawson has held many distinguished visiting professorships around the world, most recently in China, where he was born and grew up. He has lectured widely in Europe, the Americas, Australasia and the Far East.

Claude Rawson is the author of numerous books and articles. His major publications include *Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal Under Stress* (1972),

1 See Marjorie Perloff's article in this issue.

2 See Zhenzhao Nie's article in this issue.

Gulliver and the Gentle Reader (1973), *Order from Confusion Sprung* (1985), *Satire and Sentiment 1660-1830* (1994), *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945* (2001), *Swift's Angers* (2014) and *Swift and Others* (2015). Among the volumes he has recently edited are *The Cambridge Companion to Henry Fielding* (2007); *Henry Fielding, Novelist, Playwright, Journalist, Magistrate: A Double Anniversary Tribute (1707-1754)* (2008); *Essential Writings of Jonathan Swift: A Norton Critical Edition*, with Ian Higgins (2009); *Literature and Politics in the Age of Swift: English and Irish Perspectives* (2010); and *The Cambridge Companion to English Poets* (2011). In addition, he is a General Editor of the Cambridge History of Literary Criticism and the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift as well as the General Editor of the Blackwell Critical Biographies and the Unwin Critical Library. Since the 1980s he has been a regular contributor to the *Times Literary Supplement*, *New York Times Book Review* and *London Review of Books*, writing on a great variety of literary and cultural topics. Since retirement, Claude Rawson lives in Cambridge UK.

The special issue contains sixteen articles and recollections in honour of Claude Rawson's anniversary. Ian Higgins' article "Claude Rawson: An Overview and Appreciation, and Other Observations" offers an account of the range of Claude Rawson's work as a literary scholar, critic, editor and reviewer, focusing upon Claude Rawson's insights into the character of Swift's satire, and particularly of its proleptic quality. Linda Bree's "Claude Rawson in Print" is a comprehensive account of Claude Rawson's printed writings over a period of sixty years and their influence in the field of eighteenth-century literature and literary studies. Now a General Editor of the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift, Linda Bree could perhaps be the best one to understand Claude Rawson's principles of literature, his methodology, and his skills as a literary critic. Joseph Roach's essay "Chinese Orphans and the Social Contract from Swift to Brecht" is a very original essay inspired by Claude Rawson's critical practice in *God, Gulliver, and Genocide*. Roach extends Claude Rawson's Swiftian genealogy of "unsocial socialism" in George Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde, and Bertolt Brecht and applies it to Anglo-Irishman Arthur Murphy's *The Orphan of China* (1753), showing how Murphy's transcultural adaptation shares a source in the great zaju dramas of Yuan Dynasty China with Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* (1944). James McLaverty's article "Books as Self-Representation: A Comparison of Pope and Swift" renders an insightful comparison of Pope's and Swift's self-representation by drawing on Claude Rawson's investigation and evaluation of Swift's epitaph with Swift's other self-representations and those of Yeats and Pope. The article

"Reading Defoe with Rawson" by Tom Keymer and Dana Lew examines the implications for eighteenth-century studies of Claude Rawson's *God, Gulliver, and Genocide* as the book approaches the twenty-fifth anniversary of its publication, and inspired by Claude Rawson's approach to irony analyzes the vexed case of Defoe's controversial pamphlet *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702) and Defoe's troubled revisiting of themes from *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). Nicholas Hudson's essay "Gulliver in the History of Race" revisits the issue of race and racism in *Gulliver's Travels*, as analyzed brilliantly in Claude Rawson's *God, Gulliver, and Genocide* and concludes by pointing out that the difficulties in placing Swift in the history of race reflects emerging problems of definition and taxonomy that he deliberately exploited in order to perplex the reader. Pat Rogers' article "Scriblerian Satire: Myth or Reality" studies the validity of the term "Scriblerian satire" as a concept in literary history and questions some fundamental aspects of Ashley Marshall's definition of satire by identifying a more distinct mode of satire that can be meaningfully called Scriblerian. The essay "Johnson and Swift: Footnotes to Rawson" by Robert DeMaria, Jr. explores within Claude Rawson's critical framework some Johnsonian responses to Swift in addition to those canvassed by Claude Rawson and takes up anew the question of Swiftianism in Johnson's writings and conversation, suggesting that later in life Johnson could be more Swiftian in conversation and in ex tempore writing than in his more considered and more public utterances. Jenny Davidson's "Swift and the Moderns: A Tribute to Claude Rawson" is a tribute to Claude Rawson whose brilliant work on Rochester, Swift, Pope, Austen, Céline and many others has proved a great treasure for her to conceive and construct a new lecture course called Swift and the Moderns. Marjorie Perloff had intended to contribute a substantive essay to this volume, but became too ill to do so. Her short but affectionate memoir "A Yeats Excursion with Claude Rawson, Summer 1974" is a warm recalling of the moments of memorable events in her fifty-year friendship with Claude Rawson.

Six articles by Chinese scholars are dedicated to Claude Rawson for his tremendous contribution to IAELC and ethical literary criticism in Chinese academia. Zhenzhao Nie's "A Beautiful Memory and Eternal Friendship: Claude Rawson and China" presents a genuine tribute to Claude Rawson, with whom Nie has been keeping a sincere and everlasting friendship since 2010, when Claude Rawson was invited to visit China as part of the "Oversea Well-known Professor Project" of the Ministry of Education of P. R. China. As the current President of IAELC, Nie speaks highly of Claude Rawson's enormous contribution to ethical literary criticism, hailing him as helping "build a bridge between Western and Chinese literary studies." Biwu Shang's "Claude Rawson's China Complex and Ethical Literary Criticism" starts with

a warm recollection of Rawson's charming personality based on Shang's personal contact and communication with Rawson, followed by an introduction of what Shang terms as Rawson's "China Complex," i.e., his love for Shanghai where he was born and his active engagement in the academic activities in China as well as his remarkable addresses for the opening ceremonies of the annual IAELC conferences. "The Ethical Dimension of Irony: Claude Rawson's Swift Study and Its Implications" by Hui Su and Wenjun Bian is an in-depth discussion of Claude Rawson's subversive interpretation of Swift's use of irony, which creates a style featuring uncertainties that leads to a tendency toward ethical ambiguities. The article approves the social responsibility of Rawson as a literary critic who incorporates an ethical perspective into the interpretation of Swiftian irony. Songlin Wang's essay "In the Company of Claude Rawson: Revisiting the Writings of Barbarism in Chinese and Foreign Literature" is inspired by his close reading Claude Rawson's *God, Gulliver, and Genocide*, which he translated into Chinese with his colleagues. He applies Rawson's critical methodology to re-examining the writings of barbarism and cannibalism in both ancient and modern Chinese novels and unveils the complexities and paradoxes of moral sentiments in the writings of cannibalism in Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Lu Xun's *The Diary of a Madman*, Chen Zhongshi's *White Deer Plains* and Mo Yan's *The Republic of Wine*. Juan Du's "The Interweaving of Cultural and Literary Criticism: Claude Rawson's Study of Eighteenth-century English Literature" is a general review of Claude Rawson's wide-ranging studies of eighteenth-century literature, specifically his early study on Henry Fielding's satire which Du takes as one of the cultural signs of the eighteenth-century. Du points out that Rawson's diverse interests explain his academic concerns on both the aesthetic qualities of literature and its moral engagement in social criticism. Gexin Yang's article "Beyond Achilles' Heel: Claude Rawson and Ethical Literary Criticism" is a warm recalling of his own academic contact and communication with Claude Rawson as well as a tribute to Rawson's contribution to IAELC.

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Claude Rawson: An Overview and Appreciation, and Other Observations

Ian Higgins

Abstract: This essay offers an account of the range of Claude Rawson's work as a literary scholar, critic, editor and reviewer. It considers Rawson's particular importance for the study of Jonathan Swift, for our understanding of Swift's irony and satire, and the recognition of Swift's achievement and influence as a poet. Drawing upon Rawson's insights into the character of Swift's satire, and particularly of its proleptic quality, the essay observes Swift's satiric anticipation of Artificial Intelligence and of the "Death of the Author." The essay reports Swift's significance for the American confessional poet Delmore Schwartz, indicates a polemical ancestry for Swift's favourite trope of the satirist with a whip, and suggests an unnoticed contemporary model for the "Language Machine" in Part III of *Gulliver's Travels*.
Keywords: criticism; irony; satire; Jonathan Swift
Author: Ian Higgins is Honorary Reader in English at the Australian National University. He is the author of *Swift's Politics: A Study in Disaffection* (1994) and *Jonathan Swift* (2004). He has co-edited *Gulliver's Travels* (2005) and *The Essential Writings of Jonathan Swift* (2010) with Claude Rawson and is a general editor of *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift* (2008-) (Email: Ian.Higgins@anu.edu.au).

Scholar, Critic, Editor, Reviewer

For the past six decades Claude Rawson has been one of the best literary critics in English. The erudition and range of his published work as literary scholar, critic, editor, and reviewer have been extraordinary. He has written eight books (monographs and collections of studies), all of which are landmarks in the field of literary studies, scholarly essays for books and learned journals, and review essays and reviews for learned journals and the literary press (such as the *Times Literary Supplement* and *London Review of Books*). Such has been his pre-eminence as a critic of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that in scholarly journals and in the literary periodical press this period has sometimes been labelled the "Age of

Rawson" (see for examples, Steintrager and Donoghue). The authors who have been the subjects of his critical studies and substantive review essays include Dryden, Rochester, Oldham, Defoe, Prior, Swift, Congreve, Mandeville, Steele, Addison, Parnell, Gay, Pope, Richardson, Hervey, Fielding, Johnson, Sterne, Hawkesworth, Smollett, Smart, Burke, Cowper, Gibbon, Boswell, Chatterton, Byron, Austen, Moore, and Shelley. This list is by no means exhaustive. He has since the early 1970s been the foremost scholar critic of Henry Fielding and of Jonathan Swift and is frequently acknowledged as such by his peers. He has been described in the top two "of the best scholars ever to have written on Fielding" (Hume 237) and Terry Eagleton describes Rawson as "a critic of striking flair and delicacy" and "probably the most accomplished Swift specialist in the business" ("A Spot of Firm Government").

Rawson's specialist scholarly interests are not limited to eighteenth century literary studies. He writes essays and reviews on twentieth century and contemporary English and American poetry. He writes on Anglo-Irish authors after Swift, including Wilde, Yeats and Shaw, and on the literary history of the mock-heroic. He has been long interested in cannibalism and fiction and in exploring the cultural reticence on cannibalism. His book *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945* (2001) is a searching examination of extermination rhetoric across literary genres and European and colonial history, from the Book of Genesis to the present day, exploring the range of aggressions which inhabit the space between extreme figures of speech, such as threatening to wipe offenders "from the face of the earth," and the literal implementation of mass slaughters, war, and genocide. Swift is central for this book since his disturbing irony and satiric rage and menace inhabit this space between "meaning it, not meaning it, and *not* not meaning it," to use Rawson's formulation. In his auto-obituary "Verses on the Death of Dr Swift, D.S.P.D." Swift claims (ironically, readers are to suppose, since the lines are part of a jokey coterie compliment, but Swift also means it) that "irony" was what "I was born to introduce, / Refined it first, and showed its use" (ll. 57-58 *The Complete Poems* 487). In Rawson, Swift found his responsive literary critic. Works such as Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and *A Modest Proposal*, and Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, figure prominently in Rawson's critical oeuvre as exemplary texts for several of the issues and themes he treats in his literary and cultural studies. Rawson has a capacious critical range which extends beyond the Anglophone literary tradition drawing upon classical authors (the satirists Juvenal, Horace, and Lucian are of course particularly important and often adduced in detail in Rawson's work on satire), the Latin masterpieces *In Praise of Folly* and *Utopia* of the great Renaissance

humanists Erasmus and Thomas More, and French literature, especially Montaigne, but also Rabelais, Voltaire, Sade, Baudelaire, Flaubert, Proust, Céline, Genet and Wittig among others.

As a critic, Rawson's work has been consistently and primarily focused on major *literary* works and with *literary* tradition, as the principal business of someone professing English literary studies as their academic discipline. He has a particular view of the relation between the individual literary talent and tradition. In the "Preface" to his book *Order from Confusion Sprung: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature from Swift to Cowper* (1985) he declares his *modus operandi*: "I have worked on the assumption that eighteenth-century authors are not only rooted in their own time and culture, but exist in an older and continuously evolving tradition. Their attitudes, themes and styles derive from the past and look forward to the future. The continuities and interactions (as well as the discontinuities) of eighteenth-century writers both with their predecessors (notably classical predecessors in satire and epic) and with writers of our own century are frequently under scrutiny in these pages" (ix). His is a humanist literary-historical enquiry with a distinctive approach and consonance in literary-critical method. He writes literary history through an intensive attention to exemplary works (or passages in works), probing tone, nuance, and register, reporting continuities and changes, and comparing themes, images, tropes, and literary forms over several periods. What the reader gets from Rawsonian literary criticism is a performance of an erudite, historically informed, in-depth close analysis that persuades on the alertness and sensitivity of the reading, adduces often surprising yet illuminating juxtapositions and collocations of literary texts, and arrests attention with the wit and verve of the writing. It is a literary criticism that is challenging and indeed often provocative and controversial, but which makes you want to read or re-read the work under discussion.

In the various roles usually understood by "editor," Rawson's contribution to English literary studies has also been distinguished. He is on record as saying that editions "are the single most useful activity in literary scholarship." The provision of a "reliable text of an important writer, with historical and contextual annotation" is foundational for literary scholarship, criticism and teaching (Rawson, "Recent Studies in the Restoration and Eighteenth Century" 697 and see also "Claude Rawson in conversation with Marjorie Perloff" 623-624). As a scholarly editor, his major contribution has been the *Collected Poems of Thomas Parnell* (1989) which he edited with Fred Lock, providing authoritative texts, richly and helpfully annotated. It presented the first complete edition of the poet including 70 poems from newly discovered Parnell manuscripts and more than doubled the known

canon. Parnell had been the only member of the so-called "Scriblerus" group (that included Swift, John Arbuthnot, Alexander Pope and John Gay) for whom a modern scholarly edition did not exist. Rawson has also edited or co-edited editions of works by Swift, Fielding and Austen, and Boswell's *Life of Johnson* in Norton Critical Editions, Oxford University Press's World's Classics, Random House's Modern Library and Dent's Everyman's Library, editions aimed at a wider public domain of university teachers and students and interested general readers as well as specialists of these authors. As a General Editor his major scholarly contribution is the ongoing *Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift* project, which he initiated and directs as a foundational general editor and in which, among much else, the now standard scholarly editions of Swift's great prose satires *A Tale of a Tub* and *Gulliver's Travels* and the (in)famous pamphlet *A Modest Proposal* have appeared. He is also a general editor of important scholarly series such as the Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, the Blackwell Critical Biographies, and Unwin Critical Library (of major texts), and for several years was a general editor of the Yale edition of Boswell's private papers. He has edited landmark collections of scholarly essays on Dryden, Swift, and Fielding. For many years he was editor of the *Modern Language Review* and *Yearbook of English Studies*.

Rawson is also an incredibly prolific reviewer of literary works and critical studies. In addition to the many substantive review essays, he has written over 500 notes and reviews. His review essays on influential critics, such as Lionel Trilling, and the literary editor and critic Karl Miller, are also commentaries on the state of English and American letters in public life and reflect on the state of the discipline of English literary studies within the Academy. He observes about "the moderate and subtle liberal thinker" Trilling, that he "set great store by modulation, nuance and complication" (Rawson, "The last intellectual" 3). Rawson also sets great store by them. Miller is described as "an extraordinary stylist, in the precise sense that his style is unlike anyone else's" and his critical work "combines the virtues of journalism and scholarship in the best senses of both" ("On Karl Miller"), assessments that may also be applied to Rawson's own reviewing. Rawson observed that Trilling in 1972 was reporting a "developing insensitivity" to literature in the universities ("The last intellectual" 3). This complaint has long been a threnody in Rawson's commentary, with the profession of literary criticism witnessed as having become remote from the public, obscurantist in its theoretical discourse, and becoming less concerned with reading books. Political, economic and cultural changes are also at the root of the perma-crisis that English and the Humanities seem always to have been in during recent decades. Rawson recollects that in "those

palmy days of welfare state education, grants were conferred automatically by the national system on candidates admitted by a university. *Tempora mutantur*, indeed" ("Rawson in Conversation" 621). The dismantling of the welfare state largely begun under Thatcher's government in Britain has come to pass and university students are now the paying customers of the technocratic corporate universities and the former departments of English, History and Philosophy have increasingly been assimilated within larger entities such as Schools of Humanities and Social Sciences where underfunded they have often atrophied beyond recognition if not disappeared entirely.

Rawson's reviewing likes to keep the continuing presence of his favourite Augustan writers in view even in the most unlikely of modern poets, as a measure of comparison, if not of demonstrable influence. His reviews of writers and critics whose work he doesn't much like combine erudition and élan with a Swiftian animus and acerbic humour. Dylan Thomas is a writer Rawson doesn't much like. In an iconoclastic early critical essay and a review article on the poetry and letters of this author, Thomas emerges as a poet of what Dryden in *Mac Flecknoe* derided as "the suburbian Muse." Elements of Thomas's satirical humour, especially in his letters, and some themes and images in his poems, seem to recall or have precedents, analogues or parallels, however fortuitous, with passages in Pope and Swift. The surprising presence of Pope and Swift in Thomas was unacknowledged and probably unconscious. Rawson writes that "Thomas liked to align himself, or to see others aligning him, with poetry's counter-cultural heroes: Villon, Whitman, Rimbaud" but "simultaneously liked to deny or undercut such alignments" ("Swansea's Rimbaud" 475). Thomas called himself "the Rimbaud of Cwmdonkin Drive," his family's middle-class suburban Swansea address. But deep down he saw himself as the offender against and antagonist of bourgeois and suburban values, which, Rawson observes, is an "archetypal suburban idea of the poet" ("Swansea's Rimbaud" 475). Thomas is conventionally seen in terms of neo-romantic expressionism, in the later poems especially, as a celebrant of idyllic countryside and childhood innocence, but Rawson in an iconoclastic early essay on Thomas concludes that Thomas "was almost certainly unaware" of "a conception of his poetic nature" which sees him as "not 'the Rimbaud of Cwmdonkin Drive' but a suburban Larkinized Pope" ("Randy Dandy in the Cave of Spleen" 103). Philip Larkin, the self-styled "Laforgue of Pearson Park," was another poet of the suburban muse and another rather remote from charismatic French symbolists, but a poet who happily escaped from the influence of Dylan Thomas, and whose poetic cadences sometimes have their downbeat precedents in Swift's verse (Rawson,

"Larkin's Life and Letters" 154-155; "Larkin's Desolate Attics" 40, 42).

Thomas's poetry is of course unlike that of Pope or Swift. Rawson drily finds two other poets that Thomas better resembled: Christopher Smart (though the resemblance to this great poet is only in physical appearance, both were little men with booze-distended bellies) and Thomas Moore (who used "Thomas Little" as an early pseudonym and was known as "Anacreon Moore" being a celebrant of drinking, in life as in translated Anacreontic Ode). Rawson writes that Dylan Thomas "perhaps most resembled Moore, as a genially self-displaying poet with a high public profile, a talent for melodious fluency in his otherwise bad but highly popular poems, and a genuine gift for lively observant prose in his letters and journals. The comparison does Thomas too much honour […]" ("Swansea's Rimbaud" 476).

Claude Rawson and Jonathan Swift

A festschrift for Rawson entitled *Swift's Travels: Eighteenth-Century British Satire and its Legacy*, edited by Nicholas Hudson and Aaron Santesso, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2008. The collection's focus on Swift and the editors' arrangement of the scholarly essays into three parts: "Swift and his Antecedents," "Swift in His Time," and "Beyond Swift" was completely appropriate. Rawson's critical work has brought a capacious knowledge of major authors and texts in the European literary tradition to bear on the greatest satirist in the English language and it characteristically keeps in critical focus Swift's literary predecessors, his contemporaries, and influence upon (and proleptic satiric parody of) later writers and modern modes. Rawson represents, in my view, the apogee of what literary criticism can perform on Swift's writings.

Among Rawson's many contributions to our understanding of Swift has been a concern to emphasise Swift's stature and influence as a poet, and identification of his signature satiric style. In literary history, Swift's reputation as a poet undoubtedly has been occluded by his reputation as the greatest of prose satirists and by the poetic achievement of his contemporary, his friend and collaborator Alexander Pope who perfected the heroic couplet which was the dominant serious poetic style of the time. But, as Rawson has shown in detail, Swift "has always been admired (and sometimes preferred to Pope) by poets. His reputation as a poet has indeed been higher among poets than among critics. His admirers and imitators include Byron, Yeats, Eliot, Auden, Ted Hughes, Geoffrey Hill and Derek Mahon" (*Swift's Angers* 170). The list can be added to, of course, and perhaps with an unexpected modern poet. As Rawson has shown, Swift was a parodic satirist of the "compulsively confessional" in the satirised modern "author" of *A Tale of a Tub*. For Swift, private feeling and

the confessional mode of written expression were not for publication in the public domain (Rawson, "Character of Swift's Satire" 25; *Swift's Angers* 221). Swift himself was the most guarded of writers, most of his works were published anonymously or pseudonymously, he preferred the protective carapace of irony to plain statement. Yet Swift has had a perhaps surprising admirer in that *poète maudit* of American poetry in the middle decades of the twentieth century, Delmore Schwartz, a poet who has been regarded as the inaugurator of a self-consciously modern autobiographical confessional poetry. Swift is probably at his most unguarded and uncensored about his private feelings in "the vulnerable intimacy" of his correspondence with Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, known as the *Journal to Stella* (Rawson, "Swift" 328). Schwartz's poem "Swift," included in his *Summer Knowledge New and Selected Poems 1938-1958* (1959), takes extracts from the *Journal to Stella* correspondence of 1710-1713 and puts them into poetic lines. Schwartz presents Swift at his most vulnerably intimate, writing in a playful little language, using slang and affectionate raillery, being prosaically quotidian. It is a Swift in confessional mode, expressing his hopes and fears. He is anxious about his prospects of preferment. He is vain about his current publishing hit in London, a lampoon, and the special regard he is held in by the great: he has the love and esteem of the great Irish Tory hero the second Duke of Ormond, the favour and friendship of the leader of the Tory government Robert Harley and the entire ministry. He reports the coldness and his resentments as he falls out with his eminent former Whig friend, Joseph Addison. Schwartz's poem alludes to the great work still to come, *Gulliver's Travels*, the pride and allure of place and power for Swift, and Swift's huge angers. "Swift" expresses its subject's sentimental longing to be back with his female friends and at Laracor. The poem notices Swift when he is the sympathetic but also enraged witness of undeserved private tragedy and suffering, expressing a hatred of life. The poem closes with Swift fantasising about his return voyage to Ireland and the guns firing in welcome for Stella and himself. The poem's final line is Swift in private pain, his last recorded words "I am a Fool." Schwartz's "Swift" is an affective and confessional Swift, the private man without the self-protective ironies of the public figure.

Swift was a prolific and versatile poet, a surpassing genius at rhyming, and a master of the comic tetrameter couplet, a poet who refused the "heroic strain" as being "against my natural vein" since the Swiftian satiric vein "Still to lash, and lashing smile, / Ill befits a lofty style." He is a comic and moral satirist, but politically disaffected, an enemy of the "nation's representers," of the arbitrary Walpolean Whig regime in power. Readers are told in the lowered voice of a parenthetical aside, that what the satirist says in jest is meant in earnest: "In a jest I

spend my rage. / (Though it must be understood, / I would hang them if I could)" ("To a Lady" 143-144, 147-148, 166, 169-180, *Complete Poems* 518-519; Rawson, "The Character of Swift's Satire" 75-76, 78).

One of Swift's favourite tropes was the lash of satire. In an early Ode "To Mr Congreve," Swift was already announcing his divine mission with "satire" as his muse: "My hate, whose lash just heaven has long decreed / Shall on a day make sin and folly bleed" (ll. 133-134, 176 *The Complete Poems* 71, 72). His reputation for applying the satiric lash is memorialized in his "Verses on the Death of Dr Swift." The range of his lash escalates from individual knaves and vices to the entire world. In a famous letter to Alexander Pope in 1725 upon his completion of *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift tells Pope that "when you think of the World give it one lash the more at my Request" (Swift, *Correspondence* 606). The author of *A Tale of a Tub*, however, had also reflected that "Satyrists" who use the "Lash" "might very well spare their Reproof and Correction: For there is not through all Nature, another so callous and insensible a Member as the *World's Posteriors*" (Swift, *A Tale of Tub and Other Works*, "Preface" 29). In Swift we see the paradox of the radical satirist attempting to correct a world that cannot be mended and which he believes is too depraved to be saved.

Rawson in several studies discusses lines in Swift's poetic epistle "To a Lady" as exemplary of the Swiftian satiric signature:

> If I can but fill my niche,
> I attempt no higher pitch.
> Leave to D'Anvers and his mate,
> Maxims wise to rule the state.
> Pulteney deep, accomplished St Johns,
> Scourge the villains with a vengeance:
> Let me, though the smell be noisome,
> Strip their bums; let Caleb hoise 'em;
> Then apply Alecto's whip,
> Till they wriggle, howl, and skip. (ll. 181-190 *The Complete Poems* 519)

Swift's satire operates with menaces at close quarters, it has an aggressive and scatological intimacy, he performs the punitive dirty work, up close and personal with the victims, the voice is colloquial and unfriendly, and relations with the reader are uneasy and unpleasant. The self-image as satirist with the whip or scourge is preferred to the more lofty, classical and heroic trope of the satirist wielding

his quill using satire as a sword, deployed for example, by Pope (Rawson, "The Character of Swift's Satire" 79; *Swift's Angers* 197, 256; "Mock-heroic and English Poetry" 176). Swift's signature trope of the satirist with the whip has the lowered atmosphere of political journalism and pamphleteering. It has, I think, an ancestry in Royalist newsbooks. For example, a royalist polemicist against the Puritan parliament in 1647 wrote: "in my Satyrick rage (arm'd with a whip of Scorpions) I'de scratch their brawnie hides, till their proud infected blood appear'd to attone my rage" (*Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. 9). The royalist polemicist conflates a biblical reference to chastising with whips and scorpions in 1 Kings 12:11 and an allusion to the classical Fury Alecto ("behold Alecto stand, / A whip of scorpions in her hand" as she is described in Swift's poem "Cassinus and Peter" (Lines 81-82, *Complete Poems* 465). In Swift's time High Church Tory journals had titles such as *The Whipping-Post* (by William Pittis) and *The Scourge* (by Thomas Lewis). In the quoted lines from "To a Lady" Swift lets the leading Opposition politicians and journalists do the heavy lifting ("Caleb D'Anvers" was the pseudonymous author of the Opposition paper *The Craftsman*), while Swift will perform the punitive satiric entertainment on the hoised victim, acting in the collaborative supporting role of the Fury Alecto as dominatrix.

Rawson demonstrates that Swift "is not a reassuring or companionable writer. His vision of humanity is often uncompromisingly bleak and his views of society seldom agreeable to the social and political principles which are taken for granted in later times […] Swift was, as a persistent matter of style, ostentatiously insulting to his reader. There is every indication that, at least in a stylistic or rhetorical sense, he did not want to be liked" (*Swift and Others* 147). Rawson is a trenchant critic of that modern academic scholarship on Swift which has sought to sanitise Swift of his satiric extremism, which presents him as a comfortable moderate conforming to the academic's notions of progressive political virtue, and whose irony is assumed to be eirenic when its actual effect is disquieting, hostile and intolerant. Whereas the irony of other eighteenth-century satirists such as Pope and Fielding establishes solidarity with the reader, Swift remains reader unfriendly.

Rawson has also described Swift's continued relevance as a proleptic satirist, an advance parodist of modern modes and writers. I'll conclude with one still topical instance of Swift as proleptic satirist. In 1967-1968 the "Death of the Author" was announced. The news came not from the Muses on Parnassus but from Paris, in an essay published by Roland Barthes. The stark announcement had perhaps been foreshadowed: in that twentieth century critical formalism that regarded the text in isolation from its author and historical contexts; in structuralism

and in theories that viewed the text as a tissue of signs and quotations produced by a cultural nexus of texts or linguistic systems with the text's meaning produced by the reader and not by the biographical author; and in the random "cut up" techniques of Tristan Tzara's Dadaist aesthetics in the 1920s and in the literary experiments of the later Beat writer William Burroughs. But the demise of the author had, as Rawson suggests, "a ghoulish prefiguration" in "The Epistle Dedicatory" of *A Tale of a Tub* in "the suspected non-existence of Dryden (as of other moderns, Tate, Durfey, Rymer, Dennis, Bentley and Wotton)" (*Swift and Others* 21; *A Tale of a Tub* 23). In Swift's satire the contemporary Age is viewed by Posterity as "devoid of Writers," the "*Titles*" of the vast number of works produced are almost instantly replaced with others, the volumes remaindered and destroyed without even a shelf life: "the *Memorial of them was lost among Men, their Place was no more to be found.*" The putative author of the *Tale of a Tub* is the eulogist of allegedly still-living authors presumed dead and gone and regarded as non-existent by posterity (*A Tale of a Tub* 20-24).

Barthes's announcement of "the death of the author" in the late nineteen-sixties, however, was premature, since it predated the arrival of computers, the internet and the digital era. Nor was it then the case that Artificial Intelligence was available for adoption by writers and turning "authors" into "generators," the prompters and editors of texts AI generated from vast data sets and algorithms. Swift was also the proleptic satirist of Artificial Intelligence. In the Academy of Lagado in Part III of *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), Gulliver meets a Professor who together with an operational team of pupils is experimenting with the scientist's invention of a mechanical language "Frame" which will be lucrative for the inventor who has plans on expanding the number of Frames. Gulliver is told that "the World would soon be sensible of its Usefulness." The "sole Inventer of this wonderful Machine" had "emptyed the whole Vocabulary" into his computation machine. By the inventor's "Contrivance, the most ignorant Person at a reasonable Charge, and with a little bodily Labour, may write Books in Philosophy, Poetry, Politicks, Law, Mathematicks and Theology, with the least Assistance from Genius or Study" (266-270). I believe Swift was probably parodying the popular contemporary work *Artificial Versifying or, The School-Boys Recreation. A New Way to make Latin Verses* (1677) which provided a mechanical means of writing Latin verses without understanding one word of Latin. The plate in *Gulliver's Travels* showing "The Language Machine" resembles and may have been modelled on the "Versifying Tables" for making Latin verses in *Artificial Versifying* (*Gulliver's Travels* 267; John Peter, *Artificial Versifying* 10-11). Swift's satire on this anti-humanistic invention

in *Gulliver's Travels* reprises his earlier satire *A Tale of a Tub* where "the *Moderns*" have discovered shorter ways of becoming "*Scholars* and *Wits*, without the Fatigue of *Reading* or of *Thinking*" (*A Tale of a Tub* 96).

Barthes concluded his iconoclastic essay by stating that the birth of the reader must come at the cost of the death of the author. In the "Age of Rawson" texts were often authorless, published anonymously and pseudonymously. But knowledge of the author's biography and the work's immediate circumstances might radically alter the import of a work and indeed enhance a text's pleasure for the reader. When the notorious *Shortest Way with the Dissenters* was published, anonymously, in 1702, it was taken straight by contemporary readers, read as the work of an extremist High Churchman opposed to the Act of Toleration, extravagantly calling for the extirpation of Protestant Dissent by sending Dissenters to the gallows or the galleys. The author of the anonymous pamphlet was discovered. It was the work of Daniel Defoe, a Protestant Dissenter and a current advocate of religious and political "Moderation," a former Protestant rebel who had fought at Sedgemoor against King James II and had himself narrowly escaped capture and the subsequent mass hangings of rebels by an Anglican royalist government. The identification of the author of *The Shortest Way* as Daniel Defoe has liberated readers ever since, enabling new readings and ambiguity. The text, on the literal level apparently an extremist High Church polemic, was now construable as an irony, a hoax, a reader entrapment, a satire, a fiction, an imitation, a parody, an impersonation of a non-existent homicidal High Churchman. The pamphlet becomes an artful cento of rhetorically violent passages in High Church sermons and pamphlets which Defoe is seeking to expose as so many euphemisms for exterminatory enactments. *The Shortest Way* was still regarded as seditious by the government, the work burned, and its identified author stood in the pillory for it. But it was now not an inflammatory work literally against the toleration of Dissent, but an offensive and alarming work claiming that the toleration of Dissent was indeed in danger under the current government and members of the established Church.

Jorge Luis Borges was an author influenced by Swiftian themes, as Rawson observes (*Gulliver and the Gentle Reader* 77-78), and had something of Swift's "ironically grave" stylistic vein ("Verses on the Death of Dr Swift," Line 315, *Complete Poems* 493; Borges, "Preface" 13). The importance of knowledge of authors for the reader of texts is a theme in Borges's amusing absurdist short story 'Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*' (1939). Borges's fictional late nineteenth-century, early twentieth-century French symbolist poet Pierre Menard, with astounding application, has independently written sections of *Don Quixote* that

are verbally identical to those produced by Cervantes in the seventeenth century. Though the texts are verbally identical, Menard's text is judged infinitely richer and ambiguous. It is conceived and achieved in the twentieth century through the experience of being Menard writing in an archaic style, influenced by Nietzsche and so on. Menard has enriched the art of reading, his new technique of deliberate anachronism and erroneous attribution has infinite applications. It seems better for the meaning of a work and the excitement of the reader if the author is changed rather than dead. Borges's short story concludes: "This technique fills the most placid works with adventure. To attribute the *Imitatio Christi* to Louis Ferdinand Céline or to James Joyce, is this not a sufficient renovation of its tenuous spiritual indications?" (Borges 71)

Rawson insists on the importance of knowledge of authors and their historical situation for an informed understanding of their works and he practices a criticism responsive to the complexity of literary works. His General Editor's preface to each volume in the acclaimed Blackwell's Critical Biographies series states: "An underlying objective is to re-establish the notion that books are written by people who live in particular times and places." The humanist literary-historical response to "the death of the author."

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Claude Rawson in Print

Linda Bree

Abstract: The essay offers a wide-ranging account of Claude Rawson's printed writings over a period of sixty years. It charts the ways in which these writings reflect Rawson's principles about the study of literature, his methodology, and his skills as a literary critic. It goes on describe the reception of Rawson's work by other scholars and critics, and the immense influence it has exerted in the field of eighteenth-century literature and literary studies more widely. Separate attention is given to his monographs, notably *God, Gulliver, and Genocide* (2001), his essays and reviews, his editions of texts, and his role in bringing forward the work of others.
Keywords: Claude Rawson; study of literature; eighteenth-century literature
Author: Linda Bree was Head of Humanities at Cambridge University Press until her retirement in 2018; there, she commissioned, among many other projects, the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift, of which she is now a General Editor. She is editor of Jane Austen's *Persuasion* (1998) and (with Janet Todd) *Later Manuscripts* (2008), Henry Fielding's *Amelia* (2010) and (with Claude Rawson) *Jonathan Wild* (2003), Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (2011) and Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda* (2020). She married Claude Rawson in 2017.

Literary scholars circulate their ideas, and establish their wider reputations, chiefly by means of the printed word. Claude Rawson's list of published work, like his reputation, is formidable. Over a period of more than sixty years, through five major monographs, more than twenty other books including edited volumes and scholarly editions, nearly 250 journal articles and book chapters, and more than 500 reviews, Rawson has established a leading presence, and exerted immense influence, in his chosen academic fields: "Augustan" writing in general and the work of Jonathan Swift in particular; eighteenth-century studies more broadly; the history of satiric, heroic and mock-heroic writing; and "taboo" subjects including killing and cannibalism.

Rawson's first venture into print—under the name C. J. Rawson, which he used in his early academic years—was an article, "Some Unpublished Letters of Pope and Gay: And Some Manuscript Sources of Goldsmith's Life of Thomas Parnell,"

published in *The Review of English Studies* in 1959,[1] when Rawson had not long left his student years at Oxford and was teaching at the University of Newcastle. His topic was prompted by working alongside John Butt, the eminent editor of the poems of Alexander Pope, who impressed on Rawson a belief in the importance of accurate and informative scholarly presentation of primary texts which he has retained throughout his career. Essays on Henry Fielding, Samuel Johnson, and "eighteenth-century delicacy" (this topic a legacy of his postgraduate research into then-neglected fictions of sentimentalism) soon followed; also, less predictably, appraisals of Horace and Rabelais, on the one hand, and Dylan Thomas, Ted Hughes and Wallace Stevens on the other, an early indicator of Rawson's growing range of reading and of scholarship.

The academic monograph—the book-length scholarly study—is the basic currency of the circulation of scholarly ideas in the humanities. Monographs are generally constructed in one of two ways: either the author explores a pre-chosen topic, offering a coherent thesis about it driven by a through-narrative and with a pre-determined end in view, perhaps testing out some individual arguments through journal articles en route; or the author builds up a topic from working through a series of separate but related arguments at article length, with the whole gaining enhanced effect through the reworking of the articles in light of their relationship with each other. Rawson falls into the latter category: indeed he believes some of his best work has been published in the form of the long article of fifty pages or so, a length he is in some respects most comfortable with in representing his scholarly ideas.[2] He had published more than a dozen scholarly articles before his first book appeared, and went on to publish many more afterwards. But inevitably the body of work by which he is most prominently identified appears in his five major monographs—*Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal Under Stress: "Nature's Dance of Death" and Other Studies* (1972), *Gulliver and the Gentle Reader: Studies in Swift and Our Time* (1973), *Order from Confusion Sprung: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature from Swift to Cowper* (1985), *Satire and Sentiment 1660-1830* (1994), and *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945* (2001)—together with two more recent volumes collecting sometimes more disparate material together, *Swift's Angers* (2014) and *Swift and Others* (2015).

Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal Under Stress (1972) aims to show that

1 See C. J. Rawson, "Some Unpublished Letters of Pope and Gay: And Some Manuscript Sources of Goldsmith's Life of Thomas Parnell," *The Review of English Studies* 40 (1959): 371-387.

2 Personal communication.

the moral, social and aesthetic ideals of harmony associated with early eighteenth-century thought and expression, often described as "Augustan," were in fact increasingly under strain even at the height of their popularity, "and that disruptive pressures and radical insecurities became evident in some of the seemingly most confident, and some of the most conservative, writing of the period" ("Preface"). In this Preface Rawson goes on to assert his general methodology, stating principles which to a large extent he has adhered to in his writings ever since:

> The various chapters of this book are, in some ways, separate studies, each exploring certain aspects of my theme in their own way, whilst being linked with the others by the common larger theme. There is some overlapping and repetition, because similar points, and the same Fielding passages, seemed to me to belong naturally to more than one exploration. There may even be some contradictions, because what might in one sense appear to be opposite views both seemed valid in the respective contexts of exploration. I believe that certain kinds of inconsistency or self-contradiction are truer to the many-sidedness of a literary text or topic than critical acts of reductive coherence. I prefer to think of this book as having certain faults of open-endedness and of doubt, than the virtues of a systematically articulated certainty. (*Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal Under Stress* "Preface")

This is an unusual and uncompromising method, and one not universally admired: some critics are made uncomfortable by the way Rawson circles round in his arguments, referring back to particular texts he sees as particularly significant, and being willing, as he states here, to repeat and even contradict himself on occasion. But it's a method entirely characteristic of a scholar already at this early stage in his career confident in his mastery of a vast range of material, dedicated in pressing and intensifying his arguments, and more than willing to probe, provoke or challenge received critical opinions. And it is also consistent with the fact that throughout his career Rawson has ever been on the side of the writer rather than the critic, the primary rather than the secondary text.

Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal under Stress also displays for the first time at book length Rawson's predilection for juxtaposing the writings of different literary figures, not only in conventional comparisons of contemporaries, but also in the drawing of often startlingly unexpected relationships between the thinking and writing of individuals widely distant in time and space. Rawson's chapter on Fielding's last novel *Amelia* (1751) for example, draws links not only with the

work of Daniel Defoe and Tobias Smollett, as might be expected, but also with that of George Orwell; multiple discussions of Fielding's *Jonathan Wild* (1743) assert comparisons with, among others, Thomas Mann's insinuating con-man Felix Krull and Alfred Jarry's anarchical Ubu.

Major critics of eighteenth-century literature recognized that the book heralded the presence of a new, distinctive and formidable voice in literary studies. Paul Hunter wrote, "Claude Rawson's essays are as important as most people's books, and hence his first book is a major event." Pat Rogers called the study "a fully adult reading of Fielding by a deep and original mind" (187).

Jonathan Swift is mentioned in *Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal Under Stress*, but from the early 1970s Swift became Rawson's central topic, often the focus for larger arguments concerning the ideas and ideals of other authors before and after him. When asked the reason for this shift of emphasis, Rawson responds that since Swift was incomparably the better writer, he repays, much more than did Fielding, all the time and energy that could be devoted to the study of his thinking and his work.[1] It seems likely, also, that Rawson felt more of a temperamental affinity with a thinker and writer who chose to court controversy, and challenge and provoke his readers through satire on serious subjects, rather than amuse, entertain and tease them.

Gulliver and the Gentle Reader: Studies in Swift and Our Time (1973), published shortly after, and to some extent designed as a companion-piece to, the study of Fielding, demonstrates clearly Rawson's comfort in this shift of emphasis; he has said that he believes his first chapter, which gave its title to the book as a whole, is one of his best pieces of writing.[2] *Gulliver and the Gentle Reader* explores the relationship between Swift, his narrators and his readers, in subtle and serious ways. "There is something in Swift's relations with his reader that can be described approximately in terms of the edgy intimacy of a personal quarrel that does not quite come out into the open, with gratuitous-seeming sarcasms on one side and a defensive embarrassment on the other," Rawson writes in that chapter, and goes on to point to the "peculiar aggressiveness" which characterizes Swift's approach to his readers.

As the book proceeds, with explorations of order and cruelty and chapters on circles, catalogues, conversations, corpses and cannibals in Swift's writings, Rawson invokes—in a way now becoming familiar—Samuel Johnson, W. B. Yeats, Wallace Stevens, Gustave Flaubert, Eugène Ionesco, Walt Whitman, Joseph Conrad, Norman Mailer, R. D. Laing, and many other writers and thinkers before

1 Personal communication.

2 Personal communication.

and after Swift's time. Colin J. Horne described the book as "a powerful exposition of an intriguing exploration into Swift's psyche and his concern for moral order, both within his own being and everywhere within an age that 'wanted it so much'" (157). "There has been a good deal of profitable discussion lately about how to read eighteenth-century texts," wrote Martin Price in the *Sewanee Review*, "Some of the very best of it has come from Claude Rawson."

He followed this up with *Order from Confusion Sprung* (1985), the range of which is only partly indicated by its sub-title, *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature from Swift to Cowper*. The word "studies" is significant of course. Once again Rawson is exploring his general subject from a series of different access points, testing his central concern, with "the ironic energies contained in assertions of order [as much] as with the assertion itself" ("Preface"), rather than building up any kind of chronological argument about literary developments. Swift and Fielding again feature prominently: and Rawson's choice of title for the book, from the closing couplet of Swift's *Lady's Dressing Room*,

> Such order from confusion sprung,
> Such gaudy tulips raised from dung.

signals what had by now become other regular preoccupations in his work: the high quality of Swift's poetry (often dismissed by critics as trivial, in comparison with his friend Pope's poetry and his own prose, but—as Rawson reminds us—much admired by later practising poets), and, by extension, the exuberant power of the demotic, which Rawson argues deserves as serious notice as does high literary endeavour. Swift and Fielding again figure prominently, and there are chapters on James Boswell, William Cowper and Christopher Smart. Again intelligent and vigorous close readings of individual eighteenth-century works (notably a widely-admired chapter on Swift's controversial tract *A Modest Proposal*) are illuminated by unusual juxtapositions. Chapter and section titles—"Gulliver and Crusoe in Malamudland," "Nymphs of the City in Swift, Baudelaire, Eliot," and "Pope's *Waste Land*"—suggest the intellectual and chronological agility involved.

By the mid-1980s Rawson was widely recognized as one of the foremost critics not only of Swift, but of literature more generally, and as greatly instrumental in drawing new attention to the literature of the eighteenth century, in those years regarded as something of a literary and critical backwater. At the time of his studies of Fielding and Swift in the 1970s the *University of Toronto Quarterly* had described him as "perhaps the most exciting commentator on Augustan literature

currently writing" (Brückmann 85). He was now regularly referred to as "one of our leading commentators on eighteenth-century literature" (Nokes 1261); Maximillian E. Novak commented that "he may well be the most impressive critic now working in this period [that is, the eighteenth century]" (112); Penelope Wilson wrote of "the revival in 18th-century studies to which [Rawson's] earlier books have largely contributed."

Rawson's reputation was consolidated with *Satire and Sentiment 1660-1830: Stress Points in the English Augustan Tradition* (1994). By now his methodology was well established, but here he both extends the chronological range of his main enquiries and limits to some extent, for once, the wider analogies to later literature which characterized his earlier work; instead, he refers more frequently to the past and to the classical models which were so influential to Augustan literary ideals. Once again concentrating on "stress points" rather than a progressive narrative, he turns his attention specifically to a series of literary genres in his chosen period. He gives an account of poetry, juxtaposing the Earl of Rochester and John Oldham in the late seventeenth century with Lord Byron and Percy Bysshe Shelley more than a century later. He turns to fiction: "Richardson, alas" (as the relevant chapter title has it, clearly indicating Rawson's opinion both of the popular mid-eighteenth-century novelist, and of the strain of sentimental fiction which he fuelled) and Jane Austen. He explores the popular early eighteenth-century journals the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, the political polemics of Edmund Burke, and the more personal journal-writing of James Boswell and Thomas Moore. Throughout, Rawson's interest is in "the energies of a patrician culture in decline" (*Satire and Sentiment 1660-1830: Stress Points in the English Augustan Tradition* ix): the ways in which the widely recognized "*embourgeoisement*" of culture in the long eighteenth century was in fact fraught with tensions and ironies, as much in Addison and Steele, in their early-century commitment to popularizing "polite letters," as in Richardson, who while radically anti-Augustan was yet caught up in many of the Augustan mannerisms and attitudes he rejects, or as in Jane Austen, who domesticated the ironies she learned from Fielding (a writer to whom Rawson sees Austen much more indebted than do many other critics).[1]

Once again reviews were positive. Particular praise was given to two long central chapters, one on mock-heroic and war, and the other on the literary and rhetorical

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1 Many critics have perhaps been over-influenced by Austen's (clergyman) brother Henry, who in his posthumous "Biographical Notice of the Author," attached to *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion* (1817), stated that as far as his sister's view of Fielding was concerned "Neither nature, wit, nor humour could make her amends for so very low a scale of morals."

uses of clothing as metaphors both for the practice of government in the eighteenth century and for human nature more generally. "At his best, Rawson is among the most sensitive and illuminating of critics [...] his critical discrimination is first rate," wrote David Nokes in the *Times Literary Supplement*. "Nowadays, it would be little exaggeration to say that, for most British students at least, the literature of eighteenth-century England has become a place not of rest and refreshment but of Rawson and [Pat] Rogers" (22).

By now readers knew what to expect from Rawson's monograph-length works: and as monograph followed monograph it became increasingly evident that his methodology of addressing aspects of his main subject from a number of different perspectives extended to conversations between, as well as within, his individual books, as he returns, in new contexts, to those texts he sees as key "stress points" in an eighteenth century he is ever more convinced is much more conflicted and contradictory than critical orthodoxy has suggested.

In a later review Terry Eagleton described Rawson as "one of the finest 18th-century specialists, who unusually in such a traditionally stodgy area is also a critic of striking flair and delicacy" ("A Spot of Firm Government"). Eagleton was not alone in referring with admiration to the "flair and delicacy" of Rawson's approach, something reflected in his distinctive writing style, which combines a vigorous and discriminating precision with an instinctive sense of rhythm and a strain of (often satiric) humour. In a not unrelated attempt to analyse the different strengths displayed in Rawson's work Dustin Griffin wrote that Rawson's "career has combined elements not commonly found in the same writer—a lively and opinionated critical mind, and a methodical and learned scholar" (159). But while it has always been difficult to catch Rawson out in a factual error of method or learning not everyone was convinced by his opinions, or by the value of his characteristic method of drawing relationships, however bravura, between writers of very different times and cultural contexts. That this method is controversial in challenging some of the accepted norms of literary critical method has been recognized in many reviews of his work over the years. Not untypically, Roy Porter called *Satire and Sentiment* "an ideal book to browse, savour and quarrel with."

Denis Donoghue, in an otherwise generally favourable review of *Order from Confusion Sprung*, had challenged Rawson's methodology in a more detailed way.

> If you say that A is like B in some respect and like C in another respect, what have you said? [...] I'm left wondering what it's supposed to prove [...] [Rawson] knows the consequences of Baudelaire's coming after Swift and

> before Eliot, but he suspends this knowledge or holds it in abeyance so that he can establish the continuity of sentiment and attitude as the ground of his discourse, and local differences of mood as his nuance. But it is not clear to me that, in particular cases, this amounts to more than the ping-pong of likeness and difference. Truths of greater universality don't seem to get themselves established. ("Denis Donoghue writes about the Age of Rawson, and Rogers")

It could be said to be questionable whether many even outstanding works of literary criticism offer "truths of greater universality," but in fact Rawson—albeit very probably unconsciously—addressed this criticism directly and triumphantly in his next, and most important, monograph, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945* (2001). Here he returns to many themes and observations familiar from his earlier work, including the strain between satiric and sentimental thought in the eighteenth century, the crisis in the development of the epic tradition, the reasons for the responding rise of mock-heroic writing, and the towering influence of Swift in the thought of his own time and its resonance in others; but here he wraps them into an argument of genuine, indeed existential, universality. The book is, among other things, an examination of the inherent contradiction between the "heroism" of epic writing and the reality of brutal barbarism, and of the ways in which that contradiction became acute, and eventually overwhelming, as ways of killing developed from individual combat to the multiple destruction wrought by gunpowder, and as confrontations between the "civilized" and the "savage" tore open destructive ambiguities of language, thought and action.

Rawson opens the preface of *God, Gulliver, and Genocide* with a statement, the formulation of which is perhaps his most memorable contribution to intellectual discourse, with resonances that are relevant to the ambiguous power of language in its most general sense and in many contexts:

> When we say certain people "ought to be shot," or exterminated "from the face of the earth," we usually do so in the knowledge that we will not be thought to "mean" it literally. It is a figure of speech, partially sanitized by the conventions of social usage. In this sense, it creates a protective fiction around itself [...] We mean it, don't mean it, and don't *not* mean it [...]

God, Gulliver, and Genocide, he continues,

> is about how the European imagination has dealt with groups which it

> habitually talks about killing, and never quite kills off, because the task is too difficult or unpleasant, or the victims are needed for their labour, or competing feelings get in the way. It is concerned with the imaginative resonances of the idea of the savage, the "other," not as simply noble or ignoble, but as a figure through whom we confront our own selves in an anguished self-implication too complex and "conflicted" to be amenable to the customary reductive categorizations. We are obsessed with "barbarians." They are the "not us," who do not speak our language, or "any language," whom we despise, fear, and kill [...] and whose suspected resemblance to us haunts our introspections and imaginings.

And so, as Terry Eagleton describes it in his review of "this erudite, passionate book," Rawson goes on to dissect "those unstable mixtures of racism and anti-racism, collusion and rebellion, aversion and attraction [...] the half-joking yet half-serious idea to exterminate others, as well as [...] the way that authors like Swift and Montaigne are outraged by colonial brutality while being deep-dyed authoritarians themselves" ("A Spot of Firm Government").

Rawson's subject matter here is universal, controversial and uncompromising: he addresses prejudice, violence and atrocity, beginning with the Bible and classical epic and culminating in the horrors of Nazism, confronting the reader with uncomfortable, sometimes shocking, claims about human perceptions and human behaviour. Throughout he sees Swift—here particularly following on from the example of another key intellectual figure, the sixteenth-century French essayist Michel de Montaigne—as the most powerful proponent of the moral ambiguity at the heart of the satiric imagination, and as a writer central to "some of the most troubling moral nightmares of European intellectual history in the last five hundred years: war, imperial conquest, the impulse to exterminate [...]" (Rawson, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945* 1).

All the many reviews of the work engaged with its argument on a very direct level. Tom Keymer summarized the book's effect for literary readers:

> Claude Rawson has written a book of major importance for genres ranging from Renaissance encounter literature to modern Holocaust fiction. But his greatest gift has always been for torpedoing the prevailing assumptions of eighteenth-century studies, and in this bold new account of Swift, and the implications arising for other writers, he has done it, explosively, again. ("On not not meaning it" 13)

The book was also reviewed in a much wider range of journals than most literary productions are, and the genuinely shocking implications of Rawson's wider argument were addressed by reviewers in diverse non-literary fields. In the *Journal of Genocidal Research*, John Docker, finding the book as a whole "a major contribution to the literature which sees '1492' as a key event in world history," asked "Are we Westerners all, then indeed is the human psyche itself, complicit in a received millenia-long rhetoric of extermination?" (161, 163) Richard A. Rosengarten, in *The Journal of Religion*, described it as "one of the more sobering portraits available of the dynamic of religion in culture in the modern period" (159). In a long and detailed review in *The New Republic* Robert Alter identified Rawson's argument as "a study in the workings of the literary imagination of rage, with all the moral irresponsibilities that it entails," and concluded that "It behooves us [...] to acknowledge that works of literature can conceivably contribute to creating a context of imaginative enablement for the perpetration of terrible acts in the real world" ("Immodest Proposals").

The book has had success outside the UK and North America. It was favourably reviewed in both France and Russia, and has been successfully published in China in an admired translation by Professor Songlin Wang.

More recently Rawson has spent time collecting and re-presenting some of his most significant articles which had not previously appeared in book form. His two most recent full-length books, *Swift's Angers* (2014) and *Swift and Others* (2015), have a looser structure than his earlier book-length studies and are particularly valuable in making some of his more prominent articles widely available for the first time. Some of his best journal articles, however, have not so far been assimilated into his full-length books: book projects exploring themes of cannibalism and of mock-heroic remain works in progress, and it will be interesting to see how they proceed. Others of his articles are on topics which do not lend themselves to assimilation into a larger whole and are therefore unlikely to become available in book form, but many of which demonstrate Rawson's critical analysis at its best. One example is an essay published in *The New Criterion* on "C. S. Lewis, Schoolboy among the Moderns," in which Rawson, prompted by a recent biography of Lewis by A. N. Wilson, offers a fascinating assessment of a scholar who had been his undergraduate tutor at Oxford and whose work he learned to value highly. In one notable passage Rawson analyses Lewis's methodology, drawing comparisons with another author-critic whom he very much admires, Samuel Johnson. Rawson sees Lewis as

> the kind of critic who, again like Johnson, derived his power less from the

> rightness of his judgments than from the passion and insight that went into their making, from the centrality of the issues he raised and the boldness and baldness with which he raised them. His hostility to the humanists of the Renaissance, or to Donne or Dryden, or to virtually the whole modern movement is not shared by all admirers of his criticism, but even his most perverse judgments are vitalizing provocations to re-examine first principles and question received ideas. Like Johnson, Lewis had the courage of his passions and his wrongnesses, and a wise readiness to be inconsistent. ("C. S. Lewis, schoolboy among the moderns")

This is both a finely-tuned analysis of the two writers, and a very evident demonstration of the influence of both on Rawson's own thinking about literature.

Even if he had never written any books or articles, Rawson would still be well known and respected in academic circles as an acute and prolific reviewer of other scholars' work. Rawson has written more than 500 reviews over a sixty-year publishing career, in a wide variety of specialist and non-specialist journals in the UK and North America: indeed for a period in the 1980s and 1990s it seemed that very few editions of the *London Review of Books* or the *Times Literary Supplement* did not carry a Rawson review. These pieces include his views on topics which might startle even those familiar with his wide range of literary knowledge and interests. He has written, for example, on children's literature (albeit including the "little people" created by Mary Norton in *The Borrowers* series, which inevitably recall for him the inhabitants of Swift's Lilliput), and on twentieth-century figures far removed from his own specialist interests, such as Katherine Mansfield or Lionel Trilling; and for some years he regularly assessed new volumes of contemporary poetry for the *London Review of Books*.

Men and women setting out on an academic career are often warned by seasoned academic advisers to steer well clear of reviewing. Those with experience point out that the input required is often substantial, making for a massive distraction from the main research work of the scholar, while rewards (intellectual as well as material) may be small or non-existent. Rawson accepts that there is some truth in these observations, but adds that "over a lifetime of practising both the specialist form of reviewing and the broader kind I believe my own work has profited from the enlarged perspective and the breadth of knowledge and insight provided by thinking of other people's writings."[1] The other main reason scholars are advised to avoid reviewing the work of others is that they risk offending or

1 Personal communication.

alienating those scholars whose work is being reviewed, for whom often even quite mild criticism can be received and resented as a personal attack (a situation exacerbated by the fact that the general slow pace of review journals means there is rarely the opportunity for a timely right of reply or follow-up debate). This concern Rawson rejects—a view which will surprise no-one who has read his own vigorous and forthright reviewing. He acknowledges the scruples that lead some scholars, in principle, to refuse to review books that they cannot praise, but he does not agree with them. "I think it's a cop-out. If a book is inaccurate, tendentious or simply bad scholarship it's important to say so. Reviews are intended to inform readers and it is part of their role to offer a responsible, informed judgement. It is no service to intellectual or academic standards to omit mention of inaccurate or otherwise defective arguments."[1]

Both in his own work and in his role as reviewer Rawson is particularly impatient with a certain kind of heavily theoretical writing which was gaining popularity in the later decades of the twentieth century and is still in vogue today, regarding it as reflecting some of the worst aspects of what he frequently calls, dismissively, "the Ph.D. era." "The best theories are reflections of practising writers about their craft," he says. "I think of Coleridge, Proust, and T. S. Eliot. I'm hostile to academics who prefer their own lucubrations to the knowledge of and engagement with literary works, and sometimes give the impression that they would rather do anything with a book than actually read it."[2] Back in 1981 Rawson took particular issue, in the *London Review of Books*, with a theoretically-based study of Henry James by Susanne Kappeler:

> It is not surprising [...] that a high creative standing should be claimed for critics, with both James and his narrators adopted into the fold. Given a certain dearth of common-or-garden first-level correspondence between Ms Kappeler's bombinations and what most normal humans will recognise as taking place in the novels, nothing less than a declaration of the critic's unfettered rights over the polysemic work, and of his parity of standing with the author, can give her enterprise any semblance of intellectual pertinence. ("Purloined Author")

This review prompted an outraged letter in a subsequent issue of the journal from Frank Kermode, complaining in part about what he saw as Rawson's "sneering" about the value of theoretical studies, and making specific reference to Roland Barthes's then highly influential theoretical text *S/Z*. In responding in turn to Kermode's

1 Personal communication.

2 Personal communication.

criticisms, Rawson first addressed the relationship between *S/Z* and its own source text, a short story by Balzac, in vigorous terms: “Let it be clear that Barthes’s text contains Balzac’s and that one could go through the latter within it, much as one might go through a built-up area by jumping over or by knocking down all the houses on the way.” He then amplified his own deeply-held critical principles more seriously: he had condemned the book under review, he wrote, because the author

> writes at a level of abstraction where particularities disappear inside reductive and often arbitrary systems of formalist and socio-linguistic taxonomy; where one text can easily be made to look much like another; and where [...] very little that is said pays sensitive attention to the full individual immediacy of what the author actually wrote. (Rawson, “Purloined Author”)

It is another revealing statement of Rawson’s consistent and determined plea for a return to the primary literary text over critical or (increasingly) theoretical interpretations.

As can be seen from the comment on Barthes and Balzac above, reviewing also gives Rawson the opportunity for some virtuoso, often very funny, flights of writing. Assessing a book on the early sources and responses to the work of the “marvellous boy,” the mid-eighteenth-century Bristol poet Thomas Chatterton, Rawson offered a serious extended analysis of the differences between parody and impersonation as exemplified in some of Chatterton’s work, but he also found time to make play with the mock-Medieval language which Chatterton invented for some of his “Rowley” poems, which, Rawson pointed out:

> seems to boil down to a few crude principles. Make as many words end in *e* or [...] begin with *a* as possible, change *i* to *y* at will, duplicate or otherwise add consonants freely: “Whatteverre schalle be Englysch wee wylle slea [...] Eftsoones we will retourne, and wanquished bee no moere,” says Hurra the Dane in *Aella*, where both foreigner and Bristolian sometimes sound like demented “medieval” prefigurations of *Guys and Dolls* (“unmanned, uneyned, exclooded aie the lyghte”) [...] as though old Dan Runyounne himself had been inclooded in the Rowleian roll-call.[1]

1 Review of Thomas Tyrwhitt, Edmund Malone, Thomas Warton, Horace Walpole et al, *Thomas Chatterton: Early Sources and Responses*, in *Times Literary Supplement* 6 May 1994. The review is reproduced, in adapted and expanded form, in *Swift and Others* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 252-267.

This is, incidentally, one of Rawson's very few printed allusions to Medieval literature; and it is wholly characteristic that it should be in the context of parodic/satiric imitation.

In this review of Claude Rawson's relationship with the world of print attention should be given to his substantial achievement in encouraging the publication of other scholars. As editor of the distinguished journal *Modern Language Review* (*MLR*) and the related *Yearbook of English Studies* (1974-1988) he oversaw the preparation and publication of a very long list of articles and reviews of the highest quality. His editorship of book series also makes an impressive list: notably the Unwin Critical Library, the multi-volume Cambridge History of Literary Criticism (with his friend the late Barry Nisbet) 1985-2013, and Blackwell Critical Biographies (ongoing since 1987, with more than 20 volumes published to date). He has edited, and often contributed to, a range of distinguished essay collections, including *English Satire and the Satiric Tradition* (1984), *John Dryden (1631-1700): His Politics, his Plays and his Poets* (2004, with Aaron Santesso), *The Cambridge Companion to Henry Fielding* (2007), *Great Shakespeareans, Volume 1: Dryden, Pope, Johnson, Malone* (2009), *Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift: English and Irish Perspectives* (2010) and *The Cambridge Companion to English Poets* (2011).

And finally, there are scholarly editions. For many years Rawson was reluctant to review critical works, but was always interested in assessing scholarly editions, which he—rather unfashionably, then as now—felt represented some of the most important work any literary scholar could undertake. (He has praised Harold Love's edition of the works of Lord Rochester as one of the most impressive volumes he has ever reviewed.[1]) His own earliest research was directed towards a volume of the collected poems of Thomas Parnell, though the edition itself was not published until 1989 (co-edited with F. P. Lock). Since then he has edited or co-edited a number of texts, for scholars and for students, including Jane Austen's *Persuasion* (1990); Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1991), *Joseph Andrews and Shamela* (1998) and *Jonathan Wild* (with Linda Bree, 2003); Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (1992); and a number of Swift's works including *The Basic Writings of Jonathan Swift* (with Ian Higgins, 2002, itself superseded by the *Essential Writings of Jonathan Swift*, 2009), and *Gulliver's Travels* (also with Ian Higgins, 2005).

In 1990 he took charge of the Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell, as General Editor 1990-1997 and Chairman 1991-2001. Since 2001 he has been General Editor of The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift, an enterprise which Cambridge University Press commissioned at his instigation, and to which he has devoted an enormous amount of time and energy over more

1 Personal communication.

than twenty years. Scholarly editions are indeed time-consuming and long-term projects: six volumes of a projected seventeen have been published so far, and the much-anticipated four-volume edition of Swift's Poems, edited by Stephen Karian and James Woolley—a body of work particularly close to Rawson's heart, the culmination of his career-long championing of Swift's achievements as a poet—is scheduled to appear in 2025. As Claude Rawson approaches 90, there is still much to do.

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Chinese Orphans and the Social Contract from Swift to Brecht

Joseph Roach

Abstract: In *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination* (2001) and *Swift's Angers* (2014), Claude Rawson returns to a touchstone of his critical practice as first set forth in *Order from Confusion Sprung: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature from Swift to Cowper* (1985): "my concern is as much with the ironic energies contained in the assertions of order as the assertion itself." Nowhere are those energies more astringent than in Swift's *A Modest Proposal* (1729). Taking its cue from Chapter 3, "Killing the Poor: An Anglo-Irish Theme?" from *God, Gulliver, and Genocide*, this essay extends Rawson's Swiftian genealogy of "unsocial socialism" in George Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde, and Bertolt Brecht and applies it to Anglo-Irishman Arthur Murphy's *The Orphan of China* (1753), showing how Murphy's transcultural adaptation, the first of its kind in English, shares a source in the great *zaju* dramas of Yuan Dynasty China with Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* (1944). Like Swift in *A Modest Proposal*, both Murphy and Brecht foreground the social question posed by the unprovided young. By deploying the estrangement-effect of Asian and Caucasian settings and narratives, they defamiliarize the plight of the orphan as ground zero of social-contract theory in the Enlightenment, probing the Chinese originals to elucidate an increasingly urgent ethical dilemma of modernity: the necessity and yet the scarcity of intentional acts of sacrificial altruism on behalf of social unification.
Keywords: orphans; social contract; defamiliarization; Enlightenment; *zaju* drama; adaptation
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> Terrible is the temptation to do good!
>
> —Bertolt Brecht, *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* (1948)

The calm of the Modest Proposer, as he advocates cannibalism, on the other

> hand, implies no hope that right will prevail, and presupposes instead a universal solidarity of the wicked.
>
> —Claude Rawson, *Swift's Angers* (2014)

Jonathan Swift, George Bernard Shaw, and Oscar Wilde join together as a trio of fierce compatriots in Chapter 3 of Claude Rawson's magisterial *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination* (2001). Even though the title of the book warns of genocide and barbarism, the chapter heading still shocks: "Killing the Poor." Its interrogative subtitle, however, provokes: "An Anglo-Irish Theme?" (Rawson 183-255) In their astringent versions of an unsocial socialism, the chapter goes on to reveal, Shaw and Wilde emulate the soul-chilling calm of Swift's "Modest Proposer," who would feed his countrymen with the misbegotten offspring of the poor. Killing the poor? Eating their children? Even if the two Anglo-Irish satirical successors to Swift do not adopt his cannibalistic suggestion, they at least harbor vestiges of his murderous plan for reducing excrescent populations. Shaw would have the poor killed because they are unproductive; Wilde, because they are ugly. "Killing the Poor" makes authors we thought we knew well appear very strange again even as it makes unthinkable ideas seem appallingly familiar.[1] This is revelatory literary criticism illuminated by moral imagination.

In tribute to Professor Claude Rawson, therefore, whose extraordinary scholarship stands as an inspirational model for eighteenth-century studies and literary history writ large, I will revisit the question he poses about Swift's *A Modest Proposal* (1729) as the grim keynote to an "Anglo-Irish Theme," which has ethical implications that resonate far beyond Ireland. At the same time, I also wish to acknowledge and honor another theme, Professor Rawson's own, one that often recurs in his critical thinking. It likewise derives from an only apparently celebratory phrase of Swift's: "Order from Confusion sprung." In those four words, even though the poet makes the couplet that contains them rhyme with "Dung," some might too readily find an assertion of Enlightenment "optimism," but our greatest Swiftian cautions: "my concern is as much with the ironic energies contained in assertions of order as with the assertion itself."[2] Understanding, elucidating, and communicating the constantly

1 Another Anglo-Irishman puts a similarly eliminationist sentiment in mouth of a character in his most famous work: "The truth is you can't drive such creatures away," says the lordly Pozzo of the wretched Lucky: "The best thing would be to kill them." See Samuel Beckett, *Waiting for Godot*, New York: Grove Press, 1954, 21.

2 See Claude Rawson, *Order from Confusion Sprung: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature from Swift to Cowper*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1985, ix, quoting a couplet from Swift's *Lady's Dressing Room*: "Such Order from Confusion sprung/Such gaudy Tulips rais'd from dung."

regenerative power of those "ironic energies" have been Professor Rawson's life's work.

If a more humble Hibernian author might be nominated to make the trio of Swift, Shaw, and Wilde into a more charitable quartet, I would modestly propose Roscommon-born Arthur Murphy (1727-1805). A late and reluctant convert to Anglicanism, the Jesuit-educated playwright, biographer of Fielding, Johnson, and Garrick, and apologist for Lord Bute brings a different but complementary perspective to the ethnological question about the Irish response to the ethical dilemma of surplus populations. He does so by changing the locale to China and foregrounding the figure of the orphaned child. In *The Orphan of China* (written 1753, premiered 1759), Murphy offers his tragic version of Ji Junxiang's thirteenth-century *zaju* drama *The Orphan of Zhao*. He does so by dramatizing the moral pressure exerted by the claims of dispossessed children on the consciences of those who are not their kin. Although theatre historians typically characterize his efforts as a translation of Voltaire's *L'Orphelin de la Chine* (1753), Murphy minimized the dependence of his adaptation on that of the *philosophe*.[1] But the questions raised by both Voltaire's and Murphy's versions do not confine themselves to the literary relations of the mid-eighteenth century. In "Killing the Poor," Professor Rawson contrasts Shaw's Swiftian critique with Bertolt Brecht's (Rawson 194-195, 242). By putting forward *The Orphan of China*, I want to explore that suggestion further by showing the ways in which Murphy's tragedy anticipates the "ironic energies" of Brecht's epic-theatre *Caucasian Chalk Circle* (*Der kaukische Kriedekris* 1944), itself an adaptation of *The Chalk Circle*, a *zaju* drama by Li Qianfu.

Both the crypto-Catholic Anglo-Irishman and the German Marxist turned to the theatre of the Yuan Dynasty to remake classical Chinese masterpieces into contemporary social dramas. For the Jesuit-educated, French-speaking Irish expatriate with a global world view, the Chinese original had philosophical as well as theatrical value. "Enough of Greece and Rome," William Whitehead's Prologue to *The Orphan of China* exclaims, commending Murphy for bringing "Confucius' morals to Britannia's shores." Such a departure represented a radical break from the Christianized norms of neoclassical drama. It also offered another contribution to the development of social-contract theory from Hobbes to Locke to Rousseau to Kant. Western philosophy is not the only font of the idea that prosocial cohesion requires sacrifice. In addition to Whitehead's allusion, four different characters

1 See Arthur Murphy, *The Orphan of China, a Tragedy as it is performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane*, London: Printed for P. Valiant, 1759, appended "Letter to M. Voltaire." Subsequent references to *The Orphan of China* are given parenthetically.

in Murphy's play cite Confucius by name and paraphrase what they understand to be his teachings. They associate him with "laws founded on the base of public weal" (Murphy 6), invoke his name to plead for mercy in the face of barbarity (Murphy 48), and assert his authority to insist that "the spirit of the laws can never die" (Murphy 66). The echo of Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* (1748) suggests that Murphy, following Voltaire, freely adapts and even reinvents Confucianism to harmonize with the questioning attitudes of the contemporary European Enlightenment.

One of those questions concerned the fundamental organizing principle of human societies, dominant biological kinship, which yielded ground during the eighteenth century to the elective affinities that Goethe called "kinship of choice" (*Die Wahlverwandtschaften*). As tribes and dynasties became communities and then nations, representatives by right of election challenged the primacy of kings by right of birth. As patriarchy waned along with bride price and dower, companionate marriages, which principally united couples rather than families, increased at the expense of arranged ones. As traditional extended family ties weakened and urban factory labor supplanted rural cottage industry for large portions of the working classes, the number of imperiled children—neglected, exploited, or discarded—multiplied. The rational brutality of the Modest Proposer's solution reverberates ominously in Thomas Malthus's analysis of the scope of the problem in his *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798). With Greece and Rome out of the picture, however, where to look for guiding precedents that might point toward more tolerable outcomes?

The Caucasian Chalk Circle also begins with an allusion to the ancient wisdom of China, but with more energic ironies than those of the eighteenth-century tragedy. When asked what play the Georgian farming collective's resident theatre troupe will put on, the Singer in Brecht's framing prologue answers, "A very old one. It is called *The Chalk Circle* and comes from the Chinese." He then touts the currency of the twentieth-century update: "We hope that you will find that the old poet's voice still rings true, even in the shadow of the Soviet tractors. It may be wrong to mix different wines, but old and new wisdom make an excellent mixture."[1] Both Murphy and Brecht thus seek to extract from their source plays more than just engaging stories, although they help themselves to those as well. Each adaptation probes its original to elucidate an increasingly urgent ethical dilemma: the necessity and yet

1 Bertolt Brecht, *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*. *Collected Plays* Vol. 7, edited by Ralph Mannheim and John Willett, New York: Random House, 1974, 144. Subsequent references to *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* are from this edition and given parenthetically unless otherwise noted.

scarcity of intentional acts of sacrificial altruism on behalf of social unification.

Neither the royal title character of *The Orphan of China* nor the "Noble Child" of *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* is born poor. But both find themselves dispossessed and vulnerable in a perilous world. Both ultimately owe their lives to figures of great rarity in human affairs: truly self-sacrificing benefactors who act not on the basis of blood kinship but rather on that of an implicit social contract. Confronting the Hobbesian war of all with all at its ultimate ethical vanishing point, *A Modest Proposal* devastates the idea of the social contract even as it makes a final appeal to those who still might hold out hope for the possibility of one. The plight of both Murphy's and Brecht's Chinese orphans reanimate the disturbing issues surfaced by Swift's most mordant satire, except that the murderous proposition in the two plays threatens only one symbolic character. In both plays a noble child is orphaned by a coup d'etat. To escape death at the hands of a merciless new regime, he must be hidden and protected. But an insidious question quickly arises in the hardened hearts of the adults who comprise the society around him: What good is he to anyone now?

In Murphy's *The Orphan of China*, two self-sacrificing parents, the "mandarin" Zamti (played at the opening by David Garrick) and his wife Mandane (Mary Ann Yates), secretly adopt the orphaned royal infant, whose true name is Zaphimri, in order to conceal him from the invading Tartars, whose ferocious leader, Timarkan, brooks no sovereign rivals. Zamti and Mandane solemnly vow to pass Zaphimri off as their own child under the name of Etan. Completing the deception, they send their own infant son off to Korea to be raised in secret under the name of Hamet. Twenty years pass, and both boys grow into exemplary young men unaware of their real identities. When Hamet returns in the midst of the all-out Tartar reign of terror, he is mistaken for the royal Zaphimri. This misidentification puts at risk either his life or that of his clandestinely adopted brother if the truth comes out. For one son to live, the redundant one must die. But which one is which? The public-spirited Zamti persuades Mandane to renew their vow to protect Zaphimri's secret at any cost, even if it means their natural child's death. In a ritually formalized duet, they kneel piously to pledge their fidelity to the sacrificial pact (Murphy 7-8). But as the violent tyranny closes in around them, neither father nor mother can easily keep such a terrible vow. After several protracted scenes of tormented indecision, Zamti concludes that he must sacrifice his own child to preserve the life of the royal heir, and so he urges his wife:

> Then make with me one glorious effort,
> And rank with those, who, from the first of time,

In fame's eternal archives stand rever'd,
For conqu'ring all the dearest ties of nature,
To serve the gen'ral weal. (Murphy 33)

The father thereby abjures blood kinship and affirms the social contract that obligates the parties to sacrifice individual interests to the common good. As both birth mother and adoptive mother, however, Murphy's Mandane cannot be reconciled, and despite her vow she finds herself in the center of her own chalk circle, metaphorically speaking, pulled from both directions, unable to let go left or right, tearing her heart asunder. Rather than sacrifice either child, she takes her own life. Subjected to torture, Zamti dies slowly of his wounds without disclosing the secret. Then Timarkan, his latent humanity touched by the nobility the parents' sacrifice, lets both Chinese orphans live, enforcing by fiat a revolutionary version of the social contract as the final curtain falls. Reducing plausibility and risking unintended irony, Murphy stops short of full poetic justice in the wake of these sacrifices, but he offers instead a certain measure of poetic hope.

The dilemma in Brecht's *Caucasian Chalk Circle* is similarly excruciating. The Noble Child has been abandoned in the panic during a palace coup. The self-sacrificing Grusha, a kitchen maid, ill-advisedly takes pity on him, and at great risk to herself, she saves his life by passing him off as her own baby. After Grusha has given up every chance of her own happiness to raise the infant in safety, however, the birth mother returns to claim him. Such a fable has roots as deep as story-

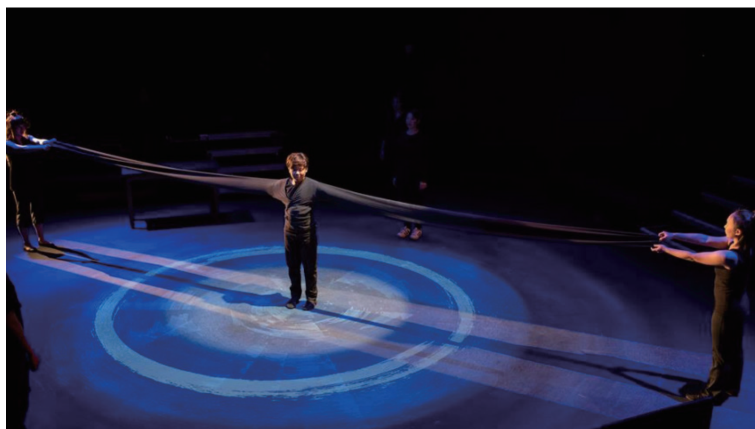

Figure 1 *The Chalk Cycle*, an adaptation of Li Qianfu's *The Chalk Circle*, Bertolt Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, and the protracted Sino-American custody battle over Anna May He (1999-2015), presented by the Music and Theater Arts Department, MIT, devised and directed by Claire Conceison (2018) Photo: Claire Conceison

telling itself: two women quarrel over their maternal rights to a child; deadlocked, they put their dispute before a wise judge; the judge devises a clever test—put the child under some threat of harm, as Solomon did with his raised sword, and the true mother, presumably the birth mother, will reveal herself (1 Kings 3: 16-18)—or so the story goes. Li Qianfu stages the Chinese version of the tale as *The Chalk Circle*. Told that the one who pulls the child out from inside a chalk circle will win possession, the birth mother proves herself to be the true one by letting go of the child—love's wishbone—while her spurious rival keeps yanking on the boy's arm. Brecht's version, however, makes a profound change to the plot of both the Biblical and Chinese originals: the *adoptive* mother lets go first.

Underlying both Mandane's and Grusha's dilemma is the push and pull of natural versus adoptive parenthood, highlighted by a growing sense that there is a self-evident obligation mandating collective solutions for the problem of the unprovided young. While no actual contract dared stipulate the impossible terms offered by Swift's Modest Proposer, others ranged from bleakly utilitarian to benignly philanthropic. The highly visible project of London's Foundling Hospital, for instance, founded in 1739 by Thomas Coram and dedicated to raising and educating deserted children, embraced both utility and philanthropy. The foundling girls it saved prepared for domestic service while the boys trained for the navy or merchant marine. In "Coram's Fields," the figure of orphan, redeemed and made useful to society, thus emerged as a moral touchstone. Order, it was sincerely hoped and charitably expressed, might spring from intolerable confusion. But there were always more foundlings than places, and admission discreetely favored the babies of unwed mothers from good families who could donate generously in recompense for the service.

At the same time and not coincidently, a growing number of authors made ambitiously productive use of orphans in literary representations of social life: Defoe's Moll Flanders is a fostered infant; Fielding's Tom Jones, "a Foundling;" Haywood's Betsy Thoughtless, orphaned; Burney's Evelina, unacknowledged; Austen's Jane Fairfax, bereft of both mother and father; ditto the whole chorus of orphans protected by Walpole's Countess of Narbonne, the mysterious mother whose intentional incest with her son adds an extra frisson to the utmost extremity of dramatized kinship relations unrivaled even by Sophocles (Nixon 23-26). "To have lost one parent may be considered a misfortune," Wilde's Lady Bracknell scolds the foundling hero of *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1895), which reprises the Oedipus plot of self-discovery while making a joke of the kind of artfully articulated insensibility epitomized by the Modest Proposer, "to have lost both looks like carelessness" (Wilde 70). Despite her Ladyship's disapprobation,

however, more generous sentiments historically prevailed in eighteenth-century drama if not in life. In the paradigmatic "she-tragedy," *The Orphan* (1680), for instance, Otway's Monimia, despite her undeniable carelessness, extracted sympathetic tears from audiences for more than century.

In popular culture, those tears became a river. Another eminent Anglo-Irishman, Oliver Goldsmith, is credited as the likely author of the enduringly popular *History of Little Goody Two Shoes* (1765). This masterpiece of children's literature adumbrated a story type worthy of Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* (1928): facing the cruel world apparently alone, the parentless child struggles bravely and eventually finds happiness. But the orphan child is not entirely alone. Success often depends on timely interventions by benign agents such as Fairy Godmothers acting *in loco parentis*. Let the Fairy Godparent, therefore, stand in hypothetically for the wished-for efficacy of the social contract. And in the spirit of Propp, let the gates of literary judgment swing wide to admit more of the kind of stories that most people want to read or hear told repeatedly. Heathcliff and Jane Eyre are both orphans, as are Quasimodo, Cosette, and Topsy, along with an apparently unending parade of waifs in Dickens, led off by David Copperfield, Oliver Twist, Pip, and Estella. While not for a moment forgetting George Eliot's Dorothea Brooke, let it be recalled that Tom Sawyer, Huck Finn, Anne of Green Gables, Mowgli, Peter Pan, and Heidi are orphans, but no more so than Harry Potter, Frodo Baggins, and Dorothy in *The Wizard of Oz*. Among

Little Goody Two-Shoe

THE
HISTOR[illegible]
OF
Little GOODY TWO-SHOES;
Otherwiſe called,
Mrs. MARGERY TWO-SHOES.
WITH
The Means by which ſhe acquired her Learning and Wiſdom, and in conſe-quence thereof her Eſtate; ſet forth at large for the Benefit of thoſe,

Who from a State of Rags and Care,
And having Shoes but half a Pair;
Their Fortune and their Fame would fix,
And gallop in a Coach and Six.

See the Original Manuſcript in the *Vatican* at *Rome*, and the Cuts by *Michael Angelo*. Illuſtrated with the Comments of our great modern Critics.

LONDON:
Printed for J. NEWBERY, at the *Bible* and *Sun* in St. *Paul's Church-yard*, 1765.
[Price *Six-Pence*.]

Figure 2 *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes*

folkloric protagonists, the parentally bereft include Snow White, Rapunzel, and (for all practical purposes) Cinderella. Among comic-book characters and action heroes, Superman, Captain America, Spiderman, Batman and Robin remain as out of touch with their birth parents as Little Orphan Annie. And let the poignant truth be disclosed to everyone as adulthood approaches, Santa Claus is just another name for the orphaned St. Nicholas. Almost all these imaginary orphans in one way or the other make good. Such wish-fulfilling outcomes, which in each case follows many trials and tribulations, salve a modern anxiety of conscience that makes the sharp edge of Swift's *A Modest Proposal* cut to the bone and into the marrow.

Western antiquity has no comparable assembly of parentless children in myth or literature. Even in the sanguinary *Iliad*, for instance, Homer features bereaved parents while ignoring what must have been a multitude of orphans, except perhaps, in a highly technical sense, Athena. The *zaju* orphans of Yuan China, however, spring up not fully armed but desperately imperiled. Whitehead rightly foregrounds Murphy's priority in bringing them to Britain along with the outline of a practical philosophy for preserving their lives. The playwright dramatizes that philosophy by repeatedly staging voluntary offers of vicarious sacrifice. Zamti and Mandane promise to surrender their own child if necessary to "humanize the world" (Murphy 15). Quoting Confucius, Hamet, believing at that point that he is Zamphiri, volunteers to die for his people (Murphy 27-29). Later, Zamphiri (formerly Etan) gives himself up to Timarkan to save Hamet (Murphy 70). The vicarious sacrifice of Zamti and Mandane gives *The Orphan of China* its tragic ending, and it also gave Garrick the opportunity to indulge in one of his specialties, a tear-jerking dying scene surpassed in protracted detail only by the one he wrote to insert into his performance as Macbeth, which choreographer Jean-Georges Noverre needed two printed pages to notate in *Lettres sur la danse, et les ballets* (1760) (Noverre 84-85).

Such effusions of eighteenth-century sentimentalism might seem worlds apart from the hard-bitten skepticism of Bertolt Brecht, whose Swiftian art of excoriation spat out envenomed parables of systemic corruption. Modernist priorities of style and topical reference certainly do differ after two-hundred years: "Petroleum," Brecht famously said, "resists the five-act form" (Brecht, "On Form and Subject Matter" 30). The cost-benefit dramatization of the social contract in *The Orphan of China*, however different generically and tonally, is not a world apart ethically. On the contrary, like the Enlightenment itself, Brecht's Marxist theatre pierced the darkness of his satirical misanthropy with an occasional beam of light from his meliorist hopes for progress as the historically inevitable outcome of class struggle. Brecht's Enlightenment descended from the original eighteenth-century one in

an even more explicit way. The plays of Diderot, Lessing, Gay, and Farquhar, which he admired as examples of "bourgeois revolutionary aesthetics," proved to his satisfaction that there was no necessary conflict between "entertainment and instruction" (Brecht, "On Experimental Theatre" 131). They confirmed that the popular theatre could serve class interests in the cause of revolutionary change. Translated in collaboration with Brecht by Elisabeth Hauptmann and supplied with a new score by Kurt Weill, John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* of 1728 became *The Threepenny Opera* (*Die Dreigroschenoper*) of 1928 and then the *Threepenny Novel* (*Dreigroschenroman*) in 1934, which repurposes the character of highwayman-gangster Macheath into a real-estate tycoon and investment banker. Moreover, Brecht adapted George Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer* of 1706 as *Drums and Trumpets* (*Pauken und Trompeten*) for the Berliner Ensemble in 1955. He specifically names Diderot and Lessing as his progenitors in "On Experimental Theatre," his generative lecture on the Epic Theatre delivered in Stockholm in 1939, and elsewhere he proposed the founding of an international "Diderot Society," dedicated to the experimental advancement of knowledge about the theatre and modeled on scientific bodies such as those that share research in physics and chemistry (Parker 353). Lessing's enlightened *Nathan the Wise* (1779), with its parable of the disputed magic ring and the true paternity of the righteous, may have been Brecht's supplementary source for *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* (White 149).

The prime connection between Murphy and Brecht, however, resides in their similar dramatizations of the social contract and its cost to the altruists who suffer in its performance. As with Murphy's self-sacrificing Zamti and Mandane, Brecht's agent of uplift in *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* is the fairy-godparent-like Grusha, whose only magical power is selflessness. When she happens on the son and heir of the Governor of the province of Gruzinia by chance, he has just been effectively orphaned by the assassination of his father and desertion by his mother, his nurse, his physicians, and all the other servants and guards amidst the chaos of a palace coup. Now he lies unprotected and uncared for on the ground. The cynical Cook, before she flees in the general panic, gives Grusha some practical if hard-hearted advice (as Brecht's cooks tend to do): "They'll be hunting him more than his mother. He's the governor's heir. Grusha, you're a good soul, but you are not very bright. Take it from me, if he had leprosy it couldn't be worse. Just save your skin." But Grusha can't quite bring herself to abandon the sleeping infant to its fate and flee along with everyone else. "He hasn't got leprosy," she says with guileless obstinacy. "He's looking at me. He's somebody" (Brecht 158). Understandably fearful and conflicted, Grusha starts to go, but then, unable to resist the terrible

temptation, she returns with a piece of cloth to wrap the child against the cold. She tries again to leave, but imagining the child crying for hunger when he wakes, she goes back in the still-smoldering palace and returns in the gathering twilight with a lamp and some milk. As she settles in for the night to watch over the child until morning, the Singer, the onstage narrator of *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, exclaims "*in a loud voice*" the line that gives Brecht the thesis for his play, "Schrecklich ist die Verfürung zur Güte," or "Terrible is the temptation to do good!" (160 / *Der kaukasiche Kreiderreis* 116)

Following the aphoristic German sentence word for word, literal translators offer "Terrible is the temptation to goodness." Others turn a happier prepositional phrase with "Terrible is the temptation of goodness." Fredric Jameson changes one word for emphasis: "*Hideous* is the temptation of goodness" (Jameson 173). Ralph Mannheim, in the standard English edition, which is also followed by most acting versions, renders it, "Terrible is the temptation to do good" (Brecht 160). The adjective *Schrecklich*, whether translated as "terrible" or "hideous," reminds alert historians of the noun *Schrecklichkeit*, "terribleness." On the lighter side, falling somewhere, phonologically speaking, between "shriek" and "dreck," the word gives to popular culture the name "Shrek," the cranky green ogre from the animated film by DreamWorks and the Broadway musical. But dropping the name of DreamWorks in the middle of a nightmare is no joke. *Schrecklichkeit* explicitly refers to the announced policy of the German high command at the outset of World War I to terrorize the civilian population as the invading army advanced through Belgium. Executioners shot thousands of hostages, including adolescent children, to discourage resistance before it could get started, and officially sanctioned vandals burned libraries for no apparent reason whatsoever except to say to all the world: "We will stop at nothing, and we are capable of anything."

What kind of world was that? In a tangible way it is the estranged world of scenes 2 through 6 of Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, in which those tempted by goodness, like the Han Chinese protagonists of *The Orphan of China*, face terrible consequences. Just imagine, long ago and faraway—"in feudal Georgia before the invention of firearms" (55), as John Willett describes it—there is an awful place in which those who will stop at nothing seem to be capable of anything. Greedy oligarchs who have almost all the wealth already gain public office to get the rest. Military police in body armor terrorize refugees seeking sanctuary and separate them from their children. Youngsters march to their death following incompetent orders from generals who got their commands by paying the largest bribes, while corrupt judges convict rape victims of assaulting their rapists. What a strange world that was.

The experimental drama of the Enlightenment, for which Voltaire and Murphy pioneered intercultural translation of Asian plays, like Brecht's Epic theatre in more recent times, discovered large tectonic plates of social value, moving ubiquitously yet invisibly under the feet of contemporary Westerners. Both then and now, these playwrights brought such movements to the surface more effectively (because more surprisingly) by deploying the distancing effects of "the Oriental tale" and its episodic intensification. Estrangement (or "de-familiarization") is the enemy of habit or of habitual ways of seeing the world; it interrupts routines by insisting on the strangeness of familiar things and then demanding an explanation of their newly discovered unfamiliarity. Brecht's overarching theoretical tenet, the *Verfremdungseffekt*, most frequently translated as "Alienation effect," is better rendered as "estrangement," "defamiliarization," or "dis-illusion." In any case, the *Verfremdungseffekt*, according to Brecht,

> consists of turning the object of which one is to be made aware, to which one's attention is drawn, from something ordinary, familiar, immediately accessible, into something striking, and unexpected. What is obvious is in a certain sense made incomprehensible, but this is only in order that it may then be made all the easier to comprehend. Before familiarity can turn into awareness, the familiar must be stripped of its inconspicuousness; we must give up assuming that the object in question needs no explanation. ("Short Description of the New Technique in Acting which Produces an Alienation Effect" 143-144)

That Brecht's formulation owes a heavy debt to Enlightenment dramaturgy is the argument of Joel Schechter's *Eighteenth-Century Brechtians: Theatrical Satire in the Age of Walpole* (2016). Schechter points to the raucous, formally innovative political theatre of Henry Fielding and the satires of Swift as especially proto-Brechtian, speaking truth to power by ridiculing its corruptions and daring it to confront its contradictions (Schechter 75-113). Professor Rawson's *Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal under Stress* (1972) preempted *Eighteenth-Century Brechtians* by tracing the criminal antiheroes of the *Threepenny Novel* and *The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui* (*Der Aufhaltsame Aufsteig des Arturo Ui* 1941) back to Fielding's *The Life and Death of the Late Jonathan Wild, the Great* (1743). Fielding's satire lives in Brecht's thesis that a great man is a national calamity.[1] What Schechter does not

1 See Claude Rawson, *Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal Under Stress*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972, 171-227. See also Rawson's preface to Fielding's *Jonathan Wild*, edited by Hugh Amory et al., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, xxiv-xxvi.

develop is the way in which the eighteenth-century European repertoire favored the distancing effects of geographically novel locales, especially Asian ones, to point the moral of its productions by estranging the settings.

Figure 3 Tilly Kettle, Mary Ann Yates as Mandane in Arthur Murphy's *The Orphan of China* (1765), Tate Gallery

Mrs. Yates began the Epilogue to *The Orphan of China* with a compliment-inviting faux apology: "Ladies, excuse my dress—'tis true Chinese." She played Mandane fabulously enrobed and bejeweled in svelte black silk, doffing the panniers and towering headdress of conventional tragic costume, re-drawing the shape of the fashionable female silhouette of the period. As captured by portraitist Tilly Kettle, she makes her character strange by evoking the faraway as well as the long ago. In his frequently cited essay "Alienation Effects in Chinese Acting," Brecht begins with a note on the effectiveness of heavily stylized costuming and masks in service of estrangement ("Alienation Effects in Chinese Acing" 91). In the unfamiliarity of her garb, Mrs. Yates as Mandane acts a role that is—on critical reflection—very familiar indeed: a self-sacrificing woman on whom society imposes an impossible choice. Tempted by goodness, she will have to choose which child, her natural son or her adoptive one, to let go of in order to save it—a chalk circle inside a chalk circle.

For Brecht, emotion leading to more emotion doesn't get an author or an audience anywhere. Emotion leading to an idea, however, might point the way

forward by predicating action on critical understanding. When Grusha has no more money to buy milk, she offers the starving child her dry breast, the only thing that she has to give, which is not nothing. Her sacrifice has already meant giving up Simon, her betrothed, to marry an elderly man who pretends to be near death but who in the event deceives and then enslaves her. In Scene 4, "In the Northern Mountains," Simon returns from the wars to find Grusha minding the adoptive child and married to the old man. The two lovers stand on opposite sides of a brook. There is sparse dialogue, but the Singer supplies their unspoken thoughts. "So many words are left unsaid," the Singer explains (Brecht 193). After a long silence accompanied by music in which Grusha's thoughts are sung but not spoken by her, Simon turns to leave. Grusha blurts out that the child is not hers. He turns back. At that moment, however, the military police suddenly show up in search of the Noble Child. The only way Grusha can save him now is to claim him, falsely, as hers. The soldiers demand, "Is this your child?" True to the unwritten social contract that binds her to her obligations in spite of her desires, Grusha replies, conscientiously, "Yes." Simon leaves immediately. Unconvinced, the soldiers seize the child anyway. Terrible is the temptation to do good.

In the end, however, another fairy-godparent arrives in the nick of time as deus ex machina. He is none other than the corrupt but entertainingly unpredictable judge Azdak, whose magical power consists of unembarrassed malfeasance. Azdak ultimately sets all to right when he sees through the crocodile tears of the mercenary birth mother, who has returned only when the coast is clear to reclaim her child for his inheritance. After putting the claimants to the trial of the chalk circle, he awards the toddler to Grusha, who has lovingly cared for it for so long under terrible duress. He then divorces her from her egregious husband so that she can marry Simon after all, proving Brecht's point that the advantage of a corrupt judiciary is that the innocent can get off at least sometime. Illusory solutions to real problems have the additional virtue, known to both Brecht and Murphy, that they can excite aspirations toward justice that might prove more than poetic, if only more people would be willing to sacrifice a little something so that a few don't have to risk everything. Brecht, like Swift, knows how unlikely that is as long as people behave as they usually do, presupposing what the extraordinary Professor Rawson, in his elucidation of Swift's angers, calls "the universal solidarity of the wicked" (79). But even in the face of all that, the Epic dramatist, who restaged the parable of the adoptive mother who lets go first, was immodest enough to propose the potential benefits of at least one good example. On such slender threads of hope as that, the life of the social contract, like those of the endangered Chinese orphans dramatized

by Murphy and Brecht, depends.

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Books as Self-Representation: A Comparison of Pope and Swift

James McLaverty

Abstract: This bibliographically informed comparison of Pope's and Swift's representation of themselves through their books draws on Claude Rawson's investigation of Swift's epitaph. Rawson compares the epitaph with Swift's other self-representations and those of Yeats and Pope, valuing Swift's rejection of the lofty style. The analysis of the books in this essay draws on Rawson's evaluations. Pope designs his books directly. His first volume of *Works* (1717) in large formats, quarto and folio, declares him a classic at the age of twenty-nine. The engravings make him both a young gentleman and a son of Apollo. His second volume (1735) presents him as the friend of virtuous aristocrats. He reprints his works in octavo, as though they are Latin classics, but only after they have appeared as imposing volumes. Swift was also a consummate professional in his understanding of print, but always maintained his distance from production. His publications had to be seen to be done to him, rather than for him. He disowned his *Miscellanies* (1711), although he had been prepared to direct its contents, but this collection, an octavo, is an impressive book, generous in its use of space and honouring its author. The same is true of *Gulliver's Travels*. In the 1730s Swift collaborated with George Faulkner on four volumes of *Works*, always expressing his reluctance and disapproval. Their engravings display their author much more heroically than do any of Pope's, even though Faulkner's octavo format falls short of the pomp of Pope's *Works*.
Keywords: Alexander Pope; Jonathan Swift; miscellanies; works; engravings
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In his wide-ranging and penetrative essay "Savage indignation revisited: Swift, Yeats, and the 'cry' of liberty," Claude Rawson's starting point is Swift's will and his directions for the tablet that was to be placed in his memory in St Patrick's

Cathedral, Dublin.

> *Hic* depositum est Corpus
> IONATHAN SWIFT S.T.D.
> Hujus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis
> Decani.
> *Ubi* sæva Indignatio
> Ulterius
> Cor lacerare nequit.
> Abi Viator
> Et imitare, si poteris,
> Strenuum pro virili
> Libertatis Vindicatorem.
> Obiit 19° Die Mensis Octobris
> A.D. 1745. Anno Ætatis 78°.

"Here is laid the body of Jonathan Swift, S.T.D., Dean of this cathedral, where savage indignation can no longer lacerate his heart. Go, traveller, and imitate, if you can, this strong defender, to the utmost of his powers, of liberty. He died on the 19th day of October, at the age of 78" (Rawson 185). Rawson's essay reflects on the words of the tablet, assesses Yeats's version of it ("Swift's Epitaph"), compares Yeats's own epitaph at Drumcliff, and contrasts the anonymous speaker's account of Swift in his "Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift" with the verdict of the tablet. Rawson is concerned throughout with the quality of these self-judgements and self-presentations, emphasising Swift's consistent rejection of the lofty style (favoured by both Yeats and Pope) and his general avoidance of any stain of self-inflation or self-exaltation. My focus in this essay is with an off-shoot of these concerns: the nature of Swift's books, compared with Pope's, as a form of self-representation or monument.

In a telling section of his essay that takes us to books, Rawson contrasts Swift's instruction that a black marble tablet be fixed to the wall of the cathedral, "the following Inscription in large Letters, deeply cut, and strongly gilded," with Yeats's lines in "Under Ben Bulben":

> No marble, no conventional phrase;
> On limestone quarried near the spot
> By his command these words are cut:

Cast a cold eye
On life, on death.
Horseman, pass by! (*Poems* 451-452)

Rawson notes that Yeats's lines, though aimed at local limestone, here appear in a published poem; they find additional life and longevity in a book. In doing so, Rawson points out, they insert "considerable pomp onto the process of renouncing pomp" (188). The words recording a poet's verdict on him- or herself may appear on a wall-tablet, or a gravestone, or a tomb, but they may also appear, without necessarily being an epitaph, in or as a poem: Swift's "The Author upon Himself," *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, and Pope's *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* are examples, though they may also engage strongly with contemporary issues. As an extension of that, a whole book may sometimes serve as an act of self-definition. Any collection or selection of works, especially if it is chronologically ordered, is likely to have that function, but so might the author's masterpiece or autobiographical reflection. The material nature of the book, its layout, type, paper, illustration, and binding, might enhance or diminish the claims being made for the author. In Pope and Swift's case, the publisher and printer will have a significant role in designing the book, but the contribution of the authors may still be remarkable. In Pope's case, it is immediate; in Swift's, nearly always at a skilful remove. In comparing the books of these close contemporaries and friends, I have drawn on two recent rich and rewarding studies: Dustin Griffin's *Swift and Pope: Satirists in Dialogue* and Valerie Rumbold's *Swift in Print: Published Texts in Dublin and London, 1691-1765.* As Rawson notes, Pope in his writing often embraces the grandiloquence and heroic self-presentation that Swift eschews, and, at least in outline, that is true of their books. Pope loved to design his books, conscious of representing himself through them, whereas Swift was inclined to set off the process of publication and leave it to take its course. But I am drawn to Rawson's important observation on Swift and masks: "Gulliver and the Tale-Teller and Proposer are variously not Swift […] But it is even more important to understand that they also *not* not Swift" (195-196). Less profoundly, Swift's books are *not* not Swift either; his influence is powerful, even though physically he may be absent, while Pope's books, for all his fussing, may sometimes slip away from him and become to some degree not Pope.

For Pope, to inscribe a poem, once it was finished, was to honour it and, by implication, its author. The first full autograph manuscript we have, the booklet of the *Pastorals* (1704), is a good example: a fine italic hand, with roman for contrast;

neat rules and elegant dropheads; running heads and catchwords; and footnotes.[1] This manuscript lacks the permanence of Swift's black marble tablet, but it similarly creates a particular object that honours the artist; in this case it was to be passed round a group of distinguished admirers. In 1716 in a parallel case, Pope made an elaborate manuscript booklet of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Court Eclogs*.[2] In a letter to her he declares its purpose, comparing his activity with the Countess of Tripoly's obsequies for the Provencal poet Jeffrey Rudel: "She made him a Splendid funeral, built him a Tomb of Porphyry, put his Epitaph upon it in Arabic verse, had his Sonnets curiously copied out and illumind with letters of gold, was taken with Melancholy, and turned Nun." Some of the terms pre-echo Swift's instructions for his monument, and Pope claims he has taken similar steps already:

> The letters of Gold, and the curious Illumining of the Sonnets, was not a greater token of respect than what I have paid to your Eclogues: They lie inclosd in a Monument of Red Turkey, written in my fairest hand; the gilded Leaves are opend with no less veneration than the Pages of the Sybils; like them, lockd up & conceald from prophane eyes: None but my own have beheld these sacred Remains of yourself, and I should think it as great a wickedness to divulge them, as to Scatter abroad the Ashes of my Ancestors. (*Correspondence* 1: 441)

The comic hyperbole of this account should not disguise Pope's motive, which was to honour Montagu and in doing so create a symbol of his admiration for her.

Creating a poem in print was not so very different for Pope from creating a beautiful manuscript, though it involved collaboration with members of the book trade. In his early years he worked with the booksellers Jacob Tonson and Bernard Lintot, and with the printers John Watts and William Bowyer (Foxon 38-46), using the designs they had established. Because paper was expensive, octavos (sheets of paper folded three times to give eight leaves) were cheaper to produce than quartos (sheets folded twice to give four leaves) and folios (sheets folded once to give two leaves), and offered less dignity to the works they contained. In London in Pope's early period, single poems by distinguished authors were often marketed as folios, although the quarto format was thought more appropriate for poetical essays like *An*

1 See Alexander Pope, *The Last and Greatest Art: Some Unpublished Poetical Manuscripts of Alexander Pope*, transcribed and edited by Maynard Mack, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984, 24-60.

2 It is now in the New York Public Library.

Essay on Criticism (1711) or *An Essay on Man* (1733-1734). Pope's *Windsor-Forest* (1713), for example, although it is only 434 lines long, took up 20 pages and came as a very tall folio pamphlet, 350×222 (all measurements in approx. mm.) at the price of one shilling (*Post Boy*, March 7, 1713). If a purchaser collected and bound together these folio poems, as Pope's friend the Earl of Oxford did, they made an impressive large book.

Pope's role in the typography of these poems is clear from his manuscripts. He planned the space on the printed page; he designed the dropheads in imitation type; he indicated where new sections began; and he was meticulous in indicating capitals and italics, a pioneer in abandoning uniform capitals for nouns (Foxon 162-174). But in the autumn of 1713—he was only twenty-five—he started to plan an even more impressive book, a collection in print. He already sensed that there were two aspects to becoming an author of classic status. The first was to achieve dignity with your contemporaries. The second was to ensure you went on being reprinted. A volume of works, if it was well done, would help satisfy both requirements. On October 5, 1713, Jacob Tonson, Jr., who had just paid for some of Pope's poems to be included in his *Poetical Miscellanies,* signed an agreement with Pope saying that Pope could include these poems in a collection, provided that he allowed Tonson a proportion of the books.[1] The agreement makes Pope, rather than the bookseller, the prime mover in any such collection, and when the *Works* appeared in 1717 (with Tonson getting a quarter of the books), it is clear from a message to the printer John Watts that Pope had taken charge, even of the details:

> I desire, for fear of mistakes, that you will cause the space for the initial letter to the Dedication to the Rape of the Lock to be made of the size of those in Trapp's Prælectiones. Only a small ornament at the top of that leaf, not so large as four lines breadth. The rest as I told you before. (*Correspondence* 1: 394)

Watts was evidently working to a design laid down by Pope.

The detailed instructions over typography supported a general plan for the *Works* to symbolize Pope's achievement of classic status. From at least as early as autumn 1713, he had been translating Homer's *Iliad*, which had been published highly successfully in large formats. The decision was made for the *Works* to parallel the *Iliad* translation. It was published on the same day, June 3, 1717, as volume 3 of the *Iliad*, and it was styled as though it was part of the same series.

1 See Jonathan Swift, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D* 5 vols, edited by David Woolley et al, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999-2014, 1: 191-192.

These were large books, with quartos to match the *Iliad* subscribers' copies, large folios for rich trade customers, and small folios for ordinary sale. Even the small folios were not really small: my copy measures 290×180 mms. The large volumes cost a guinea each, unbound; the small folios 12 shillings.[1] Lintot provided Pope with 120 copies of the quartos on fine paper, which were doubtless given to friends and influential figures.

Perhaps the most important element of self-presentation in this luxury book, after its size, was its frontispiece: a very large (370×265 mms), portrait of Alexander Pope as a young gentleman, bewigged but with an open shirt, modelled on portraits of Boileau in his *Works*.[2] The engraving by George Vertue, based on the portrait by Charles Jervas now in the Bodleian Library, had originally been sold as a poster for the translator of Homer (*Daily Courant*, August 20, 1715) and now had to be folded twice in order to fit into the book. The same arrangement had to be made with the engraving of the portrait of Boileau by Hyacinthe Rigaud in the Geneva *Works* of 1716, of which Pope's copy is now at Mapledurham House.[3] The portrait came with the small folios as well as with the larger books. The frontispiece of Boileau in the 1716 Geneva edition has an added verse to which Pope's volume offered a reply:

> Boileau sut remplacer Horace,
> Seul il sut remplacer et Perse et Juvenal;
> Mais de cet auteur sans égal
> Qui remplira jamais la place?

Pope, the frontispiece implied, was not only the successor of Horace, Persius, and Boileau, but also of Homer, whose head had occupied a similar place in the first volume of the *Iliad* translation. Apollo, the god of poetry, his face in glory, his lyre, and the trumpets of fame, symbolically pervade the decorative engravings of the volume. Most strikingly Apollo and the Muses are represented in the headpiece used for both the *Ode for Musick* and Pope's Preface. The British Museum has a print (1895, 1031.186) with a similar grouping of Apollo and the Muses and a portrait of Boileau being presented to them. That particular print is too late to have influenced Pope or his engraver, Simon Gribelin, but the idea is the same: Pope, a son of

1 See David Foxon, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, 56.

2 See William Kurtz Wimsatt, *The Portraits of Alexander Pope*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965, 7-26.

3 See Maynard Mack, *Collected in Himself: Essays Critical, Biographical, and Bibliographical on Pope and Some of His Contemporaries*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1982, 399.

Apollo, belongs in the company of Apollo and the Muses.

The *Works* proclaim Pope's fame. Even the Contents seems organized to make the point, with the major poems leading to the *Temple of Fame*, while, after the Preface, a group of introductory poems by admirers praise Pope and celebrate his success. But the Preface, rather charmingly, strikes a different note. Pope's stance there is of an author nervously submitting his work to the public: "I publish'd because I was told I might please such as it was a credit to please. To what degree I have done this, I am really ignorant" (*Twickenham* 1: 6). He worries that he might be condemned for aspiring to fame: "a good Poet no sooner communicates his works with the same desire of information, but it is imagin'd he is a vain young creature given up to the ambition of fame; when perhaps the poor man is all the while trembling with the fear of being ridiculous" (1: 5). He sums up his perplexity in a paragraph that might turn the reader's thoughts back to Swift's Will: "In this office of collecting my pieces, I am altogether uncertain, whether to look upon myself as a man building a monument, or burying the dead?" (1: 9) The stakes, then, are high. Although Pope begins the Preface almost dismissively—"I am inclined to think that both the writers of books, and the readers of them, are generally not a little unreasonable in their expectations"—we are concerned with whether the author has "a Genius," whether his poems, imitating the ancients, will have the "highest character for sense and learning," and whether he has the good sense necessary for the good writer and the good man (1: 3, 4, 7, 9). However, in his conclusion, Pope suggests the verdict is really not in doubt. If the volume fails, he boasts, it will show "it avails nothing to have been encourag'd by the great, commended by the eminent, and favour'd by the publick in general" (1: 10). The physical volume, as imperishable as they could make it, is an expression of the favour the author enjoyed and of resistance to potential detractors. Maynard Mack calls it "a monument to vanity" (*Life* 333), a little harshly perhaps, because, although its monumentality is undeniable, it is also through its decorations cheerful and playful. The engravings are celebratory rather than pompous, with luxuriant foliage, natural scenes, and satyrs ready to burst out of its borders. This is a poet who boasts his achievement but not without hesitation and humour.

Pope's *Works* of 1717 represent a high point of self-admiration. When he came to design the second volume of his *Works* in 1735, the youthful aim of glamorous representation had faded. The same formats were used—these were still important books—but the emphasis was now on a social circle rather than on the individual. The point is clear from the pictorial representation of the author. The frontispiece portrait, though Pope would have had many portraits to choose from (Wimsatt 27-

107) is gone; its equivalent is a vignette on the title page. Two putti, representing poetry and painting, embrace above a medallion of Pope's head. One putto holds a lyre, and a sheet of text and a palette lie below the medallion. The paper is marked "W. Kent inv." (Wimsatt 125-126) and William Kent had designed this vignette for the conclusion of Pope's *Odyssey*, to celebrate the collaboration between artist and poet. Pope had used it in the printing of two of his poems, in both cases explaining its significance by adding around the edge of the medallion words from Horace's *First Satire*: "UNI ÆQUUS VIRTUTI ATQUÆ EJUS AMICIS" (line 70), imitated by Pope as "To virtue only and her friends, a friend" (*Twickenham* 4: 17, line 121).

The presence of the engraving of Pope's medallion on the tile page of Pope's *Works* in 1735, showed that, although the volume still centred on Pope, as any works must, its focus was on Pope with his friends. Pope decided that he would decorate the volume with tailpieces from the *Odyssey*, often representing mythological figures, and combine them with headpieces displaying the coats of arms of his friends. Bolingbroke, Cobham, Burlington, and Oxford were represented by their arms, and so was Pope, or at least by his father's. The *Dunciad* at the end of the volume had substitutes for the coats of arms in designs featuring asses and owls in what would otherwise have been positions of dignity. The arms of Burlington (in the large folio only) and Oxford were presented in oblong designs that would best have fitted as headpieces, but they appear at the end of their poems. That was probably because Pope wanted his father's arms, in a similar oblong design, to appear at the end of *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, providing a conclusion to a poem that was unquestionably to serve as something of an apology for the poet's life and a memorial. In his note on the lines,

> Let the *Two Curls* of Town and Court, abuse
> His Father, Mother, Body, Soul, and Muse (*Twickenham* 4: 125; lines 380-381)

he had claimed, mistakenly, that his father came from the family of the Earl of Downe, and, correctly, that his mother was of the Turnor family of York. In the *Works*, he added:

> The following Inscription was placed by their Son on their Monument, in the Parish of Twickenham, in Middlesex,
>
> D. O. M.
> ALEXANDRO POPE, VIRO INNOCUO,
> PROBO, PIO, QUI VIXIT ANNO LXXV, OB, MDCCXVII,

ET EDITHÆ CUNJUGI INCULPABILI, PIENTISSIMÆ,
QUÆ VIXIT ANNOS XCIII, OB. MDCCXXXIII.
PARENTIBUS BENEMERENTIBUS FILIUS FECIT, ET SIBI.

Pope's initial design for the monument was published in the *Gentleman's* Magazine, vol. 53, no. 1, February 1783, p. 99. The addition of the simple "ET SIBI" is a gesture of humility, subordinating himself to his family, but its publication in his *Works*, like Yeats's lines in "Under Ben Bulben," somewhat undermines that effect. The attempt to blend pomp and humility is enhanced by the engraving of his father's arms and their motto, "HEU PIETAS HEU PRISCA FIDES" (Alas for faithfulness to natural ties and duty! Alas for old faith!). The motto is a quotation from *Aeneid*, bk. VI, 878 (*Loeb* 63: 594-595) where Anchises laments the early death of Marcellus, "a youth of wondrous beauty and brilliant in his arms." The engraving unquestionably represents Pope's commitment to his family, its values, and its religion, but it also celebrates Pope as the heir to the family and its culture. Unfortunately, this engraving, and some of the others, arrived too late for some copies of the edition, one of Pope's slips. He played with other possible epitaphs[1], but this one is serious, and it is notable that Warburton retains it in his edition of Pope in 1751, even though he tinkers with much of this poem.

Having established his reputation as a classic through these illustrated large-format *Works*, Pope turned in 1735 to the question of being reprinted as a classic. In an advertisement for the new *Works* II in the *Grubstreet Journal* of April 24, 1735, he and his new collaborators, Lawton Gilliver and Robert Dodsley, launched a series of octavo works with an attack on Bernard Lintot and the miscellanies in which he had reprinted Pope's poems:

> And whereas Bernard Lintot having the property of the former Volume of Poems, would never be induced to publish them compleat, but only a part of them, to which he tack'd and impos'd on the Buyer a whole additional Volume of other Men's Poems. This present Volume will with all convenient Speed be published in Twelves at 5s. that the Buyer may have it at whatever price he prefers, and be enabled to render compleat any Sett he already has, even that imperfect one printed by Lintot. (Griffith 2: 288)

This volume and the subsequent series (nine volumes by the time of Warburton's edition) was actually in octavo, and Pope chose the octavo format for reissues of

1 See Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, 733.

his *Works* from 1735 to 1741. But he never lost the sense that fresh work should be represented by a monumental edition. The *Prose* was issued in quarto in 1737 and 1741; the *New Dunciad* came out in quarto in 1742; and the *Works* that he was planning on his deathbed was to be in quarto, with some volumes published in 1744. Even the octavos were issued like editions of classical texts: in print Pope was usually on his dignity, whereas Swift was not.

In *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift* (1739), Swift imagines a customer trying to buy some Swift after his death:

> Some Country Squire to *Lintot* goes,
> Enquires for Swift in Verse and Prose:
> Says *Lintot*, “I have heard the Name:
> “He dy’d a Year ago.” The same.
> He searcheth all his Shop in vain;
> “Sir you may find them in *Duck-lane:*
> “I sent them with a Load of Books,
> “Last *Monday* to the Pastry-cooks.
> “To fancy they could live a Year!
> “I find you’re but a Stranger here. (*Poems* 2: 562-563; lines 253-262)

Swift chooses the name of Pope’s early-career bookseller, Bernard Lintot, responsible for the 1717 *Works*, whose son was running the business in 1739. The aim is to represent the respectable London trade, and how better to do so than by naming Pope’s bookseller? But the picture he paints is quite false, because by 1739 Swift had already acquired classic status. He had been published in his own collections, and reprinting in small formats was well underway in both Dublin and London. It is true that Swift, by contrast with Pope, avoided the grandeur of large-format books throughout his career. He was, for example, scornful of the whole business of publishing poems in expensive folio, writing to Pope in March 1733: “This day I received the two Poems […] we are not obliged to you; for all your things come over quickly, and are immediately printed, in tolerable wealdable volumes, not your monstrous twelvepenny folio” (Swift, *Correspondence* 3.615). Here, as elsewhere, Swift’s practical knowledge of the book trade is striking. He prefers small-format books because they are easier to handle and because they are cheaper; he understands how the London pricing of poems works. Although he lacked Pope’s interest in inserting himself into book-trade operations, he thoroughly understood them. The *Journal to Stella* shows him dictating the final page of *A New Journey to Paris* to its printer, John Barber, and judging “it makes a two-

penny pamphlet" (277), arranging for another "two-penny pamphlet" to be written in support of the *Conduct of the Allies*, while copies of the *Conduct* itself were "sent to the great men this night" (331), and having the *Windsor Prophecy* printed in black letter before writing to the printer to try to stop printing before it was seen by the Queen (351-353). Swift knew how to mark up his own poem for publication, as the copy of "The Bubble" he sent to Charles Ford shows (*Correspondence* 2: 354 n. 2), and he gave ironic advice on mark-up to a novice in "On Poetry: A Rapsody," (*Poems* 2: 643; lines 91-100). His professionalism, though he would not have called it that, is evident in his condemnation of Richard Steele as "a Writer, who cannot furnish out so much as a Title-Page with Propriety or common Sense" (*English Political Writings* 247). In his time in London, Swift worked closely with his collaborators, John Barber for his government work, and Benjamin Tooke for his own (Bullard and McLaverty 8-10), but when he started to publish in Ireland, he opened up a distance from the book trade. In a letter to Benjamin Motte, who had become his London bookseller for *Gullliver's Travels*, he explained:

> I believe I have told you, that no Printer or Bookseller hath any sort of property here. I have writ some things that would make people angry[.] I always sent them by unknown hands, the Printer might guess, but he could not accuse me[,] he ran the whole risk, and well deserved the property, if he could carry it to London and print it there, but I am sure I could have no property at all. (*Correspondence* 3: 556)

In these cases, Swift initiated, and usually designed, publication, but took no responsibility for the outcome. He balances responsibility against property. Practically he may have been right, but legally he would have held the property in any of his work until he sold it.

That Swift's collaborations with the book trade, either directly or remotely, resulted in unusual and complex print is evident from Valerie Rumbold's innovative and perceptive study. An example from the London period is the *Elegy on Mr. Patridge* (1708), a broadside in two columns with a mourning compartment depicting death in various forms[1], and an example from the Dublin period is the first of the *Drapier's Letters* (1724), with its packed pages and "noisily emphatic" capitals (Rumbold 162-164). These are cases very like impersonation, though the *Letters* are a case where Swift himself wanted to be noisy and emphatic. They are

1 See Valerie Rumbold, *Swift in Print: Published Texts in Dublin and London, 1691-1765*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, 74-78.

both Swift and not Swift, but in this essay I want to focus on the books that might in some ways be taken to stand for Swift himself. The first of these is the *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* of 1711, a book that helped to shape the design of later Swift publications.[1] The *Miscellanies* is not such a grand book as Pope's *Works* of six years later, but it is nevertheless impressive. The Bodleian Library has a large-paper copy (8° Y 24 Jur), which is the one I shall discuss. It is not, Swift must have been relieved to find, unwieldy, but it is approximately 224 mm. high and 135 mm. wide (something like a modern royal octavo). In comparison, the octavos Pope used for publishing his works from 1735 onwards, which are not small books, measure approximately 170×105 mm; Swift's *Miscellanies* is not far from twice their size in area. It was printed by William Bowyer, the best London printer of the period. The type is pica, with only 28 or 29 lines of prose to the page (Pope's characteristically have 30), and the margins are extraordinarily generous, with 42 mm. for the outer margin, 23 mm. at the head, and 49 mm. at the foot. Most strikingly, in width the text (71 mm.) does not extend as far as the headline (83 mm.), as though the printer is leaving room for the reader to construct an individual commentary in the outer margin. Texts with marginal notes generally allow the note to bite into the text; they do not leave a wider margin. The paper is good, holding its colour after 300 years. For contemporaries, the importance of the book would not have been diminished by its title. *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* was appropriate for the collection of an author who was only forty-three at the time and far from the close of his career; the title *Works* was generally reserved for posthumous collections, Pope being an exception.[2] The title page is well designed and modern in appearance, shaped by white space rather than by rules. This is a book of the highest quality, representing an author of significant achievement, even though he remains anonymous.

Swift's correspondence with Benjamin Tooke, his bookseller, suggests a strong interest in this book, which he is trying to conceal: "If you are in such haste, how came you to forget the Miscellanies? I would not have you think of Steele for a publisher [i.e. editor]; he is too busy. I will, one of these days, send you some hints, which I would have in a preface, and you may get some friend to dress them up" (June 29, 1710, *Correspondence* I: 282). This letter shows Swift characteristically directing operations but, where possible, working through other agents. At one time Steele did intend to write the preface to the *Miscellanies*, because he wrote to Swift

1 See Valerie Rumbold, *Swift in Print: Published Texts in Dublin and London, 1691-1765*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, 126-131.

2 See James McLaverty, "'For Who So Fond as Youthful Bards of Fame?': Pope's *Works* of 1717," *The Culture of Collected Editions*, edited by Andrew Nash, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, 49-50

on October 8, 1709, "I have not seen Ben Tooke in a Great While but long to Usher You and Yours into the World not that there can be any thing added by me to Y^{r} Fame, but to walk bareheaded before you" (*Correspondence* 1: 266). The passage shows how far the purpose of the *Miscellanies* was to honour Swift. The *Journal to Stella* shows Swift himself working to develop the *Miscellanies* volume and then repudiating it. On October 17, 1710, he is positive:

> Tooke is going on with my *Miscellany*. I'd give a penny the letter to the bishop of Killaloe was in it: 'twould do him honour. Could not you contrive to say you hear they are printing my *Things* together; and that you wish the bookseller had that letter among the rest: but don't say any thing of it as from me. (*Journal* 42)

Note "'twould do him honour," which reveals a genuine feeling about the collection. But by February 28, Swift had forgotten his earlier commitment or was playing up to a conspiracy of ignorance with his addressees:

> Some bookseller has raked up every thing I writ, and published it t'other day in one volume; but I know nothing of it, 'twas without my knowledge or consent: it makes a four shilling book, and is called Miscellanies in Prose and Verse. Tooke pretends he knows nothing of it, but I doubt he is at the bottom […] I'll bring a couple of them over with me for MD, perhaps you may desire to see them. I hear they sell mightily. (*Journal* 152)

The "hints" Swift promised Tooke probably matured into the Preface as we have it. Its chief aim seems to be to suggest that the author had no responsibility for publication, and that is achieved by setting up an argument that, although publication without the author's consent is generally unacceptable, in this case it is well meaning and innocuous. The absence of authorial consent is strongly implied, if not directly claimed "this Publication, tho' without the Author's Consent or Knowledge" (*Prose* 4: 269). The Preface permits itself some recommendation of these collected materials. The publisher has respect for "the supposed Author's Reputation, to whom no Man pays a juster Esteem, or bears a greater Respect than my self" (4: 268), and has delayed publication, even though he knew the world would receive "so agreeable an Entertainment […] from the following Papers" (4: 268). Even defective versions have met with "so much Applause, and so universal a good Reception from all Men of Wit and Taste" (4: 268) as to prompt

the booksellers to look for others in manuscript. Worthy persons have passed on materials to this publisher and the materials are recognizable as the supposed author's by their quality:

> there are in every one of these Pieces some particular Beauties that discover this Author's Vein, who excels too much not to be distinguished, since in all his Writings such a surprizing Mixture of Wit and Learning, true Humour and good Sense, does every-where appear, as sets him almost as far out of the Reach of Imitation, as it does beyond the Power of Censure. (4: 270)

This author, then, is to be celebrated for excelling in modest virtues, though his name is not to be mentioned in the book. Irvin Ehrenpreis has written well about this aspect of Swift and "the strange barriers he set for himself: that his authorship should be ostensibly a secret but covertly told to the world" (3: 317).

The *Miscellanies* were being planned at the same time as the revised *Tale of a Tub*. I cannot claim this book as a form of self-representation, because it was not identified as Swift's until after his death, but it is worth pausing to note what a dignified and accomplished piece of printing it is.[1] To the modern eye, it is a slightly old-fashioned book, with its use of framing rules, sidenotes, and unusual italic capitals. That is to its advantage, the primness of the printing contrasting with the writer's lack of restraint, but that is unlikely to have been at Swift's request. *A Tale of a Tub* was itself something of a miscellany, including "The Battel of the Books" and "A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit." The second of these, the "Battel" is valuable for showing Swift's sensitivity to the make-up of books, without allowing them generally to symbolize their authors. At the end of the "Bookseller to the Reader", we are told to

> beware of applying to Persons what is here meant, only of Books in the most literal Sense. So, when *Virgil* is mentioned, we are not to understand the Person of a famous Poet, call'd by that Name, but only certain Sheets of Paper, bound in Leather, containing in Print, the Works of the said Poet, and so of the rest.[2]

The battle is supposed to be between the books of St. James's Library, but books are

1 See Valerie Rumbold, *Swift in Print: Published Texts in Dublin and London, 1691-1765*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, 54-65.

2 See Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub and Other Works*, edited by Marcus Walsh, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 141.

not equipped to fight and consequently the descriptions are of man-like figures, with the names of authors, fighting an *Iliad*-like battle. Sometimes the action reflects what the authors say in their books, but reflections of their material embodiment are rare. The biggest book in the *Battel* is a heavenly one, the Book of Fate, "three large Volumes in Folio": "The Clasps were of Silver, double Gilt; the Covers, of Celestial Turky-leather, and the Paper such as here on Earth might almost pass for Vellum" (153). No author is granted such a luxurious appearance. Aesop has been defaced by the keeper of the Library, Richard Bentley, "who had tore off his Title-page, sorely defaced one half of his Leaves, and chained him fast among a Shelf of *Moderns*" (151). The goddess Criticism, wanting to visit "W-tt-n," Bentley's ally, transforms herself into a thoroughly unpleasant book and thus becomes indistinguishable from Bentley (155-156). Swift recognizes in this instance the capacity of a material book to symbolize a man and his critical stance, and, though it is rare for him to develop the idea explicitly, it will have informed his attitude to his own books.

If there was any doubt that Swift was at this point valued by the London book trade, it is dispelled by the evidence of the Stationers' Register. On the first day of operation of the first copyright act, April 10, 1710, Benjamin Tooke was the very first bookseller off the mark, entering separately the *Tale of a Tub* and the *Miscellanies*, with the contents specified.[1]

Swift's early years in Ireland, 1714-1725 were a period of remote and disguised publication. It is unlikely he had direct contact with his printers, John Harding and his wife Sarah: "My Custom, therefore, is to dictate to a Prentice who can write in a feigned Hand; and what is written, we send to your House by a Black-guard Boy" (*Prose* 10: 79, italics reversed). But the collection of the *Letters* by George Faulkner in *Fraud Detected: Or, the Hibernian Patriot* (1725) was another matter. Irvin Ehrenpreis suggests Swift may have cooperated with Faulkner, who later made the *Letters* the substance of one of his volumes of Swift's *Works,* and that Faulkner may have benefited from Swift's hints for the Preface (3: 317-318). It begins with praise for the author's disinterestedness. "the Love for his Country, and not a Desire of Fame, or Applause from the Vulgar, induced him to publish them to the World," and continues to admire the Letters' reception: "when *Three Hundred Pounds* Ster. were offered by Proclamation of the Government, to any faithful Subject that would discover the Author, not one single Person was induced by it to inform against him" (i-ii). The sentiment is close to that in *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, which includes the reward offered for *Publick Spirit of the Whigs*, as well as for *Drapier's*

1 See Jonathan Swift, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D* 5 vols, edited by David Woolley et al, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999-2014, 1: 285, n. 5.

Letters:

> "Two Kingdoms, just as Faction led,
> "Had set a Price upon his Head;
> "But, not a Traytor cou'd be found,
> "To sell him for Six Hundred Pound. (*Poems* 2: 566-267; lines 351-354)

The thought is likely to have originated with Swift rather than with Faulkner. Swift's pride in the *Drapier's Letters* is also revealed by a gift. The Bodleian Library's copy of *Fraud Detected* (8° E 150 Linc.) was presented to the Library by Swift himself, with the inscription "Humbly presented to the Bodleyan Library in Oxford by M. B. Drapier (*Correspondence* 2: Plate 16) on the fly-leaf. A small book, it is nevertheless honoured with red morocco binding, extensive gilt tooling on the covers and the spine, and marbled endpapers. Alderman Barber presented the Bodleian with a portrait of Swift to be placed in the gallery of "renowned and distinguished personages" (*Correspondence* 4: 567), but Swift gave them a special copy of his book.

Soon after *Fraud Detected*, Swift came to London, bringing with him the manuscript of *Gulliver's Travels.* Swift could easily have arranged printing in Dublin—a good edition was later prepared by John Hyde—but a major work required the dignity of London publication. The printing and publication was dealt with by the successor of Benjamin Tooke, the son of Benjamin Motte, Sr. (the printer of *Tale of a Tub*). But whereas Swift had dealt openly with Tooke, he dealt indirectly with Motte, arranging publication by letter. Motte, who was sent one of the voyages to examine, agreed to pay Swift's (really Pope's) terms, though, under-capitalized, he asked for more time. Pope, reporting to Swift when he had returned to Ireland, told him he had worried unnecessarily about the work's reception by the powerful, but reassured him anyway that "Motte receiv'd the copy (he tells me) he knew not from whence, nor from whom, dropp'd at his house in the dark, from a Hackney-coach: by computing the time, I found it was after you left England" (*Correspondence* 3: 52). I suspect that Pope had other unattributable briefings with Motte, which explains why Motte was willing to pay £200 for an anonymous work. The bookseller treated *Gulliver's Travels* as an important book. He published it as two volumes, when, as modern editions show, it could easily have been accommodated in one, and he employed four printers (one for each voyage), to speed up printing and to avoid the risk of piracy. The large-paper copies (again, the Bodleian Library holds one, 8^0 Y 24 Jur) are much the same size as the

Miscellanies in Prose and Verse of 1711 (227×135 mm.), probably intentionally, the work of the same firm. *Gulliver's Travels* is in some ways more old-fashioned in design. It has a frame of double rules round the title page, and, extravagantly, each voyage has a similar title. It has a frontispiece portrait of Gulliver and maps of the various countries visited, as well an illustration of the language machine (I suspect we owe all these to Swift). It does not have the extra space in the outer margin that characterizes the *Miscellanies* but it is otherwise generous with white space. The text is leaded, with the result that, though the dimensions of the type page are the same as in the *Miscellanies*, there are only 25 lines to the page, rather than 28 or 29. The type is again pica and the paper good. It is difficult to see how a prose fiction for popular sale could be presented in a much more luxurious way, though the Ham House copy described by Teerink (252×150 mm.) shows a much larger sheet could be used (194). The ordinary books sold at 8*s*. 6*d*.: a high price, but the production acknowledged a masterpiece. As David Womersley's edition shows, there were to be many corrections and reprints (627-652.)

For a time, Pope tried to maintain the connection with Motte by publishing, with Swift, a series of miscellanies. The first three volumes were published 1727-1728, the fourth in 1732. They were modelled on the 1711 *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*; indeed the first volume was essentially a reprint of that book. They maintained the large outer margins that had characterized the 1711 book, but I am unaware of large-paper copies. Pope had a view of the symbolic qualities of these books, which he expressed in a letter to Swift:

> Our Miscellany is now quite printed. I am prodigiously pleas'd with this joint-volume, in which methinks we look like friends, side by side, serious and merry by turns, conversing interchangeably, and walking down hand in hand to posterity; not in the stiff forms of learned Authors, flattering each other, and setting the rest of mankind at nought: but in a free, un-important, natural, easy manner; diverting others just as we diverted ourselves. ([February 17] 1727; *Correspondence*, 3: 76)

The pieces are hardly conversational (they show very little engagement with one another), but Pope did his best to represent his vision in print by having his Preface signed in a large fount:

JONATH. SWIFT

ALEX. POPE

Swift may have expected to be recognized as the author of his publications, but he hardly ever signed them, an exception being *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712), which, by its inclusion in the first volume of this series, declared his authorship (*Parodies, Hoaxes, Mock Treatises* 156). The move that wrecked the joint publication plan and justified Swift's feeling he was carrying the weight of it on his own, was the decision not to print the *Dunciad* in the third volume but independently.

Swift allowed himself to be represented with Pope in this *Miscellanies* collection, but his thoughts were clearly turning to the possibility of the publication of something like a works. A significant letter to Motte of July 15, 1732 shows he had been contemplating his legacy:

> As to my posthumous things I shall intrust them to Mr Pope, but with a strong recommendation that you alone may be employd […] I am likewise desirous that some time or other, all that I acknoledge to be mine in prose and verse, which I shall approve of with any little things that shall be thought deserving should be published by themselves by you, during my life (if it contains any reasonable time) provided you are sure it will turn to your advantage. (*Correspondence* 3: 503)

This is an invitation to print a Swift works, and a bookseller with more energy and more capital would have leapt at it. Swift himself understood that a little negotiation would have been needed to capture all the copyrights, but, as there was no copyright in Ireland, that would not have been an exhausting process, mainly involving the material Faulkner had printed and sent to London through Bowyer. Swift was doubtless reflecting on this hint he had given to Motte when he later (after Faulkner's Dublin edition) wrote: "It was the Fault of you and other Booksellers, who printed any Thing supposed to be mine, that you did not agree with each other to print them together, if you thought they would sell to any Advantage" (*Correspondence* 4: 304). Swift repeatedly regrets that his Works were not published in England (*Correspondence* 3: 638, 661, 4: 67). But Motte's passivity made that impossible.

Swift always maintained that the *Works* Faulkner published in Dublin at the end of 1734 and the beginning of 1735 were at the bookseller's initiative. The clearest account is in the letter to Pope of May 1, 1733:

> A Printer came to me to desire he might print my works (as he calld them) in 4 volumes by Subscription. I said I would give him no leave, & should be sorry to see them printed here. He said they could not be printed in London. I answerd, they could if the partners agreed. He said he would be glad of my permission, but as he could print them without it, and was advised that it could do me no harm, & having been assured of numerous subscriptions, he hoped I would not be angry at his persuing his own Interest, &c. without giving me any just offence. (*Correspondence* 3: 638)

The misleading way Swift wrote in the *Journal to Stella* of Tooke's publication of the *Miscellanies* (1711) is a reason for doubting whether this is the whole truth. It is clear from *Fraud Detected* and also from the printing of queries about the Sacramental Test in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* that Swift and Faulkner were already collaborators (Bullard and McLaverty 157-158); Faulkner was not just "A Printer." The reported conversation repeats precisely the concerns that Swift voices to Motte; Swift was the more likely to have introduced the topic. Although it is difficult to accept the literal truth of Faulkner's claim that Swift "corrected every Sheet of the first seven Volumes that were published in his Life Time" (*Prose* 13: 203), I believe that in spirit it is right. This was a joint enterprise: Faulkner worked with Swift and his friends; Swift did not obstruct the subscription (that would have caused problems for Faulkner) even though he could not openly support it; he unquestionably read proof because he told the Earl of Oxford he had ordered "certain Things to be struck out after they were printed" (*Correspondence* 3: 753). But in public, the *Works*, like the *Miscellanies* of 1711, had to be something done to him, not for him.

The *Works* were to be published by subscription in four volumes, at 4*s*. 4*d*. each. The edition was not as grand as that of Pope's second volume of *Works*, which was in press at the same time, as Pope implies in his letter of September 15, 1734:

> I shall collect all the past in one fair quarto this winter, and send it you, where you will find frequent mention of your self. I was glad you suffer'd your writings to be collected more compleatly than hitherto, in the volumes I daily expect from Ireland; I wish'd it had been in more pomp, but that will be done by others: yours are beauties, that can never be too finely drest, for they will ever be young. (*Correspondence* 3: 758)

Pope clearly felt that the edition was with Swift's permission, and in his regret that

it did not have more "pomp" he probably caught Swift's own feeling that it should have been done in London. There are, however, several elements in this edition that would have pleased Swift, even if he was not prepared to say so in public. As Valerie Rumbold, Dustin Griffin, and Robert Mahony have shown, the *Works* celebrated Swift as an artist and patriot. Rumbold perceptively observes, "The four 1735 volumes for which subscribers were now invited to put down their money did much by their bulk, quality and contents to suggest monumentality" (222). Four was itself an impressive number: Pope at this point had only two volumes of *Works*; Tickell's posthumous collection of Addison's *Works* of 1721 had been in four volumes, though those were quartos. That there was a subscription was itself impressive and its success striking. There were 888 subscribers for 1,152 sets (54 subscribers for multiple sets), with nine dukes, six duchesses, nineteen earls, six countesses, eight viscounts, and three viscountesses. The Speaker of the House of Commons and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Henry Boyle, subscribed for six sets, and though the Lord Lieutenant in the *Drapier's Letters* period did not subscribe, his wife, Lady Carteret, subscribed for six sets.[1] Swift must have been delighted.

The volumes themselves might have been slightly disappointing in relation to the 1711 *Miscellanies*, but like them they constituted an impressive octavo, with large-paper copies. The sheet was the same size as in 1711, but the whole of the measure (again 83 mm) was used for the text. There are 34 lines of type to the page, as opposed to 28 or 29, but the page is not crowded, because Faulkner has used long primer rather than pica. The type was not new, though new to Faulkner; secondhand from Bowyer. The paper is good (Faulkner says it is Genoa, Bowyer's favoured paper), and Faulkner sold the books "neatly bound in Calves Leather, and lettered on the Back" (Bullard and McLaverty 169, 155). The pricing was shrewd. Non-subscribers in London paid a guinea, the same as for the single volume of Pope's quarto *Works*; subscribers paid 17*s.* 4*d*, a price a little above halfway between Pope's small folio and the quarto.

What proclaimed the edition as a monument to Swift, however, was its title, *The Works of J.S, D.D, D.S.P.D.*, and its illustrations. The title is daring: it not only gives his initials; it singles him out by giving his role in Dublin. The initials represent not just the man, but the man with his ecclesiastical authority. For the reader perplexed by the initials, there is a clue in the frontispiece portrait to volume 1, which is labeled "*The Reverend Dr. J: SWIFT D. St. P. D.*" The saying-but-not-saying stance could not be taken much further. Rumbold writes well about the illustrations in relation

1 See Bullard, Paddy and James McLaverty, eds, *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 160.

to a change in the order of the volumes. When they were listed in the Proposals[1], the volume on Ireland came first and the prose material from *Miscellanies* 1711 (with adjustments) second, but when the edition was published, the *Miscellanies* material came first and the Irish volume last. Perhaps, as Rumbold implies, Swift insisted that his early career, with his early political and satirical interventions (the pro-ministry material left out) should begin the *Works* and take precedence over his role as Irish patriot. Two of the volumes have engravings that explicitly honour the author in a way even Pope's 1717 *Works* does not. Volume 2, which contains the poetry, shows a winged figure holding a portrait of Swift in glory, attended by two other goddesses, one of whom presents him with a laurel crown. The motto at the foot of the page is "*Quivis speret idem*. Hor." ("Anyone might hope for the same"). The extraordinary modesty of the claim is only slightly modified by the context of Horace's *Ars Poetica,* lines 240-241, where Horace says, "My aim shall be poetry, so moulded from the familiar that anybody may hope for the same success" (*Loeb* 194: 470-471). Swift, for surely he must have been responsible for the motto, could not have supported more firmly Rawson's identification of his rhetorical stance. The frontispiece to volume 4, however, perhaps originally planned to begin the edition, is much more elaborate and shows Swift's encouragement of acknowledgement of his public role. He is depicted as an enthroned figure with St Patrick's Cathedral in the background. The maker of false coins lies at his feet, a mother and her baby pose gratefully to the side, while Swift presents books and papers to the kneeling Hibernia. Putti fly above, about to crown him with a wreath (see Rumbold 226, and Griffin 189, for more detailed discussion). This is an image of Swift as Irish patriot; it is reminiscent of his speech to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen when he was presented with the freedom of Dublin, regretting there was no inscription, and giving the history of his service to Ireland.[2] At the foot of the engraving is the motto "Exegi Monumentum Aere perennius" ("I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze"), also from Horace, *Odes* 3. 30. 1 (*Loeb* 33: 216-217). Although in his Proposals, Faulkner says the engravings of Swift will be by George Vertue, that to volume 2 is by P. Simms, and the designers are unidentified. If this were a Pope book, we would suspect Pope's own hand at work, but I am not proposing that these plates are from Swift's own sketches. It seems impossible, however, that they could have been published without Swift's approval. I suspect they were the result of

1 See Bullard, Paddy and James McLaverty, eds, *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 155.

2 See Jonathan Swift, *Irish Political Writings after 1725*, edited by D. W. Hayton and Adam Rounce, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 184-190.

Faulkner's consultations with Swift. This edition is Swift's monument—one erected by him and George Faulkner in collaboration.

In the 1730s there is a curious correspondence between Swift and Pope on the theme "orna me." On February 16, 1733, Pope wrote to Swift, "I am pleas'd and flatter'd by your expression of *Orna me*. The chief pleasure this work can give me is, that I can in it, with propriety, decency, and justice, insert the name and character of every friend I have, and every man that deserves to be lov'd or adorn'd" (*Correspondence* 3: 595). Oddly, that expression "orna me" is left out of Pope's printing of the letter that he refers to, while the "work" he discusses (his "opus magnum") was never completed, and, as Ashley Marshall has explained, although the *Dunciad Variorum* (1729) had lines dedicating it to Swift ("O thou! Whatever title please thine ear"), the dedication was somewhat hidden, and no subsequent epistle was addressed to Swift. Swift repeats "orna me" in his letters to Pope (*Correspondence* 4: 104, 174, 432). The reference is to Cicero's correspondence with Lucius Lucceius, who was writing a contemporary history, though Cicero does not say "orna me." In Letter 22 (V.12), he says, "I have a burning desire, of a strength you will hardly credit but ought not, I think, to blame, that my name should gain lustre and celebrity through your works." He apologizes first for the burden of work this will involve, and then "deinde etiam ut ornes me postulem. Quid si illa tibi non tanto opera videntur ornanda?" "secondly in asking you to write about me eulogistically. What if the record does not appear to you so eminently deserving of eulogy? (*Loeb* 205: 156-159) This fits Swift's case: he wants Pope's eulogy (Pope is in a position to add lustre to his name) and he does not feel it blameworthy to ask for it. This is a key difference between the two writers. Swift looks to others to praise him; his sense of justice requires it. "Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift" stands representative, because it operates by creating an external judge who is needed to speak the eulogy, however complex in character. His books similarly have to be made by others, even though he may have provoked them. Pope was latterly content to speak for himself. His anxiety in the final years of correspondence with Swift was not over "orna me" but over the publication of the correspondence itself. Of course, he published it as a quarto book. There is, however, a final irony in the eighteenth-century afterlife of these collected editions. Warburton's Pope was published in octavo (and not a royal octavo), whereas Hawkesworth's Swift was published in octavo—and quarto.

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Reading Defoe with Rawson

Tom Keymer & Dana Lew

Abstract: This essay considers the implications for eighteenth-century studies of Claude Rawson's *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945*, as the book approaches the twenty-fifth anniversary of its publication. In this wide-ranging monograph, several of Rawson's key arguments turn on readings of *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), *A Modest Proposal* (1729), and other works by Jonathan Swift, but they also have important consequences for Swift's great contemporary and antagonist Daniel Defoe. Emphasizing Rawson's approach to irony as unstable and double-edged and his confrontation with questions of genocide, we analyze the vexed case of Defoe's controversial pamphlet *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702) and Defoe's troubled revisiting of themes from *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) in the two continuations of 1719 and 1720, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* and *Serious Reflections During the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*.

Keywords: irony; extermination rhetoric; genocide; idolatry; Amalek

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Ever since his groundbreaking books about Henry Fielding and Jonathan Swift in the 1970s, which revolutionized understanding of both writers by creatively juxtaposing their work with experimental texts of the modernist era, the scholarship of Claude Rawson has always been distinguished by its intellectually capacious scope. No less characteristic of his work are its virtuoso effects of sustained

close reading. Terry Eagleton's description of Rawson as "a critic of striking flair and delicacy" catches the unusual blend of boldness and nuance with which a Rawson monograph grounds large patterns of argument in the most telling, often quite startling, details of language and form ("Firm Government"). Eagleton was reviewing *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945*, a magisterial study now approaching its twenty-fifth anniversary, and as prescient today as on first publication in 2001. In the following essay, we first revisit the arguments of this landmark book, and then pursue an application that Rawson occasionally gestures towards but leaves for others to develop. What happens, we ask, if we carry forward the implications of *God, Gulliver, and Genocide*, especially in its account of Swift, into the work of Swift's great antagonist Daniel Defoe? The question might lead in many directions, but we focus below on two prominent cases: *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702), a tract advocating punitive suppression of the religious minority to which Defoe himself belonged, and *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner* (1719), which with its sequels, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Serious Reflections During the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1720), explores the psychological conflict of a colonial hero torn between paranoid distress and violent revenge.

Not not meaning it

Perhaps the most surprising rabbit pulled from the hat in *God, Gulliver, and Genocide* (if a less endearing one than the image suggests) is a 24-page pamphlet that was previously little known except to a handful of specialist scholars: *A Proposal for Giving Badges to the Beggars in All the Parishes of Dublin* (1737). Writing a decade after *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift here addresses his fellow citizens with a lurid call to arms—or, to be precise, a call to whips—in a tract he terms "a very plain Proposal" (*Irish Political Writings* 309). The streets of Dublin are now infested by "perpetual Swarms of Foreign Beggars," with each vagrant bringing in tow "his Trull, and Litter of Brats" (311-312). Flirting with a biblical idiom of mass slaughter, the pamphlet echoes God's antediluvian curse on mankind by casting the migrant hordes as "a profligate Clan of Thieves, Drunkards, Heathens, and Whore-mongers, fitter to be rooted out of the Face of the Earth, than suffered to levy a vast annual Tax upon the City" (317).[1] Elsewhere, his voice unsteadily attempts

1 Cf. Genesis 6:7 ("And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth"), Genesis 7:4 ("every living substance that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth"), and later Old Testament passages reworking this formulation.

a technocratic dispassion, modestly proposing milder means by which these "Caterpillars" might yet "be banished in a Month without Expence, and with very little Trouble" (318, 312). A few apprentices with horse-whips would do the job quicker, to be sure. But failing that, a badge system confining the indigent to their native parish would soon enough, if rigorously enforced, purge the city of "strolling Beggars, or Bastards from the Country," along with all other "vagabond Wretches" (317-318).

Connoisseurs of irony will be tempted to cut through here to a subtext that sounds less disquieting, and more happily in tune with the urge, still pervasive in eighteenth-century studies, to retrofit authors of the past with sensibilities of the present. The splenetic rhetorical overkill, the rancorous analogies with vermin or at best livestock, the abrupt lurches between po-faced moderation and misanthropic ferocity, surely point just one way. This must be an ironic piece, written in a spirit of derisive mimicry, which targets not the ravenous alms-seekers swamping the city but the fears, resentments, and jealousies of its tradesmen and gentry. Swift's real concern is not the inundation of resource-hungry aliens ("foreign" meaning foreign to Dublin, whether drawn to the city from provincial Ireland or transported there from England); his satirical animus turns instead on the gut prejudices and gutter rhetoric of the city's authorities and opinion-formers.

Yet this pamphlet is no teasing re-run of Swift's celebrated *Modest Proposal* (1729), a mock-recommendation of cannibalism that is often read as figuratively deploring—its sympathies always with the underdog—a devouring of the native poor by the settler elite, or of Ireland by Walpole's England. Eight years later, *A Proposal for Giving Badges to the Beggars of Dublin*—a work excluded from most teaching editions of Swift, but given equal billing with *A Modest Proposal* in *God, Gulliver, and Genocide*—is defiantly sincere.[1] On the title-page of this rebarbative tract, Swift not only reveals but highlights his authorship ("By the Dean of St. Patrick's" above a woodcut of his famous "Drapier" eidolon): an unusual gesture in a writer so given to evasive ventriloquism, and one he reinforces further with an autobiographical reflection in his closing paragraph over the signature "J. SWIFT." As for the argument of the pamphlet, it rehearses recommendations that over many years, Swift says, he had personally urged on several Lord Mayors as well as the late William King, the long-serving, politically influential Archbishop of

1 Rawson also includes it, with other inconvenient items, in *The Basic Writings of Jonathan Swift*. Elsewhere, omission of the pamphlet is especially striking in *Swift's Irish Writings: Selected Prose and Poetry*, whose editors cheerfully celebrate "Swift's felt kinship with the lower classes" and his daily walks "getting to know [...] the beggars entreating passersby in the vicinity of the cathedral" (xxii; xvi).

Dublin. The personal investment is unmistakable, whatever the instability of tone. As Rawson puts it in his brilliant, uncompromising reading of this aggressive text, "the nagging accents of the Modest Proposer [...] are detectable, but we should not on that account infer any significant attenuation of Swiftian commitment in this case, only perhaps an incidental impish jokerie" (226). We should also, he adds, reconsider *A Modest Proposal* itself, and ask whether its disconcertingly similar gestures really can be explained away, in tune with liberal or postcolonial desires, as unimpeachably progressive. Rawson's constant emphasis is that irony is, among other things, a sanitizing rhetoric or legitimizing device: a protective way of giving vent to, while appearing to disavow, meanings that may well remain meant—perhaps quite intensely so.

It is in this alarming space between proposal and disavowal that Rawson's account of European visions of barbarism from the conquest of the Americas to the ending of the Holocaust ambitiously, and eloquently, dwells. "A volatile combination of 'meaning it,' not meaning it, and not not meaning it" typifies the compendious range of texts that Rawson assembles, throughout which the category of "barbarian" is foisted, with varying complexities of implication and menace, on a range of subaltern groups (12). A defining presence here is the scripturally inflected idiom of extermination employed by Swift, reaching back to the unblinking exposure of conquistadorial genocide ("estirpar y raer de la haz de la tierra") published by the Spanish reformer Bartolomé de Las Casas in 1552, and looking forward to the robotic determination of Heinrich Himmler, architect of the Holocaust ("dieses Volk von der Erde verschwinden zu lassen"), in 1943 (Las Casas 74; Himmler 169; qtd. in Rawson 311, 287). Behind this extended catalogue of slaughter, the locus classicus is the retributive fury of Genesis 6:7 before the Flood (see above, p. 75, n. 1): a text giving rise, Rawson later notes, to more tribally or racially specific maledictions elsewhere in the Old Testament (299-304). A conspicuous example is 1 Samuel 15:3 ("Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass"), a verse that perplexed several Enlightenment commentators but was embraced with relish (see below) by religious provocateurs during the reign of Queen Anne.[1]

In analysing the "spectrum of aggressions which inhabit the space between such figures of speech and their implementation"—a space the Nazis in the end made nonexistent—*God, Gulliver, and Genocide* is incidentally an important

1 See Joseph Waligore, *The Spirituality of the English and American Deists: How God Became Good*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2023, 81-82, 89.

book about literary and political rhetoric (vii). In its searching attentiveness to the slippages and grey areas of ironic discourse, it overturns traditional accounts of irony as a figure that annuls surface content in favour of an implied alternative, and emphasizes instead the troubling residues of meaning that persist in its wake. The main business of Rawson's book, however, is with the deep structures of colonial and social thinking over five centuries, as manifested in a broad range of European writing about overlapping categories of "ethnic others and home-grown pariahs," who include Amerindigenous peoples, Jews, the Irish, the domestic poor, and special anathematized categories such as "witches" (viii). Throughout, Rawson focuses his formidable interpretive energies on what he calls the "velleities and shrinkings" of his literary sources: their qualities of seeming to will (without actually working to enact) the extermination of the barbarous "other," while simultaneously recoiling from their own most sanguinary fantasies (15). Often the recoil comes in the form of destabilizations of the polarity between barbarism and civilization, and Rawson pays special attention to those literary manoeuvres through which the "other" becomes kin to ourselves—typically, in the examples he highlights, with an effect of mutual discredit, not sentimental uplift.

Central to this account are Montaigne and Swift, writers in whom Rawson finds a radical pessimism about the species, which studiously assimilates civilized readers to the groups they despise, while never refuting, and in some ways advancing, the primary demonization of these groups. Here Rawson is scathing about the tendency of criticism to cast Swift in particular, and early writers on colonialism in general, in crude opposing moulds, either by wishfully recuperating Swift as a proto-liberal or radical defender of good causes, or by superciliously outing him as a peddler of oppressive norms. Still less is Swift the holder, Rawson adds, of "some wise balanced position between" these options (16)—a phrase he takes from William Empson's classic account of "double irony," a technique (in Fielding) of outlining alternative responses to narrative cruxes but then undercutting both without any accompanying offer of a middle way (218-219). In this spirit, Rawson's tough-minded analysis acknowledges and confronts features of his sources that are, as he drily puts it, "not always attractive to a modern sensibility," and refuses to manufacture comfortable interpretive escape routes (1). He relentlessly documents the ways in which anti-colonial fury and contempt for the injustice of conquerors could coexist with, or even derive from, conservative-authoritarian foundations.

Montaigne, in this account, is no straightforward purveyor of liberating oppositions between noble savage and barbaric colonialist, though he moves in that direction with his allegation (in "Des cannibales") that Frenchmen who roast their

enemies alive are more barbaric than Amerindigenous peoples (the Tupinambá of Brazil are specified) who reportedly eat them dead. Having challenged the pretensions to civilization of his own kind, Montaigne shies away from acknowledging the very thing that might have clinched his case: widely reported evidence that the wars of religion had generated not only sectarian burnings (and of course the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre of Huguenots) but also literal anthropophagy in modern France, including notorious episodes of famine cannibalism in the besieged Protestant city of Sancerre, or again revenge cannibalism by victorious Catholics at Auxerre. Montaigne later expanded his earlier essay "De la modération" with reference to live burnings perpetrated by Mexican natives, thereby compromising in advance the antitheses of "Des cannibales," in which the barbarity of torture is exclusive to Europe.

Rawson is always keen to stress differences between Montaigne and Swift, "the one thrusting and aggressive as the other was fastidiously tentative" (7). But he finds in both the same strategies of blurring and contradiction, and the same radical inculpation of all mankind. In this perspective, *A Modest Proposal* is nothing more liberating than a grim satirical *tu quoque*, attacking the settler elite and neighbouring England only in so far as it assimilates them, in their metaphorical voracity, to the literal cannibalism traditionally alleged against the "savage" Irish—a category for whom, throughout Swift's oeuvre, pity fights a losing battle with scorn and disgust. The same angry comprehensiveness of incrimination is concentrated in the Yahoos of *Gulliver's Travels*, whom the virtuous Houyhnhnms (with little sign of Swift's imaginative detachment from the scheme) consider "exterminat(ing) from the Face of the Earth" (408). A noisome compound of Hottentot and Irish stereotypes, the Yahoos are also, in Swift's first edition, the probable descendants of a primeval English couple, so confirming the satire's insistence, as Rawson puts it, "that the European conqueror or English settler is just as Yahoo as the Yahoos of the bush or the bog" (5).

God, Gulliver, and Genocide achieves a vast chronological sweep, and combines massive erudition with deft alertness to paradox, slippage and nuance. Just as compelling as Rawson's account of Montaigne is his reading of the Huguenot writer Jean de Léry, each of whose books of the 1570s about Sancerre and Brazil is haunted by the subject of its counterpart—and haunted, too, in the matter of cannibalism, by the Eucharistic controversies to which so much real flesh was sacrificed in both places. An iconoclastic chapter on "Killing the Poor: An Anglo-Irish theme?" looks forward to coy restagings of *Modest Proposal* themes by Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw and others, and the book culminates with the ghoulish relationship

between the Nazi rhetoric of genocide and its original prototype (via Luther's translation "Ich will die Menschen [...] vertilgen von der Erde") in Hebrew scripture (287, 372). It might be added that more recent history only confirms the prescience of this analysis: in a speech following the Hamas attack of 7th October 2023, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu invoked Amalek, the unforgettable enemy of the Israelites and a staple, incidentally, of Purim Torah readings.[1] The speech quotes from Deuteronomy 25:17-19, which opens with the command to "remember what Amalek did unto thee" and closes, paradoxically, with the exhortation to "blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; thou shalt not forget it." Forgetting to forget Amalek has transformed the biblical Amalekites (descendants of Esau) into an all-purpose demonizing archetype: the Romans, medieval Christians, Nazis, Jews who have strayed from the faith, and more recently ISIS, Hamas, Iranians, and Palestinians have all been associated with Amalek, Netanyahu's chilling invocation being only the latest instance.[2]

Contagions and extirpations

God, Gulliver, and Genocide is first and foremost a book about Swift, a landmark study of his satirical rage in its largest ramifications. Looking back, Rawson definitively establishes the pervasive subtextual presence of Montaigne: a presence, above all in the culminating voyage to Houyhnhnmland, now documented in detail by David Womersley in his definitive 2012 edition of *Gulliver's Travels*. Looking forward, Rawson makes the most comprehensive exploration to date of a standard theme of criticism since Orwell broached the subject in his classic essay "Politics vs. Literature" (1946) at the end of the Second World War: the status of *Gulliver's Travels*, and specifically the Houyhnhnmland voyage, as a proleptic satire, disturbingly noncommittal in tone, about modern totalitarianism—though where Orwell had Stalin in view, Rawson's focus is on Nazi atrocity. Swift's works, Rawson contends, "are a meeting-house for some of the most troubling moral nightmares of European intellectual history in the last five hundred years: war, imperial conquest, the impulse to exterminate" (1).

Nowhere is his point more harrowingly substantiated than in the exactness with which the punitive imaginings of *A Modest Proposal* and *Gulliver's Travels*, though rooted in existing myths about Scythian, Irish and Amerindigenous "savagery," also prefigure the Holocaust's most odious perversions (an outcome that would have

1 See, in particular, Exodus 17:8-16; Deuteronomy 25:17-19; Judges 6:1-6; 1 Samuel 15:1-9; 1 Samuel 27:8-9. For the biblical history of Amalek and its genocidal implications, see Kugler 1-16.

2 On Netanyahu, see Gearty, "War Crimes;" on the longue durée, see Horowitz 1-12.

struck Swift as proving his point about the depravity of the species as a whole): Gulliver's use of Yahoo skin for shoes and sails, and the Modest Proposer's idea of similarly manufacturing "*Summer Boots for fine Gentlemen*"—the specification of season owing, presumably, to the delicacy of infant hide (*Irish Political Writings* 151).

One question left open by Rawson's unflinching accumulation of transhistorical connections is how pervasive the discourses and visions he identifies might be in Swift's own day. Perhaps, in an age when moderation was increasingly professed (if not always practised), pseudo-biblical malediction is simply a marker of derangement: there are mid-century instances in Richardson (*Clarissa* letter 497, p. 1345) and Fielding (*Voyage to Lisbon* 637). During Queen Anne's reign, however, the grim idiom of genocide is a conspicuous feature of religious and political discourse. Defoe is a key subtextual presence throughout Rawson's book, credited with much of the predictive power belonging to Swift, most obviously in *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, where, mimicking the paranoid though camouflaged rhetoric of High Church incendiaries, "actual or potential murderous intentions are insinuated in non-murderous language" (Rawson 184). For Rawson, by fluctuating between fairly blatant sanguinary menace and a mollifying language of milder solutions and selective exemplary punishment, Defoe's pamphlet exemplifies the "classic equivocation found in much extermination rhetoric" (184). The same "sinister sweet-reasonableness, with its veiled and deniable intimations of unspeakable purposes, may be detected in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, no mean evidence of Defoe's understanding of the mentality" (185).

Since the time of Ian Watt's crisp, categorical formulation of 1957 ("a masterpiece not of irony but of impersonation"), debate about *The Shortest Way* has been dominated by the question of ironic control or its absence (126). Scholars focused on the historical background and immediate reception of Defoe's tract, which for a time was widely accepted as genuine, have read it as an elaborate hoax in which ironic subversion or implication played no part. From this point of view, *The Shortest Way* was a clever exercise in malicious ventriloquism, designed to trap unwary opponents into embracing the murderous recommendations of the text and so discredit themselves as extremists; no one was being asked to excavate subtextual layers of meaning. Writing in *agent provocateur* mode, Defoe perfectly counterfeits the high-toned rhetoric and metaphorical overkill of a High Church sermon or tract, but tips its deadly hints and innuendos into the realm of explicit suggestion, so stripping the veil of respectability from the arguments of his opponents. In the alternative interpretive camp, close reading has been used to argue for the presence of clear irony markers throughout Defoe's text.

The pamphlet opens by handling an Aesopian fable (by the strident Jacobite Roger L'Estrange) as though it were a passage from Scripture, and closes with a dizzying, nonsensical lurch from the language of victimhood ("*Alas! the Church of England!* [...] how has she been Crucify'd between two Thieves") to the language of persecution ("Now *let us Crucifie the Thieves*")—an injunction then capped by a grotesque perversion of Matthew 16:18 on the rock of faith: "Let her Foundations be establish'd upon the Destruction of her Enemies" (*Dissent* 109).

Conveniently, and with characteristic elusiveness, Defoe himself offers support for both these interpretations. In the first of his wildly inconsistent later reflections on *The Shortest Way*, he writes that "[i]f any man take the pains to reflect upon the Contents, the Nature of the Thing and the Manner of the Stile, it seems Impossible to imagine it should pass for any thing but an Irony" (113).[1] Elsewhere, and more often, Defoe emphasizes the "hoax" explanation: "When the Book, call'd, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, first appear'd in the World, and before these High-flown Gentlemen knew its Author; while the Piece, in its Outward Figure, look'd so Natural, and was as like a Brat of their own begetting, that like two Apples, they could not know them asunder, the Author's True Design in the Writing of it, had its Wonderful and Immediate Effect" (*Review*, 11 August 1705, p. 492). He even claimed to have seen fan mail sent to his bookseller by an ardent Tory who esteemed *The Shortest Way*, after Scripture, "*the most Valuable Piece I have; and I pray God put it into the Heart of the Queen, to put all that is there prescribed into Execution*" (492).

Recent scholarship has shown how much mileage there is in both approaches. Joseph Hone and Howard D. Weinbrot have extended our sense of the pamphlet's assumed authenticity at first: even such well-informed readers as the Jacobite newsletter writer John Dyer took *The Shortest Way* for the real thing (BL Add. MSS 70074 fol. 144r; qtd. in Hone 163), while Charles Leslie, another leading Tory controversialist, reported that "all over the *Town*, among all sorts of People," the tract was read at face value as the work of a High Church author (*New Association* 6; qtd. in Weinbrot 72). The immediate effect, Leslie goes on, was "to *Blacken* the *Church Party*, as Men of a *Persecuting* Spirit" (6). Most recently of all, Andrew Benjamin Bricker points to Leslie, as well as to the radical Whig *Observator*, for the assumption that *The Shortest Way* was a clever counterfeit and nothing more, while cautioning that modern arguments for ironic subversion "have relied on a surprisingly recent and tidily theoretical view of irony" (99). Usage by Defoe and his contemporaries must be handled with care, since "in 1702, irony was a poorly

1 See also editor W.R. Owens's textual note on p. 386; "an Irony" is the first-edition reading, but Owens follows later editions reading "a Banter upon the High-flying Church-Men."

understood and even obscure term," and did not swim into focus in its modern sense (i.e. as verbal irony) until the later 1720s (100).

That said, we may be confident enough of Defoe's own usage: witness his account of the ironic messaging achieved in his 1713 pamphlets about the Hanover succession, which were calculated, as he pleads in his Petition to Queen Anne that autumn, "by An Ironicall Discourse of Recomending The Pretender; In The strongest and Most Forcible Manner to Expose his designs" (*Correspondence* 777). Here, Defoe clearly understands irony as a mode of implication in which subtextual meaning discredits the textual surface, even if, in practice, some readers fail, or choose to fail, to read between the lines. Renewed attention to the most conspicuous rhetorical missteps in *The Shortest Way* has strengthened the case that the same dynamic operates in the earlier tract, with Defoe working behind the scenes to undermine the High Church voice he assumes. Exhibit A is the tract's glowing praise for the biblical Moses, who "was a merciful meek Man, and yet with what Fury did he run thro' the Camp, and cut the Throats of Three and thirty thousand of his dear *Israelites*, that were fallen into Idolatry" (105). Unruffled by the contradiction between meekness and fury (the insouciant "and yet" transition is a masterly touch), Defoe's controversialist zanily exaggerates Exodus 32:28, in which Moses orders (as opposed to personally performing) the slaughter of idolaters, and the body count extends no further than 3,000. Which is still, to be sure, an impressive number, but well short of *The Shortest Way*'s sanguinary fantasy, which, as Weinbrot notes, would have required swift running by Moses, extreme inattention by his victims, inexplicable blindness to the 33,000:1 odds in their favour and, even so, a Mosaic kill rate of ten idolaters per minute for the massacre to be fully achieved, without so much as a bathroom break, within six hours. As Weinbrot adds, Defoe knew the Pentateuch far too well to commit such errors himself, as opposed to attributing them to his incendiary persona, and other sermonists citing the "golden calf" episode (churchmen like Thomas Bennet and Francis Atterbury, very much within Defoe's target audience) always get the number right (74-75). It is hard to resist Weinbrot's conclusion that Defoe is marking his speaker as conspicuously deranged.

Other *Shortest Way* passages might be adduced in which contradiction and muddle not only discredit Defoe's assumed voice but implicitly refute his core arguments. Such passages cluster most intensively in the closing pages, where, among other gaffes, Defoe's controversialist loses control of another scriptural reference ("the ignorant Mob think we are all Idolaters, and Worshippers of *Baal*") to the point of aligning Dissent with the rigour and purity of the early Church, and Anglicanism with its opponents or corrupters: "The primitive Christians were not

more shie of a Heathen-Temple or of Meat offer'd to Idols [...] than some of our Dissenters are of the Church, and the Divine Service solemnized therein" (108). It is not simply that Defoe's speaker is rhetorically incompetent here; his incompetence reinforces the nonconformist position he seeks to discredit, in which Dissent equals true religion and the crypto-Catholicism of High Church ritualists is indeed borderline idolatry. With such moves, Defoe insinuates dissenting arguments into his counterfeit High Church pamphlet. Barely a page later, Dissenters are held to "endanger the Extirpation of Religion in the Nation" (109): a charge frequently levelled against them by Tory zealots, but in this case subverted by the deft double negative that Defoe introduces over the head, as it were, of his frenzied controversialist. Literally understood—and that, surely, is Defoe's invitation—Dissenters here do the very opposite of endangering religion; they endanger the High Church project of rooting it up.

Hoax or irony, then? Historically, and textually, the evidence is complex, and points in two directions. But not irreconcilably so, and that is the genius of the pamphlet. For the bluntest modern exponents of either view—"close reading of *The Shortest-Way* carried out without the presumption of ironic intent does not turn up plausible 'signals' of irony" (Marshall 242-243); "readers who arrived at the last page without knowing what Defoe was up to [i.e. irony] would have to be more than dense" (Weinbrot 79)—there is only one scene of reading. But of course there were originally two: first, the moment of publication (c. 1 December 1702), when few readers would approach a topical pamphlet hot off the press with the leisurely scrutiny demanded by verbal irony; second, the excruciating period between Defoe's outing in January 1703 and his pillorying in July, when readers like Leslie demonstrably returned to the text with greater vigilance, turning on it now, we might say, a hermeneutics of suspicion. *The Shortest Way* could thus function first as a hoax discrediting and ensnaring High Church hotheads; it could then function as irony when more attentively read, or in Defoe's words more seriously reflected on, as the truth about authorship emerged.[1] None of this could be enough, of course, to get Defoe out of trouble, and Swift, for one, gloated loftily about the ritual of humiliation he finally faced. Defoe was, Swift writes in 1709, "the Fellow that was *Pillor'd*, I have forgot his Name" (*Sacramental Test* 6)—a name, Rawson observes, "we know Swift did not forget, because in 1735, when reprinting his works, he added Defoe's name in a footnote without deleting the remark about having forgotten

1 For this view, see Thomas Keymer, *Poetics of the Pillory: English Literature and Seditions Libel, 1660-1820*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, 130; see also Joseph Hone, *Literature and Party Politics at the Accession of Queen Anne*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017, 157.

it" (*Satire and Sentiment* 251). There could be few defter insults *de haut en bas*. But as Rawson suggests elsewhere, Swift in the *Modest Proposal* may also have drawn lessons from the unstable irony of *The Shortest Way* by inserting into "his own mock-extermination pamphlet […] such outlandish particulars as to neutralize the likelihood of a literal misprision, though even here, as in the case of *Gulliver's Travels*, a minority of readers are sometimes taken in" ("Swift, Satire" 538).

Rawson's most sustained account of the episode comes in his *Times Literary Supplement* review of Maximillian E. Novak's heavyweight biography *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions*. Questioning the standard "impersonator/ironist opposition" inherited from Watt and others such as Wayne C. Booth (in his influential *A Rhetoric of Irony*), Rawson emphasizes two complicating factors. First, that since Defoe's adversaries (notably the rabble-rousing cleric Henry Sacheverell) never crossed the line into extermination rhetoric as such, Defoe's supposed impersonation in *The Shortest Way* is in its most salient feature "an impersonation without an original" ("A Hack's Freedom" 4). Second, that on inspection this salient feature is repeatedly and heavily qualified in the text itself, with its suggestion that a few exemplary atrocities will be enough to pre-empt broader massacre *à la* St Bartholomew's Day, since prudent rank-and-file Dissenters will simply return to—and, the speaker silkily adds, be welcomed by—the Church. Then there is the tract's equivocating tendency to represent the "Contagion" to be killed off in abstract terms: Dissent as a religious stance, as opposed to actual Dissenters in the flesh. It follows that *The Shortest Way* is best thought of as a kind of prolepsis, generated to be sure by the sermon wars of the day, but in its most important insights, and most vivid imaginings, looking forward in time. While misrepresenting Sacheverell and the rest, Defoe "captured a sense of how exterminators really do go on," which is indeed in veiled terms, with distracting metaphors, ambiguous syntax, and plausible decoy targets:

> His parody does not so much unearth or exaggerate a potential in his authors as invent another person, who knew his business as the Hitler of *Mein Kampf* was to know his business. In that event, it is not the reality of what Defoe imitated, but the additive of a semi-extraneous intuition, that caused his tract to be taken for real. (4)

It might be added, by analogy with Swift in Rawson's account, that something in Defoe's ambivalent feelings about his fellow Dissenters allowed him (in "not not meaning it" style) to imagine and voice this position with special vigour, or with

relish in marked excess of the satirical need. A literary loner par excellence, his imagination forever drawn to states of isolation or abandonment, Defoe likened Dissenters who joined the outcry against him to Casca stabbing Caesar: "Nay Even ye Dissenters Like Casha To Cæsar Lift up the first Dagger at me: I Confess it makes me Reflect on ye wholl body of ye Dissenters wth Something of Contempt More Than Usuall, and gives me ye More Regrett That I Suffer for Such a People" (*Correspondence* 11, letter to William Paterson, 11 April 1703).

Rawson relies at this point on Novak's account of the polemical background to *The Shortest Way*, which in playing down the violence of High Church polemic ("Henry Sacheverell never wrote anything so outrageous as Defoe's piece"), may be open to question (*Master of Fictions* 173). For all its inconsistences and fluctuations, the genocidal language of *The Shortest Way* is its most emphatic characteristic, most of all when reworking the Old Testament formulations identified by Rawson. The tract deplores the lenity of James I, who could "have rooted the Puritans from the Face of the Land;" insists that ministers must now (in something of a mixed metaphor) "find effectual Methods for the rooting the Contagion from the Face of this Land;" declares that "Heaven has made way for [the Dissenters'] Destruction," so enabling good Anglicans to serve the Church "by extirpating her implacable Enemies" (100-103). Then there is the prediction "How many Millions of future Souls we save from Infection and Delusion, if the present Race of poison'd Spirits were purg'd from the Face of the Land" (105). No modern editor or commentator seems to have noted the chilling appearance of Amalek in *The Shortest Way*'s repertoire of biblical allusions. If we fail to act now, Defoe's controversialist insists, suffering posterity will hold us responsible: "You had an Opportunity to root out this cursed Race from the World, under the Favour and Protection of a true *English* Queen; and out of your foolish Pity you spared them [...] your sparing this *Amalakite* Race is our Destruction" (105).

This is strong stuff. Yet on inspection, there is little here that Sacheverell and his allies do not come close to saying themselves. Weinbrot has anatomized the apocalyptic tropes recurrent in High Church discourse, notably "the repeated terms of destructive uprooting [...] consistent with its cousin *extirpation*," adding that Defoe's adversaries "lacked the word but not the concept of genocide" (60, 62). Sacheverell is of course prominent among Weinbrot's examples, insistent in his desire to follow God's command "*to* Cry aloud, *and* Spare *not*;" Dissenters are "a *Generation of Vipers*" who deserve "Condign Vengeance" and on whom the authorities must "*Execute Wrath*." Leslie is no less to the fore with his insistence that such "Incendiaries of *England*" must be hanged, or worse, for their efforts to "set a whole Kingdom on

Fire" (Sacheverell, *Perils* A2v; Sacheverell, *Nature and Mischief* 54, 26, 57; Leslie, *Principles* 17; qtd. in Weinbrot 61-62). The palm goes, however, to the ferocious rector of St Ethelburga's Bishopsgate, in Ian Higgins's words "the high-flying pulpit celebrity Luke Milbourne, proponent of an unreconstructed political theology of divine right monarchism," known especially for his bloodcurdling 30th January sermons on the regicide of 1649 (13). One such sermon, *The Utter Extirpation of Tyrants and Their Families* (1708), begins from Isaiah 14:20-21, a text declaring the need to "prepare slaughter for his children for the iniquity of their fathers; that they do not rise, nor possess the land." Citing with enthusiasm God's command to "*Israel* in their Wars against the *Canaanites*, and *Saul* in his war against *Amelek* [...] to destroy *Infant* and *Suckling* for the *Sins* of their *Predecessors*," Milbourne concedes that in the case of Dissenters "utter Extirpation" might possibly go a bit far. That said, they must not be allowed to "*Rise and Possess the Land again*," as they did in the 1640s and might again—and "if we can be so stupid as to permit it, who can Pity us? Where God sets us a *Pattern of innocent Policy*, we may safely follow it; if we pretend to *be wiser than God*, we may and must smart for it" (14, 17).[1] It is worth adding that words of this kind were not mere policy recommendations; they were calls to mob action.[2] Defoe coolly alleges the rationale in one of his later commentaries on *The Shortest Way*: "Nothing can justifie it that I know, but their being a People fit to be extirpated from the Face of the Earth" (*Dissent* 213).

In light of Rawson's comment about the proleptic character of Defoe's pamphlet—the fact that it anticipates more than it reflects extermination rhetoric—it is notable that the most openly menacing of the sermons cited by Weinbrot—culminating, of course, in *The Perils of False Brethren* (1709), for which Sacheverell was impeached—postdate Defoe's parody. If *The Shortest Way* looks forward to the horrors of modernity, then, it looks forward first to an intensification of High Church extremism in its immediate wake, as though Defoe had emboldened more than chastened the sermonists whose tropes and figures he targeted so closely. It is worth dwelling, from this point of view, on one of three provocative pages (11, 18, and 26 in the original pagination) marked for special scrutiny when *The Shortest Way* was brought before Parliament in February 1703. As Hone astutely observes of these pages, two (11 and 26) deal not with High Church/Dissenter relations but with the proposed union with Scotland and succession of the Crown, so indicating that Defoe was targeted, beyond his immediate

1 On Amalekites more generally in anti-Dissenter sermons, see Howard D Weinbrot, *Literature, Religion, and the Evolution of Culture, 1660-1780*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013, 93.

2 On sermons and the provocation of riots, see Geoffrey Holmes, "The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd and the Church in Early Eighteenth-Century London," *Past and Present* vol. 72, August 1976, 55-85.

subject, for rocking the political boat on the largest constitutional issues. It may go too far to conclude, however, that "parliament did not care what Defoe said about dissent" (162). The original page 18 features the most egregiously genocidal passage in the whole tract, and thus the one most likely to incite sectarian violence, whether initiated by wound-up loyalists or by panicked Dissenters. This page also marks Defoe's most intensive use of favourite tricks from the Sacheverell playbook: metaphors of parasitism and contamination that by association demonize, without needing to specify, real human targets. "If ever you will free the Nation from the viperous Brood that have so long suck'd the Blood of their Mother," Defoe's controversialist asks: "If you will leave your Posterity free from Faction and Rebellion, this is the time. This is the time to pull up this heretical Weed of Sedition, that has so long disturb'd the Peace of our Church, and poisoned the good Corn." Would that not be cruel or barbarous, it might be asked? Not really—because "TIS Cruelty to kill a Snake or a Toad in cold Blood, but the Poyson of their Nature makes it a Charity to our Neighbours, to destroy those Creatures, not for any personal Injury receiv'd, but for prevention; not for the Evil they have done, but the Evil they may do" (*Dissent* 104).

The amped-up rhetorical figures—the anaphora, the anadiplosis—are easy enough to spot in this tirade; where might we locate the irony, however? Perhaps in a sinister echo of *Julius Caesar*, a play frequently performed in the period at moments of political crisis. Struggling to justify pre-emptive assassination in plain Roman speech, Brutus falls back on figurative language, likening the ascendant Caesar to an adder, contemplating not his record ("I know no personal cause to spurn at him") but his potential, and doing so in a way he acknowledges to be rhetorical deception or self-deception:

> So Caesar may.
> Then, lest he may, prevent. And since the quarrel
> Will bear no colour for the thing he is,
> Fashion it thus: that what he is, augmented,
> Would run to these and these extremities.
> And therefore think him as a serpent's egg,
> Which, hatched, would, as his kind, grow mischievous,
> And kill him in the shell. (II.i.11, II.i.28-36)

Defoe clearly suggests the parallel, and with it the ironic indication that only through linguistic wiles and duplicitous figures—antidoting poisons, uprooting weeds, neutralizing predators or parasites—can the slaughter proposed in *The Shortest Way*

be articulated and advanced. Genocide begins with rhetorical dexterity. The only question is where Defoe himself stands amidst his alarming acts of ventriloquism: meaning it, not meaning it, or not not meaning it, with the conscience of Brutus and the dagger of Casca on his mind.

Unspeakable Crusoe

A comparable blend of masochistic relish and suppressed horror haunts Defoe's fiction, in ways that may well be related to Defoe's likely trauma (Tom Paulin has argued in *Crusoe's Secret*) as a survivor of Sedgemoor and the subsequent mass hangings of Protestant rebels. In *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722), it seems as though the narrator's own city might be "designed by Heaven for an Akeldama, doom'd to be destroy'd from the Face of the Earth" (18).[1] On Crusoe's island, the tables are turned as the colonizing hero, sensing he has cannibal company, considers exterminating the brutes, while worrying that in doing so he would re-enact the "Barbarities" of the conquistadors, who "destroy'd Millions of these People, who however they were Idolaters and Barbarians [...] were yet, as to the *Spaniards*, very innocent People" (145). Here is Defoe's version of the classic turn found in Montaigne, which throws back on the "civilized" European the very allegation—the allegation of barbarity—that sanctions his depredations: an allegation lurking beneath the surface at key moments in *Robinson Crusoe*.

To kill, or not to kill: that is the question occupying Crusoe's thoughts as he passes two years in a state of "Dread and Terror" following his discovery of a single naked footprint in the sand (138). An ambiguous mark of both presence and absence—complete with "Toes, Heel, and every Part of a Foot," except for the other foot—the footprint is one of many traces of human activity that Crusoe encounters (130). In the aftermath of his shipwreck, Crusoe's search for survivors yields only "three of their Hats, one Cap, and two Shoes that were not Fellows;" years later, he stumbles upon what appears to be the remnant of a cannibal barbecue, a shore "spread with Skulls, Hands, Feet, and other Bones of humane Bodies" (41, 139).[2] Whether encountering clothes, body parts, or the enigmatic footprint, Crusoe is always a step too late and never sees the full picture.

1 Defoe's allusion is to the "field of blood" near Jerusalem, forbidden as a place of habitation from its association with Judas (Acts 1:18-20).

2 "Barbecue" originates from the Arawak word "barbacoa," which means wooden frame on posts. Peter Hulme points out that "to wean Friday off human flesh," Crusoe teaches him the European method of string-turned roasting. See Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797*, London: Methuen, 1986, 210-211. On Caribbean barbecuing, see Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, edited and translated by Janet Whatley, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, 79.

The fragmented phenomena Crusoe sees and, perhaps more crucially, does not see cause him to second-guess his instincts, especially when it comes to the looming threat of the "Savage" cannibals.[1] Although he claims to be "ill enough qualified for a Casuist," Crusoe invokes casuistical reasoning to resolve his case of conscience (184). G.A. Starr's classic 1971 study examines the significance of casuistry in Defoe's fiction, when the general rules of religion and morality are seen as inadequate for cases of particular complexity in which there seem to be conflicting imperatives. However, Starr says little about Robinson Crusoe, whose vivid dreams of "killing the Savages, and […] the Reasons why I might justify the doing of it" are disrupted and ultimately thwarted by moral qualms (156).

Crusoe initially considers drastic measures to sort out his cannibal problem. By planting gun-powder explosives underneath their firepit, Crusoe can reduce the cannibals to the state of their victims—a heap of body parts strewn across the shore. But this plan seems too risky and wasteful, so Crusoe prepares for a more definitive solution. Armed to the teeth with two muskets, a fowling-piece, and several pistols, Crusoe suddenly checks the impending killing spree when "cooler and calmer Thoughts" manifest (144). "What Authority, or Call I had, to pretend to be Judge and Executioner upon these Men as Criminals," Crusoe asks himself in a remarkable meditation on national crime and punishment, "what Right I had to engage in the Quarrel of that Blood, which they shed promiscuously one upon another […] How do I know what God himself judges in this particular Case?" (144) Reversing his prior language of arbitrary injustice, Crusoe now frets about playing judge, jury, and executioner for a people he knows little about. Thinking again of Paulin's suggestive reading of *Robinson Crusoe* alongside Sedgemoor, no longer do we hear in Crusoe's voice the "cruel bloody Entertainment" of Judge Jeffreys, James II's hanging judge at the Bloody Assizes (142). Instead, as Crusoe concludes that the cannibals "think it no more a Crime to kill a Captive taken in War, than we do to kill an Ox; nor to eat humane Flesh, than we do to eat Mutton," Defoe's novel turns the discourse of cultural relativism that we find in Léry and Montaigne into a casuistical debate that Crusoe never resolves (145).

In the first novel Crusoe finally chooses to kill when he rescues imprisoned Spaniards from the possibility of revenge cannibalism; even then he is curiously hesitant and delegates most of the killing to Friday and a liberated Spaniard (197-199).

1 Defoe's portrayal of Caribs amalgamates various proto-ethnographic stereotypes. For more on categories of difference in *Robinson Crusoe*, see Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, 49-89.

The killing increases to a global scale in Defoe's sequels, *Farther Adventures* and *Serious Reflections*, which confound scholars who are committed to reading Crusoe's adventures as an island experience. On his return trip in *Farther Adventures*, Crusoe visits the island for a mere twenty-five days before making a clean break: "I have now done with my Island, and all Manner of Discourse about it" (125). He leaves the island without a name and without a leader, "belonging to no Body; and the People under no Discipline or Government but my own," and admits that he "never so much as pretended to plant in the Name of any Government or Nation; or to acknowledge any Prince, or to call my People Subjects to any one Nation more than another" (125-126). Wolfram Schmidgen proposes that Crusoe's fear of the cannibals is intertwined with anxieties surrounding property, land claims, and the doctrine that would later become formalized as *terra nullius*. His hostility towards national affiliation is not a critique of colonial practice per se but instead reflects how English colonialism of the mid-seventeenth century "was not yet shaped by government policy" (41). What are we then to make of the colony's abject failure? After Crusoe leaves the island behind, skirmishes soon erupt between the remaining English and Spanish colonists and the Caribs. Crusoe gets wind of the colony's collapse years later, having lost interest and moved onto his next "*Wild Goose Chase*," raising a fortune from goods acquired in China and Siberia (126). Crusoe's self-interest is costly as he fails in his promise to the colonists "to fetch them away, that they might see their own Country again before they dy'd" (126). His haphazard hunger for profit—inspired implicitly by the early modern predecessors of *terra nullius*—ironically leads Crusoe to abandon his colonial project. As Montaigne concedes in his elusive essay "Des cannibales," which bursts the imperial balloon with prophetic insight, "I fear that our eyes are bigger than our bellies, our curiosity more than we can stomach. We grasp at everything but clasp nothing but wind" (231).

By the time of *Serious Reflections*, Crusoe's wanderlust is confined to armchair adventures. Defoe's final instalment in the Crusoe "trilogy" is a collection of digressive essays that takes the past adventures as a point of departure for both philosophical and satirical designs. Much attention has been given to "Robinson Crusoe's Preface," where Crusoe responds to allegations that the adventures are fictional by declaring that "the Story, though Allegorical, is also Historical" (51). The preface slips between Crusoe's voice and a voice that seems closer to the historical author. Is Defoe playing mind games as in *The Shortest Way*? Or is this an ironizing tactic? In his more recent study of the sequels, Starr concludes that "The Crusoe of this third volume is not a fully realized persona […] at certain moments it is so much Defoe's that it cannot be Crusoe's" (75). Rawson would object to

a distinct authorial persona since it shields the author from being rhetorically complicit in speaking—or, in Montaigne's case, "unspeaking"—the unspeakable (24; see also 31). Even as Gulliver descends into misanthropic madness, he is always Gulliver, but never not quite Swift. Still, *Serious Reflections* presents such a shift in tone that irony comes to seem the most convincing explanation.

Or does it? Nicholas Seager takes an unusual approach in applying *God, Gulliver, and Genocide* to the Crusoe sequels. Seager focuses on "the most perplexing and alarming section of the *Serious Reflections*" (197). Alone in his London apartment, Crusoe worries about "how small a Part of the World it is, where the Christian Religion has really prevail'd" (201-202). He dreams up a unified holy war against all pagan and Muslim nations, punctuated by a British and Dutch naval invasion of Japan.[1] "This is my *Cruisado*," he callously puns, "a War that would bring Eternal Honour to the Conquerors, and an Eternal Blessing to the People conquer'd" (218). For Seager, this is Defoe's version of not not meaning it. We cannot dismiss Crusoe's "*Cruisado*" given the genocidal rhetoric he espouses in *Farther Adventures*, just as we cannot dismiss the genocidal rhetoric Defoe alludes to elsewhere in his writings on trade and empire.[2] Yet Seager overlooks the way in which a Rawsonian reading helps us bridge the gap between the first novel and the sequels. *Farther Adventures* and *Serious Reflections* stage troubled returns to problems raised but not resolved in the first adventure. Consider, for instance, how Crusoe envisions his holy war as "a bloodless Conquest," only to admit moments later that "the Business of Power"—which he clarifies to mean "military Power"—will be necessary in order to "reduce the Pagan World, and banish the Devil and Mahomet from the Face of the Earth" (208-209). Seager rightly observes that Crusoe is "fully prepared to countenance violence, even genocide, where indigenous peoples prove recalcitrant" (200). But as we have seen, Crusoe's inconsistent application of the language of mass killing is nothing new. While the scale changes from banishing the "Savages" from the island to banishing the "Savages" from "the Face of the Earth," the question of whether to kill, or not to kill, persists.

Crusoe no longer considers casuistry in *Farther Adventures* as his voice becomes less coherent and rife with contradictions. In Madagascar, he vehemently condemns his English shipmates for the burning and sacking of two villages in a calamitous revenge he labels "the *Massacre of Madagascar*" (140). The boatswain

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1 Crusoe previously casts the Japanese as "a false, cruel, and treacherous People" (*Farther Adventures* 170-171).

2 See Nicholas Seager, "Crusoe's Crusade: Defoe, Genocide, and Imperialism," *Études Anglaises*, vol. 72, no. 2, 2019, 208-209; he singles out *The Commentator* for 17 June 1720, *A General History of Discoveries and Improvements* (1725-1726), and *A Plan of the English Commerce* (1728).

invites him to join in the killing to "root out the very Nation of them from the Earth" (136). As in *The Shortest Way*, "root out" and "Face of the Earth" are synonymous with the scriptural language of genocide. Their etymology is closely tied to the act of extirpation, meaning to remove or destroy land, trees, stock, and livestock. With this terminology a colonial metaphor also emerges, as Christopher Loar reveals in his analysis of the crew's destruction of Malagasy spaces: clearing out Indigenous land to create one's own plantation (*Political Magic* 121-125). Although Crusoe denounces this act of bloody vengeance, in *Serious Reflections* he uses similar expressions to justify Spanish conquistador genocide, cutting through the debate he had staged in the original novel (see below). This semantic instability is also apparent when Crusoe wavers after seeing the dead body of the crew member who inspires the Madagascar massacre, the perhaps ironically named Thomas Jeffreys, who is killed after raping a Malagasy young woman. Crusoe confesses "I was urg'd then myself, and at another Time should have been foreward enough" (137). However, he holds firm by citing Genesis 49:7, where Jacob rebukes the brothers Simeon and Levi who take disproportionate revenge for the rape of their sister Dinah by slaughtering the Sechemites.[1] Crusoe resists his crew's thirst for blood, or so it appears. For Crusoe's verdict that the perpetrators "ought to be every one of them put to the worst of Deaths" enacts his own version of Old Testament reciprocal justice (135). According to Montaigne's subversive logic, Crusoe's taste for torture makes him just as barbarous as his shipmates, if not worse. Moreover, the massacring of two villages for the killing of one man echoes Crusoe's call for divine retribution after Friday is killed by "old Friends, the same Sort of Savages" from the first adventure, off the coast of Brazil.[2] There Crusoe feels "justify'd before God and Man, [and] would have been very glad, if I could, to have overset every Canoe there, and drown'd every one of them" (121). Crusoe's relationship with the divine deteriorates in the sequels into a mission to "root out" all of God's enemies. He even verges on apocalyptic fanaticism when he warns his shipmates, as they set sail from Madagascar, that "God would blast the Voyage" (139).

Crusoe's contrarianism is most troubling when he journeys westward on a caravan through the Russian-occupied regions of Tartary. There he reverses course and encourages unjustifiable violence against Tartar villagers who worship the Chinese idol, Cham-Chi-Thaungu. Crusoe concedes "I was more mov'd at their

1 Cf. Genesis 49:7 ("Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel").

2 Crusoe tries to clarify that "the Savages who came to my Island, were not properly those which we call *Caribbees*, but Islanders, and other Barbarians of the same kind," but his distinction is unclear and seems to reverse the usual gentle Arawak/ "savage" Carib dichotomy (*Farther Adventures* 26).

Stupidity and brutish Worship of a Hobgoblin, than ever I was at any Thing in my Life" (*FA*, 192). His past fantasies of killing Caribs are displaced onto what Eun Kyung Min describes as "faceless Tartar hordes," but this time there is no case of conscience to deter his bloodlust (78). To incite his fellow caravan voyagers to violence, Crusoe relates "the Story of our Men at *Madagascar*" and reasons that "we ought to do [the same] to this Village" (194). The plan is heinous; nothing about Crusoe's invocation of Madagascar for what should be done to the Tartar villagers—the killing of "Man, Woman and Child, for their murdering one of our Men"— is consistent or justifiable (194). His allies are not convinced, so they settle instead for blowing up the idol. The twisted revenge Crusoe contemplates in the first adventure takes shape as he and his men mix "combustible Matter with Aqua-vitae [and] Gunpowder" (195). They capture three priests standing guard and, in a twisted form of dramatic irony, force them to watch a different kind of iconoclasm. Protestantism not only triumphs over pagan idolatry but also implicitly over Russian Orthodoxy. The destruction of Cham-Chi-Thaungu encapsulates the dizzying changes to Crusoe's violent energies. It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile Crusoe's earlier admission that he is "sick of killing such poor Savage wretches" and "would even now suffer a great deal, rather than […] take away the life, even of that Person injuring me," with his plot to extirpate idolaters without a hint of remorse (158). The allusions to Crusoe's imagined violence from the first novel make his crimes in the second even more unsettling. The subtle parallels between parts one and two do not form a clear coherence; yet we cannot dismiss the possibility that Crusoe internalizes his island encounters as a war against "savagery," either.

Serious Reflections turns Crusoe's contradictions into a series of paradoxes. The volume's final essay, "*Of the Proportion between the Christian and Pagan World*," where Crusoe presents his blueprint to rid the world of pagan idolatry, embellishes enough of Crusoe's past reflections to raise questions as to whether this is Crusoe gone mad, a disjointed spoof, or Defoe projecting macabre fantasies of colonial violence through the voice of his colonial hero. Nevertheless, as Starr points out, "The opinions expressed, and the voice uttering them, seldom violate jarringly those we associate with Crusoe" (75). It all depends on how we identify the voice, yet Defoe withholds sufficient certainty to settle the matter. Crusoe's shifting stance on Spanish atrocities helps spell out this Rawsonian problem. During his casuistical debate in the first adventure, Crusoe invokes the Spanish Black Legend promoted by rival colonial powers to justify his trepidation. As he denounces the Spaniards for their "bloody and unnatural piece of Cruelty, unjustifiable either to God or Man," Crusoe reasons that although their Amerindigenous victims

"were Idolaters and Barbarians, and had several bloody and barbarous Rites in their Customs, such as sacrificing human Bodies to their Idols, were yet, as to the *Spaniards*, very innocent people" (145). Defoe seems to draw on Las Casas' *Brevísima Relación* as Crusoe articulates his decision to leave the cannibals alone for the time being. And while Defoe's library is known to contain extraneous items, Kathryn Rummell argues that the 1642 Lyon edition of Las Casas' *Histoires des Indes Occidentales* was originally his own (17, n. 9). *Farther Adventures*, by contrast, throws barbarity back on the English. Unlike the roguish mutineers, the Spanish colonists, "who [are] so universally Modest, Temperate, Virtuous, so very good Humour'd, and so Courteous," show dignity and restraint in refusing to take Carib women as "temporary" wives (58, 55). Dennis Todd makes the inversion clear, arguing that "it is the English who act out the role of cruel barbarians [that] English colonial ideology had assigned to the Spanish" (59). Add to this the English massacre in Madagascar, and the contradiction between parts one and two suggests that since barbarity is not exclusive to the Spanish, then "savagery" is not exclusive to racialized and/or Indigenous foes. Remarkably, Crusoe comes to a similar conclusion in *Serious Reflections*. His Montaigne-like meditation, which reminds us of Crusoe's defence of the Spanish, blurs distinctions between "civility" and "savagery": "as to the Difference between Eating and Killing those that offer to yield, it matters not much. And this I observed at the same Time, that in their other Conduct, those Savages were as human, as mild, and gentle, as most I have met with in the World, and as easily civiliz'd" (137).

How does Crusoe's ambivalence square with his later thoughts on conquistador genocide in *Serious Reflections* that seem mad by comparison? He begins by condemning the Spanish because they "rooted out the Idolatry by destroying the Idolaters, not by converting them" (206). Here Crusoe is being explicit about a distinction that *The Shortest Way* blurs. Defoe looks forward to Rawson's point that extermination rhetoric is often aimed at an abstraction: is the author attacking the faith or killing the people (see Rawson's comparison between Houyhnhnms and Nazis, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide* 256-258) who are practising it? But instead of suggesting a less bloody alternative, Crusoe does the opposite. He is convinced that "Heaven had determined such an Act of Vengeance should be executed, and of which the *Spaniards* were Instruments, to destroy those People, who were come up (by the Influence of the Devil, no Doubt) to such a dreadful height, in that abhorr'd Custom of human Sacrifices" (206). The debate descends into a maniacal fanaticism that is incongruous with Crusoe's past reflections. Suddenly it is the Christian God's divine prerogative to punish Amerindigenous peoples such as the Aztecs for

the devilish crime of human sacrifice. Violence that Crusoe previously considers "unjustifiable either to God or Man" he now endorses with the flippant remark "it seemed to be a Time to put a Stop to that Crime" (*Robinson Crusoe* 145; *Serious Reflections* 206). Better to put the "Savages" out of their misery than for them to "at last be extinct by their own Butcheries" (206). Is Defoe playing God? Or is he playing us? For Crusoe's flawed logic implies that the Spanish are much worse than their Amerindigenous victims. They are doing God's work "by destroying those Nations from the Face of the Earth," even though massacring innocent people is clearly more reprehensible than committing human sacrifice (206).[1] Crusoe pursues this paradox further with the help of Scripture. He claims that the conquest of Canaan from Joshua 1-12, where the Israelites spare nothing, "killing Man, Woman, and Child; nay, even destroying the very Cattle, and Trees, and Fruits of the Earth," is as cruel and inhumane "as ever the *Spaniards* were charg'd with in the Conquest of Mexico" (206-207). But because the Israelites were following orders from above, "therein *Joshua* was justify'd;" likewise, the Spanish conquest of the Americas, "however abhorr'd by us, was doubtless an Appointment of God" (207). Crusoe defends his proposed "lawful and just War" with a chilling equivocation that paints the conquistadors as divinely ordained hitmen executing God's mission (210). Crusoe's paradoxical conclusion—that the ends justify the means no matter the bloodshed—leaves the text uncomfortable and uncertain.

The onus is on the reader to determine whether we should take Crusoe's raving reflections seriously or whether the essay triggers the rhetorical equivalent of a kamikaze, which Rawson terms the comprehensiveness of incrimination, inculpating everyone in self-destructive fashion so that no respectable or humane position survives in the text. The tone abruptly swings to the opposite extreme when Crusoe puns on the fate of the Amerindigenous peoples who are supposedly under the sway of the devil and therefore must be eliminated:

> the poor Wretches the *Indians* in *America* […] when they were talked to of the Future State, the Resurrection of the Dead, Eternal Felicity in Heaven, and the like, enquir'd where the *Spaniards* went after Death, and if any of them went to Heaven? and being answered in the Affirmative, shook their Heads, and desired they might go to Hell then, for that they were afraid to think of being in

1 For Las Casas' thoughts on human sacrifice, see José Cardénas Bunsen, "Opinion, Idolatry, and Indigenous Consciousness: Bartolomé de las Casas' Approach to Human Sacrifice," *Casuistry and Early Modern Spanish Literature*, edited by Marlen Bidwell-Steiner and Michael Scham, Leiden: Brill, 2022, 156-175.

Heaven, if the *Spaniards* were there. (217)

Defoe's sardonic twist would make even his rival Swift proud. The joke is aimed not only at the Spanish, but also at the hypocrisy of missionaries whose efforts at conversion, doctrine of providence, "and the like," fall flat. The essay overturns the Christian cosmos with paradoxical inversion. For the Amerindigenous victims of conquistador genocide, Heaven is anywhere where the Spanish are not, even if that means spending the rest of eternity in Hell.[1] While the timing may seem odd and out of place, Defoe's sardonic sense of humour brings us back to Rawson's question of meaning it, not meaning it, and not not meaning it. As soon as we give up on *Serious Reflections* and convince ourselves that Crusoe's voice is a set of extreme projections, Defoe pulls the rug. No less perplexing than Gulliver's adventures, the relationship between the three Crusoe texts is tense, disorderly, and vexed. Defoe's series explores troubling questions and offers both violent ironies and violent realities in return, forever restaging its moral nightmares, never quite waking from them.

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1 Starr notes that Defoe uses a similar figure of speech in his *Reformation of Manners*, l. 348 in *Poetry*, 166, when he compares slavery to Spanish conquest: owing to the "more than Spanish cruelty of their masters," the enslaved people "fear no Hell, *but where such Christians go*" (*Serious Reflections* 217, n. 633).

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Gulliver in the History of Race

Nicholas Hudson

Abstract: This essay revisits the vexed issue of race and racism in Part Four of *Gulliver's Travels*, as analyzed brilliantly in Claude Rawson's *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination,1492-1945*. Whereas Rawson both resisted charges that Swift's presentation of the Yahoos is racist and cast doubt on defenses of Swift as anti-racist, I argue instead that the tale of the Houyhnhnms and the Yahoos marks the crossroads between the older, early modern vision of the human species with the modern ideology of racial science coalescing just at that moment in history. Swift draws on the one hand from older myths such as the "Wild Man" or bestial savage but also reflects contemporary debates on the definition of "man" provoked particularly by John Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding*. Our difficulties in placing Swift in the history of race reflects emerging problems of definition and taxonomy that he deliberately exploited in order to perplex the reader.
Keywords: Swift; *Gulliver's Travels*; race; racism; Locke; Leibniz; Linnaeus; Buffon
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There are good reasons to consider Claude Rawson's *God, Gulliver, and Genocide* (2001) as his finest book. In a sweeping survey that spans from the Old Testament to the late twentieth century, combining rich historical knowledge with his characteristically incisive close readings, Rawson shows how Jonathan Swift's satire foreshadows with prescient insight the violence and genocide that has since characterized the history of race, colonialism and imperialism. This study broaches themes that continue to preoccupy modern scholarship and our current culture wars. Nonetheless, Rawson refuses to align himself with any critical faction or ideological tendency. As he states in the introduction, "My hope is to open up this topic in a way that will uncouple Swift from the indignant diatribes of self-righteous post-

colonial censors, as well as from the well-intentioned ministrations of 'liberal' sensibilities in the late Ph.D. era." The Swift who emerges from this book is "neither a benevolent defender of good causes, nor the demonic xenophobe or misogynist of some post-colonial opinion" (16).

At the heart of *God, Gulliver, and Genocide* is the question of race, for here is where Swift's work, and particularly part four of *Gulliver's Travels*, has provided considerable fuel for ideologically-tinged controversy. If, on the one hand, some scholars have condemned Swift's presentation of the Yahoos as racist, an equally large group has lauded Swift for exposing the evils of racism, slavery and political tyranny, as supposedly exemplified by the Houyhnhnms.[1] Rawson's argument is that neither of these approaches does justice to the subtlety and complexity of Swift's satire. In constructing the Yahoos, Swift certainly drew from contemporary and historical perceptions of the debased "savage," including degrading representations of the Catholic Irish. Nonetheless, he essentially turned this disgust back on the Anglophone reader, troubling the effort of supposedly "civilized" people to distance themselves from this despised type. As Gulliver comes to believe, we are all "Yahoos" by dint of all being human beings. Yahoo-like corruption and irrationality lie at the heart of many "civilized" human activities. The identification of the whole human species with a despised subgroup differs from "racism," which typically seeks to separate and diminish a despised group. Indeed, Rawson doubts whether the terms "race" and "racism" have any validity in speaking of *Gulliver's Travels*: "there is no critique of racism except one which insults 'civilized' humans by imputing savagery to them" (177).

As Rawson is well aware, moreover, it is arguably anachronistic to apply the term "race" to the era when Swift published *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). Some writers, like François Bernier, had already begun to divide the human species into several subgroups or "races" by the later seventeenth century, though in a brief and tentative

1 For various positions on the issue of race and racism, see Laura Brown, "Reading Race and Gender: Jonathan Swift," *Critical Essays on Jonathan Swift*, edited by Frank Palmeri, Boston: G. K. Hall, 1993 and *Ends of Empire: Women and Ideology in Early Eighteenth-Century English Literature*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993, 183-186, 195-198; Clement Hawes, "Three Times Round the Globe: Gulliver and Colonial Discourse," *Cultural Critique* 18 (1991): 187-214; Cristina Malcolmson, *Studies of Skin Colour in the Early Eighteenth Century*, London and New York: Routledge, 2013, 169-187; Allen Michie, "Gulliver the Houyhoo [sic]: Swift, Locke, and the Ethics of Excessive and Individualism," *Humans and other Animals in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, edited by Frank Palmeri, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, 67-81; Michael Stewart, "Yahoos and the Discourse of Racialism in Gulliver's Travels," *Lumen* 12 (1993): 35-41; Michael Wilding, "The Politics of Gulliver's Travels," *Studies in the Eighteenth Century: II. Papers presented at the Second David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar*, edited by R. F. Brissenden, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973, 302-322.

way. The first naturalist to utilize "race" systematically as a name for human groups, the Comte de Buffon, did not publish his work on human varieties until 1748. He was followed by many authors who imitated his methodology and language in reducing the human species to a hierarchy of five or six "races" with the white race on top.[1] These authors did not, of course, invent hatred for the non-European Other. They nonetheless gave systematic order and scientific authority to attitudes that had previous existed only as dispersed expressions of bigotry. Although Iago, for example, despises Othello because he is black and from a Muslim background, his insults constitute, as Michael Neill observes, "a gallimaufry of quite unsystematic prejudices and superstitions" (395). To a remarkable extent, Buffon and other prominent authors like Hume, Voltaire, and Kant, built their own "scientific" racial theories on long-standing tales and legends. They tailored travelers' reports to their needs, often ignoring details or nuances that would muddle their neat hierarchy. Race science was nonetheless systematic and categorical, postulating that the traits of large racial groups were fixed, consistent and innate rather than the variable accidents of climate and lifestyle.

Here is where Swift's depiction of the Yahoos bears similarities with the race science that emerged not long after *Gulliver's Travels*. Swift was drawing in part on earlier models of human difference like the wild man, the ancient myth of the hairy and mute savage. To this old model, as Rawson shows, Swift added traits of "savagery" from travelers' accounts of peoples like the Khoi, known popularly as "Hottentots." Gulliver nonetheless foreshadows racial ideology when he indicates that the Yahoos represent a "degeneration" from a lighter skinned and less hirsute original (perhaps even English people). The debased characteristics of Yahoos are fixed and innate, offering no opportunity for palliation, nuance or improving. It is little wonder, actually, that modern readers have mistaken them for a racial group, or that Gulliver sounds like a racist when he describes them as "the most filthy, noisome, and deformed Animal which Nature ever produced [...] the most restive and indocible, mischievous and malicious" (Swift 253). As Rawson notes, "This is a description of group-character, not a list of actual transgressions" (263). "Yahoo" is a category of inherent being, not a temporary or accidental malformation linked to a savage lifestyle or the lack of Christianity. This is why even a well behaved "Yahoo" like Pedro de Mendez is still a "Yahoo," very much as a "good Negro" or

1 See Nicholas Hudson, "From 'Nation' to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 3 (1996): 247-264; Suman Seth, "Race and Science," *A Cultural History of Race in the Reformation and Enlightenment*, edited by Nicholas Hudson, London: Bloomsbury, 2021, 71-86.

"good Jew" still belongs to a hated group in racist ideology. This essential Yahoo nature can be covered up or controlled but it cannot be removed or denied. As Gulliver says in his letter to his Cousin Sympson, added to the 1735 edition of the *Travels*, there could be no more absurd project than "reforming the *Yahoo* Race of this Kingdom" (Swift 10).

In this passage and others, "race" is presumably used in a traditional sense as equivalent to the "human race." Nonetheless, there is a tension here and elsewhere in the *Travels* with that other repeated term "Species." Even in older usage, "race" usually referred to a subgroup or line of generation within a species, such as a "noble race" or a "race" of horses. What Swift reflects is an instability of terminology generated by recent philosophy and ethnographical reports. I will particularly draw attention to John Locke's challenge to the definition of "man" as "animal rationale" in *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), a work that profoundly influenced the epistemology and methodology of later science. Locke's discussion of the "Boundaries of the *Species*" (257) deployed a similar set of beings—horses, apes, mute humanoids—that populate part four of *Gulliver's Travels*. Swift seems to be stirring doubts about the real division between humans and beasts for satirical effect in order to upset human pride. Nonetheless, Swift was pointing towards the future rather than just drawing from the past. *Gulliver's Travels* marks a turning point, as I will argue, from an early modern understanding of humanity to a later re-categorization that would enfold humans in the order of animals and plants, giving rise to the category of "races" as large sub-groups within the human species.

My point here is not that Swift is a racist. The point is rather that Swift is exploiting changing language and ideas about humans and their place in nature that would, very soon, open the way for the beginnings of race science. Changes were beginning to stir within the intellectual and cultural climate, and *Gulliver's Travels* represents an early expression of those stirrings in satirical form.

I. Before "Race"

Although race science did not create prejudice against despised groups, this hatred remained disorganized and associated with factors such as religion and level of "civility," the latter category implying the superiority of urban to rural people. Othello's conversion to Christianity cannot dispel his predominant identity as a "Moor" or Muslim infidel, an association that seems uppermost in his own mind when he finally stabs himself, recalling as he does his killing of a Turk: "I took by th' throat the circumcised dog / And smote him thus" (Shakespeare 5.2, lines 358-359). Dennis Britton rightly observes that religious difference was associated in

the early modern era with corporeal difference, particularly darker skin color (24-27). Nonetheless, skin color was conventionally linked to climactic conditions, especially the darkening effect of the sun. Sir Thomas Browne knew that he was challenging an orthodoxy in *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646) when he denied that the skin color of Black people was caused by the sun or heat, insisting instead that it "was evidently maintained by generation" (3: 241). The term "race" was normally used for any line of generation, such as a family or breed. "Race" was also close to "nation," meaning any small national group rather than all the inhabitants of a continent with similar features. Hence, Leo Africanus, writing in the middle of the sixteenth century, described a wide variety of African "nations," some "most base and rustical" and others "exceedingly rich and civil" (3: 827, 837). For Africanus, the important factor was not the color of nations, which he regarded as variable, but rather whether a nation had achieved civility or remained "rustical." Similarly, historians of the Americas such José de Acosta or the Baron de Lahontan identified many different "Indian nations" of many different levels of civilization and even skin color.

These dominant features of ethnographical thinking in the early modern period implied that human difference was circumstantial and widely variable, not innate, fixed or uniform over continental regions. There were certainly some groups that were regarded as particularly debased and close to "beasts," the bottom line approached by groups furthest from civility. Like other scholars, Rawson stressed the similarity between the Yahoos and "Hottentots," the name given by the Dutch to the Khoi people living in the southern-most region of Africa. It is true indeed that these people were the subject of special hatred, becoming even a by-word for dirtiness and savagery. Johan Neuhoff was typical of Europeans, especially in the early years of contact, who described the Khoi as "the most savage folk of the whole earth" (Raven-Hart 1: 20), being even "less intelligent than the unreasoning beasts" (Raven-Hart 1: 20) and eating raw guts "greedily like dogs" (Raven-Hart 1: 17). Writing in 1691, John Ovington portrayed the Khoi as representing the "Medium "between a Rational Animal and a Beast," and "having lost all kind of Religion Devotion" (Raven-Hart 2: 394). It was this supposed absence of religion that Eustace Budgell particularly recalled in an essay on atheism that Swift surely saw, *Spectator* No. 389. There Budgell described the Khoi as "*Atheists*" who were "Scarce one degree above Brutes, having no Language among them but a confused *Gabble*" (408). The significance of religion in descriptions of the Khoi is significant, as we will see, for Swift leaves out all religious questions from part four of *Gulliver's Travels*.

It is significant, however, that Ovington and others regarded the supposed lack of religion among the Khoi not as an innate "racial" characteristic but as the result of their idleness and resistance to conversion by the Dutch. Increased contact with the Khoi convinced most Europeans who met them that they were in fact not unintelligent, however dirty and illiterate. Guy Tachard, writing in 1685, described them as "gay, lively, of few words, and [...] intelligent" (Raven-Hart 2: 289). The Khoi had many virtues. In particular, "they have more charity and faithfulness one to another than are usually found among Christians" (Raven-Hart 2: 286). Increasingly, Europeans were able to perceive the Khoi as having a sophisticated culture, even a kind of alternative to European ways. Many of the myths proved untrue: they did not eat raw guts and they spread grease on their bodies not because they loved dirt but as protection against the sun. Curiously, though their children were born pale, they preferred darker skin. Their women were chaste and they followed well-defined religious practices. The Khoi certainly had a language ("Hottentot" is a transliteration of what it sounded like), though it was characterized by clicks that Europeans had a hard time learning. These various corrections to previous myths were collected by the German traveler Peter Kolb in *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, first translated into English shortly after *Gulliver's Travels* in 1731.[1]

Significantly, later racial scientists had no interest in these nuances or palliations. Buffon described the "Hottentots" as a different "race" from other Africans, distinguished by their lighter skin color and their uniquely "nasty" lifestyle. The French naturalist also perpetuated the myth that the Khoi deliberately flattened the noses of their children, an old story that Gulliver alludes to in his description of the Yahoos (Buffon 3: 154, 158). Clearly, the image of the filthy, beastly "Hottentot" served some kind of function within European culture. John Wesley even expressed anger against Kolb for defending them, for "Hottentots" served as a good example of the degraded fate of atheists (345-347). Similarly, Swift had little interest in these nuances or corrections, at least for his purposes as a satirist. Gulliver repeats the stories circulated in popular culture, including not only the supposed habits of "all savage Nations" (Swift 215) but the belief that large people are cruel and that red-haired people are lascivious (Swift 78, 248). Gulliver's vulgarity facilitates Swift's satiric technique of reductiveness, the tendency to place

1 For further discussion of the reputation of the Khoi during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Nicholas Hudson, "'Hottentots' and the Evolution of European Racism," *Journal of European Studies* 34 (2004): 308-332 and "'Hottentots,' Venus and the Changing Aesthetics of Race," *Mosaic* 41 (2008): 19-41.

his subjects in well-defined categories and to dismiss all qualifications or palliations as irrelevant. This stark delineation of groups is indeed an even deliberately infuriating feature of part four of *Gulliver's Travels*. Following his point-by-point enumeration of apparent similarities between Yahoos and humans—their wars, pandering, drunkenness, avarice and so forth—the Houyhnhnm Master concludes that "As to learning, government, arts, manufactures, and the like [...] he could find little or no resemblance between the *Yahoos* of that country and those in ours." Such dissimilarities were, however, of no importance, "for he only meant to observe what parity there was in our natures" (Swift 244). To those readers who might object that the Master has omitted exactly what are the most important distinctions between humans and Yahoos, Swift provides no answer. The tendency of part four is to justify the definition of humans as "Yahoos" even with the effect of stirring objections and qualifications in the reader's mind.

Swift's portrait of the beastly Yahoos also draws from folkloric ideas of humanoids that were disappearing in the face of expanding knowledge and recent exploration. These included, prominently, the "Wild man," or the mute, hairy being who had populated the European imagination since ancient times. This remarkably consistent figure of the savage man of the forest—covered in hair, mute, rude—served even as a defining opposite to the idea of the civilized man of the town. As Roger Bartra writes in *El mito del salvaje*, "la identidad del civilizado ha estado siempre flanqueada por la imagen del Otro" (the identity of the civilized has always been flanked by the image of the Other) (17). In many ways, European depictions of foreign indigenous peoples merely extended what Europeans had long imagined in their own forests. Sir John Mandeville's fourteenth century *Travels* includes versions of the wild man (181). More recently, Louis le Comte's *Nouveau mémoire sur l'état présent de la Chine* (1696), quickly translated into English, contained a version of the "wild, or Savage-man" which resembles the Yahoo in some respects. Described to Le Comte by a traveler to Borneo, this wild man is "a sort of beast [...] whose shape, stature, countenance, arms, legs, and other members of the body are so like ours, that, excepting the voice only, one should have much ado not to reckon them equally men with certain Barbarians in Africa, who do not much differ from beasts" (Louis le Comte). This mute creature is "all hairy, his eyes sunk in his head, his countenance stern and tanned" (Louis le Comte 508-509). The hairiness of the wild man, it is worth noting, distinguished this figure from American indigenous people who were almost always depicted as lacking most bodily hair. Swift's Yahoos are indeed not very like conventional representations of "Indians" who were imagined not only as hairless but also as sexually passive. The hirsute Yahoos

more closely resemble the wild man or "Pygmie" described in *Ourang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris* (1699) by Edward Tyson, who repeats Le Comte's story. Tyson described yet another kind of hairy, mute creature resembling humans in some physical features. Nonetheless, Tyson denied that his "Pygmies" were "really a *Race* of *little Men*" (32) mainly because they lacked speech, which he regarded as an essential feature of human kind.

What actually distinguishes human kind from beasts, indeed, became the major issue generated by expanded exploration and increased contact with non-European people. With so many variations of humanity, how should we define the "human"? Combining traits drawn from long-standing myths with more recent observations, the Yahoos are perhaps best understood as an abstract construction that tests the problem what qualifies as "human." In this respect, Swift was intervening in a very recent philosophical debate that would lead eventually to the creation of racial science.

II. Defining the "Human"

At the fountainhead of Enlightenment thought was John Locke, who raised the issues and outlined the methodology that would dominate philosophy and the human sciences throughout the century. Locke challenged ideas that had previously seemed uncontroversial, such as how to define "Man," opening a new field of debate. The long-standing assumption was that rationality defined what was "essential" to the identity of a human being. Yet Locke asked the reader of *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) to consider the case of a rational equine:

> For however some Men seem to prize their Definition of *Animal Rationale*, yet should there a Creature be found, that had Language and Reason, but partaked not of the usual shape of a Man, I believe it would hardly pass for a *Man*, how much soever it were *Animal Rationale*. And if *Balaam*'s ass had all his Life discoursed as rationally as he did once with his Master, I doubt yet, whether any one would have thought him worthy the name *Man*, or allow'd him to be of the same *Species* with himself. (456)

Similarly, priests had wondered if they should baptize a "*Changling*" or mute and irrational child in human shape. If we agree that such a child does count as a "human," then why should we exclude an ape or drill that also resembles a human in shape despite lacking reason? As Locke remarks, "Shall the difference of Hair only on the Skin, be a mark of a different internal specifick Constitution between a Changeling and a Drill, when they agree in Shape, and want of Reason and

Speech?" (451) For Locke, the fundamental issue here concerned how we name and define different "species." Regardless of what was believed by Aristotle or scholastic philosophers, we name species according to agreements that have nothing to do with some "real essence" of different beings, which indeed we cannot know. For this reason, "these Boundaries of *Species*, are as Men, and not as Nature makes them" (Locke 457). Our naming of "Man" is based a number of visible traits that may or may not include rationality depending on our normal use. In normal use, indeed, reason seems less essential to what counts as a "human" than does physical shape. It is for this reason that we are likely to call a mute and irrational changling "a man" while refusing the same title to a talking horse.

For Locke's critics, his challenge to assumptions about what counted as "human" undermined religious orthodoxy and the agreed postulates of philosophical tradition. According to Edward Stillingfleet, the Bishop of Worcester, common sense dictated that reason was the defining attribute of human beings: "My Man *Peter* and I can sit and chop Logick together, about our Country Affair, and he can Write and Read, and is a very sharp Fellow at a Bargain; but my *Horse Peter* can do none of these things, and I never could find anything like *Reason* in him" (162). As there were no talking or rational horses, we should agree that reason was the exclusive and defining attribute of humans. To deny this defining attribute was indeed, according to Stillingfleet, to undermine belief in the existence of the soul, letting atheistical materialism in at the door. A more skilled philosopher, W. G. Leibniz, maintained that reason certainly defined human beings far more than shape or lack of hair: "what disqualified a baboon is not its fur." Certainly, "if there were rational animals whose outward shape differed slightly from ours, we would be perplexed" (Leibniz, *New Essays on the Human Understanding*, 313). But these perplexing situations rarely occurred and could be explained by other means. Locke had created a problem where none existed, for the natural order was consistent in identifying human-shaped creatures as rational.

Hence, part four of *Gulliver's Travels* emerged during an era when the definition of "man" was being widely debated using the examples of horses, drills and baboons. Stillingfleet's pamphlets against Locke were, in particular, well-known in Anglican circles. As I have discussed in detail elsewhere, *Gulliver's Travels* is filled with problems of words and definition which Swift used as devices to provoke or bewilder the reader.[1] By calling Gulliver's hands "fore Feet," for example, the Houyhnhnm Master uses a possibly inappropriate analogy to suggest

1 See Nicholas Hudson, "*Gulliver's Travels* and Locke's Radical Nominalism," *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries into the Early Modern Era* Vol. 1, Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1994, 247-267.

that humans are even more physically deficient than Yahoos (Swift 225). Similarly, Houyhnhnms do not understand the concept of an "*Opinion*" but somehow have differing views on whether Yahoos should be exterminated (Swift 249). What generally characterizes both Gulliver and the Master is that they rely implicitly on outward appearances to define "species." In discovering "a perfect human Figure" in the visage of a Yahoo, differing only in the ways "common to all savage Nations," Gulliver is immediately convinced that he *too* is a Yahoo (Swift 214-215). Similarly, the Master reacts with "noble Resentment" to Gulliver's description of how humans enslave and castrate "*Houyhnhnms*" (Swift 224), ignoring the fact our horse-shaped creatures are speechless and irrational. The question of whether human beings are truly "rational" is indeed up for debate, for Gulliver's descriptions convince the Master that we are all as violent, lustful, avaricious and depraved as the Yahoos. As mentioned before, however, the Master dismisses a great deal of human activity as irrelevant, such as that we speak and make things. Everything turns on the question of whether humans are beasts like Yahoos or a species above beasts. The extermination or castration of the Yahoos should not be a serious moral issue if they are merely beasts. The English were, for example, in the process of exterminating wolves. But the insistence by both Gulliver and the Houyhnhnms that Yahoos are humans and humans are Yahoos is contagious. The reader is likely to feel threatened rather than just amused because Gulliver and the Master keep affirming that we *are* Yahoos, which is essentially, as Locke said, a problem of definition.

As we have considered, moreover, Swift further perplexes this issue by alluding to ethnographic or quasi-ethnographic accounts of peoples around the world. Although Yahoos most resemble the "wild man" of ancient myth, this figure was disappearing from the European imagination with the discovery of various kinds of "savage" people. As these encounters accumulated, it became increasingly clear that all humans have language, including the Khoi, and that all cultures process arts, manufactures and ways of governing, though in varying degrees. The unity of the human species was *affirmed* rather than undermined, a point stressed by Leibniz in his rebuttal to Locke's challenge to the definition of "animal rationale." Referring possibly to the seventeenth century polygenist Isaac La Peyrère, Leibniz observed that,

> there was an explorer who believed that Negroes, Chinese, and American Indians had no ancestry in common with one another or with peoples resembling ourselves. But as we know the inner essence of man, namely reason, which resides in the individual man and is present in all men, and we

> find among us that there is no fixed inner feature which generates subdivision, we have no grounds for thinking that the truth about their inner natures implies that there is any essential specific difference among men. Whereas such differences do obtain among man and beast. (*New Essays on the Human Understanding*, 326)

Significantly, Leibniz had in mind continental groups like "Negroes, Chinese, and American Indians" rather than the "nations" which preoccupied early modern accounts. This may reflect the advent of "racial" categories in the work of Bernier and a few others in the late seventeenth century. Bernier distinguished between "cinq Especes ou Races" (five Species or Races) corresponding to continental divisions—Europeans, Africans, Chinese, Americans and "Laps" (148). Indeed, he thought that Laps were so degraded that they counted as a kind of "villains animaux" ("wicked animals") rather than humans (Bernier 151). "Espèces" and "races" were thus sliding categories for Bernier, for extreme departures from civility justified the exclusion of some groups from the human species. Leibniz, on the contrary, insisted on the unity of the whole human species, denying any "fixed essential difference between among men."

In this respect Leibniz espoused a pre-racial understanding of humanity as opposed to an emergent ideology that made "race" into a word for a "fixed essential difference" *within* the human "species." Later in the century, there continued to be writers such as Voltaire and Lord Kames who perpetuated La Peyrère's polygenetic hypotheses. Moreover, the relationship between "race" and "species" continued to be variable. For example, although Buffon used "race" in a modern sense to denote a subdivision within human kind, he too considered some "races" like the Laps to be so degraded they "constitute a different species" (3: 58). The Laps or Sami were another group whom travelers had defended as rational and organized but who nonetheless retained their degraded status in popular culture. Nonetheless, the more common doctrine maintained that all "varieties" of humans belonged to the same species, "man," but were distinguished by "race," In its new meaning, "race" denoted five to six large groups characterized by fixed and essential differences within the human species. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, for example, recounted that he had first set out on his anthropological studies in order to disprove the idea that orangutans belonged to the human species, a theory maintained even in the late century by Lord Monboddo (94-95). According to Blumenbach on the contrary the human species was unified and clearly demarcated from brutes by the faculty of reason. Nonetheless, Blumenbach's study of skull

shapes proved to him that the human species was also subdivided into five different races—Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. Non-white races, moreover, all represented a "degeneration" from the Caucasian race. Blumenbach adopted the term "degeneration" from Buffon, retaining the old notion that harsh climates exerted a damaging influence on human appearance, including dark skin (Blumenbach 188-189; Buffon 3: 206-207). In the later version of this doctrine, however, climate generated fixed and heritable characteristics rather than temporary and variable "national" traits. Moreover, "degeneration" affected intelligence and character rather than just physical appearance. Outward appearance was thus a trustworthy indication of a fixed inner nature.

In some respects, part four of *Gulliver's Travels* seems to point ahead towards these doctrines of racial science. These similarities, including the belief in fixed and inherent characteristics resulting from "degeneration," have caused some recent scholars to believe that Swift espoused a "racist" outlook. We need to consider, however, whether this impression has arisen from Swift's provocative satirical technique rather than his actual embrace of racial doctrines that still lay slightly in the future.

III. Swift and Race Science

Swift's anticipation of race science is plausible in so far as authors of particular insight were already beginning to prefigure this ideological template in the early eighteenth century. By undermining the time-honoured division between "man" and other species in nature, Locke had opened the way for reclassifications that led to the system of racial categorization. Though disapproving, Leibniz glimpsed these future racial divisions of humanity in *Otium Hanoveranum sive Miscellenea* (1718), noting that some recent authors had "partagé les hommes en certains tribus, races, ou classes" (divided men into certain tribes, races, or classes) (37). Blumenbach believed that Carl Linnaeus had inaugurated the new science of humanity in *Systema Naturae*, first published in 1735, by including human beings in his grand reclassification of the entire natural order (150). Regarding humans as having varieties like any other species of animals or plants, Linnaeus distinguished between "Homo sapiens," "Homo monstrosus" and "Homo troglodytea," the later category including the "Homo sylvestris" or "Orang Ourang" (14). Hence, Linnaeus still took the forest man or wild man seriously, for he imagined a sliding scale from homo sapiens to the animal kingdom. Moreover, his definition of "Homo sapiens" conspicuously lacked the attribute of "rationale," for our species was only "animal flens, ridens, melodum, loquens, docile, judicans, admirans, sapientissimum" (a

crying, laughing, musical, speaking, teachable, judging, wondering, and most wise animal) (Linnaeus 21).

Even according to the Houyhnhnm Master, Gulliver differs from the Yahoos by virtue of his "Teachableness, Civility, and Cleanliness" (Swift 218). He allows the possibility that Gulliver possesses a "Tincture of Reason" (Swift 224), which ironically makes humans even more inventively cruel than Yahoos. Nonetheless, it is clear that humans are divided from the bestial Yahoos by degree rather than any clear demarcation. Swift's omission of all religious notions such as the soul is significant. Although he may have considered theological issues as simply inappropriate to his satire, his presentation of human nature resembles that of Linnaeus and later Enlightenment authors in being strictly secular and materialist. Claude Rawson rightly objects to modern perceptions of the Yahoos as a "race" because they are really a "different species," not a "race" in the updated sense (152). As we have considered, however, "race" and "species" had sliding definitions in the language of race science, often overlapping. For a polygenist like Voltaire or Lord Kames, "race" really became a "species" with a different origin, as it did in much racist ideology of the nineteenth century. Even the monogenist Buffon thought that the race of Laplanders were a different "species" because they were particularly degraded. In *Gulliver's Travels*, "race" is used 25 times while "species" is used 31 times. It strikes me that there is a pounding insistence about these terms (not common in contemporary travel literature), which are used sometimes with the same meaning and sometimes in slightly different senses. When the King of Brobdingnag says that "the Bulk of your Natives" are a "pernicious Race of little odious Vermin" he is evidently using "race" in an old, loose sense to mean any group. But when Gulliver refers to "that Cursed Race of *Yahoos*" (Swift 220) he means a natural kind, even a sub-group of the human species. As we have seen, "race" was already beginning to take on its modern meaning in the works of writers like Bernier and Leibniz.

The Yahoos represent, furthermore, a "degeneration" of the human species. Here is that key term in the race science of Buffon, Blumenbach and other theorists of race such as Goldsmith (2: 239). The Master tells the Houyhnhnm council that the Yahoos are not aboriginal to the island but had arrived from somewhere else, "degenerating by Degrees" (Swift 254) into the present savage race. In a passage deleted from the 1735 edition, Gulliver speculates that these foreign visitors were "*English*, which indeed I was apt to suspect from the Lineaments of their Posterity's Countenances" (361, n. 276). Notably, the Yahoos became less "white" (Swift 254) than Gulliver, which foreshadows the later doctrine that all non-white races degenerated from the Caucasian original. This fact is not itself particularly

interesting: it had long been considered that climate caused a darkened complexion even in white people who lived in the tropics for any time. Cristina Malcolmson correctly notes that Swift casts doubt on the true whiteness of skin, which actually looks discolored and patchy when magnified, as in Brobdingnag (173). Nonetheless, it is significant that the degeneration of Yahoos is permanent and fixed; there is no suggestion that they could improve or change. It seems appropriate to say that Yahoos are a degenerated sub-class or "odious Race" of the Species to which Gulliver belongs. Swift's formulation differs from that of later racial scientists principally in the fact that he omits the flattering idea of some originally beautiful and supremely intelligent Caucasian from which all other races are the degraded descendants.

Hence, drawing from the same intellectual and cultural background as other writers at this historical moment, Swift fashioned a dystopian vision that resembles in important ways the vision of racial science at a stage not too far in the future. This racial ideology includes the belief that degeneration has resulted in the fixed and innate traits of inferior groups that cannot be removed or changed, characteristics revealed by outward appearance such as darker skin and other phenotypes. Swift's vision, like that of racial science, blurs the distinction between the human species and animals, enfolding human beings into a general natural order. Swift's satire also depends on rigid categorization and naming that aggressively repels nuance, complexity or qualification. The notion that even a "good Yahoo" like Pedro de Mendez is, after all, still a Yahoo looks ahead in interesting ways to the depiction of a "worthy negro" in Mungo Park's *Travels in the Interior of Africa* (1799), a work strongly influenced by racial science (as Park was himself a scientist):

> [...] observing the improved state of our manufactures and our manifest superiority in the arts of civilized life, he would sometimes appear pensive, and exclaim, with an involuntary sigh, *Fato fing inta feng*, "black men are nothing!" At other times, he would ask me, with great seriousness, what could possibly have induced me, who was no trader, to think of exploring so miserable a country as Africa. He meant by this to signify that, after what I must have witnessed in my own country, nothing in Africa could in his opinion deserve a moment's attention. I have preserved these little traits of character in this worthy Negro, not only from regard to the man, but also because they appear to me to demonstrate that he possessed a mind *above his condition*: and to such of my readers as love to contemplate human nature in all its varieties, and to trace its progress from rudeness to refinement, I hope the account I have

given of this poor African will not be unacceptable. (359-360)

A crucial difference between Park's "worthy Negro" and Pedro de Mendez is that Swift does not allow for any kind of hierarchy in the human species—or at least a natural hierarchy inscribed in nature. Gulliver is only ridiculous in thinking of himself as different from or better than Pedro. Swift may even be mocking bigoted impulses such as those of white Europeans who regarded themselves as better than the Khoi or Jewish people. Nor does Swift evidently regard the arts so admired by Park's worthy African as signs of European superiority. This is a factor that makes Swift different from David Hume, who famously stated in his essay "Of National Characters" (1748) that "the negroes" must be "naturally inferior to the whites" because they had, he assumed, always lacked arts and learning (208, n.10). Notwithstanding, Swift is comparable to later writers like Hume or Park because he is interested in the same problem of how we define groups such as the Yahoos who, though degraded, are very similar to civilized Europeans in appearance and some behavior. Swift leaves this as a problem rather than providing a solution, for he was a satirist not a naturalist. Nonetheless, the intellectual framework of part four of *Gulliver's Travels* is taxonomic. This taxonomic impulse also characterized Linnaeus and authors who followed him but had not preoccupied early modern writers, for all their frequent hatred of foreign groups.

In *God, Gulliver, and Genocide*, Rawson describes Swift's "extraordinarily sensitive insight into what the 'modern' world might throw up" (290). With great insight and eloquence, Rawson has shown how Swift remains profoundly relevant to our times, a writer of piercing insight into the abiding realities of human psychology, especially the darker regions of that psychology. In this essay, I have attempted to explain Swift's remarkable prescience in a somewhat different way by situating him at a crossroads when a premodern vision of humanity was transforming into a modern vision. Though drawing from past models in literary and intellectual history, Swift evidently saw where recent developments in epistemology and the human sciences were going. The language and ideas of part four of *Gulliver's Travels* are resonant and unsettling (not to mention easily misconstrued) because they belong to a modern system of thought that was just then coming into existence. In thus agreeing that Swift continues to shine a bright and unsettling light on humanity in our present world, I remain the student and admirer of Claude Rawson.

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Scriblerian Satire: Myth or Reality

Pat Rogers

Abstract: The article examines the validity of the term “Scriblerian satire” as a concept in literary history. It attempts to dispute the views of Ashley Marshall, who has argued that the entity is a mythical construct, posthumously invented by scholars and critics. Marshall contends that the Scriblerus Club was a short-term phenomenon, while its members soon dispersed and wrote in very disparate styles. Apart from Jonathan Swift, others in the circle wrote no substantive works in satirical form prior to 1725. This article questions some fundamental aspects of Marshall’s case. It challenges her narrow definition of satire, as well as her assertion that a sharp break in practice took place between the first and second quarters of the century. Instead, the article considers a wider range of items produced under the aegis of the original Scriblerians. It proposes a much closer and more durable connection among the group; a far greater coherence in the methods, settings and targets of their work; a more extensive involvement in shared exercises; and it identifies a distinct mode of satire that can be meaningfully called Scriblerian. Neither the nature of this literary collaboration nor the character of its outcome in print was in any sense mythical.
Keywords: satire; authorship; Scriblerus; Club activity; eighteenth century
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Introduction

Distinguished as it is in many ways, the work of Claude Rawson may be most notable for the contribution he has made to our understanding of the literary sub-genre commonly known as Scriblerian satire. The most prominent share in this work has been taken by some hugely influential studies of Jonathan Swift, beginning with his book *Gulliver and the Gentle Reader* in 1973. However, he has ranged more widely across the activities of members of the so-called Scriblerus Club, including an edition with F.P. Lock of the poems of Thomas Parnell (1989), important essays on Alexander Pope, and scattered articles involving John Gay and John Arbuthnot. All these have helped to define the group's aims and methods more clearly. No one has done more in recent years to illuminate the satiric procedures of "Swift, Pope and their Circle," the title of one of the collections of essays he has edited. Few if any scholars have made such profound connections between the output of these writers and that of their predecessors or heirs, such as Dryden, Rochester, Fielding, Johnson, and Byron.

In what seems almost a paradox, an outstanding scholar of a later generation, Ashley Marshall, has been largely responsible for a fundamental challenge to our views on the work of Swift and his colleagues. Indeed, she has called into question the very notion of Scriblerian satire—not just its origins, procedures and *raison d'être*, but its whole existence as a valid descriptor. Her argument was first set out in an article on "The Myth of Scriblerus" in 2008, and then appeared slightly condensed in an important book on *The Practice of Satire in England* (Marshall, 2008; 2013). Its conclusions have gained some traction in the academic world, and have never been subjected to detailed scrutiny. Although Marshall makes many shrewd observations in support of her case, it seems to me flawed in several basic respects. The aim of the present article is to offer an alternative view of the subject, by restoring the validity of the central term at issue, and seeking to demonstrate that the entity it describes is real and valid.

The method adopted here is firstly, to summarize Marshall's case, as divided in her book between the first and second quarters of the eighteenth century. Secondly, to indicate what seem to me weaknesses and gaps in its coverage of the issues, with an attempt to meet particular claims. In the process, I shall try to indicate evidence of various kinds which suggests a radically different conclusion. Overall, this analysis will discover convergence where Marshall identified divergence; close

parallelism where she make claims for dissimilarity; and a coherent purpose where she sees mainly casual connections. The argument will draw on biographic and historic circumstances as well as textual and bibliographical features of the writings composed by original members of the (genuine, though admittedly shortlived) Scriblerus Club.

The Case for Myth: Phase One

For the sake of convenience, the summary of Marshall's argument which follows is based on its later incarnation within *The Practice of Satire*. The revised case presents some matters in a rather more succinct form, and gains added cogency from its place in the author's considered estimate of the development of English satire, as regards theory as well as practice. Her sweeping discussion covers a wide temporal range, from the work of writers such as Marvell, Butler and Rochester to that of Fielding, Smollett and Sterne among others—an arc that Rawson has helped to reinscribe in literary history. It follows that an alternative version of the facts will offer a slightly different context in which to assess the output of the Scriblerian group.

Marshall divides her analysis between two chapters, one covering the years 1700 to 1725, the second those from 1726 to 1745. The section on the earlier period contrasts the satirists under review with Defoe and other writers of hard-edged "religiopolitical satirists" including Mandeville, and didactic authors such as Addison and Steele. Here, the aim is to separate the Scriblerians from their contemporaries and show "how little the work of those writers (excepting Swift) fits the satiric milieu" of the other groups described in the chapter (151). This is the gravamen of Marshall's whole argument, restated in different terms as part of the following chapter devoted to the succeeding decades. In paraphrasing her case, I omit numerous small cases of repetition or duplication of ideas.

In setting up this account of the period, Marshall asserts, "I will begin with Pope, not because he is the star satirist in the quarter century before *The Dunciad,* but because, unlike the others, he is barely a satirist at all" (174, repeating a claim on p. 153). In *The Rape of the Lock*, "his criticism is gentle and sympathetic," as compared with *Mac Flecknoe* (174). "What negative satire Pope writes in his early career is small scale and mostly unpleasant." This comment applies to a prose pamphlet on Edmund Curll and the ballad-style poem "The Worms," both from 1716: the latter item is "mean spirited but essentially frivolous." These works "have little to do with our image of [Pope] as a high-toned moralizer and a denunciatory cultural warrior" (175).

The next author considered is Gay, whom Marshall treats as "a master of burlesque," in travesties of epic, pastoral and georgic productions, and who "makes a hobby of lampooning John Dennis." In his poetry and drama, "Gay mocks people and ideas and genres to wonderful effect, but the satiric thrust of his early pieces is by no means always obvious" (175). As for *The Fan* and *Trivia*. they "both reflect Gay's discontentment with existing social structures, but they are also jolly" (176). After this comes a discussion of Arbuthnot's writings, noting that his "reputation as a satirist depends largely on *The History of John Bull*" (177). In this work, the author mocks individuals, political factions, religious sects, and institutions, "but he does so without much animus." Closer to the practice of other satirists considered in this chapter is *The Art of Political Lying*, even though Arbuthnot's motives "are hard to discern" throughout a work styled "a frustratingly indirect satire" (179).

There follows a key statement of Marshall's theme:

> Clichés about the "Scriblerians" and longstanding assumptions about their interconnections have made scholars assume more commonality than actually exists. Pope, Gay and Arbuthnot (with Swift) spent some time together in 1714; they were friends and sometimes allies; at different times and to varying degrees, they were in touch with each other and occasionally made suggestions about each other's works. (179)

What is the reality, "If we look for incongruities as well as correspondences, without trying to make these men into a 'Scriblerian' cohort"? The same answers appear: What little satire Pope writes in this period is "either pure fluff or personal lampoon." The complaints against society that Gay makes are "usually obscured by or neutralized by tone and contexts." Meanwhile, "Arbuthnot's preoccupations are largely political" (179). This section of the chapter concludes with a restatement of the general proposition adumbrated in its title, "The Alleged 'Scriblerians'" and refers back to the categories Marshall has set up in her preliminary discussion of the genre.

> The notion that Pope, Arbuthnot, and Gay are three of the four chief practitioners of a "Scriblerian mode" of satire is a critical delusion. Another much-cherished fantasy is that this "mode" is somehow central to and illustrative of the world of early eighteenth-century satire. Except in very loose terms, the satires of these writers does not really "belong" to the categories discussed [earlier in the book]: attack, defense, warning, ideological

argumentation, and didacticism are not what we find in Pope and Gay.

Arbuthnot stands "closer to his contemporaries," but in the crucial case "Pope is particularly out of sync with what is going on around him." As a result, there is no single mode "practised by the 'Club' members." Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot produce "utterly different types of satire—and Swift is another beast altogether" (180).

The discussion now turns to Swift's work, with the observation that he "writes a lot of satire in this quarter century, and his practice is far from uniform" (180). This section considers a variety of works that represent "Swift before *Gulliver*." There is much intelligent commentary on poems and political pamphlets, with dispersed insights into *A Tale of a Tub*. Despite its merits, this portion of Marshall's book does not bear directly on the issues debated in the present article, until a summarizing paragraph near its conclusion:

> *A Tale* is usually regarded as a "pre-Scriblerian" enterprise; it gets twinned with *Gulliver's Travels* as pinnacles of achievement; its author is viewed as a great literary satirist and a devoted confrere of Pope, Gay, and Arbuthnot [...] His friendship with Pope and company notwithstanding, what they are doing in the early eighteenth century is ultimately irrelevant to what he is doing. Forcing Swift into a "Scriblerian" pigeonhole badly misrepresents his early career as a satirist. (190)

This process by which Swift is "miscontextualized" as "an 'Augustan' and 'Scriblerian' writer" (190) falsifies his place in literary history.

So we come towards the end of Chapter 5 in *The Practice of Satire.* What follows in Chapter 6, "Harsh and Sympathetic Satire" can be seen as a logical extension of the case mounted in its predecessor.

The Case for Myth: Phase Two

At the outset of the new chapter, Marshall repeats some of her contentions. She identifies four numbered cases that she intends to maintain. No. 1 is that "In fact there is little continuity from the first quarter of the eighteenth century to the 1726-1745 period, and we need to take these years on their own terms." No. 2 reiterates the view that Pope, Swift and Gay had no "life-changing commitment to the 'Scriblerian' mission," and that, granted "some shared values and occasional collaboration," to lump them together is to "mischaracterize the subperiod at issue here" (195), No. 3 concerns *Gulliver' Travels*, where Marshall's conclusion is that

"Swift's satire is a one-off, [...] largely unconnected to the culture of satire in this period." No.4 can be left aside here: it claims that Henry Fielding is wrongly seen as a would-be "Scriblerian," since "his concepts of satire are remote from those of any of the Scriblerians" (195). This last case is interesting and often convincing, but it can be left aside here as it does not have an immediate bearing on the reality or otherwise of the key concept, and does not depend on the accuracy of Marshall's account of the work of the earlier group of writers.

A short section on "Pope and Swift among their Contemporaries," argues that a sharp break occurred in 1725, after which "the culture of satire alters in major and not wholly explicable ways" (196). This discontinuity affects the key figures in the period, and serves to produce "an awkward problem: Pope, Swift, and Gay are substantially different both from what goes on around them and from each other." In discussing thee authors, Marshall declines to give special weight to Pope's *Moral Essays* or Horatian *Imitations*, texts which have been "pretty well understood" (197). To show how they "belong in their contemporary context," she sets out a map of the forms of satire in the period, identifying their salient aspects in politic commentary and debate, culture wars of the era, and social satire. Here she considers *The Dunciad* as exemplar of one *Kulturkampf*, in which both the 1728 and 1743 versions are seen as "primarily" punitive (203).

This section is a prelude to a second analysis of Pope, Swift and Gay, once more emphasizing the disparity of their aims. The principal aim is wittily defined as an attempt "to dispute the enduring notion that Pope and Swift are Siamese satirists" (217). The contrast derives from a "glaringly obvious" feature of their works: "Pope is first and foremost an artist, Swift a sociopolitical warrior" (218). Once more, Marshall fixes on the appearance of *The Dunciad* as the moment when its author becomes "the mature Pope," who finally emerges as a regular satirist, with a more aggressive approach to the world he describes. Three paragraphs are devoted to the works that appeared in the 1730s, during the phase that Pope has links with the opposition to Robert Walpole. On Swift, what needs to be said is that "*Gulliver* is not representative of his output, and neither does it share much, except a few particular targets, with the practice of Swift's fellow 'Scriblerians' or his less well-known contemporaries" (211). Accordingly, the present chapter defers consideration of *Gulliver* to a later section, with immediate attention turned towards some of the most familiar poems such as *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*. There is only brief mention of *A Modest Proposal*. Marshall downplays *The Memoirs of Scriblerus*, on the grounds that the lengthy commentary by their modern editor, linking the travel chapters there later evolved into portions of *Gulliver* "rests wholly upon

supposition" (Kerby-Miller 315-320).

Similarly, she discounts the *Miscellanies* of 1727-1732, as they "do not, on the whole, reflect a shared satiric agenda." Rather, they consist of "a range of not very related works produced by quite dissimilar men" (216). Under Gay, we are given a single page on *The Beggar's Opera* and the *Fables*. Arbuthnot does not figure in this chapter.

The separate discussion of "The Problem of Meaning in *Gulliver's Travels*" has already been mentioned. It offers much food for thought, but like other observations scattered through the book regarding Swift and his friends it does not deal centrally with the extent or kind of commonality in their satiric output.

A General Assessment of the Case

For all the considerable merits of Marshall's book, her argument with respect to Scriblerian satire and its makers appears profoundly misleading. The approach is heavily dependent on a stipulative definition of satire. Its historical contextualization of the group rests in part on an over-schematic "break" around 1725 that seems the product of an idiosyncratic map of the genre rather a clearcut sequence of events. It confuses the firsthand dealings of its members (which are themselves underestimated) with their decades-long association on a literary level. It has an eccentric range of coverage, omitting some important aspects of the group's works and almost wilfully ignoring evidence of collaboration. It plays down inconvenient features of their careers, such as the recurrent political animus in much of the work of Pope, especially, and Gay prior to 1725. It understates the presence and the significance of shared targets. It overlooks features of their practice, such as the pervasive influence of *A Tale of a Tub* on what they wrote. In maintaining that members of the fraternity lacked any "life-changing commitment to the 'Scriblerian' mission," it neglects the inconvenient fact that Gay, Arbuthnot and especially Pope began to write in a more scabrous and biting fashion, often in a manner Swift had introduced, soon after the Club was dissolved.

Some brief examples may be given of what seem to me evidence of these flaws. The narrowness of the definition when applied to the Scriblerians comes out in numerous places. There is something very odd about an analysis of satiric practice that lets through Ned Ward and Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*, for instance, but can easily jettison *The Rape of the Lock* because it is too friendly towards the world of its heroine and lacks the dose of savage indignation called for by the critic's recipe. This tendency is particularly clear in Marshall's willingness to see that "not all satiric moralists are punitive," and to allow in the "soft" version

of reformative satire exemplified by *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* (169-170), while debarring some of the most incisive uses of mock epic ever written. *Alma*, a poem by the Scriblerians' ally and Arbuthnot's intimate friend, Matthew Prior, is awarded mention as a burlesque with a philosophical point (173), with no recognition of its intertextual links with the *Rape* and with the still unpublished *Memoirs of Scriblerus.* More generally, an almost Pickwickian definition of satire is required to disqualify Gay's *Trivia* because it is "jolly" (not that this describes the only mood of the work), or the farce *The What d'ye Call It* because "its potentially trenchant social satire [is] diffused by its appearance in a nonsensical plot" (176). *The Marriage of Figaro* might be in danger if we were to apply such stringent criteria.

The arbitrary nature of the date 1725 under this aspect is plain if we consider the obvious continuities in the work of all the Scriblerus group, for example between Swift's poem *The Bubble* or *Upon the Horrid Plot,* composed well before the line, and one such as *To Mr. Gay*, comfortably on the other side. They are "palpably from the same hand," as Constant Lambert said of Duke Ellington's pieces in faster and slower tempos (214). Likewise Pope wrote Horatian imitations, familiar epistles and mock heroics before the break, besides incorporating earlier lines into the *Epistle to Arbuthnot.* The doctor himself composed short satiric pamphlets throughout his career, all in very much the same idiom.

With regard to the contacts between the group, Marshall appears to believe that the collapse of the Club as a social institution signalled a decline in intimacy and a loss of literary cohesion. The facts hardly support this assumption. It is certainly true that the Club as a human entity met only for a short spell in the later years of Queen Anne, with a few slight efforts at resuscitation of their meetings afterwards. As well as the departure of two members from London, other external factors may have played a part in the break-up of the group. After the Hanoverian accession, their patron and honorary affiliate Lord Oxford was impeached and confined in the Tower of London for two years. Arbuthnot was deprived of his lodgings at St James's Palace, where the Club normally met. Gay no longer had favour at court, while Pope was subject to severe anti-Catholic legislation, which meant the loss of his family home and ultimately his move to Twickenham. The social nexus that had existed under Queen Anne (as in the Tory group known as the Brothers' Club, to which Swift and Arbuthnot belonged) would soon collapse.

As noted, one of the team, Swift, soon left for permanent exile in Ireland, and he was followed by the poet Thomas Parnell, who died not very long afterwards. This left Pope, Arbuthnot and Gay as the only founding members still around. Their major collective production did not come out until there was just one left—

Pope, who published *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* in 1741. It is also true that the individual writers had some specialisms of their own, and that some of their works have little relation to the overall satiric project (Gay's *Fables*, to take a single example). But even *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), which belongs to an alternative tradition of mock musicals, had its roots in a suggestion from Swift concerning the opportunity for a "Newgate pastoral."

Yet the principals went on corresponding with one another, boosting each other's work, and often plotting a satiric course in tandem. We might not guess from what Marshall says that the three English-based members of the group were in regular contact for more than two decades, and all spent a lot of time with Swift on his all too brief return visits to London in 1726 and 1727 (Marshall's phrasing in the passage quoted above from p. 179 might suggest that Pope, Gay and Arbuthnot were only regularly together in 1714.) Their joint projects went on beyond the grave, because it is certain from physical evidence, as well as a mountain of other clues, that Arbuthnot took a share in the *Memoirs of Scriblerus,* although Pope did not bring the book out until several years after the death of the doctor.[1]

The central goal in the Scriblerus movement had been to produce items of learned wit, in which attacks were launched on pomposity, pretentiousness, bogus scholarship, fatuous intellectual schemes, and preposterous innovations. Some of these targets are most evident in the third book of *Gulliver's Travels*, but the ridicule of figures at the court of Lilliput who institute impeachment (I. ii) and the Houyhnhnm senators sitting in judgment on Gulliver (IV. x) partakes of the same quality. Beyond this, the plot of the book enacts a movement common in satires by members of the group, whereby an apparently rational narrator turns out to be thoroughly demented, like Gulliver skulking in a stable at the end of his story. Among Swift's other works, this process of gradual revelation is found most obviously in *A Modest Proposal*, where it take a little time before we realise just how crazed the proposer is. The parallel effect of a shifting narrative voice occurs in the writings of the highly unreliable narrator "Isaac Bickerstaff" in the Partridge Papers, as well as the tricksy persona to be found in the *Drapier's Letters* (1724-1725) and the *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift.* But we must keep in mind that the reader has to negotiate similar hermeneutic twists in Pope's *Key to the Lock* (1715), with its absurd Jacobite interpretation of *The Rape of the Lock*, and in Arbuthnot's pamphlets casting scorn on quacks and pedants. Thus, techniques as well as topics and targets are shared.

1 See Charles Kerby-Miller, *The Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, 58-61, 364-369.

While such elements do appear in the work of other writers, their use is more pervasive and rhetorically much more skilful in writings by the Club group. An able parodist of the Royal Society was someone Marshall does not mention, William King (d. 1712), but he seldom achieves the full ludic absurdity of the Scriblerian narratives. Swift and his friends hardly ever fail to be funny.

Collaboration

The matter of collaboration is one of the places where the case for a mythical entity is at its weakest. A considerable weight of evidence serves to augment the cohesiveness of the satirists" output. For one thing, they did not need to be in one another's company to get their Scriblerian act together. Pope, Gay and Arbuthnot all corresponded extensively with Swift during his absence in Ireland, and as soon as he was able to visit England in 1726 and 1727 immediately resumed their intimate relations. The letters contain plans for forthcoming works. Long after Swift left for Dublin, his colleagues kept exhorting him to carry on with his Scriblerian activity. It is here, along with messages to a close associate, Charles Ford, that we can trace the origins of the *Travels* and the progress Swift made on them in the early 1720s. In the immediate aftermath of publication, it would be Arbuthnot who gave the author his first account of the ways in which the book had been received.

This is not exactly the impression we are given by Marshall's comment on the group, cited above, that "at different times and to varying degrees, they were in touch with each other." In all, Swift and Pope exchanged almost 300 surviving letters between 1713 and 1740, including letters some written jointly to or from Gay and Arbuthnot. By comparison, the tally with Arbuthnot is smaller: only 31 are known between Swift and the doctor, mostly from the latter, while there are about twenty with Pope (but of course the two men were living at close distance for much of this period, and none of the surviving items addressed to Arbuthnot "were recovered by Pope and published by him" (Arbuthnot 457). Gay left only an exiguous correspondence that has come down to us, but it includes a good deal of relevant items: the members of the group are represented in more than half of the 81 letters that survive, with Swift by far the highest scorer at 33.

There is a second consideration here. The friends went on collaborating for many years after the breakup of their meetings. Pope and Arbuthnot seem to have shared responsibility for a number of pamphlets from around 1716 (see the section on "Coverage" below), while it has never been doubted that they are the joint authors of the *Memoirs*, the key text in assessing how the project evolved over time. The three London Scriblerians were identified by hostile critics as a "triumvirate"

who put together the farce *Three Hours after Marriage* (1717). It is often impossible to tell where one writer breaks off and the other takes over. Pope wrote a parody of his friend in the form of a Horatian epistle "Imitated in the Manner of Dr. Swift," which never strays far at all from the Dean's language and versification. A poem called *Bounce to Fop* (1736), is full of innuendo concerning political figures. Swift may have started this item, and Pope completed it. But if so, at what point did he seize the pen, and did he revise Swift's supposed portion extensively? We do not know. Despite periodic differences, the two men remained extraordinarily close to one another in outlook and in literary mannerisms. It is possible that Marshall was influenced by Dustin Griffin's book on Swift and Pope as "satirists in dialogue," an excellent study that does everything it can to accentuate discrepancies in the outlook and practice of the duo and to minimize their congruences.[1]

In respect of the *Memoirs,* Marshall acknowledges that "the authorship is far from clear" (215), noting that Pope may have been the most committed to its composition, but that scholars now believe Arbuthnot wrote much of it (on very strong grounds, it might be added). As we have already seen, she challenges the links to *Gulliver* proposed by Charles Kerby-Miller, stating "Whether Swift in particular had anything to do with the composition of this key 'Scriblerian' text is anybody's guess" (216). What this leaves out is the parallel with many other items found in the *Miscellanies* and elsewhere, that remain impossible to attribute with any certainty to individual members of the group—or indeed to identify as lone or collaborative exercises. A parody of Gilbert Burnet's historical manner, *Memoirs of P. P.*, written about 1715 and published in the *Miscellanies*, might be the handiwork of any one (or two, or three, or four) of the group. This does not suggest profound idiosyncrasies in their separate manners of writing, or easily detectable signs of their presence.

A clinching issue lies in the fact that, as already noted, the group maintained their identity by producing a series of jointly written *Miscellanies* from 1727. *The Dunciad* was originally scheduled to appear in this setting. Items that did make their debut include *Peri Bathous*, another Pope-Arbuthnot collaboration. A host of smaller items were included in the set, originally running to four volumes. Pope included numerous well known works by Swift, who had a very good idea of what was going on and did not raise any objections until much later. By the time that he brought the *Travels* before the public, the author had an inkling of his friend's intentions. Thus, the masterpiece emerged from a larger matrix of satiric practice in

1 See Dustin Griffin, *Swift and Pope: Satirists in Dialogue*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

which all four survivors among the group took part.

An observation by Marshall that the series comprises “a range of not very related works produced by quite dissimilar men” (216) is also misleading. The items found in the *Miscellanies* embody a wide assortment of materials by each of the individuals concerned. Thus, Swift’s contributions begin with his weighty prose in the shape of *Contests and Dissentions* at the opening of Volume I, and then cover his writing in almost every vein from grave to gay, with trifles and solemn treatises side by side. Volume II has Arbuthnot’s most extended satire, *John Bull*, and shorter examples of his work, in addition to Pope’s brilliant *Key to the Lock*. The so called “Last Volume” contains *Peri Bathous*, preceding some of Swift’s best known poems, such as *Cadenus and Vanessa.* The so called “third” volume that came out in 1732 has the most recognisably “Scriblerian” colouring of all. Its contents are split between serious essays on political and moral themes by Swift, the immortal *Modest Proposal*, and some biting verses from the same hand, together with short satirical pamphlets by Pope and/or Arbuthnot, including *The Narrative of Robert Norris,* three items on Edmund Curll, and *Annus Mirabilis*. All four living members of the original Club are present, in various capacities.

Once more, there is a difficulty that might have troubled Marshall more than it seems to do. We have little idea of the authorship of numerous pieces in the *Miscellanies*, with Pope’s subsequent identifications providing no clear light on the subject. If the four survivors were such an ill assorted bunch, wouldn’t we expect to distinguish with ease their separate hand? A large quotient of the materials (but by no means all) are cast in the form of satire. This is precisely what a reader of the day would expect to find in a set of *Miscellanies,* as it displays characteristics of the genre seen in Curll’s *Miscellanea* (1726), a publication which may have spurred his foes into retaliatory action.

References by Marshall to the *Miscellanies* fail to observe one striking parallel found in many of the items: the various writers often choose identical targets. A frenzied ideologue or system-maker commonly appears at the centre of the story, as with the critic John Dennis in Pope’s *Narrative of Dr. Robert Norris* (1713), told by a quack. It is only a single step to the once competent medical man Lemuel Gulliver, now become a deluded misanthrope as a result of his voyages. We recall that three pamphlets concern the descent into madness of the publisher Edmund Curll, who also figures in Swift’s *Verses*: two of these are by Pope, the third may have been written partly or wholly by Arbuthnot. Other short pieces by the group attack the self-important geologist John Woodward, along with astrologers and astronomers like William Whiston, in terms similar to those used in the third voyage. “Jeremy

Thacker," a mathematician created by Arbuthnot to make fun of wild proposals to find the longitude, would have little difficulty fitting into Laputan society. A few of such productions are found scattered through the *Miscellanies*, and several others appeared in continuations to the series emanating from London and Dublin in the following decade, as also in the collections of Arbuthnot's works. Diverse as they are in their occasion and in their bibliographical history, they serve collectively to cast doubt on the claim that the volumes "do not reflect a shared agenda" and are simply the productions of a disparate group, "our Scriblerians' [who] wrote very different kinds of work" (216).

Coverage

While Ashley Marshall deals with a number of important areas of the subject, there are some surprising omissions. The list of works covered seems arbitrary and selective in places, while the narrow definition of satire means that several compositions by the group are given short shrift.

The most obvious lacuna relates to Thomas Parnell, a founder of the club and an active participant in the activities of its members until his death. He is never mentioned in the text of *The Practice of Satire*, and none of his writings is included in the bibliography of primary sources that extends to thirty-six pages. It is a strange decision on the author's part for several reasons. Parnell was a friend and correspondent of all the other Scriblerians, and there is no clear justification to relegate him to the role of a fifth Beatle offstage. His oeuvre contains much that relates to the practice of his colleagues, in satire as well as in epic. His first important work was *An Essay upon the Different Styles of Poetry,* published in March 1713. It was dedicated to the political ally of the group, Lord Bolingbroke, who along with Swift saw the poem in manuscript and suggested revisions. As Parnell's editors note, the poem "is in the tradition of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, a tradition that had most recently been embodied in Pope's *An Essay on Criticism* (1711). Although TP's poem was published after Pope's [...] it may have been conceived before Pope's appeared" (Parnell 432). Indeed an earlier version is found in a surviving notebook that contains seventy-eight mainly humorous items, many first published by Rawson and Lock in 1989. Collectively, they belong to the mode that contemporaries recognized as the satiric genre: the shortest is an epigram based on Martial, an author whom his near-namesake Marshall would probably concede underlies much Augustan practice. The *Essay* by Parnell also has some links with Pope's *Temple of Fame*, which have not been fully explored.

In fact, the dealings between the two men in the immediate post-Club years

were extensive. Parnell has claims to rank as Pope's closest literary associate for a time. Some signs of this relationship may be briefly stated: (1) The second major poem in Parnell's career was his translation of *Homer's Battle of the Frogs and Mice* (1717), the supposedly Homeric mock epic of uncertain date entitled *Batrachomyomachia*. The verse here is prefaced by a life of the ancient critic Zoilus, used as a means to ridicule John Dennis, Richard Blackmore and Richard Bentley as pedantic and uncomprehending readers of literature—the first two had already tangled with Pope. (2) It has generally been agreed that Parnell was drawn to this task by the work he did to assist Pope in his translation of the *Iliad*, which was not confined to the "Essay on Homer" he provided for the first volume (1715). (3) Parnell contributed a complimentary poem at the head of Pope's *Works* (1717). (4) Although he left for Ireland in 1714 and became Vicar of Finglas, he returned to England in 1718 and joined with his friends in planning a resumption of Scriblerian activities. This never came to pass, and he died on his way back to Ireland. (5) It was Pope who assembled the edition of Parnell's poems in 1721, after his colleague had bequeathed his papers to Pope "almost with his dying breath." In a dedicatory epistle to the honorary Scriblerian Lord Oxford, the editor pays a warm tribute to the departed poet, as "Blest in each Science, blest in ev'ry Strain!" (Pope 1954, 238) Rather slighter connections include a number of short items entitled by Parnell's editors "Scriblerian Epigrams," some involving Pope by name. There is also a translation into Latin of an excerpt from the first canto of *The Rape of the Lock*, that Pope himself published in 1717. All this evidence serves to reinforce the conclusion that Parnell must figure centrally in any account of the evolution of "Scriblerian" activity (whether the precise term is accepted or not), as members of the group went about their careers in the years following the demise of the Club.

Generally, Marshall treats the work of all the coadjutors in a selective manner. Even in the case of Swift, the most thoroughly explored among them, there is no room for some of his distinctively Scriblerian exercises, notably his *Examination of Certain Abuses, Corruptions, and Enormities in the City of Dublin* (1732). Although this sometimes excremental performance lacks a named persona, the author belongs to the line of unreliable narrators that extends back to the *Tale*-teller, Isaac Bickerstaff, Gulliver, and the modest proposer, as well as numerous disguises adopted by Pope and Arbuthnot. The current "examiner" is a rabid Whig and vehement critic of the Harley administration, who confidently decodes the seditious messages hidden by Jacobites behind the street cries of vendors marketing their goods—in London, as well as now Dublin. This piece has numerous tentacular roots in the work of the group since the time of the Club meetings, a period to which the

text obsessively returns.

However, it is Pope and Arbuthnot who suffer most from the skewed picture of their careers that the strict criteria impose. On Pope's later career, the treatment is sketchy on the *Imitations of Horace* and *Moral Essays*, and apart from brief remarks on *Peri Bathous* and the *Memoirs* the prose works such as the *Letter to a Noble Lord* go unexamined. The gaps stand out even more sharply in the earlier period. There is no room for *An Essay on Criticism* (acknowledged only at second hand as "at least quasi-satirical" (174), or for the satiric element in *The Temple of Fame.* A persistent shortfall concerns some of the briefer items. Among the many attributes of Pope's *Epistle to Miss Blount after the Coronation* (written 1714), often regarded as his most perfect creation on a miniature scale, are delicate vignettes contrasting urban and rural society. One of the author's pet genres in the period was the mock ballad, exemplified by *A Farewell to London* (1715), *Sandys's Ghost* and *The Court Ballad* (both 1717), *Duke upon Duke* (1720), and *The Discovery* , which just edges over Marshall's border line in 1726. The only example mentioned is *The Worms* (1716), which has been described as "probably the most popular poem (at least in his own day) that Pope is supposed to have written" (Pope 163). Marshall's dismissive comment, cited above, misses much of the intent: the pseudo-ballad is frivolous on the surface, but it has its roots in the battle with the Addisonian wits at Button's coffee-house over the *Iliad.* In *The Practice of Satire*, we are never made aware of this heated debate which temporarily dominated the political and literary discourse of the capital. Pope's work at this juncture is as heavily inflected by party issues as anything he wrote in 1730s. Even his slightest versicles around 1715 and 1716 display an urgent sense of the topical situation, in particular the Jacobite rising and the government's measures against the Catholic community. Again and again, the ballads take up divisions between Tory and Whig, Papist and Protestant, Jacobite and Hanoverian, in a manner that embodies the warring approach that Marshall sees as characteristic of satire, but that she denies to the younger Pope.

As regards prose, the book touches only on the first of the three pamphlets ridiculing Curll, one of them possibly written in whole or part by Arbuthnot. Moreover, it pays no attention to works from this phase such as *The Narrative of Dr. Norris* (1713); and *A Key to the Lock* (1715). Marshall might argue for their exclusion on the grounds that they are short and highly personalized. But in other contexts she is willing to admit lampoons against individuals like those of Marvell, Dryden, Defoe, and Swift, which are found in works of comparable length. *Norris* and the Curll pamphlets, in particular, act out the familiar Scriblerian plot in which a deluded figure rages as he is subjected to increasing humiliation.

It is often hard to determine the authorship of items in this category. However, we can be certain that several were written by members of the group: for example, *The Dignity and Use of Glass Bottles* (1715); the prefatory material to *Homer in a Nut-Shell* (1715); *God's Revenge against Punning* (1716); and *Mr. Joanidion Fielding His True and Faithful Account of the Strange and Miraculous Comet* (1716, directed against the astronomer John Flamsteed). There is also *An Essay Concerning the Origine of Sciences*, which was published in the *Miscellanies* in 1732, but probably written in the initial Club phase: Pope and Parnell have some claims, but the main author was doubtless Arbuthnot, whose anthropological interests led him to write of an ancient pygmy race with surprising links to the Yahoos. The favourite Scriblerian target of arrogant scientists appears in *A True and Faithful Narrative*, now thought to be by Gay and also included in the *Miscellanies,* which ridicules the predictions of William Whiston. While some questions of date and attribution remain open, the pamphlets listed above are clearly united in exploiting "a common satiric agenda." They consistently employ learned wit, a familiar concept that Marshall largely denies herself. Several of them present a vision of an almost dystopian London, reduced to a chaotic state either by some kind of natural disaster or by the folly of the principal figure.

The narrow selection of Arbuthnot's works that Marshall discusses is easier to explain. Like most commentators, she evidently accepts the deattribution of most of the doctor's works that were found in the collection of 1750-1751. This shrinkage was caused by the efforts of George Arbuthnot to clear his father's name from the charge of writing such disreputable tosh. His attempt was well answered at the time, but its contentions have lingered on until recently, thanks mainly to the influential discussion of Lester M. Beattie in 1935. Later students of the period including Joseph M. Levine and Richard Nash have been more willing to examine the evidence carefully, and to reinstate Arbuthnot's authorship of particular pamphlets.[1] It is enough here to state that there are very strong grounds to reclaim at least half a dozen works printed in his *Miscellaneous Works.* This in addition to works already firmly established in the canon, such as *Mr. John Ginglicutt's Treatise* and *Virgilius Restauratus* (an appendix to *The Dunciad*), both dismissed by Marshall in an endnote as "scrappy satires on learning" (340). Another example is *Annus Mirabilis* (1722), the fantastic account of a supposed universal sex change that throws

1 See Lester M.Beattie, *John Arbuthnot: Mathematician and Satirist*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935; Joseph M. Levine, *Dr. Woodward's Shield: History, Science, and Satire in Augustan England*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977; Richard Nash, *Wild Enlightenment: The Borders of Human Identity in the Eighteenth Century*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003.

London into turmoil. Unless we take account of such apparently "scrappy" satires by Arbuthnot and his friends, we shall overlook a large part of the characteristic offerings that made up the Scriblerian enterprise, and that took their inspiration from the original goals of the Club.

Conclusion

In 1986, the editor of Pope's later prose works, Rosemary Cowler, wrote a pertinent sentence: "Because the productions of the Scriblerians were as collective as their closely shared attitudes and antagonisms, matters of attribution are sometimes [...] difficult, and problems of dating are often insoluble" (Pope 1986, 104). This is of course precisely the approach that Marshall set out to challenge, in its emphasis on the "closely shared attitudes and antagonisms" of the group. *The Practice of Satire* is a remarkable achievement, which has taught many students of the period, myself included, a great deal about the subject. The view set out here is that the book falsely mythologizes Scriblerian satire in denying its reality as an identifiable mode. As a result, Marshall is in danger of misaligning literary history and misdirecting criticism of the course of letters in this era. It remains the task of others to adjudicate on the issue.

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Johnson and Swift: Footnotes to Rawson

Robert DeMaria, Jr.

Abstract: Of the many critics who have tried to understand Johnson's complex attitude to Swift, Rawson is surely the most insightful. This essay explores some Johnsonian responses to Swift in addition to those canvassed by Rawson and takes up anew the question of Swiftianism in Johnson's writings and conversation. Operating within the framework established by Rawson, this essay finds, in sum, that the harshest sort of irony is slightly less exceptional than Rawson judged and slightly less confined to his early years as a writer. Later in life Johnson could be more Swiftian in conversation and in ex tempore writing than in his more considered and more public utterances. This suggests that he controlled his harshest tendencies when he was speaking on the record or, more importantly, making pronouncements that might reach a broader audience of impressionable readers. But the tendencies ran deep, just as Rawson says.
Keywords: Samuel Johnson; Swiftianism; irony
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In "The Character of Swift's Satire," "Intimacies of Antipathy: Johnson and Swift," and occasionally in several other essays, Claude Rawson has made the most insightful comments on the literary relationship between Johnson and Swift of all time, though it has long been a subject of interest to literary scholars and critics. A general summary cannot do justice to Rawson's views because they are both complex and inseparable from the style in which he wrote them. It is fair to say, however, that "Intimacies of Antipathy" clarifies through several examples the long-observed but still puzzling compound of attraction and repulsion evident in Johnson's relationship with Swift. Johnson's *Life of Swift* in his *Lives of the Poets* (1779-1781) naturally provides the richest field for the exploration of this relationship, and Rawson canvasses it thoroughly:

> Johnson's antipathy to Swift was intense. It is not merely that the *Life of Swift* expresses some severe criticisms and a degree of personal dislike. The same is true of the lives of Milton and Pope. What is exceptional in the *Life of Swift* is, first, the sheer persistence, sometimes subtextual, of the antipathy [...] Secondly, some of his severest strictures on Swift's real or presumed states of mind have a peculiar inwardness, a censorious probing of dark corners of motivation or outlook, which have the stamp of psychological fellow-travelling. Finally [...] there are some surprising parallels in the private and religious meditations of both men, as well as in their moral and political opinions, and their underlying mode of thought. ("Intimacies" 120-121)

To dwell for a moment on the writing in this passage, the metaphors implicit in "inwardness" and "dark corners" are characteristic of a predilection for visual and spatial ways of putting things that is a strength of Rawson's style, surprisingly evident in his often-brilliant descriptions of tone: the "uppishness" or "hauteur" and even, at a stretch, "avuncular" ("confident derision mingling with sympathetic reassurance") suggest bodily positions and spatial relationships between people.

In addition to probing Johnson's strictures in the *Life of Swift*, Rawson examines several other places in Johnson's writings, and in his biography, that show "his curious self-involvement with an author he persistently disliked" ("Intimacies" 127). It is curious, Rawson points out, that Johnson's relationship with Hester Thrale was tinged with his awareness of Swift, not least because she was in fact an admirer of Swift. In one of his many letters to Thrale, Johnson was willing to style himself "Presto" (Redford I:302). This is the name that appears as Swift's signature in the first edition of his *Journal to Stella* (1755), the edition that Johnson and Thrale knew. As Rawson points out, Thrale's son Harry had a dog named Presto, and Johnson referred to himself in a letter to Hester at about this time as "This little Dog" (*Letters* I.296). There is a suggestion here that Johnson was willing to play Swift to Thrale's Stella and hit the same notes of a poor creature seeking maternal comfort that Swift sometimes hit when styling himself a "poor dear fellow"—the true reading of the manuscript letters, which the indignant cousin/editor, Dean Swift, changed to "Presto." [1]

In amplifying Johnson's note of self-abasement Rawson wisely stops short of invoking the famous letter in French that Johnson wrote to Thrale, addressing

1 The MS reading, restored in the Cambridge edition is "pdfr" or "podefar," short for "poor dear fellow" (*Journal to Stella* 577). The original shows that the name was one of mild self-abasement, which is lightened though not erased in "Presto."

her as his “Mistress,” from inside the Streatham house, which has been taken as an indication that he regarded her as his dominatrix and granted her the right to manacle him in his room. The letter (and the manacles that were auctioned with the rest of the Thrale-Piozzi property in Streatham) has perhaps been taken too literally. Read merely as a courtly gesture of abasement, like throwing one’s cloak on the ground to protect the beloved’s feet from mud, the letter is of a piece with the gesture of declaring oneself the beloved’s dog or other pet. (The gesture was still alive for Trollope when he had the interloping beau in *Is He Popenjoy?* [1877-1878] use it as a come-on to the recently married heroine of the novel.)

The most famous of the pets that literary lovers claim they wish to be is the dove in the Anacreontic poem that Johnson imitated and recited to Hester Thrale[1] as he had earlier recited it to his intended second wife, Hill Boothby (Wright 109). In the original Greek poem, the dove is a go-between for Anacreon and his beloved boy Bathyllus, but the creature contentedly lies down in the arms of his master at bedtime. Johnson changed the gender of the beloved in his version because, presumably, he wished to identify her with the woman for whom he performed. As the dove is the speaker in the poem, delivering both the poem and Anacreon’s letters to his beloved, he must be identified with Johnson as poet, even if, as lover, Johnson is identified with the dove’s master. In any case, the prostration of the dove before “Anacreon” is a posture that Johnson struck before Thrale or Boothby as he delivered the poem, in which he asks, “Can a prudent Dove decline/Blissful bondage such as mine?” (ll: 24-25) Johnson’s couplet, moreover, is a notable expansion of the simpler line in the original- Δούλη μενῶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ (A slave, I will stay with him). Johnson’s interrogative couplet recalls lines from the proem of *The Rape of the Lock*—“Oh say what stranger cause, yet unexplored/Could cause a gentle belle to reject a lord?”—but the meter is wrong, as I’ll suggest soon.

In “Intimacies” Rawson discusses another poem that Johnson composed and recited, probably impromptu, to Thrale. She had complained in 1777 when she was thirty-five that Swift wrote birthday poems to Stella until she was forty-six, but she had nothing from Johnson. He told her, as she prepared to transcribe the verses, that she should now “see what it is to come for poetry to a Dictionary-maker; you may observe that the rhymes run in alphabetical order exactly” (*Johnsonian Miscellanies* 1:260). The mention of the *Dictionary* validates Rawson’s characterization of the lines as “displaying a half-derisive virtuosity of inwardness” (“Intimacies” 128) because Johnson was so identified with his *Dictionary*, as is shown, for example, in Γνῶθι σεαυτόν (Know thyself), the self-examining poem he wrote as an address to

1 See G. B. Hill, ed, *Johnsonian Miscellanies* vol. 1, New York: Harper&Brothers, 1897, 176.

his intellectual master, Joseph Scaliger, when he finished revising his great work in 1773. The poem recalls Swift's famous birthday poems for Stella, but the verse is in the manner of Waller's "To Zelinda" which begins, "Fairest piece of well-form'd earth, /Urge not thy haughty birth." This is the same measure that Johnson used in his imitation of "Anacreon's Dove" and in earlier amorous poems, such as "On a Lady's Presenting a Sprig of Myrtle to a Gentleman."[1] Interestingly, Waller's poem appears in the Prosody preliminary to Johnson's *Dictionary* as an exemplification of the trochaic verse form of seven syllables per line. The double reference to the *Dictionary* in Johnson's birthday poem for Thrale makes the lines even more an expression of "inwardness," but Johnson's own history in using the form for love poetry does that as well.

Johnson's *Dictionary* is itself filled with references to Swift. I suggested, as Rawson recalls, that Johnson may have gone out of his way to associate Swift with scatological or proctological words in the illustrative quotations. He quotes Swift as saying, for example, "I got the hemorrhoids!" (DeMaria 210) This is not a very illustrative quotation; it does not illuminate the meaning of the word; it is fun at Swift's expense, but, given Johnson's medical history and his difficulty with constipation—hinted at by Boswell in his coy questions about Johnson's retention of dried orange peels—it may also be a cri de coeur. Overall, Brian Grimes has counted 3,460 citations of Swift by name or the name of one of his works in the first edition of the *Dictionary* (1755). The largest number of quotations come from *Gulliver's Travels*, but "Directions to Servants" supplies the highest number per page. *Johnson's Dictionary Online* counts 94 for the former and 75 for the much shorter latter work in 1755. The advice transmitted from Swift in "Directions" is mainly ironic, such as that provided in the quotation under the first sense of the noun "lap": "If a joint of meat falls on the ground, take it up gently, wipe it with the lap of your coat, and then put it into the dish." "Armpit" evokes another quotation of "Directions," addressed by Swift to the Footman: "Others hold their plate under the left arm-pit, the best situation for keeping it warm." And again (one more), from "Directions to the Butler" under the noun "plug": "In bottling wine, fill your mouth full of corks, together with a large plug of tobacco." Many of the quotations of Swift in the *Dictionary* refer to violations of the strict sanitary code to which both Swift and Johnson somewhat compulsively subscribed.

Swift's poems are also well-represented in Johnson's *Dictionary*, although in his *Life of Swift* Johnson was dismissive of them, dispatching them with the bare

1 This and many other observations about Johnson's poetry in this essay derive from *The Complete Poems of Samuel Johnson* (Routledge, 2024), edited by Robert D. Brown and Robert DeMaria, Jr.

remark, "There is not much upon which the critic can exercise his powers" (Lonsdale 3:214), although, as Rawson reminded us, the *Lives* were originally called "Prefaces Biographical and Critical" and intended as introductions to the poetry in *The Works of the English Poets.* Nor does Johnson shrink from quoting in the *Dictionary* poems that he says in the *Life of Swift* he would have classed as "gross" or "trifling," if he had bothered to treat the poetry at all, including two ironic quotations of "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed" under "cleanliness." As Rawson notes, Thrale said Johnson "'used to quote [Swift] perpetually,' but often reverted to ["Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift"] in particular" ("Intimacies" 136). In the first edition of the *Dictionary*, Johnson quoted this poem at least sixteen times. The first-person grammar of this poem, and many of Swift's other works, allows Johnson to ventriloquize Swift—in itself a very Swiftian move—to have him speak, often to his own derogation, but also, though more rarely, to utter his own thoughts in the voice of his nemesis. A harmless example occurs under "spick and span" meaning "Quite new": "I keep no antiquated stuff;/But spick and span I have enough." Another pops up under "sniveller" ("A weeper; a weak lamenter": "He'd more lament when I was dead,/Than all the snivellers round my bed.") Johnson always said he hated a "Feeler," at least insofar as the feeling was affected (*Thraliana* 1:541 and n. 2). Johnson is also united with Swift in approving of charitable giving. In addition to promoting several charitable schemes—such as the Hereford hospital and the benefit night for Milton's grand-daughter—Johnson made a point of discussing his subjects' charity in many of his biographies. Swift, of course, left money for the establishment of a sanitorium for the mentally ill in Dublin. Johnson gives Swift credit for his charity, despite complaining that "His beneficence was not graced with tenderness or civility" (Lonsdale 2:211).

In the Preface to the *Dictionary* Johnson refers, as Rawson notes, to Swift's *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712) as a "petty treatise" and goes further in the *Life of Swift* to say it was "written without much knowledge of the general nature of language, and without any accurate enquiry into the history of other tongues" (Lonsdale 3:195). Nevertheless, Johnson drew on it for illustrative quotations in the *Dictionary* (see, e.g. "heart," sense 9). Interestingly, the reason for Johnson's criticism—Swift's naive belief that an academy can legislate correctness—is prefigured in Swift's own satire of academies in *A Tale of a Tub*, which can be seen as a source for Johnson's derision of them. Swift imagines a parodic "large Academy [...] capable of containing nine thousand seven hundred forty and three Persons, which by modest Computation is reckoned to be pretty near the current Number of *Wits* in this Island" (26). The Hack who

speaks for Swift in the *Tub* also imagines that the "worthy Members of the several *Academies* abroad, especially those of *France* and *Italy*, will favourably accept these humble Offers, for the Advancement of Universal Knowledge" (68). Without irony, but perhaps in a voice equally theatrical, Johnson is similarly derisive in the Preface to the *Dictionary*: "If an academy should be established for the cultivation of our stile, which I, who can never wish to see dependence multiplied, hope the spirit of English liberty will hinder or destroy, let them, instead of compiling grammars and dictionaries, endeavour, with all their influence, to stop the licence of translatours, whose idleness and ignorance, if suffered to proceed, will reduce us to babble a dialect of *France*" (108-109). Despite this injunction, Johnson quoted numerous translations in his *Dictionary* and made them important in his representation of English. Part of the tone of the Preface, as a performance for the English market, was an obligatory Francophobia, and an almost Swiftian disdain for academies was consistent with that tone.

Johnson may be performing, but he is not ironic in issuing an opinion on academies that resembles Swift's; he repeats some other Swiftian opinions in a similarly unironic way. The ending of the *Idler*, for example, is a version of the ending of *A Tale of Tub*, without irony. Johnson wrote in *Idler* 103: "This secret horrour of the last is inseparable from a thinking being whose life is limited, and to whom death is dreadful [...] the termination of any period of life reminds us that life itself has likewise its termination" (315). In concluding *A Tale of a Tub*, Swift wrote, "The Conclusion of a Treatise, resembles the Conclusion of Human Life" (135). The idea may be a commonplace, but its attraction for both Swift and Johnson is a measure of the curious compatibility of their views. Other examples of shared commonplaces may be found. For example, in Part 2, Chapter 1 of *Gulliver's Travels* Swift writes: "Undoubtedly Philosophers are in the Right when they tell us, that nothing is great or little otherwise than by Comparison" (124). Johnson expands the commonplace in his preface to Shakespeare: "As among the works of nature no man can properly call a river deep or a mountain high, without the knowledge of many mountains and many rivers; so in the productions of genius, nothing can be stiled excellent till it has been compared with other works of the same kind" (1:60).

Johnson followed Swift in lamenting the exuberant growth of publication and the proliferation of writers. Both also, in a satirical vein, ascribe this proliferation to the weather. Swift's hack presents his *Tale of a Tub* to Prince Posterity as "The poor Production of that Refuse of Time, which has lain heavy upon my Hands, during a long Prorogation of Parliament, a great Dearth of Forein News, and a tedious Fit of rainy Weather" (20). In the Conclusion he invokes a bookseller who "knows to a

Tittle, what Subjects will best go off in a *dry* Year, and which it is proper to expose foremost, when the Weather-glass is fallen to *much Rain*" (134). In *Adventurer* 115 Johnson laments the "epidemical conspiracy for the destruction of paper" and speculates that it might be caused by "the intemperature of the seasons [...] the long continuance of the wind at any single point, or intoxicating vapours exhaled from the earth" (458-459).

Both Johnson and Swift also made fun of a kind of mechanical operation of the literary spirit. Swift begins his *Tale of a Tub* with a disquisition on the mechanical forms of rising (Longinian ὕψους or the sublime). He finds the three methods of rising, thus enabling one's words to land with more force, are the ladder, the pulpit, and the stage itinerant. in *Rambler* 117. Johnson uses the logic of the Hack's description of the importance of altitude to the delivery of words when he writes his "theory of a garret" as a fictional letter from "Hypertatus" (4: 258-264). Johnson focuses the effects of altitude on the writer rather than his words, but his reduction of an intangible literary element to something mechanical resembles Swift's operation in his *Tub*. Wind is another of Swift's frequently employed materializations of spirit: "For, whether you please to call the *Forma informans* of Man, by the name of *Spiritus, Animus, Afflatus,* or *Anima*; what are all these, but several Appellations for *Wind*?" (99) Johnson also invokes wind, and he does so by alluding to Pythagoras, a classical source for the conflation of wind and spirt also present in Swift's work. Johnson's Hypertatus finds Pythagoras an important authority for his effort "to inculcate to posterity the importance of a garret" (260). He cites the "celebrated symbol [i.e. maxim] of Pythagoras, ἀνεμῶν πνεόντων τὴν ἠχὼ προσκύνει; 'when the wind blows, worship its echo'" (260). Most of the "symbols" are quite as silly as this one: "Write not in the snow," for example, "Threaten not the stars," and "Eat not in the chariot" (a good inscription for a twenty-first-century automobile air freshener). Pythagoras was a commonplace for exemplifying the folly of pedantry, and Johnson translated early in his career the Jests of Hierocles, a commentary on Pythagoras's *Aurea Carmina*, a work full of jokes about pedants (*Johnson on Demand*, 56). There is a kind of commutative principle by which Pythagoras connects Johnson and Swift, especially through their younger selves.

The elevation of the garret in Johnson's *Rambler* 117 enables not only access to the wind but also an increased speed of rotation as the earth spins, and this increase in velocity makes one smarter:

> Another cause of the gaiety and sprightliness of the dwellers in garrets is probably the increase of that vertiginous motion, with which we are carried

> round by the diurnal revolution of the earth. The power of agitation upon the spirits is well known; every man has felt his heart lightened in a rapid vehicle, or on a galloping horse; and nothing is plainer, than that he who towers to the fifth story, is whirled through more space by every circumrotation, than another that grovels upon the ground-floor. (263)

Although Johnson focuses on the mind of the writer rather than, like Swift, his emissions in the form of words that fall with more force from a great height, his conceit surely qualifies as "Swiftian." Johnson enlists Tibullus and Lucretius in his army of apologists for the garret. As the archetypal materialist, Lucretius is a favorite of Swift's ironic spokesmen; these spokesmen are parts of the pantheon of wits supporting the views of Hypertatus.

In "The Character of Swift's Satire" Rawson points out:

> [...] just as Swift, in some of his lesser works, and less often than had been claimed, sometimes wrote in a plain style devoid of ironic indirection, so Johnson occasionally did the opposite. Two of his early works were conscious exercises in "Swiftian" irony: *Marmor Norfolciense* and the *Complete Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage*. This early fixation on Swift was also playfully sustained by the parliamentary reports that he concocted for the *Gentleman's Magazine* under the title "Debates in the Senate of Magna Lilliputia," and there were examples of "sarcasm and 'sophistry'" among the political writings of his later years. But these works are exceptional, and the few overt Swiftian imitations may be taken as among the more superficial instances of that deep similarity with Swift that Johnson seems uneasily to have sensed in himself. ("Character" 23)

This is all very true and the perception that these are "superficial instances of [a] deep similarity" is particularly acute. Combing Johnson's writings, however, one can find more numerous "superficial instances." Those that Rawson notes are the most important, but he plays down their extent, since Johnson's work on the Parliamentary Debates constitutes his longest performance in prose, occupying three volumes in the Yale Edition, the same number as *The Lives of the Poets*, from which should be subtracted a larger volume of footnotes and a certain amount of non-Johnsonian prose, such as the *Life of Young*, which was contributed by Herbert Croft. There is also irony in many of the *Ramblers*, such as 117 cited above—another three-volume collection of Johnson's prose.

Reverting first to one of Johnson's works well-known to be "Swiftian," perhaps it is worth remembering how closely Johnson follows Swift in his creation of the prophetic Latin poem at the center of *Marmor Norfolciense*. The poem is entitled "Post-Genitis" (To Posterity) and hence is dedicated to the same entity named in the dedication to *A Tale of a Tub*. There is a classical precedent for the counterfeit archaeological discovery in *Marmor* (Baldwin cites Ephemeris *Belli T*roiani [Diary of the Trojan War] by "Dictys Cretensis," alleged to have been discovered in the 4th century), but Swift used a similar satirical vehicle, albeit in an abbreviated way, in "The Windsor Prophecy" (1711).

A less frequently cited Swiftian work is Johnson's "Observations on *Common Sense*," published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1738 (vol. 8:640-641). Like most of Johnson's work for the *Gentleman's Magazine* in his first year of involvement, "Observations" is part of the periodical war that the proprietor, Edward Cave, waged with the journals from which he drew his articles before he began replacing them with original content—mainly after 1740. In January of 1738 the editors of *Common Sense* complained that the *GM* not only pilfered its material but abridged it barbarously, canceling "everything that looks like spirit in writing." In retaliation, the *GM* abridged a piece written for *Common Sense*, 2 December 1738, but kept in brackets phrases that were stylistically unnecessary. Johnson added "Observations on the forgoing" in the voice of a penitent editor: "An ingenuous and artless confession of a fault is generally admitted as an extenuation of it, and, if accompanied with amendment, entitles the offender to pardon and compassion" (*Johnson on Demand* 24). His apology includes a precative address to prolixity worthy of Swift's dedication to Prince Posterity or even Pope's address to Dullness:

> Oh thou great directress of political pens! known amongst the moderns by the names of FLUENCY and COPIOUSNESS, and amongst the men of former ages by the title of PROLIXITY! Thou, that weariest attention with invincible tautology, and bewilderest reason in inextricable mazes! Forgive, great goddess! the injuries rashly offered to the most zealous of thy votaries, the AUTHORS OF *Common Sense*, and accept of the small atonement which I now offer thee by publishing, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, four columns SACRED TO PROLIXITY. (*Johnson on Demand* 25)

Then, after many more protestations that he was reformed, Johnson's speaker provides a long footnote listing expressions he would have expunged in his "unenlightened" state. The list is interesting for those who study Johnson's style for

it includes mixed metaphors, pleonasms, and solecisms having to do with imprecise usage, or with tense or number: for example, "was *owing*;" "the people who ruled the roost;" "now and then;" "two *most* opposites;" "Once more before I *died*;" "she retired into France, where, when *strangers* became acquainted with her, *all the world* was in love with her" (ibid., 26n2). It is fair to say, by the way, that Johnson's strictness about metaphor is a trait of his literary outlook that he shares with Swift—one that is a constant throughout his life, not just in youth.

Although "Swiftian" irony is more common in Johnson's earliest writings, he also used unreliable if not thoroughly ironic speakers in his later periodical essays. There are many examples in the *Rambler* (1750-1752) and some from later productions, such as the *Idler* (1758-1760). One from an intermediary time is worth mentioning because it contains the kind of mock proposal that is closely associated with Swift's most famous writing. Johnson, as is generally true, does not make proposals as violent or as disgusting as Swift's, but in its analogy between dogs and writers, this one comes close. The piece appeared in the *Universal Visiter*, volume 4 (April 1756), 159-166 and was there entitled "Reflections on the Present State of Literature." Thomas Davies changed the title to "A Dissertation on Authors" when he included it in *Miscellaneous and Fugitive Pieces* (2:21-29), and it entered Johnson's *Works* in 1788 as "A project for the Employment of Authors" (199-209). The speaker, like Swift's projector in *A Modest Proposal*, is a "computist." He says, "I have computed, at some hours of leisure, the loss and gain of literature, and set the pain which it produces against the pleasure" (*Johnson on Demand*, 254). True to his identity as a kind of computational economist, Johnson's speaker goes on to discuss the great proliferation of authors, which amounts to a kind of plague. He finds that every sixth man passing Temple Bar between the hours of eleven and four is an author. Authors lead miserable lives because, as this computist knows, "the price of commodities must always fall as the quantity is increased, and [...] no trade can allow its professors to be multiplied beyond a certain number" (257).

Johnson's economist also makes some comparisons of authors in their suffering to animals: "Many universal comparisons there are by which misery is expressed. We talk of a man teased like a bear at a stake, tormented like a toad under a harrow; or hunted like a dog with a stick at his tail; all these are indeed states of uneasiness, but what are they to the life of an author!" (258) The speaker goes on to describe authors as cannibalistic animals: "like wolves in long winters, they are forced to prey on one another" (259). The animal imagery returns in the modest proposal itself:

> The result of all these considerations amounts only to this, that the number of writers must at last be lessened, but by what method this great design can be accomplished, is not easily discovered. It was lately proposed, that every man who kept a dog should pay a certain tax, which, as the contriver of ways and means [i.e. Internal Revenue] very judiciously observed, would either destroy the dogs, or bring in money. Perhaps it might be proper to lay some such tax upon authors, only the payment must be lessened in proportion as the animal, upon which it is raised, is less necessary; for many a man that would pay for his dog, will dismiss his dedicator. Perhaps, if every one, who employed or harboured an author, was assessed a groat a year, it would sufficiently lessen the nuisance without destroying the species. (*Johnson on Demand* 260)

This is obviously not as bad as the proposal to eat Irish babies or the proposal to eliminate the Yahoos from the face of the earth, but it has some resemblance to them, and shows that Johnson carried some of his "Swiftian" irony into middle age. Moreover, Johnson echoed the imagery of this passage in 1773 when, as Boswell reports in his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, "Lady MacLeod asked if no man was naturally good. Johnson. 'No, madam, no more than a wolf.' Boswell. 'Nor woman, sir?' Johnson: 'No, sir.' Lady MacLeod started, saying low, 'This is worse than Swift'" (170; Rawson, "Character" 4).

Also in 1773, Johnson composed a "Meditation on a Pudding," which surely recalls Swift's "Meditation on a Broomstick" (1710). Both of Johnson's most important early biographers—Hawkins and Boswell—believed that Johnson's immediate object was James Hervey's popular *Meditations and Contemplations* (1746-1748). The immediate object of Swift's *Meditation* is Robert Boyle's *Meditations* (1665), but both Swift's and Johnson's works are sendups of the metaphysical mode in general. Johnson evidently never committed this work to paper but performed it, with differences, for Hawkins and Boswell on separate occasions. It begins, in one version, "Let us seriously reflect of what a pudding is composed. It is composed of flour that once waved in the golden grain, and drank the dews of the morning; of milk pressed from the swelling udder by the gentle hand of the beauteous milk-maid. [...] who, while she stroked the udder, indulged in no ambitious thoughts of wandering in palaces [...] (*Johnson on Demand* 529). Swift's "Meditation" begins, "This single Stick, which you now behold ingloriously lying in that neglected Corner, I once knew in a flourishing State in a Forest: It was full of Sap, and full of Leaves, and full of Boughs" (*Parodies* 13). He goes on to make the metaphysical statement that "SURELY MORTAL MAN IS A BROOMSTICK" (14).

This more resembles the kind of extravagant metaphysical metaphor that Johnson criticized in his Life of Cowley than the kind he ridicules in his "Meditation on a Pudding," but the resemblance to Swift is still pertinent.

It is notable that this late "Swiftianum" was an impromptu production. There is evidence in Johnson's poetry that he was more inclined to Swiftian irony when he composed such verse in performance than when he wrote for publication. There are several late poems, composed impromptu, that exhibit such irony. One of these is "A Short Song of Congratulation," which Johnson composed on or about 8 August 1780, when he sent the poem to Hester Thrale with the following note: "You have heard in the papers how Sir John Lade is come to age, I have enclosed a short song of congratulation, which you must not show to any body. It is odd that it should come into any bodies head. I hope you will read it with candour [i.e., genially], it is, I believe one of the authours first essays in that way of writing, and a beginner is always to be treated with tenderness'" (*Letters* 3.296). Thrale said in her journal that Johnson sent this in a "fit of frolicksome Gaiety" (*Thraliana* 1.451). Johnson was joking about this being his first attempt "in that way of writing;" whether he meant irony in general or unironic congratulations in particular, he had long been adept at creating an authorial persona. The poem celebrates ironically the coming of age of a notorious spendthrift whom Johnson occasionally encountered at Streatham, as he was the ward of his uncle Henry Thrale. Lade evidently took Johnson's advice literally, soon marrying a horsewoman of light repute and squandering the family fortune.

A Short Song of Congratulation

Long-expected one and twenty
Ling'ring year, at last is flown,
Pomp and Pleasure, Pride and Plenty
Great Sir John, are all your own.

Loosen'd from the Minor's tether, 5
Free to mortgage or to sell,
Wild as wind, and light as feather
Bid the slaves of thrift farewel.

Call the Bettys, Kates, and Jennys
Ev'ry name that laughs at Care, 10

Lavish of your Grandsire's guineas,
Show the Spirit of an heir.

All that prey on vice and folly
Joy to see their quarry fly,
Here the Gamester light and jolly, 15
There the Lender grave and sly.

Wealth, Sir John, was made to wander,
Let it wander as it will;
See the Jocky, see the Pander,
Bid them come, and take their fill. 20

When the bonny Blade carouses,
Pockets full, and Spirits high,
What are acres? What are houses?
Only dirt, or wet or dry.

If the Guardian or the Mother 25
Tell the woes of wilful waste,
Scorn their counsel and their pother,
You can hang or drown at last.

John Hoole heard Johnson repeat the poem "with great spirit" on 30 November (Swift's birthday, coincidentally), 1784 (*Johnsonian Miscellany* 2:152).

A less funny and crueler spontaneous performance is Johnson's "An Extempore Elegy," which he composed at Streatham where Fanny Burney heard it and eventually copied it out. "The *occasion*," she wrote in her journal, "was to *make fun* of an Elegy in a Trumpery Book we had just been reading" (Burney 4:448-449).

1
Here's a Woman of the Town,
Lies as Dead as any Nail!
She was once of high renown,—
And so here begins my Tale.
2
She was once as Cherry plump, 5

Red her Cheek as Cath'rine Pear,
Toss'd her Nose, & shook her Rump,
Till she made her Neighbours stare.
3
But there came a country'squire
He was a seducing Pug! 10
Took her from her friends & sire,
To his own House her did lug.
4
There she soon became a Jilt,
Rambling often to & fro',
All her life was nought but guilt, 15
Till Purse & Carcase both were low.
5
Black her Eye with many a Blow,
Hot her Breath with many a Dram,
Now she lies exceeding low,
And as quiet as a Lamb. 20

This is surely Johnson's meanest poem unless one counts "To Lyce," which may not be his. "To Lyce" appeared in the *GM* for May 1747 (17.240) and was accepted into both *Poetical Works* (1785) and *Works* (1787). The poem follows Horace, Odes, 4.13 and similarly mocks an aging woman. It sounds more like Swift in his so-called misogynist verse than Johnson:

Her silver locks display the moon,
Her brows a cloudy show, 10
Strip'd rainbows round her eyes are seen,
And show'rs from either flow.

Her teeth the night with darkness dyes,
She's starr'd with pimples o'er,
Her tongue like nimble lightning plies, 15
And can with thunder roar.

Robert Brown and I—coeditors of the Longman's edition of Johnson's poems—are inclined, like other Johnsonians, to doubt Johnson's authorship of "To Lyce" partly

because it is so cruel (though we acknowledge that Johnson may have contributed to it). Boswell also doubted it on those grounds: "I have also some difficulty to believe that he could produce such a group of *conceits* as appear in the verses to Lyce [...];" but he concedes that "[Johnson] may have, in his earlier years, composed such a piece as this" (*Life* 1:179). Sherbo concludes his article on "Certain Poems in the May 1747 *Gentleman's Magazine*" with this judgment on "To Lyce": "The one poem that remains has so much evidence against its ascription to Johnson that it is rather anticlimactic to point out that even Smith and McAdam, sharing Boswell's extreme suspicion, have little to say for it' (389). Still, rejecting the poem because one thinks the sentiment beneath Johnson is not entirely valid.

One poem that was formerly ascribed to Johnson, despite its cruelty, Brown and DeMaria have shown not to be Johnson's. Lars Troide, the editor of Burney's early journals thought this was Johnson's Swiftian improvisation.

With Patches, Paint, & Jewels on,
Sure Phillis is not Twenty one!—
—But if at *Night* you Phillis see—
—The Dame, at least, is Forty Three (3:126)

My co-editor Rob Brown discovered that these lines paraphrase Matthew Prior's "Phillis's Age":

How old may Phyllis be, you ask,
Whose beauty thus all hearts engages?
To answer is no easy task,
For she has really two ages.
Stiff in brocard, and pinch'd in stays,
With patches, paint, and jewels on,
All day let envy view her face;
And Phyllis is but twenty-one.
Paint, patches, jewels laid aside,
As night astronomers agree,
The evening has the day belied;
And Phyllis is some forty-three.

The unmasking of this false ascription is a warning that one should not go too far in imagining the extent of Johnson's "Swiftian" behavior as a writer, and that

is a salutary note on which to conclude. What I have added here are footnotes to Rawson's sane and considered view that Johnson's Swiftian works are "exceptional" ("Character" 23). This is, however, to allow more Swiftianism in Johnson's works than Boswell allowed. Johnson's greatest biographer, reflecting on the "Short Song of Congratulation" describes it as satire "conveyed in a strain of pointed vivacity and humour, and in a manner of which no other instance is to be found in Johnson's writings" (*Life* 4:412). This is incorrect. I would certainly go further than Boswell and a bit further than Rawson, with the caveat that the additional works of Swiftian irony in his mature years are mainly in Johnson's ex tempore poems. As his sometimes violent behavior in debate (which he often sorely regretted) or his remark to Lady MacLeod (above) suggest, he could be more virulent viva voce than in print, and, likewise, he could be fiercer in ex tempore verse than in the cooler medium of prose or verse intended for publication. This is consistent with my view of Johnson as conscious throughout his published writings of his effect on his audience. He is often performing with attention to his reception, particularly his moral reception. Hence, I see the ending of the *Vanity of Human Wishes*, with its Christianizing and softening of the harsher Juvenalian message, as a concession to the audience and what would benefit them as Christians, rather than an expression of Johnson's personal feelings about life. The rest of the poem is more ironic and includes, as well as the cruel reference to Swift "expir[ing] a driv'ler and a show," a direct borrowing from Swift in line 73 where suitors "croud preferment's gate."[1] Not that I think Johnson quite as harsh as Swift in his view of humanity, but I think him harsher and more Swiftian than he wished to let on in his public performances. That he could express that harsher view more easily in private performances is a sign, however, of how deeply it ran, just as Rawson says.

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1 Swift wrote "croud about Preferment's Gate" "To Doctor D-l-y" (l. 93), as noted by Christopher Ricks (413) and noticed by Smith and McAdam (118).

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Swift and the Moderns: A Tribute to Claude Rawson

Jenny Davidson (Columbia University)

This past spring I taught a new lecture course called Swift and the Moderns that could have been neither conceived nor constructed without Claude's influence: without what I learned from him personally, during my time as a graduate student at Yale in the 1990s; without his work on Rochester, Swift, Pope, Austen, Céline and many others; and without the ways of reading and the literary worlds Claude opened up for me.

I think often of a conversational exchange I had with Claude at a small cocktail party for our graduate student cohort at the townhouse of another professor, the late professor Sara Suleri Goodyear (it was 1996 or thereabouts).

I said to Claude, tipsily, "You are obsessed with cannibalism!"

Claude thought for a moment, then corrected me.

"No," he said, "I am interested in what happens to language in extreme situations."

When I made the decision to go to Yale to pursue my Ph.D. in eighteenth-century British literature, I knew of Claude's research profile without actually having read his work. As an undergraduate, I'd been thinking mostly about fiction and narratology, not satire. But Claude's seminar on Augustan satire was pure magic. I fell in love with the primary texts—Rochester, Swift, Fielding and so many others—but the real eye-opener was Claude's way of reading. His keen ear and eye, his extraordinarily close attention to shifts of diction and tone within a sentence and the traction it gave on the psychological and ethical orientations of the work as a whole, his deep knowledge of a huge swathe of classical as well as seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European literary culture, the equally wide-ranging cosmopolitan readerly curiosity that enabled many of his most unexpected and profound juxtapositions and insights—now *this* was something worth aspiring to!

In those graduate school years, I read and enormously appreciated Claude's earlier work on Swift (*Gulliver and the Gentle Reader* [1973]) and Fielding (*Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal Under Stress* [1972]), but my bibles were the two major essay collections—*Order From Confusion Sprung* (1985) and *Satire and Sentiment* (1993). They represent the very best of what literary criticism can

do when it is attuned as closely to style as to broader literary and cultural patterns and throughlines. I especially enjoy, in these essays, the ways in which arguments worked out at length by Claude in his earlier writing—often by way of brilliant and sensitive extended close readings—reappear, distilled into just a few sentences and perfectly integrated by way of a larger interpretive insight or judgment into a great literary tapestra with no temporal or geographical delimiters. It means that even the short occasional essays (the cleverly titled "π-ious Boswell"!) are rich with a full life's worth of reading and thinking and writing.

Despite his expertise in mock-heroics, Claude's generosity as a teacher and mentor has been full-on heroic, epic in an older-fashioned sense. He spent a semester supervising an independent course of reading with me that took us through the major French and English prose satires of the later seventeenth-century. He took me to lunch at least once a term at Berkeley College. He introduced me to the writing of Patrick Chamoiseau, among many others. His hospitality at New Haven's best restaurants (*sic*?) gave me an impression of what grown-up gastronomic-cum-intellectual life might look like: not least by way of introducing me to what is still one of my favorite cocktails, the caipirinha, based on a sugar-cane liquor called cachaça whose first acquaintance Claude had made by way of a daughter who imported spirits from Brazil. I learned the deep satisfaction of writing dissertation chapters that met with Claude's approval ("accurate and readable"!).

Claude continued to look out for me after I finished my degree. He helped me publish my dissertation as a book, edited by the brilliant Linda Bree at Cambridge; he introduced me in real life as well as intellectually to James McLaverty and Marcus Walsh, both of whose work on annotation would become incredibly important to me; he hooked me up with Robert Mahony and the fabulous Swift Symposium in Dublin. When Claude retired, he asked me to look out for his final Yale doctoral student Nicole Wright, who was then just finishing her dissertation and is now a tenured professor at the University of Colorado at Boulder. I feel this speaks to the real care he practiced on behalf of his students as well as to the ways in which to be a student of Claude's was to join a very special and precious community.

Over the last few years, I've become aware of a need to define for myself what really matters most in terms of how I allocate my research and teaching time. What is my eighteenth-century, and what parts of it most urgently need to be shared with students and readers as the writings of the period recede ever further into the distance? I'm writing currently about Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, a very long book, little read these days and with its

values thoroughly undermined by twenty-first-century critique. But Gibbon *matters*, and so do Burke and Swift and Johnson and so many others. In particular I think of that throughline—it motivated my Swift and the Moderns course in spring 2024—from the intellectual controversies of the Protestant Reformation through to the application of secular humanist textual-critical practices to Biblical texts in the later seventeenth-century. Feed into that stream the writings of Descartes and the new Lucretianism and you have the necessary preconditions for Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, and, after several further decades of intense and disorienting social change, his most brilliant and accessible exploration of what it means to be this animal called man in *Gulliver's Travels*. Swift did not share the underlying assumptions of the twentieth-century writers with whom my course concluded (Céline's *Journey to the End of the Night*, Primo Levi's *Survival in Auschwitz*, Vonnegut and Sebald and Kluge on the Allied bombing of German cities in WWII), but he anticipated some of their most unwelcome insights about the limits of what it is possible to say in language. The story of modernity is, among other things, the story of what happens to language in extreme situations.

I thank Claude for all he has given me over the years and I never feel more connected to him than when I read and converse with students who are as thrilled by Swift's writing as I was all those years ago in Linsly-Chittenden Hall.

A Yeats Excursion with Claude Rawson, Summer 1974

Marjorie Perloff

Bio/Abstract: Marjorie Perloff, Sadie Dernham Patek Professor of Humanities Emerita at Stanford University and the Florence R. Scott Professor of English Emerita at the University of Southern California, author of many influential works of literary criticism, a highly-regarded translation of the private notebooks of Ludwig Wittgenstein, and a moving memoir, *The Vienna Paradox,* died in March 2024. She had intended to contribute a substantive essay to this volume, but became too ill to do so. In the weeks before her death she wrote this short memoir recalling memorable events in her fifty-year friendship with Claude Rawson.

Keywords: Claude Rawson; W. B. Yeats

I first met Claude Rawson in 1973. I was giving a lecture at the University of Pennsylvania (Penn) and he was a visiting professor there that year. I must confess I had never heard of him, but my friend Shirley Kenny, whose field was eighteenth-century English literature, had told me he was very important. My talk was on Frank O'Hara, whose gay pop aura can hardly have interested Claude. But at the cocktail party afterwards a big portly man with black curls and beard came up to me and started giving me good hints about Rimbaud and other possible background details for my paper. That was Claude and we became great friends. I remember a few days after my lecture he called and took my husband and me to a performance of Brecht's *Threepenny Opera*, performed on campus.

My husband had just become the Chair of Cardiology at Penn, and so we had moved from Washington DC which had been home for a long time. I was teaching at the University of Maryland. Since I was a commuting Professor, I couldn't do much in the department, but I took on the role of running the guest lecture program. So, I invited Claude to Maryland and drove him down from Philadelphia, and I recall that he gave an excellent lecture on Ford Madox Ford's style in *Parade's End,* in relation to eighteenth-century fictional style. Claude's mind was very wide-ranging and he could talk on many different subjects, which made him very popular. After the lecture I drove back home but he stayed on in Washington and had a good dinner with his old friends.

Shortly after that, as I recall, Claude went back to England. He had five children so I could never understand how he could stay away so long. The following year, 1974, Joseph my husband and I were travelling and spent a week in London. During that week Claude invited us to visit the University of Warwick and gave us a beautiful little duplex room to stay in in the college and took us out for a wonderful dinner with the Bernard Bergonzis. Bernard was a distingushed Modernist scholar whom I was happy to meet. And I also met Claude's wonderful wife Judy, an Italian Professor at Warwick.

One morning later that week Claude called at the hotel and asked if I would like to go somewhere in South London to do a joint recording on the poetry of W. B. Yeats. I had just finished my dissertation on rhyme and meaning in the poetry of Yeats and so was eager to go. We met at the subway station and set forth. The trip was much longer than we had anticipated and then we got totally lost walking from the station to the little house where the recording was to take place. Audio Learning, as it was called, was a fairly new outfit, and remember that poetry recordings were then in their infancy. The equipment often didn't work and there was a lot of background noise. Anyway, we finally got everything going and Claude would ask questions which I would try to answer. It was not easy because we had very different views of Yeats's work. Claude was interested in large questions about country houses or Yeats's politics whereas I was much more of a formalist, then and now. I was busy analyzing this or that rhyme or rhythmic group whereas Claude was busy talking about Yeats and Ireland or Yeats's relationship to various eighteenth-century figures.

But it worked out fairly well, and at the end of the afternoon we had made an audio-cassette that I still have. It sounds a bit screamy in places but is really quite fine! We laughed on the way home because our hosts had what we considered such bad accents, and we didn't quite like the way they commented on Yeats. But, in any case, it was remarkable how much Claude knew about Yeats, a poet not at all in his area of study. And to this day I am struck by Claude's enormous knowledge base. And when he had read a given book, he seemed to remember every word of it.

Not that there were no lacunae in his training, the great one being American literature. In those days at Oxford, one didn't really study American literature in any kind of meaningful way. Students may have read Melville and Hawthorne and Mark Twain, but Claude had never read Henry James in any kind of serious way, and he knew no Faulkner at all. For years he didn't so much as try either one, but he is now very well read in James if not in Faulkner or related modern fiction writers like Flannery O'Connor or Carson McCullers.

Certainly, Claude's knowledge of the poetry of Yeats and T. S. Eliot and Wallace Stevens must have helped him to get so many writing assignments from the *Times Literary Supplement* and later the *London Review of Books*. These journals knew they could count on him, just as the Chinese literary world learned to count on him after 2010. Claude was a natural ally for Professor Nie!

And so I am so happy we are celebrating him today in the name of ethical criticism. Many many happy returns of the day and many more fine birthdays, dear Claude!

With love from Margie (Marjorie Perloff).

美好的回忆 永远的友谊：克劳德·罗森教授与中国

A Beautiful Memory and Eternal Friendship: Claude Rawson and China

聂珍钊（**Nie Zhenzhao**）

内容摘要：克劳德·罗森教授是享誉世界的文学批评家和理论家，对18世纪英国文学有深入研究，尤其对斯威夫特和菲尔丁的研究贡献显著。克劳德·罗森教授曾任耶鲁大学教授、英国华威大学英语系主任、国际文学伦理学批评研究会会长等职，与中国学术界有深厚联系，多次访问中国举行学术讲座，促进国际学术交流。他不仅学术成就卓越，更以谦逊热忱的态度影响并激励着后辈学者，为国际文学批评领域的发展作出了巨大贡献。他强调文学研究应回归文本，倡导道德和伦理在批评中的重要性。他的著作《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》被译成中文，对中国18世纪英国文学研究产生深远影响。他主编的《剑桥文学批评史》已经译成中文，即将在中国出版。他的研究成果为后来的研究者提供了宝贵的学术资源，他的研究方法不仅拓宽了文学研究的视野，也为后来的研究者提供了新的思路和启示。作为国际文学伦理学批评的领导者，他将捍卫道德和文学批评的伦理规则视为崇高使命，鼓励学界同道积极履行这一使命，为社会道德建设贡献力量。他用自己的学术研究为我们树立了榜样，他的贡献将载入史册。在克劳德·罗森教授90诞辰到来之际，我们准备了这期特刊，向伟大的文学批评家克劳德·罗森教授致敬，祝克劳德·罗森教授生日快乐，身体健康。

关键词：克劳德·罗森；武汉情缘；上海情结；上海；聂珍钊；文学伦理学批评

作者简介：聂珍钊，广东外语外贸大学/浙江大学教授，英国国家学术院外籍院士，欧洲科学院外籍院士，国际文学伦理学批评研究会会长。连续入选爱思唯尔中国高被引学者榜单、斯坦福大学全球前2%顶尖科学家榜单（终身科学影响力排行榜、年度科学影响力排行榜）。国际知名学术期刊《泰晤士文学周刊》《阿卡迪亚》、*Comparative Literature Studies*、*Style*、*CLCWeb*、*Kritika Kultura* 等推出专刊或发表评论，对其创立的文学伦理学批评进行研究和推介。

Title: A Beautiful Memory and Eternal Friendship: Claude Rawson and China

Abstract: Professor Claude Rawson is a world-renowned literary critic and theorist whose profound research has shaped the field of 18th-century British literature,

particularly through his influential studies of Jonathan Swift and Henry Fielding. Over the course of his distinguished career, he has held prestigious positions, including Professor of English at Yale University, Head of the English Department at the University of Warwick, and President of the International Association for Ethical Literary Criticism. His scholarly work is marked not only by its depth and rigor but also by the significant international connections he has fostered, particularly with the Chinese academic community. Through his many visits to China, where he has delivered lectures and engaged in promoting international academic exchanges, Professor Rawson has become a vital bridge between Western and Chinese literary studies. Professor Rawson's contributions extend beyond his own scholarship; he has profoundly influenced and inspired generations of younger scholars, playing a key role in the development of international literary criticism. His insistence on returning to the primary texts in literary studies, combined with his advocacy for the integration of ethical and moral considerations in literary criticism, has reshaped the field of ethical criticism. His seminal work, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide*, has been translated into Chinese and has significantly impacted the study of 18th-century British literature in China. Additionally, *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, which he co-edited with H. B. Nisbet, is set to be published in Chinese, further expanding his influence in the region. Professor Rawson's research not only provides invaluable academic resources for future scholars but also opens up new methodological approaches that continue to inspire and broaden the horizons of literary studies. As a leader in the field of Ethical Literary Criticism, he views the upholding of moral and ethical standards as a fundamental mission of literary scholars, encouraging his peers and students to actively contribute to the moral and ethical fabric of society through their work. His scholarly rigor and commitment have set a high standard for future research, and his contributions will undoubtedly be remembered as pivotal in the history of literary studies. On the occasion of Professor Claude Rawson's 90th birthday, this special issue is dedicated to honoring the achievements of one of the great literary critics of our time. We extend our heartfelt wishes to Professor Rawson for continued good health and happiness, with our deepest gratitude for his lasting impact on the field of literary criticism.

Keywords: Claude Rawson; Wuhan friendship; Shanghai complex; Shanghai; Nie Zhenzhao; ethical literary criticism

Author: Nie Zhenzhao is Chair Professor at Guangdong University of Foreign Studies and Emeritus Professor at Zhejiang University. He is an elected International Fellow of the British Academy and an elected Foreign Member of the Academia Europaea. Designated by Elsevier as a Most Cited Chinese Researcher, Nie additionally

appears on both the career-long and single-year sections of Stanford University's World's Top 2% Scientists Dual-List. Internationally renowned academic journals such as *TLS*, *Arcadia*, *Comparative Literature Studies*, *Style*, *CLCWeb* and *Kritika Kultura* have published special issues or reviews on the theory of ethical literary criticism founded by Nie Zhenzhao. Currently, Nie serves as president of the International Association for Ethical Literary Criticism (Email: niezhenzhao@163.com).

克劳德·罗森（Claude Rawson）教授在文学研究领域的贡献是卓越的。他运用跨学科的研究方法，将文学研究与历史、文化、社会等多个领域结合在一起，揭示了18世纪英国文学与社会、历史、文化之间的紧密联系。2024年即将过去，2025年2月8日很快就要到来。这一天是克劳德·罗森教授90诞辰的日子，为了纪念这一天，我们准备了这期特刊，向伟大的文学批评家克劳德•罗森教授致敬。我想说的是，作为他的继任者——国际文学伦理学批评研究会新任会长，我代表学会向克劳德·罗森教授表达崇高敬意并祝克劳德·罗森教授生日快乐，身体健康。

一、克劳德·罗森教授的武汉情缘

克劳德·罗森是耶鲁大学梅纳德·麦克名誉教授（Maynard Mack Professor Emeritus）、美国艺术与科学院（American Academy of Arts and Sciences）院士、英国华威大学英语系创系主任和终身荣誉教授，曾任英国18世纪研究学会（British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies）会长、国际伦理文学批评研究会会长、《现代语言评论》《英语研究年鉴》主编，出版有大量著作，发表有大量论文，其研究涉及小说、诗歌、戏剧等多个领域，在18世纪英国文学研究领域尤其在菲尔丁、斯威夫特等作家的研究方面贡献巨大。他是享誉世界的文学批评家和文学理论家，也是在中国最有学术影响力的英国文学批评家之一。他在文学批评界具有崇高的学术地位和深远影响，著名文学批评家、斯坦福大学Marjorie Perloff教授称他是一个"博学多才的人"（full of erudition and wit）[1]，文学理论家特里·伊格尔顿（Terry Eagleton）称他是当今学界"最具鉴赏力的、最敏锐的18世纪研究专家之一"（"A Spot of Firm Government"）。

早在20世纪80年代初，我已经从克劳德·罗森教授的著述中知道了这位伟大的学者。1979年，我被录取为华中师范大学中文系外国文学专业欧洲文学史研究方向硕士研究生，开始了三年的学习生活，走上了外国文学研究的学术道路。入学后不久，我就选择英国著名诗人和小说家托马斯·哈代作为自己的研究对象，而克劳德·罗森教授重点研究的斯威夫特、菲尔丁等就是深刻影响了哈代等18世纪英国小说家。哈代喜欢阅读斯威夫特、菲尔丁、斯

1 引自Marjorie Perloff教授于2012年5月8日11：14（星期二）发给聂珍钊的电子邮件。

特恩等作家的作品，曾说“最适合阅读的文体是斯威夫特文体”（the best man to read for style—narrative style—was Swift）（Hardy 134），批评“日常评论家对菲尔丁一无所知”（everyday critic knows nothing of Fielding），称自己“同菲尔丁很相似”（have felt akin locally to Fielding）（Hardy 273）。可以说，我最早通过阅读克劳德•罗森教授研究 18 世纪英国小说家斯威夫特、菲尔丁的著作，而知道了克劳德•罗森教授，并逐渐认识到他在英国 18 世纪文学研究方面的高深造诣以及重要贡献。

随着中国对外文化交流的深入，我开始了同克劳德•罗森教授的交往。2009 年，我推荐杜娟博士前往耶鲁大学跟随克劳德•罗森教授从事博士后研究。我在华中师范大学工作期间，杜娟在我的指导下攻读硕士和博士学位，完成的博士论文《论菲尔丁小说的伦理叙事》得到答辩委员会的高度评价，并荣获湖北省 2009 年优秀博士论文奖。同年，她又获得国家留学基金博士后研究项目的资助，前往耶鲁大学继续从事菲尔丁研究。在合作导师克劳德•罗森教授指导下，杜娟按照克劳德•罗森教授为她准备的一份长长的阅读书单认真阅读了关于菲尔丁研究的大量著作，并全程学习了克劳德•罗森教授讲授的课程。克劳德•罗森教授对杜娟印象很好，十分满意。他来信告诉我说，杜鹃已经在耶鲁大学安顿下来，开始了课程学习，一直在听他讲授的有关 T. S. 艾略特、莎士比亚和弥尔顿的三门课程。在 18 世纪英国文学研究领域最重要的研究专家克劳德•罗森教授的细心指导下，杜娟又一次在西方知识体系中系统学习了英国 18 世纪文学，尤其进一步深化了她对菲尔丁的研究。通过耶鲁大学的学习，杜娟不负众望，学术研究得到新的提高，不仅其申请的国家社科基金青年项目“亨利•菲尔丁小说研究”获得立项，而且不久晋升为副教授，现在已经是英国 18 世纪文学研究领域很有影响的教授了。在耶鲁大学这所世界名校里，杜娟还充当了中国学术使者的角色，让克劳德•罗森教授更多地了解了中国学术界，知道了文学伦理学批评在中国的发展。

2010 年，我同王松林教授合作主编的《美国艺术与科学院院士文学理论与批评经典》不仅入选“十二五”时期（2011-2015 年）国家重点图书规划项目，而且还获得国家出版基金资助。这套学术翻译丛书旨在翻译 20 世纪 80 年代以来入选美国艺术与科学院文学批评领域的院士著作，选择了包括克劳德•罗森教授在内的 9 位院士的文学批评力作，译介给中国学术界。所选内容涵盖诗歌批评、小说批评、戏剧批评和文化批评，反映了当今美国文学批评领域的杰出成就。可以说，这套译丛是改革开放以来我国对文学领域美国在世顶尖学者前沿研究的系统译介。在这套丛书中，我们选择了克劳德•罗森教授研究英国 18 世纪文学的代表性著作《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》（*God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945*）。这部著作后来由王松林教授领衔翻译，深得学界好评。为了翻译这部著作，从 2010 年开始，我同克劳德•罗森教授一直保持着频繁的通信往来。在

我同他的交往中，无论是电子邮件还是见面时的交谈，我始终都能感觉到这位学术大师的睿智与谦逊，感觉到他对学术研究的热忱，对学术问题的深刻思考，对文学理解的真知灼见。他的见解总是那样独特深刻，充满哲学的智慧，既让人感受到他的善良品质，也让人感觉到他理解文学问题的过人之处。他不仅热情支持我的学术研究和翻译工作，而且还盛赞我所主编的文学研究杂志。同他进行交流，如沐春风，让我感受到思想的温暖与激荡，并获得新的启示与感悟。

2010 年 6 月，克劳德 • 罗森教授被北京语言大学外语学院院长宁一中教授聘为海外名师，来到北京讲授“18 世纪英国文学”课程。宁一中教授是我的好友，细心安排他来武汉访问。虽然后来克劳德 • 罗森教授因为日程太紧未能成行，但他表示接受我的邀请，一定要安排时间来武汉讲学。

2012 年 4 月，我再次邀请克劳德 • 罗森教授来武汉华中师范大学讲学，尽管他在北京的行程已经十分紧张，但他仍然愉快地接受了我的邀请，决定 5 月 9 日访问武汉，然后前往他已经阔别 63 年的上海访问。杜娟这时已经从耶鲁返回学校，我请她制定克劳德 • 罗森教授的访问日程并负责接待工作。2012 年 5 月 9 日，我终于第一次见到了已经有过长期通信往来的克劳德 • 罗森教授。这位闻名世界的老者满面笑容，慈祥和蔼。我们仿佛是久别重逢的亲人，握手拥抱，互致问候。他的笑容温暖而真挚，一双明亮的眼睛闪烁着智慧的光芒。我把我的同事和学生如苏晖、杨革新、王松林、尚必武、刘红卫、郭雯等介绍给克劳德 • 罗森教授，后来他们都成了他的忘年交，真挚的友谊一直保持到现在。

当晚，我邀请克劳德 • 罗森教授参加了中美诗歌诗学协会组织的诗歌朗诵会，一是让他更多地了解我们的学术活动，同时也通过这场文学活动对他表示欢迎。当时跟随我从事博士后研究的尚必武教授朗诵了英文诗歌《A Dream within a Dream》。他的富有节奏感的朗诵配以恰到好处的肢体动作赢得了阵阵掌声。宁波大学外语学院王松林教授分别用中英文朗诵了自己以剑桥的“岔路”“教堂”“风车”“护城河”四大意象创作的诗歌《Fulbourn Village》。当时我聘请的外籍教师、来自葡萄牙波尔多大学的丹妮拉 • 加藤教授分别用葡萄牙语和英语朗诵了两首诗歌，让在场的观众领略了葡萄牙诗歌之美。这场由老师和学生共同参与朗诵的诗歌朗诵会，高潮迭起，掌声不断。克劳德 • 罗森教授受到朗诵气氛的感染，很是激动。他盛赞华中师范大学“生动活泼的大学文化”：诗歌是人类最美丽的语言，尽管听不懂中文诗歌，也从未学会过一首中文诗，但仍能感受到同学们在朗诵中传达的感情，享受出色的诗歌朗诵表演。

第二天傍晚，克劳德 • 罗森教授为师生带来了一场学术盛宴，做了一场题为“现代主义与史诗传统”的演讲。在为时一个半小时的讲座里，他首先从宏观的视角把荷马史诗、维吉尔的《埃涅阿斯纪》和弥尔顿的《失乐园》

串连起来，从伦理批评的角度讨论了战争题材以及英雄的尚武精神，进而说明后来诗歌受到欧洲传统诗歌的影响，如史蒂文斯和艾略特等诗人。接着，他以《星晴天的早晨》和《荒原》为例，结合具体的诗歌范例探讨史蒂文斯和艾略特诗歌的特点。他首先在史诗传统视域中通过对弥尔顿《失乐园》的比较分析，进入华莱士·史蒂文斯《星期天的早晨》的讨论。《星期天的早晨》是史蒂文斯一首著名的诗歌，描写许多人在教堂做礼拜，一个妇人穿着睡衣坐在外面吃着迟来的早餐，享受着早晨的时光。正是在这样一个美好但神秘的环境里，诗人描写了她的白日梦以及在梦中出现的宗教想象。克劳德·罗森教授先是引用了《星期天的早晨》中的第一个诗节（stanza）中的 8 行诗：

Complacencies of the peignoir, and late
Coffee and oranges in a sunny chair,
And the green freedom of a cockatoo
Upon a rug mingle to dissipate
The holy hush of ancient sacrifice.
She dreams a little, and she feels the dark
Encroachment of that old catastrophe,
As a calm darkens among water-lights.（Stevens 66-67）

克劳德·罗森教授引用的这些诗行非常巧妙，其目的是通过诗中“自鸣得意的睡衣”、“洒满阳光的椅子上迟到的咖啡和桔子”和“地毯上一只自由的绿色鹦鹉”等意象，说明诗人能够理解女人的烦恼，告诉她不要烦恼，告诉她精神为何需要古老的迷雾，并在宗教氛围中把史蒂文斯同艾略特等诗人联系起来，说明伟大作家都是在诗歌传统的延续中进行创作的。他继续引用了《星期天的早晨》中第三、四、八个诗节中的诗行，对其中的描写和意象进行细致分析，指出诗歌强调了生命的顽强，但是每个人都会死，因此没有永恒的真理。克劳德·罗森教授认为，是诗人创造的美丽的神话，把我们引向诗人想要我们理解的地方，并指出诗中妇人所感觉到的并不是在史诗传统的直接重现中看到的，而是妇人暗示的文化信息。

克劳德·罗森教授朗诵了《星期天的早晨》最后的一个诗节，从分析艾略特的一首短诗《窗前的早晨》转而进入对《荒原》的别开生面的分析。《窗前的早晨》描写的城市嘈杂颓废的景象，如厨房盘子的响声、喧闹的街道、翻滚的褐雾、扭曲的脸等意象，同《星期天的早晨》《荒原》描写的意象有相通之处，因此对这首诗的讲解是对《荒原》进行分析的一种铺垫。在对《荒原》的分析中，他结合《荒原》文本细致分析讲解，发表自己独特的看法。在演讲过程中，他还把《荒原》同但丁的《神曲》和莎士比亚的《安东尼与克莉奥佩特拉》进行比较，说明艾略特是在欧洲诗歌传统中进行创作的。他引

用了《荒原》中不少诗行，分析诗歌的人物、语言、意象、风格，说明艾略特怎样通过诗歌揭示了西方文化的陷落、荒芜。

克劳德•罗森教授的演讲内容丰富，大气恢宏，发人深省。他对诗歌进行深入分析和讨论，尤其是他对《星期天早晨》最后一个诗节和《荒原》开篇诗节的朗诵，使他的演讲更富感染力。他的成功演讲不仅让武汉的听众对史蒂文斯和艾略特有了更深的理解，更是领略了他这位学术大师的学术魅力。正是通过演讲、著述以及坚忍不拔的追求精神，他不仅赢得了中国学者的高度评价和尊敬并越来越多地融入中国的学术共同体，而且开始参与国际文学伦理学批评研究会的学术活动，先后担任研究会的副会长和会长。

二、克劳德·罗森教授的上海情结

在武汉访问期间，师生们追求学术的执着精神，对学术深入交流的热情，对诗歌艺术的独特理解给克劳德•罗森教授留下深刻印象，得到他的高度赞赏。武汉演讲结束后，他乘坐飞机于 5 月 11 日前往上海师范大学访问。我的好友黄铁池教授同我的学生陈红教授接待了他。克劳德•罗森教授在上海同师生们进行了热情的学术讨论，盛赞上海师生对学术研究的热爱以及在讨论中表现出来的聪明才智。他是怀着期待和激动的心情访问上海的，因为上海是他的出生地，他是在上海度过了他的童年，直到 14 岁时才回到英国。

20 世纪 20 年代，克劳德•罗森教授的父亲 Bernard Rozenbaum 从洛桑来到中国，大约一年后，他的母亲 Helena 从波兰来中国并同他的父亲结婚。1935 年 2 月 8 日，克劳德•罗森教授在上海出生。至 1949 年（大约 5-7 月）移居伦敦，他在上海度过了 14 年时光，因此上海是他的故乡。在他的童年记忆里，依然保留着他的母亲经常带他前往静安寺路和南京路上的百货商店购物的情景，依然记得珍珠港事件后大规模疏散欧洲和美国侨民的场景，还有他父亲侥幸逃脱日本人轰炸上海的惊险。他在上海生活期间，经历过战争的恐怖，感受了动荡年代的生活苦难，但也在英国人和法国人开办的学校里受到良好教育，并阅读了大量文学作品，如莎士比亚的历史剧、伏尔泰的小说。尤其是一些描写异国风情的冒险故事和法国儿童作家塞居尔伯爵夫人（the comtesse de Ségur）的对话小说常常吸引着他，让他爱不释手。他在文学的世界里翱翔，发现了新的生活方式，找到了自己的精神寄托和未来理想。他把现实生活同文学世界结合在一起，这让他在童年时代就能够比一般儿童更能深刻理解人生和社会。后来他能够成为一位伟大的文学批评家，可以说上海的童年生活给了他生活的滋养，孕育了文学思想的种子。

克劳德•罗森教授 1949 年离开上海，阔别 63 年后，他重返童年生活的故土，人是物非，完全可以理解他内心的激动。在陈红教授的陪同下，他来到上海市中心的衡山路等地寻找他的童年记忆。如今的上海今非昔比，但他依稀还记得旧上海的模样，还能找到儿时的上海影子。他漫步在上学曾经走

过的上海街道，那些曾经熟悉的景象和记忆逐渐浮现在眼前。他看到了自己曾经居住过的房子，小时候玩耍的公园，看到了曾经读书的学校，看到了他上学时要经过的路边建筑如今变成了酒店和影院，尽管他记忆中的一切如今已经变了模样，但他仍然能够从中看到原来的影子，依稀回想起自己在上海经历过的人生故事。他仿佛穿越了时空的隧道，又回到了那个曾经熟悉而又遥远的年代。眼前的景色已经发生了翻天覆地的变化，但那份对故乡上海的深情却依然如初。他闭上眼睛，感受着故乡的气息，似乎可以听到那熟悉的上海乡音和儿时的欢声笑语。他心中涌起一股莫名的感动，那是对上海的眷恋和思念，也是对逝去岁月的怀念和追忆。

对于克劳德·罗森教授而言，这是他不会忘记的重返故里之旅。激动之余，他写下了自己的内心感受，通过邮件与我分享。他写下的这些日记片断可能没有见诸文字，我引述在这里以为补阙拾遗：

NARRATIVE OF DISCOVERY OF OLD SHANGHAI HOME, SCHOOL, CATHAY CINEMA[1]

（Notes of Claude Rawson）

Here's how I found the old dwelling. The old address, 700 Avenue Petain, meant nothing to locals now, but I found the current street name on Google, Heng Shan Lu (=Road). We occupied the whole top floor (5th). The nearest landmark was a vast 15-floor apartment building called Picardie, which occupied a big intersection. We had lived there too, when I was very small, for a short time. I assumed there was a chance that Picardie would still be there, though again the name meant nothing to the people I asked. Our end of the street was sparsely built up, and near what was then an old Chinese area known to Europeans as Zikawei, which is now a big suburb. When I identified those names, it turned out that the local person in my entourage of four people lived in a distant part of that suburb. So I suggested that we tell the driver to approach Heng Shan Lu from Zikawei, and as soon as we entered it, I began to recognise the contours, though the street was now rather built up and very tree-lined, and posher than it had been. Suddenly, there was Picardie in front of us, now supersmart Heng Ahan Picardie Hotel. Then I knew exactly where the house would be if it still stood, and asked the driver to turn round. Within 200 yards, going back, I started to see street numbers in the low 700s: the numbers had not changed in seventy plus years!

700 was there, exactly as it was except coloured green instead of yellow,

1 引自 Claude Rawson 教授于 2012 年 5 月 30 日 20：43（星期三）发给聂珍钊的电子邮件。

and very dilapidated, with repairs going on. The double entrance drive with a small semicircular lawn in front was full of builders' equipment, but very much there, and I was photographed on the spot where I still remember falling off my bike and breaking my arm. The garages at the back were also still there, and the lobby, and the tiny lift exactly where it was, very old and not working that morning.

Very upmarket area now (then only moderately affluent), treelined, handsomely built up. Saw other landmarks (a once American church etc) and after lunch went to site of my old school, now a building site for a hotel; Cathay Cinema, 1930s building where I used to go for films, French Club nearby (now a hotel), Park Hotel (once tallest building), Bund (surface much as it was, but very high buildings just next to it).

三、国际文学伦理学批评研究会的领航人

2012 年国际文学伦理学批评研究会成立，中国社会科学院荣誉学问委员、外国文学研究所原所长吴元迈研究员当选为会长；翌年，克劳德·罗森教授等当选为副会长。从 2013 年至 2022 年，克劳德·罗森教授担任副会长和会长的职务长达 9 年之久，对这个学术团体怀有深厚的感情。他不仅在职务上尽职尽责，为推动研究会的发展和繁荣付出了巨大的努力，更是在心灵深处与这个研究会结下了不解之缘。他的感情源于对文学伦理学批评的热爱和执着，以及对国际学术交流的热忱和期待。他的这份感情，既是他对研究会的忠诚与担当，也是对自己追求的学术理想的坚守。

克劳德·罗森教授的每一次致词或演讲，都洋溢着深刻的智慧与激情，既回顾过去，也展望未来，充满力量，催人奋进。难能可贵的是，他敢于批评文学研究中存在的弊端，用独特的视角为我们揭示出文学伦理学批评的无限可能性和发展远景。2013 年 10 月 25 日至 27 日，“第三届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”在宁波大学外语学院召开，有来自美国、英国、俄罗斯、挪威、西班牙、南非、伊朗、韩国、日本、马来西亚、中国台湾、中国香港和中国大陆等 13 个国家和地区的 100 多所高校、研究机构、出版社和新闻媒体的 200 多位专家学者出席会议。在题为“二战之后的 18 世纪文学：大学体验”的主旨发言中，克劳德·罗森教授直言不讳地批评了二战之后美国批评界完全忘记了自己肩负的社会责任，指出“20 世纪 60 年代开始出现的花样繁多的文学批评理论让文学教授们津津乐道于这个主义，那个流派，却把文学最本质的东西——对真善美的追求，对善恶的区分抛到一边”（徐燕 溪云 173-174）。2014 年 12 月 20 日至 21 日，“第四届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”在上海交通大学召开，来自美国、英国、德国、挪威、俄罗斯、匈

牙利、韩国、马来西亚等 10 多个国家和地区的近 300 位学者齐聚一堂，围绕文学伦理学批评的理论建构、文本分析实践、发展与走向等问题展开研讨。克劳德 • 罗森教授在大会致辞中对“道德”的概念进行了梳理，批评学术界对抽象理论的过度追捧，主张回归对书籍的阅读，再一次强调了“大学教师的职业伦理，呼吁学者们回到文学文本，重新认识文学的伦理价值观”（林玉珍 162）。2016 年 10 月 1 日至 7 日，“第六届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”在爱沙尼亚塔尔图大学隆重举行。在题为“关于阿喀琉斯之踵的若干思考：伦理批评的一个寓言”（Thoughts on Achilles' Heel: A Fable for Ethical Criticism）的致辞中，克劳德 • 罗森教授从对阿喀琉斯之踵的哲学分析入手讨论史诗传统，指出“诗学评价和伦理评价之间的冲突似乎是复杂的伦理批评需要解决的核心问题”（Rawson, "'Good Criticism Is Ethical': Claude Rawson's IAELC Presidential Addresses" 4）。他通过阿喀琉斯把文学文本的分析同伦理的批评连接起来，强调文学的伦理价值，表现出他论述问题的巧妙之处。

2017年8月8日至10日，“第七届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”在伦敦大学玛丽皇后学院（Queen Mary University of London）举行。这是继2016年10月爱沙尼亚塔尔图会议之后，文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会第二次在欧洲召开，来自中国大陆及中国台湾、美国、英国、德国、丹麦、挪威、波兰、爱沙尼亚、斯洛文尼亚、韩国、日本、越南等10多个国家及地区的一百多位东西方专家学者济济一堂，在文学跨学科研究视域下共同探讨文学伦理学批评研究的理论和方法问题。在这次年会上，克劳德 • 罗森教授当选为新一届会长，作了题为“The Waste Land and Mock Heroic Tradition”的主题演讲。克劳德 • 罗森教授以艾略特长诗《荒原》为主要研读文本，剖析了仿英雄体戏谑写作背后所折射出的从荷马时代至今的社会伦理变迁：《荒原》以古代辞赋为母本，而古代辞赋所反映的伦理价值早已不适用于艾略特所处的时代。他认为，华莱士 • 史蒂文斯的《星期日早晨》是现代主义版本的伟大的颂歌，而《荒原》则是史诗和模仿英雄的漫长历史中的一个高潮抑或反高潮的标志。这两首伟大的诗篇都是按照古代的雄辩模式创作的，承认它们所反映的价值观不再适用于现在的诗人写作的世界。在艾略特的案例中，荷马、维吉尔和米尔顿的传统史诗三位一体，它们虽然为文艺复兴以及后来的诗人提供了稳定而统一的英雄规则，但现在不再被视为理应如此，先是被莎士比亚取代了，然后被一种提供现代化和不稳定的古代规则的讽刺版取代了。克劳德 • 罗森教授通过分析荒原戏谑英雄体以及颠覆性反讽的同时，揭示了荷马、维吉尔、米尔顿的英雄体诗歌与现代社会之间存在的距离感。在长达一个小时的演讲中，这位知识渊博的教授以娴熟而富有激情的方式，详细阐述了欧洲的史诗传统。他巧妙地结合了史蒂文斯和艾略特等杰出诗人的创作，通过细致入微的文本解读和比较，揭示了这些诗人如何在作品中融入并发展欧洲的史诗传统。他的演讲不仅重点解读了具有代表性的诗

歌文本，更是深入到文化、历史和社会背景中去，揭示欧洲史诗传统的多维度性和复杂性。他提出了一系列新颖而独到的观点，挑战传统的史诗研究范式，为听众们提供了全新的视角和思考空间。此外，他还巧妙地运用了比较文学的研究方法，将不同诗人的作品进行跨文化和跨时代的对比，说明欧洲史诗传统是怎样在变化中延续的。听众们被教授的演讲深深吸引，被带入了一个充满诗意和哲理的世界。

2018年7月27日至30日，由日本九州大学主办的“第八届国际文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”在日本北九州国际会议中心隆重召开，来自中国、日本、美国、俄罗斯、德国、法国、加拿大、西班牙、丹麦、巴西、韩国、菲律宾、印度尼西亚等10多个国家的260余位学者与会讨论文学伦理学批评的关键问题及理论发展。克劳德·罗森教授在题为“The Vital Subject of Criticism is Books”的演讲中说：“我以前演讲的主题一直是赞扬伦理批评，目的是要将书籍研究和书籍知识研究从理论驱动的极端抽象主义中解放出来。批评的生命力来自书籍，它总是从特定的文本开始的”（Rawson, “‘Good Criticism Is Ethical’: Claude Rawson’s IAELC Presidential Addresses” 5）。他强调跨学科研究方法的重要性，同时也指出要抵制文学研究中假冒的跨学科研究。显然，从领导国际文学伦理学批评研究会以来，他一直强调文学研究必须研究文学，研究文学文本，强调理论的价值就在于理论能用于文学的研究，认为这就是文学伦理学批评的根本任务。他对文学文本研究的强调一以贯之。2019年11月8日至10日，“第九届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”在浙江大学隆重召开。本届会议的最大特点是同欧洲科学院合作主办，共有来自39个国家和地区的700多位专家学者与会。可以说，无论是主办会议的机构还是与会的专家、规模与国际代表性，都是创纪录的。这是文学伦理学批评研究进入一个新阶段的标示。在开幕式题为“Ethical Criticism: Restoring the Centrality of the Literary Text”的致辞里，克劳德·罗森教授继续对文学文本的研究价值进行了强调。他说：“自20世纪70年代以来，理论至上的趋势已经导致西方大学养成习惯，一味采用各种理论和方法来进行文学研究——就是不去研读文学文本，不去发掘与文本相关的历史知识”（Rawson, “‘Good Criticism Is Ethical’” 6）。他对“西方文学批评热衷于用理论话语取代文学文本而忽略对文本本身的研究”的趋势进行了批评，同时也强调文学伦理学批评“是对这一趋势的逆转”（Rawson, “‘Good Criticism Is Ethical’” 6）。[1] 他说：“自2004年以来，伦理批评试图通过恢复文学文本的中心地位来扭转这一趋势。这一批评有别于理论上的苦心孤诣，也不同于使人分心的旁门研究。理论研究即便殚精竭力也总觉得似是而非，不得要领；旁门研究往往绕开文本，转向抽象的政治、经济、心理或其他学科，而文学研究者通常不太可能掌握与这些学科相关的专业知识。文本阅读本该是文学研究者擅长的领

1 引文由王松林翻译。

域，但最终学者们却舍本求末，绕开了文本。伦理批评不是一种简单的程式化的教条，它的精髓在于我们对文本整体的全面的感悟。优秀的文学批评是伦理的，它超越了解析性的伦理教条，甚至超越了那些可以依据作品来阐明的伦理教条，力图表现更大层面上的难于解析的人类整体价值”（Rawson, “‘Good Criticism Is Ethical’” 6）。尤其是他对文学伦理学批评崇高使命的概括，让听众深受鼓舞。他说：“国际文学伦理学批评研究会最崇高的使命是让文学批评重拾其应有的灵活和精妙，回归人类的中心目标，不空谈理论，忠实于文献，尊重历史知识。简而言之，文学批评要以最佳、最敏锐、最可读的方式得以验证”（Rawson, “‘Good Criticism Is Ethical’” 6）。

2020年初，新冠疫情的突然爆发，以学者汇聚为主要特征的学术会议无法正常展开，当年的年会只能推迟到2021年举行。新冠疫情在全世界流行并且持续了三年之久，这是大家都不曾想到的。因此，第十届和第十一届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会只能采取线上的方式分别于2021年10月中旬和2022年11月上旬在北京和广州举行。尽管这两次与会者不能线下面对面交流，但是学者们热情仍然未减，与会者众多。第十届研讨会在北京理工大学举行，有500多位专家学者通过线上进行交流，线上直播参会者更是逾万人。在题为“Our Principal Obligation is to Teach Students to Read Books”的致词中，克劳德·罗森教授又一次重申了他的观点；“好的批评是道德的”（Rawson, “‘Good Criticism Is Ethical’” 7）。他强调“文学文本的研究应该是首要的研究对象”，“作为文学教授，同大学最近的一些趋向相反，我们的主要责任是教导学生读书，教导学生读那些关于书的辅助性书”（Rawson, “‘Good Criticism Is Ethical’” 7）。文学文本、文学阅读，这些都是研究文学的根本方法，没有文本，就没有文学，没有阅读，就没有批评，克劳德·罗森教授无疑揭示了文学研究的真谛。“第十一届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”继续采取线上的方式在广东外语外贸大学举行，由于换届选举，这是克劳德·罗森教授以会长的身份在开幕式上做的最后一次发言。在他的致词里，他仍然满怀深情强调伦理批评既是时代之需，也是极具挑战的事业，强调文学批评者的责任和伦理关切是回归文学文本。

克劳德·罗森教授这位享誉世界的学者，不仅在学术领域取得了杰出的成就，更在国际文学伦理学批评研究会的发展道路上发挥了领导作用。在其长达十年的任职期间，他用对研究会的深厚情感，为我们展示了一位卓越学者的风范。他的发言不仅彰显了深厚的学术造诣，更是对文学伦理学批评研究领域的深入探索，对研究会崇高目标的坚定捍卫。他的智慧言辞，不仅传递了深刻的学术理念，更激发了我们对伦理批评的热爱与追求。他的领导与贡献，无疑为国际文学伦理学批评研究会的发展指明了方向，同时也为整个学术界树立了榜样。我们由衷地感谢他的付出与引领，期待在他的智慧指引下，国际文学伦理学批评研究会能够继续繁荣发展。

四、克劳德·罗森教授在中国的学术影响

克劳德·罗森教授是文学研究领域的杰出学者，他的学术研究和贡献是多方面的，具有深远的世界性影响，尤其在18世纪的英国文学研究领域贡献卓著。他不仅深入挖掘了这一时期文学作品的内在的伦理价值，而且为后来的研究者提供了丰富的研究资料、新的研究视角和新的方法。克劳德·罗森教授对18世纪英国文学的整体把握和解读具有极高的水平。他通过对该时期文学作品的深入分析和研究，揭示了这一时期文学作品的多样性和复杂性。他的研究虽然聚焦于18世纪的小说、诗歌和戏剧，但也扩展到欧洲的古典文学和现当代文学，在整个英国文学研究的视阈中揭示18世纪英国文学的价值，展现其丰富内涵和独特魅力。早在20世纪80年代，我在英国文学研究中已经对他的学术成就了然于胸。本世纪初以来，他已经成为中国学者所熟知的西方伟大学者中的一个。

中国改革开放以来，我国外国文学批评界大量翻译介绍了国外的文学理论著作和思想著作，对于我国的文学研究产生了积极的推动作用。但是，翻译质量参差不齐，理解和诠释不清，存在泥沙俱下、鱼龙混杂的现象，也缺乏对文学研究领域那些享有国际盛誉的专家进行系统的译介。为了在这方面有所弥补，我同我的学生王松林教授合作，从20世纪80年代以来入选美国艺术与科学院院士中选择翻译9位院士的文学批评力作，以此向中国学术界展示"理论热"之后美国文学批评家如何更新文学批评方法，如何在更宽广的学术视野中用更包容的态度对不同类型的文学进行有效的批评。这套书命名为《美国艺术与科学院院士文学理论与批评经典》，涵盖了诗歌、戏剧、小说、文化等研究领域，可以说体现了当今美国批评家的创造性思想和开阔的学术视野。

在小说研究方面，我们首先选择了克罗德·罗森教授的《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》。这是克罗德·罗森教授研究18世纪英国文学的代表性学术著作，也是国际学术界研究斯威夫特的标志性著作。这部著作由王松林教授领衔翻译。王松林教授是中国研究英国文学的代表性学者，知识渊博，学养深厚，中外贯通，为人谦逊，不仅对古代文学有着深入的研究，而且对现当代文学也同样有其独到的见解。他的文学翻译不仅在保留原著风格的基础上巧妙地融入了中文的文化语境，既忠实于原著，又充满了文学韵味，使翻译更加贴近中国读者的阅读习惯，让读者能够从译文中感受到英语文学的魅力。他把翻译和研究融合在一起，形成了自己独特的翻译风格。《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》于2012年12月由上海外语教育出版社出版。这是克罗德·罗森教授第一部被完整翻译成中文的学术著作，出版后好评如潮，是从事斯威夫特和18世纪英国文学研究的学者们必读的重要参考书。在着手翻译《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》之前，王松林教授就精心研读了这部著作，撰写了研究论文《比较文学的文本细读与实证研究——兼论克劳德·罗森的学术创新》，后

来发表在学术杂志《外国文学研究》2013年第2期上。这是中国研究克罗德•罗森教授的第一篇学术论文，影响深远。自从以后，克劳德•罗森教授又被选举为国际文学伦理学批评研究会副会长、会长，成为在中国学术界影响巨大的美国文学批评家之一。

《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》是克劳德•罗森教授的代表性著作。克劳德•罗森教授从文学人类学批评的角度切入，在搜集整理大量旅行及探险文献资料的基础上，将格列佛、上帝与种族灭绝三个概念置于“野蛮与欧洲想象”的框架中进行细致文本比较分析，并把斯威夫特同蒙田、萧伯纳、王尔德等作家笔下有关野蛮和杀戮的书写结合在一起进行解读，试图撩开欧洲“他者”文化想象的面纱。王松林教授评价说：“他从大量的历史细节和民间传说中，特别是鲜为人知的有关霍顿督人的文献和文艺复兴以来的海外游记中寻找出蛛丝马迹，向读者提供了令人信服的资料以印证对斯威夫特和蒙田的独到评价。在阐述自己的见解时，罗森大胆假设，小心求证，依据广博的学识和材料之间的逻辑关联进行推断，直至推翻已被学界接受的观点”（129）。克劳德•罗森教授是一位知识极其渊博的学者，十分熟悉斯威夫特、蒙田等作家的作品，对整个英国的尤其是18世纪的英国历史了然于胸，在书中引述的文献多达100多部，通过对大量的文本和文献资料的缜密分析，做到学术研究推陈出新和标新立异。例如，在克劳德•罗森教授眼中，斯威夫特是一个与众不同的人物：“令人捉摸不定、情感更易爆发的人，一个具有深深的权利主义思想的人，一个勇于在人类思想奔腾不羁的勃勃生机中深入探索的人，同时他对人类思想保持批判和试图驾驭的姿态”（Rawson, *God, Gulliver and Genocide* 16）。克劳德•罗森教授将实证研究方法与精细的文学文本分析完美地结合在一起，这使得他的论述极富雄辩力。正如王松林教授所说：“罗森并没有拘泥于客观机械、无动于衷的实证研究。在援引丰富的史料过程中，罗森不乏一个人文学者的道德情感判断。这在书中有关‘野蛮’的论述中可见一斑”（129）。在《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》中，克劳德•罗森教授将道德情感、价值判断和逻辑推理融为一体，运用文本细读与实证研究相结合的方法，对虚构文本和历史现实进行比较分析，从而获取令人信服的新点和结论。他这部著作堪称学术研究的典范之作，不仅对于文学研究具有重要启发，而且也奠定了他在中国学术界重要地位。

20世纪90年代，随着自己对西方文学研究的深入，我对克劳德•罗森教授的认识进一步加深了。1989年，克劳德•罗森教授担任总主编的《剑桥文学批评史》（*The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*）开始出版。这套历时18年而完成的九卷本辉煌巨著，是目前国际文学理论与批评领域最完整、最前沿、规模最大的系列丛书。它不仅是研究文学的学者不能不读的重要参考书，而且也把丛书的总主编克劳德•罗森的世界影响推到了一个新的高度。从这套丛书的第一卷面世开始，我就是它的忠实读者，并从中吸收滋养，丰富

自己的理论知识。同时，我也积极把这套丛书推荐给中国学界，让更多的读者从中受益。对于从事文学研究的人，这套丛书是不能不读的重要参考书。让我特别感到高兴的是，2015 年，由中国社会科学院哲学研究所王柯平教授担任首席专家的国家社科基金重大项目“《剑桥文学批评史》（九卷本）翻译与研究”获准立项。《剑桥文学批评史》共有 9 卷，每一卷均按照时代分解或以学派为中心划分章节，其历史跨度涵盖了从希腊罗马古典时代到 20 世纪的整个历程，卷帙浩繁，内容复杂，体量巨大，是一项艰巨的翻译和研究工程。来自中国社会科学院、清华大学、厦门大学、中国人民大学、浙江大学、北京航空航天大学的十余位学者组成强大的翻译团队，已经进行了将近十年的翻译和研究工作，目前已经基本完成。

在中国学术界，《剑桥文学批评史》是从事文学与文学理论与批评研究的重要参考书，具有极其重要的学术参考价值。作为总主编，克劳德·罗森教授的影响力自然不言而喻。除了担任的总主编而外，克劳德·罗森教授还担任第四卷《十八世纪的文学批评》的主编。第四卷按照“风格”“语言与文体”“主题与运动”“文学与其它学科”四大类共分 32 章，内容有“批评及传统”“诗歌”“戏剧”“散文体虚构叙事”“传记与自传”“女性与文学批评”“批评与期刊文学”“语言理论”“文体理论”“中世纪复兴与哥特风格”“文学创作心理与文学反应心理”“古典学术与文学批评”“与《圣经》相关的学术与文学批评”“科学与文学批评”等。

从《十八世纪的文学批评》的编纂结构可以看出，它的内容从风格、语言与文体、主题与运动到文学与其它学科的交叉融合，不仅反映了 18 世纪文学批评的深度和广度，也揭示了文学批评与多种学术领域之间的紧密联系，展现了该时期文学批评的丰富多样性和跨学科性质。每一章节都围绕具体的文学现象或理论问题展开深入分析。这种分析不仅涉及到文学的内部规律，如风格、语言和文体等，还关注文学与外部世界的互动，如文学与社会科学、宗教、历史等其他学科的关系。这种内外兼修的研究方法，使得该卷在提供文学批评知识的同时，也展现了文学与社会文化的紧密联系。第四卷还讨论了作者的个性表达、时代的文化特征以及当时社会的热点和趋势，揭示了文学批评对社会文化现象的敏锐关注。第四卷中“文学与其它学科”的讨论，拓宽了文学批评的视野和深度。从“女性与文学批评”到“科学与文学批评”，这些章节不仅揭示了文学与其它学科的互动和影响，也展示了文学批评在跨学科研究中的重要作用。这种跨学科的研究方法，不仅丰富了文学批评的内涵和外延，也为后来的文学研究提供了宝贵的启示和借鉴。尤其重要的是，该卷对 18 世纪文学批评的评价是客观而中立的。尽管书中涉及了众多文学理论和批评方法，但作者并没有表现出明显的偏好或偏见。相反，他们通过对各种理论和方法的介绍和分析，让读者自行判断其优劣得失。这种客观中立的立场，不仅增强了该卷的学术价值，也为读者提供了一个独立思考和判断的

空间。第四卷体现了主编克劳德•罗森的良苦用心，也彰显了他渊博的学识，前瞻的眼光。相信这套丛书出版后，一定会对中国外国文学研究产生重要推动。

结束语

克劳德 • 罗森教授在文学研究领域的贡献是卓越的。他运用跨学科的研究方法，将文学研究与历史、文化、社会等多个领域结合在一起，揭示了 18 世纪英国文学与社会、历史、文化之间的紧密联系。他的研究成果为后来的研究者提供了宝贵的学术资源，他的研究方法不仅拓宽了文学研究的视野，也为后来的研究者提供了新的思路和启示。作为国际文学伦理学批评的领导者，他将捍卫道德和文学批评的伦理规则视为崇高使命，鼓励学界同道积极履行这一使命，为社会道德建设贡献力量。他用自己的学术研究为我们树立了榜样，他的贡献将载入史册。在克劳德 • 罗森教授 90 诞辰即将到来之际，作为继克劳德 • 罗森教授之后的国际文学伦理学批评研究会新任会长，我代表学会向克劳德 • 罗森教授表达崇高敬意并祝克劳德 • 罗森教授生日快乐，身体健康。

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克劳德·罗森的中国情结与文学伦理学批评

Claude Rawson's China Complex and Ethical Literary Criticism

尚必武（**Shang Biwu**）

内容提要：克劳德·罗森教授于 1935 年出生于中国上海，先后任教于英国华威大学和美国耶鲁大学，是当今世界 18 世纪文学研究最权威的学者之一。本文作者在聂珍钊教授的介绍下，有幸结识罗森教授，并在担任国际文学伦理学批评研究会副秘书长期间，因工作关系而获得了与罗森教授的诸多交流机会，深受罗森教授学术精神和人格魅力的感染，获益良多。2025 年，罗森教授即将迎来自己的 90 华诞。本文借此机会，从作者的亲身经历与深切感受出发，重点记述了罗森教授的中国情结及其之于文学伦理学批评事业的贡献。谨以此文，向罗森教授表达由衷的敬意。

关键词：克劳德·罗森；中国情结；上海；聂珍钊；文学伦理学批评

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Title: Claude Rawson's China Complex and Ethical Literary Criticism

Abstract: Claude Rawson, born in Shanghai China in 1935, has taught at the University of Warwick and Yale University successively. He is one of world's most authoritative scholars living today in the field of 18th-century literature studies. I have the privilege of meeting and knowing Rawson with the help of Nie Zhenzhao's introduction. Working as the Deputy Secretary of the International Association for Ethical Literary Criticism, I have had more opportunities to communicate with Rawson, and have been deeply impressed by his academic spirit and personal charm. The year 2025 is to witness Rawson's 90th birthday. Upon this occasion, I would like to pay tribute to Rawson and to recount his China complex and his contributions to the field of ethical literary criticism by drawing on my own personal experiences and communications with him.

Keywords: Claude Rawson; China complex; Shanghai; Nie Zhenzhao; ethical literary criticism

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罗森的中国情结

第一次对克劳德·罗森（Claude Rawson）的名字产生印象大约是在 20 年前。当时，我是上海交通大学外国语学院的一名硕士研究生。彼时的我开始疯狂迷恋西方文论和文学批评史，先后阅读了特里·伊格尔顿的《二十世纪西方文学理论》、拉曼·赛尔登的《当代文学理论导读》《文学批评理论：从柏拉图到现在》、勒内·韦勒克的《近代文学批评史》以及国内学者张首映的《西方二十世纪文论史》、朱立元的《当代西方文艺理论》等经典论著，而让我尤为震撼和大开眼界的是罗森教授主编的《剑桥文学批评史》（*The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*）。该丛书共有九卷，包括第一卷《古典时期的文学批评》、第二卷《中世纪的文学批评》、第三卷《文艺复兴时期的文学批评》、第四卷《十八世纪的文学批评》、第五卷《浪漫主义文学批评》、第六卷《十九世纪的文学批评》、第七卷《现代主义和新批评》、第八卷《从形式主义到后结构主义》以及第九卷《二十世纪的历史、哲学与心理的理论视野》。罗森教授本人负责担纲主编了第四卷《十八世纪的文学批评》。我本人的研究兴趣是当代西方文学理论，重点研读了塞尔登主编的第八卷《从形式主义到后结构主义》，但罗森大名已经深深印刻于脑海之中。

第一次见到罗森教授应该是 2012 年初夏于华中师范大学。当时，我在聂珍钊教授的指导下做博士后研究，而罗森教授则是以教育部海外名师的身份前来中国讲学。罗森教授因为腿脚不便的缘故，拄着拐杖，为人谦和，憨态可掬，始终面带笑容，和前来打招呼的每一个人热情握手，并应邀和来听讲座的师生合影留恋，没有任何架子。在讲座中，为了照顾现场大多是中文系的师生，他语速缓慢，不过演讲内容视野开阔，文本分析扎实，论述逻辑性强，层层推进，说理透彻，在互动环节也十分耐心回答师生的提问，颇有大师风范。在武汉桂子山，我不仅有幸聆听了罗森教授的精彩学术报告，而且在聂珍钊教授的邀请下，与他一起共进晚餐。席间，了解到罗森教授出生于上海，在 14 岁之前，一直都在上海生活。他对中国学术界的友好，在某种程度上，可能与他对中国的这份情感有密切的联系，离不开他对中国的特殊感情。

2017 年，国际权威期刊《文本实践》（*Textual Practice*）在该刊第 4 期发表了玛乔瑞·帕洛夫教授对罗森教授的访谈。访谈长达 27 页，其中涉及他在上海生活的经历。在访谈中，罗森教授首次提到其父伯纳德·罗森鲍姆（Bernard Rozenbaum）是犹太人，在 20 世纪 20 年代从波兰来到上海。当时一家住在上海的贝当路（Avenue Pétain），即现在的上海衡山路。因为自己长期在中国生

活的经历，罗森教授在面对中国朋友的时候，经常为自己从未学过中文而感到万分遗憾。他说：

> 一直以来，我都有一个很难为情的事，特别是在面对我的中国东道主和中国朋友们的时候，就是直到今天我都还未学会中文。我父亲为我找了一个普通话家教，他每周或每两周来一次，但我总是逃课。这位普通话老师是一个有着蓄着小胡子、形象庄重的胖男人〔……〕无论如何，他似乎乐于与我串通一气，逃课，何况即使上课也不会有什么成效。当时上海街头并不说普通话，我甚至连当地的方言也没能好好掌握。（Rawson and Perloff 608）

罗森教授之所以因为自己不会中文而感到惭愧，在很大程度上应该是厚植于他把中国看成了自己的第一故乡，源自他对第一故乡的深厚感情。在访谈中，罗森教授提到自己曾一直渴望能有机会重访中国：

> 1949 年以来的六十多年时间里，我一直没有机会回到中国。20 世纪 60 年代后，我曾为英国文化委员会工作，也有机会到访过许多遥远的国家。虽然一直渴望能有机会受邀去中国，但始终未能如愿。1988 年，我刚搬到耶鲁大学不久，文化委员会的文学部主任问我是否愿意在上海启动一项英国研究项目。她并不知道这是我出生的城市，尽管我希望我自己可以接受，但这将意味着我要离开我在英国的家人一年，而当时我无法承担这个责任〔……〕我在耶鲁大学工作期间，我继续为英国文化委员会工作，先后去了土耳其、墨西哥和印度（为了 1988 年埃利奥特诞辰百年纪念）、两次去了巴西，以及去了葡萄牙，那里是菲尔丁的安葬地，为了他的三百年诞辰，但从未去过中国。（Rawson and Perloff 626）

当时间推移到了 21 世纪后，罗森教授重回中国的愿望终于实现。2012 年 5 月，罗森教授在时隔六十多年后再次到访中国。期间，他专门去了上海看一看他们一家曾住过的公寓（位于衡山路 700 号），并同这栋保护完好、有着珍贵记忆的房子合影留念。罗森教授看到自己曾生活了 14 年的公寓，感慨万千，对上海关于历史建筑的保护也刮目相看。他说："欧洲人在上海和其他地方的定居点都被列入历史建筑，被看作是特殊的景点。它们现在通常都处于地价昂贵的位置，而且得到了很好的保护。晚上，上海、汉口、宁波等城市的银行和海关建筑旧址都由灯光点亮，令人印象深刻"（Rawson and Perloff 626）。罗森教授的此次中国之行，不仅满足了其多年来想要重回上海、再看一看自己魂牵梦绕的第一故乡的愿望，而且见证了文学研究事业在中国的发展，他结交了很多中国朋友，尤其是聂珍钊教授、王松林教授、苏晖教授、杜

娟教授等。

就罗森教授与其中国之缘而言，2012 年是一个值得记住的时间节点。这一年不仅是罗森教授本人 14 岁离开上海后的第一次来到中国，而且他那部颇有影响的学术专著《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》经由王松林教授翻译，被纳入聂珍钊教授主持的国家出版基金《美国艺术与科学院院士文学理论与批评经典》，由上海外语教育出版社出版了中文版。2012 年，聂珍钊教授创立的文学伦理学批评也有了自己的学术组织，国际文学伦理学批评研究会宣告成立。尽管罗森教授在当时还可能没有想到自己会在 4 年后成为这一国际学术组织的主席，但是他对聂珍钊教授的国际影响尤其是为文学伦理学批评的推动产生了非常深刻的印象：

> 在给中国大学生讲授欧洲（主要是英国）作家的时候，我意识到阅读方面存在很大的差距，部分原因是由于缺少书本，部分原因是由于理论驱动的课程。我对于他们对圣经和古典传说和主题的熟悉程度，出人意料，也令人印象深刻。我认为这些内容在中国是有教授的，通常在中国文学和总体文学等专业中有教授，比如无比友善的聂教授所在的华中师范大学就是如此。聂教授通过主编两本有影响力的世界文学杂志来促进其对国际文学的兴趣，他是“伦理批评”协会的创始人，该协会正在积极发展，应该能够有效地对抗绕过阅读书本的对“文学”理论研究。对我来说，令人印象深刻的是，在短暂的讲座访问中，我看到了聂教授在他的国内环境中不辞辛劳地举办诗歌朗诵和翻译活动，以及创作中英文诗歌和戏剧。也许在这样的背景下，远离我们学术文化中更枯燥的方式的大学中，正在培养对书本的浓厚兴趣。
>
> 在中国教学给我带来了无限的满足感。尽管存在严重的语言障碍，但文化在学生中激发了对知识的渴望，以及对教师这一角色的尊敬，这对我来说格外令人振奋〔……〕我认为，由于语言和其他障碍，但非因注意力不集中，一部分内容会丢失，这无疑在每个学生身上都有所不同，这样一来（如果幸运的话）整体的大部分内容都能达到预定的目标。在三小时的课程结束时，西方教师感到疲惫不堪，或者依靠通常在被动听讲时不会激活的肾上腺力量支撑着，但大多数学生仍在做笔记。他们对更多知识的渴求或者更好的理解看起来十分真诚，并且在课堂内外经常提出的热切问题中进一步得到了证明。对我来说，这种对知识的渴求似乎表明了一种未经教导的、直率的“伦理”倾向，以一种好的意义上的天真而非简化〔……〕但是他们吸收了这种强调社会改良的观点，也许这正是聂氏的“伦理批评”试图触及的东西。（Rawson and Perloff 628-629）

在与帕洛夫教授对话的结尾，罗森教授不断提及聂珍钊教授及其文学伦理学批评的积极影响，认为文学伦理学批评可以有效地回应和抗击那些绕过书本、脱离文本、为理论而理论的文学研究。他充分肯定和高度赞誉了聂珍钊教授所举办的系列诗歌朗诵会等活动，认为这些活动可以培养学生们对书本的浓厚兴趣。学生在课堂上和讲座中的提问交流表现出他们对知识的渴求，进而揭示了一种难能可贵的“伦理倾向”，强调“社会改良”（social improvement），而这也是文学伦理学批评的现实诉求之一。在《文学伦理学批评导论》一书中，聂珍钊教授强调：“目前中国对文学最大的伦理需要，就是文学要为建设良好的道德风尚服务，为净化社会风气和创造良好的社会环境服务，为满足改革开放的需要服务。无论文学创作还是文学批评，都要促进我国民族文学的繁荣，担负起建设社会主义精神家园的责任，为把美好的中国梦变成中国的现实而服务。这些不仅是文学伦理学批评的道德责任，也是其追求的目标”（聂珍钊 5）。

罗森与文学伦理学批评

2012 年，罗森教授的中国之旅直接重新启动了他与中国学界的交往。在随后十多年里，罗森教授与中国学界保持了更为密切的联系与学术交流，共同促进了文学批评在中国的发展与繁荣，尤其对文学伦理学批评的发展起到了不可磨灭的积极作用。众所周知，2012 年 12 月，“国际文学伦理学批评研究会”（The International Association for Ethical Literary Criticism）正式宣告成立，中国社会科学院荣誉学部委员吴元迈先生担任首届会长。翌年，罗森教授被推选为副会长，受邀参加了在宁波大学举办的“第三届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”，并做了题为“二战之后的 18 世纪文学：大学体验”的大会主旨发言。在发言中，罗森教授指出：“20 世纪 60 年代开始出现的花样繁多的文学批评理论让文学教授们津津乐道于这个主义，那个流派，却把文学最本质的东西——对真善美的追求，对善恶的区分抛到一边。这显然是在批评当时的批评界完全忘记了自己肩负的社会责任”（徐燕 溪云 173-174）。回归文本、注重阅读是罗森教授对文学批评一贯立场，这也是他在一生中努力奉行的文学批评观。这在他那本备受赞誉的专著《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》表现得尤为突出。该书中文译者王松林教授在翻译完该书后，有感而发，认为罗森教授的作品给了我们三点重要启示：“一是言之有物、不故弄玄虚；二是视野开阔，勇于创新；三是以微发著，思维活跃”（王松林 126）。

罗森教授强调文本细读、不故弄玄虚、反对用理论来肢解文本的做法与文学伦理学批评的精神如出一辙。这也是罗森教授和以聂珍钊教授为代表的文学伦理学批评研究者共同参与构建国际文学伦理学批评研究会这一重要学术共同体的主要原因。聂珍钊教授旗帜鲜明地反对那些颠倒了理论与文学之

间的依存关系，割裂了与文学之间内在联系的批评，认为这类批评具有理论自恋、命题自恋、术语自恋的错误倾向，它们"不重视文学作品即文本的阅读与阐释、分析与理解，而只注重批评家自已某个文化命题、美学或哲学命题的求证，造成理论与实际的脱节。在这些批评中，文学作品被肢解了，用时髦的话说即被解构了、被消解了，自身的意义消失了，变成了用来建构批评者自身文化思想或某种理论体系或阐释某个理论术语的片断"（聂珍钊 4）。

2017 年，罗森教授当选为国际文学伦理学批评研究会第二届理事会的会长。在罗森教授担任会长期间，文学伦理学批评更具国际影响。2017 年夏，"第七届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会"在英国伦敦大学玛丽女王学院召开，罗森教授作为研究会会长亲临会场，并在开幕式上做了精彩致辞。在随后几年中，在每届国际文学伦理学批评研究会年会开幕式上，罗森教授的致辞都成了一个保留节目，也是所有与会者期待的一个时刻。2013 年，《世界文学研究论坛》第 1 期集中刊发了罗森教授 5 篇致辞。在这些致辞中，罗森教授反复强调的一个关键内容就是要阅读文本、切实在文本中发现作家们旨在讨论的问题。作为一名 18 世纪文学研究专家，罗森教授是属于老派的学者，在几乎所有的开幕式致辞中他都反复强调要阅读文本，认为引导学生去阅读文本是大学教授们义不容辞的责任。罗森教授说：

> 与一些大学的最新趋势相反，作为文学教授，我们的主要责任是教导学生阅读书籍，其次才是关于书籍的书籍。文学（主要是，但不仅限于诗歌、戏剧和小说）以及对文学文本的知识和理解应是研究的主要对象。这些是我们专家擅长的领域，而不是经济学、政治学、精神分析学、社会学，甚至是阅读理论等辅助学科，除非它们能直接关联到主要研究对象，并支持对其的理解。这些话题，虽然对文学研究而言是辅助的，它们本身当然也很重要，应得到这些其他领域专家的关注，而非文学学者，除非它们与文学文本的关系具体而明显，并能支持对文学作品的理解。遗憾的是，我们这个行业中有人准备做任何事情而不是阅读书籍。这包括阅读行为理论家，以及描述阅读一本书是什么感觉的人，他们的工作并没有为文本本身提供任何洞见，有时似乎是在没有实际阅读过的情况下构思出来的。（Rawson 7）

实际上，这也是文学批评界所面临的两个具有危险倾向的现状：一是用理论来的场外征用对文本做出强制阐释，另一个则是用理论取代文本。罗森教授的这一立场也是近年来学者们面临西方文论之于文本阐释时所发现的批评局限与缺憾。张江指出，当代西方文论有四个背离文本话语、消解文学的特征："第一，场外征用。广泛征用文学领域之外的其他学科理论，将之强制移植文论场内，抹煞文学理论及批评的本体特征，导引文论偏离文学。第二，主观预设。论

者主观意向在前，前置明确立场，无视文本原生含义，强制裁定文本意义和价值。第三，非逻辑证明。在具体批评过程中，一些论证和推理违背基本逻辑规则，有的甚至是逻辑谬误，所得结论失去依据。第四，混乱的认识路径。理论构建和批评不是从实践出发，从文本的具体分析出发，而是从既定理论出发，从主观结论出发，颠倒了认识和实践的关系"（张江 5）。张江所指出的西方文论所存在的问题，也是罗森教授对于目前批评家忽略文本、故弄玄乎，在理论推演中得出看似方法正确但是偏离文本的偏颇结论这种荒唐现象的隐忧与不满。

聂珍钊教授创建文学伦理学批评的初衷，也是希望可以在面对大量引入的西方文论的时候，中国学者能够坚守文本阅读，不要背离文本，在文本中发现可供文类文明进步提供参照价值的道德范例，同时也需立足中国视角，有自己的学术创新和价值判断。他强调："文学伦理学批评是一种从伦理视角阅读、分析和阐释文学的批评方法。它以文学文本为主要批评对象，从伦理的视角解释文本中描写的不同生活现象"（聂珍钊 5-6）。罗森教授认为，聂珍钊教授所开创的文学伦理学批评及其对文本阅读的重视和强调，正是当下学界所缺少和急需的，甚至比以往任何时候都更有必要，也更令人钦佩。在罗森教授看来，文学作品永远都是第一位的，而批评行为只是批评家基于文学作品的次要活动。罗森教授说：

> 在伦理批评这一严格框架下，尽可能广泛地研究，这在当今比以往任何时候都更为必要，是一项令人钦佩的挑战性事业，它承担着对我们研究的文学文本的责任。这些文本是，也应该是我们职业的真正伦理焦点。我最近惊讶地收到一份来自一家著名大学出版社的手稿，该手稿提议文学批评作品应与我们学科的主要研究对象的主要文学作品放在同等地位上研究。在我看来，这在心智上是不受尊敬的，实际上也是不道德的。它赋予职业实践者一种中心地位，这对他或她的学科内容是一种冒犯。它给一个本应指向理解研究对象而非批评者次要活动的实践，引入了一种有害的自我关注和自我重要感。正如我在过去常常指出的，我们作为文学教授的职业是认识、理解和分析文学创作以及关于我们和我们周围世界的文学。（Rawson 8）

罗森教授一方面鼓励和倡导文学批评的学科拓展，进而发现文学如何与现代社会的发展进步高度融合。他甚至以人工智能为例，认为过去这只是在科幻小说里才出现的事物，现在已经是日常生活的一个部分，而学术研究的精神就是在于对经典文本和批评方法的扩充，但这并意味着要脱离和舍弃文学研究的最核心对象文学文本。罗森教授认为这不仅是一种不成熟、不道德的行为，而且也是对批评家职业的冒犯。文学教授的任务是关注文学创作，是

去"认识、理解和分析文学创作以及关于我们和我们周围世界的文学"（Rawson 8）。

在论述文学伦理学批评的主要内容时，聂珍钊教授重点强调了如下五个方面：1. 文学文本内容的阐释研究；2. 文学与现实社会的关系研究；3. 文学文本的艺术表达研究；4. 作家与创作研究；5. 读者与作品的关系研究。[1] 在深入研究文学作品时，"文学伦理学批评力图把虚构的艺术世界同现实世界结合起来，探讨文学及文学描写的道德现象，以及作者与创作、文学与社会等诸方面的道德关系问题"（聂珍钊 99）。文学伦理学批评试图把文学作品所呈现的伦理价值观与现实世界的价值观进行结合，并且从虚构艺术中发现道德范例供人类的文明进步作为参考，但一个不容忽视的事实是文学作品的价值观与我们日常生活中所遵循的价值观之间会存在一定的差异与分歧。罗森教授敏锐地发现了这一点，并在国际文学伦理学批评研究会的开幕式致辞中强调说：

> 文学作品的价值观与我们道德思考中所遵循的价值观之间的分歧是一个常见的问题。这一问题都困扰着古往今来的所有伟大作家，他们崇敬荷马，但却谴责军事荣耀的概念，并发现宏大的演讲异常诱人。像伊拉斯谟或布莱克这样的一些人，实际上认为史诗诗人是战争的主要原因之一。一些诗人在表达这些担忧的同时，也尝试通过自己的英雄口吻或史诗作品而直面这些担忧，其中包括朱文纳尔、伊拉斯谟、莎士比亚、弥尔顿、蒲柏（他翻译了荷马）、伏尔泰、费尔丁、布莱克、华兹华斯、拜伦、雪莱、布莱希特，以及在现代主义极大改造下的 T.S. 艾略特的《荒原》和庞德的《诗章》。（Rawson 3）

在罗森教授的理解中，文学作品的价值观与我们道德思考中所遵循的价值观之间的分歧问题困扰着所有历史时期的伟大作家。譬如，史诗是最为不朽的文学样式之一，荷马也是最伟大的史诗诗人，不过后世作家们对荷马笔下的战争以及"军事荣耀"（military glory）却难以苟同，甚至布莱克都认为史诗是引发战争的原因之一。因此，围绕史诗这一文学样式，很多作家都尝试以不同的方式对之改造。在这种意义上，作家及其创作研究构成了文学伦理学批评的核心内容之一。在聂珍钊教授看来，围绕作家与及其创作，文学伦理学批评主要研究"作家的伦理观念和道德立场以及其观念和立场的特点、产生的原因、时代背景、形成的过程；探讨作家的伦理观念与作品所表现出来的道德倾向的关系；探讨作家与传统的关系以及对后来作家及文学的影响；探讨作家伦理道德观念对其创作的影响，如作家在作品中关于伦理道德现象的描述，作家对其描写的各种社会事件及其塑造的人物的道德评价

1　参见 聂珍钊：《文学伦理学批评导论》，北京：北京大学出版社，2014 年，第 99-100 页。

等”（聂珍钊 100）。

尽管罗森教授目前已经卸任国际文学伦理学批评研究会的会长，但他作为荣誉会长依然关心和支持文学伦理学批评的发展，并以荣誉会长的身份在广东外语外贸大学举办的“第十一届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”和在华中师范大学举办的“第十二届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”的开幕式上再次发表书面致辞。所有国际文学伦理学批评研究会的会员和文学伦理学批评研究的实践者所要铭记的是罗森教授和聂珍钊教授给国际文学伦理学批评研究会的使命定位，即重构文学批评本来应该具有的柔韧性和微妙性，尊重历史、忠实文献。罗森教授说“就如聂珍钊所说的那样，IAELC 最高贵的使命是恢复批评学科本应具有的柔韧性和微妙性，其与核心人文目的的结合，不拘泥于教条，忠实于其文献，尊重历史知识，简而言之，以最佳且最具感知力的阅读方式展开实证研究”（Rawson 6）。我想，罗森教授的上述话语不仅是对国际文学伦理学批评研究会使命担当的恰当概括，同时也是对文学伦理学批评的特征与魅力的准确表述。

罗森与我

2014 年，我负责在上海交通大学组织召开“第四届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”，报名参加会议的中外学者多达 300 余人，其中国际学者将近 40 人，包括美国艺术与人文科学院院士、美国斯坦福大学玛乔瑞 • 帕洛夫，美国艺术与人文科学院院士、美国宾夕法尼亚大学查尔斯 • 伯恩斯坦，欧洲科学院院士德国吉辛大学安斯加尔•纽宁，德国海德堡大学副校长维拉•纽宁，《语言与文学》杂志主编、英国诺丁汉大学杰夫 • 霍尔等。那一年，我只有 35 岁，刚刚入职上海交通大学外国语学院，无论是工作经验还是办会经验，都颇为不足。坦率地说，尽管在会议筹备过程中，我有幸得到了国际文学伦理学批评研究会以及上海交通大学外国语学院领导们的大力支持、指导和关心，但实际上自己对于能否办好这次国际会议还是信心不足。

会议拟定在 2014 年 12 月 19 日 -22 日召开，而我专门提前 8 个月，在 2014 年 4 月 19 日通过电子邮件给罗森教授发去了参会邀请，希望他可以再次回到他的第一故乡上海，莅临上海交通大学参加学术研讨会。实际上，罗森教授也是我发出邀请的第一个海外学者。罗森教授当即给我发来了回信，表示如果身体允许，一定会来参加会议，而且他还在信中给了我很多鼓励，认为会议一定可以圆满成功。鉴于罗森教授行动不便的身体状况，我在随后一个月的时间里多次联系了学校的国际交流处，为他申请了商务舱来华的费用，并及时将这一信息告知了他。让我深受触动的是，罗森教授在回信中给我发了很长的文字，表达他对我的感激之心，同时表示因为自己的身体状况，暂时不要预定机票，万一临时自己身体状况不佳，可能会给我造成不必要的损失。这一细节给我留下了十分深刻的印象，充分反映了他在日常生活中在细

节之处为他人考虑的处事品格。随后，我一直与罗森教授保持邮件联系，希望他的身体状况能够改善，可以成行上海。

2014 年，10 月 1 日，当我再次和他确认上海行程以及预定机票的时候，罗森教授明确告诉我因为身体不便，上海之行不得不取消了，在邮件中表达了莫大的遗憾，不过同时表示自己可以为大会写一份简短的书面致辞，而这也是罗森教授第一次以书面形式在文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会开幕式上的致辞。2014 年 12 月 13 日，在会议召开前夕，罗森教授给我发来了他写好的开幕词，虽然简短，但高屋建瓴。全文翻译如下：

国际文学伦理学批评研究会

上海，2014 年 12 月

我感到非常荣幸能被任命为这个受人尊敬的学会的副会长，我非常认真地对待这个学会的目标。非常遗憾我不能参加今年在我出生地上海举行的会议。但我希望将来能够回去，我对去年在宁波举行的会议的演讲有着最温暖的回忆。

在我缺席的时候，我想退一步考虑一下我们标题中“道德”一词的含义。《牛津英语词典》中最适用的定义是：“符合道德原则或伦理；道德正确的；光荣的；有道德的；尤指符合职业伦理”。这些是我们所有人都接受的核心价值观，但我特别想强调牛津英语词典强调的那一点，“尤指符合职业伦理”。文学教授的事业是书籍和有关书籍的知识。我相信我们必须回归的第一个道德原则就是支持这个具体原则：教授我们主要文学作品的书籍，并提供帮助我们理解它们的信息。很遗憾的是，我们行业中的许多人，尤其是在西方，在这方面犯了很大的错误，更喜欢理论而不是阅读，更喜欢抽象概念而不是知识。然而，当理论应用于文学时，只有在实际阅读书籍的基础上才能有意义，而这恰恰被我们的从业者给忘记了。我们迫切需要回归最初的原则。我们是，或者应该是，文学的教师。这是我重申的，这是我们的职业道德问题。我建议放弃理论课程二十年，并回归阅读书籍。如果我们对此仍然有兴趣，我们可以在二十年的阅读之后回到理论。

我希望你们会享受这次会议，我相信这次会议会像去年在宁波举行的那次会议一样热烈。

耶鲁大学，克劳德·罗森

2013 年开始，我开始担任国际文学伦理学批评研究会的副秘书长。因为学会工作的缘故，我有了更多的机会接触罗森教授，切实体会到他对学术的执着认真，对朋友的友善真诚，对后学的提携帮助。2021 年 9 月 25 日，在聂

珍钊教授的组织下，浙江大学召开了庆祝玛乔瑞·帕洛夫教授 90 岁生日的国际诗学会议。罗森教授和帕洛夫教授从 1973 年开始相识，成为一生的挚友。在这次会议上，尽管罗森教授行动和说话已经十分不便，但还是撰写了书面文稿，交由自己的妻子琳达女士代为朗读。文稿中，罗森教授高度评价了帕洛夫教授的学术成就，并追忆了自己与帕洛夫教授长达近半个世纪的交往。琳达女士以一口标准的"女王英语"（Queen's English）款款朗读罗森教授写下的文字，而罗森教授则端坐一旁，深情望着琳达，满眼皆是爱意。哪怕是在云端，隔着屏幕，我们都能深切感受到罗森教授与帕洛夫教授之间无坚不摧的友谊，他与爱妻琳达心灵相通、携手白头的爱情。时隔 4 年，罗森教授也即将迎来自己的 90 岁生日。作为后学和来自他第一故乡上海的青年学者，笔者不揣浅陋，口占小诗一首：

九旬春秋谱华章，
岁月悠悠敬天长。
白发智慧如星汉，
金心温暖似日光。

谨此，祝罗森教授生日快乐！

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反讽的伦理维度：克劳德·罗森的斯威夫特研究及其启示

The Ethical Dimension of Irony: Claude Rawson's Swift Study and Its Implications

苏　晖（**Su Hui**）　边文君（**Bian Wenjun**）

内容摘要：克劳德·罗森教授对斯威夫特进行了长达40多年持续深入的研究，并就其著名政论文《一个温和的建议》做出了颠覆性的解读。他认为斯威夫特时常借反讽手法的语言保护性隔离作用，营造出一种以不确定性为特征的文体风格，不断扩大讽喻范围，使文章的伦理意义趋向模糊与含混，并且他还发现斯威夫特对背德行为的残酷想象与纳粹的暴虐行径有着惊人的相似之处。尽管这种反讽伦理指向的不确定性还是被一个终极的道德框架所束缚，从而保有确定性，罗森依然提醒我们对反讽与伦理之关系的重视。罗森将伦理道德的视角纳入对经典作品的解读中，肩负起了文学批评家的社会责任。打破伦理边界的反讽会对人类生活造成极大的威胁，但反讽本身具有伦理价值。因此，为了能够合理地利用反讽，文学批评在阐释的过程中就需要充分发挥作用，这也为文学伦理批评的构建带来了新的启示。

关键词：克劳德·罗森；斯威夫特；《一个温和的建议》；反讽；伦理

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Title: The Ethical Dimension of Irony: Claude Rawson's Swift Study and Its Implications

Abstract: In sustained and in-depth studies of Swift spanning more than 40 years, Claude Rawson offers a subversive interpretation of his famous political essay, *A Modest Proposal*. He argues that Swift has at times drawn on the protective insulation provided by irony to create a style featuring uncertainties, constantly expanding the scope of satire and leading to a tendency toward ambiguities of the essay's ethical significance, and he also finds striking parallels between Swift's imagination of immoral acts in disconcerting detail and Nazi's tyrannies.

Although the uncertainties are confined by an ultimate moral framework and thus certainties remain, Rawson still reminds us to attach great importance to the relationship between irony and ethics. By incorporating an ethical perspective into the interpretation of this literary classic, Rawson takes the social responsibility of a literary critic. Irony that breaks the ethical boundaries poses a great threat to human life, but irony itself has ethical value. Therefore, in order to take advantage of irony, literary criticism needs to play a full part in the process of interpreting it, which also brings a whole new level of insight to the construction of literary ethical criticism.
Keywords: Claude Rawson; Jonathan Swift; *A Modest Proposal*; irony; ethics
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反讽通常指语言文字表面含义与实际含义的冲突或相反，包含同时并存的两个对立物的结构。在文学上，反讽既指语言的修辞技巧，也指隐含在人物、情节或主题中与正面描述意义相悖的暗示或对照技巧、组织结构方法。斯威夫特在其著名的政论文》《一个温和的建议》（“A Modest Proposal”, 1729）中就运用了精湛的反讽手法。该文全称为“防止爱尔兰贫家子女成为父母和国家的负担，并使他们对公众有益的一个温和的建议”（“A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People in Ireland from Being a Burthen to their Parents, or Country; and for Making them Beneficial to the Publick”），以英国统治下爱尔兰民不聊生的境况为背景，借一位献策者的“温和”口吻，提出了一个看似公正可行实则异常可怖的建议：母亲将婴儿喂养到一岁时，卖给达官贵人食用，此时是炖、烤、焙、煮俱佳的美食。该文通常被解读为对英国在爱尔兰殖民统治的讽刺，以及对爱尔兰当地地主贪婪和掌权者无能的嘲讽，另外一种解读认为斯威夫特在讨论当时的经济政策或经济学理论。

克劳德·罗森（Claude Rawson）对斯威夫特的研究长达 40 多年，关于《一个温和的建议》的讨论散见于他不同阶段的代表作中，包括《格列佛与温雅的读者》（*Gulliver and the Gentle Reader*, 1972）、《从混乱中显现的秩序》（*Order from Confusion Sprung*, 1985）、《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝：野蛮与欧洲想象：1492-1945》（*God, Gulliver and the Genocide: Barbarism and*

the European Imagination, 1492-1945, 2001）、《斯威夫特的愤怒》（*Swift's Angers*, 2014）等。与学界一般的解读不同，罗森认为《一个温和的建议》更多是作者在盛怒之下流露出对爱尔兰人的诋毁，暗示了传说中爱尔兰人有食人的残酷习性。他从伦理的视角出发去解读斯威夫特的反讽技巧，阐释了他在残酷想象与道德教诲之间不断游移的独特写作风格，并结合二战纳粹的暴行从这一经典文本中得到了全新、具有启发性的结论。本文将分别论述罗森关于《一个温和的建议》中的自由想象和作品伦理意义的探讨，并进一步分析反讽与伦理的关系及其对文学伦理批评构建的影响与启示。

一、罗森论斯威夫特作品中反讽伦理指向的不确定性

诺思洛普·弗莱（Northrop Frye）在对比讽刺和反讽时指出，“讽刺是激烈的反讽，其道德标准相对而言是明确的〔……〕当读者肯定不了作者的态度为何时，或读者自己的态度应该如何时，就是讽刺成分甚少的反讽了”（277）。也就是说，与讽刺相比，反讽的伦理意义更加不确定、更加模糊，以至于读者产生模棱两可之感。在罗森的研究中，《一个温和的建议》就是这样一部反讽之作，斯威夫特试图冲破“吃人是非人道的”这一道德框架，而读者能从语言中屡次感受到作者非理性的狂怒之情及其所释放出的人性之恶的本能。罗森认为，斯威夫特的讽刺中产生的令人不适的情感（embarrassment）十分激进，“是对改善和颠覆一种风格的应有反应，而这种风格的整体本质就是破坏确定性，包括它有意识宣称的确定性”（Rawson, *Gulliver and the Gentle Reader* 40）。从文体风格上看，其“不确定性”主要体现在以下两点：

第一，在文本中，斯威夫特经常将讽刺扩展到看似不相关的对象上。按照反讽逻辑推理，在讽刺吃人行径的中心主题下，文章意在反对和痛斥这种暴力。表面看来的确如此，但斯威夫特有时会脱离这一路径，话锋一转，突然对潜在的受害群体进行重新定向的道德指控。比如，献策者说，自己的一位朋友反对以十四岁少女的肉补充贵族阶层所喜食鹿肉的匮乏，因为这些女孩即将可为国家繁育，但他接着又说：“我们都城里有不少胖姑娘，自己一个钱也没有，可是一出门就得坐轿子，穿着并非自己挣钱买来的进口华丽衣裳，在剧院和交际场所进进出出；要是把她们也照那样利用一下子（指将其割肉卖给贵族），对于国家大概不会有什么损失”（53）[1]。斯威夫特这里针对妓女或愚蠢的女孩，意在暗示她们喜穿外国华服的虚荣心正在削弱爱尔兰的经济。然而，这种突如其来的新一重道德指控已经脱离了讽刺吃人行为的中心主题，即便是在全篇反讽语境的保护性隔离作用之下，这些文字也表现出对女性群体极大的攻击性和恶意。过剩的敌意“将讽刺的简洁逻辑混入更

1　原文的中译文均出自“育婴刍议”，《英国经典散文选》，刘炳善译，北京：外语教学与研究出版社，2020 年，第 40-63 页。后文此类情况均只标注页码。

为模糊、更加难以预测的精确度中，将不安扩散到无法用理性解释的情感领域，并使读者也难以摆脱”（Rawson, *Gulliver and the Gentle Reader* 36）。

第二，献策者自相矛盾的两种口吻不断交错、切换，贯穿整篇文章，使作品在语气和口吻上呈现出一种不确定性。在通常情况下，自称人道的非人道宣传并不会使用野蛮、粗暴的非人道语言，而是会选择以冷静、善意的语气进行掩饰。然而，献策者却不时在话语间夹杂一些极端暴力的字眼。比如，文章伊始，在还未表现出这种风格的潜在恶意时，献策者说到“一个刚刚落地的婴儿”（a child just dropt from its dam），仅看中文并不能感受到该语言的冲击力，那么如果了解到“dam”此处为“母兽；尤指母马”的意思后，一种恳切的恶意似乎瞬间就以爆炸性的方式蔓延开来。除此之外，还有多处与其相似的把爱尔兰人兽化的用语，如用 breeders（意为“饲养者”）形容能生养的父母，用 carcass（意为“动物尸体；尤指供食用的畜体”）形容供贵族消费的儿童尸体等。这些措辞与说话者的性格和身份设定极其不符，从而使作品在整体目的与实际用语之间形成一种极不稳定的张力和矛盾。在罗森看来，这也正是斯威夫特所刻意经营的以不确定性为基本特征的文体风格，这些粗暴之语“打破了一个冷静、善意地鼓吹可怕行为的公式，而这种风格既包括这一公式，也致力于打破它们”（Rawson, *Gulliver and the Gentle Reader* 40-41）。

根据文体风格上的不确定性，罗森进而认为，本文实际上是对爱尔兰人的愤怒攻击，攻击对象不仅包括穷人，并且还将讽喻扩展到爱尔兰各个阶层。斯威夫特借用了古老的传说，这一传说表明爱尔兰人是塞西亚人的后裔，有吃人的习惯。文中所使用的诸如“母兽”“饲养者”“动物尸体”等词汇都能体现出他认为爱尔兰人是畜生，是传说中的动物，他们的行为使自己退化到了原始的野蛮状态。同时，文章“其他权宜之计”一段尤为明显地表现出爱尔兰陷入这般经济和社会惨况的原因，包括地主的剥削、商人的欺骗与勒索、妇女们的骄奢淫逸之风、人民的不爱国、对外国商品的青睐等。这共同导致了整个国家的赤贫和窘境，而乞丐和穷人的问题也正是这些根本问题的表征之一。前文提及的偏离讽刺中心的突然攻击其实就是为了将讽喻扩大化，通过语言上的暴力释放，“痛斥他们（爱尔兰人）对维护自身利益的无能，以及他们在商业和经济领域对英国人的屈从”（Rawson, *Swift's Angers* 16）。文章最后提到英国人也不会拒绝吃人的建议，乐意“不要盐也可以高高兴兴吃掉我们的整个民族”（61），这则是更进一步地扩大化了讽喻对象，不仅有本国的穷人和富人，还囊括了帝国权力与殖民主体。

法国超现实主义者安德烈•布勒东（André Breton）在 1939 年编纂的《黑色幽默选集》中，首次提出黑色幽默的概念，并将斯威夫特称为黑色幽默的创始人，《一个温和的建议》收录于选集的第二篇，紧接着的第二位作家则是萨德。罗森赞同布勒东对斯威夫特的理解，认为他有远离讽刺和道德教化

的倾向，“斯威夫特的想象有趣地被暴力和难于言喻的东西所吸引，并趋于超越所有显性的对残忍的讽刺和对暴力的谴责而进入这一领域。有些作家会认为想象力无禁区，对此他或许不愿苟同；但是他的想象却包含了他想要禁止的很多东西”（罗森 9）。在《一个温和的建议》中，斯威夫特多次通过自由想象描述骇人听闻的内容，其中之一便是建议那些想要更为节俭的父母可将婴儿的皮剥下制成精致的女士手套和男士凉靴，供贵妇人和绅士们使用，尽管他用括号的方式申明这一策略实为当前局势所迫。巧合的是，在紧随其后所收录的萨德《朱丽叶的故事》中，相似的内容再次出现。故事的主人公明斯基是一个生活在亚平宁深山城堡中的食人魔，在他哥特式的房间中放着用人的骨架和头骨制成的椅子，城堡其他地方均用女性活人的身体做装饰，她们的身体扭曲成艺术造型用作桌椅。罗森敏锐地捕捉到了这一相似性，他提到：“斯威夫特没有像萨德那样精心塑造和刻画食人魔，但萨德很可能从斯威夫特那里获得了一些灵感，根据波伏瓦的说法，萨德‘使用甚至抄袭’了斯威夫特”（Rawson, *Gulliver and the Gentle Reader* 158-159）。在罗森看来，斯威夫特和萨德都在想象的空间享受着自由，但前者以残忍、背德的内容来展现作为理智的社会思想家被本民族自我毁灭的行为逼迫得近乎疯狂的状态，并借以讽刺爱尔兰的政治经济困境；而后者则远离了善与恶的羁绊，真正符合布勒东对黑色幽默的定义，不受道德的干扰。

令人不安的是，二战时期纳粹诸多惨绝人寰的恶行与斯威夫特和萨德的想象性描述有着惊人的相似之处。希特勒教子小马丁·鲍曼曾在自传中多次提到在他 14 岁时参观纳粹高官希姆莱阁楼的经历。在那里，他看到由人的躯体包括髋骨、腿和脚所制作的桌子和椅子，以及由集中营犯人背部的皮做封面的书。萨德和斯威夫特与纳粹的区别在于，前两位作家只是发挥了自由想象，并没有将其付诸真实行动，而纳粹却真正实施了文学想象中所描述的种种暴行，以至于当惨剧真切发生后，人们一时无法分清这是现实还是虚幻。对背德行为的想象与恶行的连续性不禁让人在两者之间构建一种确切的因果关系。纳粹的行径究竟是受到文学想象的启发，还是人类的恶具有普遍相通性，则是一直被提及而又无法回答的问题。罗森认为，文学的恶之言说“显示出对暴力压迫的心理结构的洞察，因为这些心理结构一方面栖息在探索性和创造性的想象中，另一方面则可引发行动领域的杀人暴行”（Rawson, *Swift's Angers* 128）。

罗森指出，斯威夫特“没有远离教化或讽喻的意图，但却超越了教化或讽喻。讽喻原则的倾向是明显反对任何纳粹式的行为，虽然在对待爱尔兰同胞的问题上，我们发现他还残留了一点‘他们活该’的意味”（罗森 165）。斯威夫特试图以反讽的方式通过阐释邪恶、背德的内容来达到讽刺效果和教化作用，以期改变爱尔兰的境况，然而他的语言并不只是蕴藏深层语码的含义，邪恶的表层语码也在说出口的同时传达出了其原本的意思。也就

是说，反讽所制造的字面含义和深层含义的对立会产生意义的模糊与含混，而在这种模糊与含混中，自由想象所带来的表层背德意义可能会在不经意间导致现实中恶性事件的发生。

二、罗森论斯威夫特作品中反讽伦理指向“不确定”中的“确定”

尽管斯威夫特看起来似乎快被现实和理想的巨大差距逼得失去理智，但这种倾向依然有意识地在被全文的道德框架所抑制。总体看来，作者还是在用理性驾驭和控制自己的笔触。

《一个温和的建议》反讽的伦理意义之确定性始终建立于斯威夫特对献策者提议的背景说明与设定之上。在罗森看来，文章设置了两组讽刺公式，即到底是一个正义的讽刺者被糟透的世界逼疯了，还是一个鼓吹吃人行径的恶人在正义的标准下被视作精神失常。在这两组相互平行的可能性中，均包含着一对矛盾的共存，而这也是斯威夫特为讽刺所搭建的公式。一方面，讽刺者正义的疯狂凝结为整个世界层面邪恶的疯狂。正如帕特里克•奥尼尔（Patrick O'Neill）写道：“只有当现实与理想之间的差距开始被认为是极端的，当幽默开始自觉意识到自己调和对立面的姿态是徒劳无益的，黑色幽默才会完全出现”（48），斯威夫特靠近黑色幽默的倾向的确也是迫于对现实的束手无策，就像文中献策者（也是斯威夫特本人）所说，“多年以来虽然提过不少空洞、迂阔，不切实际的意见，但是毫无成功之望，早已心灰意冷”（61），他之前所提出的道德、正义、理性的建议全都被这个无理的世界所忽视，被逼无奈之下，万念俱灰的改革者才义无反顾地疏远他曾经试图修补的“理智”世界，走向了提出极端吃人建议的非理性、反社会的道路。另一方面，虽然献策者恶语相向，口出骇人之语，字里行间透露出精明算计和清醒理智，这些都无端增强了修辞营造疯狂的力量，让闻者对其正义性产生深深怀疑，但在此背后依然有一个坚固的框架牢牢束缚着这股即将脱缰之力。当疯狂的言辞溢出第一个公式的框架后，它其实也就蔓延到了第二个公式：这个世界如此糟糕，以至于一个人能以最平静的方式宣扬吃人，这也就为献策者所有的疯狂言论提供了终极确定性，即“纵然存在所有可能的怀疑，吃人的行径也是不可取的”（Rawson, *Gulliver and the Gentle Reader* 144）。在正常标准下，吃人行为总是被视作邪恶、背德的，“吃人”的主题因此也就可以被随意、超脱地使用。

罗森还将斯威夫特与萨德及一些现代作家如安托南•阿尔托（Antonin Artaud）和让•热内（Jean Genet）等进行了比较。他认为，在后者的作品中，对“被禁止”行为的想象不再说明这些行为本身是错误的，吃人肉成为宣扬一个人“整体生命力”，宣扬个性、种族或政治真实性的有效方式。当阿尔托说残酷戏剧必须在某种意义上展现出观众的犯罪参与感、表现出戏剧的情欲驱动力及野蛮性甚至同类相食的行为时，他并不是希望观众真正去实施犯罪或食

人行为。但阿尔托也坚持认为，这些强烈的冲动不仅只存在于想象和虚幻中，而是具有内在性和本质性。对斯威夫特来说，文学的疗愈作用在于对人类埋藏的破坏性本能施加道德约束，吃人的极端行为被转化为一种讽刺公式，用来寓言和鞭挞恶毒的不道德行为。而对阿尔托来说，文学则是一种宣泄的途径，艺术家通过对极端行为的描述来极力释放人类潜藏的原始本能。[1]

斯威夫特曾写到，讽刺的目的之一便是"一种公益精神，它促使杰出人物尽其所能地去修补这个世界的缺陷"（qtd. in Pollard 73）。他的作品因而也就带有浓烈的社会伦理色彩，而非堕入纯粹的审美维度。在他生活的17、18世纪，距纳粹大屠杀还有两百多年之久，人类历史上最大的惨剧之一还未发生，那些背德的事项要么存在于远古的传说之中，要么存在于文学想象之中，即便有成规模的屠杀、食人等行为，其影响也不够轰动，不够具有震慑全人类的力量。在此时，一切看似与真实世界相去甚远，理性和伦理标准还未遭到质疑与破坏，所以他能够自由地基于背德想象去写作、去讽刺。然而，冥冥之中斯威夫特好像预感到了什么，他深知人类有做出极恶道德判断的冲动，并将这种冲动在作品中展现了出来，仿佛在提醒着人们对恶的提防与控制。

三、启示：对反讽与伦理之关系的辩证思考

即便如此，罗森提醒我们，"无论如何'反讽'，总有在'说着当真'、'说说而已'和'不只是说说'之间的互动"（罗森 145）。他在解读斯威夫特时，肩负起了批评家的社会责任，将伦理道德的视角纳入对经典作品的批评中，从伦理与美学关系的角度出发，得到了全新的、极具启发和意义重大的结论。特里·伊格尔顿（Terry Eagleton）在评论罗森专著《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》时认为，他的解读有时暗示了他的极端保守主义倾向（reactionary tendencies）。伊格尔顿的说法固然有些夸张，因为这种"保守主义"倾向可能正是我们这个时代不可或缺的品质。二战的残酷教训看似与文学遥不可及，但从历史的后见来看，那些悲剧是否早已在一位又一位伟大的作家笔下潜藏着线索。如果我们依然以绝对审美的姿态书写和解读文学，那么将来是否会有惨烈百倍千倍的厄运降临在此处或彼处。"批评家的责任是由文学创作的伦理价值决定的〔……〕社会赋予文学批评家的责任，以便文学的价值标准能够得到坚守"（聂珍钊，"谈文学的伦理价值和教诲功能"15）。作为文学研究者，唯有肩负起这一使命，才能使文学发挥其真正的作用，为维护社会的伦理秩序与道德规范，为世界和人类的繁荣发展，提供正确指导。

反讽的确会给人类的道德生活带来挑战，尤其是在文艺史中伦理批评缺位的情况下。18世纪末至19世纪初，德国浪漫主义文论拓展了反讽的概念，同

1 参见 Claude Rawson, *Gulliver and the Gentle Reader: Studies in Swift and our Time*. London: Humanities Press International, 1991, 145.

时也将反讽引向了远离伦理道德的纯美学境界。浪漫主义反讽的特点在于，从反面对自我界定的无止境超越，将一切事物视作自我的主观性的产品。绝对主体性的泛滥是浪漫主义反讽被诟病的主要原因。黑格尔在《美学》中对其进行了批判。他指出，浪漫主义反讽艺术家不仅仅满足于把自己的生活和个性通过艺术形象表现出来，还凭借想象创造外在的艺术品。即便是客观的艺术形象也表现出绝对主体性的原则，“这就是说，不仅是对法律、道德、真理都不持严肃的态度，而且就连最高尚最优美的品质也都是空幻的”（84）。克尔凯郭尔也评价道：“（浪漫主义反讽者）过于抽象地生活着，过于形而上学地、过于美学地生活着，以致无暇顾及道德与伦理的具体境况”（246）。他们不愿接受任何现实性的内容，活在虚幻的想象中，以至于陷入相对主义和虚无主义。而罔顾现实伦理的纯美学想象则一不小心就会造成颠覆现实的破坏性力量，正如罗森指出，布勒东在斯威夫特和萨德作品中所发现的暴力的“美学”维度，与法西斯有着令人不安的历史联系，而后者有时也被称为“对政治的审美处理”（罗森 144）。

值得注意的是，在文学中使用反讽并不会直接挑战伦理道德，反讽本身具有伦理价值，主要表现在以下几个方面：

首先，从哲学层面来看，反讽有助于人们与现实保持批判性的距离，推动伦理道德规则的变革和进步，促进伦理道德新观念的产生。人类社会发展的历史表明“人类的伦理道德规范也应随着科技发展、社会进步而改变。人们的伦理观念不是一成不变的抽象概念，而是随着历史发展不断得到提升和走向完善的”（苏晖 48）。从某种程度上来说，保持对当前现实与当前伦理道德规范有效性的反思和批判能力，是人类道德生活的前提，而反讽正是激活这种能力的有效手段。克尔凯郭尔认为，反讽主义者能够看到当前时代的局限性，发现既存现实的不完善之处。他指出，“反讽者逃离了同时代的队伍，并与之作对。将来的事物对他来说隐而不现，藏在他的背后，而对于他所严阵以待的现实，他却非摧毁不可，他以锋利的目光逼视着这个现实”（225）。同时，理查德·罗蒂（Richard Rorty）将反讽主义者定义为“认真严肃地面对他或她自己最核心信念与欲望的偶然性”的人，他们“不再相信那些核心的信念与欲望的背后，还有一个超越时间与机缘的基础”（6）。从该定义中也能发现，在罗蒂看来，反讽是一种与当下的现实与承诺保持怀疑距离的能力。两位反讽理论家均从主体与现实关系的角度，指出反讽对于既定现实的质疑能力，这一能力为伦理规则的更新和完善开启了新的可能性。

其次，从文学的角度来看，反讽伦理意义确定性的“缺失”会避免道德判断的简单化倾向，通过训练读者的道德判断力，反讽可以增强读者的道德理解力。文学作品能够帮助人们加深对已习得的抽象道德原则和道德概念的理解。当代美国分析美学家诺埃尔·卡罗尔（Noël Carroll）将理解与知识区别开来：“理解是掌控并恰当运用已知概念和命题知识的能力，是完善知识

的活动，是认识到知识储备的各个部分之间联系的活动，是通过实践和判断的过程使知识变得清晰的活动”（143-144）。而文学作品要求读者参与到对人物、情境甚至作品的整体观点进行道德判断的过程，也正是通过道德判断的训练，人们才能真正掌握这些抽象概念与原则。在反讽的文本中，矛盾与悖谬的并置会增强道德判断的难度，阻碍读者做出直接判断，延长其做出判断的时间。在这种复杂的情境中，读者不得不仔细阅读文本的细枝末节，并结合自己的道德知识反复推敲、揣摩，这能够迫使他们不断去质询和反思，从而加深对道德的理解。同时，反讽也能避免作者直接说教的道德传达方式。如果文学作品直截了当地表述一些道德规范和道德戒律，不仅会使作品枯燥乏味，还会使其可信度遭到质疑。斯威夫特的讽刺和反讽作品也几乎完全没有直白的道德箴言、警示告诫等，他“拒绝提供任何总括性的文本权威，因为这会阻止作品所要启动的道德辨别”（Suarez 116）。

再次，反讽的双面特征可以帮助读者从反面认识道德，为认识提供更加全面的维度。新修辞学代表人物肯尼斯 • 伯克（Kenneth Burke）关注反讽在“发现和描述‘真理’中的作用”（503），并指出反讽包含辩证思维。他认为，作为修辞手法的反讽不仅能够帮助人们在认识论上发现真理，反讽在本体论上也是真理的一种构建方式。对事物的完整认识包含着全面观照相互对立、相互矛盾的各种要素，反讽则能够完美地平衡这些不同要素。与这种辩证思维相似的是，当代英国美学家马修 • 基兰（Matthew Kieran）在文艺伦理价值与审美价值关系的论争中提出“认知的背德主义”（cognitive immoralism）一说，他认为，“想要充分领会和理解某种经验的本质，我们需要比较项。这就是说在某种意义上我们需要先体验‘恶’才能理解‘善’”（63）。而反讽所具备的表面意义与实际意义的对照，恰好为读者对道德的全面理解提供了极佳的语境。在反讽的语言保护作用中，通过表层背德事项的描述，人们可以探索在现实中由于道德禁忌而尽量避免的态度和反应。阅读那些有意展示欲望和“恶”的文学作品，人们能够了解如何应对现实生活中的许多背德欲念，同时加深对道德和善的理解。就如罗森所指出的那样，斯威夫特“所痛斥的暴力与他语言风格中充斥的暴力如出一辙，正如在《一个温和的建议》和其他作品中，他所讽刺的他人的谋杀计划与他自己的攻击倾向并行不悖，就像他用疑似反讽的语气希望将那些穿外国服饰的爱尔兰女孩纳入食人计划一样”（Rawson, *Gulliver and the Gentle Reader* 57）。在斯威夫特的作品中，读者透过反讽深切体会到作者在道德与背德之间的不断犹疑，在善与恶之间的反复纠结，看到人类即便是伟大的人类也会轻易地被恶所引诱。这是大众在被种种道德规范制约的现实中不曾也不会认真考虑的内容，在作品中直面这种恶可以加深对现实中善的领悟。

反讽作为一把双刃剑，既会对伦理道德造成威胁，又能够促成积极的伦理效果。因而，为了能够合理地利用反讽，文学批评在阐释反讽的过程中就

需要充分发挥作用，以消除反讽潜在的伦理危害。

韦恩•布斯（Wayne Booth）在《反讽修辞学》（*A Rhetoric of Irony*, 1974）中提出“稳定反讽”的概念，强调作者意图在阐释中的重要性。他认为稳定的反讽具有四个特征，即“意图性”“隐蔽性”“稳定性和固定性”和“在应用中的有限性”（5-6）。而读者普遍读不出反讽含义的反讽即为“不稳定反讽”。他对比笛福《消灭不同教派的捷径》和斯威夫特《一个温和的建议》，以此阐释反讽由于缺乏明确的意图线索所导致的弊病。笛福的小册子以保守党托利党人的口吻号召清除信奉国教者，但读完全文，读者并不会有所怀疑，不会想象到文章实际上是出自一位辉格党人之手。斯威夫特则不同，他会陈述一项积极的计划，用以“揭示作者的立场”（Booth, *A Rhetoric of Fiction* 319），比如他在文末用颇多的笔墨描述真正可以改良爱尔兰社会的“权宜之计”。由此，布斯指出，虽然笛福保持了现实主义的统一性，让全文口吻一致，手法似乎更高明，但对于反讽来说，“斯威夫特的作品则更胜一筹，因为它愿意牺牲连贯性而去追求讽刺的力量”（320）。

然而，布斯的反讽理论却受到众多后现代主义者的攻击，他们不认为文本意义具有确定性，因为每个人的评判标准都具有或然性。读者反应批评的代表人物斯坦利•费什（Stanley Fish）反对布斯将反讽与字面意义紧密联系而建立起的稳定反讽。他指出，字面意义和反讽意义都是阐释的产物，一种阐释无法涵盖文本的所有方面，“对反讽的阐释建立在假设和信念的结构之上，所以会受到挑战或修正”（190），但也因而有了一种连续解释的确定性，在这其中，一种解释总会让位于另一种解释。著名反讽理论家琳达•哈琴（Linda Hutcheon）认为，仅对说话者意图进行单方面阐释是不够的，“意向性和能动性也同样被包含在阐释者的活动中”（12），接受者也会积极参与到反讽意义生成的过程中，并且反讽发生在“话语”中，“所以在考虑其语义和句法层面时，就不能脱离反讽所应用和归属语境的各种社会的、历史的以及文化的方面”（17）。也就是说，在对反讽的阐释中，既然阐释者因所处社会、文化、历史或个人境遇等环境的不同，对文本有不同的理解，文本意义具有不确定性，那么对后现代主义者来说，作品的伦理道德意义自然也就是不确定的，人们无法从中获取任何确切的道德知识，因为道德标准因人而异，并不存在客观和普遍的伦理道德真理。这样就会陷入道德相对主义，而道德相对主义则极有可能引发各种现实层面的问题，甚至走向道德虚无主义。可见，后现代主义反讽试图克服阐释的单一化和绝对化，试图将更多内容纳入到反讽的文学阐释中，但与此同时，却似乎又再度堕入浪漫主义反讽的危机，陷入意义的不确定性和价值相对主义，正如后现代主义之父伊哈布•哈桑（Ihab Hassan）所言：“（后现代）反讽变成激进的自我消耗的游戏、意义的熵”（104）。

面对这一难以调和的困局，我们可以转向由中国学者提出并构建的文学伦理学批评寻找一种可行的解决之道。文学伦理学批评认为，“不同历史

时期的文学有其固定的属于特定历史时期的伦理环境和伦理语境，对文学的理解必须让文学回归属于它的伦理环境和伦理语境，这是理解文学的一个前提”（聂珍钊，《文学伦理学批评导论》14）。该批评方法要求在特定的伦理环境中分析文学作品，这样就能避免因伦理环境与语境不同而造成解读的主观性与差异性，因而在对反讽的解读中，既能克服布斯式仅对作者意图的关注，也能在解决后现代道德相对主义问题的同时将客观的社会历史语境纳入考虑。此外，文学伦理学批评认为伦理价值是文学最根本的价值，审美价值只是伦理价值的一种体现；审美具有伦理性和功利性，只是实现文学作品伦理价值和教诲功能的途径与手段。因此，绝不必担心文学伦理学批评会让反讽陷入伦理意义不确定的迷雾中，也不会出现反讽被纯美学想象所控制的情况。在捍卫文学伦理价值的方面，文学伦理学批评具有广阔的发展空间和发展前景。

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与克劳德・罗森为伴：重读中外文学中的野蛮书写

In the Company of Claude Rawson: Revisiting the Writings of Barbarism in Chinese and Foreign Literature

王松林（**Wang Songlin**）

内容摘要：克劳德・罗森是一位享誉世界的18世纪文学研究专家，他的研究视野宽阔，博大精深，是典型的跨学科研究。但是，罗森的研究不是为了跨学科而跨学科，而是在充分把握相关学科的文献和史料上展开的以文学文本为中心的研究。罗森反对文学研究中过度理论驱动的抽象批评，主张具体文学文本在批评中的核心地位。罗森善于捕捉文本的微妙之处，在精细的文本和史料分析中发掘不易为人发现的道德情感和复杂的人性悖论。在罗森看来，优秀的文学批评应该具有伦理关切。这一观点他多次在文学伦理学批评国际研讨会开幕式的致辞中有明确阐述，也在对文学中的野蛮书写和欧洲想象的独到分析中得到充分体现。罗森的文学批评观对重读中外文学的野蛮书写及其文化隐喻具有重要启示。本文以罗森的《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》的批评理念为参照，对笛福的《鲁滨孙漂流记》、鲁迅的《狂人日记》、陈忠实的《白鹿原》、莫言的《酒国》等中外小说中的"吃人"书写做了文化阐释。

关键词：克劳德・罗森；跨学科性；文本中心；野蛮与吃人

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Title: In the Company of Claude Rawson: Revisiting the Writings of Barbarism in Chinese and Foreign Literature

Abstract: Claude Rawson is a world-renowned expert in eighteenth-century literature, and his research, immensely broad, judicious and erudite, is an exemplar of interdisciplinary research. However, Rawson's interdisciplinary research is not for the sake of interdisciplinarity. It is instead a study based on a full understanding of literary texts and their historical contexts, backed with his profound knowledge of related disciplines. Rawson opposes the excesses of theory-driven abstraction in literary criticism and endorses the centrality of the particular literary text in criticism. In his elaborate analysis of the textual nuances and historical materials, he

unveils in many ways the complexities and paradoxes of moral sentiments that are not readily apparent. Rawson's critical idea that "good literary criticism is ethical" is best demonstrated in his many Presidential Addresses for the opening ceremonies of various annual symposiums of IAELC as well as in his innovative analysis of the writings of barbarism and European imagination in literature. Rawson's view of literary criticism sheds lights on rereading the writings of barbarism and cannibalism and their cultural metaphors in Chinese and foreign literature. Borrowing Rawson's critical approaches in his *God, Gulliver, and Genocide,* this paper attempts a cultural re-interpretation of the writings of cannibalism in Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Lu Xun's *The Diary of a Madman*, Chen Zhongshi's *White Deer Plains* and Mo Yan's *The Republic of Wine*.

Keywords: Claude Rawson; interdisciplinarity; centrality of literary text; barbarism and cannibalism

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美国艺术与科学院院士、耶鲁大学教授克劳德·罗森（Claude Rawson）是一位享誉世界的18世纪文学研究专家，著名文学批评家特里·伊格尔顿（Terry Eagleton）称他是当今学界"最具鉴赏力的、最敏锐的18世纪研究专家之一"（2001）。罗森教授的研究视野宽阔，博大精深，是典型的跨学科研究。但是，罗森教授并不是为了跨学科而跨学科，而是在充分把握相关学科的文献和史料上展开的以文学文本为中心的文史互证研究。罗森教授反对文学研究中从理论到理论的"不读而论"，主张要恢复文学文本在批评中的中心地位。他特别善于捕捉文本的微妙之处，在精细的虚构文本分析和扎实的史料分析中发掘不易为人觉察的道德情感和人性悖论。在罗森教授看来，优秀的文学批评应该具有伦理关切，这一观点尤在他的斯威夫特系列研究中得到充分体现。与罗森教授为伴，在他的引领下重读中外文学中的野蛮书写，可以重新发现埋伏在语言背后丰富的历史文化隐喻。

一、我与克劳德·罗森的交往

我与罗森教授的交往始于2012年。那年春天，罗森教授应邀以教育部海外名师的身份前来中国讲学，经由恩师聂珍钊教授的引荐，我在华中师范大学桂苑宾馆拜访了罗森教授。彼时，我与聂珍钊教授一起正在策划翻译出版一套名为《美国艺术与科学院院士文学理论与批评经典》的丛书，已获得国家出版基金项目资助并将由上海外语教育出版社出版。经过精心挑选，罗森教授的《格列佛、上帝与种族灭绝：野蛮与欧洲想象（1492-1945）》

（*God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945*）入选本套丛书，我有幸与同事一起承担该书的翻译工作，记得这本书是美国斯坦福大学教授、美国艺术与科学院院士玛乔瑞·帕洛夫（Marjorie Perloff，1931-2024）推荐的。初见罗森教授，翻译过程中脑海里不时浮现的那位知识渊博、思想深邃的学者的影子渐渐变得清晰。罗森教授腿脚略有不便，手握拐杖，体态微胖，目光睿智，谈吐风趣，平易近人。深入交谈后得知，原来罗森教授与中国有缘，他 1935 年出生在上海，父亲曾在长沙工作过，罗森教授的童年时代是在上海度过的。得知他的专著即将在中国翻译出版，他非常高兴。此后，我们建立了联系，翻译过程中遇到的问题我会不时通过邮件向他请教，罗森教授不厌其烦，每问必答。

我与罗森教授的进一步交往是在 2013 年的秋天。2013 年 10 月 25-27 日，“第三届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”在我任职的宁波大学举行，罗森教授应邀出席会议并作大会主旨发言。作为会议承办方负责人和学会的副秘书长，我与罗森教授的联系进一步加强。会前，我邀请罗森教授在宁波大学讲学，还组织了一个小论坛，就 18 世纪英国文学与英语教育的关系与罗森教授进行了一场学术对话，对罗森教授的研究领域有了更深入了解，特别是他对斯威夫特的研究令我惊叹。老先生得知我对斯威夫特感兴趣，特赠送我三本他亲笔签名的斯威夫特研究专著：《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》（*God, Gulliver, and Genocide*, 2002）、《斯威夫特及其他》（*Swift and Others*, 2015）、《斯威夫特的愤怒》（*Swift's Anger*, 2014）。正是在翻译《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》和研读罗森教授有关斯威夫特的著作中，我对文学作品中的野蛮书写及其文化隐喻有了更深的理解，对罗森教授的治学之道有了深切的体悟。此后，罗森教授当选为国际文学伦理学批评研究会会长，我与他的联系更加密切。

2015 年，我获得国家留学基金的资助在英国爱丁堡大学访学一年。罗森教授知道后，非常高兴，并告诉我他的女儿就在爱丁堡大学工作，若有困难可以联系她。老先生对晚辈学习和生活的关心令我十分感动。之后，罗森教授从耶鲁大学荣休，回到英国剑桥居住，期间他不慎摔了一跤，行动更加不便，身体也大不如前。尽管如此，身为会长的他一直关心国际文学伦理学批评研究会的工作，每次年会都给大会发来开幕式致辞，并由我代为翻译和宣读。罗森教授在每次致辞中都特别强调文学文本及其历史语境在文学阐释中的重要性，他对文学批评理论界有人远离文学文本的“不读而论”现象表示担忧。2017 年 8 月，受聂珍钊教授委托，我作为国际文学伦理学批评研究会协调人联络伦敦大学玛丽皇后学院（Queen Mary University of London）比较文学教授加林·提哈诺夫（Galin Tihanov），商议在伦敦举办“第七届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”的具体事宜，这次会议的主题是“文学伦理学批评与跨学科研究”，期间我与罗森教授保持密切联系，协调安排他在大会开

幕式上致辞。会议开幕式当天早上，罗森教授由夫人琳达陪同驱车从剑桥的寓所来到伦敦大学玛丽皇后学院大会堂。由于行动不便，他坐在轮椅上出席会议，由夫人代为宣读大会致辞，他有关文学跨学科研究的演讲为大会奠定了基调。2024 年，为致敬罗森教授对国际文学伦理学批评研究会做出的杰出贡献，学会决定筹备罗森教授九十岁生日纪念活动，聂珍钊教授再次委托我具体负责联络罗森教授，请他推荐有关学者撰写纪念文章，由《文学跨学科研究》推出纪念专刊。期间我与罗森教授的电子信件联系更加密切，他推荐的撰稿人都是 18 世纪研究领域的世界一流学者或出版人，拜读这些学者的文章令我眼界大开，这些文章充分表明罗森教授在 18 世纪文学研究领域的巨大学术影响力。

二、罗森的跨学科视域：以文学文本为中心

罗森教授的研究具有明显的跨学科视域，他对斯威夫特的研究往往见微知著，将文学中虚构的事件还原到相应的复杂的社会历史语境下来考察，融文学人类学、后殖民批评和历史文化批评于一炉，他的著作并不像有些文学批评著作那样晦涩难懂，而是由浅入深，语言朴实幽默，富有情趣，以扎实的文献材料和文本分析来呈现他的深邃思想和洞见。

《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》是一部文学跨学科研究的典范之作，我和我的同事张陟和徐燕一起有幸翻译了这部著作。此书视野开阔，奇思迭出，观点新颖。乍看书名，似乎很难将书名的三个关键词“格列佛”“上帝”“种族灭绝”联系在一起。因为，根据普通读者对《格列佛游记》及 18 世纪欧洲文学的一般了解，种族灭绝与自命不凡的格列佛医生抑或是愤世嫉俗的斯威夫特应该关系不大，而仁慈的上帝与种族灭绝更不应该有任何瓜葛，且不说格列佛或斯威夫特与上帝之间在种族杀戮上存在什么内在的关联。然而，作者却巧妙地游走在虚构、历史与想象的边缘，依据细致的文本分析和大量的旅行及历史文献资料，从文学人类学和后殖民批评的角度切入，将格列佛、上帝与种族灭绝三个貌似毫不相干的概念置于“野蛮与欧洲想象”这一框架中，围绕斯威夫特和蒙田之间的互文关系、爱尔兰人与印第安人类似的悲惨命运、法西斯主义与二战惨绝人寰的种族大屠杀等问题展开了入木三分的分析。作者探幽入微，寻踪探秘，自 1492 年哥伦布的“发现”之旅一路追至 1945 年二战结束。通观全书，内容涵盖历史学、考古学、宗教学、人类学、政治学等方方面面的范畴，罗森教授渊博的跨学科知识和深邃的洞察力令人叹为观止。

但是，罗森教授的研究立足于精细的文学文本，跨学科的研究方法和文献均服务于文本分析。尤为重要的是，他对所涉及的诸多学科有深入的研究，对其他学科文献资料的把握和理解令人叹服。罗森教授特别警惕的是，有些文学研究者为了追求跨学科研究而放弃了自己的文学文本分析优势，甚至本末倒置。此类做法在当今国内文学批评界也特别盛行，可谓“种了别人的地，荒

了自家的田”。2018 年 7 月，“第八届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”在日本九州大学举办行，会议的主题依然是“文学跨学科研究”，罗森教授在给大会的开幕式致辞中这样告诫我们：

> 我很高兴地注意到大会的重点是跨学科性。这种跨学科性的前景是，在特定文本的研究中加入了其他学科的知识和视角，正如在比较文学中，对他国文学及其精确相关性的掌握能增强所研究文本或主题的实质及重点。但同时，在跨学科和比较文学研究中相应的危险是，其他学科或他国文学只是作为本学科或本国文学的附庸，前者在没有专业知识（包括第二语言知识）的情况下被引用，从而脱离了当前研究的主题，成为另一种抽象主义。我们都读过这类论文，例如，不熟悉经济学或经济史的学者写的关于“文学和资本主义”的论文。诸如此类不善于运用辅助学科却伪装成跨学科样貌的论文在文学研究中屡见不鲜。[1]

2019 年 11 月，“第九届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”在浙江大学举行，盛况空前，罗森教授在开幕式致辞中再次对 20 世纪 80 年代以来西方文学和文化批评理论的过度跨界和抽象化现象以及文学缺场的现象提出批评，他说：

> 西方文学批评热衷于用理论话语取代文学文本而忽略对文本本身的研究，聂珍钊教授的文学伦理学批评是对这一趋势的逆转。自 20 世纪 70 年代以来，理论至上的趋势已经导致西方大学养成习惯，一味采用各种理论和方法来进行文学研究 —— 就是不去研读文学文本，不去发掘与文本相关的历史知识。自 2004 年以来，文学伦理批评试图通过恢复文学文本的中心地位来扭转这一趋势。这一批评有别于理论上的苦心孤诣，也不同于使人分心的旁门研究。理论研究即便殚精竭力也总觉得似是而非，不得要领；旁门研究往往绕开文本，转向抽象的政治、经济、心理或其他学科，而文学研究者通常不太可能掌握与这些学科相关的专业知识。[2]

据我所知，罗森教授在不同的场合多次对西方“理论”远离文学文本，漫无边界的跨越现象提出批评，对文学批评理论中大量抽象、晦涩、不堪卒读的术语堆砌深表担忧。他的担忧不是没有道理，在理论浪潮的冲击下，文学

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1 参见 Claude Rawson, “Presidential Address for the 8th International Symposium of IAILC,” July 2018, Fukuoka. 笔者译，Claude Rawson 致辞引文均系笔者翻译。

2 参见 Claude Rawson, “Presidential Address for the 9th International Symposium of IAILC,” November 2019, Hangzhou.

研究的学科边界变得模糊，学科根基逐渐动摇。文化批评家、后殖民主义批评的代表人物赛义德在他逝世前终于意识到这个问题的严重性，他认为艰涩难懂的理论已经步入歧途，影响了人们对文学的热爱，他痛心疾首地感叹："如今文学已经从〔……〕课程设置中消失"，取而代之的都是那些"残缺破碎、充满行话俚语的科目"（转引自盛宁 6），回到文学文本，回到叙事艺术，回到历史语境，才是"文学批评的正道"（王松林 11）。文学理论家乔纳森•卡勒（Jonathan Culler）也意识到过度追求抽象理论的危险，他说："阅读福柯、德里达、拉康以及巴特勒的那些人很少有时间阅读阿什贝利和祖可夫斯基，更不要说狄更斯和萨克雷了"（4）。美国当代著名批评家玛乔瑞•帕洛夫在一次会议上也告诫同行，我们一些批评家可能是在没有适当资格证明的情况下从事文学研究的，而经济学家、物理学家、地质学家、气候学家、医生、律师等必须掌握一套知识后才被认为有资格从事本行业的工作，我们文学研究者往往被默认为没有任何明确的专业知识。[1] 这番话与罗森教授的担忧不谋而合，可谓英雄所见略同。

三、与罗森为伴：发掘野蛮书写背后的文化内涵

如果说学术阅读是一场漫长的旅行，那么罗森教授便是读书这场旅行的绝佳向导和同伴。与罗森教授结伴而行，总能在文学之旅中有新的发现，罗森教授的智慧总能点亮文学批评的思想火花。他对斯威夫特作品中野蛮书写及其文化内涵鞭辟入里的分析指引读者穿过文本的表象，回到历史和文化的现场，拨开文学虚像的迷雾，洞察现实和人性的真相。

《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》是一部拨云见日的著作，一部从一句话出发演绎而成的煌煌巨著。这句话是我们日常生活中最普通不过的、漫不经心的一句口头禅。当我们对某人怀恨在心或气愤之极时，免不了会狠狠地诅咒此人"应该枪毙"或者"从地面上消灭"，甚至说"活吃了他"。对于人们何以会在语言修辞层面上发出这番置人于死地而后快的咒语，我们少有人会去做严肃的追本溯源式的思考。大多数人会想当然地认为，这样的表述只不过是人们一气之下放出的狠话，并不意味着我们真要从肉体上消灭此人或是真正的吃人。但是，罗森教授却敏感地意识到了这句话背后蕴含的丰富文化隐喻。他以敏锐犀利的目光，追寻它的语文学和文化人类学渊源，对大量的文学文本和历史文献资料进行梳理，抽丝剥茧，层层深入，挖掘出这一语言表述所遮蔽的实际暴行。罗森教授指出，自从上帝声称要用洪水把人类"从地面上消灭"起，种族灭绝意识便潜伏在人的邪恶的意识深处。在罗森教授看来，这句口头禅的内涵令人难于琢磨，但至少有三个层面的含义：可以是

1 参见 William M. Chace, "The Decline of English Department," *The American Scholar*, 1 September 2009. Available at: https://theamericanscholar.org/the-decline-of-the-english-department/. Accessed 10 Sept. 2024

“说着当真”，也可以是“说说而已”，还可以是“不只是说说”（v）。全书围绕着这三个层面展开讨论，内容涵盖了从《圣经》创世纪到现今的欧洲文学和非虚构作品对“他者”的想象和书写，时间跨度穿越了从欧洲对美洲的征服一直到二战结束近600年的历史。罗森教授发现，在小说和“说说而已”之间、在语言和历史上的暴行之间有着诸多令人不安的相似之处。他对斯威夫特、蒙田、萧伯纳、王尔德等作家笔下有关野蛮和杀戮的书写进行了精细的比较和分析，征引珀切斯、哈克鲁特、德勃莱、哥伦布、韦斯普奇、布干维尔、库克等诸多旅行作家和人种志史家的记述，透过浅层的言语修辞来窥视暴力行为的实施过程，试图撩开欧洲对野蛮“他者”的文化想象面纱。

罗森教授在《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》中花了大量的篇幅分析欧洲文学中“食人”这一最野蛮的暴行与语言修辞之间的关系。在对斯威夫特的《一个温和的建议》《格列佛游记》以及蒙田的《论马车》《论食人部落》《论节制》等作品做了细致入微的比较分析后，罗森教授指出蒙田和斯威夫特虽然反对殖民掠夺和杀戮行为，但是他们两人都曾认真地思考过大规模杀戮这一念头，他们那种乐意接受大屠杀并对之无动于衷的心态令人不安。罗森教授在序言中对于欧洲人之于“野蛮人”的态度有精彩的论述：

> “野蛮人”令我们心神不宁。他们属于“非我”，他们不会说我们的语言或者“任何语言”，我们鄙视他们，惧怕他们，侵略他们并杀戮他们；我们又同情他们或羡慕他们并对他们抱有强烈的性趣；我们向往他们的天真和活力，他们对现代都市文明生活的行为和衣着产生了非凡的影响；我们称他们为野蛮人，但其实我们比他们更野蛮；他们相貌酷似我们，这令我们心神不宁，想入非非。（vi）

可以看出，罗森教授试图从个体文化差异中寻找出人类的共性。他毫不客气地指出，现代“文明人”与所谓的“野蛮人”之间的差别并无二致。罗森教授对蒙田有独到的理解，指出蒙田是一个对“我们”与“野蛮人”之间的亲缘关系进行“痛苦探索”的思想家。这一“痛苦探索”的传统在欧洲文学中得以延续，也影响到了斯威夫特。书中单辟一章“杀掉穷人：一个盎格鲁－爱尔兰主题？”，讨论英国作家自斯宾塞到斯威夫特到卡莱尔到萧伯纳到乔伊斯的作品中有关爱尔兰这个“贫穷的王国”的吃人或种族灭绝的隐喻。譬如，斯宾塞（Edmund Spenser）就借用了爱尔兰人是吃人族的神话，在《爱尔兰现状考》中称灭绝爱尔兰人的迅速方法可以不必使用屠杀，而是“限制他们耕作，不许他们养牛，很快他们就会自己相互吃起来”（转引自罗森134）。这一主题在斯威夫特的《一个温和的建议》中以反讽的手法得以延续。罗森教授指出，“《一个温和的建议》更多指向的是爱尔兰的自我毁灭，而非

英国的剥削，尽管斯威夫特对英国总是抱着传统上外乡人对来自大都市的同胞的不信任的态度。〔……〕吃人话题被反转过来，不仅仅有富人与穷人，也有帝国权力与殖民主体”（140）。罗森教授有关英国文学作品中“吃人”的文化隐喻和历史事实的分析对重新阐释中外文学的“吃人”书写具有指导意义。

18 世纪英国作家笛福（Daniel Defoe）的《鲁滨孙漂流记》（1719）中有详细的关于吃人生番的描写。一开始，鲁滨孙被眼前的吃人场面所震惊，惊恐万状，以致呕吐不已。但是，鲁滨孙很快镇定下来并开始从伦理道德的角度思考食人番的行为，他认为这些人可能并不知道吃人是犯罪行为，这一行为并不违反他们的良心。于是，鲁滨孙的内心世界展开了一场痛苦的斗争：

> 对这一问题略加思考，我就觉得自己不对了。我觉得这些人并不是我过去心目中所谴责的杀人犯。基督徒在战斗中常常把战俘处死，甚至在敌人已经丢下武器投降后，还把一队一队的敌人毫不手软地砍死。这样看来，那些土著人与战斗中残杀俘虏的基督徒有什么不一样呢！〔……〕有了这些考虑，我犹豫了，并几乎彻底停了下来。我开始逐渐放弃了这一计划，我断定，自己策划攻击那些野人的决定是错误的。（16）

在这里，笛福刻画了一个对基督教文化持反省态度的人物形象，鲁滨孙的这番内心独白并没有得到读者应有的重视。我们发现，鲁滨孙将基督教残杀俘虏的行为与吃人生番的吃人行为相提并论，这与蒙田将“文明人”与“野蛮人”之间的亲缘关系进行的“痛苦探索”一脉相承。

中国古代和现代文学中也不乏“吃人”的记叙，这既是历史事实的写照，也是文学的隐喻或讽喻。中国古代历史上的吃人行为原因复杂多样，或为饥馑所迫，或出于憎恨，或出于医疗，甚至出于忠孝的奉献。中国古代连绵不断的战争和饥馑导致的人相食的悲剧在史料上和文学作品中均有记载。唐代诗人白居易在《轻肥》一诗中记录了南方大旱引发的饥馑和食人行为，他写道：“是岁江南旱，衢州人食人。”清代礼部尚书、文学家纪晓岚在《阅微草堂笔记》一书中就记录了当时中国西北地区的饥馑和食人事件，人肉在西北（陕西）市场上公开出售并被政府默认为减缓食品短缺的交易。[1]战乱的古代，民不聊生，难以为计，人们只得将人烹而食之，当作食物被吃掉的人统称为“两脚羊”。这在南宋文学家、医者庄绰的《鸡肋编》卷有记载：“老瘦男子廋词谓之‘饶把火’，妇人少艾者，名为‘不羡羊’，小儿呼为‘和骨烂’，又通目为‘两脚羊’。”[2]现当代文学同样不乏“吃人”的描述和想象。鲁迅的《狂人日记》以隐喻和讽刺的手法讲述了

1　参见 郑麒来：《中国古代的食人：人吃人行为透视》，北京：中国社会科学出版社，1994 年，第 129-143 页。

2　参见《汉典》“两脚羊”词条，https://www.zdic.net/hans/ 两脚羊，2024-07-10。

一部中国文化“吃人”史，虽然小说中并没有发生任何真正的“吃人”事件，但是狂人眼中的一切似乎都要吃他：青面獠牙赵贵翁要“吃”他，赵家的狗要“吃”他，路上遇见的小孩子似乎也要“吃”他，甚至他疑心自己的大哥也要“吃”他。鲁迅笔下的“吃人”是对中国五千年文明史“吃人”本质的广泛而深刻的批判。比较而言，当代作家陈忠实的《白鹿原》和莫言的《酒国》中的吃人记叙既是近现代中国历史上饥馑年代残酷现实的反映，也是对社会腐败和人性堕落的抨击。《白鹿原》中的一段传闻虽有夸张，但也并非空穴来风：

> 饿死人已不会引起惊慌诧异，先是老人后是孩子，老人和孩子似乎更经不住饥饿。饿死老人不仅不会悲哀倒会庆幸，可以节约一份吃食延续更有用的人的生命。只有莫名其妙的流言才会引起淡弱的兴趣，一个过门一年的媳妇饿得半夜醒来，再也无法人睡，摸摸身旁已不见丈夫的踪影，怀疑丈夫和阿公阿婆在背过她偷吃，就蹑手蹑足溜到阿婆的窗根下偷听墙根儿，听见阿公阿婆和丈夫正商量着要杀她煮食。阿公说：“你放心，度过年馑，爸再给你娶一房，要不咱爷儿们都得饿死，别说媳妇，连香火都断了！”新媳妇吓得软瘫，连夜逃回娘家告知父母。被母亲哄慰睡下，又从梦中惊醒，听见父亲和母亲正在说话：“与其让人家杀了，不胜咱自家杀了吃！”这女人吓得从炕上跳下来就疯了。（261-262）

莫言的小说《酒国》虽然是一个虚构的国度，但里面的“吃人”描写极具象征意义。“酒国”的父母把孩子养成“肉孩”卖给“烹饪学院”的“特购部”烹制成“婴儿宴”。婴儿的烹制方法可以有“清蒸”“油炸”“白斩”“红烧”等，这一冷酷克制的叙事方法与斯威夫特的《一个温和的建议》产生强烈的互文。小说中酒国市委宣传部副部长金刚钻不动声色地向前来调查的检察院侦察员丁钩儿介绍了“婴儿宴”：

> 金刚钻用筷子指点着讲解：“这是男孩的胳膊，是用月亮湖里的肥藕做原料，加上十六种佐料，用特殊工艺精制而成。这是男孩的腿，实际上是一种特殊的火腿肠。男孩的身躯，是在一只烤乳猪的基础上特别加工而成。被你的子弹打掉的头颅，是一只银白瓜。他的头发是最常见的发菜。要我详细地、准确地把制作这道名菜的全部原料及其精细、复杂的工艺告诉你是不可能的，这是酒国市的专利，我也只了解个大概，否则我就改行当厨师了。但我可以负责地对您说：这道菜是合法的，是人道的，您应该用筷子对付他，而不是用子弹。”金刚钻说着，用筷子夹起男孩的一只手，大口大口地吃起来。（88）

莫言在小说的后记中说明了小说创作的宗旨："原想远避政治，只写酒，写这奇妙的液体与人类生活的关系。写起来才知晓这是不可能的。当今社会，喝酒已变成斗争，酒场变成了交易场，许多事情决定于觥筹交错之时。由酒场深入进去，便可发现这社会的全部奥秘。于是《酒国》便有了讽刺政治的意味，批判的小小刺芒也露了出来"（365）。

美籍华裔学者郑麒来在《中国古代的食人：人吃人行为透视》一书中认为，"大体上，小说中的食人起因多是宗教迷信性和医疗性的，历史上的食人起因则多是普遍性和世俗性的。无论如何，在小说和历史之间至少有着某种相互联系，这不仅表现在食人行为的动机上，也表现在其他方面"（143）。这一观点尚可进一步补充，至少在罗森教授看来，文学中的吃人书写"不只是说说"——"吃人"既是文学的虚像也是历史的镜像，是语言、想象和现实的糅合。现在看来，当高唱"壮志饥餐胡虏肉，笑谈渴饮匈奴血"时，人们并未意识到"生饮人血"，尤其是敌人的鲜血，在古代原本是一种合符伦理规范的复仇行为，是一种强身壮体、显示荣誉和权力的象征仪式。只不过，经过时间的推移和"文明"的进程，人们对此已经全然淡忘。

如前所述，文学作品中关于"食人"的记述实则是虚像与实像的糅合。必须指出，"吃人"不仅仅是一种存在于远古的、完全不开化、不文明世界里的恐怖的历史现象，"吃人"也远非像人们想当然的那样已然成为过去的野蛮行为。我们必须清醒地意识到，历史也好文学也罢，既是实像也是虚像，我们在历史和文学中看见自己，构建自己，更须警醒自己。罗森教授在书中提醒我们要时刻意识到这一点："吃人"的欲望一直以来就潜伏在人类的意识深处，所谓现代的"文明人"并不比其心目中的"野蛮人"高贵多少。

由上可知，罗森教授在研究中特别善于捕捉文本中微妙的、不易为人发现的道德情感和复杂的人性悖论，他严谨的批评话语后面蕴含了充满温情的伦理关切。2016 年 10 月，在爱沙尼亚塔尔图大学举办的"第六届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会"上，他发来了一篇精彩的会长致辞，题为"Thoughts on Achilles' Heel: A Fable for Ethical Criticism"（"关于阿喀琉斯之踵的若干思考：伦理批评的一个寓言"）。那一年，他不幸扭伤了脚，所以拿"阿喀琉斯的脚跟"来自嘲，但是，紧接着他话锋一转，从希腊神话到荷马史诗、从古罗马诗人尤维纳利斯到莎士比亚到蒲伯和弥尔顿，从亚历山大大帝到路易十世和拿破仑，指出人们称赞不已的英雄史诗和宏大历史叙事中的伦理悖论：即一方面我们讴歌史诗中人物的勇敢和豪气，但另一方面又对其中的杀戮场面不寒而栗。罗森教授借用 18 世纪英国评论家约瑟夫 • 爱迪生（Joseph Addison）的一句话来评价阿喀琉斯这一人物形象的矛盾性："道德上恶毒，唯有诗意上美好"（"Morally Vicious, and only Poetically Good"）。这句话充满悖论，从伦理和艺术层面对人性的复杂性进行了思考和追问：为什么我们在阅读荷马史诗《伊利亚特》时，这种对立的情感能够共存？邪恶何以成为

一种诗意化的美？这些问题今天依然值得我们认真思考。

罗森教授十分赞赏文学伦理学批评在“伦理转向”中发挥的引领作用。在2019年“第九届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”的开幕致辞中，他提出“优秀的文学批评是伦理的”这一命题，并对“理论热”背景下文学文本缺场的现象给予了批评：

> 文本阅读本该是文学研究者擅长的领域，但最终学者们却舍本求末，绕开了文本。伦理批评不是一种简单的程式化的教条，它的精髓在于我们对文本整体的全面的感悟。优秀的文学批评是伦理的，它超越了解析性的伦理教条，甚至超越了那些可以依据作品来阐明的伦理教条，力图表现更大层面上的难于解析的人类整体价值。要做到这一点是非常困难的，这也就是为什么当代学术界有人宁愿什么都去做，就是不愿读文学文本的原因。[1]

罗森教授的这番话可能会冒犯一些理论家，但是，这就是他的批评立场，一个有学术智慧、创新精神和人文关怀的学者的立场。

美国宾夕法尼亚大学英文系教授、18世纪文学研究专家约翰·雷切蒂（John Rhichetti）在《批评》杂志上撰文，盛赞罗森教授的研究风格和学术成就，他说：“他在史料问题上特别严谨，但不是一个历史主义者；他善于发现文本的细微差别，但不是理论家或解构主义者；于我而言，罗森教授在很多方面都堪称楷模，他的著作可读性强、信息量大、审慎而富有人情味〔……〕他的杰出之处[在于]，他不仅是一位学术专家，而且是一位最好的老师。”[2]确实如此，罗森教授不仅是一位杰出的18世纪文学研究专家，更重要是，他是一位“最好的老师”。拜罗森教授为师，与罗森教授为伴，重读中外文学中的野蛮书写，在文本和历史的交汇和对话中，隐藏在语言深处的历史文化景观便一一呈现在我们面前。

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1 参见 Claude Rawson, “Presidential Address for the 9th International Symposium of IAILC,” 9 November 2019, Hangzhou.

2 参见 Claude Rawson, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001，封底。

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文化织锦与文学机锋：克劳德·罗森教授的 18 世纪英国文学研究

The Interweaving of Cultural and Literary Criticism: Claude Rawson's Study of Eighteenth-century English Literature

杜　娟（**Du Juan**）

内容摘要：克劳德·罗森教授的 18 世纪文学研究涉猎广泛，但无疑是从菲尔丁研究开始的。上个世纪 70 年代，他出版了《亨利·菲尔丁与受到挑战的奥古斯都理想》，把菲尔丁的创作放到 18 世纪早期整个文化环境中考察。这种文学的文化研究视角一直贯穿在罗森教授的论著中，形成了如同织锦般的精细严密的研究特色。与侧重文学外部研究的文化批评不同，罗森教授始终关注文本本身的特有风格。从菲尔丁机智明快、善于修辞的文风出发，他将"讽刺（satire）"归为 18 世纪的文化征候之一，并在 90 年代转向了讽刺文学研究，特别是斯威夫特及英语诗歌研究的艺术表现样式。罗森教授对这一文学机锋的研究兴趣，也在一定程度上说明：他既看重文学本身的审美特质，又重视文学参与道德对话的文化功能。

关键词：克劳德·罗森；18 世纪英国文学；文化研究；讽刺

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Title: The Interweaving of Cultural and Literary Criticism: Claude Rawson's Study of Eighteenth-century English Literature

Abstract: Claude Rawson's wide-ranging studies of eighteenth-century literature began with his studies on Henry Fielding. In the 1970s, he published *Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal Under Stress*, which placed Fielding's works in the context of the entire cultural milieu of the early eighteenth-century. Since then, this cultural perspective on literature has been woven throughout Rawson's academic research, forming a brilliant and rigorous brocade of criticism. However, unlike other cultural criticism based on the external study of literature, Rawson's criticism

always places literary texts as its centrality. Starting with the study on Fielding's quick-witted style and rhetoric, he categorized "satire" as one of the cultural signs of the eighteenth-century. In the 1990s, Rawson turned to the study of satirical literature, specifically Jonathan Swift and the style of English poetry. Rawson's diverse interests explain his academic concerns on both the aesthetic qualities of literature and its cultural function of engagement in moral dialogue.

Keywords: Claude Rawson; eighteenth-century English literature; cultural studies; satire

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作为美国艺术与科学学会院士、18 世纪研究英国学会（BSES, British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies）前会长，克劳德·罗森教授的研究一直围绕18世纪英国文学展开。他是菲尔丁、斯威夫特等众多经典作家研究的专家，并编撰了多个权威批评史丛书。

从职业生涯上看，他一直是个活跃的学者。1971-1986 年，罗森教授在英国考文垂的华威大学（University of Warwick）任职，曾任英语系及比较文学研究系主任，也是《现代语言评论》（*Modern Language Review*）和《英语研究年鉴》（*Yearbook of English Studies*）的联合编辑。1986-2014 年，罗森教授在耶鲁大学任教，他也是耶鲁第一位梅纳德·麦克英语教授（Maynard Mack Professor），其间还担任了耶鲁大学博斯韦尔出版社的总编辑和主席。退休后，罗森教授大部分时间都住在剑桥，也保持着不间断的写作热情。纵观罗森教授的 18 世纪英国文学研究，他基本承继了学院派的作家、作品研究与传统的文化有机论视野，对文学与文化的互动关系尤为关注；同时，罗森教授的文风思路严谨，语言雄辩有力，善于辩证考量，形成了如同织锦般的细密，又暗含机锋的学术风格。

一

上个世纪 60 年代末 70 年代初，罗森教授在学界展露头角。他 33 岁时就完成了《亨利·菲尔丁：文学传略》（*Henry Fielding: Profiles in Literature*, 1968）这部评传式著作。70 年代初，他先后写了《焦点：斯威夫特》（*Focus: Swift*, 1971）、《格列佛与温和读者：斯威夫特研究与我们的时代》（*Gulliver and the Gentle Reader*：*Studies in Swift and Our Time*, 1972）、《叶芝与英 - 爱文学研究：彼特·乌的研究》（*Yeats and Anglo-Irish Literature: Studies by Pe-*

ter Ure, 1973）等。

他的研究兴趣很多，但首次得到学界认可和关注的是他的菲尔丁研究。罗森教授第一部产生了重要影响力的论著是 1972 年撰写出版的《亨利 • 菲尔丁与受到挑战的奥古斯都理想："自然的死亡之舞"及其它研究》（*Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal under Stress*—*'Nature's Dance of Death' and other Studies*），把菲尔丁的创作放到 18 世纪早期整个文化环境中考察。据韩加明教授的统计，20 世纪 70 年代出版了 8 本菲尔丁研究专著。在众多研究中，这本书独树一帜，"提出了许多发人深省的观点，是菲尔丁研究中的重要著作"（372）。总体上来说，罗森教授采用了一种文化观照策略，作家创作时对社会文化的顺应、反拨与暗讽是他尤其感兴趣的。这是一种文化有机论的视野。即文学家以自己的创作参与了文化建构，同时又在挑衅中寻求某种文化平衡。这种文学的文化研究视角一直贯穿在罗森教授的论著中。罗森教授也继续加强文化观照，1973 年又编辑出版了《亨利 • 菲尔丁：批评选集》（*Henry Fielding: A Critical Anthology*），集合了 18 世纪到 20 世纪较有特色的菲尔丁批评论文。

在80年代，罗森教授对作家研究的兴趣暂歇，更致力于对18世纪整体文化版图的描绘。《混乱中的秩序：从斯威夫特到考珀的十八世纪文学研究》（*Order from Confusion Sprung: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature from Swift to Cowper*, 1985）和《讽刺与感伤：1660-1830年英国奥古斯都传统的重点》（*Satire and Sentiment 1660-1830: Stress Points in the English Augustan Tradition*, 1988）是他在80年代最为重要的两部论著。后者还于1994年在剑桥出版社再版。除此之外，罗森教授在该年代还是《伦敦书评》（*London Review of Books*）的定期撰稿人，就各种文学和文化话题撰写文章，并持续为《泰晤士报文学增刊》（*TLS*）和其他期刊撰稿。在罗森教授看来，如果失去对当时社会背景与文化内涵的精细把握，是无法对作家作品有深切理解的。罗森教授多次表示，文学研究的主要目标应该是认识和理解文学文本。也就是说，文学研究能否能深入，在于文化"织锦"够不够细密。如果只是简单地去社会背景寻找参照，对文化仅是一种浅表的理解。实际上，作家的文友交际、文坛风气都会对作品的生成造成影响，进而和作家自身的个人气质混杂，形成独特的创作风格。

90 年代，罗森教授参与了一系列剑桥指南丛书的编撰。他是《剑桥文学批评史》的总编辑之一（*The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, 1995 年首版）。[1] 在这套八卷本的丛书中，他与 H.B. 奈斯比特合作负责的是第四卷"18 世纪"部分。《剑桥文学指南》丛书之一的《十八世纪英国小说》（John Richetti 主编，1996 年首版）中有 12 篇论文，其中《亨利 • 菲尔丁》这一篇

1　另两位主编分别是耶鲁大学的彼得 • 布鲁克斯（Peter Brooks, 1925-2022）和剑桥大学的休 • 巴尔 • 奈斯比特（Hugh Barr Nisbet, 1940-2021）。

就是罗森教授执笔的。这篇论文读来很能见出教授的细密功夫。他并不是单一地观照作家作品，而是将之放在宏阔的文化背景以及文人交战的文坛氛围中来加以考察，去发掘作家的特异性特征。如说菲尔丁“在早期的小说家中，他是唯一一个出身贵族，也是唯一一个风格和文化忠实于我们有时称之为奥古斯都传统的人”（Rawson, “Henry Fielding” 120）。由于菲尔丁的主要小说，如《约瑟夫·安德鲁斯》（*Joseph Andrews*, 1742）、《汤姆·琼斯》（*Tom Jones*, 1749）、《阿米莉亚》（*Amelia*, 1751）等创作于 18 世纪四、五十年代，因此他通常被我们视为理查森和约翰逊的同时代人。但罗森教授提到，菲尔丁在创作早期曾用过一个“粗制滥造第二（Scriblerus Secundus）”的笔名，而蒲伯、斯威夫特、盖伊曾在 18 世纪初组建了一个名为“涂鸦社（Scriblerus Club）”的英国文学俱乐部，常常聚会嘲讽时政[1]，因此这个名字很明显是模仿了蒲伯和斯威夫特的“涂鸦”文学集团（Scriblerian coterie）。菲尔丁其实参加了之前的奥古斯都时代（1700- 约 1750 年）传统，同属于蒲伯和斯威夫特的讽刺家行列。菲尔丁在斯威夫特的《格列佛游记》（*Gulliver's Travels*, 1726）出版两年后就开始了创作，而且几乎与蒲伯的《愚人史诗》（*The Dunciad*, 1728-1743）和格雷的《乞丐的歌剧》（*The Beggar's Opera*, 1728）抓住伦敦文学界的想象力同时，就开始了讽刺剧的创作。虽然因为戏剧审查法的出炉，菲尔丁由他擅长的政治剧创作转向了小说写作，但他依然不改以往的好战姿态，在文学先行者的传统中闯开一条新路。正因菲尔丁有很大的文学雄心，才会用“散文体喜剧史诗”（The Comic Epic in Prose）命名自己的散文虚构作品。他最早的两篇散文虚构作品——《莎梅拉》（*Shamela*, 1741）和《约瑟夫·安德鲁斯》——的创作则源起于他对理查森《帕梅拉》（*Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 1740）的厌恶。罗森教授的描述精确概括了 18 世纪小说兴起时如火如荼又混乱有序的文学派别及其阵营，并将菲尔丁与同时期作家的联系和区别阐述得清楚明白。对此，韩加明评价说：“罗森为 1996 年出版的《剑桥 18 世纪小说指南》所撰写的菲尔丁一章，对菲尔丁的小说创作特点进行了很中肯精到的评价”（376）。

2007 年是菲尔丁诞辰 300 周年，鉴于罗森教授在此方面的卓越贡献，出版社特别委托罗森教授编辑和撰写了两本书，分别是《亨利·菲尔丁剑桥指南》（*The Cambridge Companion to Henry Fielding*, 2007）和《亨利·菲尔丁（1707-1754）：小说家、剧作家、记者、地方法官：双重纪念》（*Henry Fielding (1707-1754): Novelist, Playwright, Journalist, Magistrate: A Double Anniversary Tribute*, 2008）。前者汇集了当时英美学者的最新成果，其中的编年史和批评索引为学者们提供了研究指南。后者则以生平为线索，描述并分析了菲尔丁在戏剧、小说、新闻和政治方面的工作。该书不仅仅限于对菲尔

1 参见 马弦：“打造一个迟钝、污浊的新世界——《群愚史诗》对初现的英国现代社会的批判”，《外国文学评论》3（2011）：91。

丁生平梳理，还评价了菲尔丁对小说作为主要文学形式的兴起、法律的发展以及 18 世纪英国政治和文学文化的独特贡献。这两本批评合集是任何一个研究菲尔丁的学者都绕不开的权威批评著作，它们的出版也充分奠定了罗森教授在 18 世纪文学研究中的重要地位。

二

正是由于他对 18 世纪文学 - 文化的精确理解，罗森教授几乎编撰了所有 18 世纪重要作家的作品选。尤其是 1986 年他在耶鲁大学任教后，赢来了创作编撰的井喷期，其编选集涉及多个作家，如蒲伯、斯威夫特、理查森等。事实上，仅在 80 年代这十年间，他就陆续编辑出版了《英语诗人剑桥读本》（*The Cambridge Companion to English Poets*, 1988）、《德莱顿、蒲伯、约翰逊与马龙：伟大的“莎士比亚群”》（*Dryden, Pope, Johnson, Malone: Great Shakespeareans*, 1988）、《墓园派诗人托马斯 • 帕内尔诗选》（*Collected Poems of Thomas Parnell*, 1989）等。

在阐释论证时，罗森教授始终秉持于细微处辨析的辩证意识，思路严密，不乏洞见。仍以菲尔丁研究为例，尽管菲尔丁的文化品位和文化外观看似是奥古斯都时代传统的外延，但罗森教授同样注意到，菲尔丁的政治主张、个性特征却把他拉向了相反的方向。在《亨利 • 菲尔丁与受到挑战的奥古斯都理想：“自然的死亡之舞”及其它研究》一书中，罗森教授提出菲尔丁作品的“反奥古斯都倾向”（Anti-Augustan tendency）（Rawson, *Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal under Stress* 102）。他指出，菲尔丁的两部晚年作品（《阿米莉亚》和《里斯本之旅》）已经失去了在《约瑟夫 • 安德鲁斯》和《汤姆 • 琼斯》中可见的自信的绅士风度，自然秩序的确定感让位给对“奥古斯都文化形式的不稳定性”（9）的认识。面对不可预测的环境和人类的堕落，旧的“文雅的装备”被简化为“一种风格的遗迹（the relic of a style）”（62）。此外，罗森教授明智地认为《大伟人江奈生 • 魏尔德传》（*The Life of Mr. Jonathan Wild the Great*）是在《约瑟夫 • 安德鲁斯》之前创作的，他评论的焦点集中于“奥古斯都秩序感的基本要素”，即“英雄理想及其在古代史诗中的体现”（95）。他指出，这部早期作品仍有菲尔丁自信风格化的迹象，最典型的就是对魏尔德这个邪恶人物的喜剧性淡化，从而“有意地改变”了讽刺作品的凄凉，“保持文雅、比例和权威控制感”（109）；但对漫画小说模式的期待并没有完全在书中实现，作品“在尖锐和有趣之间紧张地摇摆”（165）。更为尖锐的是，罗森教授指出，菲尔丁的仿拟运用暗示了对英雄理想本身的一些怀疑，这位臭名昭著的罪犯在菲尔丁的笔下不仅被喜剧式地“软化（softened）”，而且其英雄主义类型被颠覆性地赋予了“骄傲的自我实现（proud self-realization）”（217）。罗森教授在研究时始终用动态发展的视角考虑问题，抽丝剥茧，充分观察逻辑辩证

对立的方面，又将之统一于文本阐释之中，读来难以找到逻辑漏洞和论证瑕疵，颇让人信服。

罗森教授虽然从菲尔丁研究起家，但新世纪之后的后期研究已经明显转到斯威夫特上来。这种研究兴趣早在他编撰《英语诗人剑桥读本》时便见端倪。该书收录了 29 位诗人，而斯威夫特排在第 11 个。罗森教授在书里评述道："斯威夫特写的诗几乎和蒲伯一样多（如果不包括后者翻译的荷马史诗的话）。斯威夫特在诗人中的声誉比在批评家中更高。他后世的崇拜者和模仿者包括拜伦、叶芝和艾略特"（Rawson, *The Cambridge Companion to English Poets* 213）。在 20-21 世纪之交，罗森教授先是编撰了《斯威夫特：批评文选》（*Jonathan Swift: A Collection of Critical Essays*, 1994），后来又写了《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝》（*God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945*, 2001）。尽管克里斯朵夫·福克斯教授在 2003 年刚出了《斯威夫特剑桥指南》（*The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*），罗森教授还是写了《斯威夫特》（*Jonathan Swift*, 2004），并担任了《乔纳森·斯威夫特作品诺顿版》（*Norton Critical Editions: The Essential Writings of Jonathan Swift*, 2009）的总编辑。2010 年出版的《斯威夫特时代的政治与文学》（*Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift: English and Irish Perspectives*）是一本不容忽视的批评专著。这本书从英语和爱尔兰语境探讨了斯威夫特对异议人士的态度，他与首相沃尔波尔的关系，以及他在殖民地爱尔兰的政治人口统计学中的观点。这些丰富而重要的新论述显示了斯威夫特非凡的文学和政治成就，有助于我们理解斯威夫特在 18 世纪政治和文学文化中的中心地位。

这种研究转向，在笔者看来，与罗森教授既重视整体文化观照，又着力于文学本身的审美机制辨析相关。乔纳森·斯威夫特是当时英格兰和爱尔兰最有影响力的政治评论家。他的诗歌和散文讽刺作品是 18 世纪历史学家的主要资料来源。在国外学界，罗森教授被称为"也许是 18 世纪讽刺文学，也许是英国讽刺文学本身在世的最好的学者"。而斯威夫特与菲尔丁相比，更适合做讽刺文学的研究对象。2011 年春季，笔者曾有幸旁听过罗森教授开设的两门课：本科课程《讽刺（Satire）》和研究生课程《斯威夫特、蒲伯和他们的文学圈（Swift, Pope and Their Circle）》，庶几可以见出教授的研究偏好。在本科阶段，罗森教授注重学生们对文学手法的体察和学习，甚至是创作模仿，他会让学生提交一篇校园讽刺作品作为成绩评定来源之一；在研究生阶段，教授更看重于同一文化圈内部作家的精细分辨，因此会讨论这些文人在 18 世纪上半叶的文学、政治上的交流。但无论是哪个课堂，比较辨析都是罗森教授的常见提问方式。他的追问多数是"what's the different of ... and ...?"他不会急着给学生评判，几乎所有的回答他都会肯定。但真正击中鹄的，他也会用"get the point"高兴地予以赞许。有意思的是，罗森教授虽然关注文人之间的交际与论战，却也不在乎文学高下之争。笔者还记得问过他觉得菲尔丁的文学成

就高还是理查森的文学成就高，他并不想置评，追问后才勉为其难地说理查森要好一点。现在想来，其实在罗森教授眼里，文学本就是一幅色彩斑斓的锦缎。正是深深浅浅的参差交错才构成了繁花景象，去问这个问题未免陷入我执了。

2014年荣休之后，罗森教授仍笔耕不辍。这段时间出版的两本书仍然与斯威夫特有关。分别是《斯威夫特的愤怒：斯威夫特、爱尔兰和种族悖论》（*Swift's Angers: Swift, Ireland and the Paradoxes of Ethnicity*, 2014）和《斯威夫特与其他》（*Swift and Others*, 2015）。在前本书中，罗森教授试图回答斯威夫特“愤怒”的本质特征。《斯威夫特与其他》则讨论了乔纳森 • 斯威夫特的文学影响，以及他的思想、个性和风格对英国奥古斯都传统的主要作家的渗透，包括他的朋友、崇拜者和竞争对手们。由于这些突出的研究成就，罗森教授也因此被视为“斯威夫特最具挑战性、最激动人心、最博学的现代评论家”。

三

也正是出于对文学与文化互动机制的关注，罗森教授尤其偏爱讽刺。在笔者看来，罗森教授的讽刺文学研究仍是从菲尔丁机智明快、善于修辞的文风开始的。尽管菲尔丁早年以政治讽刺剧开始踏入文坛，但如 F. R. 利维斯这类传统批评家大多认为菲尔丁的文学世界过于直白，不会将其视为修辞学者。利维斯展示了菲尔丁小说的“内部道德关注”，仍拒绝将《汤姆 • 琼斯》放入英语小说的“伟大的传统”之中便是证明（Paulson, “Introduction”）。与利维斯的判断不同，罗森教授格外重视菲尔丁讽刺修辞的文化动因。《亨利 • 菲尔丁与受到挑战的奥古斯都理想》这本书的基本理论前提是：罗森教授假设“作者需要通过丰富的反讽技巧来维护他对情境的情感控制”，并将菲尔丁的写作视为通过文体模式“将和谐秩序强加给残酷事实的努力（as the effort to impose harmonious order on brute fact）”（Rawson, *Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal under Stress* 234）。

威廉 • 燕卜逊精于语义批评，他也注意到了菲尔丁讽刺技巧下叙述立场的复杂性。燕卜逊认为，“菲尔丁是习惯的双重反讽者”（Empson 132）。叙述者看似矛盾的修辞（如有时赞扬汤姆 • 琼斯的行为，无论是否道德；有时又直接断言汤姆做了错事），其实是维持了一种讽刺疏离和同情理解的微妙平衡。罗森教授则表示：“（菲尔丁）的反语从本质上是修辞和心理学意义上的”（Rawson, *Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal under Stress* 9）。他在菲尔丁的作品中追溯了对“奥古斯都情感的本质〔……〕部分”的紧张迹象——摹仿“有秩序、有连贯性的〔……〕理想”，即自然。罗森教授的后期研究关注斯威夫特，也是因为斯威夫特冷静的讥诮中，有对世界的退避、漠然和反叛。

与其说“讽刺”是某些作家出于个体偏好选择的修辞技巧，还不如说由

于讽刺内在机制的诡谲多变，造就了文学和文化互动过程的复杂征候。罗森教授在某种程度上将“satire”视为文学的基本文类，对之展开了历史言说；并在《讽刺与感伤：1660-1830年英国奥古斯都传统的重点》一书中，认为其构成了一种文化征候。在大学本科课堂上，他将讽刺的文学传统上溯到古罗马的贺拉斯（Horace）与朱文纳（Juvenal）那里，历数了从古至今的英语讽刺作品，讲到的作家有多恩、德莱顿、约翰·威尔莫特·第二代罗切斯特伯爵（John Wilmot, 2nd earl of Rochester）、奥尔德姆（John Oldham）、斯威夫特、蒲伯、盖伊、菲尔丁、约翰逊、拜伦、雪莱、T.S.艾略特与奥登。尤其重点关注1660-1830年，这也是罗森教授在《讽刺与感伤》一书中的核心内容。在这一时期，讽刺由于整个时代文化对“感性（sensibility）”或“情绪（sentiment）”的崇拜而软化，从一个不寻常的主导地位转移到一个相对温和的地位。这一转变与大规模的社会和文化变革有关，并最终导致了法国大革命。

讽刺诡谲多变，既是一种文学类型，也是一种表现手法。在这门课的内容简介中，罗森教授一连用了六个问题引发学生的思考，不由令人叹为观止——讽刺是一种保守、寻求恢复旧美德的文类，还是一种进步的、带来新秩序的文类？它最典型的流行是存在于稳定、保守的文化中，还是在社会流动或革命的环境中？它的目的主要是侵略性的、惩罚性的还是改革性的？它在间接讽刺还是直接谴责中表现得更好？它的典型作用是作为一种缓和机制还是作为一种激进机制？讽刺有时是在讽刺自身吗？[1] 这一连串的发问也可以见出罗森教授对讽刺在语境压力下的多重意蕴把握。自从文学成为自觉虚构创作的产物，它必然存在于多元语境中，与之互为因果关系。因此，讽刺既出于作家 - 文本之间的文化应对（culural impact），也是文本 - 读者之间社会集体意识的体现。罗森教授在《斯威夫特的愤怒》中的分析可见一斑。这本书分为“爱尔兰”“小说”“诗歌”三个部分。10 章中有 8 章是之前著作或论文的重写版本，仅有爱尔兰种族的一章和关于凡妮莎和游记的一章是全新的内容。内容看上去散乱，但罗森教授雄辩地用“愤怒”的情感机制统领了全书，论述了斯威夫特对贺拉斯、朱文纳讽刺传统的文学回应和对当时政治评述的影响。而且，罗森教授又一次近乎诡辩地阐析了斯威夫特的“愤怒”与“反愤怒”。斯威夫特在作品中努力表达自己的敌意，同时也坚决地“保护”自己的“冷静”，关键是，他拒绝“抱怨（railing）”而不拒绝“愤怒（rage）”（Rawson, *Swift's Angers* 155）。对斯威夫特来说，嘲弄（raillery）“限定了愤怒的表现”，从而“促使愤怒得以释放”（156）。斯威夫特“敏锐地自我意识到”“他的性情与他所攻击的事物非常接近”（2）。在愤怒的伪装下，这也是作家自我暴露与自我保护的错综表现。讽刺造就了文学的紧张感，文本在现实文化挤压下的变形，不仅反映了创作者对情境的控制，也使得读者的阅读压力得以疏

1　参见 耶鲁大学英语系 2011 年春季本科课程 English 351B 的课程简介。

解。在文学 - 文化、创作 - 接受等多重角度的考量中，罗森教授获得了对于讽刺的深刻理解。

在克劳德 • 罗森教授眼中，再没有比讽刺（satire）更适合多元矛盾冲突的复杂体现了。塞缪尔 • 约翰逊博士将之定义为一首谴责邪恶或愚蠢的诗（a poem in which wickedness or folly is censured）。[1]就修辞技巧而论，它包括反语（irony）、挖苦（sarcasm）、滑稽（burlesque）、嘲弄（ridicule）、戏拟（parody）、漫画式夸张（caricature）等多种手法，尤其在当代政治和其他热门话题的背景下，用来揭露和批评人们的愚蠢或恶习，更显得意味深长。就文学风格而言，讽刺或尖锐或平滑，它既能义愤填膺、慷慨陈词，又能语带戏谑、暗含机锋；它有喜剧式的喧嚣与嘈杂，又带有一丝悲剧式的崇高和悲凉。罗森教授的研究偏好更在于后者：依靠言外之意和旁敲侧击，文辞的意义总会被语境的压力所扭曲，不相容成分的张力关系被合成一个整体。罗森教授对这一文学机锋的研究兴趣，也在一定程度上说明：他既看重文学本身的审美特质，又重视文学参与道德对话的文化功能。这也回应了罗森教授一贯的对奥古斯都文学传统的考察。“奥古斯都文学中的公共经验书写以社交性的对话为特点，不仅展现出党派政治的论辩，形成不同阵营的文学社区，同时也蕴含道德训诫，引领公共经验，强调秩序、规范与道德”（王欣 35）。讽刺的背后总是有一个道德训诫框架。它的意在言外既能捕捉日常生活的活力，批评社会政治的麻木虚伪，也能反思人类自身的缺陷与偏执。在讽刺这个多棱镜的映射下，社会文化与人类生活都充斥了迷人的复杂性，难以滑向某个极端单一的感情反应。

综上所述，克劳德 • 罗森教授博闻强记，始终以文学文本为核心研究对象，又能发散跳脱，辩证分析。他的 18 世纪英国文学研究主要立足于菲尔丁、斯威夫特两位作家的创作，在精耕之余又秉持文学有机论的考察视角，注重从文化背景着眼，钻研文学 - 文化的互动关系；并由此辐射到讽刺文学研究，偏好对其审美张力的考察。罗森教授退休时，耶鲁大学的同事将亚历山大 • 蒲伯的诗句送给了罗森教授，作为对他学者品质的肯定：品味严谨，但不受限制；/ 对书本和人类都了如指掌。[2] 这正是蒲柏在《批评论》（*An Essay on Criticism*, 1711）中阐述的优秀评论家的特质。

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1 参见 https://www.britannica.com/art/satire,Written by Robert C. Elliott Fact-checked by The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Last Updated: Dec 28, 2023. Accessed 29 September 2024.

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从阿喀琉斯之踵说开去[1]：克劳德·罗森与文学伦理学批评

Beyond Achilles' Heel: Claude Rawson and Ethical Literary Criticism

杨革新（**Yang Gexin**）

内容摘要：克劳德·罗森是备受尊敬的人文学者和享誉世界的文学评论家，今年迎来了他的九十寿辰。他六十余载的学术生涯硕果累累，在文学研究领域作出了卓越贡献。本文旨在回顾罗森教授的学术人生，探讨他的文学研究和文学成就以及与中国的学术交流，尤其是他对中国文学伦理学批评的发展所做出的贡献。

关键词：克劳德·罗森；乔纳森·斯威夫特；亨利·菲尔丁；文学伦理学批评

作者简介：杨革新，浙江大学外国语学院教授，主要从事英美文学、西方文论和文学伦理学批评研究。本文为国家社科基金重大招标项目“当代西方伦理批评文献的整理、翻译与研究”【项目批号：19ZDA292】的阶段性成果。

Title: Beyond Achilles' Heel: Claude Rawson and Ethical Literary Criticism

Abstract: Claude Rawson, an esteemed literary scholar and a world-renowned literary critic, turns 90 this year. His journey to literary excellence has been nothing short of remarkable, spanning over six decades of prolific contributions to the field of literary studies. This article aims to celebrate Rawson's life and work, exploring his literary study, literary achievement, and academic exchange and friendship with China, especially his contribution to the development of Chinese Ethical Litereary Criticism.

Keywords: Claude Rawson; Jonathan Swift; Henry Fielding; ethical literary criticism

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1　本文标题来自于克劳德·罗森 2016 年在“第六届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”（塔尔图·爱沙尼亚）开幕式上的致辞，题为“关于阿喀琉斯之踵的若干思考：伦理批评的一个寓言”，王松林译。

克劳德·罗森（Claude Rawson）是当代文学批评界的巨擘，以其深厚的学术造诣、宽广的研究领域和卓越的文学成就闻名于世。作为一位在国际上享有盛誉的人文学者，罗森不仅在18世纪英国文学研究方面做出了杰出贡献，还与中国有着不解之缘，并且对中国学术界产生了深远影响，尤其为文学伦理学批评的发展做出了卓著贡献。

罗森于1935年2月8日出生在中国上海，并在那里度过了他的童年时光。1949年，罗森从上海移居伦敦，并在牛津大学开启了学术生涯，攻读英国文学。罗森早期对文学的兴趣不仅限于学术层面，更是出于个人情感。他经常谈到文学如何在他的一生中成为慰藉和灵感的源泉。在牛津大学完成本科学习后，罗森继续深造和从事研究工作，并从基尔大学（Keele University）获得荣誉文学博士学位。从1986年至2014年退休，他一直担任耶鲁大学梅纳德·麦克（Maynard Mack）英文教授。在此之前，他在华威大学任教多年（1971-1986），曾任英文系主任、《现代语言评论》（*Modern Language Review*）联合主编。已故的玛乔瑞·帕洛夫（Marjorie Perloff）在一篇访谈中曾谈到：克劳德·罗森被誉为"18世纪讽刺文学（尤其是英国讽刺文学）研究最杰出的当世学者"，被学界公认为"斯威夫特研究最富挑战、最有启迪和最博学的现代批评家"。[1]

罗森的文本研究与跨学科视角

罗森的研究领域广泛，但最为人称道的是他对18世纪英国文学的深入研究。他的学术生涯与亨利·菲尔丁和乔纳森·斯威夫特等经典作家的研究紧密相连，他的著作和论文在这些领域产生了深远影响。罗森对菲尔丁的研究始于20世纪70年代，他出版了《亨利·菲尔丁与受到挑战的奥古斯都理想》（*Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal Under Stress*, 1972）一书。这本书最大的贡献在于，罗森将菲尔丁的创作置于18世纪早期的整个文化环境中进行考察，指出菲尔丁的"反奥古斯都倾向"（Anti-Augustan tendency）（Rawson, *Henry Fielding and the Augustan Ideal under Stress* 102）。罗森认为，菲尔丁的作品反映了对奥古斯都理想的挑战与反拨，他的《阿米莉亚》（*Amelia*, 1751）和《里斯本之旅》（*Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon*, 1754）已经失去了在《约瑟夫·安德鲁斯》（*Joseph Andrews*, 1742）和《汤姆·琼斯》（*Tom Jones*, 1749）中自信的绅士风度，自然秩序的确定性让位给对"奥古斯都文化形式的不稳定性"（9），面对不可预测的环境和人类的堕落，旧的"文雅"被简化为"一种风格的遗存"（62）。

罗森对乔纳森·斯威夫特的研究更为深入，他的专著《格列佛与温和的读者：斯威夫特研究与我们的时代》（*Gulliver and the Gentle Reader: Studies*

1 参见 Marjorie Perloff, "Claude Rawson in Conversation with Marjorie Perloff," *Textual Practice* 4 (2017): 603-629.

in Swift and Our Time, 1972）以及《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝：野蛮与欧洲想象：1492-1945》（*God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945*, 2001）等作品，对野蛮与文明进行了深入探讨，对种族灭绝等问题提出了独特见解，揭示了斯威夫特作品中的讽刺、反讽和道德关怀。随后罗森又出版了《斯威夫特》（*Jonathan Swift*, 2004）和《斯威夫特时代的政治与文学》（*Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift: English and Irish Perspectives*, 2010），从英格兰和爱尔兰的语境探讨了斯威夫特在英爱两国的文学创作和政治观点，包括他对爱尔兰和英格兰之间关系的看法，以及他对殖民主义的批评。罗森特别强调了斯威夫特的文学创作与当时政治事件之间的紧密联系，展示了斯威夫特在 18 世纪政治和文学文化中的中心地位。

荣休之后，罗森又出版了两部斯威夫特研究专著：《斯威夫特的愤怒：斯威夫特、爱尔兰和种族悖论》（*Swift's Angers: Swift, Ireland and the Paradoxes of Ethnicity*, 2014）和《斯威夫特与其他》（*Swift and Others*, 2015）。尽管《斯威夫特的愤怒》中的有八个章节是其已发表内容的修订版，但该书的目的并不只是重现罗森关于斯威夫特的研究成果，更要展示他在关于斯威夫特和愤怒的思考上的一致性。因此，这本书不仅探讨了斯威夫特在其一生中的不同时期因何而愤怒，还探讨了他为操纵读者而采用的修辞策略，从而让读者感受到他的仇恨、愤怒、厌恶或蔑视。罗森特别关注斯威夫特语言的细微差别和文体。众多周知，斯威夫特性格易怒，但罗森强调的是他如何炫耀或隐藏自己的仇恨，强调他的愤怒意味着什么。罗森认为斯威夫特的愤怒是理解他作品的关键：斯威夫特的愤怒不仅仅是表面的讽刺，更是深刻的情感表达，反映了他对人类缺陷的强烈不满。罗森认为斯威夫特的写作是他应对人类存在的压力和对自身人性认知的一种方式。[1] 罗森始终坚持文本在文学研究中的核心地位。在 2018 年"第八届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会"开幕式致辞中，他特别指出，"文学批评至关重要的研究对象是文学作品及其相关知识，自始至终文学批评都应该以特定的文学文本作为出发点"[2]。他认为优秀的文学批评应该立足于对文学文本的精细解读和分析，通过对文本细节的挖掘和阐释，揭示作品的深层意蕴和美学价值。在《斯威夫特与其它》中，罗森主要对斯威夫特和亚历山大·蒲柏以及其他作家进行了对比阅读。他指出，18 世纪研究在对浪漫主义贬低性重估中占据特权地位，蒲柏的重新发现是复兴的催化剂之一，但当时普遍认为蒲柏是伟大的诗人，斯威夫特是伟大的散文作家。在对斯威夫特的《一个木桶的故事》（*A Tale of a Tub*, 1704）的分析中，罗森认为《一个木桶的故事》预示了许多具有现代感知的现代作品，斯威夫特

1 参见 Andrew Carpenter, "Swift's Angers by Claude Rawson (Review)," *The Scriblerian and the Kit-Cats* 48.2 / 49.1 (2016): 110-112.

2 参见 克劳德·罗森 2018 年在"第八届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会"（北九州·日本）开幕式上的致辞，王松林译。

的活力在他不喜欢的作家或不喜欢他的作家身上明显可见，他的叛逆的愤怒和权威性的顺从主义等特质无可模仿却又不可忽视。[1] 几乎所有作家都在斯威夫特个性阴影下写作，他的作品对后世作家产生了深远的影响，如吉本和奥斯汀等，他们如果没有斯威夫特作为榜样，或许就不会有那样的成就。

罗森的研究具有明显的跨学科特征，他将文学研究与历史学、人类学、后殖民批评等多个学科相结合，形成了独特的学术风格。他的《格列佛、上帝与种族灭绝》就是文学跨学科研究的典范之作。罗森认为“灭绝冲动”是人类本性的一部分，并且在历史上与种族和民族的他者观念交织在一起。他通过分析斯威夫特的作品，尤其是《一个温和的建议》（*A Modest Proposal*, 1729）和《格列佛游记》（*Gulliver's Travels*, 1726）中关于灭绝的主题，展示了这一冲动的复杂性和语言的细腻性。罗森运用跨学科的方法，将多种文化现象，包括殖民主义的“野蛮人”修辞、对爱尔兰人的种族化描述，以及 18 世纪欧洲对女性身体特征的夸张关注等，通过丰富的文本、摄影和插图展现出来，揭示了宗教在现代文化中的动态作用，尤其是如何通过对他者的描绘来服务于对他者的消灭的。

罗森从斯威夫特的语言特征出发，通过追溯斯威夫特那些致命言论的谱系，并将其置于英国对爱尔兰态度的宽泛传统之内，把斯威夫特的语言与围绕“爱尔兰问题”的历史论述关联起来。罗森分析了斯威夫特如何通过自己的语言反映出从激烈的言辞到灭绝思想的实际施行等一系列的侵略行为，并在斯威夫特的幻想与英国殖民时期对爱尔兰态度的历史背景之间建立一种平行关系。这种关联对于理解斯威夫特的作品意义重大，因为它揭示了他在对待边缘群体时的复杂心理和矛盾之处。[2] 罗森认为，尽管斯威夫特批判了征服者的野蛮行为，但他同时也参与到了将本土居民去人性化的论述之中，这暗示他的讽刺对象不仅是压迫者，而是整个人类。通过将斯威夫特的语言置于关于爱尔兰的历史讨论的语境之中，罗森突显了斯威夫特作品中令人不安的不确定性，并对那些忽略这些矛盾的政治解读提出了挑战。这种对斯威夫特在灭绝和种族主义主题方面进行的跨学科解读，深化了我们对其文学贡献以及其讽刺作品的道德含义的理解。

罗森将斯威夫特的灭绝幻想与 20 世纪的种族灭绝进行比较，为我们理解斯威夫特的作品和他对人性的看法提供了重要参考。他将斯威夫特的《格列佛游记》中的慧骃国（Houyhnhms）与纳粹的意识形态进行对比之后发现：前者将灭绝作为雅虎人（Yahoos）问题的解决方案，后者同样将大规模杀戮合理化。这种对比凸显了人性中存在的残忍和非人性化的潜能，表明斯威夫

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1 参见 Claude Rawson, “ Introduction,” *Swift and Others*, Cambridge: Cambridge Unviersity Press, 2015, 4-6.

2 参见 Jonathan Beecher, “Review: *God, Gulliver, and Genocide. Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945* by Claude Rawson,” *Utopian Studies* 2 (2002): 202-203.

特的作品不仅是对他人的讽刺，同时也是他自己黑暗倾向的反映。通过将斯威夫特的语言置于英语关于“爱尔兰问题”的话语和为针对边缘人群的暴力辩护的历史传统的更大背景下，罗森强调了斯威夫特思想的复杂性和矛盾性。他认为，虽然斯威夫特批评了他那个时代的野蛮，但他也参与了他所谴责的意识形态，揭示了对人性本身的深刻矛盾心理。这种两重性促使读者重新思考斯威夫特讽刺作品的含义，因为它不仅批判了社会规范，而且还揭露了人性中可能导致暴力和灭绝的阴暗面。罗森的观点挑战了过度简化斯威夫特意图的政治解读，并强调了与他的作品所揭示的令人不安的人性真相作斗争的重要性。正如罗伯特·奥尔特所言，“克劳德·罗森的研究令人振奋，他向我们展示了人文研究依然是而且也应该是实证领域的基础性研究”（Perloff 603）。也许正是因为罗森一直坚持文本细读和跨学科视角，在他接触到聂珍钊教授创立的文学伦理学批评理论之后，立刻产生了浓厚的兴趣，并乐于接受与推广。

罗森与文学伦理学批评

罗森对文学伦理学批评的贡献，与他的中国情结密切相关。也许是因为在中国度过了 14 年的童年时光，我第一次见到罗森时，双方都觉得似曾相识，谈笑间，其乐融融。2012 年罗森受聂珍钊教授的邀请来武汉讲学，我和杜娟陪同他去武汉江滩夜游长江，在去江滩的车上，我和罗森聊起了华莱士·史蒂文斯，听他解读了“The Snow Man”，我们围绕着“Nothing that is not there and the nothing that is”，从中国哲学、禅宗、佛教谈到现象学、存在主义，然后又谈到艾略特、客观感知和主体想象。罗森渊博的学识和细密的文本解读能力让我佩服得五体投地。

2012 年，无论对罗森还是对中国文学批评界，都是值得书写的一年。在这一年，罗森学术专著《上帝、格列佛与种族灭绝：野蛮与欧洲想象：1492-1945》的中文版通过王松林翻译，由上海外语教育出版社出版。这一年，在聂珍钊教授的推动下国际文学伦理学批评研究会（The International Association for Ethical Literary Criticism）成立，次年罗森等当选为副会长，并于 2017 年当选为第二任会长。在担任副会长和会长职务的 9 年间，罗森充分展现了对文学伦理学批评的热爱与执着，对文学伦理学批评理论和方法的研究与运用，以及对国际学术交流的热忱与期待。

罗森强调文本细读，反对用理论肢解文本的做法，与文学伦理学批评的精神相契合。在与玛乔瑞·帕洛夫的一次访谈中，他从自己的教学与研究的体验中道出了对文学伦理学批评的认同：“聂教授通过主编两本非常有影响力的世界文学期刊，大力地推动了世界文学研究，他也是‘国际文学伦理学批评研究会’的创始人。‘文学伦理学批’方兴未艾，它的兴起对目前不做文学文本阅读而单纯进行文学理论研究的现象做出了有效的回应”（帕洛夫

22）。罗森反复强调阅读文本，切实在文本中发现作家旨在讨论的问题，他的这种研究理念与聂珍钊教授所倡导的文学伦理学批评的核心理念恰好呼应。罗森认为，文学作品的价值观与我们道德思考中所遵循的价值观之间经常会产生分歧，这一问题困扰着所有历史时期的伟大作家，因此，他强调文学作品的伦理价值观与现实世界的价值观的结合，从虚构艺术中发现道德范例供人类文明进步作为参考。他的这一观点与文学伦理学批评的理论相辅相成，并在 2016 年“第六届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”开幕式致辞[1]中做了充分的阐释：

> 自荷马时代以来，阿喀琉斯这一形象一直是我们文学教育中的一个核心伦理问题：他勇敢、无畏，是希腊军队的高贵斗士，但同时又傲慢、幼稚、贪婪并杀戮成性。《伊利亚特》以及文学中的整个英雄传统，似乎都在体现甚至赞美这样的价值观 —— 即颂扬谋杀、掠夺、征服及其导致的残酷破坏，那么，这样的作品又如何保留了其在文学中的崇高地位呢？
>
> 〔……〕
>
> 这意味着一部文学作品所体现的价值观与那些支配我们伦理思想的价值观之间的存在长期的割裂。这一割裂困扰着各个时期的伟大作家，他们推崇荷马，但强烈反对炫耀武力，认为一些英雄言论极具煽动性，令人不安。
>
> 〔……〕
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> 在我看来，这种诗学和伦理价值之间的冲突是复杂的伦理批评要解决的核心问题。我们为何又如何去欣赏那些我们可能并不赞成或排斥的作品中的道德情感？我猜想，你们中的大多数人都不会认同这样一种简单的想法，即艺术的自身价值可以脱离道德内涵。
>
> 〔……〕
>
> 没有任何理论会给出答案，除了至高无上的伦理原则，即就算我们知道这些问题绝不会有万能万全的答案，也必须提出这些问题 —— 这就是文学伦理学批评的范畴。它内在的矛盾和必要的不确定性，它内在的理性价值观与相反的、潜在的是非不分的（例如，“英雄的”）忠诚或愿望之间冲突，对阐释构成了一种戏谑性的抵抗。或许，这正是聂珍钊含蓄地称之为“斯芬克斯因子”这一谜题的要义所在。（Rawson, “Good Criticism Is Ethical” 2-4）

罗森指出，无论文学的形式如何变化，文学的道德教化功能是永恒不变

1 参见 克劳德 • 罗森 2016 年在“第六届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会”（塔尔图 • 爱沙尼亚）开幕式上的致辞，题为“关于阿喀琉斯之踵的若干思考：伦理批评的一个寓言”，王松林译。

的主题。正如他在"第九届文学伦理学批评国际学术研究会"开幕式致辞中所言，"伦理批评不是一种简单的程式化的教条，它的精髓在于我们对文本整体的全面的感悟。优秀的文学批评是伦理的，它超越了解析性的伦理教条，甚至超越了那些可以依据作品来阐明的伦理教条，力图表现更大层面上的难于解析的人类整体价值"（"Good Criticism Is Ethical" 6）。他提到，从伦理学角度探索批评研究让我们能够了解到文学作品中蕴含的人性本质的复杂性。比如，莎翁巨作《哈姆雷特》中的哈姆雷特王子，一度因其犹豫徘徊而被诟病为不敢行动的懦夫，可从伦理角度看来，他实际陷入一种"为父报仇和弑君"的伦理僵局，他的无法抉择并不是因为恐惧或懦弱，而是出于伦理觉悟而陷入的矛盾。所以说，我们进行文学伦理学批评并非泛泛而谈，纸上谈兵，而是给生活和人生都有一定的指导作用。[1] 罗森认为，文学伦理学批评不仅是一种文学研究方法，还是一种从伦理视角阅读、分析和解释文学的跨学科批评方法。他认为，在特定文本的研究中加入其他学科的知识和视角，正如在比较文学研究中对他国文学及其相关性的精确把握一样，能进一步揭示其研究文本或主题的本质及要义。但与此同时，他又特别提出警示：在跨学科和比较文学研究中也存在相应的风险，也即，其他学科或他国文学只是作为本学科领域或本国文学的附庸，前者可能在没有专业知识（包括第二语言知识）的情况下被引用，从而（可能）偏离正在研究的主题，成为另一种抽象主义。[2] 他确信，真正的文学伦理学批评就是要抵制这种行为。他强调，文学伦理学批评是一种与时俱进的批评理论和方法，充分显示了中国学者对人类整体命运的伦理关切。在 2022 年"第十一届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会"开幕式致辞 [3] 中，他特别谈到了面对人工智能的发展，学会应该如何应对：

> 大家将就昔日文学阐发新见，还将考察文学如何开始与当代高新科技交融。譬如，人工智能问题，曾一度被视作仅仅是科幻小说中的现象，如今却已经成为日常现实的一部分。这样的研究守正创新，包容开放，具有真正的学术探究精神，拓宽了经典的内涵，丰富了文学批评的方法。伦理批评如若华盖，涵括话题如此之广，时代之需如此急切，前所未有。这是一项极具挑战性的事业，它承载着我们对文学文本研究之责任。文学文本必须是，也应该是，我们这个职业的真正伦理关切。（Rawson, "Good Criticism Is Ethical" 6）

1　参见 岳剑锋："文学伦理学批评的全球视角解读——第四届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会综述"，2014-12-22，<https://sfl.sjtu.edu.cn/Data/View/919>。

2　参见 克劳德・罗森在 2018 年"第八届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会"（北九州・日本）开幕式上的致辞，王松林译。

3　参见 克劳德・罗森在 2022 年"第十一届文学伦理学批评国际学术研讨会"（广州・中国）开幕式上的致辞，王松林译。

罗森对中国的文学伦理学批评见解深刻且多维，他不仅重视文学的伦理和道德教化功能，还强调文学在人类进化和跨文化交流中的重要作用。他的观点为中国文学理论的全球理解和文学伦理学批评的发展提供了宝贵的视角。在长达九年的学会任职期间，罗森以自己深厚的学术造诣，对文学伦理学批评研究领域深入探索，对学会宗旨与目标坚定捍卫。他的学术追求与无私奉献，不仅为国际文学伦理学批评研究会的发展指明了方向，同时也为整个学术界树立了榜样。作为学会现任秘书长，在罗森 90 诞辰即将到来之际，我代表学会由衷地感谢他的付出与引领，期待学会能够继续繁荣发展，也敬祝克劳德•罗森教授生日快乐，学术常青。

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