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Katherine Philips's French Translations: Between Mediation and Appropriation

While Katherine Philips's translations from Corneille, especially her Pompey, have attracted substantial scholarly attention in recent years, her other translations from the French have been relatively neglected. Yet these shorter translations are key to understanding the kind of niche as a social, fashionable author Philips was attempting to create for herself in the latter part of her career. The French poems she chose to translate or imitate are indicative of the forms of poetry she was trying to promote in the early 1660s, as she looked towards France for inspiration and sought to make an impact in British literary and musical life by emulating French models. Her interest in the French court air and ballet also sheds light on her aims in composing her songs between the acts in Pompey. Philips's French poems testify to her interest in contemporary French musical and literary culture, as well as in a more highbrow pastoral literature that she was trying to adapt for an English audience. Her translation of Saint-Amant's "Solitude" in particular represents an ambitious attempt to make an intervention in the contemporary debate about neo-Epicureanism, while also reflecting her literary flair for identifying popular poems.

Katherine Philips's translations of Corneille have attracted a great deal of critical attention in recent years, especially her version of *La Mort de Pompée*—slightly less so her incomplete translation of *Horace*.¹ Her other translations from the French, a corpus of four poems, have been relatively neglected, however, as have the two songs she adapted from French court airs.² Yet these poems are of vital importance to understand the kind of niche Philips was trying to create for herself in what turned out to be the latter part of her career, especially around her Irish year, a period of intense activity for her. In fact, the French influence on Philips's oeuvre has often been commented on in passing, but has perhaps not been given its full due. After all, the title-page to the 1667 *Poems*, although not authorial, advertises the strongly French flavour of the collection, by singling out the translations: *POEMS [...] To which is added Monsieur Corneille's POMPEY & HORACE, Tragedies. With several other Translations out of FRENCH.*³ The editor of the posthumous 1667 edition thought so highly of Philips's achievement as a translator that he even chose to reproduce the French version of Saint-Amant's poem next to her translation. The French poems Philips chose to translate or imitate are in fact highly meaningful for the kind of poetry she was trying to promote, and also shed light on her translation of *Pompée*, including the songs she wrote for the interludes between the acts.⁴ Philips's French poems manifest her interest in the musical and literary culture fashionable on the continent at the time. In the early 1660s, it seems that Philips was looking towards France for inspiration. Sadly, her untimely death prevented her from pursuing this work, but her translations from the French did make some impact on Restoration culture.⁵ *Pompey* and *Horace* were instrumental in shaping Restoration heroic drama, and her French poems were also of considerable literary significance. Her translation of Saint-Amant, in particular, remained popular through the eighteenth century, and was often reprinted anonymously in Dryden's and other miscellanies through to 1780.⁶

The following essay first aims at highlighting the pervasive influence of French contemporary poetry in Philips's poetry, as exemplified by the French "songs" that she translated or imitated, which give us an insight into what she was reading as she embarked on her translation of *Pompée* for her Dublin patrons.⁷ I will then more particularly focus on

Philips's strategy in "La Solitude de St Amant", one of the more ambitious poems she translated. Philips can be described as a subtle mediator between French poetry and English interregnum and early Restoration poetry, with wide-ranging ambitions, as her treatment of the Epicurean subtext of Saint-Amant shows.

Katherine Philips, who grew up in the 1630s and during the revolutionary period, developed an interest in French literature fairly early in her career, partly because it was part of a royalist culture that she nostalgically looked back on. In the 1640s and 1650s, royalists were indebted to the long-term influence of the court of the French Queen Henrietta Maria, who had promoted a form of *préciosité* and tried to acclimatize the continental pastoral in the 1620s and 1630s.⁸ The code names that Philips chose to celebrate her coterie friends and her interest in friendship as a topic echo, for instance, the neoplatonic cult of friendship that was popularized in France by Scudéry among others and was emulated at Henrietta Maria's court before the revolution.⁹ They also testify to Philips's taste for French romance, which is confirmed by John Davies's dedication to her of his translation of one tome of La Calprenède's *Cleopatra* in 1659.¹⁰ Her coterie also included known Francophiles: her friend Charles Cotterell, for instance, translated another of La Calprenède's works, *Cassandre*, in the early 1650s.¹¹

When Philips translated Corneille's *Pompée* for her Irish patrons in 1662-3, she was blazing a trail. The early 1660s, with the return of the monarchy, were years of intense interest in French contemporary literature in England, also fuelled by the recent continental exile of many royalists, and by the new King's love for French theatre, music, and dance.¹² By responding to the invitation of Roger Boyle, earl of Orrery, to translate *Pompée* while in Dublin, Philips was responding to a new cultural moment; but she was also, to a certain extent, serving the political and cultural programme of the Restoration aristocracy in Ireland, who wanted to emulate London court life and promote Dublin as a cultural centre while simultaneously paying homage to the new King.¹³ Corneille had been extremely popular in France in the 1640s and 1650s, and was well known to the generation of royalists who had been in exile there. His early tragicomedies of the 1630s had appealed to the Caroline court; his later tragedies offered the new British stage a novel idiom, the heroic tragedy.¹⁴ Philips's *Pompey* represents a cultural milestone as the first translation of a French neoclassical tragedy to appear on the stage in Britain or Ireland, "inaugurating the discourse of English translation as an act of cultural supremacy", as Hero Chalmers puts it.¹⁵

It is no mean paradox that this discourse of cultural supremacy should have been initiated by a woman. Even if translation, as an allegedly ancillary activity, had always been seen as more acceptable, and more appropriate for women than the publication of more personal works, Philips clearly turns it here into an instrument of empowerment—and potentially of social advancement—as it concerns a text and an occasion (the performance of *Pompey*, in Dublin, in February 1663) that appeared as highly fashionable and desirable in the Irish context.¹⁶ Social prestige is here inseparable from cultural and literary prestige. Translation from French into English, in a century when many gentlewomen were taught and read French but were discouraged from writing and publishing original works, can also be problematized in gender terms. While there were of course many well-regarded male translators, it is also the case that translation could constitute a "soft" entry into literature for early modern literary-minded women. As Bill Overton has recently claimed, translation was far from being considered a second-rate activity during the Restoration; yet there was still a significant difference, a "status-gap", between translating from the classical languages and from the vernacular.¹⁷ In terms of prestige, women translators suffered from the fact that many of their vernacular source texts were also comparatively recent, and thus had not yet gained the status of classics. Yet women translators such as Katherine Philips and, later,

Aphra Behn turned this contemporary, topical form of translation into a prestigious, status-giving activity—perhaps even a fairly lucrative one, in the case of Behn.¹⁸

Philips's interest in French literature was not confined to drama but extended also to poetry. The influence of French poetry is reflected, for instance, in the titles of some of her original poems, such as "L'Accord du bien" or "La Grandeur d'esprit", although the sources for these titles have not been identified. In addition, Philips was responsible for four direct translations of French poetry: "*La Solitude de Saint Amant*", "*Tendres desirs*", "A Pastoral of Mons. de Scudéry's in the first volume of *Almahide*", and "Translation of Thomas a Kempis into verse, out of Mons. Corneille".¹⁹ These four poems seem almost strategically chosen to represent different, fashionable genres, which originally aimed at potentially different readerships: they comprise a libertine pastoral, a love ditty, a pastoral (from a highly fashionable romance), and a religious meditation. She also wrote two original songs after French airs: "Song to the tune of *Somme nous pas trop heureux*" and "Song to the tune of *Adieu Phillis*."²⁰

Philips's poetic translations *per se* belong to the last few years of her short career. As Elizabeth Hageman and Andrea Sununu point out, none of these translations was included in the surreptitious edition of her poetry published in early 1664.²¹ Furthermore, as William Roberts noted in 1970, most of the poems translated by Philips had been printed in France relatively recently.²² Although Corneille's *Imitatio Christi* had been published several times from 1651 onwards, Book 3—from which Philips's translation is drawn—appeared only in the 1654 edition.²³ The first part of Scudéry's romance *Almahide* was published in 1660.²⁴ John Davies's praise of Philips's "curiosity to look into these things [i.e. contemporary French poetry] before they have hardlie taken English aire" was evidently well judged.²⁵

The source of the very short poem "*Tendres desirs*", identified by Hageman and Sununu, also points towards a translation date in the early 1660s. From an annotation in the Rosania manuscript in the National Library of Wales, Hageman and Sununu were able to locate the French source in the third (1660) volume of a popular compilation of short anonymous prose romances published in five volumes between 1659 and 1663 by Charles de Sercy as *Recueil de pièces en prose, les plus agréables de ce temps. Composées par divers Auteurs*.²⁶ The original poem is a song sung by the young hero, Alcippe (who was originally a character in Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*), in the story entitled "Le Voyage d'Alcippe", a piece almost certainly written by Donneau de Visé:²⁷

Tendres desirs, doux enfans de l'Amour,
Allez, saisissez-vous de l'esprit de Silvie,
Et soyez dans le mien promptement de retour.
C'est là le seul moyen de conserver ma vie.
Mais si vous ne pouvez enflâmer ses appas,
Abandonnez mon cœur, & n'y revenez pas.²⁸

Philips's first stanza is a fairly literal translation—in decasyllabic couplets, like her source—except for a few instances where she departs from the French. The sensuality of the original is nevertheless extenuated—most visibly in the line "si vous ne pouvez enflâmer ses appas" (literally "if you cannot fire her up", my translation), translated as "if you miss her brest whom I adore":

Go soft desires, Love's gentle Progeny,
And on y^e heart of charming Silvia seize,
Then quickly back again return to me,
Since that's y^e only cure for my disease.

But if you miss her brest whom I adore,
Then take your flight & visit mine no more.²⁹

Philips's interest in song, in English as well as French, is well documented. Henry Lawes set a number of her poems to music, and she also wrote original songs for inclusion in *Pompey*.³⁰ Both she and Lawes were interested in French airs, which epitomized a French coterie atmosphere. In the case of "*Tendres désirs*", however, it is quite possible that Philips drew inspiration from a whole set of French songs and airs rather than a single air. (This would explain at least some of the variants in her English version.) She may have had the Sercy collection of prose stories at hand, but she might also have come across another popular collection of airs compiled by Bertrand de Bacilly and first published in 1661 under the title *Recueil des plus beaux vers qui ont été mis en chant*.³¹ Another venture of the successful bookseller Charles de Sercy, this *Recueil* was an anthology of songs which, for the most part, had already been in circulation. The songs were listed in alphabetical order of first lines, and included the authors' names but not the music. The Bacilly compilation includes a number of songs or airs that are very close in wording to "*Tendres Désirs*". In fact, this kind of amorous poesy was commonplace to the point of being almost generic. Philips's English version is perfectly in line with this glib, popular French idiom and her poem seems to contain multiple echoes of songs by minor authors of the period, reproduced in the same collection, like this one by the Marquess of Mauleurier:

Allez, allez, tendres soupirs,
Allez déclarer mes désirs
A la Beauté que j'aime;
Faites-luy si bien vostre cour,
Qu'elle connoisse mon amour,
Sans luy dire moy-même.
Allez jusqu'au fonds de son cœur.³²

Derivation from Mauleurier's poem could explain, for instance, Philips's substitution of the lady's "heart" for her "esprit" (mind) in the source identified by Hageman and Sununu. As for the name "Silvie", it had been commonplace in many French poems of the period at least since Théophile de Viau, and it is mentioned for instance in the same collection in another song written by Bouillon:

Allez soûpirs, allez trouver Silvie,
Pour luy découvrir mes langueurs;
Dites-lui qu'enfin je me meurs,
Et qu'au moment qu'elle m'oste la vie,
J'ay pour ses yeux tant de crainte & d'amour,
Qu'elle y perdra quand je perdray le jour.³³

These songs were meant to be performed to the lute in salons and at court and circulated among a coterie of readers. In recent years, music historians such as Anne-Madeleine Goulet have started studying how these airs and songs circulated (both words and music).³⁴ By choosing to echo this contemporary trend, Philips positions herself as a mediator between continental Europe and England. She shows her interest in the musical culture of her time, and in the continental air as a highly contemporary, even fashionable genre that was meant for circulation among a social and cultural elite.

This bias can be seen again in her choice of sources for the poems, “*Song to the tune of Adieu Phillis*” and “*Song to the tune of Sommes nous pas trop heureux*”. I was recently able to show that the former was based on a court song which, in all likelihood, circulated in manuscript, but was published in 1673 in one of the volumes of an anthology of airs, gathered and published by the bookseller Robert Ballard between 1670 and 1699.³⁵ As for the latter song, it was tentatively linked by Elizabeth Hageman and Andrea Sununu with a cluster of French satires of the early 1660s—although they assumed that the original source might be a love poem for which they found a later manuscript transcription at the National Library of Wales.³⁶ The original, on which the above-mentioned satires are based, is in fact a serenade from a royal Ballet written by Benserade (text), and Lully (music) and entitled *Ballet de l’Impatience*. The Ballet was first performed in February 1660/61.³⁷ It was a very public event, performed three times at court in February 1661, with participants including the young King Louis XIV himself. The song in question is a serenade that a “Lord”, impersonated by the King, offers his mistress, for whom he dances. (Louis even danced at least on one occasion in front of Henrietta Maria and her followers.)³⁸ The libretto must have somehow found its way into Philips’s hands in the months following its publication. It was published without the score, although Philips may have had access to the latter as well. There were in fact constant exchanges between France and England in the early 1660s, and there are many ways she could have heard about the song.³⁹ The *Bibliothèque nationale de France* has a later manuscript transcript of the air by musician and royal music librarian André Philidor, dated 1691, and later transcripts have emerged, testifying to different forms of circulation.⁴⁰ It is a serenade in G minor for one voice (a countertenor) and a “concert” of 29 instruments, with a base for the accompaniment. The song was then reproduced in isolation in volumes of airs and songs, most probably to be sung to the lute:

Sommes nous pas trop heureux,
 Belle Iris, que vous en semble?
 Nous voicy tous deux ensemble,
 Et nous nous parlons tous deux.
 La nuict de ses sombres voiles
 Couvre nos desirs ardents,
 Et l’Amour & les Estoiles
 Sont nos secrets confidens.⁴¹

The serenade is included, for instance, in the Bacilly compilation of songs and court airs cited above, with minor textual variants.⁴² The French song, in B flat minor, depicts a serene, nocturnal love scene, as is typical of a serenade. The lovers, alone at night, converse happily, but the French song mentions their hidden “ardent desires”, although these are held in check. Philips’s transposition is a more tame love song, where desires are toned down:

How prodigious is my Fate,
 Since I can’t determine clearly,
 Whether you’ll doe more severely
 Giving me your love or Hate.⁴³

The French song’s balance between desire and nocturnal languor is completely absent from Philips’s version. This elimination of sensuality is characteristic of her strategy as a translator.

Philips’s choice of source for “*Song to the tune of Sommes nous pas trop heureux*” is indicative of her interest in contemporary French court culture. The *Ballet de l’Impatience*

was a royal ballet, with music composed by the most prominent musician of the times, Lully, while the text was by a fashionable author, Benserade. The song later found its way into compilations and became an air, meant to be performed to the lute among a coterie or at court. For Philips, who was trying in the early 1660s to make a contribution to the new Irish court culture at the time, this was just the new thing that needed to be emulated. It can be argued, then, that, like Henrietta Maria, who acted as cultural ambassador for France in England, Philips played her part in mediating French taste for the aristocratic elites in both England and Ireland.⁴⁴

Philips's role as a mediator of French literary culture is nowhere more obvious than in her impressive translation of Saint-Amant, which shows the serious kind of impact she aspired to as a poet. "La Solitude" was a very successful poem, often imitated and copied by seventeenth-century English poets. It is a likely influence on poems such as Milton's "Il Penseroso", Cowley's "Ode to retirement", and Marvell's "The Garden" and "Upon Appleton House", as well as on Philips's own poems about retirement and solitude.⁴⁵ Its fortunes in England were later enhanced when Henry Purcell set the first two stanzas of Philips's translation of "Solitude" to music in 1684; his setting remained very popular until the turn of the century. Given the popularity of the poem, Philips's decision to translate it in full is a mark of her growing literary ambition.

Saint-Amant had visited England twice on diplomatic missions, first in 1631 as the emissary of Bassompierre, then in 1643-4 with the Comte d'Harcourt, who had been sent over to offer French mediation in English affairs relating to the civil wars. He apparently spoke English, which would have singled him out among French travellers.⁴⁶ After his second English visit, he wrote a scathing satirical poem, *Albion*, in which he sympathized with the plight of Queen Henrietta Maria, but the poem was not published until 1969.⁴⁷ Several of his poems were translated into English in the mid-seventeenth century. Thomas Fairfax also translated "La Solitude"; his version, which remained in manuscript until the nineteenth century, may have been known to Marvell.⁴⁸ Two other poems by Saint-Amant—"La Jouissance" and "La Débauche"—were Englished by Thomas Stanley, while Edward Sherburne translated three poems ("La Métamorphose de Lyrian et de Sylvie", "Le Soleil levant", "Plainte sur la mort de Sylvie").⁴⁹ Such evidence suggests that Saint-Amant was one of the best-known French poets in England at this time.

Saint-Amant's "Solitude" is one of two pastoral poems translated by Philips, alongside Scudéry's "song" from *Almahide*. These two poems represent two very different kinds of pastoral. Scudéry's song was more in tune with the high-minded amorous pastorals of fashionable romance, whereas Saint-Amant's "Solitude" is a more complex, hybrid poem. Philips, who lived in Wales in a rural environment, was drawn to the theme of stoic pastoral retirement for both personal reasons and because of its political connotations.⁵⁰ But it is an indication of her flair that with Saint-Amant's "Solitude" she chose a poem that in some respects went against the grain of her own stylistic leanings. A dark, baroque poem, built on jarring contrasts and antitheses which are meant to surprise and unsettle, "Solitude" is poles apart from the sense of elegance and decorum that one usually associates with Philips's poetry. The poem is based on a series of antitheses which express, through the recurrent trope of *discordia concors*, the pleasure in displeasure felt by the persona who celebrates his beloved solitude ("O! que j'aime la Solitude") amidst a nature alternatively described as a refuge and as a harsh, inhospitable milieu.⁵¹ The poem is thus both a pastoral and an anti-pastoral. The speaker's perception and apprehension of the world is based on a series of paradoxes: nature is savage and peaceful; the speaker loves to look down into precipices from which suicides have jumped (stanza 2); he feels intense pleasure at feeling "disquiet". The sight of ruined castles conjures up hellish visions of goblins and skeletons, but also creates an intense sense of aesthetic pleasure (it is not surprising that this poem should have been read

as pre-Gothic and as an anticipation of the sublime).⁵² To sum up, the poet finds pleasure in the aesthetic contemplation of wilderness.

“Solitude” can in fact be read as a landscape poem, which revisits the classical convention of the *locus amoenus* as the poem takes the form of an ekphrasis: “This Landskip though fantastick, take, / Which I have copy’d from y^e life” (CW3 101). It is a capriccio, shown in a chiaroscuro reminiscent of Salvatore Rosa’s near-contemporary visual landscapes.⁵³ Nature is depicted as a postlapsarian world, inhabited by serpents and other evil, threatening creatures, and retaining only distant echoes of the garden of Eden or the *locus amoenus* of the tradition—whose ghostly presence is encapsulated in the “squelette horrible” (“horrible skeleton”, CW3 227) of the “poor lover who hanged himself for the love of a cruel shepherdess”.⁵⁴ As will be argued later, Philips’s translation slightly extenuates the violence of the French with the “Carcase, which did once belong / To one that hang’d himself, for Love / Of a fayr Nimph that did him wrong” (CW3 97). This nature is wild, with its ragged rocks, its horrifying (“effroyable”, CW3 229) tempests, its fierce torrents which devastate the wild vales they scar—a devastation that the speaker finds “doux” (sweet), in a characteristic oxymoron.⁵⁵ It is an adequate setting for the human, fallen world: the ruins evoke visions of sabbaths, of ghosts and skeletons dangling in the wind (stanza 9); and yet this world can also offer a mitigated, paradisiacal refuge, free of danger, away from predators—for mankind is alternatively a culprit and a victim in “Solitude”:

Lâ, [cent] mille oyseaux aquatiques,
Vivent sans craindre en leur repos,
Le Giboyeur fin & dispos,
Avec ses mortelles pratiques.

Philips’s translation reads:

Here, water-fowle repose enjoy,
Without y^e interrupting care,
Least fortune should their bliss destroy,
By y^e malicious Fowler’s snare.⁵⁶

The passage unmistakably evokes Marvell’s Mower of the “Mower poems”, or the “skilful gard’ner” of “The Garden”, whether the latter poem predates Philips’s version of “Solitude” or not—Marvell obviously knew Saint-Amant’s poem too. Philips makes more explicit the symbolism of the “malicious Fowler” by associating him with Fortune, where Saint-Amant had been less specific with the mysterious “Giboyeur”, a rare word in French for a game hunter. (The word “Fowler” may be a pun on Philips’s maiden name, although if so the implications are puzzling.) In this passage, Saint-Amant describes a pastoral land of plenty (the hyperbole of “[cent] mille oyseaux”, one hundred thousand birds), which is threatened by the presence of the mysterious hunter and his mortal snares (“ses mortelles pratiques”). In the French poem it is not an allegorical Fortune that is hovering about, but this alert hunter (“fin et dispos” —clever and eager, or ready). The passage can be read as a parable, that of a postlapsarian world in which man has become a universal predator, using all his skill and wit to destroy and kill, without even giving it a second thought. If this ghostly presence of a blind, superior power randomly dispensing death is to be interpreted as an image of the presence of the divine in Saint-Amant’s poem, then it is a conception of a transcendence which seems to echo Lucretius’s depiction of the gods as indifferent to men in *De Rerum Natura*. Saint-Amant, however, appears to go one step further by emphasizing the actual (if callous) intervention of the hunter in the natural landscape, in contradistinction from the

complete indifference to men of the Lucretian gods. In his version, however, the hunter is not described as malicious, contrary to Philips's interpretation which moralizes the fowler by turning him into a personification of evil agency; in her version, the fowler becomes an equivalent of the serpent lurking about the garden of Eden, ready to smite at random. Her only concession to Saint-Amant's more Lucretian version of the hunter is perhaps her addition of the term "fortune", in the sense of chance (absent in the original). This nuance may be interpreted as a sign of her alertness to the potentially Epicurean subtext of the poem (to which I shall return), in spite of a rather moralistic reading of the evil fowler.

Formally, Philips tried to remain close to the original text, with lines of eight syllables and comparable rhyme schemes, but she made stylistic choices which reveal a consistent toning down of the original text. One aspect of this strategy is a tendency to smooth out what was irregular either morally or aesthetically. She thus occasionally substitutes commonplaces for the original images. When Saint-Amant describes spring as being in love with a blossoming thorn ("Espin fleurie", CW3 224), Philips replaces the actual bush with a mythological reference to the goddess Flora, a more mannerist, even mannered image: "this Thorn / So curiously by Flora drest" (CW3 95). Philips thus substitutes Saint-Amant's paean to natural vegetation (even though spring is personified by being granted feeling) with what is a perception of nature mediated through more conventional, mythological references. Similarly, she personifies the sea by describing it as smiling in stanza 17—a personification completely absent from the original. When Saint-Amant mentions cyphers carved on trees in stanza 11 ("Des chiffres taillés sur les [arbres]"⁵⁶, CW3 227), a passing allusion to an easily-recognizable, conventional petrarchan trope, Philips unfolds the image to make it more explicit: "What Lovers carv'd on every Tree" (CW3 98)—the cliché, implicit in Saint-Amant, is here spelled out. Philips's version also tends to tone down the sensuality and the passionate associations of the original (as already noted with respect to her songs). In one characteristic example (where many could be mentioned), the nightingale, Philomel, is described in Saint-Amant's poem as having un "chant languoureux" (a "languorous song"), which suggests, of course, the languor of love; for Philips, however, Philomela sings "in melting notes" (CW3 224, 95). Substituting "melting" for "languoureux", Philips somewhat misses what was in fact in Saint-Amant a slight departure from the conventional image of Philomela's traditionally melodious notes.

Tonally, Philips also tends to neutralize the striking strangeness, and power, of the original, as when the "terrifying verdict" ("sentence épouvantable", my translation) that was passed by heaven on the cruel shepherdess simply becomes a "mighty pain" (CW3 227, 98). In stanza 19 she resorts again to a cliché, that of "flame" to describe the poet's inspiration, as a rather tame version of Saint-Amant's "Demon" (CW3 101, 231)—in the Greek sense of the term as the genius of inspiration. Elizabeth Scott-Baumann comments on Philips's word choice, which she sees as a desire for restraint.⁵⁷ These stylistic choices indeed tend to neutralize the striking violence of the original. A final example will be sufficient to prove this point. In a characteristic passage, Saint-Amant emphasizes the antithetical feelings conjured up by the frightful spectacle of the wild torrents: "Que je trouve doux l[e] ravage / De ces fiers torrens vagabonds" (CW3 224).⁵⁸ In the version of the poem preserved in the Rosania manuscript, held at the National Library of Wales, the violent strangeness of the French paradox and antithesis is attenuated, as the destruction wrought by the wild torrents is simply described as "pleasant", a term perhaps more aesthetic than the paradoxical French adjective "doux" (sweet): "What pleasant desolations make / These torrents vagabond, & fierce" (CW3 95).⁵⁹ The effect is radically amplified in the text of the 1667 *Poems*, where the adjective "pretty" is substituted for "pleasant". It is highly possible that the 1667 editor intervened here, thinking he was thus "improving" the poem.⁶⁰

Does this overall strategy also apply to Philips's treatment of the Epicurean subtext of the poem? It is not completely clear how far she was aware of Saint-Amant's underlying philosophical agenda, although the consistency with which she subtly tones down the radicalism of the original shows an awareness of sorts. The most obvious argument in favour of an Epicurean reading of the French poem is the association of the theme of the philosopher's retreat from an active life with the topos of the garden. In several instances, the speaker rejoices at the spectacle of the dangers of a busy life, an unmistakable reference to the famous opening of Book 2 of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura*:

How highly is my fancy pleas'd
To be upon y^e Ocean's shore,
When she begins to be appeas'd,
And her fierce billows cease to roare.⁶¹

This attitude of detachment is fundamentally anti-Christian in Saint-Amant, as it rejects notions of sympathy with and pity for other human beings: the thoughts of the lover who died for love and of the suicide who killed himself out of despair merely contribute to the speaker's sense of tranquillity by contrast. Besides this, the focus in the poem on the notion of pleasure naturally also points to an Epicurean subtext, as does the insistence on a sensual apprehension of nature—the repetition of terms referring to sight and vision, but also to hearing, present in the birds' songs as well as in the music the speaker plays on his lute in stanza 13. Finally, the celebration of friendship in stanzas 18 to 20 completes the Epicurean paradigm. Again the conspicuous absence of society in the poem points to an underlying anti-Christian motif. Civilization and society seem to have disintegrated here, as the speaker wanders about ruins, skeletons and rotting carcasses, in a world described as totally material and devoid of any spirituality. The only form of afterlife mentioned in "Solitude" is the ghost of the cruel shepherdess, who comes back to mourn for her fate. In fact, mankind seems to be out to destroy itself, as despair and self-inflicted death take their toll (in stanzas 3 and 10). In stanza 17, the poem depicts a beautiful seascape which could have impious implications. In Philips's version, the sea is personified:

Sometimes, so gently she does smile,
A floating mirrour she might be,
And you would fancy all that while,
New heavens in her face to see.
The Sun himself is drawn so well,
Where there he does his Picture view,
That our Ey can hardly tell,
Which is y^e false Sun, which y^e true.
And least we give our Sence y^e ly,
We think hee's fallen from ye Sky.⁶²

The comparison between the sky and the surface of the water suggests the symbolic creation of an alternative "heaven", or "new heavens", which go together with the fall of the Sun/Son.⁶³ The symbolism of this subversive displacement is particularly significant in this poem. In fact, the passage sounds, for once, more impious in English than in French, because of the traditional pun on "sun"/"son" in English, which does not work in French, but is perfectly adequate in what is clearly an impious context.

That Philips was aware of this anti-Christian and Epicurean subtext seems obvious in her treatment of some of the material she had to translate. She seems to have been uneasy, for

instance, about Saint-Amant's use of "Mon Dieu" as a familiar interjection: "O! que j'aime la Solitude! [...] Mon Dieu! que mes yeux sont contens / De voir ces Bois" (stanza 1, CW3 223). In her version, the more neutral "heavens" does not exactly have the same connotation, and slightly tones down the potential irreverence of the French: "O! heavens! what content is mine!" (CW3 94) The very beginning of the poem is also interesting for the way it presents nature as being already present. In the original text, the phrase "A la nativité du temps" (at the beginning of time) implicitly contradicts the biblical narrative of the Creation: "que mes yeux sont contens / De voir ces Bois, qui se trouverent / A la nativité du Temps".⁶⁴ Philips completely changes the focus of this argument by using a different preposition: "what content is mine! / To see these Trees which have appear'd / *From* y^e nativity of Time" (CW3 94, my emphasis). In her version, nature *belongs* to creation, it was not there first. Philips seems aware here of the potential impiety of the original. In another instance, which reinforces this point, she fails to translate the word "désespoir" (despair; stanza 3), perhaps because despair was considered a capital sin, by omitting the line in which the word occurred and loosely paraphrasing the original instead with the word "Sorrows" (CW3 95, 224). To conclude, even though Philips offers a sensitive and competent translation of "Solitude", it seems that she was aware of its potential radicalism, and purges the text of some of the most visible impieties.

All the French poems Philips chose to translate share one characteristic—their popularity in contemporary French polite and courtly circles. They manifest her desire both to experiment with continental genres and also to discover exciting new texts in the context of intense transnational cultural exchanges on the one hand, and of a revival of aristocratic and court culture in England and Ireland on the other. Her rapport with French literature therefore must also be understood as strategic from the perspective of her ambitions as an author, in literary as well as social terms. As *Pompey* gained her access to the Dublin aristocracy, and was likely to have also advanced her in London, had she lived longer, her shorter translations show her trying her hand at various continental genres, including the court air and two different forms of pastoral: all genres that had been fashionable in France at court and in salons for quite some time.⁶⁵ They also bear witness to her knowledge of, and interest in, music, especially the social air or song; her involvement with the musical milieu of her time is a promising area for future research. Finally, her choice of Saint-Amant as a source shows an interesting hiatus between her own literary style, and a slightly older, popular French text which had already reached the status of a classic in France. It is also a text whose radical implications open up an intriguing perspective on Philips: she was obviously aware of the radicalism of this ambitious poem, and shows some anxiety about its most extreme aspects. This poem should perhaps be read as engaging with the Epicurean revival of the 1650s, which, for instance, prompted Lucy Hutchinson to translate Lucretius in the same years; as such, it sheds an intriguing light on Philips's oeuvre as a whole. By translating "Solitude", Philips showed versatility, boldness and literary flair. She also showed that she was not intimidated by the potentially radical (blithely unchristian) implications of the original French poem, although she slightly attenuates its most extreme aspects. Her interest in French poetry as a whole testifies to her wide-ranging interests in contemporary literature as well as to her intellectual and literary ambition.

NOTES

¹ See *Pompey. A Tragædy* (Dublin, 1663). For a study of the impact of Philips's dramatic translations, see for instance Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes; Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998) 147-91; Hero Chalmers,

Royalist Women Writers, 1650-1689 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004) 86-95; Catherine Cole Mambretti, "Orinda on the Restoration Stage," *Comparative Literature* 37.3 (1985): 233-51; and Christopher Wheatley, "'Your Fetter'd Muse': The Reception of Katherine Philips' *Pompey*," *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research*, 7 (1992): 18-28.

² As a notable exception, see William Roberts, "Saint-Amant, Orinda and Dryden's Miscellany," *English Language Notes* 1 (1963-4): 191-6, and "The Dating of Orinda's French Translations," *Philological Quarterly* 49 (1970): 56-67.

³ *Poems, by the most deservedly Admired Mrs. Katherine Philips, the matchless Orinda* (London: Henry Herringman, 1667).

⁴ For a political reading of the songs, see Anne Russell, "Katherine Philips as Political Playwright: 'The Songs Between the Acts' in *Pompey*," *Comparative Drama* 44.3 (2010): 299-300.

⁵ See for instance Nancy Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration. English Tragicomedy, 1660-1671* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992) 37, 65, and Mambretti. For a study of Philips's reputation in the Restoration and eighteenth century, see Paula Loscocco, "'Manly Sweetness': Katherine Philips among the Neoclassicals," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 56.3 (1993): 259-79; and Paul Salzman, *Reading Early Modern Women's Writing* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006) 196-8.

⁶ Roberts, "Saint-Amant".

⁷ For the circumstances around the production of *Pompey* in Dublin in 1663 which this article will not deal with, see for instance Christopher Morash, *A History of Irish Theatre, 1601-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 28; Beal 159-61; William Smith Clark, *The Early Irish Stage: The Beginnings to 1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 60; Catharine Gray, "Katherine Philips and the Post-Courtly Coterie," *English Literary Renaissance* 32.3 (2002): 426-51, and "Katherine Philips in Ireland," *English Literary Renaissance* 39.3 (2009): 557-85; and Andrew Shifflett, *Stoicism, Politics, and Literature in the Age of Milton: War and Peace Reconciled* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998) 75-106.

⁸ For a study of drama at the court of Henrietta Maria and its relationship to *préciosité*, see most particularly Karen Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006) and Erica Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989).

⁹ On Philips and friendship, see for instance Penelope Anderson, *Friendship's Shadows: Women's Friendship and the Politics of Betrayal in England, 1640-1705* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2012) 69-112, and Cottegnies, "'Leaves of Fame': Katherine Philips and Robert Herrick's Shared Community," in *Lords of Wine and Oile: Community and Conviviality in the Poetry of Robert Herrick*, ed. Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011) 127-52. On the subject of Philips's interest in *préciosité*, see Chalmers 56-104.

¹⁰ Books IX and X of La Calprenède's *Cleopatra* were translated as *Hymen's praeludia, or, Loves master-piece being the ninth, and tenth part of that so much admir'd romance intituled Cleopatra... by J.D.* (London, 1659). On Philips and romance, see Alex Davis, *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003) 169-201, and Patrick Thomas, "Introduction," *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips, The Matchless Orinda*, ed. Patrick Thomas, G. Greer, and R. Little, 3 vols (Stump Cross: Stump Cross Books, 1990-3) 1: 8-9. (Hereafter each volume of *The Collected Works* is cited as CW.)

¹¹ La Calprenède, *Cassandra the fam'd romance: the whole work in five parts* (London, 1652).

¹² See for instance Gesa Stedman, *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century France and England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013) 63-108.

¹³ On Orrery's complex politics, see Gray, "Katherine Philips in Ireland," 557-85; Mambretti, Christopher Morash, *A History of Irish Theatre, 1601-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 28; and Wheatley. Rosalinde Schut sees Philips as being manipulated by Orrery in "'La Femme Forte': Katherine Philips and the Politics of Her Dublin Writings, 1662-3," *Early Modern English Women Testing Ideas*, ed. Jo Wallwork and Paul Salzman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011) 107-19.

¹⁴ For Corneille's cultural importance for Philips, see Sophie Tomlinson, *Women on Stage in Stuart Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005) 202. On the influence of Corneille in the Restoration, see Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration* 54-5; and Dorothea Frances Canfield's classic study, *Corneille and Racine in England: A Study of the English Translations of the Two Corneilles and Racine, with Especial Reference to Their Presentation on the English Stage* (New York: Columbia UP, 1904).

¹⁵ Chalmers 97 and Mambretti. See my "K. Philips and Corneille: Of the Importance of Being a Translator," in *Early Modern Cultures of Translation*, ed. Karen Newman and Jane Tylus (Philadelphia, PA: U of Pennsylvania P, 2015) 221-35.

¹⁶ Danielle Clarke, "The Politics of Translation and Gender in the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie*," *Translation and Literature* 6.2 (1997): 149-66 (149). On translation for women as a worthy cultural activity, see, among many others, Salzman 12-14; Deborah Uman, *Women as Translators in Early Modern England* (Newark, DE: U of Delaware P, 2012); and Danielle Clarke, *The Politics of Early Modern Women's Writing* (London: Longman, 2001).

¹⁷ Bill Overton, "From French Verse to English: Behn's Version of Tallemant's *Le Voyage De L'isle D'amour* (1663)," *Women's Writing* 22.1 (2015) 56-68 (56-7).

¹⁸ For Behn as a translator, see Overton, as well as my "Aphra Behn's French Translations," *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn*, ed. Derek Hughes and Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004) 221-34; and Elizabeth Spearing, "Aphra Behn: The Politics of Translation," *Aphra Behn Studies*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996) 154-76.

¹⁹ CW3 92-118.

²⁰ CWI 196-7, and 198. In the manuscript source which is used as copy text in the Thomas edition, "*Song to the tune of Adieu Phillis*" (title from the 1667 edition) is entitled "To my Lord Biron's tune of—Adieu Phillis" (CWI 198). Lord Biron has not been identified with any certainty (CWI 375).

²¹ Elizabeth Hageman and Andrea Sununu, "New Manuscript Texts and Katherine Philips, the 'Matchless Orinda'," *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700* 4 (1993): 174-219 (205). Hageman and Sununu also point out that some translations, like the Italian song "Amanti ch'in pianti" (the source of which, an anonymous song, was found in a collection of Italian songs), were transcribed in the Rosania manuscript only after Philips's death in 1664 (205).

²² Roberts, "The Dating of Orinda's French Translations". The exception, Saint-Amant's "Solitude", was first published (surreptitiously) in 1623 in Camus's novel *Hermiante*, and in 1627 in Théophile's *Les Dernières Œuvres de Théophile* (Paris, 1627). It was reclaimed by Saint-Amant in the authorized edition of his *Œuvres* (Paris, 1629), a volume reprinted many times. Philips used a post-1629, corrected edition which included the name of the dedicatee, Maignart de Bernières in lieu of the fictional name Alcidon that originally appeared at the beginning of the eighteenth stanza of the 1629 edition. There is no means of knowing exactly which edition Philips used, in spite of what is suggested in the edition of the *Complete Works* (CW3 94 n.1). See Saint-Amant, *Œuvres*, t. 1, ed. Jacques Bailbé (Paris, Marcel Didier, 1971) XX-XXI and 46, var. 171.

²³ CW3 16.

²⁴ John Philips's 1677 translation of the novel (*Almahide, or, The captive queen an excellent new romance, never before in English*) does not include the song.

²⁵ *Hymen's praeludia* sig. (a).

²⁶ Hageman and Sununu 205.

²⁷ Many thanks to Delphine Denis and Christophe Schuwey (who is currently writing a Ph.D. at the Université Paris-Sorbonne on Donneau de Visé) for their insight into this attribution, based on internal evidence.

²⁸ 3^e partie (Paris, 1660) 34. "Tender desires, love's sweet offspring, / Go, take possession of Sylvie's mind, / Then quickly back to mine return. / That is the only way to save my life. / But if you cannot fire her up, / Then leave my heart, and don't come back" (my translation). The song is also listed with a second stanza further down in the same volume (91-2). The annotation in the Rosania manuscript, National Library of Wales MS NLW 776B ("Recueil 3^e partie p. 225") might be erroneous, however, unless the original source is different.

²⁹ CW3 92.

³⁰ One poem was published with its score in Lawes's *Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues* (London, 1655). See Joan Applegate, "Katherine Philips's 'Orinda upon Little Hector': An Unrecorded Musical Setting by Henry Lawes," *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700* 4 (1993): 272-80 (especially 273-5).

³¹ *Recueil des plus beaux vers qui ont été mis en chant*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Charles de Sercy, 1661). Two further volumes were published in 1667 and 1668.

³² *Recueil des plus beaux vers* 21. "Go, go, tender sighs, / Go and confess my desires / To the beauty I love; / Make love to her so / That she knows about my love, / Without my having to tell her. / Go deep down into her heart" (my translation); song set to music by Le Camus.

³³ "Sarabande," *Recueil des plus beaux vers* 6. "Go, sighs, go and find Sylvia, / To confess my suffering; / Tell her in sum that I am dying, / And that as she is taking my life, / I have for her eyes so much fear and love, / That she shall lose much, when I lose the sight of day"; song also set to music by Le Camus.

³⁴ See Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Laura Naudeix, eds, *La Fabrique des paroles de musique en France à l'Age classique* (Wavre: Mardaga, n.d. [2010])—in particular, Thomas Leconte, "Les textes d'airs anciens dans les *Recueils de vers mis en chant* (1661-1680): 'Remarques curieuses' sur l'art d'éditer des 'paroles de musique'" 221-51. See also Anne-Madeleine Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité au XVIIe siècle. Les livres d'airs de différents auteurs publiés chez Ballard de 1658 à 1694* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004).

³⁵ XVI. *Livre d'Airs de différents auteurs à deux parties* (Paris, 1673) fols 28v-29. The song is listed in Anne-Madeleine Goulet, *Paroles de musique (1658-1694): Catalogue des livres d'airs de différents auteurs publiés chez Ballard* (Wavre: Mardaga, 2007) 620. It comes with the music, by Antoine Carré, Sieur de la Grange (author of the words unknown), an air in C major for two voices: "Adieu, belle Phillis, je vais loin de tes charmes, / Passer mes tristes jours, / Et mourir de langueur: / Je n'auray plus du moins, ces mortelles alarmes / Que tes yeux donnoient à mon cœur". An undated manuscript version of this song at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* contains the variant "Adieu, Philis, adieu, je vais loin de tes charmes finir ma triste vie" for the first two lines (Goulet, *Paroles, ibid.*). See my "New Sources for Two Songs by Katherine Philips," *Appositions: Studies in Renaissance / Early Modern Literature & Culture*, 7 (2014), 25 Nov. 2014 <appositions.blogspot.fr/2014/07/line-cottegnies-two-songs-by-katherine.html>.

³⁶ Hageman and Sununu 200.

³⁷ The libretto was published as *Ballet Royal De l'Impatience. Dansé par sa Majesté le 19. Fevrier 1661* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1661).

³⁸ Guy Patin, letter dated 18 February 1661, in *Lettres choisies*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1692) 561. See my "New Sources for Two Songs" for more details. For the participation of Henrietta Maria and her followers in the culture of the French ballet, see Britland 208-15.

³⁹ For speculation about the networks involved, see “New Sources for Two Songs”.

⁴⁰ <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1036632/f17.image> (consulted 18 November 2014).

See “New Sources for Two Songs” note 6.

⁴¹ “Pour une Sérénade. Chantée par M. le Gros. Accompagné d’un Concert de plusieurs instruments” (*Ballet Royal De l’Impatience* 18-19). “Are we not too happiest, / Beautiful Iris, what do you think? / The two of us thus together, / In quiet, mutual conversation? / The night with its gloomy veils / Is covering our ardent desires, / And love and the Stars / Are our secret confidants” (my literal translation).

⁴² See *Suite de la Troisième partie du Recueil des plus beaux vers qui ont été mis en chant, 3^e partie* (Paris: Robert Ballard, n.d.) 205. On the generic transformation of the “air de ballet” into the “air de cour”, see Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité* 624-8.

⁴³ *CWI* 196.

⁴⁴ See Stedman 23-62.

⁴⁵ For Saint-Amant’s influence on English poets, see L. E. Kastner, “Saint-Amant and the English Poets,” *Modern Language Review* 26.2 (1931): 180-2; on Fairfax, Philip Major, ““Oh, how I love these Solitudes: Thomas Fairfax and the Poetics of Retirement,” *England’s Fortress: New Perspectives on Thomas, 3rd Lord Fairfax*, ed. Andrew Hopper and Philip Major (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014) 160-92 (177-91); on Marvell, see among many Graham Hammill, *The Mosaic Constitution: Political Theology and Imagination from Machiavelli to Milton* (Chicago, IL: U of Chicago P, 2012) 190-207; on Cowley and Philips, see Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013) 81-112 (more particularly 94-7).

⁴⁶ Kastner 180.

⁴⁷ Saint-Amant, *Œuvres*, ed. Jean Lagny, Vol. 3 (Paris: Didier, 1969). See also Jean Lagny, *Le Poète Saint-Amant (1594-1661). Essai sur sa Vie et ses Œuvres* (Paris: Nizet, 1964) 274.

⁴⁸ *The Poems of Thomas Lord Fairfax*, ed. Edward Bliss Reed (New Haven: Yale UP, 1909) 263-9.

⁴⁹ Thomas Stanley, *Poems* (London, 1651); Edward Sherburne, *Miscellaneous Poems* (London, 1651). An anonymous version of Saint-Amant’s “Sonnet on the smoking pipe” was formerly attributed to the Scottish poet Sir Robert Aytoun, but Kastner points out that Aytoun died too early to be the actual translator (Kastner 181).

⁵⁰ For the theme of retirement as a politicized royalist trope, see for instance James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: The Drawn Sword* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), and Scott-Baumann 94-7. See also Susan Clarke, “Marvell in Royalist Gardens,” *Andrew Marvell Society* 2.2 (2010), 20 Nov. 2014 <<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/marvellociety/newsletter/susan-a-clarke-marvell-in-royalist-gardens/>>. For Philips and retirement, see most particularly Chalmers 72-82 and 105, and Sarah Prescott, ““That private shade, wherein my Muse was bred”: Katherine Philips and the Poetic Spaces of Welsh Retirement,” *Philological Quarterly* 88.4 (2009): 345-64.

⁵¹ The poem is cited from the 1667 edition of Philips’s *Poems*, as reproduced in *CW3* 223-31, but I have corrected the typos.

⁵² See for instance Maurice Lévy, *Le Roman gothique anglais (1764-1824)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995) 185, n. 179.

⁵³ See for instance Salvatore Rosa, *Rocky Landscape with a Huntsman and Warriors*, Musée du Louvre, Paris (c. 1670), or *Witches at Their Incantations*, National Gallery (c. 1646) for two complementary aspects of Rosa’s gloomy imagination. It is well known that Rosa inspired Ann Radcliffe, among others, and is associated in the eighteenth century with the Gothic. See for instance Dale Townshend and Angela Wright (ed.), *Ann Radcliffe, Romanticism and the Gothic* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014) 20. The atmosphere

described in Saint-Amant's poem is also reminiscent of the poetry of the great Spanish poet Gongorà, who was his contemporary.

⁵⁴ My translation.

⁵⁵ "Que je trouve doux l[e] ravage" (CW3 224).

⁵⁶ Stanza 6; see CW3 225 for the French version and 96 for Philips's. "Here a hundred thousand water birds / Live quietly without fearing, / The clever and eager game hunter / And his mortal snares" (my translation).

⁵⁷ Scott-Baumann 94-5.

⁵⁸ Stanza 4 : "How sweet seems to me the devastation / Wrought by these fierce, vagabond torrents" (my translation).

⁵⁹ CW3 224. The copy-text for this poem is the Rosania manuscript.

⁶⁰ For a further study of the 1667 edition, see Gillian Wright, *Producing Women's Poetry, 1600-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013) 130-44.

⁶¹ Stanza 15, CW3 100. See Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, ed. W. H. D. Rouse (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1992) 2.1-19 (94-5).

⁶² CW3 101.

⁶³ Saint-Amant's use of "les cieux", or heaven, does suggest here a religious subtext.

⁶⁴ "How happy are my eyes / To see those woods which were there at the beginning of time" (stanza 1, CW3 223, my translation).

⁶⁵ The posthumous staging of Philips's *Horace* clearly shows that she had drawn the attention of some of the literati at court.

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