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Brean S. Hammond

THE DUNCIAD AND THE CITY: POPE AND HETEROTOPIA

I

Writing on James Joyce, the critic Jeri Johnson points to the Irish writer's aspiration "to give a picture of Dublin so complete that if the city one day suddenly disappeared from the earth, it could be reconstructed out of my book" (Johnson 60). This prompts for Johnson the question how far literary cities are imaginative constructions and how far, on the contrary, they reflect the material realities of the city at particular stages of historical development. Johnson's view is that the latter possibility is routinely neglected in favor of the former, which she claims is the usual starting point of literary criticism. Another routine starting point, however, is that this issue first becomes acute with respect to literary modernism, given its unprecedented attention to urban consciousness. Franco Moretti is influential, for example, in arguing that

what *distinguishes* the city ... is that its spatial structure ... is functional to the intensification of *mobility*; spatial mobility naturally enough, but mainly *social* mobility. The dazzling rapidity of success and ruin is the great theme of the nineteenth-century novel from Balzac to Maupassant: with it the city enters modern literature and becomes ... its obligatory context. (qtd. in Bridge and Watson 7)

Spatial and social mobility afforded by the city is not exclusively, however, a post-Romantic preserve. I contend in this article that Alexander Pope's *The Dunciad* (1728–43) has a fair claim to being the first literary work to raise the question of the *production* of space in recognizably modern form. *The Dunciad* compels its readers to ask *both* questions posed by Jeri Johnson: how closely is Pope's London based on the material actuality of the Stuart and Georgian city? What is the nature of the poet's imaginative transformation of it? That these are not *new* questions and that contemporary readers of Pope's poem were also compelled to ask them, is attested in John Dennis's exasperated reaction to Book 2 in his *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Dunciad* (1729), where he is incensed by the affront upon verisimili-

tude committed by Pope's setting the heroic games near the church of St. Mary-le-Strand. Only with a crudely reductive notion of probability can Dennis combat Pope's mythologized space:

What Probability in the Games which take up a third Part of the Piece? Is it not monstrous to imagine any Thing like that in the Master Street of a populous City; a Street eternally crowded with Carriages, Carts, Coaches, Chairs, and Men passing in the greatest Hurry about Private and Publick Affairs? (Dennis 2: 362)

What Dennis responds to here is *The Dunciad's* provoking way of overlaying upon one another different kinds and conceptions of space—a peculiar *layering* effect. Pope utilizes the reader's personal knowledge of a particular material space, but superimposes on that space events that could not possibly take place within it—events that the reader's very knowledge of the nature of the space renders impracticable and impossible. What we might term Pope's use of "hyperspacing" perhaps suggests that Johnson's dichotomy is a false one. One novel aspect of Pope's use of space is its rendering inseparable material reality and imaginative transformation. This essay's exploration of *The Dunciad's* cultural geography will focus upon the conditions that produce novel conceptions of imaginative spatialization in the poem.

I

Much of the best recent work on *The Dunciad* has shown that, rather than Pope's London representing something *other* than itself, encoding a set of ethical, political, or metaphysical meanings, it represents *at least* itself. Biographical work on the main personae and charting, for example, of the routes taken by and the rituals attendant on the Lord Mayor's procession and the coronation have exposed the material vertebrae of the poem, its rich inspissation in contemporary material culture.¹ Yet it is at once obvious to readers who work their way through the voluminous prefatory matter that Pope intends the urban geography of *The Dunciad* to signify in a densely allusory and symbolic way. Based around a set of adjudications on inclusion and exclusion, *The Dunciad's* very structure, the principles that govern it as a physical object and a piece of bookmaking, is determined by the question of material space. How much space is there in the poem, and who should fill it? In the section of the prefatory material devoted to "Testimonies of Authors," Pope quotes a letter from James

Moore Smythe that indirectly claims Pope's *Memoirs of a Parish Clerk* to be a satire on Gilbert Burnet. In response, Pope cites the Earl of Peterborough as a witness that Smythe himself was the real enemy of Burnet, but he at once faces the question of the juxtaposition of such individuals, Peterborough and Smythe, on the same physical page, and hence in the same imaginative universe:

Here in truth should we crave pardon of all the foresaid right honourable and worthy personages, for having mentioned them in the same page with such weekly riff-raff railers and rhymers; but that we had their ever-honoured commands for the same; and that they are introduced not as witnesses in the controversy, but as witnesses that cannot be controverted; not to dispute, but to decide. (Rumbold 56)²

The main objective of the prefatory material is to justify Pope's filling up of the space, who's in and who's out—"it is not every Knave, nor (let me add) Fool, that is a fit subject for a Dunciad" (78)—and to deal with *prima facie* objections to that. Should hack writers' poverty be a reason for pillorying them in a satiric work? "Poverty itself becomes a just subject of satire, when it is the consequence of vice, prodigality, or neglect of one's lawful calling; for then it increases the public burden, fills the streets and high-ways with Robbers, and the garrets with Clippers, Coiners, and Weekly Journalists" (34–45). What the prefatory material makes clear is the extent to which the poem's space is a *contested* space, its spatial tactics calculated to reimpose cultural control in the face of perceived threats:

We shall next declare the occasion and the cause which moved our poet to this particular work. He lived in those days, when (after Providence had permitted the invention of Printing as a scourge for the sins of the learned) Paper also became so cheap, and Printers so numerous, that a deluge of Authors covered the land: Whereby not only the peace of the honest unwriting subject was daily molested, but unmerciful demands were made of his applause, yea of his money, by such as would neither earn the one, nor deserve the other. (Rumbold 70–71)

The Dunciad is in itself a contested space, this is to say; and every aspect of it as a material object makes this clear, from the jostling of footnote against text for room on the page to the way in which Pope has modeled the phys-

ical appearance of the finished product upon prestigious bookmaking in an earlier era.³ The inclusion of such devices as “Testimonies of Authors” (43) and in the appendices, “A LIST of BOOKS, PAPERS, and VERSES, in which our Author was abused, before the Publication of the DUNCIAD” (367), alongside the multiplicity of commentators and editors, suggests that no single author is in overall control of this project. Surely, the reader asks, no self-respecting author would have included tables in which parallel lists of “Names bestow’d on Mr. DRYDEN” and on “Mr. POPE” (394-95) are drawn up? Individuals and their cultural values have infiltrated the poem, its structure suggests, against its author’s express desire.

As well as *being* a culturally contested site, the poem also *represents* or *stages* cultural contest. In my own earlier writing on the poem, I put the argument that Pope, Jonathan Swift, John Gay, Henry Fielding, and the early Samuel Johnson are a group of writers upon whom identity is conferred by their opposition to many aspects of the “whig” narrative of historical progress, and by their devising of parodic and ironic literary forms that express this opposition powerfully (Hammond 1990).⁴ Ancients not moderns, militantly impolite, satirists rather than cultivators of the easy style, sensing oppression rather than liberty—the so-called Scriblerians are profoundly counter-cultural figures. Consonant with this conception, I have discussed *The Dunciad* as dramatizing the struggle between the purveyors of low-brow, popular, and irrational culture, and those who wish to prevent their infiltration into respectable vicinities. The struggle is represented as being fought over territory. One part of the city of London is set against another, as the “Smithfield muses” migrate westward toward St. James’s Palace and Westminster.

We can pick up the overtones of class struggle in Martinus Scriblerus’s introduction to the 1743 edition, where Pope is resuscitating anxieties about the domination and control of space that first became apparent during the post-conflagration rebuilding of London in the later seventeenth century—an issue to which we will return. As Martinus Scriblerus puts it in his essay on the poem:

[no Action] could be more [remarkable] than ... the restoration of the reign of Chaos and Night, by the ministry of Dulness their daughter, in the removal of her imperial seat from the City to the polite World; as the Action of the Aeneid is the restoration of the empire of Troy, by the removal of the race from thence to Latium. (Rumbold 72)

The 1729 variorum edition speaks of the “introduction of the lowest diversions of the rabble in *Smithfield* to be the entertainment of the court and town” (Butt 395), even more graphically dramatizing the stepping westward of the uncivilized hordes from north and east. Pope’s overlaying of Virgil’s cultural geography in *The Aeneid* with his own in *The Dunciad* makes the point that his literary London is both an actual, material city and a transformation of it for particular semiotic purposes. It will appear in Book 3, when Cibber is being shown “the past triumphs of the Empire of Dulness” (Rumbold 218) by Settle’s ghost, that those are cast typologically in terms of earlier migrations from north and east to west by the uncivilized hordes:

The North by myriads pours her mighty sons,
Great nurse of Goths, of Alans, and of Huns!
See Alaric’s stern port! the martial frame
Of Genseric! and Attila’s dread name!
See the bold Ostrogoths on Latium fall;
See the fierce Visigoths on Spain and Gaul!
(Book 3, lines 89–94; Rumbold 230)

Invading the pleasant purlieux of Westminster and St. James therefore, the scribbling barbarians are completing work done by those who destroyed the civilization of Rome, and reversing the heroic deeds chronicled in *The Aeneid* by those who began it.

II

The Dunciad, then, plays host to a condition of social conflict, engaging actors whose control of resources and access to power is differentiated according to their status. It is to this extent a *contested* space. But this is only one aspect of a broader sense in which the poem is novel and unique in its manipulation of space. It is a landmark in the imaginative invention of spatial practice. Representation of space in *The Dunciad*, and the respects in which the poem itself becomes a new space of representation, is an underexplored dimension of Pope’s art; and my own perception of this is assisted by the insights afforded in theoretical writing in postmodern geography. Recent work within the discipline of geography has emphasized that whereas we have a relatively sophisticated understanding of the dimension of time, the axis of space is not as adequately conceptualized. Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space* (first French publication 1974)

was the first writer to speak of space as “produced” and “reproduced,” as representing “the site and outcome of social, political and economic struggles” (Woods 119; Lefebvre). Lefebvre draws a tripartite distinction between *experienced material spatial practices* that occasion physical infrastructures in transport and the built environment; the *representation of space in perception* resulting in various semiotic and mapping systems; and *spaces of representation in the imagination* where dwell utopian plans, imaginary landscapes, mythologies of space and place, and poetics of space. Distinctions here are not entirely hard and fast, but our main concern is with the imaginative appropriation in art of processes actually occurring in material spatial practice, the engendering of imagined spatial representations by changing social formations. Here I would point to two separate but related processes—events actually taking place in the built environment of London immediately prior to and during the period of Pope’s creative life—that might provide a material basis for the understanding of the poet’s spatial reconceptualization: the rebuilding of the City of London after the Great Fire, and the development of the “Town” or west end of “suburban” London.

T. F. Reddaway, the most authoritative historian of the rebuilding of London after the fire, writes:

statisticians were to compute the destruction at 13,200 houses, the Royal Exchange, the Custom House and the halls of 44 of the city Companies, the Guildhall and nearly all the City buildings, St. Paul’s itself and 87 of the parish churches besides furniture and commodities valued at over three and a half million pounds. (26)

For at least a decade after the final embers were extinguished, the City of London was an area unusually transparent, its infrastructure and the relation between social forms of living and the architectural environment peculiarly open to view. Plans presented by Sir Christopher Wren, Robert Hooke, and others to reconceive the ravaged area on utopian lines were overtaken by the City’s pressing need to reactivate commerce and retain its population, so the issues up for negotiation were the very down-to-earth ones, prescribing the heights and building materials of houses erected on existing sites, and street plans, dictating widths of streets so as to eliminate alleys impassable to vehicular traffic and ensuring that the pre-conflagration encroachments on the walkways by jutties, shop signs, embellishments to buildings and so forth did not recur. Although much of the secular rebuilding took place in the decade following the fire before

Pope was born, the religious building and some of the public building went on for much longer. St. Paul's, for instance, was not completed until 1710; and the evidence of transformation and renewal was everywhere in the City for many years to come. Daniel Defoe, for instance, could write in the 1720s of "new squares and new streets rising up every day to such a prodigy of buildings that nothing in the world does, or ever did equal it, except old Rome in Trajan's time" (*Tour through the Whole Island* 101). And indeed, John Dennis's difficulty in reading Pope's location for the heroic games in Book 2 is a direct consequence of architectural change following Queen Anne's church-building program. St. Mary-le-Strand is erected on the former site of the maypole:

Amid that area wide they took their stand,
Where the tall may-pole once o'er-look'd the Strand;
But now (so ANNE and Piety ordain)
A Church collects the saints of Drury-lane.
(*Dunciad* Book 2, lines 27–30; Rumbold 150–51)

It might once have been a credible site for game-playing, Dennis might think, but surely cannot be now, consecrated ground as it now is. Pope's lines make clear, however, that a church located here can only be a sink for the prostitutes ("saints") of theater-land around Drury. The reader is asked to receive an image of a well-known, if recent, landmark building, to consider the history of its site and to register the appropriation of that history for satirical purposes. This is altogether typical of the complexity of Pope's spatial awareness.

An infancy spent just off Lombard Street, one of the key streets in the rebuilding because it housed the main City centers of finance, must have alerted the young poet to the degree of urban transformation, even if only in stories told him by his parents. Imagining at the opening of his *Dunciad* the "Cave of Poverty and Poetry" situated, the poem tells us, close to Bethlem Hospital in Moorfields northwest of the City (rebuilt in the 1670s to designs by Robert Hooke), it is surely possible that Pope has in mind, amongst several other possible sites, Gresham College—very close to Lombard Street and the seat of City administration in the immediate aftermath of the fire.⁵

After the fire, some of the City's burnt-out richer denizens did not come back. A major anxiety for the City authorities was to limit the migration of its wealthier citizens, those who would traditionally accept public office, westward into the main development areas. Between the periods

The Dunciad *and the City: Pope and Heterotopia*

of Restoration and Regency, London's architectural development served to make it a more socially segregated city than any other in Europe: a city in which address was the clearest possible indicator of social status. Speaking of John Nash's development of Regent Street and Regent's Park at the end of the eighteenth century, Roy Porter (1983) comments that

[b]y restricting eastern access to Regent Street, Nash's route succeeded, in Sir John Summerson's phrase, in "damming up Soho," and London's grandest thoroughfare thereby became its social barrier, with Portland Place and Regent Street screening the fashionable West End from *déclassé* quarters. "No family of ton can breathe eastward of Berkeley Square," remarked the *World* magazine in 1787: Regent Street embodied that observation. (127)

One can offer, as a reasonably straightforward example of the way in which imaginative and material processes of spatialization interact, a passage from Dryden's 1672 play *Marriage à la Mode*:

DORALICE: That's very true. Your little courtier's wife, who speaks to the King but once a month, need but go to a town lady, and there she may vapor and cry, "The King and I," at every word. Your town lady, who is laughed at in the circle, takes her coach into the city, and there she's called "your honor" and has a banquet from the merchant's wife, whom she laughs at for her kindness. And, as for my finical cit, she removes but to her country house and there insults over the country gentlewoman that never comes up, who treats her with frumenty and custard and opens her dear bottle of *mirabilis* beside for a gill glass of it at parting. (3.1.181-93)

Sense of place is here stratified and hierarchized into a pecking order—court, town, city, and country—that appropriates for the imagination processes actually occurring in material spatial practice, and perceived in representations of space. Outside the theater as we have noted, the rebuilding of the fire-ravaged City of London was accelerating the process of suburbanization and the westward migration of established tradesmen, professionals, and artisans into Lincoln's Inn Fields, Covent Garden, and the Strand, which in turn shifted the gentle and the titled into Soho, St. James's, and Mayfair. The 1660s and 70s saw large-scale development by aristocrats of great palaces and estates close to St. James's into fashionable residential

housing—the areas of Piccadilly, St. James’s Street, the Haymarket, and Pall Mall that Doralice is referring to when she speaks of the “town.” In the year of the play’s performance, the Duke of Buckingham’s York House was sold to Nicholas Barbon for conversion into new streets. Restoration theater—through the localizations of setting it includes and the imaginary exclusion zones it establishes, its spaces of fear, ritual, and repression—is a transformation of the flows of people, goods, money, and power that are apparent at a time and in a city where these processes are more than usually laid open to view. First Covent Garden, then the development of the great squares—Hanover, Berkeley, and Grosvenor; Cavendish, Portman, and Manchester; Bloomsbury, Bedford, and Russell: by 1800, the east/west divide in London was accomplished and patent.

III

Envisaging as it does the breaching of that divide through migration out of the City, albeit not on the part of those social groups who were most apparently involved in so doing, *The Dunciad* taps into deep cultural anxieties. The poem’s emphasis on acts of cultural policing, on guarding the barriers between segregated vicinities, is to an extent an imaginative embodiment of invisible demarcation lines instantiated in brick and stone brought about by the rebuilding and development of London. That development, however, also brought imaginative transformation of space, and it is in the almost-phantasmagoric mutations of its places and spaces that *The Dunciad* is most striking. The omniscient voice and the omnipresent focalization of *The Dunciad*’s narrator seem to require an Olympian perch. In his influential essay “Walking in the City,” Michel de Certeau speaks of the observer looking down from the (tragically now demolished) World Trade Center onto the New York traffic circulating below: “An Icarus flying above these waters, he can ignore the devices of Daedalus in mobile and endless labyrinths far below” (92). Such a miniaturizing perspective is part of the poem’s effect, but there is more to it. Let us pick up on what we earlier saw John Dennis responding to in *The Dunciad*’s provoking way of overlaying different kinds and conceptions of space—this strange layering effect. The opening stanzas illustrate the many ways in which the poem interrogates and challenges the reader’s sense of the spatial: “The Mighty Mother, and her Son who brings / The Smithfield Muses to the ear of Kings, / I sing.” (Book 1, lines 1–2; Rumbold 97–98) At once there is a particular location invoked: Smithfield cattle market, located in the densely crowded northwest of the city. Bartholomew Fair, sited on Smithfield,

associates the location with the concept of the Muses, and this will be further developed in Book 3; otherwise, it is the incongruous and mock-heroic association of cattle drovers and literati that the reader registers. Does the reader consider how Smithfield muses might find their way to St. James's through the bottlenecks of Temple Bar and Fleet Street? If that is too specific an act of the imagination, the opening assuredly announces the point about contested space, as refugees from overcrowding threaten to find their way into courtly London. The solidity of Smithfield is to be quickly evaporated, however, as by line 11 we are projected into a chronotope without coordinates: "In eldest time ... Dulness o'er all possess'd her ancient right." (Book 1, lines 9, 11; Rumbold 98–99) "All" combines all terrains, presumably, and all created intelligences. The vast incompassable plains of eternity quickly give place to Swift's Ireland, classicized as "Boeotia." Valerie Rumbold points out in her note that this Hellenized equivalent to Ireland works because Boeotia was a legendarily stupid and rustic part of ancient Greece as modern Ireland was supposed to be of the British Isles (Rumbold 101); but Pope is asking his reader not to activate the usual symbolic accretions of Ireland. *England* is Ireland now, under the transforming power of dullness. Invoking Swift laughing "in Rab'lais' easy chair" (Book 1, line 22; Rumbold 100) provides a domestic picture of Swift at home in the Deanery, a safe vantage point from which to "behold" (but not literally) the coming of the Age of Lead in England: but the exoticism of Renaissance France is also invoked as the erudite reader consults memories of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*.

Well before the poem's first significant *mise en scène* is introduced, the reader has been through many kinds of spatial experience, from the literal-material, to the metaphysical, to the metaphorical. The paragraph commencing at line 29 introduces the Queen of Dulness's "Cave of Poverty and Poetry" (1.34; Rumbold 102). This is almost given a specific address: it is "Close to those walls where Folly holds her throne" (1.29; Rumbold 101), that is close to Bethlehem Hospital in Moorfields, just north of London Wall on the site of modern Finsbury Park. As I have suggested earlier, Pope may have Gresham College in mind here, situated between Broad Street and Bishopsgate Street, a stone's throw from Bedlam. Given this approximate location, how, the reader wonders, can it also engender the production of "Curl's chaste press, and Lintot's rubric post" (1.40; Rumbold 104), since both publishers were firmly located in Fleet Street? Space in the poem is and is not specific: it is where it is, and Pacman-like, assumptive of other spaces. If this suggestion of location near Bedlam might help to anchor our experience of the Queen's "Cell" and help us

to believe in the print factory or print nursery or insectarium that Pope will put there, we soon find any firm sense of place complicated by the allegorical figures of the “four guardian Virtues” (Book 1, line 46) that support the Queen’s throne. Whether these are woodcarvings, painted decorations, statues—or whatever on earth they are, perhaps simply a nonce reversion to the Spenserian allegorical tradition—is far from easy to discern. Neither is the ontological status of what is on show in the cave easy to establish. Valerie Rumbold’s note in her wonderful recent edition tells us that “Dulness, a parody of a fertility goddess, rejoices in a scene of perverse potential reminiscent of Milton’s Satan’s looking into chaos” (Rumbold 106 n.55–78) but although the parturitions and copulations and transitions that occur in lines 55–78 seem at first to be a spectacle performed for the Queen’s edification, we seem to learn in line 82—“With self-applause her wild creation views”—that none of it has an objective existence separate from her own. What we are seeing is a theatrical masque of anti-creation conjured by the Queen herself. References to real places through the geographical blagues committed by the dunces in their writings—producing rain showers for Egypt, fruits for the Arctic wastes of Novaya Zemblya and flowers for the Libyan desert of Barca—further vex the reader’s grasp on ontology in the passage.

Assuredly, the next act of “seeing” undertaken by the Queen is a seeing with the mind’s eye, a revolving in the memory of those desperately limited “City Swans” (Book 1, line 96; Rumbold 110) who had celebrated Lord Mayor’s Days throughout the ages, but when she perceives Bays/Cibber as the epitome of all this roll-call, we seem to have moved physically into his garret though there were no deictic markers to point up the transition. Cibber’s “Gothic Library! of Greece and Rome / Well purg’d” (Book 1, line 145–46; Rumbold 119) functions partly as do the books in Swift’s *Battle*: through personification and metonymy, books become their authors. But the space here is altogether more phantasmagorical, even hallucinatory, than that, calling to mind the underworld scene in *Rape of the Lock*, as literary genres metamorphose into “running Lead,” (Book 1, line 123; Rumbold 116) and the mind that conceives them changes into a rickety building, while playtexts transform into partially digested lunches. Space here is at the far end of imaginative transformation—almost uncontrolled by ordinary perceptions of space. Sequences from recent films such as *Trainspotting* or *Naked Lunch* would seem to be closer parallels than anything in writing. Dulness appears to transport herself to Cibber’s garret at line 259 in order to extinguish his funeral pyre with a sheet from Ambrose Philips’s *Thule*, and then takes Cibber back with her to her cave. Book 1

ends, however, with as specific and material a reference to real London topography as we find anywhere in it. A mock coronation anthem sounds in the Chapel Royal in St. James's Palace, the Mexican sound wave making its way thence to White's coffee-house, Drury Lane, Mother Needham's brothel in Park Place, St. James's that was especially associated with the Court, the Devil Tavern in Fleet Street, and fetching up in Hockley-in-the-Hole in Smithfield.

We could continue such an account of the spatial coordinates and modes of perceiving space throughout the entire poem, and this would certainly be rewarding: a typology of the poem's spaces would be a useful analytical tool. I have said enough, perhaps, to indicate its extraordinary complexity and deliquescence. I find myself reaching for Foucault's charismatic conception of the "heterotopia" to describe the kind of space that the poem represents. In a lecture given in 1967, but first published in 1984 in French as "Des Espaces Autres" ("Of Other Spaces"), Foucault speaks of real rather than fictive spaces that have a mirror-like relationship to utopias and that he designates "heterotopias":

There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places ... which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.... The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible. (24)

Thus the museum and the library are considered by Foucault to be heterotopias of the nineteenth century, characteristic of the era's passion for accumulation. Given that the theater stage and the cinema screen are two further examples supplied by Foucault, and given what has been said here about *The Dunciad's* appropriation of theater as a site of transformation and anticipation of the cinema as capable of the radical transformation to which the poem seems to aspire, one imagines that Foucault might have accepted *The Dunciad's* claim to represent the heterotopic. Nowhere is this claim stronger than in the series of Ovidian transformations between real creation and imaginary in Book 3, through which Cibber is confronted by an alter ego—his own pantomimic Dr. Faustus, a "sable Sorcerer" (Book 3, line 233; Rumbold 249) who conjures up an alternative creation culled from popular theater that, in a moment of supreme narcissism, the hero is invited to confront as his own and its creator as himself⁶:

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Joy fills his soul, joy innocent of thought;
What pow'r, he cries, what pow'r these wonders wrought?
Son; what thou seek'st is in thee! Look, and find
Each Monster meets his likeness in thy mind.

(Book 3, lines 249–52; Rumbold 251)

Cibber achieves self-definition by gazing at a mirror-image of himself reflected in the anti-creation of his artistic cosmos. He has reached the mirror stage of development. Some years ago, Emrys Jones published an essay, "Pope and Dulness," which, in stressing the sheer vivacity, the pululating energy, the reckless irresponsibility of the poem, drew attention to the poet's immersion in the low and the little, the dabbling in the dirt, that is such a great part of the poem's appeal. I think the overlaying of different spatializations is another aspect of that. In the interests of a resounding conclusion, I will call *The Dunciad* the imaginative representation of the Popean heterotopia.

University of Nottingham

NOTES

¹ See in particular Pat Rogers, "Ermine, Gold and Lawn: The Dunciad and the Coronation of George II," and Brooks-Davies 108-11.

² All quotations from *The Dunciad* are from *The Dunciad in Four Books*. Ed. Valerie Rumbold. Harlow: Longman, 1999.

³ See James McLaverty (2001) for the best available treatment of the relationship between the physical and the semiotic features of Pope's printed book, especially chapter 4.

⁴ See also, for a development of the argument about 'whig' narratives of progress, Hammond, "Is there a Whig Canon?"

⁵ Valerie Rumbold notes that in earlier versions the "Cell" had been in Rag Fair near the Tower of London. She points to other possible associations: the disused foundry in present-day Tabernacle Street, used for Methodist worship post-1739, and Sion College (Rumbold 102).

⁶ This passage actually has a more appropriate reference to the hero of the earlier *Dunciad*, Lewis Theobald, who was responsible for some of the specific pantomimes and special effects represented. See *Dunciad* 250n.

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