CHAPTER 7. THE SATIRIC IMITATION: (i) JUVENAL.

SUMMARY.

(i) The nature of Juvenalian satire, its rhetorical techniques, forms, aims and qualities. The two-fold imitation of Juvenal in England: taking on his satiric temper and forceful personality in a conscious manner, and building a rhetorical scheme around similar themes such as the lust and perfidy of women. 'Juvenalian' satire in England: Hall, Marston and Oldham.

(ii) Generic and selective imitation in the Elizabethan and Restoration periods. Boileau's attempt to combine the qualities of both Juvenal and Horace in the same satire. Characteristic of writers such as Greene (see (v)).

(iii) Comparison between an anonymous paraphrase of the tenth satire, The Wish (1675) and Johnson's and Dryden's versions. 'Modern' translation: Shadwell and Higden. Oldham's consecutive imitation of Boileau's eighth satire (1682).

(iv) Oldham's imitations have the immediacy, pathos, force and circumstantiality of their original, and are in the tradition of Hall and Marston, though not so 'obscure'. Wood's Juvenalis Redivivus (1683) and anti-Puritan, anti-Dissenting satire. The validity of the analogy between the age of Nero and Domitian and the Restoration questioned, making Juvenalian imitations considerably more toned down than their original. Growing emphasis on moral and tragic, and therefore more universal qualities of Juvenal's satire.

Johnson's success in imitating the 'tragic' satire of Juvenal and his verse techniques. The use of Virgilian devices in his two imitations in order to give satire majesty and nobility. How Johnson can shape through the imitation a whole argument, dispensing what is superfluous to it. Criticism of
London (1738) and The Vanity of Human Wishes (1749) set in the context of the tradition of the poetic imitation. Johnson's moral, 'tragic' and universalizing approach to Juvenal.

(v) Imitations after Johnson up to 1780 often totally lacking in true satiric feeling, do not properly consider the intention of the classical poet. The satires of Edward Burnaby Greene are the best of the examples chosen, but Juvenal's tone is absent, even though the original outline is maintained. In the sixth satire, Greene omits the sins castigated in the original - many of which were obviously difficult to find in the eighteenth century - and reduces it to an amusing comedy of manners. In other words, though the form is Juvenal's, the tone is that of 'comic' satire.

(vi) The popularity of Juvenal in England after 1780 has a social and political explanation. Several imitations are concerned with crisis of the aristocracy and follow Juvenal's eighth satire. Notable is a part-imitation written by Wordsworth in 1795.
Chapter 7.

The Satiric Imitation: (ii) Juvenal.

i. Juvenalian Satire.

Though satire is often thought of loosely as a forthright, ironical and usually scathing attack either on prominent men, vices and habits or on a whole social system, this particular kind did not appear in a consistent poetic form in Rome until the satira itself had been established for three hundred years.Juvenal (c. 70-c. 130 A.D.) represented its highest development. He broke with many of the techniques and characteristics of previous satirae, such as the use of prose and mixed metres, the easy, conversational style, the 'medley' or plot-less discourse and the dialogue (the latter remaining to some extent in the first, third and ninth satires, though in a much altered form). Unlike Horace, Juvenal's aim was not to amuse, but to vex, not to laugh at follies, but to lash vices. Horace called his satiras sermones, or 'talks', and had advocated versatility, terseness and constant shifts in the speaking voice as the marks of a good satiric poet:

et sermones opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,
defendentes vicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,
interdum urbani, parentis viribus atque
extenuantibus eas consulto ridiculum acri
fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.

(1) Part of the confusion lies in the misunderstanding of the difference between satire and the satira. For an explanation of the difference with regard to English poetry, see R.M. Alden, The Rise of Formal Satire in England (Philadelphia, 1899), and R.J.E. Tiddy, 'Satura and Satire' in English Literature and the Classics, ed. G.S. Gordon (Oxford, 1912).

(2) Sat. I, x, ll. 11-15.
Juvenal, however, has none of Horace's wit and gaiety, and his invective finds no room for an aloof or mocking self-deprecation, or an indirect manner of establishing a standpoint which is critical of others. Horace was basically an Epicurean; Juvenal, like Persius, was a Stoic, and the last two books of his satires, though they are really epistles, are anything but Horatian, for they bear a close resemblance to the stern, uncompromising and dignified Moral Epistles of Seneca.

However diffuse and irregular some of Juvenal's satires may appear at first - like previous saturae, they make great use of the succession of isolated scenes - they have a thematic, emotional and rhetorical unity; they contain longer periods than those of Horace, and their strength often lies in a moral indignation which seems to sweep everything else aside. Like Seneca too, they are characterized by their sententiae, which are not merely rhetorical climaxes, for they perform various functions. Johnson was one of the few to understand Juvenal's rhetorical power, yet his imitations move with a more deliberate pace, and his paragraph structure, especially in The Vanity of Human Wishes, is more obviously based on anticipatory suspensions, achieved by the repetitive syntax of subordinate clauses, rhetorical questions, and emphatic statements, followed by climactic couplets and falling cadences. Juvenal's satires neither conform to the standard rhetorical pattern of exordium and peroradic, or narratic, followed by the confirmatic and ending with the refutatic - though the tenth satire comes close to this structure - nor do they always contain a series of smaller, ordered units. There is a continual variation in the method of persuasion and dissuasion, characteristic of the poet, not the orator. One thought sparks off another, and the subject-matter has a phoenix-like quality of self-renewal.
In the third satire, for example, Juvenal makes a prolonged attack on the Greeks which, had it been merely the voicing of a narrow-minded prejudice against foreigners, would have gained few sympathizers today. His method, however, is not to rail in an undisciplined fashion, but to build up descriptive details and sketches, all amusingly exaggerated, so that they themselves form into a series of acid statements. He is careful not to appear ignorant, so that the preposterous accusation seems almost justified:

nec tamen Antiochus nec erit mirabilis illic
aut Stratocles aut cum molli Demetrius Haemo:
natio comoeda est. (Il. 98-100).

Johnson's imitation of this passage is slow and his irony less cutting by comparison:

Besides, with justice, this discerning age
Admires their wondrous talents for the stage:
Well may they venture on the mimick's art,
Who play from morn to night a borrow'd part. (1)

Later on in Juvenal, there is a portrait of the poor man, who is the occasion of a jest if his cloak be torn and dirty, if his shoes gape or if patches, stitched with coarse thread, are visible. Then follows the sententia:

nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
quam quod ridiculosis homines facit. (Il. 152-3).

The poor man is then ordered out of the Knight's stalls, and the rich sons of panders, auctioneers and gladiators move in. Who ever attains status

without money? asks Umbricius, and another biting comment completes the paragraph:

ygmine facto
debuerant olim tenues migrasse Quirites. (II. 162-3).

The knife keeps turning in the wound, and we find ourselves, like Juvenal, wrestling with the continuous and active presence of social injustice. Again, Johnson conveys not the running battles against society, or the speaker's agitated voice, so much as a permanent human condition, while he places Juvenal's first sententia at the end of his verse-paragraph.

Nowhere in Juvenal has vice a more active and pervasive energy than in the sixth satire, which Dryden called his 'wittiest', and the first part of which has the satiric adversarius in the person of the naif, a young man about to marry. We have reached the point where guards have to be put on lustful wives, when the hammer-blow descends:

"pone seram, cohibe." Sed quis custodiet ipsos custodes? cauta est et ab illis incipit uxor. (II. 347-8)

Many other instances could be cited where the short, devastating comment and the unforgettable description raise satire to the level of great art. In the tenth satire, for example, Juvenal deals with the sorrows of old age and death, and, like Seneca, reminds us that no life is free of pain and hardship. The exemplum of Priam's wife, however, points to an inevitable degeneration into something less than human (and it is brilliantly paralleled in Johnson by the senile Swift):

exitus illo utcumque hominis, sed torva canino latravit rictu guae post hunc vixerat uxor. (II. 271-2)

(1) Watson, ii, p.146.
Few English satirists could match the techniques of persuasion and dissuasion which Juvenal employs. His juxtapositions build up, with maddening logic, an exaggerated yet closely documented image of corruption, hypocrisy, arrogance, futility, inequality and vain ambition. Unlike Horace, who tries to remain unaffected by human vice and folly, Juvenal, who has to mingle with it, and who knows it intimately, who scour out even its worst depravities, at the same time makes a heroic effort to struggle above it. The rich parvenu who hitches his Tyrian cloak on to his shoulder and airs on his sweating finger a summer ring of gold; a forger borne along upon the necks of six porters; homosexuals who get 'married' and who complain that their clients do not pay enough; the poets who lives in a mice-infested garret and the wealthy glutton who, having consumed a whole feast (alone) dies of indigestion in his huge bath; women gladiators, mothers-in-law who encourage the adultery of their daughters; the wife who daubs her face, chatters with friends or inspects a gold-embroidered robe for width, when the flogging of her tire-woman or her chair-man, bleeding under rod or strap because of some venial fault, can be heard\(^1\) - the list is endless, and the brief portrayals form an integral part of Juvenal's satire. Juvenal is in a position to tell truths others are too compromised to utter. This in itself was a large part of his aim. Restoration satirists were able to compile lists as detailed and as long as his, especially when the topics were society women or political scandal; but they often mistook satire for social commentary, catalogues, and the ability to hang dirty linen in public. Juvenal did much more than that; the society he lived in was very different, and in spite of his declamatory scorn there is in him a humanist dignity, an old Roman gravitas, a belief in landed virtue based on hard toil.

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\(^1\) The examples are taken from Sats. I; I; IX; VII and I; VI; VI respectively.
military prowess, and piety.

The rise of formal satire in England was in part a search for a rhetorical structure. Many types of verse satire arose, some borrowed directly from Horace and Juvenal, such as the dialogue, the set theme in which an adversarius was brought in, and the sermo where different personae were adopted. But there were others, such as the dream or vision, the animal dialogue and fable, 'instructions to painters', as well, of course, as the straight catalogue of satirical scenes and portraits. Juvenal was also equated, however, with a certain type of satiric temper and personality. Up until the Restoration it was this that English poets tried to adopt, as much as the form Juvenal used. Later, satire became more 'polite' and witty. Juvenal's strategy is not at all oblique or 'polite'. In the first satire he asks:

Semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam
vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi? (ll. 1-2)

and later on he utters the famous words, "difficile est saturam non scribere" - where "saturam" has taken on its new meaning. Hall took on the cloak of Juvenal, and so did John Oldham. In the 'Advertisement' to Satyrs upon the Jesuita (1679. pubd. 1685), Oldham pledges endless war, filled as he is with "envenom'd spleen", his pen a stabbing instrument for drawing blood, his ink like Aquaforis." In A Satyr Upon a WOMAN, who by her Falsehood and Scorn.

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(1) A good example of the catalogue is the Earl of Dorset's sensational, savage account of vice in A Faithful Catalogue of Our Most Eminent Minnies (1683). The realistic detail is Juvenalian.

(2) Cf. Donne's third satire, ll. 1-4, "Kind pitty chokes my spleens", etc.
was the Death of my Friend (1681), Oldham proclaims:

I rise in Judgement, am to be to her
Both Witness, Judge, and Executioner:
Arm'd with dire Satyr, and resentful-spite;
I come to haunt her with the ghosts of Wit. (1)

Much discussion took place on the rival merits of Horace and Juvenal and on the different kinds of satire. Henry Peacham wrote:

In his Satyres Horace is quicke, round
and pleasant, and as nothing so bitter, so not so
good as Juvenall: his Epistles are neate, his Poetica
his worst piece, for while he teacheth the Art, he
goeth unartificially to worke even in the very beginning.

Juvenall of Satyrists is the best, for his Satyres
are far better than those of Horace, and though he be
sententiously tart, yet is his phrase cleare and open. (2)

The Earl of Mulgrave's An Essay upon Satyr (1679) (in which Dryden had a hand), preferred the kind of satire that brushed off those specks that spoil the rest of a person's character, and considered it undignified and improper to attack base vices. Juvenal was thus criticized:

In other Things they justly are preferr'd,
In this alone methinks the Antients err'd;
Against the grossest Follies they disclaim;
Hard they pursue, but hunt ignoble Game. (3)

Jonson certainly would not have thought it an error to track down "the grossest Follies." (Though, paradoxically, his most Juvenalian poem is A speach according to Horace which resembles Juvenal's eighth satire, his drama shows the continuing presence of the Roman satirist. (4) A

(1) Works (1696), p. 139.
(3) Poems on Affairs of State (1703), i, p. 179.
(4) Kathryn A. McEuen, 'Jonson and Juvenal,' RES xxv (1945), pp. 92-104, discusses Jonson's use of Juvenal in three main plays, Every Man Out of his Humour, Cinthia's Revels, and The Poetaster. In the latter quoted, translated, imitated, and adapted whole themes from the Roman satirist.
poem entitled In Opposition to Mr. Dryden's Essay on Satyr (1680) stated the case for the Juvenalian type, urging satire to go beyond the law, yet help it in its correction of vice. Dryden himself, however, in A Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire (1692) distinguished his own reaction to the rival merits of Juvenal and Horace. He was aware that different historical periods required different kinds of satire:

There was more need of a Brutus in Domitian's days, to redeem or mend, than of a Horace, if he had been living, to laugh at a fly-catcher. This reflection at the same time excuses Horace, but exalts Juvenal. (1)

Although Horace, says Dryden, is the better poet, Juvenal is the better satirist. Barten Holyday had said:

... surely thou wilt acknowledge Juvenal to be a Poet, but Horace to be some poor Thespian-maker. (2)

"Horace is the more copious and profitable in his instructions of human life", (3) said Dryden, but added that he owed more to Juvenal for his pleasure: (4)

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(1) Watson, ii, p.132.
(3) Watson, ii, p.127.
(4) Watson: "This represents a reversal of opinion since the preface to Sylva (1685), where he calls Horace's satires " incomparably beyond Juvenal's, if to laugh and rally is to be preferred to railing and declaiming". (Ibid., p.127). Taken as a whole, however, one could say that Dryden's criticism comes down clearly on the side of Juvenal."
Juvenal used a powerful but monotonous measure found in Lucan and the later Roman epic: it is not at all 'smooth' or Ovidian, but neither is it harsh, crabbed and uneven. Yet Marston and Oldham eschewed 'smoothness' as a kind of reaction against the sweetness of polite courtly verse, and in doing so they fell far short of their master. (1) Juvenal's style often has a ponderous, booming quality. When Dryden successfully adapted the heroic style to unworthy subjects, this also was Juvenalian. The following, for example, sounds majestically impressive, but the subject is adultery:

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\begin{align*}
\text{paulatim deinde ad superos Astraen recessit} \\
\text{had comite, atque dux pariter fugere sorores.} \\
\text{anticum et votus est alienum, Postume, lectum} \\
\text{concurre atque sacri genium contemnere fulcri.} \\
\end{align*}
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The resultant feeling is that of a sad (but acridly expressed) recognition of human vice.

John Marston's The Scourge of Villanie (1598) consciously equated modern vice with Roman, but Robert Stapyton, who translated the satires in 1647, said:

To none of these exceptions (if my hopes fail me not) will the English Juvenal be liable. For our Nation hath long since disclaimed the Roman power and crimes together: and sure no Englishman will now degenerate, after we have for so many ages bin delivered from their bondage ... (3)

(1) Marston criticized those, however, who termed all satires 'bastard' which were not "palpable darke, and so rough writ, that the hearing of them read, would set a mans teeth on edge". The Poems, ed. A. Davenport (Liverpool Univ. Press, 1961), p. 100.

(2) Satire VI, 11. 19-22.

(3) 'To the Right Honourable ... Henry Lord Marquesse of Dorchester', prefaced to Juvenal's sixteen satyrs or, A Survey of the Manners and Actions of Mankind (1647) A3'en.
Juvenal, said Stapylton, instructs us in point of manners, teaches the world to know and practise virtue, and persecutes vice. Thus he is no longer the gloomy and rough inveigher of the Elizabethans, but a poet who, however pessimistic and gloomy he may seem, asserted what was positive and good. Stapylton saw him as a philosopher, and noted his "sweetnesse of language, Majesty(1) of Sentences", though "in Termes of art" he is still a little obscure.(2) As we shall see later, Boileau was responsible for another change in the conception of the 'right vein of satire', and this tended to deter poets from 'tragical satire.'

Dryden, however, came down on the side of Juvenal in his 1692 Discourse, and for all he praises Horace when it come to "the nicest and most delicate touches of satire"(3) his heart lies with tragical satire since, like tragedy, it alone can purge the passions.

Horace's urbanity, that is, his good manners, are to be commended, but his wit is faint; and his salt, if I may dare to say so, almost insipid. Juvenal is of a more vigorous and masculine wit; he gives me as much pleasure as I can bear; he fully satisfies my expectation; he treats his subject home; his spleen is raised, and he raises mine; I have the pleasure of concernment in all he says; he drives his reader along with him; and when he is at the end of his way, I willingly stop with him. (4)

This is the kind of commendation Juvenal had not received in full before and it justified the importance he had for the Restoration.

Juvenalian satire, then, implies several things, It is a formal

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(1) Dryden also talks of Juvenal's "majestic satire." (Watson, ii, p.124)
(3) Watson, II, p. 128.
(4) Ibid, p. 130.
verse structure, linked, as we have said, rhetorically, thematically and emotionally; it is 'tragical satire', as opposed to the 'comic satire' of Horace; it implies a certain type of satiric personality, one which is committed, and guided by powerful forces — and it is important to remember that this is also evident in Pope, whose imitation of Horace, Sat. II, i, for example, affirms a much more subjectively involved, perhaps a more 'Juvenalian', aim, than Horace. We shall see that in the strict imitations, the satiric personality is present in the Restoration, in Oldham and others, in Johnson, but that it largely disappears in other imitations during the second half of the eighteenth century. The familiar pattern remains, but the true satirical temper becomes atrophied.

ii. Elizabethan and Restoration imitations.

The satires of Joseph Hall (1574-1576) are the first in the language to consciously follow Juvenal. This does not mean that any of them can be called an imitation, for Hall does not tie himself to a complete poem, as Oldham later did. As Arnold Stein says, Hall took material where he found it and converted it to his own purposes: (1) Hall himself tells us what his method of imitation is:

As one therefore, that, in worthy examples, holds imitation better than invention, I have trod in their paths; but with an higher and wider step; and out of their tablets, have drawn these larger portraiture. (2)

(1) A. Stein, 'Joseph Hall’s imitation of Juvenal', NLR, xlili, 1948, pp. 315-322.

(2) Characters of Virtues and Vices, 'A Premonition of the Title and Use of Characters', Works, VI, p. 88.
Joseph Warton, however, saw in Hall the method of the later imitators in his technique of adaptation and modernization:

Hall's acknowledged patterns are Juvenal and Persius, not without some touches of the urbenity of Horace. His parodies of these poets, or rather his adaptations of ancient to modern manners, a mode of imitation not unhappily practised by Oldham, Rochester, and Pope, discover great facility and dexterity of invention. The moral gravity and the censorial declamation of Juvenal, he frequently enlivens with a train of more refined reflection, or adorns with a novelty and variety of images. (1)

Like Juvenal, Hall attacks the literary kinds of his own day which he felt were not what the age demanded. In the context of Puritan attacks on the bad effects of amorous and romantic poetry, Hall strikes a note quite different from that in Juvenal's first satire. He can no longer write romance, sonnet, tragedy or pastoral, and of the "pathetic" sonneteers he asks, "Careth the world, thou love, thou live, or die?" (2) The fierceness of his reaction colours his notion of Roman satire, which he takes to be full of spite and malice, as did John Marston. There is none of Juvenal's sophistication nor his traditionalist humanism in his Elizabethan imitators. For Hall

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(2) Quotations are from The Collected Poems of Joseph Hall, ed. A. Davenport. (Liverpool Univ. Press, 1949).
Their wordes were short, & darkesome was their Sence;
... Who reads one line of their harsh poesies,
Thrice must he take his winde, & breath him thrice. (1)

Hall aims at Juvenal's targets, but he cannot always find parallels.
Compared with the age of Domitian, the Elizabethan age is more exuberant,
adventurous and experimental; its vices are more excusable and less
appalling, even at their worst. And so there is a literary affectation,
a pose rather than a genuine feeling, in the way that Hall uses Roman
names, often borrowed from Juvenal, in order to direct our attention to
the similarity between the two ages.

In book four of Virgidemiarum (1599) Hall imitates the old Roman's
'lyting Satyres.' He is the scourge, the man forced to speak, the man
who cannot hide the truth. The precedent is the opening of the first
satire, quoted in the previous section.

Hall's examples in Sat. IV, 1, of crime, pretentious poverty, low
amusements, gluttony and lechery are obviously intended to make the
reader realize how dreadful such things are that require the Roman gravity
and 'obscurity' of Juvenal:

Who turnes it homeward to say, this is I,
As bolder Soocrates in the Comedy?
But single out, and say once plat and plaine
That coy Matrons is a Curtizan,
Or thou false Crysus chokd'st thy wealthie quest
While hee lay snoring at his midnight rest,
And in thy dung-cart didst't the carkasse shrine
And deepe intombe it in Port-esquiline.(2)

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(1) 'Prologue' to Book III of Virgidemiarum, ll. 6-8, in Collected Poems,
ed. Davenport, p.35.

This method of using Roman names with possible reference to one's contemporaries, (though Hall's midnight murder was a well-known story), differs from that of Oldham, Pope and Johnson who substitute modern names for the Roman originals.

The most consistently imitative of Hall's satires is IV, iii, which is modelled on Juvenal's eighth. The opening lines paraphrase Juvenal, but Hall still addresses 'Pontius.' The family statues in Juvenal, the threadbare proofs of noble lineage, are adapted by Hall to modern times in the true manner of the imitation. Since Boileau's fifth satire, 
*Sur la Noblesse* (1665) is also partly an adaptation of Juvenal's satire, and since Oldham's Satire touching Nobility is an imitation of Boileau, it would be worth while to briefly compare the different versions of the same theme and their debt to Juvenal.

Of the four satires on nobility, Juvenal's is by far the most indignant and comprehensive. Hall's satire takes us up to about line 80 of Juvenal. The latter begins as follows: "What use are pedigrees? What use is it to be esteemed for one's blood, to display the painted faces of one's ancestors: Aemilianus standing in his chariot; Curius half crumbled away; Corvinus with a shoulder missing; or Galba, his ears and nose shattered? What is the point of boasting that all this splendour grows on your rich family tree and makes you descendant, through many a branch, of grimy dictators and masters of the horse, if in the presence of the Lepidi your own life is evil?" Hall's imitation of this is very colourful and English, but hardly reaches the indignation of Juvenal:

(1) The name Scaurus, used in Hall's satire on nobility, occurs in Juvenal (II, 35; VI, 603; XI, 91) as a model of virtue. Hall says he "... was covetous; his sonne not so." (Sat. IV, iii, 1.88, Davenport, p.61.)
What boots it Ponticis, tho thou could'st discourse
Of a long golden line of Ancestors?
Or shew their painted faces gaylie drest,
From ever since before the last conquest;
Or tedious Beale-roles of descended blood;
From Father Iaphet since Deucalion's flood,
Or call some old Church-windowes to record
The age of thy fayre Armes,
Or find some figures halfe obliterate
In rain-beat Marble neare to the Church-gate,
Upon a Crosse-leg'd Toombe; what boots it thee
To shew the rusted buckle that did tie
The Garter of thy greatest Grand-sires knee? (1)

Juvenal has been thoroughly Elizabethanized, and Hall takes the hint from
the end of Juvenal's satire that pedigrees are often based on slender
evidence anyway. Hall manages to convey the chimera-like quality of
'Painted' nobility, but his satire does not stress a positive Virtue, as
Juvenal's does.

Juvenal asks whether a horse is judged by its pedigree or by its
performance. The answer is there for all to see: the offspring of
famous horses end up in the knacker's yard if they are out-paced. Hall
uses this humorous comparison, and reproduces the cautionary example given
to Ponticus that equates the dissipated noble heir with "a tireling Iade
[that] lags half-way." (2) Boileau also takes up the comparison in his
satire and refines it with a hint of mock-heroic:

Mais la posterite d'Alfane et de Bayard,
Quand ce n'est qu'une rosse, est vendue au hasard,
Sans respect des Ayeux dont elle est descendue,
Et va porter la malle, ou tirer la charrue. (3)


(2) L. 42, Davenport, p.61.

(3) Satire V, 'A Monsieur le Marquis de Dangeau'. Oeuvres Complètes, ed.
A. Adam (Paris 1966), pp.30-1.
This is much more amusing than Hall, whose satires on the whole have little humour.

Oldham's satire in its structure and sense is close to Boileau, but its tone is closer to Hall. His verse does not have the full-stuffed rasping quality of Hall and Marston, nor does it have the polished style and the dignified pace of Boileau:

But if the Breed of Dragon, often cast,
Degenerate, and prove a Jade at last;
Nothing of Honour, or respect (we see)
Is had of his high Birth, and Pedigree;
But, maugre all his great Progenitors,
The worthless Brute is banish'd from the Course,
Condemn'd for Life to ply the dirty Road,
To drag some Cart or bear some Carrier's Load. (1)

Oldham is outspoken, almost agitated, in his adaptation of the calm, self-confident satire of Boileau. Boileau tells how the Golden Age was corrupted when the crowd of marquises and barons with their pride and pomp filled the land. This passage is original. Boileau shows that he is conversant with the politeness, restraint and polish of the nobility, while at the same time narrating the ignoble decline of true honour, and his borrowings from and adaptations of Juvenal do not undermine his elegance and good humour.

Marston exploited the physical and the beastly more than Hall, and flayed the disease-ridden, animal depravity of mankind with a mixture of sexual revulsion and obsession. He was apparently blind to the positive, moral dimension in satire. Unlike Hall, he does not pretend to be an imitator in his "respectlesse free-bred poesie" but there are

(1) Works (1686), Bk. III, pp. 129-30.
(2) Virgilii Maronis. Lib. 1. 'Prologue', l.18, Collected Poems, ed. Davenport, p.11.
numerous echoes from Juvenal and Persius as well as from Horace. The first satire in *The Scourge of Villanies* uses Juvenal's eighth satire throughout. Like Hall, he uses Roman names, often from Juvenal, such as Trebus (Trebius), Dodrus, and Matho, who have become *exempla*. His third satire tries to adopt Juvenal's tone, but the examples are often obscure. Satire for Marston is therapy, a revenge on the society that looks after fawning courtiers and water-flies, but provides no place for its malcontents. Neither does Marston 'naturalize' or paraphrase whole passages from Juvenal as Hall does, and the general tone of his satire is further from that of classical formal satire.

Mathurin Regnier (1573-1613) modelled some of his satires on Horace and Juvenal but, like Hall and Donne, was free in his adaptations. The important thing to remember about English satire, however, is its independence. Imitation did not weaken the strength of the native, non-classical Tradition. The set portraits in Dryden and Pope, though they may derive ultimately from Theophrastus, contrast with Juvenal, who built up a total picture through a series of memorable impressions, such as the young rake speeding in his chariot along the Flaminian Way, or the poor man crushed by Ligurian marble. English imitators felt drawn to Juvenal thematically, however: the futility of writing poems and the loss of true nobility were two favourite themes. We find, too, many partial borrowings.

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(1) Hamlet is reading Juvenal when accosted by Polonius (Act II, scene ii) and he quotes from the passage on old age (Satire X, ll. 188-208). This fact would have been recognised by an Elizabethan audience, and it further adds to the presentation of Hamlet as one who recognizes that "the time is out of joint", and who sees at least the necessity, if not the practical way to "set it right".
A Satyr in Answer to a Friend (1682), for example, opens by defending satire, and then adapts a passage from Juvenal's tenth satire. We know how Democritus laughed, says Juvenal, but what would his reaction have been had he seen a Praetor, surrounded by low parasites, uplifted in his lofty car in the dust of the Circus, dressed in the tunic of Jove, wearing a Tyrian toga and a crown so big that his neck can hardly bear it? The English version changes the scene to the licentious reign of Charles:

But how would this Sage have burst his Spleen, Had he seen Whore and Fool with merry King: And Ministers of State at Supper sit, Mistaking bawdy Ribaldry for Wit; Whilst C—s with tottering Crown and empty Purse, (Derided by his Foes, to's Friend a Curse) Abandon'd now by every Man of Wit, Delights himself with any he can get; Pimps, Fools, and Parasites, make up the Rout, For want of Wedding-Garments none's left out.(1)

(1) Poems on Affairs of State (1703), i, p.130. Cf. Juvenal, 11.36-46:

quid si vidisset praetorem curribus altis
extantem et medi sublimem pulvere circi
in tunica Livia et pictae Sarrana ferentes
ex usuris sulaeae togae magnasque coronae
tantum orbeam, quanto orei non sufficit ullam?
quippe tenet sudans haric publicus et, sibi consul
ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.
da nunc et volucrum, sceptro quae surgit eburno,
illice cornicines, hinc praecedentia Longi
agminis officia et niveos ad frene Quirites,
defossa in loculos quos sportula fecit amicos.
Paraphrase, generic imitations, and 'modern' translation.

Two years after the publication of Barten Holyday's translation of Juvenal and Persius there appeared an imaginative paraphrase of the tenth satire, called The Wish (1675). In the dedication, the anonymous author tells us how he compared the original text with the two translations of Stapylton and Holyday, "a pleasure truly worthy of an ingenious mind, at once to view the product of Three so great Wits, employed on the same conceits." In the Cowleian manner, the original is worked on imaginatively. For example, at line 133 Juvenal shows how men are deluded by the spoils of war and by trophies: "tanto maior famae sitis est quam/virtutis." In the paraphrase, military generals

... don't distinguish 'twixt the thing and dress:
   Like children they delight
   In what deceives the sight,
   And only feed upon the husks of happiness.

This image thus strikes at the grand theme - the vanity of human wishes. Often (says Juvenal) has the vainglory of a few destroyed a whole land, that titles may be inscribed on their tombs. Yet a barren fig-tree can rend asunder the stones, so that even sepulchres are doomed. The paraphrase again creates a new image out of this:

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(2) The Wish ... (1675), p. 7.
That tree, like th' ashes whence it rose,
Grows destructive, as it grows,
It sacks the monumental wall,
It throws down Titles, Tomb and all,
For sepulchres do dye as well as men... (1)

No one can deny that this is most effective. The ashes of the old warrior
give nourishment to the tree that only grows, like the warrior, to destroy. The
victory of the tree over the monument is hollow, for it destroys the symbols of
victory. Thus the desire for honour and title is also self-destructive.
Johnson hammered home the futility and waste of war in a rhetoric way, but this
author merges the idea with an image. Juvenal's description of old age also
provides an unexpected opportunity for war-imagery, where "troops" of diseases
"quarter up and down" the veins. (Johnson, as we shall see below, also exploits
the imagery of militarism, but his most powerful single effects are often
epithet-plus-noun contrasts: "wasted nations raise a single name." (2) So much is
contained in six simple words. Dryden does not see the awful horror of the
contrast, but his couplet,

Yet this Mad Chase of Fame, by few pursu'd,
Has drawn Destruction on the Multitude; (3)

is a more accurate rendering of Juvenal. (In Johnson, destruction is not a
contingent result: it actually 'raises' the 'fame'.)

Five years after the appearance of Mac Flecknoe, its hero Thomas

Shadwell produced his own translation of the tenth satire, "I have not endeavoured to make it an English Poem," he says in the 'Epistle Dedicatory'. He is against 'paraphrastical' writers, the modern age being so much inferior to the ancient:

the imaginations must be very different and unequal: and methinks such Poems go down like Wine of two tastes. Some by Paraphrasing do nothing but beat out the Sense thinner, as Gold-Beaters do Gold.

Shadwell is not only hitting at poems like The Wish, which hardly beats the sense thinner, but also at the modernizing translations of Henry Higden, and possibly Oldham and Thomas Wood (author of Juvenalis Reditius) as well. Shadwell therefore cannot see further than literal translation, and his performance is poor.

The odds are heavily weighted against literal translation. For the first time in English literary history, a consistent theory and practice of translation emerges with Dryden, which rejects 'metaphrase' on definite aesthetic grounds. In the preface of Juvenal, Dryden stated that the translators had produced "a kind of paraphrase; or somewhat, which is yet more loose, betwixt a paraphrase and imitation". For Dryden, the enrichment of the language and the entertainment of his public came before any scholarly, accurate rendering of a Latin text. As he told the Earl of Dorset,

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(2) Ibid., p.ii.

(3) Watson, ii, p.152.
If rendering the exact sense of those authors, almost line for line, had been our business, Barten Holyday had done it already to our hands. (1)

Holyday and Stapylton had lost the spirit of Juvenal, and what is the use of reading a literal translation that may provide instruction, but not pleasure?

Neither Holyday nor Stapylton have imitated Juvenal in the poetical part of him, his diction and elocution. Nor had they been poets, as neither of them were, yet, in the way they took, it was impossible for them to have succeeded in the poetical part. (2)

It is no wonder, then, that the wrath of Higden and Dryden is incurred by the very unscholarly literal translation of Shadwell, whose "fruitless Industry", to quote from Mac Flecknoe, (3) is praised in his own conceited 'Epistle Dedicatory'.

Neither can paraphrase of the Cowlesian or imaginative type survive - for reasons connected with the history of taste. The Wish was not written for a public. Dryden is giving the public what it wants. His public consists not of scholars, but persons of 'understanding' and 'good sense'. Paraphrase can have no 'rules' (the new age of criticism sought to regulate according to the principles of Taste) when its success depends on an idiosyncratic style and on metaphysical imagination. Thus paraphrase itself (sometimes, however, called 'imitation') becomes standardized, more or less, and the flexible, modernizing translations, together with the imitations, are what the selection processes of a new age leave to posterity.

(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid., p.153.
(3) Success let others teach, learn thou from me Pangs without birth, and fruitless Industry. (11.147-8).

It is unfortunate that Shadwell should be largely known through Dryden, for his plays are remarkable pieces of social realism and deserve greater recognition.
Apart from translations, paraphrases and imitations, Juvenal and Horace entered English poetry through Boileau, but it was from his predominantly Horatian satire that Pope and others learned. Boileau's *Discours sur la Satire* (1668) favoured bold attacks, but in his own satires his sense of self-preservation tells him to select his objects of attack judiciously. He 'tempers' Juvenal considerably, and in the part-imitation of the third satire, *Adieux d'un Poète à la Ville de Paris* (1660) it is bad poetry and bad taste, not social injustice, that Boileau mostly attacks. Boileau's rustic Damon is poor; he is a poet, driven out of Paris not only by its corrupting influence, but by its lack of appreciation and its surfeit of bad writing. Boileau partly follows Juvenal's sequence, but only takes what he wants, in order to form out of Juvenal's well-filled and digressive satire a well-shaped and tightly organized poem. True indignation is absent, and seems to have been sacrificed on the altar of impeccable versification and a unified structure, together with a particular kind of wit, based on carefully calculated phrasing and word-order.

Boileau's sixth satire, *Les Embarras de Paris* (1660) describes the noise, confusion and all the incongruities of life in a big city. As in Juvenal's third satire, Boileau does not harness together facts in themselves improbable, but juxtaposes a whole series of probable facts in order to create a picture of total dislocation. The traffic jam - caused by a huge herd of cows - builds up with delightfully humorous

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(1) Yet Boileau's freedom brought admiration from Pope:

Could pension'd Boileau lash in honest Strain
Flatt'rors and Bigots ev'n in Louis' Reign?

*(Im. Hor. Sat.II, i, ll.111-2).*
effect. The whole tone of the satire is Horatian — Boileau, the victim, is urbane, aloof, ironically stoical — and the amusement of the whole piece is that while individual effects described are intended to hurt or violate our aesthetic sense (rats, mice, cats and cockrels join in concert), the poem itself, the poet's daily activity, and his tour of the town, all have some sort of artistic unity.

Boileau provided for the English an extremely successful example of generic imitation which combined the two distinct and contrasting types of satire of Juvenal and Horace. For the lover of Juvenal however, Boileau's elegant manner clashes with the content of those themes and passages where the Roman satirist's "spleen is raised" and where "he drives his reader along with him". Boileau, as we have said in the previous chapter, could use the Juvenalian framework for Horatian ends. His eighth satire, *Sur l'Homme* (1667), is an attempt to prove that man is the most foolish of animals. Like Juvenal, Boileau adopts an ambitious kind of rhetorical theme, and in the true manner of formal satire, argues with an adversarius. The ideal of Wisdom for Boileau is Epicurean rather than Stoic. Using Horace, Boileau compares men unfavourably with ants, who regulate their existence by the seasons (Sat. I, i), and condemns man for his vagaries of mood (Ep. I, i). He juggles with logic and rhetoric: nothing is further from 'tragic satire' than the way in which Boileau wittily plays with a subject of such serious and universal proportions.

Oldham, followed Boileau with a consecutive imitation, *The Eighth Satire of Monsieur Boileau, Imitated* (October 1682). He re-moulds Boileau's text less than he does Juvenal's. A travesty style emerges. Boileau imitated the passage from Juvenal's tenth satire (11.168 ff) which illustrated the vanity of worldly ambition with the fall of Alexander. Oldham's Alexander is "A crack-brained huff... A lunatic broke loose", which is as far from Juvenal as Caxton was from Virgil. Even Dryden invests the same passage with

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(1) Cf. A. Young, in the Preface to *Love of Fame, The Universal Passion*: "Boileau has joined both the Roman satirists with great success; but has too much of Juvenal in his very serious 'Satire on Woman', which should have been the gayest of all". *Complete Works*, (1854), p. 345.

a tone more suitable for less worthy subjects. Alexander is "coop't up," (1)
his glories are "a long legend of Romantick things, /Which, in his Cups,
the Bowsy Poet sings." (2)

Dryden also, however, owed much to Henry Higden, who wrote in 1686 A
Modern Essay On the Thirteenth Satyr of Juvenal, which Higden called neither
a translation nor a paraphrase but "something between both." ('Preface')
It is in octosyllabics, and the style is similar to that of the burlesque writers.
For some parts of Juvenal, which contain certain mock elements, this style
can be an advantage. Rapping his friend for bewailing his late small loss,
Juvenal reminds him that once upon a time men were righteous, when the
gods were few. Higden 'naturalizes':

There Godships in the Upper House
Were not as now so numerous,
When for good Husbandry the Skies
Were manag'd by few Deities. (p.5)

The honest man is like the monster at Bartholemew Fair. Why lament when
fraud is universal?

By Chamber, and Bankers of London,
Orphans, and herds of Fools are undone,
Which like a Deluge, in a day
Their whole Estates have swept away. (p.6)

When Juvenal describes the pangs of conscience, Higden paraphrases in the
imaginative manner - he adds his own images:

If to divert his Pangs he try
Choice Musick, Mirth or Company,
Like Bancoe's Ghost, his ugly Sin,
To mas his Jollity, stalks in. (p.10)

(2) Lines 287-8. Ibid., p.728.
In 1687 Higden's translation of Juvenal's tenth satire appeared. Dryden, complimenting Higden, allowed that Juvenal lived in degenerate times:

Yet You, my Friend, have temper'd him so well,
You make him Smile in spight of all his Zeal:
An Art peculiar to your Self alone,
To joyn the Vertues of Two stiles in One. (1)

Elkanah Settle saw Higden's version in the following way:

You naturalize the Author you Translate,
And Classick Roman dress in Modern State,
Sprightly and Gay he makes his Visit here;
Drest Al-a-mode, and speaks en Cavalier.
Great Juvenal's Wit, who in an English Scene,
By Time's long Rust at best had pointless been,
Thou grind'st to a New Edge, to cut more keen. (2)

In the preface Higden ridicules the literal translation of Shadwell. His own translation is not as close as Dryden's, and there are more modernizations, so that we are very near to imitation, while Dryden himself thought it fitting, like Higden, to use modern, coarser words and phrases.

It is when Juvenal is less specific that Higden modernizes freely. The satirical spirit of Hall and Marston is closer to Juvenal than the Restoration wit and coarseness of Higden, who shares the fashionable faults of his age. The facetiousness of the travesty-writers enters at every point. Compare the opening,

(1) To my Ingenious Friend Henry Higden, Esq.; on his Translation of the Tenth Satyr of Juvenal ... 1687. Poems, ed. Kinsley, i, p.466.

(2) 'To Mr Higden, On his Translation of Juvenal', prefaced to A Modern Essay on the Tenth Satyr of Juvenal (1687), Mv.
Survey Mankind, muster the Herd
From smoothest Chin to deepest Beard

with that of Johnson, and difference in approach is obvious. "Graecia mendax" (1.174) is rendered "Romancing Greek," "temporibus diris ... Neronis" (1.15) "In Nere's Plotting dismal times," - where "Plotting" strikes a contemporary note. Everywhere there is a lowering of tone, to fit the age. Juvenal describes the fate of beauty and young men. Higden naturalizes:

Each heir by dice, drink, whores, or masking
Or Stistead brought unto the Naskin [i.e. prison];
Or Gallants Back in am'rous play.

Mall Hinton dreyn'd dry in a day.

Dryden for the most part followed Higden's method, but avoided the travesty language and style as much as he could. Nevertheless, there are many examples in his translations to show that Dryden was trying to make Juvenal a contemporary, and therefore thoroughly intelligible (unlike Marston and Hall, who wanted to keep much of the "sence" "darksome" - in satire, an understandable precaution). He is also particularly good when it comes to physical details and unpleasantness, for example, the woman poisoner and the man who dies of over-eating in the first satire (1.105 and ll.204-219), and the female wrestlers and "strutting Amazonian Whore" in the sixth (ll.345 ff. and ll.365 ff.). All the time, with the imitation and modern translation, a re-fashioning of Juvenal was going on.

"Whatever his Roman Ladies were," says Dryden, "the English are free from all his Imputations." No doubt

(1) A Modern Essay ... (1687), p.1.
(2) Ibid., p.16.
(3) E.g. 'The Third Satyr,' ll.363 ff:
(4) 'Argument of the Sixth Satyr', Kinsley, ii, p.695.
Dryden had to temper his original for the sake of "those gentlemen and ladies" who made up his reading public. However "When Vapours to their swimming Brains advance, / And double Tapers on the Tables dance" at the "Midnight-Ball", Dryden is describing society women of his own day. Since these do not merit the invective of Juvenal, their crimes being minimal in comparison with those of an Eppia, Dryden, and the imitators, have to suit their tone to the realities of their own age. The Roman analogy goes so far, but, when it comes to the horrors of Nero's "Plotting dismal times", no further.

Apart from translation, paraphrase and imitation, Juvenalian satire of a more general type - that is, satire which borrows from Juvenal and uses his subjects and themes - is plentiful during the Restoration. As Dryden noted of the sixth satire: "'Tis, indeed, a Common-place, from whence all the Moderns have notoriously stolen their sharpest Raileries." Richard Amos's The Female Fire-Ships. A Satyr against Whoring (1691) borrows from Juvenal when women become

True Canibals, who can with ease devour,
A dozen Men while Time shapes out an Hour, (p.8)

which is typical Juvenalian exaggeration, or

When they the Night like Messalina past,
Appear next Morning like Lucretia chast. (p.9)

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(1) The Sixth Satyr ... 11.416-423. Juvenal (11.300-305) does not in fact mention dancing at all. Dryden's actual words are "lewdly Dancing at a Midnight-Ball" (1.418).

(2) See remarks on Edward Young's satire on women, below, p. 282.

(3) 'Argument of the Sixth Satire', Kinsley, ii, p.694.
Robert Gould's *Love given over: or, a Satyr against the Pride, Lust and Inconstancy of Woman* (pub. 1709) is a similar Juvenalian lashing of the fair sex, while *The Folly of Love. A New Satyr against Woman* (1700), though it borrows much from Juvenal, emphasizes woman's 'seeming' in the Elizabethan sense. Like the mercenary man-eater in Juvenal too, the wife worshipped by her new husband,

But having him two days, five hours, three quarters,  
Leaves him to Hang in Penitential Garters. (1)

iv. Imitations: Oldham to Johnson.

Oldham's direct approach to Juvenal is very different from that of Boileau. He did not believe that satire should be written in smooth numbers, for, as Dryden said,

... Satyr needs not those, and Wit will shine  
Through the harsh Cadence of a rugged Line. (2)

Oldham's "utmost spite" cannot wait for expression in choice phrases, nor be hampered by any artistic unity. He does not order his original like Boileau and Johnson. He is not concerned with exploiting ironical literary juxtapositions. He is closer to the fact than he is to the conscious ref-


(2) "To the MEMORY of Mr. OLDHAM* (1684), ll.15-16. Kinsley, i, p.389.
lection of the fact. Details accumulate, and we are ever referred back to reality, though Oldham imitates Juvenal's technique of exaggerating aspects of that reality. Thus his Satyr, in Imitation of the Third of Juvenal (written May, 1682), is distinguished by an extraordinary capacity for finding parallels and making his original thoroughly topical. Though Oldham does not try to make Juvenal "more sounding, and more elegant, that he was before in English," to use Dryden's words, he is intent upon reinforcing the analogy between Rome and London, and to a large extent, succeeds through a sheer tour de force. Dryden, however, thought that

... the manners of nations and ages were not to be confounded; we should either make them English, or leave them Roman.

Hall and Marston tried to make Elizabethan London appear as wicked and degenerate as Nero's or Domitian's Rome, and their failure to convince us of this had less to do with their ability to write formal satire than with the nature of the age in which they lived. Oldham not only had their example before him; - he was also in a somewhat better position to comment on the plethora of scribblers, the ravaged nobility, (which was trying to recover from the effects of a commercial revolution), debauchery and licentiousness, and the hazards and evils of a big city.

Juvenal's third satire provided a favourite model for satirists. Boileau's Damon represents the humorously innocent side of Juvenal's Umbricius, Oldham's Timon his bitter side. Damon is a poet, whose refinement is now unfashionable. Timon,

(2) Ibid., p.155.
however, though he feels that worth, learning and sense are valueless, compares himself to a losing gamester whose fortune has dwindled. The comparison reminds us of Oldham's own confessions in *A Sunday-Thought in Sickness*, for Timon has attained wisdom after compromising with the city. Johnson's Thales is the voice of scandalized morality, twisting the knife in his own wound: worth "Wants ev'n the cheap reward of empty praise." Timon resembles the voice of disillusioned opportunism that now seeks an escape, and he is an altogether less convincing example of that moral strength which we find in Johnson, or that unsparing indignation which we find in Juvenal. Timon, we feel, is more real than either Umbricius or Thales. He simply resolves "to quit the nauseous Town".

Juvenal's Greeks are impostors and intruders; they are quick-witted opportunists, impudent and chameleon-like. Oldham converts the Juvenalian passage into a string of derogatory remarks about the French, closely and ingeniously paralleling Juvenal's (or Umbricius') contemptuous characterization of the smooth-tongued, deferential and completely untrustworthy Greeks:

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Flippant of Talk, and voluble of Tongue,
With words at will, no Lawyer better hung;
Softer than Flatt'ring Court-Parasite,
Or City-Trader, when he means to cheat,
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the "needy Monsieur" can play any role, from valet to pimp to juggler and dancer, and will perform any task. "Tell a Greek to go to heaven, and he will go", says...

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(1) Poems, ed. Nichol Smith and McAdam, p.10.
(2) Poems, and Translations (1698), p.175.
(3) Ibid., pp.179-80. "The colder northern nations generally look upon France, as a whistling, singing, dancing, frivolous nation: this notion is very far from being a true one, though many petits maîtres by their behaviour seem to justify it." Letter CC11 (Nov., 1750) in Letters ..., by the Earl of Chesterfield to His Son (1774), iii, p.72.
Umbricius. The Frenchman will fly over the pyramid, "which Johnston and the rest in vain have tried." Oldham has obviously relished Juvenal's humour, but Johnson's attack on the "fasting Monsieur" - who will go to hell if bidden - is less of a stock attack, or a traditional prejudice clothed in modern garb, though Johnson has used Oldham's imitation. The French, says Johnson, are:

Obsequious, artful, voluble and gay, (2)
On Britain's fond credulity they prey.

Unlike Oldham, Johnson emphasizes the strength and the virtuous independence of the English character, while warning all too credulous Britons of a national danger, thus turning somewhat negative attack into positive defence. Johnson is less colourful than Oldham, but his outlook is more unified.

The originality, vigour and interest of Oldham's imitation lie in the fact that he is matching the social and economic conditions of seventeenth-century England against those of Juvenal's Rome. Umbricius comments on the rise of men of no birth and the decline of the old nobility. Fortune has raised horn-blowers

1. The freedom of imitation is well demonstrated in the change from "heaven" to "hell", in "And bid him go to hell, to hell he goes". (1.16)
3. Swift, in An Essay on Modern Education (1708), asked "how it comes about, that for above sixty years past, the chief conduct of Affairs hath been generally placed in the hands of New Men, with very few Exceptions?" He answers that, "the Noblest Blood of England having been shed in the grand Rebellion, many great Families became extinct, or supplanted only by Minors who had, during the Rebellion and Usurpation, either received too much Tincture of bad Principles from these fanatick Times, or coming to Age at the Restoration, fell into the vices of that dissolute Reign." (Miscellanies (1747), iii, pp.42-3). Alexander Brome (1620-1665), a royalist, had harangued the 'new gentry', the pseudo-nobility 'spawned' from trades, the 'upstarts' who became squires. During the 'Rebellion' he had cried that every man was now a 'beggar'. See Poems and Songs (1668).
to great positions in order to laugh, for they return to their mean status, while

\[ \text{divitis hic servo claudit latus ingenuorum filius (ll. 131-2).} \]

Auctioneer's sons, gladiator's sons sit in the seats reserved for the equites, while the sons of nobles are reduced to beggary. "Ne nobis blandiar..." says Umbricius, and he certainly does not flatter Romans, (whom he addressed as 'Quirites' when lambasting the immigrant Greeks). Timon, in Oldham's imitation, regrets that

... Peers, reduc'd to Poverty and Need,
Are fain to trudge to the Bankside, and there
Take up with Porter's Leavings, Suburb Ware,
There spend that Blood, which their great Ancestor
So nobly shed at Cressy heretofore,
At Brothel-Fights, in some foul Common-Shore\(^{(1)}\)

We cannot, and are not intended to sympathize with such nobles. We also miss the incisiveness and the precision of Juvenal - Oldham does not sufficiently understand irony and juxtaposition - but our interest is sustained.

Juvenal's exposures of society, though apparently a mass of sprawling details, are rhetorically controlled. It is this control, within the free form, which Oldham lacks. Juvenal's comments are judgments in themselves. Oldham also fails to take a clear moral stand. Johnson, unlike Oldham, is not recording for posterity to judge, but judging for posterity, and because for him civilization has urbanised and generalized mankind, mankind has to be dealt with on the basis of a 'universal' consciousness. Oldham is, however, more faithful to the original than Johnson. Juvenal's picture of Codrus, the starving poet, (whose bed would have been too small for the dwarf Procula), excites not (as it would in Pope) our mirth,

but our pity:

nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,  
quam quod ridiculos homines facit.  (11.152-3).

Juvenal cannot be accused of having no compassion, or of being consumed with a twisted bitterness. We pity not just Codrus' penurious condition, but his terrible isolation. Despite his learning, as far as Rome is concerned he might as well be dead:

nil habuit Codrus, quis enim negat? et tamen illud perdidit infelix totum nihil.  Ultimus autem aerumnae cumulus, quod nudum et frustra rogantem nemo cibo, nemo hospitio tectoque iuvabit.  
(11.208-11).

Oldham gives a striking picture of the living quarters of Samuel Pordage, whose moveables were a bed for himself and his wife, a basin, a looking-glass on a cupboard, a comb-case, a candlestick, a pewter spoon and a writing desk, while

A Box without a Lid serv'd to contain  
Few Authors, which made up his Vatican.  (1)

Pordage too had nothing, and Oldham arouses in us the same feelings of indignant compassion we get from Juvenal.

Oldham fails to reproduce a single memorable line in his imitation, yet there is something compelling in his picture - heightened because it is also Juvenal's picture - of London, in which parasitic courtiers, noble heirs, hack poets, thieving lawyers, tradesmen, prostitutes and bribed judges all live 'together', and where some thrive, and many go to the wall.

(1) Ibid., p.190.
Oldham wrote a partial imitation of Juvenal's seventh satire with

A Satyr. The Person of Spencer is brought in. Dissuading the Author from the Study of Poetry, and showing how little it is esteem'd and encouraged in this present Age (1682). We miss in it Juvenal's rich, if grisly humour, the style and language of the verse are crude, and phrases such as "And each on Paper squirts his filthy sense"(1) belong to derisive and ephemeral attacks, not literary satire. In April 1682 Oldham wrote Juvenal's 15th Satyr, Imitated. Juvenal consoles and remonstrates with a friend who has lost a sum of money he has entrusted to some other friend who proved fraudulent. The satirist anticipates all his normal reactions of anger, blaming of Fortune, incomprehension, invocation of divine and human justice, and revenge. These he deals with in the usual rhetorical manner. Theft and treachery and fraud are everywhere, he says; how can anyone pretend that we are living in the Age of Innocence? Honest men are a rarity. Thieves often make a show of religious fear when in fact they secretly hope to escape divine vengeance. Some are atheistic materialists and are unaffected by the awe others have of the gods. Desire for vengeance is mean and petty. The criminal does indeed receive punishment, but it takes the form of guilty conscience: the criminal punishes himself.

Oldham's imitation is characterized by a jaunty colloquialism and a thoroughly modern manner. Nothing to suggest that he is not writing about the present

is allowed to remain. Juvenal's friend, who was born in the Consulship of Fonteins, is sixty. Oldham's friend, born "in good King Jimmy's days"\(^{1}\), has had the snow of threescore winters on his head. Roman religion is dexterously turned into Christianity; atheistic materialism has its parallel in Hobbes.\(^{2}\)

Towards the end of a century of religious conflict there was a feeling of confusion and collapse. Oldham is well provided with material for demonstrating this confusion that Juvenal suggests so well in his satire. The amusement and seriousness of Juvenal's satire lie in the fact that his own knowledge of the world is so superior to that of his friend. Oldham, however, fails to bring out the humour of the contrast between the personality of the injured friend, whose self-righteousness is exposed as bigoted, mean and naive, and that of the satirist, who makes no pretensions, and who is imbued with worldly sense without being cynical or pessimistic.

Oldham does not have Juvenal's rich urbanity, though he is a complete townsman. Whereas Juvenal presents the contrast by making the friend undermine his own position, Oldham takes on the friend in a less attractive, more direct manner:

\[
\text{Thus you blaspheme, and rave; but pray, Sir, try}
\text{What Comforts my weak Reason can apply,}
\text{Who never yet read Plutarch, hardly saw,}
\text{And am but meanly vers'd in Seneca.}\(^{3}\)
\]

There is a ring of sarcasm here as elsewhere, and sarcasm does not befit the satirist, who is supposed to have the field to himself and must never look as if

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\(^{1}\) Ibid., p.30.
\(^{2}\) Ibid., p.31.
\(^{3}\) Ibid., p.38.
he is being driven into a corner. Oldham adopts the spiteful, sarcastic tone because this was partly how he saw Juvenalian satire. It is a long way from Johnson, and also from Dryden, but it connects us with the Elizabethan tradition. However, Oldham's mauling of the rogues and reprobates of his time cannot be called unfair. Plots, perjuries, and murders give a sense of evil at its acme that few other imitators of Juvenal could reproduce.

Oldham follows his original very closely, and the final lines, where Juvenal rises to a pitch and the indignation at his friend's hypocrisy manifests itself, are an effective sting in the tail of the whole satire. After a series of rhetorical questions concerning the inevitable punishment of criminals, Juvenal says that the thief will no doubt also receive any of the barbaric punishments - the prison, the staple, or the crag - that men can give. Oldham's satire ends by asking the friend to be patient; the thief will be deported;

Or (if I may his surer Fate divine,)  
Hung like Boroski, for a Gibbet-Sign;  
Then may you glut Revenge, and feast your Eyes  
With the dear Object of his Miseries;  
And then, at length convinced, with Joy you'll find  
That the just God is neither deaf nor blind.(1)

A year after Oldham's imitations came Juvenalis Redivivus. Or The First Satyr of Juvenal taught to speak plain English. A Poem... (1683), by Thomas Wood. In the preface Wood says that he has

(1) Ibid., p.50.
... aim'd at that Naturalness, which Juvenal (in the judgment of Rapin) has seem'd wholly to have forgot; that I have purposely sometimes abstain'd from his scolding and ill language; being certainly assur'd, that a sporting and merriment of wit doth render Vice more ridiculous, than the strongest reasons, or most sententious discourse. (1)

This is part of the general 'Horatianizing' of Juvenal. "My design at first", he says, "was to have lead on this way of writing in many of the succeeding Satyres, but I am unwilling to prevent a worthy and more experienced Pen," probably referring to Oldham. Someone writes 'To the Excellent and unknown Author of the ensuing Poem',

I'de tell the world that once Achitophel (2)
Did please, but now the Ghost of Juvenal.

The imitator uses Juvenal's hits at the nouveau riche as an excuse for anti-middle-class invective. The opening of Juvenal's satire, in which bad poets spur him to satire, is oddly twisted. Juvenal knows the groves of Mars and the cave of Vulcan, but as for Wood:

No tawdry Jilt does Playhouse better know,(3)
Then I St. Jameses Park, or who kist who.

The forger in Juvenal who lolls like Maecenes becomes "bald-fac'd Split-cause,"(4) and his adaptation of Juvenal's story of decline, when the flood waters rose, when Deucalion sought the oracle, and stones grew soft and warm with life - is tortuously adapted:

(1) Juvenalis Redivivus ... (1683) A1.
(2) Ibid., A2.
(3) Ibid., p.1.
(4) Ibid., p.5.
E're since the Royal Charles from England went,
And Floods of Tears bewail'd his Banishment:
Since mad Religious Rebels did Command,
And joy'd to see a sad and naked Land;
Each Face for Satyr will afford a Theme, (1)
And even silent Thoughts procure Esteem.

As R.M. Alden notes, much verse satire in the seventeenth century is anti-Puritan. (2)
The best anti-Puritan satire is Abraham Cowley's The Puritan and the Papist (1643),
though many more abound. Wood, however, is writing in 1633. Juvenal's lawyers,
slaves, forgers, and freedmen become shop-keepers "who care nought for church and
state", aldermen "spawned on the banks of Trent" "Citts" and "Prentices". No
temple has yet been raised to Money, says Juvenal. On the contrary, says Wood:

Saint Paul shall now his stately Temple quit,
Goddess Pecunia must inhabit it.
Henceforth no Tipstaffs shall our Meeting search,
Meek kind Dissenters than will come to Church. (3)

On this level of attack, Juvenal satire is in danger of performing the function
of the pillory that held Defoe. Yet Pope in his Epistle to Lord Bolingbroke (Hor.,
Ep. I, i) imitates a passage in Horace similar to that in Juvenal, using it as an
opportunity to hit at mercantile values in the Church, "From low St. James's up
to high St. Paul's. (1.82) Behind the poetical skill of Pope one must remember that
there is a long tradition of anti-Puritan, anti-mercantile, anti-Dissenting
invective.

Matthew Prior was the author of a Satyr on the Poets. In Imitation
of the Seventh Satyr of Juvenal

(1) Ibid., pp. 6-7.
(2) See The Rise of Formal Satire in England Under Classical Influence
With usual deflationary eloquence, Juvenal tells all those aspiring poets who have little prospect of success - "join the fray of the sale-room and sell to the standing crowd wine-jars, tripods, book-cases and cupboards, the Alcitheon of Paccius, the Thebes and the Tereus of Faustus". Prior expands the opening in order to present the sad condition of "hungry Bayes" and "starving Durfey's Jockey Muse", telling the would-be poet:

By Verse you'll starve; John Saul cou'd never live,
Unless the Bell-Man made the Poet thrive:
Go rather, in some little Shed by Paula,
Sell Chivy Chase, and Baxter's Salve for Souls.
Cry Kara Shows, sing Ballads, Transcribe Votes,
Be Care, or Ketch, or any thing, but Oates.

The satiric adversarius is bought in to relieve Juvenal's one-way argument:

Hold Sir, some Bully of the Muses Cryes,
Methinks you're more Satyrical, than Wise;
You rail at Verse indeed; but rail in Rhime;
At once encourace, and condemn the Crime.

Prior continues to dissuade, in a more sympathetic vein than his original, and describes the poet whose "deathless Song" becomes "The dusty Lumber of a Smithfield Stall". The real poet, (says Juvenal), he who has genius and who rises above all others, requires freedom from all the absurd wants and discomforts of life - he must have a noble and lofty soul if he is to sing of love or war.

Had Virgil possessed no slave, and no decent roof over his head,

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(1) In Poems on Affairs of State: (1698), Part III, pp. 48-57.
(2) Ibid., pp. 48-9.
(3) Ibid., p. 49.
(4) Ibid., p. 50.
... caderent omnes a crinibus hydri; (1)
surda nihil gemeret grave buicn ... (11.70-1)

How, asks Juvenal, can Rubrenus Lappa rival ancient tragedy when his Atreus must
be pawned for his cloak and crockery? Prior is perhaps more good-humoured:

In vain we from our Somnettiers require
The height of Cowley's and Anacreon's Lyre:
"In vain we bid him fill the Bowl,
'Large as their capacious Soul,
Who since the King was Crown'd, ne'er tasted Wine,
But rise at Eight, and know not where to Dine.
In vain, we bid dejected Settle hit
The Tragick Flights of Shakespear's towering Wit;
He needs must miss the Mark, who's kept so low
He scarce has strength enough to draw the Bow.(2)

This is funny because Prior sounds truly sorry that such is the case, and it shows
a much higher appreciation of irony than we find in Oldham. It captures too the
often unsuspected 'good-company' kind of humour in Juvenal, and the suggestion
that the failure of the moderns is due not to a decline of native genius so much
as a weakened constitution, (the end result, of course, of literary failure),
makes the satirical point better than a hundred libels and lampoons. On the
whole, Juvenal is most effectively handled - though Prior was later to
disown his imitation.(3)

(1) Notice the alliteration here, which adds to the bathos.

(2) Ibid., pp. 52-3.

(3) Prior disowned the Satyr on the Modern Translators as well as the
Satyr on the Poets due to their attack on the influential John Sheffield,
Earl of Mulgrave, later Duke of Buckingham, who became Prior's friend and
patron. See the Literary Works (Oxford, 1959), ed. Wright and Spears,
ii, pp. 822-3.
Dryden's collective translation of Juvenal's satires in 1693 was a major literary event, but Juvenal's popularity declined after 1700, and did not revive in force until after 1760. For many of the English Augustans, the sevea indignatio of Juvenal could appear as socially unwarranted, even politically inadvisable. Ridicule did not challenge the whole social order: the Augustan Age in England, as Goldsmith and Wharton called it, demanded the ridicule and gaiety of Horace's 'comic' satire, not the scathing social and moral conscience of a Juvenal. The latter's strident rhetoric, declamatory vigour and detailed exposures couched in unambiguous language, if too closely imitated, could act as an affront to the laws of delicacy and taste. The Augustan analogy was also endangered. To imitate Juvenal as Hall and Oldham had done would be to imply that the age of William, Anne and the first two Georges were as degenerate as the age of Nero and Domitian, and no one was prepared to go as far as that. It is significant that Pope said of Oldham that he was "too rough and coarse", and that he was

... a very undelicate writer. He has strong rage, but 'tis too much like Billingsgate. Lord Rochester has much more delicacy and more knowledge of mankind.

This is not just a cavil against Oldham's verse and language. Pope is defending "delicacy", which was an essential of Horatian satire. Pope preferred raillery,

1. See Appendix A, p. i.
3. Ibid.
4. "But Horace, Sir, was delicate, was nice," (Epilogue to the Satires, I, 1,11. in Imitations of Horace, ed. J. Butt (1939), p.298 (See Chapter 6, above, p.205).
which was

...Horace's old method 'Ridenti Flaccus amico' of telling a friend some less fault while you are commending him, and which, indeed, is the best time of doing so. I scarce meet with anybody that understands delicacy."

Horatian satire was never very far from the politeness of conversation, and Pope said in 1739:

True politeness consists in being easy oneself and making everybody about one as easy as we can. But the mistaking brutality for freedom has just the contrary effect, for it leads them into the taking of liberties which often make others uneasy and always ought to make the aggressors themselves so.

An advance had been made since the Restoration towards sensibility, benevolence and humanitarianism, though "politeness" here belongs rather to that kindliness and consideration which is shown to close friends and members of the same social class or group, than any overall principle of Benevolence. Either way, social principles were at work determining taste, and greatest favour was bestowed on 'benign' and reasonable, not 'cruel' and uncompromising satire.

Juvenal in such circumstances was liable to misunderstanding, his fierce indignation misrepresented as sadistic derision or indelicate railing. L. I. Bredvold has correctly emphasised the nobility and moral seriousness of Juvenal's

2. Ibid., pp.227-8.
3. See Shaftesbury's arguments in favour of ridicule and 'raillery' in Characteristicks ... (1711), i, parts II and III, 'An Essay on Wit' and 'Advice to an Author'.

kind of satire:

Satiric indignation is aroused when we discover the incongruity of the comic in a situation which our normal judgment also condemns as unworthy, as indignus. It is this combination of the moral judgment with the comic experience which gives satire its distinctive character. (1)

Juvenal is not cruel, malicious or envious, but impresses us as being worthy-dignus - while all around him is indignus, and it is this contrast which Johnson is careful to bring out in his London when Thales cries that it is worth, in such degenerate days, that "Wants ev'n the cheap reward of empty praise."

"SLOW RISES WORTH, BY POVERTY DEPRES'D", is a sentiment that forestalls criticism, because the word "WORTH" aims directly at our moral conscience.

Edward Young, in the Preface to his Love of Fame, The Universal Passion (1728) wrote: "Ethics, Heathen and Christian ... are, in a great measure, a satire on the weakness and iniquity of men". (2) Satire with moral weight to it was thus favourably regarded in the eighteenth century. (3) Nevertheless, whereas Young used much of Juvenal's form and structure, he applauded "laughing satire" for its "delicacy", and Horace for his good-humoured censure, which was "supposed to proceed from judgment, not from passion". Juvenal cannot be closely imitated because he is "ever in a passion". (4)

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(1) *A Note in Defence of Satire*, ELH, vii (1940), p.260.

(2) The Works ... (Edinburgh, 1774), i, p.65.

(3) It is in this light too that we can regard Pope's opinion of Joseph (later, Bishop) Hall's satires: "He esteem'd them the best and truest satire in the English language, and ... he had an intention of modernizing them, as he had done some of Dr. Donne's". John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (1812-15), v, p.654.

Laughing satire rids us of this same passion. Ridicule is thus most eligible, as it hurts ourselves least, and gives vice and folly the greatest offence... Laughing at the misconduct of the world, will, in a great measure, ease us of any more disagreeable passion about it. One passion is more effectually driven out by another than by reason; whatever some teach.(1)

Young, however, owes something to Juvenal, and made partial adaptations of the tenth satire, though a comparison between Juvenal's sixth satire and Young's fifth, On Women (1727), would show that Young was more concerned with affectations and fashionable follies than with vices. Johnson, who noted Young's epigrammatic style, said:

His species of satire is between those of Horace and of Juvenal; he has the gaiety of Horace without his laxity of numbers, and the morality of Juvenal with greater variation of images. He plays, indeed, only on the surface of life; he never penetrates the recesses of the mind, and therefore the whole power of his poetry is exhausted by a single perusal....(2)

Here Johnson appears to contrast Horatian "gaiety" with Juvenalian "morality".

In his life of Dryden he gave a fuller characterization of the great Roman satirist:

The general character of this translation [i.e. that of Dryden and his associates] will be given when it is said to preserve the wit, but to want the dignity of the original. The peculiarity of Juvenal is a mixture of gaiety and stateliness, of pointed sentences, and declamatory grandeur. His points have not been neglected: but his grandeur none of the band seemed to consider as necessary to be imitated, except Creech.(3)

1. Ibid.
3. Ibid., i, p. 447.
Anthony Blackwall thought Juvenal a "manly and vigorous Author, so perfect a Master in the serious and sublime way of Satyr", (1) and perceived in him a "good System and beautiful Collection of sound Morals". (2) Juvenal’s moral dignity and his 'majesty of sentences', to use Peacham’s phrase, are thus cognate. Dryden mentioned his 'majestic way'. (3) Indeed, one could say that there is something heroic both in Juvenal’s style and his attempt to grapple with monstrous evils and glaring inequalities. The word that is usually applied to Juvenalian satire, however, is 'tragic'. John Dennis, in a letter to Prior, said:

... the Tragick Satire, which like Tragedy fetches its Notions from Philosophy and from common Sense, will be in all probability more acceptable to Universities and Cloisters, and those Recluse and Contemplative Men, who pass most of their Time in their Closets. (4)

"As his provocations were great," said Dryden of Juvenal, "he has revenged them tragically." (5) The decorum of 'tragic satire' is hardly that of tragedy itself, however. Johnson exploited the nobly sententious, perhaps Senscan side of Juvenal, but this was harnessed to a fundamentally satiric, not tragic aim — that is, to expose the incongruities between life and morals, to create a clash between our own awareness of a scale of morality, and the objective human world, which is an inversion of that scale; — a world where there is not just inequality,

(1) An Introduction to the Classics (1725), p.71.
(2) Ibid.
(3) A discourse concerning ... Satire, Watson, ii, p.144.
(4) Prior: Poems on Several Occasions, (1737), iii, p.xiv.
but the inequality of the worst holding down the best. "Tragic", perhaps, is an epithet intended to give satire a particular kind of elevation it does not require. Juvenal is at his most 'tragic' when relating the fall of Sejanus and Hannibal, but the term glosses over the fact that satire must expose the malaise in man's social existence. For the neo-classicists tragedy involved sublimity, universality and inevitability. Yet tragedy leaves us with a sense of the ultimate rightness with which Fate or the gods deal with men: pity and fear are 'purged' or purified because our own weaknesses are dramatically presented in the greatest and noblest examples of the human species. Suffering becomes meaningful. In satire the conflict is not between Man and Fate, but between Man and his own Reason, between the individual and society, morality and practice, conscience and action. It serves to suggest, as Pope put it, "The strong antipathy of good to bad." We are left with a sense of the ultimate wrongness of society, and the catharsis, if it ever comes, follows not admiration and terror, but anger and indignation. Johnson is true to the satiric function, but he does accept something of the tragic function too. As we shall see, he makes Juvenal more acceptable in a sense by replacing pathos with ethos. For some reason, perhaps connected with our own moral evasiveness, the general (when applied to war, say, or to poverty or corruption) is easier to face than the particular.

Juvenal's verse is similar to that of the later Roman epic, and his style bears the mark of one long versed in the orator's art. No English poet before Johnson really tackled the problem of writing 'tragic satire' in English

while at the same time creating a suitably majestic style. Johnson's two satires are distinguished by their use of an abundance of stylistic and rhetorical devices, and a reading of Pope's letters on questions of style, Blackwall's treatise, or William Benson's Letters Concerning Poetical Translations, and Virgil's and Milton's Arts of Verse, Etc. (1739, w. 1736), will serve to show just how conscious an artist Johnson was. Benson takes Virgil as the supreme exponent of the 'majestick' style. Delay is the property of majesty, says Benson, and he lists various devices - almost all of them characteristic of Johnson's imitations - suitable for the majestic style, such as suspension, variation of the caesura, inversion of the phrase, the sound echoing the sense, alliteration, the mixing of singular and plural numbers, and the use of '-que' and 'et' to add strength. Retardation, suspension, effective rhythmical climaxes, repetition - the 'Virgilian' techniques are adapted by Johnson and welded onto a Juvenalian frame. Rhythmic suspension in "they mount, they shine, evaporate, and fall" phrase inversion in "Still to new heights his restless wishes tow'r" the use of 'and' - (the English equivalent of Virgil's use of '-que' and 'et') - in "Behold surrounding Kings their pow'r combine,/And one capitulate, and one resign", all give that requisite majesty and strength necessary for 'tragic satire'.

(2) Ibid., p.3.
(3) Ibid., pp. 18-25.
(4) The Vanity of Human Wishes, 1.76, Nichol Smith and McAdam, p.33.
(5) Ibid., l.105, p.34.
(6) Ibid., ll.199-200, p.40.
Blackwall put forward the argument that because the ancient languages were finished and complete, they could be read and re-read and emulated without the disadvantage of their being seen to change or decay.\(^{(1)}\) The neo-classicist thus attempted to create a 'finished' and 'perfect' style out of a modern language, though aware of the fact that modern languages were subject to 'decays' and 'alterations'. The classical style was to be re-created, not simply emulated, in the modern language - a formidable task. Blackwall draws from the classics a whole number of tropes, or figures of speech, which make for perspicuity, order, strength, dignity, decorum and beauty. It would be tedious to list his figures, which include "synechdoche", "metonymy", "circumlocution", "omission" and the usual "turns" and "repetitions".\(^{(2)}\) What is interesting, however, is to see how many of these figures, syntactical and stylistic devices Johnson uses in order to turn Juvenal into English. Repetition, especially of opening words such as 'when' and 'now', is especially common, as is antithesis.

One of Johnson's most typical word combinations is adjective-plus-noun preceded by the definite article.\(^{(3)}\) The fondness for qualifying words - adjectives and adverbs - gives to the distich a density of meaning which is both Virgilian and Juvenalian, and each couplet, as well as each qualifying word, is given great contextual significance. The main unit in Johnson is not the couplet, for this, as he must have recognized, is best suited to epigrammatic, 'witty' satire. Johnson's unit is the verse paragraph - more typical perhaps of epic than of satire, and therefore suitable for 'tragic' or 'majestic' satire.

Virgil, one of the most 'adjectival' of poets, attained a concentration

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\(^{(2)}\) Ibid., pp. 170, 166, 216, 195, 214, 213 respectively.

\(^{(3)}\) Six examples in London (p.19) occur from "the pension'd band" (1.200) to "the shining plate" (1.207).
and richness that were exceptionally hard to rival in English. Juvenal's adjectives and adverbs lend a different colour and perform a different sort of function. Dryden, it is interesting to note, thought that Virgil could have written "sharper satires than either Horace or Juvenal, if he could have employed his talent this way". (1) This judgment is based on an appreciation of Virgil's mastery of technique, and the close relation which exists in his poetry between content and expression.

We can assume that stylistically Virgil was the most important single model the English neo-classicists possessed. His individual traits, however, could be generally applied: stylistic imitation of Virgil is a very different thing from stylistic imitation of Milton. While recognising that Johnson's imitations of Juvenal borrow many stylistic features from Virgil - including the placing of words, the variations and balances within each line, the syntactical delays - we must of course emphasize that Juvenal's decorum is hardly that of Virgil. "His vivimus ambitiosa/paupertas omnes" is an example from the third satire, where, "ambitiosa", clashing with "paupertas", produces an incongruity which reflects that of real life. Virgilian decorum idealizes and ennobles ordinary life. Juvenal destroys idealized visions. His decorum could therefore be called satiric decorum. We would not normally associate the reclining elegance of Maecenas with a cheap forger's trick, but Juvenal forces such a link in the first satire with a portrait of effeminacy:

(1) A Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire, Watson, ii, p.151. To 'justify his opinion', Dryden quotes the following line and a half from Eclogue III, 11, 26-7, "against a bad poet, whose ill verse he describes":

... non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas
stridenti miserum stipula dispersere carmen?

"Versification and numbers are the greatest pleasure of poetry", says Dryden. Virgil knew it, and practised both so happily that, for aught I know, his greatest excellency is in his diction" (ibid.) The sentence quoted on Virgil's 'satire' is the next but one.
... iam sexta cervice feratur
hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra
et multum referens de Maecenate supino
signator falsi, qui se lautom atque beatum
exiguus tabulis et gemma fecerit uda?
(11.64–8).

Note the juxtapositions, the rhetorical delay, where "signator falsi" comes at the end of the description, and how the phrase "recalling much of Maecenas", instead of "reminding us of Maecenas", suggests the rather bored, languid air of the forger. Johnson understood Juvenal's use of juxtaposition. Take for example the line "Obsequious, artful, voluble and gay", (1) or "And now a rabble rages, now a fire" (2) where the satire is contained in expression itself. We do not normally associate loquacity and gaiety with devious servility; we do not normally equate people and things.

Juvenal certainly makes every word count, yet he is far fonder of long subordinate clauses, cumulative examples and periphrases. Rather, too, than use a general term, such as Johnson would use, he prefers to keep to the hard facts. This requires a considerable degree of circumstantiality, which Johnson did not attempt to follow, except by using qualifying adverbs and adjectives. One must, incidentally, on no account confuse Juvenal's periphrasis, where "load the knees of the gods with wax" means "pray for", with eighteenth century periphrasis, the kind that says "finny prey" instead of "fish". Juvenal allows observed reality and social custom to intrude at almost every point. Eighteenth century poetical diction tended to put reality in an intellectual, or, as Geoffrey Tillotson puts it, a "physico-theological" framework. (3) Johnson also tends, like many eighteenth

century poets, towards the general; Juvenal towards the particular. Whereas Johnson likes to contain reality conceptually (the concepts being moral rather than intellectual), Juvenal reflects it perceptually. Johnson's poetic mentality worked perhaps in a diametrically opposite manner to that of Juvenal, and yet London is the first really successful example of Juvenalian imitation in English. Examination of Johnson's development of the methods of the consecutive imitation will help to explain why.

The consecutive imitation differs from the generic or selective imitation in that the author has in his mind not just a form, an image or short passage, but a complete, self-contained poetic argument. It is the argument, not its circumstantial or accidental details, which Johnson tries to extract from Juvenal, and in this he is far ahead of Oldham. Johnson's additions have the rhetorical purpose of reinforcing the main theme, which becomes largely political, although another imitation of this satire, Modern Paris (1805), an attack on Napoleonic France, was overtly political, whereas in Johnson politics, morality and poetry merge together: contemporary observations and political feeling are not allowed to dominate. The poem's meaning is present without having to be stated in ways that would destroy its universality or permanence as a work of art. In making Juvenal English, Johnson is not afraid to jettison what is unnecessary to his argument. The passage of fifty lines (11.232-272) in Juvenal in which are described the conditions at Rome (and of which Boileau made such profitable use) is entirely omitted, for example.

Johnson gives emphasis to certain contrasts, and pulls out of Juvenal a new sense of dramatic opposition. Juvenal is merely "confusus" - "disturbed,

(1) See below, p. 317.
put out, upset" by his friend's departure from Rome, though he praises his desire to live at Cumae. Johnson's imitation begins:

Tho' grief and fondness in my breast rebel,
When injur'd THALES bids the town farewell,
Yet still my calmer thoughts his choice commend,
I praise the hermit, but regret the friend ... (ll.1-4)

The dramatic oppositions - between rebellion and tranquillity(1) town and country, England's past glory and her present dwindling into "thoughtless ease", between her native "rustick grandeur" and imported French elegance and parasitism - all these are interlinked. The connections and oppositions are illuminating, and give the poem its particular flavour. Grief and fondness "rebel" at Thales' decision, and later on we read: "Behold rebellious virtue quite o'erthrown" (1.63) where rebellion of the spirit becomes a moral rebellion against modern social and political conditions. "Calmer thoughts" (1.3) commend the voluntary exile's choice, and when the scene has been set in the grand manner, almost in a painterly fashion, on the quayside at Greenwich, which evokes the glory of Elizabeth's reign,

A transient calm the happy scenes bestow,
And for a moment lull the sense of woe. (ll.31-2)

Taking the hint from Boileau, Johnson's Thales, (unlike the voluble Gaul

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(1) Eighteenth century theory usually divided the passions into those that are violent and agitated, such as love and anger, and those that are calm and tranquill, such as meditation and nostalgia. See for e.g. Francis Hutcheson, System of Moral Philosophy (1755), pp. 7-38, and Passions and Affections (1728).
whose "lavish tongue" (1.126) fulsome praises pauis), has but a "rustick tongue" (1.79) which is symbolic of England's "rustick grandeur" (1.102), the moral dignity of which is being undermined by thoughtless servitude and "peaceful slumber" (1.89), and consciences "ever gay" (1.90) — that is, consciences which are dormant. All this is further distinguished from the calm of the "peaceful vale... where once the harrass'd Briton found repose" (ll.46-7), and for which Thales appeals to "kind heaven" (1.43).

A striking example of the way in which Johnson provides an alternative to moral degeneration and political corruption is seen in his introduction of the rural theme. Umbricius advises the ordinary Roman to get a small house in the country, and his description of the "optima... domus" (ll.223-4) is far from utopian or even flattering:

hortulus hic putesque brevis nec reste movendus
in tenuis plantas facili diffunditur hastu.
vive bidentis amans et culti vilicus horti,
unde epulum possess centum dare Pythagoreis.
est aliquid, quocumque loco, quocumque recessu
unius sese dominum fecisse lacertae. (ll.226-231)

The wry humour and the realistic psychology are evinced through the final statement that it is something, in whatever place, however distant, to have made oneself the lord of a single lizard. Compare this with Johnson, and at once we see the difference. Johnson turns realism into idealism:

1. Juvenal uses the word "rusticus" (1.67) to signify "country clown".
There prune thy walks, support thy drooping flow'rs,
Direct thy rivulets, and twine thy bow'rs;
And, while thy grounds a cheap repast afford,
Despise the dainties of a venal lord:
There ev'ry bush with nature's musick rings,
There ev'ry breeze bears health upon its wings;
On all thy hours security shall smile,
And bless thine evening walk and morning toil.
(11.216-223).

Reminding us of Milton's Garden of Eden, this passage has a double reference.
(Neo-classicism also means an injection of something 'new' into 'classicism'.)
Whereas the flowers in Juvenal are "thin" or "straggling", Johnson's are
"drooping" - like the heavy roses which Eve stoops to support in Bk IX of
Paradise Lost. (1) "Hortulus" in Juvenal - "the little garden" - is big enough in
Johnson to contain "rivulets". Umbricius would have enough for a hundred
vegetarians; Thales despises "the dainties of a venal lord". The change in
tone is part of Johnson's overall purpose, but it involved playing down or eliminating
many of Juvenal's satiric qualities.

Umbricius complains of the quick-wittedness of the Greeks, and there is
a danger - which Johnson doubtless saw - that, unless we are impressed with the moral
superiority of the speaker, we may think that he is merely voicing a disgruntled
bitterness at being out-manoeuvred:

non sumus ergo pares: melior, qui semper et omni
nocte dieque potest aliena sumere vultum
a facie, incoetare manus, laudare paratus,
si bene rustavit, si rectum minxit amicus,
si trulla inverso crepitum dedit aurea fundo.
(11.104-108)

(1) Rachel Trickett (The Honest Muse (Oxford, 1968), p.227) sees here a debt to
Pope, but a close reading would favour Milton, Dryden's translation of Horace's
second Epode, and Virgil through Milton. The ideas of health and toil, the
reference to times of the day, and the words 'prune' and 'direct' are contained
in Adam's speech (Bk IX, 11.209-217). Eve is described "...oft stooping to
support. Each flour of slender stalk, whose head though gay... Hung drooping
unsustained". (11.427-430) See Poetical Works...ed. Darbishire, pp.187-8 and
p.193.
Juvenal's "Graecem urbem" (1.61) was more valid than Johnson's "French metropolis" (1.98). Johnson might have known that another danger arose here, for London in 1738 had shaken off much of its French veneer. Johnson wrote later

...between Roman images and English manners there will be an ir reconcileable dissimilitude, and the work will be generally uncouth and party-coloured; neither (1) original nor translated, neither ancient nor modern.

And so, unlike Oldham, he creates an ethos, not a new set of circumstances, out of the contrast between the "rugged natives" of England, and the French:

How, when competitors like these contend,
Can surly virtue hope to fix a friend?
Slaves that with serious impudence beguile,
And lye without a blush, without a smile;
Exalt each trifle, ev'ry vice adore,
Your taste in snuff, your judgment in a whore...

(11.144-9).

"Surly virtue" cannot talk in a cynical, depersonalized fashion about snuff and whores. We are convinced, therefore, of Thales' moral superiority, less so of that of Umbricius. Thales stands out against the dehumanized values of the city, though Juvenal's overall presentation of these is perhaps more powerful.

An example of Johnson's ordering of his original is the passage imitated from Juvenal's "Quid quod materiam," etc. (11.147 ff.), in which Juvenal's circumstantiality concerns itself with the struggle for status and the

plight of the poor man. Johnson excels his original by the richness of characterisation achieved through his terse, metaphorical style, and makes poverty, not social ladder-climbing, the primary object of our attention:

By numbers here from shame or censure free,
All crimes are safe, but hated poverty.
This, only this, the rigid law pursues,
This, only this, provokes the snarling muse.
The sober trader at a tatter'd cloak,
Wakes from his dream, and labours for a joke;
With brisker air the silken courtiers gaze,
And turn the varied taunt a thousand ways...
(ll. 158-165)

Whereas Umbricius is not above attacking panders' and auctioneers' sons - or rather the fact that they have a privileged position within a corrupt society - Johnson keeps the satire on a higher level, and his imitation shows above all a conscious understanding of and concern for man in society which is the product of modern humanism and which Juvenal essentially lacks. Marx and Engels would surely have recognized what was meant by the statement that poverty was a crime, when all other 'crimes' were safe. The law stands firmly on the side of social injustice. Both the aristocrat and the bourgeois, despite their differences, look down upon and ridicule poverty. Note how the bourgeois is characterized: "sober trader" is exactly right, for it suggests the idea of traders in general, (such as we might derive, say, from a reading of Defoe). He "wakes from his dream" because traders are generally either mentally going over their balance sheets, working out speculative projects and how to profit from certain schemes, or are thinking on God's Providence (and how it operates for the benefit of the trading classes). He "labours for a joke": the word "labours" here is ironical, for it refers both to the trader's industry and weak sense of humour - indeed, "the sober trader" ought in principle to be scornful of anything flippant of tongue or facetious. Yet his clumsiness is exposed, and his principles compromised
by the presence of a "tatter'd cloak", because many traders have risen from the lower ranks, are constantly afraid of falling back into them through the failure of their schemes, and thus feel uncomfortable and embarrassed when "rebellious virtue", in the shape of "hated poverty", shows itself. The virtuous, like the poor, are naturally inclined to rebellion because virtue and poverty are despised, hated and feared by those who "vote a patriot black, a courtier white". The "silken courtiers", unlike "the sober trader" (the singular here suggests not only independence and individualism but also solitariness), are exhibitionists ever seeking to display to each other their ingenious fripperies. Their "brisker air" is not that of useful industry but of the perpetual desire for amusement. Courtiers, like traders, seek to escape - not from idleness and commercial ruin, but from boredom. Thus they too are caught in "the clouded maze of fate"¹, act upon irrational principles, and tread "without a guide";² the trader who dreams only "chases airy good".³ Here the reader does have a definite feeling that what Johnson is pointing to is the moral emptiness and irrationalism behind all the modish elegance of the court, and its reflection in the "fiery fop"⁴ and "frolic drunkard"⁵ who "stabs you for a jest".⁶ In other words, what the imitation gives us that is missing in the original is the sense of ethical opposition and a wholeness of outlook.

Poverty in Johnson becomes an obstacle to individual social advancement, holding back "worth". A series of abstractions and images form a composite picture.

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(1) The Vanity of Human Wishes, 1. 6.
(2) Ibid., 1. 8.
(3) Ibid., 1. 10.
(4) London, 1. 226.
(5) Ibid., 1. 228.
(6) Ibid., 1. 229.
Our first impression is of "indignant Thales" (l. 34), now become "the hermit" (l. 4) who with "contemptuous frown" (l. 33) "eyes the neighb'ring town" (l. 34) just as in The Vanity of Human Wishes we are in a position to "survey mankind" (l. 2) and " watch the busy scenes of crowded life" (l. 4). This is the persona of Juvenalian satire - the indignant man, the outcast, the philosopher, the ruthlessly objective recorder of human vanity, vice and folly. The image of the satiric persona is absorbed in the abstract notion of "worth" (l. 35), denied "ev'n the cheap reward of empty praise" (l. 36), yet is given flesh and blood when Thales refers again to his own independence, vigour and vitality (ll. 41-2). The idea is transformed into "rebellious virtue quite o'erthrown" (l. 63), but with the political flavour of the patriot who defends the "country's dear-bought rights" (l. 53). Thales' "rustic tongue" (l. 79) is a personal symbol of Britain's "rustic grandeur" (l. 102). Such grandeur has almost gone, yet "surly virtue" (l. 145) on an individual level remains. The visual image in "a tatter'd cloak" then becomes "worth" held down by poverty (l. 177), then the "wretched vagrant" (l. 190) and finally "starving merit" (l. 191). The strength of this technique lies in the rhetorical use of visual image, representative type, abstraction and personified abstraction. "Worth", "merit" and "virtue" stubbornly resist the vicissitudes of fortune and the power of corruption. This stubborn struggle is very much that of Johnson himself. Thus in the imitation the Stoicism of Juvenal and the moral struggle of Johnson fuse together. The poetic imitation is not, we must remember, a 'copy', nor is it simply a 'likeness', but a creative re-interpretation with something new added - even if ironical - of a classical original.

After noting that in London Johnson had the corresponding passages in Juvenal printed at the foot of the page, but that in The Vanity of Human Wishes
(1749) he was content to cite only the numbers of the verses, Nichol Smith and McAdam write:

The difference indicates the greater maturity of *The Vanity of Human Wishes*. Imitation though it is, the freedom and the sincerity of the treatment make it an original poem. The difficulty of what he called, in his *Life of Pope*, the irreconcilable dissimilitude between Roman and English manners is overcome so successfully that the poems of Juvenal and Johnson have to be regarded, not as a model and copy, but as companion studies of the same subject. (1)

Henry Gifford implies that Juvenal's tone is one of vituperation, derision and exasperation expressed through cutting irony, whereas in Johnson we find a tragic sense of life, the feeling of "an ineluctably shared condition" (2) which, presumably, has demanded a deep fund of human sympathy absent in Juvenal. Further, not only is Johnson's poem "far more than an imitation", moving us "as an original poem" (3); "the real transmutation is brought about by Johnson's imagery no less than by the tone of his moral comment". (4) Of the main rhetorical argument - that prayers for money, power, acclaim, military glory, long life and beauty are futile if in them security, happiness and peace of mind are sought - Gifford says that Juvenal merely despises such prayers, whereas Johnson, he implies, understands them in a more human way, though he cannot commend or condone them. Johnson's poem has an almost processional, ritualistic quality: "each anxious toil, each eager strife" of man is marked and pursued to its fruitless conclusion. Rise and fall, growth and decay, hope and disillusionment, are given universal significance by being dramatically heightened and structured. This is perhaps latent in Juvenal. But Gifford says that, in its series of scenes, *The Vanity of Human Wishes* deals with "the mystery of human

(3) Ibid., p. 157.
existence" (1), which takes us very far from the lacerating realism of Juvenal. Neither is it certain from this statement whether "the mystery" is something Gifford recognizes, or whether he is simply making a comment on Jonson's vision of human experience. Johnson, like Pope and Swift, denied the possibility of social progress and evolution because he only saw "human existence", and this in moral, abstract, universal terms. Although I would not agree with Patricia Spacks, who says that The Vanity of Human Wishes "asserts the futility of virtually every form of human activity" (2), I think Johnson does superimpose on his original scheme an eighteenth-century rationalist morality which is at the same time ideologically pessimistic about purely human achievement, and which, far more than the pessimism of Juvenal, seeks to justify itself in an almost doctrinal manner in the poem. In other words, whereas Juvenal's world is continually being experienced, that of Johnson is ultimately a closed system of philosophical idealism born out of the Christian religion. Though by no means denying the validity of everyday experience, and in the case of Johnson capable of producing effects of incredible density, it says that it is no longer primary. This, if anything, is what for me detracts from Johnson's imitation, and makes Juvenal's Stoicism, which could not systematize experience as eighteenth-century Reason could, more attractive here.

In dealing with the imitation, five main points arise in connection with what has already been said above. These are: the writer's attitude, the general scheme or argument, the "dissimilitude between Roman and English manners", tone and feeling, and imagery (together with style).

To take the first point: Gifford says that Johnson "corrects Juvenal's sentiment" (3) in the final paragraph. Let us examine the kind of 'correction' Johnson

(1) Ibid., p. 165.
makes. Juvenal asks, "Nil ergo optabunt homines?" (l. 346). Johnson expands upon this:

Where then shall Hope and Fear their objects find?
Must dull Suspence corrupt the stagnant mind?
Must helpless man, in ignorance sedate,
Roll darkling down the torrent of his fate?

(ll. 343-46)

The questions Johnson anticipates, though posed in an abstract manner, arise naturally as a result of what has gone before. The second question suggests the mental stagnation created by an overall acceptance of Johnson's argument. 'Dull suspense' is hardly the kind of reaction one would normally associate with Juvenalian satire, when we bear in mind what Dryden said of Juvenal: "...he gives me as much pleasure as I can bear; he fully satisfies my expectation; he treats his subject home; his spleen is raised, and he raises mine; I have the pleasure of concernment in all he says; he drives his reader along with him; and when he is at the end of his way, I willingly stop with him."(1) Perhaps Johnson 'corrected' Juvenal according to the criticism of Dryden that, if "a fault can be justly found in him, 'tis that he is sometimes too luxuriant, too redundant". (2) Here, however, it is the sentiment which has been 'corrected'. What Johnson has done is to create a void, and then being able to fill it has concluded with the omnipotence, love and mercy of God, and the possibility of finding real happiness through religious faith, obedient humility and resignation. What Johnson offers is not an alternative code of conduct, but "celestial wisdom" that "calms the mind" (l. 367). In Juvenal there is no sense of "... helpless man, in ignorance sedate" but rather an overpowering sense of the selfish, violent, anarchic and blindly self-destructive drives of men. This is both a criticism of the individuals concerned and of the civilisation which produced them.

(1) A Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire. Watson ii p. 130.
(2) Ibid.
Stoic virtue. This is no vague generality, nor is there anything of religious sentimentalism about it. It is a strong attitude of mind that has no fear of death ("fortem posce animum mortis terrore carentem"), can undergo any kind of toil, knows neither wrath nor lust, "and believes that the woes and the hard labours of Hercules are preferable to the love-making, banquets and down cushions of Sardanapulus". Juvenal's answer - abstinence, endurance, the cultivation of 'virtue' based on the old agricultural mode of production, now undermined by the Empire - is more clearly related to the powerful criticisms contained in his main argument. Juvenal is attacking the pretensions of a whole civilisation, whose glaring class decisions have perverted and corrupted human values. What he derides are not men's prayers in general, but those which have been foolishly misguided by a belief in that civilisation, or distorted by the pressures of luxury, greed, a false sense of status, the urge to conquer and the desire to dominate over others. (It is significant that the eleventh satire should be an attack on extravagant living, and an appeal for a return to the simple life.)

Johnson's attitude is not only radically different from that of Juvenal; his own attitude has also changed since the writing of London. Then he could write, "All crimes are safe, but hated poverty". Now, when Juvenal wryly comments, "rarus venit in censula miles", (1. 18) (with the added bite in the word "rarus"), Johnson imitates as follows:

When statutes glean the refuse of the sword,  
How much more safe the vassal than the lord;  
Low skulks the hind beneath the rage of pow'r,  
And leaves the wealthy traytorcin the Tow'r,  
Untouch'd his cottage, and his slumbers sound,  
Tho' confiscation's vulture hover round.  

(11. 31-36)

The irony of a wry, pointed comment is absent. (1) The passage suggests that "the vassal" and "the hind" simply live their lives free from care, like the "needy traveller,

(1) "Wealthy" in line 34 was changed from "bonny" - a reference to the rebel Lords of 1716 - so that pointed comment was not originally absent.
serene and gay" who "Walks the wild heath, and sings his toil away" (ll. 37-8) - an expansion of Juvenal's "cantabit vacuus caram latrone viator" (l. 22). What has been gained in terms of concentration and the power of the images in lines 31 and 36 is of course undisputed, however.

The satiric persona cannot be presented in the way that it was through Umbricius and Thales, yet we are very much aware of Juvenal's satiric personality, whereas we experience in Johnson a feeling of being raised to an elevated height, able to view, perhaps like Dante or Christian, how "All times their scenes of pompous woe afford" (l. 223). Phrases such as "Let observation with extensive view/Survey mankind...", "Let hist'ry tell...", "Yet Reason frowns on War's unequal game" suggest a viewpoint more retired than opposing or alienated. The repeated imperatives "see", "hear" and "behold" emphasise the melancholy pageant, the sad waste of men's activities, but they also detach the reader, transport him into a 'higher world looking down at a lower', whereas in Juvenal he always feels the force of a biting and tangible criticism committed to a standpoint which is realistic in individual terms, but in essence harkens back to a 'golden age' uncorrupted by the luxury of Empire, whether Greek or Roman.

This difference in attitude conditions the whole satire. Johnson gives a tragic universality to everything he can (except when the material resists such treatment, as when in imitating the famous "bread and circuses" passage (ll. 72-81) in Juvenal he has the rather feeble couplet, "With weekly libels and septennial ale,/Their wish is full to riot and to rail" (ll. 97-8), a case in which the difficulty of "the irreconcilable dissimilitude between Roman and English manners" is not overcome). In dealing with the foremost of petitions, for riches and their increase, Juvenal's cutting irony is present. The petition is "cunctis notissima templis/divitiae", (ll.23-4) and is particularized: "ut maxima toto/nostra sit arca foro". This conveys the sense of hypocr-
risy, grubbing meanness and ostentatious greed. Johnson's imitation is more figurative: "Yet still one gen'ral cry the skies assails,/And gain and grandeur load the tainted gales". (ll. 45-6) The image of the smell of "gain" 'loading' the "tainted gales" is impressive rather than repulsive, and the notion of selfish greed is only distantly felt - the egocentric impulse has been generalized, and thus made part of "an ineluctably shared condition". This dangerously implicates the writer himself in "the darkling torrent of man's fate", thus in contrast with Juvenal making his own viewpoint less clear in social terms and perhaps dampening the satiric force of his criticism.

The futility of political ambition is illustrated in Juvenal by the career of Sejanus, but Sejanus is not even given the "full-blown dignity" of Wolsey. The first mention of Sejanus is that his bust burns and crackles in the flames. The Wolsey passage in Johnson is a brilliant representation, in the way it is structured, of a political rise and fall. The complex movement of the passage, suggesting an overreaching accumulation of power followed by a rapid dissolution, its intensity and poetic force, are unquestionable. But whereas the Sejanus passage evokes all the violence, rumour-mongering and caprice both of fortune and of higher authority which accompanies a political downfall, the Wolsey passage has a less definable, almost mesmerizing impact on the reader.

A passage much expanded by Johnson is that which dissuades the eager novice from oratory. This is changed into the pursuit of learning and the desire for authorial fame. The theme, the subject of Juvenal's seventh satire, was close to Johnson, and it produces some of the most poignant and bitingly effective lines in the imitation:

There mark what ills the scholar's life assail,
Toil, eny, want, the patron, and the jail.
See nations slowly wise, and meanly just,
To buried merit raise the tardy bust.

(ll. 159-62)
Juvenal's Hannibal has nothing of the tragic dignity of Johnson's Charles XIII. Hannibal is a one-eyed general on his last elephant. There is none of Charles's "military state" here, and there is a malicious delight in the lines

... i demens et seavas curre per Alpes,  
    ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias!  
(II. 166-7)

The equivalent famous four lines in Johnson,

His fall was destin'd to a barren strand,  
    A petty fortress, and a dubious hand;  
He left the name, at which the world grew pale,  
    To point a moral, or adorn a tale,  
(II. 219-222)

contain a series of phrases that succeed one another with a logic that symbolically re-enacts inevitable decline and diminution from great soldier to a mere name that 'adorns a tale'.

One of the most striking differences in Johnson's approach is seen in the treatment of the miseries of old age. Juvenal, keeping to his rhetorical scheme of forceful dissuasion, details in a Smollett-like way the evidence of physical, spiritual and mental decay: the misshapen face, the "deformed hide that serves for skin" (l. 192), the shaky voice and limbs, and the unforgettable (if exaggerated) image of the old man, helpless as a young swallow with its beak wide open, waiting for food from its mother (II. 231-2). There is only one, somewhat restrained, visual image in Johnson, "listless eyes" (l. 263). The English passage is more concerned with what it feels like to be old. Juvenal intends, and succeeds in brutally undeceiving us about prayers for long life; Johnson's lines, however, are full of pity and compassion.

The fortunes of beauty and good looks in Roman society are scathingly treated by Juvenal. Johnson, however, presents the corruption of beauty through an allegory (II. 323-342) which tends to euphemize what Juvenal, without embarrassment, exposes.
Juvenal's satire is full of images of violence; of strangling, besieging, poisoning, trapping, burning, hanging, crashing, lashing; of deformed humanity and decay. Johnson uses similar images, such as those borrowed from war and disease, but as Gifford and Tucker point out, far more effectively. (1) Juvenal's garrulity, sarcasm, his love of detail combined with exaggeration and hyperbole, (2) and his famous, short devastating phrases, are typical of his satire. Johnson, as we have pointed out, created something stately and majestic, and fashioned verse that was highly figurative and concentrated, with the aim of impressing upon us 'general truth'. If the satire sometimes suffered, the poetry improved.

Johnson draws out of Juvenal the feeling of being misguided and trapped through vain wants. Unless men act by Reason and "celestial wisdom", they will be imprisoned in the vicious circle of brute creation, preying on each other, never secure, or, like Charles, "destined to a barren strand". We are conscious of the continual presence of this Reason far more than we are of Juvenal's "ratione" (1. 4). One could say that, whereas in Juvenal men act in the way that they do because they are greedy, ambitious, violently concupiscent, and so forth, in Johnson they do so because they act irrationally. It is this - not, one feels, the wholly corrupt values of civilisation - which enslaves men. Reason is everywhere unheeded. A tragic sense of life emerges from a recognition of the fact that men disobey the dictates of a Rational God, one whom men must also learn to fear. (3) Juvenal's 'ratio' is closer to practical commonsense, pure living, personal dignity and rational wants and needs; Johnson's Reason is imposed from above.

(2) Cf. the passage on old men's diseases and his inability to recount all their names (ll. 218-226).
Juvenal's satire lays bare a civilization which is strangling itself, a society in which the roles of predator and victim are unpredictably exchanged. Yet he is never blown off-course. With Sejanus, as with the Praetor, he is consistent in his intention of stripping away the facade and exposing the emptiness behind wealth, power and position. The "Quirites"(l. 45) are friends of the Praetor only because of the dinner-dole in their purses; the common people make utensils out of the statue of Sejanus. These are the things we remember. Johnson's treatment of Wolsey and Charles is not intended in the same way; we think less of the emptiness behind the facade than of their tragic fall.

One could say that while Juvenal often too indiscriminately exposes and takes things apart, Johnson selectively composes and puts them together. This is connected with his whole method of imitation, and the following can be quoted to support this:

"The writer ought rather to "distinguish those parts of nature, which are most proper for imitation", and exhibit "the most perfect idea of virtue, the highest and purest that humanity can reach". The highest literature thus becomes the result of a selective imitation, guided by ethical perceptions of an ideal moral reality. In this important respect Johnson's position must be sharply distinguished from all literary naturalism and from all imitations of reality guided exclusively by aesthetic considerations. (1)

Some may call this kind of selective imitation 'pseudo-Aristotelianism', but it guided Johnson in his consecutive imitations of Juvenal. These imitations may lack the ingenious modern parallels and the immediacy of Oldham's efforts, but Johnson to a large extent obviated the difficulty of the 'Roman analogy' by generalizing and universalizing, through a method of selective imitation based on ethical and rational principles, what was possibly an insufficiently moralized or 'methodized' nature reflected in Juvenal's "literary naturalism". Whatever one's final conclusions about London and The Vanity of Human Wishes, they rank as very fine, if not very great poetry, and are significant landmarks in the tradition of the poetic imitation.

(1) Ibid., p. 192.
(2) See R. Wittkower, op. cit., pp. 149 ff., and Chapter 10, pp. 447 ff.
V. Imitations of Juvenal after Johnson up to 1780.

After the success of Johnson, regular imitations of Juvenal began to appear more frequently. This was not only because of Johnson's example, but because of a general feeling of cultural and moral decline, which many writers referred to and which few, apart from Goldsmith, chose to analyse. It brought the decline of the Roman Empire closer to their thoughts, and once again made writers thumb through the pages of their Juvenal. However, the historical parallels were very thin for imitators, and Juvenal's real voice is seldom heard.

Henry Fielding, who wrote the modernized prose paraphrase of Ovid's Art of Love discussed in the previous chapter, also imitated Juvenal with Part of Juvenal's Sixth Satire Modernized in Burlesque Verse, which appeared in the Miscellanies of 1743. Fielding does not flinch from satirizing contemporaries, and the scene is unmistakably England, whose customs he knows as well as Juvenal knew those of Rome.

Thomas Gilbert (d. 1747) wrote A View of the Town (1735) and A Satire (1738), both of which owe much to Juvenal. The First Satire of Juvenal Imitated (1740) was written in 1739. In the preface the author apologizes for omissions and additions made for the sake of contemporaneity, "which I hope will be reckon'd a pardonable Liberty, and is, in my Opinion, under due Restriction, what distinguishes an Imitation from a Translation." (1)

Juvenal opens by complaining that he is bored by the Theseid of the bombastic Cordus:

"Semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?" (11. 1-2).

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(1) The First Satire of Juvenal Imitated (1740), al.
The imitation begins:

"Shall every pension'd Scribbler draw his Pen,
And gild with venal Praise the worst of Men?
(E'en Dixon glean the Scandal of a Year
In one dull Tripos(1) to be thought severe!)" (p.1)

Gilbert will sing neither of Sir Robert nor of the British Fleet. However, there is no Maevia sticking pigs with breasts exposed in eighteenth century England. The most our imitator can find are Italians seducing women whose husbands are impotent. Great vices and monstrous behaviour are so vaguely hinted at that for the author they evidently do not exist in real life.

Gilbert is much further from Juvenal than either the Restoration, including Dryden, or his own contemporary, Johnson. He does not have Dryden’s earthiness and rapidity and he lacks Johnson’s serious purpose. We are now in the period when imitations are written for their own sake, before the authors have considered properly the mode behind the form and the intention of the classical poet.

Juvenal brilliantly describes an example of over-eating.(2) Every detail is charged with hatred and scorn. The rich patron is devouring the produce of sea and wood, reclining on his vast couch. We have an idea of one man, completely severed from the rest of struggling, impoverished humanity, and therefore utterly useless. He consumes a whole patrimony at a single

(1) The stool on which a satirical speech was given at a graduation ceremony. The speech was afterwards printed at the end of the list of successful degree candidates. Thus ‘tripos’ here refers to the speech, which must often have been dull, as Gilbert says. Later the word came to mean the degree itself as the speech-making went out of fashion.

(2) Satire I, 11. 135-146.
meal from huge and beautiful antique dinner-tables. Here there will be no parasite; "sed quis ferat istas / luxuriae sordes?" cries Juvenal. (11. 131-2)
The glutton eats a whole bear; he carries into his bath, with distended stomach, undigested peacock. Death is sudden, and he is carried to the grave amid the cheers of enraged 'friends.' This death is no cause for celebration, because, says Juvenal, our grandchildren will act in the same way. "Omne in præcipiti vitium stetit" - all vice stands at its highest point. (1. 142)

The English imitator is certainly faced with enormous problems in rendering such a passage in a familiar context. Gilbert turns it into a light-hearted joke. At a Lord Mayor's banquet, enough food for the whole town is eaten. Then,

"The Banquet o'er each bloated Guest complains
Of sudden Qualms, short Breath, and rack-Ing Pains;
Nature wants Strength to circulate the Blood,
Oppress'd with Loads of indigested Food;
Scarce have the Wretches time to make a Will,
So swift is foul Intemperance to kill,
Beyond Ward's Drop, or epidemic Pill." (p.8)

Scientific and medical progress will not obviate those punishments incurred by the carnal sins.

Dryden's translation of the same passage shows how a good poet can carry the thing off by sheer poetic skill. Dryden had a fluent knowledge of contemporary manners that entered his translation by reference or by idiom at almost every point. Yet his vigorous style and modern idiom are still applied to the Roman vice:

"Mean time his Lordship lolls within at ease,
Pamp'ring his Paunch with Foreign Rarities;
Both Sea and Land are ransack'd for the Feast,
And his own Gut the sole invited Guest.
Such Plate, such Tables, Dishes dress'd so well,
That whole Estates are swallow'd at a Meal.
Ev'n Parasites are banish'd from his Board:
(At once a sordid and luxurious Lord:)
Prodigious Throat, for which whole Boars are drest;
(A Creature form'd to furnish out a Feast.)
But present Punishment pursues his Maw,
When surfeited and swell'd, the Peacock raw
He bears into the Bath; whence want of Breath,
Repletions, Apoplex, intestate Death.
His Fate makes Table-talk, divulg'd with scorn,
And he, a Jaest, into his Grave is born.\(^1\)

Dryden catches admirably Juvenal's insistence on plain, emphatic, often physical language, that has few abstractions and circumlocutions. For Oldham too, few words, however low, are outside the language of satire. Brothels, coxcombs, lice and fleas, leather buckets, chamber-pots, a "bulk-ridden strumpet," "the foul spawn of foreigners," are the stock-in-trade of the social scourge.\(^2\) They have their counterpart not only in Hall and Marston and the bile of a Thersites, a Hamlet, or a Malevole, but also in Juvenal: "Quanta est gula," "quamvis quota portio fascis Achaei?", "qua moehum sequitur, stomacho valet,"\(^3\) and the revolting words of the homosexual in the ninth satire:

\[
\text{an facile et pronum est agere intra viscosa penem legiti tum atque illic heasternae occurrere cenae? (11.43-4)}
\]

This, as Gilbert Highet points out, is 'working-class' language.\(^4\) The satirist makes use of the most ingrained and un-literary language of everyday speech in order to give body to his attacks on empty poeticizing

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\(^{1}\) 'The First Satyr of Juvenal', Kinsley, ii, p.676.

\(^{2}\) See Satires VI and III.

\(^{3}\) Sat. I, l.140, Sat. III, l.61, Sat. VI, l.100.

and the euphemistic phraseology common to all privileged élites.\(^{(1)}\)

Gilbert, Greene, Nevile and most of the other imitators of Juvenal in the eighteenth century seem to have lost contact with the "naked thew and sinew" of the language. Even Johnson with his Anglo-Saxon qualities, eschews the use of over-bold physical and materialistic language. The Restoration had a facility for combining courtly wit and coarseness of thought and word, the learned and the deliberately crude. Gilbert is an example of a later development, in which poetic language again tended to become divorced from the language of men. His "Nature's Laws," "manly Rage," "blooming Beauties" and "virtue's cause\(^{(2)}\) are the effete clichés Juvenal would have avoided.

The only poet to imitate all of Juvenal's satires was Edward Burnaby Greene in 1763. His imitations were popular and possibly the best written after Johnson. A second edition quickly followed the first: The Satires of Juvenal, Paraphrastically Imitated, And adapted to the Times.

In his preface Greene says that satire cannot reform. It can degenerate into scandal; truth can become "dishonest fiction," and he criticizes Juvenal for his indelicacy as well as his "exaggerated railing" at women in the sixth satire. All this is an excuse for a lighter kind of social criticism which is as far removed from Juvenal as Sheridan is

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\(^{(1)}\) There may, however, be a deeper significance in this 'satirical language.' Satire has a purgatory function: exposed, the victims lay bare the social neurosis. The images of Thersites, and even those found in Milton's polemical pamphlets, have the primitive power of incantation. Satire and abuse may be explained away today as a kind of therapy or as the product of a twisted mind. In pre-Christian Celtic societies, however, virulent satire, greatly feared, was sanctioned by tribal law. Stigma, and the use of 'taboo' words, may be a social need.

\(^{(2)}\) Op. cit., pp. 4, 7, 8 respectively.
from Ben Jonson. Greene, like many others who ridiculed the follies
and manners of men and women, was an entertainer, not a prophet who
gives us the painful pleasure that comes of being stripped of illusions,
complacency and indifference. Juvenal probed into the position of man in
society. He showed us how relations between men actually were, although
he by no means saw the whole of Roman society. The Juvenalian satirist
has ambitious aims, in spite of the fact that Dryden thought Juvenal
more limited because less axiomatic and philosophical than Horace.

Greene's imitations are not always close. "To suit my characters
to those of Juvenal," he says: "was not always easy; to suit them in
every article was impossible." Greene has kept "at as convenient a
distance as the nature of a LIBERAL IMITATION would admit." (1)

The first satire takes a series of looks at city life. There are
hardly any parallels for the monstrous vices in Juvenal. Typical of
Greene is the passage where idlers saunter to shops, coffee-houses, the
Park, where they talk of Shakespeare, and have dinner after four. This
follows Juvenal's description of the client's day: "Ipse dies pulchro
distinguitur ordine rerum," etc. (11.127 ff.)

Taking his cue from Johnson, Greene gives the third satire a
political, and a more general orientation. It opens as follows:

While conscious sorrow, still a foe to art,
With cloister'd absence fills my heart;
Fair friendship's strains must hail the destin'd spot,
Where, since his fall, Newcastle is forgot.
Methinks once more Cam's muddy banks I rove,
Or smile amid the gloom of Margaret's grove;
For there, secure from London's curst alarm,
Rookries must cheer me, solitude must charm;
There, plung'd in books, no Party-flames you dread ...(p.8)

(1) The Satires of Juvenal ... (1763), 'Preface', p.i.i.
Green's Umbricius is spurning the Tories.

The Greeks in Juvenal who are swarming through Rome, corrupting its manners and morals, obtaining positions and ousting the inhabitants, become in Greene the Scots. Johnson's London is "Of France the mock, and of Spain the prey". (1.106) Greene's is

Dupe to the bugbears of the Spaniard's pride!
By waste and luxury to France ally'd! (p.22)

Greene's attacks on the Scots and everything Scottish, part of the anti-Bute feeling, overload the imitation. He even changes London into Edinburgh, and ingeniously adapts Juvenal's survey of the dangers of life at Rome to a denigration, backed up by accurate description:

Mark but at Edinburgh the mansions' size,
Where Huts on Huts to the TENTH story rise;
(Tho' now THEIR emulative structures here
Bid the poor passenger for head-piece fear
Where tiles descending own the stormy wind) ... (p.27)

The sixth satire is the best. Lust is the dominant theme of the original, but Juvenal exposes several types of women. Greene finds one parallel in the wives of aristocrats who adopt French fashions, and who, because they have so much leisure time, absorb themselves in everything except useful activity.

If music fires her, the delighted fair
Will rummage Oswald's with fantastic care:
And while great Handel's in the corner plac'd,
Purchase Arne's fripperies to shew her taste. (p.73)(3)

Greene makes this restless and pointless diligence almost frightening.

(1) See Juvenal, Sat. I, ll. 60-2.
(2) See Juvenal, ll. 193 ff.
(3) See Juvenal, Sat. VI, ll. 379 ff.
The lady in England still goes to Tunbridge Wells, just as she did in Oldham's day. (Greene, had he been following Juvenal closely, would have added that she loved the crowds in the hot bath, and that when she was exhausted, she allowed the attendant to pass his hands over her body.)

Juvenal cannot abide women who pretend to be critics, weighing Virgil against Homer, having their say when no one else can put a word in. The women in Greene are blue-stockings, or else they read The Arabian Nights, (extremely popular at this time), instead of Young's Night Thoughts.

Greene finds abundant parallels for much of his material which is why his imitation is a success. However, he lumps together the idle rich women; middle-class women attracted towards radicalism and Methodism; the emancipationists and blue-stockings; women who are carried away by everything Gothic; and those who are attracted by fortune-telling Jews, ghosts, and conjurors.

He stamps his magic foot and awful nods:
She hears the voice of angels and of gods. (p. 81) (2)

Greene avoids dealing with the more horrible sins of women, and even Eppia, the adulteress, has no parallel. He tones down Juvenal's satire into an amusing comedy of manners.

There are many forced, and some happy parallels in the seventh satire, which attacks the poet-patron relationship as it had become, rather than as it was essentially. Patrons, say Juvenal, give their clients little or nothing, yet idolize Homer, probably because of his antiquity. (11.36 ff.) The same, says Greene, is true today. Shakespeare's works live while modern writers starve. Horace, the writer who sings freely because free from

(1) See Juvenal, 11.419-423.
(2) See Juvenal, 11.582 ff.
poverty, becomes Prior, (who though his life was not at all easy and who died with little), had Horace's light vein. (1)

The eighth satire puts its emphasis on the good nobility and never reaches the intense pitch Wordsworth later found consonant with his own feelings. Instead, Greene adopts the tone of a schoolmaster giving his pupils a not too severe reprimand. Juvenal has now become instructive, ordered, sensible and restrained, occasionally descending to the level of conversation with its casuals hits and passing remarks. Hero, guilty of singing on the stage, had no real English parallel. Instead we have Charles II, "lolling at his ease." (p. 104)

In the tenth satire Sejanus has a most improbable parallel in Walpole, who ruled through "fraud" and was "ferreted" from power. In Juvenal and Johnson we learn universal truths from the single instances of worldly ambition. Greene does not evince any of Johnson's lessons, and with the fall of the great we come to the feeble conclusion: "But mark, misfortunes crush the wild desire." The fall is not inevitable and just, but simply bad fortune. (p.125)

In the thirteenth satire we again do not have the sense, which Juvenal purposely creates, of omnipresent wickedness, thieving and fraud. These things are now in the minority, and the satirical point is thus lost.

Greene is consciously adapting the _satura_ form as developed by Juvenal, without attempting to speak as Juvenal would have done, had he lived in England, by emulating the _sermo indignatio_ of his original. Instead, the form is a convenient vessel for witty, conversational, often barbed verse, on the politics, manners, fashions and customs of the age. Each _satura_

(1) See Juvenal, 11. 59-62 and Greene, p.86.
had for Greene its prescribed theme: the people or classes whom the poet singles out or groups together for attack; urban life and the Scottish invasion; the vagaries, extravagances, and the unstable, coquettish behaviour of the modern woman; the futility of writing; what true nobility is; parasitism and sycophancy; the vanity of political and social ambition; the role of a guilty conscience in a Christian society, and so on. Juvenal's tenth satire had long been the fruitful source of subjects for Christian sermonizing and moralizing. Greene is not using Juvenal as a source for precepts, but as a mould into which he pours his own attitudes. Unlike Hall, Oldham or Dryden, or even Johnson, he is basically critical of the Juvenalian attitude (of Swift, it is interesting to note, he says that he "burlesques humanity," and is "morose" (1) the very things the Elizethans thought the satirist should demand be). It is thus the paradox of the imitation that although Greene finds the Juvenalian satira a convenient form in which to work, (Greene however presents the portraits and scenes, he comments and generalizes, without imitating Juvenal's abrupt transitions) he does not feel obliged to lash society, but pinpoints many of the dominant trends and fashions of his time. Often he is not satirical at all, but didactic; when he is mediocre, he is a good social guide.

The Imitations of Juvenal and Persius, by Thomas Nevile, A.M., appeared in 1769. Nevile criticizes both satirists for their "metaphorical disorder" and "declamatory looseness." (2) The looseness was not something Greene found a disadvantage, although he is with Nevile when the latter makes Juvenal fit for the "instruction of youth and tender minds." Nevile pays a tribute to Johnson, "our own Ethic Poet," and says that for ease and dignity, he

(1) 'Preface' to The Satires of Juvenal... p.iii.
(2) Preface to Imitations of Juvenal and Persius (1769), p.i.
Juvenal's seventh satire, like the third, sixth and tenth, is dissuasive. The intention is ironical, for the question is asked, Why write? in the same way that the questions Why marry? Why live in the city? Why seek power, beauty, fame and happiness? are asked in the other satires. Nevile manages his original with adroitness. Juvenal does not blame Caesar for the lack of patronage, but members of the senatorial order, which had much degenerated since the time of Virgil and Horace. Nevile begins:

"Droop not, ye Wits! one comfort still remains;
What would ye more? a new AUGUSTUS reigns.
No longer now with fripp'ry fetch'd from France
Piece flimsy farces, or eke out Romance. (p.35)

Echoing Johnson and parodying Milton, he says:

"The wealthy ones of these discerning days
Would kindly leave him [i.e. the poet's poverty and praise!]
0 ye! who, dazzled by a name's fair boast
Glitt'ring in capitals on rubric post,
Build in low tenement the lofty rhyme,
Deluded fools! hear Wisdom's voice betime. (p.36)

Since one cannot hope to gain by writing, one might as well take one's reams of fustian to the grocer. If Horace had a full stomach on which to cry 'Evoe,' then,

"For a day's meal had MILTON felt a fear,
URANIA's voice had vainly reach'd his ear." (p.36) (2)

Nevile's parallels are better chosen than Greene's, and the imitation

(1) Ibid., p.ii
(2) See Paradise Lost, Book VII, l. l.
is more humorous, as well as closer to Juvenal. He imitates, however, only a hundred or so lines of his original, and ends by addressing "the Great" in a passage that attains the precision but not the finality of Juvenal. The poet may be patronized, but "... what advantage, if just half of his pay / In fees, in bribes, melt leisurely away?" As for the great men and the scholars,

For you by day they toil, by night they pore;
For you Antiquity's dark depths explore;
On Metre's magic curious to refine,
Extract the warbled wonders from a line;
Trace noun and verb thro' all their winding ways;
And thrid of dialects the tangled maze. (p.38)

Nevile also imitated the thirteenth and fourteenth satires (pp.39-64). On the whole, these attempts are rather dull, and he indulges in very un-Juvenalian circumlocution, the sign of insincerity. There are however one or two lively couplets. Juvenal advises fathers not to practise those things they would not see in their sone, and to shield their sons from "puellae / lenonum". (Sat xiv, ll. 45-6) Nevile warns the good father to avoid those places "Where Love leads in his loose-zon'd titt'ring crew, / And Amoret trips half naked to the view". (p.52)

Apart from Greene and Nevile, two other imitations of Juvenal appeared in the period 1760-1780. These were The Subscription Soldier, in Imitation of the Sixteenth Satire of Juvenal (London. 1760), (1) and The Adultress (1773), an imitation of the sixth satire. The second imitation is a lashing attack on modern women and more Juvenalian in spirit, though less close to the original text, than Greene.

Imitations of Juvenal after 1780.

R.C. Whitford noted the popularity of Juvenal in this period. Translations continued to be written, the most outstanding being that of Gifford in 1802. Imitations, however, are much in evidence, and are more numerous now than at any other period, which is exceptional as far as imitations in general are concerned.

An imitation of the first satire appeared in 1781. It was called *XSMWPDRBUNULXY, or The Sauce-Pan ...* (1781). Between this imitation and the other of 1740 there is no resemblance. Here Juvenal is swamped by Sternian whimsey, though some of the evils have the ring of truth. For Thomas Wood the rot began with Charles's execution. Now it is traced back to Noah. The objects of attack are interesting:

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Whate'er has plagu'd or paster'd human kind,
    Shall in this motley verse fit honors find;
Stock-jobbers, fav'rites, loan-merchants, collectors,
    Attorneys, underwriters, and directors,
Bawds, brokers, justices, in proper sphere,
    Saints, sharpers, pimps, and quacks shall fill the rear. (p.2)
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There are some fierce jabs. The beams of youth are "Forc'd to fill up some crevice in a court," while charity, worth and virtue are all "Coop'd in the honors of a midnight ball." The author takes hints from his original and runs to almost any length on topics of his own choosing.

Two years later came *Mobility: a poem. In Imitation of Juvenal's Eighth Satire. (London, 1783)*. Addressed to the Earl of Dalkeith, the author's admonitions are of a very light-weight nature, dressed up in

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pompous language. The criticism of the nobility is carefully avoided except for the purposes of instruction. Following the Quirinus passage, the author voices a common anxiety:

Gall'd now by fetter, friendless, and unknown,  
The Slave to-morrow may ascend a throne.

Many of the imitations in this age of the American and French Revolutions are, understandably, political. Instead of bad poetry, one author substitutes bad political propaganda in an imitation of the first satire, Flagellation of the Whigs ... By John Dryden, junior, Esq. (1792). (1) The author of Secession, an imitation of the third satire, found an apt parallel in the abandonment of the city by the Foxite Whigs, disgusted with the repressive Tory administration of Pitt. There is the familiar substitution, not of the French, but of the Scots, for Juvenal's Greeks:

All villains thrive - but most the Scots succeed -  
Thames is a tributary, stream to Tweed.

The most interesting of these late imitations of Juvenal is by Wordsworth, who wrote two hundred lines of an imitation of the eighth satire in November 1795. In a letter to Francis Wranghan (with whom he was planning the imitation) (2) dated November 20th, 1795, Wordsworth called it "something like an imitation, though extremely periphrastic", and added: "There is not a syllable correspondent to it in Juvenal". (3) Wordsworth finds ammunition in Juvenal to direct against the modern Nero:

(1) Scots Magazine, lxi, p. 553.
(3) Note how Wordsworth stresses his non-literal rendering.
Heavens! who sees majesty in George's face?
Or looks at Norfolk and can dream of grace?
What has this blessed earth to do with shame
If Excellence was ever Eden's name?
Must honour still to Lonsdale's tail be bound?
Then execration is an empty sound. (1)

For Juvenal the peak of Nero's depravity seemed to be his singing upon the stage. Of all the deeds of his cruel and bloody tyranny, this deserved to be avenged by the arms of a Verginius, a Vindex or a Calba.

(C. Julius Vindex led a revolt against Nero in A.D. 68). Wordsworth asks, transferring the attack to George,

What arts had better claim with wrath to warn
A Pym's brave heart, or stir a Hampden's arm? (2)

With sarcasm scarcely adequate to encompass such a monstrous deviation,

Juvenal says:

Haeo opera atque hae sunt generosi principis artes,
gaudentis foede peregrina ad pulpita cantu
prostitui Graioque spium meruisse coronae. (11.224-226)

Wordsworth echoes the repetition "Haeo ... hae ..." and follows his original as closely as Oldham or Pope:

Do arts like these a royal mind evince?
Are those the studies that be seen a prince?
Wedge in with blacklegs at a boxer's show
To shout with transport over a knock-down blow ... (3)

(2) Ibid., p.305.
(3) Ibid.
Juvenal pours scorn on Hero's parading of his ancestors. Wordsworth parallels:

Go, modern Prince, at Henry's tomb proclaim
Thy rival triumphs, they Newmarket fame.
There hang thy trophies; bid the jockey's vest,
The whip, the cap, and spurs, they praise attest.

Servius Tullius, born of a slave, won the diadem and fasces of Quirinus:
Wordsworth's couplet,

Plebeian hands the ... mace have wrenched
From sovereigns deep in pedigree intrenched, (1)

contrasts nicely with the one quoted above in Nobility. This satire would
have received Milton's approval, whose concept of satire no doubt fully
endorsed political and moral polemic against the ruling class. The author
of Nobility twelve years earlier had rendered Juvenal's axiom "nobilitas sole
cat atque unica virtus" into the somewhat different "VIRTUE ALONE CAN STAMP
THE MONARCH GREAT". Wordsworth's republicanism read other meanings into his
original.

In 1799 there appeared two imitations of Juvenal's thirteenth satire.
The first was The Love of Gain ... By M.G. Lewis, Esq. M.P., the second
The Force of Conscience ... By Arthur Murphy, Esq. (2) The titles them-
selves indicate the different interpretations made. In The Love of Gain

(1) Ibid., p.304.
(2) British Critic, xiv, 308-9.
dialogue elements are introduced and good use is made of the couplet. Politics are conspicuously absent. Halilius, who has been robbed, feels the deception more than the loss, whereas in Oldham it was the loss that was felt. The thief's terrors of guilt are, as in Juvenal, the robbed man's revenge:

Not all the pangs which Dante's visions swell,
No freezing limbs, and no fiery hell,
Surpass his torments, who still bears unblest
A self-accuses in his own sad breast. (1)

An undated imitation of the sixteenth satire appeared with Secession, mentioned above, called The Yeoman: An Epistle to the Earl of ———, Dublin. Juvenal's satire is a convincing account of the brutality of the Roman soldier as well as of his immunity, and the anonymous imitator provides a modern equal:

Free from the ties that common mortals bind,
His passions range unquestion'd, unconfin'd,
The base designs, that none but Villains feel,
And all that are not Soldiers, must conceal.
A rage for plunder, or a thirst for blood,
With him, is ardour for his Country's good. (p.5)

Modern Paris: A Free Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal (1805) is a comprehensive attack on the Napoleonic regime from the royalist standpoint. There are worst things in Paris than falling or burning houses: there is the inquisitor, the guard, the watch, the informer, the spy and the "visit domiciliary".

The men who used to be hornblowers and now hold their own public shows, says Juvenal, are raised by Fortune and in themselves have no merit. (2) Thus they can just as easily fall back "to contract for cess-

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(1) The Love of Gain (1799), p.16.
(2) See Satire III, 11. 34-40.
pools". The anonymous author turns this against the revolutionaries:

At one rotation of her wheel, we find,
The lowest makes the highest of mankind;
Another revolution may restore
All upstarts to their places as before. (p.4)

"He will be dear to Verros who can impeach him at any time he wishes", says Juvenal. This is adapted as follows:

He only to Napoleon will be dear, Of whom Napoleon stands in constant fear. (p.7)

"SLOW RISES WORTH, BY POVERTY DEPRESS'D" is given a socio-political content:

The poor, at least in Paris, seldom rise And never, if they're virtuous too and wise. 'Tis scarcely they can live at all, though ill, Where rich grow richer, poor grow still poorer. (p.11)

Juvenal's mock-philosophical pondering on the fate of those crushed by a fall of Ligurian marble is attached to a presumably common incident, an 'infernal machine' thrown into a crowd:

While many a wretch, piecemeal to atoms blown, 'Twixt soul and body leave no difference known; But with their limbs manure the neigh'ring plains, And e'en the Morgue is robb'd of their remains. (p.14)

"Haply were the days of old which under Kings and Tribunes saw Rome satisfied with a single goal", sighs Umbricius. The anonymous author also yearns for the return of freedom — under the old monarchy:

(1) In his *Annals*, Tacitus tells how, in the reign of Tiberus, an ex-slave Atillus, built an amphitheatre at Fidenai for a gladiatorial show. It collapsed during a performance, killing or mutilating fifty thousand people. A senatorial decree afterwards forbade anyone with less than four thousand sesterces to hold such a show. Atillus himself was banished.
In happier days, when gracious Louis reign'd,
One prison all our prisoners contain'd.  (p.20)

Except for Wordsworth's imitation, the imitations of Juvenal's eighth satire are attempts to vindicate nobility. One such defence—and because it is a defence, it destroys Juvenal's satirical purpose—is The Pride of Birth: A Satire in Imitation of the Eighth Satire of Juvenal. With Notes, critical and illustrative; adapted to the Characters and Manners of the present Age. It appeared in 1801. (1) The spirit of the original is absent, not only because the verse is mediocre, but because the author is afraid of pointing too accusingly at the objects of his so-called satire. As James Sutherland has said many poets in the later eighteenth century wrote satires automatically without having the satirical temper. (2) After Johnson, formal satirists were often more conscious of their worthy English model than of the world about them. This further separated them from Juvenal. The Force of Conscience (1799) was dedicated "To the Memory of Samuel Johnson, M.D. the sublime and moral Imitator of Juvenal". A reviewer of The Pride of Birth said, "Imitations of Juvenal, even though tolerably written, appear insipid, unless they attain the sententious dignity and energy of the original". (3) This Johnson achieved. Satire relies on a felt precision, and ten near misses do not equal a hit.

Another imitation of the eighth satire is The Peerage Paralleled: A

(1) Reviewed in The British Critic, xvii, p. 431.
(3) The British Critic, xvii, p.431.
Poem ... Addressed to A Noble Marquis. (1813). Although the author is advising and warning, he could say in the dedication that the identity between the depravity of Rome and that of his own day was so remarkable that the modern peerage could be paralleled with the Patrician order as it was in Juvenal's lifetime. Though a man's stock be that of Blake and Wellington, he has no claim to nobility if he is slothful and vicious. Sidney, Cecil, Laud and Cary were truly noble, but Nelson and Abercromby were born of humble parents. Such parallels are easy to find, and they make little impact on the reader. One piece of observation throws light on the aristocratic mentality:

An humorous Marquis had two dwarfs, and one
Was Ajax hight, huge son of Telamon! (p.7).

Emigration: A Poem, In Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal (1819) is an intelligent, but technically deficient, attempt, at adapting Juvenal to a modern situation. The subject is emigration to America. Both Oldham's imitation and Johnson's kept to the original theme: the poor, virtuous man is driven out of the corrupt city to make a home in the country. One could say that England has become corrupt, its rulers repressive, its upper classes degenerate. America, on the other hand, was a land of opportunity, where social classes were less rigidly distinguished, where the economy of a growing urban society had not yet penetrated far inland, and where the pioneering spirit no doubt seemed a marked change from the claustrophobic world of England.

The imitation praises hard work that is justly rewarded, as against
parasitism that thrives on the labours of others. In his preface, the author says:

I have endeavoured in the following Poem to show that a man of talent and virtue may adduce moral reasons for quitting the land of his birth, which are probably as weighty as the pecuniary. (1)

These are the reasons adduced by Thales, who again becomes a moralist first, a poor man second. Umbricius in Juvenal lets us forget the pecuniary reasons - although they are only valid because he is a man with a sense of morality. In this imitation, acquaintance with poverty's hardships is slight, but the author tries to yoke together the conservative Johnsonian morality and a progressive ideal.

The failure of many satirists, as we have said, is one of rhetoric, of not being able to hit the target first time, or repeatedly just missing it. This is the case here.

I never had the remotest hope of equaling the sublime 'London', (says the author), - that is a model from which I have endeavoured to form an humble cast. And although the critics have condemned those who imitate, for paucity of genius and invention, I care not if I am considered an imitator of an imitator. (2)

The following is an example of this derivative imitation:

Since here pale learning unregarded pines,
And struggling science her last hope resigns;
Since toiling art and daring genius claim,
But cold contempt, or ignominious shame;
Since hunger's calls exhaust my little store,
While each now day finds poverty more poor;

(1) Emigration.... (1819), 'Preface'.
(2) Ibid.
And lingering expectation vainly sighs
With faithless hopes of ne'er approaching joys;
O Guide me, Heaven ... (1)

The use of personified abstractions; the balance in a line between two qualified, generalized nouns; the attachment of human qualities to abstractions, such as "toiling art", (which is not the same as personified abstractions such as "pale learning unregarded pines"), all this is typical of Johnson, indeed, of a great deal of eighteenth century poetry. Here, however, it is so predictable; merely a long way round of saying something simple, and therefore apparently insincere. Poetry that can be reduced to a literal statement is not poetry. The personifications, generalizations and antitheses in Johnson are not decorative; they are his strength. Johnson's satire is a distillation from a multitude of particular facts about life; it is not simply 'artificial', nor is it just a statement of 'general truths'. Johnson wields his own experience into the sense of Juvenal and from these creates a complex unity. Like Juvenal, he uses the formal satire for persuasion and dissuasion, not for a runaway invective, a cautionary piece, or for polite instruction. Taunt and strong, each line is a link in an unbreakable chain. One valid escape route from The Vanity of Human Wishes destroys the whole poem. Thus Johnson understood that Juvenalian satire had the inevitability, as well as the sublimity, of tragedy.

(1) Ibid., p.3.
In this Chapter we began by looking at Elizabethan imitation of Juvenal, making comparisons with the later period. In generic and selective imitation the need to combine the qualities of translation and original poem (as in the consecutive imitation) is absent. Thus the Elizabethan conception of Juvenal remained very one-sided. With the important and well-annotated translations by Stapylton and Holyday a great deal was achieved towards making English Juvenalian satire a possibility. The Restoration has left us the 'modern' translation by Dryden, the imitations of Oldham and others, and a host of partial borrowings, adaptations and satires influenced by Juvenal. It was during the Restoration that imitatio and mimesis began consistently to come together. The imitator then understood that he had to be an artist, that he had

... to be profoundly a member of his own world, engaging it at some point, not from the sanctuary of his scholarly work but from the immediate occasions of his own life in his own time. He [had to] be alive to the struggles and dilemmas of his culture, or his work [would] lack the urgency which good translation needs in order to compensate for the many kinds of loss which take place between original and version. (1)

Good imitations do reflect in an active way such "struggles and dilemmas" without jettisoning too much of the original. Naturally, there has to be a certain parallel between the struggles and dilemmas existing when the original author was alive and when the translator or imitator is writing. Involved in the poetic imitation are philosophical questions concerning the relationship between one historical epoch and another, between one literary culture and another,

and between literature and life. The large number of imitations of Juvenal in the late seventeenth and later eighteenth centuries is certainly not accidental. The frequency and occasion of their appearance and the relative success with which the fusion - between epochs, through parallel and analogy, and between imitatio and mimesis - is achieved, are intimately connected with objective literary and social conditions existing independently of any single individual author. The exception proves the rule: Johnson's method is far less reliant on modern parallel and substitution, far less on the social analogy, and is more concerned with general, universal interpretation and application, than most other imitations of Juvenal.
CHAPTER 6. EPISTOLARY IMITATIONS: THE FAMILIAR VERSE EPISTLE.

SUMMARY.

The familiar verse epistle achieved new status in an age whose outlook was socially orientated, whose values were those of landed 'virtue', politeness, moderation and civilised ease, and thus in verse could well adapt itself to the Horatian epistolary form.

(i) Generic and selective imitation of Horatian epistles are dealt with, and epistles such as Dryden's _To My Honour'd Kinsman_, John Driden.

(ii) Imitations by Rowe, Swift, Diaper, Pitt, Whaley and by several anonymous authors are discussed. They fall into various groups: those which stress ethic generalities, political satires, mock-imitations and occasional imitations.

(iii) The imitations by George Ogle must be rated fairly highly. The epistle _To William Ussher Esq._ is closely compared with Pope's _Epistle to Lord Bolingbroke_. Pope is also set against other imitators, who have general Addisonian and 'optimistic' attitudes. Neville's _Imitations of Horace_ (1758) lack the irony and comic sense not only of Pope, but of Horace. Pope's _Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot_, the most superb example of the techniques of the Horatian sermo and epistolary style in the English language, is remarkable for its structural unity, versatility and the deftness of its satiric strategy. Pope is unable to fuse his own complex personality with that of Horace in a way no other poet was quite able to do. This takes us back to Denham's theory of translation discussed in Chapter 2. Pope's _Epistle to Augustus_ has to be compared with the original in order for the
Irony to be fully understood, and we see Pope's own scepticism concerning the Roman analogy. The imitations of Epistles II, ii and I, vi are discussed, the latter imitations comparing unfavourably with Dryden's 

To My Honour'd Kinsman, John Dryden. Pope, like Johnson, achieved possibly his greatest poetry through the imitation - clear proof that it neither restricted genius nor compelled creative writers to make servile copies of classical originals.
Chapter 3.

Epistolary Imitations: the Familiar Verse Epistle.

According to the neo-classical critics, verse epistles came under several headings: ethical, hortatory, familiar, amorous, panegyric, and didactic. The rhetorical intention - the emotional and intellectual attitudes the poet aimed at arousal in his reader - together with the subject itself, determined the epistle's idiom and style, which could be 'high', 'middle' or 'low'. (1)

In the eighteenth century the familiar verse epistle (which was for the most part written in a 'middle' style) was raised to a new formal status, though the epistolary manner had, from the Renaissance onwards, been an inherent part of polite verse. When Pope, in the Essay on Criticism, said that Horace could...

...like a friend familiarly convey
The truest notions in the easiest way,

(ll. 655-6).

he was pointing to the qualities of truth, honesty and politeness which are contained in the best familiar verse epistles. Nevertheless, Pope has to be marked off from most other epistolary verse writers of the period because he so consciously and intensely clings to the defence of certain values against those which he finds inimicable to that very honesty and politeness of which the familiar verse epistle is the most elegant illustration. (2) Pope's easy familiarity is part of a more complex satiric method which other poets were usually unable to attain.

(1) See also Ian Jack, Augustan Satire (Oxford, 1966), for a discussion of the relation between intention and idiom in English verse satire.

(2) See the discussion on the Horatian rural ethic in translations and imitations in The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal, by Marius-Sofie Røtvig, ii (Oslo, 1953), pp. 115-132.
In the sixteenth century the epistle was characterized as 'the oratorical genius lowered to simple conversation', (1) rather than as an independent type. Jay Arnold Levine has reminded us of the oratorical framework of the verse epistle, (2) but when Pope in 1729 decided to write epistles in Horace's manner the result was verse of great variety, versatility and subtlety, in which an oratorical scheme was hard to discover, if it was there at all. Levine has, however, taught us to respect the complexity of structure characteristic of the verse epistle. The eighteenth century itself was a great admirer of the concealment of method, of art dressed as nature, of circumlocution or insinuation that was neither pompous nor sneaking, but familiar and entertaining. The right balance was very hard to strike, and this is partly because, though the various elements of epistolary verse, and in particular, Horatian epistolary verse, could be abstracted and lifted out of context, it was extremely difficult to put them all together again in a modern manner. Horace's poetry demonstrates and justifies a way of life, a cultural outlook, and it breathes and speaks through a living personality. Pope uses all his resources to adapt his master, but whereas Horace is often brief, cutting and savage, and can quickly return to his customary tone of chuckling, anecdotal discourse, Pope's satire is more conscious, and his epistolary imitations - like his 'real' letters - are more deliberate, often more comic. (Horatian satire was of course allied to comedy).


(2) "The Status of the Verse Epistle before Pope", SP, lxix, 1962, pp. 653-64.
If the letter is one remove, the verse epistle is two removes from actual conversation, yet the skill of writing Horatian epistles lay in capturing the witty raillery, the intonation, the sudden turns of rhetorical and ordinary speech, while at the same time producing something permanent. Pope's concentration is greater than that of Horace, and the couplet gives his casual tone and his shifts in attitude an extraordinary effect of grace, ease and polish combined with the most devious and allusive kind of poetic art. Pope's Horatian imitations are eclectic; he takes hints from many sources other than his original, and borrows from several authors, both ancient and modern while keeping to the pattern of Horace's poems. Horace, in fact, is more 'himself' than Pope is. Pope cannot refrain from making an artefact even when he is being simple and open. Take, for example, the opening of Horace's Epistle I, vi:

Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
solage quae possit facere et servare beatum. (l. 1-2)

This is completely straightforward. Pope, however, is self-consciously antithetical and clever:

Not to Admire, is all the Art I know,
To make men happy, and to keep them so.
Plain Truth, dear MURRAY, needs no flow'rs of speech,
So take it in the very words of Creech. (1)

Needless to say, these are not "the very words of Creech", but have been reduced from three lines to two. Horace's 'brevitas' is largely unadorned,

but Pope likes to slip in puns, allusions, personal and other references, while perfecting those who have preceded him, but in doing this he is remaining true to the overall aim of imitation and the ideals of civilized poetry. Horace’s wit is greatly expanded: the resources of English poetry for the exercise of different kinds of wit were far richer and more varied, and if we look for Horace in Pope we find him allied to the wit and style of Donne, Jonson, Boileau, Rochester and Dryden. At the same time, the character of the landed gentlemen who lives peacefully on his moderate estate according to the Golden Mean becomes a unique phenomenon simply because so much of it is based on classical precedent and historical analogy – which presupposes a use of multiple allusion to reinforce the classical ideal. (1)

We aim to show in this chapter how the Horatian epistle was taken up by the English Augustans and used for a great variety of purposes: lampoon, satire, moralizing, polite addresses and invitations, autobiographical discourse – from the humblest occasional light verse, to a masterpiece of irony and wit. Epistolary verse could reveal the highest achievements of the Augustan age, for its temper was civilized and its outlook on the world socially orientated. Since we are concerned with imitation, we shall try to show how, conscious of a total social situation, English poets and verse writers imitated the man as well as his work when they followed Horace. We shall also see how failure to imitate the work was often the result of a failure to imitate the man, so that in a peculiar sense the poetry, because so ‘true to life’, also reflected the social situation of the writers.

i. The Horatian Epistle

In Spectator 618 (November 10, 1714), a writer remarked that "the Epistolary way of writing in Verse", although "a Species of Poetry by itself", was a neglected form. "A Man of Genius", he said, "may, if he pleases, write Letters in Verse upon all manner of subjects, that are capable of being embellished with Wit and Language, and may render them new and agreeable by giving the proper turn to them". (1) He thus emphasised expression as an end in itself, rather than individuality or originality of content. By epistolary poetry, he means only "such Writings in this Kind, as had been in Use, amongst the Ancients, and have been copied from them by some Moderns". (2) He divides epistles into two classes. In the first he includes love-letters, letters of friendship, and letters upon mournful occasions. In the second, such Epistles in Verse, as may properly be called Familiar, Critical, and Moral; to which may be added Letters of Mirth and Humour. Ovid for the first, and Horace for the latter, are the best Originals we have left. (3)

He is following the French critics as well as classical precedent, and gives "the Qualifications requisite for writing Epistles, after the Model given us by Horace". These are, "a good Fund of strong Masculine Sense", "a thorough Knowledge of Mankind", and "an Insight into the Business, and prevailing Humour of the Age". (4) The writer:

(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., pp. 421-2.
(4) Ibid., p. 422.
must have his Mind well seasoned with the finest Precepts of Morality, and be filled with nice Reflections upon the bright and dark sides of human Life: He must be a Master of refined Raillery, and understand the Delicacies, as well as the Absurdities of Conversation. (1)

He must also have "A lively Turn of Wit, with an easy and concise manner of Expression". The writer of Horatian epistles must appear a "Man of the World" and draw his illustrations, comparisons and images from common life. His manner must be free and disengaged. "Strokes of Satyr and Criticism" are to be "judiciously thrown in" and, with panegyric, are to form not the substance, but the ornament of these kinds of composition. However familiar his epistles, the poet must remember he writes in verse, while "Subjects of the most sublime Nature are often treated in the Epistolary way with Advantage, as in the famous Epistle of Horace to Augustus". (2)

The above is a generalized account. Pope, in his Imitations of Horace was not writing in a generalized form, but was attempting to speak both as himself and through Horace's own words. Pope was an individualist, and, as far as being "a Man of the World" was concerned, his main attack was usually directed at "men of the world". Moreover, Horace's own illustrations, comparisons and images "drawn from common life" often served to give his poems their peculiarly detached irony. Pope did not merely "judiciously throw in" "Strokes of Satyr and Criticism": the Epistle to Augustus is ironical and critical from beginning to end. Pope did not distinguish too strictly between the satire and the epistle.

(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid. pp. 422-3.
The themes of the Horatian epistle in the eighteenth century are repeated with an all too monotonous regularity: - the delicate relationship between poet and patron; love of the country and the contrast between town and country; the pleasures of friendship, and the rules guiding it; the wise, free and comfortable middle state between opulence and poverty, between avarice and prodigality, affectation and puritanism, fashionable worldliness and scholastic alienation, unbridled fear and immoderate desire.

The epistle is perhaps the most original and at the same time the most typical of Horace's forms. His "epistolary way of writing" became part of the life-blood of English letters. Dryden openly avowed that in his criticism he was writing as Horace did in his Epistles, and many of Addison's Spectator essays are not only Horatian in their style, outlook, and theme, but are often shaped like a Horatian epistle. Spectator 464 (August 22, 1712), for example, contrasts the faults of rich men with the obscured virtues of the poor, and states:

The middle Conditions seems to be the most advantageously situated for the gaining of Wisdom (1)

- wisdom used in Horace's sense. One of Cowley's axioms is quoted:

It is hard for a Man to keep a steady Eye upon Truth, who is always in battle, or a triumph, (2)

and the rest of the paper is filled, as are several Ramblers, with "a pretty little allegory", similar to Horace's pointedly allusive illustrations, fables and stories.

(1) Ibid., iii, p. 433.
(2) Ibid.
Dryden's epistle To My Honour'd Kinsman, John Dryden opens with a eulogy on the country life and on the happy existence of his kinsman who, "Promoting Concord, and composing Strife", is "lord of himself". (1) Horace often gives us a clue to the character of his addressee in the first lines. Dryden adapts Horace's tone to his own Christian version of the Golden Age, and moves on to a typical statement of present degeneration compared with past virtue, yet draws on the life of the present, in this case the medical profession. Familiar praise and social morality are interwoven:

Well-born and Wealthy; wanting no Support,
You steer betwixt the Country and the Court, (2)

and this stance cases itself into a political one:

Our Foes, compell'd by Need have Peace embrac'd:
The Peace both Parties want, is like to last:
Which, if secure, securely we may trade;
Or, not secure, should never have been made. (3)

Dryden recommends toleration in the next few lines, and from here finds it easy to shift once again to panegyric and autobiography, together with a re-assertion of the poet's importance, while the poem concludes on the noble idea of the conserving power of art. Dryden's epistle is neither simply panegyric, nor social comment, neither an assortment of political and moral platitudes, nor just a familiar letter from the poet to his kinsman, but all these things and more. An example of the many loosely Horatian

(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
epistles in the eighteenth century is "Life burthensome, because we know not how to use it. An Epistle." (1) It is Horatian not only in its sentiments, style and form, but in its description of the day-to-day existence of the gentleman, part of which the writer acts out in his poem, showing that imitations of Horace were the product, not only of reading and translation while at school, but of a real concurrence of attitude born out of similar social and mental conditions of life. In the case of the Horatian epistle, poetry is inseparable from life as it is lived. The epistle begins casually, and goes on to describe how, just as the writer prepares to gather together scattered images and design some hours for thought and repose (we are reminded of Horace's reflections on reading Homer in his second epistle), company bursts in. Whenever on a morning he walks in some "cool retreat" he thinks of "an old sage" or on the addressee. Otherwise trivial occasions both in Horace and his conventional imitators lead to generalizations on human nature; he applauds the man

Whose breast no tyrant passions ever seize,
No pulse that riots, blood that disobey:
Who follow but where judgement points the way,
And whom too busy sense ne'er led astray,

which is typical common-sense morality, diluted from Horace. There is an appeal to wisdom and virtue; the walk over, he dines with half a score of friends, and his "traitorous" breast "a party forms within," now wishing for London where before it longed for the country. The poet accuses himself

(1) A Collection of Poems ... (1758), iii, pp. 61-63.
with the illustration of the fool and the fiddle:

If life does not is harmony impart,
We want not instruments, but have not art.

We are reminded of Horace's Epistle to his Bailiff:

The sage is happy, not that all goes right,
His cattle feel no rot, his corn no blight;
The mind for ease is fitted to the wise,
Not so the fool's: 'tis here the difference lies;
Their prospect is the same, but various are their eyes. (1)

The same platitudes and the same use of conventional phrases and images could be repeated endlessly from other loosely Horatian epistles. Concise thoughts in Horace are usually stretched out in diffuse generalizations, and the ironical temper is replaced by a far too easy accommodation to life, an uncongenial thing to poetry, even epistolary poetry. Such productions could be anathema to poetry as genuine creation. The poetic imitation, paradoxically, did stimulate genuine creation, and the imitations of Dryden, Swift, Ogle, Pope, Greene and others are often far more 'original' than the conventional epistles. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, the mind of the poet is activated by the subject matter to which he is bound, and his powers of invention and improvisation are challenged. Secondly, something more of the real Horace, even when his original meaning

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(1) Horace (Ep. I, xiv) shows contempt for his bailiff, who longs to escape the drudgery of farm work and wishes to return to the pleasures of the city whence Horace brought him, and where he will be no better off. "Their prospect is the same, but various are their eyes." The master, undisturbed by hard work and lack of means, has a mind that "is fitted to the wise," and he tells his bailiff, "quam scit uterque libens censebo exerceat artem." (l. 44.) This attitude was rarely expressed so cuttingly by eighteenth century imitators of Horace.
is perverted, is conveyed to the reader. Thirdly, feelings of tension and a sense of time are aroused when everything in Horace is anglicised. When this results in burlesque the implications of the result tend to be more complex. Fourthly, the imitations are less weighed down by the kind of poetic diction and platitudinous moralizing found in those imitations which operate within the Horatian genre, but are not based on any specific poem. The poet who follows a specific poem is often using Horace for his own ends rather than following at his master's heels, and this in one sense carried the aims of the seventeenth century translators several stages further.

We have seen in Chapter II how in the purely literary context imitation is related to translation through paraphrase and naturalization. We also saw how the humanism of Ascham, carried through to the neo-classical period, found expression in such popular works as Anthony Blackwall's *An Introduction to the Classics* (1718). Blackwall saw the classics as a means of perfecting the language and improving morals. To imitate Horace in the most general sense during the eighteenth century meant to accept a code of behavior. Conversation played one of the most important roles in this code. As Peter Dixon points out, the word "Raillery", which was applied to Horace, was also applicable to the best conversation. The fine gradations between overt criticism and flattery were determined by the conventional milieu and were thus carried into poetry. Epistolary poetry became, at its best, "talking on paper", or heightened and sophisticated conversation. (1)

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(1) "Talking Upon Paper": Pope and Eighteenth Century Conversation", English Studies, xlvi, (1965), pp. 36-44. Dryden said of Raillery: "'Tis not reading, 'tis not imitation of an author, which can produce this fineness: it must be inborn; it must proceed from a genius, and particular way of thinking, which is not to be taught; and therefore not to be imitated by him who has it not from nature". A Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire. Watson, ii, p. 136.
After the Art of Poetry, the most popular and influential epistles in our period are: II, i, (To Augustus), II, ii, (To Florus), I, xvii, (To Sceava), I, xviii, (To Lollius), I, ii, (To Lollius), I, iv, (To Albius), I, vi, (To Numicius), I, x, (To Fuscus) and I, i, (To Maecenas). Caroline Goad has explored the general influence of Horace throughout the period, (1) but does not say a great deal about thorough-going imitations. The above list is drawn not only from quotations such as those in The Spectator, but from conventional and specific imitations. Epistles I, xvii and xviii discuss the relations between patron and protegé - a subject important to poets in an age of enlightened patronage - I, ii, to a young rhetorician, uses a specific occasion, the author's re-reading of the Iliad, to instil into his reader the way to live, or "recte vivere". Epistle I, iv, to a rather retiring and melancholic poet, is an invitation to Horace's farm, (in itself an attempt to redress a balance), I, v is a charming invitation to dinner, and I, ix introduces a friend to a patron. It can be seen, then, that imitation of Horace is far more than a purely literary phenomenon, and that the addressee's character, social status and inclinations, play an important part in determining the nature of the epistle.

ii. Imitations up to 1730.

After Creech's verse translation of Horace was published in 1684, many

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modernized paraphrases of the odes, epistles and satires appeared. Read in coffee-houses, distributed in shilling papers, or included in miscellanies, their ephemeral nature should not hide the fact that much pioneering was being done and that the ground was well prepared when Pope came to use the form later on.

In *A New Miscellany of Original Poems, On Several Occasions* (London, 1701) which contained verses by Sedley and Dryden, and several translations and imitations of Horace, there are two imitations which naturalize the epistles. One, by Mr. Blomer, (1) is of Epistle I, xviii, and is headed 'English'd in Imitation of Horace's Style. The Scene chang'd.' It is really versified prose, but makes Horace accessible to the new reading public, for the Cantabrian campaign becomes William's wars with France, and Lollius's re-enacting of the battle of Actium becomes "Russells fight" set around a fish-pond in an estate. (2)

Nicholas Rowe, the dramatist, imitated Epistle I, iv, (to Albius Tibullus), in the same miscellany. (3) Horace's epistle is a mere sixteen lines. Horace begs the melancholy Tibullus to be grateful that he has money and health, and for the fact that he is alive. He cheers his friend with a description of himself:

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me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,
cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum. (II. 15-16.)
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The elementary stage of imitation is exemplified by Rowe's retention of the original words, such as "candid" from "sermnun candide iudex", "Gods" from "di", and "nurse" from "nunica". Pope and later imitators would have made paraphrases. Rowe ends on a note of bonhomie rather than Horatian pleasantry:

Visit me, who have learn't from Epicurus' lore;
To snatch the Blessings of the flying hour,
Whom every Friday at the Vine you'll find
His true Disciple, and your faithful Friend. (p. 18)

William King prefixed letters to his imitation of Horace, The Art of Cookery (1708), in which he occasionally brings in Horace as a source of precepts: "Horace," he says, "certainly is an author to be imitated in the delivery of precepts for any art or science." (1) However, in the same letter he includes an imitation of Horace's epistle To Torquatus. Addressing it to 'Bellvill', he turns Horace's imitation into his own, and concludes by naming his own guests:

If you of Freeman's raillery approve,
Of Cotton's laugh, and Winner's tales of love,
And Bellair's charming voice may be allow'd;
What can you hope for better from a crowd? (2)

Another example of the occasional imitation is Prior's imitation of Epistle I, ix, which is addressed to Harley and was probably written in 1711. What is interesting here is the dexterity with which speech-rhythms are

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combined with the natural cadences of the couplet. (1) This kind of thing is important for an understanding of later developments especially in Pope. Horace, writing to Tiberius, anticipates by a tactful introduction the entry of Septimius into the staff of the future emperor. The epistle is a model of tact. Septimius in Prior becomes 'Dick,' Tiberius the Earl of Oxford. Using Horace in order to introduce a friend to a patron means that the Earl will be doubly flattered. Prior's tact is calculated to succeed:

Dear Dick, how e'er it comes into his Head,  
Believes, as firmly as He does his Creed,  
That you and I, SIR, are extremely great;  
Tho' I plain MAT, You Minister of State.  
One word from Me, without all doubt, He says,  
Wou'd fix his Fortune in some little Place.  
Thus better than My self, it seems, He knows  
How far my Interest with my Patron goes;  
And answering all Objections I can make,  
Still plunges deeper in his dear Mistake. (2)

In 1712 Dunster published his prose translation of the Satires and Epistles, which in some ways was an improvement on that of Creech, because it was accurate without having the clumsiness of literal translations. Two mock-epistles, burlesque imitations of Epistle V, To Torquatus, appeared in 1712 and 1714, the first one by Swift, the second published anonymously. Horace's epistle is an imitation to a simple dinner, to be held one hot summer evening at his Sabine farm. The furniture, wine and

(1) Prior also ably demonstrated his powers of versifying the thought-patterns, the changes of mood and the wit of conversation in An Epistle to Fleetwood Shepherd, Esq: (1689).

(2) Poems on Several Occasions, ii, (1725), pp. 39-40.
accommodation are described with delightful detail. The epistle an almost
ingenious anticipation of the event: "Quid non ebrietas dissignat?" (1. 16)
includes the idea of unsealing the flask, opening one's heart, and giving
away secrets. The eulogy on wine is followed by a careful summary of the
eating and drinking arrangements (a verbal re-enacting of Horace's own
meticulous employment), and the epistle with a hurried reminder of what
guests will arrive, and the allowance that "locus est et pluribus umbris,"(1.28)
while the last two lines urge a quick reply and a promise to attend.

Swift's burlesque imitation is difficult to understand unless we are
aware of the references and allusions. The atmosphere of cosiness and
exclusiveness is used to convey the secrecy of seditious republicans. The
imitation, one of two "penny papers" mentioned in the Journal to Stella
(Aug. 7, 1712), is entitled, Toland's Invitation to Dismal to dine with the
Calves-Head Club. John Toland, (author of Amyntor, a Defence of Milton's
Life), the Whig, is making an advance towards 'Dismal', (the Earl of
Nottingham, who went over to the Whigs in the autumn of 1712), inviting
him to eat with the club that celebrated every year the execution of
Charles I. The occasion is to "talk what fools call treason all the night."
Horace's meticulous care and congeniality are turned into the busy prepara-
tion for a "mystic feast" where fanatics may "toast Confusion to the
race of Kings" and welcome their "Latest proselyte." Spies are to be kept
out, especially "Tories (dress'd like waiters) in disguise." Well-known
Whigs are to attend. Toland thinks that Wharton, unless prevented by a
whore,

Will hardly fail, and there is room for more;  
But I love elbow-room when' er I drink,  
And honest Harry (1) is too apt to stink. (2)

When Horace says, "nisi cena prior potiorque puella Sabinum/detinet" he is being jovial, but the insidious anger of Swift, operating behind the Horatian facade of "bene vivere", makes Wharton's love of prostitutes as understandable as his sedition.

The humour of this 'libel', as Swift would have called it, lies in the way in which it breaks the gauze of convention and tact, perfected by Prior. The whole scene is both realistic and imaginary and, considering Lord Nottingham's intentions, absurd. This reflects Swift's sensitivity to politics; not content to find an outlet in ordinary satire, he went several stages further into the realms of imagination.

The Examiner, largely the work of Swift, consistently attacked Nottingham for his defection, which Steele upheld. It was Steele's Guardian of May 12th 1713 which roused the fury of Swift, producing the intense pamphlet war. Swift also attacked Steele, as we saw before, in his imitation of Horace in Odes, II, i. A second imitation of the Epistle To Torquatus appeared in The Post-Boy, (April 24th-27th, 1714), after Steele had been expelled the House following the Tories' condemnation of his pro-Hanoverian, anti-Jacobite pamphlet The Crisis. It turns Horace's epistle into a receptacle where the enemies are thrown together, and is

(1) Henry Boyle, replaced as Secretary of State by St. John under Harley in 1710.

(2) Poems, ed. Williams, i, p. 162.
headed John Dennis, The Sheltering Poet's Invitation to Richard Steele, The Secluded Party-Writer, and Member; To come and live with him in the Mint. In Imitation of Horace's Fifth Epistle, Lib 1. And fit to be Bound up with the Crisis. Dennis is contrasted with Horace in the mind of the reader as a grumbling pedant. Instead of Horace's comfortable farm laid open for "sermone benigno," we have the setting described by Dennis:

Then I, who have written these precincts kept,
And never beyond the Chimney-sweepers stept,
Will take a loose, and venture to be seen,
Since 'twill be Sunday, upon Thanks's green;
There, with erected looks and phrase sublime,
To table of unity of place and time,
And with much malice, mix'd with little satire,
Explode the wits on t'other side o' th' water. (1)

No gentle raillery here, and therefore no genial conversation, but a rejection of the Horatian code of behaviour. Talking of false notions of raillery, however, Steele seems to take the same position as the poet who is here libelling him. In the Spectator 422 (July 4th, 1712), he contrasts the conversational virtues of 'Callisthenes' and 'Acetus':

His Raillery always puts the Company into little Divisions and separate Interests, while that of Callisthenes cements it, and makes every Man not only better pleased with himself, but also with all the rest in the Conversation. (2)

In an age of compromise, when man must unite their interests as best they can, "erected looks and phrase sublime", with their evocation of the religious and political struggles of the previous century, are, like "malice", factious and disruptive. The larger implications of this

(1) The Post Boy (April 24th-27th, 1714).
(3) See quotation from William Coward, Appendix A, p. x.
burlesque imitation would therefore be immediately recognizable.

Steele, in the same paper, says:

A Man who has no good Quality but Courage,  
is in a very ill way towards making an  
agreeable figure in the World, because  
that which he has superior to other People  
cannot be exerted, without raising himself  
an Enemy. Your Gentleman of a Satyrical  
Vein is in the like Condition. (1)

But Steele, because of The Crisis, has sinned against his own code, and thus  
Horace is thrown back at him. Dennis, his host, has little good cheer:

I'll bid adieu to gravity and drink;  
And though I can't put off a woeful mien,  
Will be all nirth and cheerfulness within:  
As, in despight of a censorious race,  
I most incontinently suck my face ...(2)

The surly rule-critic invites Steele "to feed on homely fare" and, whereas  
Horace tells Torquatus to forget ambition and the striving after riches,  
Dennis confides (aluding to the costly printing of The Crisis and Steele's  
financial straits):

'Tis true, that Bloomsbury-square's (3) a noble place:  
But what are lofty buildings in thy case?  
What's a fine house embellish'd to profusion,  
Where shoulder-dabbers are in execution?  
Or whence its timorous tenent seldom sallies,  
But apprehensive of insulting bailiffs? (4)

(3) Steele's residence.  
(4) Op.cit. After his expulsion, Steele, having set himself up as the nation's guardian, was ridiculed by his enemies. The truth or fiction that bailiffs were ready to arrest him was spread by the Tories.
Torquatus, a lawyer, is advised to give some untimely client the slip, but Steele must now slink again through the postern, ... by that means avoid a crowd of duns, And, crossing o'er the Thames at Temple-stairs, Leave Philips (1) with good words to cheat their ears. (2)

Steele is not expected to see through Dennis. Instead of wine bottled in Taurus's second consulate, he will be offered mead or cider, or ... a flask or two of white or red Such as the drawer will not fail to swear Was drunk by Pilkington when third time mayor. (3)

The burlesque political imitation is often very ingenious, but it operates in a local context, and we cannot be expected to follow through all the parallels in order to enjoy the wit. Pope was never involved in politics as Swift was. His Imitations therefore subordinate allusion and reference to his overall aim, whereas political imitations of the narrowly committed type subordinate almost everything to politics. Here, however, once we have grasped the whole situation - and it has some historical importance - the humour of the imitation and the relish with which it was written are at once apparent.

Swift's Address to the Earl of Oxford (1713) is a humorous adaptation of the tale of Philippus and his client Volteius Mena, from Epistle I, vii, Horace is replying to Maecenas' request that he should not remain too

(1) Ambrose Philips, derided under Steele's nose by Pope in Guardian No.40.
(3) Ibid.
long in the country. He relates how Philippus, a famous pleader, came across Volteius, a crier at auctions, sitting cleaning his nails in a barber's booth. Philippus tells his servant to bring the man to him; — in vain, for Volteius refuses. The next day Volteius is selling cheap wares to the people Philippus, greeting him, is told that the pressure of work prevented Volteius obeying the servant, but agrees to dine with the pleader at three. Volteius is befriended, and is eventually given a small farm in the Sabine hills — which he, a former crier, had praised for its soil and climate. However, one failure after another puts Volteius in a worse position than before, and he returns to his 'kind' patron, imploring him to let him return to his former existence.

Swift sees himself in this ironical sketch. He appears first as a parson near Whitehall, "Cheaping old Authors on a Stall."(1) Harley, as Philippus, bids his secretary to enquire his name when passing by. The parson is found to be one doctor Swift, who is in all respects (he hates Wharton "like a toad") seems a good find — his works are hawked in every street. Swift, invited to meet the famous lord by the secretary, is distrustful, and stays put.

Some few days after, HARLEY spies
The Doctor fasten'd by the Eyes
At Charing-Cross among the Rout,
Where painted Monsters are hung out;
He pull'd the String, and stop't his Coach,
Beckning the Doctor to approach. (3)

(1) Poems, ed. Williams, i, p. 170.
(2) Ibid., p. 172.
(3) Ibid.
Swift, deferent and apologetic, agrees to meet Harley at four. He impresses the earl, is invited again, and at last takes the bait. Swift admires to place and air at Windsor, longs to be a canon there, but Harley offers him the deanery in Ireland. Swift takes it: his tenants and farmers cheat with the rents and insist on paying in kind. The dean is worse off than before, with a debt of a thousand pounds. Dirty, pale and thin, he returns to Harley, who cheerfully asks how he is faring. Swift cries truce, and mistakes Harley's concern for raillery. He wants to be left as he was found.

There is no bitterness in the imitation, but behind the humour lies Swift's appreciation of the absurdities of the patronage system. There is more criticism and wit here than in Horace, but the neatness with which the tale is applied bears witness to the very similar conditions, in some respects at least, existing in Augustan Rome and England under Queen Anne. Swift's verse is well-known for its lack of distinction between 'art' and 'reality'. His fluent, conversational narrative is admirably suited to the material.

Swift was responsible for yet another imitation of Horace at this time. Diablo's Imitation of the Seventeenth EPISTLE of the First Book of Horace (1714) was 'Address'd to Dr. Swift.' The epistle to Scaeva is, superficially, a lesson in the art of social climbing. Difficult moral issues are involved for Horace, which he evades by tongue-in-cheek allusion and by the manner in which the argument is conducted along a tightrope. Scaeva must remain personally independent while seeking patronage; so
uncertain is the path of the client that Horace compares himself to a blind man pointing the way. The incident of Aristippus, who succeeded, and the Cynic, who would never succeed, is intended to show that the man who feels at ease in all circumstances can handle himself with the great, whereas he who wear rage and expresses bitterness will always be dependent and inferior. Horace compares the ability to consort with the great in a dignified manner with achievement in the games. Our rising objection to Horace's hypocrisy is thus checked by the humour of this ironical companion. Irony becomes satire when the patron is someone to whom all 'crows' run for food. The relationship between poet and patron is very delicate: by complaining too much, or grabbing, benevolence turns into its opposite. The epistle advocates the golden mean. It is better, says Horace, to be given than to have to demand some dispensation. The client must assert his independence of spirit without appearing arrogant and insulting while suffering in silence when nothing is forthcoming, otherwise furthering his aims as best he can.

As far as tone goes, an epistle such as Jonson's To Sir Edward Sacville, Earl of Dorset, with its dignity and grace, combined with touches of satire, is far closer to Horace than Diaper. In a letter to Matthew Prior, John Dennis, (attacked as anti-Horatian in the imitation above), reveals the practical use men had for Horace. The Horatian satirist, says Dennis, will be:

(1) Ep. I. xvii, 11. 3-4.
(2) 11. 33-42.
(3) See 11. 50-1.
(4) 11. 43-51.
... in all likelihood more agreeable to the discerning Part of a Court, and a great Capital, where they are qualified to taste and discern his Beauties, by the same Experience which enabled their Authors to produce the. And above all things, must it not be most agreeable to a Polite Court, where that dexterous Insinuation, that fine good Sense, and that true Pleasantry, which are united in the Horatian Satire, are the only shining Qualities which make the Courtier valuable and agreeable? (1)

Poets such as Matthew Prior needed Horace. Imitations are also in a sense the act of sharpening oneself on the stone of Horatianism.

Diaper's imitation is, however, un-Horatian in tone. Diaper himself was of humble origin, and was possibly curate of Dean, near Basingstoke, when this imitation was written. His most prolific period was during 1712, when, significantly enough, Swift recommended the poet to the Society of Brothers which, through Bolingbroke, paid for his Nereides. Diaper was presented to the lord in December, was given money, and sought a living by asking Swift. Swift, though he expressed admiration of this new wit to Stella, promised to remind Bolingbroke. Harcourt and Wyndham to solicit the Lord Chancellor for a living for Diaper. It never came. (2)

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(1) In Poems on Several Occasions, by Prior, (1733), iii, p. xiv. If Dennis thought Horatian satire made the courtier valuable and agreeable, Pope assumed the pose of one independent of courts:

Above a Patron, tho' I condescend
Sometimes to call a Minister my Friend;
I was not born for Courts or great Affairs,
I pay my Debts, believe, and say my Pray'rs,
Can sleep without a Poem in my head,
Nor know, if Dennis be alive or dead,

(Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, 11. 265-270).

was incapacitated and very ill. Swift gave him twenty guineas from Bolingbroke. In 1714, with the collapse of the Tories, he was without support, and a year later two of his patrons had gone, one into exile, the other into legal custody. Diaper died in 1717. "Where this took place or in what circumstances has not been traced", (1) says Dorothy Broughton, but one can guess some of the details.

The verse of the imitation is Swiftian. Disyllabic rhymes such as 'fashion' and 'Station', 'Places' and 'Graces' occur when the poet seems to be rankled, and reinforce the impression of disappointment turning unsuccessfully and somewhat involuntarily towards satire.

Diaper cannot assume Horace's tone because he is still trying to obtain favours. The "subversive emotional forces undermining the surface argument" (2) of which Dorothy Broughton speaks are the forces of want and neglect. The anxiety of a man faced with a life of relative poverty yet who considers himself worthy of being accounted friend of the man who can

... sit familiarly, and chat
With the first Minister of State, (3)

precludes any success in matching up to "the urbane and delicate Horace in passages of complimentary raillery". (4)

(1) Complete Works, p. xx;
(2) Ibid., p. lxxv,
(3) Ibid., p. 91.
(4) Ibid., p. lxxiv.
Diaper, though conscious of his poetic skill, is less confident of his capacity

... to please the nicest Court,
And shine among the better Sort, (1)

and it is this troubled realization that produces such interpolations as

(If the Grande Monde may be allow'd
To judge much better than the Crowd.) (2)

Diaper fails to reproduce the irony of Horace when the latter hints at his own glorious feat: "principius placuisse viris non ultima laus est". (1. 35) Diaper makes a different hit - at the dictatorship of taste implored by the Tory Lords:

The next of course who take their Places,
Are these which are in their good Graces,
Whom Oxford's Lord or Bolingbroke's
Behold with favourable Looks. (3)

When Horace compares himself to a blind man, Diaper has the couplet,

As the blind Beggar haply may
Point to Travellers the Way. (4)

Horace's lame beggar whom all revile has become a useful figure, and is transferred from the last to the opening lines of the Epistle.

(1) Ibid., p. 91.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid., p. 87.
The scorn that Horace pours, through the words of Aristippus, on the incorrigible Cynic, Diaper takes almost as a personal injury. The Cynic is now a Quaker, who

... might as soon be brought
To wear a Sword and Scarlet Coat. (1)

Diaper's pacifism emerges here, so that the intention of the original is inverted.

By transferring Horace to a modern setting, where the country parson enjoys his tithe-apples, burnt pipe, good ale, and market-news by the fire, Diaper produces a very different effect from Pope, whose life at Twickenham was in itself an 'imitatio Horati'. Not everyone can 'imitate' the Horatian code. Augustan society had its own methods of dividing the sheep from the goats, the Aristippuses from the Cynics, and was continually re-affirming the norm, whether it is called 'Order', 'Nature', 'Reason' or 'Virtue'. Swift had suggested to Diaper that he bridle his genius, with its love of similes, by a translation. (2) The imitation of Horace, if it is the result of Swift's advice, did not bridle Diaper's free reading of his original and the 'subversive' interpretation of the post-patron relationship.

Thomas Cooke's epistles, written between 1725 and 1728, are loosely

(1) Ibid., p. 90.

(2) "Perhaps you want such a bridle as a translation, for your genius is too fruitful, as appears by the frequency of your similes; and this employment may teach you to write more like a mortal man, as Shakespeare expresseth it". Letter to Diaper, 30 April, 1713. Ibid., p.xix.
Horatian, while those of Christopher Pitt (c. 1727), are smooth and elegant, but are seldom relieved by the wit and penetration of the real Horace. His imitation of Epistle I, iv, is addressed to John Pitt, Esq. (1) It is with most Christian patience, Pitt begins, that you lose your time to hear one preach or pester you with rhyme, you who attend to all my trifles and drop the critic to indulge the friend. (2)

He asks how John passes his hours at Kingston, and with an amusing insertion asks whether he has planned anything to excel "Judicious Jones or great Palladio's art," an apt modernizing of Horace's "scribere quod Casei Parmensis opuscula vincat?" Pitt is consistently Augustan:

Nature, who form'd you, nobly crown'd the Whole
With a strong Body, and as firm a Soul:
The Praise: is yours to finish every Part
With all th' Embellishments of Taste and Art. (3)

The 'di' of Horace become 'Nature', while Tibullus's ability to 'sapere et fari' is a question of 'Taste' and 'Art.'

Pitt's imitation of Epistle I, xviii is addressed to Mr. Spence, tutor to the Earl of Middlesex. Horace ironically tells Lollius to adapt himself to the rich man in every possible way, smiling when he smiles, hunting when he hunts, without prying into his secrets, aping his opulence, or committing indiscretions of speech or behaviour. Lollius, however, we learn in the first lines, is fairly outspoken and independent. Horace is thus laughing with his friend at the poorer, less adaptable clients. At

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(1) Quotations are from The Poetical Works, (Edinburgh, 1782).
(3) Ll.15-18. Ibid., p.77.
(4) "Si bene te novi, metues, liberrime Lolli..."
the same time, he is satirising the client-patron relationship. He compares
the friendship of Amphion and Zeltus with that of the patron and his
client and so ironically juxtaposes give-and-take on an equal basis with
the forced obedience of one man to another, greater, man. (1) Turning
the knife, Horace satirises the nature of this obedience. To go boar-
hunting, he tells Lollius, is no great trial. You yourself fought in the
Cantabrian campaign. Here a patron's sport and boars are put on a level
with military glory and the enemies of Rome. There is a further irony
in the fact that Horace is talking about patrons who are very different
from the enlightened Maecenas.

Whereas Swift's Directions to Servants in General is an extreme form
of this kind of mock-advice, where social practice determines the social
code rather than the other way round, Pitt suppresses most of the irony.
His imitation is an epistolary piece of advice in a contemporary context
that parallels superficially the one found in Horace. Horace's Eutrapelus
dupes his client into spending extravagantly, the client ends up destitute.
In Pitt's imitation Eutrapelus is a Minister who gives his 'foc' a paltry
place at court; (2) The dupe buys coaches and horses for every Royal
birth-day, "plies at the Levee", gives his mistress brocades and pays for
her visit to Brussels, until the wretch draws on his banker and is compelled
to mortgage his property. His failure is quickly followed by his flight
from jail. Ruined by the court he rubs down the steeds that once pulled
his chariot, "Or sweeps the Borough, which he serv'd before". (3) Pitt
is not indicting the patron so much as the foolish client. However, the

(1) See 11. 41-45.
(3) Ibid.
lengthy digression on the dupe is nicely turned to advantage:

But, by this roving Meteor led, I tend
Beyond my Theme, forgetful of my Friend,
Then take Advice; and preach not out of Time,
When Good Lord Middlesex is bent on Rhyme! (1)

Pitt’s imitation also brings out the social implications of imitation itself. Extravagance in taste and attire, 'enthusiasm' and undisciplined wanderings in poetry, are curbed ultimately by the requirements of social adaptation. (Notice too that patrons themselves are often poets in their own rights. The irony of Horace, less evident in Pitt, is that the freedom of the patron necessitates self-restraint on the part of the client.

Two imitations of Epistle X, To Aristius Fuscus, can be considered. One if from 'J.S.' to 'C.S.' in The Odes and Satires of Horace (1730), a revised edition of Jonson's collection of 1715. The other is by John Whaley (1710-1745), in Duncombe's The Works of Horace (1765). Epistle X is a panegyric on the countryside, its simplicity and beauty. To live close to Nature is to be at one with the universe; those who seek grandeur are merely trying to escape her, but she always returns. In the fable of the stag and the horse Horace is saying that the fear of poverty is a loss of liberty. City-dwellers are mastered by money, but Horace has adjusted himself to Nature. In this epistle he wanders gently from thought to thought, expressing an almost perfect sense of repose.

(1) ll. 57-60. ibid., p. 74.
Whaley compares his state with that of Newcastle, and feels that the "surfeit of the court" is inferior to bountiful nature. He also provides an English parallel for nearly everything referred to in the original.

'J.S.' keeps closer to the actual text, but is further from the tone of the original. There are some nice renderings:

Is Parian Marble, press'd beneath thy Feet,
More beautiful than Flow'rs, or half so sweet? (1)

but complete naturalization has not occurred. "Vivere Naturae convenienter" means to live like a king; to lack riches and yet to be happy is to be truly rich. This 'turn' upon words and thoughts appealed to the Augustans, and Pope makes a sophisticated use of it in The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated (1738):

That task, which as we follow, or despise,
The eldest is a fool, the youngest wise;
Which done, the poorest can no wants endure,
And which not done, the richest must be poor. (11. 43-46)

'J.S.' makes a cruder use of the same device:

Forsake the gaudy Tinsel of the Great;
The peaceful Cottage beckons a Retreat;
Where true Content so true a Greatness brings,
As knights their Favourites, and as Cities Kings. (2)

We return once more to the client-patron theme with an anonymous imitation of Ep. I, xvii, headed, simply, Horace to Scævola (1730). It is addressed to the Rt. Hon. Lord Marlborough. The advertisement tells us that the author is a sixty-year-old vicar, who lives a hermit's life

(1) The Odes and Satires of Horace (1730), p. 93.
(2) Ibid., p. 94.
except when he sees "the court and Marples", and has to bear with a grin the sight of others less worthy being made deans and bishops. (1) Horace must have something to say on the subject:

To Him as to a well-try'd Friend,
I fly for Succour, to untwist:
I read him, and I imitate him,
Or paraphrase him, or translate him:
Ay do, he cries, but not Verbatim. (p. 1)

Running on the word 'sermon', the author thinks Horace a far better preacher than a bishop. Like Pope's, his imitation grew from a casual meeting:

As 't'other Day, lazy and listless,
I dipp'd, and open'd his Epistles,
I happen'd, as I wish'd, to hit
The Letter he to Scaeva writ. (p. 2)

The epistle contains a note of despair. Horace's 'nec vixit male, qui natus moriensque sefellit" is applied to an embittered curate who has

Neither power nor means to rise,
But on his dung-hill lives and dies. (p. 4)

Once again, "subversive emotional forces" have broken through. Diaper sympathized with the Cynic. This author makes him a distasteful senior fellow who despises the court, goes there to devour, not to eat, and

(1) We usually think of the Augustan analogy in terms of the patronage system, often conveniently forgetting its other side. Pope freed himself from the need of a patron, while Swift tasted the bitter fruits of patronage, in Ireland. In his Epistle to Dr. Delaney, occasioned by an epistle to Cartaret, Swift wonders what, in fact, most patrons have to offer. (He exaggerates, perhaps, but it is his own personal experience):

What has he else to bait his Traps,
Or bring his Vermin in, but Scraps?
The Offals of a Church distress'd,
Or, some remote inferior Post,
With forty pounds a Year at most.
drunkenly rocks homeward in a hackney back to a life of college commons, butteries, dinners at twelve, and pipe-smoking. Horace's "sedit qui timuit ne non sucederet" is paraphrased, "Wallow, good pig, in thy own sty." Aristippus is Savage, who is both despised and envied for his good fortune. If the English Augustans are ever accused of failing to understand the classics, imitations such as this could be quoted as evidence: Horace would not have taken this vicar's side, and the style is too low for Horatian epistolary verse, which is of the 'middle' kind.

iii. George Ogle, Pope, and other imitators of Horace after 1730.

We have discussed verse epistles of various types - those which stress mundane generalities, those which show the possibilities of the conversational couplet, burlesque imitations of Horace, and occasional imitations. George Ogle, whom we discussed in the previous chapter, imitated at least seven of Horace's epistles, all from the first book. The first, second and fourth were published in 1735, the third, fifth, eleventh and twelfth in 1738. The main, and obvious, fault of these imitations is that they are too long. The last two lines of the fourth epistle, for example, are stretched, through improvisation, to twenty-four in the English version. Yet as a critic of Horace, as a writer sensitive to wider implications, as a modernizer, and as an entertainer, Ogle must rank fairly high.

The fourth Epistle is addressed to Sisson Putland. It shows that
Ogle is at ease in the allusive, conversational style, and that he is doing more than finding in Horace something similar to his own situation. Unlike Rowe, whose imitation we mentioned above, Ogle seeks to raise a leisure activity— the study and imitation of Horace— into an art. Rutland he calls "the polite Tibullus of the Age", and his praise of the man shows how he is turning general statements towards their particular object, thus combining the two elements of epistolary verse. (Pitt made the persons addressed a jumping-off board for general statements.)

In his imitation of Epistle I, iii, addressed to the Rt. Hon. John, the Earl of Orrery, Ogle assumes the genial interest in men and affairs of one who, like Horace, is detached though not disinterested:

Orrery, for this I long to hear,
Is War the Voice of Common and of Peer?
What Insult now to just Resentment warms?
And when, and where, Augustus calls to Arms? (1)

Florus had accompanied Tiberius to the East with other literary men. Ogle makes an ironical parallel between this campaign and the hesitation of Walpole, as well as the weakness of George II on the issue of Spanish depredations, just as Pope paid a mock-tribute to the king in his Epistle to Augustus. Horace inquires about the poet-friends of Florus, and Ogle, like Rochester, makes careful and ingenious substitutions;—Brooke, (author of Universal Beauty), is Titius, who scorns the open pools, and "drinks of Milton's rapid Spring." (2) Findar's sublimity had its modern equivalent in Milton. Celsus, says Horace, should not borrow too much and

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(2) Ibid., p.2.
become "a poor crow". For Ogle this meant plagiarism - in this case, from Butler and Prior. Ogle measures up to the allusiveness and the raillery required of the poet who makes Horace's epistolary manner suit the modern literary, social and political scene.

Horace's first epistle to Maecenas is a plea for that wise conservatism in all things which those eaten up with ambition, love of wealth and social status all too readily disdain. His epistolary form allows him to wander at ease, using, with masterful irony, illustrations from Roman philosophy, superstition, habits, customs, economic and civil life, and youthful or adult pastimes, in order to condemn the folly of living always in the chaotic present. The wry detachment, the impenetrable chuckling of an ironical yet self-deprecating and human observer, the oblique method of exposition, are what characterizes his style.

Ogle's imitation, To William Ussher Esq., is the source for some of Pope's adaptations of Horace in his Epistle To Lord Bolingbroke. Ogle's main fault, in Pope's eyes, is to expand the illustrations, to find two or three parallels where one would suffice, and thus to undermine the Horatian detachment. Pope sets his sights more accurately, and he rarely misses. Yet this, though geared to his satiric method, can also be seen in terms of correctness. Pope, in fact, is at times 'correcting' Ogle, but he achieves much more.

Horace opens with a disinclination to write as before - referring to his odes - and compares himself, in a mock-serious vein, to the retiring
gladiator. Ogle adapts this nicely:

Enough expos'd before to Public Eyes
With early Pride I sought the vent'rous Prize;
But soon dismiss'd forsok the active Stage;
And yet again YOU tempt me to engage;
See Figg himself to new Adventurers quit,
The giving Gallery, and the praising Pit.
No more in White the Hockley-Hero stands,
And, just in Act to wound, exchanges Hands.(2)

This evidently refers to a real biographical situations, but only Pope's verse comes to life, with its tone of weariness and nausea and desire for peace:

Why will you break the Sabbath of my days?
Now sick alike of Envy and of Praise.
Public too long, ah let me hide my Age!
See modest Cibber now has left the stage;
Our Gen'rls now, retir'd to their Estates,
Hang their old Trophies o'er the Garden gates,
In Life's cool ev'ning satiate of applause,
Nor fond of bleeding, ev'n in BRUNSWICK's cause. (ll. 5-10).

Pope's personality bristles in every line. The third has the individual voice lacking in Ogle, the conventional phrases are altogether fresher through their pointed autobiographical and social allusion, while "modest Cibber" is more pungent, and the bathos of the retired generals more subtle, than that of the "Hockley-Hero". The fundamental aims of both poets in their substitutions for Veianus, however, are the same.

Ogle expands upon the passage where Horace wearily notes the universal desire for public acclamation in his allusion to the village wrestler. Pope foregoes this opportunity, and while his verse is more accomplished,

(1) See Epistle I, i, ll. 2-14.

(2) To William Ussher Esq. (1735), p. 1.
Ogle's expansions have more social interest in their exposure of hypocrisy and rivalry in the theatrical world. For Pope at this point, too much social allusion means too much involvement, and so he is sententious where Ogle is unrestrained.

Pope's superiority is again evident when we compare the versions of Horace's passage, beginning "Vilium argentum ..." (ll. 52 ff.)

Here is Ogle:

Old is the Precept, (nor less true than old),
'To Gold as Silver, Virtue yields to Gold.'
Not this the Practice; Gold must first be sought;
Plain Virtue merits but the second Thought.
O London! London! one is thy Repart,
Thy Quest of Gold, thro' City and thro' Court;
In ev'ry Voice we hear, or Face we meet: (1)

Taking the hint from Ogle, Pope hits at Whiggism in the Church, but it is obvious that Pope cares more about the shape of his epistle, what to select and what to omit. Instead of elaborating social truths, he attempts to quickly devastate by careful and scornful observation, and also retains the Horatian internal drama missing in Ogle. We can hear Pope talking about himself, almost thinking aloud, whereas in Ogle the poetic personality is less striking. Pope's examination of 'self' is less an abstract question than one of daily consideration. This as it were disciplines the dramatic monologue.

Ogle turns the passage beginning, "Belua multorum as capitum ..." (l. 76) into the following, using a familiar image, which has nothing

(1) Ibid., p. 9.
of the power of Pope's "In Dirt and darkness hundreds stink content":

Oh! vilest City of the fairest Isle!
Thy Flood is more prolific than the Nile;
Forms more mishapen on thy Banks she spreads;
Thyself the Monster with the many Heads.
Descant not Thou of Babylon or Rome!
Thee should I imitate? in What? in whom? (1)

As in Pope, emotion - usually anger - is signified by heightened imagery. Imitation in the sense implied by Roger Ascham emerges in the last line. To imitate corrupt modern values is unthinkable. Pope decided to give the passage a political twist, and the role of the addressee - though of course passive - in this version, is seen to be a constant factor. The lines allude to Bolingbroke's own reflections on the English constitution:

Well, if a King's a Lion, at the least
The People are a many-headed Beast:
Can they direct what measures to pursue,
Who know themselves so little what to do?

(11. 120-123)

By linking these two passages, one can see how the aristocratic ethic of 'Virtue' and 'Wisdom' and the aesthetic of classical imitation have their political corollary in the governing aristocracy.

The rich man in Horace moves from the seaside to Teanum, whisking his workmen with him. Ogle's imitation of the passage is the model for Pope's:

With Thames (declares the Rich) no River vies!
What streams so flow? What Banks so sweetly rise?
Think not, in vain escap'd the hasty Word;
Thames feels the Passion of the settling Lord.
New Marks of Favour load her swelling Tides,
New Monuments of Love adorn her Sides. (2)


(2) Ibid., p. 17.
The arrogance, tastelessness and vulgarity of Ogle's lord, who confers a favour upon the Thames by his choice of residence, are reproduced, more skilfully because more pictorially (one thinks of a spoiled pastoral setting) by Pope:

Sir Job sail'd forth, the evening bright and still,
No place on earth (he cry'd) like Greenwich hill!
Up starts a Palace, lo! th' obedient base
Slopes at its foot, the woods its sides embrace,
The silver Thames reflects its marble face. (ll. 138-142.)

Horace twits his patron for his too close attention to externals, and Ogle cleverly adapts the Horatian persona to the familiar context of the eighteenth century gentleman:

Oft, when you rouse me from my Studious-Chair,
I see you smile jocose, or serious stare.
Your Chariot waits to take me to his Grace —
My Linnen, clean; but all-beamuff'd My Face!
Well-snow'd, my Wig; but ready to untie!
My Stockings, fine; but both the Seams awry! (1)

Drest, and not drest! half Sloven, and half Beau!

Pope is concise, his wit is sharper:

You laugh, half Beau half Sloven if I stand,
My Wig all powder, and all snuff my Band;
You laugh, if Coat and Breeches strangely vary,
White Gloves, and Linnen worthy Lady Mary! (ll. 161-164.)

Ogle's complaint, "Is this the kind Inspection of a Friend?" becomes

(1) Cf. Pope l. 174: "Yet hang your lip, to see a Seam awry!"
(2) Ibid., p. 19.
(3) Ibid.
in Pope something addressed specifically to Bolingbroke: "Is this my Guide, Philosopher, and Friend?" (l. 177.)

Ogle and Pope takes up the hint - interpolates stoicism in Horace's closing lines:

Hence, Man is Lord of Lordsm and King of Kings!
Participates of Heav'n, if not Possesst!
Is only Beauteous, and is only Blest!
Is Rich and free, tho' Plunder'd and Confined!
Is Sound of Body, and is Sound of Mind! (2)

This triumphant note ties up themes previously expressed, but the balance obtained through semantic oppositions set up within the couplet, reinforcing the feeling of defiance against heavy odds, can be better seen in the poet who is a master at this kind of thing. His lines are spoken directly to the once-attained Tory Patriot, but there is a suggestion, in Pope's half-man, half-god, that the still fashionable stoicism was a somewhat unreal ethic:

That man divine whom Wisdom calls her own,
Great without Title, without Fortune bless'd,
Rich e'en when plunder'd, honour'd while oppress'd,
Lov'd without youth, and follow'd without power,
At home tho' exil'd, free, tho' in the Tower. (I1. 180-184.)

Pope is more conscious of his aims than Ogle. He rarely holds up the flow, his tone is more confident, less stiff and impersonal; he is more sensitive to levels of meaning, to the impact of a 'loaded' word and how it is placed, and he can vitalize the conventional phrase to a far greater extent. He is more concretely aware of men and customs, particularly

(1) Ibid., p. 20

(2) (I.e. St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.)
when it comes to selecting the appropriate detail and the isolated example; and all the time we are conscious of a creative personality that guides our responses - perhaps too autocratically for some - as it shapes its material.

Pope's personality was in many ways dissimilar to that of Horace. He was more volatile, ever striking a pose of aggressive self-defence, and more eager to assert his own values against false ones. Pope placed the values of rural retirement against those of the town, and lauded genuine independence over and against anything mercenary and grovelling, in a far more subjectively involved manner than Horace. Horace, as far as the world of Rome, with its banks, gladiators, knights and its proletariat, is concerned, was disinterested, though at the same time he upheld an ethic, a way of life and a world-view that was opposed to the standards and the morality of the 'mob'. Yet in imitating Horace, Pope consciously imitated all that Horace stood for. This was not to reproduce Horace, or, in Lessing's terms, to be simply a copyist sacrificing one's own genius to another genius. In his Epistle to Augustus, Horace made a plea for the moderns, meaning poets such as Virgil. Pope, in his imitation of this epistle, reserved his praise for another satirist, Swift, (who 'saved the rights which a 'court attacked'), and set him against those who could rise to fame on the strength of birthday odes. Pope awakens us to the fact that the majority in the 1730's were against Horace: that perhaps most other imitators of Horace were not really Horatian at all.

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(1) cf. Laokoon, vii.
(2) In the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, for example, there is a hit at the pseudo-Maecenas-Horace relationship between "Bufo" (Bubb Dodington) and "Horace" (Leonard Welsted):

Proud, as Apollo on his forked hill,
Sate full-blow'd Bufo, puff'd by ev'ry quill;
Fed with soft Dedication all day long,
Horace and he went hand in hand in song. (ll. 231-234).
A dividing line can be drawn between those who believed in upgrading the middle class, who took a lenient view of human nature, held perhaps a Shaftesburyan view on Benevolence, and saw the possibilities of progress, and those who feared and avoided contact with bourgeois values, who saw man as a sinner against Order because of his "reas'ning Pride", and thus, like Pope, saw only decline as being possible, a future in which "Universal Darkness buries All". However, both the 'optimists' and the 'pessimists' imitated Horace. We have already seen how the epistolary imitations of Horace could be directed towards a complacently settled, facile optimism. The eighteenth century is replete with small landed gentlemen who are quite content to carry on an unruffled existence, taking no part in politics, except on a parochial level, making the occasional visit to the town, cheered by the bottle and country fare, and entertained by a small library and a few friends. Yet this kind of rural retirement, the urban life of those gentlemen seeking a position, and the life of those in the Church or University, could be said to be 'Horatian' only in the loosest sense. Instances of the complacently optimistic and other kinds of imitation of Horace can be given to serve as a contrast to the achievement of Pope.

An example of the more trivial type are Two Epistles of Horace Imitated (1736). (The surviving copy, in the British Museum, has, written on the title page, 'Toms Coffee House' and the date, April 7th, 1736.) The imitation of Epistle I, xviii, To Lollius, is addressed to one 'F.E., Esq.' The particular is

(1) *An Essay on Man*, 1, 1.123.

(2) *The Dunciad*, iv (1742), 1.656.
by and large replaced by the general; its coffee-house readers must have
found its Addisonian advice on Prudence, Good Nature and Converse useful,
but as an imitation it has little to excite us. Such productions, however,
prove that the aim of Horatian poetry, as, say, outlined by Heinsius and
Dacier, was realized in a remarkably concrete and day-to-day manner. Horace
could be carried around, dipped into and imitated because he served as a
corrective against various follies and indiscretions; he showed the English
gentlemen a new, more practical path to Virtue and Wisdom; he helped in the
development of a more agreeable and sociable personality (thus his usefulness
at court), while bolstering attitudes - which some would call prejudices -
that went hand in hand with the cultivation of the civilized and urbane
qualities in man.

Precepts of Friendship and Conversation was the title given to another
imitation of the epistle To Lollia. It appeared in Tenson's edition of
The Odes and Satires of Horace (1730). A guide for the would-be protegé, the
familiar style is also used to satirize parasites and bad friends. Horace's
irony is again absent: subservience to the patron's whims becomes, simply,
submission to the wishes of one's friends. The sense of incongruity Horace
evokes through juxtaposition and example is entirely lost, likewise the
subtle shifts in tone and the masterly restraint - where Horace says most by
saying least.

William Hamilton's imitation of the same epistle was written in 1737.
His 'Advertisement' defended the practice of the imitation as a way of adding
new thoughts,
... which, though they are not of the Author's original growth, yet 'tis hop'd partake so much of the nature of the soil, as to appear with tolerable grace amongst their fellows. They serve to exemplify or illustrate the original design.

He also defends Horace against accusations of flattery, and adds that if Horace had lived, the character of Lollius himself would not have degenerated - 'Lollius' being a possible allusion to his modern corrupted type in Colley Cibber. Finally, Hamilton hopes that he has adapted himself to Horace's real character:

From these internal pictures of another's mind, we are naturally set to delineate our own, and compare the corresponding features together; which produces that eminent virtue of self-consideration, the great support of all other virtues. It awakens likewise that Humanity which connects us all together, and by which we interest our selves in one another. This, when felt, is what we may call reading poetry with taste.

The first thing that strikes us about Hamilton's imitation is its poetic diction, which is not really suitable for the familiar epistle. Phrases such as "lustre of his orient ray", "cloudless visage" and "guilty rapture", and others reminiscent of Cowley, are too close to the heroic style for what is essentially a conversational and colloquial form. The diction, however, is a reflection of Hamilton's overall approach. He conceives friendship in an ideal, Platonic sense, while his religious temper is as far removed from Horace's epicureanism as it is from Pope's deism. His firm Jacobitism, his idealism, his bookishness and

(1) Poetical Works (1805), ii, p.57.
(2) Ibid.
deficiency in genial good humour have all militated against his imitation - in the broad sense - of Horatian values. Whereas Horace warns other social climbers with the example of the foolish rake, Hamilton takes an overt Christian and moral stand against rakishness, condemning the "foul soul, discolour'd all within". Virtue, too, is not a very likeable thing in Hamilton, for it is indifferent to vice, self-righteous, snobbish and stiffly aloof. At one point, Horace advises against an adult liaison with young girls or boys, because it may be socially embarrassing. (1) Hamilton's treatment of this passage is amusing in its prudishness: he tells how two brothers "Safe from the tempting fatal sex withdrew, / Nor made advances further than a bow". (2) Hamilton's uneasy affirmation of the superiority of his own values and way of life is hardly calculated to win our sympathy. Horace can win us over to his way of thinking because we admire his rounded appreciation of life; Hamilton on the other hand tends to alienate his reader.

Pope, we know, had been writing imitations of Horace before 1716, (3) and he certainly wrote several more than he published. (4) Horace for Pope became a lifelong friend. The Imitations, far from restricting him,
gave Pope an opportunity to widen his satire and use the conversational style as a means of treating together literature, social conditions, history, personalities, and politics. The epistle enabled him to vary his tone from brisk to light, grave to gay, jesting to oratorical, from one of intense anger to almost warm lyricism. In effect he understood poetically what Hamilton, for example, only understood critically. He could exert his sharp critical personality on life around him and still speak through the voice of Horace. The epistolary form enabled Pope not simply to write in a familiar style, but to hit specifically and hard at his enemies and at contemporary evils. If Swift's satires were 'libels', Pope's satires, as he said, were epistles. Satire of a moral kind was Pope's aim, but satire that had concentration, kept to 'truth', and did not (though he admired Swift's imaginative satire) take the reader away from 'truth' - that is, the particular facts of social reality, as well as 'metaphysical' truth.

Other imitators of Horace when set against Pope have a less consciously satirical purpose, especially in the epistles. As we noted previously, Pope was one of the few who really understood the meaning of the satirist's function. The epistles imitated by Thomas Nevile in his Imitations of Horace (1758) are conspicuously lacking in satiric irony. In Epistle I, xvii, for example, Horace's "Inter cuncta..." (ll. 96 ft.) marks the point where a crescendo is reached, and dissuasion

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(1) Pope to Swift, 20 April 1733, See Correspondence, ed. Sherburn, iii, p. 366.

(2) "I have not the courage however to be such a Satyrist as you, but I would be as much, or more, a Philosopher." Ibid.

(3) Nevile imitated ten epistles of Horace, but avoided those imitated by Pope. Had Pope published more imitations, Nevile's burden might possibly have been made lighter.
of the would-be protégé emerges through the mask of advice and exhortation. Nevile's imitation rises to a comforting conclusion, and his final reference to "life's sequester'd shade" does not undermine, as it does in Horace, the substance of what has gone before. In the *Epistle to Scaeva* (I, xvii), Horace's advice is taken literally by Nevile. Whereas Horace hops from one item to another and from one mood to another, Nevile is much more composed throughout. Few but Pope, it seems, could imitate Horace's *brevitas* and his subtle changes of mood and attitude. If Pope is more volatile, then Nevile, like many other imitators of Horace, is far too settled. Equanimity is not enough. It has to have an edge to it, and when Nevile states glibly that to win the confidence of a great patron is comparable to panting for freedom's cause, he is not imitating Horace, who says that ingratiating oneself with the men of power is a not inglorious feat—quite a different thing.

Pope's *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, though not a strict imitation, is nevertheless thoroughly Horatian. As well as stating his own poetic aim, Pope is probably giving us his appreciation of Horace when, in the 'Advertisement', he says:

> If it have any thing pleasing, it will be That by which I am most desirous to please, the Truth and the Sentiment; and if anything offensive, it will be only to those I am least sorry to offend, the Vicious or the Ungenerous.

Epistolary satire has here a clear and positive purpose: to express the antipathy of good to bad. The 'Sentiment' adjusts itself according to what aspect of 'Truth'

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is being dealt with, and the intellectual, emotional antipathy of the good
man - the 'vir bonus' - to pushers and climbers, hacks and political tools,
effeminate courtiers and mercenary tradesmen, quibbling scholars and vain
aspirants to Parnassus, emerges. The tone, the speaking voice of the
poet himself, changes. Thus, when the epistle opens, the tone is one of
weariness, nausea and desperation:

Seiz'd and ty'd down to judge, how wretched I!
Who can't be silent, and who will not lye;
To laugh, were want of Goodness and of Grace,
And to be grave, exceeds all Pow'r of Face.
I sit with sad Civility, I read
With honest anguish, and an ailing head;
And drop at last, but in unwilling ears,
This saving counsel, "Keep your Piece nine years". 1

The last line, of course, echoes the Ars Poetica. 2 The picture as a whole
presents Pope in a humorous light, and we think not only of the figure of
poor Horace in Satire I, ix -

Domitto auriculas, ut inique mentis asellus,
Cum gravius dorso subiit onus (11. 20-1)

- but of any poet who, when famous, is besieged by suppliants. The name
'Pitholeon', taken from Horace's tenth satire, introduces another of the
hacks, and we see Pope's patience broken at last when he tells a would-be
playwright, "Sir, let me see your works and you no more". 3 Even on the
defence, Pope says that the charge of cruelty is irrelevant, because the
hacks have such thick skins that nothing hurts them. At this point the
satire intensifies a little, and the imagery builds up,

(1) Ibid., p. 98. (11. 33-40).
(2) Line 388: "... nonumque prematur in annum".
(3) Line 68.
just as in Horace animal imagery denotes a concentration of feeling:

Of all mad Creatures, if the Learn'd are right,  
It is the Slaver kills, and not the Bite.

With superb irony, Pope laments that flattery is far worse than spiteful anger.²

As the good man, the emblem of 'Virtus', Pope gives an honest account of his poetic career. The tone here is accordingly serious and dignified: jesting, for the moment, is absent. He deals with the various types of critic in different ways. The sober kind, who "want spirit, taste and sense", but who are harmless pedants, Pope treats with compassion and charity (in order to take the wind out of their sails). Others he regards with quizzical interest, and there is even a lyrical impulse behind his portrait of Atticus, a finely drawn and psychologically perceptive sketch. Rhetorical questions, typical of Horace (they have an almost ominous quality as we await the angry jab) — follow, as Pope demands to know why he is followed and persecuted. The tone is like that of Horace in Satire II, i, where the good man, desirous of retirement, warns off all pesterers and persecutors. With the easy dismissiveness of the accomplished satirist, Pope says that he never mixed with wits and witlings, but left "the whole Castalian State" to 'Bufo'. The Horatian disinterestedness turns to bitterness and emotional involvement as Pope remembers how Gay was neglected. The tone becomes quiet, resigned, and personal on the surface, though we can hear the rumbling anger underneath. The poet's spleen rises as he lists the liars, slanderers,

(1) Ibid., p.103. (ll. 105-6).
(2) Note also the extraordinary aptness of the illustration, (which is ironically dressed up as a learned exemplum), where there appears to be an illogical apportionment of functions in the snake itself.
(3) ll. 229-230.
libellers, the cowards and the false friends, until the emotion - now one of quivering hate - reaches its most intense pitch with the ruthless destruction of Lord Hervey in the 'Sporus' sketch. Pope knew how to terrorize his enemies. Horace could also terrorize, but he has nothing to match the scorn of this sketch, strengthened as it is by its metaphorical handling and its literary allusions. The epistle ends with the orator, the poet and the preacher speaking together, and the prayer,

Oh grant me thus to live, and thus to die!
Who sprung from Kings shall know less joy than I.

(11. 404-5)
is from Horace, Sat. I, iii, 1.142: "Privatusque magis vivam te rege beatus".

The dialogue form is also present within the dramatic monologue: Arbuthnot is not always present; sometimes he is in the middle, sometimes in the far distance; but at times he comes right into the poem as the adversarius, questioning, doubting, challenging or pleading caution. His is not the only voice that is heard in direct speech. Messages, snippets of conversation, Pope's utterances, including one to the hack in the interchange, all give the epistle its varied, living and dramatic quality. Pope uses most of the devices of Horace's satiric form, and though he ties himself to no one poem, he 'gets inside' the type of the satirist whom Horace represents. Thus Pope, unlike Hamilton, Nevile, and many others, such as Somervile, Whaley, Cuffe, Pitt and Diaper, has linked his own personality in a very important way to that of Horace. To quote Hamilton: "From these internal pictures of another's mind, we are naturally set to delineate our own". Far from being Horace's interpreter, Pope, while still being himself, is
that "very Hee" of which Jonson spoke. ¹

Pope could not range as freely in his proper imitations, and this becomes evident in the Epistle to Augustus, a completely non-autobiographical epistle, in which Pope is compelled to sing the praises of a king he despised, and discuss at length the history of English literature and the drama, all the time adapting Roman examples to English ones, and at least echoing the comments Horace made on them. Pope manages to turn some of these difficulties to his advantage. He gets over the panegyrical side of the epistle — (Horace in any case concludes by saying that he is not equipped to sing his Emperor's exploits) — by turning it into an amusing mock-panegyric, while some of the adaptations and comments are exploited for ironical purposes. We are often not quite sure of Pope's tone, as we are in the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is that Pope's own voice is not allowed to intervene in any direct way, and the public nature of the epistle also affects his style, which is less familial and less witty than that of the earlier poem. The central importance of this imitation, however, is that it gives us Pope's view of the Roman analogy. Though not as extreme as Swift, he was sceptical about the possibilities of the moderns rivalling the ancients in any but a limited sense.

Horace's epistle is itself a guide to conduct. He speaks to Augustus as one educated Roman to another, yet is all the time aware that the Princeps is a man of immense power and authority and a patron of all the arts. Though the main subject is the important function of poetry and drama in the state, Horace waits thirty-four lines before easing himself into his theme. As Fraenkel says,

(1) See Chapter 1, p.15.
The society to which Horace belongs respects a strict code of 'urbanitas'; and Horace himself is most sensitive to the commands of taste. Not for the world would he wish on this occasion to look like an importunate sermonizer.

The epistle opens, therefore, with deference: Horace does not wish to delay Caesar's busy hours ('Morer tua tempora'), seeing that he bears the weight of so many duties ('Cum tot sustineas'). Pope's opening is a masterpiece of ambiguity and double entendre:

While You, great Patron of Mankind, sustain
The balanc'd World, and open all the Main;
Your Country, chief, in Arms abroad defend,
At home, with Morals, Arts, and Laws amend;
How shall the Muse, from such a Monarch, steal
An hour, and not defraud the Publick Weal? (I1. 1-6)

Retaining the Latin "sustineas" in "sustain", Pope applies it to the balance of power concept. In 1711 Pope wrote the epigram:

Now Europe's balanc'd, neither Side prevails,
For nothing's left in either of th' Scales. 2

George, unlike Augustus, sustains nothing. The pose remains, however, so that George is like an ancient caryatid above which both roof and architrave are missing. By opening all the main the King also opened it to Spanish pirates, and the only 'arms' with which he defended his country abroad were those of his mistresses in Hanover, whom he visited all too frequently and too long. How indeed shall the muse steal an hour from such a king? - for it is he (not Pope) who, together with

those he represents (that is, the court and the city), really defrauds the "Publack Weal".

Pope's deliberate over-praising is nicely disguised when Horace's tribute to Augustus - "Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes" - is 'excelled' by:

Wonder of Kings! like whom, to mortal eyes
None e'er has risen, and none e'er shall rise.
(11, 29-30).

Over-praise is matched by over-writing; the ambiguity of the last line is a nice parodic comment on the typical Whig panegyric that mounts to premature heights, falters and then almost tumbles.

Pope's final paragraph is unique. It is forceful invective hidden beneath expansive praise, and contains a taunt at George's physical shape -

Not with such Majesty, such bold relief,
The Forms august of King, or conqu'ring Chief,
E'er swelled on Marble... (11. 390 - 3)

- contempt for his lack of culture, anger at his lack of military ambition, and political opposition over his support, however weak and wavering, for Walpole. Horace ends by saying that Augustus merits the heroic praise of a Virgil, but that he himself is incapable of writing epic poetry. Here incapacity is put forward as the reason when personal choice must play a part. This looms larger in Pope, who in fact dissociates himself from the public panegyric by breaking off in mock-confusion. (The verse itself descends to the familiar style, as indeed it does in Horace.)

Pope certainly wants to emphasize "that Horace made his Court to this Great Prince,
by writing with a decent Freedom toward him, with a just contempt of his low
Flatterers, and with a manly Regard to his own Character". ('Advertisement).

But Verse alas! your Majesty disdains;
And I'm not us'd to Panegyric strains:
The Zeal of Fools offends at any time,
But most of all, the Zeal of Fools in ryme.
Besides, a fate attends on all I write,
That when I aim at praise, they say I bite.
(11. 404-9).

Except for the first line, this could almost be read as prose, suggesting even more
strongly Pope's distaste for the kind of writing which he says he is not used to.

Horace criticizes the Romans for their unthinking attachment to things that
are old, repeating their critical clichés which are tacked on to old writers, and
ridiculing their taste for theatrical spectacle. Augustus encouraged the best con¬
servative attachments. Horace is not directly critical of the emperor in this respect,
but of those who perhaps mistake the real purpose behind Augustus' conservatism and
who therefore lack discrimination. Horace wishes to draw the attention of
Augustus towards the best in the modern period, which, he points out, combines the
sturdy Roman discipline, characteristic of old Roman husbandry (which Augustus
consciously lauded), with Greek refinement. The Roman spirit by itself was often
rude, and needed correcting, whereas the Greek spirit could become effeminate and
morally weak.

In everything that Horace says, Pope is more outspoken: the satirist is
always there. Whereas Horace's criticisms of old authors are severe, Pope's seem
like dismissals - for example, "beastly Skelton". Romans excel Greeks in painting,
playing, singing - and wrestling. Pope makes the joke more apparent:

... learned Athens to our Art must stoop,
Could she behold us tumbling thro' a hoop.
(ll. 47-8. My italics).

Though scribbling is rife, says Horace,

Hie error tamen and levis haec insanias, quantas
Virtutes habeas, sic collige... (ll. 119-20)

- the "mild madness" has its virtues. Pope appeals to George’s sense of constitutional security:

Yet Sir, reflect, the mischief is not great;
These Madmen never hurt the Church or State:
Sometimes the Folly benefits mankind;
And rarely Avice taints the tuneful mind.
Allow him but his Play-thing of a Pen,
He ne'er rebels, or plots, like other men.
(ll. 189-194).

Deliberately underrating poets in this way, and using terms and concepts fit for a child’s mentality, would have been a gross insult to Augustus; to George it matters neither one way nor the other. Horace, in this passage, praises both the epic and the lyric poet, the poet who softens the heart and turns us away from vice, he who is "asperitatis, invidiae correcor, irae", tells of noble deeds, and brings comfort to the sick heart. Pope praises Roscommon and Addison for their pure taste, and Swift for his unswerving Irish patriotism. To praise Swift (whose satire hardly comforts the heart) is of course to attack George.
Some of the adaptations and substitutions are well engineered, such as Pope's characterization of the Restoration, supplementing Horace's description of Greece following the Persian wars. Sometimes, as when Pope talks of "Our rural Ancestors" the English context is not realized, and we are left with the Roman one. Some of the smaller substitutions become girds: Horace defended poetic and dramatic craftsmanship, using the illustration "quod medicorum est Promittunt Medici", which becomes in Pope:

Ev'n Radcliff's Doctors travel first to France,
Nor dare to practise till they've learned to dance. (ll. 183-4).

Horace's confidence in the Roman achievement becomes in Pope a sceptical, gloomy, humorous and at times dismissive appraisal of the modern English scene. Horace only laughs at the knights in the theatre stalls applauding a woollen robe, but Pope, calling the "plebecula" "The many-headed Monster of the Pit", is under no illusion that things can be changed and tastes improved. Horace, however, asks for a change in policy so that the theatre may once again resume its former dignity. But he is addressing Augustus, and Pope is addressing George II. This difference in circumstance determines the whole change of tone in the epistle. Pope intends to show that the modern Augustan programme is not being carried out in any sense. This in turn makes Horace's model of tact and decorum a scarcely veiled satire on the king, the government and the modern literati. Pope has also exploited Horace's comic satire to the full: the difficulties of criticizing Pope, especially in an imitation, lie in his comic gifts, his dexterous coining of new images, his expansion and moulding of original material so that it takes on a new life. The richness of the allusive method is extremely complex, and requires trained understanding.
The only weakness of Pope's imitation here is its lack of tonal variety, and its dependence on comparison with the original text for so much of its meaning. Some dependence is however essential, for imitations work by consistent allusion: the whole meaning can only be grasped after reading both texts.

Other imitations of the Epistle to Augustus appeared after Pope. That of Soame Jenyns, written in 1748, converted the serious sentiments of Horace on Roman poetry into more ludicrous ones on the subject of English politics. It is a light-hearted defence of politicians and their practices. The substitutions are often amusing: if Livius is no longer faultless for Horace, then the doctrines of Divine Right, says Jenyns, "now seem wondrous odd". The imitation does have some lively qualities: the descriptions of the hustings, with the political candidate in slippers and a morning gown, though little to do with Horace, make the epistle worth reading. The imitation by Edward Burnaby Greene, written in 1765, appeared in John Duncombe's The Works of Horace (1767). Greece becomes France, and Greene complains that French refinement has weakened and corroded English strength - a Johnsonian attitude. The imitation, however, is derivative from Pope, and lacks vitality, though some of the lighter passages are well handled, and the conversational, racy style flits from thought to thought with an easy, if unmasculine motion.

Not as courageous as Pope, Greene does not attack George III, but writes a slightly humorous account of the degeneration of the moderns. Like Pope, Greene does not 'imitate' Horace in the literal sense by drawing the King's attention to the value and importance of modern poets: when the choice is between the "unmann'd" genius of sycophantic scribblers and the "flowery Tastes" of verse-writers, modern poetry has little to offer, and its social function, let alone its Augustan purpose, has become

(1) See The Works of the British Poets, ed. T. Park (1808), xxxii, pt.2, pp. 70-80. Jenyns calls it "a burlesque imitation". He also published imitations of Odes II. xv (pp. 82-84), IV. viii (pp. 84-86), and III. ix. The latter (pp. 101-3) is 'A Dialogue between the Rt. Hon. Henry Pelham and Madam Popularity'.

corrupted. Duncombe's edition of *The Works of Horace* contained both literal, or nearly literal translations, and imitations. In the preface, Duncombe agreed that imitations are preferable to translations because they allow Roman originals to be read as modern poems, while many difficulties in the original are obviated. 1 Of the epistolary imitations, Greene's are the best, but on the whole the level of imitation is fairly low. Greene himself emerges as a dilettante rather than a Horatian observer, and his satire lacks bite.

Pope's imitation of the Epistle to Florus, which is far more familiar, personal and 'Horatian' than the Epistle to Augustus, also shows Pope's genius, and the success with which he lived out his own 'imitatio Horatii', though, as we shall see, he was not content to sink into the Horatian self-complacency which Horace half welcomes, and he by no means wants to be labelled, it would seem, as another semi-retired eighteenth-century 'Horace'. The theme of the epistle is civilized retirement, like Horace's first epistle. Horace has turned to the serious business of life, which he calls "sapere", or 'Wisdom', so that, like Pope, he has "moralized his song":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nimirum sapere est abjectis utile nugis,} \\
\text{Et tempestivum puérís concedere ludum;} \\
\text{Ac non verba séquī fidibus modulanda Latinis,} \\
\text{Sed verae numerosque modosque dissecere vitæ.}
\end{align*}
\] (ll. 141-4).

The easy flow of the verse in this epistle, the sublimely settled feeling which it

1. "The little Incidents and Circumstances of History, the Manners of the Persons addressed to, the Rites and Customs referred to, in War, Politics, and Religion, were familiar to the Latin Readers, and gave them a Propriety, Elegance, and Base, which must be lost to the English Reader; and, though assisted by the Notes, he finds it rather a Study, than an Entertainment. I therefore think that Imitations and Accommodations will generally succeed better than strict Translations." (The Works of Horace, In English Verse (1767), pp. ix-x.)
generates, has won the admiration of many. The epistle, in fact, states
a complete renunciation of the lyric poetry of Horace's earlier period.

Whereas the Julius Florus to whom the epistle is addressed was in the
suite of Tiberius, Pope addresses his imitation to a retired soldier,
Colonel Anthony Browne, who had presumably fought under Marlborough, in
which case he would have been fifty to sixty years old. Horace's advice on
moderation and frugality is an indirect criticism of Florus, whereas Browne
becomes for Pope that requirement of all poets - someone or something of
significance to the poet with whom he can communicate (here, within the
dramatic monologue form) and express his feelings, or to which he can attach
his personal sympathies and expand upon larger themes. The implied
criticism is directed instead at Bathurst, who is brought in at a point when
Horace asks, "quid vici presunt, aut horren?" (l. 177).

Pope has:

All vast Possessions (just the same the case
Whether you call them Villa, Park, or Chace)
Alas, my BATHURST! What will they avail?
(11. 254-6).

Colonel Browne is also the right person to be told of the poor old soldier
who fought in "ANNA's Wars", and again Pope makes a departure in order to
maintain a consistent idea:

He leapt the Trenches, scal'd a Castle-Wall,
Tore down a Standard, took the Fort and all.
'Prodigious well!' his great Commander cry'd,
Gave him much Praise, and some Reward beside,
(11. 40-3)
where the reference is obviously to the meanness of Marlborough - whose Blenheim Palace must have served as a striking contrast to "Delightful Abs-court", Browne's small farm near Walton-on-Thames, not far from Pope's home at Twickenham.

Pope makes the epistle his and not Horace's even in the autobiographical details: Horace had nothing after the battle of Philippi, when his father's farm was taken away. For Pope,

Hopes after Hopes of Pious Papists fail'd,
While mighty WILLIAM'S thudding Arm prevail'd.
(ll. 62-3).

Horace found security at last after writing poetry, and being taken up by Maecenas; Pope lives and thrives, "thanks to Homer".

Horace is thoroughly Anglicized and modernized, and Pope slips in familiar, personal, and satirical details in order to reinforce the modernity and 'originality' of the epistle. Illustrating the pointlessness of writing verses by the chaotically different tastes of people, Horace says:

Tres mihi convivae prope dissentire videntur,
Poscentes vario multum diversa palato. (ll. 61-2).

Pope uses his own comic and satiric resources in order to add vitality to his imitation:

One likes the Pheasant's wing, and one the leg;
The Vulgar boil, the Learned roast an Egg;
Hard Task! to hit the Palate of such Guests,
When Oldfield loves, what Dartineuf detests,
(ll. 84-7)
- as if Pope at any time considered or would ever consider, as he wrote, the
tastes of such people. What in Horace is a chuckle becomes a laugh in Pope.

Horace, when in Rome, has to visit friends and acquaintances; - no time for
verses:

Hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta, relictis
Omnibus officiis: cubat hic in colle Quirini,
Hic extremito in Aventino; visendus uterque.
(ll. 67-9).

Pope, in a similar situation to the one he has already described so brilliantly
in the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, suggests the actual speech of these importunates,
while the broken couplets imitate Horace's broken lines:

In Palace-Yard at Nine you'll find me there -
At Ten for certain, Sir, in Bloomsb'ry-Square -
Before the Lords at Twelve my Cause comes on -
There's a Rehearsal, Sir, exact at One. -
(ll. 94-7).

Horace describes the clutter in the streets of Rome, the distractions which
preclude the exercise of poetic inspiration. Edward Burnaby Greene, in his
imitation of this epistle, was able to naturalize Horace, but without infusing
his own personality into the poem, so that in this case he had the couplet:

Blind fiddlers scrape, Carts rattle, Milkmen bawl,
And ragged Sirens tedious Ditties drawl,

whereas Pope's observations have a Swiftian bite:

Have you not seen at Guild-hall's narrow Pass,
Two Aldermen dispute it with an Ass?
And Peers give way, exalted as they are,
Ev'n to their own S-r-v-nce in a Carr? (ll. 104-7),

1. Sir-reverence, i.e. human excrement.
lines which immediately bring to life the weird mixture of ceremony and
beastliness typical of the city.

Pope can revive a phrase and re-create a scene as only an experienced
poet can. Horace's

...statue taciturnius exit
Plerumque, & risu populum quatit, (11. 83-4),

used to describe the incongruous picture of the grey scholar walking about in Rome,
becomes in Pope:

The Boys flock round him, and the People stare:
So stiff, so mute! some Statue, you would swear,
Step from its Pedestal to take the Air,
(11. 120-3),

which extends the comparison to suggest something ghost-like. 'More mute than a
statue' would have been too weak in English. Pope's technique in these imitations
is partly to translate Horace's thoughts without either weakening the language or
compromising his own satiric purpose.

Blending his personality in many respects with that of Horace, Pope can also
at times speak in his own distinctive voice, and in doing so he coins his own
thoughts, phrases and images. An imitator, if he is to succeed as Pope does,
must give scope to his own invention - though perhaps not to his fancy. He must
be an opportunist, seizing every opportunity to write originally, though in a manner
generally consistent with the literary model and the poetic personality of the author
imitated. Horace, complaining of the tribe of bards who throng around him, expresses
his desire for peace, "stopping up his ears when they recite". Pope is much less pacific. We do not expect Horace's "suum irritabile vatun" to annoy the poet any more, but in Pope:

Much do I suffer, much, to keep in peace
This jealous, waspish, wrong-head, rhyming Race;
And much must flatter, if the Whim should bite
To court applause by printing what I write;
But let the Fit pass o'er, I'm wise enough,
To stop my ears to their confounded stuff.
(11. 147-152)

Though smacking of hurriedness in the composition and ill-natured lack of patience, it is nevertheless Pope who is speaking here, Horace having retired into the distance. Other examples could be cited of this change in mood from the comfortable, settled ease and 'playful seriousness' of Horace, to the unrelaxed desire for relaxation, the alternating repose and angry irritation characteristic of Pope. The passage beginning "Nimirum sapere ..." in Horace, which we quoted as being the central statement of the epistle, takes on a different tone in Pope. Pope does not seem to choose "Wisdom" and the pursuit of philosophy here, but rather assumes that they have been thrust upon him:

Well, on the whole, plain Prose must be my fate:
Wisdom (curse on it) will come soon or late.
There is a time when Poets will grow dull:
I'll e'en leave Verses to the Boys at school:
To Rules of Poetry no more confin'd,
I learn to smooth and harmonise my Mind,
Teach ev'ry Thought within its bounds to roll,
And keep the equal Measure of the Soul.
(11. 198-205)

The interesting sudden lapse of dignity in the second line, the ambiguous juxtaposition of the phrases "no more confin'd" and "Teach... within its bounds to
roll" betray, consciously or unconsciously, a definite lack of sympathy with what Horace is saying. After all, when one sees another man retiring and preparing for old age (here, Horace or Colonel Browne), one may admire him and set him against all the others, but does one necessarily say to oneself, I too would like to be old, retired and mentally settled? The very fact that Pope is still aggressive and pugnacious in this epistle shows that he does not wish to become the average middle-aged 'Horace', but that he still has more barbs to throw, that he is asserting, not insinuating moral values. For example, Horace asks, when we have been told that folly flees the rich, do we follow the same counsellors, though we are rich and still no wiser? As it stands, this question does not hit home straight away, but Pope makes it obvious to what kind of moral hypocrisy Horace is referring:

When servile Chaplains cry, that Birth and Place
Indue a Peer with Honour, Truth, and Grace,
Look in that Breast, most dirty Duke! be fair,
Say, can you find out one such Lodger there?
Yet still, not heeding what your Heart can teach,
You go to Church to hear these Flatt'rors preach.
(11. 220-25).

This is no mere clarification or paraphrase but an 'imitation' of the original passage.

Apart from the jaunty imitation of the first part of Epistle I, vii, 'Imitated in the Manner of Dr. Swift', Pope published one other imitation of a Horatian epistle, that is Epistle I, vi, whose opening phrase, "Nil admirari", was St. John, Lord Bolingbroke's motto. Its theme is philosophic calm,
disinterestedness, that wise indifference or imperviousness to chaotic emotions, which, for Horace, is the basis of true happiness. Though the moral ideal is stated as indifference to wealth, position and reputation, it can just as well imply an indifference to poverty, oppression and misfortune. Such an attitude, though one could call it priggish, unsympathetic because uninvolved, estranging because dispassionate, was nevertheless an essential part of the aristocratic conception of Reason. As a social attitude some of its more distasteful sides can appear. The search for stasis in the case of the creative writer, or for an ideal calm in the case of the religious meditator, however, do not evoke directly the social connotations which are indicated in Horace and in Pope.

Pope’s satirical wit is largely absent in this epistle, and the Roman analogy, in a limited way, seems to be taken more seriously. Horace reflects on the inevitable passage of time; the subdued antitheses, and the naming of famous places and names give his lines that classical dignity and poise which has been often emulated:

Quidquid sub terra est, in apricum proferet Aetas,
Defodiet, condetque nitentia. Qua sum bene notum
Porticus Agrippae, & via te conspexerit Appi,
Ire tamen restat Numa quo devenit & Ancus.

(11. 24-27).

Pope’s application of these lines to the famous orator, barrister and future Whig M.P. for Boroughbridge, are unusually lacking in that sensitivity to incongruities which the poet usually displays:
Yet Time ennobles, or degrades each Line;
It brighten'd CRAG's, and may darken thine:
And what is Fame? the Meanest have their day,
The Greatest can but blaze, and pass away.
Grae'd as thou art, with all the Pow'r of Words,
So known, so honour'd, at the House of Lords;
Conspicuous Scene! another yet is nigh,
(More silent far) where Kings and Poets lye;
Where MURRAY (long enough his Country's pride)
Shall be no more than TULLY, or than HYDE!

(11. 44-53).

Admittedly Pope is branching out into panegyric here, but the over-conscious linking of Murray, Tully and Hyde, the limp sense of "House...Scene", the obvious rhetoric of the passage, and the reduction of Horace's largeness and generality (all the thriving world of Rome will one day be buried) into a trite and pompous sentiment (Murray will one day be buried in Westminster) - all this is unworthy of Pope. Pope is conscious of Murray throughout the imitation, and this takes away from the effectiveness of some of the ethical reflections. Horace is localized and reduced, and Pope fails to convince us as a spiritual doctor. He could, for example, have made more of the delightful picture in Horace of the ambitious politician who hires a servant to point out to him the men of influence, and who flatters his would-be supporters with the words "frater" and "pater". Pope restrains himself here, and limits himself to a more generalized picture than we would expect. The reason, of course, is that in this imitation he is also praising Murray, so that the hints of criticism are not allowed to develop into satire: indeed, the epistle itself, because so short, does not really allow it.

Pope's Horatian epistles are, however, distinctly different from those other imitations that tended towards diluted generality, over-worked platitudes,
complacency, a sense of the immediate occasion without its ever taking on a permanent truth or validity, and a too rigid, too insensitive approach to the familiar epistle. As a mixture of panegyric, autobiography, moral and philosophical reflection, satire, and dramatic monologue (with elements of dialogue) the informal verse epistle required breadth of learning and a knowledge of current issues and personalities, if possible at first hand. Pope was unusual in that he gained entrance, on almost equal terms, to some of the most notable patrons of his day. This, often prohibitive, qualification for Horatian imitation, especially the epistolary kind, put him at once in a better position than most. But the conscious artistry, the imaginative re-creation of Horace's words and ideas in the modern context, the witty, satirical, moral, topical and other excursions (which can expand an epistle of 216 lines into one of 327 lines), reveal Pope as a poet-imitator who could rarely be excelled in his field. He understood too, that the familiar epistle required a variety of tone and an effective use of the colloquial, together with carefully controlled transitions, digressions and illustrations. Above all, he did not settle into that easy posture of settled middle-aged retirement which has come to be associated, in a derogatory sense, with the Horatian attitude.

(1) Epistle II, ii; though we must bear in mind that Latin is more condensed than English anyway.
CHAPTER 9. DIDACTIC AND MOCK-DIDACTIC IMITATIONS: HORACE'S ARS POETICA AND
OVID'S ARS AMATORIA.

SUMMARY.

The types of didactic poetry in the eighteenth century outlined.

(i) Analysis of Horace's Ars Poetica.

(ii) Modern didactic pieces deriving from or in imitation of Horace's model: Roscommon, Granville, Oldham, Wesley, Coward, Pope, Popple, Byron, Stedman, Penn. How Horace's ideas and precepts are changed to suit modern methods and conceptions as well as providing a standard for taste. How 'wit' and imitation itself are justified by avowed adherence to the authority of Horace, yet how also English poetry tended to seek independence from neo-classical dogmatism. Mock-imitations of the Ars Poetica such as Miller's Harlequin-Horace (1731) also discussed. Byron's Hints from Horace (1813) a brilliant satiric and comic imitation.

(iii) The Horatian model could be wittily applied to subjects analogous to that of poetry—meaning anything from cookery to preaching, 'beauing' and architecture. These 'transferred imitations' by King, Miller, Bramston, Dodsley and others are interesting because they show how pervasive the Horatian canon was in all aspects of culture at this time. They also show how far the poetic imitation involves variety, expansion and originality, operating within the associative framework. Originality often implied not something entirely new, but (in the older sense) new ways of returning to an original theme or model.

(iv) Ovid's Ars Amatoria cleverly and sometimes brilliantly adapted to English scenes and manners in translations and imitations: Dryden, Congreve, King, Hopkins, Fielding and others.
Chapter 9.

Didactic and mock-didactic imitations: Horace's Ars Poetica and Ovid's Ars Amatoria.

The didactic poem in the neo-classical period provided ample opportunities for demonstrating rhetorical skill. Eighteenth century poets found opportunities to instruct even in the most literal sense of the word:

If the Romans had their Art of Love, and Art of Poetry; we have the Art of Cookery, the Art of walking the streets, the Art of Dancing, the Art of Preaching, the Art of living in London, the Art of Shooting, Flying, and - the Art of Dressing the Hair.¹

wrote one author in 1770. According to the nature of the didactic topic and the purpose of the poet, different poetic styles could be adapted, such as the georgic, mock-georgic, semi-heroic and mock-heroic, and Horatian. Our concern in this chapter is with the two Roman archetypes, from which stemmed a number of imitative didactic poems. The close imitations are set in a completely modern context, even the topic has sometimes changed, while the Horatian rhetorical style is adapted to modern concepts and methods of exposition. The georgic is of course the best known of the didactic forms in the eighteenth century, and when Thomas Tickell in 1711 said that didactic verse ranked second to epic alone, he had Virgil in mind.²

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¹ The Art of Dressing the Hair. A Poem (1770). By 'E.F. Philocosm'. (Dedication).
Horatian didacticism was less elevated, but it nevertheless formed an important part of the genre. Ovid's poem was less imitated, but its presence was also felt. It is interesting to note that didactic poems were the fashion when Ovid wrote the Ars Amatoria, and that the topics ranged from snake venoms and medicinal drugs to directions for games and sports, or how to look after house guests and arrange dinner parties. In Augustan Rome and in England poetry assumed a unique social function and reflected the manners of the age in a very direct way.

The subjects suitable for didactic treatment were, then, very wide. The real question was how to present them and how to inculcate rules, precepts and directions without being prosaic.

The great art in the conduct of didactic poems is so to adorn and enliven the precepts that they may agreeably strike the imagination; and to deliver them in such an indirect manner, that, the form of instruction being concealed, the reader may grow wiser without perceiving he is taught, and that while the most useful lessons are inculcated, the whole may appear only as an amusement.

In other words, by disguising 'art', by making it seem like 'nature', and by combining the utile and the dulce, in the presentation itself, a duty could be made to seem like a pleasure. It is difficult to think of love and poetry as duties, but in the case of Horace poetry is set on a more rational and human plane, while the poet is seen to have a supreme duty - within the Augustan context - as the civilizer of men. Horace therefore sees poetry as a human activity with all the

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(2) For Tickell, there should, in the fourth type of didactic (compounded out of those treating morals, philosophy and special arts), be "a constant transference from business to pleasure and back again". Op.cit., p.206.
social obligations crystallized in the art itself. Horace's own 'artless' presentation disguises a mastery of tone and a superbly controlled use of illustration, digression and the sudden transition.

The poet, like the lover, must conceal his art. With Ovid, the dualism is extremely subtle. The lover is shown as a schemer, a planner, a resourceful player of a skilful game. On the other hand, if the lover has scant good nature, if he lacks kindliness, he is no lover, however skilful at attracting the ladies he might be. Ovid almost deceives us into believing that love is an art, but he understands perfectly well that it involves the excitation of the passions, the thrill of the chase, and that there are moments during the 'sport' when tutoring is impossible.

Didactic poetry therefore implies the inculcation of rules and precepts when it is understood that rules and precepts are never sufficient in themselves, either for success in any particular art, or for the poetic manner of the presentation. The author of the quotation above has given us a full contemporary appraisal of the didactic genre. It grew, he said, as a result of the consciousness of mankind's defects and the consequent need for correction and improvement. Poetry was called in to the aid of science, and lent refreshment and pleasure to what could otherwise be dull treatises (though Ovid's subject had more intrinsic possibilities than most). Digressions could take the form of moral reflections, pertinent remarks, familiar similes, or other kinds of additional material necessary to make the subject interesting. Didactic poems he reduced to four main types. The first was concerned with moral duties. This would include Pope's Moral Essays, and many other verse essays, such as those on friendship, conversation, and the social arts. The second he defined as philosophical speculations. Pope's Essay on Man, and similar essays such as those on reason, wisdom and providence, would come under this group.

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1 The 'Art of Loving', says Tickell, should be "included under the Training of Morals." Ibid., p.202.
Neither of these groups concern us. Their classical heritage is less pronounced, though the influence of Seneca's Moral Essays, which were translated by Motteux and others, was considerable. The third group dealt with man's business and pleasures. The Georgic poems are included under the former, Ovidian imitations under the latter, while the Horatian didactic imitations that treat of such subjects as preaching, politics, acting, 'beauing' and architecture are covered by both. The fourth group was concerned with poetry and criticism. Non-transferred imitations of the Ars Poetica form a significant part of this group. Because poetry was the most important single concern of didactic poetry, and because the Ars Poetica became almost the Bible of the English Augustans, Horace will occupy most of our attention in this chapter.

1. The Ars Poetica.

The Italian commentators looked to the Ars Poetica for poetic laws and precepts, and even up until the late seventeenth century in England the fact that it was an informal epistle of a didactic kind was often obscured by a too rigid approach. Following the modern interpretation of Horace urged on by the efforts of Sheffield, Roscommon, and Granville, who had written poems on poetry, criticism and the art of translation, Pope wrote, in An Essay on Criticism:

Horace still charms with graceful Negligence,
And without Method talks us into Sense,
Will like a Friend familiarly convey
The truest Notions in the easiest way.
He, who Supreme in Judgment, as in Wit,
Might boldly censure, as he boldly writ,
Yet judg'd with Coolness tho' he sung with Fire;
His Precepts teach but what his Works inspire.
Our Criticks take a contrary Extream,
They judge with Fury, but they write with Fie'me;
Nor suffers Horace more in wrong Translations
By Wits, than Criticks in as wrong Quotations. (11. 653-664)

Julius Scaliger's description of the Ars as 'equidem quod de Arte sine Arte Tradita' could be taken in two ways, according to whether one applauded Horace's apparent 'artlessness' or not. Pope understood the real nature of Horace's non-lyrical verse: its urbanity, its sense of occasion, its ease and decorum. The three poets mentioned above were all emulating Horace to some extent, providing modern Horatian examples, while Oldham wrote a strict imitation of the Ars Poetica in 1680. Yet Charles Gildon, (whose Complete Art of Poetry furnished Pope and Swift with much of their material for The Art of Sinking in Poetry), compiled a set of rules based on the poems of Sheffield, Roscommon, and Granville, while forgetting – in Pope's eyes – that 'laws' alone, (presumably available to all and sundry), would not by any means produce good poets. Alfred Noyes says that Horace's intention in the Ars Poetica was to set the crooked straight, rather than to lay down rules for writing. When Pope says that

True Ease in Writing comes from Art, not Chance,
As those move easiest who have learn'd to dance,

he is not saying that ease can simply be learned, but that it can only be developed

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(1) The Laws of Poetry, as laid down by the Duke of Buckinghamshire in his Essay on Poetry, by the Earl of Roscommon, in his Essay on Translated Verse, and by the Lord Lansdowne, on unnatural flights in poetry, explain'd and illustrated (1721).

(2) Leonard Welsted, in his Epistles, Odes, Etc. (1724) complained that modern imitators of Horace's Art of Poetry "...touch only the Externals or Form of the Thing, without entering into the Spirit of it... the Secret, the Soul of good writing is not to be come at thro' such mechanic Laws." (p. xviii).


with the help of innate judgement and ability, once the elementary steps and movements have been learned. Pope's 'Art' does not consist in learning rules, but is a conscious artistic process.

Some of the didactic and mock-didactic poems which were written in imitation of Horace's Ars Poetica differ from other types of didactic poem in the eighteenth century just as moving with ease differs from dancing according to elementary rules: though the imitations carried Horace into different spheres, such as acting, politics and architecture, they often presumed that 'an art' could mean two things. On the one hand, it was a craft that was taught and learned; on the other, it was something that could not be grasped mechanically, but needed a whole number of other talents, virtues and innate abilities before it could be mastered. This is made clear, for example, in Robert Dodsley's The Art of Preaching, where Horace's strictures on spontaneity and lack of training are applied to a different context:

In every Science, they that hope to rise,  
Set great Examples still before their Eyes.  
Young Lawyers copy Murray where they can;  
Physicians Mead, and Surgeons Cheselden:  
But all will preach, without the least Pretence  
To Virtue, Learning, Art, or Eloquence.

Horace's Ars Poetica should be compared, not with Aristotle's Poetica, but with Addison's 'Essays on Paradise Lost' on the serious side, and perhaps with Montaigne in its more humorous passages. The opening itself prepares us for the kind of

production it is:

Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam iungere si velit,
et varias inducere plumas undique collatis membris, ut
turpiter atrum desinet in piscem mulier formosa superne,
spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici? (11.1-5).

Line 306, "munus et officium, nil scribens ipse, docebo" would have been a
more orthodox beginning. Horace's picture of the mad painter, however, shocks
his young listeners, the Pisos, out of their complacency, and presents the large
difficulties to be overcome before anyone can set pen to paper or brush to canvas
with any confidence. The example is a corrective, while the social implications
the artist must face are included in the line "spectatum admissi risum teneatis,
amici?" - nicely putting the Pisos in the position not of the artist but of his
public. The Pisos, as Horace's collective adversarius, protest that painters and
poets have a right to attempt anything. Horace answers: yes, but they must keep
within the bounds of common sense. At once the tone of the epistle has been
established. It is not a treatise, and therefore Horace is not tied to a systematic
plan, though it would be very wrong to assume it has no plan. Rather than
lecturing, Horace, one could say, airs his knowledge, all the while making his own
attitudes clear. A thread of irony runs through the epistle. The Pisos do get
an answer to their first question. If a poet knows the poetic forms, their
development and their ancient masters, if he is conversant with life's details and
patterns, if he can imitate the great and be original (though a poet can never be
mediocre - he must hit the heights), if he restrains and refines his work ten times
over to the test of the close-cut nail, and if he keeps his work back nine years
before daring to show it in public, then he is free to attempt anything he likes.
The loosely imitative poems and the imitation by Oldham captured Horace's serious and familiar style, but the mock-didactic versions exploited his humorous and satirical side, and provided an effective antidote to the pedant, thus justifying R.P. Bond's statement that "the most enduring accomplishment of burlesque poetry was a critical insight expressed through comic imitation." ¹

Horace, though he can be ironical, puts forward what is really his basic creed, and spends much time discussing the epic and drama, in which he reveals his Aristotelian affinities: he speaks on dramatic decorum for nearly eighty lines. The discussion ends with some words on the verse-forms used in poetry. After this long, intense, intellectual and tradition-conscious passage, Horace once again settles into the mood of the opening, which combines the familiarity of useful aphorism with the satiric sketch, held together by the easy motion of Horace's monologue. By line 309 he feels he has sufficiently expounded his views to generalize in a brief, definitive statement: "Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons." It is interesting to see how seventeenth and eighteenth century translators and imitators of Horace conceived of this 'Wisdom'. ²

Irony is tainted with bitterness when Horace attacks the acquisitive, mercenary society around him and its antipathy to "carmina... linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso" (1.332). This is the theme of Juvenal's seventh satire. Horace, however, does not linger on one theme, thus running the risk of becoming morbid, but breaks off, the tone sounding more cheerful as he sounds a well-known axiom:

(1) English Burlesque Poetry 1700-1750, p.213.
(2) See below, pp. 405 ff.
Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae
aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae,

(ll. 333-4),

and proceeds to theorize once again, to enjoy one of his favourite themes: the correction of faults and the quest for perfection.

Throughout the epistle, Horace is easy, never dogmatic, and this was what made him so popular in England after the Restoration. His only rule, if it could be called a rule, is the golden mean. The famous words "Ut pictura poesis" are followed by neatly balanced lines which, because they compare poems with paintings and also compare different kinds of painting, take us back to the opening lines, and suggest that now some order has been arrived at, an order based on the application of study, practice, compromise, and a taste founded on common sense. In England Horatian values could be adapted to all aspects of life, which is indeed indicated by the imitations we discuss below. The ideals of compromise and attention to the whole are reflected in writings on politics and philosophy as well as on literature, while the analogy between poetry and painting was of course an important one. Horace could act as a fulcrum of neo-classicism, and it is in this light that we must view the imitations, not as exercises or jeux d'esprit.

At line 391 the tone is more elevated, as Horace reminds us that poetry is the civilizer of men. The verse begins to sound heroic as he instructs us on the antiquity and dignity of the poetic art. Characteristically, he breaks off again and examines, lightly but not superficially, whether poetry is the result of nature or art, and though he emphasizes the importance of genius, he here stresses (taking an image from the race course) painful effort, that is, craftsmanship and skill. The last thirty lines return once more to the satirical bias of the opening, as he
shows us the poet (if he is rich in lands) a victim of flatterers and sycophants posing as critics. Against this satirical sketch is set a penultimate paragraph in which he praises the "vir bonus et prudens", the true friend (as Horace is), who is not afraid to criticize. The whole epistle ends with a coda, which contains a satirical, almost savage picture of the poet as madman, a very old theme which Horace revitalizes in a humorous way by taking it in its most literal sense; and the final image, comparing an insistent poet to a blood-sucking leech, is one of those many animal images in Horace of which Pope was also fond, suggesting those forces below the surface which are a threat to civilization and culture and to man's own humanity.

C.O. Brink outlined Horace's links with Hellenistic and neo-Aristotelian models, but the English were more aware of Horace as a man of the world, as a living presence whose sense of the social pattern could be applied to new social situations. When Horace repeats that Romans are practical, materialistic, and lack the finer qualities of the Greeks, he does not deny his Roman breeding, though he will not undervalue his Greek education. In the English context the refinement was French, but the patriotic dilemma was overcome by shaking off many of the French influences. Horace justifies the poetic activity in social terms, and he does not say that the poet is divinely inspired. The English, understanding Horace's undoctrinaire attitude, could test Horatianism in the English context without being strictly bound to previous European neo-classical culture, just as Horace himself was not merely an appendage of Greek culture.

Horace's mad poet is a social outcast who is also outside the norms of art. Poets have a function. They exist to teach, delight and charm through wisdom and genuineness of emotion, to civilize, ennoble and eternalize greatness, and to act as guides. The poet whom Plato banished from his Republic Horace restores to his own Roman Empire, but the irony is that this poet is a largely unattainable ideal. The conflict between pragmatism and idealism led one or two writers in the eighteenth century to burlesque Horace: not to burlesque the ideal, but to set it against a world in which ideals are ignored, forgotten, or rarely if ever attained. Another reason for imitating the Ars Poetica lay in the pleasure derived from making certain analogies between different social activities, combined with the reader's pleasure in observing the skill of the modern author's consistent allusion to Horace. Thus from poetry the Horatian didactic form was transferred to life in general, 'beauing', acting, politics, preaching, stock-jobbing, cookery and architecture. The analogies were part of seeing life in the round, but the subjects determined whether the intention was serious or not. The more straightforward imitators of the Ars Poetica were setting standards in the name of Horace, which meant bending the original to fit the modern situation, as well, of course, as putting in Horace's mouth the precepts of the moderns.

ii. Modern 'Arts of Poetry'.

The first vernacular translation of the Ars Poetica in England was that of Thomas Drant in 1567. In 1600 Queen Elizabeth herself made an incomplete, but tolerably lucid, literal translation, and Ben Jonson's translation, which was written as a guide to poets and dramatists, not as a model for translations (though it was in verse) did not appear until 1640. After the Restoration several
influential poems of the didactic type, whose lineage can be ultimately traced back to Horace, appeared. John Sheffield, the Duke of Buckingham's *An Essay upon Poetry* (1682) adapted much from Horace and Boileau, but was a more 'elevated' type, stressing as it did the necessity for genius and inspiration. As an 'Essay' too, it differed from an epistle much as Pope's 'Epistles' in his *Essay on Man* differed from his close Horatian epistles. Of Roscommon's *Essay on Translated Verse* (1684), however, Dryden wrote the following appreciation, which is similar to that made by Pope concerning Horace and quoted above:

Yet modestly he does his Work survey
And calls a finish'd Poem an Essay;
For all the needful Rules are scatter'd here;
Truth smoothly told, and pleasantly severe;
(So well is Art disguis'd, for Nature to appear.)

Roscommon's fine blank verse translation of the *Ars Poetica* had appeared in 1680. It was reprinted fairly frequently, and widely used: quotations from 'Horace' were often taken from Roscommon's translation, which was not as literal as that of Jonson. In his 'Preface' Roscommon explained his purpose in the undertaking:

I think it could never be more seasonable than now to lay down such Rules, as if they be observed, will make Men write more correctly, and judge more discreetly: But Horace must be read seriously or not at all, for else the Reader won't be the better for him, and I shall have lost my Labour.

There are occasional modernizations: Horace is made to censure English sports, and the bad taste seems to belong to London rather than to Rome. Some of the

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(1) *To the Earl of Roscommon, on his Excellent Essay on Translated Verse*, prefixed to Roscommon's poem.
critical terms, too, shade into meanings other than those precisely indicated by Horace himself. For example, "sapere" at line 309, which Horace connects with Socratic wisdom and a patriotic sense of duty, Roscommon translates as "sound judgment". The irony and satire are considerably softened, so that Horace's poem is less a diversion in itself than a guide for regulating the poetic art. Roscommon sometimes interpolates, presumably in the confident belief that this was what Horace would have said had he lived during the Restoration. Horace tells of constant flux and decay in spite of human achievement. He mentions three great achievements by the Caesars, one of which,

\[
\text{seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis doctus}
\]
\[
\text{iter melius (ll. 67-8),}
\]

Roscommon turns into a criticism of lack of restraint:

\[
\text{See how the Tyber, whose licentious Waves}
\]
\[
\text{So often overflow'd the neighb'ring Fields,}
\]
\[
\text{Now runs a smooth and inoffensive Course.}
\]

We have already noted in Chapter 2 how Horace was brought in to justify the aims of the modern translators.

Roscommon applauded a manly English independence from foreign rules, so that Horace became a kind of national hero. George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, also welcomed Horatian standards of correctness, restraint and moderation, and in his Essay concerning Unnatural Flights in Poetry (1701) he ventured to hope that one day imperial Britons would stand alone:

\[
\text{The Stagyrite and Horace, laid aside,}
\]
\[
\text{Inform'd by them, we need no Foreign Guide.}
\]

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(2) Poems upon Several Occasions (1712), p.177
Oldham's imitation, therefore, was part of a national spirit which attempted to convert the values of the Ancients into truly English terms. It first appeared in *Some New Pieces Never before Publish'd* (1681). In the 'Advertisement' Oldham said that the task of translating Horace had been imposed on Jonson and Roscommon and had not been voluntary.

Wherefore, being prevailed upon to make an Essay, I fell to thinking of some course, whereby I might serve my self of the Advantages, which those that went before me, have either not minded, or scrupulously abridged themselves of. This I soon imagined was to be effected by putting Horace into a more modern dress, than hitherto he has appeared in, that is by making him speak, as if he were living, and writing now. I therefore resolved to alter the Scene from Rome to London, and to make use of English names of Men, Places, and Customs, where the Parallel would decently permit, which I conceived would give a kind of new Air to the Poem, and render it more agreeable to the relish of the present Age.

He professes to have kept "religiously strict to the sense, and expressed it in as plain and intelligible a manner as the subject would bear", though he departs more from the original text than the 'Advertisement' would have us believe. His departures he justifies by appealing to Horace himself, and concludes by saying that he has tried to "hit the easy and familiar way of writing which was peculiar to Horace in his Epistles and was his proper talent above any of mankind." In this way he evades the condemnation of Dryden, who believed that translators should preserve the individuality of the original author as far as possible. Oldham still considers himself a translator of a kind, but he has in fact produced something that is really "the creation of another hand". The tone is altered considerably at times and also the sense itself. Both are the inevitable result of giving "a kind of new Air to the Poem".

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(1) *Some New Pieces Never before Publish'd* (1684), sigaV.
The substitutions themselves are often apt and ingenious. Quintilian becomes Ben Jonson, Plautus becomes Shakespeare, Virgil and Varius become Dryden and Lee, the Julian harbour becomes the Tangier Mole; Fescennine verses are paralleled by Merry Andrews and the shows at Bartholemew's Fair. Horace's passage on the Satyric drama (about which little is known), is deftly turned by Oldham into a comment on the modern burlesque way of writing, and he is perhaps one of the first to state a preference for mock-heroic over the style of the travesty-writers. What is interesting, of course, is that this judgment is given the weight of classical authority. The passage in Horace, beginning "conveniet Satyros..." (l. 226) becomes in Oldham:

But he, that would in this Mock-way excel,
And exercise the Art of Railing well,
Had need with diligence observe this Rule,
In turning serious things to ridicule:
If he an Hero, or a God bring in,
With Kingly Robes and Scepter lately seen,
Let them not speak, like Burlesque Characters,
The wit of Billingagate and Temple-stairs:
Nor, while they of those meanesses beware,
In tearing lines of Bajazet appear,
Majestick Tragedy as much disdains
To condescend to low, and trivial strains:
As a Court-Lady thinks her self disgrac'd:
To Dance with Dowdies at a May-pole-Feast.

The passage in which Horace praises the achievements of the Caesars, but insists that "debemur morti nos nostraque", becomes in Oldham a rather typical panegyric on progress. Similarly, the long passage dealing with the history of the drama becomes in Oldham a steady rise from the "rudeness" of early Tudor drama, through the

Elizabethans, to the more regular, civilized and correct dramatic forms of Beaumont and Fletcher and the Heroic Drama of the Restoration.

The doctrines of decorum and the golden mean are all exemplified by references to English literature. Oldham no doubt thought that he was performing a valuable service in making Horace modern, and though there is at times unintentional diminution and distortion, Oldham's intention is serious. The imitation lacks Horace's case, however, and assumes a sort of breathless, teeming quality, so that Horace's subtle transitions disappear and the breaks are run over. Oldham does not address young noblemen, but begins the imitation with 'Sir'. The general feeling is not that of a gentle, at times severe, teacher addressing novices, but of a 'wit' talking to his fellows with a desire to impress, be comprehensive and demonstrate his own social and historical awareness. There are some facile insertions such as the Echo of Aristotle:

Verse, which disdains the laws of history,
  Speaks things not as they are, but ought to be. ¹

Oldham's talent lies in social comment and satire, and he only partially understands Horace's critical spirit and outlook. Horace's brilliant concentration and sparkle are often replaced by cliché and platitude.

¹) Ibid., p.15.
One significant aspect of Oldham's imitation and its importance for other students of the period is his use of the word 'wit'. He gives it at least eight different meanings. At line 293 "carmen", 'a poem', is translated "a piece of Wit". At line 290 "lingua", 'letters', is also translated simply as "Wit". 'Wit' can also mean 'elegant speech', "lepidô... dicto" (1.273), 'poet', "poetas" (1.296) and 'imagination', "ingenium" (1.323). The passage in which Horace deprecates sharply the sole reliance on native talent -

Ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte credit et excludit sanos Helicone poetas
(11. 295-6)

-is paraphrased,

Because some wild Enthusiast there be
Who bar the Rules of Art in Poetry,
Would have it rapture all, and scarce admit
A man of sober sense to be a Wit.

where "ingenium" is translated as "rapture", in contrast with "sober sense", although the same Latin word could also mean something akin to 'native wit'.

Horace asks his readers to distinguish between coarseness and fun, while Oldham makes the distinction "Betwixt a Quibble, and true sterling Wit" in other words, between what Addison later called 'false wit' and 'true wit'. Quite often the word has no equivalent in the original text. For example,

(1) Ibid., p.25.
(2) The definition of wit as common sense or natural reason is given by David Abercornby, who wrote: "For what the Latines call, Ingenium the French, L'esprit, the English Wit, is a thing so generally known, that there are few but pretend not to be acquainted with it, and not want it, or not to have received as great a measure of it, as the very Wittiest sort can pretend to". A Discourse of Wit (1686), p.3.
interdum speciosa locis morataque recte
fabula mullius veneris, sine pondere et arte
(11. 319-20)

is translated

Sometimes in Plays, though else but badly writ
Will nought of Force, or Grace, of Art, or Wit...¹

where "pondere" is "Force", "veneris" "Grace", and "arte" "Art", but "Wit" is
tacked onto the end of the line. The use of this one word partly indicates how
modern terms and concepts are woven into the ancient pattern, and how Horace has
been metamorphosed.

Queen Anne's reign is the age of Addison and Steele, of serious, polite and
entertaining pieces of instruction in the social arts. Poetry too had come to
be regarded as an art with a human and social function: though it could raise
the passions, transport and soul, sublimate and idealise man and nature, it
nevertheless was seen as a socially binding force, though the 'society' it bound
together formed only a small minority of the actual population. The history of
taste is quite revealingly illustrated in the didactic poems concerned with poetry
and criticism, such as Granville's Essay upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry (1701),
Samuel Wesley's Epistle to a Friend concerning Poetry (1700), William Coward's
verse essay called Licentia Poetica Discuss'd (1709) and Pope's Essay on Criticism
(1711). Pope is witty and shows certain attitudes that were to be more fully
expressed later in the Dunciad. Irony, sarcasm, satire and the mock-didactic

(1) Ibid., p.27.
seem to predominate in the second quarter of the century with James Miller's Harlequin-Horace (1731), Aaron Hill's Advice to Poets (1731), an anonymous Art of Poetry (1741), William Whitehead's The Danger of Writing Verse (1748), and Nathaniel Weekes's On the Abuse of Poetry. A Satire (1752). Miller's poem is a mock-imitation of Horace, while the anonymous Art of Poetry gives deliberately un-Horatian advice by advocating the writing of birthday odes, and when the question, "Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte" arises, the author replies, "neither", but that what above all is required is zeal, enthusiasm, spontaneity, and consequently lack of skill. It may be that strict imitation of the Ars Poetica naturally led to satire on bad poets of the modern age, for Henry Ames, though he praised Roscommon's version, had said of Oldham's imitation:

He so mod'd, reduc'd it to the characters, and the standard of his own Time, that a Peevish reader mayn't only be disgusted at the Want of the Poetical History.

William Popple, however, neither burlesqued nor "mod'd" and "reduc'd" his original in his naturalized version of Horace's Art of Poetry (1754), addressed to the Earl of Halifax. John Byrom's An Epistle to a Friend, On the Art of English Poetry (1773) is pseudo-Horatian in that it makes the art appear too easy (as easy, in fact, as learning to swim). John Stedman's 'translation', The Art of Poetry (1798) is, like Popple's, a naturalized version, with a glimmer of satire. Joseph Fawcett's The Art of Poetry (1798) is interesting because it is a most effective attack, one might say demolition, of the neo-classical school and the neo-Horatian approach to poetry, thus belying what its title suggests. The classical treatises

were not by no means dead, however, for John Penn wrote a dull but thorough-going imitation of the *Ars Poetica* with his *Art of English Poetry* (1801), which discovered modern parallels with an unexciting sense of propriety, while Lord Byron's *Hints from Horace* (1813) was a late burst of Augustan satire, being a comic imitation of the *Ars Poetica*.

Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, though not an imitation, belongs to the familiar didactic type, for which the *Ars Poetica* provided the ultimate classical model. Horace did not like to develop a logical argument, but rather persuaded through choice phrase, example and *sententia*, with a subtle technique of suggestion and a kind of gently discursive reasonableness tinged with humour and irony, which also provided light relief from the more serious and elevated passages. It is the choice phrases and the *sententia* that Pope exploits. The humorous touches in Pope's *Essay* are sometimes provided by the imagery. Horace compared the creative process with the exertions of the charioteer in the arena. Ostensibly, such images drawn from common life are to help the reader to understand, but in fact they only serve to show how very much removed the true poet is from the life of ordinary mortals. We said above that the Augustans made a distinction between art, and learning mechanical rules. When Pope says,

'Tis with our judgments as our watches, none
go just alike, yet each believes his own, (11. 9-10)

the mechanical image serves to illuminate on a superficial level but in fact only brings into a sharper contrast the real nature of the critical process. Our judgments are no more like watches than our poetical exertions are like those of the charioteer. Yet Pope lived in a society which had rejected superstition,
high-flying and enthusiasm, so that on a third level he went a large part of the way with its assumptions and thinking habits. When in the later eighteenth century the attack was launched against mechanical artefact, we must remember that there were very sound reasons for this. Pope was able to "snatch a grace beyond the reach of art" only because he accepted, like Horace, the need for a conscious effort to fashion his artefact. The danger inherent in rejecting the mechanical application of rules was that one also became blind to the value of conscious artistry, the poetic geniuses of "men living in the last age of the Renaissance, who had still a framework of critical theory to afford... guidance... on the poet's choice of metre, diction and imagery."¹ Yet because it was not simply one aspect, say Horatianism, that was being rejected, but the many interrelated parts of a whole social culture, (which had tended in any case to "survey the whole" and not the part), it was inevitable that the baby should be thrown out with the bath-water.

There are numerous connecting links between Pope's Essay and the Ars Poetica. Critics who have "the seeds of judgment in their mind" are analogous to the poet in Horace who begins with grand promises and whose poems have a few purple patches. Those who pass for wits but "prove plain fools at last" remind us of the wine-jar in Horace that turns into a pitcher. Horace's advice,

Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, saquam
viribus et versate diu, quid ferre recusent, quid
valeant umeri (11. 38-40)

becomes the cliche,

Be sure your self and your own Reach to know,
How far your Genius, Taste, and Learning go. (11.48-9).

Horace's 'ordo' becomes Pope's 'Nature', and just as Horace reflects on death - "debemur morti nos nostraque" - in the middle of a passage dealing with the use of words, so Pope follows the requirements of the didactic genre by making similar wide reflections:

One Science only will one Genius fit;
So vast is Art, so narrow Human Wit. (11. 60-1).

Horace provides Pope with the classical authority for imitation itself and for 'correctness'. But Pope too follows Horace's satirical mode by showing the ludicrous results of failure to adapt to the rules of art.

Just as other imitators of Horace applied his rules and precepts on poetry to other spheres such as preaching and acting, so Pope applies them to criticism, though he also deals at length with the art of poetry itself. New meanings are present if we simply compare Pope with Horace: Horace contains less of the dogmatic assertiveness we find in Pope, who continually brings us back, in an almost cyclical manner, to the norms of Nature and Reason. Horace is writing a letter, and he progresses towards something as ideas and precepts come flooding into his mind. Pope, however, is writing an 'Essay', which is more argumentative, and he appears to be clarifying a theme and a set of attitudes around a fixed hypothesis. Consequently, Pope, drawing as he does on several sources, such as Longinus and Boileau, crams far too much in, and lacks Horace's detached irony, though his brevitas, his sharp jabs and his occasional character sketches, as Benjamin Boyce has noted, are Horatian:
Pope's line, "The clearest Head, and the sincerest Heart", is a modernization of Horace's "vir bonus et prudens", a phrase used to name the type of which Varus was a much-cherished particular example.

Varus is the type for Walsh, the good critic of the modern age, so that in a sense the same tendency towards analogy and naturalization common to imitations operates in Pope's poem.

Samuel Wesley's Epistle to a Friend concerning Poetry (1700) is a more superficial treatment of the subject, but, like Pope, Wesley, as he tells us in a preface, did not intend to say anything original. This in itself is not important, however. One has to understand the nature of this particular didactic genre.

Aristotle, in his Art of Rhetoric, had said that rhetoric was not so much concerned with teaching, as with persuading on the basis of knowledge that is open to all. Pope's famous dictum in his Essay on Criticism,

True Wit is Nature to Advantage drest,
What oft was Thought, but ne'er so well Exprest.  
Something, whose Truth convi'c'd at Sight we find.  
That gives us back the Image of our Mind  
(11. 297-300)

is a definition of 'Wit', but it also conforms in a sense to the aims of Aristotelian rhetoric, and thus characterises that merging of Aristotelian and Horatian doctrines which occurred after the Renaissance. We know also that here lay one argument in favour of classical imitation, for Horace had advised his readers to follow Greek

(2) See Chapter 1, pp.15ff.
models and take well-known themes and subjects before attempting anything new.

For the neo-classicist, the Ancients had portrayed Nature, and it was, according to one theory, impossible to become independent of them because it was impossible to invent something completely new, that is, something outside 'Nature'. The difference between the modern Georgic type and the modern Horatian type of didacticism centres largely on this point. The rhetorical function is more important in the latter, and in the moral and philosophical didactic poems, whereas the problem in the Georgic type is one of enlivening and ennobling technical and occupational human functions in order to raise their status, to make them interesting, to educate those ignorant of them, and to praise man's true inventiveness, from which springs his conquest of Nature, where Nature means the natural world.

William Coward's *Licentia Poetica Discuss'd* (1709) is a most readable familiar didactic: like Horace, even when dealing with the more technical matters of versification, rhyme and figures of speech, he makes our learning easy and pleasurable. Whereas Wesley stressed practice, however, Coward emphasizes careful thought and consideration and gives the usual maxims on steering in the 'middle way'.

James Miller's *Harlequin - Horace, or the Art of Modern Poetry* (1731) is a consistent mock-didactic in imitation of the *Ars Poetica*. The mock-didactic gives out precepts and examples opposite to those the author intends us to follow, and here the norm, instead of being Nature or 'ordo', becomes graceless and unnatural disorder. Miller naturalizes his original but he also perverts the sense at every opportunity. At times the result is amusing and the satire succeeds, but when it fails the tone becomes sarcastic. Instead of addressing a fellow wit or young tyro, Miller addresses the crowd and the literary hack.
Horace instructs the would-be dramatist on the representation of the four ages of man. In Miller, "Old Age should ravish Drury Virgins by the score". It is also permissible to have God on the stage, for stages must always be well filled!. Learn to write well, says Horace. Miller, however, says that

A thorough Knowledge of the Court, and Town,
Is the grand Nostrum to acquire Renown.

The modern Quintilian is not Jonson or Dryden, but John Dennis. A similar reply to the question "Natura... an arte" to that given in the anonymous Art of Poetry (1741) is provided by Miller:

In my Opinion, neither is requir'd,
Nor taught by Study, nor by Genius, fir'd,
By Whim alone, or Penury inspir'd,

but such passages as this lack both the incisiveness and detachment of good satire. Rather than waiting for a subject to which he is suited, Miller's 'ideal' poet takes the first one he meets, prompted as he is by hunger. The sarcastic tone is even more obvious when he adapts the passage in Horace beginning at line 202, in which the Roman poet disapproves of the new Chorus with its affectations, and states his preference for the simple old style. The reason for the decline in taste is the advent of a new unlettered throng just freed from toil, so that audiences and participants reflect the new social conditions in which rustic and urban folk,

(2) Ibid., p.16.
vulgar and nobly-born, are mixed up together. The modern social parallels are easily found by Miller, but his tone is sneering and hardly draws our sympathy. Britons have become polite, he says, taking the opposite position to that of Horace; some can now read and write, beaux travel to improve themselves, foreign manners flood in, there are South Sea schemes, footmen stand for boroughs against lords, masquerades and operas abound and "country louts" come up to town. This fails to hit it off because Miller does not assume a mask or a persona when he alters Horace's sentiment. If we compare Harlequin-Horace with Pope's imitation of the Epistle to Augustus, in which sincere praise becomes lèse-majeste and irony, the difference is obvious. Pope, like Miller, pretends to accept things as they are, so that he acts as if he were blind to vice, lack of taste, vulgarity and philistinism. His pretended blindness, which mirrors that real blindness of the majority, is what adds relish to his imitation. Miller is palpably not blind, and once he has praised "laborious Duck", the vagaries of fashion and false taste, his lack of dissimulation cries out for the subtle irony of a Pope.

William Popple's Horace's Art of Poetry (1754) succeeds in creating a lapel-grabbing style, without debasing Horace as Oldham did, though he has no new ways of expressing poetic theory and thus lacks the vitality of Roscommon, Granville and Pope. Modern substitutions are made: Plautus becomes Shakespeare in one place and Dryden in another, while the judicious Maecius becomes Addison and Steele. When Horace tells "the sons of Pompilius" to condemn poems that will not stand up to close examination (and we can see here the kind of effort Horace put into every one of his odes), Popple addresses his patron thus:
You then, my Lord, who, with impartial Eyes,
Can see where ev'ry Fault, or Beauty, lies;
Who, not misled by rough, or well-turn'd Lines,
Can tell when Pope is flat, or Shakespeare shines;
Wait till the Work, corrected often, shows
It merits all the Praise the Judge bestows.

This is what R.A. Brower calls "the active presence of Horace", in the truest sense, in the literature of the eighteenth century.

John Byron's Epistle to a Friend, On the Art of English Poetry (1773) is interesting because it would appear on the surface to be quite 'Horatian', whereas in fact it represents that mechanical approach we have mentioned above and for which men like Charles Gildon and Edward Bysshe were in large part responsible. Poetry for Byrom does not involve painstaking, inspired and conscious artistry. It is simply a polite, leisurely activity. When Horace tells the Pisos to consider carefully their strength for different poetic tasks, the advice is sound and does not devalue the poetic activity. Byrom, however, tells his reader, 'Jenkins', to choose his subject as if he were advising on which colours to use for some decoration project or which hills to attempt should he fancy an afternoon stroll. Here the epistolary style gives a false sense of ease: writing poetry, like swimming, involves gentle but economical strokes and moving in the direction of the current. When Horace dissuades from over-ambitious attempts he is open to the attack that he is the advocate of dull mediocrity, but one could defend him by pointing out other statements made by him. Byrom applauds mediocrity and the mechanical application of

(3) In Miscellaneous Poems, i, pp. 179-193.
(4) e.g. Ars Poetica, ll. 372-3: "Mediocribus esse poetis / Non homines, non di, non concedisse columnae", or Ep.I, xix, 1.19: "0 imitatores, servum pecus...."
rules, thus helping to bring the neo-classical and Horatian systems into disrepute.

John Stedman's modernized translation of the Ars Poetica (1784), written in lively octosyllabics and accompanied by notes, was possibly intended as a spur to new thinking about poetry. On the question of the growth and decline of words, he says in a note: "It becomes an important matter to learn critically the causes of the degeneracy of language". Stedman, like Popple, places Horace in the position of a supreme judge over eighteenth century poetry, but the great era of neo-classicism is now over. Stedman can at times successfully translate Horace into a modern idiom, and both in language and style he comes closest to Byron's imitation. Joseph Fawcett's The Art of Poetry (1798) could be contrasted with Miller's Harlequin-Horace, for he turns the Horatian precepts themselves into 'anti-precepts'. The 'Horatian' advice is made to condemn imaginative flights, true feeling, a desire for grand and powerful effects, and the exploration of real nature, which is not Pope's 'Nature'. Such statements as the following are clearly intended as a rebuttal to unthinking followers of Boileau and Horace:

Careless of raptures then, correctly write;  
The dullest work, if well revis'd, is wit.

With an old and well-worn silent image, "Classic Labour" is compared to that of "mother-brutes" who spend their time licking their cubs over and over again, until all lie "roundly smooth". Fancy must be curbed:

The courtly reader's finely structur'd eye
Sees only coarseness in sublimity:
And, all too weak e'en Beauty's form to gaze,
Lets fairy Prettiness usurp her praise.  (1)

The poems Horace considered worthy to be smeared with cedar-oil, Fawcett now
scorns through a meaner image: he compares them to trim, neat little gardens.

Though called The Art of Poetry, Fawcett's poem is not an epistolary
didactic-piece, but a remarkably well sustained and image-laden polemic against
neo-classicism. Neo-classicism had the support of the more typical modern
'Art of Poetry'. Political and social conflict underlay the change in
attitude. (Fawcett sympathised with the French Revolution.) If we conceive
Horace's Odes as being fairly near Horace's own ideal of perfection, then
we need only read the remarks of John Penn on one of his own 'Latin odes' to
understand Fawcett's angry literary radicalism:

John Penn's own Art of English Poetry: Being an Imitation, with Notes, of
Horace's Epistle to the Pisces, (3) is stiffly correct, serious and dull. In
tidy octosyllabics,

(1) Ibid., p. 262.
(2) Preface to Poems (1801). Cf. Horace's own statements on the attainment
to "what is old", Epistle II, i, 11. 28 ff.
(3) Poems (1801), ii, pp. 51-116.
it seems to be afraid of exploiting the metre's humourous and satirical possibilities, and we find the usual most likely parallels - Thyestes becomes Macbeth, for example. Imitation in this case is stifling creativity and originality, putting a brake on literary change. All the more remarkable, therefore, was Byron's Hints from Horace, another close imitation which appeared twelve years later in 1813.

We stated at the beginning that the Ars Poetica had served as a source of rules for poetry before it had come to be regarded as a familiar didactic epistle. The modern imitations and essays on poetry had extended this narrow concept so that poetry and poets were seen in a wider philosophical, moral, aesthetic, social, political - even economic - context. Furthermore, the polite verse essays of Roscommon, Sheffield, Granville and others allowed the modern reader to see more clearly that the rhetorical framework of the Ars Poetica represented a kind of order within disorder. Horace is comprehensive, but we do not feel, as we do with Pope's Essay, that he is cramming everything in, or that he had tied himself to a rigid schema. The rhetorical scheme of Neoptolemus was triadic, that is, it considered separately poema, the technique of writing verse, poesia, the subject-matter as organized in longer poems, and poeta, the poet's talent, training, and aspirations. We can see from Coward's verse essay on poetry and poetic licence and from Pope's Essay on Criticism that the subject-matter still required some kind of planned division. Horace is by no means chaste in his sequence. Neither does he lay down abstract rules, but is continually aware of current phenomena: the decline of taste in theatrical productions, the flatterers and the sincere critics, the lure of money, the hack-writers, the theatre audiences and the modern reading public.
Oldham exploited the social and historical, Miller the satirical and ironical possibilities of imitation. Both Stedman and Penn were more orthodox and less adventurous in their treatment of the poem, while Byrom's *Epistle to a Friend*, because it was loosely Horatian and failed to set high ideals and firm standards, was a degenerate form of the poetic philosophy that had been preached by Roscommon, Granville and Pope. The satirical undertones and the continual references to the modern scene present in the *Ars Poetica* were also imitated by English poets, so that, even though the sense of the original was not strictly adhered to, imitation, whether partial or consistent, of Horace could help to set standards, create the feeling that an active critical presence was at work, and preserve some of the best aspects of the classical creed.

Byron's imitation of the *Ars Poetica* is the most important with which we have to deal. Like all proper imitations, it follows Horace from first to last as regards the general train of thought and the structural pattern, but continually improvises, adding new images and thoughts, and, of course, makes Horace completely English and modern. Byron is far more inventive, witty and incisive than Oldham, Miller, Stedman or Penn, but *Hints from Horace* (1813) resembles Stedman in its racy, galloping style and its peculiar idiom, which is one of constant surprise and verbal dexterity. In the Pope tradition, Byron uses Horace's poem to satirize his contemporaries, so that Horace himself is made to blast Southey, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Bowles and the rest. However, Horace's tone and style are not imitated: *Hints from Horace*, witty as it is, contains notes of bitterness, almost hysteria. The satirical emphasis derives from Butler and Pope, and Horace's genial epistle becomes a polemic against the ephemeral moderns. At times Byron seems to be writing a burlesque, but it is more than that. The eighteenth century burlesque reinforced
the conception of the classical ideal by showing us its caricature. Byron's
garrulity, his throw-away, open-ended style, reflect a real crisis of
consciousness.

Into Horace's disdain for the "profanum volgus" is injected a reaction
against some of the consequences of the industrial revolution, and Horace's
strictures on modern tastelessness are considerably expanded by Byron into a
rejection of all that is flimsy, insubstantial and false, while the desire for
a return to simplicity becomes a call for the restoration of Hellenism itself,
rather than one aspect of it. The 'hints' which Byron takes from Horace
amount to this type of expansion, where the attitudes lightly, though clearly,
delineated in the *Ars Poetica* are developed into a defence of the Ideal-
largely Greek - which is the ultimate reality, against modernisation, which
is by turns insincere, utilitarian, simpering, sentimental and ostentatious,
and ultimately unreal because transitory. (1) Whereas Horace was defending
standards, Byron 'is defending a whole culture, and one that is individual
and relatively alien in his own time'.

Byron's comic sense, though it went far beyond that of Horace, was
attuned to the Roman poet's comic satire. The imitation, for example, begins:

> Who would not laugh, if Lawrence, told to grace
> His costly canvas with each flatter'd face,
> Abused his art, till Nature, with a blush,
> Saw cits grow contours underneath his brush?
> Or, should some limner join, for show or sale,
> A maid of honour to a mermaid's tail?  

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(1) This attack on modernism is incidentally very similar in content to
that expressed in Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, especially the implied
argument that the more up-to-the-minute a thing is, the more particular,
the more local, the further it is from Reality, Truth and Nature.

Here the innate sense of comedy is revitalised by a shift in the satirical emphasis. We noted above that Horace's criticism was turned on the incompetent painted, the over-zealous tyro. Byron, those for whom art is a commodity, a means to an end (reputation) and not an end in itself, have tried to unite the human and divine. Thus "cits grow Centaurs".

One of the more digressive 'hints' taken from Horace is the picture of the student - Horace's "imberbis iuvenid" - who is

Unread (unless, since books beguile disease,
The p - x becomes his passage to degrees), (1)

- obtains his M.A., marries for money, buys land, sends his son to Harrow, ("for himself was there"), squanders his ageing father's hoards with his debts, and eventually "expires unwept". "Let him rot!" says Byron, hardly with Horatian equanimity.

Comedy and the dismissive, contemptuous, irritable voice of Byron intrudes at every point. The comedy perhaps prevents us from becoming unsympathetic to Byron's viewpoint. It is after all an individual performance far removed from the eighteenth century imitation. Sometimes the contrast with Horace himself is comic. For example, one of the more difficult passages for imitation is enlivened by colloquialism, and a shrugging of the shoulders:

In sooth I do not know, or greatly care,
To learn, who our first English strollers were;
Or if, till roofs received the vagrant art,
Our Muse, like that of Thespis, kept a cart;
But this is certain, since in Shakespeare's days,
There's roomp enough, if little else, in plays;
Nor will Melpomene ascend her throne
Without high heels, white plume, and Bristol stone. (2)

(1) Ibid., p. 131.
(2) Ibid., p. 132-3.
Similarly where Horace declares that he is no writer, only a whetstone for others, Byron says he will "labour gratis at the grinder's wheel". Imitation involves to some extent twisting the words of the original to suit one's purpose, but Byron does it with great gusto and comic effect.

As the imitation progresses, Byron works freer of the time to which his text binds him, and the scattering effect of his satire which, like shrapnel, hits out at several targets at once, increases. The elevated passage in Horace on the civilising nature of poetry contains, in Byron's version, a side-swear at Keats when Orpheus, as "we learn from Ovid and Lempiere" leads all wild beasts but women by the ear. Byron wheedles out of Horace's lines a great deal of pure fun and sheer intellectual devilry, which makes the imitation, especially when we compare it with the original, most enjoyable. The didacticism is pervaded by the satiric and the comic, and becomes mock-didactic, though some of the aphorisms are translated literally and left intact.

This survey of didactic poems on the art of poetry should have revealed several main points. First, the figure of Horace came to assume a central importance for the anchorage of modern poetic ideals in antiquity. Secondly, neo-classical writers sought to re-create a new and living antiquity - its enormous moral, social and aesthetic pressures being brought to bear on the present - through constant practical re-interpretation, through the imitation, and thus through the use of Horace's own rhetorical framework. Re-interpretation inevitably meant expansion and addition in the light of modern conditions. Certain concepts were emphasized which had little basis in Horace himself. Modern cultural analogies were sought,
and the crisis of imitation became acute when the analogy was no longer felt. The decay of enlightened patronage and the growth of a 'bourgeoisified' aristocracy militated against the survival of a new Augustan age, complete with its Virgils and Maecenases. However, neo-Horatianism in criticism could be a defensive or rear-guard action against false interpretation of the neo-classical creed, and the familiar epistolary style, part of an aristocratic rhetoric, was cultivated to warn off enthusiasts, bungling amateurs and men with 'slavish' and 'mechanical' temperaments. To some extent the true modern Horatian would anticipate later charges made by the romantics that poetry had become a set of mechanical rules and that the making of the artifact had been thought to be possible under conditions of emotional apathy. One important difference between the classical and neo-classical poetic has not been greatly stressed here. That is the role of imitation and mystery, the ultimately hidden nature of poetic inspiration. Horace speaks as one of the few - in his odes he is always hinting at his special vocation. His monument will be the Muse, he will reach the very stars, he will change into a swan. It is typical that an eighteenth century poet should have understood Horace's metamorphosis into a swan as the socially governed change brought about after his introduction to Maecenas. It is also typical of the eighteenth century that Horace's self-distancing from the secular crowd should assume, except in the case of Pope, a more shallow aspect which at its worst became simply snobbery. Poetry for Horace still had its priestly function. The *Ars Poetica* is a kind of private introduction to the world of the elect, and the whole epistle formulates an ideal which is well nigh impossible to find anywhere. When Horace says that great poetry is like fire, that comes after smoke he may also be justifying 'difficult' thoughts and hidden meanings, the disguises required for complex poetic expression, or the recoil, the rest, before
the leap into meaning, sublimity and greatness. Behind the epistle there lies a recognition of the power of genius which few imitators and neo-Horatians in the eighteenth century appear to have grasped. It was inevitable that Horace should be made more amenable and acceptable to the 'profanum volgus' of the eighteenth century, when everything was being subjected to the new empirical mode of thought. Imitations and near-imitations of the *Ars Poetica* made for more clarity, simplicity and generality, more cleverness and wit, and a greater sense of the need to preserve taste in social terms. If Horace is closer to the world of the priest, his imitators are closer to the world of the gentleman.

### iii Transferred imitations of the *Ars Poetica*

At least nine imitations of the *Ars Poetica*, in which Horace's topic was replaced by others analogous to it, were written in the eighteenth century. They are another kind of indication that Horace was, as Caroline Goad has pointed out, an arbiter of taste in England at this time, but they also show how English Augustans were able to see culture in a total way and how they actually tended to think in associations and analogies.

The first transferred imitation, *The Art of Cookery* (1709), by William King, is a detailed and more or less seriously intentioned piece of advice on various dishes and the methods of their preparation, while it follows quite closely the sequence and form of Horace's poem. Augustan culture, in both Rome and England, was concerned with taste in its gastronomic as well as aesthetic sense, (see for example Horace, Sat. II, viii). King raises sensual pleasure to an aesthetic level, and
poses as the Horatian gastronomist of the modern age.

The Art of Politicks (1729) by James Bramston, author of the ironical essay The Man of Taste, appears to have been fairly popular in its time, and both poems were published in a single didactic anthology late in the century. Bramston's intention is substituting politics for poetry is clearly ironic. He pretends to accept the art of buying votes, of persuading through specious argument and patriotic banter, of writing distorting pamphlets, as quite legitimate and admirable. The contrast between Horace's ideal of the poet and the real politician of the eighteenth century is the starting point of this particular mock-didactic piece. It also, however, (according to the rules of the imitation), follows Horace step by step and adapts him to the new content. When Horace tells the Pisos to choose their subject carefully, Bramston advises the "weekly writer" to wrap up "his poison" well.

Words, says Horace, are mutable things. Bramston 'imitates' this with the line "Like south-sea stock, expressions rise and fall". Some of the changes made have only a tenous connection with the text, but this was apparently necessary in order to maintain some ordered sequence and intelligibility. When Horace, for example, tells us that Thespis discovered the Tragic Muse, and carried his pieces in wagons to be sung and acted by players with faces smeared with wine-lees, Bramston is

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(2) A Collection of Scarce, Curious and Valuable Pieces... (Edinburgh, 1773), p.93.
reminded of the pilloried Defoe:

When pert Defoe his saucy papers writ, 1
He from a cart was pillor'd for his wit.

The next mock-didactic imitation of Horace to appear was The Art of Beauing (1730). Written in a lively, typically facetious eighteenth century style, it is a mildly effective satire on the superficiality of the beau monde. Again, it broadens Horatianism into a social code through negative examples. Horace, at line 14 ("Inceptis gravibus...") deplores inconsistency and 'purple patches' without a total scheme. The modern version runs:

A Distant Beau will promise mighty Things,
Behold, approach'd his Laces turn to Strings,
And what we judg'd a Col'nel at first Sight
Is metamorphos'd to a Rainbow Knight.

Oaths must be chosen at the right moment, and the usual gallantries must be offered to ladies if one is to obtain a pretty wife. Nevertheless, the author does not beau himself, though he teaches how to beau (a comic adaptation of Horace's original confession).

James Miller, author of Harlequin-Horace (see above), produced another imitation of Horace eight years later, called The Art of Life (1739). The theme is 'bene vivere', and Horatian precepts are applied to all aspects of man's social life. A life thus becomes analogous to a work of art or a great poem, with a unified structure, an overall purpose and simplicity as well as decorum. There is something unhealthy

(1) Ibid., p.99.
(2) The Art of Beauing (Dublin, 1730), p.2.
(3) Cowley, in 'Upon Liberty', compared his own life to a Pindaric ode: "In the same Tune it shall not always Chime, /Nor shall each day just to his Neighbour Rhime;/A thousand Liberties it shall dispense ... "
in the idea that a man's life should have the order and consistency of a work of art: it is, one could say, the ultimate classical position; ethos overrides pathos. Life is the pursuit of "Truth's high Road", and if Horace's potter begins with a winejar in his mind and ends with a pitcher, one must not first blaze in a coach and six and "truckle to a One-Horse Chaise". It would be difficult for a sincere or emotionally expressive person to love in the way Miller advocates through the words of Horace:

>'Tis not enough your Life should barely prove
Decent and just, adorn it too with Love. (1)

Some of the adaptations show how Augustan culture and the Augustan ethos involved a linking up of concepts from disparate sources in order to create a sense of cultural unity. When Horace says "neo verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus / interpres".... (11. 133-4), Miller tells his readers not to get engaged in party squabbles. The connection may seem faint, but the message is: accepting one side in factional disputes means swallowing a political line whole, which is the same as being a servile imitator. Commitment in politics is thus connected with a lack of independence, and the paid hack is naturally the man who has no original ideas, and no financial or literary freedom.

The great poet, says Horace, does not begin with flames and follow with smoke, but vice versa. Miller applies this poetical precept to conversation, and we thus see again the close association in the Augustan mind between poetry and polite conversation, an association particularly relevant in the case of an epistle, such as the Ars Poetica. Miller's imitation applies the Horatian mixture of playfulness and seriousness to life itself, but the kind of life which emerges is that of the

gentleman of property who represents the urbane Augustan ideal, an ideal which
is generalized by the associative method.

The Art of Architecture (1742) is a dull didactic piece, in which Horace's
precepts on poetry are closely related and adapted to architecture. A detailed
exposition of the art of symmetry and balance, its ideal is, predictably, Palladian.
Architecture here means not only the houses themselves, but temples, groves,
grottoes, woods, walks, gardens, and so forth. Horace would have probably
approved of the kind of architectural ideal put forward, but the imitation itself is
tediously conformist.

A part-imitation of Horace appeared in The Harleian Miscellany, Vol. 5 (1745),
called An Essay on the Theatres: Or, the Art of Acting, (p. 543). The anonymous
author tells us he has made a paraphrase on Horace's rules and thoughts rather than
kept to "a strict liberal Imitation of them". Our definition of the imitation
presupposes liberal renderings and mock-adaptations, so that 'strictness' is not
really necessary. The analogy between poetry and acting is not too remote, and
some Horatian precepts are made applicable, though for some reason the author keeps
deviating into the other analogy between poetry and painting.

The Art of Stock-jobbing: A Poem, In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry,
'By a Gideonite' (1746), begins:

If Hogarth a Change Stock-jobber shou'd draw,
With a Bear's Head, Bull's Neck, and Lion's Paw;
The Philosophic Cap, you'd soon resign,
And raise a chuckling Laugh at the Design.
- But hold - 'tis a just Character in full,
For every Day produces Bear and Bull. (p. 13).
Though the sequence of the original is not closely followed, there are ingenious adaptations and twistings of the original sense. The poem becomes the stock-jobber's scheme, the poet the stock-jobber, and enjoyment the money, while certain rules are applicable to both pursuits. An example of the author's method can be taken from Horace's comparison "Ut pictura poesis.." (line 361), which is rendered:

Stocks are like Prospects, different to the Eye,
That seems the Best, that cheapest you can buy.
Some show us flow'ry Meads and honey Mountains,
Caverns, and Grotts, and Transparent Fountains;
Which as we nigh approach, they fade away,
And leave us Filth and Dirt, and airy Clay (p. 43).

Robert Dodsley's The Art of Preaching. (1746) is slightly more worthy of consideration, because it does reflect the eighteenth century attitude to preaching, where the Horatian standards of moderation, order and simplicity are certainly relevant, more so than in the cases of acting or stock-jobbing. Dodsley, like Horace, appeals to common sense. The preacher must be neither too zealous in his faith nor too learned:

... too much Faith, or too presuming Wit,
Are Rocks where Bigots, or Free-thinkers split. (p. 4.)

If the poet is to be careful of modernity, then the preacher must not be too original either. The poet must be aware of his audience, the preacher of his congregation. Horace's potted history of the drama is neatly paralleled, and the change from simplicity to ostentation is adapted to the situation in the early Christian church. The best preachers, most worthy of imitation, are compared to Homer:
In jingling Bev'ridge if I chance to see
One word of Sense, I prize the Rarity:
But if in Hooker, Sprat, or Tillotson,
A Thought unworthy of themselves is shown,
I grieve to see it, but 'tis no Surprise,
The greatest Men are not at all times wise. (1.12).

Dodsley's imitation suggests that preaching has become a profession or trade in a society where the division of labour has become at the same time more complex and more clearly defined. To read Dodsley's imitation is to gain the impression that preachers are not so much the interpreters of God's word as professional men performing a particular function just like merchants, doctors and lawyers. The rhetorical nature of the Horatian didactic epistle also makes Christian doctrine itself appear less of a mystery, while the presentation of doctrine is like the moulding of a wine-jar or the fashioning of a poem. The success with which Dodsley applies Horace's precepts to the art of preaching serves to show up the mechanical aspect of Horatianism, yet there is an attempt to balance this by appealing to moderation, good sense, and taste as well as native virtue, so that by no means anyone is able to preach, but at the same time there are no impenetrable secrets behind the art in this age of 'enlightenment'.

Another transferred, though seriously intended, imitation of Horace's poem was Anthony Moore's An Essay on the Art of Preaching, Addressed to the Clergy (Falmouth, 1758). The author seems to have cashed in on Dodsley's popular treatment of the subject: good sense, decorum and moderation are again the watch-
Moore divides Horace's poem into more formal units, and the kind of sermons he envisages are neither ranting nor stentorian, but manly and eloquent. The placing of the sentiments in sermons becomes important, while Horace's advocacy of ease and simplicity, and the Horatian avoidance of pedantry, obscurity and scholasticism are made particularly applicable to the art of preaching.

Hurd's comment on poetical imitation could provide a commentary on all these imitations of Horace:

Besides the supposed original, the object itself, as was observed, is before the poet, and he may catch from thence, and infuse into his piece the same glow of real life, which animated the first copy... He may also take in circumstances, omitted or overlooked before in the common object, and so give new and additional vigour to his imitation.

Thus Horace's didactic style and framework has been re-applied again and again, and each new imitation has as its justification the elaboration of further implications, new 'hints', lifted from the original, or, as Hurd would say, the "first copy". The "object itself" - the writing of poetry - has been viewed at first hand, so that the imitations can give "new and additional vigour" to the original poem. But the object itself has also been replaced by others analogous to it, so that the didactic essence and the cultural ethos contained in Horace have enormously expanded in the eighteenth century context. Imitation involves...

an expansion, in this and other cases, of ancient models. The classical model has attained new and unexpected dimensions, and thus poetic imitations involve the treading of new paths. The justification of imitation can then become, at least for Hurd, the same as the justification of originality: the success of both in poetic terms depend upon the infusion, into each particular piece, of that "glow of real life, which animated the first copy". The "life", the ideas, the attitudes, the images and expressions, may be basically of a different type, but vitality there must be.

iv. Imitations of Ovid's Ars Amatoria.

Ovid's Ars Amatoria is a didactic poem in elegiac metre, and its reason for treating love as an art is contained in Ovid's attitude to love as a game or sport, requiring rules. In the first book Ovid tells the prospective wooer where to find the ladies, what kind of lady to become acquainted with, and how to win her. In the second book he educates the lover in the art of keeping the affections of his mistress. Ovid is not concerned with fleeting attachments, but with long-term affaires du cœur. In this sense he is putting forward not a cheap guide for seducers, but a civilised, psychologically alert and socially conscious appraisal of the way in which love affairs come about and how they die or flourish. Like Horace, Ovid is a close observer of social manners, but he is or has been a worky participant in the art he is trying to teach. Therefore, as he tells us in the beginning, (and as Dryden translates it):

Experience makes my Work a Truth so try'd,
You may believe; and Venus be my Guide. 1

This practical side in Ovid thus appealed to the more rational and empirical

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outlook in England, with its closer interest in human behaviour and in social activity. Ovid's presentation of the art of Love is charming and delightful, but love as a sport, a pleasurable pastime, a civilized game for gentlemen of leisure, must also bring to mind the Restoration and the world of London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The cultural and social analogy once again lies behind the process of assimilation and imitation, - in a total way, - of the classics. Nevertheless, imitation is two-sided, and we shall mention burlesques as well as serious imitations.

Dryden's translation of Book I of Ovid's Art of Love was written some time between 1693 and 1697. Tonson published Ovid's Art of Love, In Three Books in 1709, the second book being translated anonymously, the third, appropriately enough, by Congreve. Dryden's translation is sufficiently liberal and modern to occasion some points of contrast and comparison with the original. Basically Dryden lacks Ovid's charm and sensitivity, and his wit has a coarser edge. The passage in which Ovid tells the would-be lover to be attentive to the lady's clothes and, if possible, come into physical contact with her as she stands among the spectators, becomes more salacious in Dryden: talking of her train, he says:

And while you wipe it, with observing Eyes,
Who knows but you may see her naked Thighs!

Ovid is partially naturalized, too. The favourite Roman haunts become Westminster Hall, the Palace Yard, and the theatres. The whole translation has a very modern

(1) Ibid., p.1782.
air, and Dryden emphasises the lover's artifice, deception and ingenuity within the context of modern social conventions. Feigning in Ovid can be the prelude to real love. Ovid's 'art' implies in a sense the first conscious efforts, which will be superseded by 'nature' once love frees itself from conscious guidance. In Dryden, however, 'art' seems to be ever present. At one point (lines 609 ff.) Ovid says that eloquence will come of itself; in other words, the lover, carried along by his love, will find words to express his feelings to his future mistress. In Dryden we find the following:

No Rules of Rhetorick here I need afford;
Only begin, and trust the following word;
It will be Witty of its own accord. (1)

Wit of itself may be nature to advantage dressed, but it is not the natural eloquence of love. (Fainall in The Way of the World demonstrates his wit when, with Mirabell, he is emotionally stable, but at the end of act II, scene iii, when he reveals his love for Marwood, 'wit' deserts him altogether.)

Dryden is more conscious of the battle of the sexes than Ovid, and of the need to dissemble. He reads into Ovid some of those attitudes and values we find in Restoration drama, and the result is that Ovid has undergone a cultural and aesthetic change. The humour is Dryden's rather than Ovid's:

(1) Ibid., p. 1795.
All things are decent, that in Love avail,
Read long by Night, and study to be pale.

The curt statements, the pun on the word 'study', and the genial cynicism, are typical of Dryden.

The translation does show, however, that Ovid was being understood in the light of new attitudes and new cultural values. In many ways Ovid fits into the modern setting admirably. Social decorum, good sense, propriety, the application of rationality to a leisure activity, the very treatment of love as something subject to certain rules of social behaviour - all these bring Ovid's world and the world of the English gentlemen, courtiers and beaux, very close together.

William King's *The Art of Love: in imitation of Ovid De Arte Amandi* was probably written in 1699. The preface is valuable for our purpose, since King is concerned with the poetic imitation as a legitimate modern type. He uses Dryden's definition of it, that is, as something beyond ordinary translation, in which the author sets his original as a pattern, and where the original author is made to speak as the inhabitant of a modern country. Talking of love, King says:

...though the passion and grounds of it will continue the same through all ages; yet there will be many little modes, fashions, and graces, ways of complaisance and address, entertainments and diversions, which time will vary. Since the world will expect new things, and persons will write, and the ancients have so great a fund of learning; whom can the moderns take better than to copy than such originals? It is most likely they may not come up to them;

but it is a thousand to one but their imitation is better than any clumsy invention of their own. Whoever undertakes this way of writing, has as much reason to understand the true scope, genius, and force of the expressions of his author, as a literal translator: and, after all, he lies under this misfortune, that the faults are all his own; and, if there is anything that may seem pardonable, the Latin at the bottom shows to whom he is engaged for it.

This full account would help to suggest that the idea of the imitation lies at the very heart of neo-classicism in England. On the one hand, Nature (in this case the passion of love) is always the same; this will result in a certain similarity in the imitation of Nature in all ages. However, manners change, and men are fond of novelty. The poetic imitation allows an author to have a critical insight into his great original, imitate that same Nature in an archetypal way, and yet write something modern, which will appeal to a modern audience.

King retains much of Ovid's poetic character - his 'enthusiasm', and a certain lack of restraint. These are not the usual 'classical' qualities. King, however, justifies a style which may not be sufficiently restrained by reminding us that he is imitating Ovid and that therefore he must reproduce some of Ovid's stylistic idiosyncrasies. King also leaves most of the mythological references and illustrations intact, and he rarely substitutes new images for old. What he does do, however, is to modernize and 'naturalize' the whole poem. Courtship and the whole art of love take place in London in the late seventeenth century. Ovid's lover

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now takes himself to the Mall, St. James's Park, and other haunts. The ladies are belles of the town, and the manners of both the men and the women are thoroughly English. The imitation has lapses in style, and lacks the wit and vigour of Dryden's translation, but it is a noteworthy attempt to expand the concept of the imitation and to reproduce a truly modern, English Ovid.

The Art of Love (1700), by Charles Hopkins, is not a close imitation of Ovid; Hopkins is more of a man of sensibility than Dryden, and he tells us in the preface to his poem that, where Ovid, is "modest", he has imitated him. He begins by telling us that London is full of beauties, and that one must go where they resort. Like Ovid, he says, "frequent the plays"; one will feel real wounds there, while "on the stage the feigning lover dies". He urges dissimulation, for like Ovid he realizes the cunning which women themselves possess. Sighs, signs of despair, seizing of the hand, flattery, letters and devices - all the impediments of the lover's trade are here. The stratagems employed by the lover, however, are not those base mechanical means which Ovid himself disdains, such as magic and philters. Hopkins is possibly closer to Ovid's tone and manner than either Dryden or King, because he understands Ovid's warmth of sentiment, his belief in love not simply as part of the sex war but as the prime mover of the growth of civilized man; a thousand arts derive from love, says Ovid, and here love takes on its broader social meaning, where sexual love is only one aspect of that fundamental human drive towards sociableness, companionship and co-operation.

Prefaced to the second book of Hopkins's poem, which is "written to the Ladies", is a commendatory piece "To the Author, on his Art of Love". This evidently sees
Hopkins as an imitator of Ovid in the best sense. We are reminded of the seventeenth century theories of translation, dealt with in Chapter 2:

If Transmigration more than fancy be,
The Soul of Ovid is transfus'd in thee. (1)

Another commendation praises Hopkins's poem both as an imitation and as a didactic poem:

'Tis Art, all Art; yet 'tis all Nature too! (2)

while a third set of verses calls Hopkins 'Britain's Ovid'. (3) The second book is based on the third book of the *Ars Amatoria*, being composed mainly of technical advice for those modern women who hope to enter the rites of love. Ovid does not encourage the cultural refinement of the woman's soul, and he sees no need for the lady to have the man's art of conversation. Instead she requires good looks, and attractive clothes, carriage and deportment. She must be able to entertain on the more superficial level by singing, dancing, playing games, or reading poetry. Ovid is more concerned with the externals of the lady's behaviour and appearance, whereas he could teach the man from personal sympathy and experience, and thus get inside his heart and mind. Hopkins too puts more emphasis on artfulness and he is more aloof, more ironic in the second book:

(1) *The Art of Love* (1700), sig. A1⁷.
(2) Ibid., sig. A2⁷.
(3) Ibid., sig. A2⁷.
Ye Female Warriors, hast, to Arms, to Arms,
Put on your Smiles, your Glances, and your Charms,
Paint, Patches, Pins, and all the little rest,
Which must be done e'er Beauty can be drest,
Flames in your Eyes, and Coldness in your Breast...
Put on a modest mildness with your dress,
Put on those somethings which I can't express.

Using the familiar imagery of battles, wounds, kings, empire, victory, the ambush, and so forth, Hopkins develops, through Ovid, a new poetic mode that looks forward to Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*. At once ironic and condescending, the playful humour complements the rather comic entertainment in courtly love itself, which is now taken far less seriously, and treated more as a conventional, formal pattern in the modern world.

*The Art of Love.* Paraphrased from Ovid (1701), uses some burlesque techniques, but does not really ridicule Ovid himself. A revised edition appeared in 1702, called *The Poet Banter'd: or, Ovid in a Vigor. A Burlesque Poem on his Art of Love.* It is a failure, though Ovid's poem is naturalized, as in Dryden, King and Hopkins. The childish phrases and the occasional mangling of the original sense lack point and therefore humour. There seems to be some division of opinion in this period as to how Ovid should be imitated. The *Metamorphoses* were burlesqued in travesty fashion, but the *Ars Amatoria* had serious imitators, while John Oldmixon taking the hint from Drayton but at the same time imitating Ovid's *Heroides*, wrote


(2) Pope's poem too, shows the influence of Ovid: for example, in the famous toilette passage in Canto I.
his *Amores Britannici*, published in 1703. The choice between burlesque and serious imitation also reflects the change from the courtly heroic to the new rational urbanity, and the uneasy coexistence of two cultural modes within the same English society. There was a dual approach to Chaucer and Spenser as there was to Ovid - and *The Poet Banter'd* is a failure for a similar reason that Shenstone's *The Schoolmistress* is a success: the poet feels he can laugh at his original, yet at the same time feels compelled to admire and imitate him.

An anonymous *The Art of Beauty: a Poem* (1719) professed to be an imitation of Ovid - presumably of the third book of the *Ars Amatoria* - and the author makes the pretence of adding classical dignity to the cosmetic art by alluding to Roman practice (through Ovid). *The Rape of the Lock* is the real source of the descriptions of the *toilette*, however, even though Ovid may possibly be a primary source for both. In this poem the didactic style used is that of mock-heroic, but mock-heroic of a particular kind - that is, with a didactic purpose.

Henry Fielding's prose imitation of Ovid, *The Lovers Assistant, or New Art of Love* (1747), is the most notable of these Ovidian imitations. In the first edition the Latin text faced the English rendering, so that the reader was intended to make comparisons and discover for himself, if he so desired, how and why Fielding had imitated rather than translated. In the preface he justifies the practice which he calls paraphrase:

> Upon the whole, we cannot suppress, what one of the most learned Men of this Age, said upon pursuing the Paraphrase, viz. That he thought it would serve better to explain

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(1) The word 'didactic' could apply to *The Rape of the Lock*, of course. In this context, however, it is understood as 'that which teaches a particular art'.
the meaning of Ovid to a Learner, than any other
Translation, or all his numerous Commentators.

This can be taken in two senses. First of all, by substituting modern
customs, dress, places and characters for Roman ones, Fielding appeals to the modern
reader who wants a direct route to a classical author. Secondly, by familiarizing
phrases, thoughts and ideas and substituting modern parallel attitudes, both
social and literary, Fielding saves the reader making the mental as well as
historical leap. Yet by encouraging comparison in the parallel Latin text and in
the very full notes Fielding asks us to see the new and the old together.

Fielding's method, like that of Pope and Johnson, has allowed him to 'get
inside' Ovid in a remarkable manner. The combination of exuberance and cultivated
wit, the benevolence and sensibility which run through the whole, the way in which
Fielding makes the weakness for erotic pleasures appear tender and attractive-all
this demonstrates a rare union between the author of the Metamorphoses and the
author of Tom Jones. Fielding's belief in Benevolence helps him to recreate the
delicate, charming and tender qualities in Ovid.

The modernization, or naturalization, of the original is also remarkably
thorough and ingenious. The haunts become the Royal Exchange, Somerset Gardens
and the Lord Mayor's Show, and Tower Hill, place of public executions, is substituted
for the gladiatorial games. Here Cupid acts the part of the executioner:

(1) The Lovers Assistant, or New Art of Love, taken from the 1760 edition.
Augustan Reprint Society No. 89 (1961), p.3.
... many a Poor Man having lost his Heart, while he hath attended to another's losing his Head. 1

In one of the notes Fielding expounds on the porticoes in Rome. His knowledge is intimate, and he seems almost as familiar with Augustan Rome as he is with London. Such detailed knowledge was not unusual in Fielding's day, however, and it undoubtedly helped writers to put the ancients in a modern dress.

Using the device of the travesties, Fielding turns Ovid's heroes, gods and goddesses, into ordinary people, albeit people of quality. Thus we have "Miss Phoebe", "Miss Helen", "Lieutenant-General Achilles", (who commanded a large body of Grenadiers), and "Colonel Theseus" (who carried off Miss Ariadne). To illustrate the antiquity of love, Ovid used myths. Fielding turns ancient myths into newspaper gossip and the social chit-chat of drawing-rooms, coffee-houses and chocolate-houses:

Lady Venus herself chose young Jack Adonis in a Jockey Coat and Buckskin Breeches. 2

One of the most amusing renderings is that of the myth of Pasiphaë. Fielding relates it in a matter-of-fact manner, which produces a riotously funny effect. Ovid insists, in a tongue-in-cheek way, on the truth of the story. Fielding says:

(1) Ibid., p.9.
(2) Ibid., p.20.
The story is so well known that there is not a Freethinker in the Age who can refuse his credit to it, though they believe nothing which they cannot see and account for. 1

A footnote on 'Freethinker' reads:

The Original alludes to the Cretans, who were famous among the Antients for the Vice of lying. 2

As usual with Fielding, the footnote is part of the amusement. He not only shows the 'true' evidence for the truth of the myth, and suggests Ovid's humorous intention, but takes a side-sweep at Freethinkers as well. When Ovid tells us that he is not inspired, but has learned from experience and practice, Fielding tells us that he has received no more inspiration from Apollo than he has from Parson Whitefield. The imitation thus has a satirical edge, and shows how Fielding is able to achieve a variety of tone and effect while not spoiling the main aim, which is in this case the education of the prospective wooer in the art of winning a mistress.

(1) Ibid., p.12.
(2) Ibid., p.34.
Chapter 10

Conclusion

This study has examined an important aspect of imitation in the
seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one that has possibly received
least attention. Rather than re-evaluating an Enlightenment theory
against a background of Antique and Renaissance theory, I have attempted
to draw together from numerous examples a critical assessment of what was
achieved in a certain type of poetry (and much that can only be called
verse) that was a strict and conscious imitation of classical models.

This has of course involved discussion of theory. But knowledge of the
critical theory in its various forms is an insufficient and sometimes
misleading pointer to poetic achievement, although in this period such
knowledge is essential towards a basic appreciation of that achievement.

Given that the eighteenth century has left us more written discussion about
its poetic aims than any other prior period, I have tried, with the subject
of imitation always in view, to relate achievement and aim, at the same
time comparing and contrasting different levels of poetic achievement
within the restricted field which I have selected. (This has offered in
a sense a 'grass roots' approach to non-classicism and not just a restricted
one).

(1). For studies of the theory of imitation in Antiquity and the
Renaissance, cf. Richard McKeon, 'Literary Criticism and the
Concept of Imitation in Antiquity', MP xxxiv (1936), p.1 ff.,
Arno Reiff, Interpretation, Imitation, Aemulatio, Begriff und
Verstellung literarischer Abhängigkeit bei den Romern (Cologne, 1959),
and H.O. White, Plagairism and Imitation during the English
Renaissance (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), pp. 3-19. For a study of
imitation theory in the eighteenth century, see R. Wittkower,
'Imitation Eclecticism and Genius', in Aspects of the Eighteenth
What has to be at once recognised is that 'the imitation' is a form in which some of the best and most 'original' poetry of the period we have discussed was written. Both Pope and Johnson display enormous tact in being able to write poems that can be enjoyed as originals by those unfamiliar with the classical texts upon which they are based, while on the other hand giving those readers who do know Horace and Juvenal an added pleasure of seeing the way in which an ancient poem can be re-made, re-vitalised and given a new relevance and coherence. The Augustan period itself recognised that 'the imitation' had to possess the qualities both of a translation and an original poem, while yet remaining neither. It demanded special skills, which perhaps only the Age of Pope and to a lesser extent of Johnson could match up to. Pope's *Imitations* of Horace will I think always be regarded not only as some of Pope's finest achievements, but as something unique in English poetry. They are obviously not 'original' poems in the ordinary sense, yet though they can be variously described as works that operate by means of allusion, parody, improvisation, analogy, ironic comparison and thematic variation, none of these terms seems to be at all adequate. For the effect, like that of all great poetry, is of a totality, a complete vision, and not something partial and localized. The 'imitation' we have therefore defined, in the first two chapters, in a way that will include Pope, so that we fall into the danger neither of limiting his achievement, nor of presenting it as something inexplicable. True, Pope transcends the other 'imitations' of Horace written at or around the same time. I have however tried to show, as in the comparison with Ogle's imitations, that Pope was merely the unrivalled master in an idiom which many a poet could master quite tolerably.

Instead of placing critical theory in too prominent a position, and
avoiding mechanical 'literary history', I have also attempted to show that, although contemporary ideas and particularly critical ideas conditioned poetic creation, they hardly determined it. Thus in the case of burlesque, travesty and mock-imitations I have had to examine to some extent the social, ideological and aesthetic contradictions which were inadequately rationalized and therefore, when sensed, intuitively perceived by those living and writing at the time. When deeper social and other processes came to the surface, demanding of human consciousness something qualitatively new, something that could above all reflect the continuity and logic of change, there was a revolt against eighteenth-century Reason. The fact that the epithet 'original' came to mean 'that which is new' rather than 'that which was first' is only one aspect of the revolt. But the seeds of the later crisis are visible throughout the century, albeit intuitively perceived by the rationalists.

In Appendix A, 'The Roman Analogy', I have shown how imitation of the classics worked inside a historical and cultural analogy. Burlesque imitation often expresses 'what ought to be' as against 'what is', and in the context of emulating the achievements of antiquity it naturally tells us much about the view writers of the period had of themselves and of their questioned ability to create a literary culture that was both classical and modern. Comic techniques and devices such as the mock-imitation and travesty could be an integral part of a moral and purposive outlook that was extremely sensitive to the way in which form, style and idiom reflected certain values: by creating deliberate disproportions, for example, linking the epic or pastoral eclogue form to the behaviour and values of fashionable London society, moral and aesthetic incongruities are produced which are

(1) Lady Mary Worthing Montagu's town eclogues and Pope's The Rape of the Lock are good examples. Fielding's prose imitation of Ovid, The Lovers Assistant, is a typical - and highly amusing - criticism both of Ovid and of the beau monde.
comic yet serious, for they expose how far the moderns really are from the
greatness of the Ancients and the innocence of the world's first ages.
Another problem of adaptation arose with relation to satire. How far
could it be said that 'vice was at its acme,' as under Nero, in Restoration
England? How far could the gentleman on his moderate estate in the south
of England serve as an example of Horatianism, of genuine rural virtue and
civilized retirement? Both these questions were bound to be asked when
it came to imitating Juvenal and Horace - for imitations in this period,
as we have stressed, are more fully intended, more consciously reflected
upon and more consistently carried out, than the type of thing Wyatt did
with Petrarch or Lowell has done with Homer. Interesting - and often
fascinating - therefore, is the way in which writers such as Oldham,
Johnson, Pope and Ramsay expanded or shortened, altered or 'improved',
re-modelled, 'naturalized' and made personal classical poems, and what
kind of transformation they underwent in the process of being turned into
modern English poems.

The different theories of imitation in the eighteenth century are an
expression of the various ways in which writers sought to emulate rather
than reproduce what was accepted as classical - in other words what was
firmly established as part of a literary, non-popular cultural tradition.

(1) The Augustans were by no means blind to popular tradition. This
sometimes placed them in sadly awkward positions, as for example
when Addison, in Spectator No. 70, praises highly 'the favourite
Ballad of the common People of England' ('Chevy-Chase') yet, in
deference to his readers, finds himself compelled to justify his
admiration by making forced literary comparisons with the Aeneid,
even going so far as to suggest that the ballad writer had borrowed
from Virgil. The ballad's simplicity, which is its strength, is,
says Addison, something 'one may well pardon in so old a Poet'.
(Compare also Johnson's comments on the ballad in Boswell's Life
and his own parodies of Percy.)
It must not be thought, however, that such theories were brought in merely to justify a rather dull practice. Eighteenth-century critics were very conscious of dull, derivative imitation, of the difference between copying a writer and 'inventing a Fable', and there was in a sense a healthy 'competition' with and criticism of classical writers together with a very real inspiration felt on reading them. Nobody can doubt the presence of the lingering Renaissance fervour, the same kind of awe which stirred Brunelleschi when he dug among the ruins of the Capitoline and the Palatine, or the zeal with which Michelangelo copied motifs from obscure sarcophagal reliefs. There is one simple answer to the question as to why imitation of the classics should have been carried on so long or why the ancient writers and theorists should have been set as a standard to follow. J. W. Johnson has however stated the case well:

There was nothing of sham about the purview of classicism; it was neither an intellectual charade nor an elaborate self-deception. Classicists of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries used ancient literature to throw their own age into perspective, to light its outstanding qualities so they could be objectively examined. They used that literature to get at the inner meaning of daily affairs, a meaning that would otherwise be revealed only by time. They used it as a standard of achievement, a model and warning the more effective being remote, whole and exhaustive. Classicism was not a monolithic penchant for literary imitation but a rationale of life. 2.


We might add that this 'rationale of life' could be expressed through literary imitation, and also that between original poetry and imitation there need not be the distinction Johnson makes, with reference to West's *Imitation of Spenser*, between the "noblest beauties of art ... of which the effect is co-extended with rational nature, or at least with the whole circle of polished life", and a "plaything of fashion" or "the amusement of a day" (1)—phases he uses about West's imitations.

The discussion first introduced by Pietro Bembo on which models to imitate was not an academic question as far as English neo-classicists were concerned. Dryden's lengthy and fascinating comparison of the merits of Horace and Juvenal in *A Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire* (1693) takes on a living meaning when we realize that English poets were very much concerned with establishing the canons and rules of *comic* and *tragic* satire. Pope's own imitations could never have been possible had not the discussion taken place on the nature of satire, on the differences between the two main classical exponents of satire, and on what essential characteristics appertained to the two species, and had not previous writers engaged upon such imitations themselves. In fact, both Johnson's and Pope's major imitations are products of this period of discussion and attempts at establishing 'norms' and 'types'. Only when the rules had been clarified, as it were, could genius, having learnt them, transcend them.

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Attempts at combining Horace and Juvenal, as Boileau had done, were also made; Pope no doubt also learnt from Boileau. But the age of the novel experiment, the first trials at imitation, had long since passed with Wyatt, Hall and Donne.

The question of which model to imitate also arose in a most interesting manner in the case of the pastorals of Theocritus and Virgil, and this has been treated in some detail in Chapter 4. Again, the different qualities of the two ancient poets were much discussed, and though they often insinuated themselves in a subtle way through generally imitative and classical writing, the essential differences could be revealed very sharply in fairly close imitations - something we can see if we compare the Theocritan pieces of Thomas Purney or William Diaper with the formally Virgilian pastorals by Pope. When the rusticity, humour and realism of the Spenserian - Theocritan tradition were combined with the formalism and style of the Virgilian tradition, an incongruous effect could be produced. The comic pastoral realism of realism of Gay's The Shepherds Week suggests the remoteness of low rural life in the eighteenth century from the pastoral ideal, but the formal classical idioms and patterns are retained throughout. Other writers of formal pastoral tried to combine Theocritan and Virgilian qualities in what has been called the 'native eclogue'.

Aspects of imitation theory such as the concept of careful selection from various sources, the putting together in a form closer to 'the ideal' of those parts selected, have been taken up in the Introduction. The 'pseudo-Aristotelian' theory of essential selection towards the generalized

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(1) See Chapter 4, pp. 155 ff.

ideal has been of less concern to us, because the consecutive imitation, being closer to translation, is not as eclectic in its methods as is the generic imitation. (1) (One must remember, however, that the definitions are mine and that combinations of both are often found together.)

This brings us to the theory of translation, which has been dealt with in Chapter 2. There is some constant theme running through the many contemporary statements on translation. It is contained in Dryden's words to the Earl of Dorset in 1693:

A noble author would not be pursued too close by a translator. We lose his spirit, when we think to take his body. The grosser part remains with us but the soul is flown away in some noble expression, or some delicate turn of words or thought. (2)

Dryden is here using the body/soul division to point out that certain great authors possess a unique individuality visible in their work. It is contained in "some noble expression, or some delicate turn of words or thought". In other words, in style. Style is thus a way of writing, peculiar to the writer himself. "Le style est l'homme même" (Buffon). It is the translator's task to reproduce this, and hence to assume the character of the writer he translates. What then is the "body" or "grosser part"? Presumably it is all those things we can accurately say about a writer or a work, but which do not convey their qualitative essence. Imitation follows on largely from the fact that a translator can vary from the original while retaining its spirit or infuse a new spirit into it while keeping close to the text.

The philosophical dualism leads to further extensions of the concept of imitation. The original synthesis of a work

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(1) See Introduction, pp. 2 ff.
can at least be approximated if the translator or imitator is aware of this dualism between appearance and essence. A servile copier sees only appearances and the superficial forms of things. Gulliver, in the fourth book of *Gulliver's Travels*, can imitate the Houyhnhnms only in their horseiness, which is in fact their appearance. Like the servile copier who is blind to the 'delicate turn of words or thought' he neighs and paws the ground like a horse, but is utterly incapable of imitating and grasping the essence of the Houyhnhnms, their Reason. On the contrary, he temporarily loses what practical reason he had before.

But the essence itself is only visible, or rather only shows itself, through outward forms: in the case of the pure and undefiled Reason in book four of *Gulliver's Travels*, the outward form of horses. It could just as well have been owls or sheep—anything but men. Swift is of course making a joke out of the philosophical dualism for the purpose of satire. Yet the connection with Dryden's statement should begin to emerge. Successful translation (and therefore imitation) must preclude a servile, Gulliver-like pursuit. A translator who cannot free himself from his environment, distilling the essence from the impure and contingent side of language and thought, is incapable of transporting anything but the impure and contingent side, the 'grosser part' of his original, into modern language and thought. This also connects with Dryden's assertion that only a poet can translate, since only a poet is able to select from a multitude of accidentals and contingent facts the general truths concerning Nature, including human existence. However, while one may speak about 'spirit', 'essence', 'soul', and so forth, one cannot ignore 'body', 'grosser part', 'environment'. Nature, though transcendental, general, and eternal can only work for example through particular authors
writing at a particular time in history in a particular country and in a particular language. Not only that, but this same Nature, because of varying conditions, has not always operated through them with equal force and with equal success. Hence Swift's joke, for Reason (and Horatian comic satire) cannot just flourish anywhere. Nature, said Dryden, "was so much worn out in producing Homer and Virgil that she is never able to bear the like again; yet the example only holds in heroic poetry; in tragedy and satire, I offer myself to maintain against some of our modern critics that this age and the last, particularly in England, have excelled the Ancients in both those kinds..."1 Conditions existed in England in which the genius of satire could once again manifest itself, thus making possible emulation of the ancients. Nature requires not any, but certain conditions (and 'outward forms') through which to operate. The correspondence between those of Augustan Rome and England in the age of William and Anne made possible the recapture of the 'spirits' of authors long dead, but the 'recapturing' was not achieved simply by the correspondence itself, but by the exertions of living writers.

Similarly of conditions and literary inclinations are an insufficient basis for serious imitation if they are also insufficient for good translation. There must be an active sympathy with the original author working through the translator (or imitator). The latter must be able to imaginatively place himself in the creative mood of the original author, acquire - for the purpose of the imitation or translation - a close acquaintance with his poetic personality. There must in a sense be

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(1) Ibid., p. 81.
a fusion of literary personalities. When two become as one, however, we have the transcendent 'spirit' or 'soul' again. Through free translation or 'imitation' the original spirit can be retained.

The imitator must, according to this general theory, re-create, under new conditions, a work which is clearly parallel to and not simply 'like', in the passive sense, his original. Nature works through both. Imitation then implies the operation of active Nature through a modern writer where Nature produces in a tangible or visible form the essence of the original. Here of course we meet divergence. Juvenal's 'spirit' becomes somewhat melodramatic in Hall, assumes a fiery and often undisciplined topicality in Oldham, and takes on a new majesty, moral weight and tragic indignation in Johnson. However, the modern imitator also had to say certain things and in a certain way that were not 'his'. For example, in *Adventurer* No. 67 (Tuesday, 26th June, 1753), Johnson's real enjoyment of the variety, bustle, activity and human diversity of London contrasts sharply with that Juvenalian picture, painted by Thales, of a city "devote to vice and gain"\(^1\), where "unrewarded science toils in vain"\(^2\). Pope, however, incapable of praising George as Horace had complimented Augustus, turned praise into deft satire, and so preserved most of his own 'self' in the imitation of *Epistle II*,\(^1\) but even here the original sometimes dictates instead of providing the guiding hints.

Freedom to alter, vary and partly re-shape, to improvise and bring in new ideas, images and expressions, is expected. In the case of Pope,

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\(^1\) *London*, p. 37.

the remarkable truth is that some of his best lines result from this
combination of freedom and restraint, where binding himself to his original
means finding and selecting the right phrase, idea or image without
deviating too much from the original - enough to remind us of the original
while at the same time seeming new. Many commentators have admired the
skill with which Pope turns Horace to his own satiric ends and is able to
compose verse that seems entirely original, yet which follows the sequence
and thought of Horace extremely closely. In the imitation of Satire II,1,
however, Pope defends his own satire, and also dramatizes essentially new
themes and images. It is upon this association, comparative or analogical
method of thought that the consecutive imitation largely rests. It shows
a special kind of alertness (peculiar to the witty ironist and satirist
who is conscious of man as a social and political animal) and a classic
delight in variation, analogy, allusion and oblique or subtle suggestion
which have their own framework of techniques.

Consecutive imitations of Horace's Ars Poetica are an example of this
neo-classical capacity for producing variations on a theme. The Horatian
model was not only adapted to new epistolary treatises on poetry, but
was fashioned in new ways through 'transferred imitations', where, instead
of dealing with poetry, the imitator made parallel Horatian comments
on the art of preaching, stock-jobbing, 'beauing', of life in general. (2)
Horace has in effect become 'Nature'. The same moderation, good
sense, wit, equanimity and rational praise of the

(1) See Chapter 6, pp. 232 ff.
(2) See Chapter 9.
'good life' led according to the rules of Virtue, the same oblique manner, conversational tone and easy, concise style, are characteristic of those imitations which attempt to show that the Augustan life and culture is again possible. Burlesque imitations often make the kind of satiric point present in Gulliver's 'imitation' of the Houyhnhnms. The amount of good imitation of Horace and Juvenal show that they were felt to be immediately relevant - which of course means very much more than is implied in the word 'topical'. It was the values, overall purpose and literary techniques of such writers that the neo-classical imitators felt to be most important.

If the success of the poetic 'imitation' is best demonstrated in the satire - and there are many imitations of Horace and Juvenal, some anonymous, which deserve greater recognition - its failure and weakness is exposed in the lyric. There are very few paraphrases or imitations of classical lyric which can be said in any way to capture the 'spirit' of the original. The vast majority of the imitations of Horace's odes are either ephemeral propaganda, occasional pieces, or burlesques. The better imitations and paraphrases of Pindar, Anacreon and Horace are to be found in the later seventeenth century. But the 'metaphysical' wit of Cowley, the occasional earthiness of Dryden and the superficial glitter of the Restoration court poets are very far from the grace, sweetness and power of the Greek and Roman originals.

Imitations of Ovid in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are significant, for in contrast to the Elizabethan version of Ovid, delight in the richness of myth has been rejected in favour of sophistication and urbanity. Ovid's Ars Amatoria, for example,
has several notable imitators and translators, such as King, Hopkins, Fielding, Congreve and Dryden. It is the Ovid of the Ars Amatoria who is I think present in Pope's The Rape of the Lock. There is however, no Golding for Ovid in the eighteenth century, whereas there are several writers of verse prepared to burlesque a story from the Metamorphoses, either through travesty or through mock-imitation. The most successful and delightful of these burlesques is Swift's version of the story of Baucis and Philemon.

This study has also shown how and when the consecutive imitation arose. This has been dealt with in Chapter 2. Although the first date in the title if this study is 1660, imitations proper in the sense we have distinguished in the first chapter as 'consecutive' do not appear until after 1670. The point has been made, however, that travesty, freer translation, paraphrase and what has been called 'modern imitation', in rhyming couplets, octosyllabics or quatrains begin to appear before the first consecutive imitations are written around 1675. I have I hope shown that classical poetry was not simply a general influence on the period, nor that it was imitated in a general manner, but that it was often very consciously imitated and that the techniques of imitations were themselves consciously worked out. There is very little that is spontaneous or accidental about the methods with which poets and verse-writers of the neo-classical period worked at their craft.
Appendix A.

The Roman Analogy.

The corresponding state of the English and Roman people has produced very near the same combinations of ideas. May we not carry the conclusion still further on the same principle, that it produced very near the same combinations of words?... And when the same general character of language prevails, is it any thing strange that the different modifications of it, or peculiar styles, arising from the various turns and dispositions of writers (which, too, in such circumstances will be corresponding) should therefore be very similar in the productions of the two states?... If different writers agree in the same general disposition, or in the same national character... or in corresponding periods of the progress of manners, or are under the influence of a corresponding genius of policy and government: in every of these cases, some considerable similarity of expression may be occasioned by the agency of general principles, without any suspicion of studied or designed imitation. — Bishop Hurd, 'A Discourse on Poetical Imitation', in Q. Horatii Flacci Epistolae ad Pisones, et Augustam (Dublin, 1768), ii, pp. 148-9.

Oliver Goldsmith, in 'An Account of the Augustan Age in England' (The Bee, Saturday, November 24, 1759), was one of those who agreed to designate the period in English literature from William to Anne as 'Augustan'. The term 'Augustan' is often loosely applied, meaning language that is elegant, restrained, witty, and 'correct'. It can also imply urbanity, aristocratic detachment, and belief in 'the golden mean' between various extremes. By and large, the social, political, historical, literary and aesthetic parallels between Rome and
England are treated as something of a secondary issue. In this study of imitations, however, parallel and analogy have assumed some importance. The more the question of imitation and emulation is considered in the broader social sense, the more important the analogy becomes.

Goldsmith thought that a genuine literary culture required proper soil in which to flourish, and that this soil was patronage: "Sunt Maecenates, non derunt, Flaccus, Marones" (Martial) - "Let ther be Maccanases, and there shall not be lacking, oh Flaccus, Maros". Goldsmith says that the right soil did exist around 1700 in England:

> When the link between patronage and learning was entire, then all who deserved fame were in capacity of attaining it. When the great Somers was at the helm, patronage was fashionable among our nobility. The middle ranks of mankind, who generally imitate the Great, then followed their example; and applauded from fashion, if not from feeling. (1)

With the growth of the bookseller, however, learning decayed, because men wrote for money and for a market. The bookseller became the real patron, and books became a commodity. During the Augustan age, the balance between patronage and the press had been exactly right; - genius had been allied to taste. Thus the Augustan age in England was for Goldsmith a social and cultural situation, a situation in which language and learning were at their height, and

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such a situation had existed in Rome after the fall of the Republic. Once we have arrived at the point where a social situation is necessary, the implications of the poetic imitation become more general.

A constant habit of English thought from the seventeenth century onwards was the study of those historical periods and situations which would throw light on the present and justify political attitudes. English society itself was undergoing a great revolutionary change, and it was the need to explain historical causes and effects, to establish some sort of bearing with regard to the momentous events that were taking place, that probably stimulated a fresh study of history - and ancient history in particular, because it had been documented by some of the greatest historians who had ever lived. The eighteenth century was a period of compromise in England, but the advocates of compromise and stability had existed before the Civil War. The compromisers were those who were anxious to accept a union of parties at the top in order to prevent a democratic or republican upsurge. A certain sacrifice of personal liberty was required, and the compromise reached under Augustus Caesar became the archetypal example of a settled and prosperous society, united on the basis of a new constitution that was, on the surface, the restoration of an old one. It is not fanciful, therefore, to compare 27 B.C. (when the Principate was established by decree of the Senate) or 23 B.C. (which is more often associated with the establishment of the Empire), with 1660 or with 1688, when monarchy was re-established in a new form and when the rights of parliament were put on a firmer basis. We shall not attempt here to discuss the parallel development of ancient Roman and modern English society in an abstract way, but will try to give substance
to the parallels and present the interpretation of the Roman period through the eyes of English poets, writers, and commentators.

Addison's Cato, like Shakespeare's Coriolanus and Julius Caesar, drew lessons from Roman history in order to make indirect but nonetheless forceful comments on contemporary English politics. Augustanism, one could say, turned a temporary historical phase into an ideal and a set of principles. The imitations of Virgil and Horace we have discussed express, in one way and another, the desire for such a temporary phase to be made permanent. The neo-classicists hoped that art would, by its universality, help to universalize Order itself, so that constitutional stability in its particular form would, through the medium of art, lose its local and temporary validity and assume the status of a general principle. This is what Dryden was trying to do to some extent in Absalom and Achitophel, which treats Shaftesbury much in the way that Sallust treated Catiline (1) - as a dangerous conspirator who was a threat to the ordered state of things, who encouraged the native rebellious qualities in the people, and who was therefore to be punished. (2)

Roman history as a source of precepts and as a guide to the present is seen in an anonymous work, Augustus. Or. An Essay of those Means and Counsels.

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(1) The Roman example of Catiline became almost as important for the English as it did for the Romans themselves. As one Mr. Wellesley said in A Character of the English. In Allusion to Tacit. de Vit. Agric., the English are a free people, and hate kings who have absolute power, for "what King would chuse to be a Catiline?" (p. 259).

(2) For the parallel between Dryden and Sallust, see R. G. Peterson, 'Larger Manners and Events: Sallust and Virgil in Absalom and Achitophel', PMLA, lxxii (1967), pp. 236-244.
whereby the Commonwealth of Rome was altered, and reduced unto a Monarchy (1632).

In it the author tells us that the history of Rome from the beginning of the collapse of the Republic to the reign of Augustus was nothing more than the difficult and careful ascendency of monarchy after the convulsions in which 'the people' - through their tribunes and military leaders - had been able to assume too much power. The author points to those who, in the difficult times,

... first opened the passage to others, and first moved the stone, which rolling along tumbled the People out of the Government. (p. 26).

The Roman people had their tribunes, the English their parliament. The danger of too much power getting into the hands of the Roman people could be averted by some curtailment of the tribunes' power. (This is what occurred under the Empire.) In England the monarch had to be able to curb the development of parliament as a weapon of the people.

The Restoration occasioned the parallel which was drawn between the Roman settlement under Augustus and the achievement of internal peace in England. Samuel Clarke's The Life and Death of Julius Caesar, The First Founder of the Roman Empire. As Also The Life and Death of Augustus Caesar... (1665) implied the analogy between Julius Caesar and Cromwell, Augustus and Charles II. Julius

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(1) "After the battle of Actium he (Octavius) took steps to dissolve and disperse those revolutionary armies which for twenty years had been dictating policy to their commanders", (Augustus, by C.P. Baker (1937), p. 264). One could parallel this with the liquidation of the Army after the Commonwealth, and the distaste for standing armies thereafter.
Caesar is described as a dictator\(^1\) with absolute power.\(^2\) Augustus, like Charles, quelled rebellion: though some (as in England), "affected liberty", the subjects were obedient to his rule.\(^3\) The world was at peace. Clarke accepts the idea of Augustus as the pacifier of the world, and even associates him with Christ, since both 'reigned' "in the time of this generall Peace"\(^4\) - a somewhat ironical distortion of history - and also accepts the standard view of Augustus as "affable, courteous, liberall and temperate",\(^5\) as a reformer of abuses and as a man deeply concerned with fostering the arts.\(^6\) There is no complaint, such as we find in Swift, with Augustus' suppression of liberty.

Swift's A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome, with the consequences they had upon both those States \((1701)\) is a warning against factions and parties, which tend to further sectional or class interests. Swift tends to see modern political contests in Roman terms as factions, which of course they were not. Modern parties, though they could contain factions, pressure groups and family interests, were fundamentally different from the factions which caused such havoc in Rome. The battle of principles of the seventeenth century could be characterized as a period of factional disputes, but its results were historically much more far-reaching in a progressive way than could ever be said of the analogous period in Roman history.\(^7\)

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(1) The Life and Death of Julius Caesar... (1665), p.27.
(2) Ibid., p.39.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid., p.86.
(5) Ibid., p.89.
(6) Ibid., p.89-92.
(7) Though the unity achieved under Augustus was also far-reaching. What Swift
In Swift's eyes, then, the three powers in the state - King, nobles and commons - had to be balanced, no one power seeking to outst any of the others.

Some Reflections upon the late publick Proceedings among us, and that variety of Factions into which we are still so intricately engaged, gave occasion to this Discourse. ¹

Swift is by no means an 'Augustan' in the specific sense which here concerns us.

Of Augustus he has the following to say:

...he entailed the vilest Tyranny that Heaven in its anger ever inflicted on a Corrupt and Poison'd People, ²

but Brutus he calls "that Great Roman". Swift's argument is that tyranny and democracy are the worst evils that can befall a state. The Republic could exist no longer because of the danger of a "dominatio Plebis". Yet if a popular movement led to the iron hand of Julius Caesar, the rising of the people in England led only to Cromwell's dictatorship, "so that an usurping Populace is its own Dupa." ³

objected to was the autocratic solution to factionalism as demonstrated by Augustus. Ronald Syme has said of Augustus: "He controlled Government and patronage, especially the consulate, precisely after the manner of the earliest dynasts, but with more thoroughness and without opposition. This time the domination of a faction was to be permanent and unshaken: the era of rival military leaders had closed." The Roman Revolution (Oxford, 1939), p.324.

(2) Ibid., p.111.
(3) Ibid., p.116. One of the reasons given by Hobbes for the corruption of the people was that men in their youth had "read the books written by famous men of the ancient Grecian and Roman commonwealths concerning their policy and great actions; in which books the popular government was extolled by that glorious name of liberty, and monarchy disgraced by the name of tyranny; they became thereby in love with their forms of government. And out of these men were chosen the greatest part of the House of Commons, or if they were not the greatest part, yet by advantage of their eloquence, were always able to sway the rest." Behemoth (1668), quoted in The Puritan Revolution: A Documentary History, ed. Stuart E. Prall (1968), p.52.
Again, this is only half-true in the English context: the *populares* in Rome rarely had the economic and political interests of the people at heart. Cromwell was no democrat, but he used the people for class ends, not his own. Swift considered the reign of Elizabeth to be the time when the balance of power was best held between nobles and commons. The decay of English liberty followed from the struggle between these two, just as

... this entire Subversion of the Roman Liberty and Constitution, was altogether owing to those Measures which had broke the Balance between the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians*.

The parallel in England, of course, was the Revolution of 1640, which ruptured the compromise between the Lords and Commons, led to the Civil War, ushered in a Republic, and at one point saw the occupation of London by the revolutionary army. Swift's 'Augustanism' may not have welcomed Augustus, but it did recognize the folly of running to extremes, which Horace had condemned. In the seventeenth century the political folly entailed the fall from prerogative heights (under Charles I's absolute rule) to the depths of 'popularity' (in 1649-50).

Swift's stated ideal in 1708 is neutrality and independence from the factions. For Swift as for Horace, to be partisan is to be unbalanced as a human being. When, however, neutrality is impossible, reluctant partisanship is the only course. The foundation for this argument is again to be found in Roman history. Indeed, many if not all of the ideas and attitudes of the English Augustans are implicitly or explicitly founded on the Roman analogy. (In the case of Pope, the

arguments for independence, equanimity, aristocratic 'Wisdom' and 'Virtue' are bolstered by the literary device of the poetic imitation). In the **Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man** (1708) Swift argues for moderation and neutrality, and cites Cato, (whom he deemed as the wisest and best of all the Romans), as perhaps the archetypal example of philosophical neutralism in practice. For Swift the reign of Elizabeth had an analogous period in Roman history - the Later Republic. Swift opposed the principle of the Augustan settlement, but he saw that Augustus himself was not responsible for the decay of learning, but rather encouraged it:

> Arts and Sciences took their Rise, and flourished only in those few small Territories where the people were free. And though Learning may continue after Liberty is lost, as it did in Rome, for a while, upon the Foundations laid under the Common-wealth, and the particular Patronage of some Emperors, yet it hardly ever began under a Tyranny in any Nation.

This is a grudging acceptance of Augustus as a patron of the arts, but Swift, unlike most of his contemporaries, recognized and emphasized that the conservative restoration was really a cover or public facade for what was in essence a loss of 'Liberty'. Under Augustus the power and influence of the Senate diminished, and Swift saw in this the modern parallel of the weakening of Lords and the aristocracy.

In **A Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners** (1709), Swift put forward a programme which had in part been carried out (at least publicly) by Augustus. The whole idea of a social and cultural programme is to a large extent characteristic of both the Roman and the English

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(1) **Miscellanea** (1747), i, pp.77-8. Swift is answering Hobbes, who had said that the youth of England were corrupted in their principles of government by reading the authors of Greece and Rome, who had written under Commonwealths. (See above, p.vii, note 3.)
'Augustan Ages', and Augustan satire was intended to further the aims of such a programme. The programme of moral and cultural reform was closely linked in the minds of English writers and commentators with the suppression of factions and the prevention of social disruption. Augustan satire, based on ridicule, played a vital role in this context. William Coward, for example, in his *Licentia Poetica discuss'd: or, the True Test of Poetry* (1709) had this to say:

(In) *Octavius Augustus* his time, Poetry, nay indeed all sorts of Learning, seemed to be so generally encourag'd, that the seeds of Faction and Party were frequently suppress'd by Poetic Ridicule, as appears by many smart Satyrical Expressions in Horace, Juvenal, etc. Or the Glories of their Age was so extoll'd by Commendation of their Emperors Greatness, and the Liberality of other deserving Patrons, That many took more Delight and Care to mind Pleasure, than to bend their Inclination to disturb a Government.

The justification of the 'middle way' is fundamentally political, but it has its expression in terms of satire and 'the good life'. Suetonius tells us of Augustus's moral and religious reforms, the decency and purity of his private life, his frequent attendance in the Senate, and his respect for old customs and beliefs. The paradox of Augustus is that, while he publicly revered ancient customs and institutions, much that was vigorous and independent during the Republic - the *paterfamilias* and *dominus* for example, had had absolute power in their respective spheres - disappeared as a real force under the Empire. Augustus himself posed as the living symbol of general virtue. The watchwords were simplicity, morality and moderation.

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(1) Swift, later in life, repudiated his early short-lived career as a 'projector', and although in this tract of 1709 he understands the universal nature of human depravity, he puts forward a practical scheme under what he later would have thought the illusion that humanity could be improved and real progress achieved.

(2) p.6 note.
Having skillfully manoeuvred himself into the position of embodying the Roman past, he became gradually identified with the State itself (which every Roman was duty-bound to serve) and his near-absolutist rule was easier to accept when he quoted the old worthies, paid homage to the Roman cults, such as those based on the family, loyalty and duty, allowed slaves better treatment, and granted toleration to the Jews, even placing the Sibylline books in the Temple of Apollo. Augustus, in fact, wished to become known in the eyes of the people as a custodian of religion, as a preserver of all that was best in the Italian race, as a sort of liberal conservative or conservative liberal, while at the same time spreading his personal authority (he was deified in his own lifetime) into every corner of Roman life.

Augustus posed, therefore, as a restorer of old Republican Virtue. Swift's 1709 project was, however, also consistent with the old Republican Liberty, which he saw as having been forfeited under Augustus himself. He is perhaps thinking in Republican terms when he suggests the establishment of an Office of Censors, for during the Republic Cato had been Censor, but two Censors were also appointed in 22 B.C., and this marked the social and moral reform which was to be part of the inauguration of a New Age. Swift calls for the cultivation of piety and virtue by the reigning Prince, "if at the same time he would make them necessary Qualifications for Favour and Preferment." The duties of a monarch are "to cultivate Religion and Virtue, by rendering Vice a Disgrace" and Swift comments, "All which they should first attempt in their own Courts and Families." When manners degenerate, so does the State. One of the things he stresses - which is entirely understandable considering his own ambitions at this time - is the

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(2) Ibid., p.112.
building of churches and the encouragement of religion. Swift evidently sees things both in terms of a Roman ideal and one relevant to modern needs. This may seem strange when we consider that Christianity itself was one of the major causes of the fall of the Roman civilization, yet the Roman analogy as a whole would break down were it not based on the principle of General Nature. In Hurd's words,

It is certain, that the principal of those rites and ceremonies, of those outward acts of homage, which have prevailed in different ages and countries, and constituted the public religion of mankind, had their rise in our common nature, and were the genuine product of the workings of the human mind.

Though we shall try to show that there are real historical parallels, not just accidental similarities, between Augustan Rome and post-1660 England, 'the Augustan Age', of which imitations are a key part, was basically a cultural movement, and does not represent a true historical period in England in any proper sense. Even Dryden's David (Charles II) has certain affinities with Augustus: his private life is made public, but the irony lies in the fact that his royal generosity and liberality both reflect and are reflected by an age in which polygamy itself is pious. 2 David remains, then, the pious monarch; he is the symbol of order and harmony, a mixture of the divine and the paternal in a more

(1) 'A Discourse on Poetical Imitation', in Q. Horatii Flacci, Epistolas... (Dublin 1768), ii, p.117.
(2) (Augustus, incidentally, legislated - unsuccessfully - against adultery.)
Augustan sense (Augustan also through the general Virgilian reference of the poem), and his final speech is an example of studied rhetoric (again in the manner of Augustus himself, who carefully prepared every statement he made) - so that he appears as an emperor whose strength of will comes before the ill-considered wishes of the people. Augustus does not, however, resemble Charles or William, and certainly none of the Georges, in respect of individual character. The similarities are to be found elsewhere: in the idea of a programme of conservative reform, in the reformation of morals and manners (which is characteristic of the post - 1688 era, not so much of the Restoration), in the call for a restoration of old established religion, and in the stress on internal peace, symbolised for Rome in the closing of the Temple of Janus and in the Altar of Augustan Peace. England, like Rome, had its building programme too, with the re-planning of London after the Great Fire of 1666, and thus its own Vitruvius (Vitruvius dedicated his work to Augustus) in Christopher Wren. If Dryden found the language brick and left it marble (as Suetonius had originally said of Augustus and Roman architecture) this was perfectly consistent with what was being attempted in England in other spheres during this period. The modern English King had to act publicly as the custodian of religion, and also as the liberal patron of the arts, for, (again in Dryden's words),

... Colleges on bounteous Kings depend(1)
And never Rebell was to Arts a friend.

Yet the lack of a true Augustus in England is partly indicated by the fact that Charles was a secret Catholic, and that George II had no interest in literature and little in the arts as a whole - except perhaps music, although Handel himself had difficulty in pleasing his monarch and fellow countryman. This would further corroborate Goldsmith's and Joseph Warton's notion that the Augustan age in England

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lasted from around 1686 until 1714, that it reached its height in the last years of William, and began to decline slowly after the death of Anne. William and Augustus were both military monarchs. The reign of Anne, especially the last four years, witnessed a remarkable flourishing of letters. Her reign has a great significance for the history of English literature, not because one genius stood out from all the rest, but because the language itself had achieved a new clarity, a jewelled correctness of expression, and brilliance and orderliness of thought. This too is the importance of the period stretching from the last years of the Roman Republic to the reign of Tibarius. The literary developments were the results of social changes - in both cases, periods of conservatism, compromise, consolidation and imperialist expansion following a revolutionary upheaval in the social structure.

Though Italy at the time of the Punic Wars was still an agrarian economy, trade had increased and Rome grew in size, unchallenged in its supremacy in the Mediterranean after the defeat of Hannibal. A period of plunder followed, and wealth began to flow in from provinces conquered by Roman legions. The growth of trade and the beginnings of Empire brought about the corresponding growth of a mercantile and banking middle class - the Knights, or equites, who came to assume such an important role in the society of Augustus. The growth of a bourgeoisie also brought with it changes in cultural life. Mythological and religious systems were weakened. A new rationalism tended to supplant older forms of thought, such as superstition. The senatorial aristocracy in the Empire, more dependent on the new middle class, whose function was largely a contracting and usurious, rather than a strictly commercial or industrial one, threatened the stability of the old nobility.

Many Roman and English writers remarked on the rise of new men (that is, those who did not belong to the old hereditary families), while the period of early colonial plunder the reign of Elizabeth was also this, though not militaristic in
the Roman sense - came with the period in Rome during and after the third Punic War. With the consolidation of this historical development, the 'Middle Ages' of both Rome and England could be said to come to an end. As Max Beer points out, '(Antiquity) was not a historical unity. Greece, like Rome, had its early tribal period, its 'Middle Ages', and its 'Renaissance'. The European Renaissance was, one could say, the last to occur in world history. The writings of Bacon, Descartes, Hobbes and Locke, like those of Lucretius and Epicurus, attacked the superstition which had dominated in the respective English and Roman 'Middle Ages'. The numerous parallels one can find between ancient and modern history reflect parallel historical stages of social development. After the Second Punic War there was a growth of Mediterranean trade, just as there was in the late Middle Ages in Europe, following the long period of mercantile stagnation. (Sea routes once more became the rule, as opposed to the old overland routes, to India, for example.)

It is not our task, however, to see the parallel through modern eyes - we are in a much better position to see the truth than our predecessors, and many important facts which we can gather about ancient Rome were not available to men in the early eighteenth century. We must, therefore, reflect the parallels through the eyes of seventeenth and eighteenth century writers and contrast these, if possible, with the fundamental and organic dissimilarities.

The discrepancies which arise out of the neo-classical imitations, the contradictions in English neo-classicism as a whole - the inability to write, for example, a successful neo-classical epic - all derive largely from a mistaken view of classical history and classical culture. The view was mistaken not because men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were indulging in wishful thinking and self-deception, though that could also be said to be true. The misconception was

(1) In Social Struggles in Antiquity (1922), pp. 1-10.
inevitable because no one living around 1700 could know that the period of calm and compromise, of 'Augustan Peace,' would be shattered by the Industrial Revolution, the enormous growth of technology and the expansion of the productive forces. No one in 20 B.C. or in 1700 A.D. could know that it was possible for man to harness nature to the extent which he later did, or that a middle class would in fact be victorious, while aristocratic societies would be replaced by industrial states. Though Puritans, progressive Whigs and Dissenters saw the possibility of man becoming free (in the sense of conquering nature), the narrow Augustan view, based on the analogy, was that only decline was possible. Augustans pointed to the decay of the Roman Empire, and attacked the modern middle class just as Horace had warned against mercantilism encroaching upon senatorial virtue and dignity under Augustus. The parallel breaks down, of course, because Roman slave society collapsed, whereas English manufacturing society, based on the market and on wage labour, continued to advance. For us, then, the comparisons enrich our understanding of how societies develop, but for the Augustans, the fundamental dissimilarities proved to be one of the things that undermined their cultural position.

One writer whose political and social thought was conditioned by the Roman analogy was St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, and his ideas are important in relation to Pope's theory of satire and Pope's considered judgements on contemporary society.

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(1) An interesting example of early liberal optimism is William Ayre's *Truth: A Counterpart to Mr. Pope's Essay on Man* (1739), a poem which pronounced a liberal philosophy in which man acquired freedom through rational control over nature. For Ayre, man had become dynamic, even god-like. Such an ideology was totally opposed to the neo-classical, Augustan spirit of restraint and compromise.

(2) The points in Bolingbroke's arguments have been taken from *A Dissertation upon Parties*, *The Idea of a Patriot King*, *Reflections on the Present State of the Nation* and the *Letter to Pope*.
Kike Swift, Bolingbroke states that he is against factions. He believes in the balanced constitution, in a hereditary monarchy, based on the immutable laws of Virtue and Reason. Like Dryden, he distrusts the people - meaning by and large the traders, manufacturers and artisans - because as Dryden said, they pretend "publick Good, to serve their own". For Bolingbroke, the landed men are the governors or captains of the political vessel: - the monied men, represented by the corporations, are mere passengers in it. The balance of the state is broken because the monied men, through their manipulation of Parliament, work for their own benefit at the expense of others - others meaning those 'Patriots' whom Bolingbroke upholds. Basically, then, Bolingbroke sees the perfect constitution as maintaining a balance between the various class interests, the monarch acting as the supreme judge and legislator over all. His concept of 'the monied men' is, however, based on the Roman analogy. He does not recognize industrial and trading capital as a progressive social force. Instead, money is usually morally corrupting, and serves selfish ends. He bases his idea of the governing aristocracy on the Roman senatorial aristocracy, and the monied men, or bourgeoisie, he sees in the same light as the contracting, usurious equestrian order, which was held in check under Augustus, but which became so economically important. In purely Roman terms, Bolingbroke's thesis of the aristocratic élite, setting the example of Virtue and Reason to what Goldsmith called "the middle ranks of mankind", has a certain validity. Applied to the contemporary English context,

(1) Absalom and Achitophel, 1.504.
(2) To reconcile self-love and Christian social love in economic terms became an eighteenth century problem, as demonstrated in Mandeville's The Fable of the Bees.
the idea falls down. The English bourgeoisie was not the same as the equestrian order, the business men in Rome. It was not dependent on the landed men, but on markets and the availability of labour and resources. Capital in Rome did not have an organic function; investment did nothing to increase productivity, and Roman civilisation, though in some ways it reached great heights, was always backward technologically. Since techniques remained primitive, and no class existed to improve upon it, society could not advance. In England, however, the drive for profit and the accumulation of capital necessitated improvements in productive methods. Bolingbroke, of course, did not recognise this. For him the Roman situation - Nature being everywhere the same - acted as an important glass through which to interpret modern social phenomena.

The analogy, then, goes so far, but no further. Yet it ran deep in the 'Augustan' mind, largely because of classical training, education and discipline. The 'Augustan Age' came to mean more than a literary peak because those assumptions we have discussed above lay behind so many of the statements made by its prophets, allies and propagandists.

Goldsmith used the phrase 'Augustan Age' but the term had been applied similarly long before, and in *A Collection of Letters and Essays on Several Subjects* (1792), the author, James Arbuckle, was also thinking in terms of a peak in literary development, such as had occurred in Rome under Augustus and in England under Elizabeth.

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(1) See W. Warde Fowler, *Social Life in Rome* (1908), for an analysis of the different social classes in Rome.

(2) The first reference is probably that in the Preface to the Second part of Waller's *Poems* (1690): "I question whether in Charles the Second's Reign English did not come to its full perfection; and whether it has not had its Augustan age, as well as the Latin". (sig.A2v). In *Reflections on Dr. Swift's Letter* (1712), probably by John Oldmixon, we read: '... King Charles the Second's Reign, which probably may be the Augustan Age of English Poetry ...' (p.5). The title was later more aptly applied to the reigns of William and Anne.
William and Ann. Arbuckle says that Roman learning and eloquence had a short term of duration. It began to reach its height with Lucretius, and entered its long term of decline after Tiberius.

Cicero, and Livy, Virgil, and Horace, who were the greatest, and most justly admired among the Latin Authors, were all Contemporaries; and wrote either at, or very near the same time... It seemed as if Nature had exerted her utmost in producing such an extraordinary Set of Men at once, and thereby render'd herself unable to continue the succession; that warm sunshine of Wit and Learning being soon followed with a long and dismal Winter of Ignorance and Barbarity, from whence the World did not recover till after the Expiration of many Ages. (1)

There is an obvious suggestion here that the cycle will be repeated, and that the eighteenth century will also be a period of decline. Thus the idea of decline (a more empirical and rational development of the Jacobean concept of decadence as the slowing down, or winding down of the universe) appeared early on in the century, but became dominant with the coming together of Goldsmith, Johnson, Young and, of course, Gibbon, in the second half of the century. We must not, however, forget the gloomy vision of Swift in Gulliver's Travels, nor the pessimism of Pope in the fourth book of The Dunciad, both of whom pointed to a social, moral, political and cultural degeneration speaks of the revival of "knowledge and good sense" which followed the "dismal Winter of Ignorance and Barbarity" — a common enough assessment of the Renaissance. He also, however, adumbrates what Goldsmith was later to 'officially' designate as the 'Augustan Age', and his comments are of no small interest to us in this context:

(1) A Collection of Letters ... (1729), ii, p.94. These were first published in the Dublin Journal in July, 1726.
The last remarkable Class of good Authors we have had, [he presumably means writers such as Dryden, Roscommon, Congreve, Prior, Pope, Gay, Addison and Steele], was a few years ago, who improved our Taste and Language to the utmost perfection they seemed capable of. 1

This was a new era of British learning and eloquence. The "warm fit", however, was over, and one had therefore to "prepare for a colder one."

Our immediate Predecessors have soared too high for us to do any more than gaze on them at an humble distance. 2

He ends by hinting that the next era will be one in which Dullness will reign.

The aristocracy, the political system and the social structure as a whole certainly appeared degenerate to the radicals and revolutionaries of the late eighteenth century. We have already mentioned the fact that Juvenal's popularity in the late eighteenth century is in no small part connected with a sense of moral and social decay, such as had existed under Nero and Domitian. That this decay was seen in Roman terms is supported by the presence of so many imitations of Juvenal at this time. The decline, however, was seen not only in moral, but in economic and political terms by contemporary writers.

Thomas Blackwell's Memoirs of the Court of Augustus (1753) also help us to see the way in which minds steeped in Roman history and culture interpreted what was going on around them. Blackwell intends

...to show by what Steps a brave and free People, from being the Conquerors of the Western World, came first to forfeit their Liberties, and, by degrees, sink into Slavery, and become the meanest of Mankind. 3

(1) Ibid., p.30.
(2) Ibid., p.31.
(3) Memoirs of the Court of Augustus (1753), i., p.4.
The men he admires are the "noblemen" in the court of Augustus, such as Pollio, Trebatius, Lollius, or the young Piso, and there is a revealing comment on Horace's satires and epistles, which for Blackwell evoke in detail the whole social situation.

As we grow acquainted with them, we read his Writings with higher Relish; and could that Acquaintance be improved into a Familiarity, we would enter into the Propriety of every Word and Thought: we would figure to ourselves such Men as Pollio, Trebatius, Lollius, or the young Piso receiving his Letters, and imagine we saw the Features of Pleasure and Shame changing alternatively upon their Faces, while they perused these artful Instructions and concealed Reproofs, which procured him so many valuable Friendships when alive, and have since secured him so high a Reputation where-ever his Works are known.

It is easy to see how the Roman figures would be sought in the modern context, so that the persons to whom Pope, Ogle, Hamilton, Nevile and the rest addressed their poetical letters, were types of the great Roman figures. Similarly, Samuel Cobb said in 1710:

...to find a Fault with Allowances for human Frailty, is the Property of a Gentleman. Who then is this Critick? You will find him in Quintillus Varus of Cremona, who when any Author shew'd him his composition, laid aside the Fastus common to our supercilious Readers; and when he happen'd on any Mistake, Corrige sodes hoc aiebat et hoc.

This is a reconstruction based on small evidence. Varus is the archetype of the reasonable, understanding, unbiased critic. Does he exist anywhere today?—the question would be asked. Naturally, he will be found, because poets will look for him.

(1) Ibid., p.6.
(2) 'A Discourse on Criticism and the Liberty of Writing' in Poems on Several Occasions, With Imitations. by Samuel Cobb. (1710), p.vi.
Blackwell, then, seeks the Augustan types of noblemen in contemporary society, but he regards Augustus himself as an artful moderator and mediator, rather like Charles II. Though a usurper, he "made the Romans sensible how much a well-regulated Monarchy was preferable to a turbulent Liberty". (1) Stability is economic: during the Civil Wars (in Rome and in England) property was on a precarious foundation. After the Restoration, and with the coming of Augustus, "Property became again stable and secure." (2) Blackwell tells us plainly that he is not looking into ancient history for scholastic reasons; instead of turning men away from life and nature, he wishes to re-direct them towards it, especially "great and magnanimous Life". (3) The analogy is therefore developed:

The Hypocrisy and Preciseness affected by the Faction which wrested the Government out of the Hands of the Parliament in 1642, and the Mischiefs which ensued, had almost thrown this Nation into Irreligion and Slavery after the Restoration. Just so the Cruelty and Violence under which the Romans had groaned during the Course of a long and dreadful civil War, made them willing to bear any Diminution of their Privileges, and sit down contented with any sort of Government, rather than be again plunged into the same Misery. (4)

The chief part of Augustus' cunning was to preserve the old forms of the "free government, and endeavouring, under that Veil, to keep his usurpation from Sight". (5) Augustus showed moderation in private life so that "no-one would wish for a change." (6)

(2) Ibid., p. 262.
(3) Ibid., pp. 263 - 4.
(4) Ibid., p. 301.
(5) Ibid., p. 304.
Blackwell reveals a growing disillusionment with the Augustan Age. Though his work is incomplete, and much may have been interpolated by the friends who prepared the manuscript for publication, the disillusionment reflects the change in consciousness in this period: Horace, Virgil, Tibullus and Ovid "are but Imitators", (1) for example.

The declining state of culture was analysed succinctly and ably by Goldsmith in *An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe* (1759). He begins by comparing, predictably, ancient and modern learning, but not in the way that Sir William Temple and William Wotton had done towards the end of the seventeenth century:

> If Modern Learning be compared with Ancient in these different lights, a parallel between both, which has hitherto produced only vain dispute, may contribute to amusement, perhaps instruction. (2)

Like Blackwell and others, Goldsmith sees the need for a "free government", comfortable circumstances, and security, so that the arts may flourish. Goldsmith praises the Romans' capacity to blend art and science for their mutual improvement, and their rationalism, which he connects with English empiricism:

> They entirely banished the magical obscurity, which the Greeks first borrowed from other nations ... The learning of the Romans might justly be stiled, the truest refinement on common sense ... the arts and sciences went on together, and reasoning proceeded no farther than where experiment pointed out the way. (3)

It is clear from this passage that Goldsmith is giving the Romans English qualities just as he gives the English Roman ones, in order to add substance to the parallels he makes. The decay began when learning was separated from common

(3) *Ibid*, pp.244-5.
sense, when the age of idle speculation began:

From hence ancient learning may be distinguished into three periods. Its commencement, or the age of poets; its maturity, or the age of philosophers; and its decline, or the age of critics. 1

Chapter IV of the Enquiry is headed, 'A parallel between the rise and decline of ancient and modern learning'. The decay, says Goldsmith, is inevitable. Every new prescription for the cure simply adds to the disease. Poetry has lost its originality and vitality; criticism abounds. The allusion is to the growth of the grammarians during the Roman Empire. The decline is also, however, due to political struggles in the state. Here again, by alluding to the endless internecine disputes and factions which raged in Rome, Goldsmith gives the contemporary struggles the same twist: nothing except chaos and anarchy can result from political struggles. He talks of literary magazines and publications and says:

The compilers of these resemble the commoners of Rome, they are all for levelling property, not by increasing their own, but by diminishing that of others. 2

Whether Goldsmith is entirely serious here is questionable, but it would not be fanciful to suppose that the English Levellers and their descendants were more or less equated with the reform movements in Rome. (The Levellers demanded more economic equality and political democracy, the Gracchi demanded the restoration of peasants' rights, and Catiline the redistribution of property to counteract the growth of latifundia. Spartacus, like Winstanley and the Diggers, supported primitive agrarian communism.)

(1) Ibid., p.270.
(2) Ibid., p.289.
The parallel Goldsmith continually drew out was understood by the readers; they did not need to have it laboured. The Augustan Age would return only with enlightened, noble patronage, a free and stable constitution, and true prosperity, not with cultural levelling, bookselling and publishing, the risk of which was linked, for Goldsmith, with the enclosures, the growth of manufacture and large towns, and rural decline - which meant the decline of certain basic values. Goldsmith is partly serious in his parallel when he connects the invasion of Rome by Goths and Vandals with the invasion of Nature and Sensibility by the new mercenary order. He, like many others since, idealized England's 'Augustan Age' itself, just as many English Augustans idealized the Augustan Age in Rome. This was possible because the Roman Augustans had idealized themselves, so that everything could be seen through an ideal vision that was also based on an empirical assessment of facts.

Imitations have a central importance for the Roman analogy, since they operate inside it. The burlesque imitations are to a great extent the result of the breakdown of the analogy itself. The town-eclogues, burlesque odes, mock-didactic imitations, and Pope's Epistle to Augustus represent the discrepancy between the Augustan ideal and imitation - in the broad sense - as a practical possibility in an age of decline or an age which lacks the basic requirements for an 'Augustan' culture. At the same time, the satiric imitations apply the techniques and attitudes of Juvenal and Horace to, say, the 1680's or the 1730's on the understanding that human nature has not changed, and that modern conditions are analogous to ancient ones. The success of Oldham's or of Pope's 'naturalization' of Roman satires is in no small way due to the fact that there were real parallels, while for some "Rome was now rivall'd in her Vices". (1)

(1) Thomas Creech, preface to The Odes, Satyrs and Epistles of Horace (1684), p. ii. Creech says how English writers have noted that "inhuman Hypocrisy, Profaneness, Avarice and the like were easy to be found".
England as a young Empire began to resemble the Roman Empire in that it had arrived at an unprecedentedly high level of material culture. This cultural as well as economic growth seemed to bring its faults, vices and dangers as well as its more positive achievements.

Juvenal attacked a society in which women enjoyed great freedom, the nobility was declining, and 'monied men' - to use Bolingbroke's term - were rising to new positions. Hugh Last, however, shows how even after the Punic Wars, the old agrarian society and the aristocratic oligarchy, with its traditions, were being weakened by the influx of wealth, (1) while Horace condemned both the winning of inheritance (Sat. II, v) and the effect of the equestrian class on artistic culture (Ars Poetica, and Ep. II, i). The freedom of women (the *dona* in Rome eventually became only a loan, thus loosening the marriage contract) is also, of course, a feature of Restoration society, when, for example, 'country wives', having come to London with their husbands, were now courted by gallants, or frequented plays and operas. The *novus homo* is characteristic not only of the late Republic and early Empire, but also of the post-Elizabethan era in England. Augustan Rome, like Augustan England, marked at the same time an increase in the accumulation of wealth and a tendency to play down ostentation. Pope is nowhere more Augustan than when he ridicules Timon's villa, with its opulent vulgarity, and lauds the taste of men such as Bathurst and Burlington, who nevertheless had huge and fine houses.

Ironic and burlesque imitation, as we have said, points the contrast between the ancient ideal and modern 'reality'. Its interest is not diminished

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by the fact that, sometimes unconsciously, it tells us something about the ancient 'reality'. Augustus' 'reign of peace and prosperity', in which a man's first duty was to the Roman State, (as it had been in the Republic), is the picture that was painted by its propagandists. The Roman Empire was a slave-society. Rome itself, in fact (as Jerome Carcopino points out in *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*), was also a gigantic and horrible slum, whose tall tenements, or *insulae*, as they were called, housed hundreds of thousands of people in appalling conditions. The fundamental reality of Roman civilization was an irredeemable inequality that intensified the more that civilization grew. The English Augustans took a somewhat narrow social view of it - just as, indeed, intelligent Romans had - and thus saw the rise of feudalism not as a basic social advance on the slave of slaveowner relationship, but as a lapse into the 'Dark Ages'. For a similar reason, the rise of bourgeois industrial society represented a 'decline' following the age of manufacture, the domestic system, and landed 'Virtue'.

The 'classical' outlook is difficult to reconcile with the idea of progress. The myths of Daedalus, Phaeton, Prometheus and Midas, the strictures on men's foolish tempting of the gods and the elements, the continual fear of divine punishment, the Stoic acceptance of pain and suffering, Epicurean *seguus animus* - all reflect both a noble humanism and a conditioned reconciliation to the 'fact' of Man's weakness, evil, loss of freedom and lack of independence. Such an outlook was consistent with the idea of history as a general decline containing a series of cycles, rises and falls, each rise being lower than the last. In cultural terms this implied not evolution but a perfectibilitarian kind of rise
towards a peak, followed by decay, followed by a revival. The Roman analogy and the cyclic view of human history can be seen as part of an underlying pessimism found throughout the eighteenth century. At the same time, it was tied to the positive aspirations of the period, and it is the positive side of imitation which we have attempted to bring out in this study.
Appendix B.

Imitations of Horace's Odes.

(i) Political and patriotic exhortation, panegyric and invective.

Most of these odes served a particular historical occasion and are therefore mostly ephemeral as poetry. The events which gave rise to such imitations were, in the main, the following: the Puritan Revolution, the 1688 Settlement, the victories and reign of William III, the struggles inside the Church, and the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745.

ENGLANDS Sin and Shame: In a Parallel between the Degenerate Estate of Old ROME and GREAT BRITAIN. OR, HOB. Lib. 3. Ode 6 ... Occasionally Paraphrased, and applied for the 30th January 1672. Being the Anniversary of the Murder of that Blessed Martyr King CHARLES I.

This imitation is mentioned by H. F. Brooks. It is the earliest example of the thoroughly 'naturalized' imitation, to which the Roman analogy is central. Horace's ode, both a grim account of moral and social decline, and a warning that modern Romans will pay for the crimes of civil war, abuse of religion and the marriage vow, is easily turned into a commentary on Restoration decline, the English Civil War, and the revolutionary overthrow of established religion. Horace's "mature virgo", who perfects the art of sexual provocation, provides the hint for a favourite (and Miltonic) preoccupation, weakened and corrupted manhood:

How much did Adam's Fall this truth evince?
But, how more wicked is that sex grown since!

(1) See 'The "Imitation" in English Poetry, Especially in Formal Satire, before the Age of Pope.' RES, xxv (1949), p.125.
Just as Horace looks back to the pure-bred young heroes of the Punic Wars, so the imitator looks back to the pious, hard-working heroes of the Crusades.


A straightforward, 'patriotic' imitation. Rome becomes "deluded Albion", softly lulled by her constant enemy. The poet calls on her to awake from her degenerate state. The princess who in Horace sighs from the ramparts becomes Madame de Maintenon. The versification is in 'Pindarics'.


Horace's prophetic indictment is applied to the Whig-Presbyterian hold over Scotland - cause of her miseries. The third and fourth stanzas parallel Horace with an account of the devastation that has swept the country. The public spirit has gone and only "Private Interests" remain. A loosely structured political invective.

To the Yatch, which carried the Duke of Marlborough to Holland, (1707)(2) By William Harison.

An imitation of Odes I, iii. A dull, optimistic piece. Jove, the vengeance of Heaven, is a reminder of what may befall over-ambitious, 'wicked' humanity:

per nostrun patimur scelus
irrumpit furem ponere fulmina.

(1) Poems on Several Occasions (1733), iii, pp. 35-47.
This becomes:

Behold! The vengeful Thunderer in Arms
Surveys the Field, with Slaughter spread,
And points his CHURCHILL at the Tyrant's Head.

Imitation of *Odes* III, iii (1707)\(^1\) By William Walsh.

In this 'Augustan' ode Horace celebrates the man who is resolute and
unshakeable in his devotion to justice. Augustus is the living example,
Romulus the archetype, who is presented through the voice of Juno. The
goddess forecasts the extension of the Roman Empire and the inevitable
defeat of other nations foolhardy enough to challenge her supremacy.

The perfectly serious application of Augustan virtues to William is
justified by the fact that he is helping to build a British Empire, keeps
enemies at bay, settles internal dissensions, and acts as an enlightened
patron, while under his Law and Religion assume their proper dignity. The
imitation is interesting for the consistency of its parallels. It also has
some rhythmical and poetic qualities. Walsh is not insensitive to the
civilised urbanity of the original. Too often such 'Augustan' imitations,

... like Sir Richard, rumbling, rough and fierce, (2)
With ARMS, and GEORGE, and BRUNSWICK crowd the Verse.

Horace turn'd Whigg; OR, A Low-Church ODE, (1710).

An imitation of the seventh epode, and an angry denunciation of those who
threaten to renew civil strife. Horace asks if enough Roman blood has not already
been shed: domestic foes are worse than wolves or lions. In the imitation the
Jacobites are Anne's real enemies. Horace's passionate brevity and rasping
anger become partisan rhetoric. The question,

\(^1\) *The Odes and Satires of Horace* ... (1715), p.84.
furorne causus an rapit vis aorior
an culpa?

is turned into a challenge to the Tories whether Louis and their "Great Idol",
James Stuart, are not their real cause. Their faces show the pallor of
Horace's guilty men when the Union is so vehemently defended.

An Imitation of the 5th Ode of Horace, Ep. 4 (1714?)

A pro-Jacobite imitation. Horace's ode was written just before the return
of Augustus from Gaul in 13 B.C. When Caesar is home, Romans sleep in safety,
the oxen plough the fields, crime flees, and the husbandman invites his Emperor's
assistance through prayer.

Caesar becomes James Stuart, who is awaited to relieve Scots from
"oppression". The German swarms feared in Horace but kept at bay by Augustus
become the Hanoverians. James will restore morality and chastity. How
effective such pieces of propaganda were is hard to say. That they were
popular in imitation form is certain.

An Imitation of the Prophecy of Nereus, from Horace, Lib. 1, Od. 15., (1715) (1)

An anti-Jacobite broadside. Modern interpretation of this ode has seen
it as a lyric reduction of an epic theme but the imitator sees it as an
allegory (Helen = Cleopatra). The Jacobite prince, as Paris, is the lolling,
degenerate anti-hero. Horace's wonderful lines, suggesting with the deer
simile Paris' desperate and pathetic isolation,

... cervus uti pallis in altera
visum parte lupum graenis ismemor,
sublimi fugies mollis enhelitu,
on hoo pollicitus tuue

(1) Dodsley's Collection of Poems. (1759), i, p.38.
become the much more commonplace -

While like a Herd of tim'rous Deer
Thy Army shakes and pants with Fear,
Led by their Doughty Gen'ral's Skill,
From Firth to Firth, from Hill to Hill. (1)

HORACE Book I. Ode 15, paraphrased and Inscribed to the Church of England,
(1736) (2) By 'PALAEOPHILUS'.

Dacier, in his note on this ode, (3) rejected the allegorical interpretation,
where Horace's ship is seen as the ship of state. This imitation, however,
cleverly turns the ode into a clear defence of ecclesiastical conservative
orthodoxy:

See' at not the Scripture, thy main stately mast
Low bending, crack'd by that late southern blast?
Thy Articles which on that mast depend
Like sail yards, each heretic puff can rend.
Thy Rubricks, like strong cordage made to bind,
All loose, or broken with schismatrick wind. (2)

Horace's ship is made of the best Pontic pine. The English Church is made
of British oak, which flourished in the forest before "Rome's cunning workmen"
refitted and 'reformed' it. The course of Anglicanism must be balanced
between whiggish self-interest and Romish superstition.

HOR. Lib iv. Ode iv imitated. (1744). (4) By 'A Minister in Devonshire'.

A mediocre example of patriotic verse.

(1) Ibid., p. 59.
To his Royal Highness Prince WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, of Cumberland. Jan. 1, 1746.

In Imitation of Horace, Ode II. Book I.

Horace makes a plea for peace after the reminder of the upheavals of civil war. Caesar becomes Cumberland, who subdues the "ragged, hungry, Highland crew".

An Ode, to the Inhabitants of Great-Britain; in Imitation of Horace, Bk. III,

Ode VI (1747).

This is another warning against the decline of religion and growth of debauchery. The parallels wear thin and the attitude is similar to that of a typical 'reactionary'.

An Ode to the People of GREAT-BRITAIN. In Imitation of the Sixth ODE of the

Third Book of Horace (1751). (1)

Written in 1746, this is yet another warning against the papal yoke and moral decline.

The FEMALE REIGN. An ODE. Alluding to HORACE. Ode iv. B. xlv. Attempted in

the Style of Pindar, (1753). (2) By S[amuel] Cobb, M.A.

The imitation is prefaced by a letter explaining the author's methods of imitation, supported by reference to the methods of Horace himself, who "took the same liberty with Alcaeus". The digressions and transitions, he adds, contribute to the main design, which was "the way of Pinder, to read whom, according to Rapin, will give a truer idea of the ode, than all the rules and reflections of the best critics".

(1) Dodsley's Collection of Poems (1751), iii, p.12.

The performance is no more than average. A bellicose piece attempting to rival Horace's song of praise for a mighty Empire, the imitation possibly gave some of its contemporary readers the illusion that they were really seeing Anne's reign and Marlborough's victories through Pindar, Alcaeus and Horace. The verse is of an uneven quality and the thoughts are unimaginative. Imitations by John Duncombe in The Works of Horace (1767), ii and iii.

In the preface to this edition of Horace, Duncombe quotes a Mr. Gloucester Ridley:

The little Incidents and Circumstances of History, the Manners of the Persons addressed to, the Rites and Customs referred to, in War, Politics, and Religion, were familiar to the Latin Readers, and gave them a Propriety, Elegance, and Ease, which must be lost to the English Reader; and, though assisted by the Notes, he finds it rather a Study, than an Entertainment. I therefore think that Imitations and Accommodations will generally succeed better than strict Translations. (1)

Duncombe is very consistent in his parallels. The prophecy of Nereus is again applied to the Jacobite rebellion, Paris becoming Charles Stuart. Odes III, iv, one of the most beautiful of Horace's Odes, in which the poet describes a vision, is addressed 'To Liberty' by Duncombe. Odes IV, v transfers onto George II Horace's praise of Augustus. A novel parallel is found for the husbandman whose idyllic existence is described in the eighth and ninth stanzas of Horace's ode: the Indian chieftain bows "the plumy Honours of his Brow" at George's name, lays his hatchet by, and shoots his arrows only at birds and animals. Such a vision helped to maintain the idea that colonialism was a beneficial, civilising influence.

(ii) Burlesque, travesty and satire.


(1) The Works of Horace (1767), i, p.x.
This imitation was one of two which were occasioned by Steele's pamphlet The Grisies, written on the question of the succession. Horace, addressing Pollio, observed that the fire of civil war still smouldered beneath deceptive ashes. He urged this man on whom the state relied to continue writing tragedies. Swift makes a neat ironical parallel:

And when thou'rt bid adieu to Cares,
And settled Europe's Grand Affairs,
'Twill then, perhaps, be worth by while
For Drury-lane to shape thy stile. (2)

Horace's lines describing the noise of battle (better heard on the stage than in reality):

iam nunc minaci murmure cornum
pestringis auris, iam litui strepunt

are cleverly burlesqued:

Methinks I hear thee loud, as Trumpet,
As Bagpipe shrill, or Oyster-Strumpet. (3)

(Note how - intentionally or otherwise - "Strumpet" humourously echoes "strepunt".) Horace evokes the horrible image of seas discoloured by slaughter. Swift quotes Steele's inflammatory reminders of the bloodshed caused by Catholic oppression. Steele's warnings, Swift is saying, are just theatrical performances, and this makes a brilliantly clever 'interpretation' of Horace's ode.

Horace's integer Vitae, Etc. Imitated (Or, rather, Burlesqued), (1733). (4)

This imitation is discussed by R. P. Bond. (5) it is highly unlikely to be

(1) The other imitation is discussed in Chapter 8, pp. 340-41.
(2) Ibid., p. 181.
(3) Ibid., p. 182.
(4) Matthew Prior, Poems on Several Occasions (1733), iii, pp. 112-114.
the work of Prior. The substance of this burlesque lies in substituting for Horace's praise of the life innocent of sin a life devoted to drinking. The man who is drunk fears no one:

Undaunted he goes among Bullies and Whores, Demolishes Windows, and breaks open Doors, He revels all Night, is afraid of no Evil, And boldly defies both the Proctor and Devil.

Horace's ode is not just a declaration of high moral principles. (1) It contains an element of playful wit: the monstrosity of the wolf and the confession to something very near superstition are surely indications that we are not intended to take the incident entirely seriously. Horace is saying that the lover and the writer of love poems is safe wherever he goes (the feeling described is not very far from that expressed in the sentiment 'all the world loves a lover'). The idea in Odes III, iv, is not dissimilar, in which the poet feels protected by the Muses. (2) The burlesque, by changing the lover of Lalage into a drinker (both are 'drunk' in the sense that they have delusions of security in their happy oblivion) still relates to the meaning of the original - it is a comic debasement of that meaning, but, like a top hat image turned into that of a cloth cap, not a gratuitous distortion.

A DIALOGUE between the Rt Hon. Sir R — t W——le, and W — m P — y Esq; in Imitation of Horace. Ode IX Lib. 3, (1733). (3)

A political burlesque in the beautiful dialogue between Horace and Lydia. Both have left the other for new partners, yet confess they would re-unite should

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(2) This is taken up by Milton, together with the Horatian idea of reward, in the sonnet beginning "Captain, or Colonel, or Knight at arms..."
their past love return. Walpole is the poet, Pulteney Lydia. Walpole's new ally is Newcastle, Pulteney's Bolingbroke. Pulteney is the one who, as a changeling, is accused, in this case of being an unstable ally of the Tories.

HORACE. Ode XIV. Book II. imitated. (1735) \(^{1}\)

Horace's ode reflects on the passing of the years and the inevitability of death. The imitation applies the same idea to books, and is a mock-lament on the inevitable decay of poetic dullness and pedantic criticism.

HOR. Ode XIV. B. II. Imitated. (1737) \(^{2}\) By 'LABEO'.

The burlesque theme is the same as the previous imitation. All, says Horace, are destined to visit Pluto's shades and cross the lake. The pages of Grubstreet's sons are likewise doomed; their voluminous works will be assigned to dark obscurity. The sad tone of resignation is intended to annoy those attacked, but the result is not clever and somewhat spiteful.

HORACE, Book I. Ode 6. Scriberis Vario, E c. imitated. JULY 13, 1739. The Day on which Lady Carolina Ponsonby was married at CHATSWORTH, the Seat of her Father the Duke of Devonshire. \(^{3}\) By 'N.E.'

Horace expressed diffidence in attempting epic flights. The imitator does not wish to render Lady Carolina Ponsonby ridiculous by writing like Cibber.

HOR. Ode vi. B.I. To Agrippa Imitated. Inscribed to Sir ---, (1742) \(^{4}\)

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(2) Ibid., vii, p.566.
(3) Ibid., ix, p.377.
(4) Ibid., xii, p.47.
Like the previous imitation, this takes the opportunity of hitting at Colley Cibber. Horace's ode concludes with the description of those un-epic battles in which girls scratch young men. The imitation likewise ends with references to maids and beaux, but completely lacks the wit and the taut, nervous energy of the original.

The PRETTY CHAMBERMAID. Imitated from Horace, B. III. Od. iv., (1745). (1)

'By a Gentleman of Cambridge'.

Horace's ode, full of the best precedents, condones making love to slave girls; (2) Flimsy justification is given on the basis that they may be from a noble lineage. The 'Gentleman of Cambridge' tells his friend:

Who knows, but Folly too may be
A piece of ruin'd royalty;
She has (I cannot doubt it) been
The daughter of some mighty queen;
But fate's irremediable doom
Has chang'd her sceptre for a broom.

(1) Ibid., xvi, p. 552.

(2) 'Mr T.', in his notes on Horace (Spence's Anecdotes, ed. J.M. Osborn (Oxford, 1965), ii, pp. 662-679), defends the poet against the charge of debauchery and states that he never advised breaking Roman laws or recommended adultery and attachments to married women. Apart from this, says 'Mr T.', Horace copied the Greeks, and some things may have remained that were proper for Greeks but not for Romans. From his odes some have concluded Horace was a great "debauchee" (p. 679). However, "of his odes there are twenty-one that are panegyrical and satirical; nineteen familiar or relating to his friends; and nine personal or relating to himself; eight political or historical; sixteen moral; and eleven religious or devotional; seventeen gay and jovial; and twenty that are amorous," (p. 679).
To the Cantabrigian ALMA MATER. Horace Ode I. Imitated. Camb. Feb. 3. (1747)(1)

Another Cambridge gentleman, rejecting all other pursuits for poetry and women, wishes to be ranked with Swift, Pope, Gray and Prior, scorning "Philosophy's dull rules" and mounting "in lovely Patie's praise";

An Ode to the Hon. Philip Yorke, Esq. Horace, B. II, Od. xvi imitated (1747)(2)

[By Soames Jenyns]

This ode celebrates what Horace calls 'otium', that is, peace of mind and the leisureed, recreative life of the cultured man which Richard Brathwait thought an essential part of gentility. Jenyns' imitation is addressed to those who are tired of electioneering. Horace ends by setting out the (for him) ideal situation, in which Fate has bestowed on him "parva rura", a spirit sensitive to the Grecian Muses, and a mind aloof from the envy of the crowd. The mob can be dispersed by bribes and lictors, but not the mind's anxieties. Jenyns, like Oldham, is ever topical and local, Horace's aloofness becoming jaunty and colloquial. The last two stanzas of the imitation closely follow their original:

The gods to you, will bounteous hand,
Have granted seats, and parks, and land;
Brocades and silks you wear;
With claret and ragouts you treat;
Six neighing steeds with nimble feet
Whirl on your gilded car.

To me they've giv'n a small retreat,
Good port, and mutton, best of meat!
With broad-cloth on my shoulders;
A soul that scorns a dirty job,
Loves a good rhyme, and hates the mob,
I mean, that a'n't free-holders.

(2) Ibid., p.587.
The last two lines are an amusing adaptation of Horace's

_Verba non mendax dedit et malignum
spemere vulgus._

**Interc Vitae imitated. Inscribed to JOSEPH the MILLER at Toll-free Mill (1753)**(1)

A travesty in the style of Cotton.


The poet harks back to the days of the Roman Republic, the imitator to those of Elizabeth, when tastes were simple and rampant materialism was much less in evidence. Cambridge may have read another imitation of this ode 'by a Lady', written in 1716, who voiced a fairly common (and under-estimated) desire for a return to the old Gothic:

_Then let us imitate our Sires,
And finish the majestic Spire,
Which slowly rise to Heaven._(3)


This political imitation is far cleverer than the previous dialogue between Walpole and Pulteney. Sir Richard used to triumph on the Thames: "...none else to your bosom so closely you prest". However, he left her for Piccadilly:

_Tho' the ceilings were damp and the walls hardly dry,
I'd have gone there tho' Burroughs had sworn I should die._

Sir Charles now reigns on the Thames, but the river would take Sir Richard back should he choose to return. This is a satire on the kind of modern Lord typified in Pope's 'Bufo'.

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An Imitation of Horace, Book III. Ode 2. *Angustan amice.* (1765)\(^1\) By Mr Titley, to Dr. Bentley.

The youth who prepares for battle in Horace turns into the critic and scholar who pedantically slashes works of merit.

A Reply to a Copy of Verses made in Imitation of Book III. Ode 2. of HORACE, (1765)\(^2\) By Dr. Bentley.

Horace's ode ends by affirming the sovereignty of the innocent man.

Bentley shows some genuine feeling in his own defence:

> He lives inglorious, or in want,  
> To college and old books confin'd;  
> Instead of learn'd he's called pedant,  
> Dunces advanc'd, he's left behind:  
> Yet left content, a genuine stoic he,  
> Great without patron, rich without South-seas.\(^3\)

The patriotic imitations show the eighteenth century trying to be sublime, passionate and public-spirited. The burlesques and satirical imitations show its other side: pricking the bubble of 'sublimity', relaxing, enjoying itself, and adopting attitudes of cynicism or vindictiveness. Other burlesque (often political and satirical) imitations were written right up to and after the 1800's. The Anti-Jacobin contains some, while those in Horace in London (1813), by the brothers James and Horatio Smith, with their titles such as To John Bull, Esq. (Odes I, i), *My Godwin!* (Odes I, xxv) and *The Stock Jobber's Lament* (Odes I, xiii) are neither amusing in themselves nor very good as satire.

(iii) Polite addresses.

Imitation of Odes I, vi, (1709)\(^4\) By Richard Steele.

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\(^1\) Dodsley's Collection of Poems (1765), vi, pp. 186-9.

\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 188-90.

\(^3\) Ibid., p. 190.

\(^4\) The Works of Horace, In English Verse (1767), i, p.35.
This is a not-too-humble address to the Duke of Marlborough and contains a summary of Steele's own aims as a periodical essayist (less flippantly presented than in Horace):

From the gay Noise, affected Air,
And little Follies of the Fair,
A slender Stock of Fame I raise,
And draw from others Faults my Praise.

Imitation of Odes II, ix. (1711)\(^1\) By George Jeffreys.

Horace tells Valgius to cease mourning the loss of Mystes and become involved in the affairs of state. The imitation tells 'Amyntor' to cease bemoaning the loss of his friend. The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough lost their son, who died of smallpox, in 1705, says the poet, but they do not prolong the mourning.

Imitation of Ode I, xxviii (n.d.)\(^2\) By Matthew Prior.

This stately, consciously Augustan imitation is addressed 'To Villiers', and the following mixing of names shows its intention:

Judges of Writings and of Men have dy'd;
Mecenas [sic], Seekville, Socrates, and Hyde.\(^3\)

Imitation of Odes II, xx, (1717)\(^4\) By John Hughes.

The imitator says in a prefatory letter:

Perhaps we never read with that Attention, as when we think we have found something applicable to ourselves.

In the original Horace describes his own metamorphosis into a swan (an emblem of lyrical poetry), flying on no borrowed wings. Hughes, addressing his

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\(^1\) Ibid., p.194.
\(^2\) The Odes and Satires of Horace ... (1715), pp. 29-32.
\(^3\) Ibid., p.31.
\(^4\) The Works of Horace ... (1767), 1, p.232.
imitation to the Rt. Hon. William, Earl Cowper, Lord High Chancellor of
Great Britain, states further that Horace's ode is not self-praise, but
praise of Maecenas, who helped Horace to become a swan. If Cowper has
protected his protege, the latter has hardly become a swan, though he says
(flouting the meaning of the original):

Through Britain's Realms I shall be known
By COWPER'S Merit, not my own.

The eighteenth century was capable of the most remarkable self-deception.

HICATISSA to HILARIA, on the Death of their Friend. Horace, Book the 1st,
Ode the 24th ... Imitated, (1740). (1) By 'H.E.'

This imitation, occasioned by the death of Judith, wife of Lyttelton
Foynts Meynel of Bradley in Derbyshire, is an extended, trite lament, little
better than the kind of verses found in the 'In Memoriam' columns of
newspapers.

To Mrs e ... Wife to a Capt. of a Merchant-man. An Imitation of Horace
Ode vii. B.3, (1738). (2)

The poet in the original tells Asterie not to cry, for her Gyges, who
will soon return, is deaf to any other woman's persuasions. An edge is added
to this tender poem when Asterie is herself warned not to be tempted. The
readable and interesting imitation applies the ode to one 'Polly' and her
seafaring husband. Though on the coast of Guinea, he is letting glasses
of punch pass for thinking of his wife. His mates tempt him with some young
negro slave-girl. Horace's lines,

(2) Ibid., viii, pp. 519-20.
frustra: nam sculpis airdior Icari
voces audit adhuc integer,

comparing Gyges to the rocks of Icaros in his steadfastness, are nicely
adapted:

In vain, in vain, he hears no more,
Than rocks when winds and waters rear;
'Tis madness all and folly;
True as his needle to his pole,
His constant heart and faithful soul
Remain still fix'd to Polly. (1)

An Imitation of Horace. Book IV. Ode ix. Inscribed to the Right Honourable
James Stanhope one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, afterwards
Earl Stanhope. (2) By William Somerville.

Horace's ode echoes III, ii with the words "pauperium pati" and "pro caris
amicis/aet patria ... perire", upholding stoical honour. The imitation,
addressed to Stanhope, invests him with the qualities Horace applauds in Lollius.
The famous opening, "Odi profanum vulgus et arceo", is omitted and the idea
of the immortal élite, important in Horace, is played down considerably.

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(1) Ibid., p.320.

(2) Poetical Works (1795), p.76.
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<td>Spencer, Edmund</td>
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Unless otherwise indicated, place of publication is London.