THE APOLOGIA IN VERSE SATIRE: HORACE, PERSIUS, JUVENAL AND POPE

THE APOLOGIA IN THE VERSE SATIRES OF HORACE, PERSIUS, JUVENAL AND POPE

by

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INTRODUCTION

For over two thousand years, satirists have shown a compulsive desire to justify their ungrateful art and to alleviate people's fears towards their writings. They claim that they lash only the guilty, that they undertake their mission for public benefit, and that they compose within the boundaries of truth, justice and reason. The satirist's defense of himself and his art is termed the apologia.

Since Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Jonson, Boileau and Pope each felt compelled to resort to an apologia, they must have had something to apologize for in the first place. The fact is that satire, more than any other genre, involves the age-long conflict between the individual and the public order, between the satirist's moral integrity and the attempts of the Establishment to protect its own stability through various forms of censorship.

The first Roman legal records, the Twelve Tables, invoked the death penalty for only two practices: enticing a neighbour's crops to grow by magic in another field; and chanting an evil charm ("malum carmen incantare") against an individual.[1] Due to the dual meanings of "carmen", - incantation or poem - satire was closely linked to the power of magic.[2] Indeed, many satirical devices were similar to those used by magicians: the insult, the intent to verbally injure, the use of names and the rhythmical expression. The Romans thus felt the need to restrict the allegedly evil power of early satire. For example,

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1 For the restored text of the Twelve Tables, see Fontes Iuvis Romani Antiqui, ed. C.G. Bruns (Tubingen, 1909); a translation by J.H. Wigmore appears in Sources of Ancient and Primitive Law, ed. Albert Kocourek and J.H. Wigmore (Boston, 1915), pp. 465-68.

2 For a full development of this theme, see Robert Elliott, The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual and Art (Princeton, 1960).

Gnaeus Naevius (270-201 B.C.), one of the earlier experimenters in Roman literature, composed a line attacking the Metelli, one of the oldest families in Rome: "fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules.".[3] Q. Caecilius Metullus, a member of the family and consul in 206 B.C., answered the poet: "dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae.".[4] The consul made good his threat, for the poet was soon imprisoned, and died shortly after in exile.

Horace, tracing the origins of satire from the early Fescennine verses, outlined the influence of legislation upon the writing of satire:

> Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
> versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit,
> libertasque recurrentis accepta per annos
> lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam
> in rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas
> ire domos impune minax. doluere cruento
> dente lacessiti; fuit intactis quoque cura
> condicione super communi; quin etiam lex
> poenaque lata, malo quae nollet carmine quemquam
> describi: vertere modum formidine fustis
> ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.[5]
>
> (Epis. II.i.145-55)

In this way, the vital power of satire to attack morally corrupt men and institutions was preserved, while the malignant potential was curbed. These early

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3 As recorded by Maurice Pope, Saecula Latina (Cape Town, 1962), p.36. It is by fate [and not their own merits] that the Metelli become consuls. (Translations not enclosed by quotation marks are my own.)

4 Ibid. The poet Naevius will catch hell from the Metelli.

5 "Our licentious Fescennine verse came into being
By this tradition, when earthy invectives poured forth
From one side, then from the other. Delightfully free,
This sport was welcomed each time the season drew round,
Till the jokes became worse, and soon compulsively mean,
And savagely stalked through innocent homes, unpunished.
The slanderous tooth drew blood and the wounded wept;
Even those who escaped sensed its threat to the welfare of all.
And a law was proposed, with a penalty for libelous poems.
When the stick was brandished, writers soon changed their tune
And turned to more decorous ways of using their words."
(trans. S.P. Bovie, Satires and Epistles of Horace, Chicago, 1959, p. 254.)
All further translations of Horace will be from this book, and will be referred to by page number only.

attempts to balance the "slanderous tooth" with the "decorous ways" led to the creation of new types of literary satire, and to the emergence of the form as an art.[6] With the establishment of formal satire, the need arose for the satirist's apologia.

The satirist's defense has included a number of established fictions from the time of Horace's apologia. There exists, as Mary Claire Randolph has shown,[7] a structural principle common to verse satires. The formal verse satire has two parts: in part A, the satire attacks a specific vice; and in part B, the satire recommends an opposing virtue. The satirist, by temperament more disposed to attack than to praise, usually dwells on the aggressive aspect of satire. Occasionally, the satirist may even exclude the praise of the opposing virtue, for an attack on vice implies a love of virtue. Miss Randolph then summarizes the rhetorical means of attacking vice which are at the satirist's disposal:

> The satirist utilizes miniature dramas, sententious proverbs and quotable maxims, compressed beast fables (often reduced to animal metaphors), brief sermons, sharp debates, series of vignettes, swiftly sketched but painstakingly built up satiric characters or portraits, figure-processions, little fictions and apologues, visions, apostrophes and invocations to abstractions.[8]

Such fictions are common to all verse satires, and thus apply to the apologia. However, certain fictions of the apologia distinguish it from other forms of verse satire. Although the apologia may offer a wide panorama of scenes and characters, two figures usually stand out - the person speaking

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6 For a complete study of the clash between the early Roman laws against libel and the principles of satire, see R.E. Smith, "The Law of Libel at Rome," in Classical Quarterly, n.s. I (1951), pp. 169-79.

7 "The Structural Design of the Formal Verse Satire," in Philological Quarterly, XXI (1942), pp. 368-84.

8 Ibid., p. 373.

and the person addressed. The rhetoric of the apologia is thus largely dependent on the tensions (open conflict or more amiable discussion) between these two figures.

The role of the interlocutor varies: he may be a passive figure, serving only to prod the satirist into comments upon his method of satire, or he may be an aggressive figure, acting the part of a second satirist. The character of this interlocutor takes many forms as well, from the clearly defined, historical individual such as Trebatius in Horace's apologia, through the hostile critic in Persius', to the shadowy figure in Juvenal's apologia. Finally, in Boileau's A Son Esprit, the adversarius ceases to be an objective, external figure to become one side of the poet's own personality. Regardless of the specific role or character of the adversarius, the rhetorical frame is invariably present, creating a dramatic tension in the apologia.

The most important fiction in the apologia is, of course, the poet-satirist. He presents himself to the reader as a truthful man who does not wish to harm anyone - except those who deserve his lashes. To establish this pose, he sometimes presents his audience with carefully selected elements of his biography and occasionally with a list of influential people who approve of his writings. It is essential that the satirist gain the confidence of his audience as a man of integrity before he attacks the vice around him. In addition to his public voice, the satirist has a complex, private character in which he presents himself as an independent man, angered at vice and ready at any time to expose folly. The success of the apologia depends, to a large extent, upon the development and careful manipulation of the various sides of the poet's personality. In a fine article, Maynard Mack outlines the "ethos" of the satirist, and concludes that,

> the total dramatic development of anyone of [Pope's] formal satires is to a large extent determined by the way they [the voices of Pope]

succeed one another, modulate and qualify one another, and occasionally fuse with one another.[9]

Another fiction brings together the many different elements of the apologia. Due to the legal restrictions once imposed against satire, the conversation sometimes takes the form of a legal consultation. For example, in the apologia of Horace (Serm. II.i), the poet seeks the advice of a lawyer. The fiction is maintained by Horace's respectful attitude - "pater optime"[10] (II.i.12), "docte Trebati"[11] (II.i.78) - and by the language of Trebatius which is both brief - "quiescas"[12] (II.i.5), "aio"[13] (II.i.6) - and technical - "si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est iudiciumque."[14] (II.i.82-83). Pope, in imitating the previous verses, emphasizes the legal aspect by expanding the technical references:

> Consult the Statute: quart. I think it is,
> Edwardi Sext. or prim. & quint. Eliz:
> See Libels, Satires - here you have it - read.[15]

Pope's satire closes with Fortescue's description of a would-be court case:

> The Case is alter'd - you may then proceed.

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9 "The Muse of Satire," in Discussions of Alexander Pope, ed. Rufus Blanshard (Boston, 1960), p. 104.

10 "Good father" (p. 99).

11 "My learned friend" (p. 102).

12 "Take a rest." (p. 99)

13 "That's what I say." (p. 99)

14
> "It is written: who writes
> Evil things against some other person must himself
> By rights be sued for redress of grievance." (p. 102)

15 Alexander Pope, "The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated," in The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. John Butt, IV (1939), p. 19, vs. 147-149. All further quotations from Pope will be from this edition and will be referred to by verse numbers after each quotation.

> In such a Cause the Plaintiff will be hiss'd,
> My Lords the Judges laugh, and you're dismiss'd.
> (154-156)

If the adversarius is not a lawyer, he is at least a person familiar with the law, and is able to warn the satirist of the dangers inherent in satire.

The succeeding chapters will examine these fictions through a study of the apologiae of four satirists - Horace, Persius, Juvenal and Pope. It is important to note that, although the elements of the apologia - the objections to satire by the interlocutor, the refutation of these objections by the satirist, and the satirist's programme - are discussed in separate chapters, in reality, the satirist intermingles these elements freely throughout his apologia.

CHAPTER I

THE ARGUMENTS OF THE INTERLOCUTOR

The dialogue between the satirist and the interlocutor is an important feature of the satirist's apologia.[1] Each satirist adapts it to his own particular interest and style. Horace maintains the pleasant fiction of a legal consultation; Persius matches wits with a hostile critic; Juvenal introduces his interlocutor only in the final twelve lines; in The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, Pope uses Fortescue as a second satirist who actively supports his own views. The dialogue of the apologia, whether the interlocutor is hostile or friendly, thus provides an effective forum from which to introduce both the arguments against satire and the satirist's defense refuting these charges. A close examination of the dialogue in each apologia will serve to introduce each work, as well as to highlight some of the traditional elements of the apologia and the use each satirist makes of these elements.

Horace

Horace seeks the advice of Trebatius, a friend and a lawyer, in regard to the criticism directed against the poet's first book of satires. To understand the full import of the discussion, it is necessary to grasp the character of Trebatius. He enjoyed the reputation of a prominent lawyer and friend of Cicero and Augustus.[2] When consulted by Horace, he assumes the attitude of an

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1 For a discussion of dialogue in the apologiae of the Roman satirists, see Lucius Shero, "The Apologia," in Classical Studies Series, II (1922), pp. 148-67; for a discussion of dialogue in those of Alexander Pope, see John Aden, "Pope and the Satiric Adversary," in Studies in English Literature, II (1962), pp. 267-86.

2 As a legal writer, Gaius Trebatius Testa is known as the author of an extensive treatise on sacred and pontifical law, De Religionibus, and of a work, De Iure Civili. (Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 922)

attorney and gives serious legal advice to his client.

In reply to Horace's request for advice, "Quid faciam praescribe."[3] (II.i.5), Trebatius answers first as a friend with somewhat humorous brevity, "Quiescas"[4] (II.i.5). To Horace's next question, "ne faciam, inquis, omnino versus?"[5] (II.i.5-6), he is even more terse in reply, "aio"[6] (II.i.6). If Horace cannot sleep, he should oil himself, swim in the Tiber and drink some wine.[7] Horace is hesitant to accept a physical remedy as a substitute for his desire to write. Trebatius suggests another outlet for Horace's creative talents - he might celebrate the various exploits of Augustus in an epic:

> aut si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude
> Caesaris invicti res dicere.[8]
> (II.i.10-11)

The satirist pleads that his talent is not adequate for the grandiose style of the epic. Trebatius then urges at least a panegyric upon the civic virtues of his patron, as Lucilius once did:

> attamen et iustum poteras et scribere fortem,
> Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius.[9]
> (II.i.16-17)

In commenting upon the contrast between satiric and epic literature,

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3 "Advise me what to do." (p. 99)

4 "Take a rest." (p. 99)

5 "And not write verses at all, you say?" (p. 99)

6 "That's what I say." (p. 99)

7 The fondness of the historical Trebatius for such physical exercise can be seen in the letters of Cicero, who describes Trebatius as a "studiosissimus homo natandi" (Ad Familiares, VII.10).

8 "If so wild
A love of writing possesses you, have the courage
To write of invincible Caesar." (p. 99)

9 "You might just portray your hero as valiant and true,
As wise Lucilius did for his Scipio." (p. 100)

Trebatius refers to the dislike which most people feel towards a satirist. The satirist inspires fear and hatred even in those not attacked:

> quanto rectius hoc quam tristi laedere versu
> Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem,
> cum sibi quisque timet, quamquam est intactus, et odit!
> (II.i.21-23)

After a renewed assertion by Horace that he will continue to write satire, Trebatius assumes the role of an attorney and warns Horace that such a course has many dangers. He will run the risk of incurring disfavour among his influential friends:

> o puer, ut sis
> vitalis metuo, et maiorum ne quis amicus
> frigore te feriat.[11]
> (II.i.60-62)

When Horace appeals to the example of Lucilius, Trebatius reminds Horace of laws which prohibit the writing of "mala carmina":

> si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est
> iudiciumque.[12]
> (II.i.82-83)

But what if the verses are good, pleads Horace, what if Caesar approves, and what if the provocation is just? The satire ends with Trebatius' laughing admission that, if such conditions exist, no court would dare convict Horace.

In Serm. II.i, Trebatius contributes about seventeen of the satire's eighty-six verses (19.8%). Yet, even in these few lines, his character as a wry,

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10 "How much more discreet this [praise of a truly great man] is than
to lash out a line
That stings, consigning Pantolabus and Nomentanus,
The wastrels, to "Parasites Lost"; then everyone else
Fears he'll be next and, though still unmentioned, detests you." (p. 100)

11 "Dear boy, I'm afraid your life will be all too brief:
One of your prominent friends will strike you down
With the cold shoulder." (p. 102)

12 "It is written: who writes
Evil things against some other person must himself
By rights be prepared to be sued for redress of grievance." (p. 102)

rather close-mouthed lawyer is well developed. After his initial objections, he condones Horatian satire in the closing lines, and acts as a practical foil to the idealistic principles that Horace claims have inspired his satire.

Persius

The opening words of the apologia of Persius' satire are directed at the passions and ambitions of mankind: "O curas hominum, o quantum est in rebus inane!"[13] (I.1). The adversarius in this satire of Persius is a more dramatic and hostile figure than was Trebatius, refusing to allow the poet to continue. The theme of this satire, the criticism of contemporary poetry, develops from an improvised reply to the interlocutor's question, "quis leget haec?"[14] (I.2).

The interlocutor of this first satire differs from Trebatius in that, in keeping with the theme, he is a fashionable poetaster, though he employs many of the same arguments as did Trebatius. His first argument against satire, however, is one not used by Horace's advisor. Since nobody reads satire anyway, he says, the poet should aim at a wider audience:

> "quis leget haec?" "min tu istud ais? nemo hercule." "nemo?" "vel duo vel nemo." "turpe et miserabile!"[15]

The urge to create, the adversarius claims, cannot be denied:

> quo didicisse, nisi hoc fermentum et quae semel intus

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13 "O the vanity of mankind! How vast the void in human affairs!" (trans. G.G. Ramsay, Juvenal and Persius, 1940, p.317). All translations of Juvenal and Persius will be from this book, and will be referred to by page number only.

14 "Who will read stuff like that?" (p. 317)

15 "P. Who will read stuff like that?
P. Is it to me you are speaking? Not a soul, by Hercules.
P. What? Nobody?
P. One or two perhaps or nobody.
P. What a poor and lamentable result!" (p. 317)

innata est rupto iecore exierit caprificus?[16]
(I.24-25)

He continues to urge the desirability of winning popular praise and esteem: "at pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier 'hic est'."[17] (I.28).

The urge to write is described so convincingly by the poetaster that Persius can meet it with only one stock, inadequate answer: "Why publish?". The poet takes an equally lofty approach to the desire for posthumous fame. With his usual indecision, he allows his opponent to score another point:

rides, ait, et nimis uncis
naribus indulges. an erit qui velle recuset
os populi meruisse et cedro digna locutus[18]
linquere nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus?
(I.40-43)

The interlocutor, in condemning the poet's haughty pride, is by implication exhorting Persius to give up writing satire and to employ his talent in some other form of literary endeavour. Persius finally concedes that he is not indifferent to popular acclaim (he is not made of horn), but he denies that the ultimate test of poetic excellence lies in the gushing exclamations of an emotional audience.

The interlocutor reappears at verse 92 to argue certain questions of literary criticism with the poet. The conversation becomes a debate on the merits of the ancients and the moderns, with the adversary attempting to show the superiority of modern poetry:

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16 "But what avail study and learning if the yeast, and the wild fig-tree which has sprung up within, are never to break through the bosom and come forth?" (p. 319)

17 "O but it is a fine thing to have a finger pointed at one, and to hear people say, 'That's the man'!" (p. 319)

18 "You are scoffing, and use your turned-up nose too freely. Do you mean to tell me that any man who has uttered words worthy of cedar oil will disown the wish to have earned a place in the mouths of men, and to leave behind him poems that will have nothing to fear from mackerel or from spice?" (p. 321)

claudere sic versum didicit "Berecyntius Attis,"
et "qui caeruleum dirimebat Nerea delphin".[19]
(I.93-94)

Persius scornfully denies this and the adversarius seems convinced by the retort. But, the poetaster argues, if you cannot say anything nice, why say anything at all? He renews his efforts to dissuade the poet from writing satire: "Sed quid opus teneras mordaci radere vero auriculas?"[20] (I.107-108). He warns Persius, as Trebatius had warned Horace, that a satirist is in danger of incurring the disfavour of influential people:

vide sis ne maiorum tibi forte
limina frigescant.[21]
(I.108-109)

The satirist, in his crushing reply, resorts to a myth. He pretends to dig out a hole into which he breathes the deadly secret he has been carrying since the beginning of the poem: "auriculas asini quis non habet?"[22] (I.121). Having silenced the adversarius, the poet ends his satire by describing the methods of Horace and Lucilius as justification for his satire.

Persius has attempted to strengthen the image of both the satirist and the adversarius.[23] The interlocutor takes a much more hostile attitude than did

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19 "See how we have learnt to round off our verses with 'Berecynthian Attis'; or 'the dolphin which was cleaving the sky-blue Nereus'." (p. 327)

20 "But why rasp people's tender ears with biting truths?" (p. 327)

21 "Take heed, I beseech you, that the doorsteps of your great friends do not grow cool towards you." (p. 327)

22 "Who is there who has not the ears of an ass?" (p. 329)

23 Some commentators disagree, arguing that Persius makes no distinction between the speakers. For example, M. Sommers writes, "Another thing that makes Persius hard to read is his clumsiness in the management of dialogue." (The Silver Age of Latin Literature [Boston, 1953], p. 69). On the other hand, G.L. Hendrickson argues that Persius is the only speaker: "The objections raised by an imaginary critic are reflected in the poet's interrogative repetition of his objections." ("The First Satire of Persius," in Classical Philology, XXIII [January, 1928], p. 97). However, this argument is weak, especially when the opening lines of the satire are considered.

Trebatius; also, he participates more fully in the conversation (approximately 29/134 verses, 21.6%). In this respect, Pope, in his apologiae, especially The Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue I, resembles Persius more than he does either Horace or Juvenal. For Persius, like Pope, can make capital of an adversary who speaks with a sharp tongue.

Juvenal

Juvenal employs dialogue the least often of the satirists being considered here. The interlocutor does not appear until verse 150, to express a fear that the satirist may be lacking in ability to do justice to his theme: "unde ingenium par materiae?"[24] (I.150-151). He also suggests that the time is not as favourable for the writing of satire as it had been in the days of the earlier satirists:

> unde illa priorum
> scribendi quodcumque animo flagrante liberet
> simplicitas?[25]
> (I.151-153)

Following Trebatius, the interlocutor then points out the risks to which the satirist exposes himself:

> taeda lucebis in illa
> qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant,
> et latum media sulcum deducis harena.[26]
> (I.155-157)

A renewed outburst of indignation by the satirist is interrupted by the familiar argument, that is, the dislike which people feel towards the satirist. The poet, he suggests, might apply his talent to a safer form of literary activity:

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24 "Where find the talent to match the theme?" (p. 15)

25 "Where find that freedom of our forefathers to write whatever the burning soul desired?" (p. 15)

26 "You will blaze amid those faggots in which men, with their throats tightly gripped, stand and burn and smoke, and you trace a broad furrow through the middle of the arena." (p. 15)

"securus licet Aenean Rutulumque ferocem committas." [27] (I.162-163). The counselor, like Trebatius, is suggesting that Juvenal write an epic in place of satire. The poet is warned again, that if he persists, he is certain to incur hostility, for the satirist who exposes contemporary vices invariably becomes the object of fear and hatred (I.165-168). The satire ends as Juvenal agrees to attack only the dead.

The importance of Juvenal's interlocutor is often overlooked because of the relatively few lines (approximately 12/171 verses, 7.0%) he has. However, the interlocutor voices the traditional objections to satire which provide Juvenal with the opportunity to outline a new type of Roman satire. Also, the interlocutor prevents Juvenal's satire from becoming too much a stream of unbroken invective. He interrupts Juvenal at moments of rising anger, thus allowing for a brief but dramatic release of tension. The cautious advice and dramatic relief provided by the interlocutor are reminiscent of the interlocutor in Pope's An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot.

Pope

The apologiae of Pope can be regarded as the climax of a long tradition in verse satire which can be traced back to Juvenal, Persius and Horace. Much of Pope's life was spent under continual harassment by the critics and hack-writers of Grub Street. Pope, far from ignoring such "Pops", once or twice deliberately provoked their badgering, which turned out to be the catalyst for some of his greatest satirical writing, especially The Dunciad Variorum. However, after he had become the centre of so much heated controversy, Pope felt a need to defend himself, his views and his art. Thus, in the 1730's, when

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27 "You may set Aeneas and the brave Rutulian a-fighting with an easy mind." (p. 15)

he became more politically conscious and more closely identified with the views of the Opposition, he wrote a number of works that can be described as apologiae, including An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, and the two Dialogues of the Epilogue to the Satires.

Pope uses dialogue to varying degrees in these apologiae. In An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, the mere presence of the interlocutor is as important as his actual lines. When he speaks, he does so as an anxious friend, fearful for the poet's well-being. Dr. Arbuthnot, like the interlocutor of Juvenal's apologia, interrupts Pope at moments of rising anger. His first remark is in reply to the satirist's question whether or not he should speak out:

> Good friend forbear! you deal in dang'rous things,
> I'd never name Queens, Ministers, or Kings;
> Keep close to Ears, and those let Asses prick,
> 'Tis nothing.
>
> (Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 75-78)

When the satirist lists among those who slandered him a number of contemporaries, including Colly Cibber, James Moore-Smythe, Ambrose Phillips and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the interlocutor interrupts Pope again to warn him against such use of personal names: "Hold! for God-sake - you'll offend." (101). Smiling, he gives Pope a bit of friendly advice:

> No Names - be calm - learn Prudence of a Friend:
> I too could write, and am twice as tall,
> But Foes like these!
>
> (Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 102-104)

The cautious Arbuthnot constantly urges Pope to be less specific and to give less offense. Like Juvenal's friend, Dr. Arbuthnot says that he opposes the satirist only for his own good.

Two further interjections by Dr. Arbuthnot are quite brief, but raise important problems. Arbuthnot's question, "But why insult the Poor, affront the Great?" (360), enables the poet to proclaim "A Knave's a Knave, to me, in ev'ry State" (361). The doctor's final question concerning Pope's financial

status, "What Fortune, pray?" (390), enables the poet to assert his independence (in contrast to those whose expressed views were all too often dictated by their pecuniary needs).

As in Juvenal's satire, it is easy to overlook the importance of Arbuthnot upon the movement of the poem. However, it is largely through the interlocutor that rapid and dramatic shifts in mood are made possible. Also, Dr. Arbuthnot raises some important problems for the satirist to consider, especially "How personal should satire be?".

An examination of The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated shows that Pope's use of dialogue goes far beyond the range of the Roman satirists' use of dialogue. In answer to the satirist's request for advice, Fortescue[28] begins as tersely as did Trebatius, "I'd write no more." (11); but, he quickly catches the spirit of the discussion. If Pope cannot sleep and fools rush into his head, writing is the worst possible remedy for such restlessness: "You could not do a worse thing for your Life." (15). He suggests that Pope take a wife to cure his sleeplessness. The remedies suggested by Fortescue grow even more ridiculous. If not a wife, a sleeping potion might be tried:

> Celsus will advise
> Hartshorn, or something that shall close your Eyes.
> (19-20)

The potion, however, is a stimulant, not a depressant.[29] Unlike the previous

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28 Fortescue was not designated in any of Pope's editions, which carried only the initial "L", that is, "Lawyer", for the adversary. Warburton is responsible for the designation of Fortescue in 1751. For the authority, see Pope's letter to Fortescue, February 18, 1732: "Have you seen my imitation of Horace? I fancy it will make you smile; but though, when I first began it, I thought of you, before I came to end it, I considered it might be too ludicrous, to a man of your situation and grave acquaintance to make you Trebatius." (The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. George Sherburn, III [Oxford, 1956], p. 351).

29 See John Butt, "Its efficacy may be doubted since hartshorn (i.e. ammonia) is a stimulant.", (The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, p. 6n).

interlocutors' serious concern, Fortescue's concern is too ludicrous to be anything but a mask for his wit and humour.

The thorny problem of mentioning real names in satire is introduced: "Ev'n those you touch not, hate you." (41). After the poet reasserts his desire to write, Fortescue, like Trebatius before, warns him of the dangers:

> Alas young Man! your Days can ne'er be long,
> In Flow'r of Age you perish for a Song!
> Plums, and Directors, Shylock and his Wife,
> Will club their Testers, now, to take your Life!
> (101-104)

If threats of physical violence are not deterrent enough, there are laws against libel. Fortescue, a lawyer by profession, searches his library for the reference:

> Consult the Statute: quart. I think it is,
> Edwardi Sext. or prim. & quint, Eliz:
> See Libels, Satires - here you have it - read.
> (147-149)

Pope is (or affects to be) shocked to hear his satires described as "lawless Things" (150). They are nothing of the sort - the King, the bishop, even Sir Robert Walpole would fully approve of his "grave Epistles" (151). Fortescue, obviously impressed by the list of such dignitaries,[30] not only condones the poet's work, as Trebatius did, but counsels him to continue: "The Case is alter'd - you may then proceed." (154).

Trebatius has more lines (approximately 36/156 verses, 23.1%) and a more active role in the satire than do the interlocutors of the Roman satirists. He is a friend and advisor of the poet, as Trebatius was of Horace, but he also possesses the sharp wit, mocking humour and the moral concerns of Pope.

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30 Pope's apparent pride in mentioning the approval received from such eminent men is ironical, since the King and Sir Robert Walpole were Pope's "betes noires" in the 1730's.

He not only condones satire, but also employs it himself.[31]

Pope's final experiment with the formal apologia occurs in the two Dialogues of the Epilogue to the Satires. In his earlier defenses, the interlocutor was an intelligent, professional man and a true friend of the poet. On the other hand, the adversaries of the two Dialogues are ignorant, hostile courtiers, the epitome of the very corruption that Pope is denouncing.

In Dialogue I (originally titled One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Eight. A Dialogue Something Like Horace), the adversary is clearly the aggressor as he opens the dialogue with a list of Pope's literary faults:

> Not twice a twelvemonth you appear in Print,
> And when it comes, the Court see nothing in't.
> You grow correct that once with Rapture writ,
> And are, besides, too Moral for a Wit.
> (1-4)

As a result of the poet's "Decay of Parts" (5), the "Court see nothing in't"[32] (2). Another criticism of Pope's poetry, "'Tis all from Horace" (7), prompts the adversary to praise Horace's style. He commends Horace for his "sly, polite, insinuating stile" (19), which "Could please at Court and make Augustus smile" (20). He suggests that the poet should follow the example of Horace. As in the previous apologiae, the adversary warns Pope that, if he continues to write such satire, he will have neither friends: "But 'faith your very Friends will soon be sore" (23); nor lasting fame:

> And where's the Glory? 'twill be only thought

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31 Dr. Arbuthnot, on one occasion, also employs satire in order to show his contempt for effeminate courtiers, such as Sporus:

> What? that Thing of silk,
> Sporus, that mere white Curd of Ass's milk?
> (305-306)

32 The adversary, by this remark, means that the Court is unimpressed with what Pope has published. However, in defending the Court, the adversary unwittingly suggests another interpretation - the Court is not intelligent enough to understand what the poet is writing.

The Great man never offer'd you a Groat.
(25-26)

The poet protests (Pope finally speaks!) that he could change his style only at the expense of his laughter.

The adversary then suggests that the poet turn his satires against "Scripture" (37), "Honesty" (38), an "Old Whig" (39), or a "Patriot" (41) - all harmless themes that "all Lord Chamberlains allow" (42). In fact, Pope should attack all except "Fools or Foes":

Laugh then at any, but at Fools or Foes;
These you but anger, and you mend not those:
Laugh at your Friends, and if your Friends are sore,
So much the better, you may laugh the more.
(53-56)

Pope allows (or appears to allow) the adversary to dissuade him from writing, and then, he bids farewell to satire: "So - Satire is no more - I feel it die -" (83). The adversary fails to see Pope's irony, and so, he urges the poet to continue to write satire. However, he advises that Pope learn the proper "Time and Place" (87): satire should "lash the Greatest - in Disgrace"(88). In other words, satire should become an instrument of the Establishment. The poet, while he appears to agree with the suggestions of the courtier, indirectly attacks the corruption of the English court. "Virtue", the poet says, "may chuse the high or low Degree" (137), but Vice belongs only to the Great:

Vice is undone, if she forgets her Birth,
And stoops from Angels to the Dregs of Earth:
But 'tis the Fall degrades her to a Whore;
Let Greatness own her, and she's mean no more.
(141-144)

Dialogue I closes with Pope's direct address to the reader:

Yet may this Verse (if such a Verse remain)
Show there was one who held it Vice in disdain.
(171-172)

The effectiveness of Dialogue I is the product of Pope's careful manipulation of the advice of the courtier. The courtier is allowed to damn him-

self by contributing a greater proportion of dialogue (approximately 71/172 verses, 41.2%) than the previous interlocutors. Thus, Pope is able not only to win the argument, but also provide the reader with a dramatic portrait, through the character of the adversary, of the vice he is attacking.

The courtier of Dialogue II exhibits a dullness similar to the interlocutor in Dialogue I, but the method of exposure has changed. In Dialogue I, the adversary overextended himself and exposed his own corruption; in Dialogue II, the poet takes a more active role in uncovering the Vice he sees around him.

The adversary exhibits a concern for political matters similar to the Friend of Dialogue I. He suggests in his opening remarks that the satirist should "Spare then the Person, and expose the Vice" (12). The poet pretends to comply, and gives him an example of general satire. "Ye Statesmen, Priests, ... Ye Tradesmen vile, ... Ye Rev'rend Atheists!" (16-19) cries the satirist, but the adversay interrupts: "Scandal! name them, Who?" (18). The poet alludes to the "pois'ning Dame" (22), but the Friend breaks in again:

> Fr. You mean - P. I don't. - Fr. You do.
> P. See! now I keep the Secret, and not you.
> (22-23)

In the space of a few lines, Pope has completely reversed the opinion of the adversary, thus demonstrating both the dullness of the members of the court, and the need for particular satire.

The Friend, exhibiting an aggressive nature exceeding even Persius' adversary, continues to correct Pope's choice of subject: a statsman is too high; a bribed elector too low; a Dean has not yet made his way in the world. The proper subjects for satire are the rogues of the past: "Yes, strike that Wild, I'll justify the blow." (54). The adversary's next interjection,

> What always Peter? Peter thinks you mad,
> You make men desp'rate if they once are bad:
> Else might he take to Virtue some years hence -
> (58-60)

criticizes Pope for returning over and over to the same victims, and also introduces the topic of "Virtue". Pope develops this theme, demonstrating the importance of "Virtue" to his satires:

> I follow Virtue, where she shines, I praise,
> Point she to Priest or Elder, Whig or Tory,
> Or round a Quaker's Beaver cast a Glory.
> (95-97)

Two further interjections - "Then why so few commended?" (104), and "I think your Friends are out, and would be in." (123) - are brief, but allow the poet to demonstrate his own personal sense of fairness and honesty. The adversary, still not satisfied, questions the very reason for Pope's satires: "Hold Sir! for God's-sake, where's th' Affront to you?" (157). This question leads to the climax of the apologia in which Pope outlines the reason he must write satire:

> Ask you what Provocation I have had?
> The strong Antipathy of Good to Bad.
> (197-198)

The adversary's remark, "You're strangely proud." (205), enables Pope to assert his independence, a central aspect in his satires:

> So proud, I am no slave:
> So impudent, I own myself no Knave:
> So odd, my Country's Ruin makes me grave.
> (205-207)

After the poet's defense of satire, the adversary closes the apologia with a final, but somewhat feeble, attempt to divert the satirist's indignation:

> Alas! alas! pray end what you began,
> And write next winter more Essays on Man.
> (254-255)

In a relatively few lines (approximately 31/255 verses, 12.2%), the adversary of Dialogue II, reminiscent of Dr. Arbuthnot, raises important issues, which allow Pope to outline the nature of his satire. That these questions are raised by a courtier who is himself morally corrupt only adds to the effectiveness of the satire.

Although the arguments of each interlocutor show distinct variations, the chief points in each case are similar. Each interlocutor speaks of the animosity which the satirist arouses towards himself: Horace Serm. II.i.21-23; Persius I.107; Juvenal I.160-162, 165-168; Pope Imitation II.i.41. Each satirist is warned that he runs the risk of incurring the disfavour of influential people: Horace Serm. II.i.60-62; Persius I.108-110; Juvenal I.151-152; Pope Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, 101; Imitation II.i.101-104; Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue I, 23. The satirist also faces the risk of legal prosecution: Horace Serm. II.i.81-83; Pope Imitation II.i.101-104. To avoid such dangers, the satirist is urged to turn his attention to some other field of literature: Horace Serm. II.i.10-12; Persius I.24-25, 28-30, 40-43; Juvenal I.162-164; Pope Imitation II.i.21-22; Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue I, 53-54.

The adversarius sets the stage for the satirist. He outlines the criticisms which have been directed against satire since very early days, and then suggests alternatives. It will be the purpose of the following chapters to examine the satirist's defense, his method of coping with or refuting these charges.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PERSONA THROUGH AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

In the apologia, the satirist attempts to defend himself and his writings by demonstrating his own personal integrity. The major device in this defense is the use of a persona or mask. The speaker makes his criticism in the first person. But, in fact, whether he be Horace, Persius, Juvenal or Pope, the speaker is no more fully identical with the private man, than the melancholy poet is entirely identical with the writer of an elegy.

Accordingly, although Horace was thirty years old when the Sermones were published in 35 A.D., he strikes the pose of a considerably older man, possessing the wisdom of experience, standing serenely above the pursuits of younger men. Compare this with Fortescue's warning to Pope in The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, written when Pope was fifty years old:

> Alas young Man! your Days can ne'r be long,
> In Flow'r of Age you perish for a Song![1]
> (101-102)

However, care must be taken not to separate completely the creator from his creation. In a recent article, Irwin Ehrenpreis argues against the use of the word "persona" to separate the speaker from the author:

> Through his masterpieces a man defines - not hides - himself. By reading them, we are put in touch with him, not with a series of intermediaries. The nature of his communication may be subtle;

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1 James Boswell recorded the conversation of April 9, 1778 between Samuel Johnson and Dr. Shipley in which Johnson was asked to comment on the character of Pope. He made a clear distinction between the creator and his creations: "We have no reason to believe that Pope was a cheerful, contented man , my Lord. Are we to think Pope was happy because he says so in his writings? We see in his writings what he wished the state of his mind to appear." (Boswell's Life of Johnson, 1960, p. 916.)

> his manner devious. Ultimately, however, he is telling us his truth.[2]

Although Mr. Ehrenpreis seems to disregard the importance of irony in the creation of a persona, his comments argue for a balance in critical approach. Thus, there is no question that the role that the persona plays often displays genuine traits of the satirist's own personality, but this is not to say that the speaker is necessarily identical with the psychological complexity of the private individual.

If the persona is to be effective in the apologia, it must be accepted by the reader as the portrait of a fundamentally virtuous man, for only such a man has the right to criticize. The reader, as Maynard Mack argues, must be assured that his censor is "a man of good will, who has been, as it were forced into action".[3] For the satirist,

> ... the establishment of an authoritative "ethos" is imperative. If he is to be effective in "that delightful teaching", he must be accepted by his audience as a fundamentally virtuous and tolerant man, who challenges the doings of other men not whenever he happens to feel vindictive, but whenever they deserve it. On this account, the satirist's "apologia" for his satire is one of the stock subjects of both the classical writers and Pope.[4]

Thus, the satirist often presents himself as a blunt champion of truth who, in spite of some human imperfections, is fundamentally an honest man. This pose is established by presenting the reader with carefully selected autobiographical details.

The satirist usually attempts to project a pose of simplicity. He makes frequent references to his humble but honest origins. In fact, the speaker

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2 Irwin Ehrenpreis, "Personae," in Restoration and Eighteenth Century Literature, ed. Carroll Camden (Chicago, 1963), pp. 33-34.

3 Maynard Mack, op. cit., p. 102.

4 Ibid.

always seems to come from a world of almost pastoral innocence. In this regard, the more detailed autobiographical apologiae of Horace and Pope have a distinct advantage over those of Persius and Juvenal. The persona of Horace had been clearly outlined in his first book of satires, Sermones I. Pope also was conscious of establishing his persona in works written previous to his apologia, such as The Dunciad Variorum and his letters.

Horace

The self-revelations of Horace are not merely the thoughts and feelings a man would reveal to a close friend. Horace uses this material as an important satirical device.[5] With the aid of the persona created in Sermones I, Horace attempts to answer the charges made against his satire. He is a man of humble origins, he tells us, and adds with a smile:

> ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco
> ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum.[6]
> (I.vi.5-6)

The reader is introduced to the poet as a schoolboy in Rome. The strong kinship between father and son is mentioned to show that Horace's fundamental decency is entirely due to his father's character:

> purus et insons
> (ut me collaudem) si et vivo carus amicis;
> causa fuit pater his.[7]
> (I.vi.69-71)

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5 For different approaches to the autobiographical details in Horace, see Edward Fraenkel, Horace (Oxford, 1966), pp. 152-3; also, see C.O. Brink, Horace on Poetry, Prolegmena to the Literary Epistles (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 172-3.

6 "But you do not, as many do, look down your nose at nobodies
Like me, born the son of a freedman." (p. 63)

7 "If my friends all find me decent,
Conscientious, and dear (as they say they do), then the CAUSE
Of all this was my father." (p. 65)

His father thus becomes an important, though shadowy, figure in the satires. Although poor and possessing only a small farm, he had his pride and nurtured an ambition for his son. He had insisted that Horace be educated, not in the neighbourhood school, but in Rome itself. He acted as both guide and guardian to the young student. Horace's admiration for his father is clear: "nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius"[8] (I.vi.89).

The qualities urged by Horace's father - "pietas", "simplicitas" - were the ideals of ancient Rome, ideals which Augustus was attempting to restore to his own empire. The implication of these statements is clear: to attack Horace is to attack the ideals of Horace's father, which, in turn, is to attack the ideals of Augustan Rome.[9]

The autobiographical mask is developed further. The poet's daily activities are a perfect picture of Roman "simplicitas": his morning is spent in reading and writing; his afternoon at the bath. Meals are frugal, "pransus non avide, quantum interpellet inani ventre diem durare"[10] (I.vi.127-128).

Horace goes on to say that, perhaps due to his rustic background, he is unsure of himself in a crowd. When he was first introduced to Maecenas, the leading literary patron of Augustan Rome, he was bewildered and confused:

ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus,

---

8 "I'll never forget him, never regret what he did." (p. 66)

9 Horace was careful that distracting facts did not blur the picture. For example, the emphasis on the frugal simplicity of his father disguises the fact that the elder Horace had a comfortable income. Also, Horace studied a year in Athens, an opportunity enjoyed by only the most favoured young Romans.

10 "I dine sparingly, just enough to not go all day
On an empty stomach." (p. 67)

infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari.[11]
(I.vi.56-57)

With women, he was something of a failure:

hic ego mendacem stultissimus usque puellam
ad mediam noctem exspecto: somnus tamen aufert
intentum Veneri; tum immundo somnia visu
nocturnam vestem maculant ventremque supinum.[12]
(I.v.82-85)

It is easy to imagine such a man being occasionally the butt of ridicule, even from his slaves (II.vii).

Since Horace has thus presented himself as an amiable, humble man who can take himself with a smile, the implication is that his "sermones" cannot have been written with the intention to wound, and consequently there is no need to fear either the poet or his writings.

Persius

The persona of Persius differs greatly from that of the urbane, self-deprecating Horace. His opening satire is more an attack on the style and subject matter of other writers than a defense of his own writings. Thus, Satire I contains some memorable sketches of other writers, but, in marked contrast to Horace, no references to his own past.[13] A notable example of these

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11 "The first time I met you I managed a few awkward words,
But bewildered and bashful, I balked at blurting out more." (p. 65)

12 "Here, like a fool, I was tricked
By a girl who had said she'd drop in. I waited till midnight,
When sleep overcame my desire, and my pique at the cheek
Of such flagrant nocturnal omission. Even so, my dreams,
Composed of improper views, drenched my stomach and nightgown." (p. 61)

13 In the entire corpus of his work, Persius makes only two notable references to his personal life. In Satire III, he tells the reader of his embarrassment at having to learn Cato's dying speech, and then to recite it in front of his "idiot master" and "sweating father", (III.44-47). In Satire V, Persius praises his teacher, Cornutus, before introducing his own Stoic philosophy (V.19-29).

sketches is the satirical description of the poetry reading (I.13-23).[14]

Although autobiographical details are lacking, Persius manages to emphasize certain personal characteristics to make his defense more effective. The poet emerges as a youthful, honest Stoic. Even more importantly, he is a man who speaks from the heart. Like Juvenal, he emphasizes that he will speak the truth at all times. In fact, "truth" is one of the most important subjects of Satire I:

> quid faciam? sed sum petulanti splene cachinno.[15]
> (I.12)

> et "verum" inquis "amo, verum mihi dicite de me."
> qui pote? vis dicam?[16]
> (I.55-56)

> men muttire nefas? nec clam? nec cum scrobe nusquam?
> hic tamen infodiam. vidi, vidi ipse, libelle.[17]
> (I.119-120)

The success of Persius' delineation of his persona can be seen in Dryden's comments upon the character of the poet:

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14 William Gifford has caught the spirit of the passage in his imitation of this satire:

> So forth he steps, and with complacent air,
> Bows round the circle, and assumes the chair:
> With lemonade he gargles first his throat,
> Then sweetly preludes to the liquid note-
> ...
> A wild delirium round the assembly flies;
> Unusual lustre shoots from Emma's eyes;
> Luxurious Arno drivels as he stands;
> And Anna Frisks, and Laura claps her hands.

(The Baeviad, 1897, p. 32).

15 "But what else can I do? - I have a wayward wit and must have my laugh out." (p. 317)

16 "And then you say, 'I love the Truth; tell me the truth about myself!' How can the man do that? Would you like me to tell you the truth? (p. 323)

17 "And may I not mutter one word? Not anywhere, to myself, nor even to a ditch? Yes - here will I dig it in. I have seen the truth; I have seen it with my own eyes, O my book." (p. 329)

> There is a spirit of sincerity in all he says; you may easily discern that he is in earnest, and is persuaded of that truth which he inculcates.[18]

The open, blunt, at times almost aggressive, persona of Persius is developed and brought to perfection in the apologia of Juvenal.

Juvenal

The defensive technique of satire, brought to such perfection in Horace, is totally discarded by Juvenal. Horace can take himself with a smile and occasionally allows his readers a laugh at his own expense. Not so Juvenal. This is made clear in the angry opening lines of his apologia:

> Semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam
> vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?[19]
> (I.1-2)

For Juvenal, the answer to this question is a vehement NO! Unlike Horace, Juvenal makes no attempt to alleviate the fear that the reading public may feel towards the satirist. In fact, he very deliberately encourages this feeling as he adopts a pose similar to the prophets of the Old Testament.

The poet provides the reader with a few autobiographical details. After listing a number of the popular subjects for poetry, the poet recalls his early days in school:

> et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos
> consilium dedimus Syllae, privatus ut altum
> dormiret.[20]
> (I.15-17)

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18 John Dryden, "A Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire," in Essays of John Dryden, ed. W.P. Kerr, II (New York, 1961), p. 77.

19 "What? Am I to be a listener only all my days? Am I never to get my word in - I that have been so often bored by the Theseid of the ranting Cordus?" (p. 3)

20 "Well, I too have slipped my hand from under the cane; I too have counselled Sulla to retire from public life and sleep his fill." (pp. 3,5)

The poet then turns his attention to present-day Rome, and notices, with a rage, a familiar figure of the "nouveau riche":

> quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat,
> ...
> difficile est saturam non scribere.[21]
> (I.25,30)

A final picture indirectly gives an idea of the poet's daily life:

> Ipse dies pulchro distinguitur ordine rerum:
> sportula, deinde forum iurisque peritus Apollo
> ...
> vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes
> votaque deponunt, quamquam longissima cenae
> spes homini; caulis miseris atque ignis emendus.[22]
> (I.127-134)

These are the only details of the poet's life provided in Satire I.[23] Unlike Horace, Juvenal talks little about his home, parents and friends. He uses the first person singular far less than either Horace or Persius. Furthermore, his autobiographical references are not used as a means of establishing a defensive position, as in Horace; rather, they are part and parcel of his relentless attack on Roman society.

Instead of giving the reader precise facts about his background, Juvenal displays his emotional reactions to scenes prevalent in Rome. As a result, every detail is reflexive: the words describe the scene, but also indirectly

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21 "When a fellow under whose razor my stiff youthful beard used to grate challenges, with his single wealth, the whole nobility, ... it is hard not to write satire." (p. 5)

22 "The day itself is marked out by a fine round of business. First comes the dole; then the courts, and Apollo learned in the law, ... Wearied and hopeless, the old clients leave the door, though the last hope that a man relinquishes is that of dinner; the poor wretches must buy their cabbage and their fuel." (p. 13)

23 In other satires, where additional facts might enhance the total effect, Juvenal gives a few more details: that he has an estate in Aquinum to which he can retire; that the hated Crispinus, now so wealthy, used to shave him; and that he has visited Egypt.

define the angry satirist who chooses such bitter language.[24] The reader of Juvenal's satires begins to see the picture of a stern Roman of good family who has fallen on hard times. Since his money is gone, he is dishonoured at the games, turned away by patrons, and in general, is denied the dignity to which his name and citizenship entitle him. He is the perfect figure to attack Roman depravity, for he represents an older, more conservative society, and thus, stands in marked contrast to the decadence around him.

Thus, to explain his motives in writing satire, Juvenal limits himself to a relatively narrow persona, that of the indignant, blunt Roman. Such is the satirist as presented in the apologia. Horace made his persona believable by describing in copious detail his life, past and present. Juvenal, on the other hand, presents a man who has cast aside all such masks for outspoken plain dealing. He cannot remain indifferent to the horrible truths of the life he sees around him. Since he cannot criticize contemporaries, he feels compelled to tell the unsavory truth under the transparent guise of a previous age. Such a figure is, of course, yet another persona: much less interesting and humanly complex in itself than that of Horace, it is more compelling as the voice of human outrage in the face of corruption.

Pope

Pope, like Boileau, had gained the reputation of a merciless critic of mediocrity in literature and, like Juvenal, of vice in contemporary society. Pope's enemies attributed his motives, especially after The Dunciad Variorum, to personal spite. Yet, Pope is always conscious of himself as the "virtuous" man and, in developing his persona, he resorts to a complex presentation of the

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24 Alvin Kernan, "Juvenal," in The Cankered Muse: Satire of the English Renaissance (New Haven, 1959), p. 74.

persona he had found in Horace, Persius and Juvenal.

Pope often speaks of himself as a man whose concern for "Virtus" motivates his moral attitude. In a letter to John Caryll, September 27, 1732, Pope gives an account of his motives in writing:

> They [Pope's works] are directed to a good end, the advancement of moral and religious virtue, and the disparagement of vicious and corrupt hearts. ... I am ready to suffer in so good a cause.[25]

In "A Letter to the Publisher", signed by William Cleland (but probably written by Pope himself),[26] Pope is described as an "honest, open and beneficient Man" whose aim is to "undeceive or vindicate the honest and unpretending part of mankind from imposition".[27] He constantly emphasizes that he is an honest man, speaking the truth:

> If it [An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot] have anything 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 and the Ungenerous.[28]

Pope's persona, that of an honest, truthful man, is thus established even before we start reading his apologia.

Following the Horatian model, Pope presents himself as a young, largely self-educated man, who has profited equally by home instructions and beneficial books:

> Bred up at home, full early I begun

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25 Correspondence, II, p. 203.

26 James Sutherland, "Beyond lending his name to it ["A Letter to the Publisher"], Cleland had probably not much more to do with writing the Letter than Mrs. Anne Dodd had with publishing it." ("Introduction" to The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. James Sutherland, V New Haven, 1963 , p. xxv.)

27 "A Letter to the Publisher," The Dunciad Variorum, V, p. 13.

28 "Advertisement," to An Epistle from Mr. Pope to Dr. Arbuthnot, p. 95.

To read in Greek, the Wrath of Peleus' Son.
Besides, my Father taught me from a Lad,
The better Art to know the good from bad.
(Ep. II.ii.52-55)

He is a simple man with simple tastes:

Content with little, I can piddle here
On Broccoli and mutton, round the year.
(Sat. II.ii.137-138)

His involvement in literature is a surprise, even to himself:

As yet a Child, nor yet a Fool to Fame,
I lisp'd in Numbers, for the Numbers came.
(Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 127-128)

In another defensive device, Pope attempts to arouse the reader's sympathy. A friendly reference concerning his physical deformity is made by Dr. Arbuthnot, "I too could write, and am twice as tall." (103). The poet himself can jokingly refer to his defects:

There are, who to my Person pay their court,
I cough like Horace, and tho' lean, am short,
Ammon's great Son one shoulder had too high,
Such Ovid's nose, and 'Sir! you have an Eye-'.
(Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 115-118)

While exposing the malice in such ill-intended flattery, Pope reveals his own deep resentment:

Go on, obliging Creatures, make me see
All that disgrac'd my Betters, met in me.
(Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 119-120)

Poetry, an inspiration in the first place, served as a consolation to others as well as himself:

The Muse but serv'd to ease some Friend, not Wife,
To help me thro' this long Disease, my Life,
To second, ARBUTHNOT! thy Art and Care,
And teach, the Being you preserv'd, to bear.
(Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 131-134)

Such a man - humble in spirit, weak in body, deformed, bed-ridden, seeking his chief consolation in verse - is an easy prey for the mob which constantly

besieges his home:

> What Walls can guard me, or what Shades can hide?
> They pierce my Thickets, thro' my Grot they glide,
> By land, by water, they renew the charge,
> They stop the Chariot, and they board the Barge.
> (Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 7-10)

Hostile critics - "slashing" Bentley (Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 164); Sporus, "the familiar toad" (Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 319); Lintot, "dull rogue" (Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 63); Smedley, with "each ferocious feature grim with ooze" (The Dunciad Variorum II.304); and Theobald, with his "monster-breeding breast" (The Dunciad Variorum I.106) - are shown as raging animals snapping at the heels of a fundamentally kind poet. Still, the poet is a patient man who values the quiet privacy of his Twickenham retreat. By now, the reader would have to agree with Pope, that, when he finally does turn to satire, "I gave them but their due" (Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 174).

The autobiographical details of the apologia are less important for what they tell us about the author's early life, than for what the poet wishes us to know about his early life. Thus, references by the satirist to his childhood and home life are not simply fond reminiscences of his youth. They are his means of establishing both the persona and a standard against which he measures the society he is attacking. Lilian Feder, commenting on the use of such autobiographical details or rhetorical devices by the satirist, concludes:

> They are finally a defense of himself in his role of judge, and his right to satirize the faults of his contemporaries.[29]

As seen in this chapter, a variety of means are at the disposal of the satirist, ranging from the subtle use by Horace of autobiographical references to the blunt statement of fact in Juvenal to suggest that the satirist is

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29 Lilian Feder, "Sermo or Satire: Pope's Definition of His Art," in Studies in Criticism and Aesthetics, 1660-1800, ed. Howard Anderson and John S. Shea (Minneapolis, 1967), p. 143.

was motivated by one predominant concern - to speak the truth!

CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF PROMINENT FRIENDS AND TRADITION IN THE SATIRIST'S DEFENSE

Another widely used, defensive device in the apologia is the rhetorical mask. The satirist, through allusions to prominent men and great writers of the past, attempts to demonstrate that he is continuing the heritage, and in doing so has the approval of the most respected men of society.

Horace

Horace's patron, Maecenas, to whom the Sermones was dedicated, was a leading literary and political figure in Augustan Rome. Their friendship was close, and Horace, in Serm. I.v, does not fail to mention that he accompanied Maecenas on an important political mission.[1] Other friends of Horace joined the mission, including Plotius, Varius and even the mighty Vergil.

Horace proudly lists a number of men prominent both in the political and literary spheres who approve of his works:

> Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,
> Valgius, et probet haec Octavius, optimus atque
> Fuscus, et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque!
> ambitione relegata te dicere possum,
> Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque
> vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni.[2]
> (I.x.81-86)

The reader can surely agree with Horace's evaluation of his associations:

> quidquid sum ego, quamvis

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1 The mission, mentioned by Horace in vs. 29-30, undoubtedly refers to the meeting at Brundisium in 39 B.C. between the representatives of Augustus and Mark Anthony to prevent further hostilities between the leaders.

2 "Let Plotius and Varius, Maecenas, Vergil, and Valgius
Approve, and Octavius and excellent Fuscus; and would that
The two brothers Viscus might praise me! Flattery aside,
Let me name you, Pollio, you, Messalla, your brother,
And Bibulus and Servius, also you, honest Furnius." (p. 80)

infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me
cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque
invidia.[3]
(II.i.74-77)

Such important figures act as invisible buffers between the satires of Horace and any potentially hostile critics. The very mention of such people as Augustus, Maecenas, Trebatius and Vergil should silence the critics.

The lists of famous literary and political figures have another function in the apologia. The satirist attempts to show that satire and its subject matter are part of a long tradition in literature. Lucilius, the father of Roman satire, had adapted the Greek satire to the Roman language:

hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus
mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque.[4]
(I.iv.6-7)

Horace praises Lucilius because of the satirical way he attacks corruption (I.x.4). In Serm. II.i, he invokes Lucilius as the father of Roman satire:

quid, cum est Lucilius ausus
primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
detrahere et pellem.[5]
(II.i.62-64)

Horace then establishes an affinity between himself and Lucilius:

me pedibus delectat claudere verba
Lucili ritu nostrum melioris utroque.[6]
(II.i.28-29)

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3 "And, such as I am - inferior to Lucilius in rank,
Inferior in genius - even Envy will have to admit
That I too have lived with the Great." (p. 102)

4 "Lucilius' satire distinctly derives
From these writers; he followed them closely, only in meter
And form differing from them." (p. 52)

5 "Lucilius, the first man who dared
Compose this kind of poem, stripped off the skin of the city ." (p. 102)

6 "For myself, as best I can,
I take delight in constructing verses that scan,
As Lucilius did, a nobler and better man
Than either of us." (p. 100)

sequor hunc.[7]
(II.i.34)

Thus, the satire of Horace is shown to be clearly in the line of a long respected tradition of a genre that Rome should be proud of, which can be traced back to Lucilius. Since other ages allowed criticism to exist and produced highly respected poets in this genre, Horace is indirectly asking: "Why should I not resort to satire now?".

Persius

Persius presents himself as a literary Stoic figure, not so outwardly in touch with the Great as was Horace. Thus, Persius, unlike Horace, does not list prominent figures of the Establishment or his friends: however, in his apologia, he employs tradition in a manner similar to Horace. In defending his own attacks upon Rome, Persius invokes the memory of Lucilius, - "secuit Lucilius urbem"[8] (I.114) - and of Horace, - "callidus excusso populum suspendere naso"[9] (I.118). Also, he compares his satiric method to the poets of the Greek Old Comedy - Cratinus and Aristophanes:

audaci quicumque adflate Cratino
iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles,[10]
aspice et haec, si forte aliquid decoctius audis.
(I.123-125)

In describing the methods of Lucilius and Horace, Persius indirectly shows his admiration for an earlier age which allowed highly outspoken criticism. In

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7 "Like him [Lucilius], I'm a fighter." (p. 100)

8 "Lucilius flayed our city." (p. 329)

9 "A rare hand he [Horace] at flinging out his nose and hanging the people on it!" (p. 329)

10 "O all ye that have caught the bold breath of Cratinus - ye who have grown pale over the blasts of Eupolis or of the Grand Old Man - look here too, if you have an ear for anything of the finer sort." (p. 329)

comparison, the poet's own age is found to be far more restrictive: "nam Romae quis non - ah, si fas dicere"[11] (I.8).

The invoking of literary tradition in satire is not limited in Persius to mere mention of his predecessors, such as Lucilius and Horace. His apologia, unlike Horace's, is spiced with echoes from other writers. Donald Clark explains the importance of imitating the words and ideas of other poets:

> This practice was not the mere copying of another poet; it was the presentation of the truth of a previous poet - one made alive and applicable to the present time by finding parallels and similarities between the ideas and modes of expression in the two ages.[12]

The function of allusions is not so much to pay tribute to writers of the past, as to enlist their silent approval for the writer's own work.

Persius' debt to Horace is visible everywhere, in reminiscent words, phrases or ideas. Thus, the simple rule of pathos in the Ars Poetica,

> si vis me flere, dolendum est
> primum ipsi tibi.[13]
> (102-103)

is elaborated by Persius into

> verum, nec nocte paratum,
> plorabit qui me volet incurvasse querella.[14]
> (I.90-91)

The expression in Horace, "naso suspendis adunco ignotos"[15] (Serm. I.vi.5-6), becomes, in Persius, "excusso populum suspendere naso"[16] (I.118). The artful

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11 "For who is there in Rome who is not - oh, if only I might say my secret!" (p. 317)

12 Donald Clark, Alexander Pope (New York, 1967), p. 123.

13 "If you expect me
To burst into tears, you have to feel sorrow yourself." (p. 275)

14 "The man who wishes to bend me with his tale of woe must shed true tears - not tears that have been got ready overnight." (p. 325)

15 "You do not, look down your nose at nobodies." (p. 63)

16 "A rare hand he at flinging out his nose and hanging the people on it!" (p. 329)

"simplicitas" of Horace's words,

> totus, teres, atque rotundus,
> externi ne quid valeat per leve morari.[17]
> (II.vii.86-87)

is elaborated by Persius to

> ut per leve severos
> effundat iunctura ungues?[18]
> (I.64-65)

Even the appearance of Horatian names (Pedius, I.85; Nerius, II.14; Natta, III.31; Craterus, III.65; Bestius, VI.37) gives an added effect of imitation. Through such allusions, Horace is made to support, not so much the style, as the satirical criticisms of Persius.

Other famous writers are introduced through key words and phrases. The opening of Vergil's Aeneid, "arma virumque cano",[19] is echoed in Persius' ejaculation, "arma virum!"[20] (I.96). The phrase, "in rebus inane", repeated ten times in Lucretius' De Rerum Natura, is echoed in the opening line by Persius: "O curas hominum, o quantum est in rebus inane!"[21] (I.1)

The list is endless, but the intention of Persius should be quite clear: disgusted with the morals and tastes of his day, Persius would fix his reader's mind on older models. By echoing their words, Persius hopes to resuscitate the ideals of the established masters of Roman literature, and by supporting

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17 "Prestige, who is wholly contained in himself, well rounded, [is] Smooth as a sphere on which nothing external can fasten." (p. 148)

18 "Now at last we have verses flowing smoothly along, so that the critical nail glides unjarred over the joinings." (p. 323)

19 I sing of arms and the man.

20 "O shade of Virgil!" (p. 327)

21 "O the vanity of mankind! How vast the void in human affairs!" (p. 317)

his style of literature with the examples of Horace, Lucilius and the masters of Greek Comedy, Persius makes it difficult for contemporary poetasters to attack his criticisms.

Juvenal

Juvenal, like Persius, does not list any prominent friends in his apologia. However, the indignant poet, unlike Persius, does not waste time quoting other writers. Instead, Juvenal professes that all too many books are silly or useless, that they are unreal or irrelevant, and that even when the authors are being boldly imaginative, their works are feeble or "escapist", and inadequate to cope with the brutal truths of everyday life (I.1-14).

Juvenal also discards much of the literary tradition of satire. In defending his satires, he mentions Horace indirectly: "Haec ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna?"[22] (I.51). Yet, the poet is not sympathetic to Horace. He finds difficulty in admiring the friend of Octavian and the protege of Maecenas. For Juvenal sees the contemporary corruption of Rome as the result of a long process which began with the imperial ambitions of Julius Caesar and Augustus.[23]

The poet prefers to align himself with the tradition of satire established by Lucilius:

> cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo
> per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus,
> si vacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam.[24]
> (I.19-21)

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22 "Must I not deem these things worthy of the Venusian's lamp?" [Horace was born at Venusia. See Serm. II.i.34-35.] (p. 7)

23 For Juvenal's attitude towards Octavian, see V.3-4, VIII.241-243; for his attitude towards Maecenas, see I.66, XII.39.

24 "But if you can give me time, and will listen quietly to reason, I will tell you why I prefer to run in the same course over which the great nursling of Aurunca drove his steeds." Lucilius was born at Suessa Aurunca, B.C. 148. (p. 5)

He admires the aggressive stance which Lucilius adopted when attacking vice:

> ense velut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens
> infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est
> criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa.[25]
> (I.165-167)

Thus, the poet claims that his own work will be in the most outspoken tradition of satire, that of Lucilius. The poet has no need for any authors, other than Lucilius, to support his stand: he claims that his satire rivals epic and tragedy, either by mocking them or outdoing them in gravity. Therefore, his satire transcends the limits set by his predecessors.

Pope

Pope mentions many of his friends as an important satiric device. When Dr. Arbuthnot asked why he decided to publish his poems, Pope asserts the interest that his friends, all respected literary figures, took in his writings:

> But why then publish? Granville the polite,
> And knowing Walsh, would tell me I could write;
> Well-natured Garth inflam'd with early praise,
> And Congreve lov'd, and Swift endur'd my Lays.
> (An Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 135-138)

The passage continues with a list of prominent statesmen who befriended Pope:

> The Courtly Talbot, Somers, Sheffield read,
> Ev'n mitred Rochester would nod the head,
> And St. John's self (great Dryden's friends before)
> With open arms receiv'd one Poet more.
> (An Ep. to Dr. Arbuthnot, 139-142)

Pope, like Horace, requires a number of such cultivated members of the literary and aristocratic circles as champions of his merit, but, unlike Dryden, he is not financially dependent upon them. Lord Somers, Charles Montagu, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Carleton, James Earl Stanhope and Sir William Wyndham

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25 "But when Lucilius roars and rages as if with sword in hand, the hearer, whose soul was cold with crime, grows red; he sweats with the secret consciousness of sin." (p. 17)

are all:

> Names, which I long have lov'd, nor lov'd in vain,
> Rank'd with their Friends, not number'd with their Train;
> And if yet higher the proud List should end,
> Still let me say! No Follower, but a Friend.
> (Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue II, 90-93)

Thus, many of his friends, like the Earl of Peterborough, who retired from the army and court life on George I's accession, and Viscount Bolingbroke, who lost his political office after the accession of George I, are "Chiefs, out of War, and Statesmen, out of Place" (Sat. II.i.126). The poet is protected by his influential friends, but unlike Horace, Dryden or Boileau, is independent of patronage. He is thus free to speak out freely and openly and, with increasing violence, attack the Establishment.

Pope's appeal to tradition as a means of defense in his apologia is also highly interesting. Carefully balancing his work between paraphrase and translation, he can be original, yet have Horace often "speak his words". As an anonymous critic put it:

> The Imitations of Horace show the poet bound hand and foot, and yet dancing as if free.[26]

In reading Pope's Imitations, it is important to remember the literal and moral presence of Horace's poems on the facing page of editions that appeared in Pope's lifetime. It becomes apparent that Horace's poem constantly supports Pope's apologia with all the sanctions of classical culture. That Pope should have chosen to defend his work by imitating Horace shows his awareness of the value of such a tradition:

> The Occasion of publishing these Imitations was the Clamour raised on some of my Epistles. An Answer from Horace was both more full, and of more Dignity, than any I cou'd have made in my own person.[27]

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26 The Times Literary Supplement, October 25, 1934, p. 722.

27 "Advertisement" to The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, p. 3.

Pope's use of tradition can be very subtle and can go much further than Horace. He enlists the aid of John Donne in his attack on the court of George II:

> ...the Example of much greater Freedom in so eminent a Divine as Dr. Donne, seem'd a proof with what Indignation and Contempt a Christian may treat Vice or Folly, in ever so low, or ever so high, a Station.[28]

The implication is clear: the satires of Pope have the sanction of the Christian tradition as well.

When Fortescue, in The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, warns Pope of the hostile attitude of society towards the satirist and his vocation (II.i.101-104), Pope responds in a passage that is highly instructive in pointing out the method of the satirist:

> What? arm'd for Virtue when I point the Pen,
> Brand the bold Front of shameless, guilty Men,
> Dash the proud Gamester in his gilded Car,
> Bare the mean Heart that lurks beneath a Star;
> Can there be wanting to defend Her Cause,
> Lights of the Church, or Guardians of the Laws?
> Could pension'd Boileau lash in honest Strain
> Flatt'rers and Bigots ev'n in Louis' Reign?
> Could Laureate Dryden Pimp and Fry'r engage,
> Yet neither Charles nor James be in a Rage?
> (II.i.105-114)

As seen earlier, Horace sheltered himself under the authority of Maecenas and Augustus; Pope parallels this practice by introducing Dryden and Boileau, two men who were allowed to write satire under much less liberal regimes of absolute monarchy. In mentioning Dryden and Boileau, Pope places himself in the tradition of great modern satire, yet at the same time, brings out his greater independence. Unlike Dryden and Boileau, he does not have to rely on royal pension and thus can be more outspoken in his critique. Pope is proud

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28 "Advertisement," to The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, p. 3.

of his independence and his freedom from the necessitudes of gratitude;[29] in this sense, he goes beyond Horace, who was proud to acknowledge the patronage of Maecenas and Augustus. Thus, in describing himself as "unplac'd, unpension'd, no Man's heir, or Slave" (116), Pope dissociates himself from those satirists whose purse strings and (often) views were controlled by the Establishment.

The above passage makes indirect reference to the apologia of both Persius and Juvenal. Pope's verses about Dryden and Boileau (111-114) are based, not upon Horace, but upon Persius' description of the satire of Horace and Lucilius:[30]

> secuit Lucilius urbem,
> te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis;
> omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
> tangit.[31]
> (I.114-117)

In verses 105-106, Pope echoes Dryden's translation of Juvenal:

> But when Lucilius brandishes his Pen
> And flashes in the face of Guilty Men,
> A cold Sweat stands in drops on ev'ry part;
> And rage succeeds to Tears, Revenge to Smart.[32]

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29 Joseph Spence records an interesting anecdote concerning Pope's attitude to flattery:

> Mr. Pope never flattered anybody for money in the whole course of his writings. Alderman Barker had a great inclination to have a stroke in his commendation inserted in some part of Mr. Pope's Works. He did not want money, and he wanted fame. He would probably have given four or five thousand pounds to have been gratified in this desire, and gave Mr. Pope to understand as much. Mr. Pope would never comply with such a baseness, and when the Alderman died, he left him a legacy only of a hundred pounds, which might have been some thousands if he had obliged him only with a complet.

(Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men, ed. James Osborn Oxford, 1966 , p. 161.)

30 Thomas Maesca, Pope's Horatian Poems (Ohio, 1966), p. 50.

31 "And yet Lucilius flayed our city: he flayed you, Lupus, and you, Mucius, and broke his jaw over you. Horace, sly dog, worming his way playfully into the vitals of his laughing friend, touches up his every fault." (p. 329)

32 John Dryden, "The First Satyr of Juvenal," in The Poems of John Dryden, ed. J. Kinsley, II (Oxford, 1958), p. 677. vs. 251-254. These lines correspond to Juvenal, I.165-167.

The use Pope made of classical apologiae can be seen to better advantage in his Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot. Warned by Dr. Arbuthnot to be cautious in his use of names, Pope responds by saying that one of the glories of satire is its ability to strip the mask from the impostor:

> let the secret pass,
> That Secret to each Fool, that he's an Ass.
> (79-80)

These lines have the same climactic place in Pope's satire as they do in Persius' apologia:

> vidi, vidi ipse, libelle:
> auriculas asini quis non habet?[33]
> (I.120-121)

Further, the concluding lines of the Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue II,

> Here, Last of Britons! let your Names be read;
> Are none, none living? let me praise the Dead,
> (250-251)

are reminiscent of the climactic lines of Juvenal's apologia:

> experiar quid concedatur in illos,
> quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.[34]
> (I.170-171)

The intricate connections which Pope established between his works and the works of Persius, Juvenal and Horace should not be discarded as the fancy of a devious poet. Thomas Maresca points out the importance of such literary associations:

> Besides the obvious fact that the passages deal with the same subject for the same reasons in poems that are all designed to justify their creators' satire, both Juvenal's and Persius' lines had been repeatedly linked with Horace's by the editors and annotators of all three authors. Pope's use of them here then is not to be construed as the esoteric whim of a scholarly poet, but rather as his explanation of

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33 "I have seen it with my own eyes, O my book: Who is there who has not the ears of an ass?" (p. 329)

34 "Then I will try what I may say of those worthies whose ashes lie under the Flaminian and Latin roads." (p. 17)

> materials that lay well within the bounds of the common knowledge of educated men.[35]

The list of eminent men Pope can invoke in his defense is considerable. They fall into two groups: the great literary masters of the past whom the poet imitated; and the men of taste with whom the poet openly associated. Thus, the literary masterpieces of Horace, Juvenal and Persius are imitated; Dryden's translations of Juvenal and Persius are drawn upon; Boileau, Dryden, Swift Congreve, Garth, Granville, Walsh and Gay are named. Prominent noblemen who are mentioned include Bolingbroke, Harley, Peterborough and Burlington. The poet is protected by such influential people, but, in mentioning friends and the examples of previous satirists, Pope asserts his independence from any form of patronage. He is thus free to attack the Establishment. Such an impressive list of literary and political figures, who can vouch for Pope's ethos, should disqualify any attacks upon the moral integrity of Pope's satires.

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35 Thomas Maresca, op. cit., p. 51.

CHAPTER IV

THE APOLOGIA AS A PROGRAMME SATIRE

Once the poet has answered the charges directed against satiric writing, he is able to set down the rules that will govern his satire. Sometimes, as in the apologia of Horace, there is a clear distinction between the theory of satire and the specific examples of his method; at other times, the theory must be extrapolated from the examples of satire provided by the satirist.

An immediate problem for the Roman satirist was to find a mode of reconciliation between the legal restrictions against satire, as outlined in the "Introduction" to this paper, and the aggressive style of Lucilius, the revered inventor of Roman satire.

C. Lucilius (180-102 B.C.), a voluminous writer, had compiled thirty books of writings on various subjects and in various metres. Literary "saturae" were written before him,[1] but it was Lucilius who made verse what a modern critic would term a "satirical" vehicle. In a vivid, direct, sometimes coarse, language, he set forth his views concerning the world around him. In this respect, he was, according to Horace, the successor of Old Greek Comedy:

> Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae,
> atque alii quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,
> ...
> hinc omnis pendet Lucilius.[2]
> (Serm. I.iv.1-6)

Roman satirists considered him their exemplar, and the inventor of their genre.

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1 Ennius (239-169 B.C.), the first known exponent of literary satura, moralized in various metres on different aspects of life and society. The basic meaning of "satura" - a medley - is well illustrated by his works. The tradition was carried on by his nephew, M. Pacuvius (220-130 B.C.).

2 "The poets Cratinus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes,
And the others who wrote Old Comedy, used to name names:
...
Lucilius' satire distinctly derives from these writers." (p. 52)

For, not only did Lucilius fix the metre of verse satire (dactylic hexametre), but also the tone -sometimes friendly and conversational, more often harsh and outspoken.

The personal circumstances of Lucilius' life affected the subject matter of his satires. He was the member of an influential family. Further, he had the advantage of the friendship of Scipio Aemilianus (185-129 B.C.), the general who destroyed Carthage in the Third Punic War. Thus, Lucilius was free to attack Scipio's political enemies, his own literary opponents, and whomever else he happened to dislike. Later writers refer constantly to Lucilius' pugnacity: Persius, in I.114, describes how Lucilius lashed the city of Rome; and Juvenal, in I.165, describes him as raging with drawn sword. The vigorous criticism of public life which he had introduced into his satires was regarded by his successors as an essential feature of the genre. In Serm. II.i, Horace summarizes the style of Lucilius and the public reaction to his satire:

> quid, cum est Lucilius ausus
> primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
> detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
> cederet.[3]
> (II.i.62-65)

In this regard, it was Lucilius who made "satura" satirical.

Of the four great exponents of Roman "satura", only Lucilius did not live and write under a despotism; moreover, he enjoyed the protection of a powerful coterie. The dilemma of the satirists who followed him should now be apparent. They are torn between, on the one hand, the demands of conscience and the "lex operis" of Lucilius which demanded the satirist to speak out, and, on the other hand, the inhibitions imposed upon the satirist by society. The basis of the

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3 "What! Should I be afraid when Lucilius, the first man who dared
Compose this kind of poem, stripped off the skin
Wherein everyone flaunts his good looks in his neighbor's eyes
While inwardly ugly?" (p. 102)

post-Lucilian satirist's programme in the apologia is the attempt to balance the safety of general satire with the need for particular satire.

Horace

Some of Horace's important revelations of his aims in satire take the form of criticisms of his predecessor, Lucilius, for, as G.L. Hendrickson suggests, Horace sought "to create out of the 'character Lucilianus', a Roman satire".[4] Horace praises Lucilius as the "inventor" (I.x.48) of satura, and also, for the courage with which he rubs down the city.(I.x.4). However, the style of Lucilius is "rough", for Lucilius took little care in polishing his verse:

> durus componere versus:
> nam fuit hoc vitiosus: in hora saepe ducentos,
> ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno.[5]
> (I.iv.8-10)

Because he did not revise his poetry, the poems are wordy: "cum flueret lutulentus"[6] (I.iv.11). Thus, in his criticism of Lucilius, Horace emphasizes his concern with correctness, variety, economy and exactness in diction and metre:

> est brevitate opus, ut currat sententia, neu se
> impediat verbis lassas onerantibus auris.[7]
> (I.x.9-10)

In Serm. II.i, Horace continues his commentary on Lucilius, stating that he will write in the "confessional" manner of his predecessor:

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4 G.L. Hendrickson, "Satura - The Genesis of a Literary Form," in Classical Philology, VI (April, 1911), p. 133.

5 "He set down rugged verses. I would say that Lucilius
In fact wrote a bit too much: as a feat, he would dictate
Two hundred lines in an hour while standing on one foot." (p. 52)

6 "But the stream is muddy." (p. 52)

7 "You need to compress if you want the meaning to flow
And not be held back by the words that weigh on, and tire,
Your hearers' ears." (p. 77)

ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
credebat libris,
...
quo fit ut omnis
votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
vita senis.[8]
(II.i.30-34)

Horace, in these lines, places satire in the perspective of a religious act, an almost sacramental self-revelation and confession.[9] For Horace, satire has become literally a sacred tablet, the medium through which the poet reveals his innermost thoughts.

Horace now confronts the final problem - the fierce invective of Lucilian satire. He tells us that, like Lucilius, he comes from a long line of fighters: "sequor hunc"[10] (II.i.34). But immediately, he qualifies this:

sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
quemquam animantem et me veluti custodiet ensis
vagina tectus.[11]
(II.i.39-41)

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8 "He confided his deepest thoughts
To his books, as if to his closest friends,
...
And the old poet's life is therefore as faithfully limned
As a votive tablet hung up for all to view." (p. 100)

9 The "votiva tabella" was a small tablet on which was painted episodes in the suppliant's life that showed the active intervention of the gods in his affairs. Traditionally, they were hung on the wall of a temple, as the following passage from Horace's Odes makes clear:

me tabula sacer
votiva paries indicat uvida
suspendisse potenti
vestimenta maris deo. (I.v.13-16)

"The temple
Wall with its plaque serves notice: I
have hung my wet clothes up
and bowed to the sea god's power." (p. 37)

10 "Like him, I'm a fighter." (p. 100)

11 "But this stiletto, my stylus, will not assault
Any living soul, but defend me, like a sheathed sword." (p. 101)

This does not mean that Horace would never resort to personal attack, but rather, that he would attack only when provoked.[12]

With great skill, Horace shifts his pose in a single word. "Stilus", the Latin word for "pen", half-suggests the defensive, allegedly harmless aspect of Horatian satire:

> o pater et rex
> Iuppiter, ut pereat positum robigine telum,
> nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis![13]
> (II.i.42-44)

But "stilus" also means "dagger", and thus prepares the reader for the Lucilian stance:

> at ille
> qui me commorit (melius non tangere, clamo),
> flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.[14]
> (II.i.44-46)

Trebatius, thinking that Horace is threatening to write lampoons, warns him of the legal restrictions against satire. Horace playfully answers by confusing the law of libel referred to by Trebatius with his own principles of aesthetics, (II.i.83-84). The arguments of Trebatius dissolve away in gentle laughter. In his concluding verses, Horace establishes a precedent in the apologia which will be followed by other satirists. He evades the dilemma of the Roman satirist - to name names like Lucilius and risk punishment or to betray his moral principles.

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12 Names of individuals, including contemporaries, never completely disappeared from Horace's satirical verse. However, he tended to use type names borrowed from Lucilius, or names of persons from an earlier generation or symbolic names of his own invention. For a detailed study of the use of names in Horace's satires, see Niall Rudd, "The Names," in The Satires of Horace (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 132-159.

13 "Jupiter, Father and King,
May my weapon, retired from use, be ruined by rust
And may no one injure me, who desire only peace!" (p. 101)

14 "But the man who provokes me will weep (HANDS OFF! I WARN YOU)
And his name will be widely rehearsed all over town." (p. 101)

Horace says, with his usual urbane modesty, that he himself cannot hope to equal Lucilius; however, his critique of his predecessor and his own exacting requirements in regard to style and content suggest that he actually hoped to surpass Lucilius and perfect the genre that Lucilius invented. Horace, as Edward Fraenkel has shown, emancipated Roman satire from many of the merely external features of Lucilian satire, and thus created an entirely new form of "satura":

> Only when Horace in his own work had freed himself from direct imitation of certain obvious features of his model, above all the personal invective, and had begun to use his satura, not soley but largely, as an instrument of self-portraiture - only then was he capable of seeing that the work of Lucilius was primarily self-portraiture.[15]

Thus, the basis of Horatian satire, as might be expected from the critique of Lucilius, shifts from the predominantly ethical to the aesthetical realm: the technique that suits him most is the subtle manipulation of language. For example, the play on "stilus" incorporates both the aggressive and the defensive stance of the satirist. In the resounding line, "Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem"[16] (II.i.22), the epic style serves to mock the subject - Pantolabus and Nomentanus, two fools mentioned also in Serm. I.viii.11. In verse 26, Pollux is exalted by the epic word "pronatus", but diminished by the animal suggestion in "ovo". Horace's closing joke revolves around the dual meanings of "malum carmen" - evil incantation or bad poetry.

A fine example of Horace's careful manipulation of language is demonstrated in the attitude Horace adopts towards Augustus in Serm. II.i. To curb Horace's satirical itch, Trebatius (as stated earlier) advises his friend to rub his body with oil, swim the Tiber and get drunk, OR to write of the epic

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15 Edward Fraenkel, op. cit., p. 152.

16 "Pantolabus and Nomentanus, the wastrels" (p. 100).

deeds of invincible Caesar, because it would bring fringe benefits. Augustus, we notice, has been subtly placed in an ironical context:

> aude
> Caesaris invicti res dicere, multa laborum
> praemia laturus.[17]
>
> (II.i.10-12)

The implication is that if Horace should write about Caesar, he would be like the "vulgus profanum" who places money above integrity. But Horace is not interested in money, as he pointed out in an earlier satire:

> nescis quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum?
> panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius, adde
> quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis.[18]
>
> (I.i.73-75)

Horace answers Trebatius with a cleverly worded, ambiguous reply: "Cupidum, patre optime, vires deficiunt" (II.i.12-13). Translators render this line as "The wish is there but the skill i.e. of Horace is not.".[19] However, the Latin is not so definite. Alternate translations could be: "The wish is there but the skill i.e. of Augustus is not."; or even, "The wish and the skill i.e. of Horace are lacking.". The terseness of phrasing allows the reader to supply his own interpretation: the ambiguity is important to a poet whose position depends on the favour of the emperor. Also, it is interesting to note the pathos with which Horace describes the conquests of Augustus: "nec fracta pereuntis cuspide Gallos aut labentis equo describat vulnera Parthi."[20] (II.i.14-15).

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17 "Have the courage
To write of invincible Caesar: recording his deeds
Will bring a good fee for the work." (p. 99)

18 "Don't you know what money can do, or just why we want it?
It's to buy bread and greens and a pint of wine
And the things that we, being human, can't do without." (p. 36)

19 Smith Palmer Bovie, op. cit., p. 99.

20 " Not all can describe [the Gauls]
Going under, with splintered spears, a wounded Parthian
Slipping down from his horse to final defeat." (pp. 99-100)

No, he cannot write of Caesar's epic deeds. Nor can he write a panegyric in honour of Caesar's deeds:

> haud mihi deero
> cum res ipsa feret.[21]
> (II.i.17-18)

When the occasion presents itself, he tells the reader, he will write about Caesar. Once again, a translation captures only a small portion of the power of these words. An alternate interpretation would be, "when the occasion presents itself i.e. when Caesar asks Horace to do so , he will write about Caesar."

The next verses of the satire provide an even greater problem to translators:

> nisi dextro tempore, Flacci
> verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem,
> cui male si palpere recalcitrat undique tutus.[22]
> (II.i.18-20)

The word play on his name, "Flaccus" (Flaccus, or flap-eared), deliberately undercuts the seriousness of Trebatius' proposal to write a panegyric. Translators tend to blunt the passage by replacing the suggestion of a horse with the majestic word, "steed". Horace, however, is far too subtle for that; actually, he mentions no animal at all. He merely says that, if you stroke Octavian the wrong way, he is likely to kick out in all directions.

Horace's comments on the administration of Augustus are not harsh and rebuking, but rather, the well-meant suggestions of one friend to another. Pope's Epistle to Augustus provides a fine example of how easily the gentle reminders of Horace may be turned into harsh ridicule.

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21 "I'll be equal to that when the occasion presents itself." (p. 100)

22 "Unless the remarks of a Flaccus are properly timed,
They will not pass into the attentive ear of a Caesar.
Stroked the wrong way, the steed plays it safe and kicks back." (p. 100)

Horace's satires are, in themselves, his critical commentary on the art of satire, which was, in Horace's own word, a "sermo" - an informal, conversational poem in which the poet reveals the follies of society, introduces his own personality, relates anecdotes, comments on literary values, and generally is free to vary his content and style, because his art is "satura", a medley.

Persius

The satiric principles of Persius are not overtly stated in his apologia, but become clear when one examines the objects of his attack. Persius judges the decadent literary tastes of his day to be a symptom of the widespread moral decay in Rome. Horace had praise for many of the Augustan poets, but Persius condemns en masse the versifiers of contemporary Rome, their verse and their audience.

It requires very little effort, says the satirist, to compose contemporary poetry:

> Scribimus inclusi, numeros ille, hic pede liber,
> grande aliquid, quod pulmo animae praelargus anhelet.[23]
> (I.13-14)

The poet is now ready for a poetry reading. Wearing a clean toga and his best ring, he sits like a celebrity in a high chair and ogles his audience:

> scilicet haec populo pexusque togaque recenti
> et natalicia tandem cum sardonyche albus
> sede leges celsa, liquido cum plasmate guttur
> mobile conlueris, patranti fractus ocello.[24]
> (I.15-18)

---

23 "We shut ourselves up and write something grand - one in verse, one in prose - something that will take a vast amount of breath to pant out." (p. 319)

24 "This stuff you will some day read aloud to the public, having first lubricated your throat with an emollient wash; you will take your seat on a high chair, well combed, in a new white robe, and with a rakish leer in your eye, not forgetting a birthday sardonyx gem on your finger." (p. 319)

The time-honoured themes of epic poets are attempted by writers who have no ability to write about a rural scene. As a result, the mighty figures of Roman mythology - Remus, Cincinnatus - make these new poetasters dwindle to their native littleness.

Another glimpse of the modern poet is provided as the host at a dinner party asks for an opinion of his verse. Persius speaks up, only too eager to tell the truth:

> vis dicam? nugaris, cum tibi, calve,
> pinguis aqualiculus propenso sesquipede extet.[25]
> (I.56-57)

The physical grotesqueness of such poets only mirrors the vast emptiness of their audience. The pretensions of the fashionable literary coteries may be intolerable, but the poetry loving public is equally at fault:

> tunc neque more probo videas nec voce serena
> ingentis trepidare Titos, cum carmina lumbum
> intrant et tremulo scalpuntur ubi intima versu.[26]
> (I.19-21)

Such dinner parties invariably end in insipid trash about a Phyllis or Hypsipyle:

> ecce inter pocula quaerunt
> Romulidae saturi, quid dia poemata narrent;
> hic aliquis, cui circum umeros hyacinthina laena est,
> rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus
> Phyllidas, Hypsipylas, vatum et plorabile siquid,
> eliquat ac tenero subplantat verba palato.[27]
> (I.30-35)

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25 "Would you like me to tell you the truth? You are just a fool, you old bald-pate, with that pot-belly of yours sticking out a foot and a half in front of you!" (p. 323)

26 "Thereupon, as the thrilling strains make their way into the loins, and tickle the inward parts, you may see the burly sons of Rome, quivering in no seemly fashion, and uttering no seemly words." (p. 319)

27 "See, now, the sons of Romulus, having well dined, are asking over their cups, 'What has divine poesy to say'? Whereupon some fellow with a purple mantle round his shoulders lisps out with a snuffle some insipid trash about a Phyllis or a Hypsipyle or some other dolorous poetic theme, mincing his words, and letting them trip daintily over his palate." (pp. 320-321)

Persius reserves his sharpest criticisms to denounce the current mania for the "dried-up tomes" of Accius and Pacuvius, two early tragedians of Rome:

> est nunc Brisaei quem venosus liber Acci,
> sunt quos Pacuviusque et verrucosa moretur.[28]
> (I.76-77)

Surely, the manhood of ancient Rome has vanished when modern poetry begins to ape such nerveless lines and styles as:

> claudere sic versum didicit "Berecyntius Attis,"
> et "qui caeruleum dirimebat Nerea delphin";
> sic "costam longo subdiximus Appennino."[29]
> (I.93-95)

These lines provide some of the best examples of parody in Latin literature. G.M. Nisbet comments:

> Persius seems here to be scoffing at the Alexandrian tastes which survived in the early empire; the Greek mythology is too precious, the word order of the second line is reminiscent of neoteric epyllion and spondaic ending is affected.[30]

Persius' oath, "arma virum" (I.96), contrasts the virile style of Virgil with the flaccid modern style.

Having spent a greater part of his satire in criticizing the literary tastes of Rome, Persius concludes with an encomium of the satirist and his role in society. Other writers are subservient to the whims of their audience: "tun, vetule, auriculis alienis colligis escas?"[31] (I.22). But such an audience is fickle - sometimes approving: "adsensere viri"[32] (I.36); sometimes disapproving:

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28 "One man pores over the dried-up tome of the Bacchanalian Accius; others dwell lovingly on the warty Antiope of Pacuvius." (p. 325)

29 "See how we have learnt to round off our verses with 'Berecynthian Attis'; or 'the dolphin which was cleaving the sky-blue Nereus'; or now 'we filched a rib off from the lengthy Apennines'." (p. 327)

30 G.M. Nisbet, "Persius," in Satire, Critical Essays on Roman Literature, ed. J.P. Sullivan (Bloomington, 1968), p. 46.

31 "What, you old reprobate? Do you cater for other people's wanton ears?" (p. 319)

32 "The great men signify their approval." (p. 321)

vos, o patricius sanguis, quos vivere fas est
occipiti caeco, posticae occurrite sannae.[33]
(I.61-62)

The satirist, on the other hand, is an honest, independent man, responsible only to himself: "nec te quaesiveris extra"[34] (I.7). Further, to parade learning or win renown is not the satirist's aim, for applause in a corrupt society is no test of true merit.

The satires of Persius then demand a special kind of reader - an educated, discerning person, one familiar with the masters of Old Greek Comedy:

audaci quicumque adflate Cratino
iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles,
aspice et haec, si forte aliquid decoctius audis.[35]
(I.123-125)

Persius concludes by comparing the corrupt audience of contemporary Rome with a new desireable type of public he would like to see in its stead:

inde vaporata lector mihi ferveat aure,
non hic qui in crepidas Graiorum ludere gestit
sordidus et lusco qui possit dicere "lusce".[36]
(I.126-128)

Juvenal

Juvenal's satires revolve around the contrast between the new luxury of Imperial Rome and the "simplicitas" of Republican Home. The wide panorama of life which crowds his satires is held together by a single theme: money, wealth

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33 "O ye blue-blooded patricians, you who have to live without eyes in the back of your head, turn round and face the gibing in your rear!" (p. 323)

34 "Look to no one outside yourself." (p. 317)

35 "O all ye that have caught the bold breath of Cratinus - ye who have grown pale over the blasts of Eupolis or of the Grand Old Man [Aristophanes]." (p. 329)

36 "Let my reader be one whose ear has been cleansed and kindled by such strains, not one of the baser sort who loves to poke fun at the slippers of the Greeks, and who could cry out "Old one-eye!" to a one-eyed man." (p. 329)

and luxury have debased the ancient virtues of Rome. E.J. Kenney points out the purpose of Satire I:

> Juvenal's First Satire is programmatic, a statement of why he proposes to write satire and what kind of satire he proposes to write.[37]

The tone of the prologue (I.1-18) must be grasped first in order to realize the movement of Juvenal's apologia. Juvenal speaks of the inanity of the multitudinous epics to which he is forced to listen. His assault on modern literary tastes is in the "grand style", so much so as to verge on parody. W.S. Anderson characterizes the tone as "a violently overemphasized impatience with the literary dabblers of contemporary Rome".[38]

Juvenal next gives his reasons for choosing to write satire (I.19-80). After pointing his finger of scorn at the hackneyed trash written by contemporary epic-mongers, he announces that he himself intends to follow in the steps of Lucilius:

> cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo
> per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus,
> si vacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam.[39]
> (I.19-21)

The satirist proceeds to give the reader a panoramic view of the sins of Rome, a candid camera sweep directed by the satirist over Rome viewed as "Il Mondo Cane". Gilbert Highet states that Juvenal "is not showing us a procession, but plunging us into a mob".[40] The mob is composed of perverts, criminals and

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37 E.J. Kenney, "The First Satire of Juvenal," in Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, VIII (Cambridge, 1962), p. 29.

38 W.S. Anderson, "Studies in Book I of Juvenal," in Yale Classical Studies (1957), p. 35.

39 "But if you can give me time, and will listen quietly to reason, I will tell you why I prefer to run in the same course over which the great nursling of Aurunca [Lucilius] drove his steeds." (p. 5)

40 Gilbert Highet, Juvenal the Satirist (Oxford, 1954), p. 50.

degenerates of every description, and, faced with such reality, Juvenal cannot restrain himself from exclaiming: "difficile est saturam non scribere"[41] (I.30). Four figures are singled out for special treatment: the complaisant husband, the noble Jehu, the effeminate forger and the lady poisoner. Each exemplum reveals the triumph of corruption, for "probitas laudatur et alget"[42] (I.74). The section concludes with Juvenal's description of his satiric method:

> si natura negat, facit indignatio versum
> qualemcumque potest, quales ego vel Cluvienus.[43]
> (I.79-80)

He resorts to satire because anger compels him: the world around him teems with vice, crime and abuses.

In the third section of the satire (I.81-146), Juvenal chooses avarice as his particular target. He shows the wide range of topics that his satires will encompass:

> quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas
> gaudia discursus, nostri farrago libelli est.[44]
> (I.85-86)

Juvenal's characterization of his satire as a "farrago" links his satire directly to the original meanings of "satura".[45]

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41 "It is hard not to write satire." (p. 5)

42 "Honesty is praised and starves." (p. 9)

43 "Though nature say me nay, indignation will prompt my verse, of whatever kind it be - such verse as I can write, or Cluvienus!" (p. 9)

44 "All the doings of mankind, their vows, their fears, their angers and their pleasures, their joys and goings to and fro, shall form the motley subject of my page." (p. 9)

45 The Romans, in making sacrifices to the rural deities, offered each god a collection of the various fruits of the area, piled upon a platter. The Romans called this platter a "lanx satura", or simply "satura". The same word, by metaphor, was used of other things possessing the same quality: a "lex" passed "per saturam" was a law containing enactments on various subjects which were all passed together as a whole. By a similar metaphor, the term is then applied to a form of literature consisting of many mixed ingredients (i.e. various metres and subjects).

The conclusion (I.147-171) begins with a resume of the purpose of his satire:

> omne in praecipiti vitium stetit. utere velis,
> totos pande sinus.[46]
>
> (I.149-150)

At this point, the interlocutor interrupts, warning Juvenal not to use the names of contemporary offenders. He advises instead the use of mythological subjects - the battle of Aeneas and Turnus, the death of Achilles, or the fate of Hylas. Juvenal's reply is disconcerting:

> experiar quid concedatur in illos,
> quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.[47]
>
> (I.170-171)

In the prologue, Juvenal criticized the themes of modern epics, announcing sonorously that he would follow in the steps of Lucilius. In the epilogue, Juvenal's critic urges the satirist to reverse his decision and use epic themes. Juvenal's answer appears to be a compromise: he will write satire but not against living persons.

To be fully understood, Juvenal's conclusion should be seen in the light of the tradition of the apologia. Unlike Lucilius, neither Horace, Persius nor Juvenal ever attacked an eminent contemporary by name. Furthermore, rather than attack the dead, the satirists tend to use them as exempla.[48] Juvenal, in the conclusion, is thus performing the formal gesture of the apologia to account

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46 "All vice is at its acme; up with your sails and shake out every stitch of canvas!" (p. 15)

47 "Then I will try what I may say of those worthies whose asnes lie under the Flaminian and Latin roads." (p. 17)

48 The satirist, in using the dead as examples, is following the normal practice of satirists and rhetoricians, as commended by Quintilian: " exempla hoc potentiora quod ea sola criminibus odii et gratiae vacant." (Inst. Or., X.i.34). For a detailed examination of the relationship between the satires of Juvenal and the principles of rhetoric of Quintilian, see W.S. Anderson, "Juvenal and Quintilian," in Yale Classical Studies (1961), pp. 3-97.

for the discrepancy between theory and practice in his own satires. Like his predecessors, Juvenal evades the dilemma of the Roman satirist - to write like Lucilius and risk being prosecuted for libel or to betray his high moral principles - in a flippant ending. Juvenal's conclusion, like the exaggerated tone of his prologue, recalls Horace's playful pun on "mala carmina". The satire ends as it began - on a note of wit and humour.

Pope

Centuries later, English satirists were faced with a similar conflict between an outspoken conscience and the libel laws of the country. Pope was a man of taste, nurtured on classical culture, who found himself in a world in which traditional values were being replaced by the values of an expanding commercial society. The poet was shocked by the mass proliferation of bad literature which he denounced in The Dunciad Variorum. Pope joined the Opposition in denouncing the corruption, which he attributed to the greed of the city magnates, championed jointly by the Whigs who were led by the unscrupulous Sir Robert Walpole and by the half-literate George II and his court. The major themes which Pope developed in his satires (1728-1741) were: the corruption and ignorance in the Hanoverian court; the proliferation of bad literature; and the disintegration of all levels of English society caused principally by greed.

These satirical attacks, in which Pope did not hesitate to pillory the values of all culprits, high or low, brought him a good deal of trouble. He was attacked both by the Grub Street writers and by the Establishment. In this context, his apologiae are attempts to explain why he is writing the sort of satire that he does.

Horace suited Pope's temperament in many respects, especially in his con-

cern for refined art, his use of sophisticated art and his love for retirement. However, in imitating Horace, Pope had to adopt Augustan Rome to contemporary England. In spite of the similarities, there were many divergences which Pope exploited to the full, especially the vast gulf between Augustus and George II.

In The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, Fortescue suggests that, instead of writing satire, the poet should flatter the king with verses worthy of a Colly Cibber. This, implies Fortescue, is the quickest road to royal favour:

> Or if you needs must write, write Caesar's Praise:
> You'll gain at least a Knighthood, or the Bays.
> (21-22)

Pope undermines Fortescue's suggestion even as he is making it; for, neither of the rewards, "a Knighthood or the Bays", would be possible for a Catholic, as Pope was. Furthermore, Pope implies that, under the Hanoverian king, it is impossible to "write Caesar's Praise". The tension between the Horatian passage and Pope's Imitation indicates how great the differences are between the two rulers. In the original, a Parthian, fighting in battle with the Romans, falls wounded from his horse (Serm. II.i.15). Pope slyly transforms George into the barbarian king rather than the conquering Augustus:

> Or nobly wild, with Budgell's Fire and Force,
> Paint Angels trembling round his falling Horse?
> (27-28)

Honest praise of George's lone military engagement must inevitably turn into satire.

In describing this military episode, Pope introduces a second theme to his apologia. Sir Richard Blackmore, a physician in the English court, wrote a number of poems, including Prince Arthur, a heroic poem, and Creation, a philosophical poem. Pope attacks the "Gun, Drum, Trumpet, Blunderbuss and Thunder" (26)

in his poetry, the noisy, rhetorical effects which Pope feels only reflect the shallowness of poetic attitudes in the Hanoverian court. Another poet, Eustace Budgell, who was a minor poet and writer of various Spectators, celebrated George's military battle in a panegyric on George. The over-blown style and subject matter of Budgell's work, with its "Fire and Force" (27), shows the emptiness of both the writer and his subject. What in Horace was an honest regard for the court circle of Rome becomes in Pope mere flattering images. In the English court, heroic has become mock-heroic; Vergil has been reduced to Sir Richard Blackmore and Eustace Budgell.

Fortescue also suggests that Pope turn to lyric poetry and praise the royal family. The "softer Art" (29) is the opposite extreme of the "rumbling, rough and fierce" (23) verses of the epic writers, but both only expose the same inanity in writer and subject.

Pope next introduces the custom in England of the poet laureate celebrating the New Year and the King's birthday with odes:

> They scarce can bear their Laureate twice a Year:
> And justly Caesar scorns the Poet's Lays,
> It is to History he trusts for Praise.
> (34-36)

These lines cleverly bring together two themes of the satire, for Cibber's verses are weak and deserve to be scorned; yet, through irony, George's dislike of poetry also becomes the object of Pope's sarcasm.[49] Poetic nonsense is all that Cibber can write, and is the only poetry that the royal family can inspire. In such an inverted world, what Juvenal said of Rome is equally applicable to England: "difficile est saturam non scribere."[50] (I.30).

The corruption, which stems from the English court, extends to all levels

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49 Cf. An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, 222; Epistle II.i.404.

50 "It is hard not to write satire." (p. 5)

of society. The pleasures of society are drunkeness, gluttony and proflicacy:

> Each Mortal has his Pleasure: None deny
> Scarsdale his Bottle, Darty his Ham-Pye;
> Ridotta sips and dances, till she see
> The doubling Lustres dance as fast as she;
> F- loves the Senate, Hockley-Hole his Brother
> Like in all else, as one Egg to another.
> (45-50)

Pope describes the circumstances which forced him to write satire:

> Satire's my Weapon, but I'm too discreet
> To run a Muck, and tilt at all I meet;
> I only wear it in a Land of Hectors,
> Thieves, Supercargoes, Sharpers, and Directors.
> (69-72)

Since the poet is engaged in writing satire, England, by implication, is a "Land of Hectors, Thieves, Supercargoes, Sharpers, and Directors" (71-72).

The abuse of language in the commercial and literary life of England is another proof of the decay in the moral fibre of the country:

> Slander or Poyson, dread from Delia's Rage,
> Hard Words or Hanging, if your Judge be Page.
> From furious Sappho scarce a milder Fate,
> P-x'd by her Love, or libell'd by her Hate.
> (81-84)

The primary concern of the passage is announced in the first word, "Slander", and continues on through "Hard Words", to "libell'd". Mary Howard (Delia), Judge Page and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (Sappho), as Pope's equation of them with poison, hanging and the pox demonstrates, all personify the simultaneous decline in the romantic, judicial and commercial values of England. The value that Pope attaches to language establishes an interchangeability of artistic achievement and morality - an offense in either area signifies guilt in the other. By this theory of language, the poetasters in Pope's satires are blasphemers, hacks, Hanoverians and Whigs; the good poet is then a good man and a good citizen.

In An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, Pope again emphasizes this theme. In his

portrait of the spider-scribbler, the three primary areas of corruption - literary, religious and political - are united in an image of universal evil:

> Who shames a Scribler? break one cobweb thro',
> He spins the slight, self-pleasing thread anew;
> Destroy his Fib, or Sophistry; in vain,
> The Creature's at his dirty work again;
> Thron'd in the Centre of his thin designs;
> Proud of a vast Extent of flimzy lines.
> Whom have I hurt? has Poet yet, or Peer,
> Lost the arch'd eye-brow, or Parnassian sneer?
> And has not Colly still his Lord, and Whore?
> His Butchers Henley, his Free-masons Moor?
> Does not one Table Bavius still admit?
> Still to one Bishop Philips seem a Wit?
> (89-100)

The web of corruption spreads outward, as the spider sits "thron'd" in the centre of his evil works. Signifigantly, the first dunce named is Colly Cibber, whose "Lord" is George. The king is identified as the ultimate source of political and cultural depravity. The remaining references to John Henley, Moore-Smythe and Ambrose Philips demonstrate the extent of the corruption.

The theme of the English court as the symbol of corruption reaches a climax in The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, as Pope describes the English court of the previous ages (105-142). King Louis had pensioned Boileau, Charles had made Dryden poet-laureate: at one time, poetic excellence was recognized and rewarded. On the other hand, George II chose Cibber for his laureate. Flattery is praised, and, in Juvenal's words, honesty is left to freeze.

Pope, unlike Horace, wants no connection with such a court. Therefore, he displays his friendship with statesmen and soldiers of the reign of Anne, a Golden Age which contrasts sharply with the present regime. The poet's final claim, that he writes such poems as "a King might read, a Bishop write, such as Sir Robert would approve", (152-153) is based not on the reality of Georgian England, but on an ideal kingdom in which kings, bishops and ministers

do read good poetry.

CONCLUSION

The satirist's apologia is a well-defined, sub-genre of literature which contains a number of conventional elements.[1] In the apologia, the interlocutor raises a series of standard objections to satire. The poet attempts to answer these charges by touching on his personal whims and virtues, stressing his favour with notable personalities of the past and present, and supporting his self-defense with carefully selected fragments of his biography. As the poet defends his critical stance, he outlines at the same time the method and themes of future satires.

Although the structure of the apologia is well-defined, each poet adds various refinements in content, tone and theme which make each apologia a highly personal creation. The structure of the apologia is a medium for the message of each individual poet.

Horace attempted to change the character of Lucilian verse satire, to give it a milder, more sophisticated, less crusading nature than his predecessor. He shunned the use of invective, preferring instead to expose vices with an ironical smile. His purpose in the apologia was to disavow the harsh and often crude "character Lucilianus", and to win approval for a new stylistic concept in verse satire suitable to the more polished age under Augustus.

After Horace, two models of Roman verse satire existed simultaneously - the harsh, sometimes coarse, method of Lucilius, and the deftly-worded, ironically self-deprecating style of Horace. Persius, in his apologia, appealed to the authority of both his predecessors: Lucilius flayed the city (I.114);

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1 Some of these elements are highlighted in a letter from Pope to an ailing Dr. Arbuthnot, August 25, 1734. Pope relates his desire to address an epistle to his friend, "Wherein the Question is stated, What were and are, my Motives of writing, the Objections to them, and my answers." (Correspondence, III, p. 428).

Horace administered his attacks so skillfully that even his victims smile (I.118). Persius seemed to admire both Horace and Lucilius. By implication, he felt that satire might avail itself of both methods simultaneously. Such a theory demands a talented satirist, and was perfected only later by Alexander Pope.

Juvenal dealt, like Horace and Persius, with the conventional themes of the apologia. However, the tone was new - or, more accurately, very old. Corruption, he felt, had become so dominant in contemporary Rome that it was difficult not to write satire. The satirist would rage, burn with indignation, threaten; his victims would squirm, sweat and cower. The reader is being rhetorically transported to the early days of Rome, when fierce invective was a magical weapon, checked only through strict legislation. Also, satire, which had descended to conversational chit-chat due to the influence of the style of Horace ("sermo pedester"), was elevated by Juvenal to the heights of oratory and even the epic. Gilbert Highet summarizes the achievements of Juvenal:

> He [Juvenal] had a new idea of the scope and method of poetic satire. His predecessors conceived of it as something close to comedy (so Lucilius and Horace) or philosophical discussion half serious half jocular (so Persius). But Juvenal set out to make satire compete with oratory, with tragedy and with the epic.[2]

Horace was the firm and unquestioned authority for an England proud to call itself Augustan.[3] The Imitations of Pope were sanctified by the mere existence of the Horatian originals. Pope's criticisms of eighteenth century England were enforced by Horace's criticisms of first century Rome; and inversely, Pope's scorn was heightened when he condemned where Horace praised. The eigh-

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2 Gilbert Highet, op. cit., p. 174.

3 This can be demonstrated by reference to Caroline Goad's exhaustive appendix of references to Horace in the works of Addison, Rowe, Steele, Prior, Gay, Pope and Swift, in Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven, 1916), pp. 293-620..

teenth century was then judged by the standards of first century Rome.

Pope, in the "Advertisement" to his first Imitation of Horace, outlined the value of the Horatian persona:

> An Answer from Horace was both more full, and of more Dignity, than any I cou'd have made in my own person.[4]

How well Horace "hit the mark" in Pope's age was shown by the many common themes which ran through his and Pope's respective writings, such as fondness for agreeable conversation, a rural retreat away from the glittering grandeur of the metropolis, concern for a highly polished urbane style, and a distaste for fashionable literary trash.

However, although Pope owed the theme and structure of his imitations to Horace, and although he often marvellously captured the irony and urbanity of his Roman predecessor (to the extent that he has been called the "English Horace"), the tone of Pope's satires was, at times, decidedly un-Horatian. In Epilogue to the Satires. Dialogue I, Pope indirectly criticized the style of Horace through an unsympathetic interlocutor:

> But Horace, Sir, was delicate, was nice;
> Bubo observes, he lash'd no sort of Vice:
> Horace would say, Sir Billy serv'd the Crown,
> Blunt could do Bus'ness, H-ggins knew the Town,
> In Sappho touch the Failing of the Sex,
> In rev'rend Bishops note some small Neglects,
> And own, the Spaniard did a waggish thing,
> Who cropt our Ears, and sent them to the King.
> His sly, polite, insinuating stile
> Could please at Court, and make Augustus smile:
> An artful Manager, that crept between
> His Friend and Shame, and was a kind of Screen.
> (11-22)

The satires of Horace give a picture of a man not on the attack. His weapon was sheathed, to be used only under provocation. Further, Horace was proud of

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4 "Advertisement," to The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated, p. 3.

his allegiance to his patrons, Maecenas and Augustus. Pope's Imitations, on the other hand, exhibit an aggressive character that far exceeds the original models. Again and again, the poet shows an eagerness to attack vice in any form. The sword of satire must be drawn,

> ... in a Land of Hectors,
> Thieves, Supercargoes, Sharpers, and Directors.
> (Sat. II.i.71-72)

> Who-e'er offends, at some unlucky Time
> Slides into Verse, and hitches in a Rhyme.
> (Sat. II.i.77-78)

> Hear this, and tremble! you, who 'scape the Laws.
> Yes, while I live, no rich or noble knave
> Shall walk the World, in credit, to his grave.
> (Sat. II.i.118-120)

This is the tone of Juvenal, not Horace. Further, Pope was proud of his independence. Unlike Horace, Boileau and Dryden, he owed no allegiance to a patronizing absolute monarch; thus, he could look upon contemporary life with an impartial but critical eye. In his later career, Pope adopted a much more critical stance to the affairs of state than Horace. As a result, Pope's distaste for the English court and the court party turned the gentle criticisms of Horace into a sharp attack on Sir Robert Walpole, and Horace's encomium on Augustus into a savage satire on George II.

Finally, as G.K. Hunter has pointed out,[5] there was a shift in emphasis in regard to the role of the satirist. In the Sermones, Horace usually lost himself in a crowd of patrons, poets and predecessors. In the Imitations, the emphasis was often upon the highly critical role the poet had to adopt. For example, Horace's description of the Lucilian method of satire (II.i.62-64) was applied by Pope to define his own method:

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5 G.K. Hunter, "The Romanticism of Pope's Horace," in Essential Articles of Alexander Pope, ed. Maynard Mack (Yale, 1966), pp. 553-568.

> What? arm'd for Virtue when I point the Pen,
> Brand the bold Front of shameless, guilty Men.
> (Sat. II.i.105-106)

Such an un-Horatian shift in emphasis should not be discounted as personal aggrandisement; rather, Pope was consciously aligning his satire with the more aggressive satire established by Lucilius and perfected by Juvenal. The harmony between moral indignation and urbane, polished irony, as outlined in the apologia of Persius, was accomplished in the apologia of Alexander Pope.

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