

ENGLISH ADAPTATIONS OF JUVENAL
FROM THE RESTORATION TO DR. JOHNSON

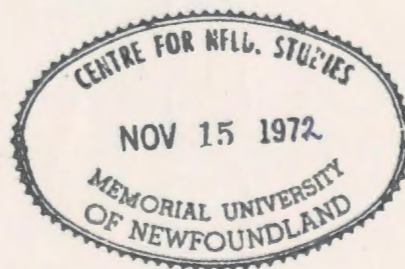
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FROM THE RESTORATION
TO DR. JOHNSON

by



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requirements for the degree of Master of Arts,
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ABSTRACT

Political satirists and lampooners of the Restoration attempted to capitalize on their audience's familiarity with Juvenal by incorporating passages and sometimes plots from the Satires - most often from the notorious Sixth - into their own largely original works. But the art and design of the Satires discouraged attempts to adapt them in their entirety as either political satires or lampoons. Thus these partial adaptations in satires on affairs of state are apparently the only extant attempts to adapt Juvenal to essentially political and corrective satire in the Restoration. Beginning with the imitations of the complete Third and Thirteenth Satires by John Oldham in 1683, the Restoration attitude toward adapting Juvenal is to do so primarily for purposes of pleasure; and in the imitations of Oldham and those adaptations by lesser poets which his practice inspired, attention is given chiefly to those features of Juvenal's satiric art - usually the most obvious features - which the Restoration found entertaining, at the expense of the Satires' moral tone and complex, subtle artistry. Dryden's translations of Juvenal reveal a change in emphasis. With the exception of his version of the Sixth

Satire, Dryden attempts to force the original Satires to conform to the role of "moral philosophy" as demanded by his theory of satire. Dryden was unable to reconcile wholly Juvenal's moral tone with other aspects of his satiric art, and art accordingly suffers in these adaptations. There is in Dryden an apparent conflict between his theoretical requirement of a moral purpose in satire and his view that Juvenal's Satires should serve principally as entertainment for modern audiences. This conflict is especially evident in his translation of the Sixth Satire, in which the moral intention of the original is abandoned in favor of sheer pleasure.

Eighteenth-century imitators generally attempted to adapt Juvenal to corrective satiric purposes, eschewing pleasure in favor of moral reformation. While this resulted in a different emphasis in adaptation, an examination of the imitations of this period finds Juvenal's satiric art and designs as seriously altered as in the Restoration. The usual method of handling Juvenal in both halves of the century is exemplified by Edward Young and Edward Burnaby Greene, both of whom sentimentalize their model. Greene especially is guilty of wholesale corruption of the art and sense of his originals. Johnson's London is the most successful imitation of Juvenal in this period, and yet even it is artistically inferior to

its original for, in converting Juvenal's Third to what is essentially political, corrective satire, Johnson was forced to alter extensively Juvenal's satiric design and several major aspects of his art.

No clear-cut imitative pattern is established by the adaptations of Juvenal in the Restoration and eighteenth century; they are not seen to progress from passive imitation - a method with which Oldham is usually credited - in the Restoration to a relatively freer form of imitation in the eighteenth century. Though influenced by current attitudes toward the purpose of adapting classical satire, each poet dealt with his models as he saw fit, and each altered his models significantly. What is made apparent in these adaptations is the satiric outlook of English satirists of both the Restoration and eighteenth century and the incompatibility of that outlook with the essential qualities of Juvenalian satire.

This thesis has been examined and approved by:

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>CL</u>	<u>Comparative Literature</u>
<u>ELH</u>	<u>A Journal of English Literary History</u>
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language</u> <u>Association of America</u>
<u>PQ</u>	<u>Philological Quarterly</u>
<u>RES</u>	<u>Review of English Studies</u>
<u>UTQ</u>	<u>University of Toronto Quarterly</u>

PREFACE

With the recent revival of scholarly interest in the satire of the Restoration and Augustan periods, the "imitations" or adaptations of Horace and Juvenal have become the objects of renewed critical scrutiny. There is, however, at least one defect in recent writing upon these imitations: not enough attention has been paid to how the adapting poets actually altered their models, and perhaps too much reliance has been placed upon those poets' statements about how such adaptation should theoretically be carried out. There has been, in other words, insufficient attention paid to the actual practice of poetic imitation in the period in question. Indeed, of the three major poets in the Restoration and eighteenth century who are adaptors of Juvenal's Satires - Oldham, Dryden, and Johnson - only Johnson has received adequate critical attention as an adaptor of classical models. It is the purpose of this study to help to fill this gap in a significant area of literary scholarship. I have tried to see how poets during the period adapted the Roman satirist Juvenal.¹ The study, I hope, illuminates both

¹Throughout this study the term "adaptation" will be used generically to cover all poetic renderings of Juvenal which clearly reveal that a recreative and assimilative spirit has been motivating the adapting poet. Mere literal translations are not considered.

the satiric and poetic intentions of the individual poets considered and shows that certain widespread assumptions about the nature of poetic imitation in the period need to be questioned.

There are three studies in this area of Restoration and eighteenth century scholarship to which I must acknowledge particular indebtedness. The first is Caroline Goad's early and as yet unsurpassed Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century (1918), which has been my principal model in matters of procedure. J.B. Emperor's exhaustive Ph.D. dissertation, "The Juvenalian and Persian Element in English Literature from the Restoration to Dr. Johnson" (1932), has also proven valuable, as has another dissertation, William Francis Gallaway's "English Adaptations of Roman Satire, 1660-1800" (1937). It must be noted, however, that my own study is more specialized than these. Whereas Goad and Emperor deal synoptically with the incorporation of classical models into virtually all poetry and prose of the period, I am concerned only with adaptations of verse satire. And unlike Gallaway, I have not attempted to comment briefly on all available English verse adaptations of Juvenal, but rather to focus minutely upon the most significant examples, including those minor adaptations which are commonly cited in studies of imitative theory but

which are themselves seldom examined closely. I must emphasize that my concern here is not with the general theory of poetic imitation, for this has been so extensively dealt with in other works that it has become a familiar subject to students of Restoration and eighteenth century satire. Reference will of course be made to such general theorizing when it can help to illuminate specific examples of imitative practice, though here I have tried to follow the dictum of one recent critic, to "carefully avoid 'finding' what [I am] looking for merely because it is 'supposed' to be in the poem."² Finally, since the aim of this study is quite specific - to examine the practice of poetic imitation of Juvenal from the Restoration to Dr. Johnson - I have not provided my readers with discussions of the general literary milieu but have proceeded as quickly as possible to the task at hand.

I would like to thank first of all my supervisor, Dr. P.A. O'Flaherty, for his guidance, which has been invaluable to me both in this project in particular and in the study of the Restoration and eighteenth century in general. I also wish to thank the staff of the University Library, especially Miss Valerie Jackson for her professional

²Howard D. Weinbrot, The Formal Strain (Chicago, 1969), pp. vii-ix.

services in obtaining hard-to-find materials, Miss Mary Maynard, Miss Lana Percy, Miss Annette Gaskell and Mrs. Eloise Saintsbury. Finally, I would like to thank Mrs. Margaret Rose for her unstinting efforts in typing this thesis.

S. V. C.

April 3, 1972.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Juvenalian Mode of Satire

The most popular Roman satirists in England during the Restoration and eighteenth centuries were Decimus Junius Juvenalis (c.68-128), author of sixteen satires bitterly exposing the vice and depravity of a decadent Rome, and, of course, Horace. Both were widely imitated and praised, and a mild but surprisingly persistent critical controversy was carried on throughout the period over the relative merits of each poet. While it was universally agreed that Horace was a "comic" and Juvenal a "tragic" satirist, critics were divided on the question of which of them represented the more suitable style and tone in satire.¹ Not every disputant was as measured in his assessment of the two poets as John Dennis, in whose letter To Matthew Prior, Esq; Upon the Roman Satirists (1721) we find a convenient and intelligent statement of what critics of the time thought were the main differences between the two satirists:

¹Ian Jack, Augustan Satire (Oxford, 1965), p. 102.

... is there not Reason to believe that the true Roman Satire is of the Comick kind, and was an Imitation of the old Athenian Comedys, ... perfected by Horace, and that Juvenal ... started a new Satire which was of the Tragick kind? Horace, who wrote ... in Imitation of the old Comedy, endeavours to correct the Follies and Errors, and epidemick Vices of his Readers, which is the Business of Comedy. Juvenal attacks the pernicious outrageous Passions and the abominable monstrous Crimes of several of his Contemporaries, or of those who liv'd in the Age before him, which is the Business of Tragedy, at least of imperfect Tragedy. Horace argues, insinuates, engages, rallies, smiles; Juvenal exclaims, apostrophizes, exaggerates, lashes, stabbs. There is in Horace almost every where an agreeable Mixture of good Sense, and of true Pleasantry, so that he has every where the principal Qualities of an excellent Comick Poet. And there is almost every where in Juvenal, Anger, Indignation, Rage, Disdain, and the violent Emotions and vehement Style of Tragedy.²

The advocates of Juvenal in the Restoration professed to find Horace's rallying manner somewhat wanting in spirit. According to Dryden, "His Urbanity, that is, his Good Manners, are to be commended, but his Wit is faint; and his Salt, if I may dare to say so, almost insipid."³ Moreover, by these partisans Horace's style was thought "low," and his subject matter "generally groveling."⁴

²The Critical Works of John Dennis, ed. Edward Niles Hooker (Baltimore, 1943), II, 218-19.

³The Poems of John Dryden, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford, 1958), II, 649.

⁴Ibid., pp. 649-50.

Juvenal's manner, on the other hand, was considered more apt to please the "Noble Soul." As Dryden again says:

Juvenal is of a more vigorous and Masculine Wit, he gives me as much Pleasure as I can bear: He fully satisfies my Expectation, he Treats his Subject home: His Spleen is Rais'd, and he raises mine: I have the Pleasure of Concernment in all he says; He drives his Reader along with him; and when he is at the end of his way, I willingly stop with him....When he gives over, 'tis a sign the Subject is exhausted; and the Wit of Man can carry it no farther....Add to this, that his Thoughts are as just as those of Horace, and much more Elevated. His Expressions are Sonorous and more Noble; his Verse more numerous, and his Words are suitable to his Thoughts, sublime and lofty. All these contribute to the Pleasure of the Reader, and the greater the Soul of him who Reads, his Transports are the greater. Horace is always on the Amble, Juvenal on the Gallop....⁵

It is obvious that the distinction which Dryden makes between the two satirists is not entirely valid. Juvenal's expressions are clearly not always "Sonorous" and "Noble"; often he is violent and gross and his thoughts, to the dismay of certain high-minded eighteenth-century imitators, anything but "sublime." Moreover, as modern critics have pointed out, Horace's style is not as "low" as Dryden would have it, and his subject matter is in fact quite similar to Juvenal's.⁶ Perhaps the principal distinction

⁵Ibid., pp. 651, 649.

⁶See Niall Rudd, "Dryden on Horace and Juvenal," UTQ, XXXII (1962-63), 161, 157-58.

between the satirists which attracted Dryden and others to Juvenal in both the Restoration and the eighteenth century was Juvenal's "sharp declaiming"⁷ - the vehement invective and forcefulness of attack which, as Dryden correctly suggests, Horace's satire lacks.

One major point of difference between the two Roman satirists is that Juvenal, unlike Horace, has no wish to "insinuate" virtue by merely rallying the follies and "epidemick Vices" of his readers. On the contrary, his attacks upon examples of great vices often are violent in the extreme. Juvenal gives the impression of a satirist whose highly charged emotion dominates both reason and art in his compositions. As he says in the First Satire, facit indignatio versum: "indignation will prompt my verse."⁸ (As we will see throughout our study, Juvenal's emotional rhetoric is merely one facet - albeit a very important facet - of his satiric art. But it is perhaps the most obvious way in which his satire differs from Horace's.) Horace's satire is personal in that it attempts to correct the kinds of follies which are committed by nearly all men. Juvenal's satire, however,

⁷W.B. Carnochan, Lemuel Gulliver's Mirror for Man (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), p. 33.

⁸Juvenal and Persius, trans. G.G. Ramsay (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 8-9, l. 79. Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent citations of Juvenal will be from this text and translation, and will be referred to by the Latin line number or numbers.

is largely impersonal. His method is to seize upon a particularly noxious vice, one usually found within only a select group of persons, and to magnify it into such proportions that it appears to have universal social implications. Almost invariably, Juvenal's quarry is the Roman aristocracy and their hangers-on. From this group Juvenal selects individuals notorious for their depravity or viciousness and mercilessly assails them. But it is not individualistic satire. Juvenal's victims function principally as examples of vice, rather than as targets in themselves. For example, when in the Sixth Satire Juvenal exposes the nymphomaniac desires and activities of the empress Messalina, his intention is not to write a personal libel - for she was by then long dead - but to suggest to his contemporary audience that such conduct was both widespread among the Roman aristocracy in general and indicative in particular of a rotting social structure in danger of imminent collapse. In Juvenal's day the upper classes were the governing group, and the fear underlying Juvenal's first nine Satires is that, as Peter Green notes, the "abrogation of responsible behavior" implied by the conduct of such characters as Messalina represented a lowering of moral and social standards and a neglect of traditional duties by this dominant group, and consequently threatened the entire social structure which the upper classes governed.⁹

⁹Juvenal: *The Sixteen Satires*, trans. Peter Green (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1967), p. 24.

This is the basis of what we may term Juvenal's "tragic vision." The majority of his Satires are revelatory in nature rather than corrective: Juvenal tries to awaken his readers to the extent of the depravity which surrounds them, a situation of moral and social degeneration which he thinks is leading Roman society unavoidably to destruction. Although this bleak vision is dominant in only a few of the Satires, it forms the somber, pessimistic background of the entire group of sixteen. Juvenal rarely assumes the role of a reforming satirist. The only truly corrective Satires are the Eighth, where he attempts to reform a young nobleman's conduct, the Tenth, where he tries to dissuade the reader from relying upon prayer, and the Fourteenth, where he admonishes parents not to set bad examples for their children. Juvenal, we must also note, is wholly a moral and social satirist, for, as G.G. Ramsay says, "he never casts an eye on the political conditions of his day."¹⁰ Even incidental political reflections rarely appear in the Satires.

The art of Juvenal's satire is complex. His satiric style, for instance, is highly variable. It is a combination of epic and "low" diction, and his most characteristic effects arise from the tension created

¹⁰Ramsay, p. xxxvii.

between his sonorous rhetoric and his grossness.¹¹ This combination may occur in the same sentence: "From them will come the brave young soldier who marches to the Euphrates, or to the eagles that guard the conquered Batavians, while you are nothing but a Cecropid, the image of a limbless Hermes!"¹² (Sat. VIII, ll. 51-53) More commonly, however, such epic and low tones succeed one another in longer passages:

... what woman will not follow when an Empress leads the way? The whole world was ablaze then and falling down in ruin just as if Juno had made her husband mad. Less guilty therefore will Agrippina's mushroom¹³ be deemed, seeing that it only stopped the breath of one old man, and sent down his palsied head and slobbering lips to heaven, whereas the other potion demanded fire and sword and torture, mingling Knights and Fathers in one mangled bleeding heap.

(Sat. VI, ll. 617-25)

The effects of Juvenal's satiric style are perhaps most concisely described by Niall Rudd when he says that "Juvenal shoots up and down at a speed which leaves us breathless and exhilarated and sometimes rather sick."¹⁴

¹¹Rudd, p. 161

¹²As Peter Green says, "A Herm was a quadrangular pillar of stone, topped by the head of the god Hermes.... Many of them (as J.'s readers would be well aware) were equipped with large erect phalluses, and the implication as regards this degenerate representative of the nobility is clear enough" (Green, p. 188, n. 8).

¹³Agrippina poisoned her husband, the emperor Claudius, with a dish of mushrooms (*ibid.*, p. 160, n. 44).

¹⁴Rudd, p. 162.

Juvenal's satiric art has been oversimplified by some modern critics who have assumed that his Satires are, like those of other classical satirists, essentially corrective. Mary Claire Randolph, for instance, has assumed that all satire must present not only an element of attack, or "blame," in which vice is scourged, but also an element of "praise," in which virtue is sincerely recommended.¹⁵ Now except for the three Satires pointed to previously, Juvenal's satire expresses no constructive purpose, since Roman society as he shows it is irrevocably doomed to collapse. Because of this his Satires can seldom be reduced to distinct components of praise and blame. What Juvenal attacks in his Satires is not always immediately clear, and his praise of virtuous actions or the alternatives he presents to physically unpleasant or dangerous situations is, when such alternatives can be positively identified, often insincere. Indeed, the element of praise in Juvenal's Satires usually functions as no more than a rhetorical device to aid the satirist in his attack. Ronald J. Lee provides us with a clear definition of the role of the element of praise in Juvenalian satire:

¹⁵"The Structural Design of the Formal Verse Satire," PQ, XXI (1942), 373-74.

... the so-called positive element, the norm or standard, is articulated as part of the satirist's defense of his anger. The satirist feels obliged to offer something constructive. It is there in order to present a simplified and reasonable norm against which the illustrations of foolishness will appear more than comic. It thus functions to justify the satirist's indignation and to make that indignation convincing. A coherent positive lesson is not the satirist's concern, and the positive elements or the ideal may often be grossly over-simplified and even incoherent when abstracted from their role, which is a thoroughly rhetorical one. They exist to support a satiric argument, whose principal purpose is to criticize or attack.¹⁶

This rhetorical function of the satirist's element of praise or "ideal" is especially evident in Juvenal's Third Satire. Here Juvenal, through his persona Umbricius, violently scourges the multiplicity of ills which are the lot of life in Rome and praises living in the country as an alternative. But Juvenal has also cast himself as a character in the poem, and at its conclusion it is Umbricius who leaves the city, while the satirist remains behind. Looking again at the poem, we see that whereas Juvenal, through Umbricius, deplores the evils and discomfort of the city, he also sneers at the crude way of life which the country offers. Thus life in the city may be morally destructive and physically dangerous, but the satirist reveals that he himself will not live elsewhere. Joseph

¹⁶The Satires of John Oldham (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1967), pp. 146-47.

Trapp may have had the apparent insincerity and ambivalence in Juvenal's attitude toward his object of attack in this Satire in mind when, in his Oxford lectures on poetry (1711), he lamented that the Roman satirists, "so deserving in all other Respects, should reprove some Vices in such a Manner, as to teach them; and that while they are recommending Virtue, they should throw in some Expressions injurious to it."¹⁷ We must remember that while some of Juvenal's Satires adhere to clearly defined structures, his art remains fluid and his sense often deceptive.

Juvenal's art includes many satiric effects which can only be touched upon here. Juvenal can goad us to horror with a grotesque distortion of reality or prompt our feelings of pity for a truly pathetic character; he can express rage and fierce indignation at vices or wry amusement at human follies; he can realistically depict an aborted birth, and also peacefully contemplate a dove sitting on its nest. Juvenal's satiric technique varies from Satire to Satire, and therefore no one Satire can be said to be typical of his manner. But the adaptations which we will consider will of necessity involve us in a close scrutiny of many of his Satires, so that in the course of this study the intricacy and subtlety of Juvenal's art will become apparent.

¹⁷Trapp's lectures were published in Latin in two volumes in 1711 and 1715 as *Praelectiones Poeticae*. My quotation is from the 1742 English translation by William Clarke and William Bowyer (New York, 1970), p. 225.

The Rise of Juvenal in Restoration Verse Satire

Juvenal was a familiar figure in English verse at the time of the Restoration. English versions of the Satires had already been produced by such translators as Sir John Beaumont (1629),¹⁸ George Chapman (1629),¹⁹ Henry Vaughan (1646)²⁰ and Sir Robert Stapylton (1647).²¹ Theirs are virtually literal translations and as such possess little or nothing of the recreative and assimilative spirit of the adaptations we are to consider in this study. Nevertheless, it is probable these early translations performed an important service for Restoration adaptors of Juvenal, for the existence of such versions, with the later literal translations of Barten Holyday (1673),²² no doubt helped to create an audience

¹⁸A translation of the Tenth Satire appeared in Bosworth Field (G.L. Brodersen, "Seventeenth-Century Translations of Juvenal," The Phoenix, VII [1953], 58, n. 10).

¹⁹A Just Reproofe of a Roman Smell-Feast: being the fifth Satyre of Juvenal (ibid., p. 58, n. 13).

²⁰Juvenal's Tenth Satire (William Francis Gallaway, English Adaptations of Roman Satire, 1660-1800 [unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1937], p. 233).

²¹Juvenal's Sixteen Satyrs, or a Survey of the Manners and Actions of Mankind (London, 1647).

²²Decimus Junius Juvenalis, and Aulus Persius Flaccus (Oxford, 1673).

for subsequent Restoration imitators. In any event, it is obvious even in the earliest imitations of Juvenal that the adaptor expected his reader to be familiar with the original. It was on this familiarity that he depended to give point to his satiric thrusts.

From the time of the Restoration of Charles II to the death of Queen Anne the dominant poetic genre in England was satire on affairs of state.²³ In general, this satire took two forms: political satire and personal lampoon. Neither form was readily adaptable to the Satires of Juvenal. As we have noted, Juvenal's Satires are only incidentally political. This alone would make it difficult for a satirist to adapt a complete Satire to political purposes. Moreover, we must remember that political satire of this period was usually corrective satire, designed to reform what the satirist believed to be aberrations in political policy or conduct, while most of Juvenal's Satires are not essentially corrective. Consequently, the Restoration political satirist contented himself with adapting no more than parts of the Satires to his own satiric purposes. Lampooners of politicians and other public figures also found it difficult to adapt a whole Satire by Juvenal to their purpose, for, as we have

²³Poems on Affairs of State, ed. George deF. Lord (New Haven, 1963), I, vii (hereafter cited as POAS).

already noted, Juvenal's Satires are rarely libellous in intent or in method, since Juvenal views even his most viciously attacked characters principally as types epitomizing a particular vice rather than as objects of his personal animosity. And so the Restoration lampooner also wrote partial adaptations, confining his attention to those brief passages in his model which seemed appropriate for his limited purpose. In both Restoration political satire and lampoon, as Harold F. Brooks says of the similar practice of Joseph Hall in the Virgidemiae,

the imitations are never more than contributory to the poem as a whole, since that is governed by [the satirist's] contemporary theme and not by a particular Latin model. One does not find him using the method as it was used later, to transform some one classical satire into a modern English work.²⁴

But this early manner of adapting Juvenal nevertheless has significance for our study, and it is appropriate to look briefly at the kind of sporadic imitation of Juvenal practiced in these poems on affairs of state before turning to the full-length adaptations of whole Satires which are more properly called imitations.

Quite often the purpose of the Restoration lampooner was served by a mere allusion to one of Juvenal's less savory characters. Messalina, as we might expect, not infrequently came to poets' minds for purposes of

²⁴"The 'Imitation' in English Poetry, Especially in Formal Satire, Before the Age of Pope," RES, XXV (1949), 127.

comparison.

LET Antients boast no more,
Their lew'd Imperial Whore,

one poet wrote around 1680, as he began his assault on the Duchess of Cleveland.²⁵ He no doubt expected his reader to recall Juvenal's description of Messalina in the Sixth Satire as meretrix Augustus (l. 118). The author of "Rochester's Farewell" (1680) makes more extensive use of this character in a lampoon upon the Duchess of Mazarin:

For what proud strumpet e'er could merit more
To be anointed the imperial whore?

Lewd Messaline was but a type of thee,
Thou highest, last degree of lechery:

She to th' imperial bed each night did use
To bring the stink of the exhausted stews;
Tir'd (but not satisfi'd) with man did come
Drunk with abundant lust and reeling home.²⁶

Another popular lampoon of 1680, "A Satire," is an overt imitation of portions of Juvenal's First Satire. The poet has no particular Juvenalian character in mind to give sting to his attack, but he hopes that the reader will nonetheless recognize his mighty anger as resembling that of his Roman model. The opening four lines follow the original fairly closely:

²⁵ Poems by John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, ed. Vivian de Sola Pinto (London, 1953), p. 135, ll. 1-2. "Pindarick" appears in the Appendix, "Some Poems Ascribed to Rochester on Doubtful Authority," pp. 135-36.

²⁶ POAS, ed. Elias F. Mengel (New Haven, 1965), II, 244, ll. 132-33, 144-45, 148-51.

Must I with patience ever silent sit,
 Perplex'd with fools who will believe they've wit?
 Must I find ev'ry place by coxcombs seiz'd,
 Hear their affected nonsense and seem pleas'd?²⁷

After this opening the satire degenerates into vituperation upon several contemporary figures. That sally of abuse over, the satirist resumes imitating the First Satire, though in a more eclectic manner:²⁸

Who can abstain from satire in this age?
 What nature wants I find suppli'd by rage.
 Some do for pimping, some for treach'ry rise,
 But none's made great for being good or wise.
 Deserve a dungeon if you would be great,
 Rogues always are our ministers of state.
 Mean prostrate bitches, for a Bridewell fit,
 With England's wretched Queen must equal sit.
 Ranelagh and fearful Mulgrave are preferr'd,
 Virtue's commended, but ne'er meets reward.
 (11. 13-22)

The remainder of the satire becomes once again libellous and independent of Juvenal. In these examples we see the most elementary kind of "adaptation" of Juvenal. The Roman poet simply provides spasmodic ammunition for attack, and the reader is expected to recognize the allusion and get the point. The adaptation therefore consists in little more than the suggestion that a modern be substituted for a Roman name.

At least four more important Restoration satires on state affairs contain partial adaptations of Juvenal's

²⁷Ibid., p. 205, ll. 1-4.

²⁸Cf. Juvenal, ll. 29, 79, 73-78; "A Satire," ll. 13, 14, 15-22.

Satires, though none is dependent on the Roman poet for much more than incidental illustration. The first (in chronological order) is Marvell's Last Instructions to a Painter (1667). It has been said that "one may readily admit a general prescription from Juvenal for Marvell's style,"²⁹ but it is difficult to pinpoint direct indebtedness to the Roman satirist in Marvell's poems. The Last Instructions, however, contains two apparent adaptations of Juvenalian passages. The first concerns Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans:

Paint then St. Albans full of soup and gold,
The new court's pattern, stallion of the old.
Him neither wit nor courage did exalt,
But Fortune chose him for her pleasure salt.³⁰

Marvell represents St. Albans to be, like the nouveaux riches of the Third Satire, "of the kind that Fortune raises from the gutter to the mighty places of earth whenever she wishes to enjoy a laugh" (ll. 38-40) - in St. Albans' case the gutter being of the moral kind. Another satiric butt is Barbara Villiers, Lady Castlemaine, whom Marvell depicts as enamoured of her lackey:

Her wonted joys thenceforth and court she shuns,
And still within her mind the footman runs:
His brazen calves, his brawny thighs (the face
She slights), his feet shap'd for a smoother race.
(ll. 83-86)

²⁹John M. Wallace, Destiny His Choice: The Loyalism of Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, 1968), p. 161.

³⁰POAS, II, 100-01, ll. 29-32.

The illustration derives from Juvenal's characterization in the Sixth Satire of the senator's wife Eppia, who, for the love of a decrepit gladiator, and "Forgetful of home, of husband and of sister, without thought of her country... shamelessly abandoned her weeping children; and - more marvellous still - deserted Paris and the games" (ll. 85-87). While one has to look hard for signs of Juvenal's influence in Marvell, John Ayloffe's "Britannia and Raleigh" (1674-5) appears to follow the basic structure of the Third Satire. Britannia awakens Sir Walter Raleigh - a figure employed for contrast with the present degenerate times - from his "long-blest repose" in order to acquaint him with her reasons for leaving the city. The ensuing diatribe is directed against a variety of contemporary figures, including Charles II, his mistresses, the French and the Scots. Several of Ayloffe's passages employ the asyndetic accumulation of images in series, a technique favored by Juvenal - as, for example, "Pimps, priests, buffoons i' th' privy-chamber sport " - ³¹ but are not otherwise indebted to the Satires. Ayloffe's material obligation to Juvenal remains structural.

John Oldham will figure prominently later in this study, but it is appropriate to mention here his Satires

³¹Ibid., I, 230, l. 26.

Upon the Jesuits (1679-81) which, while they are by no means proper imitations, yet contain numerous borrowings from Juvenal. The most significant of these borrowings is in the Prologue to the Satires. This Oldham claims to be "in imitation of Persius who has prefixed somewhat by that name before his book of satires";³² but upon inspection it appears that Oldham's debt to Persius is in name only. The opening lines of the Prologue are a close imitation of the opening lines of the First Satire, where Juvenal exclaims:

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? Shall this one have spouted to me his
 comedies, and that one his love ditties, and I
 be unavenged? Shall I have no revenge on one
 who has taken up the whole day with an intermin-
 able Telephus, or with an Orestes, which, after
 filling the margin at the top of the roll and
 the back as well, hasn't even yet come to an end?
 (ll. 1-6)

Oldham skilfully adapts Juvenal's mock indignation at Roman poetasters to contemporary political satirists of the Popish Plot:

For who can longer hold? when ev'ry press,
 The bar and pulpit too, has broke the peace?
 When ev'ry scribbling fool at the alarms
 Has drawn his pen, and rises up in arms?
 And not a dull pretender of the town

³²Ibid., II, 18.

But vents his gall in pamphlet up and down?
 When all with license rail, and who will not
 Must be almost suspected of the Plot,
 And bring his zeal, or else his parts, in doubt?³³

Later in the Prologue Oldham adapts Juvenal's well-known phrase facit indignatio versum from the First Satire to define the spirit which will motivate his Satires:

Nor needs there art or genius here to use,
 Where indignation can create a muse.
 Should parts and nature fail, yet very spite
 Would make the arrant'st Wild or Withers write.
 (11. 28-31)

There are several other brief borrowings from Juvenal throughout the Satires.³⁴

Absalom and Achitophel (1681), generally considered the greatest English political satire, also shows the influence of Juvenal. The similarity between the structure of Absalom and Achitophel and that of the Fourth Satire has been suggested by Mark Van Doren: "His [Juvenal's] fourth satire is a gallery of portraits in the manner of Absalom and Achitophel; the various councillors who come to advise the emperor what he should do with his monstrous turbot are seized by a firm hand and dressed in sinister new robes."³⁵ The influence of the Fourth Satire on

³³Ibid., II, 19, 11. 1-9.

³⁴Cf. Juvenal, I, 11. 73-74, VI, 634-37, 638-42, XIII, 83-85, 219-26; Oldham, II, 11. 233-35, 167-70, 171-76, 190-201, IV, 208-17.

³⁵The Poetry of John Dryden (Cambridge, 1931), p. 157.

Absalom, however, actually begins before Dryden's introduction of the rebellious faction. The occasion in Juvenal's Satire for the introduction of his "gallery of portraits" is a fisherman's presentation of a giant turbot to the emperor Domitian. The gift is accompanied by effusive flattery, upon hearing which, Juvenal says, "the Monarch's comb began to rise: there is nothing that divine Majesty will not believe concerning itself when lauded to the skies!" (ll. 69-71) The occasion in Dryden's satire of the gathering of the rebellious faction is Achitophel's successful flattery of Absalom, with which Dryden concludes:

What cannot praise effect in mighty mind,
When flatt'ry soothes, and when ambition blinds!³⁶

The section in Absalom depicting the rebellious faction (ll. 495-681) is a very loose adaptation of Juvenal's description of Domitian's council. Primarily it is an imitation of Juvenal's method of presenting his satiric characters. Introducing Domitian's counselors, Juvenal begins with the best men and ends with the worst. The first to enter is Pegasus, recently appointed Prefect of Rome, who "was the best, and the most righteous expounder of the law, though he thought that even in those dread days there should never be a sword in the hand of Justice" (ll. 78-81). Juvenal's method of characterization is here

³⁶POAS, II, 477, ll. 583-84.

the beginning of positive and negative traits to produce a realistic portrait rather than a caricature. Dryden does not begin with his characters, but rather with their corresponding types, introducing first "The best":

... of the princes some were such,
 Who thought the pow'r of monarchy too much;
 Mistaken men, and patriots in their hearts;
 Not wicked, but seduc'd by impious arts.
 (ll. 495-98)

The method of description is essentially the same as Juvenal's. Dryden's way of presenting his characters is "the bedrock method of satire and panegyric"³⁷ - simple statement and argument. We know that the character Jonas is evil and Shimei more so because Dryden tells us this.³⁸ Shimei, following a brief sketch of Jonas, is introduced on a note of approbrium:

But he, though bad, is follow'd by a worse,
 The wretch who Heav'n's anointed dar'd to curse.
 (ll. 583-84)

Dryden's technique is derived from the corresponding section of the Fourth Satire in which, first, Crispinus enters and is sketched; and then enters "more ruthless than he Pompeius, whose gentle whisper would cut men's throats" (ll. 109-10). In the process of linking the two characters,

³⁷Paul Ramsey, The Art of John Dryden (Lexington, 1969), p. 103.

³⁸Ibid.

Juvenal passes judgement upon them for the reader by simply stating that Pompeius is "more ruthless than [Crispinus]." Since the statement is made in passing from one character to the next, the reader is inclined to accept it as he moves between the two characters instead of considering its validity at length. It is a technique of Juvenal's rhetoric that is effective when the characterizations are brief and the transitions are made quickly.

There are also three passages in Absalom and Achitophel directly indebted to Juvenal's Third, Sixth and Fifteenth Satires. The opening lines of Dryden's satire may parody the beginning of the Sixth Satire. Dryden's translation of Juvenal's Satire opens:

In Saturn's Reign, at Nature's Early Birth,
There was that Thing call'd Chastity on Earth;³⁹

and Absalom correspondingly begins:

In pious times, ere priestcraft did begin,
Before polygamy was made a sin....
(ll. 1-2)

According to Ian Jack, "Dryden may be insinuating that just as there was such a thing as chastity in the pagan Golden Age, so in the Golden Age of the Old Testament there was such a thing as liberty."⁴⁰ It has been pointed out that

³⁹Poems, II, 696, ll. 1-2.

⁴⁰Jack, p. 75, n. 1.

Zimri, often assumed to be derived from a famous character of Horace's Satires, Tigellius, is actually closer to the Greek parasite of Juvenal's Third Satire,⁴¹ who appears in Dryden's translation of that Satire as

A Cook, A Conjuror, a Rhetorician,
A Painter, Pedant, A Geometrician,
A Dancer on the Ropes, and a Physician.⁴²

Zimri by comparison

In the course of one revolving moon,
Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon.
Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking,
Besides ten thousand freaks that di'd in thinking.
(ll. 549-52)

And finally, Dryden employs the well-known Restoration jibe against transubstantiation, which is in adaptation from the Fifteenth Satire of Juvenal's mockery of Egyptian religious practices. Juvenal writes:

it is an impious outrage to crunch leeks and
onions with the teeth. What a holy race to have
such divinities springing up in their gardens!
(ll. 9-11)

This becomes in Dryden:

Th' Egyptian rites the Jebusites embrac'd,
Where gods were recommended by their taste.
Such sav'ry deities must needs be good
As served at once for worship and for food.
(ll. 118-21)

There are other political satires and lampoons of this period partially indebted to portions of Juvenal's

⁴¹Van Doren, p. 157.


⁴²Poems, II, 683, ll. 137-39.

but these examples should serve to show the familiarity of English satirists with Juvenal and to suggest the familiarity with the satirist which they anticipated on the part of their audience. These partial adaptations are especially significant as they represent, apart from one minor exception which we will consider later, almost the only attempts made in the Restoration to adapt Juvenal to either political satire or libel - that is, to adapt Juvenal to reformatory or corrective satire.⁴³ That this was not attempted more often shows how difficult it is to make Juvenal into a mere party poet or lampooner.

Beginning with John Oldham, who is the first to adapt an entire Satire of Juvenal to modern times, the poet's purpose in imitating the satirist changes. The emphasis is placed upon the pleasure of the poet in adapting the original to the English scene and upon the enjoyment of the reader in seeing the original in modern dress and with English manners. The satirizing of contemporary persons, places and events by substituting them for their Roman equivalents becomes of only secondary importance.

⁴³We must remember that during the Restoration the lampoon was widely regarded as corrective rather than merely libellous satire. Rochester defended his libels of prominent Court figures as being the only effective way of reforming otherwise incorrigible individuals (John Harold Wilson, The Court Wits of the Restoration [New York, 1967], p. 109. See also ibid., pp. 112-13), a sentiment which Dryden grudgingly echoes in his Discourse concerning Satire (Poems, II, 646).

Occasionally, in fact, we will find adaptations only partially modernized, in which the poet has declined the opportunity to include in his new satire additional contemporaries; and in Dryden's translations of Juvenal - which are in effect imitations and which will be treated as such in this study - modern allusions are used sparingly indeed. In general, the Restoration poet who wrote fully-fledged imitations of Juvenal, was enjoying himself and amusing his audience, not castigating the vices of his time. Even where the poet has obviously derived great pleasure from satirizing contemporary persons and developments by including them in his imitation, it is still true that his main aim is not to write satire, but to provide pleasure. It is not until the eighteenth century that we find Juvenal commonly adapted to constructive satire.



CHAPTER II

OLDHAM'S IMITATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS OF JUVENAL

John Oldham (1653-83) was the first English poet to adapt an entire Satire of Juvenal to modern times.¹ He did not, however, invent the mode of imitation itself. In adapting Juvenal to the English scene, Oldham was simply following an established tradition of imitation (a tradition called by one critic "Imitation as modernization"²) which had begun with Abraham Cowley's and Thomas Sprat's "The Country Mouse, A Paraphrase upon Horace 2 Book, Satyr 6" (1666)³ and was continued by many other English imitators of Horace in the early Restoration.⁴ Oldham's originality lay in applying this method to Juvenal. Modern literary historians sometimes point to Oldham's "Satire, in Imitation of the Third of Juvenal" and "Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, Imitated" (both published in 1683) as examples of this mode of

¹William Francis Gallaway, "English Adaptations of Roman Satire, 1660-1800" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1937), p. 182.

²Weinbrot, The Formal Strain, p. 53.

³Harold F. Brooks, "The 'Imitation' in English Poetry, Especially in Formal Satire, Before the Age of Pope," RES, XXV (1949), 129.

⁴See ibid., pp. 130-31.

imitation established by Cowley and Sprat in which the original is paraphrased and uniformly modernized, but they have invariably avoided making detailed comparisons between these poems and their originals. Such observations as "Oldham generally follows his original closely" or Oldham produces a "line-by-line correspondence to the original in both form and content"⁵ are typical of the way in which Oldham's imitative practice is usually summed up and dismissed. The purpose of this chapter is to examine in detail the relationship between Oldham's avowed imitations and their Roman models, and to test the validity of the widespread idea that Oldham is merely a passive, mechanical imitator. In addition, we will consider two poems in which Oldham makes substantial use of Juvenal's Fifth and Seventh Satires - "A Satire dissuading from Poetry" and "A Satire Addressed to a Friend" (both published in 1683) - but which have passed largely unnoticed as adaptations of Roman satire.

The method of imitation established by Cowley and Sprat is, as we suggested, quite straightforward, consisting in the "reasonably close translation" and "consistent modernization of an announced model."⁶

⁵Weinbrot, pp. 54, 56.

⁶Ibid., pp. 49, 52.

Oldham's avowed method of imitation, defined in his Advertisement to "Horace's Art of Poetry, Imitated in English" (1681), indicates his own basic adherence to this method:

I...resolved to alter the scene from Rome to London, and to make use of English names of men, places, and customs, where the parallel would decently permit, which conceived would give a kind of new air to the poem, and render it more agreeable to the relish of the present age. ... I have not, I acknowledge, been over nice in keeping to the words of the original.... Nevertheless I have been religiously strict to its sense....Where I may have been thought to have varied from it ... the skilful reader will perceive 'twas necessary for carrying on my proposed design.⁷

Oldham's intention was thus to keep "religiously strict" to the sense of the original. He allowed himself a certain latitude to make changes in the original when "necessary for carrying on [his] proposed design," but this presumably rules out alterations which would distort the original satirist's art and purpose. Such, at least, was his theory. When we turn to the poems themselves, however, we discover that Oldham's practice does not always follow his plan. In his "Imitation of the Third of Juvenal, for example, he imposes his own conceptions of humor, wit and invective upon the Third Satire and alters many of the characteristics of Juvenal's art.

⁷The Poems of John Oldham, intro. by Bonamy Dobree (London, 1960), p. 144.

In Juvenal's Third Satire the poet accompanies his friend Umbricius to the Porta Capena, the point of departure from Rome upon the Appian Way. Umbricius is preparing to leave Rome forever to live in peace and comfort at rural Cumae. Through his leave-taking Juvenal assails the various moral evils and physical and mental discomforts of city life and praises the life in the country which, as we have seen, functions as the rhetorical foil. Juvenal shows life in Rome to be impossible for one who will follow only "honest callings" (l. 21), that is, one who cannot or will not lie, steal, conspire, flatter or pimp. For the poor man life is especially uncomfortable and often dangerous: crowded, dangerous streets, stench, fire, bullies and murderers conspire against his well-being. Many of the evils deplored by Juvenal had counterparts in Restoration London.⁸ Of course it is to be expected that some of the evils Juvenal points to will be found anywhere and at any time: the indifference of the big city to a man's sense of merit and the social stigma of poverty are examples. But in Restoration London less general examples were manifest: rakes scoured the streets, beating the watch and molesting wayfarers; in popular thought the Great Fire of 1666 corresponded to the burning of Rome

⁸See William Henry Irving, John Gay's London (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 62-149 passim.

under Nero; foreigners swarmed; prodigality of wealth contrasted to abject poverty, and scant charity was given the poor. Thus in many ways Oldham found the Third Satire ideal to apply to the contemporary city. It is incorrect to criticize Oldham for having "encumbered himself with all the references (direct or oblique) to the particulars of Roman life in his original,"⁹ since to produce a direct correspondence whenever possible between past and contemporary life was his principal purpose in imitating Juvenal. Oldham, therefore, remains close to the original in seeking parallels whenever possible between characteristics of Juvenal's time and those of his own. In the Third Satire Juvenal says that a Greek can assume "any character you please; grammarian, orator, geometrician; painter, trainer, or rope-dancer; augur, doctor or astrologer" (ll. 75-77). Oldham writes correspondingly of Frenchmen:

A needy monsieur can be what he please,
Groom, page, valet, quack, operator, fencer,
Perfumer, pimp, Jack-pudding, juggler, dancer.¹⁰

More typical, however, of Oldham's technique is his

⁹Mary Lascelles, "Johnson and Juvenal," in F.W. Hilles, ed., New Light on Dr. Johnson (New Haven, 1959), p. 45.

¹⁰Poems, p. 192, ll. 116-18. I have supplied line references. Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent citations of Oldham's poems are from this edition.

expansion of the original. The passage in which Juvenal recommends that the reader prefer a clear conscience to "all the sands of the shaded Tagus, and the gold which it rolls into the sea" (ll. 54-55) Oldham thus transmutes:

Let others thus aspire to dignity;
For me, I'd not their envied grandeur buy
For all the Exchange is worth, that Paul's will cost,
Or was of late in the Scotch voyage lost.
(ll. 78-81)

Oldham's expansiveness occasionally vitiates the irony of the original. In the introduction of the Third Satire Juvenal sharply contrasts two extremes of existence: "I myself would prefer even Prochytra¹¹ to the Subura!"¹²

(l. 5) This Oldham labors into

The Peak, the Fens, the Hundreds, or Land's-end,
I would prefer to Fleet-street, or the Strand.
(ll. 5-6)

Oldham's imitation of this passage loses the quick, ironical wit of the original to become a statement of conviction.

Oldham's adaptation of Juvenal's graphic description of nocturnal street life shows him at his best in the practice of modernization, but it also shows his inability to duplicate the seriousness of the original in applying Juvenal's censures to London. This is not

¹¹Prochytra was a small barren island off Misenum.

¹²The Subura was the main street in Rome and hence the noisiest.

because the conditions of London streets did not adequately parallel those of Rome's streets,¹³ but rather because Oldham is simply unable to become angry about them. Juvenal sees the hazards of Rome's streets as a definite threat to life and limb:

See what a height it is to that towering roof
 from which a potsherd comes crack upon my head
 every time that some broken or leaky vessel is
 pitched out of the window! See with what a
 smash it strikes and dints the pavement!
 There's death in every open window as you pass
 along at night; you may well be deemed a fool,
 improvident of sudden accident, if you go out
 to dinner without having made your will. You
 can but hope, and put up a piteous prayer in
 your heart, that they may be content to pour
 down on you the contents of their slop-basins!
 (11. 268-77)

Oldham's version loses much of the seriousness of the original because of its modified hyperbole:

When brickbats are from upper stories thrown,
 And empty chamber-pots come pouring down
 From garret windows; you have cause to bless
 The gentle stars, if you come off with piss;
 So many fates attend, a man had need,
 Ne'er walk without a surgeon by his side;
 And he can hardly now discreet be thought,
 That does not make his will ere he go out.
 (11. 397-404)

Oldham does not say in imitation of Juvenal that death resides in London's garret windows. Juvenal's exaggerated but believable image of a falling pot striking with enough force to damage a stone pavement is converted by Oldham

¹³See Irving, pp. 106-07.

into the comic and unrealistic image of a sky filled with chamber pots. Juvenal says that a person could be killed while walking Rome's streets; Oldham merely implies that London's streets are unpleasant and possibly dangerous. It would be a mistake, however, to think that Juvenal always presents a humorless tone or that his invective maintains consistently high levels throughout any given Satire. The opening lines of the Third Satire provide a case in point:

THOUGH put out by the departure of my old friend, I commend his purpose to fix his home at Cumae, and to present one citizen to the Sibyl. That is the gate of Baiae, a sweet retreat upon a pleasant shore.... For where has one ever seen a place so dismal and so lonely that one would not deem it worse to live in perpetual dread of fires and falling houses, and the thousand perils of this terrible city, and poets spouting in the month of August!

(11. 1-9)

As his humorous and anticlimactic reference to poetry recitals shows, Juvenal's opening attack upon the city is entirely ironic. Both the praise of the country and ostensibly sincere blame of the city which Juvenal utters in the Satire must seem to come only from his persona Umbricius, since Juvenal, as we have seen, has cast himself as a character in the poem and is not about to follow his own advice. Juvenal's casual tone and ironic approach to the subject of Umbricius' departure serve to differentiate at the outset of the poem his personal

attitudes toward country and city from those which his fictional friend will express in the greater part of the Satire. The invective in Oldham's imitation, however, begins in the introduction. Here, besides losing the irony of Juvenal's contrast between the extremes of life in city and country, Oldham manages to eliminate the humorous aside about poetry recitals:

What place so desert, and so wild is there,
Whose inconveniences one would not bear,
Rather than the alarms of midnight fire,
The fall of houses, knavery of cits,
The plots of factions, and the noise of wits,
And thousand other plagues, which up and down
Each day and hour infest the cursed town?

(11. 7-13)

The easy manner of the original has become impetuous in Oldham's version, so that there is no real distinction between Oldham's introduction and the subsequent speech of his persona.

Oldham's equivalent to Juvenal's Umbricius is Timon. In the introduction to his speech Oldham shows a misunderstanding of Juvenal's method of establishing the good character of his persona, a procedure necessary to make Umbricius believable as a righteous critic of others. Umbricius' good character, or satiric "ethos," is established by what he says he will or will not do in order to prosper, and it is maintained throughout the Satire by illustrations of his plight in the city, the plight of other persecuted men and Umbricius' sympathetic

response to them. Umbricius' personal virtue is not described by Juvenal, but is established by his words and actions; therefore his speech is introduced simply, without commentary by the satirist: Hic tunc Umbricius... (l. 21). Oldham, however, cannot avoid including descriptive adjectives in his introduction of Timon's speech:

When, on the hated prospect looking back,
Thus with just rage the good old Timon spake.
(ll. 22-23)

The tone thus established is not exactly one of "surly virtue,"¹⁴ but it encourages us to look more closely at Timon's character in subsequent lines to determine whether his "rage" is truly "just." Juvenal's simple introduction of Umbricius eliminates this possibility; and Umbricius' character is allowed to unfold in the course of the poem naturally and convincingly. But Oldham's Timon proceeds under the handicap of the reader's anticipation: the reader is told that Timon's indignation is righteous and will therefore look for this claim to be substantiated. Umbricius' speech begins with these comments:

'Since there is no room,' quoth he, 'for honest
callings in this city, no reward for labor;
since my means are less to-day than they were
yesterday, and to-morrow will rub off something
from the little that is left, I purpose to go to
the place where Daedalus put off his weary wings

¹⁴London, l. 145, in Samuel Johnson: Poems, ed. E.L. McAdam, Jr., with George Milne (New Haven, 1964) p. 55.

while my white hairs are recent, while my old
age is erect and fresh, while Lachesis has
something left to spin, and I can support myself
on my own feet without slipping a staff beneath
my hand. Farewell my country!'

(11. 21-29)

Compare this with Timon's speech:

Since virtue here in no repute is had,
Since worth is scorned, learning and sense unpaid,
And knavery the only thriving trade;
Finding my slender fortune every day
Dwindle, and waste insensibly away,
I, like a losing gamester, thus retreat,
To manage wiselier my last stake of fate;
While I have strength, and want no staff to prop
My tottering limbs, ere age has made me stoop
Beneath its weight, ere all my thread be spun,
And life has yet in store some sands to run,
'Tis my resolve to quit the nauseous town.

(11. 24-35)

Umbricius says that there is neither room nor reward in Rome for "honest callings" and labor. Now Umbricius cannot claim such entities as personal qualities, but he can and apparently does pursue them, so that he becomes by implication a pursuer of virtue. Umbricius' character is therefore established as that of an apparently good man without his having made any actual claims to personal worth. Having thus engaged the reader's sympathy at the outset of his speech, Umbricius is able to make subsequent statements which more directly imply his personal merit without destroying our belief in his ethos. Oldham's Timon, conversely, implies at the beginning of his speech in an obvious manner that he is the possessor of virtue, worth, learning and sense. His character is established as that

of a morally upright man, but his overly self-righteous tone does not engage our sympathy. Perhaps aware of this weakness, Oldham attempts to add a tragic note - Timon's "last stake of fate" - to his character's plight, and pathos - Timon's "tottering legs" - to his physical appearance. The effect, however, is weakened by Oldham's conversion of Umbricius' almost regretful cedamus patria (l. 29) into Timon's "resolve to quit the nauseous town"; and the tone of surly virtue - which has been growing more obvious since the beginning of Timon's speech - is finalized when Oldham transforms Umbricius' Quid Romae faciam? (l. 41) into Timon's indignant "I live in London! What should I do there?" (l. 54) Oldham misses the gradation in Juvenal's invective. He was either ignorant of the technique involved in establishing Juvenal's rhetorical fiction of the persona or was unconcerned about its function. There is no "willing suspension of disbelief" that the invective arises from anyone but Oldham himself: his imitation is a continuous shout from beginning to end.

Oldham does not attempt to reproduce the subtle irony within Juvenal's praise of the country, though this does not mean that he sincerely recommends rural life. Oldham's imitation is conspicuous for its modification of the passages in the original praising life in the country. For example, Umbricius, commenting on the difficulty a

"poor" man has in providing food and shelter which meet metropolitan middle-class standards of acceptance,¹⁵ says, "You are ashamed to dine off delf; but you would see no shame in it if transported suddenly to a Marsian or Sabine¹⁶ table, where you would be pleased enough to wear a cape of coarse Venetian blue" (ll. 168-70). He then proceeds to describe a rustic Italian community in which everyone dresses alike. Oldham transforms this commentary into a comparison between contemporary Englishmen's ostentation and the past simplicity of "their ancestors, in Edgar's reign" (ll. 262-65). Oldham apparently believed that Juvenal's praise was sincere, but largely unsuitable for close imitation since Oldham himself did not intend to dissuade his readers from dwelling in London. His misunderstanding of Juvenal's element of praise is substantiated in his imitation of this passage: "It is something in whatever spot, however remote, to have become the possessor of a single lizard!" (ll. 230-31) This is Juvenal's sardonic climax to a passage describing the life of a small farmer in the country. Oldham expands the

¹⁵It should be noted at this point that Juvenal's "poor" men are generally all what we would today term of the middle class. The "poverty" which they share in common in the Satires is the inability to amass 400,000 sesterces, the fortune required for admission to the Equestrian Order, the upper class of Rome (Juvenal and Persius, trans. G.G. Ramsay, p. 10, n. 1; Juvenal: The Sixteen Satires, trans. Peter Green, p. 73, n. 10).

¹⁶i.e. country.

passage and lends it a tone of sincerity:

Had I the smallest spot of ground, which scarce
 Would summer half a dozen grasshoppers,
 Not larger than my grave, though hence remote
 Far as St. Michael's Mount, I would go to't,
 Dwell there content, and thank the Fates to boot.
 (11. 355-59)

But regardless of his handling of this passage, Oldham's satiric purpose in his "Imitation of the Third of Juvenal" is similar to Juvenal's in that he has no intention of sincerely recommending a life of rural retirement.

Both Juvenal's Third Satire and Oldham's imitation contain humor, but humor of different orders. The humor in Oldham's imitation arises from the obvious pleasure he takes in adapting Roman names, manners and customs to contemporary persons and circumstances. He never becomes as angry as his model.¹⁷ The main reason for this is probably that, unlike Juvenal, Oldham did not see in his society's vices its imminent collapse. In adapting Juvenal's arguments, Oldham presents no convincing reasons for leaving London. The social structure is not poised to fall about his head; the city may be uncomfortable, but it is picturesque too. The humor we find in Juvenal's Third Satire, however, does not arise from his invective. Some of his illustrations may seem laughable to us today - for

¹⁷P.A. O'Flaherty, "The Art of Johnson's London" (unpublished MS), p. 7.

example, his description of the Greek-struck Quirinus (11. 67-68) - but Juvenal undoubtedly considered them examples of viciousness deserving of the greatest loathing. Instead, we see Juvenal's humor in his descriptions of the subjects who are to arouse our sympathy. Perhaps the best examples of this are found in the following account of the streets of Rome:

When the rich man has a call of social duty, the mob makes way for him as he is borne swiftly over their heads in a huge Liburnian car. He writes or reads or sleeps inside as he goes along, for the closed window of the litter induces slumber. Yet he will arrive before us; hurry as we may, we are blocked by a surging crowd in front, and by a dense mass of people pressing in on us from behind: one man digs an elbow into me, another a hard sedan-pole; one bangs a beam, another a wine-cask, against my head. My legs are beplastered with mud; soon huge feet trample on me from every side, and a soldier plants his hobnails firmly on my toe.

(11. 239-48)

As Robert Eno Russell tells us, in this passage the changes of person in verbs and pronouns from third to first plural to first singular involve the narrator in the action and give the reader a positive focal point and an opportunity to project himself into the scene.¹⁸ With the description of the rich man we are plunged into the action, where we soon find ourselves in the company of the narrator, Umbricius, in the crush, being buffeted from all sides.

¹⁸Robert Eno Russell, "Dryden's Juvenal and Persius" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1966), p. 30.

Our attention is focused upon Umbricius himself, who is elbowed, poked in the eyes, bespattered with mud and trod upon. Next Umbricius retreats to the side of the street and points out to the reader the various sights in the multitude streaming by: we see a hundred clients and their slaves returning with their dole from their patron and the antics of one slave in keeping the dole hot (ll. 249-53); freshly-patched, shabby tunics torn again in the jostle (l. 254); and a huge fir-log swaying through the throng on a wagon, followed by an entire tree on another, both threatening to crush the people (ll. 254-56). These in turn are followed by a wagon bearing a load of marble, which prompts Umbricius' imagination:

if that axle with its load of Ligurnian marble breaks down, and pours an overturned mountain on to the crowd, what is left of their bodies? Who can identify the limbs, who the bones? The poor man's crushed corpse wholly disappears, just like his soul. At home meanwhile the folk, unwitting, are washing the dishes, blowing up the fire with distended cheek, chattering over the greasy flesh-scrapers, filling the oil-flasks and laying out the towels. And while each of them is thus busy over his own task, their master is already sitting, a new arrival, upon the bank, and shuddering at the grim ferryman: he has no copper in his mouth to tender for his fare, and no hope of a passage over the murky flood, poor wretch.

(ll. 257-67)

In the first section of this passage Juvenal's humor is comically pathetic as he describes Umbricius in the crowd.¹⁹

¹⁹Ibid., p. 31.

We feel sympathy for the little man - but not pity, for Juvenal makes Umbricius' account of his own problems factual so as to avoid a self-pitying tone. In describing the imagined catastrophe and the scene at the victim's home, the tone is made to express pathos so that Umbricius will be seen to express the proper sympathy toward one of his fellows and thereby strengthen his own ethos as a "good man." To avoid straining the reader's sympathy, Juvenal describes his victim in a tone of "macabre amusement"²⁰ and shows him shivering on the bank of the Styx, apprehensively eyeing the ferryman Charon.

The primary purpose of this entire passage is to generate the reader's sympathy for Umbricius. We share Umbricius' own discomfort and we applaud his response to the plight of the anonymous victim. Oldham's Timon, however, is largely incidental to his imitation. In Oldham's imitation of Juvenal's street scene there is only one truly active character, the reader:

If you walk out in business ne'er so great,
 Ten thousand stops you must expect to meet;
 Thick crowds in every place you must charge through,
 And storm your passage wheresoe'er you go;
 While tides of followers behind you throng,
 And, pressing on your heels, shove you along;
 One with a board, or rafter, hits your head,
 Another with his elbow bores your side;
 Some tread upon your corns, perhaps in sport,
 Meanwhile your legs are cased all o'er with dirt;

²⁰Ibid.

Here, you the march of a slow funeral wait,
 Advancing to the church with solemn state;
 There, a sedan and lacquies stop your way,
 That bears some punk of honor to the play;
 Now, you some mighty pieces of timber meet,
 Which tottering threatens ruin to the street;
 Next, a huge Portland stone, for building Paul's,
 Itself almost a rock, on carriage rolls;
 Which, if it fall, would cause a massacre,
 And serve at once to murder, and inter.

(11. 375-94)

Here the reader sees all the action, but he is made a detached observer of his own experiences by Oldham's inveterate use of the pronoun "you." There is no variety of expression in this passage; the uniformly omniscient description of the scene gives Oldham's images a uniform flatness. The only intentional humor in this passage is in the closing couplet. Oldham's attempt to sustain his invective is least successful in the longer passages which in the original derive their effectiveness from the subtleties of Juvenal's art.

Oldham alters or omits several prominent features of Juvenal's satiric art in the Third Satire, sometimes through an apparent misunderstanding of their function, but more often in deliberate alteration of Juvenal's gross wit and invective. For instance, to help drive home his view of the depravity of man's condition in Rome, Juvenal occasionally uses nature imagery - often of birds - to contrast the state of man with the state of nature. One example of this is found in the introduction of the Third

Satire, where Juvenal contrasts the present condition of the Valley of Egeria, fouled by man's material exploitation, with its original beauty (ll. 12-20). Another is in Juvenal's description of the firetraps in which impoverished Romans live: upon the roofs of these slums "the gentle doves lay their eggs" (l. 202). Oldham, striving for a sustained, fast-moving invective, had no use for such apparent digressions, and both contrasts are omitted. A passage which he certainly understood, however, and entirely ignored is the one in which Juvenal describes the Greeks' proficiency for acting in female roles (ll. 86-99). Presumably Oldham omitted it because Juvenal says of one actor, vacua et plana omnia dicas/infra ventriculum et tenui distantia rima (ll. 96-97). Yet Oldham is no prig. While in general he tends to expurgate his model, on occasion he can outdo Juvenal himself in grossness. For example, Juvenal says that the flattering Greek is always ready "to throw up his hands and applaud if his friend gives a good belch or piddles straight, or if his golden basin make a gurgle when turned upside down" (ll. 106-08).²¹ The "friend" is a Roman noble; the purpose of Juvenal's low image is to reduce the apparently debauched noble to the level of his sycophant. Oldham says of his modern

²¹The reference to the "golden basin" is misleading. According to Peter Green, "the basin or ladle (trulla) was placed upside-down on the floor, and the dinner-guests urinated at it in competition. The Greek applauds when his Roman patron hits the target squarely" (Green, p. 101, n. 13).

Greek, the Frenchman,

If [his lord] but spit, or pick his teeth, he'll cry,
 'How everything becomes you! let me die,
 Your lordship does it most judiciously!
 And swear 'tis fashionable if he sneeze,
 Extremely taking, and it needs must please.

(11. 160-64)

Here Oldham has obviously tempered Juvenal's wit. But
 the passage continues,

Besides, there's nothing sacred, nothing free
 From the hot satyr's rampant lechery;
 Nor wife, nor virgin-daughter can escape,
 Scarce thou thyself, or son avoid a rape;
 All must go pad-locked; if nought else there be,
 Suspect thy very stables' chastity.

(11. 165-70)

Here Oldham's imitation closely follows the original except
 for the final line: whereas Juvenal says that the Greek
 "will lay the grandmother of his friend" (l. 112),²²
 Oldham introduces the more depraved implication of
 zoophilism. This xenophobia seems to be the only aspect
 of Juvenal's indignation which Oldham sincerely applies
 to contemporary conditions. In the Third Satire Rome's
 corrupt upper classes are even more the objects of Juvenal's
 attack than are unscrupulous foreigners, but Oldham
 softens the original invective in applying it to the
 English noble while exaggerating it in his attack upon the
 French. His inconsistency in dealing with the French in
 the last two examples arises from his elimination of part

²²My translation.

of Juvenal's accompanying gross imagery and his lessening of the original attack upon a noble. Elsewhere, Oldham's imitation abounds with contemptuous references to the French which have no counterparts in the Third Satire: the French are "slaves at home" (l. 90), "foul spawn" (l. 101), "the spew and vomit of their gaols at home" (l. 103), "vile rascal[s]" (l. 134), "flattering/sot[s]" (l. 158), "vermin" (l. 171) and "insect[s]" (l. 178). But the English peers who have lost their fortunes and have had their places usurped by the foreigners are painted sympathetically: "reduced to poverty and need," they "Are fain to trudge to the Bankside," where they "Take up with porter's leavings" and spend their noble blood "At brothel-fights, in some foul common-sewer" (ll. 198-204).

Thus in his "Imitation of the Third of Juvenal" Oldham has not kept as close to the original as his own definition of his imitative practice might have led us to expect. Certainly Oldham is no slavish imitator here: he has deliberately altered his model's sense in respect to humor and gross wit and has directed the force of the original Satire's element of attack away from the upper classes, applying it instead to foreigners. Oldham's failure to reproduce correctly or adequately several of the characteristics of Juvenal's satiric art - most notably his descriptive techniques in the street scene and his

method of establishing the character of his persona - is due apparently to his misunderstanding of the complexity of Juvenal's manner, and as a result the imitation is even further removed from its model. Oldham's principal achievement in this imitation is his success in duplicating Juvenal's ability to evoke a feeling for his city and time.

In contrast to his "Imitation of the Third of Juvenal," Oldham's "Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, Imitated" is more faithful to Juvenal's sense. This success is principally due to the greater generality of his model and the simplicity of its theme. Juvenal's Thirteenth Satire is far less topical than the Third,²³ and it deals with a theme more universal than the specific evils and discomforts of the city. It is a "consolation," one of several forms of "persuasion" perfected by Greek and Roman philosophers;²⁴ its purpose is to console Juvenal's elderly friend Calvinus, who has been defrauded of a considerable sum of money by a friend to whom he had entrusted it. The embezzler is unnamed, for Juvenal's primary theme is not a specific crime, but rather a general topic, "the power of

²³See Gilbert Highet, Juvenal the Satirist (Oxford, 1954), p. 138.

²⁴Ibid., p. 141.

money." The generality of the Thirteenth Satire - the few contemporaries Juvenal names are used as simile and metaphor, not as targets of his attack - provided Oldham with a very open framework into which he could insert numerous modern topics and still faithfully reproduce the original theme. But this very topical nature of Oldham's imitation may have obscured Juvenal's theme from his contemporary readers. Through the generality of the examples which he cites to support his theme, Juvenal has produced a satire which, in everything but setting, may be applied to any subsequent period in history. Oldham's enthusiasm in making Juvenal speak and write as a contemporary English satirist, however, effectively narrows his imitation's applicability to Restoration England. Oldham succeeds in giving Juvenal's Satire immediacy, but in so doing he severely limits the universality of its application.

The Thirteenth Satire falls into three parts. In the introduction (ll. 1-22) Juvenal chides his friend for his "undue lamentations," since he is apparently wealthy and the loss he has sustained proportionally small. Besides, Juvenal argues, such things happen to many people; his friend should therefore not be surprised and should learn to endure his loss. In the middle section (ll. 23-173) Juvenal shows that injustice is inevitable,

now that money has become the supreme inducement in men's lives, and cites numerous examples for substantiation. In the final section (ll. 174-249) Juvenal concludes the consolation of his friend by showing that his injury will inevitably be avenged. Oldham follows this form closely in his imitation. For example, in the conclusion of the Satire Juvenal says that the villain "will yet put his feet into the snare; he will have to endure the dark prison-house and the staple, or one of those crags in the Aegaeon sea" (ll. 244-46); accordingly Oldham's "sentenced wretch" is "To Scilly Isles, or the Caribbee sent," or "Hung like Boroski, for a gibbet-sign" (ll. 414-17). That Juvenal's Thirteenth Satire is quite general in application is shown in the first twenty-five lines of Oldham's imitation: Oldham follows the original closely, yet uses no modern parallels. His imitation is in fact even more general than the original, for he omits naming his cheated friend, and the argument thus seems directed at his audience. Were he content passively to modernize his model Oldham could have continued in this generalized vein, merely providing enough parallels to contemporize the setting, and would have sufficiently familiarized his audience with the Satire. He does modernize the original where necessary, but, while retaining his model's form, he also expands the second and third sections and sprinkles them with contemporary subjects.

Not only has Oldham placed Juvenal in modern dress in regard to his original satiric theme, but through his practice of expansion has added an overcoat of topical satiric concerns. Where, for example, Juvenal asks, "Are you ignorant of how the world laughs at your simplicity when you demand of any man that he shall not perjure himself, and believe that some divinity is to be found in temples or in altars red with blood?" (ll. 34-37), Oldham writes,

For God's sake don't you see
How they all laugh at your simplicity,
When gravely you forewarn of perjury?
Preach up a god, and hell, vain empty names,
Exploded now for idle threadbare shams,
Devised by priests, and by none else believed,
Ever since great Hobbes the world has undeceived!
(ll. 54-60)

And in adapting a passage in which Juvenal cites examples of particularly odious wrongs - the hired robber and arsonist, the theft of cultural and religious artifacts and the even greater sacrilege committed against religious images, dealers in poison, and parricide (ll. 144-56) - Oldham alludes to Blood's attempt to steal the crown jewels (ll. 244-45), the Popish Plot and the "revelations" of Oates and Bedloe (ll. 246-48), the murders of Thynne and Godfrey (l. 249), and the Roundheads and the regicide of Charles I. But here a difference is apparent between Oldham's and Juvenal's examples. Every crime which Juvenal has cited has been committed for money, and these examples

substantiate his satiric theme. But most of the examples which Oldham cites involve political and topical rather than financial concerns. Oldham does not alter the original theme and purpose of his model, but rather uses it as a vehicle for his own satiric interests. These Oldham has fitted so smoothly to his model's theme that they seem to supplement it, while in reality they compete with it for the reader's attention. Juvenal's generalized conclusions are readily apparent to the reader who is less interested in topical matters than in general truths, but it is to be expected that Oldham's Restoration audience were better pleased by the former and by the imitator's skill in bringing them to the reader's attention without creating apparent incongruity between ancient times and modern. Sometimes, for example, Oldham changes the function of a simile to allow a jab at a contemporary subject. Oldham's defrauded character calls upon faith in God and man "Louder than on Queen Bess's day the rout/ For Antichrist burned in effigy shout" (ll. 50-51) - thus Oldham inserts a cutting allusion to the Papists by reference to the annual Pope-burning at Temple Bar. The original, however, reads "We summon Gods and men to our aid with cries as loud as that with which the vocal dole"²⁵

²⁵The "vocal dole" (vocalis...sportula) refers to the practice of lawyers purchasing applause for their clients when pleading their cases in court (Ramsay, p. 248, n. 2).

applauds Faesidius when he pleads" (ll. 31-33). Juvenal uses this venal simile to emphasize ironically the extent of money's influence. The simile in the Thirteenth Satire is secondary to Juvenal's theme; in Oldham's imitation, however, the reader's attention is to be primarily upon the topical allusion.

As in his "Imitation of the Third of Juvenal", Oldham alters the sense of some descriptive passages in the original. Consider, for example, this passage of Oldham's in which a defrauder and perjurer, having weighed the several punishments which Heaven might inflict upon him, says,

I'll suffer these, and more;
 All plagues are light to that of being poor.
 There's not a begging cripple in the streets,
 (Unless he with his limbs has lost his wits,
 And is grown fit for Bedlam) but no doubt
 To have his wealth would have the rich man's gout.
 Grant Heaven's vengeance heavy be; what though?
 The heaviest things move slowest still we know;
 And, if it punish all that guilty be,
 'Twill be an age before it come to me.
 God, too, is merciful, as well as just;
 Therefore I'll rather his forgiveness trust,
 Than live despised and poor, as thus I must;
 I'll try and hope he's more a gentleman
 Than for such trivial things as these, to damn.
 Besides, for the same fact, we've often known
 One mount the cart, another mount the throne;
 And foulest deeds, attended with success,
 No longer are reputed wickedness
 Disguised with virtue's livery and dress.
 (ll. 146-65)

Now Juvenal's perjurer is a brash, unprincipled opportunist with an unquenchable lust for money; he is an exact

counterpart to the Greek of the Third Satire. Juvenal avoids describing him so that any sympathy the reader might have in reserve will be unable to attach itself to his plight. The perjurer is an embodiment of avarice for whom Juvenal expects the reader to feel utter contempt. Oldham, however, prepares the way for the reader's sympathy by showing the perjurer to be a man so poor that to him "All plagues are light." Oldham himself seems to commiserate with him as he chooses to place his trust in the mercy and forgiveness of God, rather than continue to "live despised and poor." In the last three lines Oldham even gives the perjurer a kind of moral character when he does what Juvenal never does: he places a moral statement in the speech of the character who is himself the object of attack. Oldham also displays a lack of sense of proportion when he has his villain say that "There's not a begging cripple" who would not "To have his wealth would have the rich man's gout." In the original the speaker is Ladas, a famous Greek runner, for whom the exchange of physical capability for wealth would be a substantial sacrifice; for Oldham's already lame beggar, however, it could only be an improvement. However, Oldham improved upon Juvenal's account of the terrors of the guilty man's conscience by the introduction of darker Christian imagery: the villain's dreams are haunted by "the groans

of ghosts, and hideous screams/Of tortured spirits" (ll. 365-66); and he imagines his victim

Ghastly of shape, and of prodigious size,
With glaring eyes, cleft foot, and monstrous tail,
And bigger than the giants at Guildhall,
Stalking with horrid strides across the room,
And guards of fiends to drag him to his doom.
(ll. 370-74)

Juvenal's villain is terrorized by thoughts of physical punishment and death, Oldham's by the prospect of hell. Oldham's sentimentalism in the first example, which in itself would weaken the original function of "consolation," is thus redeemed by his assurance of even greater terrors for the purjurer than are provided in his model.

Oldham's imitations of Juvenal's Third and Thirteenth Satires, then, do not display a "line-by-line correspondence" to their models. Oldham handles his originals more independently than either the imitative tradition of Cowley and Sprat, which he presumably was influenced by, or his own theoretical statement about poetic imitation would seem to permit. It is true that a large number of the changes he makes in the art and sense of the Third and Thirteenth Satires are due directly to his failure to appreciate the complexity of Juvenal's satiric technique, but in practice these are not more substantial than his deliberate alterations. Oldham's application of the Satires to Restoration England, however, is consistent and convincing, and little apparent incongruity

occurs between ancient and modern times in his poems. Moreover, he accurately reproduces the general atmosphere of Juvenal's poems, and it requires close inspection to see how he has actually introduced his changes: in reading the "Imitation of the Third of Juvenal", for instance, we feel that we are indeed walking the streets of seventeenth-century London with Juvenal as our guide and are inclined not to notice that he is far less indignant at what he sees there than in the streets of Rome. In this respect Oldham's intention to make Juvenal "speak as if he were living and writing now"²⁶ is largely successful.

It is apparent that Oldham's "Satire dissuading from Poetry" and "Satire Addressed to a Friend" mark "a change of attitude in his satiric writing."²⁷ Clearly, both Oldham's motivation and practice in adapting Juvenal in these satires differ from his purpose and method in the imitations we have just considered. The use which Oldham makes of Juvenal in these satires is much freer than that in the avowed imitations: he does not announce his sources (though they are obvious enough) and, rather than adapting them wholly, borrows from them in an eclectic fashion.

²⁶Poems, p. 15.

²⁷Ronald J. Lee, "The Satires of John Oldham: A Study of Rhetorical Modes in Restoration Verse Satire" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Standord University, 1967), p. 16.

Oldham's imitations of the Third and Thirteenth Satires were intended as entertainment for the English reading public. Their purpose was to present Juvenal in such a manner that his Satires would be rendered "more agreeable to the relish of the present age." These imitations demonstrate throughout the obvious pleasure Oldham took in adapting Juvenal to the contemporary scene. Rarely in these poems does Oldham exhibit true indignation at the examples of contemporary vices or abuses which fall within his scope. But "A Satire dissuading from Poetry" and "A Satire Addressed to a Friend" show Oldham assuming an entirely different attitude as imitative satirist. As Ronald J. Lee tells us, these poems "are sharp commentaries on the denigration of servitude and the ill-fortunes of one who wishes to make his way writing poetry."²⁸ Thus we may expect to find these satires expressing a more personal and urgent tone than that of the professed imitations, since Oldham, as we know, despised the dependent positions of schoolmaster and tutor which, owing to his inability to support himself solely as a poet, he was forced to accept at intervals throughout his brief adult life.²⁹ In his imitations of the Third and Thirteenth Satires Oldham's naturalistic descriptions of English life are amused but

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Poems, pp. 6, 8-10.

generally impersonal; nothing he describes seems to represent personal discomfort, and therefore nothing he sees inspires him to rage. But in "A Satire dissuading from Poetry" and "A Satire Addressed to a Friend", Oldham, in depicting the vicissitudes of a poet's fortune, the drudgery of teaching and the servility of domestic employment, describes what were for him real privation and hardship. Consequently, in these satires his indignation is real and forceful. Though Oldham here is much more independent of his models in adapting Juvenal to his satiric purposes than in the avowed imitations, his tone and sense of outrage are ultimately much nearer to the Satires which he employs.

Oldham's method of adapting Juvenal in these satires is apparently derived from the earlier, influential method of Boileau³⁰ in that it involves the extremely free and eclectic adaptation of one or more unannounced sources. For example, Boileau loosely incorporates the "plot" of Juvenal's Third Satire into his own First Satire (1666), but also intersperses this Satire with passages and suggestions from Juvenal's Seventh Satire, which too are freely adapted.³¹ Similarly, in "A Satire Addressed to a Friend" Oldham freely adapts the plot of Juvenal's Fifth

³⁰Oldham was quite familiar with Boileau's imitations "several years before he wrote any himself" (Brooks, pp. 134-35).

³¹Weinbrot, pp. 43-44.

Satire and also uses a portion of the Seventh Satire in his attack upon the drudgery of teaching. In "A Satire dissuading from Poetry" Oldham uses only one model, the Seventh Satire, but here as well the original is handled quite independently - Oldham has in fact "exploded" the section he is imitating and deployed its fragments in his own satire as he has seen fit. We will find that as imitations of Juvenal these two satires do not necessarily retain the sense of their models or adapt their models wholly - though the influence of the originals remains clear throughout each.

The theme of Juvenal's Seventh Satire is "the misery of the intellectuals,"³² the poets, historians, poor lawyers and teachers of Rome, who have found themselves in financial distress because of the failure of the rich to reward their services adequately. Approximately one third of the Satire (ll. 1-97), including its dedication to Caesar,³³ is devoted to poets, exactly three eighths (ll. 150-243) to teachers, and one fourth (ll. 98-149) to historians and lawyers. The principal section which Oldham adapts in "A Satire dissuading from

³²Highet, p. 106.

³³This was the emperor Hadrian, whose "re-establishment of the Athenaeum, with chairs and pensions for deserving writers," was apparently the occasion of Juvenal's writing the Seventh Satire (ibid., p. 111).

Poetry" is the one devoted to poets, with a brief passage on law and the clergy derived from Juvenal's section on historians and lawyers. In Oldham's satire the ghost of Spenser returns from the grave and, in a conversation with the satirist, exposes the misfortunes suffered by poets in Restoration England. This is a more direct method of satire than that used by Juvenal in the Seventh Satire. The Seventh Satire opens with a dedication to the Emperor Hadrian who, Juvenal contends, is the only hope for poets now that the Muses have fallen upon hard times (ll. 1-16). The praise of the Emperor provides Juvenal with a base from which to expose the unjust treatment of intellectuals. In Juvenal's Satire the element of praise is independent of the element of blame, and therefore the reader is (hopefully) surprised when the satirist's introductory encomium suddenly becomes an attack upon rich nobles. With Oldham's element of praise, however, it is immediately apparent both that blame will follow and what it will consist of: Spenser's declaration that it is his intention to dissuade the satirist from the profession of poetry will obviously be followed by an account of the profession's many disadvantages.

Besides the matter of structure, the basic differences between the first section of the Seventh Satire and that of Oldham's adaptation are the action each

recommends and the reasons given in support. Juvenal does not advise poets to abandon poetry, but rather not to expect patronage from the poets' traditional source, the nobility. Otherwise, as he sardonically observes, "You had better put up with Machaera's³⁴ tripods, book-cases and cupboards - the Alcithoe of Paccius, the Thebes or the Tereus of Faustus!"³⁵ (ll. 8-12) The poets' difficulty is not that their art is unappreciated or misunderstood, but that "your rich miser has now learnt only to admire, only to commend the eloquent" (ll. 30-31). One of the reasons for this selfishness is that the rich noble too considers himself a poet, "yielding the palm to none but Homer-and that only because of his thousand years" (ll. 38-39). In Oldham's poem, however, the ghost of Spenser exhorts the satirist to "shun the dangerous rocks of poetry" (l. 34). Oldham's Spenser has himself come to detest the practice of poetry. If he were to assume flesh and blood again, he would choose to be, rather than a poet,

some hawker of the town,
Who through the streets with dismal scream and
tone,
Cries matches, small-coal, brooms, old shoes and boots,
Socks, sermons, ballads, lies, gazettes, and votes.
(ll. 39-42)

This is a reasonably close though expanded modernization of the original passage. Oldham has altered its sense

³⁴ Apparently an auctioneer.

³⁵ These apparently were second-rate tragedies.

merely by placing it in a new context. The informal relationship of "A Satire dissuading from Poetry" to its source and the higher pitch of its tone of indignation are more apparent in the reasons Spenser gives to convince the satirist to abandon poetry. In Oldham's satire poets must depend upon public favor rather than upon private patronage for financial support. In fact, some nobles are themselves, along with ordinary scribblers, in competition with the professionals:

The foul disease is so prevailing grown,
 So much the fashion of the court and town,
 That scarce a man well-bred in either's deemed,
 But who has killed, been drunk, and often rhymed.
(ll. 54-57)

Juvenal also says that not all nobles are actively selfish: some are merely indifferent to the poets' plight. For example, he shows that even if you are lucky enough to have a patron, the help you will receive in bringing your verses to the attention of the public will be nominal. If you wish to give a recital your patron may loan you a tumble-down house in a remote spot, but you yourself will have to underwrite the cost of the seating (ll. 34-37). The general public, however, are not indifferent to poetry; for Statius' recitals are always a sellout; it is simply that popularity does not insure profit. Oldham, in contrast, complains about the indifference of his audience

to poetry, which in the public mind has the same value as the fabrications of Oates and Bedloe (l. 74). Thus condemned criminals transported to execution "More eyes and looks than twenty poets draw" (l. 77), while advertisements of a poet's works are sufficient to attract only the attention of "gaping 'prentices" and "reeling drunkards" (ll. 80-81). Oldham converts Juvenal's criticism of noble patrons into a revelation of and an attack upon the public's degraded sense of literary values.

Oldham strengthens his attack upon the hardships of professional poetry by the changes he makes in the original theme. In addition to Juvenal's explicit praise of Caesar for his patronage of letters and explicit attack upon rich nobles for their indifference toward needy men of letters, the Seventh Satire contains implicit praise of the poets who remain true to their profession in the face of its financial disadvantages. "We poets stick to our task," Juvenal says; "we go on drawing furrows in the thin dust, and turning up the shore with unprofitable plow" (ll. 48-49). Oldham, however, wholly disparages his trade. His attack is expressly against the factors which render poetry a difficult or impossible profession, but he also fails to include any praise of poetry itself. This satire upon his profession is reinforced by his references to classical literary figures (of whom Juvenal

speaks only with respect) in terms of low imagery. Vergil sings "on Phrygia's shore,/The Grecian bullies fighting for a whore" (ll. 48-49); Statius "Fame so much extols/For praising jockeys and New-Market fools" (ll. 50-51); and Sappho trudges to Mother Creswell's "to mend her gains,/And let her tail to hire, as well as brains" (ll. 163-64). Oldham's frustration with his profession finds its final expression in the bitterness with which he concludes the satire. Spenser, acknowledging that his admonitions will probably go unheeded, takes leave of the satirist, "cursing" him:

Mayest thou go on unpitied, till thou be
Brought to the parish, bridge, and beggary;
Till urged by want, like broken scribblers, thou
Turn poet to a booth, a Smithfield show,
And write heroic verse for Bartholomew;
Then slighted by the very Nursery,
Mayest thou at last be forced to starve, like me.
(ll. 280-86)

Thus Oldham closes his satire on a note quite antithetical to Juvenal's, since at the beginning of the Seventh Satire Juvenal assures the poets that their fortunes will improve. Oldham's wholly pessimistic view is that contemporary English poets can have no assurance of reward or recognition either during or after their lifetimes.

Oldham, then, makes extensive use of the first section of the Seventh Satire in "A Satire dissuading from Poetry," though his reliance upon his model is loose. Oldham and Juvenal share a common theme, "the misery of

poets," but their treatments of this theme differ significantly. Juvenal exposes the hardships of the profession, but maintains the optimistic view that with the beginning of the emperor's patronage privation will cease to be an integral part of a literary career. Oldham, however, is resigned to the fact that no hope exists in Restoration England for a poet to gain financial independence or even mere literary recognition. Indeed, Oldham shows that no one besides a poet even cares for literature any more, whereas in Juvenal's poem the public is always enthusiastic about good verse. Juvenal's attitude, is, ultimately, the self-satisfaction of an artist who has stayed with his calling regardless of its accompanying hardships and is now reaping his reward. Oldham's attitude is uniformly one of discouragement and frustration.

"A Satire Addressed to a Friend" is a more complex poem than "A Satire dissuading from Poetry" and has in fact two models. The portion of the Seventh Satire dealing with the poverty of teachers motivates Oldham's attack upon the profession of teaching. Oldham's principal theme, servitude versus independence, is derived from Juvenal's Fifth Satire and reinforced with several adaptations from that poem. "A Satire Addressed to a Friend" falls into three clearly defined sections: introduction (ll. 1-51),

remonstration (ll. 52-128) and recapitulation (ll. 129-228). The introduction proceeds in an easy, relaxed manner as an apparent conversation between the satirist and his friend. This is in fact more an imitation of the manner of Juvenal's introduction to the Third Satire - which Oldham, as we have seen, does not capture in his "Imitation of the Third of Juvenal" - than the manner of the Fifth Satire, which is here Oldham's model for the first twenty-two lines. The Fifth Satire opens with Juvenal addressing his friend Trebius: "If you are still unashamed of your plan of life, and still deem it to be the highest bliss to live at another man's board-if you can brook indignities which neither Sarmentus nor the despicable Gabba would have endured at Caesar's ill-assorted table-I should refuse to believe your testimony, even upon oath" (ll. 1-5), which Oldham thus adapts:

If you're so out of love with happiness
To quit a college life and learned ease,
Convince me first, and some good reasons give,
What methods and designs you'll take to live;
For such resolves are needful in the case,
Before you tread the world's mysterious maze.
(ll. 1-6)

The difference in manner is obvious: Juvenal attempts to shame his friend, and Oldham expostulates. This difference in tone is also symptomatic of other dissimilarities between the Fifth Satire and Oldham's adaptation. The over-all structure of "A Satire Addressed to a Friend" is

not as compact as that of its principal model, the Fifth Satire, which falls into two clearly defined sections, a brief introduction (ll. 1-11) and an exposition (ll. 12-173). Juvenal's introduction is brief and to the point. It outlines a single fictional situation: the ignominious treatment which his friend will be subjected to if he attends a certain rich man's banquet. Oldham's introduction, on the other hand, outlines two topics - the drudgery of teaching and the servility of domestic service - and is therefore considerably longer. It is much more easygoing than its model (as we have said), but for a reason other than its greater length. Juvenal's principal object of attack in the Fifth Satire is his "friend" Trebius; and he begins his attack in the introduction. Oldham, however, does not intend to attack his friend in his satire, and his introduction is therefore free of the denigration which Juvenal applies to Trebius quite early in his Satire. As we will see, Oldham alters the focus of Juvenal's attack so that it bears upon the ignobility of dependence rather than - as in the Fifth Satire - the ignobility of the dependant.

Juvenal begins his Fifth Satire by representing his friend Trebius as a poor client³⁶ who, to gain a meal,

³⁶ Again we must note that Juvenal's "poor" characters are not necessarily what they seem. Trebius, as a sycophantic client of a rich man, is obviously in the middle class.

is considering accepting an ignominious position at the wealthy Virro's banquet. Trebius' values are shown by Juvenal to be superficial and implicitly slavish, for he is a man "who places high value on the possession of money and the sensuous pleasures of the table which it makes possible."³⁷ Juvenal, however, pretends to believe that Trebius would never willingly submit to such degradation, for to do so would render him inferior to even the miserable buffoons Sarmentus and Gabba.³⁸ Would it not be better, Juvenal asks, to commit suicide, or beg, or eat dogs' food? (ll. 8-11) Trebius is supposedly starving. Oldham's "friend," however, is living in "learned ease." Instead of being prompted by want like Trebius to seek charity, he is confidently preparing to get a job and become self-supporting. Trebius believes himself to be "a royal guest freely accepting a gracious invitation,"³⁹ a delusion which Juvenal subsequently strips away, showing instead that in submitting to the humiliation of the banquet he will become a slave deserving his degradation at the hands of such a "king" as Virro. Oldham's friend

³⁷William S. Anderson, "Studies in Book I of Juvenal," Yale Classical Studies, XV (1957), 80.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid., p. 82.

considers himself a man "of choice and noted parts" (l. 11), who does not doubt that he will find immediate success in a profession befitting his talents. This delusion Oldham exposes, but in so doing he focuses his attack upon the conditions of employment which his friend must accept, rather than his friend himself. Trebius already possesses ignoble attributes which are exposed in the description of Virro's banquet; Oldham's friend possesses high ideals which are shattered in the satirist's description of the true conditions of the professions open to him. These professions Oldham limits in the introduction to education and the clergy. Education is treated first.

To Oldham, teaching school was not as distasteful an occupation as domestic service - at least he devotes a relatively small portion of "A Satire Addressed to a Friend" to it (ll. 50-69). Nevertheless, his opening attack upon the profession has considerable force:

Go, wed some grammar-bridewell, and a wife,
And there beat Greek and Latin for your life.
(ll. 52-53)

Oldham follows this with adaptations of passages from that portion (ll. 150-98) of Juvenal's Seventh Satire devoted to the teaching profession. These are generally more bitter in tone than the originals. For instance, when Juvenal says, "If you ask what fees Chrysogonus and Pollio get for teaching music to the sons of our great men, you

will tear up the Rhetoric of Theodorus" (ll. 175-77), Oldham observes that

when you've toiled, and laboured all you can,
To dung and cultivate a barren brain,
A dancing master shall be better paid,
Though he instructs the heels, and you the head.
(ll. 60-63)

But Oldham was more concerned with the second theme of his satire, and so after casting a few more bitter taunts in imitation of Juvenal at the business of education, he moves on to his next topic.

In proceeding from the plight of the schoolmaster to that of the domestic chaplain, Oldham moves from a bad to a worse occupation and presents his main theme in a section again modeled upon the Fifth Satire. In the Fifth Satire, Juvenal, addressing Trebius, says that should it please Virro "to invite his forgotten client, lest the third place on the lowest couch should be unoccupied, and he says to you, 'Come dine with me,' you are in the seventh heaven! what more can you desire?" (ll. 16-19) Juvenal then depicts the degradation which Trebius will experience. Oldham says that, like the invitation to Virro's banquet which deludes Trebius into thinking himself liber homo et regis conviva (l. 161), the opportunity to "light in some noble family" (l. 71) and the apparent benefits of doing so "Are things that in a youngster's sense sound great" (l. 75). But, he continues, the "inexperienced wretch"

has little idea "What slavery he oft must undergo" (ll. 76-77). Unlike Trebius at Virro's banquet, the domestic chaplain will not be humiliated, but he will be practically enchained. In this way Oldham introduces a slavery motif, which is often repeated throughout the remainder of his satire. Selling their freedom "For mere board wages" (l. 90), clerics accepting domestic posts become "Slaves to an hour, and vassals to a bell" (l. 91). Even on holiday "They are but prisoners out upon parole" (l. 93), for "Always the marks of slavery remain,/And they, though loose, still drag about their chain" (ll. 94-95). Part of Oldham's main theme is the praise of freedom, and this is as forcefully stated as the slavery motif. Let others "turn slaves to eat" (l. 105), says the satirist; "I rate my freedom higher" (l. 107) and would "rather starve at large, than be/The gaudiest vassal to dependency" (ll. 113-14). Regardless of fate, "my thoughts and actions are, and shall be, free" (l. 128). The examples which Oldham uses to support his theme are groups of anonymous clergymen rather than, as in the original, specific characters such as Trebius and Virro. The result is a greater generality in Oldham's satire than in the original, where Juvenal's immediate purpose seems to be to attack two specific individuals. The antithesis in Oldham's satire is more general as well: Juvenal's

antithesis is slave and king; Oldham's is slavery and freedom. Because Juvenal's characters are specific, his theme needs to be stated only once, in the introduction to the Satire, for it is implicit throughout his subsequent description of what his characters say and do. But since Oldham's subjects are generalized and consequently more remote, his theme must be reiterated throughout this section to make a strong impression upon his reader.

The final section of "A Satire Addressed to a Friend" is in the form of a beast fable which, the satirist says, derives from "A certain author, very grave and sage" (l. 129). If so, it is probably a loose adaptation of an *Aesop* fable.⁴⁰ It also derives in part from the Fifth Satire. This section restates Oldham's fundamental theme in a dialogue between a dog and a wolf. Its purpose is to emphasize further the theme by focusing the reader's attention upon two specific antithetical characters. Thus like the anonymous domestic chaplain who must wait upon the voider for his dinner (ll. 86-89), the tame mastiff is fed table scraps from his master's "rich voider" (l. 149) - but unlike the chaplain, is well pleased with his situation. Hence Oldham suggests that in accepting a

⁴⁰See Augusti Liberti Phaedri, Fabulae Aesopiae (Biponti, 1784), pp. 38-39.

domestic chaplainship one assumes the role of a tame dog. The final nineteen lines loosely correspond to the final four lines of the Fifth Satire. Having described the ignobility of Trebius' role at Virro's banquet, Juvenal tells Trebius, "If you can endure such things, you deserve them; someday you will be offering your head to be shaved and slapped: nor will you flinch from a stroke of the whip, well worthy of such a feast and such a friend" (ll. 170-73). Accordingly, the mastiff explains to his companion that his neck is "worn and bare" (l. 209) because, to be tamed, he "was tied up, and underwent/The whip sometimes, and such light chastisement" (ll. 216-17). The wolf then concludes the satire with Oldham's final assertion of his main theme: "I'd not be a king, not to be free" (l. 227).

Thus, like Juvenal's Fifth Satire, "A Satire Addressed to a Friend" progresses from a complex statement of the theme to a concluding simplification. At the outset of the Fifth Satire Trebius possesses certain qualities which render his situation paradoxical, and which Juvenal subsequently strips away, exposing the ignoble associations of clientship imposed by Virro and accepted by Trebius.⁴¹ Accordingly, Oldham presents his friend with two possible professions which seem promising

⁴¹Anderson, p. 81.

on the surface, but which he shows to be unsuited to anyone who loves freedom. The primary difference between the original and Oldham's imitation is that of characterization and presentation of theme. Whereas Juvenal's Virro and Trebius are specific and active, Oldham's human characters are general and passive. Consequently, while Juvenal's theme is implicit, Oldham's is explicit. Juvenal's theme is revealed through his characters' words and actions. In the major portion of Oldham's satire, however, the theme is stated by the satirist rather than expressed through his characters - it is imposed upon the satire. Ironically, the spirit of the Fifth Satire is best captured in the active characterization of the last section, which is the least directly indebted to the original of the three.

The tone underlying these adaptations is what differentiates them most markedly from the avowed imitations. The latter are distinguished by their sense of fun throughout, as Oldham delights in adapting the ancient Satires to contemporary persons and affairs. Perhaps the only place in these declared imitations in which Oldham assumes any real seriousness is in the attack upon the French in the "Imitation of the Third of Juvenal." "A Satire dissuading from Poetry" and "A Satire Addressed to a Friend", however, are characterized by a uniform,

genuine sense of indignation. Indeed, the tone of these free adaptations, in which Oldham does not acknowledge his debt to Juvenal, is far more Juvenalian than that of the imitations in which the models are announced and more faithfully adhered to in respect to overall form and content. But despite their greater seriousness of tone, Oldham's free adaptations do not differ remarkably in purpose from the closer imitations. "A Satire dissuading from Poetry" and "A Satire Addressed to a Friend" are not didactic in design: their only constructive function is in allowing Oldham the opportunity to vent his anger at conditions under which he had apparently suffered. Neither satire offers a workable alternative to the abuses it depicts: in "A Satire dissuading from Poetry" Oldham deplores the factors contributing to the misery of poets, but obviously does not plan to abandon the profession; and in "A Satire Addressed to a Friend" the only alternatives to teaching school and domestic service that Oldham recommends are the highly impractical ones of begging or starving. Oldham may not have written these adaptations of Juvenal to please an audience, as in the "Imitation of the Third of Juvenal" or "The Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, Imitated," but he undoubtedly did himself derive some kind of pleasure from using Juvenal to reveal the unhappy conditions of his checkered career.

CHAPTER III

MINOR RESTORATION ADAPTATIONS OF JUVENAL

Oldham's imitations of Juvenal's Third and Thirteenth Satires inspired, directly or indirectly, five other adaptations of the Satires between 1683 and 1694.¹ In 1683 Thomas Wood wrote Juvenalis Redivivus, or The First Satyr of Juvenal Taught to Speak Plain English; in 1686 Henry Higden published A Modern Essay on the Thirteenth Satyr of Juvenal and in 1687 A Modern Essay on the Tenth Satyr of Juvenal; in 1687 Thomas Shadwell produced The Tenth Satyr of Juvenal, English and Latin; and in 1694 Matthew Prior published a Satyr on the Poets. In Imitation of the Seventh Satyr of Juvenal.² Among

¹Harold F. Brooks notes that "It was by Oldham that Thomas Wood, Henry Higden, and Matthew Prior were inspired in writing four imitations of Juvenal" ("The 'Imitation' in English Poetry, Especially in Formal Satire, Before the Age of Pope," RES, XXV [1949], 137-38). Oldham may be said to have indirectly influenced Shadwell, for the latter's free translation of the Tenth Satire was, as we will see further on, prompted by Higden's example.

²This was published under Prior's name in 1694 in Gildon's Chorus Poetarum (ibid., p. 138, n. 1). Its composition was probably somewhat earlier, for it first appeared anonymously as a State Poem, collected in Poems on Affairs of State (London, 1703), II, 138ff. (William Francis Gallaway, "English Adaptations of Roman Satire, 1660-1800" [unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1937], p. 186, n. 28.)

these adaptations there is considerable diversity of method but only one principal intention. The imitations of Wood and Prior are quite free modernizations. Higden's Modern Essays are relatively close paraphrases in the manner of Oldham's avowed imitations, but are not complete modernizations. Shadwell's translation is relatively free, but is not modernized. The single purpose which seems to motivate each adaptation is, as in Oldham's avowed imitations, the desire to please the reader. To this end each adaptor has, as Wood says of his own practice, "purposely sometimes abstain'd from [Juvenal's] scolding and ill language;"³ that is, each has avoided to a greater or lesser extent Juvenal's moral seriousness. Though the poets may profess otherwise, the emphasis in each adaptation is primarily upon entertaining either the reader or the adaptor, not upon providing the English audience with the benefits of classical moral instruction in modern dress. These adaptors are more explicit than their precursor Oldham in carrying out this design. With the exception of Prior's Satyr on the Poets, each of these

³Juvenalis Redivivus, or The First Satyr of Juvenal Taught to Speak Plain English (London, 1683), sig. A3r. In this and all subsequent quotations from early editions, where the main body of the text is italicized I have inverted the original printing of italics and Roman type.

satellite adaptations was printed with the relevant Latin text, while Oldham's imitations were not. As we know, the practice of subjoining the original to the adaptation sprang from the desire to enhance the reader's pleasure by allowing him actively to compare the original and the new poem.⁴ In these adaptations, therefore, not only the essential nature of the poems, but also their manner of presentation points to enjoyment as having been the chief end their authors had in view in writing them.

The First Satire of Juvenal is, as we have seen, partially incorporated in the Prologue of Oldham's Satires Upon the Jesuits and in "A Satire" ascribed doubtfully to Rochester. Wood's Juvenalis Redivivus is the first attempt to adapt the entire Satire to contemporary affairs. As in these earlier partial adaptations, the subjects of Wood's imitation are almost wholly specific and topical. Wood seems to indicate a political slant in his imitation when he remarks that while running "full tilt" at vice and folly wherever it appears, he has "discovered a greater abundance" of such vice and folly among the Whigs than among the Tories.⁵ The subjects which Wood assails,

⁴Howard D. Weinbrot, The Formal Strain, p. 16. The practice apparently began with one of the adaptations on our study - Wood's Juvenalis Redivivus (ibid., p. 28, n. 71).

⁵Juvenalis Redivivus, sig. A4^r.

however, are too diverse and his procedure too haphazard to permit Juvenalis Redivivus to be considered a satire with a consciously political design. His imitation is merely very topical. Following the procedure adopted by Oldham in his imitations of the Third and Thirteenth Satires, Wood has adapted Juvenal's First Satire to include as many contemporary references as possible, though his handling of his source is considerably freer and more expansive than Oldham's. In some laudatory verses prefixed to Wood's imitation, an anonymous friend writes of the satirist's method of adaptation that

in the Latin thou'st but chang'd each name,
The Matter, Manners, Men were all the same.⁶

However, the implication that Wood modernizes while remaining faithful to the original is misleading. Wood himself says that "if there is any Genius in the Poem, it appears as being somewhat like a parallel to the Latin, and built upon old Juvenal's foundation."⁷ Accordingly, he welcomes "a Judicious Reader," for "The more he understands the Latin, the farther he searches, I am sure it will be so much the more to my advantage."⁸ Wood's

⁶Ibid., sig. A7^v.

⁷Ibid., sig. A4^r.

⁸Ibid.

handling of the original is in fact so free that the relevant lines must be printed at the bottom of each page not only to allow the reader the pleasure of seeing the cleverness of his parallels, but to enable him to recognize the presence of the original in the imitation and even in some instances to comprehend the imitator's own obscure meaning. Juvenal's introduction to the First Satire is in Wood's hands so expanded and packed with topical allusions that it is almost unrecognizable. Wood cannot wait to begin citing the reasons for writing his imitation, reasons which, if the order of the original had been preserved, would properly follow the introduction. Thus while Wood converts Juvenal's examples of bad poets and bad literature into Doeg, "The Comick Mamamouch'," "Citty Wits" and Mack Flecknoe⁹ (pp. 1-2), he adds of his own volition accounts of such contemporary phenomena as St. James's Park, Morefields, the Exchange, "grinning Whigs," "frighted Nokes," a "piss-burn'd Wigg" and, inevitably, the expatriated French (pp. 2-3). Wood seems to return to the First Satire only at the end of the introduction, where he substitutes "noble Dryden" (p. 4) for Juvenal's Lucilius (l. 20) as his model in writing satire.

⁹Here Wood is apparently following contemporary fashion, using the name as synonym for "bad poet" rather than bad poetry, since Dryden is praised throughout the imitation.

The main body of the imitation is as greatly expanded. Yet Juvenalis Redivivus is generally vigorous throughout, as in Wood's adaptation of the opening lines of Juvenal's tirade,

When Fumbling Serjeants wanton Girls do wed,
(Sad Tools alas to warm a Marriage Bed),
(p. 4)

and in such lines as

Here in his Coach the full-blown Jonas swells,
And Popish Rats the sharp-nos'd Arod smells.
(p. 5)

The original is clearly recognizable in these lines.¹⁰

But when Wood adapts freely, as he often does, the presence of the relevant lines of the original at the bottom of the page is necessary to show the reader what portion of the First Satire is being imitated. For example, when Wood writes,

E're since the Royal Charles from England went,
And Floods of Tears bewail'd his Banishment,
(p. 16)

he is taking his suggestion from the water imagery in Juvenal's allusion to the Flood (l. 81), but the relationship is so tenuous that were the relevant lines in the original not shown, it would be difficult to determine Wood's exact debt. Reference to the original is also necessary in at least one passage to comprehend Wood's meaning. When "A huge fat Carcass to the Bath is sent,"

¹⁰Cf. Juvenal, ll. 22, 32-35.

he says, in reference to the Whig faction,

Strange Swellings rise from undigested meat,
 Their names are known at the next Torie treat,
 Who scout these Tympanies of Church and State.
 (p. 27)

A reference to the original tells us that the glutton (or gluttons) died of apoplexy (l. 144), which clarifies Wood's vague implication.

Finally, Wood sometimes takes a suggestion from a passage in the First Satire to produce something entirely new, as in his account of the tears shed at Charles II's banishment from England; but only in his conclusion does he consciously change the meaning of a passage which he adapts. This change, however, does not conceal the presence of the original, for all that Wood has done is to reverse Juvenal's meaning. Juvenal says that he will lash only the dead, since these cannot seek revenge (ll. 170-71). Conversely, Wood's "soul this Cowardice doth wisely Dread" (p. 29). Even the example of Dryden's beating at the hands of "base Rose-Alley Drubs" (p. 30) for his satire¹¹ will not deter him, for, Wood fearlessly concludes, "The world shall know, that I the Living dare CORRECT" (p. 30).

Higden's Modern Essay on the Thirteenth Satyr is not as free an adaptation of its model as is Juvenalis

¹¹Referring to the beating suffered by Dryden in Rose Street, Covent Garden, December 18, 1679, presumably for his part in the composition of An Essay on Satire (1679). See Poems on Affairs of State, ed. George deF. Lord, I, 396.

Redivivus, though it is even a more expanded version of the original: Higden's version is 631 lines in length, compared to Oldham's 421 lines and the Thirteenth Satire's 249 lines. Like Wood, who is "assur'd, that a sporting and merriment of Wit doth render Vice more ridiculous, than the strongest reasons, or more sententious discourse,"¹² Higden, while managing to retain the sense of his model throughout, has "aimed to abate something of [Juvenal's] serious Rigour, and expressed his sense in a sort of Verse more apt for Raillery, [though] without debasing the dignity of the Author."¹³ The tone and style of his satire are in fact derived from Hudibras. Such passages as this, in which a perjurer is imagined to be

Impal'd, gashook'd, wract or strappado'd,
Or on live Coals were Carbonado'd,
(p. 36)

and this, describing a time in which

No handsom Boy or Wench did Skink
To add a Gusto to their Drink,
(p. 9)

are "true descendants of the 'drum ecclesiastick' of Butler."¹⁴ In such a medium it is reasonable to expect

¹²Juvenalis Redivivus, sig. A4^r.

¹³A Modern Essay on the Thirteenth Satyr of Juvenal (London, 1686), sig. b2^v.

¹⁴G.L. Brodersen, "Seventeenth-Century Translations of Juvenal," The Phoenix, VII (1953), 73. For the first quotation cf. Hudibras, ed. John Wilders (Oxford 1967), p. 274, ll. 1511-14.

that a great deal of Juvenal's "serious Rigour" will be abated. The following passage is probably as typical of the general tone of this Modern Essay as any other:

Men pushing the same Game of sin,
With diff'ring Fates, some lose, some win;
While one in Cart meets with Reproaches,
The other Lords it in gilt Coaches;
A Traytor once successful grown,
Heaven his prevailing Cause does own;
Else why should Providence permit
Usurpers on the Throne to sit?

(p. 21)

Here we see Higden, assisted by his Hudibrastic manner, just managing to avoid Juvenalian seriousness.

As H.F. Brooks has noted,¹⁵ much of Higden's Modern Essay on the Thirteenth Satyr comes by way of Oldham's "Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, Imitated." There are at least eighteen instances of paraphrase of Oldham's imitation in Higden's adaptation. For example, the passage in which Oldham's perjurer hopes he will not be damned for his crime (ll. 159-60)¹⁶ becomes in the Modern Essay

Besides, Jove's more a Gentleman,
Than for each petty fault to damn.

(p. 20)

Most of Higden's other paraphrases of Oldham's imitation are this close. He does not follow Oldham, however, in

¹⁵See Brooks, p. 138, n. 1.

¹⁶See above, p. 52.

thoroughness of modernization. Whereas Oldham modernizes consistently, Higden modernizes arbitrarily, the result being an occasional incongruity in his imagery. For example, in one passage he names the Popish Plot, "Knights of the Post" and "Pistol," then says that times are so immoral that it is hard to find seven good men in Rome (p. 6). Nevertheless, like Oldham Higden clearly reproduces the basic structure and theme of his model. These are even more heavily draped with extra topical matters than in Oldham's imitation, and are thinned by a greater expansiveness, but are as clearly recognizable.

The Modern Essay on the Tenth Satyr is in the same vein of adaptation as Higden's version of the Thirteenth. In its preface Higden claims he has given "Life and Spirit to his Author, by making him English, in a modish and Familiar way."¹⁷ In laudatory verses prefixed to this Modern Essay, Dryden praises Higden for having tempered Juvenal so well that "You make him Smile in spite of all his Zeal," adding that "We take your Book, and laugh our Spleen away."¹⁸ This is certainly not the response we would expect the Tenth Satire to evoke, except in a

¹⁷A Modern Essay on the Tenth Satyr of Juvenal (London, 1687), sig. BIV.

¹⁸Ibid., sig. a^v.

Restoration adaptation. Settle adds to this:

Sprightly and Gay [Juvenal] makes his Visit here;
Drest Al-a-mode, and speaks en Cavalier.¹⁹

As G.L. Brodersen says, "'Sprightly and gay' are surely not the best adjectives to apply to Juvenal, however appropriate to Higden, and the mind boggles at the thought of Juvenal as a Restoration beau."²⁰ Higden's use of "familiar" language is especially obvious in this Modern Essay because the tone of the Tenth Satire is much more cynical than that of the Thirteenth Satire, and the contrast between the original and Higden's adaptation is consequently greater. Thus, for example, Juvenal's cynical Democritus becomes in Higden's adaptation "Th' old merry Lad [who] saunters the Streets" (p. 8); and the seriousness in Juvenal's description of the unconcerned, empty-handed traveler evaporates when Higden writes,

Before the Thief, the empty Clown
Sings unconcern'd and Travailes on.

(p. 7)

If making Juvenal speak "en Cavalier" means coarsening that satirist's already gross wit, Higden's adaptation lives up to Settle's praise. Juvenal's description of the impotency accompanying old age is expanded and impotency's ramifications clinically examined, as in the following passage:

¹⁹Ibid., sig. a3^r.

²⁰Brodersen, p. 73.

Obsequious hand cannot excite
 The baffled Craven to the fight;
 From hoary loynes, and sapless trunk,
 In vain strives the industrious punk
 To raise the nerve quite num'd and shrunk.²¹
 (p. 35)

Higden distinctly means to titillate rather than provide moral edification for his Restoration audience. The lusty manner of this passage is far removed from the austere moralizing of the original (ll. 289-92) in Juvenal's satire upon beauty:

Who justly blames a Mothers joy,
 That huggs her wanton well-hung-boy.
 Or if for joy Latona cry,
 To see her pretty daughter Dy....
 (p. 48)

Throughout his Modern Essay on the Tenth Satyr Higden expands upon passages in the original which he apparently had found potentially humorous. For instance, a ten-line passage in which Juvenal describes a pompous chief magistrate (ll. 36-46) is expanded into twenty-nine lines of ridicule of London's mayor and aldermen (pp. 9-11). Such expansion, however, does not involve the extensive modernization found in the previous Modern Essay. This description of London's political figures comprises most of the topical references found in this adaptation.

²¹Cf. "The Earl of Rochester's Verses for which he was Banished" (POAS, I, 424, ll. 30-31). Higden apparently owes something to contemporary lampoons in some passages.

Extent of modernization is the primary difference between Higden's two Modern Essays; other differences generally reflect the dissimilarity of the original Satires.

Higden's Modern Essays differ from Wood's imitation in their closer adherence to their models. In Juvenalis Redivivus Wood attempts to pack the First Satire with as many contemporary English references as it will hold and in all instances modernizes. His imitation is almost wholly topical - so much so that it is largely unintelligible to modern readers. Higden also introduces several references to London life into his adaptations, but he usually retains whole or generalizes the Roman names and allusions in his models. Higden modernizes "to give Life and Spirit to his Author"; Wood modernizes to apply his model to generally new and topical subjects. The Modern Essays are, because of Higden's attempts to make Juvenal "smile," more entertaining than satiric, but they at least intelligibly reproduce the format of their models. Juvenalis Redivivus too often does not.

The relationship between Shadwell's Tenth Satyr of Juvenal - which is such a free translation that it may be considered an adaptation - and Higden's Modern Essay on the Tenth Satyr is somewhat complicated. Higden had written his second Modern Essay and licensed it (according to the title page) in June of 1686, but was "by accident

prevented" from publishing it immediately. Shadwell borrowed it and kept it "for a considerable time," decided he would translate the same Satire and beat Higden to the press with his version in 1687.²² In his preface Shadwell states that he has "not endeavor'd to make [the Tenth Satire] an English Poem, nor to fit it to our Customes and Manners, but to retain the Roman ones."²³ Consequently his version is closer to the original than is Higden's Modern Essay on the Tenth Satyr. Shadwell does not expand, and he largely avoids using the familiar language favored by Higden. Like both Wood and Higden, however, Shadwell shows that he is concerned with making the original entertaining - he gives the Latin of Juvenal alongside his own version - and rendering it palatable to contemporary tastes. Thus Juvenal's harsh and unpleasant Democritus becomes "Wise Democritus the Abderite" (p. 300) in Shadwell's translation, and Juvenal's description of the nocturnal traveler becomes the rather flippant

While the poor man void of all precious things
In Company with Thieves jogg's on and Sings.
 (p. 298)

Shadwell's translation is occasionally more creditable than

²²Higden, "The Preface to the Reader," A Modern Essay on the Tenth Satyr of Juvenal, sig. a6^v.

²³The Tenth Satyr of Juvenal, English and Latin (London, 1687). Facsimile, The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell, ed. Montague Summers (London, 1968), V, 293.

we might expect. For instance, he is credited with being the only translator of the century who captures the famously poor quality of Cicero's poetry as it is cited by Juvenal (11. 122-24):²⁴

Oh Rome innate most fortunate in me,
When I thy Consul did consult for thee. (p. 306)

Nevertheless, Shadwell's translation is often clumsy because of his attempt to remain close to the original, which is anticipated in his preface: "I have alwaies chosen rather to make a rough Verse, than to loose the Sense of Juvenal."²⁵ Moreover, his sense is occasionally obscure, necessitating, as in Wood's imitation, references to the Latin printed on the opposite pages. Shadwell's version of the Tenth Satire is literally closer to the original than is Higden's, but its sense is often not as clear, and it is seldom as easy to read.

Prior's Satyr on the Poets, while it is rarely as serious as Oldham's "Satire dissuading from Poetry," is nevertheless heavily dependent upon it in several passages. For the first 101 lines, however, it is closer than Oldham's version to Juvenal's Seventh Satire. Prior

²⁴Brodersen, p. 74. The verses cited by Juvenal are from Cicero's "much-derided poem" De suo Consulatu (Juvenal: The Sixteen Satires, trans. Peter Green, p. 220, n. 16).

²⁵Works, V, 293.

imitates Juvenal's opening encomium, applying it to the Earl of Dorset, and generally maintains the original order of the other passages which he adapts. However, he introduces more contemporary figures into his imitation than does Oldham, referring, for example, to Dryden, Shadwell, Tate and seven others in the first thirty-seven lines. The following passage will demonstrate how closely Prior often follows the Seventh Satire. Juvenal says that a noble has nothing to give a needy poet, though he is rich enough not only to send presents to his mistress, but to keep a tamed lion as a pet: "It costs less, no doubt, to keep a lion than a poet; the poet's belly is more capacious!" (ll. 74-78) Prior adapts this as

Pembroke lov'd Tragedy, and did provide
 For Butchers Dogs, and for the whole Bank-side:
 The Bear was fed; but dedicating Lee
 Was thought to have a larger Paunch than he.²⁶

Prior's manner is at its most serious when he is directly imitating his model. Nevertheless, Prior's satire is usually no more than tongue-in-cheek. The principal purpose of his imitation seems to be to poke fun at his literary enemies, in which he takes obvious pleasure, as in the following reference to Dryden's beating at the hands of ruffians in the famous Rose Alley ambushade:

²⁶The Literary Works of Matthew Prior, ed. H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears (Oxford, 1959), I, 34, ll. 194-97.

More could I say; but care not much to meet
 A Crab-tree Cudgel, in a narrow Street. (ll. 198-99)

Much of the Satyr on the Poets is derived from Oldham's "Satire dissuading from Poetry." For example, the lines

For now no Sidney will three hundred give,
 That needy Spenser, and his Fame may live (ll. 184-85)

are from the Seventh Satire by way of Oldham. Juvenal's Maecenas, whom Oldham includes, is dropped, but Oldham's persona, Spenser, is introduced as a replacement. Prior relies heavily upon this secondary source for much of his imitation, but his version lacks Oldham's forcefulness as well as Juvenal's indignation. Indeed, Prior's imitation even features a sycophantic muse, who "pants and strives and fain wou'd let Men see/How good her Patron and how grateful She" (ll. 210-11). There is little moral earnestness in the Satyr on the Poets and - unless we count Prior's flattery of his patron, Dorset - no constructive purpose. The imitation functioned to provide pleasure for Prior, for his patron, and for those who found included in it their own literary foes.

When Dryden's translations are included, the years between 1683 and 1694 prove to be the most fertile period in English literary history for adaptations of Juvenal's

Satires.²⁷ During this period, we have seen that the main purpose for adapting Juvenal's Satires either in their entirety or in particular passages was to provide pleasure for the imitating poet and his audience, rather than satire for social and political correction. We recall that Oldham delights in adapting Juvenal's Third Satire to Restoration London, but he does not use his imitation to propose social change; and while he fills an expanded imitation of the Thirteenth Satire with as many topical references as possible, he does not do so for the purpose of offering his readers examples for moral instruction. Even his adaptations of the Fifth and Seventh Satires lack the qualities of corrective satire. "A Satire dissuading from Poetry" does not really dissuade the satirist from a profession he had already elected, and "A Satire Addressed to a Friend" offers no plausible alternatives to the occupation of schoolteacher or domestic chaplain. Now Wood seems at first an exception to this pattern established by Oldham, for in Juvenalis Redivivus

²⁷ Adaptations which I have been unable to consult are, with their sources, The Wish (1675), an anonymous imitation of the Third Satire (Gallaway, p. 234); "The Town Life" (n.d.), an anonymous imitation of the Third (William Henry Irving, John Gay's London, p. 95); and J[ohn] H[arvey]'s Tenth Satyr of Juvenal done into English Verse (1693) (R. Selden, "Dr. Johnson and Juvenal: A Problem in Critical Method," CL, XXII [1970], 291).

he creates a satire with a distinct political bias. Upon inspection, however, it is obvious that Wood merely satirizes topical affairs of state haphazardly alongside numerous non-political subjects and offers no suggestion that widespread social or political change is needed. Higden, in the preface to his Modern Essay on the Thirteenth Satyr, suggests a moral purpose for his adaptations, observing that "the vices here taxed by our Satyrist, are not so antiquated, but a slight Inquisition may discover them amongst ourselves."²⁸ But this is a sop to his more sober readers. Higden's Modern Essay on the Tenth Satyr offers no more moral instruction than Wycherley's Country Wife (1672). Indeed, in this Modern Essay Higden, as we have seen, panders to his Restoration audience by reinforcing Juvenal's vulgar imagery and adding bawdy details of his own creation. Shadwell avoids adapting the Tenth Satire to contemporary conditions altogether, translates "for his diversion,"²⁹ and includes the Latin with his translation to enhance the learned reader's pleasure. Prior also falls within this Restoration tradition of adapting Juvenal, using the Seventh Satire

²⁸A Modern Essay, Sig. b2^r.

²⁹"The Preface to the Reader," A Modern Essay on the Tenth Satyr of Juvenal, sig. a6^v.

as a means of good-humoredly satirizing his fellow poets, while avoiding Juvenal's example of suggesting ways for lessening the vicissitudes of a poet's fortunes.

Dryden's comparison of Horace and Juvenal in the Discourse concerning Satire is the final statement of the Restoration attitude toward Juvenal. After a lengthy discussion of the relative merits of each satirist, he concludes that Horace's Satires are the more profitable for modern readers in terms of instruction, Juvenal's more profitable in terms of pleasure: hence the principal end of the Satires of Juvenal in modern times in enjoyment rather than moral correction.³⁰ As we will see next, Dryden's own practice in translating Juvenal represents a transition between the attitudes of the Restoration and those of the eighteenth century. Despite his own definition of the principal appeal of Juvenal's Satires to contemporary readers, Dryden's translations, in opposition to the prevailing Restoration attitude, reveal a serious interest in Juvenal as a moral philosopher.

³⁰The Poems of John Dryden, ed. James Kinsley, II, 647, 648, 649, 651.

CHAPTER IV

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL

The popularity of Juvenal during the Restoration prompted the publisher Jacob Tonson to engage John Dryden to translate the Satires of both Juvenal and Persius. These were subsequently published in 1693 as the work of Mr. DRYDEN, and Several other Eminent Hands.¹ Dryden himself translated the four most important of Juvenal's Satires, the First, Third, Sixth and Tenth, and, in addition, the least significant of the Satires, the fragmentary Sixteenth.² With the exception of one recent study,³ modern critics of Dryden have largely avoided making a close examination of these translations. George Wasserman, for instance, devotes a single paragraph in

¹The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis.... Together with the Satires of Aulus Persius Flaccus (The Poems of John Dryden, ed. James Kinsley, II, 599).

²We will not include the Sixteenth Satire in our study. Dryden closely supervised the translations of the other Satires, which were distributed among his friends and relatives (Gilbert Highet, Juvenal the Satirist, p. 327, n. 39). These translations are competent, but none is distinctly enough the work of any one translator or sufficiently above the level of a mere literal translation to warrant consideration here.

³Robert Eno Russell, "Dryden's Juvenal and Persius" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1966). I am indebted to Russell's study throughout this chapter.

his book to Dryden's handling of Juvenal, and that paragraph tells us little more than that his translations "are remarkably fresh."⁴ Paul Ramsay uses a passage from the translation of the First Satire merely as an illustration of Dryden's skillful versification.⁵ Mark Van Doren comments upon Dryden's translations of Juvenal at several points in his Poetry of John Dryden, but his remarks are rather cursory.⁶ Even William Frost devotes a scant four pages to Dryden's Juvenal in his study of Dryden's art of translation.⁷ This general lack of attention to Dryden's translations of Juvenal would be understandable if they were mere slavish, literal renderings of the Latin into English. But they are much more than this.

We should not be misled by the term "translation" in regard to Dryden's handling of Juvenal. During the Restoration and the first half of the eighteenth century,

⁴John Dryden (New York, 1964), p. 145.

⁵The Art of John Dryden, p. 79.

⁶The Poetry of John Dryden, pp. 98, 100, 103-04, 175.

⁷Dryden and the Art of Translation (New Haven, 1955), pp. 56-58, 67-68.

the function of translation was not as clearly defined as it is today. Howard D. Weinbrot tells us that "in many cases translation, paraphrase, and imitation were used synonymously" and cites as one example the work of Alexander Brome, who "refers to his edition of Horace [1666] as a translation, though the volume consists of literal translations, modernized Imitations, paraphrases, and poems which preserve some of their Latin allusions and change others to English counterparts."⁸ Indeed, "translation" during this period was no more than a generic term, which could denote almost any manner of rendering a classical work into English.⁹ In his Discourse concerning Satire prefixed to the translations of Juvenal and Persius, Dryden clearly states what his method of translation will be. "The common way which we have taken," he writes of himself and his fellow translators, "is not a Literal Translation, but a kind of Paraphrase; or somewhat which is yet more loose, betwixt a Paraphrase and Imitation."¹⁰ Like Oldham before him,

⁸The Formal Strain, pp. 19-20.

⁹Weinbrot also cites Joseph Spence as terming Rochester's very free "Allusion to Horace" (1675) a translation (ibid., p. 20).

¹⁰Poems, II, 668.

Dryden intends "to make [Juvenal] speak that kind of English, which he wou'd have spoken had he liv'd in England and had Written to this Age."¹¹ His poetic of translation even provides for a limited amount of modernization, though it is a practice he claims he cannot defend.¹² Obviously, we can expect to find that Dryden's translations are far from literal. Still, Dryden's Discourse demands fidelity to "the most considerable Part" of Juvenal's sense,¹³ and it insists as well upon a duplication of his satiric art, or "Genius."¹⁴ Dryden does not seem willing to give the translator the right to make changes which would significantly alter the general sense of the original Satires. As we might expect, this was a tall order for such an adventurous poet as Dryden, and while he believed in remaining generally faithful to the originals, he also believed that "'tis only for a Poet to translate a Poet."¹⁵ As we will see, this implied for him a license to exercise his own genius rather freely in his translations.

¹¹Ibid., p. 669.

¹²Ibid., pp. 669-70.

¹³Ibid., p. 669.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 654.

¹⁵Ibid.

Dryden's theory of satire as stated in his Discourse concerning Satire provides the key to understanding the changes he makes in his originals, for the principles expressed in it are those which shape his translations. According to Dryden, satire first of all "is of the nature of Moral Philosophy; as being instructive" in matters of moral conduct.¹⁶ Yet the method of instruction must be pleasing, for mere instruction alone "is but a bare and dry Philosophy," better served by prose than by poetry.¹⁷ Pleasure in "tragic" satire - and for Dryden this means Juvenalian satire - is provided mainly by the poetic attributes with which he credits Juvenal: noble and sonorous expression and sublime and lofty words and thoughts, which are necessary to elevate otherwise low subjects. Indeed, Dryden maintains that such satire is itself a kind of heroic poetry.¹⁸ Significantly, Dryden avoids commenting upon Juvenal's vulgar wit; in translation he often modifies it in an attempt to sustain the dignified tone which he felt was the proper accompaniment of moral philosophy. Dryden apparently believed that

¹⁶Ibid., p. 643.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 668.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 649, 665.

except in the Sixth Satire Juvenal's satiric manner consisted of a generally constant moral indignation: "he cou'd not Rally, but he cou'd Declaime: And as his provocations were great, he has reveng'd them Tragically." Thus "Juvenal always intends to move your Indignation; and he always brings about his purpose."¹⁹ For Dryden, the emotion of tragic satire is rage, not amusement - and it must be noted that he disapproved of juxtaposing these elements in the same satire.²⁰ Finally, Dryden maintains that all satire must proceed according to a set design. The satirist must present one precept of moral virtue and caution against one vice or folly. Ancillary virtues may be recommended and vices or follies scourged, but one chief virtue is to be insisted upon and one chief vice attacked in every instance. All virtues must be praised and recommended to readers and all vices scourged," or else there is a Fundamental Error in the whole Design."²¹ Thus Dryden implicitly condemns use of the element of praise for merely rhetorical purposes and explicitly condemns the subtle praise of any vice or disparagement of

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 663, 656.

²⁰Russell, pp. 23-24.

²¹Poems, II, 662, 663.

any virtue - though, as we have seen, these tactics are certainly present in Juvenal's satiric art. The majority of the changes which we will find in Dryden's "translations" stem directly from his conscious or unconscious attempts to make Juvenal conform to the beliefs and principles expressed in his theory of satire.

In his translation of Juvenal's First Satire Dryden makes several modifications in Juvenal's satiric art which render the style of the original more uniform and ultimately affect the Satire's over-all tone. However, Dryden does not attempt to impose a rigid structure of praise and blame upon this Satire. Its principal function, as he correctly observes in the "Argument of the First Satyr," is to provide "a summary and general view of the Vices and Follies reigning in [Juvenal's] time" and thereby lay "the natural Ground-work of all the rest [of the Satires]."²² Dryden also correctly apprehends Juvenal's central theme in this Satire - his definition of "the nature of indignation" -²³ and the two ills which are seen to be the causes of this indignation - artificial literature and vice.²⁴ What Dryden failed to recognize is

²²Ibid., p. 670.

²³William S. Anderson, "Studies in Book I of Juvenal," Yale Classical Studies, XV (1957), 35.

²⁴See the "Argument of the First Satyr," in Poems, II, 670.

the necessity for maintaining a distinction throughout the satire between these two motivations of the satirist's indignation. This is the first shortcoming in Dryden's translation of the First Satire.

Juvenal opens the First Satire raging in an exaggerated manner against the poetasters of contemporary Rome. These furnish the satirist with specific abuses to fulminate against - a requisite of his manner - and allow him to open his Satire in his characteristic impassioned tone.²⁵ At the end of this section Juvenal modifies his invective so that the opening section closes on a quiet note, with the satirist asking for "calm, rational appreciation of his satiric motivation":²⁶ "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 Aurunca²⁷ drove his horses" (ll. 19-21). The obviously counterfeit passion with which Juvenal attacks the poetasters and their works is thus discarded and with it the entire literary scene which

²⁵Anderson, p. 35.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷i.e. Lucilius, the first Roman satirist.

prompted it.²⁸ The following section opens with a fresh burst of passion which, by contrast, appears to be entirely genuine and which points up the contrast between the artificiality of contemporary literature and the reality of contemporary vice. The effectiveness of this contrast depends almost entirely upon the transition between the sections which, furthermore, Juvenal distinctly separates by beginning the second section with a new paragraph. Dryden captures the impassioned tone of Juvenal's opening section, but does not modulate it at the section's close. Juvenal's request for rational appreciation of the causes of his indignation is in fact removed from the opening section to begin the second declamatory speech:

But why I lift aloft the Satyrs Rod,
And tread the Path which fam'd Lucilius trod,²⁹
Attend the Causes which my Muse have led....

Thus in Dryden's version there is no real contrast between the two stimuli to the satirist's indignation. Fortunately the ironic nature of the satirist's indignation is rendered obvious enough in the first section of the translation so that the reader is able to see the change in seriousness of tone between the two sections without the aid of Juvenal's transitional device. Still, a

²⁸Anderson, p. 35.

²⁹Poems, II, 672, ll. 26-28. All subsequent citations of Dryden's poems are from this edition.

significant facet of Juvenal's art is lost, and this portion of Dryden's translation, lacking the original's inflection, appears heavy-handed.

Dryden weakens the satire in another section of the First Satire through an apparent lack of sense of proportion. Juvenal describes a queue of both middle-class and noble clients awaiting the dole at the door of a rich patron, whose way is stopped by a foreign-born freedman who demands, by virtue of his possession of a knight's fortune, to be served first (ll. 95-106). "What better thing," the freedman asks, "does the Broad Purple³⁰ bestow if a Corvinus³¹ herds sheep for daily wage in the Laurentian country, while I possess more property than either a Pallas or a Licinus?"³² (ll. 106-09) Juvenal then condemns the freedman and the fact that wealth, though not yet deified, exceeds all else in reverence received (ll. 109-116). Dryden, however, extends the freedman's speech to include both the condemnation of the parvenu himself and the moral judgement:

³⁰The broad purple stripe on a senator's toga (Juvenal and Persius, trans. G.G. Ramsay, p. 10, n. 2).

³¹A member of a noble Roman family.

³²Pallas and Licinius were wealthy Imperial favorites (Ramsay, p. 11, n. 4; Juvenal: The Sixteen Satires, trans. Peter Green, p. 69).

... let the Sacred Tribunes wait my leasure.
 Once a poor Rogue, 'tis true, I trod the Street,
 And trudg'd to Rome upon my Naked Feet:
 Gold is the greatest God; though yet we see
 No Temples rais'd to Mony's Majesty,
 No Altars fuming to her Pow'r Divine,
 Such as to Valour, Peace, and Virtue Shine,
 And Faith, and Concord....

(11. 166-73)

As Robert Eno Russell notes, Dryden may have strengthened the satire on the "insolence of wealth" by having the parvenu condemn himself, but the moral judgement is quite incongruous in the speech of one who respects only money.³³ As we have previously observed, Juvenal never places a moral statement in the mouth of a character who is himself an object of satire.

The alterations Dryden makes which most significantly affect the general tone of the First Satire result from his attempts to elevate Juvenal's gross wit and raise the moral tone of the Satire. Juvenal, for example, says that legacy hunters may turn gigolos to gain a place in the will of a rich old woman. "Each of the lovers will get his share of the estate: Proculeius one twelfth, Gillo eleven twelfths, each in proportion to the length of his cock" (11. 40-41).³⁴ Here as elsewhere in the Satires Juvenal's low wit is intended to be only disgusting. Dryden, however, felt it required modification:

³³Russell, p. 56.

³⁴My translation.

The Rich Old Madam never fails to pay
 Her Legacies by Nature's Standard giv'n,
 One gains an Ounce, another gains eleven.
 (11. 58-60)

In another passage Dryden is less successful in reducing and in fact succeeds in worsening the implications of Juvenal's gross imagery. Originally Juvenal rages to "see the people hustled by a mob of retainers attending on one who has defrauded and debauched his ward" (11. 46-47). For this direct (if general) statement Dryden substitutes an inuendo suggesting worse possibilities, showing us guardians

Whose Wards by want betray'd, to Crimes are led
 Too foul to Name, too fulsom to be read!
 (11. 70-71)

Juvenal's contemptuously brief treatment of his subject appears in Dryden's version as an exaggerated and unconvincing moral pose. Against these examples of modification of Juvenal's low imagery Dryden introduces a moral judgement upon the emperor Nero which has no apparent counterpart in the original. For example, in a passage describing another crime (which today does not quite seem to belong with its companion passage, a description of complaisant adultery [11. 55-57]), Juvenal condemns a prodigal youth for squandering his family's fortune on horses while expecting to be given the command of a cohort and for driving a chariot himself to show off to his mistress (11. 58-62). In Dryden's hands, however,

the youth becomes Nero's charioteer who, we are told, dashed around town "while his vain Master strove/With boasted Art to please his Eunuch-Love" (ll. 94-95).³⁵ Dryden's censure of Juvenal's times merely adds to the original low imagery of the Satire.

Dryden does not always follow his theory of satire in translating Juvenal. Remembering his view that satire should be expressed in a noble manner as befits epic poetry, it is interesting to note that in his translation of the First Satire he has eliminated nearly all of the heroic and mock heroic imagery of the original. For instance, Juvenal begins one section (ll. 81-116) with an epic description of the Flood, temporarily changing the Satire's mood from anger to romantic sentiment. Then the satirist breaks this mood by returning to ordinary speech and a renewed tone of indignation: "when was Vice more rampant?" (l. 87) The renewed attack is against gambling, which Juvenal describes in mock heroic terms as a contrast with his heroic account of the Flood and to parody the traditional epic themes alluded to in his attack upon bad poets and bad literature at the beginning of the Satire:

³⁵I do not have access to the Prateus text of the Satires, which Dryden employed in his translations. The translations of Stapylton and Holyday, which Dryden also employed (*Poems*, IV, 2006), do not refer to Nero (see *Juvenal's Sixteen Satyrs, or A Survey of the Manners and Actions of Mankind*, p. 4; and *Decimus Junius Juvenalis, and Aulus Persius Flaccus*, p. 3).

at the gambling table "What battles will you...see waged with a cashier for armour-bearer!" (ll. 91-92) Dryden reproduces the epic description of the Flood (ll. 123-32), but omits the subsequent mock-heroic account of gambling. Thus he loses both Juvenal's parody of a trite epic theme - heroic battle - and his scornful ridicule of the corrupted nobility whom the satirist shows, through the mock-epic image, to be debasing once high Roman standards of conduct. In the conclusion of the First Satire Juvenal refers to satire in epic terms of martial imagery in order to restate its noble purpose and again equate its literary value with that of epic poetry. Both are established in the first half of the Satire, but are again emphasized at the conclusion because of their importance in forming Juvenal's apologia for choosing satire as his mode of expression. Dryden, however, again considerably lowers Juvenal's epic imagery. Juvenal's Lucilius "roars and rages as if with sword in hand" (ll. 165-66); Dryden's Lucilius merely "brandishes his pen" (l. 251). Juvenal's friend advises the satirist to "turn these things over in your mind before the trumpet sounds; the helmet once donned, it is too late to repent you of the battle" (ll. 168-70); Dryden's interlocutor says:

Muse be advis'd; 'tis past consid'ring time,
 When enter'd once the dangerous Lists of Rhime.
 (ll. 255-56)

Considering that in the Discourse Dryden, like Juvenal, ranks satire with epic poetry, it is curious that he weakens the case for its ranking by eliminating most of Juvenal's epic imagery in his translation. The probable explanation is that, as in his handling of other facets of Juvenal's satiric technique, Dryden did not recognize its purpose and consequently modified it to conform to certain poetic criteria, in this instance uniformity of tone.

The First Satire is rightly termed Juvenal's Program Satire,³⁶ for in it Juvenal, besides justifying his choice of literary modes of expression, touches upon nearly every topic dealt with in the subsequent Satires. Similarly, Dryden's version prepares us generally for his manner of handling the originals in his subsequent translations. However, we cannot expect to find uniformity in Dryden's manner, for though the types of changes he makes are usually suggested by the principles of his theory of satire, he is not necessarily governed by the same principles in translating each Satire. We will see that the principles which rule are determined by the structures of the Satires, which are irregular, Dryden's interpretation of Juvenal's purpose in each Satire, and his personal feelings toward the apparent meaning of each Satire.

³⁶So termed, for example, by Peter Green (p. 24) and William S. Anderson (p. 34).

The alterations which Dryden has made in his translation of the First Satire affect almost wholly the tone of the original; its sense remains basically Juvenal's, though that is perhaps obscured on occasion. In his translation of the Third Satire Dryden similarly makes changes which affect the Satire's tone, but he also drastically alters what Juvenal has to say about the virtues of life in the country as opposed to the unwholesomeness of life in Rome. This change in the Third Satire's sense and, ultimately, its purpose, arises primarily from Dryden's attempt to make the Third Satire conform to his own conception of the proper function of praise and blame in satire.

As we have seen, in the introduction of the Third Satire Juvenal of necessity dissociates himself from his persona to render Umbricius' denunciation of Roman life more effective, for at the end of the poem it is apparent that the satirist - the interlocutor - is not himself planning to follow Umbricius' advice to quit the city. Juvenal manages this by introducing the subject of his Satire in an easy, humorous manner, the tone of which distinctly differs from the tone of Umbricius' speech. Dryden considerably alters this manner:

GRIEV'D tho I am, an Ancient Friend to lose,
 I like the Solitary Seat he chose:
 In quiet Cumae fixing his Repose:
 Where, far from Noisy Rome secure he Lives,
 And one more Citizen to Sybil gives:
 The Road to Bajae, and that soft Recess
 Which all the Gods with all their Bounty bless.
 Tho I in Prochyta with greater ease
 Cou'd live, than in a Street of Palaces.
 (11. 1-9)

Like Oldham in his imitation of the same section, Dryden almost eliminates the comic element from Juvenal's description. Unlike Oldham, however, the changes Dryden makes are deliberate. In the original, as we recall, just as Umbricius and his situation are fictional, so is the praise, the recommendation to quit the city for the country, merely rhetorical. This is emphasized by Juvenal's careful dissociation of himself from the apparent sincerity of his persona's indignation. However, Dryden, believing that the chief virtue or element of praise must be sincerely inculcated throughout a satire, cannot permit irony or humor in the opening contrast between the ills of the city and the virtues of the country. Thus even Juvenal's humorous anticlimactic description of poetry recitals is altered so that it seems to read as a true climax to the perils of the city rather than as a hint of the basic insincerity of the satirist's indignation. Dryden introduces a moralizing tone in this passage through his exaggerations: the original "pleasant shore" becomes

"that soft Recess/Which all the Gods with all their Bounty bless"; the speaker is made to prefer the virtues of the country to "a Street full of Palaces," rather than to the noises of the Subura; and further on fires become "Rome on Fire beheld by its own Blazing Light" (l. 12). At the first of the Satire Dryden clearly defines what is to be scourged and what is to be praised. And Dryden eliminates the distinction between the satirist and his mask, originally established in this section of the Satire, by which the satirist is able to discriminate his true opinions from those which his persona advances. Dryden effectively begins the satire at the introduction rather than with Umbricius' speech.

We remember that at various places in Umbricius' monologue Juvenal subtly disparages life in the country (though of course his attack upon that which displeases him about Roman life is not thereby rendered less sincere). This is in keeping with Juvenal's role as tragic satirist, for in his essentially tragic Satires - such as the Third - "there is no constructive purpose, no thought of healing the disease of his time, because for him the state of Roman life is irremediable."³⁷ Juvenal does not

³⁷Niall Rudd, "Dryden on Horace and Juvenal," UTQ, XXXII (1962-63), 160.

offer a practicable alternative to life in Rome. By making him do so in translation Dryden defeats his tragic intention. Thus Dryden eliminates most of the irony in Umbricius' descriptions of country life. For example, the little hill towns Umbricius names - "romantic, perhaps, to us, but for him uncouth, cold, and dull"³⁸ - where you can buy a freehold house with a small garden thrown in - "a trim garden fit to feast a hundred Pythagoreans"³⁹ (ll. 224-29) - are changed by Dryden into "Sweet Country Seats" with "Lands and Gardens" (ll. 365-66). "Your yard" even comes to feature an artesian well "That spreads his easie Crystal Streams around" (ll. 369-70). This account and Dryden's eulogy of the country in the introduction of the Satire lend sincerity to the originally rhetorical element of praise.

There is still another important respect in which Dryden alters the original Satire to insure that the "virtue" praised will be workable and its recommendation by Umbricius therefore sincere. At the beginning of his monologue in the original Umbricius refers to Cumae, whence he is bound, as "the place where Daedalus put off his weary wings" (l. 25). Through the adjective fatigas

³⁸Mary Lascelles, "Johnson and Juvenal," in F.W. Hilles, ed., New Light on Dr. Johnson (New Haven, 1959), p. 42.

³⁹i.e. vegetarians.

Juvenal lends "sympathetic epic proportions"⁴⁰ to Daedalus' weariness, which in turn endows Cumae with connotations of past greatness and firmly associates it with the heroic Greek. But in the subsequent section of the Satire attacking Greeks, Juvenal concludes a description of these ingenious, impudent foreigners with an allusion again to Daedalus: "In fine, the man who took to himself wings was not a Moor, nor a Sarmatian, nor a Thracian, but one born in the very heart of Athens!" (ll. 79-80) This time Daedalus is stripped of his sympathetic, heroic associations and instead comes to represent the forerunner of the hated Greek invasion of Rome.⁴¹ Cumae therefore comes to represent the beachhead of the Greek influx and can no longer be seen as a sanctuary from that which has corrupted Rome. Dryden apparently recognized this and accordingly changed the references to Daedalus. He reproduces the first passage, but without epic connotations: Umbricius will go "Where Dedalus his borrow'd wings laid by" (l. 45). The second passage is reproduced without reference to Daedalus:

In short, no Scythian, Moor, or Thracian Born,
But in that Town which Arms and Arts adorn.
(ll. 142-43)

⁴⁰Anderson, p. 67.

⁴¹Ibid.

The muddled sense of this passage (it is not explained by its context) seems to indicate that Dryden has consciously excluded Daedalus while otherwise attempting to remain faithful to the original. Thus Dryden has removed all adverse criticism of Cumae from the original Satire. What was originally merely rhetorical praise, a convenient base from which to launch an attack, is now sincerely put forth, in accordance with Dryden's theory of satire, as an alternative to life in Rome.

Dryden's version of the Third Satire is thus clear-cut in its design. But whereas the element of praise has been strengthened, the "blame" of the satire is partially weakened by another significant change made by Dryden in his translation: a change in the character of the main speaker, Umbricius. As we have seen, the effectiveness of the satirist's denunciation in the Third Satire - or, for that matter, in any satire - is proportional to the reader's confidence in the righteousness of the speaker as a critic of others. Now in the Third Satire Juvenal allows Umbricius' character to emerge from what Umbricius himself says; Dryden, however, like Oldham, cannot avoid acquainting the reader with the nature of the speaker before the latter even begins his speech. Dryden tells us that Umbricius is the satirist's "sullen discontented Friend" (l. 30), who begins his account of his troubles "with an Angry Frown,/And looking back on this degen'rate Town" (ll.

37-38). The reader is therefore prepared for a surly note, in Umbricius' speech, and he is not disappointed. Such lines as

'Tis time to give my just Disdain a vent,
And, Cursing, leave so base a Government
(ll. 43-44)

and

Now, now 'tis time to quit this cursed place;
And hide from Villains my too honest Face
(ll. 50-51)

give the first section of the speech (ll. 39-88), in which Umbricius concentrates on his personal problems, a wholly self-righteous tone not evident in the original. Dryden's Umbricius does not arouse our sympathy as does the original character, and his description of the evils forcing him to flee from Rome therefore does not sound as convincing.

What saves this characterization of "surly virtue" from souring the remainder of Dryden's simplified strategy of praise and blame? By rendering Umbricius' praise of the country throughout the Satire sincere, Dryden has eliminated the most significant function of the persona in this Satire, that is, to provide a device permitting the dissociation of the satirist from advice which he himself is obviously not going to heed. In the original there is no real sanctuary from the corruption of Roman society, which justifies the satirist's obvious election to remain

in Rome (and by implication renders futile Umbricius' attempts to flee it). In Dryden's version, however, the satirist agrees with Umbricius' contention that Rome's evil may be avoided by fleeing to the country, and it is apparent at the end of the Satire that eventually he will himself permanently repair to the country town of Aquinum. The original distinction between the satirist and his persona is consequently much less important in Dryden's translation, and the importance of the character or ethos of Umbricius is correspondingly reduced. With the lines

Who now is lov'd, but he who loves the Times,
 Conscious of close Intrigues, and dipt in Crimes,
(ll. 89-90)

which conclude Umbricius' preliminary outburst in Dryden's translation, the tone changes noticeably back into that of the satirist's voice, with which the Satire began, and until the Satire's conclusion the presence of Dryden's surly Umbricius is all but forgotten by the reader.

Dryden's frequent attempts to impose a moralizing tone - in keeping with his concept of satire as "moral philosophy" - upon passages in which he seems to find Juvenal's humor or irony misplaced have the effect here of altering, even more so than in his translation of the First Satire, both the tone of the Satire and the subtleties in Juvenal's art. Nowhere is this more apparent than in his handling of Umbricius' description of the hazards and

discomforts of the poor pedestrian in Rome's streets (ll. 246-67). We have seen that Juvenal's Umbricius expresses or evokes several moods in this narration: resentment at the rich man's easy passage over the throng (ll. 239-43), comical pathos at his own predicament in the crowd (ll. 243-48), amusement (ll. 249-53) and sympathy (ll. 254-63) as a detached observer of the street, and macabre humor as a speculator upon the fate of the crushed pedestrian's soul (ll. 264-67). The two main purposes of this narration are to make the reader share the discomforts experienced by the poor in the streets of Rome and to bolster Umbricius' ethos as a morally "good man" by showing his sympathetic responses to others' misfortunes. In addition, this passage represents one instance of Juvenal's true feelings showing through his satiric mask. With the exception of Umbricius' indignation at the rich man's privilege, Juvenal expresses not revulsion, but rather fascination with the human ant-hill which is Rome. In Dryden's translation, however, this interest and the original humor and variety of tone are almost entirely absent:

And yet the Wealthy will not brook delay;
 But sweep above our Heads, and make their way;
 In lofty Litters born, and read, and write,
 Or sleep at ease: The Shutters make it Night.
 Yet still he reaches, first, the Publick Place:
 The prease before him stops the Client's pace.
 The Crowd that follows, crushing his panting sides:
 And trip his heels; he walks not, but he rides.

One Elbows him, one justles in the Shole:
 A Rafter breaks his Head, or a Chairman's Pole:
 Stockin'd with loads of fat Town-dirt he goes;
 And some Rogue-Souldier, with his Hob-nail'd Shoos,
 Indents his Legs behind in bloody rows.

See with what Smoke our Doles we celebrate:
 A hundred Ghests, invited, walk in state:
 A hundred hungry Slaves, with their Dutch kitchens wait.
 Huge Pans the Wretches on their heads must bear;
 Which scarce Gygantick Corbulo cou'd rear:
 Yet they must walk upright beneath the load;
 Nay run, and running, blow the sparkling flames abroad.
 Their Coats, from botching newly brought, are torn:
 Unweildy Timber-trees, in Waggons born,
 Stretch'd at their length, beyond their Carriage lye;
 That nod, and threaten ruin from on high.
 For, shou'd their Axel break, its overthrow
 Wou'd crush, and pound to dust, the Crowd below:
 Nor Friends their Friends, nor Sires their Sons cou'd know:
 Nor Limbs, nor Bones, nor Carcass wou'd remain;
 But a mash'd heap, a Hotchpotch of the Slain.
 One vast destruction; not the Soul alone,
 But Bodies, like the Soul, invisible are flown.
 Mean time, unknowing of their Fellows Fate,
 The Servants wash the Platter, scour the Plate,
 Then blow the Fire, with puffing Cheeks, and lay
 The Rubbers, and the Bathing-sheets display;
 And oyl them first; and each is handy in his way.
 But he, for whom this busie care they take,
 Poor Ghost, is wandring by the Stygian Lake:
 Affrighted with the Ferryman's grim Face;
 New to the Horrors of that uncouth place:
 His passage begs with unregarded Prayer:
 And wants two Farthings to discharge his Fare.
 (11. 387-428)

In this version the speaker remains entirely aloof from the scene. We do not experience the action as in the original, for we cannot identify with the speaker; instead we receive a second-hand report on the progress of an anonymous pedestrian. The tone throughout is one of moral indignation. As in the introduction to the Satire, Dryden exaggerates Juvenal's descriptions so that the distinction

between what is to be praised and what is to be blamed will be clear. Here the brutal unconcern of the crowd is emphasized when the people "crush [the pedestrian's] panting sides," and a "Rogue-Souldier, with his Hob-nail'd Shoos," draws his blood. In Dryden's version Juvenal's group of clients hurrying with their kitcheners to a dole (ll. 249-53) "walk in state" while their "hungry Slaves" wait, so that Dryden can indicate a lack of concern on another level. Juvenal's clients are merely foolish. Dryden's clients appear heartless and vicious. The original passage moves with the speed of the traffic in the street; Dryden's version proceeds with the slow, constant seriousness of a sermon. Dryden believed that as moral philosophy satire should instruct in a dignified tone,⁴² and this and other passages like it in this translation meet that requirement. As Russell says, "He keeps his distance from the scene: he does not let its brilliance or liveliness distract him from his purpose nor does he let himself be amused at its comedy; he maintains a mood of moral indignation; and he holds to a steady, serious metrical pace."⁴³ In altering his source in this manner Dryden has ignored the requirements of his theory of translation - that he remain faithful to Juvenal's art, spirit and meaning - in favor of the dictates of his

⁴²Russell, p. 33.

⁴³Ibid.

theory of satire.

Dryden's translation of the Third Satire, then, is more extensively dominated by his theory of satire than is his version of the First Satire, and it is consequently further removed from the original. Dryden recognized that the First Satire should not conform to what he maintains is the proper pattern of praise and blame because of its role as Program Satire, and therefore he did not attempt to alter its design. Moreover, the First Satire contains little humor of the kind in the passage cited above from the Third Satire, which would have invited Dryden's tampering. There, his imposing of a moral tone upon the original is mainly confined to expressions of Juvenal's vulgar wit and the introduction of original moral commentaries. In Dryden's version of the First Satire Juvenal's over-all tone is rendered considerably more uniform, but the general sense and purpose of the original remain unchanged. His translation of the Third Satire, however, shows as much Dryden as Juvenal. It has been given a new design in which the country is clearly praised as an alternative to Rome, which is everywhere scourged. The character of Umbricius has been given a surliness and a self-righteousness which are foreign to Juvenal's character. By imposing a rigid satiric design and a general moral tone upon the Satire, Dryden has abandoned

several aspects of Juvenal's art: the interplay between author and persona found in the original is lost, and expressions of Juvenal's humanity, his sympathy and humor, are seriously weakened. Nevertheless Dryden has made all changes purposely, in accordance with the principles of his theory of satire. His interpretation of the Third Satire may be incorrect (though it has been accepted as the correct interpretation longer than any other). But, to borrow a phrase from Mary Lascelles, his Satire "says what [he] believed Juvenal to mean, and says it with unflinching consistency."⁴⁴

Thus far we have examined translations in which Dryden's theory of satire often conflicts with the art and sense of the original Satires. Dryden has so restricted himself by his stated theory in these translations that the "Pleasure," which as we earlier noted he thought was the chief end of Juvenal's Satires, is superseded by an insistent moralizing tone which asserts itself whenever he feels that Juvenal's humor or vulgar wit is misplaced. The result in these translations is a philosophy of moral constructiveness rather than moral despair. The purpose ceases to be Juvenal's and becomes instead Dryden's. In translating Juvenal's longest Satire, the Sixth, however,

⁴⁴Lascelles, p. 46.

Dryden ignores his principles of satire and translates from sheer pleasure. Significantly, this version is the closest to the original of all four translations. The most obvious indication of this is that it is the least expanded: whereas the other translations are at least one and one-half times the length of the originals, Dryden's version of the Sixth is little more than a sixth longer than its model. The greater relative length of the other translations reflects the circumlocutions Dryden often utilizes in avoiding Juvenal's gross wit and the expansions which result from his attempts to elevate these Satires' moral tone. In the Sixth Satire, however, Dryden faithfully reproduces and often reinforces the essential features of Juvenal's technique, including Juvenal's gross wit and imagery. Ironically, this is the cause of the translation's only major flaw, for, in attempting to remain closer to the original than in the previous translations, Dryden overshoots his mark. Rather than imposing a foreign moralizing tone upon the original, Dryden shuns moralizing altogether - even that which is inherent in his model. As a result, his translation fails to show much of the tragic insight which is revealed in the Sixth Satire. Perhaps Dryden intended to excuse himself for translating a Satire offering no apparent moral instruction by writing in the Discourse that

this, tho' the Wittiest of all [Juvenal's] Satires, has yet the least of Truth or Instruction in it. [He] has ... almost forgotten that he was now setting up for a Moral Poet.⁴⁵

A Satire which, as Dryden conceives it, is made up primarily of wit could not be forced into the role of moral philosophy without straying further from the original than his theory of translation would allow. In the "Argument" to his translation Dryden does attempt to excuse himself for translating this "bitter invective against the fair Sex," maintaining that none of the other contributors to the volume would undertake "so ungrateful and employment."⁴⁶ This righteous assertion is amusingly contradicted in a letter by one of Dryden's subordinate translators, George Stepney. Stepney writes that "Mr. Dryden, the first of our poets, who distributed the work among us and gave it to us to do, has reserved the sixth Satire for his own hand; and I can fully assure you, to his honour, that the original has lost none of its shamelessness through him, infamous as it is, but the excellence of his verses and the force of his expressions are admirable."⁴⁷ It seems, then, that in this translation Dryden is prepared to let pleasure rather than "Profit have the preheminance of

⁴⁵Poems, II, 663.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 694-95.

⁴⁷Quoted in Russell, p. 41.

Honour, in the End of Poetry."⁴⁸

Dryden's two main errors in interpreting the Sixth Satire are: first, maintaining that the Satire conforms to the proper pattern of praise and blame by containing a "latent Admonition to avoid Ill Women, by shewing how very few, who are Virtuous and Good, are to be found amongst them";⁴⁹ and second, claiming that it is no more than a libel upon women, since Dryden also admits he does not "know what Moral [Juvenal] cou'd reasonably draw from it."⁵⁰ The one statement contradicts the other, but they both suggest the main factors contributing to this translation's chief flaw. Dryden is unable to communicate Juvenal's larger vision of his society's ultimate collapse because of his preoccupation with the immediate objects of the Satire, bad Roman women, and how Juvenal's witty way of representing them may be best reproduced.

Now whereas in the Third Satire Juvenal shows how the corruption in his society makes life generally miserable in Rome, in the Sixth Satire he shows how this same social corruption makes a normal conjugal relationship impossible. Once Roman men were strong, Roman women submissive, and

⁴⁸Poems, II, 651.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 663.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 694.

both sexes compelled to be moral by dint of hard work (ll. 1-18); now luxury has changed things (ll. 292-93). Soft living draws strength from Rome's men and "intensifie[s] the passions of her women."⁵¹ Though men are just as corrupt as the women, Juvenal concentrates upon women because they, being the stronger sex now, make more vital satiric characters. There are still a few strong men of course, who retain their strength through the service of a cynical self-interest, and they too are dealt with in the Satire. As an example of this type of character, Juvenal gives us the cold hedonist Sertorius, whose attraction toward his wife Bibula is entirely physical as hers toward him is entirely material (ll. 142-60). This episode summarizes the ultimate view which Juvenal wishes to express in this Satire. As Peter Green says,

Selfish greed, selfish indulgence are, between them, destroying all human intercourse and affection. The individual now stalks through life as though it were some sort of no-man's-land, in armoured isolation, out solely for what he can get, giving no quarter and expecting none. Even marriage has become the same battleground in miniature.⁵²

Such a relationship as that shared by Sertorius and Bibula has become the best a Roman can now hope for. Nevertheless,

⁵¹Highet, p. 102.

⁵²Green, p. 49.

in marriage, as the rest of the Satire shows, the woman will usually triumph. Here as in the Third Satire Juvenal offers no real remedy for the social disease he portrays except for the cynical advice to look out for oneself. The tone of this Satire is pessimistic and bitter: Roman society as the satirist sees it is now hopelessly doomed. This is the "tragic insight" which Dryden fails to capture.

Dryden's handling of Juvenal's gross wit and imagery is the main factor in the reduction of the moral tone of this Satire. The Sixth Satire was not originally bawdy. Juvenal makes his vulgar observations with a "wholesome snort of contempt";⁵³ they are not intended to amuse. Nor are they always direct, for Juvenal often employs circumlocutions. For example, remonstrating with Ursidius about his proposed marriage, the satirist says that if you have the good luck to find a modest spouse, "you should prostrate yourself before the Tarpeian threshold"⁵⁴ (ll. 47-49). Dryden's version is much more explicit:

let him every Deity adore,
If his new Bride prove not an arrant Whore,
In Head and Tail, and every other Pore.
(ll. 68-70)

Another tactic common in this translation is that of adding vulgar commentary to the original. Juvenal's

⁵³Russell, p. 35.

⁵⁴i.e. the altar of Jupiter.

Messalina is accompanied to the brothel by a single maid, of whom the satirist says nothing. The maid of Dryden's Messalina, however, is "The Rival and Companion of her Lust" (l. 172). In addition, throughout the translation such direct and forceful expressions as "whore," "lust" and "bawd" recur, giving Dryden's version of the Sixth Satire the flavor of a Restoration libel.⁵⁵ Such alterations are instrumental in converting the originally moral Satire into a showpiece of Juvenal's invective and Dryden's own wit.

In the "Argument of the Sixth Satire" Dryden asserts that "whatever [Juvenal's] Roman Ladies were, the English are free from all his imputations."⁵⁶ This, however, is contradicted by his adaptation of a passage from his original to contemporary London. In his Satire Juvenal describes the attraction which the theater and players hold for upper-class Roman matrons (ll. 60-77); Dryden says that whether one goes to the Park, the Mall, the playhouse, or the Court, the chances of finding a chaste wife in any are equally nil (ll. 87-90).

⁵⁵Cf., for example, "The Earl of Rochester's Verses For Which He Was Banished" (1675) and John Lacy's "Satire" (1677), in Poems on Affairs of State, ed. George deF. Lord, I, 424, 425-28. The similarity of tone is notable if not remarkable.

⁵⁶Poems, II, 695.

One sees a Dancing-Master Capring high,
 And Raves, and Pisses, with pure Extasie:
 Another does, with all his Motions, move,
 And Gapes, and Grins, as in the feat of Love:
 A third is Charm'd with the new Opera Notes,
 Admires the Song, but on the Singer Doats:
 The Country Lady, in the Box appears,
 Softly she Warbles over, all she hears;
 And sucks in Passion, both at Eyes, and Ears.

The rest, (when now the long Vacation's come,
 The noisie Hall and Theatres grown dumb)
 Their Memories to refresh, and chear their hearts,
 In borrow'd Breaches act the Players parts.
 The Poor, that scarce have wherewithal to eat,
 Will pinch, to make the Singing-Boy a Treat.
 The Rich, to buy him, will refuse no price:
 And stretch his Quail-pipe till they crack his Voice:
 Tragedians, acting Love, for Lust are sought:
 (Tho but the Parrots of a Poet's Thought.)
 The Pleading Lawyer, tho for Counsel us'd,
 In Chamber-practice often is refus'd.
 Still thou wilt have a Wife, and father Heirs;
 (The product of concurring Theatres.)

(ll. 91-113)

The modern allusions are wonderfully congruous with the sense of the original passage. The reference to the country lady, basically unchanged in Dryden's version, is reminiscent of the character Margery Pinchwife in Wycherley's Country Wife and was probably so recognized by Dryden's contemporary readers. Again, in line 108 we see Dryden consciously lowering Juvenal's moral tone with a direct statement: Juvenal merely says that "Hispulla has a fancy for tragedians" (ll. 74-75). This passage is also a good example of Dryden's practice of omitting names in translation, as he has excluded all nineteen of the original's proper names. In this instance at least the

practice is laudable, for otherwise London would have been "blotted out in a fog of Latin names."⁵⁷

In this Satire Dryden obviously enjoys relating the "Vices of an Age, which was the most Infamous of any on Record."⁵⁸ Where Juvenal's tone is contemptuous, Dryden's is humorous. Dryden's version of the feast of the Good Goddess, for example,

Where the Rank Matrons, Dancing to the Pipe,
Gig with their Bums, and are for Action ripe,
(ll. 432-33)

contains the wit but none of the moral outrage of the original account (ll. 314-41). The only moderation Dryden exercises here is the elimination of the phrase quo minus imposito clunem summittat asello (l. 334).⁵⁹ It is in such passages as the account of the feast of the Good Goddess that Dryden's translation sounds especially like a Restoration libel. We are presented with, for example, "downright Lust.... Acted to the Life" (l. 441), "An universal Groan of Lust" (l. 445), "lusty Lovers" (l. 448)

⁵⁷Russell, p. 60.

⁵⁸Poems, II, 695.

⁵⁹Recently W.B. Carnochan revealed that Dryden had indeed translated most of the passages in the Sixth Satire which are missing in the published translation. Apparently they were omitted on grounds of taste and morality. The phrase just cited is one example. The suppressed verses read:
Bring anything thats man: if none be nigh
Asses have better parts their places to Supply.
(Quoted in "Some suppressed verses in Dryden's translation of Juvenal VI," Times Literary Supplement [January 21, 1972], p. 74.)

and "Whoresons" (l. 449). The emphasis upon "lust" arises from Dryden's belief that Juvenal has made it the most "heroic" of women's vices in the Satire.⁶⁰ Accordingly, Dryden treats it in a mock-heroic manner. Thus the "Imperial Whore" Messalina

Strode from the Palace, with an eager pace,
To cope with a more Masculine Embrace:
Muffl'd she march'd, like Juno in a Clowd
(ll. 167-69)

to the brothel, where

Prepar'd for fight, expectingly she lies,
With heaving Breasts, and with desiring Eyes:⁶¹
Still as one drops, another takes his place,
And baffled still succeeds to like disgrace.
(ll. 176-79)

Here, as George Wasserman says, lust becomes ironically the "'fire' which impels the hero to martial prowess."⁶² Unfortunately, the mock-epic imagery lessens much of the acrimoniousness of the original passage.

⁶⁰Poems, II, 695.

⁶¹Here more verses have been suppressed. Following this line, the omitted translation reads:

The fair unbroaken belly lay displayd
Where once the brave Brittanicus was layd.
Bare was her bosome, bare y^e feild of Lust
Eagre to Swallow Evry sturdy Thrust.

(Quoted in Carnochan, p. 73.)

⁶²Wasserman, p. 145.

Regardless of Dryden's consistent lowering of the moral tone of the Sixth Satire, this translation is generally closer to the original than are his versions of the First and Third Satires. Dryden has not attempted to make Juvenal's vulgar wit respectable or eliminate his humor; neither has he attempted to impose his conception of the correct pattern of praise and blame upon the original design nor add a moralizing tone where none exists. What Dryden has done is, by concentrating on the most obvious subject of Juvenal's satire, the uncontrollable lust of women, to divert the reader's attention from the insight Juvenal demonstrates in this Satire into Roman society's inevitable collapse.

We have said that Dryden lowers the moral tone of the Satire. This does not refer to Dryden's reinforcement of Juvenal's vulgar wit and gross imagery. The "moral" in this Satire is Juvenal's pronouncement of Roman society's doom - or at least the doom of Juvenal's conception of a properly moral society. In the First Satire Juvenal has outlined what his objects of satire will be. In the Third Satire he has shown the impossibility of living well anywhere, but especially in Rome. In the Fifth Satire he has shown the hopeless deterioration of the client-patron relationship. In the Second Satire - which we have not considered - he shows the contemptibleness of

homosexuality and, by implication, the depravity of the homosexual relationship. Now, in the Sixth Satire, he has shown the impossibility of achieving even the most traditional relationship. The individual is now effectively cut off on all sides from a proper relationship with other people - he is completely isolated.⁶³ Thus Juvenal's moral is the cumulative realization of Rome's present sickness and its eventual social collapse. The flaw in Dryden's translation is that this moral or vision is difficult to see, obscured as it is by Dryden's concentration on the most obvious features of Juvenal's Satire.

In translating the Tenth Satire Dryden is once again governed by the principles of his theory of satire. However, their influence in this translation is not as controlling as in Dryden's version of the Third Satire. This is largely due to his basically correct apprehension of the Tenth Satire's purpose, which he sets out as its "Argument":

⁶³It must be remembered that the ability of a Juvenalian character to express compassion for his fellow man does not render his isolation less complete. In the Third Satire, for instance, Umbricius is able to sympathize with the victims of the traffic only while he is himself an isolated observer.

The Poet's Design in this Divine Satyr, is to represent the various Wishes and Desires of Mankind; and to set out the Folly of 'em. He... gives Instances in Each, how frequently they have prov'd the Ruin of Those that Own'd them. He concludes therefore, that since we generally chuse so ill for our selves; we shou'd do better to leave it to the Gods, to make the choice for us. All we can safely ask of Heaven...[is] but Health of Body and Mind-And if we have these, 'tis not much matter what we want besides; For we have already enough to make us Happy.⁶⁴

The original pattern of praise and blame is thus recognized: the customary vain prayers of men will be attacked while self-reliance will be praised; the only justifiable prayer will be for physical and mental health. The Tenth Satire therefore is spared the extensive alterations in design effected in Dryden's translation of the Third Satire. Dryden's error in interpreting the Tenth Satire is in ascribing to it a sympathetic moral, which is suggested in the last sentence of the "Argument." This ultimately affects the general tone of the Satire and weakens Juvenal's original purpose, for as we shall see Juvenal's method of instruction is harsh and his moral far from "Divine."

The theme of the Tenth Satire is a simple one. It is dangerous to pray for such distinctions as wealth, power, eloquence, glory, long life and beauty because they bring misery and destruction.⁶⁵ To illustrate and develop

⁶⁴Poems, II, 720.

⁶⁵D.E. Eichholz, "The Art of Juvenal and his Tenth Satire," Greece and Rome, III (1956), 64.

this theme Juvenal dispenses with the qualities of humor and pathos which are displayed in the Third Satire. The misguided ambitions of mankind are viewed through the "pitiless eyes of a Democritus"; therefore the tone of the Satire is one of "harsh mockery," which admits little pathos and only a very cynical kind of humor.⁶⁶ For example, not only are the oppressors Hannibal (ll. 147-67) and Alexander the Great (ll. 168-73) sarcastically depicted, but Cicero too (ll. 120-26), whom Juvenal elsewhere praises,⁶⁷ and also Priam (ll. 258-70), whose actions are clearly heroic, are equally ridiculed. The human situation in general is mocked, as in Juvenal's account of the fall of Sejanus (ll. 57-113), where the rabble, the emperor Tiberius and even the poor magistrates of the small towns receive the same harsh treatment.

But Dryden cannot agree with Juvenal's Democritus that he should everywhere "condemn by a cutting laugh" (l. 31). Whereas Juvenal depicts Democritus and the "weeping philosopher" Heraclitus laughing and weeping at the same subjects (ll. 28-32), Dryden's characters assail different subjects by methods differing from those of the originals:

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 65.

⁶⁷See Satire Eight, ll. 243-44.

One pity'd, one contemn'd the Woful Times:
 One laugh'd at Follies, one lamented Crimes.
 (11. 43-44)

Dryden thus announces that his Democritus' rough laughter will, unlike the original's, contain a note of compassion. Dryden also prepares the reader for an account of the follies rather than the crimes of mankind, which seems inappropriate when considered in the light of the subsequent accounts of Xerxes' bloody fiasco (11. 173-87) and Cicero's murder. The distinction is probably due to Dryden's belief that laughter should be directed only at follies while rage should be employed in attacking great vices and that these should not coexist in the same satire. Dryden can conceive of only one sort of laughter, the Horatian manner of fine raillery, which in the Discourse he maintains is properly applicable to follies rather than to great vices.⁶⁸ Here again Dryden's theory of satire proves inflexible in dealing with Juvenal's manner, for in the original Satire mirthless laughter is applied to everything Juvenal encounters.

Dryden's misinterpretation of the Democritan mode of laughter is signified when he attributes pity to the philosopher, a characteristic quite inappropriate to the tone of harsh mockery which is the prime force of the Tenth Satire. This sympathetic quality is apparent elsewhere in

⁶⁸Poems, II, 645.

Dryden's handling of the original Democritan humor. For example, Dryden writes of Priam's vain attempt to defend Troy from the Greeks,

His last Effort before Jove's Altar tries;
A Souldier half, and half a Sacrifice:
Falls like an Oxe, that waits the coming blow;
Old and unprofitable to the Plough.
(ll. 414-17)

Juvenal is much more cynical: "he fell, a dotard soldier, before the high altar of Jupiter, like an old ox thanklessly abandoned by the plow, who offers his scrawny neck to the master's knife" (ll. 268-70).⁶⁹ Dryden gives Priam's death a certain pathos, a pathos which Juvenal scrupulously avoids. The sympathetic tone asserts itself elsewhere in Dryden's version, as in his account of a betrayed and "Inslav'd Posterity" (l. 129) who, reduced to begging, can afford no better entertainment than puppet shows (ll. 130-31). The completely cynical original, however, shows a populace willingly relinquishing the responsibility of government in favor of free bread and games (ll. 78-81). In Juvenal's Satire the entire human condition is mocked by Democritus. The least significant and least vicious receive the same treatment as that dealt to tyrants and warriors. In the original the "distorted picture of human nature and human life" is made

⁶⁹My translation.

legitimate by its consistency,⁷⁰ and this Dryden's version lacks.

Dryden's sympathetic treatment of some of Juvenal's characters may, as in his translation of the First Satire, result from a desire to give the Satire a more dignified moral tone. The uniformly derisive tone of the Tenth Satire does in fact make it by far the least dignified of the Satires Dryden has attempted. It would be impossible, as Juvenal surely realized, to lend a character decorum and still render him a scornful subject. A satire, however, can be made noble in other ways, as parts of Dryden's translation show. The following passage, for example, is much statelier than its original:

Yet this Mad Chace of Fame, by few pursu'd,
Has drawn Destruction on the Multitude:
This Avarice of Praise in Times to come,
Those long Inscriptions, crowded on the Tomb,
Shou'd some Wild Fig-Tree take her Native bent,
And heave below the gaudy Monument,
Wou'd crack the Marble Titles, and disperse
The Characters of all the lying Verse.
For Sepulchres themselves must crumbling fall
In times Abyss, the common Grave of all.

(ll. 224-33)

Juvenal in the original passage shows the hollowness of military victory. In Dryden's version we see added a commentary on the futility of human claims to immortality. Though in this Satire Juvenal is not concerned with general moral statements, Dryden occasionally manages to add a

⁷⁰Eichholz, p. 68.

moralizing tone without detracting from the purpose of the original.

As in his translations of the other "moral Satires" Dryden also attempts to raise the original moral tone by reducing the original low imagery. Thus a senile old man leaves his estate to a "common Hackney Jade" for "secret Services" (ll. 375-76) rather than for the explicit reasons given by Juvenal (ll. 236-39). And as in the other translations Dryden displays inconsistency in these attempts. A glaring example appears at the end of the translation, where Dryden lowers the original moral tone and in so doing considerably alters Juvenal's sense. Dryden offers this advice to the youth Silius, who is being forced into an illegal and immoral marriage by the empress Messalina:

In this moot case, your Judgment: To refuse
Is present Death, besides the Night you lose.
Indulge thy Pleasure, Youth, and take thy swing:
For not to take, is but the self same thing:
Inevitable Death before thee lies;
But looks more kindly through a Ladies Eyes.
(ll. 523-24, 529-32)

The original account (ll. 329-45) is Juvenal's final and most complete example of how a prayer - in this instance a mother's prayer for her son's beauty - ends in inescapable destruction. Juvenal says that it makes no difference whether Silius dies now or later: either way will be equally unpleasant; and he sneers at the idea of the youth

obeying Messalina's orders for the sake of a few days' life and an uncertain pleasure. Thus Dryden weakens Juvenal's purpose, which is to show the eventual destructiveness of all forms of prayer. There is no place in Juvenal's Satire for expressions of pity or for heroic actions - even actions admirable by Restoration Court standards - on the part of the characters. All are treated in terms of harsh mockery, and all are made to seem contemptible. Again, for such a distorted picture of the human condition to succeed fully, it must be consistent, and in Dryden's version it is not.

Dryden improves upon the moral which Juvenal provides in the Tenth Satire. With what was only popular moralizing of the day,⁷¹ Juvenal tells us what we should pray for: mens sana in corpore sano (l. 356). He concludes that the only path to peace is through the practice of virtue, which may be attained by our own unaided efforts. Now the inconsistency here is obvious. If the good life may be obtained through the practice of virtue, and if virtue may be attained by our own unaided efforts, there is really nothing to pray for. The inconsistency is explained by the lines "Still, that you may have something to pray for, and be able to offer to the shrines entrails

⁷¹Ibid., p. 67.

and presaging sausages from a white porker, you should pray for a sound mind in a sound body" (ll. 354-56). Taken in its entirety this passage shows Juvenal's flippant attitude toward religion. Prayer is contemptible, a manifestation of human weakness. All that we need for a virtuous life may be obtained through philosophical self-help.⁷² With such an attitude we may, like Democritus, "bid frowning fortune go hang, and point at her the finger of derision" (ll. 52-53). Unlike some modern critics⁷³ Dryden apparently recognized what Juvenal wished to say about prayer, as this passage shows:

Yet, not to rob the Priests of pious Gain,
That Altars be not wholly built in vain;
Forgive the Gods the rest, and stand confin'd
To Health of Body, and Content of Mind....
(ll. 546-49)

Here Dryden renders the cynicism considerably more obvious. And, while he may weaken the original expression of Democritus' attitude toward fortune by giving him a somewhat foreign equanimity of mind (ll. 81-82), he strengthens Juvenal's derisive reference to fortune at the end of the Satire by making fools of its worshipers (ll. 560-61). By strengthening Juvenal's cynical attitude toward prayer and fate at the end of the Satire, Dryden helps make up for having lessened much of Juvenal's

⁷²Green, p. 38.

⁷³See, for example, J. Wight Duff, Roman Satire: Its Outlook on Social Life (Hamden, 1964), pp. 155-56.

harsh treatment of the characters.

The chief flaw in Dryden's translation of the Tenth Satire, then, is his failure to reproduce all of the cynicism of the original. As in his translations of the First and Third Satires, he fails to capture all of Juvenal because he has governed himself by the principles of his theory of satire, in this case his idea that satire must nobly instruct in moral philosophy. Hightet has correctly observed that the Tenth Satire "is not wholly filled with noble truths."⁷⁴ This, as we have seen, is Juvenal's intention. With the exception of the closing passage the "truths" revealed are not at all intended to be noble, but rather highly disagreeable. And the disagreeableness must be consistent for Juvenal's argument to succeed. There is no room for pity or pathos in this Satire. However, Dryden has attempted to impose a noble moral tone upon parts of the Satire. He made Democritus feel some pity and he added qualities of pathos to some of the victims of misguided prayers. Nevertheless, Dryden's translation is the most faithful to Juvenal's purpose and art of all the adaptations of the Tenth Satire we have considered. Whereas Dryden fails to bring across all the cynicism and derision of the original, Higden's merry version misses the mark completely in this respect,

⁷⁴Hightet, p. 129.

while Shadwell's translation is simply too spiritless to be successful. The original purpose of the Satire - to dissuade the reader from prayer while exhorting him to self-reliant virtue - remains unchanged in Dryden's version. For this reason his translation of the Tenth Satire is more successful than his translation of the Third.

In his life of Dryden Johnson remarks that Dryden's translations of Juvenal fail to capture the dignity of the originals.⁷⁵ We have seen, however, that this is the very quality Dryden strives for. Governed by his principle that satire is moral philosophy, Dryden has attempted to give the First, Third and Tenth Satires a more consistent moral tone and a more uniformly noble expression. These attempts are manifested in the translations in various ways. As is most marked in his version of the Third Satire, Dryden has insured that the "moral Satires" should present, where applicable, clear-cut patterns of praise and blame. This Dryden believed would make all the Satires offer precepts of moral instruction. With the same moral purpose in mind, he attempted to elevate Juvenal's moral tone where it seemed

⁷⁵Lives of the English Poets, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1905), I, 447.

deficient. Thus Dryden exaggerated Juvenal's indignation or lent it sincerity when it was patently hollow, modified Juvenal's outbursts of vulgar wit, added new moral statements which sometimes are as vulgarly witty as Juvenal's, and abated Juvenal's humor when it seemed inappropriate to a properly dignified expression. We have seen in the Sixth Satire that Dryden's imposition of a moral tone over Juvenal's humor and gross wit in the moral Satires is a pose which is easily seen through. But his desire to give nobility of expression to his translations of the First, Third and Tenth Satires is sincere. Such a desire is particularly apparent in his translation of the Tenth Satire, where he adds a note of compassion and strives to add a touch of dignity as well to this least noble of the four Satires. Johnson's criticism is unjust because it is misleading. Dryden did not succeed in reproducing a grandly dignified expression in his translations, but we have by now seen that consistent nobility of expression is not a characteristic of the Satires he tried to reproduce. Juvenal's art in the first three Satires is an emotional rhetoric, and in the Tenth it is grounded in a harsh cynicism. Neither is consonant with uniformly dignified expression. Dryden tried to give Three of these Satires the dignified expression appropriate to his conception of satire as moral philosophy. He did not succeed because his intention was incompatible with Juvenal's art.

CHAPTER V

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND DR. JOHNSON

The usual eighteenth-century view of the purpose of satire is expressed by John Dennis very early in the century (1704), when he declares the reformation of manners through instruction to be "The final End of Poetry."¹ In the majority of his Satires Juvenal, as we have seen, has quite a different "End" in mind; he does not attempt to reform, only to inform. His satiric purpose is to reveal to his contemporaries the full extent of the corruption with which they are surrounded. Of course there are a few Satires which offer moral instruction, but with the exception of the Tenth it is the thoroughly pessimistic Satires which we find adapted most often in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.² Gilbert Highet and W.S. Anderson have demonstrated that these Satires, which seem at first glance to be essentially emotional outpourings, have in fact carefully elaborated structures.

¹The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry, in The Critical Works of John Dennis, ed. Edward Niles Hooker (Baltimore, 1943), I, 336.

²The Tenth Satire is also quite pessimistic, but it does sincerely offer what was to Juvenal a workable means of attaining virtue. Such Satires as the Third and Sixth do not.

Each facet of Juvenal's art is essential to these structures. Tampering with any of these aspects of Juvenal's art in order to make him more congenial to contemporary tastes and fashions could mean - and in the eighteenth century usually did mean - seriously distorting the sense and the quality of an entire Satire.

In 1647 Sir Robert Stapylton observed that the England of his day was not afflicted with the greatest Roman vices described by Juvenal;³ nearly a century later Johnson noted of one of his adapted descriptions in London: a Poem in Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal (1738) that it "was by Hitch a Bookseller justly remarked to be no picture of modern manners, thought it might be true at Rome."⁴ These observations reflect the general seventeenth and eighteenth-century awareness that Juvenal's Satires could not be applied convincingly to contemporary England, since identical parallels could not be found for Juvenal's greater vices. This of course did not pose a problem for the imitators and translators of the Restoration, since their purpose in modernizing Juvenal for contemporary readers was not reformation. But satire

³Juvenal's Sixteen Satyrs, or A Survey of the Manners and Actions of Mankind, sig. A4^r.

⁴Samuel Johnson: Poems, ed. E.L. McAdam, Jr., with George Milne (New Haven, 1964), p. 57.

which is intended to instruct should be aimed at real and observable vices, and accordingly in the eighteenth century we find Juvenal's Satires freely altered to relate to contemporary evils, follies and, on occasion, sentimentalities. Obviously the first necessity was to remove or mitigate Juvenal's bawdy wit. As Edward Young says, with an eye to Juvenal, in his Preface to the Love of Fame (1728), a satirist should have "delicacy and wit; the last of which can never, or should never, succeed without the former."⁵ Vulgarity, however, is an essential part of Juvenal's style, and the adapting poet who omitted it risked producing an anaemic version of his model. Unfortunately, this is what the typical eighteenth-century imitator of Juvenal does. In adapting the Roman to the eighteenth-century scene, he sentimentalizes thoroughly. Juvenal is purged of much of his choler; his gross imagery is diluted or expurgated; his accounts of great vices are either ignored or replaced by lesser contemporary vices and follies; and his predominately gloomy mien is shunned. In fact, in practice the first half of the century preferred the urbane Horace, whose Satires are more inherently instructive, to the profane Juvenal: "Augustanism and Horatianism are nearly related if not

⁵The Complete Works, Poetry and Prose, ed. James Nichols (London, 1854), I, 346.

synonymous terms."⁶

We must remember that while Swift, Pope and Johnson, the greatest satirists of the century, each produced imitations of Horace, only Johnson imitated Juvenal. Juvenal's popularity, in contrast to that of Horace, appears to decline in the period between the appearance of Dryden's Juvenal and the publication of The Vanity of Human Wishes (1749). Beginning about 1760 Juvenal's popularity again rises, but the increase in popularity is unaccompanied by any appreciable change in the method and style of the imitations he inspires.⁷ While Johnson is the central figure in this chapter, we must remember that his practice in imitating Juvenal's Satires - particularly the Third - is no more typical of the practice of other poets in either half of the century than is the practice of Swift and Pope typical of Horace's imitators of the same periods. To provide examples of typical eighteenth-century adaptations, we may turn to Satires Five and Six of Young's Love of Fame and E.B. Greene's Satires of Juvenal (1764).

⁶W.B. Carnochan, "Satire, Sublimity, and Sentiment: Theory and Practice in Post-Augustan Satire," PMLA, (1970), 260.

⁷For the period 1660-1700 William Francis Gallaway lists 20 adaptations avowedly of Horace compared to 25 of Juvenal; for 1701-1749, 22 of Horace compared to 7 of Juvenal; and for 1750-1800, 17 of Horace compared to 14 of Juvenal ("English Adaptations of Roman Satire, 1660-1800" [unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1937], pp. 234-41).

Satire Six of Young's Love of Fame, The Universal Passion reveals the cautious manner in which Juvenal was approached by satirists during the first half of the century. Here Young has emulated Juvenal's Sixth Satire in a satire upon women, but the product can hardly be termed Juvenalian. The Preface explains Young's attitude toward the satirist. Young announces that Juvenal lacks the "delicacy" which, as we earlier noted, he insists must accompany wit: "Juvenal is ever in a passion: he has little valuable but his eloquence and morality; the last of which I have had in my eye, but rather for emulation than imitation, through my whole work."⁸ In Satire Six Young has "endeavored to touch on his manner; but was forced to quit it soon, as disagreeable to the writer, and reader too." The gulf lying between Young's attitude toward his subject and Juvenal's is especially apparent when he criticizes Boileau's "'Satire on Woman'" for having too much of Juvenal's spirit, when it "should have been the gayest of all."⁹ We can expect to find, then, that the tone and purpose of Young's "emulation" of Juvenal differ considerably from its original's.

⁸Works, I, 345.

⁹Ibid. Subsequent citations of Young's poems are from this edition.

Young is more indebted to Juvenal's Sixth Satire than he realizes or implies in his Preface. This is indicated in his Satire Five - also upon women - where he directly adapts passages from the original, though in this Satire he has professed no direct indebtedness to Juvenal. For example, the passage in Juvenal's Sixth Satire describing Eppia, who cannot face danger when it is honorable, but is fearless when embarking upon a sinful ordeal (ll. 94-97), is adapted by Young, in his Fifth Satire as

Though sick to death, abroad they safely roam;
But droop and die, in perfect health, at home.
(ll. 193-94)

There are several other brief adaptations from Juvenal's Sixth in this Satire.¹⁰ But despite his use of direct adaptations, the tone of Young's Satire Five is one of mild reproof. Young does not wish to offend his readers, even those who are presumably the subjects of the Satire. Accordingly, all vices he touches upon are treated as follies. Though Young closely imitates Juvenal in various passages, the tone and manner of this Satire are in no sense Juvenalian.

In his Satire Six, however, Young creates a darker atmosphere, summoning Juvenal for aid:

¹⁰Cf. Juvenal, ll. 261-64, 434-37, 455-56; and Young, ll. 449-64, 133-36, 83-84.

O Juvenal, for thy severer rage,
 To lash the ranker follies of our age!
 (ll. 371-72)

The "ranker follies" of women which Young proceeds to depict certainly warrant Juvenal's "severer rage." Women God's "attributes dethrone" (l. 432) in order to recreate God in their own image (ll. 441-42); they blaspheme the clergy (l. 443), while a beautiful woman acts as "the devil's fair apologist" (l. 461). Women, now allies of Satan's plan,¹¹ through love of gaming pass on the wealth of the country to a "set of thieves that live on spoil,/The scandal and the ruin of our isle" (ll. 493-94). This "worst of ills" fills "with ceaseless storms the blacken'd soul" (ll. 488-89), and women infected with it are responsible for spreading "Fear, rage, convulsion, tears, oaths, blasphemies" (l. 502). Such vices, though blame-worthy, are hardly on a level with those Juvenal describes in his Sixth Satire. In spite of their long list of sins, the women of this Satire cannot equal Juvenal's in loathsomeness. It is not in his characters but instead in his apocalyptic vision that Young most nearly approximates Juvenal's Satire:

¹¹Howard D. Weinbrot, The Formal Strain, p. 124.

What swarms of amorous grandmothers I see!
 And misses, ancient in iniquity!
 What blasting whispers, and what loud declaiming!
 What lying, drinking, bawding, swearing, gaming!
 Friendship so cold, such warm incontinence;
 Such griping avarice, such profuse expense;
 Such dead devotion, such a zeal for crimes;
 Such licensed ill, such masquerading times;
 Such venal faith, such misapplied applause;
 Such flatter'd guilt, and such inverted laws;
 Such dissolution through the whole I find,
 'T is not a world, but chaos of mankind.
 (ll. 393-404)

But unlike Juvenal, Young ultimately abandons this vision. At the end of his Sixth Satire he proposes Queen Caroline as the norm of womanly virtue. She is "yonder flood of light,/That bursts o'er gloomy Britain" (ll. 569-70), and for Young her "Excess of goodness" (l. 576) effectively countervails the already adumbrated vices and follies of women.¹² Thus, in a most un-Juvenalian manner, Young's Satire Six closes on a note of optimism.

Young, then, incorporates passages directly from Juvenal's Sixth Satire into his own Satire Five, while in his Satire Six he attempts Juvenal's manner of lashing female vices and recreates Juvenal's apocalyptic satiric vision. Young's handling of his source in Satire Six illustrates the difficulties which faced the typical reforming satirist who wished to enlist Juvenal in his cause. Young's subjects are not the vicious women of Juvenal's Rome.

¹²Ibid., pp. 104-25.

His attitude toward them in this Satire is not one of hatred and contempt, as is Juvenal's, and the Juvenalian indignation he attempts to direct at them is inappropriate (indeed, at the beginning of the Satire [ll. 13-16] Young praises women). Young's purpose is to provoke reform in England's mildly sinful women, not to proclaim England's doom. Accordingly, at the conclusion of Satire Six he flees from Juvenal's satiric vision, which earlier he had carefully adapted, to hold out a standard to virtue for Englishwomen to follow. Young succeeds in adapting Juvenal's Sixth Satire to English conditions and to his own satiric purposes by making his adaptation highly selective. The result, however, is a considerably diluted Juvenalian manner that is "genteel" rather than severe.

Edward Burnaby Greene is a good example of an eighteenth-century imitator of Juvenal caught in the grip of "sentimentalism," the belief, especially prevalent in the latter half of the eighteenth century, that man is innately good and therefore "(largely) without sin."¹³ In his Preface to his imitations of Juvenal Greene declares that "The candid reader may...excuse my having softened the harshness of vice, and made it, as more generally now-a-days experienced, the meer offspring of thoughtless

¹³Andrew M. Wilkinson, "The Decline of English Verse Satire in the Eighteenth Century," RES, III (1952), 224-25.

folly."¹⁴ Greene's Satires of Juvenal Paraphrastically Imitated and Adapted to the Times (1764) are considered "more typical" of the manner in which Juvenal - as well as Horace and Persius - is treated during the century "than the adaptations of a few men of ability."¹⁵ His practice therefore deserves at least a brief examination as a contrast to Johnson's sterner and truer adaptations.

Greene's imitation of the First Satire is extremely free. It is similar in manner to the "Satire" in imitation of Juvenal's First sometimes attributed to Rochester,¹⁶ with the notable difference that it is considerably longer and far milder. Greene does not seek adequate parallels for the sins described in the original Satire. He ignores sexual references; what he does with Juvenal's accounts of women's sins of lust is indicated in this passage:

Survey the fair, when winter's frowns begin,
And mark their follies, for they know no sin.
(p. 9)

Much of the fine detail which gives the First Satire

¹⁴The Satires of Juvenal Paraphrastically Imitated and Adapted to the Times (London, 1764), p. xvi. Subsequent citations are from this text.

¹⁵Gallaway, pp. 150-51.

¹⁶See above, pp. 14-15.

interest and vitality is lost in this imitation. Greene replaces such concrete depictions as the dole, eunuchs, legacy-hunting gigolos and Crispinus, scum of the Nile (l. 26), with general references to "venal Pamphleteers" (p. 4), "World-wand'ring Jews, and fawning Refugees" (p. 5), Newmarket jockeys (p. 6), the English novel as represented by Sterne (p. 6), and even "the Tradesman's wife" (p. 5). The following passage is typical both of Greene's manner and the follies he points to. The London lady, he says,

Coop'd in the silken confines of a chair,
 Now issues to her Friends the thoughtless fair;
 While my lord's jumbled in his coach alone
 (The pair by fashion separately shewn)
 Or, if abhorrent of the tiresome rout,
 Bids Madam leave his ticket, where they're out.
 For ever idle, and yet ne'er at rest,
 Thus roams in giddy toils the female breast;
 Her only care, the hurrying flutter pass'd,
 She must, must wander to her Spouse at last.
 (pp. 9-10)

Rarely do we find an imitation of Juvenal further removed in tone from its model than this.

Greene's imitation of the Third Satire consists almost entirely of animadversions upon the Scots, who were at the time especially unpopular in London.¹⁷ Greene in fact omits two-thirds of the original (ll. 3, 5-6, 9, 12-20, 109-267),¹⁸ retaining only the theme of the honest man's

¹⁷Gallaway, p. 155.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 156, n. 88.

inability to succeed in Rome, Juvenal's attack upon the Greeks (expanded to apply to the Scots) and the dangers to a pedestrian from tall buildings and street brawlers (pp. 22, 24, 36). These last two perils are also attributed to Scotsmen: the high buildings are modeled upon those of Edinburgh, and the street brawlers are all Scots.¹⁹ Greene satirizes everything imaginable about Scotland and the Scots, including the dialect, plaid and oatmeal (pp. 29, 30). Scottish authors also share in the indictment, as Greene pokes fun at Smollet, Macpherson and Mallet (pp. 26, 32). But he never approaches the virulence of Juvenal. For example, he warns the reader to be wary of the treachery of the Scots, not because a Scotsman will debauch every member of an Englishman's family if he gets the chance, but because he will get together with "some other friend, and laugh at you" (p. 27). Nor does Greene provide adequate parallels for the vices Juvenal sees imported into Rome. Instead of patronizing foreign whores and wearing effeminate dress (ll. 65-68), Londoners in his poem "dance, lisp French, and jingle the guittar" (p. 25). Indeed, Greene, quite unlike Juvenal, reserves his satire mainly for foreigners, while praising London and native-born Englishmen. Thus when needy Scots invade England,

¹⁹Ibid., p. 155.

the good Londoners

give them what they seek,
Our honest souls on Scripture-plan proceed;
We clothe the naked, and the hungry feed.
(p. 20)

And at the end of his imitation Greene, instead of lamenting the need for more prisons, describes the demolition of Newgate and praises contemporary Londoners' taste in dungeons (p. 38). Summarizing the relatively trivial vices and follies of his imitation, Greene confidently concludes that "experience boasts our spotless times,/ Which curse the mighty heap of former crimes" (p. 38).

By now we are accustomed to Greene's manner and are not amazed to find in his imitation of the Sixth Satire that his treatment of women is both sentimental and respectful. Nevertheless he has a surprise in store: Juvenal's main theme is reversed. Whereas Juvenal attempts to dissuade his friend Postumus from the dangers of marriage, Greene solemnly strives to convince a youthful rake, "gay Strephon" (p. 64), that his "ungovern'd life/ Must feel the rein to fit [him] for a wife" (p. 65), adding a short disquisition on the happiness of marriage to a virtuous woman (pp. 65-66). He even goes so far as to call "for bliss, for blessings on the fair" (p. 65). Greene does spend the greater part of his imitation (pp. 66-91) satirizing women, but the nature of his indictment is far different from Juvenal's. (For instance,

he accuses a young wife both of leaving home in England with her restless husband and of frigidity [pp. 65-66]. But here Greene apparently felt that, to be fair, he must again satirize a rake. Thus Juvenal's worn-out gladiator for whom Eppia fled her husband and family becomes a "comely youth" who gains a title, but subsequently loses all at cards [p. 67].)²⁰ Greene also chastises English women for such crimes as : bankrupting their husbands and pawning the family jewels (pp. 68-69); appearing beautiful but being intellectually deficient (p. 70); speaking French (p. 70); dominating the kitchen (p. 71); speaking behind the backs of friends (p. 72); overdressing in summer because it is fashionable (p. 73); playing popular music rather than "great Handel's" (p. 76); and reading the Arabian Nights (p. 79). The conclusion which Greene ultimately reaches is that while Englishwomen commit numerous follies, they are nevertheless superior to their counterparts in classical times (p. 91). Clearly, sentimentalism has won the day.

Greene's imitation of the Tenth Satire is somewhat closer to its original than his versions of the First and Third. He tries to find contemporary parallels for

²⁰This seems to be the only explanation for the phrase "His virtues and his fame/Let the poor relics of a club proclaim" (p. 67).

nearly everything in the Satire except, of course, the grossness and salaciousness in Juvenal's descriptions of old age and the dangers of beauty. After the introductory satire on wealth (pp. 138-39), in which he (as usual) manages to attack Scotland and the Scots, Greene calls upon the spirit of "freeborn Swift" to inspire his efforts (p. 139). The parallels which he subsequently provides for Juvenal's examples of ambitious men are generally less convincing than their originals. Sejanus becomes William Pitt, lavishly praised by Greene (pp. 138, 141, 148), whose gout and retirement furnish his enemies with topics of conversation (p. 141); Sir William Pulteney is substituted for Cicero and Demosthenes as an example of an orator possessing fatal eloquence, though he did not in fact meet an untimely end and thus provides a weak parallel (pp. 143-44); Cromwell replaces Juvenal's vain-glorious general (p. 145); Hannibal becomes Frederick the Great (who was not even dead at the time) advancing on Vienna (pp. 145-46); and Charles XII takes the place of Alexander the Great (p. 147). Greene does manage one ingenious shift in this section when he converts Hannibal's elephants into the image of Russia as a "huge elephant of battle" (p. 145). His handling of Juvenal's account of old age has some of the power of the original, but its flaw is extreme delicacy. Where Juvenal describes an old

man's constantly running nose (l. 149), Greene begins to follow, then discreetly breaks off: "The nose-let decency conceal the rest" (p. 148). The only sexual reference retained is presented with equal prudence:

His [the old man's] will leaves all to Lucy in his stead;
 Insidious Harlot! Whose triumphant art
 To doting age love's opiates can impart.
 (p. 149)

Even in this part of his imitation Greene is unable to forget the Scots, and the plan of the original Satire breaks off as he changes Juvenal's Priam into "Scottish James," attacks the "plaided murd'ers" who supported him, and praises William of Orange for defeating him (pp. 150-52). Unfortunately, this digression leaves no room for providing the specific examples of dotage by which Juvenal reinforces his points, and the satire here is accordingly weakened. After describing the unpleasantness of old age, Greene adds a trivial account of the dangers of beauty in which his chief complaint seems to be that beauty inspires slander (pp. 153-54). The tragic tale of Messalina and Silius is replaced by an account of a beautiful maid who gives herself to a wealthy upstart, "While worth in vain sits sighing for her charms" (p. 153). Greene concludes the imitation with a conventional Christian exhortation to look to heaven for comfort and guidance, an exhortation which seems inappropriate to the rest of the satire,

especially as it follows upon examples of mere foolishness and folly which Green fails to establish as either "troops of evils" or a "headlong torrent of desires" (p. 154).

Needless to say, the sentimental Greene fails to reproduce the cynical, relentless manner of Juvenal's Tenth Satire.

Our examination of Greene's imitations of Juvenal's best-known Satires (Greene imitated all sixteen) is intended to show how those Satires were reconstructed by the average eighteenth-century adapting poet. Greene means well in his imitations, but he is induced to stray further from his originals than he perhaps intended by three main factors. First, many of the vices in the Satires were too extreme to have had close counterparts in eighteenth-century England; second, Greene was influenced by the widespread sentimental attitudes of the latter half of the century; and third, his imitations try to be in some part corrective. The effects of "sentimentalism"²¹ upon eighteenth-century attitudes toward human failings are obvious. The heinous crimes of classical times could not be truthfully assigned to persons and events in England, and dwelling upon them might in fact have harmed a more refined society by their obscenity. To cultivate such

²¹For pertinent discussions of the rise of sentimentalism in the eighteenth century see the articles by Wilkinson and Carnochan cited earlier in this chapter.

reticence would not have occurred to a Restoration poet, who wrote of and for a court whose vices were at least suspected of being a fair equivalent of those in decadent Rome. Finally, the desire to adapt Juvenal to corrective satire, a desire which we also noted in Young, appears as well in Greene's imitations and influences his manner of altering the original Satires. Thus, in his version of the Third Satire Greene generally praises London and "blames" the Scots, and in his imitation of the Sixth Satire, aware that men were much more promiscuous in eighteenth-century England than women,²² he changes the Satire's original theme to convince a young rake that he must mend his ways to be worthy of marriage. Here as elsewhere in his imitations of Juvenal "Sentimentalism has replaced the satirist's rapier with a foil."²³

This, then, is the typical tone given to Juvenal by the eighteenth century poet. As in the adaptations of Young and Greene, Juvenal's bawdry is either omitted or made merely risque, his great "tragic" vices are turned into lesser crimes or follies, his gloomy outlook is avoided, his impassioned expression is made less shrill, and he is often given a Christian perspective. In short,

²²Gallaway, p. 160.

²³Ibid.

Juvenal is watered down. Against this background, Johnson's imitations of the Third and Tenth Satires - the last major adaptations of Juvenal in England - appear rather as anachronisms, with London seeming to belong, with its impassioned tone and vitality, to the previous century. As we will see, Johnson in his imitations manages to convey something of both the gusto of Restoration adaptations and the sanctimoniousness of Young's and Greene's. But much of his manner is also new.

Johnson's London stands out noticeably from contemporary adaptations of Juvenal in its lack of sentimentality and its indignant tone. It is also distinguished from the imitations we have thus far considered in the amount of interest it has generated among modern critics. While little attention has been given to the adaptations of Oldham and Dryden, for instance, London as an imitation of Juvenal has come under the sharpest scrutiny of the "new criticism."²⁴ In examining this poem, our purpose is merely to analyze the relationship between an adaptation of Juvenal and its model. Other hotly

²⁴The most prominent recent studies of this imitation are Mary Lascelles, "Johnson and Juvenal," in New Light on Dr. Johnson, pp. 34-46; John Hardy, "Johnson's London: The Country Versus the City," in R.F. Brissenden, ed., Studies in the Eighteenth Century (Toronto, 1968), pp. 251-68; Weinbrot, pp. 165-91; P.A. O'Flaherty, "The Art of Johnson's London (unpublished MS).

debated issues, for example the question of the historical accuracy of the portrait of London contained in the poem and the question of the sincerity of Johnson's own views expressed in it, are therefore irrelevant to the task at hand.²⁵ Our concern with the opinions Johnson expresses in his imitation is with whether or not these involve alterations of the Third Satire, not with whether such opinions are contrary to personal views he may have held at the time of the composition of London. A few biographical considerations will, however, be helpful when we consider The Vanity of Human Wishes, but even then only when we discuss passages in which that imitation ceases to function as satire.

Earlier critics of this century, by dismissing London as merely "an exercise in translation with a change of names,"²⁶ unknowingly praised Johnson's skill in adapting Juvenal's Third Satire to his own purposes. London, as we will see, is primarily a political satire, and its original, as we recall, is not. To change Juvenal's purpose Johnson had to make substantial alterations in the original plan of the Satire, besides making the more obvious changes in persons, places and events. Johnson's intention is clearly to praise flight

²⁵For discussions of these points see Weinbrot, pp. 166-69; Hardy, pp. 252-53; O'Flaherty, pp. 1-3.

²⁶William Henry Irving, John Gay's London, p. 96.

to the country while damning life in the city. In this respect London at first glance seems to be no more constructive than the Third Satire, for it presents no direct solution for eliminating the causes of the evils which afflict the city. This is one reason why London may at a cursory glance appear to be a close imitation of its model: behind its rage can be seen something of the gloomy despair of the original. Indeed, in this respect there is more of a Juvenalian tone in this adaptation than in any we have yet examined. But the resemblance between the two poems is primarily a resemblance in tone only. Unlike Juvenal, Johnson does not subtly undercut his persona's election of life in the country or express ambivalent feelings for the city. His recommendation of country life is both sincere and workable, and his condemnation of London whole-hearted. We will now look at the detailed changes Johnson makes in the Third Satire and note how these somewhat brutal changes affect other aspects of the art of the Third Satire.

As in Dryden's version of the Third Satire, Johnson's introduction to the main body of the poem noticeably lacks the easygoing, humorously ironic tone of the original by which Juvenal establishes his true attitude toward the "virtues" of the country. Johnson avoids Dryden's exaggerations of both the dangers of the city and

the advantages of the country, but leaves no doubt of his own attitude toward the city and his belief that in leaving it his "friend" Thales is making the right decision. There is none of the irony evident in Juvenal's references to the dilapidated town of Cumae and the barren island Prochyta (ll. 4-5) in the satirist's rhetorical query

For who would leave, unbrib'd, Hibernia's land,
Or change the rocks of Scotland for the Strand?²⁷

even though Johnson's subsequent statement that in these places "all whom hunger spares, with age decay" (l. 12) might render this rather jejune rhetoric questionable. The implication here is simply that it is better to accept whatever is offered by "the rocks of Scotland" than to be "swept by sudden fate away" (l. 11) by such unnatural hazards of the city as "relentless ruffians," a "fell attorney," toppling houses and "a female atheist" (ll. 15-18). Thus in his "calmer thoughts" Johnson can commend Thales' decision to leave vicious London (ll. 3-5). Johnson eliminates altogether the ironical manner of Juvenal's introduction, and in doing so he firmly establishes that his own attitudes toward the city and country are identical with those which Thales expresses throughout the satire.

²⁷Poems, p. 48, ll. 9-10. All subsequent citations of Johnson's poems are from this, the Yale edition.

Thales himself follows the pattern of praise and blame established by Johnson in the introduction. Though at the beginning of his speech he explicitly asks for a "pleasing bank where verdant osiers play" and a "peaceful vale with nature's paintings gay" as his country sanctuary (ll. 45-46), Thales also suggests that a "pathless waste" or "peaceful desert" (ll. 171, 173) is an equally acceptable alternative to London, so dangerous has the city become. As in the introduction, Johnson presents extreme alternatives to life in London to emphasize the city's foulness. The speaker is willing to make great sacrifices in order to escape it. Of course these alternatives are not truly practicable - hence the more realistic retreat Thales describes in the opening of his speech. Nevertheless, though partly rhetorical, Thales' praise of the country as preferable to the corrupt city is sincere. Now this is not the same kind of "praise" we find in the speech of Juvenal's Umbricius, where every description of rural life, no matter how "romantic" it may appear, is in fact permeated with irony. All but one of these rural portraits are excluded from London. The passage which Johnson retains, Juvenal's description of an economical country home (ll. 223-31), is converted into a truly idyllic description of an English estate:

Could'st thou resign the park and play content,
 For the fair banks of Severn or of Trent;
 There might'st thou find some elegant retreat,
 Some hireling senator's deserted seat;
 And stretch thy prospects o'er the smiling land,
 For less than rent the dungeons of the Strand;
 There prune thy walks, support thy drooping flow'rs,
 Direct thy rivulets, and twine thy bow'rs;
 And, while thy grounds a cheap repast afford,
 Despise the dainties of a venal lord:
 There ev'ry bush with nature's musick rings,
 There ev'ry breeze bears health upon its wings;
 On all thy hours security shall smile,
 And bless thine evening walk and morning toil.
 (ll. 210-23)

Rather than the small garden of Umbricius' account with its "single lizard" (l. 231), Thales envisions for his friend the satirist, if he will abandon the park and play, extensive holdings in land and an "elegant retreat" far more attractive than Umbricius' farm. This, like Thales' earlier account of a "pleasing bank" and "peaceful vale," is Johnson's normative example of country life. While the extreme alternatives he presents to city life are genuinely recommended - anything, Johnson maintains, is preferable to London - they are not the only options, since Thales has shown a comfortable life on a country estate to be within reach as well. Thus the radical "virtues" are relegated to the rhetorical function of exaggerating the undesirability of life in the city, to which Johnson shows the country to be a desirable and, as we will see, even necessary alternative.

The one major flaw in London lies in the ethos of Thales: his character is not as convincingly righteous as that of Juvenal's Umbricius. Weinbrot has noted this and discusses the problem at some length.²⁸ But while his apparent conclusion - that Thales' character is not as credible as that of Umbricius - seems correct, I believe Weinbrot has not paid sufficient attention either to London's element of blame, the art of the original Satire, or the influence of other satires as reasons for its relative failure.

Thales' character has much in common with that of Umbricius. He is a "true Briton" (l. 8), firmly associated with his country's past greatness, who in London has lost the freedom which was his birthright. Like Umbricius, Thales partly establishes his good character through what he says he is unable or unwilling to do in order to succeed in the city:

Here let those reign, whom pensions can incite
To vote a patriot black, a courtier white;
Explain their country's dear-bought rights away,
And plead for pirates in the face of day;
With slavish tenets taint our poison'd youth,
And lend a lye the confidence of truth.
(ll. 51-56)

He will not steal, commit perjury (l. 68), falsely praise a noble's rhymes (l. 70), pimp or seduce a virgin (ll. 77-78),

²⁸See Weinbrot, pp. 170-81.

or accept a bribe (ll. 87-88). Thus far the development of Thales' character closely follows that of his model. But Juvenal, we recall, knew that the seeming righteousness of a character cannot depend solely upon his personal account of his virtues. In the Third Satire, therefore, he provides two extended accounts of Umbricius' misfortunes in Rome. In one passage we have seen (ll. 235-67), Juvenal describes Umbricius' difficulties in getting through the heavy traffic of the Subura and, what is more important, his sympathetic response to the less fortunate victims of the indifferent mob; in the other (ll. 286-301), Juvenal describes Umbricius' intimidation by a rich ruffian. Both passages elicit our sympathy for Umbricius; and the former convinces us as well that Umbricius is indeed a "good man" who can righteously judge evil and corruption in others. Now Johnson excludes both passages from his poem, so that, as Weinbrot says, "we are forced to rely...on Thales' assertions - on his telling rather than showing - of his own virtue and the sins that abound in London."²⁹ Without the qualification of these passages, Thales is less convincing than Umbricius as a righteous critic of others. The exclusion of these accounts, however, is not due to shortsightedness on Johnson's part, but rather to his correct apprehension of

²⁹Ibid., p. 173.

Juvenal's other purpose in these descriptions and of its incompatibility with his own overriding intention to denigrate London. We remember that the ambivalence of Juvenal's attitude toward Rome is especially evident in his description of the city traffic, which is rich in its attention to details of humanity. Since Juvenal does not intend to depict Rome as wholly depraved,³⁰ he expresses its human qualities as well as its inhumanity in his Satire. But Johnson, for reasons we will later consider, intends to convince the reader that London is entirely evil. Accordingly, he refuses to intersperse his attack with examples of "normal" humanity, or to include the snatches of humor which both passages he omits also contain. Johnson's satiric purpose is quite different from Juvenal's, his picture of the city more distorted. Omitting these sections of the Third Satire would have strengthened the ethos of Thales but would have introduced an ambivalent note into his account of London. Thus the omissions help Johnson achieve his desired satiric distortion.

³⁰We must remember that the moral decay which Juvenal believes is pervasive throughout his society is generally confined to the upper classes. Here in the Third Satire Juvenal occasionally includes glimpses of the lower classes to render his picture of Roman society more convincing.

In his manner of establishing Thales' moral character Johnson continues something of a tradition, employing a method followed by both Oldham and Dryden. While he may not have been familiar with Oldham's imitation of the Third Satire,³¹ it is certain that he knew Dryden's translation.³² For instance, the well-known couplet

All sciences a fasting Monsieur knows,
And bid him go to hell, to hell he goes
(11. 115-16)

is a close paraphrase of Dryden's

All things the hungry Greek exactly knows:
And bid him go to Heav'n, to Heav'n he goes.
(11. 140-41)

This resemblance to Dryden appears as well in Johnson's description of Thales at the opening of his speech. Johnson, like Dryden,³³ cannot wait to acquaint the reader with his character's mood: thus we are told that "with contemptuous frown,/Indignant Thales eyes the neighb'ring town" (11. 33-34), though there is no authority for this in the original. The "just Disdain" and "too honest Face" which Dryden's Umbricius ascribes to himself - again

³¹Boswell (Life of Johnson, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, rev. L.F. Powell [Oxford, 1934], I, 119) cites two instances of verbal resemblance between London and the "Imitation of the Third of Juvenal": cf. Johnson, 11. 94, 115; and Oldham, 11. 87-88, 115-16.

³²Johnson had Dryden's Juvenal with him at Oxford in 1728, in 1735, and employed it both in preparing the Dictionary and writing The Vanity of Human Wishes (Weinbrot, pp. 69-70).

³³See above, pp. 115-16.

without authority from Juvenal - seem to have provided Johnson precedent for Thales' claim to "surly virtue" (l. 145) and the occasionally self-righteous tone of his speech. The latter is apparent in these remarks:

But what, my friend, what hope remains for me,
Who start at theft, and blush at perjury?

. . . The cheated nation's happy fav'rites, see!
Mark whom the great caress, who frown on me!

(ll. 67-68, 91-92)

The self-pitying note in these lines would be more credible in the speech of either Juvenal's or Dryden's Umbricius, as these characters are at least old men, for whom it would be difficult to leave the city for a new way of life. But the comparatively young Thales, in whose veins "life still vig'rous revels" (l. 42), presumably intends to start a new life as a gentleman farmer. Hence his despair of finding advancement in the city invites but little of our sympathy. Furthermore, Thales' self-righteousness in lines 67-68 appears hypocritical when considered in the light of a later passage in which he complains that native Britons, and by implication he himself, in vain ... /Strain out with fault'ring diffidence a lye" (ll. 129-30).

We can excuse much of the self-righteousness or "surly virtue" in Thales' speech by remembering that for structural reasons in London it is necessary for Thales to describe his virtue rather than demonstrate it.

Moreover, it may be argued that Johnson was misled by

Dryden's account of Umbricius in his translation of the Third Satire. But there is no excuse for the tone of "satiric superiority"³⁴ Thales assumes at the end of the satire. Juvenal's Umbricius, taking leave of his friend, modestly promises to help³⁵ him write his satires when he visits the country, "if [the satires] think me worthy of that honour" (l. 322). Thales, however, first implies that his friend lacks the intelligence to leave London before spending his "youth, and health, and fortune" (l. 256). Then, in a condescending manner, he says that his friend must accept his help in writing his satires:

Then shall thy friend, nor thou refuse his aid,
Still foe to vice, forsake his Cambrian shade;
In virtue's cause once more exert his rage,
Thy satire point, and animate thy page.
(ll. 260-63)

Here Johnson obviously did not follow Dryden, whose conclusion is nearly as modest as Juvenal's:

Be mindful of your Friend; and send me word,
What Joys your Fountains and cool Shades afford:
Then, to assist your Satyrs, I will come:
And add new Venom, when you write of Rome.
(ll. 500-03)

The faults in Johnson's presentation of his major character are often excusable, but are nonetheless real. The

³⁴Weinbrot, p. 178.

³⁵I am reading adjutor for auditor in the final line of the Third Satire as in the Prateus text, which Johnson, as well as Dryden, employed in his adaptations (ibid., p. 179, n. 21).

credibility of Thales' character is the weak point in Johnson's imitation of the Third Satire. London's strength lies elsewhere: we are convinced of the justice of Johnson's satire by the sheer force of his assault on the city.

Probably the most obvious difference between Johnson's imitation and Juvenal's Third Satire is Johnson's comparative lack of attention to naturalistic detail. Juvenal's emphasis upon squalid detail and attention to the degeneracy of a variety of individuals in the city are not reproduced in London. We have already discussed two descriptive passages which Johnson excludes; and there are still other omissions. There are no parallels for the whores (ll. 65-66, 133-36), Greek-struck Quirinus (ll. 67-68), individual Greek actors (ll. 108-09), Greek sycophants (l. 120), rich old maids (l. 130), and many other notable characters of the Third Satire. Even the unfortunate Codrus, whose home is consumed by fire (ll. 203-11), is excluded from London and replaced by an impersonal "you" (ll. 186-91). In addition Johnson omits Juvenal's gross imagery and much of his abuse of foreigners. This method of handling the topical matter of the Third Satire, however, is not due exclusively to Johnson's well-known habit of generalizing persons and events, so evident in the later Vanity of Human Wishes.

Rather, in London Johnson is not primarily concerned with revealing the city's squalor and corruption.³⁶ London, we have said, is first of all a political satire, and Johnson has eliminated all the particulars of the original which do not bear directly upon its primary theme, namely, the Walpole administration as the source of both the political and social immorality of the city.

As we noted earlier, in London Thales has been deprived of his freedom. Specifically, Thales, a true-born Englishman, has been deprived of the ability to make his way in the city by Frenchmen who have overrun the capital, supplanting natives like himself in both choice and not-so-choice jobs. Thus Thales, unable or unwilling to compete with a "fasting Monsieur" or "supple Gaul" (l. 124), flees to the country. But the role played by the Frenchmen in London and their importance to the satire differ from the function and importance of the Greeks in the Third Satire. To Juvenal the presence of the Greeks in Rome is indicative of the two related sources of the corruption of Rome: namely, wealth and too long a duration of peace. These sources, later stated in the Sixth Satire (ll. 292-300), are implicit throughout the Third; Juvenal believed they combined to create a materialistic, "soft" society to which Greeks were attracted and which in turn

³⁶O'Flaherty, p. 9.

found Greek values attractive. Moreover, to Juvenal the Greeks were also substantial dangers in themselves as the direct cause of the decline in the sexual morality of Rome.³⁷ In London Johnson, similarly, sees the French as a source of moral enervation; hence we "Behold the warrior dwindled to a beau" (l. 104). However, for Johnson the French are more important as symbols of the Walpole administration's subservient foreign and corrupt domestic policies. The French threat to England is double-barreled. From without France, Britain's natural rival, threatens English liberty and meets no opposition from the servile Walpole administration. From within the French, "a nation of slaves"³⁸ (ll. 117, 146), "Their air, their dress, their politics import" (l. 110) and in this way too threaten English liberty. To Johnson the subservience of Londoners to French values is merely a reflection of their government's foreign policy. The French presence in London is symptomatic of the corruption of the political administration; and it is thus the administration itself, not the French, which directly threatens traditional English freedoms.

The symbolic role of the French in Johnson's imitation shows London to be politically rather than

³⁷Gilbert Highet, Juvenal the Satirist, p. 72.

³⁸Weinbrot, p. 187.

socially oriented. Wealth, too durable a peace and the morally corrupting influence of foreigners are social factors, and these motivate Juvenal's Satire. But London focuses upon politics, and in it the Walpole establishment motivates Johnson's attack as the source of both "corruption at home and appeasement abroad."³⁹ Now it is true that London functions as social as well as political satire, for in it we find Johnson berating sycophancy, bribery, drunkards, pimps and fops, besides distinctly political targets. However, in Johnson's imitation the subjects of his social indignation derive their corruption ultimately from a political source and throughout the satire are given a uniformly political coloring. For example, after he describes the dangers arising from a "fiery fop" (ll. 226-27), "frolick drunkard" (ll. 226-29) and a "midnight murd'rer" (ll. 236-41), he adds this:

Scarce can our fields, such crowds at Tyburn die,
With hemp the gallows and the fleet supply.
Propose your schemes, ye Senatorian band,
Whose Ways and Means support the sinking land;
Lest ropes be wanting in the tempting spring,
To rig another convoy for the k---g.
(ll. 242-47)

As John Hardy notes, these lines demonstrate Johnson's manner of associating the social with the political immorality of London. Thus "Hemp" links a crowded gallows

³⁹Sir Sidney Roberts, cited by M.J.C. Hodgart, Samuel Johnson and His Times (London, 1962), p. 28.

with George II's reprehensible political conduct - his "visits to Hanover on behalf of his very un-English interests and German mistress."⁴⁰ And, to cite Hardy again, when Johnson says that the Senate's "Ways and Means support the sinking land" he is implying that "The moral degeneracy of the nation is...the result of its corrupt administration and court."⁴¹ In this way the social satire in London is always ancillary to the political satire. London is thus far different in intention from Juvenal's Third Satire, in which the satirist's political reflections⁴² are merely the by-products of his social satire.

The political nature of London becomes even more apparent when we fully understand Johnson's purpose in emphasizing the character Orgilio. The name Orgilio appears twice in London. The first time it is as a substitute for Juvenal's Verres (ll. 53-54), the second, for Juvenal's Persicus (ll. 212-22). The same person is obviously referred to both times, since Johnson includes too few proper names in his imitation to have been guilty of accidental duplication. (Besides, Johnson revised the

⁴⁰Hardy, p. 256.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 257.

⁴²See, for example, lines 153-159, where Juvenal in passing berates the tribune Otho for the law he devised (67 B.C.) automatically depriving men without sufficient property - like Juvenal himself - of the best theater seats (Juvenal: The Sixteen Satires, trans. Peter Green, pp. 101-02, n. 18).

poem twice, in 1748 and 1750.⁴³ It is unlikely that such an obvious oversight would have passed unnoticed.) Significantly, Orgilio is the first character besides Thales to appear with a name completely spelled out, whereas his counterpart in the original is only one of a series of characters. Furthermore, "Orgilio" is not an English equivalent for a Roman name, a circumstance which would have discouraged Johnson's readers from searching for a contemporary reference in the name itself, drawing their attention instead to the name of the character it replaces. Johnson, it would seem, intended to single out Verres from among the other characters in the Third Satire and focus his readers' attention upon him. To the alert among his readers this design would have been clear, for Johnson had provided the relevant Latin at the bottom of each page.⁴⁴ This is in fact Johnson's intention, for the name Verres had a special significance both for Johnson as a satirist and for his audience.

Verres was a well-known figure in the literature of Juvenal's day. As Peter Green says, he was "the type

⁴³Weinbrot, p. 167.

⁴⁴Johnson in fact demanded of Cave, his publisher, that the Latin be printed with the imitation. See The Letters of Samuel Johnson, ed. R.W. Chapman (Oxford, 1952), I, 11.

and emblem of the rapacious provincial administrator."⁴⁵ Now as J.H. Plumb notes, the most popular and effective opposition newspaper in England during Walpole's administration was The Craftsman. In it, "Walpole and his ministry were subjected to an endless stream of villification and criticism which made not only England but Europe roar with delight."⁴⁶ John Hardy informs us that the Craftsman had prefixed to its first collected volume (1731-37) a dedication "To the People of England" which "frankly acknowledged Walpole in his public capacity as Prime Minister to be this paper's target." Furthermore, with this dedication there appeared a motto from Cicero's Verrine orations which openly implied that the reprehensible conduct of Verres was quite applicable to Walpole himself as "a second Verres." In the eighth volume of the 1738 edition an entire paper (no. 259) was devoted to explaining "in plain English, for the benefit of female readers, the earlier motto from Cicero."⁴⁷ In

⁴⁵Green, p. 100, n. 7. Verres was the Governor (propraetor) of Sicily (73-70 B.C.) prosecuted by Cicero in his famed Verrine orations for embezzlement and extortion. (Ibid.)

⁴⁶J.H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole: The King's Minister (London, 1960), p. 141.

⁴⁷Hardy, p. 261. I am indebted to Hardy's analysis of London as political satire throughout this part of the chapter.

this issue, Hardy continues,

Verres is obviously meant to stand for Walpole. He is represented as a man 'already condemn'd by the general Voice of the People', as 'a Plunderer of the Treasury' and 'an Invader of the antient Rights of the City' (p. 25). Indeed, he is said to have 'busied himself very diligently, as if he had been born and bred nearer to our Latitude and Times, in plundering and harassing the poor People, over whom he presided' (p. 24). No contemporary would have failed to see that a likeness to Walpole was intended in this portrait, even though the author prudently made the satire more oblique by comparing his ostensible subject with the 'whoreson round Man' and knight, Sir John Falstaff. Sir John and Sir Robert, we are asked to conclude, were alike in both their physical dimensions and moral character, for Sir John was similarly deemed to be a 'Robber of the Exchequer' who publicly invited 'his Prince to take a Share of the Plunder' in the same way that Verres himself 'always distributed a Share of the Booty among his chief Officers and Projectors of his Jobs' (p. 26).⁴⁸

Thus in the period during which London was probably composed the practice of reading Walpole for Verres would have been understood by the large number of The Craftsman's readers, the audience which Johnson would certainly have counted upon for a proper appreciation of his imitation. This audience, then, would have seen in Johnson's first citation of Orgilio - "Who shares Orgilio's crimes, his fortune shares" (l. 84) - a reference, by way of Verres, to Walpole.

Having established that Orgilio is to be read as Walpole, Johnson is next able to adapt Juvenal's account

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 261-62.

of Persicus - also translated as Orgilio - to Walpole himself. In Juvenal's tale Persicus is a rich, childless man whose mansion is destroyed by fire, as a result of which, Juvenal sarcastically observes, "the matrons go dishevelled, your great men put on mourning, the praetor adjourns his court: then...we deplore the calamities of the city, and bewail its fires!" (ll. 212-14) Soon, however, Persicus' sycophantic legacy-hunters completely restore and refurnish his house on a scale even grander than before:

Before the house has ceased to burn, up comes one with a gift of marble or building materials, another offers nude and glistening statues, a third some notable work⁴⁹ of Euphranor or Polyclitus, or bronzes that had been the glory of old Asian shrines. Others will offer books and bookcases, or a bust of Minerva, or a hundredweight of silver plate.

(ll. 215-20)

Thus, Juvenal concludes, Persicus "with good reason incurs the suspicion of having set his own house on fire" (ll. 221-22). The applicability of this portrait to Walpole in Johnson's imitation becomes evident when we again consult J.H. Plumb. Walpole's magnificent Houghton Hall, we are told, was filled with paintings by Titian, Raphael, Rubens, Rembrandt, Poussin and Domenichino and with sculptures, including busts of Roman emperors (even of

⁴⁹i.e. sculpture.

Walpole himself). It was richly appointed with walnut and mahogany, and decorated in crimson and gold. Many of his works of art were supplied by ambassadors, consuls, friends and rich sycophants, some of whom may have been among the noble supplicants who, we are also told, crowded his thrice-weekly levees.⁵⁰

This portrait of Walpole at Houghton shows that in the account of Persicus Johnson had a model remarkably suggestive of his subject and one which his readers would readily associate with Walpole. Accordingly, he writes:

Should heaven's just bolts Orgilio's wealth confound,
And spread his flaming palace on the ground,
Swift o'er the land the dismal rumour flies,
And publick mournings pacify the skies;
The laureat tribe in servile verse relate,
How virtue wars with persecuting fate;
With well-feign'd gratitude the pension'd band
Refund the plunder of the begger'd land.
See! while he builds, the gaudy vassals come,
And crowd with sudden wealth the rising dome;
The price of boroughs and of souls restore,
And raise his treasures higher than before.
Now bless'd with all the baubles of the great,
The polish'd marble, and the shining plate,
Orgilio sees the golden pile aspire,
And hopes from angry heav'n another fire.
(11. 194-209)

Aside from his substitution of Orgilio - Walpole for Persicus, this passage shows Johnson's skill in adapting the social satire of the original to his political purposes. Persicus committed arson to profit from his "insurance,"

⁵⁰Plumb, pp. 249, 85-86, 98.

the legacy-hunters. Orgilio-Walpole, however, commits "publick crimes [which] inflame the wrath of heav'n" (l. 66); heaven in turn attempts to "confound" his wealth by "burning his palace, but its purpose is thwarted and in fact reversed by his parasites, who "raise his treasures higher than before." The "begger'd land" which may be seen metaphorically to pour its wealth into Orgilio's "golden pile" is obviously England, while the "gaudy vassals" or "pension'd band" who provide the flow of plunder represent Walpole's placemen.⁵¹ Orgilio-Walpole is here the fixed center of London, from which Johnson's satire radiates. Walpole and his administration are shown to be the ultimate perverting influence upon all aspects of London life and English foreign policy. Throughout London politicians vote patriots black and courtiers white, plead openly in favor of Spanish pirates, make truth of lies, teach freeborn Englishmen to be slaves and abet the making of a French metropolis on English soil, while at the center of the poem Walpole and his band actively alter the very deeds of heaven.

Thus we see that London is a political satire, in which Johnson leaves no doubt as to his prime target. As we earlier noted, Orgilio-Walpole is the first character

⁵¹Hardy, p. 264.

attacked in the imitation. With the exception of a single reference to George II, he is also the last. Through the skilful use of his model, Johnson makes Walpole and his ministry appear as the source of all the evil of the city. Johnson's "success" lies in his having adapted Juvenal's Third Satire to an almost entirely political subject, while managing to produce an imitation which looks at times very much like its original. In London the social satire of the original is not discarded, but applied to Johnson's political satiric purpose: "the corruption of the whole city is imaginatively linked with the current political scene."⁵² We suggested earlier that London, like its model, does not at first appear to have a constructive purpose, for Johnson does not propose a way of changing the current political system. But in recommending that the reader establish himself in the English countryside, with all its associations of past political greatness, Johnson shows a way of preserving the nation's traditional political values until such time as they can again prevail.

The Tenth is the first of Juvenal's Satires to present a distinctly sincere element of praise in opposition to its element of blame. Furthermore, it is

⁵²Ibid., p. 267.

one of only two of Juvenal's Satires which follow the so-called classical satura pattern, which consists of a major portion devoted to attack followed by a short didactic coda recommending virtue.⁵³ Thus, unlike such a Satire as the Third, the Tenth's "praise" and "blame" are distinctly separate, and the satirist's true purpose is made readily apparent to the reader. The Tenth Satire is, as we have seen, of simple and uniform design: it is an unrelieved attack upon the entire human situation as Juvenal sees it, concluded and balanced by a generally Stoic recommendation to virtue. Given Juvenal's clear purpose in this Satire and his unflinching consistency in carrying it out, we might think it no difficult matter for a poet of Johnson's skill to write an imitation of it which accurately reproduces its singleness of purpose and clarity of design.

But while Johnson in The Vanity of Human Wishes does not accurately reproduce his model in all respects, the usual critical opinion that it is "a work which can properly be said to exist independently of its Latin original"⁵⁴ is misleading. The Vanity of Human Wishes is

⁵³The only other Satire which seems to follow this pattern is the Fourteenth: it too offers a distinctive element of praise in the form of a coda (ll. 316-31).

⁵⁴Hardy, p. 251.

a hybrid: it is partly a close imitation of the manner and purpose of Juvenal's Tenth Satire and partly an independent treatment of Juvenal's theme; to these is added a concluding recommendation to virtue which does not seem quite to fit either part. The failure of Johnson to resolve these inconsistencies somewhat blurs the satire's focus and ultimately seems to remove the poem, as an adaptation, far from its model.

Recalling our study of the Tenth Satire in the preceding chapter, the first difference between this Satire and Johnson's imitation which must strike our attention is in the title, where Johnson announces that he has altered Juvenal's theme. Originally a satire upon "The Temptations and Dangers of Prayer,"⁵⁵ Juvenal's Tenth will now be applied to the more explicitly Christian subject of vain desires. However, we soon discover that Johnson does not similarly intend to relieve the harshness of the original by giving it the mild Christian tone of, say, Young's Love of Fame. Indeed, in adapting the introductory section of the Tenth Satire (ll. 1-53), in which Juvenal defines both his subject and mode of attack, Johnson shows even less humor than Juvenal himself. In the original Satire the tone does not become wholly

⁵⁵D.E. Eichholz, "The Art of Juvenal and His Tenth Satire," Greece and Rome, III (1956), 63.

pessimistic until the end of the introductory section.

For example, Juvenal's account of the rich and poor nocturnal travelers is serious, but straightforward:

"Though you carry but few plain silver vessels with you in a night journey, you will be afraid of the sword and cudgel of a freebooter, you will tremble at the shadow of a reed shaking in the moonlight; but the empty-handed traveller will whistle in the robber's face" (ll. 19-22). Johnson, however, changes Juvenal's presentation and makes a gloomier moral statement:

The needy traveller, secure and gay,
Walks the wild heath, and sings his toil away.
Does envy seize thee? crush th' upbraiding joy,
Increase his riches and his peace destroy;
Now fears in dire vicissitude invade,
The rustling brake alarms, and quiv'ring shade,
Nor light nor darkness bring his pain relief,
One shews the plunder, and one hides the thief.
(ll. 37-44)

Here the traveler progresses from poverty and happiness to wealth and misery. Johnson cannot wait to begin his humorless denunciation of the folly of vain wishes, and it spills over into the introduction. Consequently, we are not surprised to find that, once having assumed the Democritan mode of denunciation (as defined by Juvenal), Johnson's tone is as harsh as Juvenal's.

Like Juvenal, Johnson calls upon Democritus to "See motly life in modern trappings dress'd" in order to "feed with varied fools th' eternal jest" (ll. 51-52).

Johnson's philosopher is fully as merciless as Juvenal's, a man who could laugh at people enchained by want and crushed by toil (ll. 53-54), at examples both of happiness and pain (ll. 65-68). Were he alive in England, Johnson assures us, he would "shake [with laughter] at Britain's modish tribe" (l. 61). And, Johnson says, the scorn he would feel, "Renew'd at ev'ry glance on humankind," would be "just" (ll. 70-71). Accordingly, Johnson proceeds to subject examples of modern aspirations to Democritus' cynical gaze. In one account "Unnumber'd suppliants croud Preferment's gate" (l. 73), who "mount,..shine, evaporate, and fall" (l. 76); ultimately "Hate dogs their flight, and insult mocks their end" (l. 78). In another Johnson traces a statesman's fall from popularity. The statesman is a pitiable figure, but Johnson shows him no mercy. He is abandoned by worshipers, partisan journalists and flattering dedicators and evicted from his residence, from which his portraits are also removed to be "smoak'd in kitchens, or in auctions sold" (l. 85) for their frames:

For now no more we trace in ev'ry line
 Heroic worth, benevolence divine:
 The form distorted justifies the fall,
 And detestation rids th' indignant wall.
(ll. 87-90)

The merciless derision of these lines is as corrosive as anything in Juvenal.

It seems, then, that Johnson's intention was to produce an imitation as cynical in tone as the Tenth Satire. Certainly in the introductory section of The Vanity of Human Wishes his satiric purpose is to attack all forms of human aspirations in close imitation of the manner of Juvenal. But in the subsequent account of the fall of Wolsey we find Johnson's satiric blow strangely softened. Wolsey is the counterpart of Juvenal's Sejanus, whose ignominious downfall Juvenal savagely ridicules. The head of Sejanus' statue is melted down to form cooking utensils and chamber pots (ll. 61-64), while the corpse of Sejanus himself is publicly dragged along the streets by a hook, jeered by the rabble and trampled upon by his former friends (ll. 66-69, 85-88). Compared to this, the fate of Wolsey is mild. Scorned by suplicants, abandoned by his followers and afflicted with maladies, he ends his days in a monastery, where "his last sighs reproach the faith of kings" (ll. 112-20). Johnson's description of the fates attending scholarship goes even further toward mildness, for here he changes Juvenal's harsh mockery of the careers and downfall of Cicero and Demosthenes (ll. 114-32) into discouraging yet sympathetic advice offered to a young scholar (ll. 135-74). Again, his account of Laud, whose learning unhappily led to his execution, lacks the derisiveness of the earlier part of the satire:

Mark'd out by dangerous parts he meets the shock,
 And fatal Learning leads him to the block:
 Around his tomb let Art and Genius weep,
 But hear his death, ye blockheads, hear and sleep.
 (ll. 171-74)

Johnson's only concession to Juvenal is "ye blockheads."
 Johnson is moving steadily away from his original intention.
 At this point in the satire he is still attempting to
 expose the vanity of human aspirations, but he no longer
 subscribes to Juvenal's bitter tone of denunciation.
 Following the section on scholarship, his descriptions
 often include pathos. "Swedish Charles" (l. 192) is shown
 to be "the victim of a superb delusion."⁵⁶ His counterpart
 in the original Satire is Hannibal, but Johnson's heroic
 description of Charles XII's "frame of adamant" and "soul
 of fire" (l. 193) is very unlike Juvenal's contemptuous
 sneer at "the one-eyed General riding on a Gaetulian beast"
 (l. 158). Charles's advance upon Russia is described in
 heroic phrases:

The march begins in military state,
 And nations on his eye suspended wait;
 Stern Famine guards the solitary coast,
 And Winter barricades the realms of Frost;
 He comes, not want and cold his course delay;-
 (ll. 205-09)

which help to give his subsequent defeat the flavor of
 tragedy, while the tale of Hannibal's exploits is
 punctuated with sarcastic statements:

⁵⁶ Henry Gifford, "The Vanity of Human Wishes,"
RES, VI (1955), 164.

he splits the rocks asunder, and breaks up the mountain-
 side with vine-
 gar!...O what a sight was that! What a picture it would
 make....
 (11. 153, 157)

Even when describing Hannibal's death and legacy, Juvenal invites our contempt:⁵⁷ "On! on! thou madman, and race over the wintry Alps, that thou mayest be the delight of schoolboys and supply declaimers with a theme!" (11. 165-66) Charles's inconsequential end, however, contrasting sharply with his heroic manner, prompts our pity:

His fall was destin'd to a barren strand,
 A petty fortress, and a dubious hand;
 He left the name, at which the world grew pale,
 To point a moral, or adorn a tale.
 (11. 219-22)

Clearly, we are at a far remove from Juvenal. Johnson's element of attack, bravely begun in the opening section of his satire, has changed largely to commiseration for his victims. Occasionally the attack recurs, as when Johnson satirizes the aging miser who wished for long life (11. 255-90); but even here he fails to make his victim appear ludicrous. Indeed, Johnson's other examples of the miseries of old age are of people who apparently did not wish for long life, but had it thrust upon them. The first of these individuals (Johnson, we are told, had

⁵⁷Hannibal's death, Juvenal tells us, was a suicide committed with a poison ring (11. 164-66). Dryden captures the contemptuous connotations in Juvenal's anulus in his own translation: Hannibal's death was "a sucking Infant's Fate" (l. 270).

his mother in mind when he gave this example),⁵⁸ corresponding to Juvenal's Priam, is shown to be virtuous, "exempt from scorn or crime" (l. 292), and possessed of both an endearing benevolence and a "congratulating Conscience" (ll. 295-96). "Yet," says Johnson,

ev'n on this her load Misfortune flings,
To press the weary minutes flagging wings:
New sorrow rises as the day returns,
A sister sickens, or a daughter mourns.
Now kindred Merit fills the sable bier,
Now lacerated Friendship claims a tear.
Year chases year, decay pursues decay,
Still drops some joy from with'ring life away;
New forms arise, and diff'rent views engage,
Superfluous lags the vet'ran on the stage,
Till pitying Nature signs the last release,
And bids afflicted worth retire to peace.
(ll. 299-310)

Another is Swift, who here "expires a driv'ler and a show" (l. 318), though Johnson could hardly have considered it likely that the satirist who created the unfortunate Struldbrugs would have wished for himself an overly long life. In these examples the point of Juvenal's satire is lost, for these victims have succumbed not to vain wishes, but, as P.A. O'Flaherty notes, to "the limitations of human life."⁵⁹ Examples such as these do not fit in with Johnson's satiric plan. Rather, they are revelations, unintentional perhaps, of Johnson's own view of human life;

⁵⁸Poems, p. 105, n. 291.

⁵⁹P.A. O'Flaherty, "Johnson as Satirist: A New Look at The Vanity of Human Wishes," ELH, XXXIV (1967), 88.

and, added to Johnson's commiseration with genuine examples of vain ambitions, they give the larger part of The Vanity of Human Wishes a pessimistic tone. Now this is not the tone of the Tenth Satire. Juvenal's pessimism springs from his recognition of man's inability to obtain happiness with prayer, while he maintains that happiness is obtainable through the practice of virtue, which each person may attain by his own efforts. But the implication of the main portion of Johnson's poem is that a life of sorrow is the common lot of mankind, and that the virtuous suffer as well as the sinners. Thus, as Ian Jack observes, The Vanity of Human Wishes "is not only deeply pessimistic, but pessimistic in an almost medieval way."⁶⁰ As we will see, even the concluding admonition in Johnson's imitation, unlike that of the original, does not sufficiently offset the gloomy view expressed in the main body of the satire.

Essentially, the Christian coda of The Vanity of Human Wishes is the converse of its model. In his conclusion Juvenal shows that the miseries depicted in the foregoing section of the Tenth Satire may be avoided by shunning prayer and pursuing a secular morality, consisting of Stoic freedom from lust, hate and sensuality,

⁶⁰Ian Jack, Augustan Satire, p. 145.

and courage to face death (ll. 357, 360-62). Johnson, however, maintains that religion is not vain, that prayer, "the supplicating voice" raised for good (ll. 350-51), will bring divine aid to man. Unfortunately, the only "praise" in this section sufficient to offset the despair in the main portion of the poem is the recommendation to "faith, that panting for a happier seat,/Counts death kind Nature's signal of retreat" (ll. 363-64). The rest seems inadequate:

Pour forth thy fervours for a healthful mind,
 Obedient passions, and a will resign'd;
 For love, which scarce collective man can fill;
 For patience sov'reign o'er transmuted ill....
 (ll. 359-62)

Here Johnson's moralizing is orthodox, but facile; we remain convinced by the main body of the poem that this life can be no more than a state worth fleeing from. A recent argument for an "optimistic" reading of the entire work merely points this up. There it is maintained that in The Vanity of Human Wishes, "as in the rest of Johnson's religious thought, the turn towards God and religion brings man his proper happiness on earth."⁶¹ However, we have seen accounts in the satire which refute this contention. The orthodox Christianity of Dean Swift, for instance, whom Johnson shows ending his life in misery,

⁶¹Weinbrot, p. 210.

is too well-known to require discussion here;⁶² and the piety of Johnson's mother, to whom he is probably referring in the account of a virtuous old age ended in sorrow, is well established by Boswell.⁶³ In Johnson's satire everyone, deserving and undeserving, is afflicted by misfortunes. Life can only be tragic, and this - intentionally or otherwise - is Johnson's "moral."

From a Christian viewpoint The Vanity of Human Wishes may be ethically superior to its pagan source, but both as satire and as art it must be judged inferior. The Tenth Satire is not one of Juvenal's most technically brilliant Satires. It has a simple design, as we previously noted, and, as Highet says, "It is not deeply thought out."⁶⁴ But as satiric art it is practically flawless. Juvenal announces a theme and a manner of presenting it, then consistently maintains both theme and method throughout the "blame" section of his Satire. Though his attack sometimes seems overly severe, this very uniformity of design makes it effective. Even today we find Juvenal's arguments compelling, if not wholly convincing. And while

⁶²For a clear statement of Swift's orthodoxy see his sermon "On the Trinity," in Irish Tracts and Sermons, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1948), pp. 159-60.

⁶³Life of Johnson, I, 38, 67.

⁶⁴Highet, p. 129.

his element of praise may seem naive - "just practice virtue and all will be well" - it is shown to be a logical alternative to the dangers of prayer. Compared to its model, The Vanity of Human Wishes is quite inconsistent in design. Johnson's attack begins in close imitation of Juvenal's manner, but eventually degenerates into expressions of compassion. Johnson begins with a theme which is distinctive, yet similar enough to Juvenal's to benefit from his satiric method; but the opening satire on the vanity and futility of ambition is transmuted into a tragic commentary on the sorrows of life. Johnson's poem is more pessimistic sermon than satire; and the small brightness offered at the end is, for the reader who seeks a purpose in life itself, insufficient to illuminate the gloom. When we recall the basically sound design of London as an imitation of the Third Satire, we may justly suspect that Johnson's failure to produce a similarly successful imitation in The Vanity of Human Wishes points to something besides a lack of poetic ability. Boswell suggests the answer:

His [Johnson's] mind resembled the vast amphitheatre, the Colisæum at Rome. In the centre stood his judgement, which, like a mighty gladiator, combated those apprehensions that, like the wild beasts of the Arena, were all around in cells, ready to be let out upon him. After a conflict, he drove them back into their dens; but not killing them, they were still assailing him.⁶⁵

⁶⁵Life of Johnson, II, 106.

Accordingly in his satire Johnson begins with an attack upon examples of vain wishes. Soon, however, apprehensions about the righteousness of his attack begin "assailing" him and indeed nearly succeed in overwhelming him. With the conclusion of his satire he manages to force them "back into their dens"; but the conclusion is not strong enough to overcome completely the doubts he expresses in the main section - and this the reader sees. As P.A. O'Flaherty notes, Johnson lacked both the temperament and outlook of Juvenal in the Tenth Satire.⁶⁶

Critics have usually maintained that Johnson's imitations of Juvenal are the finest adaptations of that Roman satirist in the eighteenth century, and our study should not disprove this. Given Young's approach to Juvenal in the Love of Fame and Greene's manner of handling him in The Satires of Juvenal as norms of the century, Johnson's superiority to the common practice of the period is clearly evident. Only Johnson was able to adapt Juvenal to the eighteenth-century scene without extensive defacement. Of course, this applies more readily to London than to The Vanity of Human Wishes. Compared to Juvenal's Tenth the latter is, as we have seen, a failure as satire. Perhaps Johnson realized this; at any rate it

⁶⁶O'Flaherty, "Johnson as Satirist," ELH, p. 88.

was the last attempt he made in the genre. Johnson's reputation as an imitator must rest upon London, an imitation which, while flawed in comparison with its original, is nonetheless successful in its art and intention as political satire. But while both of Johnson's imitations are singular among eighteenth-century adaptations of Juvenal, each clearly reflects prevailing attitudes toward Juvenal. Both London and The Vanity of Human Wishes were designed principally as corrective satire, one political, the other social, rather than as entertaining adaptations. Unlike Restoration adaptations, neither reproduces Juvenal's bawdy humor or vulgar imagery, and both display an earnest moral tone. Indeed, in this latter respect Johnson's imitations are unique among the avowed adaptations of Juvenal we have studied. No other professed imitation or paraphrase of an entire Satire is as successful in capturing or approximating Juvenal's seriousness of tone. With the exception of Dryden, the Restoration was not concerned with it, and such eighteenth-century imitators as Greene were too greatly swayed by the dictates of sentimentalism to produce anything approximating it. Dryden was largely preoccupied with Juvenal's morality, but his translations were seldom modernized and thus lacked the immediacy of Johnson's imitations. It is true that in The Vanity of

Human Wishes the seriousness is Johnsonian rather than Juvenalian, but in London it is in fact Juvenal's own manner and earnestness we see, guided to slightly new moral concerns. Hence in this imitation at least Johnson succeeded in uniting the Restoration concern for Juvenal's vigorous satiric manner with the eighteenth-century concern for his morality. In London the result is an imitation which, if not close to the original Satire in art and design, is yet close to Juvenal's spirit.

CHAPTER VI

SOME CONCLUSIONS

Satire was undoubtedly the predominant literary genre in England from the Restoration to the mid-eighteenth century. However, as Mary Claire Randolph tells us, "The formal verse satires of the neoclassical period would be almost negligible in number were it not for the large body of translations and adaptations of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal."¹ We have discussed at length the nature of the adaptations during this period of one of these satiric models, Juvenal. Clearly, such analyses as the ones attempted in this thesis are important in several respects. They take us as close as we can get to seeing the individual Restoration and Augustan poet at work in an accepted mode, transforming, arranging, re-working his materials. This kind of study thus illuminates the purposes and talents of individual imitating poets; but of course it also provides a means of assessing the poets' general understanding of Juvenal in particular and of satiric art in general. No doubt we can acquire such an understanding partly from the critical writings of such authors upon these subjects. However, not just the

¹"The Structural Design of the Formal Verse Satire," PQ, XXI (1942), 383.

theories, but the practice of poets must count too. Looking at what poets actually do as imitators deepens our understanding of what they, as imitators and satirists both, were trying to accomplish.

It has become evident in the course of this study that it may be necessary to reconsider the common view that there was a discernible and progressive development in the nature of poetic imitation from the Restoration to the Augustan period. The usual view of this development is that it progresses mainly from the close modernized translations of the Restoration school of imitation established by Abraham Cowley to a more liberal manner of handling the originals adopted by the "Augustan masters."² This may hold true for imitations of Horace, but it is misleading when applied to the adaptations of Juvenal. The poets adapting Juvenal, from Oldham down to Greene, did very much as they pleased with their sources, often paying no more than lip service to the theories which they put forward in prefaces. It is true that Oldham was influenced by the conservative method of line-by-line imitation found in "The Country Mouse, A Paraphrase upon Horace 2 Book, Satyr 6" of Cowley and Sprat, but his

²"The 'Imitation' in English Poetry, Especially in Formal Satire, Before the Age of Pope," RES, XXV (1949), 139.

own professed imitations, those of Juvenal's Third and Thirteenth Satires, reveal considerably more freedom than that taken by his predecessors with respect to Horace. The typical view of Oldham as a mechanical, passive imitator is erroneous. Thomas Wood, Henry Higden and Matthew Prior, other supposedly "close" imitators of Juvenal, display even greater liberty in adaptation than that taken by Oldham. Even Dryden's translations, though ostensibly falling between paraphrase and imitation in method, reveal less fidelity to their originals than that apparently required by Cowley's line-by-line method. Oldham's "Imitation of the Third of Juvenal" may seem to be more faithful to its model than Johnson's London of half a century later, but this difference is due to the different intentions of the two authors. Oldham was primarily concerned with applying the superficial features of Juvenal's satiric art to his own times, Johnson with adapting Juvenal's morality to contemporary evils. Juvenal's moralizing is largely eliminated from Oldham's imitation, but its absence is not as readily apparent as Johnson's exclusion of Juvenal's more obvious technical aspects - mainly his bawdy wit and attention to naturalistic detail - from London. Each poet reproduces Juvenal in his own way; and this is true as well of the

other adaptations which we have considered. There is no uniformity among imitators of Juvenal, nor is there any indication of a progressive development in the form along the lines suggested by H.F. Brooks³ and others.

This study also indicates that none of Juvenal's adaptors manages to reproduce his satiric art and sense altogether successfully. Now while their reasons for adapting Juvenal and the methods used vary widely from poet to poet, the adaptors all share a common intention: to capture and use for their own purposes what they think is the essence of Juvenal's Satires - his satiric technique and, to some degree, the designs of the Satires adapted. Juvenal's adherents in the Restoration were mainly concerned with duplicating his satiric technique, though usually they succeeded in capturing only its most obvious features. Like their counterparts in the eighteenth century, Juvenal's Restoration translators and imitators were attracted principally by the sheer power of his virulence. But whereas the eighteenth century thought of Juvenal's satiric power in terms of moral vigor, the Restoration viewed it as a source of pleasure. Dryden saw this forcefulness as residing mainly in one aspect of Juvenal's art - his "Sonorous and more Noble" expressions -

³See ibid., pp. 139-40.

and translated accordingly. His contemporaries, including Oldham, saw it in other features, in Juvenal's naturalistic detail, vulgar and bawdy wit and violent invective. What they all apparently failed to realize was the impossibility of isolating individual characteristics of Juvenal's Satires and yet managing to produce paraphrases or imitations which were still essentially Juvenalian. Oldham and those he influenced did not copy more than the superficial features of Juvenal's poems. Their imitations reveal preoccupation - indeed, fascination - with Juvenal's detailed descriptions, vulgar humor and bawdry - all features which in Juvenal's Satires lead to moral generalizations, but which in these Restoration adaptations lead in no such direction. Dryden's translations represent a transition between seventeenth and eighteenth-century adaptations of Juvenal. Dryden claims that the chief end of his adaptations is merely pleasure, but in fact only the Sixth Satire is translated with careful attention to the features of Juvenal's Satires which the Restoration found entertaining; the other translations generally reveal a concern for Juvenal's morality. This results in a heavy-handed, un-Juvenalian moralizing tone that is artificial and ultimately less convincing than Juvenal's own, for Dryden was unable to reconcile wholly those features of Juvenal's satiric art

which the Restoration found pleasurable with Juvenal's moral satiric designs. In London Johnson goes even further than Dryden in his concern for moral satire at the expense of Juvenal's satiric art. In London Johnson entirely eliminates Juvenal's humor, sympathy and other salient satiric features in favor of his tone of moral outrage. The original aspects of Juvenal's satiric art which are retained in this imitation are sometimes used clumsily. London lacks the smoothness and polish of its model; it is Juvenalian chiefly in its tone of righteous indignation. The Vanity of Human Wishes, with a tone of pathos quite unlike that of the Tenth Satire, generally fails to be Juvenalian, though Johnson's original intention was evidently to make it so. Imitators like Edward Burnaby Greene tried to reproduce both Juvenal's art and moralizing and found themselves thwarted in both respects by their own sentimental inclinations.

Why were the adaptors of Juvenal in the so-called neoclassic period generally unable to capture the essence of his Satires? Perhaps this failure was largely due to their misunderstanding of the complexity and occasionally the inconsistency of Juvenal's satiric art and its indivisibility from his moral purpose. This misunderstanding was not limited to second-rate poets such as Wood and Higden. Oldham, Dryden and Johnson, for instance, all

adapt Juvenal's Third Satire, and each displays an inability to reproduce properly important features of the original. None correctly captures the primary, most basic features of the art of the Third Satire, the establishment of a convincing ethos for the persona and the careful dissociation of the satirist himself from the persona's point of view. In adaptations of other Satires similar misunderstandings of Juvenal's art are evident. Artistically, the English adaptations all seem to a greater or lesser degree crude when compared to their models. Nothing is superfluous in Juvenal's Satires. A total of little more than 4000 lines of verse, they are the product of a lifetime's observation and effort. As Peter Green says, "Seldom can one man's body of work have had less spare fat on it."⁴ To retain the artistic excellence and even the sense of the original Satires in adaptation, none of the original features could be overlooked. In the method of adaptation professing to reproduce Juvenal closely this required that "no injury [be] done to the detailed strokes of the satirist, not even to the turn of thought, so far at least as translation could preserve it,"⁵ while in the

⁴Juvenal: The Sixteen Satires, trans. Peter Green, p. 51.

⁵William Francis Gallaway, "English Adaptations of Roman Satire, 1660-1800" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1937), p. 121.

method of imitation attempting to adapt Juvenal's satire to new satiric purposes it required that all the artistic features of the original lost in transition be replaced, so far as it was possible to do so, with exact equivalents. Attempts at preserving the essential qualities of Juvenal's satire by the first method were not unqualified successes, even in the translations of Dryden. The greatest success in the second general manner of adaptation was scored by Johnson in a satire which, as we previously noted, is awkward compared to its model. The most dismal failure in this manner is probably Greene's imitation of the Sixth Satire, where virtually none of the counterparts provided for the original characters, vices and even plot have convincing equivalency. What ultimately was needed for the English adaptors to succeed was a true Juvenalian spirit. This each poet could only hope to approximate, for, as we have seen throughout this study, Juvenal's satiric spirit derives from a particular and highly individual attitude. This attitude was not shared by his English followers.

Satirists such as Juvenal, Ronald Paulson has observed,

see the world as a simple, stable social order with forces at work trying to undermine or overthrow a beautiful status quo-or perhaps the overthrow has already taken place and the satirist looks back with nostalgia to the time of order. The result is less an imitation of exuberance than

of overripeness, rottenness, a sinister often horrible quality. This quality is altogether lacking in the work of the satirist who sees the world as per se a place of complexity and disorder.⁶

"Complexity and disorder" is a phrase which accurately describes the state of affairs in England during the Restoration, a time of political and religious ferment and violent upheavals, widespread skepticism and libertinism. It is significant that the first large-scale imitations of Juvenal did not appear until 1683, after the furor over the Popish Plot had largely subsided. The effect of these social conditions upon Restoration adaptations of Juvenal is more "an imitation of exuberance" than of the other more recognizably Juvenalian qualities Paulson cites. Juvenal's satiric attitude requires that a translator or imitator who would capture the essence of his satire - make him "speak as if he were living and writing now" - accept, at least theoretically, a view of the society at which he is re-aiming Juvenal's barbs as poised for inevitable collapse. The Restoration translators and imitators of Juvenal would not even attempt to reproduce this vision in their adaptations. Imitators of Juvenal in the eighteenth century reveal a more profound moral seriousness than that of their

19. ⁶The Fictions of Satire (Baltimore, 1967), pp. 18-

Restoration counterparts, but they too fail to approximate Juvenal's essential satiric vision. Johnson comes closest to succeeding in London: his satire does indeed reveal "a sinister often horrible quality." Yet Johnson's satire is corrective; it offers a workable alternative to evil and is therefore not tragic in the sense that its model is tragic. Johnson's London, like Juvenal's Rome, is decadent, but Thales has the option of leaving the city and finding a better life. Juvenal knows that there is ultimately no escape from the evils he exposes.

Juvenalian satire, unlike the Horatian kind, is possible and credible only in a quite special environment. It is satire provoked by and designed for the awesome corruption of second-century Rome and was, accordingly, largely unsuited to the considerably tamer vices of seventeenth and eighteenth century England. A few of Juvenal's Satires can successfully transcend the period and social circumstances for which they were written, but the majority - those we think of as characteristic - cannot. Successful adaptation of the essential qualities of these Satires requires that an adaptor assume an extremely pessimistic social outlook in his work. This the Restoration and eighteenth-century adaptors to a man could not do. As we have seen, English adaptations of Juvenal could capture much of his vigor and much of his

earnestness. But England in the Restoration and Augustan periods was simply not as depraved as Juvenal's Rome, and it was consequently impossible for the satirists to hold a corresponding vision of society as hopelessly doomed. Thus the adaptations could not be rendered entirely Juvenalian. The essential failure of English adaptations to reproduce Juvenal may be ultimately traced to the unwillingness or inability of adaptors to make Juvenal say - indirectly in partially modernized translations, directly in imitations - of Restoration and eighteenth-century England all that he said of second-century Rome. As the eighteenth century progressed and sentimentalism became a stronger force in literature, the possibility that some poet would write an accurate imitation of Juvenal became more and more remote.

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